

4-1-2017

## Ditch-Irrigated Agriculture Noted by Spaniards at Santo Domingo Pueblo in 1591: Evidence from Dating Anomalies in the Memoria de Castaño de Sosa

Richard Flint

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

---

### Recommended Citation

Flint, Richard. "Ditch-Irrigated Agriculture Noted by Spaniards at Santo Domingo Pueblo in 1591: Evidence from Dating Anomalies in the Memoria de Castaño de Sosa." *New Mexico Historical Review* 92, 2 (). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol92/iss2/4>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in *New Mexico Historical Review* by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact [disc@unm.edu](mailto:disc@unm.edu).

# Ditch-Irrigated Agriculture Noted by Spaniards at Santo Domingo Pueblo in 1591:

Evidence from Dating Anomalies in the *Memoria de Castaño de Sosa*

---

RICHARD FLINT



In 2013 I was asked by the Santo Domingo Pueblo governor and council, through their attorney for water rights issues, to study historical Spanish documents and extract what information was in them concerning ditch irrigation by the Santo Domingo people.<sup>1</sup> The existing records of the sixteenth-century Spanish *entradas* provide written descriptions of life in the pueblos at a time when it was least affected by European culture. Although those records do not give complete and exhaustive pictures of protohistoric Native lives, they nevertheless include many glimpses that can be combined with traditional Pueblo histories, ethnohistory, and archaeology to permit reconstruction of some aspects of pre-colonial practices. The fourth entrada, for which documentary records still exist today, was led to New Mexico in 1590–1591 by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa. It was, thus, one of the events that I focused my study on.

The principal documentary record of the Castaño de Sosa Expedition is known as the *Memoria de Castaño de Sosa*. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey and Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson published two reputable

---

Richard Flint is a historian of early colonial Latin America, with special emphasis on the sixteenth century in the American Southwest and northwest Mexico. For more than thirty-five years, he has partnered with his wife Shirley Cushing Flint (also a historian) in conducting archival research on the Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva and other early entradas. They have just completed a book manuscript laying out the results of twelve years of research on the known members of the Coronado Expedition and what their individual lives reveal about the journey. Titled *A Most Splendid Company: The Inner Workings of the Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva*, the book is scheduled for release in 2018 by the University of New Mexico Press.

English translations of the *Memoria* and Dorothy Hull wrote an influential master's thesis that included another translation.<sup>2</sup> As whenever details can be of great importance, it was sensible and prudent to consult the original manuscript of the *Memoria*. This was particularly imperative since the three cited English translations differed in important ways from the published *Memoria* transcriptions.

The only known surviving manuscript copy of the *Memoria* is owned by the New York Public Library (NYPL).<sup>3</sup> It is one of two copies made in the 1780s by Juan Bautista Muñoz, the *cosmógrafo mayor de las indias* (chief cosmographer of the Indies) for King Carlos III. In 1799 the king charged Muñoz with preparing a comprehensive, up-to-date history of the Indies. In pursuit of that goal, Muñoz gathered together thousands of original Spanish colonial manuscripts and made copies of thousands of others, including the two copies of the *Memoria*. In the nineteenth century, a transcription team headed by Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza published transcriptions of both Muñoz copies in their monumental forty-two volume *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de America y Oceania, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*.<sup>4</sup>

For this study, I consulted digital images of the Muñoz manuscript copy of the *Memoria* now conserved in the NYPL Rich Collection. I transcribed and translated the portion of that text dealing with the pueblos of New Mexico and compared both my transcription and translation with the two *Colección de documentos inéditos* versions and the three English translations. My transcription matches in all essential details the *Colección de documentos inéditos* versions. Comparison revealed, however, critical disparities between the Spanish manuscript and the three English translations. The most significant discrepancies resulted from anomalies in the Muñoz manuscript itself, which had been ignored or misinterpreted by the translators.

Those anomalies, once recognized and analyzed, profoundly alter what can be learned from the *Memoria* about irrigation at Santo Domingo Pueblo as practiced in the early 1590s. It is my analysis of those anomalies and exposition of how their resolution augments what we know about irrigated agriculture at Santo Domingo that are the subjects of this essay. In briefest summary, the conclusion reached in my study and analysis of the *Memoria* is that it is a compilation rather than a single-voiced narrative and provides documentary evidence that in early 1591 Santo Domingo (Kewa) was one of six Keresan-speaking pueblos that the *Memoria* reported as “irrigated and ha[ving] their acequias.”<sup>5</sup> The remainder of this essay outlines how I reached that conclusion. The story is one of intensive textual sleuthing.

## Abstract of the Argument

Previous English translations of the *Memoria* failed to recognize the significance of anomalous aspects of the manuscript. Those anomalies include: 1) The misplacement of two paragraphs dealing with events on 18 January 1591; 2) Unusual switching of person and tense of verbs throughout; 3) Occasional multiple entries for single dates; and 4) A series of undated entries that may have been written after the end of the expedition. The last three of these anomalies underscore that the *Memoria* is a compilation of information. In the process of assembling excerpts from multiple original source documents, the entry of 18 January was entered out of order, leading unsuspecting translators to misinterpret what that section refers to.

## Background

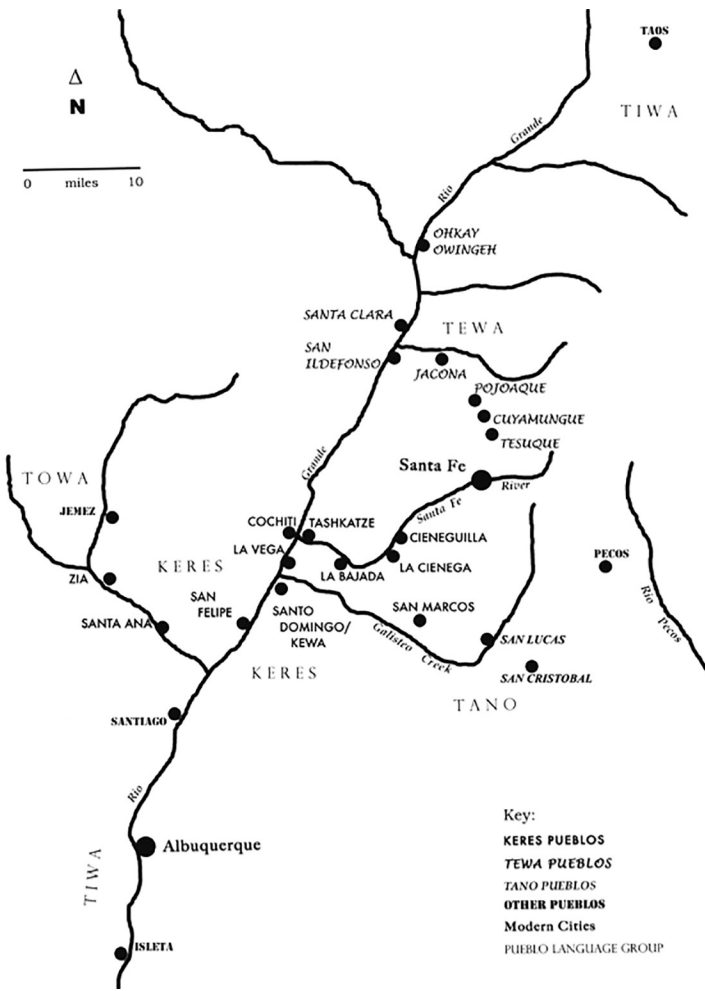
The town of Almadén (later Monclova)—then in the province of Nuevo León and now in the Mexican state of Coahuila—was, in 1590, on a very hostile frontier between areas securely under Spanish control and those in which independent Natives still dominated. The prospect of silver ore, nevertheless, intermittently led would-be Spanish miners to set up and try to defend a settlement on this frontier. Until the 1670s, no lasting colony was successfully established.<sup>6</sup> But eighty years before permanent settlement, a beleaguered group of around two hundred settlers was making the attempt to settle in 1590.

