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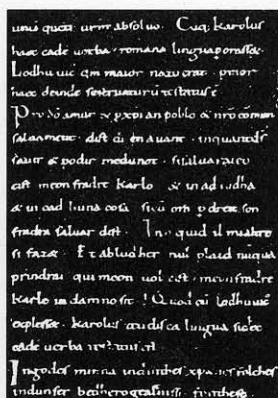
Electronic reprint with supplements

This reprint is designed to make available in addition to the original published article all the primary material it was based on. Consequently, facsimiles of the original document are included that correspond to the paleographic transcription in pp. 361-363, as well as lexical and grammatical notes on the text. Then a “case file” is appended, which reproduces the fourteen philological notes on the Hammond and Rey translation referred to in the title of the article, adding facsimiles of the portions of the manuscripts, typescripts, and printed works discussed in each note.

The philological notes not only make clear the glaring defects of the Hammond and Rey translation, but reveal their reliance on an extremely inaccurate transcription of the source document instead of consulting the document directly, as they claim to have done. The Hammond and Rey translation is paradigmatic of the vast majority of the translations of Spanish documents pertaining to the Hispanic Southwest that have been published, hence the need to develop the “Cíbola Project”, for which the reader may wish to consult the web page https://escholarship.org/uc/rcrs_ias_ucb_cibola. Please address comments, corrections, and reactions to jerry_r_craddock@berkeley.edu.

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For a complete edition of the *Relación* see <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4sv5h1gz>



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JERRY R. CRADDOCK

Hernán Gallegos' fascinating account of the first European exploration of New Mexico after that of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540 remains unpublished—unpublished, that is, in the original Spanish; an English version has been available since 1927, the work of George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (revised in 1966:67–114). Those who read only the English version are missing a great deal: the unadorned style of Gallegos possesses a certain sturdy charm, while the linguistic characteristics of his "Relación" could hardly be more fascinating, particularly in syntax and lexicon, but those traits are, of course, invisible in translation. Furthermore, however scrupulous and faithful translators attempt to be, it is in the nature of things that they cannot completely escape the force of the Italian dictum: *traduttore, traditore*. From a philologist's standpoint, it comes as a surprise that Hammond and Rey never prepared an edition of the original, perhaps accompanied by their translation into English; any difficulties with the latter would then have been innocuous, since their readers would naturally have considered only the Spanish text as authoritative. However, this team, to which the study of the Southwest owes so much, never seems to have ventured to publish in Spanish any document that was extant exclusively in manuscript form, though Rey himself was an distinguished editor of medieval Spanish manuscripts.

Originally motivated by no more than a desire to read the texts of early New Mexican history in the language in which they were written, I soon discovered that though the secondary literature on this subject is vast, an extensive number of documents, including fundamental ones like Gallegos' "Relación," have never seen the light of day, as it were. The originals are ex-

tant for the most part in the great archives of Spain and Mexico, in particular, the Archivo General de Indias (Seville) and the Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), while numerous libraries in the United States and Europe have microfilms, and even collections of transcriptions—all well and good for the specialist who occasionally feels the need to draw aside the “English curtain.” Though so much work, both in transcription and analysis, has been carried out in the 20th century by scholars of immense erudition, there seems to have existed little impetus to bring out respectable editions of the original texts. Consequently, my purpose in this article is to call attention to a remarkable opportunity for philologists in the Hispanic field: there is an enormous quantity of material relating to the Spanish exploration and settlement of the Southwest, of incalculable interest for anthropologists, literary scholars, and linguists (to say nothing of historians), awaiting competent philological treatment.¹

Gallegos’ “Relación” provides an apposite illustration of how much the literature (*lato sensu*) of the Hispanic Southwest has to offer. In 1581 the Franciscan Agustín Rodríguez led a small missionary expedition into New Mexico, with a military escort commanded by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. Hernán Gallegos was the notary of the expedition and left an extremely interesting account of their adventures (for details see Bolton 1916:134–60; Hammond and Rey 1966:6–15; Weber 1992:78–79). In the notes that follow, my purpose is not just to express a note of caution to those who place implicit faith in the accuracy and fidelity of the large corpus of English translations of New Mexican documents, but especially to encourage those who might like to participate in rectifying a situation that can only be regarded as anomalous: in the Southwest the truly extensive Hispanic historical literature has been made available primarily, indeed, almost exclusively, in translation, though Spanish hardly qualifies as an esoteric and inaccessible language. For scholars interested in combining history and philology, this is intellectual territory almost as unexplored as the New Mexico that the Rodríguez-Chamuscado party traversed, so much so that one can imagine the creation of a monumental *Colección de documentos históricos* of the region, containing paleographic and critical editions of all the literature in the field from the “Relación” of Fray Marcos de Niza forward, or, perhaps more realistically in

1. A notable recent exception is “The Vargas Project Microfiche Series,” which makes the Spanish texts relating to Diego de Vargas’ reconquest and governorship of New Mexico available on microfiches with concordances (three have appeared so far: see Hendricks 1988, Hendricks 1992, Hendricks et al. 1993). The microfiches accompany the printed volumes devoted to English versions of the same material (Kessell 1989; Kessell and Hendricks 1992; Kessell et al. 1995), though the first of the series provided an edition of the Spanish texts as well as a translation. One might say that English retains here the same pride of place it has long had in the field, but that entire team organized by Professor Kessell, University of New Mexico, is fully cognizant of the importance of providing scrupulous transcriptions of the originals. I am grateful to Larry D. Miller, assistant editor of the Vargas project, for sending me a set of the microfiches.

the near future, a series of such editions designed as companion volumes to the splendid tomes that appeared to honor the fourth centennial of the Coronado expedition (e.g., Hammond and Rey 1966).²

In their translation of Gallegos' "Relación," Hammond and Rey fail to signal the foliation of the original, whether that of the entire document within the *legajo* to which it belongs (Archivo General de Indias, Seville: Patronato 22, ramo 4, ff. 71r–100v), or page by page as their translation progresses. Their description of the document (Hammond and Rey 1966:67, n. 1) is unduly brief, the most remarkable omission being their failure to mention (or to translate) the frequent marginal notations made, it would appear, by Juan de Aranda, the notary who certified, on May 12, 1602, the only copy of Gallegos' "Relación" now extant, so far as I am aware. However, rather far along in the narration (Hammond and Rey 1966:99), one of these marginalia, "abusos de esta gente" (f. 90r), is hyperbolically rendered as "evil practices of these people," with no indication that this is Aranda's comment, not Gallegos' stricture. Two more marginal notes are included as headings: "famous salines" (106) = "salinas famosas" (f. 94v) and "a very large fortress" (107) = "fortaleza muy grande" (f. 95r). All the marginal notes are equally innocuous as far as any new content is concerned, since they do little more than repeat or summarize phrases in the main text. But why did Hammond and Rey include only the three marginal notes I have mentioned? In the Bancroft Library of the University of California, among the papers of Herbert E. Bolton, there is a transcription of Gallegos' "Relación" (Research Materials of Herbert Eugene Bolton, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley: CB 840 Part I, carton 28, folder 403; 56 leaves) which assisted me considerably in getting through the sometimes difficult hand of the original document. This transcription includes exactly the same three marginal notes; this details and others force me to conclude that the translators, though they certainly had access to a photographic reproduction of the original (in 1927 Hammond and Rey included a negative photostat of f. 92r [opposite p. 348]), unwisely relied on this transcription or one very like it. The value of the other marginal notes is residual: since they usually echo portions of the main text they sometimes help resolve difficult readings. Unfortunately, as we shall see, Hammond and Rey did not avail themselves of this assistance.

The Bolton transcription (I do not mean to suggest that it was his work, rather only that it is among his papers) of Gallegos' "Relación," though often handy as a crib, must be used with extreme caution; it contains dozens of

2. In the late 20th century, one would want to plan and execute these editions taking full advantage of computer technology, so that scholars could project on their screen facsimiles of originals, paleographic transcriptions, translations, and relevant secondary literature, with all the ability to conduct electronic searches for forms, concepts, etc., that one gains with publications in CD-ROM format. I am old enough, however, to feel that one still must publish the essentials, i.e., the critical editions, in book form as well.

misreadings, some of them quite drastic, and some of which seem to have misled Hammond and Rey. Some misreadings, but only a very few, were corrected by hand. To give some specific cases:

(1) Hammond and Rey 1966:69: "The persons above-mentioned were. . . Hernán Gallegos, his aide. . .". Gallegos' "Relación," f. 72r: "hernan gallegos por su s^o." The abbreviation "s^o" resolves as either *escriuano* 'notary' or, more likely, *secretario*. The Bolton transcription (p. 3) interprets it as "servicio" and this seems to explain the version of the translators. The same abbreviation occurs several times near the end of the narration, for, as previously mentioned, Gallegos was in fact the official notary of the expedition. In all these later instances it is rendered uniformly in the Bolton transcription as "escribano" and in Hammond and Rey as "notary" (e.g., p. 114).

(2) Hammond and Rey 1966:70: "we came to the Raya, another people who inhabit the same land and use the same language"; [Heading of Chapter II] "Telling of our departure from the said Raya nation, our penetration of the interior. . .". Gallegos' "Relación," f. 72r: "fueron a dar en la Raya que se dibide la dicha lengua de los conchos y otra nacion de gente en esta rraya y diuission de gente"; [Heading of Chapter II] "como salieron de la dicha rraya y fueron entrando..." Sp. *raya* means 'frontier' in this context and is translated as such elsewhere by Hammond and Rey. But note the version of the Bolton transcription (pp. 3-4): "fueron á dar en la Raya que se debe de la dicha lengua é tierra de los conchos y otra nacion de gente en esta rraya é dicussion." The readings "se debe de" and "dicussion," though involving only one misread letter in each case, make nonsense of the passage and I can only guess that the translators attempted to gloss over the difficulty with the version they provided. Gallegos states that "they came to a frontier that divides the aforesaid language of the conchos and another nation of people in this frontier and division of people" which seems to refer to the boundary between the Conchos and the Cabris (Julimes). In any case, the "Raya nation" is just a philological phantom.³

(3) Hammond and Rey 1966:77: "who brought us an iron bar about three spans long and shaped like those the Mexican Indians have." Gallegos' "Relación," f. 75v: "nos truxo vn hierro como de tres quartas de medir ff^o a manera de coa de las que tienen los yndios mexicanos." The amanuensis of the Bolton transcription, failing to understand "ff^o" (lit. "ffecho," i.e., *hecho*

3. Hammond and Rey did not create, but disseminated the supposed name of another phantom tribe, the "Allaguabas" (Hammond and Rey 1928:277), by following the hasty transcription of Mariano Cuevas (1988; originally published in 1922) of Baltasar de Obregón's *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España* (1584), whose second part contains a rehash of Gallegos' "Relación" (Cuevas 1988:241-82). As the expedition reached the land of the Cabris (Julimes), Obregón, according to Cuevas, states that in answer to the question of what people lie to the north of them, the Cabris included their name besides various other facts: "Esta gente se nombra *allaguabas*." In the original (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 7, ff. 797r-827r, at 802v) the text reads "esta gente nonbra a el agua

'made'), left a blank and then garbled the following phrase (p. 10): "nos traxo un hierro como de tres cuartas de medir [blank] á manera de lo que tienen los yndios mexicanos." Hammond and Rey elsewhere translate *coa* as 'hoe' (e.g., p. 102)—a bit misleading, since this Antillean word refers to what one might call a 'tilling bar', as in Santamaría's gloss (Santamaría 1942, s.v.): "barra de madera recia, con extremo aguzado o en forma de pala, que los primitivos habitantes del Continente usaron para cavar la tierra," an explanation that shows the aptness of Gallegos' comparison of an iron bar to the instrument in question. It seems clear that Hammond and Rey did not have the word *coa* before them when they translated the passage at issue.⁴

(4) Hammond and Rey 1966:77: "a multitude of barbarians and treacherous idolaters." Gallegos' "Relación," f. 76r: "tanta multitud de gente barbara e ydolatadora." "Idolaters" says Gallegos, indeed, but not "treacherous"; this adjective appears to be a highly improper elaboration of the translators until one takes into account the Bancroft transcription, whose amanuensis misread the passage barbarously (p. 10): "tanta multitud de gente barbara oydo la traidora." It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that "traidora" has crept into the translation from this source. But then how did Hammond and Rey know that the passage refers to idolatry? I can only guess that in view of an incomprehensible text they speculated that the original contained "gente barbara traidora e ydolatadora."

