

THE CONQUERORS OF THE  
NEW KINGDOM OF GRANADA


By

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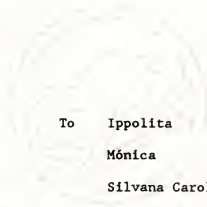


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To Ippolita

Mónica

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Ignacio Hipólito

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Original Indian  
Title  
1592-1593

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- AGI Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain
- AHP Archivo Histórico de Popayán, Popayán, Colombia
- ANC Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, Bogotá, Colombia
- ARB Archivo Regional de Boyacá, Tunja, Colombia
- BHA Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, Bogotá, Colombia
- CDP Enrique Otero D'Costa, Primer libro de actas del cabildo de la ciudad de Pamplona en la Nueva Granada, 1552-1561 (Bogotá, 1950)
- CDQ José Rumazo González, Libro primero de cabildos de Quito, 2 vols. (Quito, 1934)
- CDT Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, Libro de cabildos de la ciudad de Tunja, 1539-1542 (Bogotá, 1939)
- CGP Carmen Gómez Pérez, Pedro de Heredia y Cartagena de Indias (Sevilla, 1984)
- CJA Coronel Joaquín Acosta, Compendio histórico del descubrimiento y colonización de la Nueva Granada en el siglo décimo sexto (Paris, 1848)
- CPI Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias, vols., I, II, III (Sevilla, 1940-46); Luis Romera Iruela and María del Carmen Galbis Díez, vols., IV, V (Madrid, 1980); María del Carmen Galbis Díez, vols., VI, VII (Madrid, 1986)
- DF Darío Fajardo, El régimen de la encomienda en la provincia de Vélez (Bogotá, 1969)
- DIHC Juan Friede, Documentos inéditos para la historia de Colombia (1509-1550), 10 vols. (Bogotá, 1955-60)
- EAF Eduardo Arcila Fariás, El primer libro de la hacienda pública colonial de Venezuela, 1529-1538 (Caracas, 1984)
- EOD Enrique Otero D'Costa, El cronicón solariego (Bucaramanga, 1972)

- EOR Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, Libro de acuerdos de la audiencia real del Nuevo Reino de Granada, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1947)
- ERT Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, "Documentos del Archivo de Indias," BHA vol. XXVI (1939), pp. 237-274, 293-335, 484-498, 679-765; XXVIII (1941), pp. 30-99, 501-560.
- FAL Fray Alberto Lee López, "Cabildos de la Ciudad de Tunja. Libro Segundo," I- Archivos 1:1 (Jan.-Jun. 1967), pp. 5-91; II- Archivos 1:2 (Jul.-Dec. 1967), pp. 225-307; III- Archivos 2:3 (Jan. 1968-Dec. 1970), pp. 3-10; V- Archivos 4:5 (Jan.-Dec. 1972), pp. 7-49
- FAZ Fray Alonso de Zamora, Historia de la provincia de San Antonino del Nuevo Reino de Granada, 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1980)
- FDHNR Juan Friede, Fuentes documentales para la historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada, 8 vols. (Bogotá, 1975-76)
- FPA Fray Pedro Aguado, Recopilación histórica, 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1956)
- FPS Fray Pedro Simón, Noticias históricas de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales, 7 vols. (Bogotá, 1981-82)
- GC Germán Colmenares, Encomienda y población en la provincia de Pamplona, 1559-1650 (Bogotá, 1969)
- GFO Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Historia general y natural de las Indias, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1959)
- GHA Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Primicia Documental del Archivo de la ciudad de Bogotá," Boletín cultural y bibliográfico 11:10 (1968), pp. 51-70
- JC Juan Castellanos, Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias, 4 vols. (Bogotá, 1955)
- JF1 Juan Friede, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada a través de documentos históricos (Bogotá, 1960)
- JF2 Juan Friede, Los Welser en la conquista de Venezuela (Caracas-Madrid, 1961)
- JFO Juan Flórez de Ocariz, Genealogías del Nuevo Reino de Granada, 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1943-55). The genealogical trees are included in the first edition only, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1674-76)
- JMG José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de la Nueva Granada, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1889-93)

- JOB José de Oviedo y Baños, Historia de la conquista y población de Venezuela, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1982)
- JRF Juan Rodríguez Freile, El carnero (Bogotá, 1977)
- JRPV Academia Nacional de la Historia, Juicios de Residencia de la provincia de Venezuela; I- Los Welser (Caracas, 1977); II- Juan Pérez de Tolosa y Juan de Villegas (Caracas, 1980)
- LFP Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, Noticia historial de la conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1973)
- MAEM María Angeles Eugenio Martínez, Tributo y trabajo del indio en Nueva Granada (Sevilla, 1977)
- MDR Moisés de la Rosa, "Los Conquistadores de los Chibchas," BHA vol. XXII (1935), pp 225-253
- RR Raimundo Rivas, Los fundadores de Bogotá (Bogotá, 1923)
- UR Ulises Rojas, Corregidores y justicias mayores de Tunja y su provincia desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta 1817 (Tunja, 1962)

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The quest for a land route from the Atlantic to Peru and thence to the South Sea as well as for wealthy Indian societies inhabiting high, remote, Andean plateaus sent three independent European exploratory expeditions into the heartland of the Muisca nation. Those three ventures were followed by three colonizing expeditions whose members established on Muisca territory the Spanish-style New Kingdom of Granada, now Colombia. This study employs Colombian and Spanish archival material and other primary sources to reconstruct the nature of those six expeditions; it investigates their purposes, their organization, and their participants. It identifies the survivors and analyzes nine personal characteristics: race, gender, place and date of birth, education, religion, previous experience, and the economic and social position they held in the old world or upon their arrival in the Indies.

The primary goal of virtually all the conquerors of the New Kingdom was to improve both their social and economic condition once they had become settled in the New Kingdom. They established cities in the style of

Castilian municipalities where they lived with their Spanish wives and raised their families, and they were rewarded with assignments of Indian labor and tribute in the form of encomiendas, some additionally receiving a share of the gathered booty. Their improved economic conditions encouraged pretensions for higher social positions within the newly formed society--a society very much under the control of the Spanish Crown and of the watchful eye of the powerful Catholic church. This new status also encouraged aspirations to political power in the newly organized municipal and provincial governments. Thus, this study analyzes, and quantifies whenever possible, the dominant socio-economic role of these conquerors and colonizers within the evolving complex of whites, Indians, and mixed races that came to be the colonial society of the New Kingdom of Granada.

CHAPTER 1  
ANTECEDENTS OF THE EXPEDITIONS

The New Kingdom of Granada, which was to become Colombia, was created and its settlement initiated by the conquerors who arrived between 1537 and 1543 in six expeditionary groups at the remote homeland of the Muisca nation. The purpose of this work is to examine these expeditions, the persons who participated, and their contributions in the conquest and the colonization of that territory in the name of the Spanish crown.

The six expeditions were led, in chronological order, by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, Nikolaus Federmann, Sebastián de Belalcázar, Jerónimo Lebrón, Lope Montalvo de Lugo, and Alonso Luis de Lugo. Belalcázar's expedition was complemented by another group led by Juan Cabrera, which arrived in the New Kingdom a year and a half later, and Luis de Lugo's was preceded by a party he sent ahead under the leadership of Alonso Suárez, about one year before he left Spain.

The area that the conquerors took from the Indians and settled included the Muisca heartland and its surroundings. It was equivalent to what the royal cosmographer Juan López de Velasco called in 1570 the provincia of the New Kingdom, to differentiate it from the distrito of the royal audiencia of the New Kingdom of Granada that included its province, and those of Santa Marta, Cartagena, Rio de San Juan, and Popayán.<sup>1</sup> It extended from the cities of Mérida to Ibagué, and from Vélez to San Juan de los Llanos, including 19 Spanish towns (Figure 1). The chronological



period of this study extends from March, 1537, when Gonzalo Jiménez and his troops entered the Muisca territory, until the death of the last conqueror of these expeditions, which coincides with the end of the sixteenth century.

These expeditions were selected as the means to study the Spanish conquest and colonization processes on one region of the Indies. The large number of participants in these ventures constitutes a finite universe and a large sample of high statistical significance on which there is a fairly good amount of historical records.

#### Early Antecedents of the Expeditions

The early precedents of these expeditions rose out of the efforts by the Spanish crown to break the monopoly Christopher Columbus had on the exploration of the Indies. While the crown encouraged ocean ventures to find a water passage through the American continent to the Far East, it also granted permission to Rodrigo de Bastidas and others in 1500 to explore the northern coast of South America. Eight years later, the veteran Alonso de Ojeda signed a contract to explore and to settle the lands Bastidas had found, which were from the Darién River up to Cabo de la Vela, which is somewhat equivalent to today's Colombian Atlantic shore. Ojeda's venture contributed to Spanish knowledge of the area, the finding of the South Sea, and the existence of rich lands south of Panama. Meanwhile, exploratory parties out of Cuba arrived in Yucatán, paving the way for Hernán Cortés to enter Tenochtitlán, the heart of the Aztec Empire, in 1519.



Figure 1. The Province of the New Kingdom of Granada

In 1524, Rodrigo de Bastidas contracted with the crown to obtain the government of the province extending inland from the Atlantic Coast between the eastern banks of the Magdalena River and the Cabo de la Vela. This river bisected the coastal area Bastidas had explored in 1500. The government of the other province lying west between the Magdalena River and Panama was granted one year later to the famous premier chronicler of the Indies, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo.<sup>2</sup> Since Fernández engaged in other ventures instead of attending to his grant, Pedro de Heredia obtained title to that governorship. In sum, what is today the Colombian Atlantic coast was divided in two governorships, Santa Marta to the east of the Magdalena River and Cartagena to the west.

Between the settlement of Santa Marta in 1526 and the establishment of Cartagena in 1533, another key continental event took place in 1532: Francisco Pizarro captured the Inca emperor in Cajamarca and began to form Spanish Peru. Complementing the new political divisions of Santa Marta, Cartagena, and Peru of the central and north Andean regions, the governorship of Venezuela, which extended east of Santa Marta, was granted in 1528 by Flemish-born King Charles V to the Welser's German bankers. The creation of the governorships of Santa Marta and Venezuela, the kingdom of Peru including its northern extensions to Quito and beyond, and the province of Cartagena, formed the American geographical stages where the six expeditions to the New Kingdom were started. Four of these expeditions were formed within this region, and two were organized across the Atlantic Ocean in the Canary Islands, which were conquered and settled by Spain several decades before.

The first three expeditions mentioned, namely those of Jiménez, Federmann, and Belalcázar, were exploratory and conquering in intent. They were to find something of which the existence was suspected and then to gain control of it. The other three ventures led by Lebrón, Montalvo de Lugo, and Luis de Lugo, were to settle areas already explored. The first three expeditions require an individual study of their antecedents to determine what their purposes were, or what they were looking for. This analysis is not needed for the other three since their purpose was clear from the outset; that is to colonize what had already been found. The study of the antecedents of the first group of expeditions follows; the organization and the course of each venture are examined in Chapter 2.

#### Antecedents of the Conquering Expeditions

The three conquering expeditions led by Jiménez, Federmann, and Belalcázar were unrelated and departed from different places. Jiménez's expedition is examined first, not only because it was chronologically the first, but because more is known about it, and the knowledge derived from it may serve to illustrate the others. Its roots extended all the way back to Spain, specifically to the home of Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo, adelantado of the Canary Islands, where the search for its antecedents will begin.

#### Events Preceding Gonzalo Jiménez's Expedition

##### The Canary Islands stage

Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo, the 60-year old wealthy, influential, adelantado of the Canary Islands, was granted the governorship of Santa

Marta established by Bastidas, who had died in January 1535, under terms specified in the contract drawn between him and the crown.<sup>3</sup> His commitment was somewhat grandiose when compared with the resources Hernán Cortés or Francisco Pizarro utilized to vanquish the Aztecs and the Incas, respectively. Don Pedro was to take from Spain and the Canary Islands 1,700 armed men, 1,500 foot and 200 cavalry soldiers, as well as their horses. He had to provide at least two priests to indoctrinate the Indians. He could take to Santa Marta 100 black slaves, one third females, free of duty. All the expenses incurred were to be covered by him, but he was to benefit with one twelfth of the royal income the governorship was to produce, including a perpetual salary and a one time payment of 4,000 gold ducats. Were he to die, his firstborn son, Don Alonso Luis de Lugo, was to inherit the title of adelantado and the governorship of whatever lands his father had settled, in addition to other titles he already had.

The careful planning, financing, and execution of the enterprise Don Pedro was to undertake, were to involve a great effort. The gathering, signing, quartering, feeding, and transportation arrangements and other services essential for 1,700 armed men and 200 mounts required detailed administration and timely execution. Arrangements had to be made for securing ships and for purchasing provisions for the ocean crossing and for those initially required in Santa Marta, the port of destination and capital of the governorship. It took Don Pedro and his assistants from March to November 1535, to complete these plans.<sup>4</sup> One of the first steps he took was to procure solid financing. He signed agreements with the Italian merchants Juan Alberto Gerardini and Cristóbal Francesquini to share equally the expenses of the enterprise in exchange for equal shares

in the future income Santa Marta would produce during the following three years. One exception was made for the extraction of pearls, of which Don Pedro was to contribute and receive one half and the two Italians the other half. The more involved tasks of financing the ocean transportation and signing up the men required additional help.

Don Pedro's son, Alonso, went to Seville to gather whatever men he could enroll and to negotiate their ocean transportation. From Don Men Rodríguez de Valdés, he chartered the galleon San Cristóbal, and from Italians Nicolao de Nápoli and Alesandre Cortese, the naos Santa María and Santi Spiritus, respectively. The San Cristóbal was to carry 70 tons to be loaded in Seville and Santa Cruz. Her master, Valdés, was to provide water, fire, and salt for cooking and to transport all the victuals they required, providing that dried fish and meat, chickpeas and lima beans were packed in wooden barrels for better preservation. He was to take as many men as possible, for whom Don Pedro was to pay 10 ducats each, plus 3,500 maravedies per ton of cargo.<sup>5</sup> Nápoli's nao was to carry no more than 150 men, for which he charged 15 ducats each, the same amount agreed with Cortese. Cortese, in addition, was to take on board four horses and their feed for a flat fee of 130 ducats. Another documentary source indicates the galleon La Magdalena was chartered in Seville from Francisco Núñez and Marcos Griego, who were to take 150 men and varied cargo for a total fee of 3,256 ducats, of which they received an advance of 1,100, the rest to be paid up in Santa Marta 50 days after arrival.<sup>6</sup> The four ships contracted in Seville may have taken a total of 600 men from that city to Santa Marta.

While those ships were chartered in Seville, Don Pedro contracted with Domenico Rizo and Antonio Joven, or Jove, for one vessel each to carry wine and flour. Bartolomé de Fonseca contributed toward the expenses of chartering another ship, and Alonso Núñez agreed to take his. The San Nicolás was volunteered by Francisco Gasco and the brothers Bartolomé and Pedro Ponte. Lastly, Captain Lázaro Fonte, son of Catalonian merchant Rafael Font and Paula Bernat, both citizens of Tenerife, took with him the nao San Salvador. Fonte was to become famous in the New Kingdom. All those six ships probably were contracted in the Canary Islands and sailed out of Santa Cruz where most of them were docked for a while.

Instead of being an added drain on the hard-pressed purse of Don Pedro, the ocean transportation of the people may have provided him with some additional funds. He was to pay the shipowner from 10 to 15 ducats per man, but in one known case, he advanced only one third of that, the rest to be paid up in Santa Marta. At the same time, he collected in advance anywhere from 6 to 20 ducats in cash from every man that was to make the passage.<sup>7</sup> Because he received on the average 13 ducats per man and he had to advance only one third of 10 or 15 ducats, he had some hard cash left to finance other expenses.

Don Pedro took on the chartered ships considerable quantities of food and other provisions which were to be used on land, for the feeding of men on board was provided by the shipmaster. These supplies were to be taken to Santa Marta where they were sold at a profit, no doubt, and were financed by him and his partners Francesquini and Geraldini. Whereas transportation did not mean an immediate drain on Don Pedro's pockets, he had to pay in hard currency for the perishable provisions, or if any

balance was left to be paid later, it had to be backed by quite a secured collateral. Don Pedro was to receive 5,000 ducats in Santa Marta, 4,000 as a one-time royal payment mentioned in the contract with the crown, and the rest probably from due salaries. Nevertheless, because of his immediate needs and the uncertainties prevalent in the sixteenth century, he sold those rights for 1,600 ducats only. This amount plus the other monies he may have secured from the extensive sugar mills and limestone mines he owned around Tenerife and La Palma, was to provide him with the rest of his needs. Yet, in spite of his wealth, when his wife Inés de Herrera, daughter of the famous Beatriz de Bobadilla, died shortly before his departure for Santa Marta, he did not appear to have any disposable cash.

As for the rest of the ships contracted in Tenerife, some were financed from the common fund made up from the money paid in advance by the Italians and Don Pedro, or out of their potential profit, and still others may have been private ventures carried on by individuals. The agreement covering the San Nicolás stipulated that their owners were to take their ship fully loaded with provisions paid by themselves. Upon arrival in Santa Marta, Don Pedro was to pay 10 ducats plus two and one half times the original cost of the cargo. This is another proof of how risky navigation was considered then and how heavily Don Pedro relied on the Santa Marta income. Lázaro Fonte indicated years later that he had purchased a ship in which he accommodated 150 men plus provisions, having spent out of his own pocket 4,000 ducats.<sup>8</sup>

Based on the previous account Don Pedro directed a total of 10 ships from the port of Santa Cruz to Santa Marta shortly after November 28, 1535. Yet, another fairly reliable source indicated there were eighteen



with 1,200 men on board.<sup>9</sup> It is clear that Don Pedro did not take the agreed 1,700 men, for a royal cédula dated in July 1535 granted him a two-year extension to honor that commitment. He might have taken just under 1,000 men as noted by another source, for which he may not have needed the afore mentioned 18 ships.<sup>10</sup> After all, the four ships contracted in Seville plus Fonte's could have carried about 750 men. Another ship that may have been included in that count, for his captain was to have a close relation with Don Pedro in Santa Marta, was one commanded by Juan del Junco. He left Seville for Cartagena with over 100 men, when news reached him that his presence in that city was no longer required. Instead of canceling his project, he opted to go to Santa Marta, where he arrived before Don Pedro.<sup>11</sup>

Another significant decision Don Pedro took before departing was to name his lieutenant-general for the governorship of Santa Marta. For that important post, he selected Licentiate Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, according to the order he signed in Tenerife on November 10, 1535.<sup>12</sup> His son Alonso Luis was successor to the title of adelantado and to the governorship of Santa Marta, and he was a military captain of the expedition; but Jiménez was the second in command while Don Pedro was alive.

In short, Don Pedro's armada may not have contained 18 ships, which seem too many, but it could have included one or two additional vessels besides the 10 described. They arrived at the port of Santa Marta in January 1536, with anywhere from less than one thousand to 1,200 persons on board, including some women and small, undetermined number of black slaves.

### The Santa Marta stage

For the 500 needy Santa Marta inhabitants, the arrival of Don Pedro, his festooned ships with flags waiving, musicians playing, cannons thundering, and his companions luxuriously dressed to celebrate the occasion, was an occasion for loud rejoicement. For the arriving group, the appearance of Santa Marta was dissapointing. The town was a collection of simple houses just off the beach in a beautiful bay, and its inhabitants were sun-tanned and poorly dressed with native cotton clothing and their feet shod in locally made sandals.<sup>13</sup> The green and inexperienced Spaniard, called chapelón on account of his usual rosy-colored cheeks, met his brother, weatherbeaten and experienced in the way of the Indies, the baquiano, so named after the Caribbean word baquía, which meant practical knowledge.

Santa Marta was not prepared to shelter double the population it had, so the newly arrived had to find refuge in whatever houses they could fit in and many had to live in hastily constructed huts. The concentration of people in a small area by the sea was to prove disastrous, for the freshwater sources must have become contaminated shortly after. The colonial chroniclers described how a few days after Don Pedro's arrival, people began to fall sick of a fatal kind of dysentery.<sup>14</sup> In order to alleviate the strained resources of the city, prevent further deaths, gather some gold to cancel the many pressing obligations, and occupy the idle and inexperienced chapelónes, Don Pedro himself directed a contingent of 900 soldiers towards the Bonda Sierra. Except for the collection of gold, this was an action that does not seem to follow any grand design Don Pedro must have had when he applied for the governorship of Santa Marta.

What the inexperienced soon learned during this venture was that the ways of the baquiano had to be copied if one were to be successful in fighting the Indians armed with poisoned arrows. Don Pedro returned while his son Alonso continued guiding 800 men toward Indian towns located as far as La Ramada. They had better luck if measured by the gold they were able to obtain from the Indians, which weighed more than 15,000 pesos; yet, it also meant the deaths of more than 50 soldiers. The gold collected, so necessary to pay the sums owed to the waiting shipowner and other impending obligations, was instead taken in secrecy by Alonso to the Canaries. He was accused of having thus robbed not only the conquerors that collected it, but also his father, who denounced him to the authorities. There exists the possibility, however, that Don Pedro was aware of the secret trip of his son.<sup>15</sup> Who is to know what other more pressing needs the Lugos had the other side of the Atlantic?

The adelantado of the Canary Islands, governor of Tenerife and La Palma, and now adelantado, governor and captain general of the province of Santa Marta, must have had powerful reasons to prefer, at 60 years of age, the wild and alien life in the Indies over his comfortable situation in the islands. To search for those causes one must turn back to one person who entered Tenochtitlán following Hernán Cortés, Captain Diego de Ordás, and one event, the return to Spain of Francisco Pizarro to request the governorship of Peru after having visited its northern coast in 1527. The following pieces of evidence are presented to obtain a rough outline of the panorama faced by Don Pedro.

One historian argues convincingly why Ordás, upon his return from Mexico, secured the conquest of the River Plate, only to change it shortly

after for the provinces of the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. According to him, the essence of Ordás's change was based upon the contemporary belief, strengthened by recent events related to Peru, as to where silver and gold veins could grow, in the fashion of the roots of trees.<sup>16</sup> According to that belief silver was abundant in areas closer to the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn, and gold was near the Equator. Silver had been found in Mexico and was expected to be discovered by Ordás in the obviously named region of the River of Silver, or River Plate. Moreover, after Pizarro explored the Peruvian coastal area, he concluded that the riches were to be found the other side of the imposing Andes, where unknown to him, the Amazon River flowed. Cortés, Ordás, and Pizarro met at the Spanish court in 1528, and they may have had opportunities to exchange experiences and beliefs.

After more information was gathered by Ordás, he opted for the conquest of Marañón and Paría, from where he could reach the Equator in a shorter distance, the area where gold grew. Ordás obtained that grant and signed the corresponding contract with the crown in 1530. His actions proved how strongly he believed in where the gold was to be found. He was not interested from the outset in the coastal area of his grant, for he spent all his energies until his death in 1532 trying to reach the golden land upstream from the Orinoco River, identified by the name of Meta. Ordás was followed by Gerónimo Ortal whose party did actually arrive and even navigated the Meta River a few miles upstream in 1535.

It is interesting to note that the same Italians, Francesquini and Geraldini, who financed Don Pedro's expedition to Santa Marta, had also financed Ordás. The Canary Islands were at the time a convenient stop on

the way to the Indies, and Ordás's expedition also spent some time there before departing for the Orinoco.<sup>17</sup> Geraldini was an old hand in Tenerife where he had lived since 1510 and where he had married. It was, therefore, highly possible that Don Pedro knew about Ordás's plans and that those may have influenced his future decisions.

When Francisco Pizarro visited the northern coast of Peru in 1528, he took many samples of what he found to present them to the Spanish court as additional evidence of how convenient it would be to grant him the rights to the conquest of that land. Some of those samples, consisting of the strange llamas so abundant in Peru, were sent to the Spanish crown in a vessel that stopped in Santa Marta. The existence of those animals so impressed its governor, Rodrigo Alvarez Palomino, that he began organizing a expedition composed of 300 foot-soldiers and 50 horsemen, intended to reach Peru by land, prior to Pizarro.<sup>18</sup> Even though the geographical knowledge of the time was not accurate, for Peru was believed to be much closer to Santa Marta than it actually was, the general plan was not farfetched. Alvarez's expedition did not happen for he died shortly after he expressed his intent, but his idea continued influencing others.

García de Lerma, who succeeded Alvarez to the governorship of Santa Marta, sent his nephew Pedro de Lerma with a group of men to explore the land southeast of that city in 1531. In four months and eight days the party covered 250 leagues. They returned with the great news that, after reaching the Valle de Upar and following the Cesar River downstream one would reach the great Magdalena River, whose treacherous and impassable mouth on the Caribbean Sea was so well known to the inhabitants of Santa Marta. Having reached the Magdalena, they continued inspecting it upstream

for a fairly long distance, and reached a tributary river they named Lebrija, in honor of one captain in the exploratory party.<sup>19</sup>

Jerónimo de Melo added to the previous expedition. During the first months of 1532 he managed to do what nobody had accomplished yet: He entered the Magdalena River through its mouth to the sea. Melo continued upstream some 30 leagues. On the way he found a cacique who informed him that the river could be navigated upstream for a period of five months, because it was so long and navigable.<sup>20</sup>

Building upon Governor Alvarez's original idea, and after the geographical knowledge no doubt obtained from the experiences of Pedro de Lerma and Jerónimo de Melo, Governor García de Lerma organized an inland expedition to Peru and the South Sea! He believed in Diego de Ordás's idea about the existence of rich lands by the Equator and, believing it would be easy to reach Peru navigating upstream on the Magdalena River, he wrote the crown about it. He explained in his letter how, by traveling a distance of 150 leagues up the river, one would not only pass beyond the Equator but would reach the lands that were being visited by Francisco Pizarro.<sup>21</sup>

Believing that the Magdalena River had its origins right by Peru, García de Lerma sent under the direction of priest Francisco de Viana who was replaced by captains Juan de Céspedes and Juan de San Martín when he died, a total of 140 armed men in three brigantines and one caravel. They were to advance in unison with 150 foot and horsemen who were to follow a land route parallel to the river. Governor Lerma had another pressing reason to send out his expedition. Captain Cristóbal de Mena and Hernando Pizarro had just passed by the port of Santa Marta spreading the news of

the immense wealth found in Peru, and they could prove it with the treasure they had with them.<sup>22</sup> No one in that port could resist such great temptation, so Lerma's plan was most welcomed by all. The expedition did depart and went as far as the Cauca and San Jorge Rivers, but returned to Santa Marta a few months later. Many of these experienced men were afterwards more than ready to serve in a similar cause.

Don Pedro had plenty of time during his stay in the Canary Islands to learn about those events, which took place from 1527 to 1533. Therefore, when the contract to conquer the province of Santa Marta was signed in his name on January 22, 1535, he was quite aware that one of his greatest opportunities lay south of the province and up the Magdalena River. In addition, the colonial chroniclers pointed out that one old hand, Francisco Lorenzo, was influential upon returning to Spain, in convincing him about the wealth of that province.<sup>23</sup> Whatever Don Pedro did not know he could find out in Santa Marta from people that had taken part in those previous ventures, including the one recently organized by Gerónimo Ortal up the Orinoco and Meta Rivers, in which there were many mature, able, and experienced persons. Thus, when his son returned from La Ramada in charge of 750 men and silently took a vessel out of port, Don Pedro was ready to make important decisions.

Upon the return of those men who had gone after whatever riches they could extract from the Indians, the resources in Santa Marta were strained again. Adequate food was lacking, for maize was becoming scarce, and the unsanitary conditions, specially regarding drinking water, worsened. With some exaggeration, no doubt, the chroniclers described how it was that, due to hunger, people began to fall sick and to die in such great numbers

that common tombs to accommodate twenty to thirty corpses were dug daily. The governor forbade the pealing of bells in honor of the dead, for their lugubrious sounds saddened the sick.<sup>24</sup> Exaggerations aside, the conditions in Santa Marta pressured Don Pedro to organize his grand venture.

#### Events Preceding Nikolaus Federmann's Expedition

One crucial determinant of the future expedition of Nikolaus Federmann to the New Kingdom of Granada was the royal concession dated March 27, 1528, granted to the German banking and commercial house of Welser for the exploration, settlement, and exploitation of the province of Venezuela. Even though that determinant was not chronologically the first to lead to Federmann's expedition, its importance was basic.

The Welser house had a powerful commercial enterprise centered in Augsburg, dedicated to the financing of various economic--and even political ventures as we shall see--such as conversion of raw materials, production of varied goods, and international commerce.<sup>25</sup> From its factories located in all the important cities of Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain, and through its commercial networks, it traded and processed all sorts of natural fibers and their products. It also traded in oriental spices, medicinal herbs, jewelry and gems, ambergris, hides, wine, and oil. It contracted for the manufacture of large amounts of iron and copper tools, planted sugarcane, made sugar, and had vested interests in the extraction of metals, including silver. Its activities and experience regarding precious metals were of particular



interest to Charles V, who benefited from the taxes collected in Central and Northern Europe from the extraction of those metals.

The Welser house had been active in Portugal since 1493 and had backed several Portuguese ventures to the Far East. It had sugar plantations and refined the product in Madeira Island, from where it extended its knowledge to the Canary Islands. There it planted sugarcane and installed a sugarmill as early as 1509, and sold tools and supplies. Through its Portugal and Canary Islands ventures, it knew and followed the Portuguese activities in the Far East and Africa, and Spain's in the Indies. Through its business in the Canaries it was quite familiar with the development of lands recently conquered by the Spaniards. In sum, it was fully prepared and certainly interested in extending its activities to the Americas.

When the opportunity came in 1519 to back either the Spanish, French, or English king, the Welser company loaned part of the money to convince the German princes to vote for the Spanish sovereign, who won and was crowned Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. As a result, Welser had a foot in the door to the Indies. Another crucial event took place in November 1526: Welser influenced the court to obtain a mandate from Charles V allowing all the vassals of his empire to participate in the American enterprise, which therefore, included Germans and Flemish.<sup>26</sup> Now, the door to the Indies was completely open. With its power and experience, the Welser company had the necessary resources and knowledge to exploit colonial lands and the commercial network to funnel its products, even transporting them in its own vessels. The Welser house had the royal trust and it had secured a continental land to start in, which

was called Venezuela. By the mid-1520s it established an agency in Seville dedicated to commerce with the Indies, and in 1526 it opened a branch in Santo Domingo directed by the factor Ambrosio Talfinger, better known as Alfinger. Three years later he moved to Venezuela as governor of that province.

The financing of the Venezuelan enterprise was much less involved than that of Santa Marta. The Welser company simply supplied all the equipment, goods, and food needed, transported them in its own ships, and sold many of these items in its own stores opened in the coastal cities of Coro and Maracaibo in Venezuela. It is not documented whether the ships that took Alfinger and his men from Santo Domingo to the Coro region, where they arrived in February 1529, belonged to the Welser company. It is likely, however, that all the men who enrolled in Spain at one time or another to serve under Welser in Venezuela, paid the same 8 ducats before embarking, or 12 ducats after landing.<sup>27</sup> That charge included room and board on the ship, although passengers were allowed to take along a limited amount of provisions.

One of the greatest hopes the Welser company had about its Venezuelan grant was that of finding a sea passage to the Far East, a near-certainty according to the geographical knowledge of the time.<sup>28</sup> That explains why Governor Alfinger set out from Coro shortly after he landed to explore the Lake of Venezuela. He traveled 400 leagues for 10 months according to his own account, in which time 70 out of his contingent of 180 soldiers died. Alfinger returned sick and, to regain his health, left for Santo Domingo where he spent the second half of 1530. During his second absence from Coro, he left Nikolaus Federmann as his

lieutenant-captain in charge of the government. Upon his return, he began preparing his most famous expedition in search of a passage to the South Sea, which finally departed in June 1531. It lasted a little over two years and two months and more than 100 men were lost, including the governor who was fatally wounded by an Indian arrow.

Some important events and consequences of the last expedition directed by Alfinger were to influence Federmann. Alfinger and his group reached the distant Magdalena River near the confluence of the Cesar River, returning in a curved course that went by Guane territory. The Guane were a group of tribes neighboring the Muisca, the larger nation in whose domain the New Kingdom was to be created. In that area, Alfinger was informed about the existence of the rich Xerira, a secret that was to be kept among the Welser people for several years, and a goal he could not pursue on that occasion for lack of adequate resources. Alfinger's third and lengthy absence from Coro and Maracaibo where civilian settlements were struggling to take root, was deplored by its inhabitants who missed his needed leadership and government. His priorities had clearly favored explorations at the expense of civilian settlements. The costly price paid in human lives to pursue his ventures, the stern discipline he tried to impose on the Spaniards, and his disregard for Spanish formalities in administering a settlement were the cause of much distrust and anguish among the population. In sum, the existence of a rich Xerira and the reactions of the civilian population to his style of government were to have a definitive influence on Federmann's expedition to the New Kingdom.

We have already noted that when Governor Alfinger left for Santo Domingo to regain his health, he left Federmann in charge of the province.

It appears that one of his instructions was for Federmann to remain within 30 leagues of Coro. The temptation for young and restless Federmann to try his hand at exploration could not be repressed that easily. Under the factual pretext that there were many idle people in Coro, on September 12, 1530, according to his own account, he took 116 men with him towards the South Sea. He reached as far as Acarigua, where the expanse of the Venezuelan Llanos begins, and returned in Coro the next March.<sup>29</sup> In this city he found Alfinger outraged by his absence, who asked him to leave the province. Federmann departed for Ulm, his hometown, but returned to Venezuela four years later.

When the news of Governor Alfinger's death reached Federmann, he began to express interest in the vacated post.<sup>30</sup> His pursuit of it was quite effective for he was named governor and captain general of the province of Venezuela. By that time, however, procuradores, or council attorneys, sent to represent the interest of Coro in the Spanish court, including seeking solutions to mitigate the complaints of its citizens and its royal officials against Alfinger's government, had already arrived at that court. Their previous complaints had generated a new clause included in Federmann's title and its corresponding instructions. His lieutenant-captain had to be Castilian born. Now, those council attorneys argued in court that Federmann had been expelled from Venezuela by Alfinger for five years, a term that had not ended yet, and that his actions as lieutenant-captain had not been reviewed by a royal judge as was required by law (residencia). As a result, Federmann's title was revoked, and Georg Hohermuth von Speyer, better known as Jorge Espira in Spanish, was named in his stead. He received his new instructions as governor, which

curtailed his authority in favor of the royal officials and the municipal council.

Rather than remaining in Europe, however, Federmann accompanied von Speyer with the downgraded title of lieutenant-governor, a position that must have even been insisted upon by the Welsers, who must have perceived Federmann as a veteran and a valuable individual who could complement von Speyer's inexperience. During a stopover in Santo Domingo, Federmann presented the royal audiencia his request for the reinstatement of his title of governor, which was to be forwarded to the Spanish court. Three months after Federmann and the governor arrived in Coro in February 1535, von Speyer headed south on his lengthy Choque expedition, leaving Federmann detailed instructions on what to accomplish during his absence. He asked Federmann to establish a city, if possible, or a fortress in Cabo de la Vela to secure that region. Von Speyer was going after the same Meta Diego de Ordás and Gerónimo Ortal had identified as existing up the Orinoco River, or the Xerira region, rumors of its existence having been heard by Alfinger. Von Speyer was to head south, down to the Venezuela Llanos and beyond.

The complete package of royal directives, or cédulas, revising the functions of the governor and his lieutenant-captain as suggested by the Coro council attorneys to the Spanish court, arrived in Venezuela. Federmann vigorously opposed several of those directives and requested their suspension until the local circumstances were better studied by the distant court, but the tangible result was a rift between him and the municipal council plus the royal officials. Federmann remained in Coro for a while, hoping for the arrival of his title as governor which, in spite

of the newly revised functions, still enjoyed a much broader authority than the one he had as lieutenant-governor. He had sent an advance party towards Cabo de la Vela, but in October he left Coro in disgust.

Nothing permanent was established by Federmann, and nearly 400 persons were concentrated in the Guajira Peninsula where the Cabo was, including 50 soldiers from Santa Marta led by Captain Juan de Ribera, who were taken prisoners while wandering in that peninsula. The near-desert aridity of the soil, the lack of any worthwhile natural resources, and the absence of docile Indians together compelled Federmann to abandon the area, leaving nothing behind. He might have tried to continue to Valle de Upar, originally visited by Pedro de Lerma and later by Ambrosio Alfinger, but the strong presence of his Santa Marta neighbor, Governor Pedro Fernández de Lugo, might have dissuaded him.<sup>31</sup> Whether this dissuasion took place or not, it is certain that Federmann did take the first step leading him to witness the creation of the New Kingdom. He ordered Captain Diego Martínez to conduct the bulk of the troops by way of the Carora Sierra towards the Acarigua Valley and to wait for him there, while he gathered additional men and supplies in Coro.

In view of the resounding failure of Federmann's expedition to Cabo de la Vela where more than 100 persons died, the atmosphere he found in Coro had worsened to the point of being frankly hostile. In addition, his title as governor had not arrived. Federmann was indeed reinstated to that post, but he was never to receive the corresponding title because it was intentionally delayed in Europe and in Santo Domingo, and hidden in Coro. By December 1536, he decided to leave the city for the Tocuyo area where

he would meet with Captain Diego Martínez and lead his troops in search of Xerira or Meta, against von Speyer's orders.

#### Events Preceding Sebastián de Belalcázar's Expedition

Experienced Sebastián de Belalcázar had been one of the 168 companions of Francisco Pizarro who had imprisoned the Inca in Cajamarca. Unlike Jiménez and Federmann, therefore, he was familiar with Peru, the South Sea, and the lands south of the equator. He had moved up beyond the northern reaches of the original Inca Empire where he had established several cities, and he was in the process of quietly carving out a province for himself to govern. When he began to take the first steps that would lead him to witness the creation of the New Kingdom, he had just returned to Quito after founding the cities of Cali and Popayán in a northern province which was to be known by the name of the latter city. On July 7, 1537, he reassumed the post Francisco Pizarro had given him of lieutenant-governor and captain general of the province of Quito and of any other he might wish to establish.<sup>32</sup>

When Belalcázar returned to Quito from the province of Popayán he had created, he was not to remain there. He had gone to Quito only to gather men, provisions and Indians to take to that province which could be considered under Pizarro, but that he wanted under his total command.<sup>33</sup> He continued his preparations until after March 4, when he finally departed north, accompanied by 200 conquerors and some 5,000 Indians. His publicly declared purpose was to assist the cities of Cali and Popayán and to conquer other kingdoms for His Majesty.<sup>34</sup> Yet, there could be more

detailed reasons within that general context, including some a bit more selfish.

The colonial chroniclers, most of whom wrote their works years after the events, commonly agreed that Belalcázar was after El Dorado, a generic name based on a "golden Indian" who had been captured in the province of Quito in 1535. Yet according to a well-documented work, the search for El Dorado was not one of Belalcázar's reasons for going to the New Kingdom. There still remains, however, the rather unresolved question raised by one of Belalcázar's companions who declared three months after the creation of the New Kingdom that they had left Popayán in search of the Dorado and Paquíes, or Paqua.<sup>35</sup> In spite of that nagging question, the Dorado issue can be put aside from this analysis, for it seems rather certain now the legend did have a solid basis but was known only after Belalcázar left the Muisca territory for Spain.

The colonial chroniclers also indicated Belalcázar had two reasons for going north: to obtain the title of governor of the province he had created, and to continue exploring up to the North Sea.<sup>36</sup> It could not have escaped Belalcázar, who knew the area well for he had spent the last 25 years of his life between Panama, Nicaragua, and Peru, how important it would be for his future governorship to have a direct land passage to the North Sea. That route would eliminate the impractical ship unloading and loading operation required to make it across the Panamanian Isthmus, and, more important for him at the moment when he was trying to break away from Pizarro, it would distance him from the Peruvian influence pervading Panama. That is why, despite Popayán province's direct access to the



Pacific Ocean via the so-called Port of Cali, he must have felt that another route to the North Sea was most convenient.<sup>37</sup>

There is no doubt that Belalcázar was trying from the outset to obtain title to the governorship of Popayán, judging by his subsequent actions after he left that city. Only in one place could he be granted that favor, and that place was the Spanish court. In consequence, he had a dual purpose in heading for the North Sea: to find a northern land route out of his future governorship, and to secure a swift passage to Spain.

Another reason for Belalcázar's expedition could derive from the past experiences of three of his companions, Juan de Avendaño, Luis de Sanabria, and Martín Yáñez. Avendaño and Yáñez had been with Diego de Ordás up the Orinoco River when they heard the news of the rich Meta. Sanabria had been in Cubagua and Maracapaná by the time Gerónimo Ortal was searching for Meta. All three could have very well influenced Belalcázar to believe that farther north there was unknown wealth waiting to be taken. One fact substantiating that possibility is how slowly Belalcázar proceeded. Had his only reasons been to find the North Sea and go to Spain as soon as he reached the navigable portion of the Magdalena River, he should have constructed adequate vessels to navigate them downstream, that is, if he knew where the river ended and if he had the resources to construct the vessels. According to his own account to the king, he had both knowledge and tools at his disposal.<sup>38</sup>

After all reasons are considered, Belalcázar seemed intent on finding out what was north of the lands he had settled, on finding an inland outlet to the North Sea, on going to Spain for his title of

governor of the province of Popayán, and if possible, on finding out about additional reaches that could be had.

#### Relation of These Expeditions With Others of the Americas

After its Caribbean phase, which had won for the Spanish crown the islands of Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, during the early part of the sixteenth century, the American conquest spread from these islands to the continent in two main drives. The first initiated in Hispaniola was towards Panama, and the second which had Cuba as its base extended to Mexico. The conquest thrust to Panama led to the finding of the South Sea in 1513, the expansion of exploratory ventures towards Central America during the 1520s, and to the vanquishment of the Inca Empire in 1532. The conquering thrust from Cuba reached the Aztec capital winning Mexico for Spain, from where it extended south to Central America.

Aside from those two conquering thrusts of Caribbean origin there was another aimed towards continental South America organized directly in Spain in the 1520s. It was made up of several independent efforts that intended to gain control of the provinces of Santa Marta, Venezuela, Maracapana, Marañón and Orinoco, representing an area that extended over a vast coastal region arching north and west of the Amazon to the east of the Magdalena River. Immediately after the first settlements were established exploratory and conquering efforts spread to some of the neighboring regions, including the future New Kingdom of Granada.

Several of the exploratory and conquering ventures resulting from the two Caribbean and the one Spain-based thrusts had common purposes. Their principal goals, aside from the obvious need to become familiar with

the areas immediately adjacent to the conquered territories, were to find a water passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, a short land route from the North Atlantic coast of South America to Peru, and a convenient way to reach the gold veins which supposedly grew under the earth in profusion around the equator. With the purpose of finding the water passage to the Pacific Ocean, from Mexico Hernán Cortés sent Pedro de Alvarado to Nicaragua and Cristóbal de Olid to Honduras; from Panama Pedrarias Dávila sent Gil González de Avila to Honduras and Francisco Hernández de Córdoba to Costa Rica; from Venezuela the Welser Company sent governors Alfinger and von Speyer to explore inland; and from Santa Marta governors Rodrigo Alvarez Palomino and Pedro de Lerma--followed a few years later by Pedro Fernández de Lugo--sent their own exploratory parties south. To find an expedient land route to the riches of Peru that were supposed to be close to the equator, Alvarez and Lerma sent south exploratory parties; and to find the gold veins growing close to the equator, Diego de Ordás and Gerónimo de Ortal led their own hosts up the Orinoco River.

Even though none of those expeditions succeeded in finding a body of water connecting the two oceans, or a convenient land route to Peru, nor profuse gold veins near the equator, nor a convenient land route to Peru, they did succeed in conquering and settling adjacent territories. The conquest of Guatemala was an offshoot of the conquest of Mexico, as the conquest of other parts of Central America was the result of similar efforts originating in Panama and Mexico. The conquest and colonization of Chile and Quito--and as a consequence Popayán--resulted from the conquest of Peru, as the New Kingdom of Granada resulted from conquering ventures

spreading from Venezuela, Maracapana, Marañón and Orínoco, Popayán, Santa Marta, and Venezuela.

The expeditions that succeeded in settling these adjacent territories were often led by experienced captains of the original conquests who saw in them an opportunity to become independent of their generals. The ambitions of these captains curtailed in effect the expansionary intents of their generals. If, for instance, Pedro de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Olid found their opportunity in Guatemala and Honduras after having served under Cortés, so also did Francisco Hernández de Córdoba in Costa Rica and Nicaragua after having been part of Dávila's host, and Diego de Almagro plus Pedro de Valdivia in Chile, and Hernando de Soto in Florida after the last three had served under Francisco Pizarro in Peru. And others related to the New Kingdom also found their independence: Belalcázar became governor after having served under Pizarro, and Jiménez marischal after having been loyal to Fernández de Lugo. Federmann, the third general initially active in the conquest of the New Kingdom, did not have time to obtain his reward for he died three years after having returned to Europe.

### Notes

1. Juan López de Velasco, Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias (Madrid, 1971), pp. 179-180.
2. See the 25 royal cédulas transcribed in DIHC I, 76-139.
3. The contract between the crown and Fernández de Lugo is transcribed in DIHC III, 196-210.
4. Unless otherwise specified, most of the data mentioned under this subheading are from Leopoldo de la Rosa Olivera, "Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo Prepara la Expedición a Santa Marta," Anuario de estudios atlánticos No. 5 (1959), pp. 399-444.
5. One ducat was equivalent to 375 maravedís; since one gold peso was equal to 450 maravedís, 1.2 ducats were equal to one peso. The real, which is mentioned later, was equal to 1/8 of a peso. The maravedí was a measure only; no coins of that value circulated.
6. DIHC IV-200 to 202.
7. DIHC IV-291 to 294.
8. AGI Patronato 112-1-1, probanza Lázaro Fonte, Quito, 1565.
9. FPA I-188.
10. DIHC III-294. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, Historia de la provincia de Santa Marta, 2 vols., (Bogotá, 1953), vol. 1, p. 137.
11. The list of the men who registered in Seville to travel with Junco can be compiled from CPI II, 3-79. All passengers with destination for Cartagena listed between numbers 40 to 1308 should be included. There is no known corresponding list of those who traveled on Don Pedro's armada.
12. Rosa Olivera, "Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo," pp. 437 and 438.
13. For a lovely description of Fernandez de Lugo's arrival and the contrasting impressions of his companions with those who were in Santa Marta, please see JC II, 408-415; see also FPS III, 47-50.
14. The term colonial chroniclers as used throughout this work refers in the first place to authors Fray Pedro Aguado, Fray Juan de Castellanos, Fray Pedro Simón, and Bishop Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, whom wrote chronicles about the conquest and colonization of the New Kingdom of Granada. Their writings done between the second half of the sixteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth are well known, and therefore,

often they do not need further introduction. Pedro Cieza de León, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Antonio de Herrera, and Fray Alonso de Zamora, can be included in that list at times. However, they are invariably noted whenever they are mentioned. Lastly, even though Juan Rodríguez Freyle and Juan Flórez de Ocariz did not write chronicles, their works contain considerable historical facts that are brought to attention often, side by side with the colonial chroniclers. For a description of the works of all the above authors, please see the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this work, or the bibliography, at its end. For this particular citation about the disease affecting the people in Santa Marta in early 1536, please see JC II, 414; FPS III, 51.

15. The colonial chroniclers followed by recent historians have likened Alonso Luis the Lugo to a highway robber, even responsible for the premature death of his father. See for instance FPS III, 77; GFO III, 79; and RR, 21. Rivas wrote that Alonso deserved the damnation of his father "por robar, como vil ratero, las cantidades indispensables para pagar las deudas de la armada", p. 149. Some documents, however, suggest that Don Pedro knew about the departure of his son taking the gold. In one of them it is stated that, in fact, Don Pedro ordered his son to take the gold to the Canaries: see DIHC IV, 185. Even if Don Pedro knew in advance, he may have opted to accuse his son in order to calm the wrath of the conquerors who collected the gold and the anger of the waiting shipowner.

16. Demetrio Ramos Pérez, Estudios de historia Venezolana (Caracas, 1976), pp. 259-281.

17. Demetrio Ramos Pérez, El mito del Dorado, su génesis y proceso (Caracas, 1973), pp. 103-104.

18. Restrepo Tirado, Historia de Santa Marta, vol. 1, p. 61.

19. DIHC II, 232-233; FPA I, 174; Anónimo, "Relación de la Conquista de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada, transcribed in Juan Friede, Descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada y fundación de Bogotá. (1536-1539) (Bogotá, 1960), pp. 201-252.

20. DIHC II, 266-267, and 368.

21. Lerma's letter to the crown dated September 9, 1532, transcribed in DIHC II, 318.

22. DIHC III, 98-65; FPA I, 177-183; FPS III, 35-38; Anónimo, "Relación", in Friede, Descubrimiento, pp. 201-252.

23. FPS III, 41-42.

24. FPA I, 209.

25. All the data on the Welser are from JF2, 77-92.

26. Demetrio Ramos, La fundación de Venezuela: Ampiés y Coro. una singularidad histórica (Valladolid-Coro, 1978), p. 263.
27. JF2, 342. Friede observes that the 50 percent surcharge on passage credit reflected the risk of crossing the Atlantic.
28. JF2, 181-182. Regarding Alfinger in Venezuela, see JF2, 166-234.
29. Nicolás Féderman, Historia indiana (Madrid, 1958).
30. On Federman's activity in Venezuela, please see JF2, 235-335.
31. See JF2, 283. Friede's belief that von Speyer and Federmann had agreed to meet somewhere south and go after Xerira, is based on rather weak evidence.
32. CDQ I, 270-274.
33. On September 18, 1537, the Quito municipal council asked Belalcázar not to take away citizens or horses. He answered that he did not intend to take anyone who did not wish to go, and that he would leave the necessary reinforcements to protect the town; see CDQ I, 302-303. On December 5, the same council asked Belalcázar to stop sending persons to take Indians and their products out of their natural habitat; see CDQ I, 325. On February 7, city mayor Juan del Río publicly announced his resignation from that post for he was going with Belalcázar to aid the cities of Cali and Popayán, plus their province; see CDQ I, 362-363.
34. See CDQ I, 365-371, 374, 445, and Diego Garcés Giraldo, Sebastián de Belalcázar, fundador de ciudades (Cali, 1986), p. 189. Diego de Torres who accompanied Belalcázar to Popayán, declared in Quito before his departure, that "ba en el socorro de las ciudades de popayan e cali que dexo pobladas e a descubrir otras tierras e nueuos rreynos a su magestad"; see CDQ I, 400. Also see DIHC V, 206.
35. See Ramos, El mito del Dorado. The assertion on El Dorado and Paquíes was made by Treasurer Gonzalo de la Peña; see DIHC V, 208.
36. FPA III, 332; JC III, 375 and IV, 293; FPS III, 332 and 336; LFP I, 193 and 302.
37. This Pacific port may have been located in the same place where the city of Buenaventura was founded two years later. Mention of this Port of Cali is found in a document dated January 1540; see DIHC V, 269 and 272. Also see DIHC V, 130-135.
38. Belalcázar's letter to the king dated March 20, 1540, transcribed in Garcés, Sebastián de Belalcázar, pp. 383 and 384.

## CHAPTER 2 THE EXPEDITIONS

The six expeditions carried out by the conquerors who settled and created the New Kingdom of Granada were divided into two broad groups according to whether their primary intent was exploratory or colonizing. Events occurring prior to the exploratory ventures were studied in Chapter 1, and the reasons for their undertaking were determined up to the point when their organization could be completed and they could depart from Santa Marta, Venezuela, and the city of Popayán. Since the reasons for the colonizing expeditions were fairly clear from the outset, the next step was to organize them. Because their organization and the operation of both the exploratory and colonizing ventures had certain common characteristics, they will be studied as a whole prior to considering each expedition individually. Part of the financial arrangements, the purchasing of provisions, and the enrolling of people have been studied in Chapter 1 when the antecedents of the expeditions were considered. Others organizational aspects specific to one expedition will be analyzed when that venture is studied later in this chapter.

### Organization

The six expeditions considered in this study were organized in a military structure that ranged from rather rigid to quite lenient. Those of an exploratory nature tended to be more militarily oriented, as one



might expect, whereas those with a colonizing intent were less. Their degree of martial organization seemed to be the result of the interaction of military and financial interests. The stronger the presence of the merchants, the less the military emphasis of the enterprise.

Under a supreme leader, usually called captain-general or simply general, there were persons with military titles such as field marshal, standard-bearer, captain, horse soldier, and foot soldiers of several kinds, from leader of a group, arquebusier, crossbowman, machete soldier, shield bearer, and hoe soldier. Many of these individuals, especially the soldiers, were of questionable military experience or even martial training. All soldiers, captains, and any other member of the expedition were under the authority of the captain-general. While Hernán Cortés divided his 508 soldiers among 11 captains, or 46 soldiers per captain, and Francisco Pizarro distributed his 167 men among 7 captains, or 28 men each, Gonzalo Jiménez assigned on the average, 75 men to each of his eight captains.<sup>1</sup> Land soldiers reported directly to a captain or sometimes to a group leader. Supporting the land forces that were to advance parallel to the swampy shores of the Magdalena River, five brigantines with up to 50 men each were commanded by their corresponding captains, but all were under the direction of one naval head.

Other persons who were an integral part of the expeditions were the priests, who contributed moral support and spiritual guidance; the medical doctor; the apothecary; the farrier; and the blacksmith, who provided indispensable services to all; the scribe who recorded all administrative, legislative, and judicial matter of significance; and the tenedor de bienes de difuntos, who accounted for the possessions left at

death. Aside from the priests, these were members of the army who displayed military titles. The same applied to the three persons who represented royal interests and were royal officials, namely the accountant, overseer, and treasurer. They collected taxes on whatever booty was gathered and managed the royal coffers.

### Internal Relations

The captain-general was the highest administrative, executive, and judiciary authority during the expedition. His powers were great. On military matters, he had the ultimate word and he could name new captains and demote others. He could impose the rules and regulations he deemed convenient for the successful progress of his venture. As the highest judicial authority, he could condemn anyone to punishment, including the loss of life. Jiménez had soldier Juan Gordo executed because of a minor crime, and he even condemned to death Captain Lázaro Fonte, the very same prominent Canarian who had contributed 150 men and a ship to make the Atlantic passage. Fonte's sentence was changed to exile after much pleading by the other captains. The great power the captain-general had on the economic well-being of his people after the creation of the New Kingdom will be commented when its colonization process is studied.

The general, captains, leaders, and soldiers formed a company which had a common cause. Everyone provided his own arms, horses, slaves, and any other equipment or supplies he wanted to take along. No one was to derive a salary, but each was to receive a share in the collected booty according to his rank. Provisions, supplies, and equipment benefiting the company could be contributed and charged to the common interest under the

expectation that they were to be paid back out of whatever treasure was gathered by all. Many persons in Jiménez's expedition received payment from the common fund for horses lost on the way or for provisions contributed to the common interest. Valuables obtained by individual members had to be placed in the common fund, and a record of the entries was kept.<sup>2</sup> The result was that almost all participants on an expedition were partners in that enterprise during the course of its duration, risking their own for an expected, yet rare, great reward. There were exceptions: four men in Jiménez's expedition, called adventurer soldiers, did not have a right to the booty, and some persons perceived a salary. The doctor and surgeon were paid 1,000 pesos, the farrier who doubled as blacksmith was given 700 pesos, and the apothecary received 280 pesos. It appears that special conditions had to be offered to medical doctors and blacksmiths to lure them in participating in this sort of enterprise, for they were hired under quite favorable terms.<sup>3</sup>

Of the three conquering expeditions, the first, led by Jiménez, collected the largest booty. Its gross total was over 200,000 gold pesos and 1,630 emeralds. Those led by Federmann and Belalcázar collected 2,625 and 10,000 gold pesos, respectively, and Lebrón gathered an undisclosed amount of fine gold and 400 pounds of low-carat gold.<sup>4</sup> No record has been found of any amounts gathered by the expeditions led by Lope Montalvo de Lugo or by Alonso Luis de Lugo. The large treasure taken by Jiménez from the Indians is put into better perspective when compared with the more than 1.5 million pesos taken by Pizarro from Atahualpa, or the 162,000 gold pesos, 500 marks of silver, and costly jewelry Montezuma gave Cortés as tribute.<sup>5</sup>

Once the booty was collected and taxes deducted, it was divided into equal parts under the supervision of soldiers, captains, and royal officials.<sup>6</sup> In Jiménez's expedition, each part came to be about 550 gold pesos and 5 emeralds. The largest share was that of Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo who was to receive 10 parts, followed by Jiménez with 9 parts, the captains 4, the sergeant major 3, the horse soldiers 2, the arquebusiers and crossbowmen 1 1/2, except their leaders who were to get 2, the machete men and the shield-bearers who received 1 part. The two priests received 2 parts each.

There is no clear evidence that the same kind of internal relations prevalent among the men active in Panama in 1520 existed also among Jiménez's soldiers. Historian Mario Góngora noted that among those men in Panama some were near slaves to others, some rode horses to the benefit of the horse owners, and that the high officials had taken the lion's share of the booty.<sup>7</sup> While those conditions do not seem to have been duplicated in the case of Jiménez, others certainly were: a number of men borrowed money to outfit themselves for the expeditions, and it is quite plausible that those amounts that had to be paid out of their collected share with very high interest, or insurance premium, commensurate with the very high risk of the transaction, and even more. There is also tangible evidence that the captains who carried supplies in brigantines up the Magdalena River sold them to the land forces at a high profit.

The leaders of the expeditions and a few of their captains, however, did enjoy the services of other men. Criado helped Antonio de Lebrija, the captain under Jiménez; Francisco de Saldaña, Belalcázar's secretary, had a servant who lost his life on the way to the New Kingdom;<sup>8</sup> and merchant

Alonso Martín, who accompanied Lebrón, enjoyed the steward services provided by Pedro Téllez. Gonzalo Jiménez was assisted by Pedro del Acevo; Nikolaus Federmann was accompanied by two aides;<sup>9</sup> besides Saldaña, Alonso Miguel also served Belalcázar; Pedro de la Torre helped Montalvo de Lugo; and Antón de Alcarazo, Antonio de Melgar, Diego Sánchez Farfán, and Francisco de Valcárcel were at one time or another at the service of Alonso Luis de Lugo. Yet, it does not appear that any of these aides, secretaries, stewards, pages, or attendants were subjected to servitude (slavery).

Soldiers helped captains and also each other. Several instances are found of soldiers pooling their resources to venture themselves as a unit during the expedition. They would share whatever they had, they helped each other, and they lived, camped, and ate together. These groups were between two persons or sometimes even more, perhaps four or five. Sometimes these internal alliances, specially when made among high-ranking persons, were viewed as potentially dangerous to the stability of the enterprise. When Alonso Luis de Lugo was informed that his field marshal Juan Pérez Cabrera, Fernando de Anaya, and the three distinguished Ovalle brothers had made an alliance to live as a unit and to defend each other till death, he took it as a potential threat that could challenge his authority and, therefore, excluded them from his expedition.<sup>10</sup>

Soldiers were free to participate in the expeditions, but, once they were accepted, they were highly committed to them. When Captain Juan de Ribera and his 40 or so men joined Federmann at Cabo de la Vela because they could not return to Santa Marta, they were most welcomed. But, when some time later a group of them tried to escape back to Santa Marta, they

were judged for insubordination and two were executed.<sup>11</sup> Part of the remnants of Diego de Ordás's expedition to the Meta ended under the command of two captains that met Federmann's troop on the way. About 70 ex-Ortal's soldiers voluntarily joined this troop to continue as a group until they reached the New Kingdom. The expedition of Lope Montalvo de Lugo was reinforced on the way by 25 men who were remnants of another expedition in search of Meta, while another 35 continued with their original leader towards Coro.

Other soldiers were not allowed to participate in expeditions they wanted. Several men complained later that Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo had prevented them from joining Jiménez. Others in this expedition were very disappointed when they were asked to remain on the brigantines by the Magdalena River while the rest of their companions continued up the mountain to the future New Kingdom. Those who remained behind returned to Santa Marta on these vessels without seeing the new lands and, more important, without participating in the collected booty. Other men were forced to join expeditions. Captain Pedro de Puelles had just founded Villaviciosa de la Concepción de Pasto and wanted to remain there, but Belalcázar imprisoned him and took him to the New Kingdom against his will. Alonso Suárez, who headed the advanced party of Alonso Luis de Lugo's expedition, found Melchor Valdés in Santiago de Sompallón and forced him to continue with him. Valdés would have preferred to remain in the city he had recently established but Suárez did not leave him any choice. In general, people were free to join the expeditions voluntarily, but, if they were badly needed, their participation could be forced. Once they committed themselves to a particular venture, to escape was not easy,

and, obviously, in many circumstances, the only option they had was to continue till the end.

### External Relations

The conquering expeditions had external relations with the royal, provincial, or local levels of government, their sponsors and financiers, the citizens of the towns they departed from or went by, and the Indians inhabiting the places where these ventures originated, traversed, and ended. Since part of these relations with the crown officials and the financiers have been studied before and others specific to one expedition will be analyzed when that venture is studied later in this chapter, the following comments are, therefore, general in nature.

The royal government represented by the Council of the Indies and its subsidiary, the Casa de Contratación, supervised to ensure that the conquest and colonization of territories granted by the crown under the terms of the corresponding contract, were carried out as agreed. The Casa oversaw preparations regarding supplies and transportation and made certain that the enrolled persons destined to the Indies satisfied all conditions including those related to their national origin and their religion.<sup>12</sup> Once the expeditions were on their way, the crown's representation was left to its officials, the accountant, overseer, treasurer, and to some extent, to the recording activities of the scribes and to the person in charge of the belongings left at death.

Since most of the expeditions were organized in the Indies, far away from the control of the Council or the Casa, more immediately important were the relations between the leaders of those ventures and the local

authorities. Conflicts invariably arose between the colonizing interests represented by the city council and its citizens and the conquering interests represented by the captain-general and other organizers of the venture. These conflicts generally surfaced when the conquerors began exerting pressure on the local resources they wanted to take away and the settlers wanted to remain. In chronological order, the actions of Governor Ambrosio Alfinger in Venezuela had resulted in a series of royal mandates curtailing the prerogatives of the governors and their assistants and enlarging those of the cabildo, or town councils.<sup>13</sup> Lieutenant-Governor Federmann could not agree that his authority as military governor of that province was so seriously limited in favor of the civilian interests, and, therefore, he opposed them in a losing battle. The favoring by the Venezuelan authorities of the colonizing interests contributed heavily to Federmann's decision to abandon the city of Coro for his venture to Cabo de la Vela and later, to his determination to encamp in the Tocuyo area where he gave the finishing touches to his final undertaking.

The material requirements of the expeditions caused heavy strains on the local resources, no doubt, and these had to be protected by the authorities. Such was also the case when the Quito council tried to limit the number of Spaniards and Indians, as well as horses and provisions that Belalcázar could take out of the city for his projected expedition to Popayán and beyond.<sup>14</sup> The extreme cases of how damaging expeditions could be to budding Spanish-style towns were those of Villaviciosa de La Concepción de Pasto and Santiago de Sompallón, which according to Puelles and Valdés, were depopulated by a passing captain-general.



The relations between Alonso Luis de Lugo and the council of Santa María de los Remedios, better known as Río Hacha, the city where he arrived from Spain and from where he departed for the New Kingdom, could not be more tense. With his advanced party, he forcibly collected from the royal coffers what he believed was his share in the yield of the province, to the dismay and anger of its citizens, who argued to no avail, that Río Hacha was not within his governorship of Santa Marta.<sup>15</sup> Other relations between the local authorities and the expeditions were strained by more imaginative reasons. When the Santa Marta city council learned that Jiménez had collected and distributed a large booty, it wrote a letter to the king complaining about the suffering the local citizens had to endure during the absence of those who went on that successful expedition. The council explained how the people left behind had to support the city fending off attacks, suffering from hunger and diseases for lack of food and other provisions, while awaiting the return of those who had departed. When they had learned about the distribution of the collected treasure, they were unpleasantly surprised they had not been included.<sup>16</sup> Even though Santa Marta's complaints dampened the seriousness of the impact exerted on the civil population by the departing expeditions, they were quite important even if they cannot be compared with the tremendous pressure those ventures exerted on the Indian populations.

These well-armed and armored captain-generals, officers, leaders, and soldiers, some mounted on war horses and accompanied by ferocious dogs, were to fight non other than the Indians. Nevertheless, they needed Indians to find Indians to fight. The Europeans of every expedition known, whether conquering or colonizing, secured the voluntary or forced services

of the American natives to satisfy any possible want they had, to carry their loads, to procure their food, to guide them across unknown territories, and to translate the local languages. Jiménez took hundreds of Indians out of Santa Marta. One pious chronicler added these were peaceful Indians, both male and female, who had been baptized prior to their departure.<sup>17</sup> By the actions of his captain Pedro de Limpías, Federmann secured the not-so-voluntary services of hundreds of native residents of El Tocuyo and other areas. It was Belalcázar who was to outdo all the others, for he was accompanied by thousands of docile Indians, many accustomed to serving under Inca and some even under Maya and Aztec rulers. There was such large number of Indian servants in that expedition that it was believed that some conquerors were accompanied by 150 of them, who furnished various services, including special sexual favors provided by expert "ladies of games."<sup>18</sup> These American natives were basic to the success of the Europeans in finding more advanced and richer Indian civilizations.

The contribution of other natives could have been even more indispensable to the advancement of the expeditions. Without them and their possessions, the settling of the New Kingdom would have been delayed several decades, if not more than a century. Indians living along the path of the expeditions involuntarily contributed their field crops to feeding the invaders and their people to replenishing the ranks of servants who had succumbed on the way. The sustenance of the conquerors depended on Indian foods, and, without these, they would not have been able to advance long distances. Therefore, were it not for the help of these Indians, the pattern of colonization of the inland territories the

Spaniards had to follow would have been similar to the slow advance of the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England. It took their descendants more than a century to settle the heart of the Ohio River Valley which was about as far from the coast as the New Kingdom was.

