

circumnavigation of California, and endeavour to search for Captain Diego Hurtado, who never appeared again.

Ulloa occupied seven months on the voyage in going and coming, and I know he did nothing worth recording. He then returned to the port of Jalisco and, within a few days of his coming on shore to rest himself, one of the soldiers whom he had taken in his company lay in wait for him and dealt him sword thrusts and killed him.

The voyages and explorations made by the Marquis came to an end with what I have now related, and I have heard him say, even many times, that he had expended over three hundred thousand pesos de oro on fleets. In order that His Majesty should repay him something on account of it, and of the enumeration of his vassals, he decided to go to Castile, also to demand from Nuño de Guzman a certain sum of pesos de oro which the Royal Audiencia had decreed that he should pay<sup>1</sup> because he had ordered his [Cortés's] effects to be sold, for by this time Nuño de Guzman had gone to Castile as a prisoner.

If we think of it, in nothing at all did he [Cortés] have any luck after we had conquered New Spain.

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## CHAPTER CCI.

How great festivities and banquets were celebrated in Mexico and what rejoicing [took place] at the peace [made] between the Most Christian Emperor our Lord of Glorious Memory, and Don Francisco the King of France, when they met at Aguas Muertas.

IN the year thirty-eight [1538] news reached Mexico that the most Christian Emperor, our Lord of Glorious Memory,

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<sup>1</sup> Blotted out in the original : "To Cortés."

went to France, and Don Francisco, the King of France, gave him a great reception at a port called Aguas Muertas, where peace was made, and the Kings embraced one another with great affection in the presence of Madam Leonor, the Queen of France, wife of this same king Don Francisco and sister of the Emperor, our Lord of Glorious Memory, and great solemnization and festivals took place on account of that peace.

In its honour, and by way of rejoicing over it, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the Marques del Valle and the Royal Audiencia and certain gentlemen of the Conquistadores held great festivals, and at that time the Marques del Valle and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had become friends, for they had been somewhat embittered over the counting of the vassals of the Marquisate, and because the Viceroy greatly favoured Nuño de Guzman in his refusal to pay the number of pesos de oro which he owed to Cortés from the time when Nuño de Guzman was President in Mexico. They decided to hold great festivals and rejoicings, and they were such that it seems to me I have not seen others of the same quality [even] in Castile, both as regards jousts and reed games, and bull fights, and the encounters of one party of horsemen with others, and other great representations which were [provided]. All this that I have mentioned is as nothing compared to the many other devices of other displays which were customary in Rome when the Consuls and Captains who had won battles entered in triumph, and the competitions and challenges connected with every event. The inventor who prepared these things was a Roman gentleman named Luis de Leon, a man said to be of the lineage of the Patricians who were natives of Rome. To return to our festival, it began with a wood made in the great Plaza of Mexico with a great variety of trees as natural as though they had grown there, and in

the middle some trees as though they had fallen down from old age and decay, and others covered with mould and little plants which seemed to grow out of them while from others hung a sort of down<sup>1</sup>, again others in various ways so perfectly arranged that they were worth observing. Inside the wood were many deer, rabbits and hares, foxes and jackals, and many sorts of small animals native to the country, and two young lions and four small tigers, and they were confined within fences made within the wood itself, so that they could not escape until it was time to drive them out for the chase, for the native Mexican Indians are so ingenious in arranging these things that in the whole universe, according to what many say who have travelled all over the world, there have not been seen their like. On the trees there was a great diversity of small birds of all sorts, native to New Spain, which are so numerous and of so many breeds that it would make a long story had I to count them. There were other very dense groves somewhat apart from the wood, and in each of them a party of savages with their knotted and twisted cudgels, and other savages with bows and arrows, and they set off for the chase, for at that moment [the animals] were let out of the enclosures, and they ran after them through the wood and came out on to the great Plaza, and the killing of them led to a violent row between one lot of savages and the other, and it was worth seeing how they fought on foot with one another, and after they had fought for a short time they returned to their grove. Let us leave this, which was as nothing in comparison with the display made by cavaliers and negroes and negresses with their king and queen all on horseback, more than fifty<sup>2</sup> in number, and with the great riches which they carried on their persons

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<sup>1</sup> Either Barbas di Viejo = a lichen, or a Bromelia.