(5) Hammond and Rey 1966:86: "they are a very intelligent people and willing to serve." Gallegos' "Relación," f. 81r: "gente muy entendida y de delicado jui^o." The abbreviation resolves as *juicio* 'judgement' so the passage means "very intelligent people and with fine judgement." As before, Hammond and Rey seem to have been misled by the transcription (p. 19): "gente muy entendida y de delicado servicio." In this case, not only would consulting the original have been useful, for there can be no serious doubt about the reading of the manuscript, but one of the marginal notations ignored by Hammond and Rey here spells out the word in question: "es gente domestica y los mejores labradores de la nueva hespaña dozil entendida y de delicado juycio ettc." [editorially supplied letters are in italics].

(6) Hammond and Rey 1966:88: "we thought the Indians had not told the truth, for we noticed that this pasture was untouched by the buffalo, and that the tracks left by them seemed very old." Gallegos' "Relación," f. 82v:

/bod/, with the word set off between slashes as I have indicated. The year before they brought out their translation of Obregón, Hammond and Rey had published their version of Gallegos' "Relación," which says at this very point in the narration (f. 74r) "llaman al agua abad." It is unfortunate that they failed to make the connection between the two texts.

4. In Santamaría 1959, *coa* is defined as "una especie de pala de hierro sin reborde alguno. . . terminada en punta, con un cabo de madera. . ."; that is, the blade is of metal ('copper' in other citations listed in the same source) and the handle of wood.

"entendimos que los yndios no auian dicho verdad por que viamos muy fresca huella de vacas y Rastro de las que pareçia de mucho tienpo." In the latter, I am certain that the passage only makes sense if one emends "no auian" to "nos auian"; this would accord with Baltasar de Obregón's account (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 22, ramo 7, f. 818r; cf. Cuevas 1988:270): "colexieron los descubridores ser verdadera la notiçia que les abian dado de las bacas." Accordingly, the Gallegos' passage would translate as "we understood that the Indians had told us the truth for we saw very fresh cow [buffalo] tracks and the trace of those [tracks] that seemed from a long time ago." How can one account for Hammond and Rey's strange and self-contradictory version (a pasture untouched by buffalo yet bearing their old tracks)? The Bolton transcription reads (p. 21): "los yndios no avian dicho verdad porque viamos muy fresca quella de vacas y rastro de las que parecia de mucho tiempo"; the only blunder is "quella" for "huella" but it seems to have led the translators to suppose the word "aquella" 'that' was involved, and the rest seems to have been a fanciful effort to paper over a nonsensical passage. They unfortunately failed to recall at this point their own translation of Obregón (Hammond and Rey 1928:302): "the discoverers gathered that the information given them concerning the cattle was true."

(7) Hammond and Rey 1966:92: "for they stand out readily. We told them we would return shortly, which pleased them." In this case I give the Bolton transcription first (p. 25): "por que luego se muestran y les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho." Close enough, it would appear, yet in Gallegos' "Relación" we find (f. 85v): "Por que luego se muestran y les diximos que ybamos por bastimento para tornar y que luego bolberiamos y que yriamos con ellos y como les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho." The amanuensis of the Bolton transcription committed an omission by homeoteleuton; here the culprit is the phrase "les diximos que."

It is difficult avoid the conclusion that the translators relied on a deficient transcription, failing to verify its readings by scrupulously collating it with (a photocopy of) the original. Yet they did correct many of the amanuensis' blunders, and at times seem unquestionably to have gone to the original. As I intended to make clear at the outset, these criticisms are not meant to suggest that a new translation is urgently needed, since I imagine Hammond and Rey's could be touched up without too much difficulty, but rather that a scholarly edition of the original is required.⁵

The errors just described, some of them quite serious, are not, however, the only unsatisfactory feature of Hammond and Rey's translation. The annotation is sparse, especially with regard to linguistic matters. Gallegos showed some curiosity about the languages of the peoples his expedition visited, and at various points actually cites words with their meanings. It is unfortunate

5. Fray Angélico Chávez (1948) consulted photocopies of the original document in his critique of Gallegos' motives, but was not particularly concerned with the fidelity of Hammond and Rey's translation. The only recent critical work I know of that is based on a

that appropriate experts were not called in to attempt some elucidation, however difficult that might be. Furthermore, Gallegos uses quite a variety of native American words, mainly of Nahuatl provenience, but also occasionally of Caribbean origin, e.g., *coa* 'tilling bar', already mentioned. At times Hammond and Rey incorporate the Nahuatl words in the text if they are current in Mexican Spanish and indeed in Southwest English, but in an inconsistent and at times inaccurate manner. It may be argued that a linguistic commentary is more appropriate for a critical edition of the original, and I would agree; but if a translation is all that scholars intend to bring out, then I believe it is justifiable to ask that a reasonable amount of information be forthcoming about the language of the original in those points where it departs most significantly from modern Spanish, if nothing else, at least with regard to the vocabulary. To translate a word like *coa* as "hoe" is to betray the underlying message inherent in the fact that Gallegos did not use the common Spanish term *azada* or *azadón*: these Antillean and Mexican words seemed to fit the cultural context of native New Mexico particularly well, and that is no doubt why they are so frequent. As to particular cases:

(8) Hammond and Rey 1966:79: "These people call the arrow 'ocae', the name given to bamboo by the Mexicans". Gallegos, "Relación," f. 77r: "esta gente llama a la flecha acal como llaman la caña los mejicanos." The first and last letters of "acal" in the manuscript might cause some hesitation (the Bolton transcription gives "acae"), but the reading is resolved by noting that the Nahuatl word for 'reed' is *acatl*. Word-final *l* can often take shapes that resemble an *e* or, for that matter, an *s*. I believe 'bamboo' is not the most appropriate gloss for *caña*.

(9) Hammond and Rey 1966:86: "These Indians call corn "cunque"; water "pica"; the turkey "dire"; and a woman "ayu." When they want to drink they say "sesa." They call the cotton blanket. . . [there is a blank]." This is one of the most intriguing word lists Gallegos provides (f. 81r): "llama al mayz cinque y al agua pica y a la gallina dire y a la muger ayu y quando

reading of the text in its original language is Maureen Ahern's 1995 study of Gallegos' "Relación". I understand that in 1995 Professor Ahern was awarded a grant to prepare "A Bilingual Edition of the Narratives of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo Expeditions." The grant was funded by a University of Houston Project entitled "Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage." The existence of such a funding organization, and in particular, its willingness to include historical texts in its purview is most encouraging. In 1996, the Project awarded several grants for historical studies, among them "Fray Francisco de Ayeta and the 1680 Pueblo Revolt: Spanish Documents of the Period" (Barbara De Marco), "Indexing and Publicizing the Historical Literary Sources of Mexicanos and Mexicanas in 19th-century Los Angeles (Janet Fireman), "Chicanas Bequeath: 19th-century New Mexico Willmakers" (Deena Gonzalez), "The Memoirs of the First Mexicans of San Jose, California" (Gabriel Meléndez), "A Critical, Annotated Edition of the *Autos tocantes a la sublevacion de los indios del Nuevo Mexico*" (Juan Sempere Martínez), "Recovering 19th-century Historical and Literary Sources from the South Texas Border Region" (Omar Valerio Jiménez), and "Texts in Context: The Nogales Dispute, 1791-92. An Episode in Spanish-Indian Relations in the Lower Mississippi Valley" (Charles Weeks).

quieren beber dicen jesu llaman a la manta de algodón Jor." Until these ostensibly Tewa words are identified,⁶ there can be little certainty about their exact shape in the manuscript; for instance, I believe "pica" could be read "pilca," while "cunque," "dire," and "ayu" seem unambiguously spelled. The reading "jesu" is not only quite clear but also supported by a marginal note: "dizen jesu quando beben." There is no blank in the manuscript, just the mysterious "Jor" which looks rather like an abbreviation; the blank occurs in the Bancroft transcription (p. 19), the amanuensis evidently having refused even to conjecture a reading for what I have transcribed as "Jor."

(10) Hammond and Rey 1966:86–87: "a large quantity of different kinds [of minerals], including some of a coppery steel-like ore. . . the Indians in the region of the buffalo had given them a part of the ore." Gallegos, "Relación," f. 81v: "gran cantidad de metales de muchas maneras donde nos truxeron tescatetes metal cobrizo y azerado. . . los yndios que estaban en las bacas les auian dado parte de aquellos metales tezcatotes." The translators have suppressed all mention of *tescatate*/*tezcatotes*; it bears all the appearance of a Nahuatl loanword, perhaps *tezcatetl* 'alabaster', literally, 'polished stone' (Campbell 1985:324).

(11) Hammond and Rey 1966:88: "In addition to pines, there were carine and cypress trees." I have been unable to find *carine* in the dictionaries of English I have consulted. In Gallegos' "Relación" (f. 82v) the reading is "cauina," with no ambiguous letters ("cavina" in the Bolton transcription, p. 21). One must conjecture a missing cedilla in the first letter, i.e., "çauina," and further suppose that this is yet another example of the confusion of *c*, *z*, and *s* so common in this and other contemporary texts; for instance, Gallegos' text reads "sipreses" in this same passage. Consequently, *sabina* 'savin' appears to be the tree named by Gallegos, perhaps an American variety such as the *sabina cimarrona* or *sabina criolla* mentioned by Santamaría (1942).

(12) Hammond and Rey 1966:102: "When this is over the people place before the bride a grindstone, an olla, a flat earthenware pan (*comal*), drinking vessels, and *chicubites*. They also put a grinding stone (*metate*) in her hand." The translation of this passage is actually far more revealing of Gallegos' vocabulary than is usually the case; compare the "Relación," f. 91v: "luego

6. Forbes (1960:51) found closer resemblances to Tewa forms than to the corresponding forms in Tiwa. To make any real progress in the elucidations of the words given by Gallegos, it will be necessary to consider carefully not only their exact form in the manuscript (which, it will be recalled, is itself a copy of the original made by a copyist who almost certainly had no contact with the author), but also all of the possible phonological interpretations that an extremely ambiguous graphic system might permit. Furthermore, one cannot assume that the Tewa forms remained unchanged for three centuries; historical and comparative evidence would have to be applied systematically in an effort to reconstruct just what it was that Gallegos and his companions were hearing. In any case, it would appear that *cunque* can be safely identified as Tewa [k'hūŋk'hē] 'grain of corn' (Robbins et al. 1916:16; I have reinterpreted their phonetic transcription).

acabado esto le ponen a ella delante de vna piedra de moler y vna olla y su comal y el metlapil en la mano y sus xicaras y chucubites.” The grindstone is the *metate*, and it happens that Gallegos uses the Spanish, rather than the Nahuatl expression, i.e., *piedra de moler*. What was put in the bride’s hand was not, of course, the grindstone, which might have involved a severe test of her strength, but the relatively small cylindrical stone, for which Gallegos uses the Nahuatl loanword *metlapil*, and which is held in the hands while grinding corn on the *metate*. The source of the translators’ confusion may lie in the fact that the transcription reads “methapis.”