In spite of all the Indian help and their valuable contributions in the form of gold and emeralds, relations between the members of the expeditions and the Indians were simply deplorable. The role of the vanquished was to pay homage to the distant Spanish King and to serve, obey, and pay tribute to the newly arrived Europeans. Any deviation from these simple principles was met with harsh punishment and cruel death. The Indians, such as the defenseless and ill-equipped Muisca who did not even know how to use a strong bow and arrow combination, had, therefore, no choice than to continue helping the conquerors when they reached their highlands. They continued showing them the territory where the New Kingdom was to be established and where their lords, their sanctuaries, their treasures, their mines, and even the tombs of their ancestors were. The Spanish colonization of their land was about to begin by the men who arrived on the following expeditions.<sup>19</sup>

#### Description

##### Gonzalo Jiménez's Expedition

Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo had already spent more than two months in his governorship of Santa Marta. He had investigated what their best options were, and he had completed his information on the previous ventures organized by Alvarez and Lerma in search of a passage to Peru and the South Sea up the Magdalena River. He had also considered who were the

most capable persons and what material resources he had available. After revising his options he decided to send his great expedition in search of the South Sea and Peru. As its captain-general, he selected his second in command, Licentiate Gonzalo Jiménez, and gave him detailed orders on how to proceed.<sup>20</sup> Jiménez was instructed on how to treat the Indians found on the way and how the gathered booty was to be divided, but nothing was indicated to him about how to establish the most rudimentary colony, less about to found cities, and much less about creating a new province, which was the unexpected result of that venture.

Don Pedro's expedition, commanded by Jiménez, was not meant, then, to be a colonizing venture. He, therefore, named eight captains to lead the land forces, four of whom were veterans in the Indies and were already in Santa Marta, and four who had come with him from Spain. Of these, two were experienced soldiers in European wars. Little is known of the other two.<sup>21</sup> Those captains were to lead about 600 soldiers, including 50 horsemen, on a southern course which was to meet at the Magdalena River. The river forces were to go on brigantines carrying supplies, each commanded by a captain. After several difficulties, five of those vessels with 200 men were able to go upstream, all led by another licentiate, Diego Hernández Gallego. The expedition was organized as a military undertaking, and, except for the two priests that went along and a few adventurers,<sup>22</sup> the rest of the Europeans were soldiers, each with a title of machete soldier, arquebusier, crossbowman, and rodelero, or shield bearer.

Jiménez's expedition departed from Santa Marta on April 5, 1536. The land route he followed can be divided into three parts with the following

estimated distances: 1) from Santa Marta to Sompallón where the land and the river groups met, 100 leagues; 2) from Sompallón to La Tora where all the troops rested for three months, 50 leagues; 3) from La Tora to the Opón River and up the Eastern Cordillera to the land of the Muisca tribes where the New Kingdom was created, 50 leagues. (See Figure 2.) Jiménez headed south on level territory when the rainy season was beginning, skirting the massive Santa Marta Sierra and the domains of the feared Chimila nation. He veered towards the southeast to reach and follow the already known Cesar River which flowed into the Magdalena; nevertheless, his troops managed to get lost. After raiding a cornfield to replenish their food supplies and picking several of their owners to serve them along the way, they reached the old, strategically located and well-provided site of the Tamalameque lord, not before losing several of the men that had fell sick already. As Pedro de Lerma and Ambrosio Alfínger had done before, Jiménez and his troop of less than 600 men imposed upon the hospitality of Tamalameque for about three weeks. This area was well populated, food provisions abounded, and, as a consequence it was the center of an active Indian commerce that spread out in many directions.

The conquerors, many of whom were sick, followed the Indian paths towards Sompallón at a slower pace. This was another known and well-provided place located 20 leagues south. There they met the brigantines and benefited from the needed supplies they had on board. Jiménez had lost 100 men. He accommodated as many sick men as he could on the brigantines, and ordered others to be carried on horses. From then on the difficulties encountered by the expedition were even greater. The territory was less inhabited, which meant no paths to follow, no cornfields on the way, and

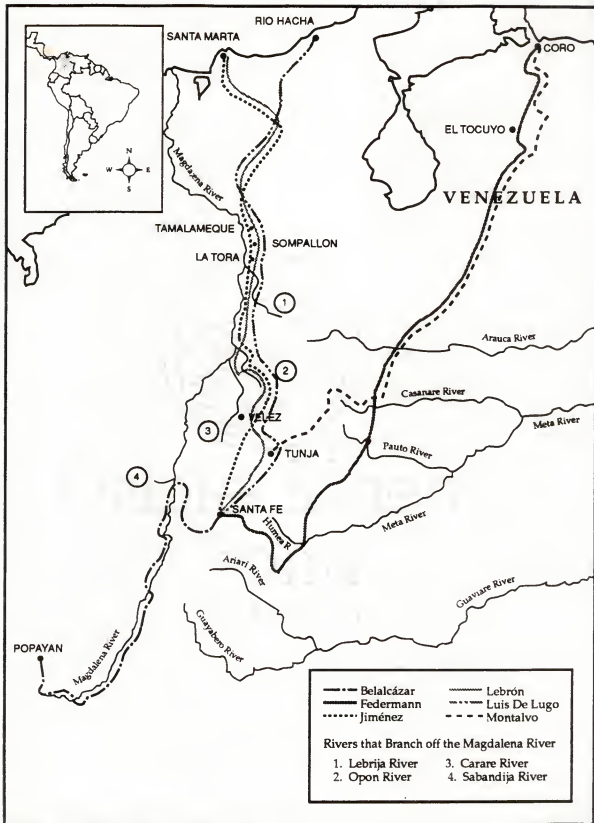


Figure 2. The Routes of the Expeditions

no natives to carry the heavy loads. A unit of machete soldiers, or beaters, was formed to clear a path across the jungle and off the swamps that spread out along the riverside. Hunger continued, all sorts of tropical insects pestered them, the warm and humid weather slowed their pace even more, and the presence of so-called tigers (jaguars) and caimans added to their worries. To their advantage, however, they were traveling on level ground previously traversed by some of the men, up to the mouth of the Lebrija River; from then on the territory was unknown to all. In spite of the help provided by the brigantines, it took the land party two months to cover the 50 leagues between Sompallón and La Tora.

Another 100 men had died by the time the expedition had reached La Tora. The survivors decided to weather out the shorter rainy season that had begun, while the sick could get some rest and eat larger rations of the local maize and cassava. Yet people continued to die in spite of having food and rest, as well as protection from the rain, wild animals, and some of the insects. When two or three months later they decided to leave the area, to their astonishment, they realized he had lost another 200 men there. Nevertheless Jiménez continued to press on. He had noticed that, beyond a given point, natives were found carrying blocks of salt, and, when he was informed that some of his men had found some finely decorated cotton blankets, he took both signs as an indication of the existence of a more advanced civilization.

The existence of mined salt and a few fine cotton blankets in the area were deviating Jiménez from his goal of reaching Peru. An upstream exploration of the flooded river revealed it was still too difficult to navigate. He, therefore, ordered another upstream exploration of a nearby

tributary river that flowed down the eastern mountains. The explorers rowed their canoes three days up the Magdalena and Opón Rivers, and continued on foot along a good trail they found for about 30 leagues. Along the trail they found several intermittently spaced huts, some intended to shelter travelers, others containing some fine cotton blankets and maize, and still others that were veritable salt storage houses. With this promising news they returned, and, eventually, the enthusiastic Licentiate ordered his men to follow the salt trail up the mountain made an agreement with the brigantines to wait for them for a few months. The way up the mountain proved treacherous but they managed to find food. They continued without unsurpassable difficulties, and some soldiers had the first skirmish with the natives, imprisoning some, of whom one who was from Bogotá was to be a valuable guide. The conquerors continued until they reached the Grita Valley in March 1537, the first place located in the densely populated Muisca territory.

The vanquishing of the Muisca lords was swift. The first organized opposition of their vassals to the European invasion was a disaster for the locals and was to be repeated a few more times. The Muisca did not have a deep bellicose tradition, and, as a result, they were poorly armed. Their concept of war did not contemplate the annihilation by death of an anonymous foe, so when they tried to face their invaders and to imprison them by hand they suffered a complete failure. At their first armed contact with a powerfully equipped enemy they turned their backs and ran away, as they were going to do a few more times later on.<sup>23</sup> The Europeans traversed most of the Muisca territory in less than a month, reaching south as far as the Alcázares Valley, the future site of the



first Spanish-style city, Santa Fe de Bogotá. They explored the territory in different directions and they reached the Indian salt and emerald mines, the Panche nation neighbor of the Muisca, and the beginning of the Oriental Llanos. The following August they captured a great treasure from one of the two most important lords, the Tunja Zaque, and the next month the Sogamoso fell in their hands. Shortly after, one of the conquerors killed the other great lord, the Bogotá Zipa, and his successor, Sagipa, was tortured to death to no avail, for his treasure was never found. After the group of adventurers believed the main treasure had been collected, they divided the booty among the leader Jiménez and the 173 survivors of the expedition in June 1538. From the day they arrived at the Grita Valley, they had lost only six men, none at the hands of the Muisca Indians, but one man at their own, for Juan Gordo was garroted by order of Jiménez.<sup>24</sup> His expedition had accomplished its greatest deed, yet it had not achieved its original purpose of finding a way to the South Sea and Peru. The conquerors had the difficult task ahead of adjusting to the new role they were to play as colonizers, for which they were ill prepared.

#### Nikolaus Federmann's Expedition

When his expedition to Cabo de la Vela was coming to an end, Federmann took the first step towards organizing his venture to the rich Xerira or Meta by ordering Captain Diego Martínez to lead the bulk of his troops over the Carora Sierra towards the Acarigua Valley, and to wait for him there. After returning to Coro and noticing how little support he had from the local authorities for his conquering ventures, and that his title of governor of the province had not arrived, he left the city in December

1536 and established his camp some 50 to 60 leagues south in the Tocuyo-Barquisimeto area, or near where the bulk of his troops were. While Captain Martínez was waiting a large contingent, remnant of Diego de Ortal's expedition up the Orinoco River in search of Meta, arrived in his area. Seventy of these men voluntarily joined Martínez, while their two leaders went to visit Federmann who sent them to Coro.

Federmann spent most of the year readying his expedition, waiting for the rainy season to pass, and for his title of governor to arrive. Aside from some 2,000 pesos net he obtained from the leaders of the men who joined Captain Martínez, the rest of the arms and equipment were supplied by the men themselves, many of whom owed money to the Welser Company. Captain Pedro de Limpías went as far as the province of Paraguachoa (Golfo Triste) to seize Indians to serve the expedition. At the beginning of the dry season, December 1537, Federmann decided to continue. He gathered all his people, separated about 40 who were either too old or too young and sent them back to Coro, and left some 300 soldiers who were to follow him down the great expanse of the Venezuelan Llanos.<sup>25</sup> To ease the problem of securing sustenance for so many people he divided his troops into three groups that advanced close to the eastern Andes. Their leaders may have been captains Martínez or Limpías, or Juan de Ribera, Sebastián de Almarcha, or Hernando de Beteta, the only five persons known to hold that position under Federmann. There were a few other leaders too, but the rest appear to have been plain soldiers, many on horseback.

By April 1538 Federmann and his men had reached the Apure River. He was informed there that his boss, Georg Hohermuth von Speyer, was

returning to Coro, thus ceding to him all the land to explore. In addition, 15 men who had departed late from Coro were able to reach him. Just before the rainy season, they were able to cross the Apure and later the Arauca Rivers, but they were slowed by the usual inundation of the Llanos. While they were idle, a native who lived around Cocuy told a group of soldiers that rich tribes, with gold and cotton blankets, lived over the other side of the mountains. Some men tried to find a mountain pass without success, and it was agreed by all that they would continue following the leads they had, and if they failed, they would return after this new one.

Around September 1538, the expedition crossed the Upía River and entered the fertile land of the Guayupe Indians where they found ample food, guides, and servants. They rested for a while and explored the region in several directions and as far south as the Ariari River. After being informed by the Eperigua tribe that the mountains could be crossed further north, they took some of these Indians as guides and began the hardest sector of their trek. So bad was the route they chose that according to one chronicler there were times when they had to lift the horses with ropes to climb some summits.<sup>26</sup> They traversed the Sumapaz Páramo, where several soldiers froze to death and the Indians ignited the grass which killed two soldiers, then continued toward Fosca, and finally reached Pasca on Muisca territory. Very little is found in the writings of the chroniclers or in the remaining documents about the detailed hardships of this expedition. It is also known that Federmann's secretary drowned, that a jaguar killed a soldier, that an unknown disease killed several men around the Ariari River and that a soldier died nearby from Indian wounds.

But the human losses went largely unaccounted, for they could have been as high as 140 by the time they reached Pasca late in February 1539.

Jiménez was soon informed about Federmann's arrival and sent an embassy to meet him. After greetings and courtesies were exchanged they proceeded towards the site of Santa Fe, where Jiménez and his men were living in 12 huts. On March 17, they signed an agreement, whereby Federmann acknowledged that Jiménez had found and conquered the area. Each believing it fell within his jurisdiction, they were to have their claims settled by the Spanish courts. Federmann agreed to leave his troops under Jiménez's command but he reserved the right to call them back.<sup>27</sup> Federmann did succeed in his search for the Xerira or Meta, if belatedly. Now his men were ready to continue conquering the neighboring provinces, and more important perhaps, to colonize what had already been taken from the original inhabitants.

#### Sebastián de Belalcázar's Expedition

Having gathered considerable quantities of supplies and Indian servants, Belalcázar departed Quito for Popayán sometime after March 4, 1538, accompanied by 200 conquerors.<sup>28</sup> He remained in Popayán a little over three months and then left with thousands of Indians, the same number of conquerors, and considerable quantities of provisions, horses, and even pigs, heading towards the sources of the Magdalena and Cauca Rivers. His troops were directed by a field marshall and four captains. Belalcázar and his men traveled 40 leagues and crossed freezing mountain terrain where many servants and some horses were lost. Down the mountain slopes they went following the eastern banks of the Magdalena River for another 40

leagues, crossing populated Indian territories where they gathered good samples of mined and panned gold plus some silver. They stopped for a while in the densely populated area of Timaná where there was a particularly active coca market. Never did the troops suffer any hunger, for all the area was abundantly cultivated. At the end of these 40 leagues they crossed the river and, having judged that it would be convenient to establish a town that could be supported by the dense Indian population, Belalcázar asked Pedro de Añasco to return with some 50 men to found Timaná. Añasco and his party complied with that order and there they remained. Belalcázar continued for another 40 leagues following the river.

Meanwhile, the first news about the presence of some Spaniards by the Magdalena River reached Jiménez. He sent his brother, Hernán Pérez, who finally made cautious contact with them near the confluence of the Sabandija and the Magdalena River. After knowing that Belalcázar intended to reach the North Sea, Pérez invited him to go to the Alcázares and sell part of his equipment and supplies. Belalcázar was led into Muisca territory where he established his camp around Bosa. The first documented date of Belalcázar's presence there is April 14, 1539, so he may have met Jiménez at the beginning of that month, when he could have mentioned that Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo had died in Santa Marta. Belalcázar urged Jiménez to establish cities in the territory, and as a result, in the presence of the three generals, on April 27 Jiménez founded the city of Santa Fe de Bogotá, capital of the New Kingdom of Granada.

Since Belalcázar also believed he had a right to the newly seized territory, all three generals agreed to submit their case to the Spanish court. For the purpose two brigantines were constructed by the Magdalena

River, which were to be floated down to Cartagena. More than 30 persons embarked in the two vessels, of which 19 were companions of Jiménez, most of whom never returned, 10 were Belalcázar's men, and only 2 of Federmann's. Before departing, however, Belalcázar took two decisions: he agreed to leave some of his troops under the command of Jiménez's successor and to send Captain Juan Cabrera south, to establish the city of Neiva. Cabrera left with at least half of Belalcázar's men and founded Neiva on the western side of the Magdalena River, but by July or August of the next year he had abandoned Neiva and returned to Santa Fe with a group of 30 men. Even though several of these had not been in the New Kingdom before, they are considered for the purpose of this study as if they were companions of Belalcázar. Those who have been identified are listed in Appendix A, where they are denoted as companions of Cabrera.

Belalcázar's expedition was the last of the three exploratory and conquering ventures that created the New Kingdom. The men of all three also contributed in its colonization. The following three expeditions were organized with the primary purpose of colonizing it, but their members were also involved in conquering ventures which contributed to the expansion of its original borders.

#### Jerónimo Lebrón's Expedition

Governor Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo died in Santa Marta six months after he sent his expedition to the South Sea and Peru. According to the original contract signed between him and the crown, his son Alonso Luis de Lugo was to replace him. Until the king could decide, the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola selected Jerónimo Lebrón, a resident of

Santo Domingo, and son of its oidor or chief justice, Cristóbal de Lebrón.<sup>29</sup> Five days after his arrival in Santa Marta, which took place May 5, 1537, he wrote back to the authorities about two important aspects of his governorship. He indicated how short of supplies Santa Marta was, for many days had gone by without any ship arriving. Not one single sack of flour or cassava was available, corn being the only foodstuff the city was receiving from one of the local caciques. Not more than 15 horses were still alive. The second aspect he mentioned in his letter was the growing expectations about Jiménez's expedition. Licentiate Diego Hernández Gallego, who did not wait with the brigantines by the Magdalena River as agreed, had returned to Santa Marta a few weeks before. He said he left Jiménez and his men scaling the mountains after having heard great news about the existence of a salt lake in an area densely populated by ill-armed Indians rich in gold and cotton blankets. So rich they believed it was another Peru.<sup>30</sup>

While waiting in Santa Marta for more news about Jiménez, Lebrón saw a way to supplement his governor's salary of four pesos per day. He entered into an agreement with merchants Andrés Martín and Francisco Enríquez and treasurer Pedro Brizeño whereby each was to invest in a brigantine loaded with goods, to send them with a group of 70 to 80 men up the San Jorge via the Magdalena River. Some of the goods, consisting of food and clothing, were to be sold to the men, whereas the machetes, axes, and beads were to be traded for gold among the Indians. The venture was a success. The men and brigantines departed in January 1538 and returned seven months later after collecting 15,000 pesos of fine gold.<sup>31</sup>

Lebrón did not have to wait long to receive news about Jiménez's expedition. On June 1539, a party of three captain-generals and more than 30 men arrived in Cartagena literally loaded with gold and some emeralds. Jiménez was carrying some 20,000 gold pesos that weighted more than 200 pounds, Federmann 17,000 ducats, and Belalcázar 6,000 ducats of fine gold and 1,600 ducats of low-carat gold. The news about that treasure reached Santa Marta rather fast. It had a double attraction for Lebrón, for as governor of Santa Marta under whose jurisdiction the New Kingdom was created, he was the obvious head of its government. In addition, a door to another profitable venture opened. The Europeans staying in the New Kingdom were rich in gold and had nothing to spend it on, while their needs were very great. Lebrón began to act so fast and efficiently that, in spite of the very limited resources available in Santa Marta, in six months he was able to assemble a sizeable group of probably 300 men; close to 200 horses; six brigantines; arms and ammunition; all kinds of goods including flour, wine, and even seeds, most likely purchased around the Caribbean area.

Lebrón's expedition was a joint venture of merchants and soldiers. Andrés Martín and Francisco Enríquez, the two merchants who had done well around the San Jorge River area, probably Lebrón himself, and merchants Francisco Hernández Hermoso, and Alonso Martín, may have owned the six brigantines and their cargoes of goods that went as part of the expedition. Other participants such as Jerónimo de Aguayo and Cristóbal de los Nidos may have invested their own capital in purchasing the lots of scarce and essential horses that they took along. As was usual in these ventures all soldiers contributed their own arms, horses, and equipment,



and a good number of them incurred debts to purchase them in Santa Marta. Except for Andrés Martín and Enríquez, the rest of the people mentioned went to the New Kingdom. These two merchants stayed in Santa Marta but gave Hernández the promissory notes backing the obligations of the indebted soldiers he was to collect from in the New Kingdom.<sup>32</sup> The active participation of all these merchants also helps to explain why the expedition was put together in such a short period of time.

Lebrón gave some semblance of military organization to his expedition. Aguayo was its field marshall, veterans Alonso Martín and Luis de Manjarrés were captains of the naval forces and one land unit, and Hernando de Sanmillán was in charge of the machete and hoe men. The historical record, however, does not support the existence of a rigid military order on that venture.

Around 300 men, including 10 priests, Spanish women, black slaves, and hundreds of Indians, plus 180 horses and abundant supplies, left Santa Marta over land and on six brigantines, on January 10, 1540.<sup>33</sup> The route the land forces followed may have been similar to Jiménez's for this expedition included several men who had accompanied him until he left the brigantines to climb the mountains. The place where all agreed to meet was in the vicinity of old Tamalameque, more precisely at the confluence of the Cesar and Magdalena Rivers. While the 100 men that advanced on the armored brigantines were attacked by two large groups of Indians, causing them one casualty, the land soldiers continued on their way to the meeting place. The colonial chroniclers explained that the Indians, being enraged by the burdensome and high-handed visits of previous invaders, hid their food supplies, but presented an armed front to little avail, for hundreds

of them were killed by European guns and swords. With much difficulty, both groups of soldiers continued up the Magdalena River till they reached La Tora by the middle of April. What had taken Jiménez more than five months, Lebrón was able to make in about three, in spite of the delays caused by fights with the Indians and searching for scarce food.

South of La Tora, Lebrón deviated from the original route taken by Jiménez, and instead of going up the Opón River he continued farther up the Magdalena. Lebrón indicated that he and his group continued upriver for 20 more leagues. Since the Carare River was not more than 12 leagues away, the vessels actually entered this large and navigable river for some distance.<sup>34</sup> This deviation contributed to their getting lost while going up the Atún and then the Opón Sierras. After following the Carare River for a while, they veered north and continued for 27 days, according to chronicler Pedro Simón, until they found the Tucura or Bejuco River. This river could well be the Opón, for, shortly after crossing it with much difficulty, they arrived at the salt trail. As a result of that deviation, they lost many people for lack of food and they had to leave behind most of their merchandise and the sick. Those in better health continued on. Had it not been by the assistance provided by the citizens of Vélez after they learned from the Indians about Lebrón's travails, he may not have made it. He experienced so many difficulties in this leg of the route that it took him four months to go from the Carare River to Vélez, whereas Jiménez spent about a month from the Opón River to the same site.<sup>35</sup> The first group of Lebrón's expedition eventually arrived in Vélez on August 29, followed three months later by a few survivors of the ailing and the bulk of the merchandise they had left behind.

Upon arrival, Jerónimo Lebrón presented his titles in Vélez where he was accepted as governor. He continued to Tunja and Santa Fe, where he was not recognized upon the technicality that his title did not specify that he was governor of the New Kingdom. In addition, his title had been issued by the Royal Audiencia in Hispaniola while a decision from the royal court in Spain itself was pending on that matter.<sup>36</sup> Having failed in such an important mission, Lebrón and several of his companions proceeded to sell what they had brought. He sold a group of varied goods, horses, and black slaves for 12,000 gold pesos. Captain Alonso Martín sold merchandise, two male black slaves, eight horses and two mares for 6,700 pesos. Aguayo brought 28 horses and Nidos sold a lot of 18 horses in just one transaction. Six months after his arrival in the New Kingdom, Lebrón was ready to depart in anger leaving behind the bulk of his troops. On his return trip, he was accompanied by 25 men, several of whom were companions of Jiménez.

Among the men left behind there were 10 priests, most of whom, if not all, were sincerely interested in the Christianization and the material well-being of the aborigines. These priests are evidence of another important purpose of the conquering expeditions, that of spreading the Catholic religion in the Indies and of preventing, at times, the exaggerated abuses of the newcomers upon the natives.

#### Lope Montalvo de Lugo's Expedition

Old Indies hand Montalvo de Lugo had arrived in Venezuela in 1535. In May he departed south on the longest and largest expedition from that region organized by Governor Georg Hohermuth von Speyer. He reached Los

Choques, a region located on the western side of today's Meta and Caquetá Departments of Colombia. Three years later, they returned to Coro with great news about the incredible wealth they could not reach for lack of resources.<sup>37</sup> After the official enquiry into von Speyer's actions while governor of Venezuela, and in spite of the great losses he suffered in his venture, he began to organize another to the same area. For that purpose, he traveled to Santo Domingo to gather the necessary resources from the Welser Company. Upon his return, he asked his second in command, Montalvo de Lugo, to take 100 to 150 men towards the Barquisimeto region and to wait for him there. Young and noble Philip von Hutten also went along.

As Montalvo himself tells it, he and his men went south towards the Omocaro province where they spent some time seizing aborigines to secure labor.<sup>38</sup> While von Hutten was in the Barquisimeto Valley, he captured 70 soldiers and their leader Pedro de Reinoso, who were the wandering remnants of an expedition that had departed Cubagua in search of Meta. These people were set free shortly after, 25 of them opting to stay with Montalvo while Reinoso and the rest left for Coro. The news about von Speyer's death reached Montalvo in Quibor. In his will he ordered Montalvo to go colonize the Valley of the Alcázares, which was none other than the center of the New Kingdom. Meanwhile, the new governor of Venezuela, Bishop Rodrigo de Bastidas, had arrived in Coro. Von Hutten and a group of men went to visit him, and as Bastidas was quite interested in pursuing von Speyer's dreams, early in December he named von Hutten head of the new expedition to Los Choques.

The news about Bastidas naming von Hutten captain-general of the expedition to Los Choques must have been a great disappointment for

Montalvo who could rightfully expected to be named to that position. Therefore, if Montalvo had not left Quibor right after knowing about von Speyer's orders to go to the New Kingdom, he must have done so upon knowing that he had been displaced by von Hutten in the leadership of the Los Choques venture. In any case he and a group of about 80 men left the area by the middle of December following a similar course to that of his predecessor von Speyer, and Federmann. Upon reaching the Casanare River, however, he made a wise deviation. Following the advice of the local Indians, he went up the mountain in search of a pass that may have taken him to La Salina, Socotá, and the course of the Chicamocha River, for without any known difficulty, he reached Tunja in May 1541.<sup>39</sup> The military organization of the venture had rested upon Captains Martín González, Lope de Salzedo, and Martín Nieto. It did not require any financing, but later, Montalvo and his men were accused that they had ran away from Venezuela to avoid paying their debts with the Welser Company for the purchase of arms, equipment, supplies, and horses. After arrival his men settled in the three existing cities, but, Montalvo having convinced Hernán Pérez of the convenience of going after El Dorado, he was named second in command and many of his former companions joined another expedition once again. Von Hutten's and Pérez were two parallel ventures intended to reach the same destination.

#### Alonso Luis de Lugo's Expedition

The last news about Alonso Luis de Lugo is that during the first trimester of 1536 he had surreptitiously taken to Tenerife on the Canary Islands, a certain amount of gold belonging to the conquerors of Santa

Marta, on which he had not paid the royal fifth. For that reason he and his father, Don Pedro, were accused and a legal process opened at the highest tribunal, the Council of the Indies. In June and August 1538, this Council judged the case declaring Alonso Luis free of any wrongdoing and confirming that he was indeed the legitimate successor of his father as Adelantado of the Canary Islands and to the governorship of Santa Marta.<sup>40</sup> Gonzalo Jiménez visited the Adelantado while in Spain, to deliver to him the 10 parts of the booty belonging to Don Pedro and to consider the possibility of purchasing from him the governorship of the New Kingdom. Probably that meeting gave reason for a colonial chronicler to believe that Jiménez had advanced a sum of money to the Adelantado, who pocketed it.<sup>41</sup> Alonso Luis de Lugo was afterwards eager to take over the reins of that province, for realizing he could not go to Santa Marta soon enough, he obtained permission from the king to temporarily send his cousin Juan Benítez Pereira in his stead.<sup>42</sup>

Benítez Pereira with 150 men and 70 horses disembarked at Santa María de los Remedios del Cabo de la Vela, better known as Río Hacha, on October 28, 1541. He remained there for a few days and proceeded to Santa Marta where he arrived the next month with 100 men and 80 horses. Upon his arrival, Jerónimo Lebrón turned over the governorship to him. Gathering additional equipment and victuals, he remained in Santa Marta for two months before continuing up the Magdalena River. By the month of January he had reached Melo, a hamlet located 25 leagues from Santa Marta, but feeling very sick he transferred his authority to Captain Alonso Suárez. Benítez died and was buried there while Suárez continued up the Magdalena River. <sup>43</sup> Nearly one month later, Suárez arrived in newly founded

Santiago de Sompallón in two brigantines, a city where he was accepted as its lieutenant-governor. He may have remained in that river port for a short time, but with much celerity compared with anyone who had preceded him, he arrived in Vélez on June 20 without any apparent difficulty. What had taken Jiménez 11 months to cover he had accomplished in only four. Vélez also accepted him as its legitimate governor, but, when he tried the same in Tunja and Santa Fe, his title was rejected because he was not Juan Benítez Pereira, the holder of the original Alonso Luis de Lugo's power of attorney.<sup>44</sup> The men who arrived in the New Kingdom with Alonso Suárez are also listed in Appendix A under Alonso Luis de Lugo's expedition. A notation differentiates them from the others.

By May 1541, Adelantado Alonso Luis went from Seville to Tenerife to begin putting together his expedition, leaving his uncle-in-law Juan Pérez de Cabrera in charge of enrolling 150 men whom he would transport at a charge 15 ducats each, in the ship he had readied. In this case also, the adelantado was to pay Pérez 10 ducats per soldier including food, advancing one third upon departure and the rest upon arrival in Santa Marta. Ten months later both the adelantado and Pérez had arrived in Santo Domingo. By the end of the next month, April 1542, the adelantado and his soldiers had disembarked in Río Hacha.<sup>45</sup> They remained around this area and Santa Marta for about six months, preparing their departure. Finally about 170 to 200 persons departed in two groups, one by water and the other by land. The first group went on five brigantines owned by the adelantado who was also the owner of the goods they carried, consisting mainly of tools, arms, seeds, and a variety of food items. The adelantado also owned part of the 300 horses and other domestic animals the

expedition took along, including 35 cows and bulls. These men were joined by another brigantine owned by merchant Alonso Martín and Jerónimo de la Inza, who were to die soon. The vessels were guided through the Pestagua marsh to an inlet in the Magdalena River.<sup>46</sup> The other group headed south of Río Hacha by land. The two groups of adventurers were accompanied by a few Spanish women, black slaves, and many Indian servants. Among the men there were several who had been in the New Kingdom before and had returned either with Jiménez, Lebrón, or as part of a group that the Santa Fe city council had allowed to depart on August 1542. The group that advanced on land went over the Herrera Sierra, across Aguablanca Creek, and to the Valle de Upar where they could follow the Cesar River towards old Tamalameque and Sompallón. In this town of Sompallón, recently founded by Melchor Valdés, and where Alonso Suárez had left 150 horses to be taken up to the New Kingdom, both groups met.

From Sompallón onwards, and in spite of being accompanied by men who had made that route before, they experienced an incredible number of difficulties. With much suffering the land and water groups stayed in company until they reached the very same Opón River landing previously used by Jiménez, a short distance up La Tora. It appears that even then they were not able to find, far less to follow, the salt trail. The colonial chroniclers and some documents explained that the paths had disappeared because of lack of use. It is probable that the Muisca salt trade had been seriously disrupted by the invasions of Jiménez, Federmann, and Belalcázar, but the question still remains how it was that the previous group led by Alonso Suárez had made the same run to Vélez without any apparent great travail. The Adelantado may have lost about 100 men and



three fourths of the horses and beasts of burden he carried, before he was found by a group sent from Vélez to guide him, for according to one source, he arrived in that city on May 3, 1543, accompanied by 75 men, 30 horses, and some cattle.<sup>47</sup> It should be brought to mind that Alonso Suárez had arrived before leading the advanced party that was originally made of about 100 men. All the city councils of the New Kingdom of Granada accepted the Adelantado as their governor, a title he had inherited and a post he was going to fill for 14 months, to the chagrin of many of its citizens. He was not about to accept the rights of "finders keepers" apparently claimed by some of these citizens on the yields of a province he held legal title on and that had been created under his father's leadership.

#### Causes of Death Among the Conquerors

A curse common to several of these expeditions should be considered: the real causes of the death of so many conquerors along the way. The colonial chroniclers and the contemporary documents indicated that the main contributing factors to the deaths of the conquerors were the influence of nature upon them, Indian attacks, hunger, diseases, physical exertion, and lack of experience in the ways of the Indies.

Nature affected the conquerors through the geographical configuration of the terrain they crossed, the climate they experienced, and the animals they found along the way. The obstacles of the terrain were the swamps and inundated areas through which they waded; the deep, wide, and swift rivers they crossed; the high mountains they climbed; and the long journeys they took. The clear results of those obstacles, besides

causing great physical strain, were that some of the men taking part in the expeditions drowned, a few developed serious sores due to lack of adequate shoes, and several of Federmann's companions froze to death crossing a mountain páramo. The climate consisted of high humidity and high temperatures on the lowlands, cold temperatures on the high mountains, and tropical storms accompanied by heavy and sudden downpours. Yet, any person coming from Andalusia, Castile, or Extremadura had experienced bitter cold in the winter or sizzling heat in the summer. Eciija is called the Furnace of Andalusia, for summer temperatures reach 45 degrees centigrade in the shade, a level probably never attained in the hot and humid Magdalena Valley. Heat prostration and exposure, however, could have been a contributing factor to the weakening of the physical resistance of the conquerors. Rains and sudden tropical storms can cause great inconveniences for they can contribute to the premature rotting of natural fibers including all those used in clothing, and they may cause sudden chills that can invite common colds.

The animals mentioned by the chroniclers as affecting the expeditions were tigers, or rather jaguars, caimans, vipers, bats, toads, and a myriad of insects. Serrano, a man under Jiménez, was taken from his hammock by a jaguar that transported him in its mouth as a cat does to a mouse, according to one version. After the tiger was chased out by several persons, Serrano was put back in bed, but the tiger came back at night and grabbed him back for good. More factual may be what chronicler Aguado wrote, that the sick wanting to be left to die in peace, sometimes escaped out in the open where they were attacked and killed by jaguars. If there is any similarity between those jaguars living in the Magdalena Valley

during the sixteenth century and those found today in the remote South American jungles, they were smaller than depicted, were shy if humans were present, and would rarely attack a man unless that person was dying and too weak to move or to defend himself.<sup>48</sup> Jaguars and a few other wild animals have traditionally fascinated people who create legends better suited to enrich regional folklore. Caimans can also be included in this category, and some of them were certainly big, more than 15 feet long. The colonial chroniclers mentioned them in two specific instances related to Jiménez's expedition: first, as a consequence of the numerous dead human bodies thrown in the river at La Tora, the local caimans became accustomed to such easy morsels, and thus, became rather daring in the presence of humans; and second, when soldier Juan Lorenzo fell in the water, le debió asir un fiero caimán del pie, because he could only come out of the water a moment to ask for God's help before the supposed caiman took him by one foot and drowned him.<sup>49</sup> Not one single man in Jiménez's expedition, therefore, is known with certainty to have been attacked or killed by a caiman. There was an instance in which a caiman appeared to have attacked a mule.

Snakes are mentioned by the colonial chroniclers to have contributed in general to the deaths of the newcomers, but not a single specific case is given by any of these writers. These snakes can not be underestimated, however, for corals, rattlers, X-vipers, and a number of other poisonous snakes common to the tropic can swiftly end the life of any human that approaches them too closely. Vampire bats are mentioned in the records as a pest that bit the conquerors and caused discomfort and surprise, but not death. Rabies does not seem to have been brought to the new continent

until much later. Some tropical toads are very poisonous, and conqueror Juan Duarte sadly learned too late they were not edible, for he permanently lost his mind after having eaten one. Lastly, numerous insects tormented the conquerors continuously. Ever-present mosquitoes, some as bad as those infesting many parts of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean basin; some insects multiplied inside the skin of their feet and flies laid their eggs on their bodies. Fiery ants, ticks, and wasps were very bothersome but not deadly, in an environment that was free of malaria and yellow fever. It appears, then, that snakes and insects were not major contributors to the death of the men in the expeditions.

Indian attacks as the cause of death among Jiménez's soldiers have to be discarded. There is no known historical evidence that can support the death of any of his men by Indian hands from the moment his expedition departed from Santa Marta until it arrived at the first valley located on Muisca land. Nevertheless, it is true that the tremendous pressure exerted by this troop upon Indian food supplies, its capturing of native people to serve its expedition, and its general abuses upon the locals caused the natives to react as strongly as they could at the next opportunity they had. As a result, the returning brigantines were attacked by Indians on their way to Santa Marta, and so were Lebrón's and Alonso Luis de Lugo's expeditions, when some of their men were killed.

Hunger and disease appeared to be the two major causes of death among the conquerors. Jiménez's expedition was affected by hunger shortly after leaving Santa Marta, and, then again more acutely around the Valle de Upar where the first sick began to die of hunger. The rest were spared because they ate some deer they hunted. By the time they reached

Sompallón, 100 men had already died. Such high human losses are more surprising when the land they covered was known to some of them, was level, and densely populated for the most part. Thus, the region was rather easy to traverse, devoid of great natural obstacles, and sources of food were accessible for there were fields of Indian crop. Between Sompallón and La Tora part of the terrain was not known. There were much fewer native inhabitants and they moved by water rather than on land, so that the conquerors had to hack their way through dense tropical growth where no crops were to be found. So, the 100 deaths that occurred in this part of the journey are more understandable because of the greater difficulties suffered and the lack of cultivated food sources. Three horses were surreptitiously butchered for their flesh then, and there were even rumors of cannibalism. Upon reaching La Tora the conquerors rested in more permanent shelters, and they ate out of the more abundant food the men on the brigantines secured from Indian fields. Although they were at rest and had better food supplies, 200 conquerors died in the two long months they remained there.

People died whether at work or not, traveling or at rest, sleeping on a hammock hastily hung amid the jungle, or under a more comfortable shelter; people died even when the food supply was more secure. They could have died of an unknown contagious disease that attacked them at any time. Yet, the general did not die, nor his brother who was second in command, nor the two priests, or the three royal officials, nor seven out of the eight original land captains, nor any of the five captains of the brigantines. None of the leaders of the expedition died on the way up, except one captain, Juan de Madrid. In consequence, other causes of

death must be examined to determine why the soldiers died and the captains were spared.

The relation between food and adequate nourishment may explain most of the deaths of the conquerors. It appears that the priest and the captain had better access to the food supply.<sup>50</sup> It is likely that the more experienced leaders had an edge on the green soldier on how to deal with the new environment and the customs of the Indies; perhaps the leaders were more accustomed to eat venison, turtle, and many kinds of fish and fowl whereas the less sophisticated soldier preferred to eat local corn and cassava. A varied diet is more important than the quantities of food; poor food selection in an unfamiliar menu could lead to seriously inadequate nourishment. There is no need to explain today the importance of vitamin consumption for the human body, but that was not the case in the sixteenth century. A deficiency of thiamine, vitamin B1, can cause deadly beriberi; lack of niacin, vitamin B3, deadly pellagra; lack of cobalamin, vitamin B12, pernicious anemia; lack of ascorbic acid, vitamin C, deadly scurvy. A diet based on corn, the most popular staple among the conquerors, is high in carbohydrates, low on total protein, and very low in the above vitamins. Any of those diseases could affect the conquerors then, but there is one, scurvy, that has been singled out as most likely to affect these men after four months without consuming ascorbic acids.<sup>51</sup>

Rarely did the colonial chroniclers refer to the symptoms of the diseases affecting the men during the expeditions, yet a little does crop up and it supports the existence of scurvy among them. The sick preferred to lie still and not move, they developed swollen and tender joints, and

external ulcers that did not heal. Even though some of the conquerors died of hunger, scurvy was the main reason for their disappearance, after consuming unbalanced diets based on Indian corn.

Some conquerors, in conclusion, died of natural causes for a few drowned while crossing rivers, and others died of cold in the highland páramo. Heat prostration and exposure may have also contributed to weaken these men. An unknown few may have died as a result of confrontations with animals, most likely snakes, and all were pestered by a myriad of nonlethal insects. None of the men of Jiménez or Belalcázar or Montalvo are known to have died as a result of Indian attacks during the course of their expeditions, yet a few with Federmann, Lebrón and Alonso Luis de Lugo did. The great majority of the conquerors died indirectly of ignorance about how to deal with the natural environment of the Indies, and directly out of an inadequate food consumption, usually based on a diet of corn, too low in some precious vitamins. According to some versions they even died of absolute lack of food, which proves, once again, their ignorance about the ways of the Indies. It is unexplainable how anyone can die of hunger by the Magdalena River, its waters were teeming with fish, its valley had abundant deer and several kinds of fowl, and its palm and other trees yielded quantities of fruits, some of them with a very high protein content.

#### Persons Traveling to the New Kingdom Outside the Expeditions

The overwhelming majority of the conquerors, if not all, who arrived in the New Kingdom after its creation until May 1543, came on the described expeditions. The great risks involved in covering the long

distances from Santa Marta or Coro to Santa Fe de Bogotá could only be faced by fairly large expeditionary groups, not by individuals. That is the reason why not a single instance, nor even a suspicion of one person traveling those routes outside the expeditions and during the given time frame, is known. It was much easier to go from the New Kingdom to the Atlantic coast, however. While it took Jiménez 11 months to go south, he returned north in three weeks, for the only inconveniences he faced were the passing of the Honda Rapids of the Magdalena River and an Indian attack that killed two of his companions. Because of the possibility of these kind of attacks the trips down the river were made only when very necessary. Jerónimo Lebrón and his group of companions made it in 1541, and another group led by Jerónimo de la Inza repeated the journey in August 1542, but only after the Santa Fe city council granted them a license to leave.<sup>52</sup> Among Inza's group, there was at least one of Federmann's companions who returned that way to Venezuela, for it was practically impossible to try to accomplish that by land.

In the same manner that Captain Juan Cabrera departed from Santa Fe in 1539 to establish Neiva in the province of Popayán, and a year later returned with about 30 companions, other small groups of persons could have traveled from Popayán to the New Kingdom via Neiva. Since Neiva was 20 leagues north of Timaná, a city that maintained sporadic communications with Popayán, it should have been rather easy to travel from Popayán to Neiva if it not were for the fiery aborigines of the region. Neiva was quite close to the New Kingdom. Upon the news of the wealth found in Muisca territory, 20 enterprising individuals and their Indian servants decided in 1540 to take a herd of cattle from Popayán to Santa Fe to sell



it there at a good price. When they were about to reach Timaná, a troop of Yalcón warriors intercepted and killed them save Florencio Serrano who miraculously escaped.<sup>53</sup> That incident may have dampened the desires of others to do the same; but it is quite possible that Juan Muñoz de Collantes trailed Juan Cabrera for several months, arriving in the New Kingdom in 1541 and not in 1540 as Cabrera did. People were somewhat free to move providing no debt or other obligations were pending, yet it appears that very few persons, if any, made their way in the New Kingdom before 1543 as part of a small group. If any did, it was more likely from the province of Popayán than from Santa Marta or Venezuela. By 1543, the land was much more secure and people began moving in and out in small groups.

Notes

1. The men considered to be the captains when Francisco Pizarro captured the Inca Emperor are Sebastián de Belalcázar, Pedro de Candía, Cristóbal de Mena, Hernando Pizarro, Juan de Salcedo, and Hernando de Soto.
2. The book containing the various entries made during Jiménez's expedition has survived; see its transcription in Luis Gálvis Madero, El adelantado (Madrid, 1957), pp. 348-361.
3. For the contract with an blacksmith see Rosa Olivera, "Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo," pp. 440-442. For a contract with a medical doctor, see DIHC III, 226-228.
4. AGI Contaduría 1292; DIHC V, 209; FPS IV, 61.
5. James Lockhart, The Men of Cajamarca. A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru (Austin, TX, 1972), p. 13; William H. Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, Residence in Mexico, Chapter 5. One marco was equivalent to one half of a pound, or 230 grams.
6. The analysis that follows is based on the expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez, for it is the only one of which the complete list of its human components and their share of the collected booty is known. See JF I, 136-161, and MDR in BHA XXII, 225-253.
7. Mario Góngora, Los Grupos de conquistadores en Tierra Firme (1509-1530) (Santiago de Chile, 1962), pp. 53-59.
8. FPS III, 333. It is not clear whether Saldaña's servant was a European or one of the hundreds of Indian at the service of the conquerors; but, the fact that it is mentioned by Simón and that his death caused a river to be called Saldaña, leads us to believe he was from Europe.
9. DIHC V, 158.
10. JC IV, 416; FPS IV, 136; LFP II, 430.
11. FPA III, 99-127; JRPV I, 192-196.
12. There is a carefully detailed description of the departure of von Speyer's and Federmann's expedition from the ports of Seville and San Lúcar written by Hieronymus Koler, an enrolled man who did not embark for Venezuela due to difficulties experienced during departure. See JF1, 341-343.
13. For a description of the contents of those royal mandates see JF1, 271-277.

14. See CDQ I, 325, 365-371, 374, and 445.
15. DIHC VI, 195-200, 220-221, 252-269.
16. See letter transcribed in DIHC V, 226-229.
17. FAZ I, 196.
18. See JC IV, 444 and AGI Justicia 1123, information requested by Jerónimo Lebrón, partially transcribed in DIHC V, 118-130.
19. Description and analysis of the first five expeditions and the biographies of the known survivors are found in my following books: Los compañeros de Féderman, cofundadores de Santa Fe de Bogotá (Bogotá, 1990); La expedición de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada al Mar del Sur y la creación del Nuevo Reino de Granada, being evaluated for publication by the Academia de Historia de Bogotá and Editorial Tercer Mundo; La expedición de Sebastián de Belalcázar al Mar del Norte y su llegada al Nuevo Reino de Granada, being evaluated by the editorial committee of the Banco de la República, Colombia, for possible publication; La jornada de Jerónimo Lebrón al Nuevo Reino de Granada, under evaluation by the board of directors of the Comité Cultural del Banco Cafetero, Colombia, for possible publication; Lope Montalvo de Lugo y su expedición al Nuevo Reino de Granada, is being evaluated by the editorial committee of the Banco de la República, Colombia, for possible publication. A sixth work, a book on the expedition of Alonso Luis de Lugo and its advanced party will be forthcoming; it will also include biographies of a group of conquerors who were active in the New Kingdom up to 1543, but whose expedition membership is not known.
20. DIHC IV, 75-79.
21. The captains and officers of the expedition are considered in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.
22. They were called aventureros, meaning they were not military persons who could serve at their own expense for a determined period of time. They did not have any right to share the collected booty as was previously mentioned. Four of these men survived the expedition; they were Jerónimo Castillejo, Miguel Otáñez, El Catalán, and Francisco de Silva.
23. To the benefit of the invaders, the Muisca were very poor warriors. They were not trained in warfare, their warring goals were not to kill their opponent, and they were ineffectively armed. They did not know the use of strong bows and arrows, and only threw small darts with the aid of a stick. To judge how poorly they were assessed as warriors by the Europeans, see Juan de San Martín and Antonio de Lebrija, Relación de la conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada, transcribed by Juan Friede, Descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada y fundación de Bogotá (1536-1539) (Bogotá, 1960), p. 185, and DIHC V, 205, 210, and 214.
24. MDR, 239.

25. AGI Patronato 162-1-1, probanza of Francisco de Murcia; Francisco Armando Maldonado, Seis primeros obispos de la iglesia venezolana en la época hispánica, 1532-1600 (Caracas, 1973), p. 50.
26. FPA III, 177.
27. DIHC V, 121-123.
28. See DIHC V, 206-210. Regarding the distances Belalcázar traveled, I have followed those indicated by witness Gonzalo de la Peña for they conform better to the distance this expedition advanced before being contacted by Hernán Pérez.
29. DIHC IV, 156-159, and 177-180. The descriptions of Lebrón's expedition written by the colonial chroniclers are found in FPA I, 361-365; JC IV, 345-399; FPS IV, 55-87; LFP I, 334-350, and II, 459-469; see also JFO I, 180-183. All these sources are followed unless otherwise noted.
30. Letter written by Lebrón to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo, transcribed in DIHC IV, 193-198; see also IV, 265.
31. AGI Justicia 534A-1-1, residencia Pedro Brizeño, 1539.
32. Francisco Hernández Hermoso made his will in Tunja in 1542, two years after he arrived there. He listed in that document all the pending transactions he had with his brother Andrés Martín and Enríquez. Among the persons that had contracted obligations with Enríquez in Santa Marta and that were to be made effective by Hernández in the New Kingdom were Francisco Chamoza, Juan de Coca, Juan de Cuenca, Gaspar Delgadillo, Diego García, Hernando de Garibay, Alonso de Illescas, Iñigo López, Luis de Manjarrés, Alonso Martín the interpreter, Blasco Martín, Gonzalo de Porras, Pedro Quiralte, Hernán Rodríguez Manjarrés, Diego Sánchez, Hernando de Sanmillán and Ortún Velasco, all companions of Lebrón obviously. This will is in ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 1 to 6v.
33. Information contained in a letter Lebrón wrote to the king should be more accurate than the writings of the colonial chroniclers; see DIHC VI, 136-145.
34. Antón de Rodas, one of Lebrón's soldiers, indicated that they navigated the brigantines up to the desembarcadero del Atún, or Atún Landing, where they left them. The word Atún, not mentioned before this expedition, may well have been used to designate the Carare region to differentiate it from the Opón, which was mentioned by both Jiménez and Lebrón.
35. To travel from La Tora to Vélez, Lebrón had to cover 86 leagues while it took Jiménez only 50; see DIHC VI, 136.
36. CDT I, 125; DIHC VI, 31-47, and 75-80.

37. AGI Justicia 990, information ordered by Espira, 1538.
38. AGI Justicia 546, fl. 334-517.
39. ANC Encomiendas IV, fl. 1017v., probanza Simón del Basto; FPA I, 377-378.
40. DIHC V, 29-35; see also 69-71.
41. FPA I, 388; Restrepo Tirado, Historia de Santa Marta, vol. 1, pp. 181-182.
42. DIHC VI, 65-66, 72-73.
43. DIHC VI, 195-200, and 200-206; DIHC VII, 336.
44. AGI Justicia 153-15-1, probanza of Alonso Suárez; AGI Justicia 1095-4, Melchor Valdés vs. Alonso Suárez; CDT I, 208-223.
45. DIHC VI, 189-191; 234-244; 252-264; 264-269.
46. FPA I, 387-390; JC IV, 413-434; FPS IV, 135-153; LFP II, 515-525, and 530-535.
47. Restrepo Tirado, Historia de Santa Marta, vol. 1, p. 190.
48. Horacio Cabrera Sifontes, El tigre del Madre-viejo (Caracas, 1985).
49. FPS III, 107-108.
50. Agustín Castellano stated in his probanza that when he was going to the New Kingdom with Alonso Luis de Lugo people were so hungry they ate horse and mule flesh. He added that "esta no alcanzaba ni la tenían todos sino los muy favorecidos", meaning that only the most favored had access to that particular food supply; see AGI Patronato 156-1-5, fl. 442v.
51. Percy M. Ashburn, The Ranks of Death: A Medical History of the Conquest of America (New York, 1947), pp. 57-79.
52. GHA, 62-63.
53. FPS V, 249-250. Please note that Simón's chronology is one year off.

CHAPTER 3  
PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONQUERORS

Conquerors have always existed, for, in later times, the Romans called their actions conquirere, which is the linguistic root of the present English word. The term conqueror can be applied to any time and place but conquistador, the subject of this and the Chapter 4 refers specifically to the Spanish conquest of America during the sixteenth century. This name, therefore, is more accurate for the present objectives, which is to define the type of people who survived the expeditions and who took by force a portion of South American territory from the aborigines to create the New Kingdom of Granada.

Defining the characteristics of these conquistadores is based upon the identification of 651 survivors who were active in the six expeditions to the New Kingdom. These individuals are listed, along with their corresponding documentary evidence, in Appendix A. After presenting statistics on the number of persons involved in those expeditions, two broad groups of qualities are examined for defining these people who came mostly from the Old World. The first group refers to personal characteristics determined by birth, such as race, gender, and place and date of birth. The second group, examined in Chapter 4, refers to qualities acquired after birth, but before the conquerors' arrival to the New Kingdom, such as education, religion, previous experiences in Europe and in the Indies, and economic and social class. Since the transformation

of the conquistador into colonizer was accompanied at times by significant changes in their economic and social classes, these men are examined from two different points in time: upon their arrival in the New World, as conquerors, and after they settled as colonizers. Having described the innate and the acquired characteristics of these conquering people, a brief conclusion will define what may be called the typical conqueror of the New Kingdom.

#### Their Numbers

The six expeditions to the New Kingdom have been described and analyzed in Chapter 2. The first, and by far the largest expedition was led by Gonzalo Jiménez. Almost two years later, the conquering ventures led by Nikolaus Federmann from Venezuela, and by Sebastián de Belalcázar from the province of Popayán, met with Jiménez at the future site of Santa Fe de Bogotá. Shortly after their meeting, the three leaders departed for Spain, while Juan Cabrera, under orders from Belalcázar, went to establish Neiva. Sixteen months later, Cabrera returned with a number of men, identified here as the second Belalcázar's group. In August 1540, the fourth expedition, led by Jerónimo Lebrón, arrived. The following month of May, Lope Montalvo de Lugo came from Venezuela. The last and sixth expedition to arrive was that of Alonso Luis de Lugo and came in two groups, one led by Alonso Suárez in 1542 and the other led by Luis de Lugo himself in 1543.

The number of conquerors who took part in the six expeditions, their corresponding survivors, and those survivors who have been identified and listed in Appendix A, are condensed in Table 1. The 19

women, 1 child, and 23 slaves, listed in the Appendix are excluded from this Table. The total number of conquerors that took part in all the expeditions is 1,930. Many died on the way, some prematurely returned to their place of departure, and others deviated for a different purpose. Of those 1,930 men, approximately 933 finally arrived, of which 651 are identified in the present study as being active in the New Kingdom between 1537 and 1543. Forty six of the 651 have been properly identified, and documentary evidence supports their presence in the New Kingdom, but no clues have been found in regard to which of the six expeditions they were members. Those 46 men are characterized in Appendix A as the conquerors of the XXX (for unknown) expedition.

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Table 1. Number of Conquerors Who Departed, Arrived, and Identified Survivors

<u>Expedition</u>	<u>Departed</u>	<u>Arrived</u>	<u>Identified</u>
Gonzalo Jiménez	800	173	173
Nikolaus Federmann	300	160	116
Sebastián de Belalcázar	200	150	62
Jerónimo Lebrón	300	200	124
Lope Montalvo de Lugo	80	80	30
Alonso Luís de Lugo	250	170	100
Subtotal:			605
From one of these expeditions:			46
Totals:	1,930	933	651

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#### Places of Birth

The Spanish regional origin of the conquerors of the Indies has been utilized by linguists in studying the influence of the Andalusian dialect in Latin American Spanish. In the case of the New Kingdom of Granada, the origin of its conquerors can also be used by other persons for that



purpose, and for comparing them with other groups of conquerors active in the Indies and already studied by other historians. Those origins can also be useful to pinpoint whether some conquerors established and manipulated power networks among those who came from their own town or region and to whom they may even be related. In addition, since sixteenth-century Spanish cities and towns were either controlled by the Crown, the nobility, or the military orders, the birthplace of those men departing for the Indies could be used to ascertain any correlation between emigration patterns and the controlling institutions of the urban centers. Sometimes the émigrés expressed a desire to move to "free and royal lands."<sup>1</sup> Finally, regional origin may also provide an indication as to where the enrollment of the conquerors was more actively carried out.

The geographical origins of the conquerors of the New Kingdom are presented in Tables 2 and 6. Most of this information was obtained from written sources; however, in some carefully weighted cases, their last name was taken to be a genitive. Thus, Fernando de Almonte is believed to be from Almonte, Juan de Aroche from Aroche, Juan and Antón de Córdoba from Córdoba, Francisco de Niebla from Niebla, all of which are centers located in Andalusia. Similarly, the Oviedos are thought to be from Asturias, Otáñez and Valmaseda from the Basques Provinces, Avila from Old Castile, and Badajoz and Orellana from Extremadura. The Gallegos were assumed to be from Galicia, the Gascones from Gascony, and the Alemanes from Germany. The assumption of origin based on possible genitive last name cannot always be made, as in the case of León, Cuenca, and Loranza, for more than one locality exists with the same name--nor are they always error-proof. Noblemen tended to keep as a second last name the place of

origin of their families regardless of where they were born, and persons of wider mobility may have preferred the name of the place with which they felt more familiar. These examples, notwithstanding, may prove to be the exception in the case of the generally inexperienced, young, and not so noble men who departed to the Indies and who finally arrived to the New Kingdom.

Regrettably, the study of the expeditions to the New Kingdom can not benefit extensively from available sixteenth-century passenger registers, many of which state the place of origin of those who departed from Spain to the different regions of the Americas. In addition, it should be remembered that the expeditions of Federmann, Belalcázar, Lebrón and Montalvo de Lugo originated in the Indies and not in Spain. Furthermore, the only two expeditions departing from Spain and eventually arriving in the New Kingdom, those of Pedro Fernández de Lugo and his son Alonso Luís de Lugo, left from the Canary Islands and not from Seville where the registers were made. No known corresponding document have yet been found for any Canarian port.

The totals given in Table 2 for the Spanish regions or other countries of origin of the conquerors of the New Kingdom are a large sample and are probably more representative than the figures estimated for each expedition. However, additional data pertaining to each of these should be noted. In the expedition led by Gonzalo Jiménez, 30 out of 91 persons, or 33 percent of the total, were from Andalusia; in addition, 9 persons, or nearly 10 percent, were from Portugal.

Table 2. Spanish Region or Country of Origin of the Conquerors

<u>Spanish Regions</u>	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
Andalusia	30	9	10	11	1	8	69
Aragon	1	3					4
Asturias	1			1			2
Baleares		1					1
Basque Provs.	4	3		2	3		12
Canaries	2					3	5
New Castile	12	6	2	4		4	28
Old Castile	9	13	3	9	1	5	40
Extremadura	11	2	5	8	2	4	32
Galicia				3	2		5
Leon	7	9	1		3	5	25
Murcia	2	1			1		4
Valencia	2					1	3
Total Spaniards:	81	47	21	38	13	30	230
<u>Other Countries</u>							
France	1	1	1	1			4
Germany		2			1		3
Italy		1				1	2
Netherlands		2					2
Portugal	9	1				1	11
Total Foreigners:	10	7	1	1	1	2	22
Grand Total:	91	54	22	39	14	32	252

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB=Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo.

Federmann's expedition included seven foreigner who represented 13 percent of the total, but of whom only one was Portuguese, the rest being from France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Also, in Federmann's group, there was a large element from the two Castiles, for they were 35 percent of those known. Based on the accumulated totals, the following generalizations can be made. The most common origin of the conquerors was either Andalusia or both Castiles: 69 men were from the first and 68 from the second. They were followed by the Extremadurans, represented by 32 individuals, and by 25 Leonese. Foreigners were represented by 22 persons who comprised nearly 9 percent of the total.

The totals of Table 2, which represent 252 out of a possible 651 known survivors, or 39 percent, are a significant sample. Yet, however reliable and meaningful those figures are, they acquire a broader significance when compared with expeditions to other areas of the Indies. Conveniently, comparable data are available for the two most important conquests carried out in the Indies in terms of the native civilizations found and the wealth appropriated by the newcomers: those of Mexico and Peru. Those data can be supplemented with what is known about the groups of conquerors active in Panama in 1519. Table 3 displays the region and country of origin of the conquerors of the New Kingdom 1537-1543, in comparison to those of Panama in 1519, Mexico 1519-1521, and those who participated in the imprisonment of the Inca emperor in 1532<sup>2</sup>. Two figures are shown in each column following the name of the Spanish region or country of origin: The first is the number of persons, and the second, the equivalent percentage of that figure when compared to the total of the column. The most striking result of that comparison is the similarity between the origins of the conquerors of Mexico, active some 20 years before, with those of the New Kingdom. The proportion of Spaniards and foreigners is about the same, as it is for those persons from Aragon, the Basques Provinces, Extremadura, Leon, and Murcia. The differences are also rather small when the percentages of the higher-represented groups are considered: 30.6 percent versus 27.4 percent for Andalusians in Mexico and in the New Kingdom, respectively, and 25.7 percent versus 27.0 percent for the aggregated components of both Castiles. The apparent decline of the Andalusian element, so significant during the early conquest of the Indies

but gradually diminishing in Panama, Mexico, and Peru, appears to be arrested in the case of the New Kingdom.

Table 3. Origins of the Conquerors of the New Kingdom as Compared with those of Panama in 1519, Mexico in 1519, and Peru in 1533

<u>Region or Country</u>	<u>Number of Persons and Percentages</u>			
	<u>Panama</u>	<u>Mexico</u>	<u>Peru</u>	<u>New Kingdom</u>
Andalusia	29-34.7%	227-30.6%	34-26.0%	69-27.4%
Aragon	1- 1.1	10- 1.3	2- 1.5	4- 1.6
Asturias	2- 2.3	5- 0.7		2- 0.8
Baleares				1- 0.4
Basque Provinces	7- 8.3	37- 4.9	10- 7.6	12- 4.8
Canaries				5- 2.0
New Castile	8- 9.5	41- 5.5	15-11.4	28-11.1
Old Castile	7- 8.3	150-20.2	17-13.0	40-15.9
Extremadura	18-21.4	97-13.1	36-27.5	32-12.7
Galicia		29- 3.9		5- 2.0
Leon	5- 5.9	77-10.4	15-11.4	25- 9.9
Murcia		3- 0.4		4- 1.6
Valencia		6- 0.8		3- 1.2
Total Spaniards:	79-94.1*	682-91.8	129-98.5	230-91.3
<u>Other Countries</u>				
Portugal		24- 3.2		11- 4.4
Other Foreigners:		37- 5.0		11- 4.4
Total Foreigners:	5- 5.9	61- 8.2	2- 1.5	22- 8.7
Grand Total:	84-100%	743-100%	131-100%	252-100%

\* The 79 figure includes two persons described as being from the mountains without mentioning the Spanish region or province of origin.

#### Year of Birth

The year of birth of each conqueror considered in this study is more relevant when used for estimating their ages upon their arrival to the New Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, for calculating how old they were at death. The age at which these men began their conquering activities is an important identifying parameter closely tied to their experience and background, which should be understood in terms of their time. It appears that during the sixteenth century, a 15-year-old Iberian was considered

old enough to make important decisions about his life, such as emigrating to the Americas; a person of 25 was considered quite mature, and a 40-year-old was characterized as an old person.

The accuracy regarding the ages collected for this purpose may be controversial. In legal actions, witnesses, though under oath, did not necessarily state their correct age, but rather gave a rounded figure. For example, a typical affirmation would be over 30 years, or under 40 years mas o menos. This type of answer produces in the gathered data concentrations of persons born on rounded years such as 1500, 1510, and so on. Those concentrations, however, can be spread out and their distorting effect minimized if the ages are taken in five-year groups, such as they are shown in Table 4.

Extracted from the data in Appendix B, Table 4 displays the ages of the conquerors upon their arrival to the New Kingdom, given in five-year increments. The ages of 326 persons involved in the six expeditions are shown. Forty three persons, or 13 percent of the total, were 16 to 20 years old. Because they required about a year to reach the New Kingdom from their point of departure, these 43 persons were teenagers when they decided to participate in conquests, a fact that confirms how, at tender ages, people of this time engaged in mature activities. On the other extreme, as can be noticed in Table 4, in addition to one person of 62, two 55, and one 50 of age, 11 people were in their forties. The majority of the conquerors was between 20 and 40 years old, their median age being 27.

Some variations among the six expeditionary groups are noteworthy. Lope Montalvo, having left Venezuela after several years of activity

there, led the older and most experienced group: No one under 20 was a member of it, and the median age was 31. In contrast, Alonso Luis de Lugo and his predecessor, Jerónimo Lebrón, led the two youngest groups, whereby the median age was 26. The reason why the group led by Gonzalo Jiménez does not fall in the latter category is because he added a number of veterans in Santa Marta to the largely young and unexperienced group he brought from Spain. It can be concluded that the more mature expeditions were led by Montalvo de Lugo, Federmann, and Belalcázar, and the younger groups by Lebrón, Luis de Lugo, and Jiménez.

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Table 4. Ages of the Conquerors Upon Arrival to the New Kingdom

	<u>Age</u>	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
From	16 to 20 years old	16	5	4	9	0	9	43
	21 to 25	30	16	5	12	4	17	84
	26 to 30	31	21	10	11	6	16	95
	31 to 35	10	11	2	3	9	11	46
	36 to 40	15	11	3	6	3	5	43
	41 to 62	2	2	2	4	2	3	15
	Total:	104	66	26	45	24	61	326
	Median age:	27	29	29	26	31	26	27

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB-Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo.

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To assess how "typical" the group of conquerors under consideration was, it can be related with the group of men who imprisoned the Inca at Cajamarca in 1532.<sup>3</sup> Rearranging the data considered here for comparison purposes, Table 5 displays the age groups of the conquerors of the New Kingdom and Peru, and gives the numbers of the percentages of their corresponding totals. Since there were less teenagers and less persons over 35 active in Peru than in the New Kingdom, the concentration of people between 20 and 34 years old is more pronounced in Peru. Even though

the median age of the conquerors of Peru is not given, it should be somewhere between 25 and 29 years. That median age probably is not far from that of the conquerors of the New Kingdom, which was 27.

Table 5. Age Groups of the Conquerors of the New Kingdom and Peru

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number of Men and Percentage</u>	
	<u>New Kingdom</u>	<u>Peru</u>
From 15 to 19 Years Old	24= 7.3%	5= 4.7%
20 to 24	88=27.0	29=27.1
25 to 29	89=27.3	41=38.3
30 to 34	59=18.1	19=17.8
35 to 39	41=12.6	8= 7.5
40 to 44	14= 4.3	3= 2.8
45 to 49	7= 2.1	1= 0.9
50 to 62	4= 1.3	1= 0.9
Total:	326=100%	107=100%
Median Age	27 years	25-29 years

### Race

The great mixture resulting from the interaction between Phoenicians, Greeks, Celts, Romans, Goths, Visigoths, and years later Muslims and Jews is considered here as a unit--the Hispanic or Spaniard--and included the great majority of the conquerors of the New Kingdom. With that consideration in mind, the present intent is to study whether other races besides Europeans participated in the conquest of that territory, namely Africans, Amerindians, Jews, Mestizos, and Moors.

