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“Philological Notes on the Hammond and Rey Translation of the
[Relación de la] Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo México
Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado en junio de [15]81
by Hernán Gallegos, Notary of the Expedition”

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 “Cibola Project”, for which the reader may wish to consult the web page [http://rcrs.berkeley.edu/](http://rcrs.berkeley.edu/).

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Philological Notes on the Hammond and Rey Translation of the “[Relación de la] Entrada que hizo en el Nuevo México Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado en junio de [15]81” by Hernán Gallegos, Notary of the Expedition

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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account of the first European exploration of New Mexico after that of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in 1540 remains unpublished—unpublished, that is, in the original Spanish; an English version has been available since 1927, the work of George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (revised in 1966:67–114).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: tradutore, 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-Chamsucado 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 Coro-
nado 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 margi-
nalia, "abusos de esta gente" (f. 90r), is hyperbolically rendered as "evil prac-
tices of these people," with no indication that this is Aranda's comment, not
Gallegos' stricture. Two more marginal notes are included as headings: "fa-
mous 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 Ban-
croft 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, Berke-
ley: CB 840 Part I, carton 28, folder 403; 56 leaves) which assisted me con-
siderably in getting through the sometimes difficult hand of the original doc-
ument. 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 ad-
vantage 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 galle- gos por su sº.” The abbreviation “sº” resolves as either escriuano ‘notary’ or, more likely, secretario. The Bolton transcription (p. 3) interprets it as “servi- cio” and this seems to explain the version of the translators. The same abbrevi- ation 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 di- vides 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 na- tion” 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 ffº a manera de coa de las que tienen los yndios mexicanos.” The amanuensis of the Bolton transcription, failing to understand “ffº” (lit. “feito,” i.e., hecho

³. Hammond and Rey did not create, but disseminated the supposed name of another phan- tom tribe, the “Allaguabas” (Hammond and Rey 1928:277), by following the hasty trans- cription 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 sec- ond part contains a relash of Gallegos’ “Relación” (Cuevas 1988:241–82). As the expedi- tion 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 trajo 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 barbar a y yolatradora.” “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 barbar a y yodo 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 barbar a traidora y yolatradora.”

(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 juicio.” 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 españa dozil entendida y de delicado juycio etc.” [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 Santamaria 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 parecia de mucho tiempo.” 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 noticia 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 bolberiarnos 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.6

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

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6. 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., \textit{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 \textit{coa} as "hoe" is to betray the underlying message inherent in the fact that Gallegos did not use the common Spanish term \textit{asada} or \textit{asadon}: 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 \textit{acaal}. Word-final /l/ can often take shapes that resemble an \textit{e} or, for that matter, an \textit{s}. I believe ‘bamboo’ is not the most appropriate gloss for \textit{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 cunque y al agua pica y a la gallina dire y a la muger ayu y quando

