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A Death in Tiguex, 1542

RICHARD FLINT AND SHIRLEY CUSHING FLINT

On a February night in 1542, Juan Jiménez lay near death in a pueblo called *Coafor* on the banks of the Rio Grande (*Rio de Tiguex*) north of modern-day Albuquerque.¹ Jiménez was a member of the 1540–1542 expedition led into northern Nueva España by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. On the advice of one of his captains and a cleric, Vázquez de Coronado established winter camp among the *Tiguex* pueblos in the fall of 1540. That winter, friction between the expedition and the resident Tiwas quickly escalated into open war. As a result, the Tiwas abandoned twelve or thirteen pueblos that they were not able to reoccupy until the expedition retreated from *Tierra Nueva* nearly a year and a half later. Following a disappointing trip in search of a land called *Quivira* during the summer of 1541, the expedition returned to the Rio Grande and again established quarters in two or more Tiguex pueblos, including Coafor. Tristán de Arellano, the *maestre de campo*, commanded the Coafar camp. Vázquez de Coronado later claimed that the winter of 1541–1542 was especially hard on the expedition. Food and clothing were scarce and people and animals were sick and dying.² Among the ill that February of 1542 was Juan Jiménez, who suffered from an unidentified malady.

Historians Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint have researched various aspects of the Coronado expedition since 1980. Both separately and jointly they have authored numerous articles dealing with the expedition and its context. In 1997 they co-edited *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva, The 1540-1542 Route Across the Southwest*. The Flints are currently preparing an annotated dual-language edition of documents deriving from the expedition, which will include the complete suite of manuscripts occasioned by the death of Juan Jiménez in *Tiguex* in 1542.

Fearing late one evening that he would not survive the night, Jiménez sent for the sentinels making their rounds and asked them to witness the naming of the executors (*albaceas*) of his last will and testament. Stating that he was in no condition to dictate a will, Jiménez requested that his long-time friends, Antón Negrín and Jorge Baéz, prepare the will on his behalf, in accordance with what he had told them on many occasions. They were to do as they knew he would wish for the unburdening of his soul and the disposal of his 200 pesos' worth of worldly goods. And if he lived through the night, he would make a proper statement to that effect before Hernando Bermejo, the secretary of the expedition. Jiménez, however, died before morning.

Within a matter of days, on 25 February, Negrín and Baéz, along with four witnesses, appeared before the *maestre de campo* and the secretary to present a report of what transpired at Coafor the night of Jiménez's death. Don Tristán examined the witnesses: Alonso Álvarez, Gerónimo Ramos, Antonio Álvarez, and Antón Pérez Buscavida, who certified that Jiménez had indeed designated Negrín and Baéz to handle his affairs, in preference to all others.

A little over a month after Jiménez's death, with authorization from the *maestre de campo*, Negrín and Baéz made inventory of their deceased friend's stock and the goods in his room at Coafor:

Two horses, one chestnut and one reddish-black, the latter saddled and bitted³

One large pack saddle (*albardón*)

One breastband for a horse (*pecho*)

Some small spurs

Eleven new horseshoes, 5 used ones

Three hundred nails

One hammer, a pair of tongs (*tenazas*), and one hoof parer (*pujavante*)

One native armor tunic (*sayo*)⁴

One jerkin (*jubón*) with leather sleeves

One native armored headgear (*caperusa*)

Some sandals (*alpargates*)

Some old shoes

One old hat

One sword, with leather sword belt

One lance point

One broken machete

Two cow [bison?] hides

Two sacks, one leather, one wool

Six loan/credit documents (*obligaciones*)⁵

All of Jiménez's goods except the horseshoeing tools, hat, one of the hides, pack saddle, spurs, machete, and lance point sold at public auction three days later. A black *pregonero* (crier) named Pedro officiated the sale in Coafor. If the *almoneda* (auction) proceeded like others of the time, Pedro either stationed himself in a public place at Coafor or circulated through the pueblo, calling out the items up for sale and keeping track of the bids that expedition members offered.⁶ Five individuals purchased the goods with the promise to pay within six months, indicating an understandable scarcity of cash money at this late point in the course of the expedition.

All but one of the purchasers made good on their auction debts. The one delinquent was Rodrigo Trujillo, son of one of the *albaceas* (Jorge Baéz), who bought Jiménez's chestnut horse. A document formalizing the sale was prepared on 9 April 1542 while the expedition camped on the Rio Frio, four days' travel from Cibola on the way to *Chichilticale*, during the long return march to Mexico City.⁷ Three years later, in *Puebla de los Angeles*, the horse was confiscated and sold at auction to cover Trujillo's debt. The horse then fetched eleven and a half pesos, only a fraction of its original selling price of forty pesos.

After his return to Nueva España, Antón Negrín, the only surviving executor, dutifully prepared and executed Jiménez's will.⁸ He arranged for payment of Jiménez's debts and collection of his loans, and gave bequests to the hospital and several *cofradías* (confraternities) in Mexico City and Puebla de los Angeles. In addition, he paid for masses for his dead friend's soul and those of Jiménez's parents as well.

The record of these events was eventually copied into a later document and preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, as: AGI, Contratación, 5575, N. 24, bienes de difuntos, Juan Jiménez, Tenancingo, November 19, 1550.⁹ This record comprises a group of short documents prepared in 1541 and 1542 during the Coronado expedition to Tierra Nueva, and more than doubles the number of known surviving documents that are strictly contemporary with the expedition. It is the only known group of documents dealing with day-to-day activities of the expedition's rank-and-file.¹⁰ In contrast, most of the other extant documentary sources concerning the expedition were drafted years later as formal reports and legal testimony focusing on the momentous events of the expedition as a whole. The Jiménez documents thus offer an important perspective on the day-to-day workings of the expedition and they contribute significantly to what was previously known.

Thirty-eight members of the expedition—perhaps slightly over 10 percent of the total European contingent—figured in the events relating to Jiménez's affairs, including eight that did not appear on the muster roll of the expedition prepared in February 1540 or any of the other previously-studied Coronado expedition documents. The documents in-

dicates that the European component of the expedition was larger, maybe significantly so, than previously known. In addition to Antón Negrín and Jorge Baéz, other newly revealed expedition members include Diego Gallego, Pedro de Lasojo, Pedro de Huerve (Huelva), Juan Barragán (from Llerena), Juan Pedro, and Pedro, the black *pregonero* (crier).¹¹

Of the thirty previously known members of the expedition who figured in the events related to the disposal of Juan Jiménez's property, the documents reveal the places of origin of three and the occupations of two. Jiménez was a native of Guadalcanal in the Sierra Morena of Andalucía. Rodrigo Trujillo, son of the *albacea* (Jorge Baéz), was born to an Indian woman named Luisa in Veracruz, making him the first confirmed *mestizo* member of the expedition. A man called Juanes Vizcaíno on the 1540 muster roll has the expanded name of Juanes de Garnica (Guernica) in the Jiménez document, indicating his town of origin. The documents show that Juan Cordero was a *sastre* (tailor), while Hernando Gómez de la Peña was a scribe, the second known to have participated in the expedition. As we shall see, de la Peña was very important given the significant number of financial transactions and accompanying paperwork that were likely executed during the two-and-a-half years the expedition was away from Mexico and Tenochtitlán.