(13) The *chicubites* of the passage just discussed appears earlier (Hammond and Rey 1966:85): “The women busy themselves only in the preparation of food, and in making and painting their pottery and *chicubites*, in which they prepare their bread. These vessels are so excellent and delicate that the process of manufacture is worth watching; for they equal, and even surpass, the pottery made in Portugal.” The work calls forth one of the rare lexical footnotes of the translation: ‘a pan for baking bread’, an explanation that merely echoes what they believe Gallegos says about *chicubites*. Here is his text (f. 80v): “las mujeres solo trabajan y se ocupan en hazer de comer y en hazer y pintar sus loças y sus chicubites en *que* echan el pan la qual vasija la hazen tan buena y tan delgada que es para ver hazen los dichos chucubites tan buenos y aun mejores que los que se hazen en portugal.” Hammond and Rey seem again to have been misled by the Bolton transcription, which reads, at the crucial point, “sus chicubites en que agan el pan.” The reading “echan” of the manuscript is certain; furthermore, the context provides no syntactic motivation whatsoever for a subjunctive form like *hagan*. The translators make no mention of the variant forms *chi-* and *chu-cubite*, a minor oversight, but what does the word really mean? It is almost certainly a variant of Nahuatl *chiquihuitl* ‘basket’—perhaps, in the present instance, ‘bread basket’. Yet Gallegos seems to consider it a piece of pottery (*vasija*) that competes favorably with its Portuguese counterpart. Some attestations of *chicubite* (Boyd-Bowman 1987:1257–1258) allow one to deduce that the meaning of the word involves a chest, which may have drawers (“chicubite de pino con sus caxones”), while other citations seem to refer to other types of receptacles, but none suggests a type of pottery.

(14) Finally, Hammond and Rey 1966:108: “It is the custom of the [Zuñi] natives to make mats of straw for their rooms, and many make them of fine light palm on which to sleep.” Gallegos, “Relación,” f. 95v: “acostumbran a hazer petates de [?]nea para sus aposentos y muchos los hazen delgados para en *que* duermen de palma menuda.” The translators’ authority for “straw” escapes me here, and I confess I found the reading obscure (“nea” in the Bolton transcription, p. 43). The word in question contains four characters, the first with an superimposed, slightly slanted stroke that made it undecipherable to me and, I would judge, to Hammond and Rey, as well. Professor Juan Sempere suggested the solution Sp. *enea* ‘bulrush, cat-

tail'. Indeed, fresh perusal of the photocopy makes it appear certain that the copyist wrote "enea," which may have then been corrected by another person who wished to delete the initial *e*.⁷ In Hammond and Rey the potentially interesting anthropological datum that the Zuñi made *petates* with bulrushes or cattails has been lost.

The Gallegos translation was, I believe, Hammond and Rey's earliest effort in a long series of collaborations, and it is to be hoped that their later work—and the work of other translators in the field—is less problematic. But that is somewhat beside the point: there is an urgent need for the Spanish originals to be made more generally available, thereby assigning the translations to an appropriately ancillary role, rather than allowing the latter to continue to function as the authoritative texts in the field.⁸

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7. The apherisized *nea* is an attested variant of the word which Corominas and Pascual (1980–1991, s.v. *anea*) quote from a poem of Lope de Vega, and still appears in the dictionary of the Real Academia. However, according to Corominas and Pascual, the only form on record before the 17th century is *enea*. Their first documentation of the currently preferred *anea* belongs to the 19th century. For further New World attestations of *enea* in the 16th century, see Boyd-Bowman 1987: 1721 (including "esteras de enea"); neither *nea* nor *anea* appears in that source.

8. I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the staff of the Bancroft Library for their help in facilitating access to the papers of Bolton and Hammond.

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Appendix

One of the most curious passages in Gallegos' "Relación" describes two important Pueblo ceremonies, a snake dance (perhaps the earliest extant account) and a marriage. The following is a paleographic transcription of the corresponding portions of the document (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 22, ramo 4, ff. 71r–100v, at ff. 90r–92) from microfilm.

/f. 90r/ [aBusos de esta | gente] 125 ¶ No se pusieron las seremonias que la gente desta poblazon 126 hazen mas de que quando alguno de ellos muere bailan y se Re- 127 gozijan por que dizen que ba aquel que muere con el que 128 ydolatran y lo echan en vnos soterraños que tienen a ma- 129 nera de bobedas adonde echan y ofreçen cada año muchas 130 cosas al pie de aquella bobeda donde echan aquellos cuerpos 131 muertos y otros dias señalados — 132 ¶ los mitotes que ellos hazen para que llueba por falta de a- 133 gua para

sus maizales de temporales son de la manera pre- |34 sente enpieçan por el
 mes de dizienbre a hazer sus mitotes du- /f. 90v/ |1 ran mas de quatro
 meses de tantos a tantos dias que entien- |2 do que son de quinze a quinze
 dias son los mitotes genera- |3 les que se junta mucha cantidad de gente los
 hombres que |4 las mugeres ninguna los quales enpieçan desde por la ma- |5
 ñana hasta la noche alderredor de la mesquita que |6 tienen para el efeto y
 por la noche toda en peso y en me- |7 dio de ellos se sienta vn yndio el qual
 esta señalado pa- |8 ra el efeto y delante de el bailan esta junto a este yndio |9
 seis yndios con quinze o veinte palos los quales andan y |10 bailan y cada mu-
 dança sale vno de ellos y se mete sie- |11 te palos en la boca que son de tres
 quartas de largo y |12 dos dedos de ancho y en acabando de meterselos y
 sacar |13 selos de la dicha boca queda como cansado y luego bailan |14 con
 dos o tres de los dichos palos en la boca y luego le dan |15 al que esta sentado
 como señor siete asotes con vnos aso- |16 tes que estan hechos para el nego-
 cio de minbre menuda del- |17 gada los quales le dan los yndios que estan
 junto a el que |18 tiene seis yndios de vna parte y seis de otra de suerte que
 |19 para cada mudança le dan treinta y seis asotes los quales |20 se los dan de
 suerte que les hazen saltar la sangre de |21 ma[nera] que pareçe diçiplinante
 y acabados de dar aque- |22 llos siete asotes tornan a bailar y le dan otros tan-
 tos |23 hasta que le sacan de tal manera la sangre que corre de |24 el como si
 sangrasen a vno hasta que pareçe que se ba |25 desmayando mas con todo
 esto no haze sentimiento ninguno |26 sino antes habla con vna culebra
 grande gorda co- |27 mo el braço y se enrosca quando quiere hablar llama
 |28 la el açotado señor Responde ella luego de tal manera |29 que se entiende
 la qual entendimos seria el demonio |30 que los tiene enlaçados por la qual
 causa permite dios nuestro |31 señor se descubriese esta poblaçon e gente en
 ella ydola- |32 tradora para que benga en berdadero conoçimiento |33 ¶ tan-
 bien andan en estos mitotes en medio de ellos dos yndios /f. 91r/ |1 que
 traen dos biboras en las manos naturalmente biboras |2 que suenan sus casca-
 beles que las biboras traen las quales |3 se les Rebuellen por el cuello y les
 andan por todo el cuerpo |4 y bienen bailando haziendo su mudança hazia
 donde esta |5 el açotado al qual tienen y obedecen por señor en aquella |6
 sazon les tienen las biboras por la mano y bienen de rro- |7 dillas ante el di-
 cho asotado y le dan las biboras y el las |8 toma y se le suben por los braços
 [arriba] hazia el cuerpo hazien- |9 do mucho rruido con los cascabeles y se le
 ban a la gargan- |10 ta y luego se lebanta el asotado y da vna buelta |11 muy
 ligera y luego las biboras se le caen en el suelo |12 y se enRoscan y luego las
 toman los que las trayan y to- |13 mandolas de rrodillas se las meten por la
 boca y se des- |14 apareçen porque se meten por vna puertessilla que tie- |15
 nen y en acabando esto se les apareçen alli dos coyo- |16 tes y andan entre
 ellos aullando que es para espantar |17 y de mucha lastima y luego en aca-
 bando este mitote |18 aquel que a sufrido aquellos asotes da vnos palos
 pinta- |19 dos y de mucha plumeria para que los pongan con las mil- |20 pas
 y ojos de agua porque es gente que ofreçe y sacrifi- |21 ca a los ojos de agua

esto hazen y dizen que luego no les 122 fa[It]a agua y quedanles tan señala-
 dos los açotes 123 a los asotados que en dos meses no se les quitan las llagas
 124 y andan tan pulidos y tan bien adereçados en los mito- 125 tes y bailes
 que es cosa para ver — 126 ¶ la manera de sus casamientos que aqui se po-
 nen porque se bea 127 quanta abilidad puso dios nuestro señor en la gente
 desta pobla- 128 zon y es que quando se quiere casar alguno en su ley se 129
 junta toda su parentela y parte de el pueblo y hazen sus 130 bailes que duran
 mas de tres dias las bodas y fiestas de el 131 casamiento y lo primero que les
 dan es vnas casas en que vivan las 132 quales les dan el suegro y la suegra
 padres de la moça a ma- /f. 91v/ 11 nera de dote la qual casa es de dos y tres
 y quatro altos en los 12 quales altos tienen ocho o dies aposentos y sientan en
 vn ban- 13 co a los desposados y al lado de ella esta vna yndia a mane- 14 ra de
 madrina y al lado de el otro yndio que esta y sirbe 15 de padrino y apartado
 de ellos esta vn biejo de muchos dias 16 y muy bien bestido con mantas pin-
 tadas y labradas el qual 17 esta en lugar de saçerdote que les dize que de en
 quan- 18 do en quando se besen y abrasen y luego lo hazen ellos como 19 selo
 manda el biejo — 110 ¶ ponenles alli al vno y al otro sus mantas pintadas y
 labra- 111 das y el desposado biste a la desposada las mantas y ella a el 112 las
 suyas de manera que se viste el vno al otro y luego ha- 113 bla el biejo alli que
 por no saber la lengua no entendimos 114 lo que les queria dezir mas de por
 señas entendimos que 115 les dezia que se quisiesen y amasen mucho porque
 para 116 ello los abian alli juntado y luego acabado esto le po- 117 nen a ella
 delante de vna piedra de moler y vna olla y 118 su comal y el metlapil en la
 mano y sus xicaras y chucu- 119 bites y le dize el biejo a la moça que aquello
 que le dan y po- 120 nen alli delante lo qual es todo nuebo que significa 121
 que con aquello a de hazer moler y guisar de comer para 122 su marido y le a
 de sustentar y hazer dos comidas ca- 123 da dia vna a la mañana y otra a la tarde
 çenan ten- 124 prano y echanse tenprano y se leuantan antes que ama- 125
 nesca y ella dize que si hara y luego le dizen al despo- 126 sado y le ponen de-
 lante vn arco turquesco y su lança 127 macana y adarga lo qual es para dalle a
 entender 128 que significa aquello que con aquellas armas ha 129 de defender
 su casa y guardar su muger y hijos 130 y le dan su cacaxtle y mecapan con que
 cargue /f. 92r/ 11 ¶ y luego le ponen alli en la mano vna coa que significa- 12
 ba que con ella auia de cabar y senbrar y cojer mahiz para 13 sustentar a su
 muger y hijos el qual dize que hara todo lo que 14 le es significado y demas
 de esto le dan sus tierras donde 15 siembren su mays y luego duran sus bailes
 y los lleban 16 a sus casas y anda la comida todo aquel dia a rrodo don- 17 de
 son gallinas de la tierra y baca y tamales y tortillas 18 y otras cosas que es para
 espantar con el horden que ha- 19 zen lo arriba dicho que para gente barbaba
 es muy de ver 110 la curiosidad que tienen en todo —

- a Busa de esta
gente
1. No se pusieron las ceremonias que la gente de esta población
hacen mas se sigue y tanto algo de ellos muere de la ley de
guerra por que dicen que la aqua que muere con el que
no tiene la ley de los señores que tienen una
leya de los señores adonde los señores cada año mueren
cosas de la ley de aquella población donde echan a aquellos cuerpos
muertos y otros dias se la tador
2. Los mutores que ellos hacen para que el pueblo no falte de
agua para sus mañaneras de temporales en de la mar e rapre
se en agua con por el mutor de dentro aya en los mutores de