### Africans

Pedro de Lerma, a colored and free man born around 1516 in an unknown place and active in Santa Marta since at least 1536, accompanied



Lebrón in his expedition to the New Kingdom. What is remarkable about him is that he was considered a legitimate conqueror according to several sources. He was still active in Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1576 when he declared he did not know how to sign his name. Perhaps more significant than the above exception are the numerous black slaves who played important but unacknowledged roles in the early conquest and colonization of the New Kingdom.

The Spanish King directly sanctioned the introduction of black slaves to the New Kingdom when he granted permission to Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo to obtain in Spain, Portugal, or the Cape Verde Islands, up to 100 blacks, one third females, and to transport them to the province of Santa Marta.<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence of whether Don Pedro exercised the royal prerogative in full or of how many blacks made it to their destination. At least one of these male slaves accompanied and served Gonzalo Jiménez and distinguished himself for being the pilot of one river vessel.<sup>5</sup> At least one black slave woman took part in Belalcazar's expedition, but the first known group of blacks taken to the New Kingdom accompanied Jerónimo Lebrón. According to the information gathered, this group was made of six males and one female: Antón, Diego, Francisco, Gaspar, Gasparillo, Isabel, and Juan. Antón continued serving his master Francisco Hernández Hermoso; Diego was sold to an assayer for 220 gold pesos; Francisco and Gaspar were sold to the interim governor Hernán Pérez; Gasparillo returned to the Atlantic Coast but came back to the Kingdom with Alonso Luis de Lugo; Juan died on the way; and Isabel was the only black female known. Upon Isabel's arrival in the New Kingdom, she was sold to Francisco de Villaviciosa, who took her on a large expedition

intended to reach the provinces of El Dorado. During that time, she took such good and dedicated care of the ailing priest Juan Estéban Verdero that he gratefully rewarded her, according to his will, with 60 gold pesos.

Black slaves were also active in the expedition directed by Alonso Luis de Lugo. His distinguished captain, Alonso Suárez, who headed the first group which left almost a year earlier, indicated he was accompanied by four black slaves; of these, one was called Antón and another Francisco. Gasparillo, who had already made the round-trip to the Kingdom with Lebrón, and who therefore knew his way, offered his services as a guide to Luis de Lugo when the expedition lost the trail, in exchange for his freedom. Gasparillo did find the way to the New Kingdom, and one would hope his liberty too. Mangalonga, an Ethiopian, as a member of another party, contributed to the search of the lost route but without success, for more than half of his party never made it back to the main camp. While coming up the Magdalena River, some members of this expedition retained a ship they found belonging to Juan Ortíz de Zárate, on which there were two black slaves named Antón and Juan. Alonso de Hoyos had with him an undetermined number of slaves, race unknown. Julián Roldán was accompanied by a black slave who died on the way. Felipe de Sosa had two blacks taken away by Luis de Lugo, who ordered them to row a ship upstream on the Magdalena River.

The surviving historical evidence does not allow us to know if any of the above-mentioned black men were among the ill-fated victims of the wrath of Governor Luis de Lugo. It appears that, during the course of his expedition to the New Kingdom, a group of black male slaves tried to

escape. No punitive action seems to have been taken by the governor then, but when he reached the city of Vélez, he ordered Juan de Coca to punish the failed rebels by cutting off all their reproductive organs. In amazement, Coca took whatever legal action he could to refuse to execute such a barbarous order on the grounds that it was "cosa muy dura y recia," but, pressured by the governor, he finally obeyed, adding later that only one victim died in the process.

Another member of the expedition led by Luis de Lugo was to make big news in the New Kingdom some ten years after her arrival. Her name was Juana García, and she was characterized as a Mulatto woman. Juana is mentioned by the colonial chroniclers for helping a young woman. This woman, who was the wife of an absent conqueror and who wanted to enjoy the pleasures proper to her youthful beauty became pregnant after being involved with another man. To avoid the inconveniences resulting from her illegitimate new state, she called Juana for help. Juana, who was in the words of one writer of the time "a little bit of a flying woman," a cutting remark indicating that she was somewhat familiar with witchcraft, did help effectively by preventing further embarrassment to the young wife. The resulting scandal soon took larger proportions when the authorities determined that Juana's actions were of a rather devilish nature and that the case should be judged by the Inquisition. So many prominent persons of the New Kingdom became involved in this case that the bishop and Mariscal Gonzalo Jiménez agreed behind closed doors that the cause should be forgotten, and Juana exiled.<sup>6</sup> Reconsidering what is now known about the early presence of blacks in the New Kingdom, it is rather certain that they were among the first to reach the Muisca area, and one

or two may have been present in other expeditions. The first identifiable blacks, however, arrived only with the fourth group led by Lebrón. In the last expedition, organized by Luis de Lugo, a significant group, perhaps composed of as many as 30 persons, participated, some dying on the way. It should be remembered that Luis de Lugo had been granted a royal license to take with him as many as 100 black slaves.

### Amerindians

The thousands of natives who accompanied the expeditions to the New Kingdom and whose contributions as guides, porters, advisers, and providers to the Spaniards, were so important that without them many years would have passed before any European could have gathered the necessary resources to make the way on his own, have been already considered in Chapter 2. What is intended now is to focus on those natives whose names have survived for whatever reasons. The first group of identifiable Amerindians that arrived in the New Kingdom came with Belalcázar. Mexican-born Beatriz de Bejarano married her dying Spanish husband, Lucas, right after reaching the new land. By that action, she became the first legitimate and documented wife of a conqueror--and the first acknowledged conquering family--ever to arrive there. Another Amerindian companion of Belalcázar was Antón Coro, born in Anda, near Cuzco, around 1515. He remained in Santa Fe where he married, established his family, and became a Christian. He was still alive in 1575 when he declared he did not know how to sign his name.<sup>7</sup> Francisca Inga and her brother Pedro Inga were one of the most noble persons ever to arrive to the New Kingdom, for they were niece and nephew of the great Peruvian Inca Huaina Capac. Both continued

living there, Francisca dying a few years later in Tocaima, and Pedro reaching the advanced age of 106 years, according to his assertions. Beatriz del Peru, called Yunbo in her native language, was a famous "Lady of Games," for whose company Hernán Pérez was willing to give away a very large emerald. Beatriz, however, was not a slave but a free woman. Catalina, born in Peru and converted to Christianity, arrived to the New Kingdom while serving Belalcázar. She settled down in Tunja and was still alive in 1575.<sup>8</sup>

Other Amerindians of note came with Jerónimo Lebrón. Inés, a Nicaraguan Indian, apparently came as a slave of Francisco Hernández Hermoso.<sup>9</sup> Two distinguished caciques, Melo and Malebú, along with as many of their men as could fit in three large canoes, accompanied Lebrón in his round-trip to the New Kingdom, rendering important services along the way such as alerting the Spaniards to impending Indian attacks. They and their retinue appeared to have accompanied Lebrón more as friends and companions than as servants. With Luis de Lugo came Catalina, a Mexican-born slave.

In sum, the most remarkable Amerindians to arrive with the expeditions to the New Kingdom were the Mexicans Beatriz de Bejarano and Catalina; the Nicaraguan Inés; the Peruvians Antón Coro, Beatriz, Catalina, Francisca and Pedro Inga; and the Malamboans Melo, Malebú, and their numerous retinue.

#### Jews

Since race is given and religion is acquired, Jews should be considered here under the heading of race. However, since the sixteenth-century Spaniards stressed the importance of religion above race, they

will be considered later in this chapter. When Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, it was because of their religion, since those willing to convert to Catholicism could remain. Furthermore, the Inquisition was established to deal with the problem of the converso, or New Christians, not of the Jews or Moors as a race.

### Mestizos

Lucas Bejarano, who was the son of Beatriz de Mexico and conqueror Lucas Bejarano, arrived in the New Kingdom as part of the expedition led by Belalcázar. He remained in the new land where he became an official interpreter of Chibcha dialects. Francisco de Belalcázar, son of a Panamanian lady and General Belalcázar, was born in Natá in 1519 and accompanied his father to the New Kingdom and from there to Spain. Both returned to the province of Popayán, where Francisco continued for many years in the service of the Spanish Crown. Mencía de Collantes, the natural daughter of conqueror Juan Muñoz and his noble companion Francisca Inga, niece of Inca Huayna Capac, arrived at a tender age and remained in the New Kingdom where she married and left descendants.

### Moors.

Even though there is evidence that Islamic persons, or Moors as they were called, were present in the New Kingdom, regarding the members of the six expeditions considered in this study only one mention of a morisco is known. Gonzalo García Zorro indicated in 1542, that in the conquest of La casa del sol he lost a Moorish slave called Juan.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that García Zorro brought Juan from Santa Marta.

### Gender

While the New Kingdom of Granada was being conquered, the islands of Cuba and Margarita were being governed by two remarkable women, Isabel de Bobadilla and Aldonza Manrique, respectively. They may have been exceptions, but it proves that women could have important roles in Spanish government. In the same fashion, some women could have been conquerors but they were not. Women were simply not equated with soldiers and adventurers then. As a result, all conquerors were men and the women present in some of the expeditions studied here were simply companions, with no apparent direct role in the enterprises, even though their contributions may have been significant but unknown except for glimpses. Since there were several women with Indian or Indian and Spanish blood running in their veins, they have already been mentioned in the preceding section. Therefore, to avoid repetitions, only their names will be mentioned here.

There is no record of any individually identified women, aside from the thousands of natives who usually accompanied all expeditions, taking part in Jiménez or Federmann's ventures. The first recorded females to arrive in the New Kingdom were with Belalcázar, namely the Mexican Beatriz de Bejarano, the mestiza Mencia de Collantes, Peruvians Francisca Inga, Beatriz or Yunbo, and Catalina, all already mentioned. In the expedition led by Lebrón came the first Spanish women. Newly born María de Céspedes and her mother Isabel Romera accompanied Francisco Lorenzo, their father and husband, respectively. María grew up in Santa Fe where she married the official relator of the Royal Chancellery, Lope de Rioja, with whom she had eight children. After the death of her husband, Isabel, the mother, became involved with prominent Captain Juan de Céspedes, with whom she had

two sons who were legitimized shortly after when the new couple married. Isabel was an active and independent woman who became involved in businesses on her own account. The Nicaraguan slave woman Inés came on the same expedition, serving her master Francisco Hernández Hermoso. Catalina de Quintanilla was the third Spanish woman to arrive in the new land. There she married Francisco Gómez de Feria with whom she had three children. After his death around 1564, she became involved with the wealthy Andrés Vázquez de Molina, with whom she had two illegitimate sons. After Andrés's death, she married Baltasar de Villarroel, but, possibly due to her old age this time, she did not have children. With Lebrón also came the black slave Isabel, already mentioned.

Several women travelled with Alonso Luis de Lugo. In the advance group led by Captain Alonso Suárez came the fourth and fifth Spanish females. Mari Díaz, the niece of conqueror Alfonso Díaz, settled down in Santa Fe, where she married Antón Martín de Melo Sampayo, with whom she had two children. After her uncle and aunt-in-law died, Mari inherited the rich encomienda of Serrezuela, and, after becoming a widow, she married Antonio Gómez, with whom she had a son. Mari died at the incredible age of 110 years. The fifth Spanish woman was Leonor Gómez, who arrived in the company of her husband Alfonso Díaz and her niece-in-law, Mari Díaz. This couple had a son who died. The encomienda they had was inherited by Leonor, but she bequeathed it to Mari Díaz, the niece, who took possession of it when Leonor died.

In the second group, commanded by Luis de Lugo himself, more Spanish women came: Ana Domínguez, number 6, the wife of the mayor of Tunja Diego Sánchez de Santana, who had reached the New Kingdom in the preceding



expedition led by Lebrón; the already-mentioned mulatto Juana García, who married conqueror Juan de Noria; and the Mexican slave Catalina. The seventh, eight, and ninth Spanish women also arrived with Luis de Lugo. They were Ana, Isabel, and Juana Ramírez, the young daughters of Francisco Gutiérrez de Murcia who accompanied them on the journey. Little is known about Ana, who may have had a son out of wedlock with Lope Montalvo de Lugo. Isabel Ramírez, also known as Isabel Gutiérrez, married one Antón Flamenco, different from the his homonym who was a companion of Federmann. Juana Ramírez, who went by the full name of Juana Ramírez de la Cueva, married Captain Melchor Valdés.

Eighteen identified women, plus Catalina López, accompanied the expeditions. Ten were Spanish women for certain, and at least three were slaves. Even though their services are nearly unknown, one of the greatest contributions of the first ten Spanish women may have been that they were the foreign precursors of their sex in the New Kingdom.

Notes

1. Noel Salomon, Recherches sur le thème paysan dans le comédie au temps de Lope de Vega (Burdeaux, 1965), p. 782.
2. The geographical origins of the Panamá conquerors were studied by Góngora, Los grupos de conquistadores, p. 77. For the first conquerors of Mexico, see Peter Boyd-Bowman, Indice geobiográfico de mas de 56 mil pobladores de la América Hispánica I, 1493-1519 (Mexico, 1985), pp. XLI and XLII. The corresponding data for the first conquerors of Peru are given by Lockhart, The Men of Cajamarca, p. 28.
3. Lockhart, The Men of Cajamarca, p. 26.
4. DIHC III, 199-200.
5. FPS III, 113.
6. JRF, 116-122.
7. ANC Historia Civil XII, fl. 275-374, probanza of Vicente Tamayo.
8. ANC Historia Civil XII, fl. 255-347, probanza of Vicente Tamayo.
9. ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 1-6, Francisco Hernández's will.
10. AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122-2-10, probanza of Gonzalo García Zorro.

#### CHAPTER 4 BACKGROUND OF THE CONQUERORS

Having studied the innate characteristics of the conquerors of the New Kingdom, an analysis will now be made of the personal traits they acquired after birth, and which they had upon their arriving to the New Kingdom, such as education, religion, professional experiences in Europe and in the Indies, economic means, and social class. The intent is to define the nature of the conquerors upon their arrival.

##### Education

The educational level of some of the persons who took part in the expeditions to the New Kingdom can be assessed by the writings they left behind. Antonio de Lebrija and Juan de San Martín jointly wrote a chronicle of the expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez, and so did Juan del Junco, although his account is lost. Antonio Díaz Cardozo is reputed to be the author of the corresponding Relación Anónima.<sup>1</sup> Some letters addressed by the conquerors to the Crown and higher officials in Spain can also give a reasonable idea about the education of their writers. These letters were signed by Jerónimo de Aguayo, Hernando de Alcocer, Pedro del Acevo Sotelo, Francisco Bahamón de Lugo, Francisco de Belalcázar, Pedro Brizeño, Juan de Céspedes, Pedro de Colmenares, Luis Lanhero, Luis de Manjarrés, Juan de Montalvo, Juan Muñoz de Collantes, Juan Ortiz de Zárate, Juan de Penagos, Pedro de Puelles, Cristóbal de San Miguel, Juan Tafur, and Alonso Téllez.

Highly educated, second to none of the leaders of conquering expeditions in the Indies, was the cultured licentiate, Gonzalo Jiménez, professional lawyer and author of El antijovio, an apology for his countrymen, and other writings regrettably lost today, besides the Epítome de la conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada, which is also attributed to his pen. His rival, Nikolaus Federmann, wrote another significant study on his perception of the conquests and his early explorations of Acarigua in Venezuela entitled Indianische Historia. There can be little doubt that the persons listed above were fully literate and therefore were fairly well educated in terms of the sixteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, which at that time was yet to experience its cultural Golden Age.

Yet, from the fact that Jiménez de Quesada and Federmann, both generals of expeditions, were well-educated persons, it can not be deducted that higher-ranked military persons, nor top government officials were necessarily literate persons. Jiménez and Federmann's peer, Sebastián de Belalcázar, could not write or read, and it is not a rare occurrence to find mayors and municipal councilmen who were hopelessly illiterate. Juan Rodríguez Freyle, the piquant colonial writer born in Santa Fe de Bogotá, commented with much exaggeration, that some of the members of the city councils used their branding irons to stamp their marks on documents.<sup>2</sup> Yet, there were some government men who had to read and write in order to perform their duties. The three royal officials who accompanied all important expeditions, namely the overseer, treasurer and accountant, were responsible for keeping a record of all the booty collected on the way and the corresponding payment of taxes kept in the royal coffer they managed. There was usually another official in each expedition who had to keep a

good count of all the men who died and the possessions they left. Adding to those literate officials the ever-present scribes who accompanied any exploratory venture of some size, and the secretaries of the commanding generals, it is clear that there was an appreciable group of persons among the conquerors who had to know how to read and write.

If it can not be safely assumed that all higher-ranking government and military officials were literate persons, it can be posited, with considerable less risk, that all church members with the investiture to celebrate Mass and administer the Holy Sacraments were learned persons. In the same manner that some crown officials had to be educated to perform their duties, the priests had to be likewise to comply with the exigencies of the Catholic rites. More often than not, the higher education of the clergy active in the New Kingdom is documented and not assumed. Fray Domingo de las Casas, Antón de Lezcámez, Vicente de Requejada, Juan Estéban Verderero, and Hernando de Granada, who were the first five acknowledged priests to reach the New Kingdom, all left documentary evidences of their literacy. Other priests who participated in the expeditions may or may not have had an education substantiated by documents, but the proof of their literacy rests in the practice of their profession. The enormous cultural role played by the Catholic Church in Spain during the sixteenth century and how it represented the most educated group within Iberian society, including the regular and secular priests, is evident.<sup>3</sup> In short, the priests, some government officials, scribes and secretaries, had to be literate to perform their duties. They join those who wrote books, chronicles, and letters to the authorities, to

make up the rather significant group of explorers whom, with a high degree of certainty, were literate.

To assess the education of persons other than those who left behind complete documents as proof of their literacy, the time-honored historical expediency of judging cultural levels by whether or not they knew how to sign their names has to be used. The legalistic attitude of the post-medieval Spaniard which required all witnesses to sign their depositions left to posterity fairly ample proof of who could sign with fluency, who could scribble his or her name with difficulty, who could only draw a mark such as a crudely delineated cross, and who simply stated his or her inability to write and asked the scribe to sign in his or her stead. On the negative side, however, many of the surviving documents are transcripts of the originals and therefore do not show the actual signatures. In this case the decision as to who could sign and who could not rests in the judgment of the person who transcribed the document and who may have stated whether the witness signed it, or señalólo con su señal as the term went, or simply indicated his inability to write. In this instance also, the subjective and not necessarily reliable evaluation of who was more educated than who by observing their signatures is, of course, lost. Cases have been found, however, in which one scribe indicated a witness signed on one occasion, whereas another asserted on a different opportunity that the very same witness could not sign. In order to avoid the subjectivity inherent in deducting literacy levels out of the appearances of the not always available original signatures, the cases considered here have been plainly divided into whether the person signed, made a mark in the document, or stated his or her inability to sign. Those

conquerors falling in the first category are classified as potentially literate, and those under the second and the third category as illiterate. One additional note is that there was a handful of conquerors, among them Francisco Barajas, Antón Bezos, Antonio de Castro, and Juan Corzo, who declared their inability to write shortly after they arrived in the New Kingdom but who, in later years, were able to sign. Some may have become better educated as time went on, pressured by the needs of the higher offices they had the opportunity to serve. Those few men are considered illiterate here, for it is the purpose to know about the background of the group of conquerors upon their arrival to the New Kingdom.

Table 6 exhibits the data extracted from Appendix B on how many conquerors could sign their names and therefore are considered potentially literate. Of a total of 371 persons known for all expeditions 292, or 78.7 percent, could sign. Comparisons among the literacy rate of the individuals of one expedition are inconclusive due to the small size of their samples, as is the case of those of Belalcázar and Montalvo.

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Table 6. Number of Conquerors Who Could Sign Their Names

<u>Signed</u>	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	82	54	31	57	16	52	292
No	33	17	4	10	6	9	79
Total	115	71	35	67	22	61	371

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB=Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo.

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When comparing the rough literacy rate of the conquerors of the New Kingdom with those of Peru, a similar situation is observed, as displayed in Table 7.<sup>4</sup> While in Peru the literacy rate was 76.6 percent, it was 78.7

percent for the New Kingdom. Thus, no significant differences seem to exist in the educational level of these two groups of conquerors active in South American conquests within a 14- to 20-year time span.

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Table 7. Signature Signing Ability of the Conquerors of the New Kingdom and Peru

<u>Signed</u>	<u>New Kingdom</u>	<u>Peru</u>
Yes	292- 78.7%	108- 76.6%
No	79- 21.3	33- 23.4
Total:	371-100.0%	141-100.0%

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The flow of Spanish books to the Indies during the sixteenth century can provide an additional indication of the literacy of the conquerors active in the Americas. The presumption that these men, thanks to Indian and black labor, when converted into colonizers had ample time and wealth to purchase and read the romances of chivalry that made up the light literature of the day, have been made by Irwin Leonard.<sup>5</sup> After studying the known inventories of the Cromberger printers in Seville during the years 1529 and 1540, the printing trade, and other available documentary sources on books in the Indies, he further suggested that thousands of those romances may have been shipped to Mexico during the two decades following the fall of the Aztec capital, where the printers enjoyed a monopoly of the book trade, and to other parts of the Indies. Leonard did not make a quantitative assessment other than the estimated figure on how many books were actually sold in any part of the Indies, nor did he analyze the ability of the conquerors to read. He concluded that plentiful leisure time, economic means, and availability of books together made the romances of chivalry and devotional literature, such as bibles, missals,



breviaries, plus grammars, and dictionaries, highly popular among the conquerors. From the popularity of book circulation and readership, the abundance of literate people in the Indies is inferred.

As an added note, only two references have been found about books in the New Kingdom in the hands of the conquerors studied here. When the secular priest Juan Estéban Verdero died in 1542, he left a devotional book written in Latin called Horas de Latín, which was purchased by the priest Pedro Díaz. When the estate of a nephew of Diego de Ortega was retained by the authorities, it included several books, most novels on chivalry: five on the adventures of Amadis de Gaula, one on Florisel de Niquea, one on Don Florisel, and one Abecedario de mercancías which was a book on trade and commerce.

An understanding of the educational level of the Spaniards living in the old continent during the first half of the sixteenth century is helpful in gaining insight into literacy rates of those who became conquerors of the Indies. Even though there are no statistics available on the subject, the study of the new and rather incipient Spanish book printing industry, the literature of the time, and the known inventories of the libraries existing then have been used to assess the educational level of sixteenth-century Spaniards.<sup>6</sup> While one author stated that the illiteracy rate was very high, others believed that those who possessed books in Valladolid were only the letrados, the low nobility, and the clergy. Upon reflecting that in order to read books a person had to be literate, had to have the economic capacity to afford them, and had to acquire the taste for reading, a third author, Maxine Chevalier, suggests that nearly all the townsfolk, the urban proletariat, and a great part of

the artisans were excluded from book readership. The truth is, she concludes, that illiteracy alone excluded 80 percent of the Spaniards from the book culture and that the readership of the romances of chivalry was not as high as Leonard suggested.

It does not appear that an 80 percent illiteracy rate in Spain can be reconciled with one potential illiteracy rate under 25 percent for the conquerors of the New Kingdom, who in turn were found to be about as illiterate as their counterpart in Peru. A combination of factors has to be considered to justify, or at least explain, such a great disparity. First, it is quite likely that some of the signing witnesses in the New Kingdom and Peru had learned to scribble their names without really knowing how to write, much less to read; these potentially literate cases would have to be classed within the illiterate ones. Second, there was a marked difference in literacy levels among genders, for nearly all sixteenth-century Spanish females were illiterate, raising the literacy rates for the male population. Third, it may be that Leonard exaggerated the popularity of the readership of chivalry novels in the Indies and that Chevalier possibly ventured too high an estimate of illiteracy in Spain, for both lacked enough quantifiable data. In fact, another contended that nearly all members, including the lowest rural nobility, which he believed to be quite numerous, could afford to have their sons educated by some priest who was a relative, a monk of the nearby monastery, or the local clergy.<sup>7</sup> As will be seen in more detail in Chapter 7, members of the rural and urban low nobility were indeed rather numerous in Spain during the first half of the sixteenth century. If the many educated monks, priests, and other persons at the service of the church are added to the low

nobility, it is likely that their sum already constitutes a good part of the 20 percent of the Spanish population of the time. There were many merchants and lesser traders, crown officials, licentiates, doctors, baccalaureates, scribes, notaries, and some higher income artisans, who could make up a literate total probably higher than 20 percent of the population.

The Spaniards' literacy estimates of Chevalier may have fallen short, whereas those for the New Kingdom can be reviewed in light of additional evidence available for other groups of people active in the New World. Eighty percent or more of the population of Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, from 1531 to 1534, has been found to be "literate/educated."<sup>8</sup> Of the conquerors who accompanied Valdivia in the exploration of Chile, 105 out of 142, or 74 percent, were able to sign their names.<sup>9</sup> Again, there is reasonable consistency about the number of persons who could sign their names in the New Kingdom as in other parts of the Indies.

The historical documents regarding the actions of the conquerors of the New Kingdom of Granada and elsewhere may be suspected of some bias in favor of the wealthier, the more politically and socially influential, the more militarily active, and the more antagonistic. Those conquerors who did not have an encomienda, or owned significant plots of land or other real estate, or who did not plant large crops or raise large herds of cattle, did not leave any documents behind. Nor did those who did not marry a socially active woman and did not have children who distinguished themselves, or did not participate in conquering expeditions, or did not establish cities. No documents were left either by those who lived peacefully without suing their neighbors, and who had no need to make a

notarized will. In consequence, those conquerors are not known today. Since these obscure conquerors may well have been predominantly illiterate, it could be argued then that if they were included in the statistics, they would certainly lower the percentages of those considered educated. Probably this is more realistic and it should certainly be kept in mind in spite of not being quantifiable from the data known for the New Kingdom.

There is one instance, however, that tends to negate the suggested downgrading. On February 21, 1542, all persons residing in Tunja, and who therefore were all part of the conquerors considered here, were asked to state in writing if they accepted the newly appointed captain general of the city. Of the 51 persons who responded to the call that day, 41 signed their agreement and 10 asked others to do it in their name because, as the document states, they did not know how to write.<sup>10</sup> Again, those who could stamp their signatures were 80 percent of the total, and, in this case, no bias appears to exist in favor of the more socially, politically, or economically privileged. On the contrary, none of the persons called to sign their acceptance of the new authority were mayors or members of the city council, who, in a separate meeting, affirmed their approval.

The search for harmony among the known figures on literacy levels in Spain and in the Indies during the first half of the sixteenth century suggests that there was a certain difference in the literacy level between the Spaniard who moved to the New Kingdom and to other parts of the Indies and those who remained in Spain. An examination of the economic capacity of those Spaniards who emigrated to the New Kingdom and those who remained during the first half of the sixteenth century may help to support the

existence of a cultural-economic difference in favor of those who opted for a more adventurous life, providing that there is a direct correlation between wealth and education. That economic capacity of the immigrating Spaniards to the New Kingdom will be considered later in this chapter.

### Religion

King Charles V, who governed the Spanish domains of Castile and Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, by the grace of God, also inherited royal control, or Patronato, over the immensely powerful Spanish Church, previously negotiated by the Catholic Kings and Popes Alexander VI and Julius II. His rule over the Church was great and so were his obligations to it, for he became the official defender of the Catholic religion. Nearly all Spaniards were then Catholics, except for a few Moriscos and Jews. Some Jews converted to Catholicism and were thus known as conversos, or new Christians, and remained in Spain after the expulsion of their brothers in 1492. Not surprisingly, all known members of the Spanish conquering expeditions considered here were Catholic, but it is possible that some new Christians were also present. The very leader of the most important conquering expedition to the New Kingdom, Gonzalo Jiménez, was suspected of being a converso.<sup>11</sup> Nikolaus Federmann, an acknowledged Catholic who was born in the country where the Protestant Reform began, was accompanied in his conquest of the New Kingdom by at least two of his countrymen and two persons born in the Netherlands. Even though there is no proof that any of these five persons were Lutherans, as they were called then, some followers of the Reform found their way to Venezuela, and some may have gone from there to the New Kingdom. Otherwise, there

would be no justification for the Crown issuing a mandate in 1535 prohibiting the acceptance in Venezuela of any person born in Germany who did not have a royal authorization on the grounds that they might be Lutherans.<sup>12</sup> In short, the belief that all the conquerors of the New Kingdom considered here were Catholics, does not preclude the possibility that a few unprofessed Jews and Protestants could have been among them. No Moriscos are known or suspected of having been active in the conquering expeditions of the New Kingdom.

#### Experience in Europe

Most of the conquerors who had some military experience in Europe prior to arriving in the New Kingdom are likely to have left historical records behind. Their participation in the Spanish armies active in the old continent gave them considerable priority in being selected as captains or leaders of men in the conquering expeditions, which in turn allowed them to gain further economic, political, and social power.

Eight members of Jiménez expedition are known to have been engaged in military actions in Europe: Antonio Bermúdez, who fought in Florence and Vienna; Juan de Céspedes, member of the Royal Army who fought the Comunero Rebellion in Castile; Pedro Fernández de Valenzuela, captain of the Royal Army during the Italian wars; Martín Galeano, a soldier active in Italy; Juan del Junco, a soldier of the Spanish infantry; Gonzalo Suárez Rendón, captain in several European actions in Italy and Vienna; Juan de Torres, a soldier active in Italy; and Andrés Vázquez de Molina, who fought against the Moors and other enemy forces in Italy. All of these men were distinguished captains or cavalrymen during the conquest of the

New Kingdom, with the exception of Vázquez who was an arquebusier. Except for Galeano, whose pretensions to social status, if any, are not known today, all claimed in later years to be of noble origin, and all those who remained in the New Kingdom became influential and prominent members of the new society.

Equally meritorious and successful were those former soldiers active in Europe who arrived with Federmann, Captain Luis Lancharo, and Domingo Lozano; those who came with Belalcázar, Garci Arias Maldonado, Juan de Orozco and Hernando de Rojas; Ortún Velasco, who accompanied Lebrón; and those from the group of Luis de Lugo, Don Jerónimo de Carvajal, Miguel de Morales, and Juan Ruiz de Orejuela. The economic, social, and political importance of those 18 men in the conquest and colonization of the New Kingdom is far greater than their number suggests.

Other previous experiences the conquerors may have had besides serving in the royal armies are little known, for it is likely that they were not considered as services to the Crown and, therefore, not worthy of mentioning when the conquerors involved requested royal favors. Several of their past activities could perhaps be inferred from what these men did in the Indies, but this would be a highly speculative exercise. A better understanding, however, of what the conquerors did in Spain is necessary to ascertain their social rank before moving to the Indies (see Social Class).

#### Experience in the Indies

The colonial chroniclers unanimously emphasized how important for the conquerors of the New Kingdom it was to have previous experience in

the Indies. The difference between persons able to function or not, in the American environment, often determined their ability to survive, the chronicles argued. The newly arrived persons lacked the experience and practical knowledge of the baquianos who knew how to live in a tropical environment, how to deal with the natives, and how to take better advantage of what that strange ambience had to offer. What is more important to know about the experience of the conquerors in the Indies is not necessarily what they did--most of their actions were rather similar for they were engaged in conquests and early colonizations anyway--but how long they were active in the Americas prior to their arrival to the New Kingdom. Each individual's experience in terms of number of years is given in Appendix B and in Table 8.

Table 8 shows the experience in the Indies of the men of each expedition by several year increments. The one-year experience shown for the conquerors involved in the ventures directed by Gonzalo Jiménez and Alonso Luis de Lugo corresponds only to the time in which they journeyed from the coastal port of Santa Marta to the future New Kingdom. The differences among the various groups of conquerors are remarkable. Approximately two thirds of the men of Jiménez and of Luis de Lugo had no experience and had to learn on their way to the New Kingdom. Those men under Lebrón were also inexperienced. On the other extreme, more than two thirds of the men of Federmann and Belalcázar and all the companions of Montalvo had been exposed to the ways of the Indies for five years or more. Clearly then, the men of Federmann, Belalcázar, and Montalvo were significantly more versed in life in the Indies than those led by Jiménez, Lebrón, and Luis de Lugo. Since no records have been found on the



experience of those conquerors who did not survive these last two expeditions, it is not possible to assess how they compare with those considered here. That comparison could shed important light in the survival rates of the experienced versus the inexperienced.

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Table 8. Experience in the Indies Prior to Arrival to the New Kingdom

	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
One Year Experience	63	0	0	8	0	33	104
From 2 to 4 years	12	21	3	24	0	2	63
From 5 to 9 years	14	24	26	13	13	12	102
From 10 years and on	3	27	9	8	6	5	57
Total:	92	72	38	53	19	52	326

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB-Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo.

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#### Economic Means

The high costs that a person had to incur in order to participate in the conquest of the New Kingdom could prove to be an economic barrier that may have restricted the participation of some sectors of the Spanish population. Significant differences in economic means among the participants of those conquering expeditions can provide important information not only on the various social classes to which they belonged, but also on whether the power of money was used by the more privileged in order to affirm their advantage in the reordering of the society, which was to take root in that new Spanish Dominion.

For the sake of clarity, the economic status of the men engaged in the expeditions to the New Kingdom will be studied in two parts: first, by an analysis of the known expenses they incurred in order to participate in

the expeditions, or of their wealth inferred from what they said; and second, by examining the civil activities the conquerors had before arriving to the New Kingdom as primary clues to their social ranking (See Social Class). The expedition led by Gonzalo Jiménez will be studied first, because it was the earliest, and also is better documented than the rest.

Antonio de Castro and Pedro Ruíz Corredor, who arrived in Santa Marta with Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo and went on the expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez to the New Kingdom, indicated the expenses they incurred to cross the Atlantic. Castro declared that he, like the rest of the soldiers who embarked in Spain at that time, paid between 15 to 20 ducats for the passage. Ruíz Corredor complained that he did not receive any help and moreover had to pay a fare of 25 ducats. The diverse figures given by these two men are explained by what was common at the time, and which is well documented in the case of this expedition.<sup>13</sup> Don Pedro contracted with shipowners and others to transport and feed on board the soldiers enrolled in Spain and destined to Santa Marta, for a flat fee of 10 and 15 ducats each, which, at the time, was worth about 12.5 gold pesos. A good part of those transportation costs were to be paid later by Don Pedro to these pilots, but it appears that the men had to pay him in cash whatever money they could afford, anywhere from 6 to 25 ducats, and were also responsible for covering their food and board while on land.

Some exceptions seem to have applied to those rules, for, when the armada was in port in the Canaries for some time, some of the men received from Don Pedro or his representatives one sixteenth of a gold peso per diem. No evidence exists of soldiers traveling on credit in this case.

Since the cost of passage and sustenance on land was not the only expenses the humblest of men had to cover, for they had to equip themselves with arms and adequate clothing, it appears that the minimum investment required in their case was perhaps around 15 ducats, or 12.5 pesos. Considering that this amount was enough to sparingly feed and shelter a person for 200 days, it is clear that the dispossessed were not in a position to cover the expenses involved in making it from the port of departure to the New Kingdom.

If the cost of passage from Spain to Santa Marta already imposed some economic restrictions on the men who wanted to enroll as simple foot soldiers in Don Pedro's expedition, the total cost expected to be covered by a better-equipped arquebusier or crossbowman, or to a much higher degree by a horse soldier, were prohibitive for the lowest economic classes.<sup>14</sup> Putting aside the gross exaggerations of some conquerors--such as Antonio Bermúdez who declared he had spent 2,600 pesos in buying two horses to take on the expedition to the New Kingdom--but rather taking as a more realistic price those amounts in which all those who lost horses on the way were compensated, the following is documented.<sup>15</sup>

Diego de Aguilar lost two horses for which he received 200 gold pesos. Domingo de Aguirre declared that in another opportunity he bought a horse and a mare. Antonio Bermúdez, who was also a horse soldier, may have purchased the two horses he indicated but at a much reduced price than what he claimed, or he bought them after the New Kingdom was created when the scarcity of those coveted animals and the abundance of gold made them exceptionally dear. Pedro Bravo de Rivera lost one for which he received 40 pesos. Captain Juan de Céspedes bought three horses and lost

two, receiving 320 pesos as compensation. Pedro de Colmenares bought one horse and arms and Andrés de Murcia, who died on the way, lost two horses and was compensated with 170 pesos. Lázaro Fonte received 80 pesos for one horse he lost, and Martín Galeano collected 150 pesos for his. Juan del Junco received 200 pesos for two horses, and Antonio de Lebrija bought three horses and lost one, receiving a compensation of 150 pesos. In addition, Diego Martín Hiniesta received 180 pesos for two horses. The following men received the indicated pesos for one horse lost: Francisco Salguero 50 pesos, Juan de San Martín 100 pesos, Martín Sánchez Ropero 100 pesos, Pedro Sánchez Sobaelbarro 150 pesos, Diego de Segura 150 pesos, and Gonzalo Suárez Rendón 100 pesos. In total, 18 persons are known to have purchased horses because they were compensated for the losses they suffered. All the foregoing cases mentioned above involved men who lost their animals. Yet, should not all the other cavalrymen be considered in this economic group also even if they did not lose their mounts?

Since the complete military ranking of all the survivors of the expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez is known, as indicated in Chapter 2, it is clear that, among them, there were 33 horse soldiers. Since they all required war horses and need to purchase them they had to have the necessary economic capacity to do so. What is suggested is that all 33 horse soldiers, not only those who lost their animals, and their leader Gonzalo García Zorro, had to have a higher economic capacity than foot soldiers. All these 33 cavalrymen can be classed at least in the lower end of the middle economic category, and their leader, to make a distinction, may be classed one rung higher. Judging by the cost of horses at the time and the additional arms, clothing, passage, and extra food cavalrymen had

to purchase, it appears they had to have the necessary means to spend around 100 gold pesos each.

In addition to the horse soldiers and captains who were compensated for lost horses, two foot soldiers, Pedro de Lombana and Juan Valenciano, also were in that group. Even though they may not have owned fine war horses, such as those of Captain Céspedes who received 160 pesos for each, they accepted 50 and 80 pesos, respectively, for animals which were most likely beasts of burden. Lombana and Valenciano should also be included in the list of those who had the economic capacity to buy horses. Since Pedro del Acevo declared on another occasion that in the equipment and arms he purchased to enroll in the expedition he had spent most of the money he had, he may deserve to be included also in this same economic category. In short, three foot soldiers are known to belong at least to the lower end of the middle economic category.

In the previous document which lists the companions of Gonzalo Jiménez compensated for horses lost on the way to the New Kingdom, there were six captains or leaders of the expedition who, in consequence, also had to have the necessary economic means to purchase their mounts: Céspedes, Fonte, Junco, Lebrija, San Martín, and Suárez. The same document suggests that some leaders and captains, including a few already mentioned, were wealthier. Gómez del Corral and Juan de Albarracín, both captains and owners of brigantines that navigated the Magdalena River, were resourceful enough to take along significant amounts of goods and victuals to provide those advancing over land. Díaz Cardozo piloted another brigantine. On other occasion, Lázaro Fonte declared he spent 4,000 ducats in equipping a ship with all the necessary provisions to take

care of 150 men from Spain to Santa Marta, and Juan del Junco arrived at this port on his own ship. The last five persons are classed in the high-to-middle layer of the middle economic category.

If the 10 names of captains and leaders already considered as belonging to a special economic class are taken from their list of 16 persons, those remaining are Criado, Fernández de Valenzuela, de la Inza, Olalla, Pérez de Quesada, and Salinas, who will be considered later when the social classes of the conquerors are examined. It is clear that most of the leaders and captains of the expeditions were men of superior economic means as compared to foot soldiers and, in several cases, cavalymen. For the sake of distinction, they are classed in the middle-low instead of the low layer, until a reexamination of their civilian and social background is carried out under Social Class.

By considering the known military ranking and the losses, expenses, and investments of many foot soldiers, horse soldiers, captains, and leaders of the expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez, it has been determined that each man, in his own economic category, had to have the necessary means to cover costs beyond the reach of the most under-privileged persons of Spanish society. It was estimated that even the humblest of the foot soldiers had to have the economic power to invest perhaps as much money as an average person needed to cover subsistence-level food and shelter for 200 days. It was also suggested that all 33 members of the cavalry who survived the expedition had to have a higher economic capacity than the foot soldiers in order to acquire their arms and horses, perhaps no less than 100 gold pesos each, a tidy sum for their time. Three foot soldiers should also be added to this category. The 16 captains and leaders of the

expedition appeared to be from an economic background at least as high as that of the horse soldiers and probably higher. Five have been classed in the high-middle layer of the middle economic category and five in the middle-low layer of the same economic category. Little is known about the economic class of the remaining six captains and leaders.

Since the men who participated in the expeditions led by Federmann, Belalcázar, Lebrón, and Montalvo de Lugo had arrived in the Indies several years before those ventures were organized, it is difficult to determine what their economic conditions were upon departing from Europe. The fact that several of them arrived in the New Kingdom with several horses does not necessarily mean that they were comfortably solvent in their homeland, for they may have obtained their money in the Indies after leaving Spain. Yet, those cases are so few that they are included here in spite of that drawback. The second difficulty when analyzing these four expeditions is that they are much less documented than that of Jiménez.

Most of the men who enlisted under Federmann to go to the New Kingdom appeared to have arrived to Venezuela with the various governors who ruled that province in the name of the Welser, the German banking house. Those who came to Venezuela in 1535 with Governor Georg Hohermuth von Speyer, better known as Jorge Espira, and his second in command, Nikolaus Federmann, each paid eight ducats in cash or signed a promissory note for 12, providing the Welser Company felt the risk was secured.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, as in the case of the expedition led by Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo from Spain to Santa Marta, those men who crossed the Atlantic destined for Venezuela also had to have the necessary economic means to cover the cost of the passage and to purchase their personal equipment and

arms. It is almost certain, then, that not all the members of Spanish society at the time could afford the expense of traveling to Venezuela.

As in the case of the expedition led by Jiménez, the horse soldiers who accompanied Federmann had to incur higher costs than those on foot, for they had to buy the corresponding arms and horses. Even though there should have been more cavalrymen with Federmann, for he arrived to the New Kingdom with 90 horses whereas Jiménez brought 60, all that is known is that Honorato Vicente Bernal and Pedro de Limpías arrived with three horses each, and that Sebastián de Almarcha, Luis Lancho and Hernán Pérez Malaver each had one.<sup>17</sup> It is also documented that Almarcha arrived in Venezuela with goods valued at 224 gold pesos. In addition, if the officers and captains enjoyed a more comfortable economic position, as appears to be the case for the men of Jiménez, the only five captains known to accompany Federmann should be noted: Sebastián de Almarcha, Hernando de Beteta, Pedro de Limpías already listed, Diego Martínez, and Juan de Ribera; Hernando de Santana was a leader. In conclusion, not every Spaniard was able to make the passage to Venezuela and from there to the New Kingdom, for substantial funds were required to do so. Judging from the personal expenses they incurred on the way or evidences of what they had upon their arrival, Almarcha, Bernal, Lancho, and Pérez Malaver may be classed in the low strata of the middle economic category, whereas Beteta, Limpías, Martínez, Ribera, and Santana should be located one layer above.

A few of the men who accompanied Belalcázar can also be classed in the same order followed in Federmann's case. Cavalrymen were Juan Díaz Carrillo, probably Alonso de Hoyos, and Pedro Vázquez de Llerena.



Captains or leaders of the expedition were Juan de Arévalo, Garci Arias Maldonado, Juan de Avendaño, Juan Cabrera, Luis Daza, Juan Díaz Hidalgo, Alonso Martínez, Pedro de Puelles, Luis de Sanabria, and Melchor Valdés.

Unlike the Jiménez, Federmann, and Belalcázar expeditions, which were primarily exploratory and had a pronounced military structure, the one led by Lebrón had a clear colonizing purpose, and, therefore, its organization does not seem to have been so militarily oriented. Yet it was not devoid of cavalrymen, officers, and captains. Some men with horses who probably had a military purpose were Juan de Chinchilla, Cristóbal de los Nidos, Diego de Partearroyo, and Andrés de Valenzuela. Of these, it is possible that Nidos took his for commercial rather than for bellicose ends, but, in any case, the ownership of those equines is a reflection of his economic capacity. Captains and leaders of men were Jerónimo de Aguayo, Luis de Manjarrés, Alonso Martín, Diego de Paredes Calvo, Antón Pérez de Lara, and Hernando de Sanmillán. Another person of middle economic means was Antón de Rodas, who brought a small vessel of his own up the Magdalena River.

The venture organized by Montalvo de Lugo to continue from the foot of the Venezuelan Llanos to the New Kingdom was more exploratory and thus more militarily oriented than that of Lebrón, perhaps as much as that of Federmann which also departed from the same geographical area. In this expedition, Martín González and Martín Nieto, who had been captains in previous explorations, had the same ranking, Lope de Salzedo was a horse soldier, and Francisco Núñez was the leader of a squadron.

Wanting to take the helm of the governorship he inherited from his father, Alonso Luis de Lugo organized his expedition to the New Kingdom in

Spain. Since its purpose was, therefore, more of colonization than of conquest, its organization had a more civilian than military orientation. Yet, the men were called soldiers, and they were recruited in Seville and its surroundings. As was the case of the former ventures led to the Kingdom from the provinces of Santa Marta and Venezuela, the men had to pay a passage fee in Spain to cross the Atlantic. The 150 persons taken on board the Santa María de la Concepción had to pay cash: 7 ducats if they provided their food, 10 ducats for full board while the ship was navigating, according to one version; or 15 ducats flat, according to another. In any case, the amounts actually collected in cash varied from 4 to 15 ducats per person.<sup>18</sup> Again, these sums of money must have acted as a barrier that prevented the poorer people of Spanish society from joining these ventures. The only known horse soldier of this expedition was Gaspar de Torres; other persons, however, who took horses with them were Antonio Hernández, Alonso de Hoyos, and Antonio de Luján. Julián Roldán and Felipe de Sosa should be economically classed among those who had horses, for they took with them highly valuable black slaves. Captains and leaders were Antonio Berrío, Lorenzo Mejía, Miguel de Morales, and Juan Ruiz de Orejuela.

The above considerations on the economic means of these men, as determined from their military activities, can be used to make generalizations in order to classify them into economic groups. If the conquerors' places of origin are taken to be those they declared when they embarked to the Indies, the overwhelming majority was from the cities. Indeed, the cities offered better economic opportunities as compared with the countryside where many people were tied to the land by various servile

conditions. Yet, many had to be country people, because about four fifths of the total Spanish population lived in rural areas.

Foot soldiers needed the least amount of resources to pay for their passage and to buy whatever arms, provisions, and clothing they required on their way to the New Kingdom. Since the sum to cover those expenses has been estimated at approximately 15 ducats, not everybody in Spain could afford it. Those whose only means of subsistence during the year was as hired hands, mainly to perform the humble rural work during the peak season, could not afford that expense, nor could the ubiquitous beggars, petty thieves, and largely drifting population without a known occupation who somehow scratched a living in the growing Spanish cities. Many foot soldiers were likely to emerge at least from the masses of people who worked the land of the nobles, clergy or the military orders but who had the right to the crops after paying some rent, or from the thousands of roving shepherds who tended their small flocks or the huge ones owned by the Mesta, the noble-oriented Spanish sheep organization. These people and those in the cities, who had somewhat better economic opportunities than the less privileged, could conceivably gather, with much effort, 15 ducats, or could have someone co-sign an obligation in their behalf. As costs were a limiting factor to those foot soldiers aspiring to conquer the Indies, it is not surprising that the majority of these men were from the Andalusia, Extremadura, New Castile and Murcia. The additional costs an Old Castilian had to pay to travel to the port of embarkation must have been an added restraint compounded by the weeks of travel within Iberia.

Horse soldiers and better-equipped foot soldiers required more economic resources to participate in the conquests of the Indies, perhaps

as high as 100 gold pesos. These persons had to have some property they could dispose of or use as collateral to secure loans, such as rural plots, inheritances, herds of cattle or sheep, or even some savings after having been employed by a noble, a merchant, the crown, or the church. Otherwise they had to have a profitable trade in the cities. Such people can be classed in the low rung of the middle economic category. As was noticed in the case of the companions of Jiménez, the leaders of the expeditions may have been just one rung above the former, and therefore are classed in the low-middle layer of the middle economic category. Some conquerors are classed in the high-middle layer of the same economic category. Those who could afford the purchase of ships and the few rentiers known, whether rural or urban, can be classed in this group.

The considerations given above are summarized in Table 9, where

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Table 9. Economic Categories of the Conquerors

	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
High Category							0
Middle Category							
High-middle							5
Ship-owners	5						
Middle-low							33
Captains, leaders	5	5	10	6	2	4	
Some wealth				1			
Low							56
Horse-soldiers	33	4	3	4	2	4	
Slave owners						2	
Foot-soldiers	3						
Low Category							
High-Middle							
Foot-soldiers							
Low							0

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB=Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo.

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the number of men known for each economic category is displayed for each of the six expeditions. Since the only count of soldiers and officers known corresponds to the expedition led by Jiménez, it is the only one whose total economic classification could be ascertained if more data were available. However, since practically nothing is known about the economic means of the foot soldiers, except that they were at least one rung above the dispossessed, they cannot be classified. Only those men who were economically classified above are given in Table 9.

#### Social Class

Since there are strong reasons to believe that a good number of Europeans used their American experience to improve their lot, not only economically but socially, the subject of social class will be analyzed at two stages: one as conquerors, before their arrival in the New Kingdom; and the second as colonizers of the new land. (See Chapter 7).

In the preceding section, the military role played by the conquerors was examined to ascertain their economic capacity and, therefore, their economic background. As a result, they were grouped in different economic classes, which can also be used with other factors as a measure of social status. The data available on social class will be analyzed and then combined with the economic classification. Subsequently, information on the social status of another group of conquerors active in the Americas will be considered, with the purpose of filling any prominent voids that may still exist about the social classification of the men active in the New Kingdom.

There are a few occasions in which the noble social status claimed by some of the conquerors of the New Kingdom was backed by documents. Juan de Géspedes had his status as an hidalgo certified in a royal chancellery, and Gonzalo Suárez Rendón did the same years after his arrival in the New Kingdom. Alonso Luis de Lugo, the grandson of Don Antonio de Lugo, nobleman and first Adelantado of the Canary Islands, was a member of the aristocratic military order of Santiago. His cousin Francisco Bahamón de Lugo was also most likely of noble descent. Don Jerónimo de Carvajal was the only conqueror consistently addressed as Don in all the documents known, and it appears that Hernán Venegas, Juan de Penagos, Juan Tafur, Francisco de Velandía, and Martín Yáñez Tafur were also certified as lesser nobility or hidalgos. Ortún Velasco also should be included in spite of his older brother being the holder of the primogeniture, which placed Ortún in the uncomfortable position of segundón, or second in line for an improbable inheritance. In addition to these 10 cases, the six captain-generals are not included in the lists of their conquering men. The social status of the other men considered here has to be deduced from whatever is known about their former occupations and background.

The known occupations of the conquerors up to the moment of their arrival in the New Kingdom are also helpful in ranking them socially. The numerous priests who accompanied the expeditions will not be considered here. All social classes were represented in the clerical ranks of the Catholic Church, and therefore, except for the very high positions which were usually held by nobles, priests could be from any social strata, though probably not from the lowest.

A few specialized artisans who practiced their trade in the new land have been added to the list, based upon the conviction that they learned their skills in Europe. They included two precious metals assayers, three blacksmiths, and one tailor. The only avowed farmer active on these expeditions was Pedro Blasco Martín. Nine scribes were present: Honorato Bernal, Francisco García, Francisco Gutiérrez de Murcia, Francisco Iñiguez, Gil López, Alonso de Miranda, Cristóbal Rodríguez, Juan Rodríguez Benavides and Rodrigo de Villarreal. Among the artisans or master craftsmen were Juan de Albarracín, who directed the construction of two brigantines; Alonso de Aranda and Antón de Aguilar assayers of precious metals; Francisco de Aguirre, Juan Corzo, Pedro de Frías and Martín Sánchez Ropero were blacksmiths; Antón Flamenco, a bridge-builder; Maese Juan Gallegos, a tailor; Hernán Gómez Castillejo, probably a cloth-dyer as was his father; Alonso de Vera, a barber; and Simón Díaz who was derided by his comrades because he was a rope-weaver in Spain.<sup>19</sup> In addition, Juan de Eslava should be included in this list for his brother was a swordsmith, hence a total of 13 artisans.

In the loose category of persons in the service of others, such as aides and secretaries, were Antón de Alcarazo, Alonso de Arteaga, Criado, Antonio de Melgar, Alonso Miguel, Francisco de Saldaña, Diego Sánchez Farfán, Pedro Téllez, Pedro de la Torre, and Francisco de Valcárcel, for a total of 10. Even though the documents refer to some of these people as pages and servants, they are not to be taken literally as such. The "page" Alcarazo had been chief constable of Santa Marta. The servant, or criado, called by that name, was the standard bearer of Captain Antonio de Lebrija and his services during Jiménez's expedition must have been so highly

regarded that he received the same two parts of the booty given to the horse soldiers. Arteaga was Belalcázar's secretary, and Melgar must have been so deserving and reliable that his master, Luis de Lugo, entrusted him the treasure that the latter took from the New Kingdom to Europe. Sánchez Farfán and Valcárcel were young boys, probably of somewhat distinguished origin, who were taken from the Canary Islands by Luis de Lugo. For those reasons, all these aides and secretaries are accorded the same category as the scribes, but not lower.

Professionals were Antonio Díaz Cardozo, baccalaureate in medicine; Juan Estéban Verdero, baccalaureate in philosophy; Francisco de la Cueva and Adrián de Montalván, licentiates; and Juan de Salcedo, a pharmacist. Even though Martín Sánchez Ropero was called a veterinarian, he may have been more of a farrier or artisan, than a professional.<sup>20</sup> Others practicing medicine, mending bones and healing wounds were Cristóbal de Alvear, Francisco de Chinchilla, Pedro García Ruiz, Antón de Rodas, and Juan Vicente, or 10 in number. Royal officials on or before the conquest of the Kingdom included eight individuals: Antón de Aguilar, Diego de Aguilar, Antonio de Lebrija, Juan Ortíz de Zárate, Gonzalo de la Peña, Juan de San Martín, and Diego Sánchez de Santana; Jácome Díaz was a factor for the Welser bankers. Merchants were Alonso Martín, Andrés Martín, Francisco Hernández Hermoso, and Jerónimo de la Inza, for a total of four. Gaspar Rodríguez and Gonzalo Suárez de Deza inherited properties in Spain where their parents were rentiers. Even though many conquerors, when transformed into colonizers, amassed the necessary means to make the round-trip to Europe, only Francisco Lorenzo did so to bring his family



before arriving in the New Kingdom; these certified wealthy persons total three.

Any conclusions about the social class of the conquerors upon their arrival in the New Kingdom are drawn from the above information: among them there were 10 hidalgos, 1 farmer, 9 scribes, 13 artisans, 10 persons at the service of others or employees, 10 professionals, 8 royal officials and factors, 4 merchants, and 3 special cases of fairly wealthy persons. All the above 68 eight individuals, out of 651 identified

Table 10. Tentative Social Classification of the Conquerors

	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
High Class							
High nobility							
Low nobility	4		1	1		4	10
Middle Class							
High-middle							6
Merchants	1			3			
Rentiers	2						
Middle-low							18
Professionals	2	1		6	1		
Royal officials	3	1	1	2			
Some wealth				1			
Low							31
Scribes	2	2	1	1	1	2	
Employees	1		2		1	5	
Artisans	4	3	1	2	2	1	
Low Class							
High-Middle							1
Small farmers				1			
Small herdsmen							
Low							0
Farm hands							
Beggars, drifters							
Grand Total							66

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB=Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo

survivors of the expeditions, do not make up a sample large enough to warrant solid conclusions. The near absence of farmers and herdsmen and the exceedingly low number of artisans render the above data even more suspicious. However, as a starting point, Table 10 displays the social classes assigned to the above persons, based upon what is known at this time. Also, since there are duplications in the former lists, their sums as shown in Table 10 may be lower than the aggregate given above.

Information gathered in social class, displayed in Table 10, is combined with that of economic classification, Table 9, to produce Table 11. Care has been taken to insure that no names are repeated and that the resulting socio-economic classification is consistent for each of their layers and classes. The results as given in Table 11 are a more definitive social classification for the conquerors of the New Kingdom, yet incomplete regarding foot soldiers. There is not enough information about these men to ascertain if they belonged to the low end of the middle class, or even higher in some cases, or to the middle-high end of the lower social classes. Thus, Table 11 provides reasonably comprehensive information on the persons belonging to the middle and high socio-economic strata, and nearly nothing about those belonging to the lower society. This incompleteness requires further analysis.

The same lack of data on the trades, professions, and occupation of the Spaniards before arriving in the Indies is not exclusive to the New Kingdom. Of 5481 persons who traveled from Spain to the Indies from 1493 to 1519, only 39 are listed as having been involved in agricultural and cattle-raising activities, 111 were merchants, 336 sailors, and 287 servants. There were also only 36 carpenters, 21

shoemakers, 19 blacksmiths, 15 tailors, 11 masons, 11 silversmiths, and 11 barbers.<sup>21</sup> The overwhelming majority of the occupations of those 5481 immigrants is therefore unknown, as it is for those active in the

Table 11. Revised, Yet Incomplete, Social Classification

	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
High Class							
High nobility							
Low nobility	4		1	1		4	10
Middle Class							
High-middle							11
Merchants	1			3			
Rentiers	2						
Shipowners	5						
Middle-low							50
Professionals	2	1		6	1		
Royal officials	3	1	1	2			
Captains, leaders	5	5	10	5	2	4	
Somewhat wealthy					2		
Low							81
Horse-soldiers	27	4	3	4	2	4	
Slave owners							2
Employees	1		2	1	1	5	
Artisans	4	3	1	2	2	1	
Scribes	2	2	1	1	1	2	
Foot-soldiers	3						
Low Class							
High-Middle							1
Small farmers				1			
Small herdsman							
Foot-soldiers							
Low							0
Farm hands							
Beggars, drifters							
Grand Total							153

\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB-Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo

New Kingdom. The exceedingly low number of farmers and herdsmen can not be explained by stating, as the generally well-informed chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo wrote, that the Spaniards of the time showed a marked

tendency to prefer arms over the plow. There is simply not enough information about their former activities.

The occupations of the group of conquerors active in Panama from 1519 to 1522, where social classes can be inferred, can shed some light about their counterparts in the New Kingdom. Historian Mario Góngora, who studied that group, pointed out the significance of the one document which indicated their occupation shortly after the foundation of the city of Panama in 1519, for it appears to be devoid of any possible social aggrandizement so commonly sought by the conquerors who had spent some time in the Indies.<sup>22</sup> Because the very same document was studied by another historian, Juan Friede, and his findings differ from those of Góngora, and none of the two conform exactly to the purpose contemplated here, a slightly different but important interpretation of it is suggested.<sup>23</sup> Since all members of a family unit are born within the same social class, and since the present purpose is to know the social class of the conquerors in Spain and at the same time of their arrival in the Indies, when a respondent stated he had a certain trade in Panama but added that his father had another in Spain, the one of the father is taken, not that of the son. This procedure, which may negate any social change these men attained while in Spain from the moment they left their homes until they embarked to the Indies, has to be followed in the few cases involved, in the absence of more reliable information on the subject. Since Francisco Pizarro and Sebastián de Belalcázar, for instance, were from farming families, they are classed as farmers regardless of their response. In addition, the person who indicated he was the owner and pilot of a ship is not classed as a seaman but as a

shipowner. Lastly, no distinction is given to those persons who answered that they did not have a trade or from those who did not volunteer to express one for both answers are not conducive to knowing about their social background.

From 1519 to 1522, the Panamanian authorities asked 98 persons to state their name, occupation, place of birth, and any other personal information they wished to express. Regarding their occupations only, 23 persons either did not answer the question or indicated they did not have any. Of the rest, two were noblemen, two were sons of fathers who were rentiers, and one was a shipowner. Four were professionals, one was a royal official, and two were scribes. Fifteen were aides, secretaries, arms bearers, and other persons with permanent employment. Twenty were artisans, 10 were seamen, 16 farmers, and 2 were plain soldiers. The 75 persons who indicated their former occupations are socially grouped and their relative number given as percentages of the total as shown in Table 13. Even though the very loose classification of persons with permanent employment are placed within the same layer of the middle class, though they could belong to an even higher layer within the same class, that discrepancy does not affect the present purpose of searching for a more accurate way of defining the lower strata of the conquerors of the New Kingdom.

Most of the persons displayed in Table 12 fall within the relatively small middle class which was precariously located between the powerful nobles and the popular masses of sixteenth-century Spain. Yet, that middle class had to be more significant than has been traditionally estimated, both in the country and in the cities. It is commonly accepted that 80

Table 12. Social Classes of the Conquerors of Panama, 1519-1522

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Low nobility		2	2.7%
	Hidalgos	2	
Middle class			
	High-middle	3	4.0
	Rentiers	2	
	Shipowners	1	
	Middle-low	5	6.7
	Professionals	4	
	Royal officials	1	
Low		37	49.3
	Scribes	2	
	Employees	15	
	Artisans	20	
Lower Class		28	37.3
	Sailors	10	
	Farmers	16	
	Plain soldiers	2	
	Total	75	100.0

percent of the Spanish population lived in the country which was mostly in the hands of the powerful lords. Yet, farmers could have owned up to 25 five percent of the Castilian land, and 5 percent of them may have been rich.<sup>24</sup> The middle classes of a city had to include licentiates; baccalaureates; professors and men of science and the arts; bureaucrats of many kinds including notaries, scribes, and persons auxiliary to the administration of justice; the military and other branches of government; secretaries, aides, and other employees at the service of the crown; nobles and even the rich within the same middle class; those who provided financial, transportation, mail, and lodging services; real artisans, not their hired hands or their trainees. This middle class also had to include those persons active in the manufacturing of significant amounts of all sorts of goods and the processing of raw materials and foodstuffs produced

by herdsmen and farmers, from woven wool cloth, flours, cheeses, and preserves to olive oil and wine. In the maritime cities, the middle class had to include large merchants and those who owned, operated, provided, and constructed ships and their accessories as well as all ocean transportation services including insurance and financing. From that budding middle class emerged many a conqueror of the New Kingdom. Nevertheless, it is yet to be ascertained how many foot soldiers were at the lowest stratum of the same social class. For this reason, the focus has been turned upon the conquerors active in Panama, or Tierra Firme, from 1519 to 1522.

When considering regional origins earlier in this chapter, the very same conquerors of Panama were compared with those of the New Kingdom. What was found in essence was that there was a larger proportion of persons from Andalusia and Extremadura in Panama, whereas more Castilians were active in the New Kingdom. Since Extremadura was a poorer region than Castile,<sup>25</sup> and since there is no evidence of any significant number of sailors venturing inland for the hundreds of miles required to reach the New Kingdom, though they were well represented in the maritime city of Panama, it is possible that a somewhat lesser percentage of those lower income persons arrived in the Kingdom than in Panama. That possibility is further strengthened when considering that the 1514 expedition of Pedrarias Dávila to Tierra Firme, of which many of the founders of Panama were a part, was financed by the crown, and their participants received a salary.<sup>26</sup> Its soldiers could be very poor Spaniards who could have made it to the Indies at the expense of the king. Additional evidence that a greater percentage of lower class persons arrived in Panama than in the

New Kingdom seems even more likely if it is considered that the known hidalgos in Panama and the New Kingdom were 2 and 10, professionals 4 and 11, scribes 2 and 9, and proving the opposite sailors 10 and 0, respectively.

After considering the above it is suggested that until firmer data are available to better assess the social origins of the conquerors active in the New Kingdom, the general view of the social classes of those active in Panama provide meaningful comparative reference points. After considering those two groups of conquerors, it is posited that the social composition of those active in the New Kingdom was an upscale version of their counterpart in Panama. Higher percentages of persons active in the New Kingdom belonged to the low nobility and the high-middle and the middle-low layers of the middle class, and lower percentages of persons belonged to the low layer of the middle class and the high-middle layer of the lower class. This can best be visualized in Tables 13 and 14. Perhaps in the case of the New Kingdom, the low nobility comprised some 5 percent of the total, whereas the middle class represented 7 percent for the high-middle layer, 10 percent for the middle-low, and a little above 40 percent for the low layer, which leaves a figure around 35 percent for the high-middle layer of the lower class. The last set of figures appear in Table 13.

What appears rather certain is that the highest percentage of the conquerors of the New Kingdom came from the Spanish social middle class, probably around 60 percent. Some 35 percent may have belonged to the high-middle lower class and around 5 percent to the low nobility. Those members of the low nobility were not necessarily the hidalgos whose



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Table 13. Final Social Classification of the Conquerors of the New Kingdom

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>New Kingdom</u>
Nobility	
High nobility	0
Low nobility	5.0%
Middle Class	
High-middle	7.0
Middle-low	10.0
Low	43.0
Lower Class	
High-middle	35.0
Low	0
Total	100.0

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relative future comfort was insured by primogeniture, but rather were the segundones, who had to look for their fortune elsewhere. Those men who enjoyed the comforts at home may not have felt a need to trade them for the high risks of going to the Indies, which were well known by this time after the experiences of their predecessors in the Caribbean, Mexico, Peru, and Central America. The risk was simply too high; just consider how many men participated in the expeditions to the New Kingdom and how many survived them!