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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 Mexicanos of San Jose, California” (Gabriel Meléndez), “A Critical, Annotated Edition of the \textit{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 dizen jesu llaman a la manta de algodon 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,” “drie,” 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 tescatotes.” The translators have suppressed all mention of tescatete/tetzcatotes; it bears all the appearance of a Nahuatl loanword, perhaps tetzcalteotl ‘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 “caunina,” with no ambiguous letters (“cavina” in the Bolton transcription, p. 21). One must conjecture a missing cedilla in the first letter, i.e., “çaunina,” 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 ‘savín’ 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 chieubites. 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 [kʰuŋkʰe] ‘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 co-
mal 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 Na-
huatl 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 grind-
ing 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 (Ham-
mond and Rey 1966:85): “The women busy themselves only in the prepa-
ation 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 vasi-
ja la hazen tan buena y tan delgada que es para ver hazen los dichos chicubites
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 trans-
lators 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: “acos-
tumbran a hazer petates de [?]nea para sus aposentos y muchos los hazen del-
gados 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 indecipherable 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 per-
son who wished to delete the initial e. 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 ef-
fort 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 Span-
ish originals to be made more generally available, thereby assigning the trans-
lations 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 apheresized 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 dic-
tionary 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 anea 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.
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] l25 ¶ No se pusieron las seremonias que la gente desta poblazon l26 hazen mas de que quando alguno de ellos muere bailan y se Re- l27 gozijan por que dizan que ba aquel que muere con el que l28 ydolatravan y lo echan en vnos soterranos que tienen a ma- l29 nera de bobedas adonde echan y ofrecen cada año muchas l30 cosas al pie de aquella bobeda donde echan aquellos cuerpos l31 muertos y otros días señalados — l32 ¶ los mitotes que ellos hazen para que llueba por falta de a l33 gua para
sus maizales de temporales son de la manera pre- 134 sente enpieçan por el mes de diziembre a hazer sus mitotes du- /f. 90v/ 11 ran mas de quatro meses de tantos a tantos dias que entien- 12 do que son de quinze a quinze dias son los mitotes genera- 13 les que se junta mucha cantidad de gente los hombres que 14 las mugeres ninguna los quales enpieçan desde por la ma- 15 ñana hasta la noche alderredor de la mesquita que 16 tienen para el efeto y por la noche toda en peso y en me- 17 dio de ellos se sienta vn yndio el qual esta señalado pa- 18 ra el efeto y delante de el bailan esta junto a este yndio 19 seis yndios con quinze o veinte palos los cuales andan y 110 bailan y cada mu- dança sale vno de ellos y se mete sie- 111 te palos en la boca que son de tres quartas de largo y 112 dos dedos de ancho y en acabando de meterselos y sacar 113 selos de la dicha boca queda como cansado y luego bailan 114 con dos o tres de los dichos palos en la boca y luego le dan 115 al que esta sentado como señor siete asotes con vnos aso- 116 tes que estan hechos para el nego- cío de minbre menuda del- 117 gada los cuales le dan los yndios que estan junto a el que 118 tiene seis yndios de vna parte y seis de otra de suerte que 119 para cada mudança le dan treinta y seis asotes los cuales 120 se los dan de suerte que les hazen saltar la sangre de 121 ma[nera] que parece diçiplinante y acabados de dar aque- 122 llos siete asotes tornan a bailar y le dan otros tan- tos 123 hasta que le sacan de tal manera la sangre que corre de 124 el como si sangrasen a vno hasta que parece que se ba 125 desmayando mas con todo esto no haze sentimiento ninguno 126 sino antes habla con vna culebra grande gorda co- 127 mo el braço y se enroscosa quando quiere hablar llama 128 la el açotado señor Responde ella luego de tal manera 129 que se entiende la qual entendimos seria el demonio 130 que los tiene enlaçados por la qual causa permite dios nuestro 131 señor se