[illegible]

La manera de sus casas es que aqui se ponen porque se vea
mucho de belidad y no dos mojos en la gente de la nobleza
y porque quando se quiere casar al dino entran y se
matan a su parameña y parte de el se da a sus
bailles que duran mas de tres dias las bodas y se dan
casas y lo prima que les dan es una casa en que viven los
que les dan el fuego y la mecha para ver de la casa una

mera de dote la qual casa es de dos y tres y quatro altos y los
quales altos tienen ocdo odies aposentos y centan en vn luan
co a los desposados y al lado de ella esta una grnda amare
nada madreina y al lado de el otro grndio que esta y sirve
de padrinio y apartado de ellos esta vn buefo de mdclos dias
y muy bien vestido con mantas pintadas y la brada y el qual
esta en lugar de sacor dote que les dize que es en quan
do en quando se be ren y abrasen y luego los fazen ellos como
ello manda el buefo

Exponen les alli al vno y al otro sus mantas pintadas y la bra
da y el desposado viste alades posada las mantas y la bra
da las fuyen de manera que se viste al vno al otro y luego ha
bla el buefo alli que por nos abor la lengua no entendimos
lo que les queria dezir mas de por señas entendimos que
les dezia que se qui se ren y amasen mucho por que para
ello les abian alli juntado y luego a cabado esto le po
nen a ella delante vnapietra de moler y vn a olla y
su comal y el metapic en la mano y sus de caras y gucu
bites y le dice el buefo a la moça que aquello que le dan y po
nen alli delante lo qual es todo nuevo que significa
que con aquello a de fazer moler y guisar de comer para
fumarido y le a de fester y tener y ha ber dos comidas ca
da dia vna a la manana y otra a la tarde cenar ten
prano yuyan se temprano y se lebanitan antes que vna
necca y ella dize que si faya y luego le dize al despo
sado y le ponende delante vn arcotore que es co y su lan ca
ma cana y adarga lo quales para a dalle a comer der
que significa aquello que con aquellas armas ha
a de defender su casa y guiar dar firmu ger y si los
y le dar su cacaxta y me capal con que cor que

e luego se ponen allí una mano maza que signifi-
 ca que con ella aulla de guerra y se baxa y asimismo para
 sustentar a su mujer y hijos el qual dice que para esto que
 le es signifi-
 cado y de mas de esto le dan su tierra donde
 siembre en su maza y que go de rran sus baxos y los lleven
 a sus casas y andalo comido todo a quel dia a rrodo don-
 deson gallinas de la tierra e baxa y tomale y torrellos
 y otras cosas que es para espantar con el hor don que se
 Benlo arriba de lo que para gente barbara es muy de ver
 la curiosidad que tienen en todo.

Hernán Gallegos, “Relación”: lexical and grammatical notes.

90r25 “poblazon”: archaic vernacular variant of *población*.

90r28 “soterraños”: archaic vernacular variant of *subterráneo*, used here as a noun. Cf. “era un soterraño hondísimo donde echaban los hombres facinerosos,” textual citation from the *Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. *soterráneo* (Real Academia Española 1726-1739).

90r29 “bobedas”: = *bóvedas* ‘habitaciones subterráneas... en las iglesias... debajo del pavimento y sirven para depósito o entierro de los cuerpos difuntos’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.).

91r32 “mitotes”: ‘baile o danza que usaban los aztecas’ (Santamaría 1959). Hammond and Rey 1966:99 “*mitotes*, or ceremonial dances.”

90r32-33 understand this phrase as “por falta de agua de temporales para sus maizales.”

90v5 “alderredor”: archaic etymological form of *alrededor* (deriv. from Lat. *retro* ‘backwards’); “mesquita” ‘kiva’; however, the Spanish usually preferred the term *estufa* ‘stove’ for ‘kiva’.

90v6 “para el efeto”: ‘for this purpose’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. ‘fin’, with a quote from Cervantes “Los compusieron para el efecto que vos decís de entretener el tiempo.”

90v6 “en peso”: ‘completely, entirely’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.).

90v8 “esta junto a este yndio seis yndios”: “junto” is employed here as an adverb; cf. 90v17 “los yndios que estan junto a el.”

90v11 “son de tres quartas de largo”: *cuarta* ‘the fourth part of a yard (vara)’.

90v20 “se los dan de suerte que les hazen saltar la sangre”: “les” is an error for “le”, since the antecedent is the seated Indian who receives the lashes.

90v21 “ma[nera]”: the manuscript reading is “mare.”

90v21 “diçiplinante”: *Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v., ‘el que se va azotando para andar con más mortificación las Estaciones [de la Cruz] y seguir las procesiones en Cuaresma y otros tiempos’.

91r8 “por los braços [arriba]”: “arriba” is inserted above the line.

91r18-19 “vnos palos pintados y de mucha plumeria”: ‘prayer sticks’ cf. Stirling 1942:120-21 y lámina 9.

- 91r19-20 “milpas”: ‘plot or plantation of Indian corn, maize’ (cf. Santamaría 1959) < nahua *milli* ‘sementera’ + *-pa* sufijo locativo.
- 91r20 “ojos de agua”: ‘water holes, springs’.
- 91r26 “la manera de sus casamientos que aqui se ponen”: the verb “ponen” agrees in number, erroneously, with “casamientos.”
- 91r28 “en su ley”: here “ley” means ‘religion’.
- 91v1 “la qual casa es de dos y tres y quatro altos”: “se llaman en las casas los suelos que están fabricados unos sobre otros, y dividen los cuartos y viviendas; y así se dice la casa tiene dos, tres, cuatro y cinco altos” (*Diccionario de autoridades*).
- 91v18-19 “su comal y el metlapil en la mano y sus xicaras y chucubites”: “comal” ‘flat pottery skillet’; ‘disco de barro sin vidriar, muy delgado y con pequeño reborde, sobre el cual se cuecen las tortillas de maíz’ (Santamaría 1959) < nahua *comalli*; “metlapil” ‘mano or grinder for the grindstone’; ‘molidor con que muelen el maíz’ (Campbell 1985:186); ‘rodillo que sirve para moler en el metate, el maíz y el cacao principalmente. Es de la misma piedra del metate; más grueso al centro que a los extremos’ (Santamaría 1942) < nahua *metlapilli* lit. ‘hijo del metate’; “xicaras” ‘pottery’; ‘fruto del árbol del jícaro... de corteza leñosa como del espesor de un peso duro, de la cual se hacen las vasijas del mismo nombre’ (Santamaría 1959) < nahua *xicalli*; “chucubites” variant of “chicubites” ‘basket’: Boyd-Bowman 1987:1268-1270; = *chiquihuite* ‘cesto o canasta de mimbres, sin asa’ (Santamaría 1959) < nahua *chiquihuitl* ‘cesto o canasta’ (Campbell 1985:67).
- 91v26-27 “arco turquesco y su lança macana y adarga”: “arco turquesco” cfr. Stirling 1942:123 y lámina 16 (1f); “macana” ‘war club’, id. lámina 16 (1d); “adarga” ‘shield’, id. lámina 16 (2a).
- 91v30 “su cacaxtle y mecapal con que cargue”: “cacaxtle” = *cacaste* ‘wicker basket or cage for transporting agricultural goods or small domestic animals’; ‘banasta o alacena portátil de enrejado, en que se trasportan huevos, gallinas, trastos de barro, verduras, frutas, etc.’ (Santamaría 1942, 1959) < nahua *cacaxtli*; “mecapal” ‘strap or band passed over the forehead of the bearer of the cacaste to hold it on his back’; ‘faja de fibra o corteza de árbol, suave, ancha y resistente, que la gente del campo... usa para cargar a las espaldas, haciéndola pasar por la frente’ (Santamaría 1942, 1959) < nahua *mecatl* ‘mecate’ ‘cord, rope’ (‘tira larga y angosta o sogá hecha de corteza vegetal’) y *palli* ‘ancho’ ‘wide’.
- 92r1 “vna coa” ‘bar or pole used to open holes in the ground for planting seeds’; ‘barra de madera recia, con extremo aguzado o en forma de pala, que los primitivos habitantes del Continente usaron para cavar la tierra’ (Santamaría 1942 “voz car[ibeña]”); ‘instrumento de labranza... especie de pala de hierro sin reborde alguno, casi recta por un lado, curva por el otro, y terminada en punta, con un cabo largo de madera en la línea de la parte recta’ (Santamaría 1959).

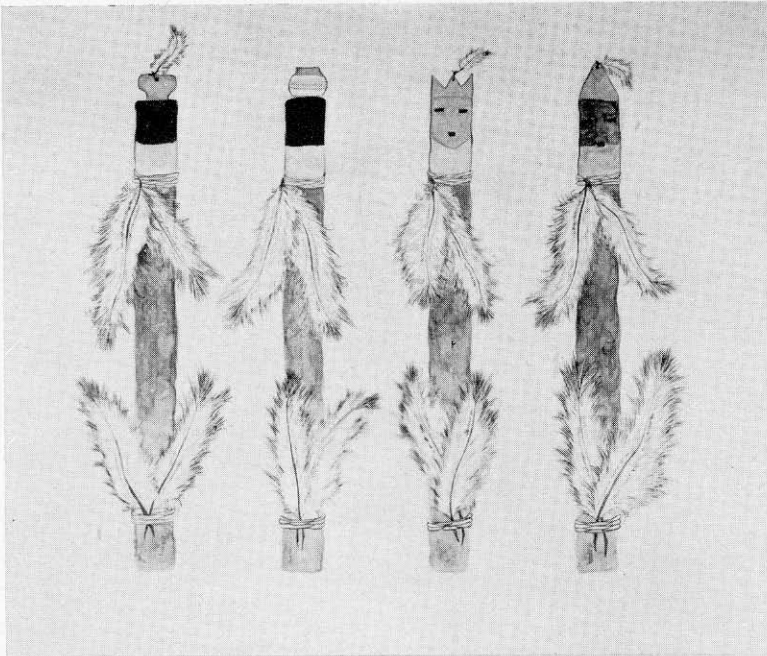
92r6 “anda la comida todo aquel dia a rrodo”: “a rrodo” ‘en abundancia, a porrillo’ (Real Academia Española 1970, s.v.); Hammond and Rey 1966:102 “in abundance.”

92r7 “gallinas de la tierra y baca y tamales y tortillas”: “gallinas de la tierra” ‘pavos americanos’/’wild American turkeys’; understand “[carne de] baca” = *vaca* ‘American bison’; “tamales” < nahua *tamalli*.