Notes

1. Friede, Descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada, pp. 201-252.
2. JRF, 96.
3. Angel Rosenblat, "Base del Español de América: Nivel Social y Cultural de los Conquistadores y Pobladores", Revista de Indias 31:125-126 (Jul.-Dec. 1971) p. 33.
4. Lockhart, The Men of Cajamarca, p. 35.
5. Irving A. Leonard, Books of the Brave (New York, 1964).
6. J. Vicens Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, 5 vols. (Barcelona, 1957), vol. 2, pp. 149-150, 443-444; Bartolomé Benassar, Valladolid au siècle d'or (Paris, 1967), pp. 510-512; Maxine Chevalier, Lectura y lectores en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid, 1976). The 20 percent estimate of literacy is given by Chevalier, p. 19; see other estimates in p. 14.
7. Vincens Vives, Historia social y económica, 2, p. 150.
8. Julia Hirschberg, "Social Experiment in New Spain: A Prosopographical Study of the Early Settlement at Puebla de Los Angeles" Hispanic American Historical Review, 59:1 (February, 1979), pp. 29-30.
9. Rosenblat, "Base del español de América", p. 42, probably extracted from Tomás Thayer Ojeda, Valdivia y sus compañeros (Santiago de Chile, 1950).
10. CDT, 178-179.
11. JFI, 17-20.
12. Enrique Otte, Cedulario de las provincias de Venezuela. 1529-1535, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1982), 1, pp. 253-254.
13. DIHC IV, 284-297; see also pp. 199-202.
14. References on the Spanish social classes and their economic capacities are found in: Manuel Fernández Alvarez, La sociedad española en el Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1983), pp. 85-234; John Lynch, Spain Under the Habsburgs, 2 vols. (New York, 1984), 2, pp. 109-129; Jaime Vincens Vives, An Economic History of Spain (Princeton, 1969), pp. 331-376; Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, España: un enigma histórico, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1956), 1, pp. 663-720; Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Historia de España y de la civilización

- española, 4 vols., (Barcelona, 1928), 3, pp. 186-207, 231-236, 437-465.
15. JF1, 138-139.
16. JF2, 342.
17. ARB Notaría Primera de Tunja vol. 1, fl. 430.
18. AGI Justicia 17, No. 1 and 2, partially transcribed in DIHC VII, 189-194 and 234-244.
19. AGI Justicia 546, fl. question No. 31 and the corresponding answers; see for instance, fl. 1172v.
20. Sánchez Ropero appears in one document as albéitar of the Jiménez expedition (JF1 -141). That Spanish word derived from its Arabian counterpart al-baitar, translates into veterinary. Sánchez, however, may have been perceived by his companions more as farrier than a member of a non-existing profession at the time. More certain is that Sanchez's social standing was not so high, for he was later accused of having served for a salary during Jiménez expedition. For that reason, he was not considered worthy of being rewarded with Moniquirá, a choice encomienda in the district of Tunja; see AGI Justicia 492-5, suit between Francisco Arias and Sánchez Ropero.
21. Boyd-Bowman, Índice geobiográfico, pp. XV to 22. See also Rosenblat, "Base del Español de América", pp. 27-31.
22. Góngora, Grupos de conquistadores, pp. 70-90.
23. Juan Friede, "Descubrimiento y Conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada" in Historia extensa de Colombia, vol. II (Bogotá, 1965), pp. 104-107.
24. Fernández Alvarez, La sociedad española, p. 100.
25. Ida Altman, Emigrants and Societies: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century (Berkeley, 1989), p. 21.
26. Severino de Santa Teresa, Historia documentada de la iglesia de Urabá y el Darién, 5 vols., (Bogotá, 1956), 2, pp. 177-192. This author compiles the writings of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, José Toribio Medina, Manuel Serrano Sanz, and others, whom he cites in his notes.

CHAPTER 5  
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW KINGDOM

Nearly two years had gone since the day when Gonzalo Jiménez had arrived in the Muisca territory before the first Spanish-styled city was founded with the assistance of Nikolaus Federmann and Sebastián de Belalcázar, the first step taken in the colonizing process of the New Kingdom. Yet, while many of the conquerors-turned-colonizers established and organized the first civilian centers, others continued to push the frontier outward, aided by the men of the recently arrived expeditions of Jerónimo Lebrón, Lope Montalvo de Lugo, and Alonso Luis de Lugo. The colonizing contributions of these conquerors will be examined in this chapter and Chapters 6 and 7. The political organization they gave to the New Kingdom and its municipalities will be studied first, followed by their organization of the economy and ordering of the society which took root in this new Spanish colony.

The Municipal Government: the Founding of Cities

"He who does not populate does not conquer, and if there is no conquest, the aborigines can not be christianized; therefore, the goal of the conqueror should be to populate," wrote chronicler Francisco López de Gómara to stress the importance of establishing permanent settlements in the New World.<sup>1</sup> Colonization was thus inherent to the conquest process, and, to the leader of an expedition, to populate was to establish

permanent cities following the model left by his ancestors from the time of the Spanish Reconquest. The aim of populating new lands had enjoyed mixed success after the conquest of the Caribbean Islands, Mexico, Peru, Central America, and the northern part of South America. Where foundations were not planted, however, as was the case of Hernando de Soto in La Florida, the efforts of the conquering enterprise appeared to be wasted. In the case of the New Kingdom, the first settlement was to be delayed about a year by some apparent compliance with the law, but, when this was rationalized by compelling practical reasons, cities were established within its limits at a pace second only to Mexico.

If the instructions received by Gonzalo Jiménez from Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo are recalled, nowhere did they include the required authorization for establishing permanent settlements, much less the creation of a whole political division which was the unintended final result. Jiménez was a licentiate in law, and the significance of not having the legal right to populate did not escape him. The needs of his men for personal security and for living, as they were accustomed, in a group where they could interchange ideas and experiences and enjoy each other's companionship compelled Jiménez to concentrate them in a community. His men were in an alien environment surrounded by the inscrutable Muisca, who outnumbered them more than 2,000 to 1, and with whom they could not directly communicate. After more than a year of traveling the Muisca area and its surroundings, Jiménez ordered the construction of a more permanent encampment for his men, which consisted, according to the colonial chroniclers, of a small church and 12 large huts. No city was founded then, but on August 6, 1538, he gave an

unofficial but factual beginning to the future capital of the New Kingdom, Santa Fe de Bogotá, by having a Mass celebrated on that festive day, when the Transfiguration of the Lord was commemorated.

Seven months after Jiménez was more permanently encamped, the experienced Sebastián de Belalcázar and Nikolaus Federmann arrived. The former had long received from Francisco Pizarro authorization to found cities, which he had used to settle Quito, Cali, Popayán, and Timaná. Prior to that, Belalcázar had seen Governor Pedrarias Dávila establishing the city of Panama in 1519, and he may have known the royal instructions Dávila received to found a city. He may have even known about the more detailed royal orders signed by Charles V four years later. According to both instructions, cities were to be located in protected places with rich soil, abundant water resources, pastures, firewood, and building materials. They were to be adequately ventilated by north-south winds, and to be close to plentiful supplies of Indian labor. The house lots were to be regular, the plaza well delineated, the church clearly located, and a proper order kept from the start.<sup>2</sup> But whether or not Jiménez, Belalcázar, or Federmann knew about the gridiron city plan spontaneously, or through the study of Roman cities, or the more modern Italian Renaissance, or the ancient Chinese counterparts, or the examples left by the natives in Mexico and Peru, at any event, Jiménez decided that Santa Fe was to follow the same plan, after Belalcázar convinced him that he should found the city following all the legalities and ceremonies.<sup>3</sup> No one can be certain whether Jiménez, while practicing his law career in Granada, Spain, was indeed influenced by the orderly rectangular design of the nearby city of Santa Fe, founded by the Catholic Kings. It appears rather certain that

this city did inspire him to name the foundation he was about to celebrate, as Granada had given him the name he chose for the region, the New Kingdom of Granada.

Belalcázar's insistence that Jiménez found settlements was well rooted. These generals as well as Federmann may have already decided upon the need to take their claims on the new land to the courts in Spain, and thus they were conscious that most of their men who were to be left behind had to be reduced to civility, that the territory had to be organized, and that the Indians had to be placed under the rule of the Spanish Crown. These objectives could be accomplished by establishing municipalities following the Castilian model. If 20 years earlier Hernán Cortés had contrived a legal charade to satisfy his need to establish Veracruz, then Jiménez could find a way to rationalize his actions with the prodding of Belalcázar, for his decision was to divide the Muisca expanse into three jurisdictions under three cities--Santa Fe, Vélez, and Tunja. Names of cities were given to these communities where only Spaniards were to reside to differentiate them from pueblos, where only Indians were to live.

#### Santa Fe

An eastern spot of the fertile Muisca sabana, well irrigated by two streams and strategically protected to the rear by the north-south oriented Andean central range where wood, clay, stone, and sand were plentiful, was selected as the site of the first city. On April 27, 1539, Jiménez mounted his steed in the presence of the three camps gathered there, and, waving his naked sword, challenged anyone who opposed his intent to establish, in the name of the Spanish King, the city of Santa

Fe. Thus, he began the accustomed ceremonies of foundation, and, after ordering a checkerboard design for the plaza and its adjacent housing blocks, he selected the site for the church and the municipal buildings on the plaza, around which, following some unknown ranking, the city lots of its future inhabitants were distributed. He then proceeded to establish its municipal government composed of two city mayors, or alcaldes, who were its justicias; six aldermen, or regidores, who made its regimiento; a procurador, or city attorney; an alguacil mayor, or chief constable; and a scribe who would record all the meetings of the cabildo, or municipal council, which was in effect whenever the mayors and aldermen convened. Jiménez completed his duty by creating the first parish. He named the church Our Lady of the Conception and appointed its first curate and his assistant.<sup>4</sup>

The powers of the Castilian municipality, now transplanted to Indian soil, were great. It was invested with a combination of judicial, legislative, and executive functions to govern the community and its largely undefined adjacent territory. It could decide on legal cases, rule on all matters regarding the community and its public services, and register its citizens and provide them not only with city lots to build their houses but also with huertas or small rural plots nearby and much larger estancias somewhat farther out. It could establish fair prices for commodities and services, supervise weights and measures, assign branding irons to its inhabitants, and distribute Indian labor to perform public works or to serve those inhabitants who needed it.<sup>5</sup>



Vélez

The second city to be founded was Vélez, which was situated in the northern Muisca territory and also included part or all of the Guane, Muzo, Carare, Opón and Yareguí nations. For that purpose, Jiménez ordered his captain Martín Galeano to go with as many as 100 persons to found the city and to place its adjacent territory under the sovereignty of the Spanish king. Vélez could have been founded as early as April 1539, but the commonly accepted date is July 3 of the same year.<sup>6</sup> Galeano named the accustomed two city majors, six aldermen, one scribe, and one chief constable. No known records of its foundation exist today apart from those mentioned, and the name of its first curate is unknown. The priests Cantal Marín and Juan Estéban Verdero were active in Vélez in 1540, however, when the city had already been moved from its original site.

Tunja.

The founding of the third city, Tunja, is well documented, for its inhabitants have jealously guarded the document of the act of foundation and a good portion of the records of its early city council meetings. The city was established by Gonzalo Suárez Rendón on August 6, 1539, after some delay caused by the organization of the failed expedition of the Casa del Sol led by Hernán Pérez, who guided his men right past the future site of Tunja and north to the ice-capped peaks of El Cocuy. There, a native temple covered with gold plates was supposed to reflect the rays of the sun. Suárez named the two city mayors, its six aldermen, the scribe of the city council, and its chief constable. In turn, during its first meeting, the city council accepted Suárez as chief justice and captain of the city,

a title well in accordance with both the civilian and the military roles he had. Suárez also named the first curate of the city.

Once the council of Tunja was established, it began to define the territorial jurisdiction of the city. This roughly followed the contours of the Muisca land and the agreed frontiers with the other cities of Vélez to the north and Santa Fe to the south. It set aside the common land to be used as grazing pastures for horses, regulated the use of woods and waters, assigned city lots to its citizens, and rounded out its administrative organization by selecting the city mayordomo, or chief regulator, the town attorney, the city surveyor, and the administrator of the deceased's belongings.<sup>7</sup> Whatever occurred during the first council meetings of Santa Fe and Vélez, or other somewhat contemporary cities of the New Kingdom, may well have been similar to those of Tunja.

#### Neiva

The first foundation of Neiva was made outside the limits of the New Kingdom. A few years later, it was moved to the other side of the river, within its borders. Juan Cabrera, the companion of Belalcázar, founded this city in 1539 and abandoned it the following year. It was temporarily repopulated in 1546 by Hernando de Benavente and four years later by Juan Alonso, but was destroyed during an Indian attack. It was permanently established during the next century by Diego de Ospina.

#### El Cocuy and Málaga

The next two cities founded by men who arrived in the New Kingdom as part of the expeditions studied here, were not to last.<sup>8</sup> Gonzalo García

Zorro founded El Cocuy in January 1541 by order of Captain General Hernán Pérez, who also ordered it depopulated five months later.<sup>9</sup> On March 1542, by order of the captain general of the New Kingdom, Jerónimo de Aguayo led a group of men from Tunja to establish the city of Málaga. The reasons for its disappearance are not clear, but its founder was accused of having been so cruel to the natives that they decided to flee the territory. It seems that the purpose of establishing those two cities was to exploit the abundant Indian labor existing within their provinces.

#### Tocaima

The fourth permanent city of the New Kingdom, Santiago de los Caballeros de Tocaima, was founded for an entirely different reason. After knowing that the Panche region lying west of Santa Fe contained gold mines, Captain Hernán Venegas, a companion of Jiménez, by order of the governor of the New Kingdom, Alonso Luis de Lugo, founded it on March 20, 1544. Its inhabitants did find gold mines and exploited them for some time.<sup>10</sup>

#### Pamplona

Five years went by without any other city foundation, but in November 1549 Pamplona was established by Pedro de Orsúa. It was apparently founded after rumors of the existence of gold mines in the neighborhood, but more probably, because of its ample supply of Indian labor. Part of that area had been visited twice by the conquerors; first by the group who went after the Casa del Sol, and second by Aguayo when he

founded Málaga. He covered a good part of that northeastern territory going as far as the southern part of Lake Maracaibo.

### Ibagué

Assisted by many of the inhabitants of Tocaima and motivated once more by the rumors of gold mines in the neighborhood, Andrés López de Galarza founded San Bonifacio de Ibagué del Valle de las Lanzas on October 14, 1550. The geographical extent of the New Kingdom was well established by now, just over 11 years after its foundation. What was going to be accomplished from then on was to push its frontiers farther out but without introducing any substantial changes to it.

### Villeta, Tudela, and León

La Villeta de San Miguel was founded by Federmann's companions Alonso de Olalla and Hernando de Alcocer on October 20, 1551, as a secure resting place on the road between Santa Fe and its port on the Magdalena River.

The short-lived city of Tudela was established by Pedro de Orsúa in the same year, with the single purpose of "pacifying" the unbending Muzos, who made sure its settlers were not to enjoy any moment of rest. Orsúa and his men opted for abandoning the area instead of facing a continuous fight without much apparent benefit.

About a year later, another of Federmann's companion, Bartolomé Hernández de León, without the required authorization, decided to establish the city of León on Yareguí territory. The Royal Audiencia was

informed and immediately ordered León to be depopulated and its inhabitants returned to Vélez.

### Mariquita

On August 22, 1552, the city of San Sebastián de Mariquita was established by Francisco Núñez Pedroso near the banks of the Gualí and Magdalena River, with the purpose of exploiting the nearby gold and silver mines.

### San Juan de los Llanos, Burgos, and Vitoria

After having found very fine gold in the sands of the Ariari River, Juan de Avellaneda another conqueror who came to the New Kingdom with Federmann, founded the first city located in the great Colombo-Venezuelan Llanos on June 24, 1555.<sup>11</sup> Around 1559, Avellaneda established Burgos, a community southeast of San Juan, which did not last even a year. Vitoria, or Victoria, founded by Asencio de Salinas, one of Montalvo de Lugo's soldiers, held on a little longer but could not survive either. It was located some 60 kilometers north of Mariquita and was established not earlier than 1557 and more likely in 1558.<sup>12</sup>

### Mérida

Santiago de los Caballeros de Mérida, located east of Pamplona, was founded in 1558 by followers of Juan Rodríguez Suárez. They had the hope of finding gold mines around the snowcapped mountains existing within its territory.

Muzo

Luis Lancharo, another of Federmann's companions, founded the first permanent settlement in Muzo territory, the city of Trinidad de los Muzos, in early 1559. It was and still is close to the world's richest emerald mines, which have the same name.

San Cristóbal

On March 31, 1561, after guiding many inhabitants of Pamplona to the northeast, Juan Maldonado founded the city of San Cristóbal while searching for gold mines.<sup>13</sup>

La Palma, San Vicente de Páez, and Los Angeles

With the purpose of securing the territories within the jurisdiction of the municipality of Mariquita, the Villa de Nuestra Señora de la Palma was founded by Antonio de Toledo on November 19, 1561, without the required authorization of the Royal Audiencia. The Audiencia was aware of the advantages of that foundation, but having been settled illegally, it ordered it depopulated. Once it was done, it asked Toledo to establish it again, which he did on November 13, 1562. Due to Indian attacks the city had to be founded once again a year later, by Gutierre de Ovalle.<sup>14</sup>

Two other cities of short duration were founded shortly after. San Vicente de Páez was founded in 1563 by Domingo Lozano, a companion of Federmann, and was abandoned after a strong Indian attack. Lozano, or his son of the same name, also established the impermanent city of Los Angeles, some 100 kilometers south of Tocaima.

### Ocaña

It was founded by Francisco Hernández on July 26, 1572. It served as an intermediate post between Pamplona and the Magdalena River, and was used to bring inland all imported products.

### Villa de Leyva

To honor the first president of the New Kingdom, Andrés Venero de Leyva, the inhabitants of Tunja laid the foundation of Villa de Leyva, located to the east, in 1572.

### Barinas

The last city to be founded with the participation of the conquerors considered here was Altamira de Cáceres de Barinas. It was established east of Mérida on May 25, 1577, by Juan Andrés Varela, one of the companions of Alonso Luís de Lugo.<sup>15</sup>

Important distinctions were made at the time between the persons who headed the foundation of a city, the founders; those who helped to establish it but who did not remain, or co-founders; and those co-founders who remained and became citizens, the primeros vecinos. All three considered themselves meritorious, but special privileges were claimed by the first citizens. The term of first citizen should not be taken very strictly in the case of Tunja. Many of those who went in search of the Casa del Sol in mid 1539 returned to Tunja by the end of the year and were inscribed as being among the first, in spite of the city having been established in their absence in August. Many of the conquerors who came in

the six expeditions considered here were founders, co-founders, and first citizens of the cities established within the confines of the New Kingdom.

In conclusion, the contributions of the conquerors who arrived with the six expeditions and established the cities of the New Kingdom were significant. From 1539 to 1576, 456 of these men settled 24 cities. Of these civil centers, 17 still exist today, if it is accepted that San Juan de los Llanos, which nearly disappeared on more than one occasion, is today San Juan de Arama. Some of the seven vanished cities were re-established, not necessarily on the original site. San Vicente de Páez was repopulated, as were also Cocuy, Málaga, and even Victoria. Only three, Tudela, Burgos, and Los Angeles, left no trace. By founding cities, these men established Spanish civilian life throughout the conquered territories.

The multiplicity of those settlements gave the New Kingdom a rather unusual characteristic when compared with its counterparts in Spanish America. No particular city was to overwhelm the others as happened in Peru, Ecuador, Panama, Mexico, and even Hispaniola. Granted, its capital, Santa Fe de Bogotá, eventually became the largest, yet the others continued existing and growing on their own. To illustrate this point, the number of citizens living in these cities around 1570, is presented in Table 14. In order to give a continental perspective to this Table, the population of a few other Spanish American cities outside the New Kingdom is also included.<sup>16</sup>

Because the citizens, who were the permanent adult male residents, were the only ones included in Table 14, all other members of their families, any transients, and even persons who had not settled in those



cities long enough were excluded. For that reason, the actual counting of the total city inhabitants had to be much larger, perhaps five times the figures shown.

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Table 14. City Populations around 1570

<u>City</u>	<u>Number of Citizens</u>
Mexico City, Mexico	3,000
Lima, Peru	2,000
Santa Fe de Bogotá	800
Santiago, Chile	350
Tunja	+ 200
Veracruz, Mexico	200
Vélez	100
Pamplona	100
Muzo	+ 70
Tocaima	70
La Palma	60
Ibagué	60?
Mariquita	+ 50
Mérida	30
Vitoria	30
San Cristóbal	30
San Miguel	10
San Juan de los Llanos	6

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#### The Provincial Government

The first documented instance in which Gonzalo Jiménez suggested the New Kingdom was a new political entity different from the province of Santa Marta was on August 13, 1538. Nine months later, he called himself lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the New Kingdom of Granada. No records have been preserved about the probable and necessary approval by the Santa Fe council after its establishment on April 27, 1539 to such self-appointment; but it is most likely that it was conceded and that his title was publicly recognized by all. The possibility that the approval

was granted becomes a near certainty when it is known that the transferring of his authority as head of the New Kingdom to his brother Hernán Pérez was made with the blessings of that council. The fact that Jiménez gave his brother powers he himself did not have, such as to order new conquests, to establish cities, and to name and remove civil authorities, must have been made upon the approval of the city council.<sup>17</sup> By the simple expedients mentioned, the New Kingdom was created by Gonzalo Jiménez and was left in the hands of his brother Hernán Pérez. Pérez was to preside over the executive branch of the newly founded province and all its present and future cities, and he was to be the supreme judicial authority in all civil and military matters. Most of the legislative powers were left, however, to the municipal councils, which ruled their corresponding jurisdiction without much interference from Pérez. Nowhere in any of the surviving documents is mention made of Jiménez's or his brother's authority to grant encomiendas, yet both did it in the name of the king, indicating, however, that they were subject to the approval of a higher authority.

#### Political Influence of the First Colonizers

The best measure of the political influence the members of the six expeditions exercised in the New Kingdom is the various governmental posts they held at the provincial and municipal levels. Appendix C presents all the known governmental posts the men of the six expeditions held in the indicated year or years.

At the provincial level, Hernán Pérez and Gonzalo Suárez directed the destinies of the new political division for over a year each as their

captains and chief justices. Other individuals who participated in the provincial government were the following: Francisco Arias, overseer of the New Kingdom in 1543; Juan de Avellaneda, factor in 1551 and 1552; Antonio Bermúdez, chief constable in 1551; Honorato V. Bernal, spokesman of the Royal Audiencia in 1551; Francisco Brizeño, treasurer in 1543 and from 1546 to 1552; Agustín Castellanos, constable of the Royal Audiencia in 1556; Pedro de Colmenares, accountant in 1541, 1543, and treasurer in 1558; Antonio de Luján, Crown attorney from 1543 to 1550, and from 1552; Juan de Moscoso, accountant in 43; Juan Muñoz de C., accountant in 1554; Juan Ortiz de Z., overseer in 1541, and factor from 1544 to 1550; Martín Pujol, chief magistrate in 1543 and 1544; Cristóbal de San Miguel, accountant from 1549 to 1561; Francisco Sedeño, factor in 1553; Juan Tafur, overseer and factor in 1543 and accountant in 1576; Francisco de Velandía, factor and overseer from 1543 to 1550; Hernán Venegas holder of the largely honorary title of Mariscal of the New Kingdom from 1571, and treasurer for two years. In total, 19 members of the conquering expeditions held posts in the government of the New Kingdom.

The highest post in the early years of the municipalities was that of captain and chief justice. Its origins appropriately came more from the military than from the civilian tradition. The person assigned to conquer a territory and to found a city within its boundaries was named captain of the expedition. As such, he was the highest military authority, who, upon the founding of the projected city, automatically became its captain and chief justice during the time the settlement was being secured or until he was replaced. In other instances, when the existence of a city was seriously menaced by Indian attacks or other causes, a captain and chief

justice was named to give it military assistance, during which time he superseded any civilian government in the affected municipality.

Captains and chief justices attended the meetings of the city council, and, as their names imply, they were the ultimate judiciary authorities above the two acting mayors and the six to eight aldermen. Twenty-four conquerors who took part in the expeditions were captains and chief justices of cities of the New Kingdom, and of those closely related areas such as Santa Marta, los Reyes del Valle de Upar, Tamalameque, San Vicente de Páez, and Nuestra Señora de Los Remedios. Some conquerors held that post more than once, and others in different cities.<sup>18</sup>

The most common municipal posts were the two city mayors and the six to eight aldermen, who were elected for one-year periods on January 1. The number of times these municipal positions in the various cities of the New Kingdom were filled by the men of the six expeditions is displayed in Table 15. Since the surviving records are far from complete, this information is based on data gathered from the references listed in Appendix A plus a few others, and Appendix C.<sup>19</sup> The original Spanish names of the municipal posts are retained because they do not translate well. Alcalde is not the same as mayor, for the Spanish position included both judicial and executive responsibilities; perhaps the term municipal magistrate better fits its real meaning. Regidor may be close to alderman; yet when the municipal magistrates and these aldermen gathered in the cabildo of the city, they comprised the complete legislative, judicial, and executive branches of the municipal government. The cities of Cocuy, Ibagué, León, Málaga, and Mariquita are not included in Table 15, because the two posts were held by only three or less of the known colonizers.

Regidor posts were three or four times more numerous than those of alcalde, and the gathered data should reflect that proportion. The fact that it does not points to the already mentioned deficiency in the data, for the city records of Santa Fe, Vélez, Tocaima and others disappeared long ago. Yet, the aggregate information on the subject as displayed in Table 16 appears intriguing and useful enough to encourage others to make it more complete. Keeping in mind that the number of conquerors in each of the six expeditions was dissimilar, with those who remained in the Kingdom much less in the case of the men of Belalcázar and Montalvo de Lugo, the following aspects displayed in Table 15 appear worthy of attention.

The colonial chroniclers of the New Kingdom recorded a certain tension between the companions of Jiménez and those of Federmann and of Belalcázar. Jiménez arrived first, and he and his men felt they had seniority and therefore priority in the distribution of rewards. These chroniclers even wrote that the men of Federmann were called caquecios to mean that they were associated with the Caracas Indians of Venezuela, and that the men of Belalcázar were called peruleros because they came from Peru. By contrast, the men of Jiménez were simply called los primeros conquistadores, meaning that they were the first. Upon the presumption of seniority by the companions of Jiménez, the chroniclers also gave the impression that this group had the unquestionable lead in political, economic, and social matters, in comparison to the men of Federmann or of Belalcázar.

Table 15 tends to negate the contention regarding political leadership: It appears that the men of Jiménez led the others in the municipal government of Santa Fe, the men of Federmann were unquestionably

more numerous in Vélez, and, in Tunja, the three groups shared about equally in the leadership of its city council. The existence of some tension between these three groups and the factual equality in the governing of Tunja must have been the reasons for its council to declare rather patronizingly, on March 26, 1541, that it publicly recognized the important contributions of the companions of Federmann and of Belalcázar to the development and progress of the city.<sup>20</sup>

The seniority differences between these three groups of conquerors appears to have faded with time, however, but not to the point of recognizing that the companions of Jiménez were the primeros descubridores. Judging by the numerous personal records of merits

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Table 15. Number of Times the Colonizers Were Alcaldes and Regidores

<u>City Post</u>	<u>GJQ*</u>	<u>NF*</u>	<u>SB*</u>	<u>JL*</u>	<u>LML*</u>	<u>ALL*</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Santa Fe</u>							
Alcalde	40	13	5	1		13	72
Regidor	20	5	9			4	38
<u>Vélez</u>							
Alcalde	9	17		1	1	1	29
Regidor	3	12	1	3			19
<u>Tunja</u>							
Alcalde	14	15	13	10		6	58
Regidor	19	13	27	7		12	78
<u>Tocaima</u>							
Alcalde	3	3		2	4	1	13
Regidor	2	3		2	3	1	11
<u>Pamplona</u>							
Alcalde				3	2	1	6
Regidor			3	6	6	4	19
<u>Totals</u>							
Alcalde	66	48	18	17	7	22	178
Regidor	44	33	40	18	9	21	165

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\* GJQ=Gonzalo Jiménez; NF=Nikolaus Federmann; SB=Sebastián Belalcázar; JL=Jerónimo Lebrón; LML=Lope Montalvo; ALL=Alonso Luis de Lugo.

and services made by the conquerors of the three groups in the following decades, all claimed to be among the first in the New Kingdom and that the rest arrived when its first three cities had been settled.

The data displayed in Table 15 also suggest that political power was tightly held by the members of the first three expeditions in the first municipalities of the Kingdom, when compared to those who arrived later. In other words, the political opportunities in the first cities favored the first arrivals, who were able to control them for the rest of their lives. Those arriving later probably contributed more to the municipal government of other cities founded afterwards, as is clearly the case of Pamplona, which was established in 1549, one decade later than Santa Fe de Bogotá, or, to a lesser extent, Tocaima, founded in 1544.

### Notes

1. Francisco López de Cómara, Historia general de las Indias, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1965), I, p. 73.
2. "Instrucción para el Gobernador de Tierra Firme, la qual se le entregó 4 de agosto DXIII" in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., Orígenes de la dominación española en América (Madrid, 1918), I, cclxxxii, as cited by Richard Morse, "Some Characteristics of Latin American Urban History," American Historical Review 67:317-338 (1962). See also Carlos Martínez, Santa Fe, capital del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá, 1987), pp. 14-71.
3. FDHNR III, 130-131; JC IV, 291-294.
4. FPS III, 303-307 and 343-346. On the creation of parishes, see Gary W. Graff, "Spanish Parishes in Colonial New Granada: Their role in Town Building on the Spanish-American Frontier," The Americas 33:2 (October 1976), pp. 336-351.
5. See the acts of the first book of the Tunja cabildo, dated from August 6, 1539, when the city was established, to June 24, 1542, in CDT.
6. José Ignacio Avellaneda, "Los Primeros Pobladores de la Ciudad de Vélez," Revista Estudio 56:307 (March 1988), pp. 130-154.
7. See the complete contents of CDT I.
8. The foundations of the cities of the New Kingdom are described in JFO I, 353-411.
9. AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122-2-10, information of services, Gonzalo García Zorro, 1542.
10. ANC Historia Civil XVI, fl. 819, probanza Lope de Salzedo.
11. José Ignacio Avellaneda, "San Juan de los Llanos, Primera Ciudad de los Llanos Orientales," in María Eugenia Romero and Jane Rausch eds., Los Llanos: una historia sin fronteras (Bogotá, 1988), pp. 87-104.
12. FDHNR III, 352-374; FPA II, 14.
13. Fray Joaquín de Urdiciáin, "Fundación y Fundadores de San Cristóbal," in Boletín de la Academia Nacional de Historia 41:164 (Oct.-Dec. 1958), pp. 495-502.
14. Roberto Velandia, Enciclopedia histórica de Cundinamarca, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1979-1982), 3, pp. 1537-1567.



15. Mario Brizeño Perozo, "Informe Sobre la Fundación de Barinas," Boletín de la Academia de Historia 50:198 (April-June 1967), pp. 305- 306.

16. Table 15 has been compiled from Juan López de Velasco, Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias (Madrid, 1971), pp. 181-190. Since he used several counts made in years before and shortly after 1570, the information in this table may be distorted accordingly.

17. On the first mention of the New Kingdom, see JFl, 161; on Jiménez being its first authority, see JFl, 185; on the transferring of Jiménez's authority to his brother Hernán Pérez, see JFl, 189-191; on the acceptance and approval of Hernán Pérez as head of the New Kingdom, by the Santa Fe cabildo, see DIHC V, 162-165.

18. The 24 conquerors who were captains and chief justices of the cities of the New Kingdom plus those closely related such as Santa Marta, Los Remedios, Valledupar, San Vicente de Páez, and Tamalameque, were Jerónimo de Aguayo, Málaga in 1542 and Vélez in 1543; Juan de Angulo, León in 1553; Juan de Avellaneda, San Juan de los Llanos, from 1555 to 1572; Antonio Bermúdez, Los Remedios in 1565; Juan de Céspedes, Santa Marta in 1543; Pedro de Colmenares, Santa Marta in 1541 to 1543; Martín Galeano, Vélez from 1539 to 1543 and after 1544; Gonzalo García Z., Cocuy in 1541; Gonzalo de León in Muzo; Pedro de Limpias, Valledupar in 1552; Domingo Lozano, San Vicente de Páez from 1563 to 1572; Luis de Manjarrés, Santa Marta, several years during the 1550s and 1560s., and Tamalameque in 1545; Juan de Montalvo in La Palma; Juan de Olmos, Trinidad de los Muzos in 1560; Juan de Penagos, Tocaima in 1556, Muzo and La Palma after 1564; Juan de Pinilla, Pamplona in 1553; Asencio de Salinas, Ibagué in 1557; Hernando de Santana, Valledupar in 1551; Gregorio Suárez de Deza, Santa Marta in 1555; Melchor de Valdés, Ibagué in 1553; Juan Andrés Varela, Mérida in 1565; Hernando de Velasco, La Palma in the 1560s, Ortún Velasco, Pamplona since 1549, except in 1553; and lastly, Martín Yáñez Tafur, Tocaima in 1555.

19. A few additional municipal posts were extracted from ARB, Libros de Cabildos de Tunja, until 1553.

20. CDT, 98-99.

## CHAPTER 6 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

According to a Spanish historian, his country has been the only example in Western history in which a man's purpose in life is founded on the idea that the only calling worthy of a man is to be a man, and nothing else. He added that no other European country stigmatized manual labor to such an extent that in Spain it was not accorded legal dignity until the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Following that somewhat romantic and aristocratic view, Spain of the sixteenth century, as well as its colonies respected a man for his own humanity, and not so much for actions that made him economically efficient. Traditionally, then, the following deeds and attributes of the Spanish nobleman were more worthy of note than any manual activity, usually considered quite prosaic: Their participation in conquering epics and in heroic wars against the Indians; in quelling rebellious factions of his own countrymen; in establishing cities; in raising meritorious families; in rendering prestigious services to the Crown in governmental posts; in having a reputation for being generous, considerate; and being a good and loyal vassal and a good Christian fearful of God.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of this perspective which was more prevalent among the nobility than the commoners, men still produced what they consumed, and performed the services they required. Yet, one palpable inconvenience of that pervading noble outlook today is that it is rather difficult to

reconstruct the economic activities of the ordinary sixteenth-century colonizers of the New Kingdom. Putting that difficulty aside, the intent here is to study what the persons who participated in the six expeditions did once they settled down in the new land, and what their role was in producing the goods and services required by their society. Services rendered by persons for which they earned a living are also considered below, regardless of whether these produced a material result or not.

#### Encomenderos and Encomiendas

Gonzalo Jiménez did not allow the ink to dry on the Act of Foundation of Santa Fe before he was already signing encomienda grants. By this action, he was reaffirming that both the establishment of cities and the distribution of Indian labor and tribute among the conquerors were integral parts of the colonization process. Just two days after performing the founding ceremony he assigned Tinjacá to Nikolaus Federmann, on May 3 he granted Chía to Pedro de Puelles and, six days later, gave Sasa to Pedro del Acevo. He had to assign Indian groups to many other members of his party before leaving for Spain, for it is known that he favored Juan de Céspedes, Pedro de Colmenares, Juan Gómez Portillo, Juan del Junco, Antonio de Lebrija, Cristóbal de Roa, Diego de Segura, Melchor Valdés, and Pedro Fernández de Valenzuela, because the Spanish authorities made later references to their encomienda titles.<sup>3</sup> But even if Jiménez could not favor all his men or not at all, as asserted by one of the colonial chroniclers, he did authorize his brother Hernán Pérez to continue distributing Indians to the Spaniards.

The origin of the encomienda institution may be found during the Spanish Reconquest when the Crown at times commended a village or a group of inhabited houses to deserving persons. These individuals or comendadores benefitted from the rents and tributes that the vassals living within the assigned confines originally had paid to the King. The Indian encomienda, however, was an American institution which referred specifically to the relations between the Europeans and the aborigines, the latter never considered legal vassals of the former. The authorities assigned a pueblo, a tribe or part of one, to a deserving conqueror who was to collect from it a tribute approximating what the natives had originally paid to their chief who was now superseded by the King. In addition to the tribute, which generally consisted of gold or cotton blankets in usually high demand, the Indians during the early colonization period, were to provide their encomendero with arbitrary amounts of grass for his horses; firewood; food staples such as wild game, fish, eggs, corn, and other local vegetables; and labor to build and tend his house, farms, and cattle.<sup>4</sup> Later, when the Indians did not have any access to gold or emeralds, their tribute was exchanged for labor.

The encomienda grant did not include any title to the land and, from its inception in the New Kingdom in 1539, was bestowed "for two lives," meaning that of its first holder and of his immediate heir.<sup>5</sup> Several attempts were made by the beneficiaries to hold title in perpetuity, but the Crown never agreed to give away its jurisdiction. The legal and moral justifications of this one-sided contract were somewhat rationalized by the authorities by asking the beneficiary to protect his charges and to settle them in compact communities where he was to provide a chapel and

priest to indoctrinate them in the Catholic religion. The grantee was preferably a married male and was obligated to live in a brick, stone, and roof-tiled house, to maintain arms and, if possible, war horses, and to be ready to serve the King against any rebellions or invasions.

Upon his departure to Spain, Gonzalo Jiménez left his younger brother Hernán Pérez de Quesada in charge of the government of the Kingdom, with the significant power of distributing encomiendas. Pérez was then about 25 years old, and his previous actions had been somewhat lackluster. His brother had sent him to search for some emerald mines, but instead he found the Indian lady Furatena who informed him about the Amazons, a tribe of women who lived on their own. Pérez went in search of them, but found nothing. He was also sent by his brother to explore the Quindío Mountains, but he left after learning of the presence of Christians around the Magdalena River. Now that he was in charge of the New Kingdom, one of his first actions was to go after the Casa del Sol from which search he returned prematurely with empty hands, leaving most of his men behind to continue the proposed search. With such an inauspicious background and largely ignorant of the extent and number of the Indian groups inhabiting the territory, he continued distributing them among the conquerors in a rather haphazard fashion, for he was accused of not being firm in his grants and of assigning the same to three or four different persons, only to correct himself later.<sup>6</sup>

The questionable authority of Gonzalo Jiménez for granting regal favors followed by the shifting positions of his brother Hernán Pérez gave the conquerors favored with the first distribution of encomiendas a sense of how temporary these rewards could be. In the absence of officially

established tribute rates, some of the greediest and less scrupulous conquerors determined to use these fleeting moments to become rich. Oblivious to the methods used, those men set out to extract from their charges as much gold and emeralds as they still possessed or knew were in the hands of their relatives or in the tombs of their ancestors. The resulting extreme abuses exerted on the Indian population drove these generally peaceful natives to rebel against the harsh and capricious rule of the newcomers. Such actions were taken by the Spaniards as a serious disobedience to the King and had to be punished with all the strength of their superior Castilian arms, in "just wars" authorized by Hernán Pérez.

Neither the cruelties of the new masters against their charges nor the wars against the Indians are mentioned in detail by the colonial chroniclers, subject as they were to regal censure, but the surviving documents kept mostly in Seville and Bogotá can allow a reasonable understanding of what actually occurred.<sup>7</sup> The caciques, or important leaders of tribes, who in those early times were tortured or mistreated by some conquerors in other ways, were Chámeza, Chía, Cocuy, Cota, Firavitoba, Guasca, Ocavita, Sogamoso, Suba, and Tisquisoque. The names of the mentioned or accused abusers were Domingo de Aguirre, Juan de Arévalo, Pedro Cornejo, Lázaro Fonte, Martín Galeano, Gonzalo García Zorro, Juan Gascón, Antón de Lezcámez, Baltasar Maldonado, Francisco de Mestanza, Martín Pujol, Mateo Sánchez Cogolludo, and Francisco de Villaviciosa. Except in the case of Tisquisoque who decided to stop the continuous demands of his encomendero Juan Gascón by killing him and his companions, the other caciques showed their opposition by disappearing into the wild or making fortresses in the middle of lagoons or at the top of strategic

mountains. In response the newcomers waged "just wars" against the lords of Bituima, Duitama, Fusagasugá, Garagoa, Guatavita, Lupachoque, Nimaima, Ocavita, Onzaga, Simijaca, Sogamoso, Sopó, Tena, Timinunga, and Tundama. Several of these brave natives were soon overpowered and defeated, whereas others continued their opposition for several years. Thus the results of the first stage of encomienda grants was a resounding failure, if its intent was to prudently exploit the humble and peaceful Muisca natives.

If the ineffectual government of Hernán Pérez contributed to the deterioration of relations between Spaniards and Indians, the questionable legality of his power to grant encomiendas enhanced the transient nature of his concessions, for the next legitimate governor might arrive inclined to take away any privileges bestowed upon the conquerors by him and his brother Gonzalo Jiménez. The unstable tenure of Indian grants was not improved when a new governor, Jerónimo Lebrón, reached the New Kingdom in August 1540. Pérez and his advisors refused to relinquish their thin authority, claiming that Lebrón had received his title from the Audiencia in Santo Domingo, whereas Jiménez was asking the court in Spain to decide on the subject. The instability in the possession of these grants thus continued for at least another year at which time Pérez decided to depart in search of the provinces of El Dorado, leading a group of around 260 men, or about one half of the inhabitants of the New Kingdom. Yet, it appears that fearful of the legality of his previous actions and how they would be judged by the succeeding authorities, Pérez sought protection from royal prosecution by the expedient of leaving behind a confidential document annulling all grants he had made in the past.<sup>8</sup> Upon departing for El Dorado, Pérez left Gonzalo Suárez in charge of the government of

the New Kingdom. Yet if his authority to grant royal favors was questionable, it was doubtful that his successor would be perceived as having one with a sounder legal base.

Suárez governed a fairly long period of time, from September 1541 to May 1543, yet it appears that he did not distribute many Indians among the men Pérez left behind. Some of the surviving records show that he granted Bosa to the recently arrived Alonso Suárez, after it was left vacant by Juan de Villalobos; Simijaca to Diego García Cabezón; Soaca and Topia to Juan Valenciano; Sora to Garcí Arias Maldonado; and Suba and Tuna to Pedro de Colmenares. He removed Moniquirá from Martín Sánchez Ropero. The great revision of the tenure of encomiendas was to be made by his successor Alonso Luis de Lugo, the first legitimate acting governor of the New Kingdom.

Luis de Lugo arrived to the New Kingdom in early May 1543, leading his own expedition. The colonial chroniclers wrote how instead of being affable and friendly as was his nature, he displayed a haughty and reserved front to cover his ambitiousness and desire to extract as much wealth as possible from the conquerors. According to them, he began by prosecuting under weak pretexts one of the wealthiest encomenderos, Gonzalo Suárez, and continued with Garcí Arias Maldonado, Hernando de Beteta, Juan Gómez Portillo, Hernando de Rojas, Juan de Salamanca, Pedro Vázquez de Loayza, and other meritorious persons, with the sole purpose of removing the Indian royal grants they enjoyed. In spite of declared opposition from the cabildo of Vélez, Luis de Lugo convinced the grantees to turn in their titles--under the pretext that these had been illegally and arbitrarily given by his predecessors--so he could make a new and



fairer redistribution. Once this stage was achieved, he delayed any action until he could collect all corresponding tributes and rents for a few months, at which time he was able to amass the considerable sum of over 200,000 gold pesos. Afterwards, the chroniclers continue, he proceeded to distribute encomiendas to the dissatisfaction of many of Jiménez's companions, who were not favored as well as the men closer to Luis de Lugo.<sup>9</sup>

The dark panorama depicted by the chroniclers on how this governor distributed Indian grants may be somewhat slanted, for they perceived him as an enemy of Jiménez's men. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, willingly or not, the encomenderos of the New Kingdom, probably doubting the validity of their tenure of Indian grants, did renounce them so that the new governor could make a new, legal, and therefore more permanent redistribution. Unfortunately, this was not the case, for the governor did not always regard the claims of the first conquerors to be more deserving than those who arrived later, plus he also favored persons who were closer to him and who had taken part in his expedition. Even though no detailed record has survived on how he reapportioned the natives, the many informal complaints and legal suits left after his governorship attest to the displeasure of a group of conquerors. The end result was that the actions of Luis de Lugo did not contribute to more stability in the tenure of encomiendas in the New Kingdom. Its conquerors were to hope that its new judge and future governor selected by the Council of the Indies, licentiate Miguel Díez de Armendáriz, would correct the injustices that they perceived had been committed by all former authorities in the granting of Indian labor, including the rather inactive interim

governorship of Lope Montalvo de Lugo who was left in charge by his relative Luis de Lugo for nearly a year.

In regard to the early perspective of the Indian encomienda in the New Kingdom, the arrival of the new Governor Miguel Díez was delayed for about two years, during which time his cousin, General Pedro de Orsúa, took his place. Díez had a difficult task to perform, that of enacting the New Laws which regulated the use of encomiendas by protecting the Indians from the Spaniards. The implementation of these laws had caused turmoil in the Indies and even resulted in a general uprising of the conquerors in neighboring Peru. Díez finally arrived in 1547 and began trying to settle the pending disputes on the rights to exploit Indian groups within the concept of the New Laws, but he was not totally successful. When those laws were publicly read in the four cities of the New Kingdom, they were considered by their respective cabildos to be damaging to their interests and they therefore requested Díez to withhold their enactment. Under much pressure Díez agreed to hold them back for two years.<sup>10</sup>

The main complaints the conquerors had regarding encomiendas was that the previous governors of the New Kingdom had arbitrarily taken away titles they had received from others. In most known cases the disputes largely emanated from the practice that a person lost his Indian grant when he departed the New Kingdom, whether to return to Spain or to go on other lengthy conquests such as that of El Dorado. When the affected conqueror returned, he found that his Indian grant had been assigned to another person and thus he tried to recuperate it by litigating. Governor Díez tried to settle many of those claims by deciding on the possession of Bogotá, Bonsa and Paipa, Bosa, Duitama, Guatavita, Monquirá, Ocavita and

Lupachoque, Pasca, Serrezuela or Sagasucá, Simijaca, Sora, Suba and Tuna, and Susa. Yet, he created additional problems by favoring persons close to him. He granted Bojacá and three others to Hernando de Alcocer, whose wife was suspected of having extramarital relations with Díez, and gave Fúquene and Nemogua to Gonzalo de Porras, Fúmeque to Juan Ruiz de Orejuela, Siachoque to Pedro de Córdoba, and a few others to conquerors who did not participate in the six expeditions. Even though Díez tried to solve many related problems, they were to continue for the rest of the century. Yet, in spite of all its faults, the encomienda institution was to have great permanence in the New Kingdom, where it continued existing throughout the colonial period and up to Independence.<sup>11</sup>

Authority was vested in one person only, who in addition was physically located thousands of miles away in a mountainous remote area far from sea routes. This power of deciding the economic well-being of the conquerors by distributing Indian grants proved to be beyond the capacity of those who had the opportunity to wield it. True, the initial titles had to be revised and accepted by a higher authority, that of the Council of Indies or whomever it designated. In practice, however, the local supreme authority's decision was to be of monumental importance. Any title change had to be strenuously pursued by the interested party at great expense, and even if approved, it arrived several years later.

With all its faults and imperfections the encomienda was to provide the conquerors with their main means of economic support which was extracted from what the Indians paid in tribute and produced, by laboring the land, tending flocks, exploiting the gold mines, or transporting goods in the early stage of colonization when beasts of burden were simply

nonexistent. The men who arrived with the first three conquering expeditions were to receive the best Indian grants, located in the districts of Santa Fe and Tunja and, to a lesser extent, in poorer Vélez. The remaining groups had to wait until the districts of Tocaïma, Pamplona, Ibagué, Mariquita, and others were established, or until a rare vacancy occurred in the districts of the first three founded cities.

The conquerors who were rewarded with an encomienda at one time or another are listed in Appendix D. If the women who accompanied the expeditions are excluded to avoid repetition, though this occurs anyway for a few conquerors participated in more than one venture, the total of persons known to have been favored was 276. Of these 99 were companions of Gonzalo Jiménez, 67 of Nikolaus Federmann, 17 of Sebastián de Belalcázar, 35 of Jerónimo Lebrón, 11 of Lope Montalvo de Lugo, and 40 of Alonso Luis de Lugo. Seven conquerors still remained unidentified as to which expedition they belonged. The majority of the Indian grants listed belonged to the districts of Santa Fe and Tunja, not only because these were more numerous, but also because more documents are to be found about them, which has facilitated the studies that have focused on them. Fewer records remain of Indian grants located in Tocaïma, Ibagué, Mariquita, and other smaller cities. One additional reason for knowing more about the grants enjoyed by Jiménez's companions is because he wrote a memoir 25 years after the conquest of those he knew were still alive and what encomienda, if any, they had.

By the end of 1563 Gonzalo Jiménez had written his memoir about the economic status of his 53 surviving companions and what Indian grants they still had, if any.<sup>12</sup> Of these men, 44 still enjoyed one or more grants,

which varied in total size from a few to 3,000 Indians. All nine dispossessed conquerors had received Indian grants in the past, but they had sold or given them away except two, Francisco de Mestanza and Juan Tafur, who lost them because of having been cruel to their charges. Of the total of 53 survivors, Jiménez classed 9 as being poor, and 25 as being well off, with the rest in the middle. Judging from this memoir, in spite of the instability in the tenure of these Indian grants and the numerous complaints of the conquerors, these men were usually well rewarded for their part in the enterprise, especially persons such as Juan de Céspedes, Diego Montañéz, Antón de Olalla, Juan de Ortega, Diego de Paredes Calderón, Juan de Quincoces de la Llana, Juan Rodríguez Gil, Juan Rodríguez Parra, Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión de los Ríos, Pedro Ruíz Herrezuelo, Miguel Sánchez, Gonzalo Suárez, Andrés Vázquez de Molina, and Hernán Venegas. Their former leader, Gonzalo Jiménez, believed them to be either rich or nearly so.

Even though the determination of the rewarded early conquerors to keep a tight control over their Indians was to be in constant conflict with the future policies of the royal authorities, the fact that Indian grants were widespread during the first years, it had to contribute to both the relative political stability of the New Kingdom, based in part on the loyalty of the rewarded, and to the blurring of the social differences among them during the first one or two decades in the New Kingdom. Power concentrations resulting from the interplay of antagonistic groups dissatisfied with the distribution of encomiendas were, therefore, less likely to exist at the beginning; yet this situation was not to last long.

By comparing the number of Indians the former companions of Jiménez had with that of conquerors of the other expeditions, it is quite likely many of the latter were also enjoying a comfortable economic condition 25 years after the conquest. It was by this time that the first president of the New Kingdom, Andrés Venero de Leyva, who replaced the system of oidores that had governed it since the Royal Audiencia in Santa Fe began, was inaugurated. Venero was able to regulate the personal services the conquerors-turned-colonizers had been imposing on the Indians in spite of the New Laws. These laws, published in 1542, had been enacted by governor Miguel Díez in 1547, were suspended by him for a period of two years, and were partially disregarded by his successors. These were the same laws which had marked the decline of the Indian encomienda in Mexico and Peru but which did not have the same short-term effect in the New Kingdom. Here it continued strong during the period considered in this study, thanks to alliances through marriages and associations of their owners and the accommodating position of the authorities. It was only by the end of the sixteenth century that a weakening of that institution took place for the following four causes: first, the reduction of the Indian population and therefore of the yields of the encomienda; second, the definitive acceptance of the corregidores in 1593, who had the responsibility of distributing Indian labor and controlling the salaries paid to them, which eroded the monopolistic labor benefit enjoyed till then by the encomenderos; third, the economic success derived from other activities, such as commerce, farming and cattle raising, and serving the Crown in the better-paid governmental positions; fourth, the crown's campaign to weaken the encomienda which included an ever-increasing tax burden on them.<sup>13</sup>

### Trades and Professions

Once the conquerors put aside their arms and began a more sedate life as settlers with a considerable Indian labor supply at their disposal, some dedicated their activities to practicing the trades and professions they may have learned before. Some of these trades have been mentioned already in Chapter 4 when discussing the activities of these men in their homeland, but now the intent is to analyze the activities they pursued in the New Kingdom. In the same manner that a great deal of attention was given by colonial chroniclers and their followers to the military and political actions of those who imposed Spanish rule in the Muisca area, very little was mentioned about their more mundane activities, a silence that apparently also passed to the surviving records. Yet, if close attention is paid to these records, more information than originally perceived can be found on the matter. For instance, the granting of branding irons by the city councils can provide information on who bred or raised livestock; the entry books on the local treasuries sometimes indicate purchased goods and services and who their providers were. The not so abundant wills are a rich source on what the economic activities of the conquerors were, and how successful some were. It should be borne in mind that sixteenth-century Spanish ethos and the sense of hidalguía that was etched in them viewed any work occupation as unbecoming to more self-respecting individuals. This attitude, plus the simple fact that labor was supplied by the local Indians, combined to produce fewer records on the productive occupations of the conquerors, who would make money any way they could, in spite of official attitudes.

## Farmers

The only acknowledged farmer who took part in any of the expeditions considered in this study was Pedro Blasco Martín, who arrived in the New Kingdom with Governor Jerónimo Lebrón, but there must have been others of whom no record is known. There were, however, some similarities between being the owner of a farm tended by Indians, and being an encomendero. If any of the abundant tasas or lists of tasks the Indians had to perform for their masters is considered, the similarities become apparent especially in those encomiendas in which their charges were not used primarily for the purpose of transporting goods or exploiting mines. One example is the 1555 tasa corresponding to Guatavita, a large encomienda in the district of Santa Fe, enjoyed by the distinguished hidalgo and horse-soldier, Hernán Venegas.<sup>14</sup> Besides tribute paid in gold and cotton blankets, the Indians had to provide him every year with 176 acres planted in maize in Gachetá, 70 acres in wheat, 53 acres in barley, more than 3.5 acres in sugar cane, and in a smaller plot of land he had near the city, 132 acres in maize and 35 acres in potatoes. In addition, he was to be provided with six Indian herders every day and with other significant services for his house. Since it is unlikely that he and his extended family, including the 20 young boys and Indian girls who tended his house, were able to consume such great amounts of grains and tubers, a surplus existed which had to be disposed of. So, in spite of the sense of hidalguía which frowned upon nearly any work activity, some of the most illustrious encomenderos were, in effect, producing a salable agricultural surplus through the labor of others as if they were operating farms.



The Indian's ability to cultivate the land was so remarkable that it did not go unnoticed by the newcomers. Even Governor Miguel Díez was so pleased with the Muisca crop farming he found in the New Kingdom that he informed the King about how good they were at growing maize, potatoes, beans, and other crops.<sup>15</sup> That ability helped the Indians in farming European seeds as well, for only 10 years after the founding of Pamplona, for instance, about one third of its Indian population was cultivating wheat for their encomendero and about one half were producing barley and sugar cane.<sup>16</sup> It seems apparent then, that it was easy for the skilled Indians to cultivate imported grains and seeds in their American soil side by side with their usual crops, and to produce surpluses for their lords. It is within that context that the assertions of Jerónimo de Aguayo become more credible. He prided himself on being the first person to cultivate the indispensable wheat, needed not only for baking white bread but for the Hosts of the Eucharist. He described how it was that he planted 90 seeds and reaped more than 11 liters; so great was the production that he had a Mass celebrated to commemorate the occasion on an altar he adorned with the collected grain. He added that a few years later so much wheat and barley were produced that the latter was commonly used to fatten pigs. His wheat may have been planted in the district of Tunja where he had at least one rural spread, and where the area around the future Villa de Leyva became one of the better producers of that cereal. Here encomenderos Juan Barrera and Antón de Santana also grew sizable crops.

Besides cultivating the soil, many conquistadores turned colonizers contributed to the extraordinarily successful adaptation of European domesticated animals in the New Kingdom, starting with the chickens

brought by Federmann and the 300 swine introduced by Belalcázar, followed by cattle, goats, sheep, and all sorts of equines, which came a little later. The persons known to have been active in some phase of animal husbandry, because the city councils of Tunja and Pamplona granted them branding irons, were Simón Díaz, Agustín Hernández, Andrés Martín Calvillo, Francisco Martín Casado, Juan Pinilla, Martín Pujol, and Diego Suárez Montañez. Beside his large crops of wheat, barley, and maize, part of which he traded for coca from his charges in Lengupá, Pedro Quiralte raised horses and swine, sometimes in association with his friend Gonzalo Suárez. In turn, Suárez and his Indians ran the largest crop farming and cattle raising operations around Tunja, including the first sugar mill known. Juan Tafur also had a small sugar cane plantation, and his numerous swine often damaged the neighboring Indian crops. Juan Alonso and Pero Añez also had farms. During his short stay in the Kingdom, Pedro Fernández Valenzuela managed to establish some sort of animal husbandry with employees left behind. Antón de Olalla raised cattle, sheep, goats, swine, and horses on his farms near Santa Fe, and Francisco Rodríguez and Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión did the same in Tunja. There also were more ambitious persons: Juan Quincoces de Llana was allowed, around 1555, to sell cattle in Peru and elsewhere, for the authorities felt that the New Kingdom was well provided. Pedro Rodríguez de Salamanca was an important cattle trader who would go as far as El Tocuyo in Venezuela to bring stock to the New Kingdom. Juan Valenciano established a company with the priest Juan Vicente de Requejada to raise horses in the district of Tunja. When Martín Sánchez Roperero died, he left a cultivated farm, 400 swine, and many sheep. Alonso de Olalla raised large herds of cattle, sheep, swine, and

goats, for he took hundreds of these animals when he tried to settle the region of Moquigua and La Plata. He also produced many cheeses and others edibles of which he gave some to President Venero de Leyva in exchange for favors. Lastly, the records show that Juan Muñoz de Collantes also planted wheat and raised swine.

#### Merchants, Traders, and Carriers

The first large merchants arrived in the New Kingdom with Governor Jerónimo Lebrón. They had known about the abundance of gold within the region and the great need for Spanish products among those conquerors already there. Alonso Martín, Andrés Martín, and Francisco Hernández Hermoso, who was associated with Francisco Enríquez, negotiated in goods by the shipload. Antonio Hernández brought three horses probably for sale. Cristóbal de los Nidos must have had his mind set on making some money, for he sold 18 horses that he must have brought with him to Jerónimo de Aguayo. When Alonso de los Hoyos came with Alonso Luis de Lugo, he brought 12 to 15 horses, and, although Antonio de Luján lost a good amount of iron products on the way, he may have brought them for trade. After the arrival of the first merchants with Lebrón, Jerónimo de la Inza went into partnership with Alonso Martín to purchase a brigantine in Santa Marta and to load it with all kinds of goods destined for sale in the Kingdom. When they were sailing up the Magdalena River, the trader Juan Núñez refused to turn over his possessions to the authorities in Santiago de Sompallón, because he intended to exchange them for goods down the coast and, in turn, to sell them in Santa Fe, Vélez and Tunja. On a smaller scale, Andrés Jorge, Juan de Chinchilla, and Hernán Gómez Castillejo were also

active traders. Pedro de Córdoba and Nicolao de Troya had stores in Santa Fe, and Martín Galeano in Vélez. Melchor de Fábregas introduced significant amounts of goods from the Popayán province, and Gonzalo Hernández supplied tools and other goods to the miners of the Río de Oro.

At a more international level perhaps, Martín Hernández de las Islas had sizable merchant businesses with one Mateo Ordóñez in Tenerife, Canary Islands. Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión traded in black slaves, for when he suddenly died while in Cartagena, he had already purchased 36 male and female Africans whom he intended to introduce into the New Kingdom. Juan de Chávez died on the way from the Caribbean to Cartagena while bringing in six black slaves. Often references are found of persons traveling to Spain and bringing back several hundred pesos of goods free of duty, which in some instances appear to be more for business than for personal use. In this manner, Gonzalo de Gamboa brought from Spain large amounts of iron and steel goods including tools.

Since times immemorial goods in the Muisca homeland were transported on the backs of Indian porters, for there were no beasts of burdens such as oxen or mules, or the camelidae used extensively among the Incas, nor were there navigable rivers or large bodies of water. Yet hardly 10 years had passed since the first Spanish-style cities were established in the New Kingdom before the authorities and several priests were denouncing the extreme hardships imposed on the local population by the movement of goods destined for consumption by less than one thousand Spaniards living in urban centers. This problem may be better understood by considering the commentary appearing by coincidence, in the front page of this morning's newspaper. "One American does 20 to 100 times more damage to the planet

than one person in the Third World, and one rich American causes 1,000 times more destruction."<sup>17</sup>

In the few years after the conquest, nothing had changed in the Muisca transportation system, yet a few hundred newcomers had managed to destroy its delicate balance to the point that there were serious concerns from the few who cared about the well-being of the natives and the irreparable damages being caused to the Indian population. As in the case of the strain placed on nature by the personal needs of those living in developed countries when compared to those of the Third World, what had changed in the Muisca lands was the much larger needs of the Spaniards when compared with those of the aborigines. Suddenly all kinds of goods had to be moved by Indian porters, including metallic implements, ranging from iron tools, knives, horseshoes, nails, and arms; church bells and even small cannons; chains; bullets; complete foundries; clothing and fabrics; shoes; hats, horse harnesses and saddles plus all sorts of leather products; furniture and all kinds of house accessories; linen, tableware, papers, books, chemical products and medicines; soaps and candles; wine and olive oil flagons and preserves; flours and spices. These Indian porters were unaccustomed to carrying these heavy weights on such long distances, or to moving great loads between the hot lowlands and the cool Andean mountains. The transportation needs of a demanding Spaniard and his steed may have been, then, 1,000 times that of a frugal Muisca.

Among the most enterprising transporters especially active in the 1550s were Alonso de Olalla and his partner, Hernando de Alcocer. They operated a small transportation system manned by black slaves, which

included boats from the port of Honda on the Magdalena River, and available beasts of burden for overland transportation from that port to Santa Fe. They also maintained the road and even operated a resting place for travelers in La Villeta de San Miguel, a town which they established for this purpose. Since this route was preceded by the Opón and Carare roads, which were the only communication between the Magdalena River and the New Kingdom via the city of Vélez, its inhabitants were active in gathering the necessary Indian porters to serve it. Juan de Angulo and Miguel Seco Moyano had merchandise hauled between those two points, and Martín Galeano proposed that he would maintain the road and service it with beasts of burden if he were to have a monopoly of it for the next 20 years. Garci Arias Maldonado was also a trader who obtained a license to use his Indians in the hauling of goods between Vélez and Tunja.<sup>18</sup> As an important complement, Alonso Hernández de Ledesma and Melchor Ramírez provided passengers with room and board in Vélez, and Diego Romero, in Santa Fe. Ramírez and Romero added, with much hidalgo pride and generosity, that they did so at no charge, for persons of his quality could not find any other decent place to stay.

#### Artisans

There is considerable evidence about the output of artisans but much less is known about specific individuals. Federmann's companions installed a foundry at the foot of the Santa Fe mountains to repair their arms and dress their horses before proceeding forward, but we do not know who operated it. Right after Belalcázar, Federmann, and Jiménez agreed to go to Spain to settle their differences over jurisdiction of the New Kingdom,

they sent a group of artisans to build two brigantines on the banks of the Magdalena River, which were to take them and some 30 companions and their treasure from the interior of the Kingdom to the Atlantic coast and beyond. Juan de Albarracin, who was the captain of one of the brigantines which sailed up the same river with the Jiménez expedition, went to supervise the construction of the two vessels, and it is known that Martín Sánchez Ropero forged the tools to work the wood. Nothing is known, however, about the carpenters, caulkers, rope makers, and the other skilled workers needed for these tasks.

In spite of the lack of data the following is known about active artisans in the New Kingdom. Besides Sánchez Ropero, the skilled blacksmith who also made all sorts of nails and horseshoes, Francisco de Aguirre and Bartolomé de la Parra practiced the same trade in Santa Fe, Juan Corzo, first in Vélez, then in Pamplona, and lastly in Mérida; Pedro de Frias, first in Vélez, and later in Tunja, where he even forged goods for sale in Santa Fe. Antonio Hernández, Luis de Lugo's companion, operated his forge in Tunja but he also made the horseshoes and nails used during one of the explorations of the Guane territory in Vélez. Alonso de Aranda and Antón de Aguilar assayed precious metals, and Aranda was also a silversmith. Juan Gallego and Simón Díaz were tailors, and Díaz was also a rope maker; Hernán Gómez Castillejo probably was a cloth-dyer; Cristóbal de Toro operated a tannery in Santa Fe and was also a shoemaker; Alonso de Vera was a barber; Rodrigo Añez, Pero Sánchez, and probably Antón Flamenco were skilled carpenters; Gregorio López was a well-rounded builder, for he could manage the production of bricks, tiles, and the manufacturing of windows and doors. Juan Rey also was a builder who could make a complete

house, and Antonio Martínez set up and ran a brick and tile factory. Eloísa Gutiérrez baked the first bread in Santa Fe, and Pedro Brizeño had the first flour mill in the same locality, followed by Antón Flamenco who built his by the San Francisco River, and by Alonso de Olalla who had his on the banks of the same river. Flamenco had been an expert bridge builder during the course of the Federmann expedition.

### Miners

If Mexico and Peru were noted for their silver production, the New Kingdom was known for its gold. About 15 years after the conquest of the Kingdom, gold mines were being worked in several central areas. Gold was exploited in the Mariquita, Pamplona, Río de Oro, San Juan de los Llanos, and Tocaima regions, necessarily by the more influential encomenderos living in the cities which headed the jurisdictions where those mines fell, for they controlled the most indispensable component, the supply of labor. It is likely, therefore, that in the Pamplona region, for instance, nearly all its noted encomenderos were also miners, but those mentioned here are only those individual miners for whom we have documentary evidence.

The first active newcomers in the finding of gold mines were Jerónimo de Aguayo, Gregorio Suárez de Deza, and Pedro García Ruiz. Once the rich alluvial gold mines of Río de Oro were discovered, the inhabitants of Pamplona and Vélez shared their riches. In that region Juan de Angulo, Pedro de Ardila, Alonso Domínguez, Francisco Franco, Bartolomé Hernández de León, Bartolomé Hernández Herreño, Juan de Mayorga, Juan Mateos, Francisco de Murcia, Juan Peronegro, Juan Quintero, and Francisco



Ruiz were active members. Exploiters of the Pamplona gold mines were at least Juan del Basto, Andrés Martín Calvillo, and Ortún Velasco and probably others. Several encomenderos in the Tunja district who also provided labor to exploit the Pamplona mines, probably in some sort of partnership, were Baltasar Maldonado, Juan de Orozco, Pedro Bravo de Rivera, and Martín Pujol.<sup>19</sup>

Antonio Portillo was active in the gold mines of the Tocaima district, Melchor Valdés in Ibagué, Hernando del Prado and Diego de Espinosa in Mariquita. By the early 1550s Pedro de Brizeño worked the Sabandija mines with no less than 34 black slaves. Juan de Avellaneda also had a few blacks working the sands of the Ariari River in San Juan de los Llanos, and he later owned the Chilaca mine in Santágueda. Outside the central district of the New Kingdom, Luis de Mideros was perhaps the most successful gold miner in the distant and inaccessible town of Almaguer.