We learn that Jiménez possessed no metal armor at the time of his death, only a native tunic—presumably of quilted cotton in the pre-Columbian style of central Mexico—a piece of native head armor, and a jerkin with hide sleeves. He also had shoes, sandals, and an old hat. In all likelihood his shirt and breeches and whatever else he was wearing when he died were buried with him; at least, they were not inventoried. Jiménez's wardrobe adds support to the idea that most of the European members of the expedition looked very different than the conventional romantic vision of the expedition as a party of ironclad post-feudal knights. Rather, all the members of the expedition relied heavily on gear from indigenous central Mexican traditions.¹² In this respect, Juan Jiménez was typical.¹³

It appears that Jiménez was not exceptional in his possession of horseshoeing hardware, either. Clearly, he had been well supplied. In 1542, after two years in the field, he still possessed 300 nails, eleven new horseshoes, and five used ones. This is of special interest for the archeological work at the Jimmy Owens Site in the Texas South Plains, since over a hundred sixteenth-century nails and several Spanish horseshoe fragments have been found there at a probable Coronado expedition campsite in Blanco Canyon. The data about Juan Jiménez suggest that a concentration of nails, such as the one at the Owens Site, could have come from a single expedition member's stock.

The nails and horseshoes that Jiménez owned were readily purchased by another member of the expedition at the auction of his property. However, the tools for horseshoeing that Jiménez owned—hammer,

tongs, and hoof parer—went unsold at the auction. This indicates that most, if not all, horsemen of the expedition owned minimal kits of horseshoeing tools and individual stocks of shoes and nails. This does not rule out the existence of another reserve supply of horseshoes and nails or the presence of one or more farriers. But at the time of the auction, no one seemed in sore need of another hammer, tongs, and parer. Nor was there apparently any particular shortage of iron two years into the expedition. If there had been, surely a blacksmith or farrier would have snapped up the metal tools for refabrication into other items. But no one wanted the tools, even at bargain prices with deferred payment. The ready-made and exhaustible resources of horseshoeing (shoes and nails), on the other hand, were desirable and sold readily.

The bulk of evidence from the Jiménez document demonstrates the importance and frequency of intra-expeditionary commercial activity and the existence and preservation of concomitant paperwork. Jiménez engaged in a number of business deals while on the expedition and this was probably not unusual. At the time of his death, Jiménez possessed six financial documents completed during the course of the expedition—principally loans to other members. These documents may also represent credit slips for goods Jiménez sold to others on the expedition. Since only the inventory entries are included in the document and not the instruments of credit themselves, it remains uncertain which of these scenarios is correct. Some of the transactions involved moderate sums of money. One obligation was for forty-two pesos, another for thirty, and two others for twenty-five and twenty-four pesos, respectively. The two remaining documents derived from deals with a value of eight pesos each.

Among the business papers copied into the Jiménez document is the record of a purchase he made in the “province” of Tiguex 6 April 1541 shortly before the expedition left the Pueblo world in search of the fabled city of *Quivira* far to the east. From expedition member Juan Barragán, Jiménez bought fifty pesos worth of hose, shirts, and other valuable *preseas* (goods). The transfer of such a quantity of clothing—more than a single individual would likely need—raises the possibility that Jiménez was a *mercader* (merchant).¹⁴ At any rate, he was probably buying the clothing for resale to other members of the expedition even if retailing was not his normal trade.

In addition to what the Jiménez document reveals about the parties directly involved in the disposal of the dead man’s possessions, several facts about the expedition as a whole are evident. In late winter 1542, for example, the expedition was housed in at least two pueblos in Tiguex. During the winter of 1540–1541, the expedition occupied several sites among the Tiguex pueblos, specifically while battles were in progress. It is now known that a similar practice was also followed the next winter. The 2,000 or so members of the expedition may have been dis-

persed among several Tiguex pueblos for better resource acquisition or for defense in an area where a hostile standoff existed between the Tiwa and the expedition, or out of physical necessity because of the large size of the expedition relative to the limited space of the abandoned pueblos.¹⁵ The average Rio Grande pueblo at the time normally accommodated around 300 residents, according to the Spaniards' own figures.¹⁶ The presence of sentinels the night of Juan Jiménez's death confirms that Tiguex was still a land at war and that there had been little if any improvement in relations between the expedition and the Tiwa since the previous year's open warfare. While the expedition searched the Great Plains for Quivira during the summer of 1541, some of the Tiwa returned to their pueblos, but fled and never returned when the expedition came back to spend a second winter along the Rio Grande.¹⁷ At the end of that winter, Juan Jiménez died.

Two months after the appointment of Antón Negrín and Jorge Baéz as executors, the expedition began its long return trip to Mexico City. Three dates in the Jiménez document bracket that march: 18 March 1542 the expedition was still in Tiguex; 9 April 1542 it was on the Río Frio—four days from Cibola, between there and *Chichilticale*; 13 September 1542 at least some of the expedition was in Mexico City and probably had been for a number of days or even weeks. Castañeda writes that the expedition began its return trip in the early days of April 1542.¹⁸ Judging from the expedition's encampment on the Rio Frio 9 April, the departure date from Tiguex must have been 1 April, since Jaramillo provides a travel time from Tiguex to Cibola of four days and confirms the four-day travel time from there to the Rio Frio.¹⁹

The Jiménez document is unique among the Coronado expedition records because it gives us the only glimpse we have, so far, of the day-to-day appearance and activities of the expedition. In the document, the epic events of the first encounter between Europeans and Indian peoples in the Southwest fade into the background. Instead, we are left with a picture of individuals far from their place of origin faithfully maintaining the rites and protocols of sixteenth-century Spanish life and death, even in the face of hardship, deprivation, and profound disappointment. Above all, we see the inescapable obligation for Spaniards of the day to assure that every step in every transaction involving money be duly recorded and authenticated. This was as imperative for Juan Jiménez, Antón Negrín, Juan Barragán, and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, off to seek a new and fabulous land, a *Tierra Nueva*, as it was for their erstwhile neighbors content at home in Guadalcanal, Llerena, and Salamanca.²⁰

Published herewith are a transcription and translation of a selection from AGI, Contratación, 5575, Numero 24, amounting to about one-fourth of the entire document. Included are the preliminaries in the case, the testimony of one of the witnesses in the appointment of executors, the record of the auction of Jiménez's estate, and the will prepared by Antón Negrín on Jiménez's behalf. In both transcription and translation the original foliation is indicated in square brackets "[]" and in the transcription original page breaks are signified by slashes "/" while both scribal and editorial emendations are printed in italics. Editorial changes are limited almost exclusively to expansion of the many abbreviations typical of sixteenth-century Spanish manuscripts. Letters that are superscribed in the documentary text are printed as superscript in the transcriptions. Both scribal and editorial deletions are rendered in subscript characters in the transcript. We have made editorial deletions in cases where modern orthography and sixteenth-century scribal spelling vary sufficiently to render words awkward, ambiguous, or difficult to identify.