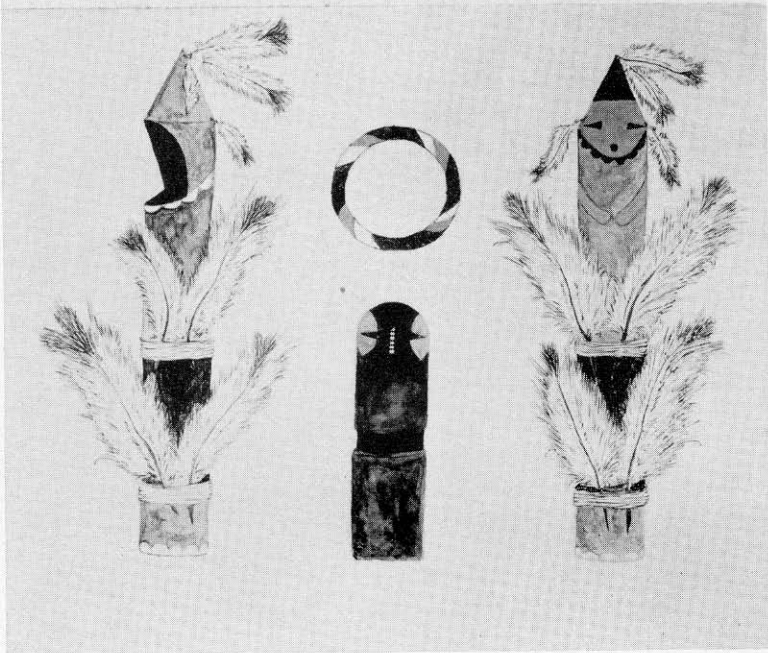
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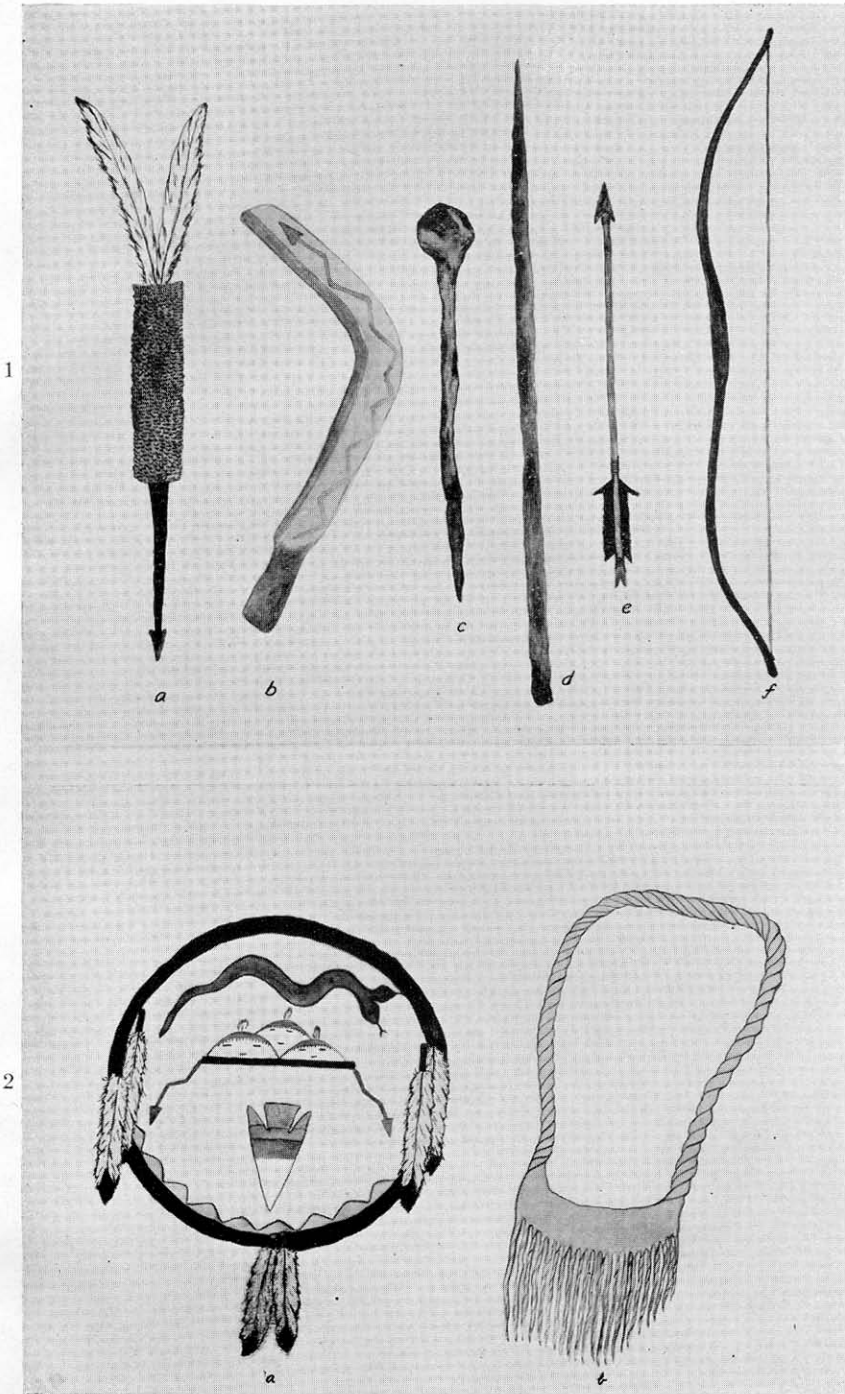


2



1. KATSINA PRAYER STICKS. 2. FIRE SOCIETY PRAYER STICKS.

(For explanation, see page 120.)



1. WEAPONS (WAIISHI) GIVEN BY SUN TO THE TWINS.
2. SHIELD AND POUCH OF THE TWINS.

(For explanation, see page 123.)

Agustín Rodríguez y Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado 1591-1582

Craddock 1996: case file

most recent revision: 27-07-2004

(1) Craddock 1996:354

(1) Hammond and Rey 1966:69: “The persons above-mentioned were. . . Hernán Gallegos, his aide. . .”. Gallegos’ “Relación,” f. 72r: “hernan gallegos por su s^o.” The abbreviation “s^o” resolves as either *escriuano* ‘notary’ or, more likely, *secretario*. The Bolton transcription (p. 3) interprets it as “servicio” and this seems to explain the version of the translators. The same abbreviation occurs several times near the end of the narration, for, as previously mentioned, Gallegos was in fact the official notary of the expedition. In all these later instances it is rendered uniformly in the Bolton transcription as “escribano” and in Hammond and Rey as “notary” (e.g., p. 114).

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 72r9 (28r)

Hernan gallegos Por su s^o.

Hammond and Rey 1966:69

Hernán Gallegos, his aide;

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 3

hernan gallegos por su servicio

(2) Craddock 1996:354

(2) Hammond and Rey 1966:70: “we came to the Raya, another people who inhabit the same land and use the same language”; [Heading of Chapter II] “Telling of our departure from the said Raya nation, our penetration of the interior. . . .” Gallegos’ “Relación,” f. 72r: “fueron a dar en la Raya que se dibide la dicha lengua de los conchos y otra nacion de gente en esta rraya y diuission de gente”; [Heading of Chapter II] “como salieron de la dicha rraya y fueron entrando...” Sp. *raya* means ‘frontier’ in this context and is translated as such elsewhere by Hammond and Rey. But note the version of the Bolton transcription (pp. 3–4): “fueron á dar en la Raya que se debe de la dicha lengua é tierra de los conchos y otra nacion de gente en esta rraya é dicussion.” The readings “se debe de” and “dicussion,” though involving only one misread letter in each case, make nonsense of the passage and I can only guess that the translators attempted to gloss over the difficulty with the version they provided. Gallegos states that “they came to a frontier that divides the aforesaid language of the conchos and another nation of people in this frontier and division of people” which seems to refer to the boundary between the Conchos and the Cabris (Julimes). In any case, the “Raya nation” is just a philological phantom.³

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 72r31-34 (28r)

*Después de
auer salido de la nacion concha fueron a dar en la Raya
que se dibide la dicha lengua e tierra de los conchos y otra
nacion de gente en esta rraya e diuission de gente como
el altura y se hallaron en veinte y nueve grados*

. . . y despues de
auer salido de la nacion concha fueron a dar en la Raya
que se dibide la dicha lengua e tierra de los conchos y otra
nacion de gente. En esta rraya e diuission de gente se tomo
el altura y se hallaron en veinte y nueve grados . . .

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 3

y despues de
haber salido de la nacion concha fueron á dar en la Raya que se debe de la dicha
lengua é tierra de los conchos y otra nacion de gente en esta rraya é dicussion
de gente se tomó el altura y se hallaron en veinte y nueve grados

Hammond and Rey 1966:70

After leaving the Concha nation we came to the Raya, another people who inhabit the same land and use the same language as the Conchas. In this territory of the Raya³ we took the latitude and found it to be twenty-nine degrees.

3. Though Gallegos here states that the Raya were different from the Conchos nation, he then explains that they "inhabit the same land and use the same language." See J. Charles Kelley, "Historic Indian pueblos of La Junta de los Ríos," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xxvii (1952), pp. 257-295, and vol. xxviii (1953), pp. 21-51; and Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, p. 33.

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 72v10-12 (28v)

Capítulo como salieron de la dicha rraya
y fueron entrando por la tierra dentro y del re-
cibimiento que los yndios les hazian

¶ Capítulo como salieron de la dicha rraya
y fueron entrando por la tierra dentro y del re-
cibimiento que los yndios les hazian

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Capítulo como salieron de la dicha Raya y fueron entrando por la
tierra adentro y del recibimiento que los yndios les hazian .

Hammond and Rey 1966:70

CHAPTER II

TELLING OF OUR DEPARTURE FROM THE SAID RAYA NATION, OUR PENETRA-
TION OF THE INTERIOR, AND THE MANNER OF OUR RECEPTION BY THE
INDIANS.

3. Hammond and Rey did not create, but disseminated the supposed name of another phantom tribe, the "Allaguabas" (Hammond and Rey 1928:277), by following the hasty transcription of Mariano Cuevas (1988; originally published in 1922) of Baltasar de Obregón's *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España* (1584), whose second part contains a rehash of Gallegos' "Relación" (Cuevas 1988:241-82). As the expedition reached the land of the Cabris (Julimes), Obregón, according to Cuevas, states that in answer to the question of what people lie to the north of them, the Cabris included their name besides various other facts: "Esta gente se nombra *allaguabas*." In the original (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 7, ff. 797r-827r, at 802v) the text reads "esta gente nonbra a el agua /bod/, " with the word set off between slashes as I have indicated. The year before they brought out their translation of Obregón, Hammond and Rey had published their version of Gallegos' "Relación," which says at this very point in the narration (f. 74r) "llaman al agua abad." It is unfortunate that they failed to make the connection between the two texts.

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 7, fol. 802v10-15

... rrespondieron
que hacia la banda del norte avia gente que
abita en casas grandes. Bisten y coxen can-
tidad de maiz ffrisol y calabaza. Esta gen-
te nonbra a el agua /bod/ la qual trae guerra
con los yndjos a ellos comarcanos

... rrespondieron
que hacia la banda del norte avia gente que
abita en casas grandes e bisten y coxen can-
tidad de maiz ffrisol y calabaza. Esta gen-
te nonbra a el agua /bod/ la qual trae guerra
con los yndjos a ellos comarcanos . . .

/bod/

Cuevas 1924:250

NOTICIA DE LA
GENTE DE LA
TIERRA ADEN-
TRO

Fuéles hecha pregunta y excursión de poblaciones y gentes de adelante, respondieron que hacia la banda del norte había gente que habita en casas grandes, que visten y cogen cantidad de maíz, frijol y calabaza. Esta gente se nombra *allaguabas* la cual trae guerra con los indios a ellos comarcanos

Hammond and Rey 1928:277

The people in the interior

They were asked about the towns and people farther on. They replied that toward the north were people who lived in large houses, who wore clothes and gathered quantities of corn, beans, and calabashes. These people were called *Allaguabas*. They carried on war with the neighboring Indians.

Bravo García 1997:231, 283

respondieron que hacia la banda del norte había gente que habita en casas grandes, que visten y recogen cantidad de maíz, frijol y calabaza; esta gente nombra allaguabal, la cual trae guerra con los indios a ellos comarcanos.

allaguabal: ayaguas, Pueblo de indios coahuiltecas, que se establecieron en Vallecillo, Estado de Nuevo León.

Bravo García 1989:413, 519

Rrespondieron /⁵⁹ que hacia la banda del Norte abfa gente que /⁶⁰ abita en casas grandes, que bisten y coxen can- /⁶¹ tidad de maiz, ffrisol y calabaza; esta gen- /⁶² te nonbra allaguabal, la qual trae guerra /⁶³ con los yndios a ellos comarcanos.

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 73v34-36/74r1-3 (29v-30r)

*Les preguntamos
que como se llamaba su lengua por q' nos parecia ser diferente
lengua que la pasada aunque se entienden los vnos con los
otros. Los quales respondieron que se llamaba Amotomau-
co. Llamaban al agua abad. al maiz to oy y a los frijoles
ayaguate*

... y les preguntamos
que como se llamaba su lengua porque nos parecía ser diferente
lengua que la pasada aunque se entienden los vnos con los
[fol. 30]
otros. Los quales rrespondieron que se llamaba amotomau-
co. Llamaban al agua abad al maiz to oy y a los frijoles
ayaguate . . .