<sup>2</sup> Blotted out in the original : "one hundred and fifty."

of gold and precious stones, small pearls and silverwork, and they promptly attacked the savages and there was another dispute about the hunting.

It was wonderful to see the diversity of faces in the masks which they wore, and how the negresses suckled their negro children, and how they paid court to the queen.

After this, on the following morning, half this same Plaza had been turned into the City of Rhodes with its towers and battlements, loopholes and turrets, all fenced round, as natural as Rhodes itself, and one hundred knights commanders with their rich embroidered insignia of gold and pearls, many of them on horseback with short stirrups and lances and shields, and others with long stirrups, in order to break lances and pierce shields, and others on foot with their arquebuses, and the Marquis Cortés was their commander and the Grand Master of Rhodes. They brought in four ships with their main and foremasts and mizzens and sails so natural that many persons were astonished at seeing them go under sail across the Plaza and make three circuits of it, and let off so many cannon which they fired from the ships; and there were some Indians on board dressed to look like Dominican Friars when they came from Castile, some engaged in plucking chickens and others fishing.

Let us leave the Friars with their guns and trumpets, and I will go on to relate how two companies of Turks were placed in an ambushade, most Turklike with rich silk robes all purple and scarlet and gold, and splendid hoods such as they wear in their country. All of them were on horseback, and they were in ambush ready to make a dash and carry off some shepherds and their flocks which were grazing near a fountain, and one of the shepherds who were guarding them took to flight and warned the Grand Master of Rhodes that the Turks

were carrying off the flocks and their shepherds. Then the Knights sallied forth and a battle was fought between them and the Turks, and they recaptured the flocks.

Then other squadrons of Turks came in from other directions and fell upon the Rhodians and fought other battles with the Knights, and many of the Turks were taken prisoners, and then a lot of fierce bulls were let loose so as to separate them.

Now I wish to tell about the many ladies, wives of the Conquistadores and other settlers in Mexico, who were at the windows of the Great Plaza, and the riches they wore of crimson and silk and damask and gold and silver and jewels, which was a splendid sight, and in other corridors were more ladies very richly adorned, whom gentlemen served with a splendid repast, which was provided for all those ladies both those at the windows and those in the corridors; and they served them marzipan, sweetmeats of citron, almonds and comfits, and others of marzipan with the arms of the Marquis, and others with the arms of the Viceroy, all gilded and silvered, and among them some containing a lot of gold without any other kind of sweets were distributed. About the fruits of the country I will not write here, for it is too lengthy a matter to relate. Besides all this there were the best wines obtainable, aloza,<sup>1</sup> chuca,<sup>2</sup> and cacao all frothed up, and suplicaciones,<sup>3</sup> all served on a rich table service of gold and silver. This repast commenced an hour after vespers and continued for two hours, when everyone went home.

Let us stop telling these stories about entertainments and past festivals, and I will tell about the other banquets

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<sup>1</sup> Aloja, a beverage made of water, honey and spice (mead).

<sup>2</sup> Chuca = Chicha, a beverage made from fermented fruits.

<sup>3</sup> Suplicaciones, a kind of thin light pastry.

which were given. One was arranged by the Marquis in his palace, and the other by the Viceroy in his palace and royal house, and these were suppers. The first was given by the Marquis, and the Viceroy and all the gentlemen and Conquistadores who could be counted upon supplied him with all the ladies, who were the wives of the gentlemen and Conquistadores, and other ladies, and it was a most ceremonious affair, and I will not try to remember all the courses for it would be a long story, sufficient to say that they were very abundant. The other supper was given by the Viceroy,<sup>1</sup> and this feast took place in the corridors of the Royal Palace, which were transformed into bowers and gardens, interwoven overhead with many trees with their fruits which appeared to grow on them, and above the trees as many [kinds of] birds as can be found in the country; and they had copied the spring at Chapultepec, just like the original, with some tiny springs of water which burst forth from some parts of this same fountain, and there close to it was a great tiger tied with chains, and on the other side of the fountain was the figure of a man of great bulk dressed like a muleteer, with two skins of wine on his back, who had gone to sleep through weariness; and there were figures of four Indians who had untied one of the skins and had got drunk, and it appeared as though they were drinking and were making grimaces, and it was all done so true to life that many persons of all classes with their wives came to see it.