descubriese esta poblaçon e gente en ella ydola- 132 tradedora para que benga en berdadero conoçimiento 133 ] también andan en estos mitotes en medio de ellos dos yndios /f. 91r/ 11 que traen dos bíboras en las manos naturalmente bíboras 12 que suenan sus casca- beles que las bíboras traen las quales 13 se les Rebulben por el cuello y les andan por todo el cuerpo 14 y bien bailando haziendo su mudança hazia donde esta 15 el açotado al qual tienen y obedecen por señor en aquella 16 sazon les tienen las bíboras por la mano y bienen de rro- 17 dillas ante el di- chio açotado y le dan las bíboras y el las 18 toma y se le suben por los braços [arriba] hazia el cuerpo hazien- 19 do mucho ruido con los cascabeles y se le ban a la gargan- 110 ta y luego se lebanta el açotado y da vna buelta 111 muy ligera y luego las bíboras se le caen en el suelo 112 y se enRoscan y luego las toman los que las trayan y to- 113 mandolas de rrodillas se las meten por la boca y se des- 114 apareçen porque se meten por vna puertesilla que tie- 115 nen y en acabando esto se les apareçen allí dos coyo- 116 tes y andan entre ellos aullando que es para espantar 117 y de mucha lastima y luego en acaba- bando este mitote 118 aquel que a sufrido aquellos asotes da vnos palos pintan- 119 dos y de mucha plumeria para que los pongan con las mil- 120 pas y ojos de agua porque es gente que ofereç e sacrifi- 121 ca a los ojos de agua
esto hazen y dizan que luego no les l22 fa[lta] agua y quedanles tan señalados los aço[tes] l23 a los asotados que en dos meses no se les quitan las llagas l24 y andan tan pulidos y tan bien adereçados en los mito- l25 tes y bailes que es cosa para ver — l26 ¶ la manera de sus casamientos que aqui se ponen porque se bea l27 quanta abildad puso dios nuestro señor en la gente desta pobla- l28 zon y es que quando se quiere casar alguno en su ley se l29 junta toda su parentela y parte de el pueblo y hazen sus l30 bailes que duran mas de tres dias las bodas y fiestas de el l31 casamiento y lo primero que les dan es vnas casas en que vivan las l32 quales les dan el suegro y la suegra padres de la moça a ma- /f. 91v/ l1 nera de dote la qual casa es de dos y tres y quatro altos en los l2 quales altos tienen ocho o dies aposentos y sientan en vn ban- l3 co a los desposados y al lado de ella esta vna yndia a mance- l4 ra de madrina y al lado de el otro yndio que esta y sirbe l5 de padrino y apartado de ellos esta vn biejo de muchos dias l6 y muy bien bestido con mantas pintadas y labradas el qual l7 esta en lugar de saçerdote que les dize que de en quan- l8 do en quando se besen y abraçen y luego lo hazen ellos como l9 solo manda el biejo—— l10 ¶ ponenles allí al vno y al otro sus mantas pintadas y labra- l11 das y el desposado biste a la desposada las mantas y ella a el l12 las suyas de manera que se viste el vno al otro y luego ha- l13 bla el biejo allí que por no saber la lengua no entendimos l14 lo que les queria dezir mas de por señas entendimos que l15 les dezia que se quisesen y amasen mucho porqué para l16 ello los abian allí juntado y luego acabado esto le po- l17 nen a ella delante de vna piedra de moler y vna olla y l18 su comal y el metlapil en la mano y sus xicaras y chucu- l19 bites y le dize el biejo a la moça que aquello que le dan y po- l20 nen allí delante lo qual es todo nuevo que significa l21 que con aquello a de hazer moler y guisar de comer para l22 su marido y le a de sustentar y hazer dos comidas ca- l23 da dia vna a la mañana y otra a la tarde çenan ten- l24 prano y echanse tenprano y se lebantan antes que ama- l25 nesca y ella dize que si hara y luego le dizen al despo- l26 sado y le ponen delante vn arco turquesco y su lanza l27 macana y adarga lo qual es para dalle a entender l28 que significa aquello que con aquellas armas ha l29 de defender su casa y guardar su muger y hijos l30 y le dan su cacaxtle y mecapal con que cargue /f. 92r/ l1 ¶ y luego le ponen allí en la mano vna coa que significa- l2 ba que con ella auia de cabar y sembrar y cojer mahiz para l3 sustentar a su muger y hijos el qual dize que hara todo lo que l4 le es significado y demas de esto le dan sus tierras donde l5 siembran su mays y luego duran sus bailes y los lleban l6 a sus casas y anda la comida todo aquel dia a rordon- l7 de son gallinas de la tierra y baca y tamales y tortillas l8 y otras cosas que es para espantar con el horden que ha- l9 zen lo arriba dicho que para gente barbaba es muy de ver l10 la curiosidad que tienen en todo—
He explicando las ceremonias que la gente después de la muerte hacen, y que, según quanto diga de ello, su muerte tal será la suya. Por que, según el lugar, puede ser que los ceremonios se hagan de muchas maneras diferentes. Según el lugar donde se hagan, se hagan de diversas maneras.