Transcription of a Selection from AGI, Contratación, 5575, N. 24, Bienes de difuntos, Juan Jiménez, 1550

[fol. 1r]

[...] {ytem} / En la ÇiUdad de los Angeles de esta nueVa España A tre- / ze dias del mes de agosto Año del naçimiyento de nuestro / salVador Jesu xristo de mill E quiniens E quarenta E çinco / Años Ante El magnifi^{co} señor El liçencia^{do} hernando Caba- / llero Juez de Residencia E justicia mayor en Esta dicha / ÇiUdad por su mages^{ad} E juez de los bienes de los difuntos / en Ella Por Espeçial comision del muy magnifi^{co} E muy Reveren^{do} / señor El liçençiado tello de sandoval visitador general / de esta dicha nueVa España E juez de los dichos bienes / de difuntos de ella y En presençia de mi sabastian vaz- / quez Escrivano de su mages^{ad} E de la dicha Residencia / Audiencia E juzgado del dicho señor Juez Pareçio pre- / sente Anton negrin vezin^o de esta dicha çiuDad E dixo que / en cumplimient^o y conforme a lo que por su merced fue man- / dado y se pregonó en esta dicha çiuDad El lunes proxy- / mo Pasado que se contaron diez dias de este presente / mes Açerca de que vinyesen Ante El a dar quenta de los / dichos bienes de los difuntos todos los tenedores de ellos / y para El dicho Efecto traxo y presento dos Escritu- / ras la una de testamento que pareçe y Esta signada / de melchior gomez Escrivano de su mages^{ad} y la otra / de Andres de heRera Escrivano publico y del cabildo / que fue de esta dicha ÇiuDad segun por Ellas pareçia / {corregi^{do}} / 1

[fol. 1v]

las quales Son las siguientes

{ytem} / En la gran ÇiUdad de tenuxtitan mexi^{co} de la nue- / va España A treze dias del mes de septiembre Año / del naçimient^o de nuestro salVador Jesu xristo de mill E quinient^{os} / E quarenta E dos años Ante el muy noble señor gero- / nymo Ruiz de la mota Alcalde en la dicha çiuDad de / mexi^{co} por su mages^{ad} E en Presençia de my Juan de / Çaragoça EscriVano Publi^{co} del numero de ella pareçio / Presente Anton negrin E presento un Escrito de pe- / dimyento con una Probança E un ynVentaryo E al- / moneda su tenor de lo qual Es esto que se sigue / Juan de Çaragoça EscriVano Publi^{co}

{ytem} / muy noble señor Anton negrin estante en esta / ÇiUdad E vezin^o de la ÇiUdad de los angeles Parezco an- / te vuestra merced E digo que yendo a la tierra nueva con El ca- / Pitan francis^{co} vazquez falleçio en tiguex un Juan xime- / nez que dios nuestro señor Perdone y El qual al tiem- / Po que EstuVo enfermo una noche con temor de no / Poder Escapar siendo como era Amigo de mi y de / Un Jorge baez y por haber neçesidad y no se hallar / En el dicho Pueblo EscriVano Para que se pudiese ha- / zer El dicho su testamento y al tiempo que quiso / Espirar y antes tenya com^unic^{ado} conmigo y con El di- / cho Jorge baez lo que conviniese A su anyma y al / descargo de su conçiençia dixo delante de quatro testig^{os} / que nos daba poder cumplido A mi y al dicho Jorge / baez Para que Pudiesemos hazer su testamento / como a nosotros Pareçiese como consta E pareçe

[fol. 2r]

de esta Probança de que hago presentaÇion porque / El dicho Jorge baez Es albaçea A sⁱmismo Es falle- / Çido y porque En quanto A lo que me obliga conçien- / Çia y hazer lo que soi obligado Porque Podria ser / que En la dilaçion yo me muriese y fuese con Este Car- / Go Pido y suplico a vuestra merced que atento que El dicho difun- / to me dio Poder Para que Pudiese ordenar su tes- / tamento como conmigo lo conSulto que se me de li- / Çençia E facultad Para que lo haga y ordene como soi / obligado y En Ello vuestra merced Ponga su decreto Judiçial / y vuestra merced en el caso haga lo que sea Justiçia y conçiençia y / En lo neçesario su muy noble ofiçio ymploro y / Pido lo que En este caso lo que mas me conviniere Pe- / dir Anton negrin

{ytem} / El señor alcalde dixo que lo oya y en el caso Pro- / Veera lo que fuere Justiçia

{ytem} / En el Pueblo de coafor de la provinçia de tiguex en / Veinte E çinco dias del mes de hebrero de mill E quinient^{os} / E quarenta e dos

años Ante el muy magnifi^{co} señor don / tristan de arellano maestre de campo de Este Exerçito / de que Es capitan general El muy magnifi^{co} señor francis^{co} / Vazquez de coronado governador de la Provinçia de ga- / liça de la nueVa España Por ante my hernando / Vermejo Escrivano de su mages^{ad} e de los testigos de / yuso Escrito Pareçieron Presentes Anton negrin / E Jorge baez Estantes En el dicho exerçito E presen- / taron Ante su merÇed un Escrito su tenor del / qual Es este que se sigue / 2

[fol. 2v]

{ytem} / muy magnifi^{co} señor don tristan de arellano maese / de campo de Este Exerçito Jorge baez e anton negrin / Estantes En el Pareçemos Ante vuestra merced e dezimos que / Juan ximenez Estante en Este Exerçito Es falleçido de es- / ta Presente vida El qual Por falta de no haber Es- / crivano Adonde El dicho Juan ximenez Estaba no hizo / ni otorgo su testamento ni _hordenó su alma E / Porque como amigos y compañeros que nosotros hemos / sido siempre del dicho Juan ximenez una noche an- / tes que muriese Por ante testigos nos dio su po- / der cumplido Para que Por El hiziesemos y otorga- / semos su testamento y _hordenasemos su _s anyma / E conçiençia segun El dicho difunto Para Este Efec- / to muchas vezes lo comunico con nosotros demas de / que nos dexo Por sus albaçeas E mando que sus bie- / nes no entrasen en Poder de ten_oedores sino que no- / sotros los tubiesemos E mirasemos Por Ellos E / los beneficiasemos como mejor nos pareçiese con- / forme A su voluntad E porque El dicho Juan ximenez / dexo En este Exerçito algunos bienes y A Ellos co- / mo tales albaçeas E personas que El dicho difunto / Para Ello nonbro Conviene la administraçion de ellos / Pedimos E Requerimos a vuestra merced nos los mande en- / tregar Para que nosotros con Ellos E con la Admi- / nistraçion de ellos descarguemos El anyma del dicho / difunto de la manera que El lo comunyco con noso- / tros E para Ello El muy noble ofiçio de vuestra merced ym- / Ploramos E pedimos justiçia anton negrin Jorge baez

{ytem} / E asi Presentado El dicho Escrito en la manera que

[fol. 3r]

[...] dicha Es El dicho don tristan de Arellano maestre de campo / dixo que Presenten E den testigos de ynformacion / de lo que dizen E que dada E visto hara lo que sea jus- / tiçia testig^{os} los dichos

{ytem} / {25 Febrero} / E despues de lo susodicho en este dicho dia veinte / E çinco de hebrero E año susodicho Ante El dicho / señor don tristan de arellano maestre de Campo / deeste Exerçito E por ante mi El dicho hernando ber- / mejo Escrivano de su mages^{ad} Pareçio Presente / El dicho anton negrin E presento Por testigos / en la dicha Razon A

alonso alvarez E a geronymo / Ramos e a Antonyo alvarez Estantes En este Exer- / Çito de los quales E de Cada uno de ellos se Reçibio Ju- / ramento *en* forma debida de *derech*º so virtud del / qual Prometieron de dezir verdad E lo *que* dixeron / E dePusieron siendo Preguntados Por El di- / cho Pedimiento Es lo siguiente