The group heard about the Pueblo world along the upper Rio Grande, in what was being called Nuevo México. It was said both to have rich ores and to be the home of tractable, town-dwelling Indians. The lieutenant governor of Nuevo León, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, put together a plan to transplant the entire population of Almadén to Nuevo México, where certainly life would be both safer and materially richer. The idea caught the imagination of many of the settlers.

During the early months of 1590, plans for the move were well underway. Two separate parties of agents for the lieutenant governor journeyed to Mexico City to secure the required royal license for such an expedition. Neither embassy succeeded. But in July, the population of Almadén, led by Castaño de Sosa, started north anyway without the license.

Unlike the three previous Spanish expeditions to Nuevo México, the Almadén colonists traveled largely by way of the Rio Grande and the Río Pecos. That brought them into contact with Pueblo peoples first at Pecos Pueblo. Their meeting was confrontational. Several days of fighting during cold, snowy winter weather led to the clandestine withdrawal of the Pecos people from their town.<sup>7</sup>

A select group of twenty men led by Castaño de Sosa then captured two Indians from Pecos to use as guides and headed into the heart of the Pueblo



Map 1. Selected late sixteenth-century pueblos, Rio Grande area, New Mexico. Map by and courtesy of the author.<sup>8</sup>

world, the Rio Grande Valley. Most of the prospective colonists stayed behind in a camp on the Río Pecos. Meanwhile, Castaño de Sosa led his detachment to many of the pueblos along the main stem of the Rio Grande, with some excursions to other pueblos on tributary streams (see map 1).

After the middle of January 1591, Castaño de Sosa's detachment reached a large pueblo situated in the angle between the Rio Grande and Galisteo Creek. The lieutenant governor named it Santo Domingo. The weather was noticeably milder there than it had been at the more northerly and higher elevation Tewa and Tiwa pueblos visited earlier by the detachment. Castaño de Sosa and his

closest comrades decided that Santo Domingo would make an excellent base for the colony, so the mass of colonists—still in camp on the Río Pecos—were brought there by a route apparently suggested by the Pueblo people of Santo Domingo.<sup>9</sup>

Castaño de Sosa and the colonists then spent several weeks in and around Santo Domingo. Castaño de Sosa himself was away most of that time investigating possible mineral deposits near San Marcos Pueblo and in the Ortiz, San Pedro, and Sandia Mountains. Just as the colonists were settling in near Santo Domingo, a group of armed men arrived from Nuevo León, carrying orders to arrest the lieutenant governor and escort the colonists back south because they had all illegally entered Nuevo México without a royal license. Their attempt at establishing a Spanish colony in the Middle Rio Grande Valley ended after the aspiring colonists had been in the Pueblo world less than three months.<sup>10</sup>

Legal proceedings were instituted against Castaño de Sosa, who was taken as a prisoner to Mexico City. In the course of the ensuing investigation and hearings before the *Audiencia* (High Court), a document was prepared that summarized the travel of the expedition, known by the shortened title as the *Memoria de Castaño de Sosa*. It records various observations about the pueblos of Nuevo México, with special attention to Santo Domingo and the other eastern Keres pueblos.

The Audiencia found Castaño de Sosa guilty of conducting a colonizing expedition to Nuevo México without royal license and sentenced him to service in Southeast Asia, where he died.<sup>11</sup> The case file was sent to Spain to the *Consejo de Indias* (Council of the Indies), which was to render a final decision in the case. As we will discuss, the Consejo's *relator* (lawyer who summarizes reports of matters before superior tribunals) prepared a summary of information contained in the case file, the *Memoria*, for use by the council's judges.<sup>12</sup> The Court eventually exonerated Castaño de Sosa, but too late to save him; he had died during a revolt by Chinese galley slaves. Following the exoneration, the *Memoria* was filed away in the royal archive at Simancas, near Valladolid in Spain.

Almost two hundred years later the king commissioned Muñoz to collect the records of Spanish presence in the Indies (essentially the Americas and the Philippines), which were to serve as source material for the long-overdue, updated *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. In the process, Muñoz appears to have made two handwritten copies of the *Memoria*.<sup>13</sup> The original *Memoria* itself disappeared sometime after Muñoz made his copies. More recently, both of the Muñoz copies of the *Memoria* vanished from the great Archivo General de Indias in Seville. One copy seems to be utterly gone; the other is the copy from the Rich Collection at the NYPL, which is at the heart of this essay.

## The *Memoria* is a Compilation and Not the Work of a Single Author

I begin my examination and analysis of the *Memoria* with the question of who wrote it. My answer is that no one person wrote it. Instead, it is a composite of information from several different sources, assembled in Spain by staff of the Consejo. In that collation process of making a single chronologically ordered account of the Castaño de Sosa Expedition, the compilers made inadvertent errors and added ambiguity in ordering the entries. One of those errors in particular had a material effect on how modern English translators read the *Memoria*. Therefore, showing that the content of the *Memoria* probably derives from several distinct authors is the first step in showing that some information in the *Memoria* is out of order and that what we can learn about the Pueblo of Santo Domingo's irrigation practices is more than what the existing English translations would lead one to believe. That is because Hull, Schroeder and Matson, and Hammond and Rey, in preparing their translations of the *Memoria*, all assumed that it had been written by a single individual, Castaño de Sosa himself or his secretary. As Hull wrote, "It is Gaspar Castaño's own account of the events of his expedition."<sup>14</sup> Hammond and Rey call the *Memoria* "his diary."<sup>15</sup> Schroeder and Matson, meanwhile, wrote, "The journalist is not known to us, but may have been the expedition secretary, Andrés Pérez."<sup>16</sup>

The narrative text of the *Memoria* is, however, signed and attested by the original official preparer, Antonio de San Andrés.<sup>17</sup> He was the responsible party, although his staff may have done the actual compilation. One other name is appended to the *Memoria*: that of the copyist Muñoz nearly two hundred years after its original composition. Bureaucratic procedural statements appended to, but not included in the body of the expedition narrative, make it explicit that the *Memoria* was not prepared by any member of the expedition, but is rather a compilation of information extracted from several authors. We will now look at those bureaucratic statements.