Se hace con frecuencia en el lugar de la muerte.
16

16
quienados son boro en las manos naturalmente boro
que en las sues casables que las boro tron sus arges
se les debió bien por el bero - las boro por su cuerpo
lo bien barando en la fraternidad sabiendo
el espon que retornaba de en por ler en aquel
sabon despensa las boro por jamon y bien dormir
llamaba el sexo atado y las boro por las
una y se deben por los brazos hacer de boro soner

do muéstranos con las casables se bano.png

La y luego la santa el castro darmicbe en
muy luna y luego las boro se case nener a suelo
se en tomar y luego las roman de que farsan y
mañanas de rollo a la aman por boca y
aparecen porque jamen por una quere sila que
ayer en cabando esto se ser aparente alldá y
fue gandan en el bando que es para espanar
que no es tambien y luego en abando extemue
aquelles puestas en unos puertos de
que farras capucheras para que los pongan con cansado
por dos se aguja porque gente ja no se acerfe
en albo de se aguja esto les ayudan que luego nos se
se aguja quedan las travesias a ser
tras los aldeados que en dos riego nos les gusan millagos
y gandan en gudido y tambien ayere cado en los

esos balles que apaña para vos

la manera de sus capas por que aquellos por que seban
mucha habilidad para dos mienta a de apaños
gran porque cuando se quiere caso alguno en ellos se
inmoviliza para que se traen y para que se
es el que no mas de tres los bodas y conos
causa y lo pint que eran en muitas ca ses que dieron un la
que all seran de fuego y que a ga padre de luna con una
sera de due se igual coas de los quatro alos no las cuales alba tienen y se odes aposentar y sentar en el lugar ala alredor del lado de ella estsiendo amarrada na madama de en los de el otro y do que estar sirve de despacio y apartado de ellos esta un bode ramakelada muy bien beido con mantas pintadas. La brava y que esta en lugar de hacer mover que le dure que cese en quien do en quando se desenfablesen y luego desagen ellos como silbando el bicho.

Eponen le al el uno calalro sus mantas pintadas de abajo desesposado deste alado las aladas aladas aladas aladas del armador de manera que se veje e uno al otro. La brava y que el bicho alla que por no saberse entender que lo que queria decir mas decir fuese entendido que deseria que sequisieran mucha por que para ello los abian al despado y luego a cabalo esto atopan alla el sancto de una piedra de madera una de las suculas y se remetais en campano sus sacaros y pescar los el bicho alamo ya que aquellos que le daban y no deja de hacer algo esto nuevo que significa que con aquellos adelgaicer y que no de comer para sumando le de ayudar y haber dos comidas cada una viva alamanan y otra alatarde sembranch granos ya que se temrano y se batran y an aquellas masca y al redor del lado y se ponen de manera que con este aqui y suelante la cana y dejan al que le pase a darle acuadro que significa aquellos que con aquellos no hay de defender se cae y gan dar sumar y eso que le cae y su capas al quien con quien.
Luego se ponían en la mañana, el pregón siguiente: "Había una vez un hombre que había tenido un hijo que fue enviado al campo para que se dedicara a la agricultura. No obstante, el muchacho no se mostró interesado en el trabajo y prefirió dedicarse a otras ocupaciones. "

En las horas del mediodía, salían al campo los señores que se dedicaban a la agricultura. Estaban descalzos y con ropa sencilla. Otros, como el muchacho, se vestían con ropas más elaboradas. En la tarde, regresaban al pueblo y se preparaban para las fiestas que se celebraban en honor de la Virgen.

Así, cada día, se repetía la misma rutina. Los habitantes del pueblo se dedicaban a sus labores y a las fiestas que se celebraban en honor de la Virgen."
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.

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 aquí 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 cuatro 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’; ‘moledor 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 jicaro... 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 lanca 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 barros, verduras, frutas, etc.’ (Santamaría 1942, 1959) < nahua *cacastli*; “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 soga 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 caribeña”); ‘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 día 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.

References

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.)
(1) Hammond and Rey 1966:69: “The persons above-mentioned were... Hernán Gallegos, his aide...”. Gallegos’ “Relación,” f. 72r: “herman gallegos por su s.” The abbreviation “s.” resolves as either escribano ‘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)

Hernán Gallegos, his aide;

Hammond and Rey 1966:69

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 3
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
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 Raya, we took the latitude and found it to be twenty-nine degrees.