Other conquerors seem to have taken over part of the ancient Indian mining enterprises. Diego de Paredes Calderón, the lord of Somondoco, must have mined the lands of his few charges, for he managed to become rich from their work, most conveniently understood if associated with the valuable emeralds abundant there. It appears inevitable that Juan de Ortega in Zipaquirá and Juan de Olmos in Nemocón had to become active in some phase of the abundant salt mining performed by their assigned Indians, and it is certain that Francisco Salguero extracted salt in Mongua, much of which he used in large fish-salting operations, probably seasonally caught in the nearby Cravo, Cusiana, and Pisba rivers. Pedro Rodríguez de Salamanca and Mateo Sánchez provided salt to the gold district of Pamplona, mined within the lands of their Indians. Lastly,

Pedro Quintero Príncipe was involved in the exploitation in Pamplona of limestone, a lowly yet important mineral.

#### Scribes and Minor Official Employees

The legalistic attitude of the sixteenth-century Spaniard is evident in the activities of the many scribes commonly found recording innumerable events and giving them a semblance of solemnity and permanence. Any expedition of some size required the services of at least one scribe to record any significant incident that occurred along the way. Others wrote down general accounts on the riches gathered, or the administration of belongings left by death. These were covered by the record-keeping of the three royal officials in the former case, and the Tenedor de bienes de difuntos, in the latter. Scribes had to witness and register any important judicial decision taken by the leader of the expedition and any agreement or act which could have legal implications, including the act of founding cities. And after civilian life took root there, scribes had to write down the acts of all the city council meetings and keep in good order the register of their inhabitants, the branding irons issued, the city lots and other real estate properties distributed, and the conflicts and suits their inhabitants were involved in. Scribes also acted as public notaries and kept records of all public transactions, including some social contracts. Scribes were then quite common, to be the delight of historians later, even if only a small fraction of their records survived the ravages of time.

It should not be surprising, then, to notice the relatively large number of known scribes who took part in the expeditions to the New

Kingdom. Pedro del Acevo plied that trade in Tunja and later in Santa Fe. Domingo de Aguirre was active in Tunja, as also were Antonio Cabrera de Sosa, Hernando de Garibay, Alonso de Miranda, Hernando Montero, Luis de Lugo's companion, Miguel de Morales, Alonso de Salcedo, Felipe de Sosa, and Rodrigo de Villarreal. Honorato Vicente Bernal was the official scribe of the Santa Fe cabildo, the city where Francisco Gutiérrez, the elder, Cristóbal de los Nidos, Juan Rodríguez de Benavides, Diego de Partearroyo, also practiced the same profession. Gil López was an active scribe during the expedition of Jiménez; Francisco García during that of Lebrón; Luis de Saavedra, before abandoning Santa Marta; and Cristóbal Rodríguez, before leaving Quito. Francisco Iñiguez and Francisco Novillo were active in Tocaima. Pedro de Salazar and Ambrosio del Campo were scribes in Vélez. In all 23 persons are known to have been scribes out of over 600 conquerors; that is almost four percent of the total, attesting to the particularly keen legal concerns of the time.

Only those scribes who worked for the city councils or the royal audiencia could be considered official employees. Those councils and the audiencia named a few additional minor officials, such as city surveyors, town criers, porters, and interpreters of Indian languages. Among those conquerors occupying those posts, it is known that Alonso de Paniagua, Juan Izquierdo, and Antón López Camarena were surveyors. Juan Duarte was a town crier, an occupation usually trusted to blacks and morenos. Antón de Córdoba was the porter of the Tunja council, and the son of Lucas Bejarano was an official interpreter of Indian languages employed by the Santa Fe council. There were other skilled interpreters who were not

official employees, such as Francisco Alvarez de Acuña, Pedro de Limpías, Juan Gutiérrez de Aguilón, and Alonso Martín.

### Professionals

Besides Gonzalo Jiménez who was a licentiate in law, others with a similar title, yet not necessarily in the same specialization, were Francisco de la Cueva and the priest Adrián de Montalván. The priest Fray Estéban Verdadero held a baccalaureate, probably in philosophy, and Antonio Díaz Cardozo was a doctor and a surgeon. Professionals in medicine ranged from licensed doctors such as Díaz to persons skilled at mending bones and healing wounds. Of these, the following are known: Cristóbal de Alvear, Francisco de Chinchilla, and Juan Vicente claimed to be surgeons; Antón de Rodas may have been a professional doctor; Luis Lancho healed wounds, including those potentially lethal caused by poisoned Indian weapons, by using a miraculous cure called el ensalmo de Lancho, which was a combination of religious magic and medicinal herbs.<sup>20</sup> Sebastián Lozano and Pedro García Ruiz could also heal wounds, and Francisco Maldonado cured the injuries caused by tortures given to the cacique Chia. Juana García could induce abortions and did at least one. Martín Sánchez Ropero was a farrier and Juan de Salcedo and Diego de Salas were apothecaries. In less prosaic activities, thus closer to the spirit and farther from material needs, Lorenzo Martín was a poet, and Martín de Vergara was a distinguished composer and musician.

### Priests

As the political entity of the New Kingdom grew out of the province of Santa Marta, so too did the ecclesiastical organization of the powerful Catholic Church. On September 9, 1531, the queen nominated Salamancan collegiate Alonso de Tobes to head the new bishopric of Santa Marta. With much delay and after he was confirmed by Rome in early 1533, Tobes arrived in that port on June 23, the date in which he became the first acting bishop of the province. Unfortunately, he soon became ill and died the following 18 or 19 of December. More than three years passed, and it was March 1537 before the Crown nominated licentiate Juan Fernández de Angulo to the vacant post, which he finally occupied in August of the next year, thus becoming the second bishop of Santa Marta. The third nominated bishop was Martín de Calatayud who acted without Roman consecration from February 1544, and who died in November 1548 after a dedicated career.<sup>21</sup> Before the second bishop could attend his post in Santa Marta, Jiménez's expedition to the South Sea departed from that port. He took with him two priests, lackluster Dominican Domingo de las Casas who returned to Spain, and secular priest Antón de Lezcámez. Two priests arrived with Federmann, the generous first curate of Santa Fe, Juan Estéban Verdero, and the veteran and active Augustinian Vicente de Requejada. Also, two priests arrived with Belalcázar, his friend the Mercedarian Hernando de Granada, who accompanied him to Spain and also during his return, and a secular priest whose name has not been preserved.

While the bishopric of Santa Marta was vacant in December 1537, the Crown named Pedro García Matamoros to the maestrescolia of Santa Marta, which was the highest secular post after the bishop. When Jerónimo Lebrón

departed from that city to the New Kingdom, García went with him as well as his accompanying clergy: Pedro Durán, Martín de Figueroa, Bernardino Illanes, Juan Méndez, Adrián de Montalván, Juan de Montemayor, Juan Patiño or Getino, Juan de Santo Filiberto, who departed to return years later, and Juan de Aurrés, most likely called Juan de Torres. Of these, the Dominicans Durán and Montemayor are only mentioned by chronicler Alonso de Zamora, and no supporting documents as to their existence have been found to date. Pedro Díaz travelled with Montalvo de Lugo. Finally, Alonso Luis de Lugo was accompanied by Dominicans Lope de Acuña and Antonio de la Peña, Francisco de Avila, Juan de Riquelme and Agustín Suárez. Once again, only chronicler Alonso de Zamora mentioned these two priests of his Dominican community, Acuña and de la Peña, and no other historical evidence of their existence or activities is known. Two more priests arrived with one of the six expeditions, Juan Gómez de Córdoba and Cantal Marín. The total is 24 members of the clergy if Zamora is correct, and 20 if he is incorrect, which, out of 651 survivors known, represent a high 3.7 or 3.1 percent.

Once the conquest had been effected, whether by force or not, and the locals recognized and outwardly accepted the imposed rule of the newcomers, including their obligation to pay tribute in goods and services, the conquerors largely left the Indians to continue living according to their customs and culture. The only interest of the conquerors was to prevent uprisings and to extract as much wealth as possible from the natives.

While the conquerors did not seem interested in tampering with the native institutions, save a known case or two, the priests were intent on

a drastic reshaping. In general, the clergy were divided in two groups: those who attended to the spiritual needs of the Spaniards settled in the cities, and those who did missionary work among the natives. In the first group were Verdero, Gómez de Córdoba, Patiño or Getino, and Aurrés o Torres, active in Santa Fe; Requejada in Tunja; Marín in Vélez; Avila in Málaga; and in later years, Illánes in Tocaima, Lezcámez in Mérida, and Montalván in El Tocuyo. In the second group were the Dominicans Durán and Montemayor, who began to christianize the Indian groups around Tunja, converting the caciques to the Catholic religion and destroying their idols and temples, whereas Méndez purified the Indian shrines around Santa Fe, including the most important one dedicated to the Sun. Little is known about the activities of the other priests mentioned, but they may have been significant, for their corresponding communities, in the case of the regular priests, soon were to establish durable bases. Juan de Penagos donated the city lots where the Dominican convent was erected in the heart of Santa Fe, and Juan Muñoz de Collantes gave the Franciscan friars the land for their house which was erected on the northern banks of the river with the same name. Also, Cristóbal Ortiz Bernal rebuilt the burned church of Las Nieves with sturdy materials.<sup>22</sup>

After viewing the trades and professions of the persons who constituted the six conquering expeditions to the New Kingdom and who remained to colonize that new land, in spite of the lack of data available, it becomes evident that they were very active in economically developing the land with the indispensable contribution of the natives. Many of the latter were christianized by the missionary fervor of the numerous priests who also made that new land their home. In spite of the

apparently few farmers among these colonizers, they were able to induce the Muisca Indians and their neighbors to plant alongside their traditional crops, imported wheat, barley, oats, sugar cane, plantains, chickpeas, lima beans, fruit trees and other vegetables, and to raise domestic poultry and popular European livestock. The quantities produced were large enough, not only to feed the entire Spanish and Indian population, but also to produce a saleable surplus. These newcomers were also able to organize the importation and distribution of all the myriad goods their Old World customs required, all of which literally imposed an unbearable burden on the backs of the natives who were relieved only when European beasts of burden on land, and Africans on the waterways, were solidly introduced.

Among the new colonizers, there were enough artisans to provide, in addition to imported products, all the basic daily needs of their new urban centers. Leather, wood, natural fibers, animal and mineral-based products were also manufactured, and the desperately sought gold was extracted from river beds and mines. Besides all these basic products, the colonizers were also able to provide the professional services the community required, such as health and those concomitant with the activities of the three branches of government. The services offered by the clergy were also very important to a sixteenth-century Spaniard. The religious persons who arrived in the six expeditions were responsible for bringing to the new land the services and rites that reinforced Catholic ethics and beliefs, which were to exert, for a long time, a most effective social control.



Notes

1. Américo Castro, The Structure of Spanish History (Princeton, 1954), p. 630.
2. See Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires, 1956), 1, pp. 663-720 and Luis G. de Valdeavellano, Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas (Madrid, 1977), pp. 317-329.
3. JFl, 185-189, 191-192, and 194-195. DIHC V, 305, 319, 320, 325, 326; DIHC VI, 89, 108. While chronicler Pedro Simón, see FPS III, 348, wrote that Jiménez did not make any distribution of encomiendas, his colleague Pedro Aguado indicated this general divided the Indians even before the foundation of Santa Fe; see FPA I, 317. The documents cited above are proof that both were partially right.
4. For a description of the early encomienda in the New Kingdom, see FPA I, 166-167.
5. DIHC V, 165-174.
6. AGI Patronato 195-12, Alonso Luis de Lugo vs. Gonzalo Jiménez and his brother Hernán Pérez.
7. Good starting points are: AGI Justicia 547-2-2, cause against Hernán Pérez; AGI Justicia 1123, cause against Juan de Arévalo; AGI Justicia 1123-4, cause against Lázaro Fonte; AGI Patronato 195-12, Alonso Luis de Lugo vs. the Jiménez brothers; ANC Residencias Santander LVI, fl. 549 to 672, cause against Martín Galeano; ANC Caciques e Indios XXVI, cause against Mateo Sánchez Cogolludo; AGI Justicia 547, cause against Alonso Luis de Lugo.
8. See DIHC VII, 23-24, and the testimonies of the witnesses as given on page 33.
9. FPA I, 391-395; JC IV, 474-480; FPS IV, 163-167; LFP II, 540-546.
10. DIHC VIII, 326-332, and VIII, 307.
11. On the encomiendas in the New Kingdom, see MAEM; Julián B. Ruiz Rivera, Encomienda y mita en Nueva Granada en el siglo XVII (Sevilla, 1975); José Mojica Silva, Relación de visitas coloniales. Pueblos, repartimientos y parcialidades de la provincia de Tunja y de los partidos de La Palma, Muzo, Vélez y Pamplona (Tunja, 1946); GC; Germán Colmenares La provincia de Tunja en el Nuevo Reino de Granada: ensayo de historia social (1539-1800) (Tunja, 1984); Darío Fajardo, El régimen de la encomienda en la provincia de Vélez (Bogotá, 1969); Hermes Tovar Pinzón, No hay caciques ni señores (Barcelona, 1988).

12. Juan Friede, El adelantado don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1979), 1, pp. 315-321.
13. Colmenares, Encomienda y población, pp. 27-31, and La provincia de Tunja, pp. 44-48; personal communication with historian Murdo MacLeod.
14. FPA I, 419-422. One fanega de sembradura is taken as being equal to 3.6 hectares, as given by Manuel Cabrera Stampa, "The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain," The Hispanic American Historical Review 19:1 (Feb. 1949), pp. 2-25.
15. See AGI Justicia 547-2-2, where nineteen persons witnessed how productive and well tended the Muisca crops were. See also the letter of Miguel Díez to the king in DIHC VIII, 308.
16. GC, 93.
17. Comment made by Paul Ehrlich, Stanford University professor of population studies, The Gainesville Sun (Friday, April 6, 1990).
18. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja, p. 157.
19. Colmenares, La provincia de Tunja, p. 153.
20. FPS IV, 179.
21. See DIHC II, 229-230; III, 8, 31, 43-44, 55-56, and 102; IV, 173- 174, 276, and 301; V, 174-181; VII, 187 and 192; VIII, 27-31, and 61- 66; IX, 304. The first ecclesiastic chronicler of the New Kingdom, Alonso de Zamora who lived in the seventeenth century, zealously favored his own congregation, the Dominicans. However, whenever his writings can be confronted with available documents often he is found in error. For instance, according to his version the first bishop of Santa Marta was the controversial Dominican fray Tomás Ortíz, whom he can not resist to praise in excess; see FAZ I, 164. Also see José Restrepo Posada, "Los Prelados de Santa Marta", BHA XLIV, 50-64.
22. LFP I, 319.

CHAPTER 7  
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION--THE NEW SOCIETY

The social differentiation introduced by the conquerors-turned-colonizers of the New Kingdom was defined, at the onset, along ethnic lines which divided the small but dominating European white minority, a few black slaves they brought along, and the large Indian population. As was noted in the previous chapter, there were social differences among the newcomers initially, for among them there were a few members of the Spanish low nobility and many from its middle and lower classes. Yet, those differences among them were to sharpen later, when the original division of Europeans, Indians, and Africans was to become vastly complicated by the mixture of the races, facilitated during the early colonial years by the near absence of European women. Because miscegenation eventually created identifiable groups called castas, it is necessary to begin the study of the new society by considering the conquerors' relationships with immigrant or local women. Next, each of the social groups involved, namely whites, Indians, blacks, and the castas resulting from their mixture are examined. This chapter, however, does not cover the entire crystallization of the new society, but rather that part of the process which took place during the life span of the men central to this study.

### Marital Unions

The married conquerors active in the first three expeditions of the New Kingdom left behind their European wives, but some men, specially those of Sebastián de Belalcázar's group, travelled inland accompanied by their recently acquired Indian concubines. It is likely that under the conditions prevailing at the time and regardless of their previous marital status, the overwhelming majority of the newcomers had sexual relations with the local women they found at the end of their route. It simply would not be surprising that the male concupiscence attributable to dominant and lonely Spaniards overcame any possible somatic and cultural deviance they could have, to mate with the somewhat innocent, plentiful, available, and even probably willing Indian girls. These females may have even calculated that their offsprings resulting from those unions could aspire to join the dominant race and, in the process, afford the mothers a higher social status.<sup>1</sup> Whether right or not in his interpretation of the local culture, a colonial chronicler referred to the willingness of the Indian girls when he wrote about the Guane who neighbored the Muisca Indians to the north: "The women are good looking, white, and more willing to demonstrate their love than what is deemed necessary, especially to the Spaniards. They are very smart and so quick in learning the Castilian language, that in two or three months, they speak it as well as a son of a Toledo merchant."<sup>2</sup>

Once the conquerors turned to settlers, their desire for female companionship was fulfilled in several ways. While many continued having occasional or more permanent liaisons with local women, many of those who were married also began bringing over their Spanish wives, often prodded by royal mandates and the insistence of Catholic priests, who were

concerned about the general moral tone and the abandoned wives. A few conquerors married Indian girls. A few free unions also took place among Spanish couples, while a considerable number of the men wedded the female relatives of other conquerors of the six expeditions. Appendix E lists the family units formed and also indicates those in which the woman was a relative of another conqueror of the expeditions and the nature of the relationship. From this Appendix it is evident that 42 of these men married relatives of other companions: 22 wedded the daughters of other conquerors; others married the sisters, the widows, and in a few instances, nieces of other conquerors. Since there was a total 246 legitimate unions of conquerors with Spanish women, (See Table 16) a significant, yet not surprising, 17 percent of the men married a relative of their companions. The formation of power networks through family relations was in the offing.

As listed in Appendix E, the legitimate marriages are simply mentioned, whereas free unions are denoted, indicating in each case the name of the consort when known and the number of children. When the name of the consort is noted as unknown, it means she was a Spaniard but her name did not survive.

A simplified panorama of these unions is given in Table 16, where their number and the resulting offspring are shown for each of the expeditions. Some explanations are due regarding this Table: Whenever a couple is known to have an unspecified number of children, the minimum possible, one, is credited to them. When the children are known to be more than a certain number, for example more than three, the next higher number is given, in this case four. It is assumed that those free unions with

women of unknown ethnicity were invariably with Indian females, even though they could possibly be, on rare occasions, with the few African women; it is likely that, if they had been with the few Spanish women, more would have been known about them. Most likely, these Spanish women preferred to establish permanent and legitimate marital relations than to be subjected to the uncertainties of free unions and to the social and ecclesiastical condemnation they entailed, not to mention the fear of living in permanent mortal sin. Yet, a few did occur. Lastly, marriages and children of the women who accompanied the expeditions are not accounted for in order to avoid repetition, for, in most cases, their husbands are already included. Repetitions do occur, however, for several conquerors were members of more than one expedition, and they are counted in each case.

Beginning with Gonzalo Jiménez's conquerors who were not only the first European men in the New Kingdom but also the ones of whose unions more is known, Appendix E shows the marital status of 88 of them, including two perennial celibates. Those figures are condensed in Table 16. There were 80 marriages with Spanish women and one with an Indian. Two men had free unions with Spaniards, and 41 with Indian women. There were, therefore, 43 free and 81 legitimate unions; or in other words, 35 percent of the total unions were free and 65 percent legitimate ones. The great majority of these unions produced offsprings. The conquerors had 180 legitimate children with Spanish women and 3 illegitimate ones, whereas with Indian women, they probably had one legitimate child and 62 out of free unions. The total number of offspring from these unions was 246, of which 65, or 26 percent of the total, were illegitimate. At first glance

it appears surprising that there was only one identifiable legitimate marriage of a conqueror with an Indian woman, for if they were not actively promoted by the church or the state, they were not condemned either. Yet, observing other conquests, the same pattern was prevalent in Peru. Out of the 168 Spaniards who captured Atahualpa, Francisco Pizarro, Juan Pizarro, Hernando de Soto, Diego Maldonado, Diego de Narváez and others had known sexual relations with Indian princesses, but none married them. The only one of that group who appears to have had a legal union with an Indian woman was Alonso de Mesa, who married Catalina Huaco Ocllo.<sup>3</sup> Social pressures must have had great influence on preventing that sort of marriage, for it is evident that society as a whole preferred legal unions within their own ethnic group rather than mixed.

Table 16 provides the necessary data for examining the other five expeditions. The significant variations among the various expeditions in the percentages of free unions over the total, and of illegitimate children over the total procreated, can best be explained as resulting from incomplete data than from any possible moral or cultural differences among them, since it is already known that the great majority of the men was at their prime of life.

When total figures are considered, it can be concluded that 345 unions are known to have occurred among the conquerors of the six expeditions, which resulted in 684 children. Of these, 95 free unions produced 141 illegitimate children. The percentage of free union to the total number of unions is thus 28 percent, and of illegitimate children 21 percent. It may be added that of the total number of children, 135 were mestizo, or 20 percent, and one mulatto. Ninety six percent of the mestizo

Table 16. Condensed Number of Marital Unions and Number of Children

Type of Union	GJQ*	NF*	SB*	JL*	LML*	ALL*	Total
Legal Unions w/Spaniards	80	59	23	37	10	37	246
Number of Children	180	105	37	85	28	103	538
Legal Unions w/Indians	1	2	1	0	0	0	4
Number of Children	1	3	1	0	0	0	5
Total Legal Unions	81	61	24	37	10	37	250
Total Legit. Children	181	108	38	85	28	103	543
Free Unions w/Spaniards	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Number of Children	3	0	0	2	0	0	5
Free Unions w/Indians	41	23	6	7	4	10	91
Number of Children	62	33	11	7	8	14	135
Free Unions w/Blacks	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Number of Children	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total Free Unions	43	23	6	8	4	11	95
Total Illeg. Children	65	33	11	9	8	15	141
Total Unions	124	84	30	45	14	48	345
Total Children	246	141	49	94	36	118	684
% Free Unions	35%	27%	20%	18%	29%	23%	28%
% Illegitimate Children	26%	23%	22%	10%	22%	13%	21%

\* GJQ-Gonzalo Jiménez; NF-Nikolaus Federmann; SB-Sebastián Belalcázar; JL-Jerónimo Lebrón; LML-Lope Montalvo; ALL-Alonso Luis de Lugo.

and mulatto children were illegitimate. All the above figures may be slanted in favor of the legitimate sons of Spaniards, who were the acknowledged heirs to the encomiendas, the family name, and other inheritances, the primary evidence for knowing today about their existence. The mestizo children who grew up in the houses of their Spanish fathers and who were eventually recognized may have had a better possibility of leaving historical records than those who lived with their Indian mothers and who may not have been recognized by their fathers.

Forty two female consorts have been marked with an asterisk in Appendix E to denote they were relatives, mostly daughters, of other



conquerors included in this study. Their names and their relationship with the other conquerors are also given; the influence of those relationships will be commented upon later.

#### White Society

As mentioned before, the early social differentiation introduced by the conquerors-turned-colonizers of the New Kingdom was defined at the onset along ethnic lines that divided the dominating European white minority, a few black slaves they brought along, and the numerous native Americans. The act of conquest itself had established, beyond doubt, which ethnic group was to occupy the upper levels of the new social order, and the first sign of colonization, evidenced by the establishment of the first three cities of Santa Fe, Vélez, and Tunja, where the conquerors were to reside under Spanish law, even confirmed the physical division that was to exist between the new arrivals and the natives. The creation of a República de Españoles separate from the República de Indios had begun. Yet, not all the Spaniards were socially equal, nor the Indians. A few of the former belonged to the lower Spanish nobility and others to lower classes, whereas in the latter group, there were caciques, captains, señores principales, and their vassals. Even though it appears that the original social differences among the Spaniards upon their arrival in the Indies did not count heavily at the beginning of the colonial period, the intent now is to detect and analyze any reordering of their original social status which may have occurred from the time of arrival until after they settled the New Kingdom. Indian society and its transformations due to the conquest will be analyzed later in this chapter.

In Chapter 5, it was pointed out that, upon departure from Spain, approximately five percent of the conquerors might have been members of the lower nobility, about 60 percent might have belonged to the middle class, and about 35 percent to the lower class. The main components of social differentiation are social status, political power, and economic capacity. Focusing first on the socio-economic condition of the survivors of Gonzalo Jiménez's expedition, it was indicated how among them there were a few proven hidalgos and a few fairly wealthy persons, whereas others had military experience in European wars prior to coming to the Indies. Proven hidalgos were Juan de Céspedes, Gonzalo Suárez, Juan Tafur, and Hernán Venegas. Wealthy persons were Juan de Albarvacín, Gómez del Corral, Antonio Díaz, Lázaro Fonte, and Juan del Junco. Experienced warriors in European wars were Antonio Bermúdez, Juan de Céspedes, Pedro Fernández de Valenzuela, Martín Galeano, Juan del Junco, Gonzalo Suárez, Juan de Torres, and Andrés Vázquez de Molina.

Political power, the third important component in social differentiation, was to be concentrated in the hands of the leaders of Jiménez's expeditions. Experience in Europe, prior participation in financing the enterprise, family relations with the leader of the expedition, and possibly social status, had to be the criteria for selecting these leaders, judging by the 15 chosen: Juan de Albarracín, captain; Juan de Céspedes, captain; Gómez del Corral, captain; Antonio Díaz, captain; Gonzalo García Zorro, leader of the cavalry; Jerónimo de la Inza, captain; Juan del Junco, captain; Pedro Fernández de Valenzuela, captain; Lázaro Fonte, captain; Antonio de Lebrija, captain; Antón de Olalla, standard bearer; Hernán Pérez de Quesada, chief constable;

Hernando de Salinas, sergeant major; Juan de San Martín, captain; and Gonzalo Suárez Rendón, captain. Apart from Hernán Pérez, who was a brother of Jiménez, of the remaining 14 men, 8 were chosen from the socially and economically influential. The other 6 men selected were Lebrija and San Martín, who were old hands in the Indies, and García, Inza, Olalla, and Salinas. Moreover, of the six nobles, wealthy men, or old warriors not selected to lead part of the expedition, four held the relatively high position of horse soldiers, and two were arquebusiers; none was a plain foot-soldier.

In essence, out of 14 persons of higher social and economic status who survived Jiménez's expedition, 8 were chosen as leaders and therefore were to share in political power. Of the 15 leaders chosen, one was Jiménez's brother, 8 came from the above group, and, of the remaining 6, 2 were quite experienced in the Indies; no apparent reason appears to exist in selecting the other 4. One additional significant advantage in favor of the selected leaders and captains of the expedition, besides exercising political power, was that they were to be rewarded not only with larger shares of the booty, but also with the choicest encomiendas. In other words, in the majority of the cases reviewed, the original social and economic prominence of Jiménez's companions appears to have been instrumental in their having been selected for politically influential positions of leadership during the expedition, which in turn were to throw the doors wide open to important economic advantages once they settled the New Kingdom. Whether they were also to improve their social condition thereafter follows.

### The Meaning of Hidalguía in the New Kingdom of Granada

Among the original conquerors of the six expeditions the number of persons claiming to be members of the lower nobility, or hidalgos, grew considerably following the settlement of the New Kingdom. From four members in Jiménez's expedition the number of hidalgos increased to 27, and the original 10 hidalgos for all six expeditions increased to 73. These 73 men claiming to be hidalgos were distributed among the expeditions as follows: 27 men in Jiménez's, 15 in Federmann's, 8 in Belalcázar's, 8 in Lebrón's, 2 in Montalvo's, and 13 in Alonso Luis's. Since among those 73 men there are three men that are included twice, the net number of claimants to a noble status is 70.<sup>4</sup>

Aside from the original 10, the rest of these men did not bother to prove the social status they claimed; they simply stated they were hidalgos notorios, meaning their noble condition was of common knowledge, or notable. They even called witnesses to prove how popularly known their nobility was. Since this was unprecedented in Spain, where any pretension of being a member of the noble class, even of its lower levels as the hidalgos were, had to be legally backed with a title recognized by the authorities, this phenomenon deserves special consideration. Its analysis begins after a short description of the model these men appeared to follow, the Spanish nobility as perceived in the sixteenth century.

#### Spanish Nobility

Nobility was divided into three broad groups: high nobility, urban patriciate, and lesser nobility.<sup>5</sup> The first, composed of a small group of grandees, constituted a superaristocracy that commanded an economic and social power vastly superior to the other two. Some of them descended from

the Carolingian and Visigothic lords, whereas other lineages originated through regal rewards bestowed upon lesser nobles and even commoners. During the late medieval period, they obtained extensive material benefits, including huge territorial possessions that encompassed entire Spanish provinces, and control of the Mesta, the organization that oversaw the expansion of the profitable wool trade. The urban patriciate emerged from personal enrichment brought about by expansion of the commercial and industrial enterprises centered in the cities, which encouraged the search for some level of social and economic equality with the territorial nobility of the grandees. The lesser nobility encompassed several social layers which had in common certain military privileges. It was composed of hidalgos with a long and proven lineage, and knights, or caballeros, who had been more recently accepted as hidalgos, or even a knighted gentlemen with the necessary economic means to be required by law to maintain a horse and arms ready to defend the kingdom. Knighthood in itself did not confer noble status, but it was certainly a move in that direction.

During the medieval centuries, lesser nobility status in Spain could be attained by military service, inheritance, or as a favor from the King. The reconquest of Spanish land from the Moors offered warriors unique economic and social opportunities. Anyone performing heroic deeds in the field of battle could become a noble and, if lucky, rich as well through the spoils of war. Low nobility was indeed an open social class. Those who inherited their nobility were the hidalgos. They received from their forbearers that algo they had to conserve, and they had to behave within the code of ethics of their social class.<sup>6</sup> Since feats performed in the

battlefields with their arms and horses were their worthiest actions, other undertakings, including those of an economic nature, took a distant second place. Agrarian toil, the work of artisans, or any other endeavor associated with manual labor were far removed from their ideals and were, in fact, considered degrading to their social class. After the fifteenth century, lesser nobility status could also be purchased from the Spanish Crown, which was a reason for its unusual growth during the next century.

The lesser Spanish nobility included persons of varied economic means. At its highest level, it could be on par with the lesser rich of the high nobility, while at its lower it included the poor but proud gentlemen who had, besides honor and good birth, few worldly possessions. Usually, the *hidalgo* owned an apparently strong house with a turret, located amid his limited land holdings which contained the living quarters of two or three families of farmers, and which produced a meager income not always sufficient to sustain his titles. When reduced to poverty he entered the services of the rich lord fighting the infidel when needed, and in peace holding some office from this lord. The social boundaries among these two nobles were rather diffuse, for both shared the responsibilities for defending the land, the weaker members of society, and the Catholic faith.

People wanted to be part of the noble Spanish class for, in addition to the image and prestige involved, it included many privileges.<sup>7</sup> Nobles occupied preferential places in churches, processions, tribunals, and universities. They could carry arms in places forbidden to commoners, and, moreover, they were preferred in the distribution of offices and ecclesiastical dignities. Nobles were exempted from municipal taxes and

other related contributions. No noble could be imprisoned for debts, nor were his arms and horses subject to seizure from the debtor. His house was under regal protection. If a noble was detained, he had to be placed in a special prison and judged by certain tribunals only. He could not be put to torture and, when convicted, he was to be decapitated rather than hanged, unless he was condemned for treason. Were he to be killed by another person, the compensation his family received would be larger than those applicable to commoners.

To enjoy the economic and social advantages and prestige of the *hidalgo*, including the enhancement of the rather complex concept of honor, the Spanish commoner wished to become a member of that privileged social group, a dream which it appears, also created its own niche in the Americas. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the low nobility of Spain had grown so large that there were constant complaints about its expansion at the expense of a reduction of tax-paying commoners. By 1541, there was about one *hidalgo* for eight commoners in the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon.<sup>8</sup>

#### Nobility in the New Kingdom

The Information of Merits and Services, or Probanza, was a public document certified by witnesses and sanctioned by the local authorities, made on behalf of an individual who believed that he had the necessary merits to request a royal favor from the king. Since one of the merits alleged by the petitioners of royal favors was their claim to a noble status which they tried to support, the study of the probanzas corresponding to the conquerors of the New Kingdom can provide an insight to their understanding of nobility. Forty-nine existing probanzas

pertaining to the conquerors of the six expeditions who claimed nobility have been used in this analysis. The probanza of Diego Romero serves as a model of how a conqueror of the New Kingdom perceived nobility and why he believed he belonged to that social class, because of its comprehensiveness; those of other conquerors-hidalgos are cited when appropriate. Some of their statements are literally translated here.

Diego Romero was one of the first to arrive in the New Kingdom. He began his probanza in 1561 and made the following claims.<sup>9</sup> He declared that he had served the King in creating and settling the New Kingdom, listing all the exploratory and military actions in which he took part. He always participated in them well dressed, armed, and equipped with one, two, and sometimes three horses, as any hidalgo should. To perpetuate the New Kingdom and to serve His Majesty even better, he married a very honest and distinguished woman with whom he had nine children. He and his extended family resided in his casa poblada, where he maintained horses and servants ready to serve the King, and which was always well provided in the fashion corresponding to an hidalgo such as himself. Honest persons arriving in the city always found in his house room and board at no expense.

After Romero left Spain, he had covered all the expenses incurred for his equipment and arms. The increased expenses required to provide his family and guests and to satisfy their needs, together with the high prices that everything commanded in the New Kingdom, had kept him in constant poverty. Due to those outlays he had always had debts amounting to many gold pesos. This was partly because his encomienda, composed of just a few Indians, yielded an annual rent of not more than 230 gold



pesos. Yet, in spite of his meager income and constant debts, he had always kept his wife and children well, as an hidalgo was obligated to do. He had contributed to governing the New Kingdom, for he had occupied the public post of chief constable of the city of Santa Fe, a position always held by its most prominent citizens. These people regarded him highly, for he was one of the most distinguished and seignorial persons of the community.

In addition to being one of the first conquerors of the New Kingdom, Romero was very loyal and devoted to God, to His Majesty, and to all those in government. He had never taken any stand against the Crown. He was good-natured, calm, quiet, cordial, and had good manners and behavior that was appreciated by all. For all the services he had rendered to the King, for which he had spent many gold pesos, he was worthy and deserving of any favor His Majesty might deem to bestow upon him. Any royal favor given to him would be put to good use, and would also serve the purpose of relieving His Majesty's conscience of the moral obligation due to him. If His Majesty conceded him any public office, it would be with the assurance that he would conduct it well, giving good account of all his actions. In a separate sheet of the document Romero asked to be granted an annual rent of 3,000 pesos, either in the form of tribute of an Indian encomienda or cash out of the King's coffer. He also asked for the post of chief constable of the city of Santa Fe in perpetuity, with voting power in the city council.

Romero began his claims by stating clearly that he had served the King. He described the military actions in which he participated, such as the exploration of the new lands and confrontations with the Indians. His

first and foremost services were then of a military nature, to create the New Kingdom and thus expand the Crown's domains. To perform his military deeds, he equipped himself with arms and horses, in the fashion of the hidalgos such as himself. The claim to have used horses in military actions was very popular among the conquerors for it was more "noble" and it enhanced their image as powerful soldiers. Luis de Mideros began listing his services as an hidalgo by indicating that he was a cavalry captain. In the probanza of Miguel Holguín in which he also asserted his nobility, a witness slipped a little by declaring that Holguín was a foot-soldier, but quickly added that he fought on horseback also. A caballero, or cavalier, could simply not exist without a caballo. Furthermore, the Crown encouraged, and in fact ordered by Royal Cédulas, that the ever-important group of encomenderos should maintain arms and horses ready to defend their King.<sup>10</sup> Some other conquerors, like Lope de Salzedo and Cristóbal Ruiz, indicated that they had also invested in slaves to win and secure the land.

Romero next claimed that by marrying an honest woman with whom he had children he contributed to giving permanence to the New Kingdom and thus served the King. Other notable hidalgos asserted the same, including Domingo de Guevara and Gregorio Suárez de Deza. This contention may have been backed by the royal authorities who constantly pressured the early colonizers to live with the wives they had originally left behind. In the same line of thought, the Crown displayed a preference for married encomenderos, and so it instructed the authorities in the Indies to follow that directive. It was commonly agreed that a married man was more stable,

was likely to have heirs, and thus was a better colonizer than a single person.

Romero perceived that an hidalgo such as himself should live in a secure and imposing house with his wife, children, and any needy relatives, in which he would maintain arms, horses, and at times soldiers, ready to serve the King in the event of rebellions whether of Indians or Europeans. His residence was to be a place open to all who arrived at its doors, especially to worthy transients. Before any questions were raised, Romero added that he provided those lodgings and board at no cost. The same type of claims was made by others. Cristóbal Ruiz, for instance, indicated that he had lodged up to six soldiers at one time. Domingo de Guevara added that he was building a house with a turret on a hill overlooking the city of Santa Fe, which should provide much protection, and, by its imposing size and site, it should command much authority and respect. Juan Andrés Varela and Juan de Angulo strongly emphasized that they lived with their families in houses whose styles were in accordance to those of the hidalgos. Angulo added that his father and mother-in-law, plus seven poor and orphaned young maidens, also found refuge in his house. Melchor Ramirez noted that he welcomed distinguished travellers to his house who could not find a place to stay in Vélez. Again, this ideal of a large and imposing noble residence, which was surely brought from Spain, was much encouraged by the authorities, who asked the leading citizens, the encomenderos, to build strong, permanent houses with lasting materials such as stone.<sup>11</sup>

Romero also considered that an hidalgo such as himself had to live according to a certain life-style, regardless of the expense or income.

The costs incurred to maintain his house as well as his extended family, servants, soldiers, arms, horses, and even house guests in need of a decent place to stay, had to be covered without regard to his income, which was made up of the tribute the Indians of his encomienda gave him. He sometimes had to incur debts to cover his expenses. Nevertheless, he perceived the problem as one of insufficient income rather than one of expenses. Luis de Mideros did not appear too concerned over the expenditures for his seignorial life-style, but he did fret about his income: He asked the Crown to increase his income to 4,000 pesos a year, for his Indians had rebelled against serving him and the King.

The claim of being much in debt was common to the would-be hidalgos when requesting favors from the Crown. Yet, none seemed intent on reducing the expenses of their household, for they surely had to maintain a certain way of living proper to the social standing they claimed to have, no doubt exaggerated at times. At any event, the recently arrived oidor of the Royal Audiencia of Santa Fe, who was not a priest, wrote the King in 1557 about the excesses he had found in the way people dressed, ate, played card games, and engaged in sex.<sup>12</sup> A similar complaint was aired by the royal judge Licentiate Villafaña, when he was asked to visit the New Kingdom five years later.<sup>13</sup> The royal envoy Licentiate García de Valverde was more specific about the income, expenses, and debts of the conquerors of the New Kingdom, many of whom called themselves hidalgos and gentlemen. He wrote the King in 1565 that when the land was won the conquerors shared the large booty of gold and emeralds they gathered from the Indians. It was so great, he added, that had they opted to return to Spain with their share, they could have lived in the style of rich men. As for those who

stayed in the New Kingdom, their income was derived from the Indians of their encomiendas in the form of gold, woolen cloths, maize, wheat, and cattle raising, and was enough to cover all their needs. It is not, he added, that this land is poor or that it does not produce enough to sustain them; it is their exaggerated consumption of expensive imported articles that keeps them in constant debt. Their situation, he continued, is similar to that of the dukes, counts, marquises, and gentlemen of Spain, who, in spite of having prosperous incomes and rents, still live with much debt because of their excessive consumption. He ended by stating that the more these people had in the New Kingdom, the more they would spend and the larger the debts they would accrue.<sup>14</sup>

The merchants who financed the encomenderos and hidalgos agreed in 1564 that their level of debts was too high. It was nearly twice as much as their net worth. For that reason, they objected to the pretension of many conquerors who considered themselves hidalgos, and who contended that their arms, horses, houses, and personal properties could not be seized to satisfy debts. They proposed that these monetary obligations were to be treated with much rigor, and only those horses and arms pertaining to certified hidalgos who could prove their social status with documents, or ejecutoria, were to be exempted from seizure.<sup>15</sup> Serious doubts were raised by the merchants, then, about the legitimacy of the noble status claimed by the hidalgos notorios; they wanted to accept the privileges only of the hidalgos de ejecutoria, or proven hidalgos, in the fashion of Spain.

Romero believed his civil services as chief constable of Santa Fe enhanced his hidalguía and honor. He insisted that such an office had

always been held by the most prominent citizens of the society, who in turn regarded him highly because of his distinguished and seignorial bearing, a belief shared by other would-be hidalgos. Gregorio Suárez de Deza reminded the authorities that he had been His Majesty's accountant, a post he served with great diligence and care. Miguel Holguín prided himself on having being the mayor of Tunja, and one of Francisco de Murcia's merits was that he occupied several civilian posts including that of mayor of Vélez on various occasions. After military endeavors civil services were also considered meritorious and worthy of being held by the most prominent citizens.

Romero's loyalty to the King and the authorities is another of his stated important qualities, specially since there had been several revolts in the past. Gonzalo Pizarro and Hernández Girón in Peru, Alvaro de Oyón in Popayán, and Lope de Aguirre in Venezuela all had rebelled against the authorities. Loyalty to the King was of the utmost importance and it was constantly repeated in the probanzas of the conquerors, many swearing that they had never participated in any of those uprisings. Being devoted to God and a good Christian were also qualities of note, especially at a time when Spain still dedicated much effort to the preservation and defense of Catholicism. Luis de Mideros added that he, being a good Christian, had his Indians well indoctrinated as was required by the authorities. Loyalty to the King, devotion to God, regard for the authorities and being a good Christian were highly desired qualities. Romero also emphasized his good-natured behavior, adding that he was calm, quiet, cordial, and had good manners. He not only may have felt more comfortable behaving in that

fashion, but also did it because he knew people had a higher regard for him if he behaved that way.

How the would-be hidalgo felt people perceived him was very important to him. If he was considered by all as a person that behaved as an hidalgo, the easier it was for him to claim that he was a notable hidalgo. Similar claims of gentle and kind behavior and of a particular geniality the hidalgos should have were constantly advanced by other pretenders, especially Juan de Avendaño, Baltasar Maldonado, Melchor Ramírez, Gregorio Suárez de Deza, Juan Andrés Varela, Francisco de Murcia, Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión, Juan de Angulo, and Hernando de Velasco who stated that, due to his gentle and considerate behavior, he was perceived by everybody as a notable hidalgo.

Conqueror Diego Romero went on to remind the King that he had a pending debt, for Romero had spent many gold pesos serving him. Thus, what better way of relieving His Majesty's conscience for his moral obligation to Romero than repaying what he owed to this conqueror? Any favor His Majesty deemed to bestow upon his vassal would be very well employed, for Romero would know how, and also had the experience, to put it to good use, whether it was an additional encomienda, an annual rent in cash, or the office of chief constable with voting power in the local city council. Romero must have certainly believed that the combination of prestige and potential profit of that office was equivalent to the annual rent of 3,000 pesos he had also suggested. Not all probanzas asked for monetary rewards. Juan Sedano requested and obtained a coat of arms. Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión asked for a membership in the prestigious military order of the Knights of Santiago, but his application was denied.

Similarities Among the Spanish and the New Kingdom Hidalgo

There were numerous similarities between the described certified hidalgo in Spain and the notable, or popularly perceived, hidalgo in the New Kingdom. While many of the hidalgos in Spain acquired their noble distinction during the Reconquest, fighting the Moors and enlarging the territories of their king, those of the New Kingdom gained new lands for their sovereign, taking them away from other non-Christians, the Muisca and their neighbors. Both hidalgos were required to maintain arms and horses ready to serve the King, the main difference being that the obligation of those in Iberia existed during the Reconquest, whereas those in the Indies had to maintain such gear during the sixteenth century. While on both sides of the Atlantic military services had offered them unique economic opportunities, in the east by the spoils of war and in the west by seizing the Indians' valuable possessions, the social gains of Iberians living in the Peninsula were surely going to inspire aggrandizing ideas among those Spaniards in the New Kingdom.

The average hidalgo in Spain lived in a house with a turret on a fairly small plot of land cultivated by two or three families of farmers. In the New Kingdom, his house, always located in a city, was built preferably of stone with a tiled roof, and his assigned Indians toiled on their land for his benefit, producing in both instances an income not always sufficient to meet the expenses according to their titles. In both cases, when economic needs were pressing, they aspired to hold an office, or rather a governmental post in the case of the New Kingdom. While there is evidence that the merits of the notable hidalgo were enhanced by



marriage, the proven hidalgo may have been perceived more as a well-established paternal figure if he had a wife and children.

Many hidalgo privileges in Spain were transplanted to the New Kingdom. In both places, hidalgos did not pay head taxes, which were shouldered by the commoner, or pechero, in Spain, and by the Indian in the New Kingdom. Their arms and horses could not be seized for payment of debts, and their houses were under regal protection. Both requested special prisons when the need to detain them arose. The notable hidalgo, Pedro Rodríguez de Salamanca, bitterly objected when he was to be tortured by order of the head of government of the New Kingdom, arguing among other reasons, that his noble status was being violated.

The code of ethics that distinguished the proven hidalgo in Spain also applied to his notable counterpart in the New Kingdom. This code was rooted in Christian ethics based on Aristotelian principles and the modifications introduced by Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas, but devoid of any influence from the Reformation. The Ten Commandments were the accepted standard, and the reward or punishment in the after-life for complying with or failing them was stipulated by the Catholic Church thus providing the Spaniard of the time with an unequivocal ethical guide. The very same ethics are inferred from the probanza of Diego Romero: devotion to God and fear of Him and His commands, loyalty and submission to the Church, the King, and the authorities. Based upon these values, the hidalgo assumed the role of defender of the Church; the Catholic religion; the King; the regal territories; his neighbors, the weak, such as the orphaned, unmarried maidens, widows, poor relatives, destitute soldiers and needy travelers. Needless to say these were codes often broken by him

and by all other sinners. In addition, the expansion of the King's domains often meant waging war against the Indians, an action which did not appear to have conflicted then with his ethical values.

A certain code of civic behavior is also prevalent in the assertions of Diego Romero and his hidalgo companions. His personal appearance should conform to a certain image. His presence should be imposing yet not overbearing. He should be well-dressed, well-groomed, and when in battle, well-equipped with the necessary arms, horses, servants, and slaves. His appearance should be complemented by the good bearing and dress of his wife and children, if he were married, and his house should be decorated and furnished accordingly. The notable hidalgo more often claimed to be courageous, kind, generous, charitable, respectful, patient, forgiving, considerate, fair, impartial, and, in sum, just. He displayed a certain geniality and good manners in his relations with his equals, according to those enumerated virtues, but not necessarily in his relations with Indians or Africans. Those ideals existed alongside the weaknesses inherent in all human beings.

The notable hidalgo of the New Kingdom was a man of undisputed honor when he adhered to the Christian-inspired and accepted principles mentioned above. In the eyes of others he preserved and enhanced his fame, repute, renown or honor, and those of his family, when he was loyal and defended the King, his land, his religion, and the weak. There was honor in being courageous, fair, impartial and just; in suffering quietly, and in sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others. There was also honor in occupying an office and in managing the affairs of government. According to the hidalgos and the conquerors in general, there was much honor

acquired in expanding the royal domains, a contention strongly disputed by Bartolomé de las Casas who could not find a trace of it in the act of fighting the Indians.

Since honor is not confined to any rank of society but is the moral property of all who belong to the community,<sup>16</sup> it is enhanced by how it is perceived by others. That is why the notable hidalgo of the New Kingdom, devoid of the corresponding ejecutoria, was so concerned with how he was viewed by other members of his society. He could not be notable on his own; he had to be perceived by others as such. Thus, his claims to his chivalrous status were invariably backed by his claim to having been accepted and perceived by others as an notable hidalgo. Rather than in documents, it was in the observations of others that proof was to be found of his social status; thus dozens of notable hidalgos were so certain of how others viewed them that they did not hesitate to call hundreds of witnesses to affirm the hidalguia they claimed in their probanzas. Those hundreds did declare that because the pretenders behaved as hidalgos, they had to be hidalgos.

Despite the great similarities between the true Spanish hidalgo and the notable hidalgo of the New Kingdom, the latter must have been envious of the legitimate titles held by the former. By their military actions both had contributed to enlarging the royal domains, and both preserved them by settling the conquered land. Both had kept their military equipment and their prominent houses at the service of their monarch. Both sustained their families and titles and the obligations inherent to these, and both behaved according to their social rank. Both paid homage to the same code of ethics rooted in Christian values, both kept up appearances,

and both claimed to follow a noble, considerate, gentle, and good-mannered code of behavior within their society. Both claimed special privileges, mostly prestigious but some with material substance, for they were exempted from some taxes, and most of their properties were protected from debtors.<sup>17</sup>

So much commonality must have made the aspiring hidalgo rightly feel as meritorious as the most proven Iberian hidalgos, who were rather numerous after all: one out of eight commoners in Castile and León, or about 11 percent. The existence of a large expanse between these two territories which made communications among their people quite difficult and complicated their understanding even more, must have encouraged, facilitated, and even justified the claims of hidalguía which were not unique to the New Kingdom.<sup>18</sup> Yet, the number of these claims was not that great. Of the 651 survivors of the six expeditions, 70 called themselves hidalgos, which was almost 11 percent of the total, or as noted, exactly the same percentage prevalent at the time in Castile and Leon. However reduced their numbers were, it appears certain that the conquest of the New Kingdom offered those who participated in it and remained to become their first colonizers significant social advancement in addition to the economic opportunities previously indicated. None of the two appeared to be that ephemeral, for one of the colonial chroniclers, Bishop Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita, marveled a century later over the costly, solid, and well constructed houses the companions of Jiménez, Federmann, and Belalcázar had erected in the city of Tunja, adding that many, following their vain spirits, adorned them with sturdy and elaborated frontispieces displaying various coats of arms.<sup>19</sup>

### Other Members of White Society

In addition to the very few hidalgos and the many who claimed to be, the rest of the conquerors who originally belonged to the middle and lower classes of Spanish society became the dominant social group in the New Kingdom. Yet, beside the hidalgos, claimants to a social category, there were other groups who demanded special privileges. Gonzalo Jiménez's companions consistently called themselves the discoverers and the first conquerors, and, as those words suggest, they claimed to have priority over the spoils and rewards of the conquest. The companions of Jiménez, Federmann and Belalcázar insisted on being the first pobladores and conquerors, for they claimed to be the first to stake the Spanish right to the land and the first to populate it by establishing its first three cities. They also claimed priorities in the rewards. Those who came after with Lebrón, Montalvo de Lugo and Luis de Lugo do not appear to have disputed their classification as the segundos, or second conquerors. Yet, by looking at a cross-section of the conquerors regardless of their noble status, occupation or order of arrival in the New Kingdom, a significant number of these men had a common distinction: they owned encomiendas. This ownership led them to believe they possessed some special economic and political authority.

It is probable that all of Jiménez's companions, most of Federmann's and Belalcázar's men, and a good percentage of those who came in the succeeding three expeditions became encomenderos. Their numbers were certainly small when compared to the Indians available for distribution who inhabited the districts of the established cities: one for more than 1,000 Indians. Yet, limiting this analysis to those known

conquerors who possessed Indian grants at one time or another, as listed in Appendix D, there were 276 men. By controlling the most important original means of wealth, tribute and Indian labor, these men became a group that enjoyed special economic and at times political privileges, which in turn supported and encouraged their claims to a distinguished social status.<sup>20</sup>

The encomenderos became a privileged group to which most of the pretending hidalgos also belonged. Their control of Indian labor afforded them the chance to exploit natural resources, such as gold, emeralds, salt, and even limestone; the production of agricultural and cattle-raising surpluses; and the operation of cargo-carrying enterprises that rested in most cases on the backs of their charges. Encomenderos also engaged, and at times claimed priority, in the government of the New Kingdom, especially in the locally influential and rewarding posts in the city councils. Yet, in spite of their apparent homogeneity, there were differences, for among them there were professionals, scribes and other government employees, merchants, transporters, and even artisans. Another significant difference among them was the size of the Indian grants they enjoyed, for these ranged from a few subjects, as is the case of Francisco Sánchez Alcobaza, to 3,000 or so assigned to Gonzalo Suárez Rendón. Yet, for all the noted differences, they can be viewed at the beginning of the colonization as a group with claims to the first rungs of white society.

Aside from the encomenderos there were other members of white society who plied their trades and practiced their professions. Melchor de Fábregas, Francisco Hernández Hermoso, Martín Hernández de las Islas, Jerónimo de la Inza, Alonso Martín, and Andrés Martín were merchants of

substance. Other minor merchants were Pedro de Córdoba, Gonzalo Hernández, and probably Cristóbal de los Nidos. Cristóbal de Alvear, Francisco de la Cueva, and Domingo de Salas were professionals. Pedro de Brizeño, who had a flour mill and a mining operation on the side, was treasurer of the New Kingdom for several years, succeeded by Cristóbal de San Miguel who accepted that post in exchange for the rich Indian grant of Sogamoso. Scribes and minor employees were Ambrosio del Campo, Antón de Córdoba, Juanes Duarte, Hernando de Garibay, Juan Izquierdo, Gil López, Hernando Montero the companion of Alonso Luis de Lugo, Alonso de Paniagua, Cristóbal Rodríguez, Juan Rodríguez de Benavides, Luis de Saavedra, Alonso de Salcedo, and Felipe de Sosa. Antón de Aguilar, Francisco de Aguirre, Alonso de Aranda, Simón Díaz, Pedro de Frías, Antonio Hernández the companion of Governor Luis de Lugo, Juan Gallego, Gregorio López, Antonio Martínez, Bartolomé de la Parra, Martín Rey, Pedro Sánchez, and Alonso de Vera, were all artisans of various kinds. Lastly, Lorenzo Martín, the poet, can be listed here, but not Martín de Vergara, the musician, for he had an Indian grant. Among this white society, there were also 24 priests.

Just a few years after the arrival of the six conquering and colonizing expeditions a large proportion of the white society in the New Kingdom was made up of encomenderos, a group that also included nearly all the aspiring hidalgos who, in turn, were about 12 percent of that society. The rest were made up of royal officials and government employees, priests, professionals, large and small traders, transporters, artisans, and others of no known occupation. There were then holders of large and small encomiendas, persons of varied political influence, claimants to being members of the more privileged hidalgo class. Yet there was

something common to all, more meaningful during the first two decades or so, or before pressing economic problems sharpened their differences: all felt they formed the aristocracy of the society they had created, far above Indians and Africans. The large number of these conquerors who shared in the booty collected by Jiménez or who participated in the initial Indian plunder and who were rewarded with coveted Indian grants may have contributed to a relative equalization that blurred their social differences during the first years. This initial egalitarian leveling that was not to last long was common to all the Spanish colonies in the Indies, as previously noted by historians José Durand, Richard Konetzke, Juan Pérez de Tudela, and Angel Rosenblat.<sup>21</sup>

The initially organized white society of the New Kingdom allowed ample room for social and economic improvement for those who arrived first. As was usual in several parts of the Indies, including the Protestant colonies of New England and Virginia, those who arrived first appropriated the best options, leaving the less desirable to those who followed. The stratification of society hardened later, when the original opportunities were not enough to satisfy the majority.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, the most perceptible groups of white society were the hidalgo-encomendero, the encomendero, the professional, the government employee in its various categories, the merchant, and the artisan. It was only until the latter part of the sixteenth century that the encomendero elite and what it represented began to erode with the loss of control of Indian labor, the expansion of mining, Spanish interest in the land and what it produced, plus the greater socio-economic opportunities brought about by the development of more sophisticated urban groups.



### Indian Society

Throughout the previous chapters, continuous evidence is found about the enormous upheaval the European conquest and colonization processes meant to the native peoples of the New Kingdom. Their social and political organizations were nearly destroyed after contact, and their economic order seriously affected by the early plundering and raiding, the ensuing extraction of arbitrary tribute, and the appropriation of a large portion of their labor. If there is any tangible measure of the collision between the two racial groups, the European and the American, it is the demographic collapse suffered by the Indians.

According to historian Germán Colmenares, the total number of Indians in the New Kingdom decreased from 1.24 or 1.40 million to 700 thousand between the years 1537 to the period 1558-1564, not including the Pijao, a part of whom should be considered in these numbers. Though other authors suggest higher and lower figures, there is a consensus that the reduction of the native populations was simply dramatic especially during the first years after contact, and that it continued its steep decline until around 1620.<sup>23</sup> The physical strain resulting from displacements, wars, imported contagious diseases, destruction of their society, and the disruption of their economic order, plus the psychological and moral impact on the vanquished cultures, were the main reasons for their population decline. The original relocation of Indian populations caused by the six conquering expeditions that brought in the New Kingdom natives from such remote places as Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Peru, Venezuela, and the provinces of Santa Marta, Cartagena, and Popayán, was to increase.

Indians were removed from their habitat to serve in the numerous internal conquering ventures, in the houses of the newcomers, in transporting all sorts of cargo, and in working the mines, regardless of the climate they were accustomed to or the availability of the foods they preferred. They were later moved into pueblos, or congregaciones, where they could be better controlled and indoctrinated.

Anthropologists are well aware that social disintegration of the vanquished populations during a conquest process is a function of the degree of evolution of their social structure. Societies with a higher degree of evolution and a more hierarchical and specialized organization are more likely to adapt to a conquest led by similar or more advanced cultures. Less developed societies, on the other hand, have more difficulty in adjusting, and often the collision between the two results in their disappearance. As stated simply by Juan A. and Judith Villamarín, the more economically and politically complex the American society was, the easier it was for the Europeans to control it.<sup>24</sup> In addition, those who knew how to remain in a humble place within a hierarchical society did not have great difficulty conforming to their new and lowly social position, for they knew how to pay homage and tribute to their superiors. On the other social extreme, those who had a leading position among the native groups were simply destroyed by the conquerors.

The relation between the degree of development of a society and its capability in adapting to the new order brought by the Europeans is what makes the understanding of Indian social organizations so important. Furthermore, no conquest can be understood without knowing who were the conquered.

### Prehistory

Big game hunters and gatherers coming from the north appeared in South America by the end of the Pleistocene Epoch. Around 8,000 B.C., they may have experimented with some agricultural domestication that allowed them a more sedentary lifestyle. With the creation of fixed communities supported more by agricultural resources, the organization of human life, including the need for more stringent social order as it is known in modern times, began. The first important settlements in the South American continent were found in the lowlands of Colombia and Ecuador around 3,000 B.C. Their existence suggests that those groups could have been more than recipients, cultural originators to the great civilization of the Central Andes and Mesoamerica. From the riverine Atlantic settlements of Malambo and Momil existing in 1,000 B.C., or those located on the same coast in Venezuela, or even from the upper Amazon region, humans may have continued their slow advance toward the mountains. By the beginning of the Christian era, some had developed hierarchical societies led by a chief, which allowed them a more efficient distribution of tasks of a military, religious or productive nature, while others continued with a lesser authoritative organization.<sup>25</sup>

### Ethnohistory

By the middle of the fifteenth century, several Indian nations, some more advanced than others, were long established in the land where Gonzalo Jiménez created the Spanish-inspired New Kingdom of Granada. The most important, the largest and most developed socially and economically, were

the Muisca, a group of confederations that spoke a Chibcha language. Due to their significance the main attention will be focused on them. As displayed in Figure 3, they bordered to the north with the Guane, Lache, and Muzo, to the east with the Achagua, Tegua, and Guayupe, to the south with the Sutagao and Panche, and to the west with the Panche, Colima, and Muzo. The other groups inhabiting other parts of the New Kingdom were the Chitarero and Chaké to the north, the Yareguí, Opón, Carare and Patangoro to the west, the Pijao, Sibundoy, and Choque to the south, and the Eperigua and Sae to the southeast.

Some of these nations have been classified linguistically. Within the Northwestern Amazonian division of the macro-Caribbean phylum fall the Magdalena and the Chocó subdivision. In the former belonged the Carare, Colima, Muzo, Opón, and probably the Yareguí languages, whereas the Panche and Pijao fell within the latter group. To the macro-Chibcha phylum belonged the Muisca, confusingly referred as Chibcha, as well as the Lache, Tunebo, and probably the Achagua, Guayupe, and other languages existing east of the Eastern Andean Range.<sup>26</sup> In addition, Chitarero must have spoken a language of a Chibcha subgroup, for it was easily understood by the Muisca servants Pedro de Orsúa took to that region when he founded Pamplona.

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the Muisca were essentially divided in two large groups led by the Zaque lord of Tunja and the Zipa lord of Bogotá, with a third group composed of several independent chiefs whose allegiance could have swayed at one time or another to either one of those two main lords, most likely following a certain geographical order. The best known powerful Zipa was Saguamachica, who governed from around



Figure 3. The Indian Nations of the New Kingdom

1470 to 1490.<sup>27</sup> He expanded his southern territories at the expense of the Fusagasugá and regained the important areas ruled by the Guatavita and the Ubaque who had rebelled. Once these territories were secured, his 60,000 warriors fought and vanquished the Zaque lord Michúa in the battle of Chocontá, where both ruling heads died. Following ancient customs, Saguamachica was succeeded by his nephew Nemequene, who governed from around 1490 to 1514. By force of arms he subjugated the Guatavita and Ubaque, and, by establishing fair laws and administering equal justice to all, he secured the loyalty of Ubaté, Susa, and Simijaca. His ambition in vanquishing the Zaque, now ruled by Quemuenchatocha, moved him to assemble a 60,000 men army which engaged the enemy in the very same battlefield of Chocontá. An arrow took away his life there, and he was succeeded by his nephew and lord of Chía, Tisquesusa. This nephew also tried to engage the Zaque, but the revered Sogamuxi prevented that encounter. Tisquesusa ruled from 1514 until shortly after the arrival of Gonzalo Jiménez, when he was killed in 1537 during a night skirmish with the Spaniards. He was followed by his nephew Sacresazipa, who ruled less than a year when he succumbed to the rigors of torture ordered by Jiménez.

The succession of the Zaque lords of Tunja is less certain. It was commonly believed that at one time Hunzaúa, the first known Zaque, was the master of all the Muisca land. According to tradition he lived 250 years, followed by several heirs of whom Thomagata, the long-tailed ruler, ended on the throne. The latter was followed by his brother Tutazúa and others, until the already mentioned Michúa became head of the realm from around 1480 till his death in 1490. Michúa was succeeded by the enterprising Quemuenchatocha who confronted the Zipa in Chocontá, and who was going to

try again when Sogamuxi intervened as described. Quemuenchatocha was already 66 years old when the Spaniards took him prisoner in 1537. The last Zaque was Aquimín who ruled under much conquistador pressure until 1540, when he was decapitated by order of Hernán Pérez de Quesada.

In addition to those two great Muisca heads, the Zaque and Zipa, who at times won or lost the allegiance of certain neighboring groups, there were other local lords who acted rather independently for fairly large periods of time. The most important of these independents were Duitama and Sogamoso, followed by the lesser Monquirá, Ráquira, Sáchica, Saquencipá, Sorocotá, Suta, Tinjacá and Yuca.

### Social Organization

#### Muisca

The colonial chroniclers seem to agree that at the time of contact the Zaque ruled the northern part of the Muisca area and the Zipa the southern, with some independent lords holding their own in the northeast and the northwest. Historical and anthropological studies conducted from the 1960s to the present, have significantly contributed to the understanding of the nature of Muisca interdependency, the groups involved and the time periods.<sup>28</sup> Allegiance to the Bogotá Zipa was acknowledged by the lords of Cáqueza, Chía, Chinga, Chocontá, Ciénaga, Engativá, Fosca, Guasca, Guatavita, Luchata, Pasca, Simijaca, Sisativa, Subachoque, Subia, Suesca, Tibacuy, Tibaguyes, Teusacá, Ubaque, and Ubaté. Their allegiance to the same lord should not be taken as an indication of identical hierarchical ranking. The Chía lord, for instance, was the direct successor of the Bogotá; the Guatavita, who had some parental relationship

with Teusacá, intervened in the selection of the Guasca and was the lord of other Indian groups located to the east; the Ubaque was the lord of Choachí, Pausaga, Suba, and Tuna. Another evidence of the existence of a hierarchy among the lords is that some were called usagues, a term implying the privilege of being personal advisors to the Zipa. In addition, there were other persons with a differentiated status. The guecha, a few specialized soldiers who guarded Muisca bordering areas liable to be attacked by the more bellicose Panche, Colima, or Muzo neighbors, and the jeques, or spiritual leaders who offered sacrifices to their gods, were supposed to influence the weather and to cure ill.

Several Indian lords accepted Zaque leadership, such as Boyacá, Cucaita, Motavita, Oicatá, Pagasica, Ramiriquí, Samacá, Sora, Somondoco, Soracá, Sutatenza, and Turmequé. Yet, the relationship between Ramiriquí and the Zaque may have been the same as that described between Chía and the Zipa, and the Somondoco may have depended on the Zaque through his allegiance to the Turmequé. Independents were Duitama who headed a group of neighboring lords inhabiting a series of adjacent temperate valleys and the canyon of the Chicamocha River; Sogamoso, who not only held a political leadership over several of his neighbors but who also was considered the most important religious figure, the iraca or sogamuxi; Moniquirá, Ráquira, Sáchica, Saquencipá, Sorocotá, Suta, Tinjacá and Yuca who were the independent lords located on the northwestern confines of the Muisca territory. Lastly, it is likely that some native leaders considered outside these borders and in Tegua territory had a certain dependency on some northeastern Muisca lords such as Tota and Sogamoso.