Both known copies of the *Memoria*, prepared by Muñoz and attested by him, open with what is essentially one very long sentence without punctuation other than six commas and a period at the end. In the following translation, I have retained the Muñoz punctuation and have not added any modern punctuation:

Account of the reconnaissance that Gaspar Castaño de Sosa lieutenant governor and captain general of the New Kingdom of León by appointment of the King don Felipe our lord, is going to make<sup>18</sup> in fulfillment of the directives they<sup>19</sup> have provided to him and to him as their deputy, as will be seen in the directive, and [royal] instructions and the book of new laws for settlers provided to all vecinos<sup>20</sup> of the aforementioned kingdom, in fulfillment of all the aforesaid the previously mentioned

Gaspar Castaño de Sosa departed from the villa of Almadén on the twenty-seventh day of July [1590]<sup>21</sup> with a train of carts in them clothing and all [the] equipment relevant to such populations [or settlements], as will be seen at greater length in the case file that the aforesaid Gaspar Castaño de Sosa prepared concerning this case,<sup>22</sup> and so that one will know all of it as His Majesty ordered it [to be done], which will be set down in this book with complete fidelity.<sup>23</sup>

The *Memoria* manuscript concludes with the following annotation by Muñoz: “At the end [of the document Muñoz copied] it is noted, ‘The report of it [the reconnaissance] was prepared, and was reviewed by the lords of the Consejo on the tenth of November 1592. Santandrés.’”<sup>24</sup>

As shown in the translation here, the document itself states that the *Memoria* was prepared in Spain by staff of the Consejo, rather than by Castaño de Sosa or any other member of the colonizing party. This was not at all unusual; staff routinely prepared case summaries so that the judges of the Consejo would not have to read through entire files to get an overall understanding of a case and what it involved. The *Memoria* was, moreover, compiled by Consejo staff from two or more documents written by members of the Castaño de Sosa Expedition, as is demonstrated further on. Nevertheless, the *Memoria* has been treated by previous translators as though it were written by Castaño de Sosa himself, or perhaps his secretary.

Because of the length and complexity of the introductory sentence to the *Memoria*, it is not immediately clear what portion of it the important phrase “as will be seen at greater length in the case file” elucidates. It makes most sense, though, to see it as qualifying the “account of the reconnaissance.” In other words, the preparer of the *Memoria*, the relator San Andrés, is notifying the members of the Consejo that the full report of the reconnaissance is contained in the case file and that, as they would expect, the *Memoria* comprises extracts from documents in that file.

#### Unintentional Reordering of *Memoria* Entries

Here I make the case that on folio 233v of the original Muñoz copy of the *Memoria* an entry for the date “diez y ocho del dicho [mes de enero],” should be read literally as “the eighteenth of the aforementioned [month of January],” even though it appears between entries for 9 January and 11 January. There is no question about what the document literally says in this passage; Muñoz’s hand is exceptionally clear and easily legible. It reads without doubt, “diez y ocho [the eighteenth]” (see fig. 1). It is my position that the Consejo staffer who compiled





Figure 1. Excerpt from folio 233v of the *Memoria*. Image courtesy of the New York Public Library.

the *Memoria* made a mistake and entered information from the case file here out of chronological order. I show hereafter that moving the entry to its literal chronological position makes sense of the content of the entry and avoids difficulties that arise by leaving the entry where it is physically in the document and renumbering it as 10 January, as previous English translators have done.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout the thirty manuscript folios that comprise the *Memoria*, almost all entries contain dates—either explicit or clearly implied by reference to the previous day. The entries follow a consecutive chronological order except in three passages: first on folio 233v, where the literal date is out of chronological order; second on folios 237v–38v, where three successive entries have the same date; and third on the last folios of the document, 238v–40v, on which dates are absent entirely.

On folio 233v the entry, dated “diez y ocho del dicho mes de enero [the eighteenth of the aforesaid month of January]” 1591, is preceded immediately by an entry for 9 January and is followed in turn by an entry for 11 January. The sequence of these three entries is thus 9 January, 18 January, and 11 January.

The previous English translators of the *Memoria* have all assumed (although they do not explicitly state their assumption) that the date for the entry shown as 18 January is a scribal error and that the entry actually applies to 10 January. That is, the translators recognize an error in the document, but locate it in the content of the entry. I maintain, on the contrary, that the text’s content is correct, but the entry is inadvertently out of chronological order. In the first place, let me note that substituting “diez y ocho” for “diez” would be a very unusual copying error for Muñoz or another copyist to make, one that I have never seen occur in some thirty-six years of doing paleographic work with sixteenth-century Spanish documents.

The answers to two particularly relevant questions support the position that this is not a copying error but a compiling error. Those questions are: a) Does restoring the entry for 18 January on folio 233v to its appropriate chronological position on folio 235v following the entry for 17 January involve any

contradictions?; and b) Does the content of the entry make more sense if it is restored to its literal chronological order?

### Restoring the Entry to Its Literal Chronological Position Does Not Contradict Anything

There is no other entry for 18 January, although the entry for 17 January reads:

On the seventeenth we left this pueblo and traveled to another valley with settlements of a different nation that is called Keres.<sup>26</sup> We slept on the way with a great deal of snow. On the next day we went to the aforesaid valley where there were four pueblos that were visited one after the other. The party was in them for two days. They rendered obedience to His Majesty; governors and alcaldes were named in them. Crosses were erected in all of the aforesaid pueblos with the solemn ceremonies referred to earlier.<sup>27</sup>

The *Memoria* provides no further information about these four Keres pueblos—no names, no descriptions beyond the fact that the expeditionaries visited them successively, and no locational information except that they all were in or near a valley.

Hammond and Rey made no effort to identify these four pueblos. Hull also did not attempt to identify individual pueblos at this point, but did state, without explanation, that “Sosa must now have been near the junction of the Galisteo [Creek] and the Rio Grande.”<sup>28</sup> This would most assuredly make Santo Domingo one of the four pueblos mentioned here in the *Memoria*, since Santo Domingo was and still is today located at that junction. Schroeder and Matson, on the other hand, boldly and confidently assigned modern identities to all four pueblos mentioned here: Cochití, LA 70, LA 6455, and LA 249—which do not include Santo Domingo.<sup>29</sup> Their principal reason for selecting those particular four pueblos—besides the fact that archaeological investigation of each has yielded sixteenth-century ceramics—rests on their interpretation of a statement in the *Memoria* about how Castaño de Sosa and his companions saw the four pueblos. That descriptive phrase is “*quatro pueblos a vista unos de otros*.”<sup>30</sup> Like Hull and Hammond and Rey, Schroeder and Matson translate the phrase literally as “in sight of each other.”<sup>31</sup> Another idiomatic usage of the phrase, however, conveys the meaning “were visited one after the other [uno de otros],” traveling from each to the next.<sup>32</sup> That appears to be the meaning intended in the *Memoria*.