{*ytem*} / El dicho Alonso alvarez testigo Presentado *en* / la dicha rrazon hAbiendo Jurado *en* forma de *derech*º / E siendo Preguntado Por El dicho Pedimyento dixo *que* / Andando Este testigo velando una noche de este mes de / hebrero *que* fue un dia Antes *que* Juan ximenez Estante / En este Exerçito muriese El dicho Juan ximenez *en*Vio A / llamar A Este testigo E otras Personas E le dixo / señor sereis testigo como Porque Al presente *en* / Este Real *que* Esta de esta banda del Río Fuera de don- / de Esta El general no *hay* Escrivano de su mages'ad E por- / que yo me siento muy malo E pienso no llegar a la / mañana digo *que* yo doy todo mi Poder cumplido se- / 3

[fol. 3v]

Gun *que* lo yo tengo A jorge baez E anton negrin / Estantes *en* Este Exerçito Para *que* hagan Por my / mi testamento Porque yo no me siento *en* dis- / Pusiçion Para hazerlo E _hordenen my Alma de / la manera *que* algunas vezes yo he comunica- / do con Ellos E miren Por los bienes *que* yo tengo *en* / Este Exerçito *que* sean mis albaçeas lo qual digo *que* / hago Porque no quiero *que* mis bienes entren *en* po- / der de tenedores sino *que* los tengan los dichos an- / ton negrin E Jorge baez E hagan de ellos A su volun- / tad E si dios me dexare llegar a la mañana Por an- / te EscriVano yo dare A los dichos Jorge baez E an- / ton negrin my Poder bastante para lo *que* dicho Es Por- / *que* Esta Es *mi yntençion* y Voluntad y Esto dixo *que* Es lo *que* sabe / {ojo} / Para El Juramento *que* hizo y firmolo de su non- / bre E *que* a_nsimismo sabe E vio *que* El dicho Juàn xi- / menez murio Por la mañana la noche *que* le E_mnVio / a llamar Para dezirle lo *que* dicho Es Alonso alvarez [...]

[fol. 6r]

[...] {*ytem*} / En el Pueblo de coafar de la proVincia de tiguex / de esta tierra nuevamente descubierta *en* diez / E ocho dias del mes de março de mill E quinient^{os} E / quarenta E dos años Ante El muy magnifi^{co} señor / don tristan de arellano maese de campo de este Exer- / Çito Por ante mi hernando bermeJo Escriva- / no de su magestad Anton negrin Albaçea *que* / se dixo ser de juan ximenez difunto hizo almo- / neda de los bienes *que* El dicho difunto dexo *en* Este / Exerçito la qual se hizo *en* la manera siguiente

mynas

{ytem}

Primeramente se Remato Un caballo / castaño *en*
Rodrigo de truxillo hijo de Jor- / ge baez *en*

xl pes^{os}

quarenta Pesos de mynas fia- / do A plazo de seis meses
de la deuda de la / fecha de esta fio lo El dicho Anton
negrin / 6

[fol. 6v]

{ytem}

yten se Remato una Espada con un talabar- /
te de ij pes^{os} cuero *en* Juanes de garnica viz- /
caino *en* dos pesos

{ytem}

yten se remato *en* diego de mata unos /
Çapatos ij pes^{os} y unos Alpagates *en* dos /
Pes^{os}

{ytem}

yten un sayo de armas de la tierra E / Un
jubon v pes^{os} con unas mangas de cuero / E
un Pecho de caballo E dos costales uno quero
E otro de lana y una caperu- / Ça de armas *en*
Juan Perez de vergara / *en* Çinco Pesos

{ytem}

yten onze herraduras nueVas E çin- / co
viejas E j pes^{os} trezientos clavos *en* xristobal
/ Perez de avila *en* un pes^{os}

{ytem}

yten se rremato una quera de vaca vie- / Ja *en*
pes^{os} iiii t^omines Juanes de garnyca vizcaino
en iiii / Peso

{ytem}

yten se Remato un caballo morzillo /
quatralvo xxx pes^{os} ensillado yenfrenado *en* Juan /
Perez de vergara *en* treinta Pesos A lue- / go Pagar

{ytem} / todos los quales dichos bienes Susodeclarados se / Vendieron
E Remataron *en* almoneda Publica Por no / hAber Persona que mas Por
ellos diese a pagar del dia / de la fecha de esta *en* seis meses cumplidos
Primeros

[fol. 7r]

Siguientes Por Voz de pedro color negro Pregonero Publi^{co} / Por ante
El dicho señor maestre de Campo testigos / Juan Perez de vergara E
melchior perez E miguel / sanchez de plazencia y El dicho señor maestre
de Canpo / lo firmo de su nonbre *en* El Registro de esta Carta / que Es
fecha *en* El dicho dia mes E año susodicho / don tristan de arellano E

yo hernando berme- / Jo Escrivano de su mages^{ad} E su notario Publi^{co}
 Presen- / te fui A todo lo *que dicho Es E de Pedimyent^o* del dicho /
 Anton negrin lo Escribi segun *que ante mi Paso / E Por ende fize aqui*
 Este mi signo *que Es a tal / en testimonyo de verdad hernando bermejo*
 [...]

[fol. 10r]

[...] {ytem} / E despues de lo susodicho *en Esta çiUdad de los ange-*
les deesta nueva España en veinte E siete dias del / mes de hebrero Año
del naçimyent^o de nuestro salvador / Jesu xristo de mill E quinient^s E
quarenta E tres años en / Presençia de mi Andres de herrera Escrivano
Publi^{co} / y del conseJo Por su mages^{ad} de esta dicha ÇiUdad e de los /
testigos de yuso Escritos Pareçio El dicho anton ne- / grin vezin^o deesta
*dicha çiUdad E por virtud de todo lo / a_uctuado E de la facultad *que**
*tiene de la Real audien- / Çia *que* En la çiUdad de mexi^{co} Reside Por su*
*mages^{ad} de / susoEncorporada dixo *que* En nonbre del dicho Juan xi-*
*menez difunto *que* dios *haya segun que con el dicho / difunto lo tenia**
Platicado E comunicado hazia / E _hordenaba E hizo e _hordenó El testa-
 mento E pos- / 10

[fol. 10v]

trimera Voluntad del dicho Juan ximenez difunto / como su albaçea E
 testamentario *que Es en la for- / ma E manera siguiente*

{ytem} / Primeramente mando El anyma del dicho difun- / to A dios
 nuestro señor *que la crio E Redimyo Por / su Preçiosa sangre Para *que**
 El sea servido de / *haber merito de su anyma E la lleve a su santo Rei-*
 / no Amen

{ytem} / yten mando *que Por El anyma del dicho Juan xi- / {ojo} menez*
 difunto se _{le} diga un trentenario de my- / sas Rezadas abierto El qual
 diga El padre Cu- / {ojo} ra Alonso maldonado *clerigo en la yglesia*
 mayor de *es- / ta dicha ÇiUdad E se le Pague Por lo dezir de los bie-*
 nes del dicho difunto lo *que Es Costunbre*

{ytem} / yten mando Por las anymas de sus Padres del dicho / difunto
que El dicho alonso maldonado clerigo diga / otras diez misas rrezadas
 E se paguen Por las de- / zir lo *que Es Costumbre*

{ytem} / yten mando al hospital de la ÇiUdad de mexi^{co} Por el / anyma
 del dicho difunto *Porque consiga E gane las / yndulgençias *que* En el se*
 ganan los Çynco ducados / de buen oro de castilla e se pague de los
 bienes del dicho / difunto

{ytem} / yten mando Al hospital de *esta dicha ÇiUdad en li_s* / mosna
 Por El anyma del dicho difunto quatro pes^{os} / del oro que corre que se
 paguen de los bienes del dicho / difunto

[fol. 11r]