When the tables were set they were very long and each one had its seat of honour, in one was the Marquis and in the other the Viceroy, and for each seat of honour there were stewards and pages and a full and well arranged service.

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<sup>1</sup> Blotted out in the original: "the entertainment was greatly varied."

I should like to recite what was served, although it is not all written down here. I will state what I remember, for I was one of those who supped at these great feasts:—

To begin with there were salads made in two or three ways, and then kids and cured hog hams dressed à la ginovisca, after this pies of quails and pigeons, and then turkeys and stuffed fowls, then manjar blanco,<sup>1</sup> after this a fricassée, then torta-real, then chickens, partridges of the country and pickled quails, and then after this they took off the table cloths twice and there were clean ones beneath with napkins. Then pasties of every sort of birds and wild fowl, these were not eaten and many things of the earlier courses were not eaten.

Then they served other pasties of fish, none of this too was eaten, then they brought baked mutton and beef and pork, turnips, cabbage and garbanzos,<sup>2</sup> but none of these were eaten, and in between these courses they placed on the table various fruits to incite the appetite, and then they brought the fowls of the country baked whole with their beaks and feet silvered, and after that mallards and geese whole, with gilded beaks, and then heads of pigs, deer and calves whole, by way of pretentiousness. Together with this much music of singers at each seat of honour, and trumpetry and all sorts of instruments, harps, guitars, violas, flutes, dulcimers and oboes, especially when the stewards served the cups which they brought to the ladies who were supping there, who were more numerous than they were at the supper of the Marquis, and many gilt goblets, some with aloja,<sup>3</sup> others with wine, others with water, others with cacao, others with

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<sup>1</sup> Manjar blanco = a dish made of the breast of fowl mixed with sugar, milk and rice flour.

<sup>2</sup> Garbanzos = chick peas.

<sup>3</sup> A beverage made with honey and spice.

mulled wine. After this they served, to the ladies of greater distinction, some very large pasties, and in some of them were two live rabbits and in others small live rabbits, and others were full of quails and doves and other small birds all alive, and when they placed them on the tables it was at one and the same time, and as soon as they took off the top crusts the rabbits went fleeing over the tables and the quails and birds flew off.

I have not yet told about the service of olives and radishes and cheese and artichokes,<sup>1</sup> and fruits of the country—no more can be said than that all the tables were full of such courses.

Among other things were jesters and versifiers who in praise of Cortés and the Viceroy recited things that were very laughable.<sup>2</sup> I have not yet spoken of the fountains of white wine, Indian sherry and red wine,<sup>3</sup> and other store of bottles, or of another service there was in the courtyards, for the people and equerries and servants of all the gentlemen who were supping above at that banquet, more than three hundred of them with over two hundred ladies. I have forgotten the young oxen roasted whole, stuffed with chickens and fowls, quails and pigeons and bacon, these were in the courtyards below among the equerries and mulattos and Indians. I must state that this banquet lasted from nightfall until two hours after midnight, when the ladies cried out that they could stay no longer at table, and others were indisposed, and the tablecloths were changed by

<sup>1</sup> Blotted out in the original: "and then marzipan and almonds and comfits and citron and other sorts of sugar plums."

<sup>2</sup> Blotted out in the original: "and some of them were drunk and spoke on their own account and indecently, until they were taken by force and carried out, so as to silence them."

<sup>3</sup> Blotted out in the original: "and there were many drunkards."



force because other things had [still] to be served, and everything was served on gold and silver and great and rich table service.