Freed from the constraint of the four pueblos having to be intervisible, the four Keres pueblos referred to in the entry for 17 January can be identified much more probably as La Cieneguilla, La Ciénega, La Bajada, and Cochití.<sup>33</sup> Those

four could easily be visited on a route from San Ildefonso by traveling downstream along the Santa Fe River Valley until it joined the Rio Grande. All four are either directly along the river or only a very short distance from it. La Cienguilla and La Bajada are immediately adjacent to the river, Cochiti is opposite the river's junction with the Rio Grande, and La Ciénega is on Ciénega Creek about a mile above its confluence with the Santa Fe River.

The entry for the eighteenth—if it is restored to its chronological order—would then follow with:

On the eighteenth of the aforesaid month of January we departed from this pueblo [presumably the last of the four just mentioned], going to another one about a league distant, taking with us a great number of people. When we were in view of that pueblo we saw a great number of people leaving their pueblo. The aforesaid lieutenant [governor] sent four fellow expeditionaries to have them return, which they accomplished. When they had arrived together at the aforesaid pueblo, there were many people in it. The aforementioned lieutenant [governor] made them understand by signs that they were not to flee from him because he was not coming to inflict any hurt or injury on them, but rather to assist them in His Majesty's name and so that they would enjoy our friendship. They clearly understood this and were happy that we would stay. The pueblo relaxed; a tall cross was raised, and they were made to understand what it meant. They rendered obedience to His Majesty. [The lieutenant governor] named a governor, *alcaldes*, and *alguacil* for them. All of these things were done with the formalities required for such a case, with the sound of trumpets and muskets.

On this same day [the eighteenth] we went to sleep at another pueblo a league from there. We were well received, and [the residents] gave us fully everything we had need of. Everything was done that was recounted in the other [pueblos] before. All six of these pueblos are irrigated and have their *acequias*, something not to be believed except by those who saw it with their own eyes. A great amount of corn, beans, and other vegetables is harvested. They dress in the manner of the pueblos mentioned before. Some [of] the pueblos are small but heavily populated. The houses are composed of two or three stories, all with the plan of trap doors and portable ladders.<sup>34</sup>

When Castaño de Sosa and his companions continued on to two more Keres pueblos on that day, as indicated in the entry for 18 January, one of them was the old, northwestern portion of Santo Domingo that was destroyed by a flood of the Rio Grande in 1886.<sup>35</sup> If Santo Domingo was not one of the six pueblos

visited on 18 January 1591, then there was no other reported opportunity for its Spanish name to be conferred before 8 March, when the name first appears in the *Memoria*, as the expeditionaries approached it from the Galisteo Basin.<sup>36</sup> The other pueblo referred to but not named in the entry for 18 January may have been Tashkatze (LA 249) or La Vega (LA 412), although there are other possibilities.<sup>37</sup> The information on two additional Keres pueblos Schroeder and Matson simply ignore because they had already decided that the entry for 18 January is actually for 10 January. Returning the text for 18 January to its literal chronological position would mean that the party spent the night of the eighteenth into the nineteenth at the last of these six Keres pueblos, very likely Santo Domingo. The itinerary then picks up with an entry that reads, "On the twenty-first we departed from these pueblos and went to a pueblo with their language. [The residents] rendered obedience to His Majesty. A governor, alcaldes, and alguacil were named; a tall cross was raised. The next day following [22 January] the lieutenant governor left to reconnoiter some mineral sources. He brought [back] apparently very good metal [ore]."<sup>38</sup> I agree with all other scholars that this pueblo near the mineral source was the one that was shortly to be named San Marcos.

It should be pointed out that by redating the entry for 18 January on the assumption that it applies instead to 10 January and thus placing the six irrigated pueblos in the Tewa area, Schroeder and Matson and Hammond and Rey inadvertently created an additional problem: the expeditionaries had not visited six Tewa pueblos by 10 January, but only five, as the editors and English translators themselves acknowledged. Schroeder and Matson attempted to address that problem by writing, "The sixth pueblo included in the above statement on irrigated lands either is an error or was meant to include Pecos."<sup>39</sup> There is no such difficulty with the text, if the entry is restored to its proper calendrical order. When that is done, the six neighboring pueblos where ditch irrigation is specifically noted are the six Keres pueblos mentioned as visited on 18 January.

What this discussion has shown is that there are no contradictions in restoring the entry for 18 January into its literal chronological order, and it also obviates the need to explain the otherwise seemingly mysterious use of the name Santo Domingo before the next opportunity (on 8 March) to assign the name during an act of obedience, as was standard practice.

#### Restoring the Entry for 18 January Makes Information More Plausible: Visibility of Irrigation Infrastructure

Abundant snowfall and snow on the ground mentioned in the *Memoria* make it very unlikely that Castaño de Sosa and his companions would have been able to observe irrigation ditches among the Tewa pueblos of Tesuque, Cuyamungué,

Nambé, Pojoaque, and Jacona.<sup>40</sup> This is not to say that the Tewa pueblos were not using ditch irrigation at this time. In fact the *Memoria* mentions that a pueblo which is likely the lowest elevation Tewa pueblo, San Ildefonso, “has . . . a very large valley totally under irrigation.”<sup>41</sup> It is just that Castaño de Sosa and his companions would not generally have been able to see the ditches at the other Tewa pueblos because of snow covering the ground to a significant depth.

As reported in the *Memoria*, from the end of December 1590 until about the middle of January 1591, there was frequent snowfall in the Río Arriba area of New Mexico, where the Tewas then dwelled (and still live today) and where Castaño de Sosa and his companions were at the time. Throughout the period from 5 January through 17 January the *Memoria* text repeatedly refers to the snowy conditions, with phrases such as: “severe with cold winds and snows,” “extreme cold and snow,” “we set out from this pueblo in snow,” “the snow was a yard [vara] deep,” “the ground was so covered with snow that no horse could eat,” and “we slept on the road with very much snow.”<sup>42</sup>

After, however, the expeditionary party crossed over the Santa Fe Plateau (Caja del Río Mesa) from San Ildefonso and descended into the Río Abajo of the lower Santa Fe River, the Galisteo Basin, and the Middle Rio Grande Valley on 18 January, snow is not mentioned again in the *Memoria* until the group headed eastward to San Cristóbal Pueblo (at an elevation of about sixty-three hundred feet) and crossed the higher terrain of Glorieta Mesa a week later on their way to their camp on the Río Pecos. The entry for 18 January (renumbered 10 January by Hull, Schroeder and Matson, and Hammond and Rey) makes no mention of snow, consistent with the pueblos described in it being at lower elevations than the Tewa pueblos just visited. Thus, it was much more likely that without snow on the ground in the Río Abajo, the Spaniards were readily able to see Keres ditches and other irrigation infrastructure. The six ditch-irrigated pueblos recorded in the *Memoria* are therefore six Keres pueblos: Santo Domingo, Cochití, La Ciénega, La Cieneguilla, and two lesser known, contemporaneous pueblos near the mouths of the Santa Fe River and Galisteo Creek.<sup>43</sup>

### Naming of Santo Domingo and Other Keres Pueblos

In the Spanish-language text of the *Memoria*, as well as the Hull, Hammond and Rey, and Schroeder and Matson translations, names of pueblos appear only in one brief section. That section covers the return of the reunited expedition from the Río Pecos camp to the Rio Grande in mid-February 1591. As the *Memoria* states:

On the thirteenth of the aforesaid month [February], we departed from this camping place and went to sleep three leagues from there in a natural

cul-de-sac [encón]. The last pueblo from which we had left [in January] was a league from us. . . . On the fourteenth of the aforesaid month [February] we departed from this camping place in order for the whole expeditionary party [real] to go to that pueblo. . . . On the fifteenth of the aforesaid month [February] all of us entered this pueblo, which has the name San Cristóbal. . . . On the seventeenth [of February] we departed from this pueblo and went to another pueblo, which they call San Lucas. . . . On the eighteenth of the aforesaid month [February] we departed from this pueblo and went to another pueblo, which is called San Marcos, where [in January] the mineral deposits [minas] had been reconnoitered. . . . [after further examination of the mineral deposits and a side trip to Pecos Pueblo, unnamed in the *Memoria*]. On the seventh of the aforesaid month [now March] we departed from the pueblo called San Marcos . . . [and] went to a river and camping place named for Pedro de Iñigo. . . . On the eighth of the aforesaid month [March] we departed from this camping place to go to a pueblo that is called Santo Domingo.<sup>44</sup>

The four pueblos referred to by name in this February and March 1591 passage—San Cristóbal, San Lucas, San Marcos, and Santo Domingo—are the only pueblos referred to by name in the entire *Memoria*, and that occurs only in this one section of the text. The names were not recorded as used by the Castaño de Sosa expedition on its January passage through that same area because each mention of one of those pueblos at that time would have been before its name had been assigned. Since these names had never been used by any previous expedition, it is obvious that they were bestowed by Castaño de Sosa during acts of obedience, to which the *Memoria* regularly referred. The act of obedience at Santo Domingo had to have taken place during Castaño de Sosa's earlier presence near the junction of the Rio Grande and Santa Fe River and Rio Grande and Galisteo Creek (18–23 January).<sup>45</sup> There was no other opportunity. The *Memoria* text just quoted above explicitly confirms that San Cristóbal and San Marcos had been visited previously, in January. Although no similar wording appears in the February statements about San Lucas and Santo Domingo, use of their names in late February and early March, before arrival at those two pueblos in those months, shows that they, too, had to have been visited and named earlier in January. Otherwise, the *Memoria* would not have used the names in February and March before Castaño de Sosa's supposed first presence there.

Furthermore, there is no record in the *Memoria* of an act of obedience and possession being conducted at Santo Domingo in March, as Schroeder and Matson incorrectly state. Schroeder and Matson argue against Hull's reading of this portion of the *Memoria*, writing:

Hull suggests that the locale this day [18 January] was near the junction of the Rio Grande and Galisteo Creek, thus putting the expedition near Santo Domingo. However . . . Castaño does later reach the lower Galisteo drainage and goes through the act of obedience when he reaches Santo Domingo. Since he never repeated this ceremony at any pueblo, his later visit to Santo Domingo strongly suggests it was his first and that the locale of this day, 18 January, is in the lower end of the Santa Fe valley near Cochiti.<sup>46</sup>

Schroeder and Matson are mistaken about the act of obedience being conducted at Santo Domingo when Castaño de Sosa returned to the Rio Grande in early March. There simply is no such event recorded in the *Memoria*. Schroeder and Matson's memory must have failed them at this point. In none of the entries for dates on or after 8 March 1591 is there any mention of the formal ritual of possession conducted at Santo Domingo—raising a tall cross to the sound of bugles and arcabuz shots, explaining the cross's significance, and appointing pueblo officials.

Thus, only by restoring the *Memoria* entry for 18 January to its literal chronological position are two additional Keres pueblos visited on that day, one of them being Santo Domingo. Otherwise, there is no chance for the act of obedience and naming to have been performed there before the name was used in the entry for 8 March: "We departed from this camping place to go to a pueblo called Santo Domingo, at the edge of a heavily flowing river, in order that from there, the mineral deposits [in the Ortiz, San Pedro, and Sandia mountains], previously referred to, might be reconnoitered."<sup>47</sup>

#### Weather Induced Extended Stays

There is another dating irregularity in the *Memoria*. It is not strictly a matter of sequence, but it is closely related. The entry for 9 January 1591 begins, "On the ninth of the aforesaid month, which was on the day stated above." In the preceding entry, however, only the date of the eighth is mentioned. The final two sentences of the entry do refer to the next travel by Castaño de Sosa, to another nearby pueblo.<sup>48</sup> But the adverb specifying when that travel occurred is *luego*, meaning immediately or without delay, implying that the travel was on the eighth. This suggests there might be a small gap in the sequence of the text caused perhaps again by the collation of information from different sources that did not quite align.

That difficulty aside, if the entry dated 18 January, which currently follows that for the 9 January, were returned to its literal chronological order, it leaves

a gap from the ninth until the eleventh, the next dated entry in the *Memoria*. There is, though, nothing syntactical to argue against this eventuality. The expeditionaries could have spent a second day at the pueblo where they arrived on the ninth. As mentioned earlier, it had been snowy, and that probably continued, causing Castaño de Sosa and his companions to sit tight for an extra day. A hint that this likely happened is the statement in the entry for the ninth that “we slept here inside [dentro en] the pueblo,” something the group had not recorded doing before.<sup>49</sup> This expedient may have been advisable to get them out of the weather. Then, when the weather had sufficiently moderated—although snow would still have been covering the ground—they moved to a pueblo at a somewhat lower elevation. The Castaño de Sosa party is recorded as having spent more than a single day at several different pueblos, so this was not at all unheard of. 10 January was likely another instance of an extended stay.

## Conclusion

The paragraphs of the *Memoria* dated 17, 18, and 19 January 1591, when restored to their literal chronological sequence, provide the earliest known written confirmation of ditch-irrigation agriculture being practiced among the eastern Keres pueblos, including Santo Domingo. An account emerges from the *Memoria*, when the actual chronological order is restored, of six Keres pueblos in the vicinity of the junctions of the Santa Fe River and Galisteo Creek with the Rio Grande, all of which practiced ditch-irrigated agriculture, by which they raised abundant crops of corn, beans, squash, melons, and other vegetables. This helps to explain why nine years before the Castaño de Sosa Expedition, Hernán Gallegos, a member of the Rodríguez-Sánchez Chamuscado Expedition, recorded “el valle vicioso” as the Spaniards’ name for the mouth of the valley of Galisteo Creek.<sup>50</sup> *Valle vicioso* means “the prolific valley,” in reference to the abundant crops being produced there because of the Santo Domingo peoples’ skillful and experienced use of ditch irrigation.

A broadening of focus beyond Santo Domingo Pueblo will undoubtedly reveal further implications of the status of the *Memoria* as a compilation. Those implications are too numerous and complex to draw out in a single essay of this size. Certainly, though, historians may want to reexamine the *Memoria* and the conclusions that have been derived from it in the past.

## Appendix to Anomalies in the Castaño de Sosa *Memoria*

Additional analyses add weight to the position that the content of the *Memoria* is the work of multiple authors, which has been collated into a summary.