{ytem} / yten mando a cada una de las cofradias de *esta dicha / ÇiUdad*
que son del santisimo sacramento E ve- / ra cruz E de los angeles A
 cada una de los bienes / del dicho difunto Un Peso del dicho oro que
 corre

{ytem} / yten mando a las mandas Forçosas E a cada una / de ellas Por
 El anyma del dicho difunto Un tomyñ del / oro que corre E se paguen
 de los bienes del dicho difunto

{ytem} / yten mando que Por El anyma del dicho difunto se / tome Una
 bula de la santa cruzada que al presen- / te hay E se pague lo que Es de
 sus bienes

{ytem} / yten mando de los bienes del dicho difunto se den / {ojo} E
 paguen A Juan _{de} barragan Çinquenta pes^{os} de oro de my- / nas que El
 dicho difunto le debia Por una obligaçion

{ytem} / yten mando que de los bienes del dicho difunto se pa- / guen a
 Anton garçia tres pes^{os} de oro de mynas / que El dicho difunto le debia
 E debe

{ytem} / yten mando que de los bienes del dicho difunto se den / E
 paguen a Juan cordero sastre dos pes^{os} de oro de my- / nas que El dicho
 difunto se los debia E debe

{ytem} / Yten mando que todas las deudas que El dicho difunt^o / debe
 Por Escrituras liquidas se paguen E porque / de presente no se sabe que
 deba ninguna deuda E por / descargo del anyma del dicho difunto dixo
 que man- / daba E mando que si alguna Persona Jurare que / El dicho
 difunto le debe y Es a cargo hasta *en cantia / de un Peso del oro que*
corre se le Pague de los bienes / del dicho difunto con solo su Juramento
 / 11

[fol. 11v]

yten El dicho Anton negrin *en El dicho nonbre A- / claro E mando que*
se cobren todas las deudas / que al dicho Juan ximenez difunto le deben
liquydamen- / te E porque las deudas que a_nsi le deben son que se hi- /
Zieron en la tierra nueva E segun que El lo Platico / con El dicho Juan
ximenez difunto dixo que de todas / las deudas que le deben al dicho
 difunto A_nsi Por / Escrituras conoçimyent^{os} o de almoneda del dicho

difunt^o / se Cobren las dos terçias Partes E la una ter- / Çia Parte no Paguen E se los suelta E haze gra- / Çia de ella *en* nonbre del dicho difunto Porque como / dicho Es A_n si dixo que lo comunyco con El E que las / dos partes de todas las deudas se cobren Como / dicho Es Eçepto que quarenta Pes^os de oro de mynas / que debe al dicho difunto Rodrigo de truxillo Por / Escritura de un Caballo que todos los dichos qua- / renta Pes^os de mynas se cobren del dicho Rodrigo / de truxillo Porque los debe bien debidos Al dicho di- / Funt^o lo qual de susoContenido dixo que hazia / E hizo Por descargo del anyma del dicho difunt^o / E segun con el lo Platico E comunico como di- / cho Es

{ytem} / E Para Cumplir E pagar E cobrar y Execu- / tar El dicho testa-
mento E lo *en* El contenydo El / dicho anton negrin dixo que se nonbraba E nom- / bro A si ProPio Por albaçea y testamentario del / dicho difunto Para lo Contenido En este dicho / testamento E para quien su Poder hobiere

[fol. 12r]

Pueda Cobrar los bienes E deudas E hazienda del / dicho difunto y a_nsimysmo dixo que El dicho an- / ton negrin se nonbraba E nonbro Por tene- / dor E admynistrador de los dineros deudas E / hazienda del dicho difunto Para todo lo Reçibir / E cobrar *en* si E para dar quenta de ello segun / E a quien E con derecho deba o al heredero o he- / rederos del dicho Juan ximenez difunto los quales / no señala ni Estableçe Porque no los sabe ni co- / noçe E porque no tiene facultad de los señalar / E demas de lo susodicho dixo E otorgo que si dios / le llevare Al dicho anton negrin de esta Presente / Vida que nonbraban E nonbro Por albaçeas E tes- / tamentarios del dicho difunto E por tenedores / de los bienes que suyos quedaron E perteneçieron / E perteneçen A alonso grande E a gregorio / ginoves vezin^os de esta dicha ÇiUdad que Estan Ausen- / tes o a qualquier de ellos ynsolidum a los / quales dio Poder Cumplido segun que lo tiene / E de derecho *en* El dicho caso mejor E mas Cum- / plidamente lo Puede E debe dar E otorgar *en* / Forma

{ytem} / E Por Esta carta El dicho anton negrin dixo / que ReVocaba E Revoco todos E qualesquier / testamento o testamentos codeçilio, o code- / 12

[fol. 12v]

Çilios que antes de *este en* qualquier manera El / dicho Juan ximenez difunto haya hecho E otor- / gado que no Vala salvo Este que agora *en* su / nonbre El dicho anton negrin haze E otor- / Ga segun que como dicho tiene lo comunico con / El dicho difunto E que Valga Por tal testamen- / to E postrimera Voluntad del dicho Juan xime- / ne_x difunto *en* cuyo nonbre dixo que lo hazia / E hizo E otorgo segun de suso se

contiene *que* / Es Fecho E otorgado *en* El dicho dia mes e año / susodicho y El dicho anton negrin lo firmo de / su nonbre *en* El Registro testigos *que* Fueron / Presentes a todo lo *que* dicho Es Francis^{co} de ⁿorduña / E pedro de villanueva E Juan de san Viçente E / Juan Valades clerigo E Juan sanchez vezinos de esta / dicha ÇiUdad los quales los *que* supieron Escribir / lo firmaron de sus nonbres *en* El Registro Jun- / tamente con El dicho otorgante Anton negrin / Francis^{co} de ⁿorduña Pedro de villanueva Juan / de san Viçente Juan de valades clerigo Por Juan / sanchez Juan de san viçente [...]

English Translation of a Selection from AGI, Contratación, 5575, N. 24, bienes de difuntos, Juan Jiménez, 1550

[1r] [...] Item. In the city of [*Puebla*] *de los Angeles* in this New Spain 13 August, in the year of the birth of our savior Jesus Christ 1545, Antón Negrín, a citizen of this city, appeared before the magnificent lord *licenciado* Hernando Caballero, *residencia* judge and his majesty's chief justice in this city and judge of the estates of the deceased here, by special commission of the very magnificent and reverend lord *licenciado* Tello de Sandoval, *visitador general* of this New Spain and its judge of the estates of the deceased, and in my presence, Sebastián Vázquez, his majesty's scribe and scribe of the afore-mentioned *residencia*, tribunal, and court of the lord judge. [Negrín] stated that, in fulfillment of and compliance with what his grace ordered and proclaimed in this city last Monday, the tenth day of the present month, namely that all custodians of estates of the deceased were to come before him and give an accounting of those estates, he brings and presents two documents and one will. One of them appears to be and is signed by his majesty's scribe Melchior Gómez and the other by Andrés de Herrera, public scribe, and, according to the documents, apparently former scribe of the council of this city. [1v] [The documents] are the following:

Item. In the great city of Ten[o]xtitlán-México, in New Spain 13 September, in the year of the birth of our savior Jesus Christ, 1542, Antón Negrín appeared before the very noble lord Gerónimo Ruiz, his majesty's *alcalde* in the city of México, and in my presence, Juan de Zaragoza, registered public scribe of [this city]. [Negrín] presented a petition along with an affidavit of testimony, an inventory, and a record of auction, the sum and substance of which is as follows.