The fluid relationships existing among the various Muisca lords leads us to believe that, within a given time frame, some were politically independent, but the majority, who were not necessarily of identical hierarchical ranking, were subjected to a lord either directly or through another one. A good part of the explanation for the fluidity of those political relationships among lords can be found in kinship or in dynamic family connections, such as was the case of the Chía-Bogotá, or the Ramiriquí-Tunja. The allegiance of the subservient was evidenced by the payment of tribute to the lord in the form of labor or goods. The subordinate would contribute in the planting and tending of the lord's crops or in the construction of his houses or in direct offerings most usually made of gold, coca, and cotton blankets.<sup>29</sup>

In all cases, the Muisca were divided into territorial anchored social units headed by a leader or, using the Caribbean word adapted by the Spaniards, cacique, whose succession was hereditary, it being now rather evident that it was matrilineal. Less clear are the internal divisions of those units. The conquerors used indiscriminately the terms partes, parcialidades, or capitanías to designate them. It is apparent only that a captain was the head of a part who owed allegiance to a cacique. It should be noted also that not all the captains were of the same rank; the Chibcha word uta was used to designate a group led by a captain who could be subservient to another one. Grammatically, the Chibcha word sibin, or the more exotic-looking sybyn, meant several uta, thus the latter could have been a smaller group than the sibin. Since a cacique could belong to a part, he could be at the same time the head of his part and the ruler of the larger social unit.<sup>30</sup>

In short, in spite of the arbitrary terms used by the Spaniards when describing Muisca social groups, there were two main lords, the Zipa and the Zaque, and a few independent, whom the most important hierarchical heads, the caciques, accepted as their political superiors. At least part of these political associations were based on family relationships or kinship in which the matrilineal side ruled. Some of these caciques were called usaque, or advisors to the Zipa. The caciques, plus the generally subordinated captains who were at times ranked in relation to the sibin or uta they headed, were socially and politically more important and enjoyed a series of prerogatives uncommon to persons directly associated with securing daily sustenance.<sup>31</sup>

#### Other Native Groups Besides Muisca

Carare, Colima, Muzo, Opón, and Yareguí. The main similarities among these Indian groups were that they shared a Carib ancestry, that their languages were part of the macro-Caribbean phylum, and that they inhabited the Magdalena River Valley and its eastern mountain slopes bordering the Guane and Muisca. Their society was in an early developmental state, for they did not recognize a permanent head or cacique whether local or foreign, hereditary or not, but rather, they lived in scattered small groups. Payment of any kind of tribute was unknown to them, and it was only in case of war, to which they were rather inclined either among themselves or against their neighbors, that they selected a warrior to lead them into a particular battle or battles.<sup>32</sup> Muzo and Colima were the same people with the same culture, customs, and language. According to a generally well-informed chronicler, they were called Muzo by their southeastern neighbors, the Muisca, and Colima by their south and

southwestern neighbors, the Panche.<sup>33</sup> The founders of La Palma in the Colima region, however, insisted their charges were different from those inhabiting the area around Trinidad de los Muzos, but their claims could have been slanted for they were to their benefit.

Chitarero. According to chronicler Aguado, the Chitarero nation was not ruled by one head, but rather, when required, each group was led to war by the richest and most valiant man. Documentary information, however, indicates many individuals were family related and they spoke the same language or at least similar dialects. Early evidences do point to a more complex social structure, where caciques, captains, and principals, as were called by the Spaniards, could have had those hereditary positions in a manner resembling the Muisca. In addition, the same Aguado mentioned a higher-ranked captain and spiritual leader, Cirivita, who could communicate with their gods and control the weather through them.<sup>34</sup>

Guane. This fairly advanced nation was located north of the Muisca, east of the Muzo, Carare, Opón, and Yareguí, west of the Lache, and south of the Chitarero. Their social structure recognized the political supremacy of caciques of matrilineal inheritance, to whom a tribute consisting of foodstuffs and cotton blankets, and of labor for the construction of their houses and the planting of their crops was made by their vassals. The local caciques recognized a supreme head, the Guane, who lived in the extreme north of their territory, the Xerira Mesa. The existence of captains as part of the caciques organization is documented, and one author believes they had a military and advisory function rather than an administrative one.<sup>35</sup> Guane was therefore a confederation of indigenous hierarchical social units that recognized a supreme leader, the

Guane, quite apart from their southern neighbors, the Muisca, with whom they have similar socio-political and even economic characteristics.

Achagua, Buchipa, Guayupe, Sae, Eperigua, and Choque. These nations occupied the piedmont and the llanos extending east of the Eastern Cordillera. Within these east to west limits, the Achagua inhabited the territory enclosed north-south by the Casanare and Meta-Upía Rivers. They neighbored to the west with the Tegua and Muisca Indians.<sup>36</sup> When German conqueror Georg Hohermuth von Speyer, coming from the north crossed the Upía River on December 1, 1536, he entered the Guayupe territory which extended south not farther than the Guayabero River and most likely down to the Guejar River only.<sup>37</sup> To the west, the Guayupe were neighbors with the Buchipa and the Muisca. The Sae inhabited the upper Ariari area and, therefore, were neighbors of the Buchipa. South of the Guejar River lived the Eperigua, and farther south the Papamene inhabited the area around the river of the same name. Even farther south and up in the mountains lived the Choque. The Eperigua, or Operigua, may have been a Guayupe group. The small Buchipa group, if not Muisca, was very close to it. The Sae and Guayupe were intimately related, being both the most advanced agriculturists of all. On the other hand, the Choque may have belonged to an entirely different ethnic group, for they are described as being cannibals skilled at waging wars.<sup>38</sup>

The social organization of the Guayupe recognized the existence of respected caciques who ruled until their death, when they were replaced by others. They were highly respected and some tribute was paid to them. They were assisted by other principals who were, therefore, differentiated persons within their society as well. Their mohán and their healers were

enerated by all. Both occupied a higher position in their society and were assisted by the commoners in their plantings. Guayupe and Sae were, in short, members of a cohesive and hierarchical society with specialized socio-economic functions. Less is known of the Achagua who may have been less able to produce an agricultural surplus, for they lived in multifamily communities sparsely located on the banks of the main rivers. They were essentially hunters and gatherers, very skilled at using their poisonous arrows in securing their daily sustenance.<sup>39</sup> Choque lived in small communities and were headed by a cacique, yet it is not know to date whether the leadership was political and permanent, or if it only lasted while there was a need to lead armed conflicts.

Lache. The fairly small area east of the Chicamocha and irrigated by the Chitano and Nevado Rivers was home to the Lache Indians. They neighbored with the Guane to the west, the small Tunebo tribe and Chitarero to the north, and the Muisca to the south and southwest. The colonial chroniclers described some of the customs and the material culture of the Lache, but nearly nothing about their social organization. Little mention is made of the existence of principals and none about priests or any specialized workers among the Lache in their writings. The only published data about these natives having caciques are based on nineteenth-century evidence.<sup>40</sup> Early archival material, however, does refer to the existence of caciques and captains among the Lache, but without being specific about their nature.<sup>41</sup>

Panche. This nation of Carib origin was thus called by the Spaniards for their sloping flattened forehead deformed by pressing it between two boards since childbirth. They inhabited the Magdalena River Valley and its

neighboring east and west mountain slopes, north of the Coello River and south of an imaginary parallel separating today's municipality of La Peña which was Colima, from its neighboring Nimaima that was Panche.<sup>42</sup> There was not one ruling head for all the Panche but rather several transitory but revered caciques who led smaller groups specially in case of war. They were chosen on account of their valor, their personal strength, and their largesse in giving out maize brew during their ritual celebrations. Their society also recognized the ascendancy of the shamans who had the usual functions as healers, priests, and interceders to the gods.<sup>43</sup>

Patangoro y Amani. When Captain Baltasar Maldonado led the expedition to the snowcapped mountains located west of Santa Fe in early 1541, he entered the Patangoro and Amani territory which extended north of the Guarínó and west of the Magdalena Rivers, where years later the cities of Victoria and Remedios were established.

Chronicler Aguado is the only colonial source on these two native groups which he describes as being basically one regardless of the important difference existing about their political organization.<sup>44</sup> The Amani, who lived towards the interior of the territory and at higher altitude levels than the Patangoro, were socially more advanced. Lords or rulers elected by the citizens of their pueblos were respected, venerated, obeyed, and regarded as the highest authority of their communities. These rulers were elected according to their courage, their profoundness, and their larger number of relatives. This type of organization, Aguado added, allowed the Amani a better social order through a judicial organization the Patangoro did not have. This latter group did not recognize any community leaders except in the case of war, and only for its duration. As

a consequence, any dispute arising within them was usually settled by force of arms. Both Patangoro and Amani recognized spiritual leaders who claimed they were endowed with healing powers also. The Patangoro were less tolerant than the Amani when their shamans did not succeed in healing their patients, for the first group squarely led the blame on their healers in the event the treated patient died.

Pijao. This nation presented the strongest opposition to foreign invasion, and so the descriptions of its customs and organization made by the winners were undoubtedly distorted. It was convenient to the Spaniards to justify the annihilating wars waged against the Pijao by making these natives appear as the best-armed, ruthless, bellicose, and savage cannibals, or, in other words, the worst enemies the Crown and the Catholic religion ever had in the New Kingdom.<sup>45</sup> This bias was equally shared by the royal authorities and colonial chroniclers Pedro Simón and Juan Rodríguez Freyle and is reflected in the few lines they dedicated to describing the social organization of this nation, which did fight with all its strength the imposition of the new order brought by the newcomers. According to these chroniclers, the Pijao were divided in exogamous clans who were ruled by one highly revered head who led them into battle. Nothing is mentioned about how permanent this leader was and if his post was hereditary. The Pijao also had priests, called mohans, and healers who held privileged positions in their groups.<sup>46</sup> Even though they were agriculturalists with permanently established settlements, their civilization had not advanced to the point of having a true social hierarchy and specialized occupations. On the contrary, they did not

recognize any superior authority except in case of war, when the most valiant man was followed by the rest.<sup>47</sup>

The Pijao territory was limited to the south by the Páez River, to the east by the Magdalena River or possibly by the Oriental Cordillera where the Sutagaos, Duhos, Papamene, and Choque lived, to the north by the Coello River beyond which the Panche ruled, and to the west by the upper reaches of the Central Cordillera.

Sutagao. They inhabited the upper reaches of the Eastern Cordillera south of the Muisca lands. Their northeastern boundary with the Muisca and Panche was the Cuja River to its confluence with the Sumapaz River. This river formed their boundary to the west, and they neighbored the Pijao as far south as a parallel marked by the Sumapaz Páramo. South of the Sutagao was the province of Moquigua and Plata Valley, inhabited in part by the Choque. To the east their domains continued up to near the Muisca Fosca, and south over the eastern slopes of the Eastern Cordillera, where the Buchipa, Guayupe, Sae, and Eperigua lived.<sup>48</sup> Only in one instance is the existence of one of their caciques acknowledged, but if chronicler Fernández de Piedrahita is correct, they must have had a similar social organization to the Muisca.

Tegua. East of the Muisca Guatavita and beyond the eastern banks of the Garagoa River lived the Tegua, a politically independent group that the colonial chroniclers emphasized was different from its western neighbors. It is certain this group had trade relations with the Muisca, but it is only probable that their captains were subservient to some of the latter caciques prior to the arrival of the Europeans, as they were



years later after this event.<sup>49</sup> No historical evidence supports the existence of a major Tegua cacique.

Judging by the insufficient historical evidence about the societies of the Indian nations inhabiting the territory of the New Kingdom, they can be divided into three groups according to the advancement of their social organization. To the higher group, the Buchipa, Eperigua, Guane, Guayupe, Muisca, Sae, and Sutagao nations belonged. In the middle group were the Amani, Chitarero, Lache, Panche, Pijao, and Tegua. To the lower group belonged the Achagua, Carare, Choque, Colima, Muzo, Opón, Patangoro, and Yareguí. Those having the better social structure to adapt to the European imposed order were the first group, and the last should have been the least malleable.

#### Castas

Anyone who was not European or Indian and who formed marginal groups living closer to the former was a casta. Some were African. The resulting siblings were of European, Indian, and African descent, namely mestizo and mulato. Mulatto, in English, also included at the beginning, the siblings of Americans and Africans, later called sambo. All these became ambivalent groups circling around Americans and Europeans, but gravitating more towards the European orbit.

#### Africans

Needless to say black slaves occupied the lowest rungs of society, devoid of privileges granted to the Indians who were not enslaved in the New Kingdom. They were subjected to a permanent and hereditary loss of

freedom and humanity. Slavery had existed in ancient civilizations and more recently in Europe. The term slave derived from slav, a word of uncertain European origin, was used to denote the peoples of east-central Europe, who were enslaved during the Christian era. Captivity and enslavement were somewhat equated, and the wars between Christians and pagans tended to give slavery a certain religious connotation. Since the fifteenth century the Portuguese had established an active slave trade monopoly on the west coast of Africa, from which the Spaniards began buying their slaves.<sup>50</sup> Yet, a good number of the black slaves that were brought to the New Kingdom during the first years after its creation came from Spain, where they were mostly used as domestic and shop servants in the cities. They were called criollos or ladinos as opposed to the bozales who were introduced shortly after directly from Africa, to work the mines and man the boats that connected the New Kingdom with the sea.

Little can be added about the social position of black slaves in the sixteenth century. Those who travelled to the New Kingdom with the six conquering expeditions were mentioned in Chapter 4. They numbered from at least one who arrived with Jiménez, to probably 30 who travelled with Luis de Lugo. Besides Pedro de Lerma, a free black who was a full-fledged legitimate conqueror, they ranged from personal servants to boat-rowers. Besides the black slaves who arrived with the expeditions, occasional mention is made in the documents about their being at the personal service of the conquerors considered here. They varied from the slave who helped Alonso de Aranda in assaying gold, Francisco de Terranova who served Luis Lanhero, several who are mentioned as town-criers, to the one who carried on his back paraplegic Cristóbal de San Miguel. All these domestic or shop

servants had an easier life, being close to their masters' often well-provided residences, than those slaves who were brought to work the mines and man the navigation of riverboats.<sup>51</sup> Due to their preferable urban working conditions and the proximity to their masters, they may have been well above the common rural or provincial slave.

The less-favored mine slaves were to arrive in the New Kingdom rather soon. Governor Miguel Díez wrote the crown as early as 1545 while on the Atlantic coast that those from the New Kingdom who could afford it were travelling down to Cartagena to buy slaves to work the mines.<sup>52</sup> Judging by the date, most of these purchases had to be made by conquerors participating in the six expeditions. After that, slaves began to be introduced in more meaningful quantities, for Pedro de Brizeño, who arrived with Luis de Lugo, wrote five years later that, including his own, there were about 150 slaves working the gold mines of Tocaima. When Brizeño died in 1552, he left behind 34 black slaves. Another fact that points to the significance of the early slave presence in the New Kingdom is that Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión de los Ríos, citizen of Tunja and companion of Jiménez, had purchased 36 black slaves in Cartagena just before his death. All of these probably swelled the lowest ranks of the slave community, located at a level below domestic slaves.

### Mestizo

Mestizos were present in the New Kingdom from its inception, for some arrived with Belalcázar. His son Francisco was the result of his union with a Panamanian lady, Lucas Bejarano, the son of Beatriz de Mexico and conqueror Lucas Bejarano, and Mencia de Collantes, the daughter of

conqueror Juan Muñoz de Collantes and a Peruvian princess, all arrived with Belalcázar. The union of Spaniards and Indians, out of which mestizos were born, was at times encouraged by the crown.<sup>53</sup> Considering these unions first, Table 16 shows that of a total of 345 recorded unions of conquerors, 95 were with Indian women: 4 were legal unions and 91 were free. These 95 unions represent 28 percent of the total. The numbers of resulting mestizo children were 140 (20 percent of the total), 5 legitimate and 135 illegitimate. Illegitimate mestizos were 135 out of a total of 141, or 96 percent. In essence then, 20 percent of the children born to these conquerors were mestizo, and, of these, a very high 96 percent were illegitimate. It is likely that the actual number of mestizo children was higher than the available records show. In any event, it is clear that at least one fifth of the children born out of the unions of these conquerors were mestizo.

The Spaniards originally envisioned in their colonies in the Americas an Indian Republic living side by side and segregated from a Spanish Republic. Iberian laws and customs were, therefore, not prepared to accommodate mestizos. It seems as if mestizos were regarded shortly after the establishment of the New Kingdom as an inconvenience that was better to put aside than to live with.<sup>54</sup> Thus though much was recorded about their parents, whether Spanish or Indian, very little was written about them. When some record is available it is mainly because mestizos were recognized by their fathers. The resulting lack of data gives the impression that the first generation mestizos, which includes all those mentioned here, lived within the Spanish world and in the Spaniards' cities where they found better opportunities besides their fathers, at

times working as go-between the Indians and the Spaniards.<sup>55</sup> They were forbidden to live among the Indians, yet the possibility is open that some for whom no record is available lived an anonymous Indian life with their mothers.<sup>56</sup>

The social position of the mestizo was clearly one level below the Spaniards. They were free, they did not have to pay Indian tribute, and, therefore, they were not personally subjected to any Spaniard. They were reluctantly given the right to fill low governmental and ecclesiastical posts, specially on account of their ability to indoctrinate the Indians in their own language. Even though their right to inherit encomiendas was quite often denied, they succeeded in several instances.<sup>57</sup> They also became scribes, artisans, small local traders, and probably farmers. Some became calpizques or administrators of Indian encomiendas, soon gaining a reputation for being more ruthless than their Spanish fathers, while other mestizos became distinguished conquerors and settlers of bordering territories.

The mestizo sons of the conquerors included the following: Sebastián, son of Martín Sánchez Ropero, was procurador, or advocate of Indian rights; Diego, son of Gonzalo García Zorro, was alderman of Santa Fe; Diego, son of Juan de Alcalá, who was denied the right to inherit the Tibitó encomienda, was fiscal solicitor; Juan, son of Juan Martín Hincapié, was lieutenant-captain of Santa Marta; Lucas, son of Lucas Bejarano, and Juan, son of Juan Penagos, were official translator and court clerk of the Royal Audiencia, respectively.

A meaningful number of mestizo sons became members of the clergy. Gonzalo García Zorro should be listed in the first place, for he insisted

on his rights, even taking his case to the King's court in Spain, to fill the post of canónigo of the cathedral of Santa Fe. Other clergymen, some working in more visible positions than others, were Juan, the son of Francisco de Figueredo; Francisco and Hernán, sons of Francisco Gómez; Andrés and Alonso, sons of Diego Romero; Juan, son of Juan Fuerte; Andrés Ortiz de Godoy, son of Ortuño Ortiz; Martín, son of Diego Partearroyo; and Pedro, son of Diego Rincón.

The names of these mestizo sons who inherited their fathers' encomiendas were: Francisco, son of Juan de Ortega, inherited Zipaquirá, plus 6,000 gold pesos; Francisco del Prado received the encomienda his father Hernando del Prado had in Tocaima; Francisco, son of Juan Mateos, inherited Chima and Casacota; Juan Ortiz de Godoy received from his father Ortuño Ortiz, Ciénaga and Cosquetiva; Gonzalo, son of Juan de Avendaño, received La Sal, Tostos y Ariagua in Mérida; and finally, Miguel López, son of Diego de Partearroyo, inherited Boyacá.

The known trades and professions of some mestizo were the following: Francisco, son of Francisco Ortiz, was a scribe in Tocaima; Pedro, the son of Francisco de Figueredo, was a silversmith, a trade practiced also by Diego, son of Domingo de Guevara; Miguel Francisco, son of Maese Francisco de Aguirre, was a small trader in Santa Fe; Diego, son of Antonio Díaz Cardozo was Calpizque of Suba and Tuna, the encomiendas of his father, soon gaining fame for being ruthless in their exactions from the Indians.

Active in further conquests and settlements of territories and in the founding of cities in the New Kingdom were Juan, son of Juan de Céspedes in Buga; Pedro, son of Pedro Fernández Valenzuela in Caguán; Diego Muñoz, son of Juan Gómez Portillo, in La Palma; and Juan Gómez, son

of Baltasar Maldonado, in Villa de Leyva. It is interesting to notice that a good number of mestizo children were sent to Spain, probably to be educated and to be known by their peninsular relatives. Those whose records have been preserved are Gaspar, son of Martín Sánchez Ropero; Marcos, son of Alonso Hernández de Ledesma; Bartolomé, son of Bartolomé Camacho; Juan, son of Diego García Cabezón; Juan, son of Francisco de Murcia; Juan, son of Juan da Rocha; Blasco, son of Pedro Blasco Martín; Pedro, son of Juan de San Miguel; Francisco, son of maese Juan Gallego; and Juan, son of Juan Trujillo, for a total of 10 children.

Deserving special mention were the mestizos Diego de Torres and Alonso de Silva, who fought an uphill and rather losing battle in the courts of the New Kingdom and later of Spain, for the right to inherit the post of cacique of the original native group in which they were born. For entirely different reasons, it is noticed that Hernán, son of Pedro Bravo de Rivera, was an accomplice in a murder and, after being judged, was hanged, and that Pedro, son of Juan de Penagos, was killed by his brother-in-law, Juan de Soto Collantes.

The mestizo position in the local society was to become much more complicated after the time period considered in this study, mainly due to their rapidly increasing numbers at a time when the Indian population was drastically declining.

### Mulatto

Mulattoes, the result of miscegenation between blacks and whites, were considered as a rule, one social rung above black slaves and one rung below Indians.<sup>58</sup> Yet, the fact that they could be free or slaves

accounted heavily in the position they occupied in society. Mulattos existed shortly after the New Kingdom was created. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Juana García, the free and enterprising wife of conqueror Juan de Noria, was one member of this caste who arrived in the New Kingdom on Alonso Luis de Lugo's expedition. It is likely that this mulatto lady was considered much higher than just a rung above slaves and below the Indians. Perhaps she was accepted as white if the color of her skin was rather light; after all, exceptions to the loosely held rules were not that uncommon in Spanish America. In general, mulattoes were in the service of Spaniards.

Little is known about the relations between mulattos and the conquerors considered here. It is only known that the conqueror Francisco Brizeño acknowledged in his will that Juanillo was suspected of being his son from his relations with Beatriz, one of his mulatto slaves. In consideration of that probable blood relationship, Brizeño left some sheep to Juanillo and ordered that he should be freed. In conclusion, even if mulattoes were to be considered as a rule a rung above black slaves, they could occupy higher positions in society.

All persons conforming the new society of the New Kingdom, whether hidalgo, encomendero, or others belonging to its white society; Indians; black slaves; and the resulting individuals from the miscegenation of Europeans, Americans, and Africans, such as mestizo, and mulatto, contributed within their capacity to give permanence to this newly established Spanish colony.



Notes

1. These comments closely follow those of professor Lyle N. McAlister, Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700 (Minneapolis, 1984), p. 125.

2. FPS IV, 22.

3. Lockhart, The Men of Cajamarca, pp. 121-229. The same pattern appears valid, yet no so pronounced, in Mexico. Out of the 209 listed conquerors who arrived there with Hernán Cortés or Pánfilo de Narváez, only three, Juan Cano, Sebastián de Moscoso, and Francisco Mirbiezas, declared they were married to local ladies; see Francisco A. de Icaza, Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1969), 1, pp. 1-120.

4. The 27 hidalgos in Jiménez's expedition included Antonio Bermúdez, Pedro Bravo, Antonio de Castro, Juan de Céspedes, Gómez de Cifuentes, Pedro de Colmenares, Pedro Fernández, Gonzalo García, Juan del Junco, Baltasar Maldonado, Antón de Olalla, Cristóbal Ortíz Bernal, Juan Ramírez, Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión, Pedro Rodríguez de León, Diego Romero, Cristóbal Ruiz, Pedro Ruiz Corredor, Juan de Salamanca, Juan de San Martín, Juan Sedano, Gonzalo Suárez, Juan Tafur, Francisco de Tordehumos, Juan de Torres, Andrés Vázquez, and Hernán Venegas.

A total of 15 of Federmann's companions claimed to be hidalgos: Juan de Avellaneda, Hernando de Beteta, García Calvete, Cristóbal Gómez, Domingo de Guevara, Miguel Holguín, Francisco Maldonado, Pedro de Miranda, Francisco de Monsalve, Francisco de Murcia, Alonso de Olalla, Diego Ortíz, Melchor Ramírez, Diego Rodríguez, and Pedro Rodríguez. From the expedition of Sebastián de Belalcázar the 8 alleged hidalgos were Garci Arias, Juan de Avendaño, Alonso de Hoyos, Luis de Mideros, Hernando de Rojas, Luis de Sanabria, Melchor Valdés, and Martín Yáñez Tafur. From the expedition of Jerónimo Lebrón 8 men claimed to be hidalgos: Jerónimo de Aguayo, Juan de Angulo, Francisco Arias, Juan de Badajoz, Pero Alonso Niño, Diego de Partearroyo, Gregorio Suárez de Deza, and Ortún Velasco. From the expedition of Lope Montalvo de Lugo, Martín González and Lope de Salzedo, declared to be hidalgos. From the expedition of Alonso Luis de Lugo, the 13 claiming to be hidalgos were Francisco Bahamón de Lugo, Don Jerónimo de Carvajal, Juan de Chávez, Alonso de Hoyos, Juan de Mayorga, Miguel de Morales, Francisco de Niebla, Juan de Penagos, Melchor Valdés, Juan Andrés Varela, Francisco de Velandia, Hernando de Velasco, and Ortún Velasco. Thus, a total of 73 men from the 6 expeditions claimed to be hidalgos. Since Hoyos, Valdés and Velasco are included twice, the net number of claimants is 70. The claim of Francisco Arias is found in AGI Justicia 492-5, Probanza de Francisco Arias, in Arias vs. Sánchez Roperero for Monquirá, 1550.

5. Descriptions of the Spanish nobility are found in Vicens Vives, Historia social, vol. 2, pp. 107-162, and 432-444; vol. 3, pp. 59-79. Sánchez Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico, vol. 1, pp. 615-703. Altamira y Crevea, Historia de España, vol. 2, pp. 6-8, 128-129, 182-184,

and 191-198. Valdeavellano, Curso de historia, pp. 317-329. F. Soldevilla, Historia de España, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1952-1959), 2, pp. 137-139. Luis Suárez Fernández, Nobleza y monarquía: puntos de vista sobre la historia castellana del siglo XV (Valladolid, 1959). Jean Hippolitte Mariejol, The Spain of Ferdinand and Isabella (New Brunswick, NJ, 1961), pp. 262-277. Roger Bigelow Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New, 4 vols. (New York, 1963), 1, pp. 161-171.

6. The various types of hidalgos according to a 1611 dictionary are found in Sebastián de Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española (Madrid, 1968), pp. 590-592.

7. Castro, The Structure of Spanish History, p. 630.

8. Castro, The Structure of Spanish History, p. 631.

9. AGI Patronato 154-3-1.

10. FDHNR V, 318-319.

11. EOR I, 183-184.

12. FDHNR III, 182-183.

13. FDHNR IV, 278-279.

14. FDHNR V, 290. See also the previous document related to the hidalgos and gentlemen, to which García de Valverde refers.

15. FDHNR V, 178-182.

16. Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor (New York, 1982), p. xv.

17. In addition to the mentioned sources describing nobility privileges, please see Diego de Encinas, Cedulario indiano, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1945), 2, p. 12.

18. Pilar Sanchiz Ochoa, Los hidalgos de Guatemala. Realidad y apariencia en un sistema de valores (Sevilla, 1976), y "La Conquista Como Plataforma de Ascenso Social," in Francisco de Solano, ed., Proceso histórico del conquistador (Madrid, 1988), pp. 81-94. Also see Blanca Morell Peguero, "La Prueba de Hidalguía en España y en las Indias en el Siglo XVI," Revista de Indias 38:153-154 (Jul.-Dec. 1978), pp. 887-891. On a different level, also see Carlos Meléndez, Conquistadores y pobladores. Orígenes histórico-sociales de los Costarricenses (San José, 1982).

19. LFP I, 330-331.

20. Juan A. Villamarín, "Encomenderos and Indians in the Formation of Colonial Society in the Sabana de Bogotá, Colombia - 1537 to 1540" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1972), pp. 84-87.

21. Rosenblat, "Base del Español de América", p. 53.

22. ARB Cabidos de Tunja, December 24, 1553, contains a list of all the vecinos or citizens of that city. This list which was made 10 to 16 years after the arrival of the conquering expeditions, is a good example of the early permanence of the first conquerors/colonizers. Of 73 citizens listed then, 70 arrived on the six expeditions, and only three outside persons settled there during the next 10 years.

More informative about the inhabitants of Santa Fe and Tunja is in a document dated May 29, 1557, found in AGI Justicia 588, fl. 680 to 686. It describes the contributions these individuals made in financing the Indian wars in Ibagué and Mariquita. This document shows how the members of the six expeditions still retained their prominent positions in those two cities fifteen years or more after their arrival, to the exclusion of those who came later. Of the citizens of Santa Fe, 56 were members of the original 6 expeditions, and only 5 had settled later. The same applicable figures for Tunja are 65 and 4 late-comers. On the other hand, most of those men classified in the document as residents, merchants and others, were not members of the 6 expeditions: 46 of those living in Santa Fe were late-comers and 10 had arrived with the 6 expeditions. Those figures for Tunja were respectively 30 and 5. This document has the added importance that it grades the economic capacity of the residents of those two cities.

23. See Germán Colmenares, Historia económica y social de Colombia, 153-1719 (Bogotá, 1978), pp. 73-109; Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, Ensayos sobre historia social Colombiana (Bogotá, 1968), pp. 89-161.

24. Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarín, Indian Labor in Mainland Colonial Spanish America (Newark, Delaware, 1975), p. 25.

25. Thomas F. Lynch, "The Paleo-Indians" in Jesse D. Jennings ed., Ancient South America (San Francisco, 1983), pp. 87-137; Gonzalo Correa Urrego, Evidencias culturales y megafauna pleistocénica en Colombia (Bogotá, 1981); Michael Moseley, The Maritime Foundations of Andean Civilization (Menlo Park, 1975); Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, "Colombia Indígena" in Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, ed., Manual de historia de Colombia, 3 vols. (Bogotá, 1982), 1, pp. 48, 49.

26. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, Las culturas andinas de Colombia (Bogotá, 1974), pp. 33 to 49. This author does not specify whether the Chocó group belongs to the A-b group he calls "Noroeste del Amazonas," or the A-c group he calls "del Cauca y del Atrato;" in any case, the Chocó is part of the Macro-Caribbean phylum. Within the group "evolucionado u oriental" of the Macro-Chibchan phylum, he includes the Sinsiga language which was spoken around Chita, home of the Lache. Therefore, the Lache should have been part of the latter phylum. Similarly, since he placed the Duit language within the same phylum, as spoken in the area "del declive Este de la Cordillera Oriental, detrás de los Muizcas," the Achagua, Tegua and Guayupe should also fall within this same category.

27. Most of the published material about the Indians at the time of contact comes from the well-known colonial chroniclers Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, Pedro Aguado, Juan de Castellanos, Pedro Simón, and Lucas Fernández de Piedrahíta, plus Juan Rodríguez Freyle, and Alonso de Zamora. Most of their material about the Muisca was condensed by Vicente Restrepo in his work Los chibchas antes de la conquista española (Bogotá, 1972); the reader may wish to consult him instead. Regarding ethno-history, please see Fernández de Piedrahíta first, LFP I, 76-118, 214-224, 245-292. FPA I, 259-275; FPS III, 155-160, 363-439.

28. The best works related to the social organization of the Muisca based upon historic and anthropological research that reach beyond the usual study of the writings of the colonial chroniclers are the following. Silvia Broadbent, "The Formation of Peasant Society in Central Colombia," Ethnohistory 28:3 (Summer 1981), pp. 259-270; Colmenares, Historia económica, pp. 45-56; Ana María Falchetti and Clemencia Plazas, El territorio de los muisca a la llegada de los españoles (Bogotá, 1973); Hermes Tovar, La formación social chibcha (Bogotá, 1980); Juan A. Villamarín and Judith E. Villamarín, "Chibcha Settlement Under Spanish Rule: 1537-1810," in David J. Robinson, ed., Social Fabric and Spatial Structure in Colonial Latin America (Syracuse, 1979), pp. 25-84. Velandia, Enciclopedia histórica, contributes much information on the Muisca antecedents on many locations in the department of Cundinamarca. A recent book sums up the above works regarding Muisca society, and suggests fresh thesis: Carl Henrick Langebaek, Mercados, poblamiento e integración étnica entre los muisca, siglo XVI (Bogotá, 1987). Langebaek also contributes a comprehensive bibliography; however, the following works could be added, besides the Broadbent and the Villamarín and Villamarín articles cited above: Louis V. Ghisletti, Los muisca: una gran civilización precolombiana, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1954); Guillermo Hernández Rodríguez, De los chibchas a la Colonia y a la República (Bogotá, 1978); Gregorio Hernández de Alba, "Hallazgo Arqueológico en la laguna de Fúquene," Revista Cromos 54:1349 (1942); A. L. Kroeber, "The Chibcha," in Julian B. Steward, ed., Handbook of South American Indians, 8 vols. (New York, 1963), 2, pp. 887-907; Eliécer Silva Celis, Arqueología y prehistoria de Colombia (Tunja, 1968). The works of Broadbent, Colmenares, Falchetti y Plazas, Langebaek, Tovar, and Villamarín and Villamarín, are followed here, besides all the colonial chroniclers cited in the previous note.

29. Colmenares, Historia económica, p. 47.

30. Broadbent, The Formation of Peasant Society, p. 261.

31. Langebaek, Mercados, p. 29 and 30.

32. See FPS IV, 217 and 261-288, 313, 413-423, 433-440; FPA III, 205-342; Juan Friede, "Informe Colonial Sobre los Indios de Muzo," Boletín cultural y bibliográfico 11:4 (1968), pp. 36-46; DF, 20-21; Luis Duque Gómez, "Tribus Indígenas y Sitios Arqueológicos," in Luis Martínez Delgado, ed., Historia extensa de Colombia (Bogotá, 1965), Vol. I, Tome 2, pp. 406-412.

33. FPA II, 287.

34. FPA I, 465-466; GC, 13-15.

35. See Jorge Morales G. and Gilberto Cadavid, Investigaciones etnohistóricas y arqueológicas en el área guane (Bogotá, 1984), pp. 52-57; DF, 15-16; Edith Jiménez de Muñoz, "Los Guane," Boletín de Antropología 1:3 (May-June 1945), pp. 249-255.

36. Santiago Mora Camargo and Inés Cavalier de Guerrero, "Guayupes y Achaguas: Siglo XVI," in María Eugenia Romero and Jane Rausch, ed., Los Llanos: una historia sin fronteras (Bogotá, 1988), pp. 74-86.

37. JF2, 352-353. The Omia, Guadrico, Guasurybe, and Apia rivers cited in the 1538 document, should correspond to the present Humea, Guataquí or Guacavía, Guayuriba, and Upiá rivers.

38. See FPA I, 569-584, 595-627, and III, 135-139; Avellaneda Navas, "San Juan de los Llanos," pp. 87-104. According to ANC Caciques e Indios LXVI, fl. 179, the Sae lived in the upper Ariari River area.

39. Juan Rivero, Historia de las misiones de los llanos de Casanare y los rios Orinoco y Meta (Bogotá, 1956), p. 106.

40. GFO III, 37-38; FPA I, 331-335, and III, 243; FPS II, 79-390; LFP I, 55-56, and II, 506-508 and 639. See Eliécer Silva Celis, "Contribución al conocimiento de la civilización de los Laches," Boletín de Arqueología 1:5 (1945), pp. 369-402.

41. AGI Justicia 567, fl. 150, Government officials vs. Gonzalo García Zorro, 1550, and AGI Patronato 195-12, Alonso Luís de Lugo vs. brothers Jiménez de Quesada, 1543.

42. Today's Cundinamarca municipality of La Peña was established on Colima territory, while those of La Vega, Nocaíma and Nimaima were on former Panche territory; see RV III, 1612, 1617, 1767, 1777. Part of the Río Negro River appeared to divide the Colima and the Panche territories.

43. FPA I, 455-458, 487 and 488, 492, 503; FPS IV, 169-207. See also Blanca Ochoa Sierra, "Los Panches," Boletín de Arqueología 1:4 (Jul-Aug. 1945), pp. 299-309.

44. FPA II, 79-107; also see Luis Duque Gómez, "Los Pantagoros," Boletín cultural y Bibliográfico 6:2 (1963), pp. 193-214. Duque's article is based entirely on Aguado's writings, yet he changes the Patangoro name given by Aguado for Pantagoro.

45. See information addressed to the Royal Council in Seville by Juan de Borja, president of the New Kingdom, dated June 1608, condensed by Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "Mitos, Usos y Costumbres de los Indios Pijaos," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, vol., XI (1962), pp. 145-152.

46. FPS VI, 327-448; JRF, 294-298. See also Duque Gómez, "Tribus Indígenas y Sitios Arqueológicos," pp. 225-247; Julio César Cubillos Ch., "Apuntes Para el Estudio de la Cultura Pijao," Boletín de Arqueología 2:1 (January-March, 1946), pp. 47-82.
47. Lucena Salmoral, "Mitos, Usos y Constumbres," p. 152.
48. See LFP I, 55; JRF, 296-297; Velandia, Enciclopedia histórica, vol. 2, pp. 1070-1071 and vol. 3, pp. 1839-1851. It is quite possible that the Doa Indians were part of the Sutagao, for the Spaniards erected the city of Nuestra Señora de Altagracia de los Sutagaos, precisely in a place called Doa, which is located, according to Velandia, between the towns of Venecia and Cabrera. In the document describing the foundation of that city by Diego Soletto and Juan López de Herrera on September 19, 1586, its confines are described. It is likely those limits had a close relation with the area of influence of the Sutagao; see AGI Patronato 165-1-7, probanza Juan López de Herrera and his father Alonso de Olalla Herrera. Doa was still an active community, however moribund, in the eighteenth century; see Basilio Vicente de Oviedo, Cualidades y riquezas del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá, 1930), p. 112.
49. Langebaek, Mercados, p. 39.
50. Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black (Williamsburg, 1968), pp. 3-43, 53-63, 55-98.
51. Marvin Harris, Patterns of Race in the Americas (Wesport, CT, 1980).
52. DIHC VIII, 84.
53. DIHC I, 102-103; III, 41-42; V, 127 and 249.
54. FDHNR II, 224; III, 77; V, 222, and 348-350.
55. Colmenares, Historia económica, vol. 1, pp. 410-416.
56. EOR II, 78-81. This city ordinance applied to any mestizo, negro, mulatto, ladino, and even Christianized Indians.
57. See DIHC X, 35, 44, 85.
58. For a general description on the ranking categories of Spaniard, Mestizo, Indian, Mulatto, and Black, see James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, Early Latin America (New York, 1983), pp. 125-132.

## CONCLUSIONS

### The Expeditions--Chapters 1 and 2

Between the years 1537 and 1543 a series of six Spanish expeditions conquered and colonized the highland Muisca nation forming the heartland of what soon became the New Kingdom of Granada, now part of Colombia. These expeditions led (in chronological order) by Gonzalo Jiménez, Nikolaus Federmann, Sebastián de Belalcázar, Jerónimo Lebrón, Lope Montalvo de Lugo, and Alonso Luis de Lugo occurred after the establishment of the provinces of Santa Marta, Cartagena, and Venezuela, on the Caribbean coast of South America, and the Kingdom of Peru on the Pacific Ocean. The first three expeditions were both exploratory and conquering in intent, while the remaining three were to settle the general area conquered by the first three. After making a few general comments applicable to all the expeditions, we will take a look at each of them.

All six expeditions were organized with a military structure that ranged from rather rigid to quite lenient and all were under the leadership of a general who served as the highest administrative and judicial authority along the way. Each were comprised of persons with military titles such as field marshall, captain, horse soldier, and various categories of foot soldier, many of them of questionable military experience or training. Other active persons who also had military titles also, were the three royal officials in charge of collecting taxes and

managing the royal coffer, the administrator of the effects of the death, the scribe, the medical doctor, the apothecary, and the farrier who at times doubled as blacksmith. In addition, the clergy were always well represented, but, none of their members had martial titles. While analyzing the internal relations of these adventurers, it was noticed that their members formed a company with a common cause. Exceptions aside, every person was to provide his own equipment, none was to receive a salary, and all were entitled to a share of the booty according to their rank. All participants were, therefore, partners in an enterprise in which they risked their own investment and life expecting to obtain a rare, great reward.

Four out of six of the expeditions were organized in the Indies. The material requirements of these four ventures imposed a heavy burden on the resources of the cities from which they originated or passed by. Conflicts invariably arose between the conquerors and local officials as the former insisted on the expropriation of local resources such as provisions, horses, cattle, and Indians of service. Often, then, the external relations between the expeditions and local authorities and, as we shall see, with the Indians, were strained.

Those well-armed soldiers, many mounted on war horses and accompanied by ferocious dogs were ready to fight the Indians, yet, as they advanced, they remained in the shadow of the Indian whom they depended upon to satisfy their needs. It was the Indian who carried their loads, procured their food, guided them across unknown territories, and translated the aboriginal languages. Apart from the Indians who accompanied the soldiers those natives living along the expeditions'



routes also contributed their field crops to feed the invaders and to replenish the ranks of Indian servants who succumbed on the way. Such was the dependance of the conquerors on Indian foods that without these they would not have been able to advance any great distance. Were it not for Indian assistance the colonization of the New Kingdom would have probably paralleled the slow advance of the Virginians, whose descendants needed more than a century to settle the heart of the Ohio River Valley which was about as far from the coast as was the New Kingdom. After the conquerors arrived in the Indians' territory, the Indians continued showing them where their lords, their sanctuaries, their treasures, their mines, and even where the tombs of their ancestors were.

The three conquering expeditions were organized in Spain and the Canary Islands, in Venezuela, and in an area which extended beyond the northern limits of Peru. The first of these, led by Jiménez under the patronage of the Adelantado of the Canary Islands, Don Pedro Fernández de Lugo, was financed by Don Pedro, two Italian merchants, and by various individuals who took actually rode in it. The required economic contribution necessary to participate in this enterprise acted as a socio-economic filter, for not all members of Spanish society could afford the cost of transportation, the purchase of arms and horses, plus the coverage of personal expenses during the several months it took the expedition to arrive in the Indies. The approximately 1,000 persons who reached the province of Santa Marta were soon aware of how valuable was experience in the Indies, for it often made the difference between death and survival.

Three months after Don Pedro arrived in the province of Santa Marta, where he had been named governor, he had gathered all the necessary

information to make his venture profitable. After studying the alternatives mainly based upon what his predecessors to the governorship had learned, he sent his 800 -man expedition up the Magdalena River in search of a route to Peru and the South Sea, a land that according to the deficient geographical knowledge of the time was expected to be much closer to Santa Marta than it was. Fueling the desire to reach Peru by land was the notion that close to the equator veins of gold grew in the ground in the fashion of tree roots, a myth which had spread throughout the Indies several years prior to Don Pedro's venture. This belief had also influenced the direction taken by the other two conquering expeditions.

Under the leadership of Licentiate Gonzalo Jiménez, Don Pedro placed a group of able captains selected from those who had accompanied him from Spain and other veterans in the Indies. These leaders commanded about 600 soldiers who were to advance overland paralleling the route of another group made of 200 men that was to go up the Magdalena River in five brigantines. Don Pedro instructed Jiménez as to the treatment of Indians on the way and how the gathered booty was to be divided, but he did not give Jiménez any orders about founding cities, much less about establishing a colony. Yet, when Jiménez noticed on his way to Peru that an active commerce in salt and fine cotton blankets flowed down the mountains, which he correctly interpreted as a sign of the existence of nearby higher civilizations where those articles were coming from, he abandoned the southerly flowing Magdalena River and went on to create a Spanish colony on a great highland plain.

The first 120 leagues covered by Jiménez's expedition were known to some of his men, but they took a heavy toll because of scarcity of foods and poor diet, the alien environment, the tropical weather, and the numerous rivers and swamps they had to cross. Eleven months later when they reached the highlands inhabited by the Muisca nations where the New Kingdom was to be created, over two-thirds of the men had died. None of these men on record had been killed by an Indian up to that point. Shortly after, the Muisca did try to block the advance of the invaders but their weak bellicose tradition, their exceedingly primitive and ineffective arms, and their failure to appreciate that a European style war meant the complete annihilation of one's opponent on the battlefield, doomed their efforts to failure.

The second conquering expedition was led by Nikolaus Federmann under the auspices of the German house of Welser to which Charles V had granted the government of Venezuela. The Welsers were intent on expanding their commercial operations beyond Europe and they were confident that an American passage to the Orient would lead the way to further wealth and power. Venezuela was a good place to start searching for that passage, and, so, the Welsers ordered their agents to investigate the area south of their governorship. While proceeding with those investigations, their agents, the governors of Venezuela, learned about the Xerira and Meta regions where exceptional riches were to be found. Federmann, a veteran in Venezuela, in 1538 set out to find those riches. Partially disobeying orders from Governor Georg Hohermuth von Speyer, he gathered up to 300 men and left the Coro region after frequent disagreements with the royal officials and the colonizing interests of a few citizens. After a year of

traveling around the eastern Llanos inundated during the rainy season, Federmann was informed by the Guayupe Indians that up the mountains there was a rich civilization. He followed the path pointed by the Indians which led the 160 survivors right into the area where Jiménez and his companions were.

While Federmann was climbing the mountains, Jiménez, encamped in the heartland of the Muisca region, sent a group of men down to the Magdalena River Valley to investigate the presence of Spaniards, who, according to some Indians, were advancing into that area. The Indian news was correct. In June 1538 Sebastián de Belalcázar and about 200 men had left the province of Popayán which he had carved out beyond the northern confines of the Peruvian grant given by the Crown to Francisco Pizarro. Belalcázar was searching for a passage to the North Sea which would allow him to go to Spain where he could present his claims for the governorship of the Popayán province. He was also investigating other possible riches which, according to several of his companions who had explored the Orinoco region in search of Meta a few years before lay further to the north. Belalcázar and about 150 of his companions arrived after Federmann, by coincidence, in the area where Jiménez was staying. Since each of the three generals claimed that this densely populated area fell within their jurisdictions, they agreed to present their cases to the courts in Spain. After founding Santa Fe, the first Spanish style city, and giving orders for the establishment of two more, they departed the region they had christened the New Kingdom of Granada accompanied by more than 30 men, leaving behind half of Belalcázar's soldiers (the other half went back to the Popayán

province), most of Jiménez's men and nearly all those who had arrived with Federmann.

When the three generals arrived in the Caribbean port of Cartagena, carrying part of the treasure taken from the Muisca, the news of their success spread out to neighboring Santa Marta. To replace Don Pedro who had died in the interim, the authorities named Jerónimo Lebrón governor of Santa Marta. Upon hearing the good news, he and several merchants organized an expedition to exploit the commercial opportunities represented by over 400 men in great need of all kinds of Spanish goods and whose pockets were lined with gold. Lebrón intended to govern the New Kingdom, for it had been created within the jurisdiction of his governorship, and to contribute to its colonization. So many hardships were faced by he and his companions on the way to the New Kingdom, that out of 300 persons that departed Santa Marta only around 200 reached the Muisca heartland. Lebrón was not accepted by those Europeans already inhabiting that territory who were intent on awaiting the decision of the Spanish court on the case being presented by the three generals. He had no alternative but to return to Santa Marta leaving behind most of his companions whom decided to remain.

The fifth expedition led by Lope Montalvo de Lugo originated after the news of the creation of the New Kingdom reached the province of Venezuela. Its governor, von Speyer, with the help of his second-in-command, Montalvo, wanted to continue his explorations of the southern territories in which much wealth was supposed to exist. Before von Speyer died in 1540, he ordered Montalvo to go to the New Kingdom to help settle the land Federmann had found. Montalvo departed from the Barquisimeto

region with 80 men, all of whom appear to have survived the journey over the same treacherous llanos.

The sixth and last expedition was organized in Spain by Don Pedro's son, Alonso Luis de Lugo, heir to the governorship of Santa Marta. One year prior to departing from Spain he sent a relative ahead to govern in his stead while he gathered all the men and resources necessary to exploit and colonize the land which had been won under the sponsorship of his father. After much hardship encountered on the way Luis de Lugo finally arrived in the New Kingdom in 1543. About 80 men of his original 250 companions died during the journey.

The great majority, if not all the persons who arrived in the New Kingdom between 1537 and 1543 were members of these six expeditions. The dangers in moving up the Magdalena River or across the future Colombo-Venezuelan Llanos prevented individuals and even small groups from traveling from the provinces of Santa Marta and Venezuela to the New Kingdom. Belalcázar's soldiers were restricted from leaving the newly created province of Popayán, but it was conceivable that men could move between it and the New Kingdom, as captain Juan Cabrera and 30 companions did in 1540. The Yalcón Indians, however, effectively sealed off that possibility for at least two years when they killed a group of more than 20 merchants and soldiers who were traveling that way in the wake of Juan Cabrera. In either case, the analysis of which conquerors were active in the New Kingdom between 1537 and 1543 and what their participation was in the conquest and colonization of the New Kingdom follows.

The Conquest--Chapters 3 and 4

Excluding women, children, Indians, and slaves, the total number of male conquerors departing for the New Kingdom in the six expeditions was 1,930. Of these about 930 survived the dangers of the way, and of that number, 651 men have been identified by this study. For the purpose of defining who the survivors were and what characteristics they had in common, two groups of characteristics were studied. The first group corresponds to those determined by birth, namely race, gender, place, and date of birth; the second to those acquired after birth, such as education, religion, previous experiences in Europe and in the Indies, and the economic and social class to which they belonged. Whenever possible the characteristics of these conquerors are compared with those active in the conquest of Peru, Mexico or Panama.

The study of these two groups of personal characteristics reveals that the typical conqueror of the New Kingdom was a white male with a nine out of ten chance of having being born in Spain, most likely in the province of Andalusia or in the two Castiles, or as a third possibility in Extremadura. He was as young as 16 or as old as 62. His median age was 27, which was considered to be quite mature at a time when a 15-year-old could make important decisions about his life, a man of 25 was an adult, and one of 40 could be called an old man. He was born in a Catholic family, but a few of his companions could have been suspected of having converted to Christianity and thus could have been thought of as conversos. He grew up under the sign of the cross, and he may have learned to read and write under the vigilant eye of the ever-present clergy. He could sign his name in nearly 8 out of 10 cases, a large figure for a Spain that at the time

was considered 20 percent literate. Perhaps his not so destitute economic background and his likely middle class origin helps to explain his high literacy rate, which was found quite consistent with that of other conquering expeditions in the Americas.

If this typical conqueror had the opportunity to serve the king in the war theaters of Europe before going to the Indies, his possibilities of being selected to lead a group of men to the New Kingdom increased considerably. That position, in turn, granted him future rights and privileges.

Significant differences existed in the experience of men in the Indies, measured in years, among the members of the various expeditions. Were the typical conqueror to have had previous experience in the conquest of the Indies, his chances of surviving the travails of the expeditions improved significantly. The greenest or chapetones, as they were called, were found in the groups led by Jiménez and Luis de Lugo, whereas the most experienced were among the groups of veterans Federmann, Belalcázar, and Montalvo de Lugo. No evidence has been found of deaths occurring among the men led by Belalcázar and Montalvo de Lugo. Generalizing, the typical conqueror of the New Kingdom had about a 50 percent chance of being a 5-to 9-year veteran of the Indies.

The expense of the Atlantic passage eliminated those individuals at the lowest end of the lower economic class. As a result, the largest percentage of conquerors were of middle economic means, followed in numbers by those from the high-middle layer of the lower economic class and finally by a small percentage of comparatively wealthy



persons. Most of them, including the typical conqueror, however, were most likely from the lower layer of the middle economic class.

The study of the social class of the conquerors upon their arrival in the Indies is handicapped by a lack of information on their backgrounds. Whatever data are found generally apply to the leaders, officials, and the cavalry of the expeditions, and nearly nothing is known about the foot soldier. After studying all available social and economic information, however, a tentative social classification was devised which proved to be rather acceptable for those conquerors with higher military and civilian responsibilities, but inadequate for the rest. To fill that void, the better known social classes of the conquerors active in Panama from 1519 to 1522 has been used as a comparative and complementary source. The result is a proposed socio-economic classification of the conquerors of the New Kingdom which suggests that their most probable social origin was the Spanish middle class, and, as secondly, the high-middle layer of the lower social class. The subject of social class is discussed again in Chapter 7 in order to show how the conquerors organized their society as colonizers of the New Kingdom.

#### The Early Colonization--Chapters 5 to 7

After the initial plunder of Indian wealth and the distribution of the booty obtained by the conquerors, they were encouraged by circumstances to change their role to that of colonizers for economic and political gain in the new entity they were to create. Although a good percentage of the leaders of Gonzalo Jiménez's expedition were so content with their share of the booty that they returned to Spain, and about half

of Belalcázar's men were asked to go back to establish Neiva, the other men of the first three expeditions remained in the conquered land. The contributions of those who stayed in creating the New Kingdom and giving it a civilian identity through the founding of cities was prompt and significant. Upon establishing Santa Fe its highest authority, the cabildo, was created. This city council in turn recognized Gonzalo Jiménez as the highest head of government. By that simple expedient, he became the ruler of the province which he named the New Kingdom of Granada, under which jurisdiction two additional full-fledged Castilian-style municipalities, Vélez and Tunja, were soon to be established. From then on, Jiménez or his successor was to preside over the government of the province and to be its supreme judicial authority, leaving most of the legislative powers to the city councils which were to rule their corresponding districts rather freely.

Once the members of the first three expeditions had the opportunity of sharing political power in the first three established cities by becoming members of their city councils, they held that control rather tightly for much of the rest of their lives, to the exclusion of those who came later. Those men who arrived in later expeditions had to content themselves with participation in the municipal government of other cities they helped to establish afterwards. The benefits they obtained were encouraging enough for they continued establishing cities. From 1539 to 1576, 456 of these men settled 24 cities. Of those, 17 continued without interruptions until today, and, of the vanished cities, four were re-established and only three left no trace.

Upon the founding of cities, the distribution of natives among the conquerors who were to reside in their districts was the next step undertaken. With legally questionable authority, Jiménez and his successor distributed Indian encomiendas, or repartimientos as they called them, among their men and those who had arrived with Federmann and Belalcázar. Probably all these men and a good percentage of those who came in the succeeding expeditions became encomenderos. What was demonstrated, however, was that those arriving with the first three expeditions received prized Indian grants located in the districts of Santa Fe and Tunja, and to a lesser extent in poorer Vélez, whereas the remaining groups had to wait until others were available in the districts of cities they helped to establish. A total of 276 members of the expeditions considered here, or almost one half, are known to have been favored with encomiendas. These provided the conquerors with their main means of economic support through the receipt of Indian tribute and what the natives could produce by laboring on the land, tending flocks, mining various minerals, or transporting on their backs all goods at a time when beasts of burden had not yet been imported.

The economic success attained by the encomenderos reinforced their claims of priority to government posts, especially in the locally influential and rewarding positions in the city councils. The political and economic privileges they gained helped them to support, in turn, their claims to a more distinguished social status than they originally had, as was clearly the case of those who felt they were hidalgos or members of the low nobility.

The number of conquerors claiming a noble status after establishing residence in the New Kingdom grew from 10 to 70. In contrast to the original 10, who could prove their social status by presenting their corresponding title, or ejecutoria, the other 60 did not feel it was necessary to do so in the New Kingdom, though it was required in Spain. They simply claimed they were hidalgos notorios, meaning their noble condition was so obvious and of such common knowledge, or notable, that they could even present witnesses to prove it. By that resource they became sort of de-facto noblemen. Considering how easy those claims could be made, however, their numbers were not that great: only 70 of 651 conquerors, or 11 percent of the total, which was precisely the same percentage of hidalgos existing in the kingdoms of Castile and León at the time. However reduced their numbers, their status demonstrated that the conquest of the New Kingdom was offering those participants who remained to become first colonizers significant social advancement in addition to the economic opportunities previously indicated.

A good proportion of white society, therefore, was made up of privileged encomenderos. Nearly all the claimants to a noble status were part of this group also. Of the remaining holders of Indian grants professionals, scribes and other government employees, merchants, transporters, and even artisans were included. There were differences in the size of the grants; they ranged from a few dozen Indian subjects to three thousand or so. But for all the noted differences the encomenderos can be viewed at the beginning of the colonial period only, as a group with claims to the first rungs of white society, divided in broader terms in two, the hidalgo-encomendero and the encomendero.

Besides the encomenderos, there were other members of white society who plied their trades and practiced their professions, some socially on a par with the encomenderos themselves. There were six large merchants and three smaller ones. Three men were professionals, two people held important crown commissions, and 13 others were scribes and minor government employees. There were also 24 priests and 13 artisans. The poet Lorenzo Martín should also be included in this group, yet the musician Martín de Vergara cannot be counted twice for he had an Indian grant. For all the diversity in their political and economic power, all these people forming white society had something in common that was more meaningful during the first two decades or so, or before pressing economic problems sharpened the differences among them: all felt they formed the cream of the society they had created, far above Indians, Africans, and those that were the result of miscegenation of the three races.

The conquest and colonization processes introduced by the Europeans brought about an enormous upheaval for the Indians of the New Kingdom. Their social and political organizations were nearly destroyed as a result of geographical displacements, wars, imported contagious diseases, and extremely harsh treatment at the hands of the invaders. Their economic order was seriously affected by the early plunder, the ensuing extraction of arbitrary tribute, and the appropriation of a large portion of their labor. The resulting physical, psychological, and moral strain to which they were subjected was responsible for their population collapse, simply dramatic during the first years after contact and continuing in a steep decline for the rest of the sixteenth century.

Anthropologists are quite aware that native groups with more hierarchical and specialized social organizations are more likely to adapt to a conquest imposed by similar or more advanced cultures, whereas less developed societies have more difficulty in adjusting to new circumstances. That is why it is important to know about the social organization of the Indians inhabiting the area where the New Kingdom took shape, and to realize that the Muisca and Guane nations, in particular, had a better chance of survival by being more prone to adapt to the new culture than their socially less-developed neighbors.

Needless to say black slaves often occupied the lowest rungs of society, devoid of privileges granted to the Indians who were not enslaved in the New Kingdom. They were subjected to a permanent and hereditary loss of freedom and humanity. A good number of those who were initially introduced by the conquerors considered here were brought from Spain to work as domestic and shop servants in the cities. They were followed by those brought directly from Africa for the purpose of working the gold mines and to man the river navigation. By 1550, one of the conquerors already had more than 30 slaves working his gold mines and some years later another had purchased 36 in Cartagena; these persons were to swell the lowest ranks of the lowest level of the community, located under the domestic slaves.

The sblings resulting from the miscegenation of Europeans, Indians, and Africans, namely the mestizo and mulatto, were known as castas. Considering the mestizos first, they were the result of 95 known unions of the conquerors considered here with Indian women. Since the total recorded unions of these conquerors is 345, 28 percent of those generated mestizo

children. The number of resulting mestizo children was 20 percent of the total, but it is likely that their actual number was higher. Ninety six percent of the mestizo children were illegitimate. The social position of the ambivalent group of mestizos that moved about the whole community but were closer to European influence, was clearly one level below the European. Mestizos were free, did not have to pay Indian tribute and therefore, were not personally subjected to any European. They were reluctantly given the right to fill low government and ecclesiastic posts, and against much opposition, some succeeded in inheriting encomiendas. Some became priests, scribes, artisans, small local traders, probably farmers, and administrators of Indian grants. Others became distinguished conquerors and settlers of bordering territories.

Mulattos, the resulting casta from the miscegenation of Africans and Europeans, appeared in the New Kingdom shortly after its creation. Socially, they were considered to be a rung above black slaves and one rung below Indians; yet, the fact they might be free or enslaved, and that they might have light or dark skin, counted heavily in the position they occupied in society. They could pass as white if their skin color was light as was probably the case of the mulatto wife of a conqueror, or they could be classed as black slaves as was the case of the son of a conqueror with an enslaved mulatto woman.

The early society molded by the conquerors of the six expeditions and continuing in the New Kingdom through its first decades was cut by ethnic lines. European, or white society, was formed by hidalgos, whether proven or not, encomenderos, professionals, a few crown officials, merchants large and small, scribes and minor government employees,

artisans, one known farmer, and several secular and regular priests. The emerging mestizo was socially located one level below the European. Indians formed the largest group but in ever-decreasing numbers, at the complete service of the Europeans. The lowest rung of that society was filled by Africans or black slaves, who did not even enjoy the privileges of the Indians. All these people, including the mulattoes, contributed within their capacity, to create and settle the New Kingdom of Granada, an added jewel to the Castilian Crown for nearly the next 300 years.



APPENDIX A  
THE CONQUERORS OF THE NEW KINGDOM OF GRANADA

The following list is alphabetized by the first last name of the conquerors followed by their second last name if any, and after a comma, their first names. Their complete names are followed by the initials of the leader of the conquering expedition with whom they arrived to the New Kingdom, as follows: GJQ = Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada; NF = Nikolaus Federmann; SB = Sebastián de Belalcázar; JC = Juan Cabrera, part of Belalcázar's expedition; JL = Jerónimo Lebrón; LML = Lope Montalvo de Lugo; AS = Alonso Suárez, part of Luis de Lugo's expedition; ALL = Alonso Luis de Lugo. After each conqueror's name a list of the known bibliographical and documental references where details about their lives and activities is given. Please refer to the abbreviations listed in pages x to xiii.

Abriva, Martín de - GJQ

MDR, 251; AGI Justicia 545, fl. 280v.; ANC Audiencia Cundinamarca XIV, fl. 1-786; AGI Justicia 569-3-3.

Acevo Sotelo, Pedro del - GJQ

RR, 328; AGI Patronato 153-3; AGI Patronato 156-11; JF1, 192; FDHNR V, 236-247, VIII, 376.

Acevo Sotelo, Pedro del - ALL

ANC Historia Civil XX, fl. 627-663; DIHC VI, 187-188; DIHC VII, 112-114.

Acuña, Lope de - ALL

FAZ I, 289-298, II, 14; FDHNR I, 292; FPS IV, 174..

Agostino, Gonzalo - XXX

ANC Encomiendas VIII, fl. 948-970; DIHC IX, 86.

Aguayo, Jerónimo de - JL

AGI Justicia 546, fl. 1150v.-1154, Justicia 1102-3; CPI II, 29; JC IV, 355; JFO I, 169; LFP I, 200, 335; CDT I, 86, 101, 110, 161, 192-193; FPS IV, 162; FAL I, 9, 53, FAL II, 264; DIHC VII, 103-109, and IX, 297, 298; FDHNR I, 72-80; AGI Patronato 1102-3; Pablo Ojer, La formación del oriente venezolano (Caracas, 1967), pp. 194-197.

Aguilar, Alonso de - GJQ

RR, 39; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja VI, fl. 17-74.

- Aguilar, Antón de - SB  
AGI Justicia 1123, DIHC VI, 118-130.
- Aguilar, Diego de - GJQ  
MDR, 251; FPA IV, 286; FPS III, 250; AGI Justicia 534B-1, fl. 1-6; AGI Justicia 1102, Juan Tafur vs. Diego de Aguilar.
- Aguirre, Domingo de - GJQ  
RR, 40; DIHC VII, 89-90; AGI Justicia 1116B; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja V, fl. 390-413.
- Aguirre, Maese Francisco de - NF  
JFO I, 177; ANC Historia Civil VII, fl. 212-222v.; RR, 221.
- Aguirre, Martín de - GJQ  
CPI II, 38; MDR, 251; JF1, 152.
- Aguirre, Miguel de - XXX  
CPI II, 16; CDT I, 161.
- Albarracín, Juan de -GJQ  
DIHC VI, 273-274; FPA I, 188, 215; JF1, 142, 146, 150; DIHC V, 143; BHA XI, 627-628; JRF, 78; AGI Justicia 990; AGI Justicia 534B.
- Alcalá, Juan de - GJQ  
RR, 43; AGI Patronato 153-7-2.
- Alcalá, Juan de - JL  
JFO I, 186.
- Alcarazo, Antonio de - ALL  
AGI Justicia 561, fl. 900; AGI Justicia 117B, fl. 16-16v; DIHC VI, 269-271; FAL I, 29-31.
- Alcocer, Hernando de - NF  
AGI Patronato 162-1-1; JC II, 95, 119; FPS I, 213-214; FPS III, 356; JFO I, 176; AGI Patronato 150-13; LFP II, 556, 668; AGI Justicia 552, fl. 267; BHA XXVII, 524; Alejandro Carranza, San Dionisio de los Caballeros de Tocaima (Bogotá, 1941), pp. 35-36; Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, Cabildos de Santa Fe de Bogotá (Bogotá, 1957), p. 41.
- Alderete, Francisco - NF  
FPS I, 392; JFO I, 174; JRF, 88; RR, 24.
- Alejo - JL  
JFO I, 184.
- Alemán, Cristóbal - LML  
AGI Patronato 159-2-2.

Alemán, Juan - NF

LFP I, 307; EOR I, 168, II, 81, 268; ANC Caciques e Indios XVII, fl. 39. ANC Cíviles Boyacá XI, fl. 101-164; ANC Cíviles Boyacá XV, fl. 40-734; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja VI a) and e), 1573; ANC Tierras Boyacá XXVI, fl. 246-328.

Alemán, Nicolao - NF

JFO I, 177; ANC Historia Civil XXII, fl. 315; AGI Patronato 150-13; DIHC VII, 255; Agustín de Zárate, Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1946-47), 1, p. 507; DIHC IX, 81; AGI Justicia 489-3; ANC Caciques e Indios LIX, fl. 425; AGI Patronato 162-1-8; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 89-1-3a.

Almarcha, Sebastián de - NF

EAF, 228; LFP I, 307; PFS III, 356; JRF, 85; JF2, 363, 364, 365; JRPV I, 248; CDT I, 80-157, 175; JOB I, 180; Enrique Otte, Cedulario de las provincias de Venezuela, 1529-1552, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1982), 2, pp. 211-212; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 128-2-31.

Almonte, Fernando - ALL

AGI Justicia 1095; DIHC VII, 74, 82.

Alonso, Juan - GJQ

MDR, 250, 253; ANC Miscelánea XXVII, fl. 427-476; ANC Notaria Primera Bogotá, Sep. 1569, fl. 683-684; JFO I, 186.

Alonso de la Torre, Juan - GJQ

RR, 44; ANC Residencias Santander LVI, fl. 549-672; ANC Encomiendas XI, fl. 275v. to 303; ANC Encomiendas XVI, fl. 43-84; ANC Historia Civil XXII; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 127-1-13.

