

Table of contents

Preface	IX
CHAPTER 1	
Language, translation and empire	1
1.1 Of empires, national rivalries and languages	1
1.1.1 The Black Legend	4
1.1.2 The Spanish struggle for justice	7
1.2 The benevolent conquest: Different and yet similar	11
1.2.1 Untranslated images of colonial violence	13
1.3 The narrative of the Indian as a good savage	15
1.4 The narrative of the Indians as a unified group	18
1.5 The role of religion in the conquest: Different and yet similar	19
1.5.1 Religious fanaticism: Similar and yet different	23
1.6 Conquest and language	24
1.7 The survival of anti-Spanish propaganda	27
CHAPTER 2	
Conquerors and translators	35
2.1 The first Europeans and the first interpreters	35
2.1.1 Translation as violence	38
2.1.2 Translation and resistance	39
2.1.3 The many names of the linguistic intermediary	40
2.2 The <i>Requerimiento</i>	42
2.3 Conquerors and interpreters in Mesoamerica	49
2.3.1 Doña Marina/Malinche and the conquest of Mexico	49
2.3.2 Interpreting the meeting between Cortés and Moctezuma	52
2.4 Pizarro and the conquest of Peru	57
2.4.1 The encounter between Atahualpa and the Spanish	58
2.4.2 Felipillo's reputation as an interpreter	62
2.5 The salary of the interpreters	65
2.5.1 In Mesoamerica	65
2.5.2 In the Andes	68

CHAPTER 3

Translation and the administration of the colonies

71

- 3.1 The teaching of Spanish and of the *lenguas generales* 72
 - 3.1.1 Alphabetic writing 74
 - 3.1.2 The teaching and learning of the *lenguas generales* 74
 - 3.1.3 The universities 76
- 3.2 Translation in the early colonial period 78
- 3.3 The status of the interpreters: Legal, economic and ethical issues 80
- 3.4 Translators in the judicial system 84
- 3.5 The use of native languages in official documents 86
- 3.6 The *relaciones* 89
 - 3.6.1 The role of interpreter Gaspar Antonio Chi in Mesoamerica 91
 - 3.6.2 The *visitas* of the Andes 92
- 3.7 The use of translation during Francisco de Toledo's rule as viceroy of Peru 93
 - 3.7.1 Francisco de Toledo's *visitas* 94
 - 3.7.2 Translation as violence 95
- 3.8 Translating the *quipus* 97
- 3.9 Linguistic mediation: From accommodation to resistance 100

CHAPTER 4

Evangelizing the natives

105

- 4.1 The arrival of European conquerors: Gold as God 109
- 4.2 The Inter Caetera bulls and the beginning of evangelization 109
- 4.3 Language and evangelization: The challenges of translation 111
- 4.4 The myth of the Spaniards as gods as a translation problem 114
- 4.5 The challenges of translation and communication 117
 - 4.5.1 Memorization and other local practices as conversion techniques 118
- 4.6 The translation policies of the Catholic Church in the metropolis and beyond 120
 - 4.6.1 Opposition to translation 121
- 4.7 Translation and evangelization in Mesoamerica 123
 - 4.7.1 The teaching of Spanish 124
 - 4.7.2 The learning of local languages 125
 - 4.7.3 The impact of the regional councils upon language and translation policies 126
 - 4.7.4 The impact of translation upon the normativization of Nahuatl 128

- 4.8 Translation and evangelization in the Andean region 130
 - 4.8.1 The Lima councils 132
 - 4.8.2 The standarization of native languages 135
 - 4.8.3 Domingo de Santo Tomás 136
 - 4.8.4 Printing 137
- 4.9 Translation, confession and fornication 138
- 4.10 The extirpation of idolatry campaigns or *visitas* 142
 - 4.10.1 Extirpation of idolatries in the Andes 144
 - 4.10.1.1 Visitador Cristobal de Albornoz and interpreter Guaman Poma 144
 - 4.10.1.2 Visitador Francisco de Ávila and interpreter Santacruz Pachacuti 145
- 4.11 The Marian cult as an example of hybridism 147
 - 4.11.1 The Virgin of Guadalupe 147
 - 4.11.2 The Marian cult in the Andes 148
- 4.12 Translation as resistance 150

CHAPTER 5

The chroniclers and the interpreters translated 153

- 5.1 The chronicles 153
 - 5.1.1 The chroniclers and their readership 154
- 5.2 The chroniclers of Mesoamerica and the Caribbean 155
 - 5.2.1 Christopher Columbus 155
 - 5.2.2 Bartolomé de las Casas 157
 - 5.2.3 Hernán Cortés 163
 - 5.2.4 Bernardino de Sahagún 166
 - 5.2.5 Bernal Díaz del Castillo 170
 - 5.2.6 Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo 173
 - 5.2.7 Francisco López de Gómara 174
 - 5.2.8 Cabeza de Vaca 179
- 5.3 The chronicles of the Andean region 182
 - 5.3.1 Pedro Pizarro 182
 - 5.3.2 Pedro Cieza de León's *Crónica del Perú* 183
 - 5.3.2.1 The Stevens translation 184
 - 5.3.2.2 The Markham translation 186
 - 5.3.2.3 Twentieth-century translations 188
 - 5.3.3 Juan de Betanzos 189
 - 5.3.4 José de Acosta 192

5.4	Other texts	195	
5.4.1	Peter Martyr	195	
5.4.2	Ramón Pané	196	
5.4.3	Francisco de Jerez	197	
5.4.4	Agustín de Zárate	198	
5.4.5	Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa	199	
5.4.6	Diego Durán	200	
5.4.7	Toribio de Motolinía	201	
5.5	The chronicles, translation and European expansion	203	
5.5.1	The translation of science	205	
CHAPTER 6			
	Native chroniclers and translation		209
6.1	Mesoamerica	209	
6.1.1	Domingo Chimalpáhin	209	
6.1.2	Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl	213	
6.1.3	Diego Muñoz Camargo	215	
6.1.4	The <i>List of Rulers</i> of Tlatelolco texts	216	
6.2	The Andean region	217	
6.2.1	Titu Cusi Yupanqui	217	
6.2.2	Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala	220	
6.2.3	Inca Garcilaso de la Vega	225	
6.2.4	The <i>quipus</i> and the stories of the natives translated	230	
6.3	Native translations of Spanish literature	231	
	Conclusions		233
	References		243
	Index		271