Juan de Zaragoza, public scribe

Item. Very noble lord,
I, Antón Negrín, a resident in this city and a citizen of the city of [*Puebla*] *de los Angeles*, appear before your grace and declare that while

going to Tierra Nueva with Captain Francisco Vázquez [de Coronado], Juan Jiménez, may God our lord forgive him, died in Tiguex. One night during a time when he was sick, fearing that he could not escape [death] and needing to prepare his will (although there was no scribe to do so in that pueblo), he declared in front of four witnesses that he conferred his full power of attorney on me and Jorge Baéz, so that we could prepare his will as seemed [right] to us. [This he did because] he was a friend of mine and of Jorge Baéz and [since] at the time he was prepared to die and earlier he had communicated to me and Jorge Baéz what was proper for his soul and for the unburdening of his conscience. This is a matter of record and can be seen [2r] in the affidavit I am presenting. Because Jorge Baéz, who is also executor, has died and because I am obliged by my conscience to do what I am obligated to do, inasmuch as it is possible that I could die during the delay and leave with this responsibility, I ask and beg your grace to issue your judicial decree and to do in this case what is just and in [good] conscience, heedful that the dead man gave me [his] power of attorney in order that I could arrange his will as he discussed it with me and that he gave me permission and authority to arrange and execute it as I am obligated to do. In what is necessary, I implore your noble office and request what in this case is most appropriate for me to ask.

Antón Negrín

Item. The lord alcalde stated that he heard the petition and will provide what would be just in the case.

Item. In the pueblo of Coafor in the province of Tiguex on 25 February 1542, Antón Negrín and Jorge Baéz, residing with the army, appeared before the very magnificent lord don Tristán de Arellano, *maestre de campo* of this armed force (of which the captain general is the very magnificent lord Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, governor of the province of Nueva Galicia in Nueva España), and before me, Hernando Bermejo, his majesty's scribe, and the witnesses listed below. Negrín and Baéz presented before his grace a document, the substance of which is this which follows:

[2v] Item. Very magnificent lord don Tristán de Arellano, *maestre de campo* of this army,

We, Jorge Baéz and Antón Negrín, present in [the army], appear before your grace and state that Juan Jiménez, present in this army, has passed from this present life. Because there was no scribe where he was, Juan Jiménez did not prepare and execute his will; nor did he put his soul in order.

One night before he died, this Juan Jiménez, in the presence of witnesses, conferred his full power of attorney on us as friends and com-

panions of his, which we have always been. This was so that we might prepare and execute his will for him and put his soul and conscience in order in accordance with what the deceased discussed with us for this purpose on many occasions. Moreover, he left us as his executors and directed that his goods not fall into the power of [other] custodians and instead that we have them and look after them and administer them as seems best to us in conformance with his wishes.

Because the aforesaid Juan Jiménez left some goods in this army, as such administrators and persons whom the deceased named as suitable to administer them, we ask and request your grace to order them delivered to us. This is so that with them and with their administration we might unburden the soul of the deceased in the way that he discussed with us. For this we beseech your grace's very noble office and ask for justice.

Antón Negrín

Jorge Baéz

Item. When the document was presented in the stated manner [3r] the aforesaid, *maestre de campo*, don Tristán de Arellano stated that they were to present and produce witnesses for a report of what they say. When that is delivered and reviewed he will do what is fair.

witnesses: the aforesaid {names omitted}

Item. {February 25}

After what has been stated, on 25 February in the aforesaid year, Antón Negrín appeared before the lord don Tristán de Arellano, *maestre de campo* of this army, and before me, Hernando Bermejo, his majesty's scribe, and presented as witnesses for this purpose Alonso Álvarez, Gerónimo Ramos, and Antonio Álvarez, present in this army. From them and each one of them the oath was received in the form required by law, by virtue of which they promised to tell the truth. When they were questioned in accordance with the aforementioned petition they stated and declared the following:

Item. Alonso Alvarez, a witness presented for this purpose, having sworn in the legal manner and being questioned in accordance with the petition, stated that one night in this month of February, which was the day before Juan Jiménez died, while he was on watch, Juan Jiménez, who was present in the army, sent [someone] to call this witness and other individuals. He said to the witness, "Sir, you will act as witness because at present there is no royal scribe in the camp on this side of the river, since it is away from where the general is. Because I feel very ill and think that I will not survive till morning, I declare that I give my full and complete power of attorney, [3v] in the same way I possess it, to Jorge Baéz and Antón Negrín, are present in this army. This is so that they may prepare my will for me and put my soul in order in the

way I have discussed with them several times, since I do not feel myself healthy enough to do it. And so that they may look after the goods that I have in this army. [I declare that] they are to be my executors. I say this because I do not want my goods to come under control of caretakers other than them. They are to do with them as they wish. If God allows me to survive till morning, before a scribe I will grant to Jorge Baéz and Antón Negrín my full power of attorney for the stated purpose, because that is my aim and desire."

[Alvarez] stated this, which is what he knows in accordance with the oath he swore. And he signed his name. Also, he knows and saw that Juan Jiménez died in the morning [after] the night he sent to have the witness called in order to tell him what is stated.

Alonso Alvarez

[...]

[6r] [...] Item. In the pueblo of Coafor in the province of Tiguex of this newly discovered land 18 March 1542, before the very magnificent lord don Tristán de Arellano, *maestre de campo* of this army, and before me, Hernando Bermejo, his majesty's scribe, Antón Negrín, executor of the deceased Juan Jiménez, as it was said he was, conducted an auction of the goods the deceased left in this army. It was done in the following way:

Item. 40 pesos de minas

First, one chestnut horse was sold at auction to Rodrigo de Trujillo, son of Jorge Baéz, for forty pesos de minas on credit for a period of six months from today's date. Antón Negrín stood surety for the debt.

[6v]

Item. 2 pesos

Item. One sword with a leather belt was sold at auction to the Biscayan Juanes de Guernica for two pesos.

Item. 2 pesos

Item. Some shoes and sandals were sold at auction to Diego de Mata for two pesos.

Item. 5 pesos

Item. One native [quilted cotton] tunic, one jer-kin with leather sleeves, one breast band for a horse, two sacks (one leather and one wool), and one piece

of [pointed?] head armor²¹
 were sold at auction to Juan
 Pérez de Vergara for five pesos.

Item. 1 peso

Item. Eleven new horseshoes and five worn ones, as well as three hundred nails [were sold at auction] to Cristóbal Pérez de Avila for one peso.

Item. 4 tomines

Item. One old cowhide²² was sold at auction to the Biscayan Juanes de Guernica for four [tomines]

Item. 30 pesos

Item. One white-quartered, reddish-black horse, with saddle and bridle, was sold at auc-tion to Juan Pérez de Vergara for thirty pesos, to be paid at once.

Item. All of the aforementioned goods were sold and delivered during public auction since there was no one who offered to pay more within six full months from the present date. [7r] [It was conducted] before the lord *maestre de campo* in the voice of Pedro the black public crier. Witnesses: Juan Pérez de Vergara, Melchior Pérez, and Miguel Sánchez de Plasencia. The lord *maestre de campo* signed his name in the registry [entry] for this instrument that is dated the aforesaid day, month, and year.

Don Tristán de Arellano

I, Hernando Bermejo, his majesty's scribe and public notary was present for all that has been stated. At the request of Antón Negrín I recorded it exactly as it transpired before me. Therefore, in testimony of its truth, I affix here my sign, which is thus.
 Hernando Bermejo [...]