5. 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 Justa de los Rios," New Mex. Hist. Rev., vol. xxvii (1952), pp. 257-265, and vol. xxviii (1953), pp. 21-31; and Jack D. Forbes, Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard, p. 35.
respondieron que hacía la banda del norte había gente que abita en casas grandes e bisten y coxen cantidad de maíz ffrisol y calabaça. Esta gente nonbra a el agua /bod/ la cual trae guerra con los yndjos 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

Respondieron /59 que hacia la banda del Norte abía gente que /60 habita en casas grandes, que bisten y coxen can-/61/tidad de maíz, ffrisol y calabaça; esta /62/te nombra allaguabal, la cual trae guerra /63 con los yndios a ellos comarcanos.
AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 73v34-36/74r1-3 (29v-30r)

. . . 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 respondieron que se llamaba amotomau-co. Llaman al agua abad al mayz to oy y a los frisoles 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.” These Indians call water “abad,” corn “teoy,” and beans “ayaguate.”

3. These were undoubtedly the same as those called Otomoacos by Luxán, or Patarabueyes by Luxán and Obrégón. The Patarabueyes, 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) 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 fícho a manera de coa de las que tienen los yndios mexicanos.” The amanuensis of the Bolton transcription, failing to understand “fícho” (lit. “fiecho,” 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 Santamaria’s gloss (Santamaria 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
y nos truxo vn hierro como de tres quartas de medir fícheo 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 cierta arma de los
mexicanos ettcetera]}

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

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 barbar 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 barbar a oyo la traidera.” It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that “traidera” 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 barbar a traidera e ydolatradora.”

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

... el rrio aunque agora llebamos mas rrelacion de cosas muy pulidas y de mucha ynportança que no llebaba Cabeça de Vaca por lo qual entendimos ser cosa guiada por la mano de el señor porque tam pocos hombres atreberse a entrar entre tanta multitud de gente barbar e ydolatradora

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

... el rrio aunque agora llebamos mas rrelacion de cosas muy pulidas y de mucha ymportança que no llebaba cabeça de vaca por lo qual entendimos ser cosa guiada por la mano de el señor porque tam pocos hombres atreberse a entrar entre tanta multitud de gente barbar e ydolatradora
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.
AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fol. 81r30-34 (37r)

. . . es lengua muy fácil
de depender y la gente más domestica y trabajadora y
los más 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 Hansa dozil en-| tendida y de delicado juicio ettcetera y si llebaran lengua se tornaran xpistianos.]}

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


“very intelligent people and willing to serve”


“The Tiwa Indians were ‘very intelligent’, concluded Hernán Gallegos, because they were ‘willing to serve’.”
“entendimos que los yndios no avian dicho verdad por que vamos muy fresca huella de vacas y Rastro de las que parecia de mucho tiempo.” 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 noticia 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 vamos 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.”
nado mayor por lo qual entendimos que los yndios no[s] auian dicho verdad porque viamos muy fresca huel-
lla de vacas y rastro de las que parecia de mucho tien-
po . . .

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

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 día mas de seis leguas de tierra llana y de pastos
buenos y contiosos para ganado mayor,
por la qual colexieron los descubrjdores
ser verdadera la notiçia que les abian dado
de las bacas. De allì adelante enpeçaron a
topar rrastro 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

Bravo García 1997:247
(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)

... 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 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) 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 “aca”), but the reading is resolved by noting that the Nahuatl word for ‘reed’ is aacatl. 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)

... y nos ofreçian de lo que tenían y como lo auían ffecho los de atras. Esta genta llama a la flecha acal como llaman la caña los mejicanos y entre lo que nos ofreçian

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 12

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.8 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) 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 dizien jesu. Llaman a la manta de algodon Jor.” Until these ostensibly Tewa words are identified, 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: “dizien 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.  Llaman a la manta de algodon Jr. Es lengua muy facil de deprender
{marginal note [dizen | jesu quando | beben etcetera]}

CB840 Part 1, Carton 28, folder 403, p. 19
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”
Craddock 1996:358, n. 6

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 [kʷˈŋkʼe] ‘grain of corn’ (Robbins et al. 1916:16; I have reinterpreted their phonetic transcription).