Alonso, Rodrigo - SB

AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122, fl. 1 to 3; DIHC VII, 229-230.

Alvarado, Pedro - GJQ

MDR, 251; JF1, 152; JC IV, 344; FPS IV, 46.

Alvarez de Acevedo, Francisco - JL

DIHC V, 235; JFO I, 185; FDHNR VII, 288; AGI Patronato 154-2-4; AGI Audiencia Santo Domingo 11-2-34.

Alvarez de Acuña, Francisco - NF

ANC Audiencia Cundinamarca XVII, fl. 41; JFO I, 175, II, 27; LFP I, 306; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 234-2-28; DIHC III, 94; AGI Justicia 507-1; EOR I, 102, 216.

Alvarez, Melchor - ALL

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Alvear, Cristóbal de - LML

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- Andrada, Francisco de - JL  
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- Angulo, Cristóbal de - NF  
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- Angulo, Juan de - JL  
AGI Patronato 155-1-5; JFO Arbol II par. 4; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 123-2-11; AGI Patronato 162-1-1; ANC Residencias Santander LVI, fl. 720v-722.
- Añez, Rodrigo - LML  
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- Añez, Pero - GJQ  
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- Aranda, Alonso de - JL  
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- Aranda, Francisco de - NF  
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- Aranda, Pedro de - NF  
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- Ardila, Pedro de - JL  
JFO Arbol XVIII, par. 5; ANC Caciques e Indios LXV, fl. 259-314; EOD, 145-160.
- Arenas, Diego de - ALL  
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- Arévalo, Juan de - SB  
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- Arias, Francisco - JL  
FPA I, 368; FDHNR I, 58; GHA, 68-69; DIHC VII, 110; EOR I, 129-130; ANC Criminales CXLVII, fl. 719-985.
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- Aroca, Juan de - GJQ  
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- Aroche, Juan de - GJQ  
MDR, 252-253; JF1, 142-143, 152-153.
- Arteaga, Alonso de - ALL  
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- Avellaneda Temiño, Juan de - NF  
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- Bahamón de Lugo, Francisco - ALL  
AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122-4-31; AGI Justicia 1096; AGI Justicia 1117B; DIHC VII, 118; DIHC X, 338-339; FDHNR VI, 126-131, 183-187, 225-250, 394; María Carmen Borrego Plá, Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVI (Sevilla, 1983), pp. 198 to 200, 203, 229, 255, 271, 280-287, 385-386, 507-509; JFO III, 123.
- Baillo, Diego de - NF  
AGI Patronato 153-4-1; ARB Notaría Primera de Tunja I, fl. 439.
- Barajas, Francisco de - ALL  
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- Barranco, Pedro - GJQ  
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- Barrera, Juan - JL  
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- Basto, Simón del - LML  
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- Bedón, Pedro - LML  
AGI Patronato 115-1-3.
- Bejarano, Beatriz de - SB  
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- Benavides, Francisco de - JL  
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- Bermúdez, Antonio - GJQ  
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 AGI Justicia 549 fl. 352; JFO I, 190; LFP II, 419; FPS IV, 152; AGI Patronato 156-1-5; AGI Patronato 165-3-1.
- Bernal, Honorato Vicente - NF  
 AGI Justicia 507-1; DIHC III, 92, VI, 286, IX, 61, X, 251; JRPV I, 439-440; EAF, 126; AGI Justicia 1096; AGI Justicia 548; AGI Justicia 1117B; AGI Indiferente General 1210.
- Beteta, Hernando de - NF  
 AGI Justicia 548 No. 1, fl. 1; JC II, 43; JRPV I, 190, 196, 249, 250; FPS I, 480; FPA III, 472; JOB I, 44, 50; AGI Justicia 56-2-1; EAF, 137; CDT I, 75, 81, 108, 161; BHA XXVI, 327; AGI Justicia 546, AGI Justicia 547 fl. 72v; DIHC IX, 61-99, 227, 343; FAL I, 235, V, 7.
- Bezoz, Antón - NF  
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- Bravo de Rivera, Pedro - GJQ  
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- Brizeño, Pedro de - ALL  
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Cabrera de Sosa, Antonio - ALL

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Cabrera, Juan - CJC

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Cáceres, Juan de - GJQ

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Calvache, Diego - GJQ

MDR, 250; JF1, 151; FPS III, 356; JFO I, 167.

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Calvo, Bartolomé - CJC

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Camacho, Bartolomé - GJQ

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Campana, Santiago - NF

JC IV, 328; FPS IV, 34; AGI Patronato 150-13; ANC Encomiendas XXIX, fl. 751; ANC Encomiendas XI, fl. 257; CPI II, 56.

Campo, Ambrosio de - JL

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Campo, Juan del - XXX

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Campo, Pedro del - JL

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- Cano, Juil - LML  
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- Caro, Luis - NF  
AGI Patronato 158-3-3; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 87-1-3; CPI I, 270; JRPV I, 140, 157; EAF I, 132; JFO I, 177; CJA, 426.
- Carvajal, Jerónimo de - AS  
CDT I, 223; JFO Arbol XI, par. 88; ANC Encomiendas XIV, fl. 2-2v.; DIHC VII, 118; FAL I, 53, II, 225 and 230; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 235-1-3; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja VII, fl. 53 and XI, fl. 93-354; ANC Fincas de Antioquia y Boyacá Tomo único, fl. 254-294.
- Carrasco, Pedro - JL  
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- Casas, Domingo de las - GJQ  
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- Castañeda, Francisco de - ALL  
AGI Justicia 545, fl. 584; FAL I, 55-56; DIHC IX, 85.
- Castellanos, Agustín - ALL  
AGI Patronato 156-1-5; AGI Patronato 152-3; AGI Patronato 163-1-13; AGI Patronato 154-1-1; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 89-3A; JFO I, 189; EOR I, 238.
- Castellanos, Juan - GJQ  
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AGI Patronato 165-3-1; AGI Patronato 156-1-5; DIHC IX, 64, 70, 83, 91.
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- Castro, Juan de - NF  
CPI I, 284; FPS I, 392, 396; JC I, 409; LFP I, 306, 409; JFO I, 176; FPA II, 334; JFO Arbol XXV, par. 1.
- Catalán - GJQ  
MDR, 253; JF1, 144, 146.
- Céspedes, Francisco de - SB  
JFO Arbol II, par. 33 and I, 179; MAEM, 606; AGI Patronato 153-3-1; EOR I, 45 and II, 14.
- Céspedes, Juan de - GJQ  
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- Céspedes, María de - JL  
FPS IV, 56; CPI VI, 243; JFO Arbol 4, par. 10.
- Chamozo, Francisco - JL  
AGI Justicia 534A-1-1, fl. 152; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 2v.; ANC Caciques e Indios LIX, fl. 399-441; ANC Miscelánea I, fl. 216-219v.; AGI Patronato 160-1-3; FPA I, 611, 638.
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- Chichilla, Francisco de - JL  
JFO I, 185; LFP I, 337; FAL V, 20, 35; DIHC IX, 79; FDHNR I, 128-129.
- Chinchilla, Juan de - JL  
AGI Patronato 153-9-1; FPS III, 355; JFO I, 186, III, 210; CDT I, 179; AGI Justicia 561, question No. 125; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja V, fl. 74-129; AGI Indiferente General 1217; CPI IV, 387; EOR II, 89-90; MAEM, 591.
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- Collantes, Mencia de - CJC  
JFO Arbol XXIX, par. 76-111; LFP I, 311.
- Contreras, Francisco de - NF  
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AGI Patronato 115-1-3; AGI Patronato 159-2-2; JRPV I, 196.
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JRPV I, 252; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 135v.
- Criado - GJQ  
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- Cuellar, Baltasar de - SB  
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- Cuenca, Juan de - JL  
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178, 184, 192; JFO Arbol III and I, 375; LFP II, 507; DIHC IX, 65,  
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- Cuevas, Gonzalo de - ALL  
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- Dávila, Juan - SB  
AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122, fl. 1-3.
- Daza, Gaspar - XXX  
ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 135v.
- Daza, Luis - SB  
AGI Patronato 56-2 partially transcribed in Demetrio Ramos, El  
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- Daza de Madrid, Pedro - GJQ  
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AGI Patronato 60-1-4; CDT I, 24.
- Delgadillo, Gaspar - JL  
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- Delgado, Diego - ALL  
JFO Arbol XVIII, par. 14; FPS IV, 377-388; LFP II, 708.
- Delgado, Juan - NF  
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- Dencaso, Pedro - ALL  
AGI Patronato 153-13-3.
- Díaz, Alonso - GJQ  
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- Díaz, Alfonso - AS  
AGI Patronato 153-15-1; JFO Arbol VI, par. 20; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 149v; ANC Encomiendas IX, fl. 310-312.
- Díaz Cardozo, Antonio - GJQ  
RR, 106; JF1, 251; DIHC VI, 144; AGI Patronato 153-4-1; DIHC VIII, 232; CPI III, 244, 248, 275; AGI Indiferente General 1212, year 1555.
- Díaz, Francisco - JL  
AGI Patronato 157-2-4; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 86, fl. 354; FPS III, 356; JFO I, 168, 185.
- Díaz de la Fuente, Hernando - SB  
AGI Patronato 102-1-6.
- Díaz, Jácome - NF  
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- Díaz, Juan - GJQ  
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- Díaz, Juan - ALL  
AGI Justicia 1095, Costelo vs. Alonso Luis de Lugo.
- Díaz Carrillo, Juan - SB  
AGI Patronato 112-1-4; AGI Patronato 157-2-4; AGI Patronato 158-3-6.
- Díaz Hidalgo, Juan - SB  
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- Díaz, Mari - AS  
JFO Arbol VI, par. 20.
- Díaz, Pedro - LML  
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Díaz, Simón - GJQ

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Domínguez, Ana - ALL

ARB Notaría Primera de Tunja I, fl. 26; FPS IV, 216; ANC Caciques e Indios XXIV, fl. 560-664; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 163.

Domínguez de las Canoas, Juan - GJQ

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Eslava, Juan - LML

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Espinosa, Diego de - NF

AGI Patronato 162-2-1; ANC Historia Civil XV; JC I, 426; ANC Miscelánea II, fl. 3-10v; FPS III, 356, IV, 174-179; JFO I, 175; LFP I, 306; ANC Caciques e Indios XVII, fl. 476; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 85-2-20 and 85-3; AGI Patronato 158-4-1; AGI Patronato 159-4-6; AGI Patronato 162-1-2; ANC Caciques e Indios XLVIII, fl. 618-621; AGI Patronato 162-2-5.

- Esquivel, Antón de - SB  
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- Fábregas, Melchor de - XXX  
 AGI Justicia 1123-4-1; DIHC VII, 131-141; BHA XXVI, 302-303; DIHC  
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- Feo, Luís - ALL  
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- Fernández, Alonso - NF  
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- Fernández de Iniesta, Alonso - SB  
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- Fernández Gallego, Antonio - LML  
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- Fernández de Madrigal, Diego - NF  
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- Fernández, Juan - GJQ  
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- Fernández de Valenzuela, Juan - GJQ  
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- Fernández Bolegán, Pedro - NF  
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- Fernández de Valenzuela, Pedro - GJQ  
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- Figueredo, Francisco de - GJQ  
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- Figueredo, Juan de - JL  
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- Figueroa, Martín de - JL  
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- Flamenco, Antón - NF  
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- Flórez de Avila, Alonso - ALL  
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- Fonte, Lázaro - GJQ  
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- Franco, Diego - GJQ  
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- Franco, Francisco - ALL  
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- Frías, Diego de - GJQ  
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- Frías, Pedro - JL  
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- Fuerte, Juan - NF  
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- Galeano, Martín - GJQ  
FDHNR I, 147, 284, II, 185, 194; AGI Justicia 1102-3-1; CPI III, 152; DF, 55-62; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 124v; ANC Residencias Santander LVI, fl. 549 to 672; RR, 136-147.
- Galeano, Pedro - XXX  
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- Gallegos, Maese Juan - LML  
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- Gallegos, Hernán - NF  
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- Gamboa, Juan de - JL  
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- García Matamoros, Alonso - JL  
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- García de Cabezón, Diego - NL  
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- García Pacheco, Diego - JL  
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- García, Francisco - JL  
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- García, Gonzalo - NF  
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- García de Lemos, Juan - SB  
 J. Jijon y Caamano, Sebastián de Belalcázar (Quito, 1936), p. 255; DIHC VI, 104.
- García Manchado, Juan - GJQ  
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- García, Juana - ALL  
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- García de las Cañas, Pedro - GJQ  
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- García Matamoros, Pedro - JL  
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- García Ruiz, Pedro - JL  
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- García Velázquez, Pedro - JL  
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- Garibay, Hernando de - JL  
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- Gascón, Cristóbal - XXX  
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- Gascón, Juan - SB  
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- Gasparillo, - JL  
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- Gil, Pedro - XXX  
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- Gómez Sesquillo, Alonso - GJQ  
AGI Patronato 154-2-6; ANC Residencias de Santander LVI, fl. 569v-579v; AGI Patronato 155-1-5; MDR, 250; JF1, 151.
- Gómez Nieto, Cristóbal - NF  
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- Gómez, Diego - GJQ  
AGI Justicia 492-1; JC IV, 220, 430, 503; FPS III, 233 and IV, 153; DIHC IX, 321, 349; MDR, 251; JF1, 151.
- Gómez, Francisco - GJQ  
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- Gómez, Gaspar - XXX  
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- Gómez Castillejo, Hernán - GJQ  
AGI Patronato 154-3-1; MDR, 249; JF1, 150; CDT I, 92; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 136; AGI Justicia 552; Jose de la Torre, "Hernán Gómez Castillejo," in BHA XXXIII, 307-312; MAEM, 612; JFO I, 169.
- Gómez de Córdoba, Juan - XXX  
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- Gómez Portillo, Juan - GJQ  
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- Gómez, Leonor - AS  
JFO Arbol VI, par. 20; Miguel Aguilera, "Historia del Pueblo de la Serrezuela (Madrid)," in BHA XXXVII, 423-425.
- Gómez de Orozco, Pedro - GJQ  
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- González, Baltasar - SB  
AGI Patronato 155-1-5; AGI Patronato 163-1-10; ANC Historia Civil XVIII; AGI Patronato 153-3-8; DIHC V, 360; CDQ I, 53.
- González, Bartolomé - NF  
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- González de Trujillo, Francisco - GJQ  
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- González del Prado, Juan - GJQ  
MDR, 250; JF1, 151; RR, 163; AGI Justicia 552, fl. 274; ANC Criminales LXVIII, fl. 981-1005; AGI Justicia 566, fl. 772; JC IV, 299; FPS IV, 10; JFO I, 171; LFP I, 329.
- González, Juan - GJQ  
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- González, Martín - LML  
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- Granada, Hernando de - SB  
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- Griego, Nicolao - XXX  
AGI Patronato 195-12; DIHC VII, 88.

- Guemez, Juan de - GJQ  
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- Guevara, Domingo de - NF  
JFO Arbol XXXII; CPI I, 364; AGI Patronato 157-2-7; ANC Historia Civil XVII, fl. 86-93v; AGI Patronato 168-2-1; LFP II, 716; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 123-2-17.
- Guillebién, - GJQ  
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- Guillén, Juan - JL  
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- Gutiérrez, Eloísa - ALL  
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- Gutiérrez, Francisco - XXX  
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- Gutiérrez de Murcia, Francisco - ALL  
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- Gutiérrez de Murcia, Francisco - ALL  
AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 83-4; JFO I, 189, 227; MAEM, 613; LFP I, 337.
- Gutiérrez de Aguilón, Juan - NF  
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- Gutiérrez, Pedro - NF  
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- Gutiérrez de Aponte, Pedro - JL  
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- Hernández, Agustín - XXX  
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- Hernández, Alonso - GJQ  
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- Hernández de Ledesma, Alonso - GJQ  
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- Hernández, Antonio - GJQ  
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- Hernández, Antonio - ALL  
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- Hernández Herreño, Bartolomé - NF  
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- Hernández de León, Bartolomé - LML  
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- Hernández, Francisco - GJQ  
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- Hernández, Francisco - SB  
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- Hernández de Ecija, Francisco - NF  
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- Hernández Hermoso, Francisco - JL  
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- Hernández, Gonzalo - JL  
AGI Patronato 158-3-4; ANC Encomiendas XXIX-24, fl. 717; EOD, 47.
- Hernández, Luis - NF  
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- Hernández, Marcos - XXX  
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- Hernández de Aguilar, Pedro - GJQ  
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- Hito, García del - GJQ  
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- Holguín, Miguel - NF  
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- Hoyos, Alonso de - SB  
AGI Indiferente General 1210, August 1552; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe  
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- Hurtado, Teodosio - LML  
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- Illanes, Bernardino - JL  
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- Inga, Francisca - SB  
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- Inga, Pedro - SB  
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- Inza, Jerónimo de la - GJQ  
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- Iñiguez, Francisco - LML  
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- Izquierdo, Juan - JGQ  
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- Jiménez de Quesada, Francisco - CJC  
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- Jorge, Andrés - JL  
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- Jorge, Pero - XXX  
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- Julián - GJQ  
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- Junco, Juan del - GJQ  
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Lebrija, Antonio de - GJQ

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Ledesma, Francisco de - ALL

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- López de Clavijo, Andrés - AS  
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- López Camarena, Antón - JL  
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- López, Catalina - XXX  
 AGI Justicia 1115-2.
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- López, Gregorio - XXX  
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- López de Mendoza, Iñigo - JL  
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- López, Juan - GJQ  
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- López de Salazar, Lázaro - JL  
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- Loranza, Melchor de - JL  
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- Lorenzo, Bartolomé - SB  
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CPI II, 15; JFO I, 186; MAEM, 608.
- Lozano, Domingo - NF  
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- Lozano, Sebastián - ALL  
AGI Patronato 156-1-5; DIHC VII, 238-278; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 139; JFO I, 180.
- Ludueña, Francisco de - XXX  
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- Luján, Antonio de - ALL  
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- Macías, Gonzalo - GJQ  
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- Macías, Juan - LML  
 ANC Historia Civil XVI, fl. 742-828; AGI Justicia 546, fl. 1225.
- Machetero, Pedro - JL  
 JC IV, 379, 383, 386; FPS IV, 72-73; LFP I, 392, 337, 394.
- Maldonado, Baltasar - GJQ  
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- Maldonado, Juan - GJQ  
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- Maldonado Dorado, Francisco - NF  
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- Mangalonga - ALL  
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- Manjarrés, Alonso de - NF  
 AGI Justicia 549-1, fl. 1 to 69; CPI I, 358.
- Manjarrés, Luis de - JL  
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- Martín, Alonso - JL  
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- Martín Cobo, Alonso - GJQ  
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- Martín, el mozo, Alonso - GJQ  
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- Martín de Quesada, Alonso - NF  
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ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 1 to 6v.; AGI Justicia 534A-1-1, fl. 1.
- Martín Calvillo, Andrés - JL  
AGI Patronato 152-3, fl. 307; CDP, see its Index; GC, 34.
- Martín, Cristóbal - AS  
ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja VII, fl. 53.
- Martín Hiniesta, Diego - GJQ  
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- Martín, Gil - SB  
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- Martín, Hernán - GJQ  
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- Martín, Juan - GJQ  
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- Martín Hincapié, Juan - NF  
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- Martín, Lorenzo - JL  
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- Martín, Lorenzo - ALL  
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- Martín de Benavides, Lorenzo - JL  
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- Martín, Mateo - XXX  
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- Martín, Nicolás - SB  
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- Martín, Pedro Blasco - JL  
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- Martín, Salvador - LML  
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- Martínez, Antonio - ALL  
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AGI Justicia 153-15-1.
- Matarrubia - GJQ  
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- Mateos, Pedro - JL  
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- Mayorga, Juan de - ALL  
JFO Arbol XLII and Arbol XXXIX, par. 4; CPI I, 374; ANC Caciques e  
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- Medrano, Francisco - GJQ  
JFO I, 168; MDR, 250; JF1, 151.
- Mejía, Lorenzo - ALL  
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- Melgar, Antonio de - ALL  
AGI Justicia 1115-3-3; AGI Justicia 1115-3-4.
- Melgarejo, Francisco - JL  
JC IV, 350; AGI Patronato 153-9-1; MAEM, 593; JFO Arbol XIII, par.  
65; EOR II, 159.
- Melo, Cacique - JL  
JC IV, 357; FPS IV, 56, 63, 70; LFP I, 344.
- Méndez, Bernabé - NF  
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- Mendoza, Sancho de - XXX  
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- Mesa, Pedro de - SB  
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- Mestanza, Francisco de - GJQ  
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- México, Catalina de - ALL  
AGI Justicia 549-2-2, fl. 206-492.
- Mideros, Luis de - CJC  
AGI Patronato 114-12; AGI Patronato 112-1-2; JC III, 395; FPS V, 243, 337; DIHC VI, 103.
- Miguel, Alonso - SB  
AGI Patronato 27-18; DIHC V, 304.
- Miraval, Blas - AS  
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- Miranda, Alonso de - NF  
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- Miranda, Cristóbal de - NF  
AGI Patronato 150-13; JFO I, 179; CJA, 427; FPS III, 356; CPI I, 349.
- Miranda, Pedro de - NF  
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- Miranda, Pedro de - JL  
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- Mojica, Francisco de - CJC  
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- Molina, Pedro de - NF  
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CPI I, 358; JFO I, 175 and Arbol XI, par. 26; LFP I, 306; FPS III, 356; RR, 29; CDT I, 140; ANC Testamentarias Boyacá V, fl. 521; ANC Visitas Boyacá XI, fl. 672; ARB Notaría Primera Tunja, year 1564, fl. 113; ANC Visitas Boyacá III, fl. 561.
- Montalván, Adrián de - JL  
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- Montalvo, Juan de - GJQ  
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- Montalvo, Juan de - ALL  
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- Montañez, Diego - GJQ  
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- Montañez, Juan - GJQ  
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- Montemayor, Juan de - JL  
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AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122-3-21; JFO I, 185; LFP I, 337.
- Mora, Hernando de - ALL  
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- Morales, Alonso de - GJQ  
AGI Patronato 195-12; DIHC VII, 34, IX, 94; MDR, 252; JF1, 152; JFO I, 166; RR, 29.

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- Morán - JL  
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- Moratín, Baltasar - NF  
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AGI Justicia 1115-2.
- Moreno, Alonso - NF  
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- Moreno, Pedro - NF  
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- Moscoso, Juan de - JL  
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JC IV, 357; LFP I, 336; JFO I, 186.
- Mujica, Juan de - XXX  
AGI Justicia 1096, Villaviciosa vs. Torres.
- Muñoz, Hernán - ALL  
AGI Patronato 155-1-12, probanza Gaspar Torres, 1562.
- Muñoz de Collantes, Juan - CJC  
JFO I, 150-151, and Arbol XXIX; LFP I, 311; FPA I, 161, 168, 171-  
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- Murcia, Francisco de - NF  
AGI Patronato 162-1-1; EAF, 129, 132; FPS III, 356; JFO I, 175; JC  
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- Murieles, Rodrigo - JL  
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- Narvaes, Luis - SB  
 AGI Patronato 153-13; FPS V, 237; JC III, 378.
- Navarro, Hernando - GJQ  
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- Navarro, Pablo - NF  
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- Negra, Isabel - JL  
 ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 3, 138; RR, 380.
- Negro, Antón - JL  
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- Negro, Diego - JL  
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- Negro, Francisco - JL  
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 ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 3.
- Negros, Quince - ALL  
 AGI Justicia 561, fl. 898; ANC Historia Civil XVIII, fl. 818-848;  
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- Nidos, Cristóbal de los - JL  
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 JC I, 441-492; FPA I, 455-480; AGI Justicia 56-2-1, fl. 37v-41v;  
 EAF, 137-159; ARB Notaría Primera de Tunja I, fl. 430; AGI Patronato 115-1-3.
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- Nicaragua, Inés de - JL  
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- Núñez Cabrera, Pedro - GJQ  
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- Olmeda, Jorge de - NF  
 RR, 392; BHA XXII, 225; EAF, 143; CDT I, 11, 24, 53, 79, 105, 109.
- Olmos, Juan de - GJQ  
 RR, 218; AGI Patronato 195-12, fl. 60v.; JFO Arbol XII.

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 MDR, 250; JFI, 151.
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- Orozco, Juan de - CJC  
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- Ortega, Juan de - GJQ  
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- Ortiz de Zárate, Juan - JL  
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- Otáñez, Miguel de - GJQ  
 MDR, 253; JF1, 144; ANC Historia Civil XXII, fl. 299-351; LFP II, 668.
- Oviedo, Miguel de - JL  
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- Oyón, Gonzalo de - JL  
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- Palacio, Juan de - GJQ  
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- Palazuelos de Orellana, Francisco - ALL  
 AGI Patronato 152-3; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122-4-31; CDP, 417; GC, 38.
- Palencia, Nicolás de -LML  
 JFO Arbol XIV, par. 31; FPA III, 105, 141, 144; FPS I, 337-377; LFP II, 645; JRPV I, 507; JOB I, 204; AGI Patronato 152-3; CDP, 1-5, 21, 36, 66, 117, 121, 122, 125, 150, 157, 165, 179, 182, 195, 203, 205, 232, 248, 253, 263, 295; GC, 34; Vicente Davila, Próceres Merideños (Mérida, 1970), p. 241.
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- Palomares - JL  
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- Paniagua, Alonso de - GJQ  
 FPA I, 347; FPS III, 356; JF1, 152; JFO I, 167; RR, 399; CDT I, 22, 89; ANC Caciques e Indios XXIV, fl. 560-664; AGI Patronato 152-3.
- Paredes Calderón, Diego - GJQ  
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- Paredes Calvo, Diego - JL  
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- Partearroyo, Diego de - JL  
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- Penagos, Juan - ALL  
 JFO I, 190 and Arbol XLI, par. 1; FDHRN III, 354-362, IV, 61-65, 163, V, 155-162, 232, 249-254; ANC Criminales CXXXVII, fl. 936-943; EOR I, 99-101, 1-3, 207, 260, 278, 281-282, II, 97-98, 107, 146; Mario Germán Romero, Fray Juan de los Barrios y la evangelización del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá, 1960), pp. 65-66, 100, 111, 113, 118; FPA II, 308-337; FPS IV, 416; JFO III, 148, 158, 163; MAEM, 614; ANC Tierras de Cundinamarca XLVIII, fl. 595-949; AZ II, 63-64.
- Peña, Antonio de la - ALL  
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- Peña, Gonzalo de la - SB  
 AGI Patronato 158-3-6; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 80-12; DIHC V, 208-210.
- Peña Montoya, Juan de la - ALL  
 JFO Arbol XVIII, par. 14, 17, 41.
- Peñaranda - JL  
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- Pereira, Gonzalo de - GJQ  
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- Pérez, Antón - JL  
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- Pérez de Lara, Antón - JL  
 JC IV, 357; FPS IV, 74, 77; JFO I, 184; LFP I, 336, 388.

- Pérez, Antonio - GJQ  
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- Pérez Malaver, Hernán - NF  
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- Pérez de Quesada, Hernán - GJQ  
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- Peronegro, Juan - NF  
EOD, 28, 179-180, 384; FPS III, 356; JFO I, 176; LFP II, 583; ANC  
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- Perú, Beatriz del - SB  
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- Pinilla, Juan de - GJQ  
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AGI Patronato 162-1-2; JFO Arbol XXIV, par. 1, 3; AGI Justicia  
495-1.
- Porras, Gonzalo de - JL  
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- Porras, Pedro de - NF  
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- Porras, Sebastián de - NF  
EAF, 133; JRPV I, 252; JFO I, 178; LFP II, 307; FPS III, 356; JRF, 86; EOR II, 23; ANC Historia Civil XVIII, fl. 811-848; DIHC VIII, 332.
- Portillo, Antonio - JL  
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AGI Patronato 153-7-2; MDR, 252; DIHC VI, 102, IX, 65, 93, 96; DIHC VII, 89.
- Puelles, Pedro de - SB  
AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 80-12; CDQ I, 25-29, 45-49, 60, 167-171, 238, AGI Justicia 1123, DIHC VI, 118-130; DIHC V, 268-271; CDQ II, 147-151; José Rafael Zarama, Reseña histórica (Pasto, 1942), pp. 123-124; Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, Documentos relativos a don Pedro de la Gasca y Gonzalo Pizarro, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1964), 2, pp. 204-239; AGI Patronato 100-1-7; Eliécer Enríquez, Quito a traves de los siglos (Quito, 1938), p. 31.
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- Quesada, Bernardo de - XXX  
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- Quintanilla, Catalina de - JL  
JFO I, 183 and Arbol XVII, par. 2; RR, 199-200.
- Quintero, Juan - NF  
JFO I, 176; LFP I, 306; ANC Historia Civil XXII, fl. 333; ANC Visitas Santander III, fl. 479-558; AGI Patronato 155-1-5; ANC Caciques e Indios XXXII, fl. 386v; EOD, 165, 167; ANC Encomiendas XIII, fl. 377-382.
- Quintero Príncipe, Pedro - JL  
AGI Patronato 152-3; AGI Patronato 161-1-3; ANC Encomiendas IV, fl. 1017-1044; ANC Historia Civil VII, fl. 212-222; AGI Patronato 166-2-1; ANC Real Audiencia Santa Fe II, fl. 511-593; Eduardo Pacheco, "La Familia Quintero Príncipe," Gaceta histórica, 11:5 to 7 (Cúcuta, 1937), p. 109; Miguel W. Quintero Guzmán, "El Capitán Cristóbal Quintero," BHA LXII, 195-217; GC, 32; CDP, 6, 65, 180, 199, 210, 231, 261, 269, 292.
- Quiralte, Pedro - JL  
CDT I, 115, 146, 147, 173; FAL II, 240; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja V, fl. 181v-185v; MAEM, 595; CPI II, 66.
- Ramírez de Poveda, Alonso - NF  
JFO I, 180 and Arbol XXX, par. 30; FPS III, 356, IV, 19, 89, 415; LFP I, 336, 414; EOD, 359; AGI Patronato 158-3-4; JC IV, 311, 343, 476; AGI Justicia 561, FPA II, 245; ANC Encomiendas XIII, fl. 376, 382; BHA XI, 561.
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AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 89-4; AGI Justicia 1106-2-6.
- Ramírez, Isabel - ALL  
AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 89-4.
- Ramírez de Hinojosa, Juan - GJQ  
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AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 89-4; AGI Justicia 552.
- Ramírez, Melchor - NF  
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- Requejada, Vicente de - NF  
AGI Justicia XIV, probanza Juan de Ulate; JC II, 72; JF2, 255; FPA III, 165; CDT I, 9, 23, 43, 87, 103, FAL IV, 25; BHA XIII, 150; BHA XXVI, 232; Repertorio Boyacense No. 19-36, p. 884, and No. 74, p. 72.

- Rey, Juan - AS  
AGI Patronato 153-15-1; AGI Justicia 588, fl. 680.
- Ribera, Juan de - NF  
JC II, 331, IV, 298, DIHC II, 146; BHA XV, 195; FPA I, 200, 331, 345, II, 224, 262, 345, III, 99-123; JRPV I, 192-196; FPS III, 340, IV, 25, 46, 63, 284, AGI Patronato 150-13; AGI Patronato 158-1-4; LFP II, 748; JFO I, 176, III, 147-148; MAEM, 605; EOD, 65; ANC Notaría Primera Santa Fe I, fl. 537.
- Riberos, Francisco - NF  
AGI Patronato 98A-1.
- Rincón, Diego - JL  
AGI Patronato 152-3; AGI Patronato 153-9-1; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 126-1-7; JFO I, 185, Arbol XI par. 92, Arbol XIII par. 65; MAEM, 191; JC IV, 349; LFP I, 337; ANC Historia Civil XVI, fl. 8-89v; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja XV, 1585.
- Riquelme, Juan de - ALL  
JC IV, 414; FPS IV, 136; LFP II, 429; JFO I, 188, 190; FAZ I, 293; FDHNR I, 300.
- Roa, Cristóbal de - GJQ  
RR, 277; AGI Indiferente General 1212; CPI III, 252; AGI Justicia 990; BHA XI, 617-619; ANC Criminales XI, fl. 378b.
- Roa, Cristóbal de - ALL  
RR, 277-279; CPI III, 252; JF1, 231.
- Robledo - XXX  
AGI Justicia 1115-2.
- Rocha, Juan da - NF  
AGI Justicia 492-4; CPI IV No. 3286; JRPV II, 82, 111.
- Rodas, Antón de - JL  
DIHC V, 137; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 54; EOR I, 143-144; ANC Encomiendas XXIX, fl 703-762; JFO I, 184; ANC Residencias Santander LVI, fl. 633v-642v.
- Rodríguez, Alvaro - NF  
AGI Patronato 159-2-2; AGI Patonato 112-1-1.
- Rodríguez Cazalla, Antón - GJQ  
RR, 279; DIHC VII, 123; AGI Patronato 157-2-5.
- Rodríguez, Cristóbal - GJQ  
MDR, 252; JF1, 152.
- Rodríguez, Cristóbal - NF  
LFP II, 621, 645, 756; JOB I, 188, 179; JRPV I, 507.

- Rodríguez, Cristóbal - SB  
CDQ I, 328; FPS III, 357; JFO I, 180; LFP I, 311; RR, 394; DIHC V,  
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- Rodríguez de Valderas, Diego - NF  
AGI Patronato 162-2-1; JFO Arbol XIV, par. 9; EOR I, 67, II, 207;  
AGI Patronato 150-13; ANC Historia Civil XVI, fl. 760-765.
- Rodríguez, Francisco - GJQ  
RR, 281; AGI Patronato 195-12; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 123-2-15.
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JFO Arbol II, par. 33; LFP I, 337; AGI Patronato 155-15; AGI  
Patronato 112-1-1; ANC Encomiendas XXIX, fl. 707; AGI Justicia  
552, fl. 268v-269; FDHNR I, 268-308; ANC Notaría Segunda Bogotá,  
1579; ANC Encomiendas VIII, fl. 971-975; JFO III-158, 163.
- Rodríguez Manjarrés, Hernán - JL  
ANC Historia Civil XXII, fl. 298-351; ARB Archivo Histórico de  
Tunja III, fl. 2v.; MDR, 225; AGI Justicia 546, fl. 1196.
- Rodríguez Benavides, Juan - GJQ  
JF1, 152, 161, 163; FPS III, 346; MDR, 252; JFO Arbol II, par.  
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- Rodríguez Gil, Juan - GJQ  
RR, 283; DIHC VIII, 231, X, 352; AGI Santa Fe 80-3-46; CPI IV, 87.
- Rodríguez del Olmo, Juan - ALL  
AGI Justicia 1095, Hernández vs. Luis de Lugo; DIHC VII, 114; FAL  
I, 46; RR, 31.
- Rodríguez Parra, Juan - GJQ  
RR, 286; AGI Patronato 165-3-8.
- Rodríguez del Carrión, Pedro - GJQ  
RR, 287; MDR, 253; AGI Patronato 168-11-1; ARB Archivo Histórico  
de Tunja VIII, fl. 35-65.
- Rodríguez de León, Pedro - GJQ  
RR, 290; ANC Encomiendas XXXII, fl. 396-441; JFO Arbol XIII,  
par. 45; DIHC VII, 123, X, 121-123.

Rodríguez de Salamanca, Pedro - NF

JC I, 472, II, 244; CDT I, 173; FAL I, 17, 45-73; FAL II, 225-283; FAL III, 3-10; FAL IV, 7, 15, 22; FPS I, 255, II, 89, IV, 230, 461; DIHC IX, 32, 353; BHA XXV, 156; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 425v; JRPV II, 421-422; ANC Caciques e Indios LXVI, fl. 1030; FDHNR IV-47; Friede, El adelantado don Gonzalo Jiménez, vol. 2, p. 278; MAEM, 270-271; Juan Manuel Pacheco, Los Jesuitas en Colombia, 2 vols. (Bogotá, 1959-62), 2, p. 344; Nectario María, Historia de la fundación de Nueva Segovia de Barquisimeto (Caracas, 1952), pp. 80, 86; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja II; JFO I, 178; UR, 627.

Rojas, Hernando de - SB

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Roldán, Cristóbal - JL

JC IV, 379; FPS IV, 72; LFP I, 337.

Roldán, Julián - ALL

CPI II, 230-231; JFO I, 190; LFP II, 429; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 118; AGI Patronato 156-1-5; AGI Patronato 153-3-1; AGI Patronato 156-1-3; AGI Patronato 158-4-1; EOR I, 7, 69; AGI Justicia 590, fl. 240.

Romera, Isabel - JL

JFO Arbol IV, par. 10, and Arbol VI, par. 1-2; DIHC IX, 67, 80, 83, 96, 96; FPS IV, 328, 332; AGI Justicia 569-3-3.

Romero, Blasco - GJQ

MDR, 252; JF1, 136-163, 248; AGI Justicia 1123; DIHC VI, 127-129.

Romero, Diego - GJQ

RR, 291; AGI Patronato 154-3-4.

Rosa, Bartolomé de la - SB

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Ruano, Juan - GJQ

FPS III, 356; JFO I, 173; MDR, 252; JF1, 153; CDT I, 40; ARB Notaría Primera de Tunja I, fl. 410; DIHC VII, 34-35; AGI Audiencia de Santa Fe 122-2-10; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 135.

Rueda, Tomás de - ALL

AGI Justicia 1095, Hernández vs. Luis de Lugo.

Ruiz de Alvaro Martín, Alonso - ALL

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JFO I, 185, EOD, 114.

Velázquez, García - JL

AGI Patronato 195-11.

Velázquez, Hernán - JL

JFO I, 185.

Venegas, Hernán - GJQ

RR, 365; JFO Arbol VII; AGI Patronato 159-2-4; AGI Contaduría 1292.

Vera, Alonso de - ALL

AGI Justicia 561, fl. 912v.; FPS IV, 303; JFO I, 187.

Verdero, Juan Estéban - NF

JC IV, 296; FPS I, 346, III, 356; JFO I, 176, 353, II, 103; AGI Contaduría 1292; FAZ I, 262, 294; JMG I, 79, 83, 93; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 135-138v.

Vergara, Martín de - ALL

JC IV, 415; AGI Justicia 551, fl. 512-615; ANC Residencias Santander LVII, fl. 379-413; AGI Justicia 489-3; AGI Justicia 566, fl. 356; AGI Patronato 159-4-3; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja XV, under Juan García Machado.

Vicente, Alvaro - JL

JC IV, 379; FPS IV, 72; JFO I, 184; LFP I, 337.

Vicente, Juan - JL

JFO I, 184; LFP I, 337; DF, 55; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 1-6; AGI Patronato 153-7-2.

Villalobos, Juan de - XXX

GHA, 56, 60; AGI Justicia 1103-1; DIHC X, 169.



- Villanueva, Juan de - JL  
DIHC IV, 45, V, 232, VI, 101; JFO I, 176; AGI Patronato 160-1-4;  
ANC Historia Civil V, fl. 524-543.
- Villarreal - XXX  
ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 135v; Silva Montañez, Hombres y mujeres del siglo XVI Venezolano, vol. 4, p. 398.
- Villarreal, Rodrigo de - ALL  
DIHC V, 152-156, 162-165, VI, 234-244; ANC Encomiendas XVI, fl. 55-84.
- Villaspasa, Lorenzo de - NF  
JFO I, 176; FPS III, 356; FDHNR II, 140; ANC Historia Civil XVI-738; AGI Justicia 587B, fl. 349.
- Villaviciosa, Francisco de - GJQ  
MDR, 249; CDT I, 12, 20, 80, 165; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 122-2-10; AGI Patronato 195-12; DIHC VII, 35; ARB Archivo Histórico de Tunja III, fl. 3; AGI Patronato 153-4-1; ANC Encomiendas XIII, fl. 1012; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 127v.
- Vizcaino, Juanes - JL  
JC IV, 377; FPS I, 72; LFP I, 392.
- Vizcaino, Sancho - JL  
JC IV, 359; FPS IV, 57; LFP I, 336, 339; JFO I, 187.
- Yáñez Tafur, Martín - CJC  
JC I, 342-343, 363-367, 373-374, III-209, 310, 322, 371; CGP, 144; FPS I, 263-283, V, 101, 148, 159 to 174, 188, 235; FPA I, 447-453, 527-534, IV, 17, 40-46, 59; DIHC VI, 89, LFP I, 502, 556, I, 747; AGI Justicia 561, fl. 150v.; EOR I, 111-112; BHA XXXI, 736, AGI Patronato 157-2-7.
- Zamora, Cristóbal de - LML  
ANC Historia Civil XVI, fl. 742-828; EAF, 166-167; ANC Historia Civil XVIII, fl. 818; JRF, 87; LFP I, 307; JFO I, 179 and Arbol VI, par. 2; FPS IV, 234.
- Zamora, Francisco de - LML  
AGI Patronato 154-3-5.
- Zapata, Miguel - JL  
AGI Justicia 534A-1-1; DIHC II, 260, IV, 45, VII, 233; AGI Audiencia Santa Fe 49.
- Zarco, Benito - XXX  
JC IV, 330; MDR, 250, 252; FPS III, 356, IV, 34; JFO I, 167; LFP I, 201; JFR, 84; ANC Encomiendas XI-279v; CDT I, 40.

Zea, Pedro de

FPS I, 392; JC I, 406-432; JFO I, 177.

Zelada, Cristóbal de - GJQ

AGI Patronato 195-12; DIHC VII, 32; MDR, 252; GHA, 58.

APPENDIX B  
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVIVORS

\*1-Name; 2-Year of birth; 3-Previous years of experience in Indies;  
4-Age of arrival to the New Kingdom; 5-Age at death; 6-Writing  
ability; 7-Province or country of origin.

A. Expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Martín de Abriva	1507		30		no	
Pedro del Acevo	1510	1	27	+77	yes	Leon
Alonso de Aguilar						Old Castile
Diego de Aguilar	1509		28		yes	
Domingo de Aguirre	1517	8	20	47	yes	Basque Prov.
Martin de Aguirre						Basque Prov.
Juan de Albarracín	1496	1	41		no	
Juan de Alcalá	1515	1	22	36	no	
Juan Alonso de la Torre	1500	1	37		no	Extremadura
Pero Añez	1505	1	32	57	yes	
Cristóbal Arias	1506	1	31	+77	no	New Castile
Juan de Aroca	1515	1	22		yes	
Juan de Aroche						Andalusia
Antonio Bermúdez	1510	1	27	+70	yes	
Pedro Bravo	1498	6	39	72	yes	
Juan de Cáceres	1510		27	44	no	
Bartolomé Camacho	1510	1	27	73	no	Extremadura
Domingo de las Casas	1507	8	30		yes	Andalusia
Juan Castellanos	1511		26			
Antonio de Castro	1510	1	27	73	no	Portugal
Catalán						Catalonia
Juan de Céspedes	1500	16	37	74	yes	Andalusia
Gómez de Cifuentes	1515	8	22	+60	yes	Old Castile
Pedro de Colmenares	1515	1	22	45	yes	Andalusia
Gómez del Corral	1500	1	37		yes	Andalusia
Pedro Daza	1510	1	27	65	yes	New Castile
Alonso Díaz						New Castile
Antonio Díaz	1500	8	37	+73	yes	Portugal
Simón Díaz						Andalusia
Alonso Domínguez	1510		27	+64	yes	Andalusia
Juan Fernández						Portugal
Juan Fernández de Valenzuela	1497		40	67	no	
Pedro Fernández	1499	1	38		yes	Andalusia
Francisco de Figueredo	1510	3	27	60	yes	Portugal

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Lázaro Fonte	1505	1	32	+78	yes	Canaries
Diego Franco	1515	1	22	44		Andalusia
Diego de Frías	1514		23		yes	
Martín Galeano	1505	1	32	49	yes	Valencia
Luis Callegos		2			yes	Galicia
Gonzalo García Zorro	1500	1	37	66	yes	Extremadura
Juan García	1515	1	22	69	no	New Castile
Pedro García	1520		17		no	
Alonso Gascon						France
Alonso Gómez	1510	1	27		yes	
Diego Gómez		1				Portugal
Francisco Gómez	1515	1	22	64	yes	Andalusia
Hernán Gómez	1515	1	22	+44	yes	Andalusia
Juan Gómez	1505	1	32	64	no	New Castile
Pedro Gómez	1517	1	20	+62	yes	Basque Prov.
Francisco González	1516		21		no	Extremadura
Juan González del Prado	1510		27		no	Portugal
Juan de Gúmez					yes	
Alonso Hernández de Ledesma	1513	1	24	+66	yes	Leon
Antonio Hernández						Portugal
Martín Hernández		1			no	Canaries
Pedro Hernández	1513		24	+70	no	Andalusia
García del Hito						New Castile
Jerónimo de la Inza	1500	+2	37	42	yes	
Juan Izquierdo	1511		26		no	Andalusia
Juan del Junco	1503	2	34		yes	Asturias
Antonio de Lebrija	1507	8	30		yes	Extremadura
Antón de Lezcámez			2		yes	Murcia
Pedro de Lombana	1510	8	27	33	no	
Diego López	1517	3	20	+64	yes	
Gil López	1515	2	22		yes	
Juan López	1497	8	40	+66	no	
Pedro López	1514		23	+52	no	
Gonzalo Macías	1509	1	28	61	yes	Extremadura
Baltasar Maldonado		3				Leon
Juan Maldonado					yes	
Alonso Martín Cobo	1517	1	20	46	no	
Alonso Martín, el mozo					no	
Diego Martín						Leon
Hernán Martín	1500		37			
Juan Martín	1517	+2	30		yes	
Gaspar Méndez						Portugal
Francisco de Mestanza	1520		17		yes	
Juan de Montalvo	1515	1	22	82	yes	New Castile
Alonso de Morales		1			yes	
Hernando Navarro	1514		23			
Francisco Novillo	1508		29		yes	
Pedro Núñez		8				Andalusia
Antón de Olalla	1510	1	27	71	no	Andalusia

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Juan de Olmos		5			yes	Old Castile
Juan de Ortega	1515	8	22	68	no	New Castile
Cristóbal Ortíz Bernal	1518	1	19	+57	yes	Leon
Miguel de Otáñez	1520		17		yes	Basque Prov.
Alonso de Paniagua						Extremadura
Diego Paredes	1515	1	22	73	no	Andalusia
Hernán Pérez	1515	1	22?	28?	yes	Andalusia
Juan de Pinilla	1513		24		no	
Hernando del Prado	1510	1	27	+66	yes	Old Castile
Juan de Puelles	1516		21		yes	
Martín Pujol	1502		35		yes	
Juan Quincoces		1			yes	
Juan Ramírez		1				
Cristóbal de Roa	1488	1	49	+91		Leon
Antón Rodríguez	1517	+2	20	70	no	Andalusia
Francisco Rodríguez	1504	2	33	+70	yes	Murcia
Juan Rodríguez Benavides					yes	
Juan Rodríguez Gil	1515	1	22	78	yes	Extremadura
Juan Rodríguez Parra	1517	1	20	40	yes	
Pedro Rodríguez del Carrión	1518		19	57	yes	Old Castile
Pedro Rodríguez de León	1511	1	26		yes	Leon
Blasco Romero	1501		36		yes	
Diego Romero	1510	1	27	+66	yes	New Castile
Cristóbal Ruiz	1510	1	27	64	yes	Andalusia
Pedro Ruiz Corredor		1			yes	
Pedro Ruiz Herrezuelo	1519	1	18	54	yes	Andalusia
Juan de Salamanca	1515	1	22	+71	no	Leon
Pedro de Salazar	1515	1	22		yes	
Alonso de Salcedo					yes	
Juan de Salcedo	1498	1	39		yes	Andalusia
Francisco Salguero	1498	8	39	82	yes	
Hernando de Salinas	1507	1	30		yes	Basque Prov.
Francisco San Martín					no	Old Castile
Juan de San Martín	1504	11	33		yes	Old Castile
Bartolomé Sánchez	1507		30		no	Old Castile
Francisco Sánchez		1				Extremadura
Juan Sánchez de Toledo	1517	1	20	+73	yes	New Castile
Juan Sánchez de Utrera						Andalusia
Martín Sánchez					yes	New Castile
Mateo Sánchez		1				New Castile
Miguel Sánchez	1520	8	17	76	yes	Extremadura
Pedro Sánchez	1502		35		yes	Andalusia
Miguel Seco	1520	1	17	27	yes	Extremadura
Juan Sedano		1				
Diego de Segura	1509		28		yes	Andalusia
Alonso Serrano	1509		28			
Francisco de Silva	1512	1	25	+75	no	Portugal
Diego Suárez		2				
Gonzalo Suárez	1515	1	22	68	yes	Andalusia

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Juan Tafur	1500	6	37	+79	yes	Andalusia
Francisco Tordehumos	1513	1	24	+73		Old Castile
Lázaro de la Torre					yes	
Diego de Torres	1500	1	37	+75	yes	Andalusia
Juan de Torres	1512		25	52	yes	Andalusia
Nicolao de Troya		2			yes	France?
Salvador de Umbría					no	Andalusia
Juan Valenciano	1507	+2	30	+68	yes	Valencia
Andrés Vázquez	1517	1	20	+62	no	
Hernán Venegas	1513	1	24	70	yes	Andalusia
Francisco de Villaviciosa	1514	1	23		yes	
Cristóbal de Zelada		1			yes	

B. Expedition of Nikolaus Federmann

Francisco de Aguirre	1495	4	44	+80	yes	
Hernando de Alcocer	1514	10	25	78	yes	Andalusia
Juan Alemán						Germany
Nicolao Alemán	1505	9	34	+80	no	Germany
Sebastián de Almarcha		+7				Andalusia
Francisco Alvarez		10				
Cristóbal de Angulo		5				
Francisco de Aranda						Old Castile
Pedro de Aranda	1500	10	39	58	no	Old Castile
Juan de Avellaneda	1512	5	27	76	yes	Old Castile
Andrés de Ayala	1500	10	39	67		
Honorato Vicente Bernal	1504	10	35		yes	
Hernando de Beteta	1517	10	22		yes	New Castile
Antón Bezos		12			no	
García Calvete	1505	9	34	58	yes	Aragon
Santiago Campana		4				Leon
Clemente de Campos	1516	4	23		yes	
Luis Caro		10				Andalusia
Juan de Castro		5				Andalusia
Antón de Córdoba	1505		34		no	Andalusia
Juan Corzo	1512	+2	27	66	no	Corsica
Pedro Correa	1520	4	19		yes	
Juan Delgado		+8			yes	
Jácome Díaz		4			yes	
Hernando de Escalante	1507	4	32		yes	
Diego de Espinosa	1512	5	27	71	yes	New Castile
Antón Flamenco	1513	10	26	45	yes	Netherlands
Juan Fuerte	1510	8	29	75	no	Leon
Hernán Gallegos	1512	12	27		no	Galicia
Gonzalo de Gamboa					yes	Old Castile
Antón de Gante		5				Netherlands
Antón García		5				
Diego García	1516	6	23	42	yes	Portugal
Gonzalo García	1515		24			

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Juan Gascón						France
Cristóbal Gómez	1513	4	26	+56	yes	Leon
Bartolomé González	1500		39	68	no	Extremadura
Domingo de Guevara	1517	4	22	+55	yes	Basque Prov.
Juan Gutiérrez	1513	10	26	47	yes	Aragon
Bartolomé Hernández	1502	9	37	56		
Francisco Hernández						Andalusia
Miguel Holguín	1516	5	23	61	yes	
Diego de Huete					yes	New Castile
Luis Lanchero		5			yes	Old Castile
Pedro de Limpías	1509	10	30		yes	Old Castile
Domingo Lozano	1505	5	34	67	yes	Andalusia
Francisco Maldonado	1514	4	25	51	no	Old Castile
Alonso de Manjarrés	1517	4	22	+30	yes	Leon
Alejo Martín	1513	10	26		no	
Alonso Martín	1502	+6	37	+63	no	
Francisco Martín		13			yes	Andalusia
Diego Martínez	1509	10	30		yes	Old Castile
Juan Mateos		10				
Alonso de Miranda		4			yes	
Cristóbal de Miranda	1510	4	29		no	Old Castile
Pedro de Miranda						Old Castile
Pedro de Molina	1501	10	38	60	no	
Francisco de Monsalve	1513	4	26	51		Leon
Hernando Montero	1511		28	69	yes	
Baltasar Moratín		4				
Pedro Moreno	1511		28		yes	
Francisco de Murcia	1509	9	30	65	no	Murcia
Alonso de Olalla	1515	4	24	65	yes	New Castile
Diego de la Oliva		10				Extremadura
Machín de Oñate	1510	5	29	40	yes	Basque Prov.
Cristóbal de Oro						Old Castile
Diego Ortíz	1503		36	+61	yes	Andalusia
Francisco Ortíz	1517		22		no	Old Castile
Ortuño Ortíz		10			yes	
Antón de Palma	1514	12	25	+50	yes	Balearic Is.
Hernán Pérez Malaver	1500	4	39		yes	
Juan Peronegro	1503	9	36	+80	yes	
Pedro de Porras		5				
Sebastián de Porras	1522	4	17		yes	
Miguel de la Puerta						Old Castile
Juan Quintero	1505		34	61	yes	
Alonso Ramírez	1515		24	+61	yes	New Castile
Melchor Ramírez	1510		29	60	yes	Andalusia
Vicente de Requejada	1500	10	39	75	yes	Aragon
Juan de Ribera	1504	11	35	+61	yes	
Francisco Riberos	1513		26		yes	Old Castile
Juan da Rocha	1511		28		yes	
Alvaro Rodríguez	1515	4	24	+50	yes	

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Diego Rodríguez	1520	4	19	+40	yes	Leon
Pedro Rodríguez	1507	5	32	54	yes	Leon
Antonio Ruiz	1510	9	29	-73		
Cristóbal de San Miguel	1520	10	19	41	yes	Old Castile
Mateo Sánchez	1501	18	38	55	no	Italy
Pedro Sánchez	1508	10	31	61	yes	
Gaspar de Santafé		5				
Hernando de Santana	1506	10	33			
Felipe de Sosa	1514	10	25		yes	
Cristóbal de Toro	1515		24	+57	no	Leon
Francisco de Torralba						New Castile
Alonso de la Torre	1497		42		yes	
Trujillo, Juan de					yes	
Gonzalo de Vega		4				Leon
Juan Estéban Verdero					yes	Basque Prov.
Lorenzo de Villaspasas	1519		20		yes	

C. Expedition of Sebastián de Belalcázar

Antón de Aguilar	1513	13	26		yes	Andalusia
Rodrigo Alonso					yes	
Juan de Arévalo	1511	14	30	44	yes	
Pedro de Arévalo		6				
Garcí Arias +	1497	4	42	71	yes	Leon
Juan de Avendaño	1520	6	19	67	yes	
Juan de Ayuso		6			yes	
Beatriz de Bejarano						Mexico
Lucas Bejarano, son,					no	
Francisco Belalcázar	1519	20	20	+60	yes	Panama
Juan Buregueño		6				
Juan Cabrera +		15			yes	Extremadura
Bartolomé Calvo +					yes	
Francisco Castilla					yes	
Francisco Céspedes						Extremadura
Mencia de Collantes +						Peru
Juan Dávila					yes	
Luis Daza		9				
Hernando Díaz		6				
Juan Díaz C.	1514	6	25	+55	yes	Old Castile
Juan Díaz H		6				
Antón de Esquivel						Andalusia
Alonso Fernández						New Castile
Juan Gascón						France
Baltasar González	1506	7	23	56		
Hernando de Granada	1504	2	25		yes	
Francisco Hernández		6				
Alonso de Hoyos	1504		27	48	yes	Old Castile
Francisca Inga +						Peru
Pedro Inga +						Peru



1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Francisco Jiménez +		5				Andalusia
Pedro de León		2				
Pedro López		6				
Bartolomé Lorenzo	1510		29		no	Extremadura
Alonso Márquez	1509		30			
Gil Martín	1504		25			Extremadura
Nicolás Martín	1520	5	19		yes	Extremadura
Alonso Martínez						Andalusia
Luis de Mideros +	1520	6	21		yes	
Alonso Miguel	1521	6	18		yes	
Juan Muñoz +	1501	10	30		yes	Andalusia
Juan de Orozco +	1496	8	45	65	yes	
Gonzalo de la Peña	1499	9	40		yes	
Juan de Pineda					yes	Andalusia
Antonio de Porras	1510	7	29		yes	Old Castile
Antonio del Prado		6				
Pedro de Puelles		15			yes	Andalusia
Cristóbal Rodríguez		5			yes	
Hernando de Rojas		5			yes	Andalusia
Bartolomé de la Rosa		5				
Luis de Sanabria	1505	8	34		no	
Martín Sánchez					yes	
Alonso Téllez					yes	New Castile
Miguel de Trujillo	1499	14	40		yes	
Melchor Valdés	1509	15	30	58	yes	
García de Valmaseda	1511	6	28		yes	Basque Prov.
David Vasco	1499	6	40		no	
Pedro Vázquez +	1514	5	27			Andalusia
Martín Yáñez +	1506	10	35		yes	Andalusia

+ Arrived about 16 months later with captain Juan Cabrera.

#### D. Expedition of Jerónimo Lebrón

Jerónimo de Aguayo	1500	6	40		yes	Andalusia
Francisco Alvarez		1				
Juan de Angulo	1510	3	30	+73	yes	Old Castile
Alonso de Aranda	1503	3	37	44	yes	Old Castile
Pedro de Ardila						Old Castile
Francisco Arias					yes	
Juan Artero		5				
Juan de Badajoz	1520	3	20	+52	yes	Extremadura
Juan Barrera		1				Extremadura
Ambrosio del Campo	1520	3	20		yes	
Pedro de Campo		4			yes	
María de Céspedes	1540	0	0			Santa Marta
Juan de Coca	1519	5	21	29	yes	New Castile
Francisco de la Cueva					yes	
Francisco Chamozo					yes	
Francisco de Chinchilla					yes	New Castile

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Juan de Chinchilla	1515	1	25		yes	New Castile
Francisco Díaz		13				
Pedro Durán					yes	
Juan de Figueredo					yes	
Martín de Figueroa		5			yes	Andalusia
Pedro Frías	1518	4	22		yes	
Alonso García						Andalusia
Diego García	1520	5	20	45		
Francisco García					yes	
Pedro García Matamoros		3			yes	Andalusia
Pedro García Ruiz	1510	4	30	75	yes	Old Castile
Pedro García Velázquez		4			yes	
Hernando de Garibay					yes	
Pedro Gutiérrez	1510		30		no	
Juan Hermoso						Extremadura
Francisco Hernández	1485	4	55	57	yes	Extremadura
Gonzalo Hernández	1518	6	22		no	
Marcos Hurtado	1515		25		no	
Bernardino Illanes					yes	
Alonso de Illescas		3				New Castile
Andrés Jorge						Galicia
Gonzalo de León	1515	1	25	58		
Pedro de Lerma	1518	3	22	+60	no	
Antón López					yes	
Lázaro López	1513	1	27	72	yes	Old Castile
Melchor de Loranza	1511		29		yes	New Castile
Francisco Lorenzo	1500	14	40	42	yes	Andalusia
Juan Lorenzo		5				
Pedro Machetero	1524		16			
Luis de Manjarrés	1500	13	40	64	yes	Extremadura
Alonso Martín	1497	13	43	45	yes	
Alonso Martín					no	
Andrés Martín	1514	1	26		yes	
Pedro Blasco Martín					yes	Extremadura
Francisco Melgarejo	1520	2	20	42	yes	
Juan Méndez					yes	Extremadura
Lope Méndez		2				
Adrián de Montalván					yes	
Juan de Montemayor					yes	
Juan de Moscoso	1495		45		yes	
Cristóbal de los Nidos					yes	
Pero Alonso Niño	1509		31	+75	yes	Andalusia
Juan de Noria	1513		27		no	
Juan Ortíz		1			yes	
Miguel de Oviedo	1518		22		yes	Asturias
Diego Paredes	1510	14	30	+82	no	
Diego de Partearroyo	1520	2	20	63	yes	Old Castile
Juan Patiño					yes	
Peñaranda		2			yes	

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Antón Pérez						Portugal
Antón Pérez de L.						Andalusia
Gonzalo de Porras	1517	5	23		no	
Antonio Portillo	1517		23		yes	
Catalina de Quintanilla						Old Castile
Pedro Quintero	1520	1	20	+70	yes	Andalusia
Pedro Quiralte		4			yes	Andalusia
Diego Rincón	1520	4	20	65	yes	Extremadura
Antonio de Rodas	1509	4	31			
Gaspar Rodríguez	1506	11	34	54	yes	Andalusia
Hernán Rodríguez	1518		22		yes	
Cristóbal Roldán						Andalusia
Isabel Romera					no	
Francisco Ruiz	1503	3	37	+81	no	
Pedro Ruiz		5			yes	
Luis de Saavedra					yes	
Salgado		5				Galicia
Juan de Sanmiguel		3				Old Castile
Diego Sánchez	1490	14	50	60	yes	
Antón de Santana	1516	11	24	70	no	
Sebastián Santodomingo		5				
Gregorio Suárez	1514	4	26	70	yes	Galicia
Juan de Tolosa	1513	5	27	+66	yes	
Juan de Torres	1511		29		yes	
Ortún Velasco	1503	4	37	81	yes	Old Castile
Francisco Velázquez					yes	
García Velázquez					yes	
Juan Vicente	1523		17		yes	
Juan de Villanueva		4				
Juanes Vizcaíno						Basque Prov.
Sancho Vizcaíno						Basque Prov.
Miguel Zapata		6				

E. Expedition of Lope Montalvo de Lugo

Cristóbal Alemán						Germany
Cristóbal de Alvear					yes	
Rodrigo Añes	1518		23	+54	yes	
Simón del Basto	1510		31	+80	yes	
Pedro Bedón	1518		23	+50		
Juil Cano	1520	8	21	-63	yes	
Juan de la Cueva	1510	12	31	+47	no	
Pedro Díaz					yes	
Juan de Eslava	1514		27	48	no	Extremadura
Antonio Fernández	1518		23			Galicia
Juan Gallego	1510	11	31	72		Galicia
Martín González	1510	6	31			
Bartolomé Hernández	1508	+10	33	+64	yes	Leon
Teodosio Hurtado	1511		30	+50		

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Francisco Iñiguez	1514	+10	27	70	yes	Basque Prov.
Juan Lozano	1504	+6	37		no	Andalusia
Juan Macías	1506	+6	35		no	
Salvador Martín	1498	12	43		yes	Murcia
Martín Nieto		7			yes	
Francisco Núñez	1508	11	33		yes	Extremadura
Nicolás de Palencia	1515		26	+64	yes	Old Castile
Francisco Ruiz	1498	+6	43	+66	no	
Carlos de Salazar	1505	+6	36	+63	yes	
Asencio de Salinas	1502	+7	39	+61	yes	Basque Prov.
Lope de Salzedo	1510	6	31	+52	yes	Basque Prov.
Alonso Sánchez	1507	+6	34		no	
Pedro de la Torre		6				
Cristóbal de Zamora	1513	+6	28		yes	Leon
Francisco de Zamora	1511	+5	30		yes	Leon

F. Expedition of Alonso Luis de Lugo

Pedro del Acevo	1510	7	33	+77	yes	Leon
Lope de Acuña		1			yes	
Fernando de Almonte	1517	1	26		yes	Andalusia
Melchor Alvarez						Portugal
Diego de Arenas	1522		21		yes	
Alonso de Arteaga	1525	1	18		yes	
Francisco de Avila +		1			yes	Old Castile
Luis de Avila						Old Castile
Francisco Bahamón	1520	1	23	54	yes	Canaries
Francisco Barajas	1516		27	+86	no	
Antonio Berrío	1509		34		yes	Andalusia
Pedro de Brizeño	1515	14	28	37	yes	
Antonio Cabrera	1525	1	18		yes	
Francisco Capas	1508	1	35		yes	
Jerónimo de Carvajal +	1521	1	22	56	yes	
Francisco de Castañeda	1513	1	30		yes	
Agustín Castellanos	1522	1	21		yes	
Juan Castellanos	1511	+7	32			
Gómez de Castro	1523		20	41	yes	
Juan de Chávez	1525	1	18	62	yes	
Pedro de Córdoba	1512	1	31		yes	Andalusia
Gonzalo de Cuevas	1514	10	29			
Alfonso Díaz +	1510		32		no	
Juan Díaz	1512		31		yes	
Ana Dominguez						Andalusia
Luis Feo	1524	1	19		no	New Castile
Francisco de Figueroa		1			yes	
Alonso Flórez						Valencia
Francisco Franco	1522		21		yes	Andalusia
Pedro Gallego	1523	1	20			Galicia
Francisco Gutiérrez	1481	+7	62	74	yes	

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Antonio Hernández	1517	1	26	+70	yes	
Alonso de Hoyos	1504	+5	39	42	yes	
Francisco de Ledesma	1517	1	26	+69		Leon
Andrés López +	1517	1	25		yes	
Pero López	1517	2	26		yes	Leon
Sebastián Lozano					no	
Antonio de Luján Mangalonga	1507		36			
Cristóbal Martín +		1			yes	Ethiopia
Pedro Martín	1503		40		yes	
Iñigo Martínez +	1518	1	24		yes	
Juan de Mayorga	1520	9	23		yes	Andalusia
Antonio de Melgar					yes	
Juan de Montalvo	1515	7	28	82	yes	New Castile
Hernando Montero +		1				
Miguel de Morales	1509	1	34		yes	
Hernán Muñoz		1			no	
Francisco de Niebla +		6				Andalusia
Francisco Palazuelos	1517	1	26		yes	Extremadura
Bartolomé de la Parra	1520		23	+63	yes	
Juan de Penagos	1520	1	23	56	yes	Old Castile
Juan de la Peña						New Castile
Domingo Quello	1514		29		yes	
Juan Rey +	1523		19		no	
Cristóbal de Roa	1488	7	55	+91		Leon
Julián Roldán	1515	5	28		yes	Extremadura
Tomás de Rueda	1517		25		yes	
Alonso Ruíz	1515	2	28	+68	yes	
Juan Ruíz	1510	7	33	61	yes	Andalusia
Diego de Salas						Old Castile
Diego Sánchez						Canaries
Juan Sánchez	1521	1	22			
Mateo Sánchez	1502	22	41		no	Italy
Pero Sánchez +	1521	1	21		no	
Francisco Sedeño +	1514		28		yes	
Simón de Silvera +	1525		17	+59	yes	
Felipe de Sosa	1514	+10	29		yes	
Agustín Suárez					yes	
Alonso Suárez +		1			yes	Andalusia
Hernán Suárez	1518	1	25	60	yes	Extremadura
Gaspar de Torres						Extremadura
Francisco de Trejo	1520		23	+68		
Juan de Trujillo	1510	8	33		no	Extremadura
Francisco de Valcárcel	1527	1	16		yes	Canaries
Melchor Valdés +	1509	18	33		yes	
Francisco de Velandía	1517	1	26	+70	yes	Old Castile
Hernando de Velasco	1520	1	23	+67	yes	Old Castile
Ortún Velasco	1503	7	40	81	yes	Old Castile
Martín de Vergara	1520		23			Extremadura

1*	2*	3*	4*	5*	6*	7*
Rodrigo de Villarreal	1505	1	38		yes	New Castile
+ Arrived eleven months earlier with Captain Alonso Suarez.						