[10r] [...] Item. Following what has been stated, in the city of [Puebla] de los Angeles in New Spain on 27 February, in the year of our savior Jesus Christ, 1543, Antón Negrín, a citizen of this city, appeared before me, Andrés de Herrera, a public scribe and his majesty's scribe for the council of this city, and in the presence of the witnesses recorded below. By virtue of all that has been done and the authorization attached hereto that he has from the royal audiencia which has its seat for his majesty in Mexico City, he said that, in the name of Juan

Jiménez, deceased (may he be with God) and as his executor and agent, he was preparing and putting in order and did prepare and put in order the last will and testament of that same Juan Jiménez, deceased. This he did exactly as he had discussed and talked over with the deceased, [10v] which is in the following manner and form:

Item. First, I commend the soul of the deceased to God, our lord, who nourished and redeemed it with his precious blood, in order that he may be pleased to find his soul worthy and carry it to his holy kingdom. Amen.

Item. I direct that open masses of prayer for the soul of the deceased, Juan Jiménez, be said for thirty days. They are to be said by the priest Father Alonso Maldonado, priest of the principal church of this city. For saying [the masses], he is to be paid the customary amount from the deceased's estate.

Item. I direct that the same priest, Alonso Maldonado, say another ten masses of prayer for the souls of the parents of the deceased. They are to be paid for in the customary amount.

Item. I direct that five ducats of good Castilian gold be paid from the estate of the deceased to the hospital of Mexico city. [This is done] for the soul of the deceased, so that it may earn and obtain the indulgences that by this means may be earned.

Item. I direct that four pesos of gold that is in circulation be paid from the estate of the deceased to the hospital of this city, as alms for the soul of the deceased.

[11r] Item. I direct that one peso of gold that is in circulation be paid from the estate of the deceased to each of the confraternities of this city. These are the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament, the Confraternity of the True Cross, and the Confraternity of the Angels.

Item. I direct that the obligatory bequests be paid from the estate of the deceased at the rate of one tomín of gold that is in circulation for each one.

Item. I direct that, for the soul of the deceased, a bull [of dispensation] from the Tribunal of the Holy Crusade be purchased from the estate of the deceased.

Item. I direct that 50 pesos of gold de minas be given and paid from the estate of the deceased to Juan Barragán, to whom the deceased owed it according to a loan document.

Item. I direct that three pesos of gold de minas be paid from the estate of the deceased to Antón García, to whom the deceased owed and does owe it.

Item. I direct that two pesos of gold de minas be given and paid from the estate of the deceased to the tailor Juan Cordero, to whom the deceased owed and does owe it.

Item. I direct that all debts owed by the deceased according to out-

standing loan documents be paid. Because at present it is not known that he had any [other] debts, in order to unburden the soul of the deceased I state that, if any person swears that the deceased owes him and the amount due is up to one peso of gold that is in circulation, I was directing and did direct that it be paid to him from the estate of the deceased on the basis of his oath alone.

[11v] Item. The aforesaid Antón Negrín stated clearly and directed, in the name [of the deceased], that all outstanding debts owed to the deceased Juan Jiménez were to be collected. Since all the debts thus owed to him were entered into in Tierra Nueva and are exactly what [Negrín] talked with the deceased Juan Jiménez about, he said that all debts owed to the deceased, whether according to loan documents or bills, or through auction of [the goods of] the deceased, are to be collected at two-thirds [of their value] and the [remaining] one-third [the debtors] are not to pay; it is waived. He is pleased [to do this] in the name of the deceased because, as has been stated, he said that he had discussed it with [the deceased]. Two thirds of all the debts is to be collected except 40 pesos of gold de minas that Rodrigo de Trujillo owes to the deceased for a horse, according to a document. All of the 40 pesos of gold de minas is to be collected from Rodrigo de Trujillo because he owes them rightly [and they are] owed to the deceased.

All that is mentioned above [Negrín] stated that he was doing and did do in order to unburden the soul of the deceased and [it was done] just as he discussed and talked it over, as was stated.

Item. In order to fulfill, pay, collect, and execute the will and what is referred to in it, Antón Negrín stated that he himself was named as executor and agent. [This is] so that what is referred to in the will [might be done] and whomsoever might have his power of attorney [12r] could collect the goods, debts, and property of the deceased. Also Antón Negrín stated that he was named caretaker and administrator of the money, debts, and property of the deceased in order to receive and collect it all and to give an accounting of it in the manner and to whom-ever he rightly should, to either the heir or heirs of the deceased Juan Jiménez. Such individuals he does not indicate or specify because he does not know of them and is not acquainted with them. Nor does he have authority to specify them.

Beyond what has been stated, Antón Negrín said and conceded that, in case God were to take him from this present life, he was naming and did name Alonso Grande and Gregorio Ginovés (citizens of this city who are not present), or either of them separately, as executors and agents of the deceased and as caretakers of the goods of his that remain and belong or did belong to him. And he gave to them his full power of attorney, exactly as he [himself] has it according to law in this case, as well and completely as he could and ought to give it in the form [required by law].

Item. By means of this instrument the aforesaid Antón Negrín stated that he was revoking and did revoke all and any previous will or wills, codicil or codicils, in whatever form the deceased Juan Jiménez may have made and executed [them]. And he stated that [none of them] is valid except this one which, in the name of [Juan Jiménez], he makes and executes exactly as he discussed with the deceased, as has been stated, [so that] it may be valid as the last will and testament of the deceased Juan Jiménez. In his name he stated that he was making and did make and execute [it] in accordance with what is referred to above. It is made and executed on the aforesaid day, month, and year. Antón Negrín signed his name in the register.

Witnesses who were present during all that has been stated are Francisco de Orduña, Pedro de Villanueva, Juan de San Vicente, the priest Juan Valadés, and Juan Sánchez, [all] citizens of this city. All those who knew how to write signed their names in the register together with the [one issuing the document], Antón Negrín.

Francisco de Orduña

Pedro de Villanueva

Juan de San Vicente

Juan de Valadés, priest

Juan de San Vicente, on behalf of Juan Sánchez

NOTES

1. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias*, vol. 2 (Sevilla: Editorial de la Gaceta, 1942), no. 2332, pp.139. On 6 March 1536 Juan Jiménez, the son of Juan Domínguez and Teresa Jiménez, *vecinos* of Guadalcanal, was granted a license to travel from Sevilla to Nueva España. The name that native inhabitants gave this pueblo is uncertain. There are three similar, though distinct, Spanish renditions of what is probably an indigenous term for the pueblo. Pedro de Castañeda uses Coafor. See *Relación de la Jornada de Cibola*, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Rich Collection no. 63. Juan Jaramillo and Hernando de Alvarado both use *Alcanfor*. For Jaramillo, see AGI, Patronato 20, Numero 20, Ramo 8. For Alvarado, see AGI, Justicia 1021, Pieza 5. The Jiménez document under discussion here uses Coafor. The spelling of these variants is also in doubt. In sixteenth-century Spanish manuscripts "r" and "x" are frequently indistinguishable and "o" and "a" are sometimes so much alike that transcription is a matter of educated guesswork. Consequently, Coafor and *Coafor* could be identical or they could be *Coafox* and *Coofox*, respectively. *Alcanfor* is a Spanish term, making it most likely a conflation with the native Pueblo name or an outright Spanish label. The ruins of the pueblo where Juan Jiménez died still exist and are likely those of Santiago Pueblo. Laboratory of Anthropology of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (hereafter LANM) 326, across the Rio Grande from modern-day Bernalillo, New Mexico. The second pueblo occupied by the expedition in February 1542 was likely *Pueblo del Arenal*, probably the ruins known as *Kuaua*, LANM 187, or *Pueblo de la Alameda*, likely what is now called *Wachte*, LANM 677). See Bradley J. Vierra, *A Sixteenth-*

Century Spanish Campsite in the Tiguex Province, Laboratory of Anthropology Notes 475 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1989).