Robbins et al. 1916:16

*Kʼe* (Hano Tewa *kʼiː*) ‘grain of corn,’ ‘small bud of cottonwood flower.’ The commonest compounds are said to be: *kʼyykʼe*, ‘grain of corn’ (*kʼyy*, corn plant; *kʼe*, grain, in this sense), and *tohʼe*, ‘flower bud of valley cottonwood’ (*te*, valley cottonwood; *kʼe*, 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;*
¿Qué se 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 particulares, que se da como alimento a los pollitos muy pequeños.
  "Yo no sé de dónde ha venido el llamar *cunque* al maíz quebrado que dan de alimento a los pollitos." (Brondo, Nuevo León, 223.)

Santamaría 1959:1177

*Brondo Whitt, E. Chihuahuenses y Tapatios. México, 1939.
— El Dios pan. Texas, 1919.
— Cascada de Basasachi (Una visita a la). Chihuahua, 1935.
— La División del Norte. México, 1940.*
Después del baño nos dedicamos a los quehaceres “domésticos”, para suplir las actividades de Néstor: había que quebrar maíz, en particulares menudas, para los pollitos, que en varias docenas se paseaban con las clucas junto a la cabaña. Y yo no sé de dónde ha venido el llamar cuenque al maíz quebrado que dan de alimento a los pollitos. El mismo grano del maíz, molido con chilí piquín, constituía un delicioso manjar para el cenzontle. De esa molienda resultaba un polvo que hacía llorar y estornudar, y que quemaría cualesquiera lenguas que no fuesen las harrapadas de nuestros ruiseñores. 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 reimos 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.
... luego nos truixeron grande cantidad de metales de muchas maneras donde nos truixeron tescatetes metal cobrizo y azerado. Este azerado segun pareció se le hallo de ley. Tendra cada quintal a razón de veinte marcos y los demas a menos. Preguntandoles que de donde auian traido aquellos metales nos dieron a entender que por alli cerca de la provinçia y poblazon auia muchos metales y que de allí eran parte de ellos. Fueronse a ver y se descubrieron muchas minas de diferentes metales los quales dichos yndios nos dieron a entender 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 | á Razon de | 20 marios y los de- | mas á menos | y que lo trayan | de alli | cerca y | parte eran de | su tierra y des | cubrieronse mu- | chas minas]}

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.
tezcatetes

From Nahuatl tezcalli + tetl?

Santamaría 1959, s. v. tescaI (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]

(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., “cauina,”
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, Galle-
gos’ text reads “sipreses” in this same passage. Consequently, sabina ‘savín’
appears to be the tree named by Gallegos, perhaps an American variety such
as the sabina cimarrona or sabina criolla mentioned by Santamaria (1942).

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

luego otro dia marchamos por vn monte de muchos pi-
nos que al parecer es el mayor monte que se a descu-
bierto en la Nueba 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 descubierto en la Nueba españa de pino y cauina 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.\footnote{2}

Footnote 2 is not relevant to the question considered here.
(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 chicubites.” 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 una piedra de moler y una olla y su comal y el metlapil en la mano...

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

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) Craddock 1996:359

(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 en los dichos chicubites 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
tam buena y tan delgada que es para ver. Hazen en los dichos

chicubites tan buenos y aun mejores que los que se hazen
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.
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 hacer petates de [̃e]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? 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)

... y los pueblos con sus plaças 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 encauadáes y pintadas de dentro y de fuera y los pueblos con sus
plaças y calles acostumbran a hazer petates de nea para sus aposentos y
muchos los hazen 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 apherized *nea* is an attested variant of the word which Corominas and Pascual (1980–1991, s.v. *nea*) 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.
Case File References