One thing I saw was that each room was full of Spaniards who were not invited guests, who came to see the supper and banquet, and they were so numerous that the corridors would not hold them. Not a single piece of plate belonging to the Viceroy was missing throughout the supper, but at that of the Marquis more than one hundred marks of silver were missing; the reason why nothing was missing belonging to the Viceroy was because the chief Mayordomo, who was named Augustin Guerrero, ordered the Mexican Caciques to place an Indian on guard over each piece, and although many plates and porringers with manjar blanco and pastry and pasties and other things of the sort were sent to every house in Mexico, an Indian went with each piece of plate and brought it back; what was missing was some silver salt cellars, [a good] many tablecloths and napkins and knives, and this was told me by Augustin Guerrero himself the next day. The Marques took it [as a sign of] grandeur that he lost over a hundred marks of silver plate.

Let us leave the suppers and banquets and I will relate how the next day there were bull [fights] and reed games, and the Marquis received a blow from a reed on the instep from which he suffered and went lame. The next day there were horse races from the plaza called Tlatelolco to the great Plaza, and certain yards of velvet and satin were given [as prizes] for the horse which galloped best and arrived first at the plaza. Then too some women raced from under the colonnade of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada to the royal palace, and some golden jewels were given to her who arrived first at the post.

Then many farces were acted, and they were so many

that I cannot now call them to mind, and by night they had masks and ballads and jokes. There were two chroniclers of these great festivals, who recorded them just as they happened, and [noted] who were the Captains and the Grand Master of Rhodes, and they [the descriptions] were even sent to Castile that they might be seen by the Royal Council of the Indies (for His Majesty was then in Flanders).

I want to add an amusing story concerning a settler in Mexico called the Master of Rhodes, already an old man, who had a great wen on his neck. He had the name of Master of Rhodes because they called him purposely Master of Rhodes, and it was he for whom the Marquis had sent to Castile to heal his right arm, which he had broken in a fall from a horse after his return from Honduras, and he paid him very well for coming to cure his arm and gave him some pueblos of Indians.

When the Festivals, which I have mentioned, were over, as this Master of Rhodes was one of those chroniclers and was a good talker, he went to Castile at that time and became so well acquainted with the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, the wife of the Comendador Mayor, one Don Francisco de los Cobos, that he bewitched her and promised to give her drugs so that she should bear a child, and he said this in such a way that she believed him, and the Señora Doña Maria promised him that if she bore a child she would give him two thousand ducats, and would support him before the royal Council of the Indies in obtaining further pueblos of Indians. This same Master of Rhodes also promised Cardinal de Ciguenza, who was President of the [Council of the] Indies, that he would cure him of the gout, and the President believed him and they allotted him, on the order of the Cardinal and through the support of the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, very good Indians,

better than those he owned. What he did in the matter of cures was to heal neither the Marquis' arm, (if anything he left him more crippled, although he paid him very well and gave him the Indians I have mentioned), nor did the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza ever bear a child, for all the hot sweetmeats of sarsaparilla which he ordered her to take, nor did he cure the Cardinal of the gout, but he kept the bars of gold which Cortés gave him and the Indians which the Royal Council of the Indies bestowed upon him in New Spain. He left behind him in Castile among the traders who had gone to law<sup>1</sup> a joke [to the effect] that a little sarsaparilla which the Master of Rhodes had brought with him was worth more than all the services the true Conquistadores had rendered His Majesty, for owing to this name which had been given him of Master of Rhodes, and through being a good talker, he had deceived both the President and the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, while other Conquistadores, however much they had served His Majesty, got no benefit at all.

Let us stop relating the lives of strangers, for I know well there will be reason to say why do I meddle with these matters, and interrupt my narrative in order to tell an old yarn that happens to come to mind. Let us get back to it, and it is that, after the festivals were over, the Marquis ordered ships and stores to be prepared to go to Castile, in order to petition His Majesty to cause him to be repaid some of the many pesos de oro which had been expended on the fleets which he had despatched on voyages of discovery, and because he had lawsuits with Nuño de Guzman ; for at that time the Royal Audiencia had sent Nuño de Guzman as a prisoner to Castile. Cortés also had lawsuits about the counting of the vassals. Then

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<sup>1</sup> Blotted out in the original : "about Indians."