F. Persons Who Were in One of the Above Expeditions

Gonzalo Agostino	1517				yes	
Francisco Casado	1495				yes	
Pedro Galeano	1515			+69	yes	
Gaspar Gómez	1520				yes	
Nicolao Griego					no	Greece
Marcos Hernández	1497				no	
Pero Jorge	1518				no	
Andrés de León	1505				no	
Catalina López	1518				no	
Gregorio López					yes	
Francisco de Ludueña	1521				yes	
Cantal Marín					yes	
Sancho de Mendoza	1521				yes	
Rodrigo Morell	1493				yes	
Juan de Mujica					no	
Alonso Ortíz	1503				yes	

APPENDIX C  
PUBLIC POSTS HELD BY THE CONQUERORS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Public Post</u>
<u>A. Expedition of Gonzalo Jiménez</u>	
Pedro del Acevo Sotelo	Scribe in Tunja and Santa Fe; procurador* of the Royal Audiencia.
Domingo de Aguirre	First scribe of Tunja, its alcalde* in 1551, 1553, its regidor* in 1548, 1549, 1552, 1562.
Juan Alonso de la Torre	Alcalde of Vélez 1539, 1546, 1553, 1557; its regidor 47, and regidor perpetuo since 1548.
Antonio Bermúdez	Alguacil mayor* Royal Audiencia 1551; in Santa Fe regidor 1558, 1560, 1561, 1562, and alcalde and procurador in 1559; chief justice of Remedios 1565.
Bartolomé Camacho	Several times regidor and alcalde of Tunja, including 1583.
Antonio de Castro	Alguacil mayor of Tunja, regidor, alcalde in 1579.
Juan de Céspedes	Regidor of Santa Fe 1539, 1540, its regidor perpetuo since 1548, its alcalde 1542, 1543, 1546.
Gómez de Cifuentes	Regidor of Tunja 1543, 1544, 1548, 1550, 1552, 1553, 1554, its regidor perpetuo since 1548, its alcalde 1549, 1571, 1575.
Pedro de Colmenares	Accountant of the Kingdom 1541, 1543, its treasurer 1558; regidor of Santa Fe in 1539, its alcalde in 1547.
Antonio Díaz Cardozo	Regidor of Santa Fe in 1539, its alcalde 1540, 1562, 1567, 1572.
Alonso Domínguez B.	Regidor perpetuo of Vélez since 1548, several times its alcalde, including 1563.
Juan Duarte	Town crier of Santa Fe.
Juan Fernández V.	Regidor perpetuo of Vélez since 1548.
Francisco de Figueredo	Procurador of the New Kingdom in 1548; regidor of Santa Fe 1558, its alcalde 1561.
Lázaro Fonte	Regidor Santa Fe 1539.
Martín Galeano	Chief justice of Vélez 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, and 1546 to 1551.
Gonzalo García Zorro	Regidor of Santa Fe 1540, 1541, perpetuo since 1548, its alcalde 1544, 1545, 1548, 1550, 1553, 1556, 64, its procurador 1542, chief justice El Cocuy 1541.

- Francisco Gómez Regidor of Santa Fe, its mayordomo\* in 1549, its procurador in 1553.
- Hernán Gómez Castillejo Procurador of Santa Fe in 1541, its mayordomo in 1550.
- Juan González del Prado Alguacil of Vélez, its regidor in 1539.
- Jerónimo de la Inza Alcalde Santa Fe in 1539, its regidor in 1542.
- Juan Izquierdo Surveyor of Tunja in 1539.
- Juan del Junco Regidor of Tunja in 1539.
- Antón de Lezcámez Curate of Mérida from 1559 to 1581.
- Juan López Procurador of Tunja in 1543 and 1547.
- Gonzalo Macías Regidor of Tunja in 1569.
- Baltasar Maldonado Alguacil mayor of the Kingdom in 1539; alcalde mayor of Santa Fe in 1551.
- Juan de Montalvo Mayordomo of Santa Fe in 1546 and 1548, its alguacil mayor in 1564, its alcalde in 1568, 1574, 1582, its procurador in 1594; chief justice of La Palma.
- Francisco Novillo Procurador of Tocaima in 1547 and 1548.
- Pedro Núñez Cabrera Regidor of Tunja in 1540.
- Antón de Olalla Regidor of Santa Fe in 1541 and 1542, its regidor perpetuo since 1548, its alférez mayor in 1543, its alcalde in 1557, 1558, 1567, 1573, and its captain of infantry in 1561.
- Juan de Olmos Chief justice Muzo in 1560.
- Juan de Ortega Mayordomo of Santa Fe in 1547, its alcalde in 1557, 1570, 1573, 1576.
- Cristóbal Ortiz Bernal Alcalde of Santa Fe 1569, its procurador in 1554.
- Alonso de Paniagua Surveyor of Tunja in 1539 and 1540.
- Diego Paredes Calderón Regidor of Tunja in 1565.
- Antonio Pérez Regidor of Vélez in 1539.
- Hernán Pérez de Quesada Captain and chief justice of the New Kingdom since May 1539 to August 1541.
- Juan de Pinilla Chief justice of Pamplona in 1553.
- Hernando de Prado Regidor of Santa Fe in 1540; regidor of Tocaima in 1572, its alcalde in 1576 and 1578.
- Martín Pujol Alcalde mayor of the Kingdom in 1543 and 1544.
- Juan Ramírez de H. Alcalde Tocaima in 1569, its regidor in 1571.
- Antón Rodríguez Cazalla Alguacil of Tunja in 1565.
- Juan Rodríguez B. Scribe of Santa Fe in 1539.
- Juan Rodríguez Gil Procurador of Tunja 1577.
- Pedro Rodríguez de León Regidor of Tunja in 1566.
- Diego Romero Alguacil mayor Santa Fe in 1539, its mayordomo in 1552, its regidor in 1576.
- Cristóbal Ruiz Mayordomo and procurador Santa Fe in 1542 and 1558.
- Pedro de Salazar Scribe of Vélez in 1539, its alcalde in 1552, 1553, 1558.
- Alonso de Salcedo Scribe of Tunja in 1539.
- Francisco Salguero Alcalde of Tunja in 1554 and 1566.
- Miguel Sánchez Regidor of Tunja in 1565, its alcalde in 1572, 1581, and 1586.



Miguel Seco Moyano	Alguacil mayor of Vélez.
Juan Sedano	Mayordomo of Tunja in 1539.
Diego Suárez Montañez	Alcalde of Tunja in 1562, its regidor in 1572.
Gonzalo Suárez Rendón	Captain and chief justice of the New Kingdom since September 1541 till May 1543; chief justice Tunja from August 1539 to August 1541; its regidor in 1550, 1551, 1552.
Juan Tafur	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1541, 1546, 1552, 1554, 1559 and 1571; factor and overseer of the Kingdom in 1543; accountant of the Royal Audiencia in 1576.
Francisco de Tordehumos	Procurador and mayordomo of Santa Fe in 1561 and 1571, its alcalde in 1575.
Juan de Torres	Regidor of Tunja in 1543 and 1544, its alcalde in 1557 and 1563.
Juan Valenciano	Alcalde of El Cocuy in 1541.
Andrés Vázquez de M.	Regidor perpetuo of Santa Fe since 1548, its alcalde 1560, 1564, and 1569, alférez mayor.
Hernán Venegas	Regidor perpetuo of Santa Fe since 1548, its procurador in 1546; marischal of the New Kingdom since 1571.
Francisco Villaviciosa	Regidor of Tunja in 1539 and 1542.

#### B. Expedition of Nikolaus Federmann

Hernando de Alcocer	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1587, and its procurador.
Sebastián de Almarcha	Regidor of Tunja in 1541.
Pedro de Aranda	Regidor of Vélez in 1540, 1542 and 1550, regidor perpetuo since 1548.
Juan de Avellaneda	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1549 and 1550; factor of the New Kingdom in 1551 and 1552; chief justice San Juan de los Llanos since 1555; alcalde of Ibagué in 1584.
Honorato Vicente Bernal	Scribe of the Santa Fe cabildo; procurador of the Royal Audiencia in 1551.
Hernando de Beteta	Regidor of Tunja in 1541, 1545, 1549, its regidor perpetuo since 1548, its alcalde in 1541, 1542, 1549 and 1550.
García Calvete de Haro	Perpetual regidor of Vélez since 1548, its procurador in 1547, its alcalde in 1559.
Santiago Campana	Alcalde of Vélez in 1540.
Francisco de Contreras	Regidor of Santa Fe in 1540.
Antón de Córdoba	Doorman of the Tunja cabildo in 1540.
Hernando de Escalante	Regidor of Tunja in 1539 and 1541.
Diego de Espinosa	Regidor of Mariquita in 1561.
Diego García Cabezón	Relator of one expedition to the Muzo Indians.
Juan Gascón	Alcalde of Vélez in 1539.
Cristóbal Gómez Nieto	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1559.
Bartolomé González	Regidor of Vélez in 1558.
Domingo de Guevara	Procurador of Santa Fe in 1559, 1560, 1565, 1568; its mayordomo the same years, except 1560.
Luis Hernández	Alcalde of Vélez in 1557.

Miguel Holguín	Alcalde of Tunja in 1558, 1564, 1572, and 1576.
Diego de Huete	Regidor Vélez in 1539, its alcalde in 1540, 1542.
Luis Lancharo	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1545; chief justice of Muzo.
Pedro de Limpías	Chief justice of Reyes de Valledupar in 1552.
Domingo Lozano	Alcalde Santa Fe 1556; chief justice San Vicente de Páez.
Diego Martínez	Alcalde of Tunja in 1540, 1541, 1545.
Francisco de Monsalve	Regidor and alcalde of Tunja several times.
Hernando Montero	Alcalde of Tocaima 1560 and 1579.
Baltasar Moratín	Regidor of Vélez in 1539, its alcalde and overseer in 40.
Francisco de Murcia	Alcalde of Vélez.
Alonso de Olalla	Alcalde Santa Fe in 1563, 1571, 1579.
Jorge de Olmeda	Alcalde of Tunja in 1539, its regidor in 1540.
Diego Ortíz	Alcalde of Vélez in 1558.
Ortuño Ortíz	Alguacil of Vélez in 1541.
Hernán Pérez Malaver	Regidor of Santa Fe in 1544 and 1545, its regidor perpetuo since 1548, its procurador in 1543 and 46.
Juan Peronegro	Alcalde of Vélez in 1552.
Sebastián de Porras	Procurador of Ibagué in 1557.
Miguel de la Puerta	Regidor in Tocaima in 1564, 1567, 1574, and its alcalde in 1572.
Juan Quintero	Alcalde of Vélez in 1564.
Alonso Ramirez de P.	Alcalde of Vélez in 1540 and 1549, regidor in 1550.
Vicente de Requejada	Curate of Tunja since 1539.
Juan de Ribera	Perpetual regidor of Santa Fe since 1548, its alcalde in 1553 and 1562.
Diego Rodríguez de V.	Procurador of Santa Fe in 1551, its alguacil mayor in 1553, its alcalde in 1557.
Pedro Rodríguez de S.	Regidor perpetuo of Tunja from 1543 to 1545, its alcalde in 1562?
Antonio Ruiz	Mayordomo of Santa Fe in 1543, its procurador in 1546, its alcalde in 1555.
Cristóbal de San Miguel	Accountant of the New Kingdom from 1549 to 1561.
Hernando de Santana	Chiefjustice of Reyes de Valledupar in 1551.
Alonso de la Torre	Alcalde of Vélez in 1542, 1544, 1545, 1546.
Juan de Trujillo	Regidor Málaga in 1542.
Gonzalo de Vega	Regidor of Vélez in 1543, 1549 and 1550.
Juan Estéban Verdero	Curate of Santa Fe since 1539 to 1541.

#### C. Expedition of Sebastián de Belalcázar

Juan de Arévalo	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1539, its regidor in 1540.
Garci Arias Maldonado	Regidor of Tunja in 1541, 1542, 1549, 1551, 1553, regidor perpetuo since 1548, its alcalde 1547, 1550, 1552.

Juan de Avendaño	Regidor of Tunja 1540, 1541, its alcalde in 1560, 1567.
Francisco de Céspedes	Alguacil of Santa Fe in 1552.
Juan Díaz Hidalgo	Alcalde of Santa Fe in 1541.
Antón de Esquivel	Regidor of Tunja in 1540.
Alonso Fernández	Regidor of Vélez in 1543.
Juan Muñoz de Collantes	Accountant of the New Kingdom in 1554; regidor Santa Fe in 1543, 1554, 1555, 1559, its alcalde in 1547, 1551, 1558, its procurador in 1550.
Juan de Orozco	Regidor of Tunja in 1542 and 1547, 1549, 1551, 52, its regidor perpetuo since 1548, its alcalde in 1546, 1551, 1553.
Juan de Pineda	Alcalde of Tunja in 1539 and 1540, its regidor 1541, its procurador in 1542, its chief justice in 1544.
Hernando de Rojas	Regidor of Santa Fe in 1539 and 1541; Regidor of Tunja in 1542, 1547, 1548, 1550, 1551, 1553, and perpetual since 1548, its alcalde in 1565.
Alonso Téllez	Procurador of the Kingdom in 1547; regidor of Santa Fe in 1549; scribe of the Royal Audiencia in 1550.
Miguel de Trujillo	Regidor of Tunja in 1542, 1544, 1545, and regidor perpetuo since 1548; regidor of Pamplona in 1553, 1554, 1556.
Melchor Valdés	Regidor Santa Fe in 1547; chief justice of Ibagué in 1553.
Pedro Vázquez de L.	Regidor of Tunja in 1547, its alcalde in 1559, 1566.
Martín Yáñez Tafur	Chief justice of Tocaima in 1555.

#### D. Expedition of Jerónimo Lebrón

Jerónimo de Aguayo	Chief justice of Vélez in 1543; chief justice of Málaga in 1542.
Juan de Angulo	Chief justice of León de los Yareguíes; alcalde of Vélez in 1564, its regidor several times.
Pedro de Ardila	Regidor of Vélez.
Francisco Arias	Overseer of the Kingdom in 1543, its procurador in 1544; alcalde mayor of Vélez in 1554.
Pedro García Matamoros	Maestrescuela de Santa Marta.
Pedro García Ruiz	Alcalde of Tunja during one year.
Bernardino Illanes	Curate of Vélez.
Gonzalo de León	Chief justice of Muzo; alcalde of Santa Fe in 1566.
Lázaro López de S.	Regidor perpetuo of Tunja in 1544.
Francisco Lorenzo	Regidor and overseer of El Cocuy in 1541; procurador of Santa Fe.
Luis de Manjarrés	Factor and overseer of Santa Marta in 1539, its accountant in 1542, its chief justice in 1546, 1547, 1552, 1558 to 1565, its alcalde in 48; chief justice of Tamalameque in 1545.

Andrés Martín Calvillo	Procurador of Pamplona in 1556, its regidor in 1557, 1559, its alcalde in 1560 and 1579.
Juan de Moscoso	Accountant of the New Kingdom in 1543.
Juan Ortíz de Zárate	Overseer of the New Kingdom in 1541, its procurador in 1542, its factor from 1544 to 1550.
Miguel de Oviedo 1576.	Regidor of Tocaima in 1544; alcalde of Ibagué in 1576.
Diego de Partearroyo	Alcalde of Tunja in 1555, 1573.
Juan Patiño	Curate of Santa Fe.
Antonio Portillo	Alcalde of Tocaima in 1557 and 1563, its regidor in 1567.
Pedro Quintero Príncipe	Mayordomo of Pamplona in 1553 and 1554, its regidor in 1557, 1558 and 1560, and its alcalde.
Diego Rincón	Alcalde of Tunja in 1562, its regidor in 1571.
Gaspar Rodríguez	Mayordomo of Santa Fe.
Diego Sánchez de S.	Alcalde and regidor of Tunja in 1544, regidor in 1545.
Gregorio Suárez de D.	Chief justice of Santa Marta in 1555; regidor of Tunja in 1542, 1545, its alcalde in 1552, 1557, 1570, 1578.
Juan de Tolosa	Regidor of Pamplona in 1549.
Juan de Torres	Curate of Santa Fe.
Andrés de Valenzuela	Regidor of Tunja in 1545.
Ortún Velasco	Regidor of Tunja in 1542, its alcalde in 1544; chief justice of Pamplona since 1549, except in 1553.

#### E. Expedition of Lope Montalvo de Lugo

Simón del Basto	Alguacil of Pamplona in 1555.
Juán Cano	Regidor of Pamplona in 1556, its alcalde of mines in 1557, its alcalde in 1559.
Juan de la Cueva	Regidor of Málaga in 1542.
Bartolomé Hernández L.	Alcalde of Vélez, its alcalde of mines in 1569 and 1572.
Francisco Iñiguez	Scribe of the Tocaima cabildo in 1544, its alcalde in 1567, 1574, and 1577, its regidor in 1572.
Salvador Martín	Regidor of Málaga in 1541.
Nicolás de Palencia	Regidor of Pamplona in 1552, 1553, 1554, 1556, 1558 and 1560, and its alcalde in 1557.
Asencio de Salinas	Chief justice Ibagué in 1557, its alcalde in 1559.
Lope de Salzedo	Regidor of Tocaima in 1544, its alcalde in 1559.
Cristóbal de Zamora	Regidor of Tocaima in 1545.

#### F. Expedition of Alonso Luis de Lugo

Pedro del Acevo Sotelo	Scribe in Tunja and Santa Fe; procurador of the Royal Audience.
Francisco de Avila	Curate of Málaga in 1542.

- Francisco Bahamón de L. Regidor of Santa Fe in 1543; governor of the province of Cartagena from 1572 to 1575.
- Francisco Brizeño Treasurer of the New Kingdom in 1543 and from 1546 to 1552.
- Antonio Cabrera de Sosa Scribe in Tunja from 1543 to 1566.
- Jerónimo de Carvajal Regidor of Tunja in 1543, 1544, 1545.
- Francisco de Castañeda Alguacil of Tunja in 1544.
- Agustín Castellanos Alguacil menor of the Royal Audience in 1556.
- Gómez de Castro Procurador of Tocaima.
- Francisco Franco Alcalde of León de los Yareguies in 1552; alcalde of Vélez in 1561.
- Antonio de Luján Fiscal of the New Kingdom from 1543 to 1550 and from 1552.
- Juan de Mayorga Scribe of the Tunja cabildo in 1544 and of Santa Fe.
- Juan de Montalvo Mayordomo of Santa Fe in 1546 and 1548, its alguacil mayor in 1564, its alcalde in 1568, 1574, 1582, its procurador in 1594; chief justice of La Palma.
- Hernando Montero Scribe of the cabildo of Tunja in 1549.
- Miguel de Morales Alcalde and regidor of Tocaima in several years.
- Juan de Penagos Alcalde mayor of the Kingdom from 1550 to 1560; chief justice of Tocaima in 1556; chief justice Muzo and La Palma after 1564; alcalde Santa Fe in 1566.
- Juan de Riquelme Assitant curate in Tunja.
- Julián Roldán Alguacil mayor of Santa Fe in 1551.
- Juan Ruiz de Orejuela Alcalde of Santa Fe 1544, 1548, 1551, 1554, 1560, 1563, and 1565, its regidor in 1545 and 1549 at least, its procurador in 1547, 1562, 1572; alcalde mayor of Tunja in 1551.
- Francisco Sedeño Doorman of the cabildo of Santa Fe; factor of the Royal Audience in 1553.
- Hernán Suárez de V. Regidor of Tunja in 1543, 1544, 1545, 1547, 1548; corregidor and chief justice of Tunja, Vélez and Río de Oro in 1569 and from 1572 to 1574.
- Gaspar Tavera Alcalde of Tunja in 1563.
- Melchor de Valdés Regidor Santa Fe in 1547; chief justice of Ibagué of 1553.
- Juan Andrés Varela Regidor of Pamplona in 1549, 1553, 1555, 1558; its alcalde in 1557; chief justice of Mérida in 1565 and its alcalde in 1557.
- Francisco de Velandía Factor and veedor of the Kingdom from 1543 to 1550; regidor of Tunja in several years, and its alcalde in 1561, 1574, 1582, 1585.
- Hernando de Velasco Chief justice or corregidor of La Palma in the 1560s; alcalde of Santa Fe in 1576, 1578, 1581.
- Ortún Velasco Regidor of Tunja in 1542, 1549, its alcalde in 1544; chief justice of Pamplona since 1549, not in 1553.
- Alonso de Vera Alcalde of Mariquita in 1552.

- \* Alcalde-municipal magistrate
- Alguacil mayor-chief constable
- Procurador-spokesman for the town, or advocate
- Regidor-Alderman
- Regidor perpetuo-alderman for the rest of his life
- Mayordomo-chief administrator

APPENDIX D  
 ENCOMENDEROS AND THEIR ENCOMIENDAS

<u>Encomendero</u>	<u>Encomienda</u>
<u>A. Group of Gonzalo Jiménez</u>	
Pedro del Acevo Sotelo La	Lost Sasa in Tunja, Cuencuba, in Vélez; kept Palma, Topaipí, in Santa Fe.
Alonso de Aguilar	Coaza, in Tunja.
Domingo de Aguirre	Lost Tobasía, Sátiva, kept Tópaga, in Tunja.
Juan de Alcalá	Tibitó, in Santa Fe.
Juan Alonso	His wife inherited Cueca, in Santa Fe.
Juan Alonso de la T.	Mayo, Site, Tisquisoque, Tumininga, in Vélez.
Pero Añez	Sotaquirá, Gámeza, in Tunja.
Cristóbal Arias de M.	Machetá, Tiribita, in Santa Fe; name unknown in Los Remedios.
Antonio Bermúdez	Lost Choachí, kept Ubaté, Suba, Tuna, in Santa Fe.
Pedro Bravo de Rivera	Chivatá, in Tunja.
Bartolomé Camacho	Chinatá, Ocavita, Sátiva, Venga, and half Baganique, in Tunja.
Antonio de Castro	Guainasá, Tinjacá, Cerinza, in Tunja.
Juan de Céspedes	Cáqueza, Chipaque, Ubaque, Ubatoque, in Santa Fe.
Gómez de Cifuentes	Paipa, in Tunja.
Pedro de Colmenares	Lost Suba, Tuna, kept Bosa, Soacha, Tena, in Santa Fe.
Pedro Daza de Madrid	Bombasá, Moquecha, Nomexira, Pesca, Tobasía in Tunja.
Antonio Díaz Cardozo	Suba, Tuna, in Santa Fe.
Simón Díaz	Chiscas, Guacamayas, in Tunja.
Alonso Domínguez B.	Lost Cochunuba, kept Gerira, Umbitá in Vélez.
Juan Fernández	Lost Ochica, Samacá, Viracusa, kept Tobasía, in Tunja.
Juan Fernández V.	Pavachoque, Sorocotá, in Vélez.
Pedro Fernández de V.	Lost Pasca with Sueta and Acuativa, in Santa Fe.
Francisco de Figueredo	Zipacón, in Santa Fe.
Lázaro Fonte	Lost Ingativá, Mazeya, and Techativá, in Santa Fe.
Diego Franco	Boare, Cutiseo, Pare, Ubasá, in Vélez.
Martín Galeano	Chipatá, Guane, Guavatá, Orta, Saboyá, Semisa, Yacarebo, in Vélez.
Gonzalo García Zorro	Fusagasugá, in Santa Fe.
Alonso Gómez Sesquillo	Name unknown, in Vélez.
Diego Gómez	Lost Cochavita, in Vélez.

- Franciso Gómez Brande, Binite, Cimbí, Cayoa, Cheyseca, Chumbitá, Igacote, Labo, Macayma, Nucayma, Ponte, Saque, Topo, Tuquima, Tibacuy, Cueca, Santa Fe.
- Hernán Gómez C. Half of Suesca, Tunjuelo, in Santa Fe.
- Juan Gómez Portillo Usme, in Santa Fe.
- Pedro Gómez de Orozco Cáchira, in Pamplona.
- Juan de Gumez Subachoque, and another in Fusagasugá, in Santa Fe.
- Alonso Hernández de L. Lost Chocóa, in Vélez.
- Pedro Hernández de A. Iroba, in Vélez.
- García del Hito Guaquirá, Tota, in Tunja.
- Juan del Junco Boyacá, Cucaita, Cuquetagaicha, Quiminza, Sora, Sutamanga, in Tunja.
- Pedro de Lombana Ciénaga, Suba, in Santa Fe.
- Diego López C. Name unknown, in Vélez.
- Juan López Sáchica, in Tunja.
- Pedro López de M. Cúitiva, Tupia, in Tunja.
- Gonzalo Macías Tutasá, in Tunja.
- Baltasar Maldonado Duitama, Cerínza, in Tunja.
- Alonso Martín Cobo Chipa or Tipa, in Tunja.
- Diego Martín Hiniesta Cocunuba, in Tunja.
- Gaspar Méndez Meusa, Teusacá, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco de Mestanza Lost Cajicá, had another in Mariquita.
- Juan de Montalvo Lost Cucunubá and Bobotá, in Santa Fe.
- Pedro Núñez Cabrera Bónsa, Susa, Támara, Turga, in Tunja.
- Antón de Olalla Bogotá, in Santa Fe.
- Juan de Olmos Nemocón, Tasgatá, Tibitó, in Santa Fe.
- Juan de Ortega Nocaíma, Zipaquirá, Pacho, in Santa Fe.
- Cristóbal Ortiz Bernal Sesquilé, in Santa Fe.
- Miguel de Otáñez Name unknown but in Chapaima, Mariquita.
- Diego de Paredes C. Somondoco, traded Ciénaga for Panqueba, in Tunja.
- Hernán Pérez de Q. Fontibón, in Santa Fe.
- Juan de Pinilla Lost Iguaque, Yaquina, in Tunja; kept Izcala, Lauraca, Mene, in Pamplona.
- Hernando del Prado Almiba, Ambalema, Guanacapila, Guataquí, in Tocaima.
- Martín Pujol Lost Bónsa, Paipa, in Tunja.
- Juan Quinconces de L. Furaquirá, Guatochá, Susacón, Tobasía, in Tunja.
- Juan Ramírez de H. Name unknown, in Tocaima.
- Cristóbal de Roa Lost Sutatenza, in Tunja.
- Antón Rodríguez C. Lost his part of Ciénaga, Onzaga, Soatá and Susa; kept Viracusa, Samacá, Tobasía, in Tunja.
- Francisco Rodríguez Sora or Soracá, in Tunja.
- Juan Rodríguez Gil Soacá, Topia, in Tunja.
- Juan Rodríguez Parra Chicamocha, Tequía, Viracusa, in Tunja.
- Pedro Rodríguez del C. Iguaque, Yaquina, in Tunja.
- Pedro Rodríguez de L. Chusbíta, Sagre, in Tunja.
- Diego Romero Lost his part of Bosa, Fitatá, Tenjo, Macheté; kept Engativá, Une in Santa Fe.



- Cristóbal Ruiz Lost his part of Chocontá; kept Teusacá, Sesquilé, in Santa Fe.
- Pedro Ruiz Corredor Oicatá, in Tunja.
- Pedro Ruiz Herrezuelo Cuscaneba, Panqueba, in Tunja.
- Juan de Salamanca Betéitiva, in Tunja.
- Pedro de Salazar Cucunuba, Pumarague, in Vélez.
- Francisco Salguero Cheba, Gámeza, Mongua, Ura, in Tunja.
- Francisco Sánchez A. Sube, Ubarea, in Velez; name unknown in Tunja.
- Juan Sánchez de Toledo Lost Gachancipá, kept one of name unknown in La Palma.
- Juan Sánchez de Utrera Siachoque, in Tunja.
- Martín Sánchez Ropero Monquirá, in Tunja.
- Mateo Sánchez C. Ocavita, in Tunja.
- Miguel Sánchez Lost his part of Suta, kept Ciénaga, Onzaga, Soatá, Tobasía, in Tunja.
- Miguel Seco Moyano Agatá, Chinácota, Paja, Sopachica, Sotapuxa, in Vélez.
- Juan Sedano Lost Guaquirá, Tota, in Tunja.
- Bartolomé Segarra Coromora, Senoba, Tibabita, in Tunja.
- Diego de Segura Ocavita, in Tunja.
- Francisco de Silva Tibabosa, in Tunja.
- Diego Suárez Montañez Chiquisa, Guasima, Suta, Tota, in Tunja.
- Gonzalo Suárez Rendón Chiriví, Guanecá, Icabuco, Ochonova, Tibaná, in Tunja.
- Juan Tafur Chipaque, Furacicá, Itaque, Pasca, Quirasaque, Usaque, for some time, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco Tordehumos One of name unknown but which was previously owned by Juan de Torres, in Tunja.
- Lázaro de la Torre Socha, in Tunja.
- Diego de Torres Lost Guagaritívá, in Tunja, kept Moniaco, Nagua, Suba, in Pamplona.
- Juan de Torres Lost his part of Bosa, Fitatá, Tenjo, in Santa Fe; kept Iza, Turmequé, in Tunja.
- Nicolao de Troya Tocancipá, Unta, in Santa Fe.
- Juan Valenciano Lost Garagoa, in Tunja.
- Andrés Vázquez de M. Chocontá, in Santa Fe.
- Hernán Venegas Guatavita, Guachetá, ten Muisca villages, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco Villaviciosa Lost Turmequé, in Tunja.

B. Group of Nikolaus Federmann

- Hernando de Alcocer Bojacá, Cabiasuca, Chuisaque, Sasaima, in Santa Fe.
- Nicolao Alemán Yanosa, Tamare, Quenos, Guarari, Piguarigua Guaynepe, in San Juan de los Llanos.
- Pedro de Aranda Orta, in Vélez.
- Juan de Avellaneda Choachí, in Santa Fe; several in San Juan de los Llanos; Combeima, Itaima, Mataima, in Ibagué.
- Andrés de Ayala Tocavita, Tinajacá, in Tunja.
- Honorato Vicente Bernal Guasca, in Santa Fe.
- Hernando de Beteta Gámeza, in Tunja.

García Calvete de Haro	Chalala, Guebsa, in Vélez.
Clemente de Campos	Name unknown.
Luis Caro	Name unknown, in Santa Fe.
Juan de Castro	Sapo or Alaypaba, Guaycare, in Vélez.
Juan Corzo	Orcas, by the Rio de los Bailadores, in Mérida.
Hernando de Escalante	Combitá, Yuitiva, Suta, in Tunja.
Diego de Espinosa	Calamoima, in Mariquita.
Antón Flamenco	Susa, in Santa Fe.
Juan Fuerte	Cueca, in Santa Fe.
Hernán Gallegos	Tibabita, Conequete, in Vélez.
Gonzalo de Gamboa	Tenjo, in Santa Fe.
Diego García de Cabezón	Simijaca, in Santa Fe.
Gonzalo García	Guacha, Soaca, Icabuco, in Tunja.
Juan Gascón	Tisquisoque, in Vélez.
Cristóbal Gómez Nieto	Tabio, Gínés, Chiasugá, Chibiasugá, in Santa Fe.
Bartolomé González	Soratá, Pavachoque, in Vélez.
Domingo de Guevara	Fúquene, Nemogua, in Santa Fe.
Juan Gutiérrez de A.	Paz, in Santa Fe, Nazizagua, Guazize, Zuzo, Tumare, in San Juan.
Luis Hernández	Ture, Chocóa, in Vélez.
Miguel Holguín	Tibasosa, Chámeza, Socha, in Tunja.
Luis Lancharo	Susa, in Santa Fe.
Domingo Lozano	Susa, in Santa Fe; Oyoima, in Ibagué.
Francisco Maldonado	Bituima, Sasaima, Calamoima, in Santa Fe.
Juan Martín Hincapié	Moniquirá, in Vélez.
Diego Martínez	Ocavita, in Tunja.
Juan Mateos	Lenguaruco, Chima, Camacota, in Vélez.
Bernabé Méndez	Name unknown, in Tocaima.
Alonso de Miranda	Caracota, Yuca, in Vélez.
Pedro de Miranda	Síquima, Tocarema, in Santa Fe.
Pedro de Molina	Name unknown, in Tocaima.
Francisco Monsalve	Chisca, Guacamayas, Panqueba, in Tunja.
Hernando Montero	Guataquí, in Tocaima.
Francisco de Murcia	Iroba, Guaneté, Neacusa, in Vélez.
Alonso Olalla Herrera	Facatativá, Matima, Sasaima.
Diego Ortíz	Garahota, Curgune, Nemizaque, Quereguán, in Vélez.
Francisco Ortíz	Jaquima, in Tocaima.
Ortuño Ortíz	Clénaga, Cosquetiva, Gámeza, in Tunja.
Antón de Palma	Tonchalá, in Pamplona.
Hernán Pérez Maraver	Guasca, in Santa Fe.
Juan Peronegro	Guacaya, in Vélez.
Gonzalo de Porras	Name unknown, in Tocaima.
Sebastián de Porras	Chumba, Anaima, Combeima, in Ibagué.
Miguel de la Puerta	Anapoima, Bituima, in Tocaima.
Juan Quintero	Cuyamaita, Guayaca, Oiba, in Vélez.
Alonso Ramírez de P.	Samacá, Popoba, in Vélez.
Melchor Ramírez	Mochavita, in Vélez.
Juan de Ribera	Saboyá, in Vélez, Macheté, in Santa Fe.
Alvaro Rodríguez	Jerira, in Vélez.
Diego Rodríguez de V.	Ubaté, Tibaguyas, in Santa Fe.

Pedro Rodríguez de S.	Chiscas, Chita, Motavita, La Sal, Chinavita, Guaucuro, Cuacaia, Tombitá, Tuneba, in Tunja.
Antonio Ruíz	Gachancipá, in Santa Fe.
Cristóbal San Miguel	Sogamoso, in Tunja.
Diego Sánchez C.	Probably Suta, in Tunja.
Mateo Sánchez Rey	Ciénaga, Subía, in Santa Fe, name unknown in La Palma.
Gaspar de Santafé	Aliguas, Conaconas, Locayas, in Tocaima.
Cristóbal de Toro	Chinga, in Santa Fe.
Alonso de la Torre	Name unknown, in Vélez.
Juan de Trujillo	Chitasugá, in Ibagué.
Gonzalo de Vega	Turca, Guachantiva, in Vélez.
Lorenzo de Villaspasas	Name unknown, in Tocaima.

#### C. Group of Sebastián de Belalcázar

Juan de Arévalo	Cota, Chia, in Santa Fe.
Pedro de Arévalo	Tibaguya, in Santa Fe.
Garcí Arias Maldonado	Saquencipá, Sora, Tinjacá, in Tunja.
Juan de Avendaño	Ciénaga, Ocavita, Tuta, Viracachá, in Tunja.
Francisco de Céspedes	Meusa, Suaque, Tunjaque, in Santa Fe.
Antón de Esquivel	Cómbita, Coromoro, Foaca, Suta, in Tunja.
Juan Muñoz de C.	Chia, in Santa Fe.
Juan de Orozco	Baganique, in Tunja.
Juan de Pineda	Samacá, Tensa, in Tunja.
Pedro de Puelles	Chía, in Santa Fe.
Hernando de Rojas	Teusacá, in Santa Fe, Pachaquira, Sasa, Sutamanga, in Tunja.
Luis de Sanabria	Firabitoba, Neacachá, in Tunja.
Alonso Téllez	Bosa, in Santa Fe.
Miguel de Trujillo	Soaca, Topia, in Tunja; Tacasquima, Táchira, Tonabi, Tonacas, Turugua, in Pamplona.
Melchor Valdés	Anaima, in Ibagué.
Pedro Vázquez de L.	Soatá, in Tunja.
Martín Yáñez Tafur	Guambaima, Macaima, Tocaima, in Tocaima.

#### D. Group of Jerónimo Lebrón

Juan de Angulo	Butaregua, in Vélez.
Pedro de Ardila	Choaguete, in Vélez.
Juan Artero	Jerira, in Vélez.
Juan Barrera	Saquensipá, Moniquirá, in Tunja.
Francisco Chamoza	Pisinzane, Pan, Cabre, Guaque, Parisayes, in San Juan de los Llanos.
Francisco Chinchilla	Moniquirá, in Tunja.
Juan de Chinchilla	Siachoque, in Tunja.
Diego García Pacheco	Garagoa, in Tunja.
Pedro García Matamoros	Soracá, in Tunja.
Pedro García Ruíz	Toca, in Tunja; Machicagua, in Málaga; Burca, Larga, in Pamplona.
Pedro Gutiérrez de A.	Choaguete, Bobora, in Vélez.
Francisco Hernández H.	Tinjacá, Saquensipá, in Tunja.

Gonzalo de León	Tausa, Simijaca, in Santa Fe.
Antón López Camarena	Cacaíma, in Santa Fe.
Lázaro López de Salazar	Motavita, Cupasaina, in Tunja.
Juan Lorenzo	Fosca, in Santa Fe.
Andrés Martín Calvillo	Laboga, in Pamplona.
Francisco Melgarejo	Guachetá, Lengupá, Cienchiquiba, Camba, Neria, in Tunja.
Juan de Moscoso	Name unknown, in Santa Fe.
Pero Alonso Niño	Nasuga, Cusagua, Tocotá, in Cocuy; Paya, Nicarte, Yscote, Siama, Guarivala, Chachavite, Agua, Arandey, in Tunja.
Miguel de Oviedo	Chumba, Metaíma, Anaima, in Ibagué.
Diego Paredes Calvo	Sunuba, in Tunja.
Diego de Partearroyo	Boyacá, in Tunja.
Gonzalo de Porras	Fíquene, Nemogua, in Santa Fe.
Antonio Portillo	Ulamio, Ayavichí, Chimaichovi, Camba, Bilacamba, in Tocaíma.
Catalina Quintanilla	Chocontá, in Santa Fe.
Pedro Quintero P.	Jerama, Nisacuta, Nucubara, Cupeta, Renta, Tabarata, Cúnuba, in Pamplona.
Pedro Quiralte	Lenguapá, in Tunja.
Diego Rincón	Busbanzá, Baganique, Sutamanga, in Tunja.
Antonio de Rodas	Name unknown but in Guane, in Vélez; Matagaima, in Ibagué.
Gaspar Rodríguez	Tunjaque, Suaque, Meusa, Sopó, in Santa Fe.
Francisco Ruiz	Tata, Cangata, Monagata, Temana, Subogara, and part of Dubígara, in Vélez.
Antón de Santana	Chiquinquirá, Suta, in Tunja.
Gregorio Suárez de D.	Cuqueita, in Tunja.
Juan de Tolosa	Monua, Olocuta, Quatagua, Uliri, in Pamplona.
Ortún Velasco	Arcabuzazo, Mechica, Bucarán, Cúcuta, in Pamplona.
Juan Vicente	Macaregua, Toca, Sabe, in Vélez.

E. Group of Lope Montalvo de Lugo

Rodrigo Añes	Cochuba, Casacota, in Vélez.
Simón del Basto	Tututá, in Pamplona.
Juil Cano	Culaga, Yoruma, in Pamplona.
Juan de Eslava	Toca, in Vélez.
Juan Gallego	Tenjo, in Santa Fe.
Bartolomé Hernández L.	Poasaque, Chanchón, in Vélez.
Francisco Iñiguez	Turmas, Conaimas, in Tocaíma.
Nicolás de Palencia	Velagra, Táchira, Sopota, in Pamplona.
Asencio de Salinas	Tocaíma, Guasquia, Guataíma, Chicalaima, in Tocaíma.
Lope de Salzedo	Guasquia, Guataíma, Chicalaima, in Tocaíma.
Cristóbal de Zamora	Tocaíma, Payasa, in Tocaíma.

F. Group of Alonso Luis de Lugo

- Pedro del Acevo Sotelo Lost Sasa in Tunja, Cuencuba in Vélez; kept La Palma, Topaipí, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco Bahamón Soatá, in Tunja.
- Antonio Cabrera de S. Turga, in Tunja.
- Don Jerónimo Carvajal Socha, Tutatasco, Satibaquirá, Cuqueitagacha, in Tunja.
- Gómez de Castro Guataquí, Lutaima, in Tocaima.
- Juan de Chávez Zipacón in Santa Fe; name unknown in Táchira.
- Alfonso Díaz Sagasucá or Serrezuela, in Santa Fe.
- Mari Díaz Sagasucá or Serrezuela, in Santa Fe.
- Alonso Flórez de Avila Name unknown, in Tocaima.
- Francisco Franco Simacota, Oroco, Mencha, Cubatá, Tibacho, Jagua, in Vélez.
- Pedro Gallego Choale, Aíla, Amy, Guamala, in Tocaima.
- Leonor Gómez Sagasucá or Serrezuela, in Santa Fe.
- Eloísa Gutiérrez Cocunuba, Bobotá, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco Gutiérrez M. Suta, Tausa, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco Gutiérrez M. Suta, Tausa, in Santa Fe.
- Pedro Martín Cabiasuca, in Santa Fe.
- Antonio Martínez Chilagua, in Tocaima.
- Juan de Mayorga Chirivite, Cacher, Moncora, Chorocatá or Voyocotá, Yuca, in Vélez.
- Hernando de Mora Some Indians from Jaquima, in Tocaima.
- Miguel de Morales Name unknown in Tocaima; Doyma in Ibagué.
- Juan de Montalvo Bobotá, Cucunubá, in Santa Fe.
- Francisco de Niebla Name unknown, in Tocaima.
- Francisco Palazuelos Sícha, in Tocaima.
- Juan de Penagos Tocancipá, Unta, in Santa Fe.
- Juan de Peña Montoya Name unknown, in Vitoria; Garagoa, Teguas, in Tunja.
- Cristóbal de Roa Sutatenza, in Tunja.
- Alonso Ruiz de Alvaro Name unknown, in Ibagué.
- Juan Ruiz de Orejuela Cómbita, Ingativá, Suta, in Tunja; Fómeque in Santa Fe.
- Juan de Saavedra Name unknown, in Tocaima.
- Diego de Salas Nocaíma, Sasaima, in Tocaima and Santa Fe.
- Mateo Sánchez Rey Ciénaga, in Santa Fe.
- Juan de Sandoval Susa, Bonsa, in Tunja.
- Francisco de la Sierra Rasgón, Chicamocha, in Tunja.
- Gaspar Tavera Guataquí, in Tocaima.
- Francisco de Trejo Jaquima, in Tocaima, Oyoima, in Ibagué.
- Juan de Trujillo Chitasugá, in Santa Fe.
- Melchor Valdés Anaima, in Ibagué.
- Juan Andrés Varela Babeteria, Siscomali, Turugua, Operacequemari, in Pamplona; Quebrada Sucia, in Mérida.
- Francisco de Velandía Chitagoto, Isa, Tuntiva, in Tunja.
- Hernando de Velasco Suativa, Tinimquirá, Tolomaima, in Santa Fe.
- Ortún Velasco Arcabuzazo, Mechica, Bucarán, Cúcuta, in Pamplona.

Martín de Vergara            Name unknown, Chochuba, Casacota, in Vélez.  
 Rodrigo de Villarreal       Poima, in Vélez.

G. Conquerors Who Were Part of One of the Above Groups

Alonso Cornejo	Pomaraque, in Vélez.		
Pedro Cornejo	Name unknown, in Vélez.		
Pedro Galeano	Chipatá, Cupamanga,	Saboyá,	Quintagacha,
	Guabata, in Vélez.		
Cristóbal Gascón	Saque, in Vélez.		
Pedro de Segovia	Conalla, in Málaga.		
Héctor de Sequera	Guacamayas, in Cocuy.		
Juan de Villalobos	Bosa, in Santa Fe.		

APPENDIX E  
MARITAL UNIONS AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

<u>Conqueror</u>	<u>Consort</u>	<u>Children</u>
<u>A. Expedition Gonzalo Jiménez</u>		
Martín de Abriva	Catalina de Céspedes	
Pedro del Acevo Sotelo	Ana Muñoz	14
Alonso de Aguilar	Catalina de Robles	Several
Diego de Aguilar	Name unknown	Several
Domingo de Aguirre	Ana Maldonado	0
Juan de Alcalá	Free union w/Francisca India	3
Juan Alonso	Luisa Fuerte *	4
Juan Alonso de la Torre	Francisca Rodríguez *	6
Pero Añez	Constanza Rodríguez *	1
	Free union	1
Cristóbal Arias de M.	Name unknow	
	Catalina Siliceo	1
	Free union	1
Antonio Bermúdez	María de Amaya	0
	Free union	1
Pedro Bravo de Rivera	María de Guzmán	8
	Free union w/Indian	1
Bartolomé Camacho	Isabel Pérez de Cuellar	6
	Free union w/Indian	1
Antonio de Castro	Ana de Velosa	8
	Free union	1
Juan de Céspedes	Isabel Romera *	2
	Free union w/Isabel del Perú	1
Gómez de Cifuentes	Isabel de Contreras	6
Pedro de Colmenares	María de Nava y Olivares	1
Pedro Daza de Madrid	María M. de Alcántara	2
Alonso Díaz	Francisca López	
Antonio Díaz Cardozo	Felipa de Almeida	3
	Free union w/Indian	1
Simón Díaz	Remained single	0
Alonso Domínguez B.	Isabel Gómez	2
	Francisca de Torres	
Juan Fernández	Free union w/Indian	+ 1
Pedro Fernández de V.	Free union w/Indian	2
Francisco de Figueredo	Eufrasia de Santiago	0
	Free union w/Isabel González	1
	Free union w/Catalina India	1
Lázaro Fonte	Juana Bonilla	yes
Diego Franco	Ana de Porras	0

Martín Galeano	Isabel Juan de Arroyo	0
	Free union	1
Gonzalo García Zorro	Francisca Pimentel	0
	Free union w/Margarita	2
	Free union w/Luisa India	1
Juan García Manchado	Free union	2
Pedro García de las C.	Andrea de Sevilla	
Francisco Gómez	Catalina de Quintanilla	6
	Free union	2
Hernán Gómez	Catalina Gaitán	0
Juan Gómez Portillo	Catalina Martín Pacheco	3
	Free union	1
Pedro Gómez de Orozco	Isabel Domínguez	3
Juan de Gúmez	Juana Flórez	0
Alonso Hernández de L.	Free union w/Indian	1
Martín Hernández de I.	Catalina López	+ 5
Juan del Junco	Inés de Villalobos	+ 1
Pedro de Lombana	Free union	2
Diego López C.	Name unknown	
Juan López	Elvira Sánchez	2
Pedro López de M.	Isabel Ruiz de Quesada	0
Gonzalo Macías	Juana Moreno de Figueroa	2
Baltasar Maldonado	Leonor de Carvajal	3
	Free union	1
Alonso Martín Cobo	Name unknown	1
Juan de Montalvo	Eloisa Gutiérrez	0
	Free union	1
Pedro Núñez Cabrera	Isabel Maldonado	1
	Free union w/Indian	3
Antón de Olalla	María Valdoya	8
Juan de Olmos	María de Cerezo	6
	Free union	+ 2
Juan de Ortega	Free union w/Indian	1
Cristóbal Ortíz Bernal	Ana de Castro	6
Diego Paredes Calderón	Leonor de la Fuente	2
Hernando del Prado	Free union w/Indian	1
Juan Quincoces de Ll.	Free union w/Indian	1
Juan Ramírez de H.	María del Campo	5
	Name unknown	1
Cristóbal de Roa	Catalina Ruiz	5
Antón Rodríguez Cazalla	Francisca de Betancourt	0
	Leonor Pérez	yes
Francisco Rodríguez	Francisca de Morales	6
	Free union w/Indian	1
Juan Rodríguez de B.	Name unknown	1
Juan Rodríguez Gil	Salvadora Sánchez	0
	Catalina Jorge de Meneses *	4
Juan Rodríguez Parra	Catalina de Valero *	0
Pedro Rodríguez del C.	Free union	5
	Free union	
Pedro Rodríguez de León	Catalina Rodríguez	1



Diego Romero	Francisca de Aguilar	3
	Free union	3
Cristóbal Ruiz	Leonor Gutiérrez	1
Pedro Ruiz Corredor	Elvira Pérez de Cuellar	2
Pedro Ruiz Herrezuelo	Catalina Carvajal	1
Juan de Salamanca	Name unknown	yes
Pedro de Salazar	Remained Single	0
Franciso Salguero	Juana Macías *	0
Juan Sánchez de Toledo	Free union	1
Martín Sánchez Ropero	Catalina Martínez	0
	Free union w/Indian	3
Mateo Sánchez Cogolludo	María de Morales	1
Miguel Sánchez	Catalina Rodríguez *	3
Miguel Seco Moyano	Beatriz Osorio	0
	Free union	1
Bartolomé Segarra	Free union	1
Diego de Segura	María Suárez *	1
Diego Suárez Montañez	Ana Rodríguez de León *	3
	Catalina de Vargas	3
Gonzalo Suárez Rendón	Mencia de Figueroa	4
	Free union w/Ana del Perú	1
Juan Tafur	Francisca de Ulloa	0
	Bernardina Manuel *	0
	Free union	1
Francisco de Tordehumos	Francisca India	1?
	Beatriz de Torres	0
	Paulina Velázquez	0
	María de Santiago	0
Diego de Torres	Francisca Ortíz	3
Juan de Torres	Leonor Ruiz Herrezuelo	2
	Free union w/Catalina de Turmequé	1
Nicolao de Troya	Free union	2
Salvador de Umbría	Free union w/Indian	1
Andrés Vázquez de M.	Free union w/C. Quintanilla*	2
	Free union	2
Hernán Venegas	Juana Ponce de León	8

B. Expedition Nikolaus Federmann

Francisco de Aguierre	Free union w/Indian	2
Hernando de Alcocer	Guiomar de Sotomayor	0
	Inés Galeano *	0
Nicolao Alemán	Name unknown	1
Sebastián de Almarcha	Free union w/Teresa India	1
Francisco Alvarez de A.	Isabel Zapata	
Juan de Avellaneda	Quiteria de Alda	1
	Ana López del Carrión *	1
Andrés de Ayala	Name unknown	1
Honorato Vicente Bernal	Name unknown	
García Calvete de Haro	Gerónima de Angulo	1
Luis Caro	Isabel de Villegas	2

Juan de Castro	Beatriz Osorio *	yes
Antón de Córdoba	Free union w/Francisca India	1
Juan Corzo	Luisa Ramirez	
	Free union	1
Jácome Díaz	Name unknown	1
Hernando de Escalante	Name unknown	
Diego de Espinosa	Name unknown	yes
Antón Flamenco	Isabel Alvarez Reynalte	2
	Free union w/Indian	2
Juan Fuerte	Catalina del Cuzco	2
	Free union w/Isabel India	1
	Free union w/Juana India	2
	Free union w/Indian	2
Gonzalo de Gamboa	Name unknown	2
	Free union w/Magdalena India	1
Diego García de Cabezón	Free union	2
Gonzalo García	Brígida Díaz de Quesada	11
Cristóbal Gómez Nieto	Leonor de Silva Collantes *	4
Bartolomé González	María de Jesús	
Domingo de Guevara	Catalina de Figueroa	6
	Free union w/Isabel India	2
Bartolomé Hernández H.	Name unknown	2
Luis Hernández	Marina Galeano *	0
Miguel Holguín	Isabel de Cárcamo	2
	Isabel Maldonado *	2
Luis Lancharo	Francisca Ruiz Mancipe	1
Pedro de Limpias	Name unknown	yes
Domingo Lozano	Benita Martínez	1
Francisco Maldonado D.	Ana de Avila	2
Francisco Martín	Free union w/Indian	yes
Juan Martín Hincapié	Name unknown	2
	Free union w/Isabel de M.	1
Juan Mateos	Free union w/Indian	3
Bernabé Méndez	Name unknown	
Alonso de Miranda	María de Loayza	0
Cristóbal de Miranda	Name unknown	
Pedro de Miranda	María de Avila	0
Francisco de Monsalve	Catalina de Pineda	2
Hernando Montero	Marina Mejía	
Francisco de Murcia	Leonor Valiente Cadera	5
	Free union w/Indian	2
Alonso Olalla Herrera	Juana Miguel de Mayorga *	9
Diego de la Oliva	Luisa de Segovia	3
Diego Ortiz	Name unknown	1
Francisco Ortiz	Ana de Carvajal *	3
	Free union w/Isabel India	1
Ortuño Ortiz	Elvira de Tena	+ 2
Antón de Palma	Name unknown	yes
Juan Peronegro	Free union w/Inés India	1
Gonzalo de Porras	Leonor de Puelles	2
Miguel de la Puerta	Isabel Velázquez	1

Juan Quintero	Leonor Díaz	1
Alonso Ramírez de P.	Juana Franco	yes
Melchor Ramírez	Luisa de la Torre *	8
Juan de Ribera	María de Salazar	
	Free union w/Indian	1
	Free union w/Indian	1
Juan da Rocha	Inés Muñoz, Indian	1
Alvaro Rodríguez	Name unknown	yes
Diego Rodríguez de V.	Leonor Maldonado	1
Pero Rodríguez de S.	Free union w/Indian	1
	Free union w/Juana India	1
Antonio Ruiz	Free union w/Inés India	1
Mateo Sánchez Rey	Casilda de Salazar	2
Pedro Sánchez V.	Juana Núñez	1
	Free union w/Indians	3
Cristóbal de San Miguel	Francisca de Silva *	3
Gaspar de Santafé	Beatriz Alvarez	2
Cristóbal de Toro	Francisca de Pedroso	0
Francisco de Torralba	Name unknown	5
Gonzalo de Vega	Luisa de la Torre	2

C. Expedition Sebastián de Belalcázar

Garcí Arias Maldonado	Luisa Jiménez	2
	Catalina de Pineda *	0
Juan de Avendaño	Elvira de Grimaldo	3
	Free union w/Indian	1
Lucas Bejarano	Beatriz de México	1
Francisco Belalcázar	María de Herrera Sarmiento	5
Francisco de Céspedes	Isabel Galeano *	0
	Free union w/Indian	1
Mencia de Collantes	Alonso de Soto	5
	Francisco Martín	0
Antón Coro	Name unknown	yes
Hernando Díaz	Name unknown	yes
Antón de Esquivel	Isabel de Loayza *	3
Juan Gascón	María de Paredes	1
Baltasar González	Ana Ponce de León	2
Alonso de Hoyos	Bernaldina Manuel	3
Pedro de León	Name unknown	yes
Luis de Mideros	Name unknown	yes
Juan Muñoz de Collantes	Mencia de Silva	2
	Free union w/Francisca Inga	1
	Free union w/Juana India	1
Juan de Orozco	Isabel Zambrana *	0
Juan de Pineda	Francisca Alfaro	0
Hernando de Rojas	Inés de Loayza	1
	María de Montalvo	4
	Free union	4
Luis de Sanabria	Leonor Macías de Figueroa *	2
Alonso Téllez	Marina Herrezuelo	0
	Free union w/Tallaconga	1

Melchor Valdés	Juana Ramírez de la Cueva	1
Pedro Vázquez de Loayza	Catalina Suárez *	1
Martín Yáñez Tafur	Inés Jimeno de Bohorquez	3

D. Expedition of Jerónimo Lebrón

Juan de Angulo	Isabel Juan de Royo	10
Pedro de Ardila	Francisca Gutiérrez *	9
Juan Artero	Francisca de San Román	1
Juan Barrera	Elvira de Paz *	1
Francisco de Benavides	Name unknown	1
María de Céspedes	Lope de Rioja	8
Juan de Coca	Mariluís Cedillo	
Juan de Chinchilla	Inés Moreno, or Pinta	1
Francisco Díaz	Name unknown	yes
Pedro Frías	Leonor Núñez	
Diego García Pacheco	Francisca de Carvajal	4
Pedro García Ruíz	Isabel Ruíz Mancipe	4
Pedro Gutiérrez de A.	Luisa Vázquez *	1
Francisco Hernández H.	Catalina Alonso	7
Andrés Jorge	Catalina Rodríguez	3
Gonzalo de León	Name unknown	1
Lázaro López de Salazar	Isabel Hidalgo	2
	María Cerón	1
Francisco Lorenzo	Isabel Romera	4
Luis de Manjarrés	Ana Ramírez	1
	Free union w/Juliana de F.	2
Pedro Blasco Martín	Free union w/Juana India	1
Francisco Melgarejo	Isabel de Leguizamo *	
Pedro de Miranda	Luisa Vázquez Clavijo	1
Hernando de Mora	Name unknown	yes
Pero Alonso Niño	Ana de Velazco *	0
	Elvira Zambrano *	3
Juan de Noria	Juana García	
Diego de Partearroyo	Free union w/Inés India	1
	Free union w/Indians	2
Antonio Portillo	Francisca de Quesada	2
Catalina de Quintanilla	Francisco Gómez de Fera *	6
	Free union w/Andrés Vázquez *	2
	Baltasar de Villarroel	0
Pedro Quintero Príncipe	María Sánchez Castellano	+ 8
Pedro Quiralte	Isabel del Salto	0
	Free union w/Indian	1
Diego Rincón	Luisa de Porras	3
	Free union	1
Antón de Rodas	Name unknown	
Gaspar Rodríguez	Isabel Galeano *	3
Isabel Romera	Francisco Lorenzo *	4
	Juan de Céspedes *	2
Juan de San Miguel	Free union w/Isabel India	1
Diego Sánchez de S.	Ana Domínguez	
Antón de Santana	Catalina García de Irlós	1

Sebastián Santo Domingo	Isabel de Sauzedo	
Gregorio Suárez de Deza	Luisa de Grimaldos	4
	Free union w/Indian	1
Ortún Velasco	Luisa de Montalvo	6

E. Expedition of Lope Montalvo de Lugo

Simón del Basto	Juana de Avellaneda	6
Juñl Cano	Catalina de Carvajal	1
	Free unions	4
Juan de Eslava	Single	no
Juan Gallego	Florentina de Escobar	6
	Free union w/Indian	1
Bartolomé Hernández L.	Name unknown	
	Free union w/Indian	3
Francisco Iñiguez	Beatriz López *	2
Martín Nieto	María Pecellín	2
Nicolás de Palencia	Name unknown	4
Asencio de Salinas	María de la Cruz	
Lope de Salzedo	María de Trejo	6
Cristóbal de Zamora	Name unknown	1

F. Expedition of Alonso Luis de Lugo

Pedro del Acevo Sotelo	Ana Núñez	14
Luis de Avila	Name unknown	yes
Pedro de Brizeño	María de Carvajal	0
	Free union w/Beatriz Mulatto	1
Antonio Cabrera de Sosa	Name unknow	1
Jerónimo de Carvajal	Ana de Montalvo	2
Agustín Castellanos	Name unknown	
Juan de Chávez	Eufrasia de Santiago *	3
Alfonso Díaz	Leonor Gómez	1
Marí Díaz	Antón Martín de M.	2
	Antonio Gómez	1
Ana Domínguez	Diego Sánchez de Santana	
Francisco Franco	Angela Jiménez Galeano *	1
Juana García	Juan de Noria *	2
Leonor Gómez	Alfonso Díaz	1
Eloísa Gutiérrez	Juan de Montalvo *	0
Francisco Gutiérrez M.	Name unknown	4
Francisco Gutiérrez M.	Luisa de Venero	
	Free union w/Juana India	1
Antonio Hernández	Francisca Díaz	1
Alonso de Hoyos	Bernaldina Manuel	3
Pedro Martín	Catalina de Barrionuevo *	0
	Free union w/Indian	1
Juan de Mayorga	María Casalla de Tello	8
Juan de Montalvo	Eloísa Gutiérrez *	0
Miguel de Morales	Isabel de Bocanegra	5
Hernando de Mora	Name unknown	

Juan de Penagos	Free union w/Francisca India	4
	Free union w/Isabel India	2
Juan de la Peña	Beatriz de Reina	12
	Free union w/Luisa India	1
Cristóbal de Roa	Catalina Ruiz	5
Juan Rodríguez del Olmo	Francisca de Cárdenas	1
Julián Roldán	María Díaz	
Alonso Ruiz de Alvaro	Name unknown	5
Juan Ruiz de Orejuela	Catalina López de Carvajal *	8
Juan de Saavedra	Francisca de Lazo	yes
Diego de Salas	Elvira del Valle	1
Diego Sánchez Farfán	Name unknown	1
Mateo Sánchez Rey	Casilda de Salazar	2
Hernán Suárez de V.	Name unknown	1
Gaspar Tavera	María de Angulo	1
Francisco de Trejo	Magdalena Belalcázar *	1
Juan de Trujillo	Free union w/Indian	1
Melchor Valdés	Juana Ramírez	1
Juan Andrés Varela	Violante Arias	1
	Free union w/Inés India	1
	Free union	1
Francisco de Velandía	María Herrezuelo	7
Hernando de Velasco	Catalina de Bohórquez	1
	Free union	1
	Free union w/Leonor India	1
Ortún Velasco	Luisa de Montalvo	6
Martín de Vergara	María del Castillo	+ 4

\* Luisa Fuerte, daughter of Juan Fuerte

Francisca Rodríguez, daughter of Juan Rodríguez de Benavides

Constanza Rodríguez, daughter of Francisco Hernández Hermoso

Isabel Romera, widow of Francisco Lorenzo

Catalina Jorge de Meneses, daughter of Andrés Jorge

Catalina de Valero, daughter of Juan López

Juana Macías, daughter of Gonzalo Macías

Catalina Rodríguez, daughter of Juan Rodríguez Gil

María Suárez, sister of Gonzalo Suárez Rendón

Ana Rodríguez de León, daughter of Pedro Rodríguez de León

Bernardina Manuel, daughter of Alonso de Hoyos

Catalina de Quintanilla, widow of Francisco Gómez

Inés Galeano, daughter of Gaspar Rodríguez

Ana López del Carrión, sister of the wives of Juan Ruiz de Orejuela,

Francisco Iñiguez, and Francisco Ortiz

Beatriz Osorio, widow of Miguel Seco Moyano

Leonor de Silva Collantes, daughter of Juan Muñoz de Collantes

Marina Galeano, natural daughter of Martín Galeano

Isabel Maldonado, widow of Pedro Núñez Cabrera

Juana Miguel de Mayorga, sister of Juan de Mayorga

Ana de Carvajal, sister of the wives of Juan de Avellaneda, Francisco

Iñiguez, and Juan Ruiz de Orejuela

Luisa de la Torre, widow of Gonzalo de Vega

Francisca de Silva, sister of the wife of Juan Gómez  
Catalina de Pineda, widow of Francisco de Monsalve  
Isabel Galeano, niece of Martín Galeano  
Inés de Loayza, daughter of Pedro Vázquez de Loayza  
Isabel Zambrana, daughter of Bartolomé Camacho  
Leonor Macías de Figueroa, daughter of Gonzalo Macías  
Catalina Suárez, sister of Gonzalo Suárez  
Francisca Gutiérrez, daughter of Pedro Gutiérrez de Aponte  
Elvira de Paz, daughter of Hernando de Santana  
Luisa Vázquez, daughter of Pedro de Miranda  
Isabel de Leguizamo, daughter of Juan Alemán  
Ana de Velazco, daughter of Pedro Sánchez de Velazco  
Elvira Zambrano, daughter of Bartolomé Camacho  
Francisco Gómez de Fera, Andrés Vázquez de Molina, Francisco Lorenzo  
and Juan de Céspedes, were conquerors included in this study.  
Isabel Galeano, niece of Martín Galeano and widow of Francisco de  
Céspedes  
Beatriz López, sister of the wives of Juan de Avellaneda, Francisco  
Ortiz, and Juan Ruiz de Orejuela  
Eufrasia de Santiago, widow of Francisco de Tordehumos  
Angela Jiménez Galeano, sister of Martín and Pedro Galeano, while her  
husband Francisco, was a brother of Diego Franco  
Juan de Noria and Juan de Montalvo were conquerors  
Catalina de Barrionuevo, daughter of Francisco de Tordehumos  
Eloisa Gutiérrez accompanied one of the expeditions  
Catalina López de Carvajal was a sister of the wives of Juan de  
Avellaneda, Francisco Ortiz, and Francisco Iñiguez  
Magdalena Belalcázar, daughter of Sebastián de Belalcázar

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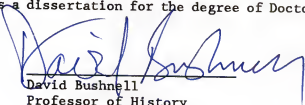
José Ignacio Avellaneda was born in Bogotá, Colombia, on November 12, 1931. He began his studies in aeronautical engineering at the Universidad de los Andes completing his B.S. degree at the University of Illinois in 1957. After three years of being a Service Training Engineer with the Boeing Company in Seattle, and seven years with Avianca Airlines in Colombia, he began graduate study as a Sloan Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, obtaining an SM in Management in 1967. Over the following eighteen years he worked with a prominent Colombian printing and publishing company, all the while nurturing a growing interest in Colombian history. In 1985 he emigrated to the United States, entering the doctoral program in history at the University of Florida one year later. There he was a fellow of the Department of History and of the Spain-Florida Alliance, and recipient of a Vining Davis/Curtis Wilgus research grant. He is married to Ippolita Gatti and they have three children, Mónica, Silvana Carolina, and Ignacio Hipólito.

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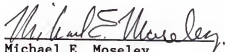
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