## Multiple Distinct Voices Are Represented in the *Memoria*: The Evidence of Verbs

One way of getting at how many distinct sources the Consejo staff drew from in assembling the *Memoria* is to look at the different verb forms that are used in the document. Consistent use of the first person (I or we) could indicate that Castaño de Sosa himself or his secretary was the sole author of the *Memoria*. Consistent use of the third person (he or they) would probably rule out Castaño de Sosa as the sole author and would point to others—perhaps including his secretary—as the original sources of the information recorded in the *Memoria*. The combined use of the first and third person would strongly suggest that two or more authors contributed to the content of the document.

My analysis of the *Memoria* shows that the following verb tenses are used in the document in referring to the members of the colonizing party:

First Person Singular (I), Present Indicative: at least once; also used as an indirect object at least once (in both cases in a description of fighting at Pecos)

First Person Plural (We), Present Indicative: appears at least once

First Person Plural (We), Imperfect and Preterit Indicative: many times; these are the verb forms used most frequently in the *Memoria*

Third Person Singular (He), Present Indicative: appears several times

Third Person Singular (He), Imperfect and Preterit Indicative: these verb forms are used often in the *Memoria*

Third Person Plural (They), Present Indicative: appears at least once

Third Person Plural (They), Imperfect and Preterit Indicative: these verb forms are used with frequency in the *Memoria*

Third Person Plural (They), Past Perfect Indicative: this verb form is used occasionally in the *Memoria*

Verbs in the first person plural (we), third person singular (he, she, or it), and third person plural (they) appear with frequency in the *Memoria*, in reference to the colonizing party as a whole. This suggests that information from at least two original source documents was compiled by the staff of the Consejo to produce the *Memoria*. This is very significant for understanding the *Memoria*. It means that information originating from different sources was collated during assembly, which raises the likelihood of accidental reordering of some entries by the Consejo staff. I make an argument in the body of this essay that this indeed did occur.

To show how unusual it is for first person plural verb forms (we) and third person plural verb forms (they) to be used in a single report when referring to the same expeditionary group, I compared Diego Pérez de Luxán's account of

the Espejo Expedition into Nuevo México in the early 1580s.<sup>51</sup> Pérez de Luxán regularly uses the first person plural when referring to the Espejo Expedition as a whole. Most entries include the phrases “we left [salimos]” and “we went [fuimos].” On occasion, the third person singular is used in relation to “the party [el real]” as the subject, and in at least one section, the body of the manuscript refers to the expeditionaries in the third person plural as “they [implied]” by using a third person plural verb without an explicit subject.<sup>52</sup> The use of the third person plural, though, in that case, seems to be a copyist’s error, as it appears only in one short section of the document. The copyist of the Pérez de Luxán document routinely added headings and annotations to the text of the original document he was copying. Those headings and annotations are always written in the third person plural. I suggest that in this case the copyist got briefly mixed up and continued using the third person plural over the stretch of one folio or so as he transitioned back into the body of the text.

There is no similar situation in the Castaño de Sosa *Memoria*, since it contains no corresponding headings or annotations. Nothing similar, that is, to straightforwardly account for an accidental shift here and there from first person plural to third person plural. Without any obvious reason for a copyist’s error in the *Memoria*, the most parsimonious explanation of the presence of both first person plural verb forms (we) and third person plural verb forms (they) is that it reflects different usages by distinct authors of separate documents in the case file. Those different usages were then retained by the Consejo staff in compiling the *Memoria*.

Among the previous translators of the *Memoria*, only Hull seems to have been struck by its unusual mixture of verb subjects and tenses. She commented in passing on “the indiscriminate interchange of the first and third personal pronouns, and the frequent confusion of moods and tenses” present in the *Memoria*. She did not, however, explore the reasons for those apparent peculiarities, commenting only that they “necessitated the exercise of considerable latitude in interpretation” on the part of the translator.<sup>53</sup> Instead, as I have shown above, the combination of tenses and verb subjects in use throughout the *Memoria* seems eccentric only if one assumes it had a single author. The peculiarity vanishes once one realizes that the *Memoria* is composed of information collated from multiple original sources that were written from various temporal and personal perspectives.

#### Multiple Distinct Voices Represented in the *Memoria*: Evidence from Dating and Lack of Dating of Entries—Three Entries with the Same Date

The two additional dating anomalies in the *Memoria*, mentioned earlier, also have a bearing on the issues discussed in this essay. Therefore, it is fitting to examine

them briefly. On folios 237v–38v, there are three distinct consecutive entries, each of which is dated 8 March 1591.<sup>54</sup> The first two of these entries report the expedition departing from a previous location and traveling to Santo Domingo; the third entry speaks of “the whole party being lodged at Santo Domingo [estando en este pueblo alojados todo el Real].”<sup>55</sup> Otherwise, though, the texts included in the three entries are different—related, but different. Entry 1 reports, in a lengthy and confusing passage, a mutiny attempted by a man named Alonso Xaimez, whereas Entry 2 is only one sentence long and refers cryptically to Xaimez having “disappeared [se habia ausentado].”<sup>56</sup> In contrast, Entry 3 recounts members of the expedition petitioning Castaño de Sosa to look the other way concerning what Xaimez had done; they expressed fear that Castaño de Sosa would punish Xaimez “stringently [con riguridad].”<sup>57</sup> In response, the lieutenant governor pardoned Xaimez for the particular infraction in question.

Hammond and Rey and Schroeder and Matson in their translations renumbered these three entries as 8 March, 9 March, and 10 March.<sup>58</sup> The entries make more sense as accounts of a single day by three different persons, and that certainly is the literal sense of the dating. Hammond and Rey and Schroeder and Matson, evidently conceiving of the *Memoria* as the product of a single author, must never have considered the likelihood that the entries were numbered correctly and that the repetition of the date resulted from the process of composition by collation of information from different sources. Recognition of that method of composition makes sense of this dating anomaly in the *Memoria*, without resorting to the editorial extreme of rewriting the historic text.<sup>59</sup>

#### A String of Entries without Dates

The entries of the *Memoria* on folios 238v–40v, unlike nearly all other entries throughout the document, contain no dates at all. Schroeder and Matson, in commentary on their translation, interpolated dates running from 12 March to 16 March.<sup>60</sup> Hull and Hammond and Rey, evidently not as quick to assume that the document exhaustively accounts for all the days that the expedition was among the Rio Grande pueblos, wisely made no such suggestion.<sup>61</sup> The available documentary evidence—including the *Memoria*, a fragmentary letter from Juan de Morlete dated 25 July 1591, and a letter written by Castaño de Sosa two days after that—provides no solid basis for reconstructing the calendar of events of the Castaño de Sosa expedition after 11 March 1591.<sup>62</sup>

Instead of offering a guess about the dates of the final series of entries in the *Memoria*, it is more constructive, I think, to consider the implications of the significant change of style on folios 238v–40v represented by the complete lack of recorded dates on those folios. The omission of dates most likely indicates a

change of authorship in this part of the document, which is corroborated by an increased use of third person singular verb forms—of which Castaño de Sosa is the subject—and a concomitant steady focus on Castaño de Sosa as personally the instigator and agent of most of the actions recorded on these final folios of the *Memoria*. Whoever originally recorded the information included in this section was very close to the lieutenant governor and persistently portrayed him as a prudent, dutiful, and conciliatory man. It is as though the author already knew what was coming—Castaño de Sosa's arrest and trial—and offered a version of events that would reflect well on the defendant. Indeed, there is no way of knowing when the text included in these folios was written. It could easily have been some time after the events, when memory of dates was no longer precise.