Cortés begged me to go with him, as I could urge my claim to my pueblos better at court before the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies than before the Royal Audiencia in Mexico. So I promptly embarked and went to Castile, but the Marquis did not start until two months later, for he said that he had not collected as much gold as he wished to take with him, also because he was ill from the blow from the reed which he had received on his instep. This was in the year five hundred and forty [1540], for in the previous year five hundred and thirty nine Her Most Serene Empress our Lady Doña Ysabel of Glorious memory had died, who departed this life in Toledo on the first day of May, and her body was carried for burial to the City of Granada. Her death caused great grief in New Spain, and nearly all the Conquistadores put on full mourning, and I, as the Regidor of the town of Coatzacoalcos and the oldest Conquistador, went into deep mourning, and in it went to Castile, and when I arrived at the Court I put it on again as I was obliged to do on account of the death of our Queen and Lady.

At that time there also arrived at Court Hernando Pizarro, who came from Peru, and was bowed down with mourning, with his more than forty men whom he brought with him in his Company. Cortés also arrived at this time at Court in mourning, he and his servants. As soon as the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies knew that Cortés was approaching Madrid, they gave orders to go out and receive him, and assigned him as quarters the houses of the Commendador Don Juan de Castilla, and, on the occasion of his going to the Royal Council of the Indies, an Oidor came to the door where the meeting of the Royal Council was held and led him to the dais where sat the President Don Fray Garcia de Loyasa, Cardinal of Ciguenza, who was afterwards Archbishop of Seville, with the Oidores the Licentiate Gutiere Velásquez and the

Bishop of Lugo and Doctor Juan Bernal Díaz de Lugo and Doctor Beltran ; and close to the seats of those gentlemen they placed another seat for Cortés and listened to him. From that time onwards he never returned again to New Spain, for then they took his Residencia, and His Majesty would not give him leave to return to New Spain, although he had for advocates the Admiral of Castile and the Duque de Bejar and the Commendador Mayor de Leon, and also had as a mediatrix the Señora Doña Maria de Mendoza, but His Majesty would never give him leave. On the contrary he ordered him to be detained until his Residencia was concluded, but they never intended to finish it, and the answer they gave him in the Royal Council of the Indies was that until [His Majesty] returned from Flanders, after chastising Ghent, they could not give him permission.

At this same time they also ordered Nuño de Guzman to be banished from his country and always to remain at Court, and they sentenced him [to pay] a certain number of pesos de oro, but they did not take from him the Indians of his Encomienda in Jalisco, and he and his servants also went about in deepest mourning. When they saw us at Court, both the Marquis Cortés as well as Pizarro and Nuño de Guzman and most of us who had come from New Spain on business, and the other persons from Peru, they considered it a joke to call us 'the mourning Indians and Peruvians.'<sup>1</sup>

To go back to my story, at that time they also ordered Hernando Pizarro to be made prisoner in the Mota de Medina.

Then I came back to New Spain, and learned that a few months earlier [the inhabitants of] some rocky hills, called Nochistlan, in the province of Jalisco, had risen in

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<sup>1</sup> Los Indianos Peruleros enlutados.

revolt, and that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza had sent some Captains and a certain Onate to pacify them, and the insurgent Indians made fierce attacks on the Spaniards and soldiers sent from Mexico, who seeing themselves surrounded by Indians began to beg assistance from the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, who at that time was on board a ship of a great fleet, then in the port of La Purificacion, which he had prepared to go to China. He went to assist the Spaniards who were on the rocky hills I have mentioned, and took with him a great company of soldiers, and within a few days he died from a horse falling on him and crushing his body, as I shall relate further on. I want to leave this story and call to mind the two fleets which set out from New Spain, one fitted out by the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the other prepared by Don Pedro de Alvarado, as I have already stated.

## CHAPTER CCII.

How the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza sent three ships to explore the South Coast in search of Francisco Vásquez Coronado and sent him provisions and soldiers, supposing that he was engaged in the conquest of Cibola.

I HAVE already stated in a former Chapter which treats of it that the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza and the Royal Audiencia of Mexico sent [an expedition] to discover the seven cities otherwise called Cibola, and that a nobleman named Francisco Vásquez Coronado, a native of Salamanca, went as Captain General, who at that time had married a lady, who in addition to being very virtuous was the beautiful daughter of the Treasurer Alonzo de Estrada.