Hammond and Rey 1966:70

We asked them the name of their language, because it seemed different from the one we had just heard, although the two peoples understand one another. They answered that it was "Amotomanco."³ These Indians call water "abad," corn "teoy," and beans "ayaguate."

3. These were undoubtedly the same as those called Otomoacos by Luxán, or Patara-bueyes by Luxán and Obregón. The Patara-bueyes, says Forbes, were divided into two groups, the Otomoacos, later known as Cholomes, and the Abriaches, subsequently called Julimes. Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

(3) Craddock 1996:354-355

(3) Hammond and Rey 1966:77: “who brought us an iron bar about three spans long and shaped like those the Mexican Indians have.” Gallegos’ “Relación,” f. 75v: “nos truxo vn hierro como de tres quartas de medir ff^o a manera de coa de las que tienen los yndios mexicanos.” The amanuensis of the Bolton transcription, failing to understand “ff^o” (lit. “fhecho,” i.e., *hecho* ‘made’), left a blank and then garbled the following phrase (p. 10): “nos traxo un hierro como de tres cuartas de medir [blank] á manera de lo que tienen los yndios mexicanos.” Hammond and Rey elsewhere translate *coa* as ‘hoe’ (e.g., p. 102)—a bit misleading, since this Antillean word refers to what one might call a ‘tilling bar’, as in Santamaría’s gloss (Santamaría 1942, s.v.): “barra de madera recia, con extremo aguzado o en forma de pala, que los primitivos habitantes del Continente usaron para cavar la tierra,” an explanation that shows the aptness of Gallegos’ comparison of an iron bar to the instrument in question. It seems clear that Hammond and Rey did not have the word *coa* before them when they translated the passage at issue.⁴

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 75v36- (31v)

estando en esto vino otro yndio
Un fierro como de tres quartas de medir ff^o a ma-
nera de coa de las que tienen los yndios mexicanos
se 3/4 hecho à ma-
nera de cierta arma de los Mexicanos etc

... estando en esto vino otro yndio

y nos truxo vn hierro como de tres quartas de medir fhecho a ma-
nera de coa de las que tienen los yndios mexicanos ...

{marginal note [Traxo vn yndio | vn hierro como | de 3/4 hecho à ma- | nera de çierta arma de los
mexicanos etcetera]}

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 10

tando en esto vino otro yndio y nos truxo un hierro como de tres cuartas de
medir á manera de lo que tienen los yndios mexicanos y preguntandole que

Hammond and Rey 1966:77

While we were in this situation we saw another Indian, who brought us an iron bar about three spans long and shaped like those the Mexican Indians have.

(4) Craddock 1996:355

(4) Hammond and Rey 1966:77: "a multitude of barbarians and treacherous idolaters." Gallegos' "Relación," f. 76r: "tanta multitud de gente barbara e ydolatradora." "Idolaters" says Gallegos, indeed, but not "treacherous"; this adjective appears to be a highly improper elaboration of the translators until one takes into account the Bancroft transcription, whose amanuensis misread the passage barbarously (p. 10): "tanta multitud de gente barbara oydo la traidora." It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that "traidora" has crept into the translation from this source. But then how did Hammond and Rey know that the passage refers to idolatry? I can only guess that in view of an incomprehensible text they speculated that the original contained "gente barbara traidora e ydolatradora."

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 76r21-25 (32r)

*El rrio aunque agora llebábamos mas rrelaçion de cosas
muy pulidas y de mucha ynportancia que no llebaba
cabeça de vaca por lo qual entendimos ser cosa guiada por
la mano de el s por que tan pocos hombres atreberse a entrar
entre tanta multitud de gente barbara oydo la traidora*

... el rrio aunque agora llebábamos mas rrelaçion de cosas
muy pulidas y de mucha ynportancia que no llebaba
Cabeça de Vaca por lo qual entendimos ser cosa guiada por
la mano de el señor por que tan pocos hombres atreberse a entrar
entre tanta multitud de gente barbara e ydolatradora

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por esta gente el rio aunque agora llebábamos mas relación de cosas muy
pulidas y de mucha ynportancia que no lleba cabeça de vaca por lo qual enten-
dimos ser cosa guiada por la mano de el señor porque tan pocos hombres atreb-
e^zse á entrar entre tanta multitud de gente barbara oydo la traidora porque

Hammond and Rey 1966:77

However, we now had additional information of finer and very important things which Cabeza de Vaca did not mention. We therefore considered it an event directed by the hand of God that we, who were so few, dared to go among such a multitude of barbarians and treacherous idolaters.

(5) Hammond and Rey 1966:86: “they are a very intelligent people and willing to serve.” Gallegos’ “Relación,” f. 81r: “gente muy entendida y de delicado jui^o.” The abbreviation resolves as *juicio* ‘judgement’ so the passage means “very intelligent people and with fine judgement.” As before, Hammond and Rey seem to have been misled by the transcription (p. 19): “gente muy entendida y de delicado servicio.” In this case, not only would consulting the original have been useful, for there can be no serious doubt about the reading of the manuscript, but one of the marginal notations ignored by Hammond and Rey here spells out the word in question: “es gente domestica y los mejores labradores de la nueua hespaña dozil entendida y de delicado juycio ettc.” [editorially supplied letters are in italics].

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 81r30-34 (37r)

*es lengua muy facil
de deprender y la gente mas domestica y trabajadora
los mas lindos labradores que ay en la Nueva España
y tanto que si truxeramos lengua se tornaran christianos
parte de ellos por que es gente muy entendida y de delicado
juicio. ettc. y si llebaran lengua se tornaran xpianos.*

... es lengua muy fácil
de deprender y la gente mas domestica y trabajadora y
los mas lindos labradores que ay en la Nueva España
y tanto que si truxeramos lengua se tornaran christianos
parte de ellos porque es gente muy entendida y de delicado juicio
{*marginal note* [es gente domestica | y los mejores | labradores de | la Nueva Hes-
paña dozil en- | tendida y de delicado juycio ettcetera y si llebaran lengua se tornaran
xpistianos.]}
tendida y de delicado juycio ettcetera y si llebaran lengua se tornaran xpistianos.}}

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es lengua muy facil de de-
prender y la gente mas domestica y trabajadora y los mas lindos labradores
que ay en la nueba españa y tanto que si truxesamos lengua se tornaran
cristianos parte de ellos porque es gente muy entendida y de delicado ser-
vicio .

Hammond and Rey 1966:86

“Their language is very easy to learn. They are the most domestic and industrious people, and the best craftsmen found in New Spain. Had we brought along interpreters, some of the natives would have become Christians, because they are a very intelligent people and willing to serve.”

Hammond and Rey 1966:67

1. The Gallegos “Relation” of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition to New Mexico is one of the many treasures preserved in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain, (A.G.I.), *Patronato*, legajo 22.

Marc Simmons. *The Last Conqueror: Juan de Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1991:51.

“very intelligent people and willing to serve”

Ramón A. Gutiérrez. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1991:45.

“The Tiwa Indians were ‘very intelligent’, concluded Hernán Gallegos, because they were ‘willing to serve’.”

(6) Hammond and Rey 1966:88: “we thought the Indians had not told the truth, for we noticed that this pasture was untouched by the buffalo, and that the tracks left by them seemed very old.” Gallegos’ “Relación,” f. 82v:

“entendimos que los yndios no auian dicho verdad por que viamos muy fresca huella de vacas y Rastro de las que pareçia de mucho tienpo.” In the latter, I am certain that the passage only makes sense if one emends “no auian” to “nos auian”; this would accord with Baltasar de Obregón’s account (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 22, ramo 7, f. 818r; cf. Cuevas 1988:270): “colexieron los descubridores ser verdadera la notiçia que les abian dado de las bacas.” Accordingly, the Gallegos’ passage would translate as “we understood that the Indians had told us the truth for we saw very fresh cow [buffalo] tracks and the trace of those [tracks] that seemed from a long time ago.” How can one account for Hammond and Rey’s strange and self-contradictory version (a pasture untouched by buffalo yet bearing their old tracks)? The Bolton transcription reads (p. 21): “los yndios no avian dicho verdad porque viamos muy fresca quella de vacas y rastro de las que parecia de mucho tiempo”; the only blunder is “quella” for “huella” but it seems to have led the translators to suppose the word “aquella” ‘that’ was involved, and the rest seems to have been a fanciful effort to paper over a nonsensical passage. They unfortunately failed to recall at this point their own translation of Obregón (Hammond and Rey 1928:302): “the discoverers gathered that the information given them concerning the cattle was true.”

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 82v1-9 (38v)

En v^{te} y o^{cho} dias de el mes de setiembre de el dicho año sa-
limos de la poblazon y provincia de Felipe para yr en
busca de las bacas por la relacion que los naturales
de ella nos auian dado y caminamos el dia primero seis
leguas por tierra llana de muy buenos Pastos para
nada mayor por lo qual entendimos que los yndios no
auian dicho verdad por que via mos muy fresca hue-
lla de vacas y Rastro de las que pareciã de mucho tien-
po

En veinte y ocho dias de el mes de setiembre de el dicho año sa-
limos de la poblazon y provincia de Sant Felipe para yr en
busca de las bacas por la relacion que los naturales
de ella nos auian dado y caminamos el dia primero seis
leguas por tierra llana de muy buenos pastos para ga-

nado mayor por lo qual entendimos que los yndios no[s]
auian dicho verdad porque viamos muy fresca hue-
lla de vacas y rastro de las que pareçia de mucho tien-
po . . .

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 21

por lo qual entendimos que los yndios no auian dicho verdad porque viamos
muy fresca quella de vacas y rastro de las que parecia de mucho tiempo

Hammond and Rey 1966:88

On the first day we traveled six leagues
through plains with good pasture for cattle. Accordingly, we thought the
Indians had not told the truth, for we noticed that this pasture was un-
touched by the buffalo, and that the tracks left by them seemed very
old.

Baltasar de Obregón, "Historia de los descubrimientos de Nueva España." Archivo General de
Indias, Seville, Patronato 22, ramo 7, fols. 605r-850v. Fray Agustín Rodríguez y Francisco
Sánchez Chamuscado: fols. 796r-827r. Fol. 818r1-7.

Caminaron el primer dia mas de se-
ys leguas de tierra llana y de pastos
buenos y contiosos para ganado mayor,
por la qual colexieron los descubridores
ser verdadera la notiçia que les abian dado
de las bacas. De alli adelante enpeçaron a
topar rraastro de vacas antiguo

. . . Caminaron el primer dia mas de se-
ys leguas de tierra llana y de pastos
buenos y contiosos para ganado mayor,
por la qual colexieron los descubridores
ser verdadera la notiçia que les abian dado
de las bacas. De alli adelante enpeçaron a
topar rraastro de vacas antiguo . . .

Cuevas 1924:270

Caminaron el primer día más de seis leguas de tierra llana y de pastos buenos y cuantiosos para ganado mayor, por la cual coligieron los descubridores ser verdadera la noticia que les habían dado de las vacas. De allí adelante empezaron a topar rastro de vacas antiguas.

Hammond and Rey 1928:302

The first day they marched more than six leagues over plains with good and plentiful pastures for cattle raising. There the discoverers gathered that the information given them concerning the cattle was true. From that place on they began to find old cattle tracks.

Bravo García 1989:438

Caminaron el primer día más de se-⁹³ys leguas de tierra llana y de pastos /⁹⁴buenos y contiosos para ganado mayor,/⁹⁵ por la qual colexieron los descubridores /⁹⁶ser verdadera la noticia que les avían dado /⁹⁷de las Eacas. De allí adelante enpeçaron a /⁹⁸topar rraastro de bacas antiguo.