Taken together with the reading offered in this essay about the entry for 18 January 1591 (folio 233v), the discussion of the dates and lack of dates on folios 237v–38v and 238v–40v just completed underscores the high probability that the *Memoria* is a mosaic of information collated from an unknown number of authors rather than the product of Castaño de Sosa himself or any other single individual. As such a hybrid document, it must not be expected to be internally consistent or rigidly chronological. Nor was the perspective from which the text was written unvarying. Instead, the *Memoria* contains gaps, is multivocal, is sometimes repetitive, and in at least one instance, presents information out of chronological order.

#### Tewa Pueblos Visited by the Castaño de Sosa Expedition

One result of restoring the entry for 18 January to its literal chronological position is that the expedition is then reported as having visited fewer Tewa pueblos than Schroeder and Matson and Hammond and Rey thought. The shortened route, as I see it, may have been this:

- 7 January: to Tesuque Pueblo (this agrees with Schroeder and Matson and Hammond and Rey)
- 8 January: to Cuyamungué Pueblo (this agrees with Schroeder and Matson and Hammond and Rey)
- 9 January: to Jacona Pueblo (Schroeder and Matson have the group visiting Nambé and Pojoaque before arriving at Jacona on the tenth; Hammond and Rey do not propose a detailed itinerary)
- 10 January: snowbound in Jacona (this is the day Schroeder and Matson have Castaño de Sosa visit Nambé and Pojoaque before arriving at Jacona; Hammond and Rey do not propose a detailed itinerary)

11 January: to San Ildefonso Pueblo (my reconstruction rejoins Schroeder and Matson's and Hammond and Rey's route reconstructions at this point)<sup>63</sup>

If the records of the acts of possession that the expeditionaries conducted at each pueblo had been preserved—unfortunately they are not known to exist any longer—they would provide a cross-check of which pueblos were visited and in what order, and would likely delineate the route taken by the Castaño de Sosa party with more certainty than is possible using only the *Memoria*. In the absence of such confirmation, though, the available textual evidence weighs heavily on the side of restoring the entry for 18 January to its literal chronological order.

## Notes

1. I am extremely grateful to the Santo Domingo Pueblo Council and Gov. Daniel Coriz for agreeing to my request to publish this essay, which derives from documentary research I did on behalf of the tribe. The governor and council reviewed the text to make sure that it did not include culturally or religiously sensitive information. In no other way did they alter the text that I wrote.

2. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey [hereafter H and R], eds. and trans., *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 48; Albert H. Schroeder and Dan S. Matson [hereafter S and M], eds. and trans., *A Colony on the Move: Gaspar Castaño de Sosa's Journal, 1590–1591* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School of American Research, 1965); and Dorothy Hull, "Castaño de Sosa's Expedition to New Mexico in 1590" (master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1916). Hull's thesis was influential because she wrote it under the direction of Herbert Bolton, who just five years later oversaw the master's thesis of Hammond. Hull and Hammond were among a cadre of Bolton students who pursued his interest in Spanish colonial history of the American Southwest. The work of each was known to the others and specific topics were chosen so as not to repeat work previously done by any other of Bolton's students.

3. *Memoria de Castaño de Sosa*, Obadiah Rich Collection, 1777–1850, Rich 3, New York Public Library [hereafter *Memoria*, folio].

4. Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de America y Oceania, Sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy Especialmente del de Indias* (Madrid: Real Academia de Historia, 1865, 1871), 4:283–354, 15:191–261 [hereafter *CDII*].

5. *Memoria*, fol. 233v.

6. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 326–27.

7. *Memoria*, fol. 232v.

8. It has become traditional for historians, anthropologists, and others to represent the territories of pre-state peoples on maps by outlining usually irregular contiguous areas, the aggregate of which accounts neatly and exclusively for all of a given landmass. This tradition can be traced back at least as far as Claudius Ptolemy in the second century. In reality, though, we usually do not have information that warrants the seeming precision of such perimeters. It is also apparent that actual boundaries of pre-state territories were much more fluid than overconfident lines on maps suggest. And further, pre-state societies occupied, used, and claimed different areas for different purposes, one for residence, another for resource procurement, yet another for religious and ceremonial activities, and still others for other purposes. In an effort to avoid implying unjustified precision and permanence, I have chosen not to attempt to outline cultural areas here. Instead, I have used distinct type fonts to label clusters of late-sixteenth-century pueblos that shared cultural and linguistic affiliation, without making any assertions or claims about territorial control.

9. *Memoria*, fols. 235v, 237v.

10. *Memoria*, fol. 240v.

11. H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 48.

12. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, 21st ed, s.v. “relator” [hereafter *DRAE*].

13. H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 245n1.

14. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 73.

15. H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 37.

16. S and M, *A Colony on the Move*, 17. There is an indication in a single sentence on this same page of their introduction that Schroeder and Matson realized that the *Memoria* was not the single-voiced, linear narrative that they otherwise treat it as: “Though the document appears to be a day-by-day recording, there are a few statements that suggest that the journal was written from a series of daily notes.” They apparently made no attempt to follow up this significant observation further.

17. Licenciado Antonio de San Andrés was the relator of the Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias from 1587–1600. Ernst Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias: Su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Poblaciones del Centro de Estudios de Historia de América, 1935), 1:375. The *Memoria* appears to be the work of San Andrés or his staff, as is suggested by the document’s opening paragraph.

18. On its face, the phrase “is going to make” could refer to either the account or the reconnaissance. It would be a very odd construction, however, to refer to the completed reconnaissance in the future tense. Thus, “va a hacer [is going to make]” must apply to the account, the *Memoria*.

19. The third person plural pronoun probably refers to understood subjects: the members of the Consejo.

20. Vecino, in the sixteenth-century Spanish world, usually denoted a head of household (male or female) resident in a officially recognized town, who had paid the requisite fees and pledged to maintain residence for a specified minimum length of time and was therefore entitled to full political participation, including voting and serving in official posts.

21. The absence of any mention of the year seems odd, since departure occurred in 1590 and, as indicated in fol. 240v of the *Memoria*, the date of its composition was

probably in November 1592. But it is understandable in light of the *Memoria* being a compilation and not a chronologically linear record contemporaneous with the events it reports.

22. This passage “como mas largamente se verá por los autos que el dicho Gaspar Castaño de Sosa hizo sobre el caso” strongly indicates that the information in the *Memoria* is condensed from the *autos* (case file) that Castaño de Sosa had previously prepared. That case file would have included several documents now contained in Archivo General de Indias, Informaciones de Oficio y Parte, 1591–1592, Gobierno, México, Legajo 220, Seville, Spain [hereafter AGI]. For example, Number 27 in the file states: “Treslado de las Ynformaçiones Autos Y otras diligencias que se hizieron contra El capitan gaspar castaño de sosa.”