2. Affidavit of testimony on behalf of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, Culiacán, 1545, AGI, Patronato 216, R. 2, legal action concerning Nuño de Cháves, Mexico City, 1566.

3. Muster roll of the Coronado expedition, Compostela, 20 February 1540, AGI, Guadalajara, 5, N. 7, R. 1. The muster roll indicates that Jiménez owned two horses, native arms, and a leather coat. It is uncertain if Jiménez acquired his sword and lance and other goods while on the expedition or if the other items remained undeclared.

4. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, unpublished partial translation of Bernardo de Vargas Machuca's *The Second Book of Milicia y Descripción de las Indias* (Madrid, Spain: Librería de Victoriano Suárez, 1892), originally published 1599. Jiménez's arms and armor match fairly well the outfit specified for horsemen nearly 60 years later by Bernardo de Vargas Machuca in his manual for mounting a New World expedition. Machuca specifically referred to quilted cotton armor, swords, machetes, lances, and short spurs. Conspicuously absent from Jiménez's gear, though, are the shield and chainmail beaver which Vargas Machuca insisted his horsemen use.

5. One document each from Pedro de Benavides, Juan Francés, Alonso Jiménez, and Juan Galleas [Galeras] and two from Alonso González.

6. The record of the public auction detailed in AGI, Contratación, 5575, N. 24 is included in the translation selection.

7. There is great uncertainty about the precise route of the expedition between Cibola and Chichilticale on both its outward bound and return journeys. The most likely candidates for Río Frio, however, are tributaries of either the modern San Francisco or Gila Rivers.

8. Probanza de méritos y servicios de Jorge Baéz, Mexico City, 1585AGI, Patronato, 78A, N. 1, R. 6. Jorge Baéz died between Tiguex and Cibola during the expedition's return march.

9. The document is a 1550 copy of an accounting made in 1545 at the direction of the *visitador* Francisco Tello de Sandoval. Copies of documents from 1541 and 1542 were incorporated into the 1545 account.

10. The other contemporary documents include the muster roll from February 1540; the *Traslado de las Nuevas*, possibly by García López de Cárdenas (probably August 1540); Vázquez de Coronado's letter to the viceroy from Cibola (August 1540); a report presumed to be by Hernando de Alvarado and Juan de Padilla (fall 1540); Vázquez de Coronado's letter to the king from Tiguex (October 1541); and the *Relación Postrera de Cibola*—a second-hand account (probably late 1541). The documents from 1541 and 1542 copied into AGI, Contratación, 5575, N. 24 include a petition by Antón Negrín, Mexico City (September 1542); an *auto* by Antón Negrín and Jorge Baéz, Coafor (February 1542); a record of the auction of Jiménez's goods, Coafor (March 1542); an inventory of Jiménez's goods, Coafor (February 1542); the record of delivery of Jiménez's goods to Negrín, Coafor (March 1542); an *auto* denying Negrín's right to dispose of the goods, Mexico City (September 1542); a decision of the *Audiencia de Nueva España* reversing the above decision (September 1542); and an *obligación* from Juan Jiménez to Juan Barragán, Tiguex (April 1541).

11. AGI, Guadalajara, 5, N. 1, R. 7. It is possible that Jorge Baéz is the Jorge Páez of the 1540 muster roll, though not enough is known about either individual to make such a decision.

12. Richard Flint, "The Pattern of Coronado Expedition Material Culture" (M. A. thesis, New Mexico Highlands University, 1992).

13. AGI, Guadalajara, 5, N. 1; R. 7. In fact, over 90 percent of all of the European members of the expedition who passed muster in Compostela in February 1540 declared that they had with them native arms and armor. In contrast, the amount of European metal armor was scant. Apart from the dozen or so most elite members of the expedition, most expedition members were said to have none.

14. For comparison sake, Jiménez's tunic (*sayo*), jerkin (*jubon*), headgear (*caperusa*),

shoes, and sandals, plus a breast band for a horse and two sacks, sold at auction for seven pesos in 1542.

15. We do not know the exact number of Europeans who participated in the Coronado expedition. From various documents we now know by name 368 European members of the expedition, including the eight newly revealed members. There is, however, the possibility of duplication of individuals in all the existing lists, because of variation in spelling of names. Nevertheless, the current number comes very close to the figure of 300 horsemen and seventy or eighty footmen provided in the 1546 testimony of Francisco Gorbálán, AGI, Justicia 1021, Pieza 5. The February 1540 muster roll, on the other hand, lists only 224 horsemen and 62 footmen, a decided undercount. See AGI, Guadalajara, 5, N. 7, R. 1. To the muster roll number George Hammond and Agapito Rey added forty-eight names that appear in other documents, bringing their total to 334. See George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, editors and translators, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 104-8. We know by name only one black member of the expedition, Pedro the *pregonero* revealed by the Jiménez document. Blacks are mentioned in the extant documents very infrequently, but many European members reported that they took black slaves with them, but did not indicate numbers. Thus, we cannot even begin to guess the number of blacks who participated in the expedition. Indians from central and western Mexico made up the largest component of the expedition. Estimates of their numbers range from 1,000 to 1,500. Of these, we know only six by name and place of origin. Though people of color made up the overwhelming bulk of the 2,000 or more people in the expedition, information about them and their activities still eludes us for the most part.

16. Castañeda, *Relación*, Segunda Parte, Capítulo 6. Pedro de Castañeda in his *Relación de la Jornada de Cibola* from the 1560s wrote that in 1541-1542 the Pueblo world comprised 66 pueblos with a total of 20,000 inhabitants. The pueblo of Cicuique (Pecos) was said to have 2,000 residents, but all the others were very much smaller.

17. Castañeda, *Relación*, Primera Parte, Capítulo 18.

18. *Ibid.*

19. AGI, Patronato 20, N. 5, R. 8, jornada a Nueva España, Juan Jiménez, n.p., n.d. By the spring of 1542, this must have been a familiar leg of travel for some members of the expedition because of movement between the settlement of San Gerónimo in Sonora and the New Mexico Pueblo world. Four days was likely the standard travel time.

20. The very existence of AGI, Contratación, 5575, N. 24 and several other hitherto unknown and unconsulted documents that we have located in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, the Archivo General de Notarías in Mexico City, and the Bancroft Library in Berkeley makes us optimistic that additional significant documentary sources are yet to be found and will expand our understanding of that two-year event, as well as sixteenth-century encounters between peoples of the Old and New Worlds in general.

21. *Colección de Mendoza of Códice Mendocino, Documento Mexicano del Siglo XVI que se Conserva en la Biblioteca Bodleiana de Oxford, Inglaterra*, ed. Jesus Galindo y Villa (Mexico City: Editorial Innovación, S.A., 1980). Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 184, 188. A *caperuza* is a pointed hood or cap, and this piece of native head armor probably was of the tall, pointed type depicted on numerous folios of the *Codex Mendoza* which was painted in the 1540s at the request of the viceroy of Nueva España. Berdan and Rieff Anawalt provide the name *copilli* for this conical hat and describe it as part of the "entry-level" Mexica warrior's costume.

22. This may have been either a cow hide or a bison hide since at the time the Spanish word *vaca* was applied to both animals.