Bravo García 1997:247

Caminaron el primer día más de seis leguas de tierra llana y de pastos buenos y cuantiosos para ganado mayor, por la cual coligieron los descubridores ser verdadera la noticia que les habían dado de las vacas; de allí adelante empezaron a topar rastro de vacas antiguo;

(7) Craddock 1996:355

(7) Hammond and Rey 1966:92: “for they stand out readily. We told them we would return shortly, which pleased them.” In this case I give the Bolton transcription first (p. 25): “por que luego se muestran y les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho.” Close enough, it would appear, yet in Gallegos’ “Relación” we find (f. 85v): “Por que luego se muestran y les diximos que ybamos por bastimento para tornar y que luego bolberiamos y que yriamos con ellos y como les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho.” The amanuensis of the Bolton transcription committed an omission by homeoteleuton; here the culprit is the phrase “les diximos que.”

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 85v14-17 (41v)

*Por que luego se muestran
y les diximos que ybamos por bastimento para tornar y
que luego bolberiamos y que yriamos con ellos y como
les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho*

... porque luego se muestran
y les diximos que ybamos por bastimento para tornar y
que luego bolberiamos y que yriamos con ellos y como
les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 25

de la carne á los que daban á entender que eran caciques porque ^{luego} ~~tando~~ se
muestran y les diximos que luego bendriamos se holgaron mucho

Hammond and Rey 1966:92

We gave part of what we had—that is, some of the meat—to those who seemed to be caciques, for they stand out readily. We told them we would return shortly, which pleased them, and they gave us to understand that they would await us.

(8) Craddock 1996:357

(8) Hammond and Rey 1966:79: "These people call the arrow 'ocae', the name given to bamboo by the Mexicans". Gallegos, "Relación," f. 77r: "esta gente llama a la flecha acal como llaman la caña los mejicanos." The first and last letters of "acal" in the manuscript might cause some hesitation (the Bolton transcription gives "acae"), but the reading is resolved by noting that the Nahuatl word for 'reed' is *acatl*. Word-final *l* can often take shapes that resemble an *e* or, for that matter, an *s*. I believe 'bamboo' is not the most appropriate gloss for *caña*.

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 77r14-16 (33r)

ynos ofrecian de lo que tenian y como lo auian ffecho
los de atras esta gentellana ala flecha acal como lla-
man la caña los mejicanos y entre lo que nos ofrecian

. . . y nos ofrecian de lo que tenian y como lo auian ffecho
los de atras. Esta genta llama a la flecha acal como lla-
man la caña los mejicanos y entre lo que nos ofrecian

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nos ofrecian de lo que tenian y como lo auian fecho los de atrás esta
gente llama á la flecha acae como llaman la caña los mexijanos

Hammond and Rey 1966:79

After two days we came to another nation of friendly people, fine men who received us well and offered us of what they had, in the same manner as the others had done.³ These people call the arrow "ocae," the name given to bamboo by the Mexicans.

3. These people were called Caguates by Luxán. They were probably Sumas.



‘flecha’

(9) Craddock 1996:358

(9) Hammond and Rey 1966:86: "These Indians call corn "cunque"; water "pica"; the turkey "dire"; and a woman "ayu." When they want to drink they say "sesa." They call the cotton blanket. . . [there is a blank]." This is one of the most intriguing word lists Gallegos provides (f. 81r): "llama al mayz cunque y al agua pica y a la gallina dire y a la muger ayu y quando quieren beber dizen jesu llaman a la manta de algodón Jor." Until these ostensibly Tewa words are identified,⁶ there can be little certainty about their exact shape in the manuscript; for instance, I believe "pica" could be read "pilca," while "cunque," "dire," and "ayu" seem unambiguously spelled. The reading "jesu" is not only quite clear but also supported by a marginal note: "dizen jesu quando beben." There is no blank in the manuscript, just the mysterious "Jor" which looks rather like an abbreviation; the blank occurs in the Bancroft transcription (p. 19), the amanuensis evidently having refused even to conjecture a reading for what I have transcribed as "Jor."

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 81r27-30 (37r)

*llama al mayz cunque y al agua pica y a la gallina
dire y a la muger ayu y quando quieren beber dizen
jesu quando beben etc etc su llaman a la manta de algodón Jr. es lengua muy facil
de prender*

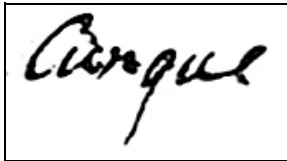
. . . Llama al mayz cunque y al agua pica y a la gallina
dire y a la muger ayu y quando quieren beber dizen je-
su. Llaman a la manta de algodón jr. Es lengua muy fácil
de prender
{*marginal note* [dizen | jesu quando | beben ettcetera]}

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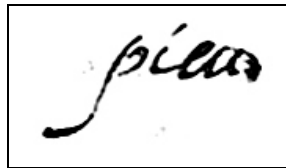
llama al maiz
cunque y al agua pica y a la gallina dise y á la mujer Ayu y quando quieren
beber dizeme su llaman á la manta de algodón es lengua muy facil de de-
prender

These Indians call corn “cunque”; water “pica”; the turkey “dire”; and a woman “ayu.” When they want to drink they say “sesa.” They call the cotton blanket . . . [there is a blank]. Their language is very easy to learn. They are the most domestic and industrious people, and the best craftsmen found in New Spain.

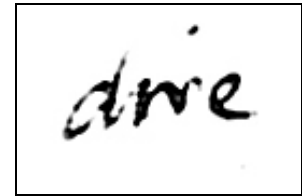
Tewa words recorded in this passage.



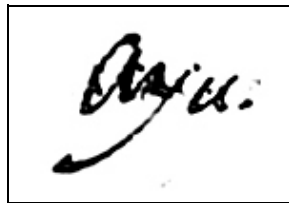
‘maíz’



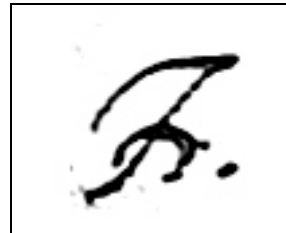
‘agua’



‘gallina’



‘mujer’



‘manta de algodón’



“quando quieren beber dizen je- | su”/“dizen | jesu quando | beben”

6. Forbes (1960:51) found closer resemblances to Tewa forms than to the corresponding forms in Tiwa. To make any real progress in the elucidations of the words given by Gallegos, it will be necessary to consider carefully not only their exact form in the manuscript (which, it will be recalled, is itself a copy of the original made by a copyist who almost certainly had no contact with the author), but also all of the possible phonological interpretations that an extremely ambiguous graphic system might permit. Furthermore, one cannot assume that the Tewa forms remained unchanged for three centuries; historical and comparative evidence would have to be applied systematically in an effort to reconstruct just what it was that Gallegos and his companions were hearing. In any case, it would appear that *cunque* can be safely identified as Tewa [k^hũŋk^he] 'grain of corn' (Robbins et al. 1916:16; I have reinterpreted their phonetic transcription).

K'e (Hano Tewa *k'ili*), 'grain of corn,' 'small bud of cottonwood flower.' The commonest compounds are said to be: *k'ũŋk'e*, 'grain of corn' (*k'ũŋ*, corn plant; *k'e*, grain, in this sense), and *tek'e*, 'flower bud of valley cottonwood' (*te*, valley cottonwood; *k'e*, grain, bud, in bud, in this sense).

Cobos 1983, s.v. *cunques*

cunques, *m. pl.* [<Zuni *cunques*, bits of corn (or cornmeal) used for ceremonial purposes] dregs; coffee grounds; crumbs; *cunques de la manteca*, bacon drippings; *tortillas cunques*, ground corn tortillas.

¿Qué andas buscando, gallina ciega?

Cunques *pa mis pollitos;*

¿Quése los pollitos?

Están debajo 'e la artesa.

What are you looking for,

Oh, blind hen?

Crumbs for my little chicks;

Where are your chicks?

They are under the wooden bowl.

(N.M. and so. Colo. Sp. children's rhyme)

Santamaría 1959, s.v. *cunque*

* **Cunque**. *m.* En el Norte del país, maíz quebrado o molido grueso en partículas, que se da como alimento a los pollitos muy pequeños.
“Yo no sé de dónde ha venido el llamar *cunque* al maicito quebrado que dan de alimento a los pollitos.” (BRONDO, *Nuevo León*, 223.)

Santamaría 1959:1177

BRONDO WHITT, E. *Chihuahuenses y Tapatíos*. Méjico, 1939.
— *Méjico, Nuevo León, Chihuahua*. Méjico, 1935.
— *El Dios pan*. Texas, 1919.
— *Regiomontana*. Chihuahua, 1937.
— *Cascada de Basasiachi (Una visita a la)*. Chihuahua, 1935.
— *La División del Norte*. Méjico, 1940.

E[ncarnación] Brondo Whitt
Nuevo León; novela de costumbres, 1896-1903, México, Nuevo León, Chihuahua
México, Editorial Lumen, 1935

P. 223.

Después del baño nos dedicamos a los quehaceres "domésticos", para suplir las actividades de Néstor: había que quebrar maíz, en partículas menudas, para los pollitos, que en varias docenas se pascaban con las cluecas junto a la cabaña. Y yo no sé de dónde ha venido el llamar *cunque* al maicito quebrado que dan de alimento a los pollitos. El mismo grano del maíz, molido con *chili piquín*, constituía un delicioso manjar para el cenizotle. De esa molienda resultaba un polvo que hacía llorar y estornudar, y que quemaría cualesquiera lenguas que no fuesen las harpadas de nuestros ruseñeres. Sin embargo, en México se devoran diariamente toneladas de chile; y no conocemos salsa mejor ni más brava que la de las pepitas abrasadoras. Somos tan viciosos de nuestro condimento, que reímos de todos los condimentos exóticos porque no nos hacen llorar; y sólo toleramos los pimientos de Calahorra (Calahorra, esa villa), que nos traen de España; a los que encontramos un inocente sabor de heno, o de lechuga.

(10) Hammond and Rey 1966:86–87: “a large quantity of different kinds [of minerals], including some of a coppery steel-like ore. . . the Indians in the region of the buffalo had given them a part of the ore.” Gallegos, “Relación,” f. 81v: “gran cantidad de metales de muchas maneras donde nos truxeron tescatetes metal cobrizo y azerado. . . los yndios que estaban en las bacas les auian dado parte de aquellos metales tezcatotes.” The translators have suppressed all mention of *tescatate*/*tezcatotes*; it bears all the appearance of a Nahuatl loanword, perhaps *tetzcaltetl* ‘alabaster’, literally, ‘polished stone’ (Campbell 1985:324).