23. *Memoria*, fols. 211r, 240v. Translation by the author.

24. The version of the *Memoria* transcribed in *CDII*, vol. 15, notes that San Andrés’s name (probably signature) in the original manuscript is framed by two rubrics, indicating that this version (no longer known to exist) was the original document prepared by or under the auspices of the relator. That transcription is all but identical to the NYPL document and the transcript in *CDII*, vol. 4.

25. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 146; H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 281; and S and M, *A Colony on the Move*, 116. None of these translators give the slightest indication that they have altered the Spanish text at this point by substituting “tenth” for “eighteenth.” That is apparent only by consulting the NYPL manuscript or the *CDII* transcripts.

26. The pueblo the Expedition left on the seventeenth is identified as San Ildefonso in S and M, *A Colony on the Move*, 140.

27. *Memoria*, fol. 235v. Translation by the author.

28. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 153n50. Hull made a pair of typographical errors in her translation, changing 16 and 17 January to 29 and 27 January, which she then recovered from by returning to 21 January in the subsequent entry.

29. S and M, *A Colony on the Move*, 140–42.

30. *Memoria*, fol. 235v.

31. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 153; H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 286; and S and M, *A Colony on the Move*, 140.

32. *DRAE*, s.v. “visitar,” “atender.” A very similar phrase, “estaban a vista destes pueblos,” occurs in the entry for 11 or 12 March (*Memoria*, fol. 239r). The text there concerns fourteen Tiwa pueblos, which were certainly not all within sight of each other or all visible from two of the pueblos. Thus, “a vista” cannot be taken in its common modern sense of “visible or seeable.” The contortions that Schroeder and Matson went through in order to identify four Keres pueblos along or near the Rio Grande that could have been seen from each other were, thus, unnecessary.

33. The corresponding Laboratory of Anthropology (LA) numbers assigned to these sites are: La Cieneguilla, LA 16; La Ciénega, either LA 44 or LA 1098; La Bajada, LA 7; and Cochití, LA 126. The situation concerning La Ciénega is complicated because two additional pueblo ruins, LA 149 and LA 3, have occasionally been called La Ciénega, but they do not show ceramics dating to the sixteenth century and are, thus, not considered to be candidates for the pueblos visited by Castaño de Sosa that I am calling La Ciénega.

34. *Memoria*, fol. 233v. Translation by the author.

35. Charles H. Lange, Carroll L. Riley, and Elizabeth M. Lange, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier, 1885–1888* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), 169.

36. For more detail, see the section “Restoring the Entry for January 18.”

37. For potential pueblos, compare maps in Elinore M. Barrett, *Conquest and Catastrophe: Changing Rio Grande Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 35–38; and S and M, *A Colony on the Move*, 141.

38. *Memoria*, fol. 235v. Translation by the author.

39. S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 117.

40. As identified by S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 110–17.

41. In fact, the entry of the *Memoria* for 11 January records, “tiene este pueblo [San Ildefonso] un grandisimo valle todo de riego [This pueblo (of San Ildefonso) has a very large valley that is totally irrigated].” *Memoria*, fol. 234r. Then, as now, San Ildefonso was the lowest elevation Tewa pueblo at about 5600 feet. The other Tewa pueblos visited by Castaño de Sosa before arriving at San Ildefonso were Tesuque (about 6400 feet), Cuyamungué (about 6200 feet), Pojoaque (about 5900 feet), and Jacona (about 5800 feet). Consequently, San Ildefonso, standing at an elevation between 200 and 800 feet lower than the others, may have received less snow that melted more quickly than did the other Tewa pueblos, thus permitting members of the Castaño de Sosa party to observe at least the outlines of irrigation ditches there. This data is from National Geographic, *New Mexico Seamless USGS Topographic Maps on CD-ROM* (Evergreen, Colo.: National Geographic Holdings, 2003).

42. S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 103, 110, 117, 123, 142, 140; H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 279, 280, 282–84, 286; and *Memoria*, fol. 232r, 232v, 233v–34r, 235r, 235v.

43. Santo Domingo Pueblo, the lowest in elevation of all six pueblos referred to in the *Memoria*, is located at about 5200 feet. In contrast, San Ildefonso, the lowest elevation Tewa pueblo, is at about 5600 feet. National Geographic, *New Mexico Seamless USGS Topographic Maps*.

44. *Memoria*, fol. 236v–37v. Translation by the author.

45. The only pueblos besides Santo Domingo referred to by name in the *Memoria* are San Cristóbal, San Lucas, and San Marcos, the three pueblos stopped at during the eastbound trip of the whole expedition from the Río Pecos, just before reaching Santo Domingo in early March. All three of them had been taken possession of—and named—on the westbound trip two weeks before. Thus, like Santo Domingo, because they had been named on that earlier visit, they could be and now, in March, were referred to by those names. This similarity of Spanish naming practice of the three Galisteo Basin pueblos and Santo Domingo reinforces my position that Santo Domingo had been named in February, just as the other three had been.

46. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 153n50; and S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 142.

47. *Memoria*, fol. 237v. Translation by the author.

48. *Memoria*, fols. 233r–33v. Translation by the author.

49. S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 115; and *Memoria*, fol. 233v. Translation by the author. For 7 March it is specifically recorded that the party spent the night outside a small pueblo, while on the eighth there is no indication where they slept, although the colonists seem to have left the pueblo before nightfall.



50. Gallegos *Relación of the Rodríguez-Sánchez Chamuscado Expedition*, Descubrimientos, Descripciones y Poblaciones de Nueva España, 1568–1602, Patronato, 22, R.4, N.3, fol. 50r, AGL.
51. Pérez de Luxán *Relación of the Espejo Luxán Expedition*, Patronato, 22, R.4, AGI, www.pares.mcu.es, images 145–234.
52. *Ibid.*, image 162. H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 164, supply “the Spaniards” as the subject of the verb although no subject is actually specified.
53. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 74.
54. In the *Memoria* beginning on fol. 237v: “En ocho del dicho mes”; fol. 238r: “En ocho del dicho mes”; and later on fol. 238r: “Otro día que se contaron ocho del dicho mes.”
55. *Memoria*, fol. 238r. Translation by the author.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 289–91; and S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 157–59.
59. Hull, without comment, left the three entries for 8 March unaltered and in conformity with the manuscripts of the Muñoz copies. I assume that she viewed the three successive entries for that date as just another of the many oddities of the *Memoria*.
60. S and M, *Colony On the Move*, 160–73.
61. Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 165–71; and H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 291–95.
62. See H and R, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico*, 303–11.
63. Hull did not attempt to identify individually the pueblos visited from 7–11 January, writing only that “this and the other four pueblos visited in this region were probably villages of the Tehua [Tewa] group.” Hull, “Castaño de Sosa’s Expedition,” 144n42.