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 81v8-21 (37v)

Truxeron los truxeron grande cantidad de metales de muchas
y muchas maneras donde nos truxeron tescatetes metal cobri-
zos diferentes y azerado este azerado segun parecio se le hallo
de ley y tendra cada quintal a rrazon de veinte marcos
y los demas a menos. Preguntandoles que de donde
auian traído aquellos metales nos dieron a enten-
der que por allí cerca de la provincia y poblazon auia
muchos metales y que de allí eran parte de ellos. Fue-
ronse a ver y se descubrieron muchas minas de dife-
rentes metales los quales dichos yndios nos dieron a en-
tender que los yndios que estaban en las bacas auian
dado parte de aquellos metales tezcatotes y azerado
gente esparcida parte de ellos

. . . luego nos
truxeron grande cantidad de metales de muchas
maneras donde nos truxeron tescatetes metal cobri-
so y azerado. Este azerado segun parecio se le hallo
de ley. Tendra cada quintal a rrazon de veinte marcos
y los demas a menos. Preguntandoles que de donde
auian traído aquellos metales nos dieron a enten-
der que por allí cerca de la provincia y poblazon auia
muchos metales y que de allí eran parte de ellos. Fue-
ronse a ver y se descubrieron muchas minas de dife-
rentes metales los quales dichos yndios nos dieron a en-
tender que los yndios que estaban en las bacas auian

dado parte de aquellos metales tezcatetes y la qual
gente es rrayada parte della

{*marginal note* [Traxeron los | yndios muchos me- | tales diferen- | tes que vno se | allo de ley y |
terna cada quin- | tal | à Razon de | 20 marcos y los de- | mas à menos | y que lo trayan | de alli
çerca y | parte eran de | su tierra y des | cubrieronse mu- | chas minas]}}

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 19

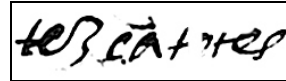
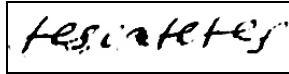
luego nos truxeron grande cantidad
de metales de muchas maneras donde nos truxeron tescatetes metal cobrizo y
aserado este aserado segun pareció se le halló de ley tendra cada quintal á
rrazon de veinte maravedis y los demás á menos preguntandoles que de donde
avian traído aquellos metales nos dieron á entender que por alli cerca de la
provincia y poblacion avia muchos metales y que de alli orian parte de ellos
fueronse á ver y se descubrieron muchas minas de diferentes metales los
quales dichos yndios nos dieron á entender que los yndios que estaban en las
bacas les avian dado parte de aquellos metales tescatotes y la qual gente
es rrayada parte de ella

Hammond and Rey 1966:86-87

They immediately brought us a large quantity of different kinds, including some of a
coppery steellike ore. This mineral appeared to be rich and assayed
about twenty marcos per hundredweight. The others assayed less.
When we asked them where they obtained the ore, they gave us to
understand that there were many minerals near the province and
pueblo; and they thought that part of what they had shown came from
there.² We went to investigate and discovered mines of different ores.
The natives indicated that the Indians in the region of the buffalo had
given them a part of the ore.
Some of these natives paint themselves with stripes.

Footnote 2 is not relevant to the question considered here.

tezcates



From Nahuatl *tezcalli* + *tetl*?

Santamaría 1959, s. v. *tescal* (var. *texcal*)

del azt. *tezcalli*

‘terreno cubierto de basalto de antiguas erupciones volcánicas’; ‘piedra de lava volcánica’

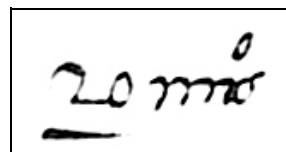
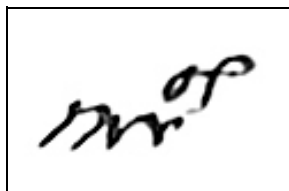
Nahuatl *tetl* ‘piedra’

Harris-Northall and Nitti 2003.

[1633 Nueva Vizcaya (México)] la mina (...) tiene por nombre el Tescatete [AHP 3, 175A]

AHP = Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua, México. Microfilmado en 333 rollos por Micro Photo, Inc. de Cleveland. El Archivo abarca los años 1631-1823.

marcos



(11) Craddock 1996:358

(11) Hammond and Rey 1966:88: "In addition to pines, there were carine and cypress trees." I have been unable to find *carine* in the dictionaries of English I have consulted. In Gallegos' "Relación" (f. 82v) the reading is "cauina," with no ambiguous letters ("cavina" in the Bolton transcription, p. 21). One must conjecture a missing cedilla in the first letter, i.e., "çauina," and further suppose that this is yet another example of the confusion of *c*, *z*, and *s* so common in this and other contemporary texts; for instance, Gallegos' text reads "sipreses" in this same passage. Consequently, *sabina* 'savin' appears to be the tree named by Gallegos, perhaps an American variety such as the *sabina cimarrona* or *sabina criolla* mentioned by Santamaría (1942).

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 82v13-15 (38v)

luego otro dia marchamos por vn monte de muchos pi-
nos que al pareçer es el mayor monte que se a descu-
bierto en la nueva españa de pino y cauina y sipreses

luego otro día marchamos por vn monte de muchos pi-
nos que al parecer es el mayor monte que se a descu-
bierto en la Nueva España de pino y cauina y sipreses

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 21

luego otro dia marchamos
por un monte de muchos pinos que al parecer es el mayor monte que se ha des-
cubierto en le nueva España de pino y cavina y sipreses

Hammond and Rey 1966:88

The following day we went through a forest with many pine trees which appeared to be the largest that had been discovered in New Spain. In addition to pines, there were carine and cypress trees.²

Footnote 2 is not relevant to the question considered here.

(12) Craddock 1996:358-359

(12) Hammond and Rey 1966:102: "When this is over the people place before the bride a grindstone, an olla, a flat earthenware pan (*comal*), drinking vessels, and *chicubites*. They also put a grinding stone (*metate*) in her hand." The translation of this passage is actually far more revealing of Gallegos' vocabulary than is usually the case; compare the "Relación," f. 91v: "luego acabado esto le ponen a ella delante de vna piedra de moler y vna olla y su comal y el metlapil en la mano y sus xicaras y chucubites." The grindstone is the *metate*, and it happens that Gallegos uses the Spanish, rather than the Nahuatl expression, i.e., *piedra de moler*. What was put in the bride's hand was not, of course, the grindstone, which might have involved a severe test of her strength, but the relatively small cylindrical stone, for which Gallegos uses the Nahuatl loanword *metlapil*, and which is held in the hands while grinding corn on the *metate*. The source of the translators' confusion may lie in the fact that the transcription reads "methapis."

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 91v16-18 (48v)

luego acabado esto le
ponen a ella delante de vna piedra de moler y vna olla y
su comal y el metlapil en la mano

... luego acabado esto le po-
nen a ella delante de vna piedra de moler y vna olla y
su comal y el metlapil en la mano ...

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 35

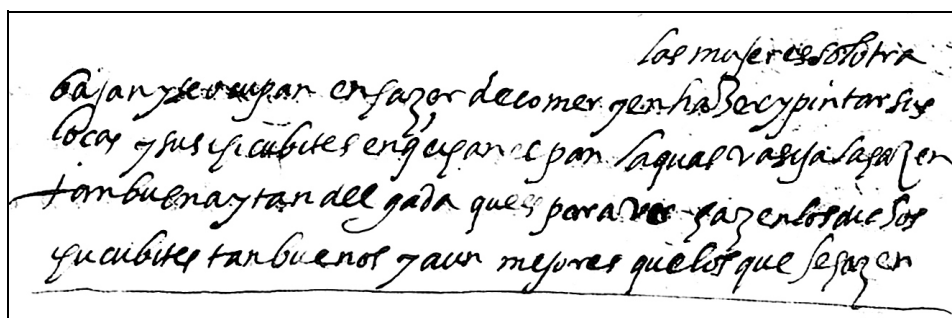
luego acabado esto le ponen á ella^a delante de una piedra de moler y una
olla y su comal y el methapis en la mano

Hammond and Rey 1966:88

When this is over the people place before
the bride a grindstone, an olla, a flat earthenware pan (*comal*), drinking
vessels, and *chicubites*. They also put a grinding stone (*metate*) in her
hand.

(13) The *chicubites* of the passage just discussed appears earlier (Hammond and Rey 1966:85): “The women busy themselves only in the preparation of food, and in making and painting their pottery and *chicubites*, in which they prepare their bread. These vessels are so excellent and delicate that the process of manufacture is worth watching; for they equal, and even surpass, the pottery made in Portugal.” The work calls forth one of the rare lexical footnotes of the translation: ‘a pan for baking bread’, an explanation that merely echoes what they believe Gallegos says about *chicubites*. Here is his text (f. 80v): “las mujeres solo trabajan y se ocupan en hazer de comer y en hazer y pintar sus loças y sus chicubites en *que* echan el pan la qual vasija la hazen tan buena y tan delgada que es para ver hazen los dichos chucubites tan buenos y aun mejores que los que se hazen en portugal.” Hammond and Rey seem again to have been misled by the Bolton transcription, which reads, at the crucial point, “sus chicubites en que agan el pan.” The reading “echan” of the manuscript is certain; furthermore, the context provides no syntactic motivation whatsoever for a subjunctive form like *hagan*. The translators make no mention of the variant forms *chi-* and *chu-*cubite, a minor oversight, but what does the word really mean? It is almost certainly a variant of Nahuatl *chiquihuitl* ‘basket’—perhaps, in the present instance, ‘bread basket’. Yet Gallegos seems to consider it a piece of pottery (*vasija*) that competes favorably with its Portuguese counterpart. Some attestations of *chicubite* (Boyd-Bowman 1987:1257–1258) allow one to deduce that the meaning of the word involves a chest, which may have drawers (“chicubite de pino con sus caxones”), while other citations seem to refer to other types of receptacles, but none suggests a type of pottery.

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 80v16-18 (36v)



las mujeres solo tra-
bajan y se ocupan en hazer de comer y en hazer y pintar sus
loças y sus chicubites en que echan el pan la qual vasija la hazen
tan buena y tan delgada que es para ver hazen los dichos
chucubites tan buenos y aun mejores que los que se hazen

... las mujeres solo tra-
bajan y se ocupan en hazer de comer y en hazer y pintar sus
loças y sus chicubites en *que* echan el pan la qual vasija la hazen
tan buena y tan delgada que es para ver. Hazen en los dichos
chucubites tan buenos y aun mejores que los que se hazen

las mujeres solo trabajan y se ocupan en hacer de comer y en
hacer y pintar sus éocas y sus chicubites en que agan el pan la qual vasijs
la hacen tan buena y tan delgada que es para ver hacer los dichos chucubites
tan buenos y aun mejores que los que se hacen en portugal

Hammond and Rey 1966:85

The women busy themselves only in the preparation of food, and in making and painting their pottery and *chicubites*,² in which they prepare their bread. These vessels are so excellent and delicate that the process of manufacture is worth watching; for they equal, and even surpass, the pottery made in Portugal.

2. A pan for baking bread.

(14) Craddock 1996:359-360

(14) Finally, Hammond and Rey 1966:108: "It is the custom of the [Zuñi] natives to make mats of straw for their rooms, and many make them of fine light palm on which to sleep." Gallegos, "Relación," f. 95v: "acostumbran a hazer petates de [?]nea para sus aposentos y muchos los hazen delgados para en *que* duermen de palma menuda." The translators' authority for "straw" escapes me here, and I confess I found the reading obscure ("nea" in the Bolton transcription, p. 43). The word in question contains four characters, the first with an superimposed, slightly slanted stroke that made it undecipherable to me and, I would judge, to Hammond and Rey, as well. Professor Juan Sempere suggested the solution Sp. *enea* 'bulrush, cattail'. Indeed, fresh perusal of the photocopy makes it appear certain that the copyist wrote "enea," which may have then been corrected by another person who wished to delete the initial *e*.⁷ In Hammond and Rey the potentially interesting anthropological datum that the Zuñi made *petates* with bulrushes or cattails has been lost.

AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 95v31-33 (51v)

los pueblos con sus plazas y calles
acostumbran a hazer petates de enea para sus aposentos
y muchos los hazen delgados para en que duermen de palma menuda

... y los pueblos con sus plazas y calles
acostumbran a hazer petates de (^e)nea para sus aposentos
y muchos los hazen delgados para en *que* duermen de palma menuda

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 43

las tienen encaladas y pintadas de dentro y de fuera y los pueblos con sus
placas y calles acostumbran á hacer petates de nea para sus aposentos y
muchos los hacen delgados para en que duermen de palma menuda .

Hammond and Rey 1966:108

the various pueblos have their plazas and streets. It is the custom of the natives to make mats of straw for their rooms, and many make them of fine light palm on which to sleep.

7. The apherisized *nea* is an attested variant of the word which Corominas and Pascual (1980–1991, s.v. *anea*) quote from a poem of Lope de Vega, and still appears in the dictionary of the Real Academia. However, according to Corominas and Pascual, the only form on record before the 17th century is *enea*. Their first documentation of the currently preferred *anea* belongs to the 19th century. For further New World attestations of *enea* in the 16th century, see Boyd-Bowman 1987:1721 (including “esteras de enea”); neither *nea* nor *anea* appears in that source.

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