

Juan de Betanzos, the Man Who Boasted Being A Translator

LYDIA FOSSA

University of Arizona, Tucson, United States of America
lydiafos@email.arizona.edu

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article offre le profil linguistique d'un traducteur du xvi^e siècle dans les Andes, Juan Díez de Betanzos. Le profil comprend sa formation linguistique ainsi que sa connaissance des langues parlées dans les nouveaux territoires américains. L'analyse de sa technique et de ses stratégies de traduction constitue l'essentiel de cette étude. Ce qui en ressort est l'image du traducteur culturel de l'époque, un traducteur qui a aussi été un colonisateur et, par conséquent, un agent linguistique de la colonisation.

ABSTRACT

This article draws the linguistic profile of a sixteenth century Colonial translator in the Andes, Juan Díez de Betanzos. This profile covers his linguistic background, and the knowledge of the languages he was in contact with when overseas. The identification and analysis of his translation techniques and strategies form the core of the article. What appears then is the image of the cultural translator of the times, a translator who was also a colonizer, and thus, a linguistic agent of colonization.

MOTS-CLÉS/KEYWORDS

Sixteenth century translation techniques, translation and interculturality, native bilingualism, intercultural experience, cultural and linguistic translator

Historians still have a difficult time pinning down Juan de Betanzos' elusive figure. Since the sixteenth century, when he lived and translated in Cuzco and Lima, only a few biographic items have been disclosed. Hampe unearthed a document in which a Juan de Betanzos buys a book by Terence,¹ in Lima in 1542 (1981: 147) from the Dominican Bishop of Cuzco, fray Vicente de Valverde. That is the earliest information about him found so far. The place or the date of his birth are not yet known nor the date of his arrival in Peru.

His authorial name and the one he uses to refer to himself in his *Suma y narración* (1551-1564) is "Juan de Betanzos, vecino de la gran ciudad del Cuzco..." ("neighbor of the great city of Cuzco," my translation.) (1987: 9).² He also signed legal documents in Lima in 1544 and in 1548 with that name (Lohmann, 1997: 127-128); but he changed into Juan Díez de Betanzos in legal documents dated 1563 and 1564 in Lima, and 1566 in Cuzco (Lohmann, 1997: 129-131). These last documents were part of legal procedures involving his daughter, Doña María Díez de Betanzos. She did carry his father's two last names. It was not unusual for Spaniards to change names during their lives, especially when they were headed for the Indies. Regarding his birthplace, there were Díez in Granada³ and in Valladolid,⁴ where certificates of "hidalguía" were extended for members of that family.⁵ The toponym he used as his

last name, Betanzos, corresponds to a town in Galicia, Spain, but it could very well be his hiding place. So, doubts about his birthplace still remain.

In May 1564, our author gives his job description as “lengua ynterpetre [sic] en la Real audiencia...”⁶ (Lohmann, 1997: 129) in financial documents, and indicates his residence as being “desta çibdad de los rreyes⁷ donde al presente resydo”⁸ (Lohmann, 1997: 129).⁹ Later that year, in August 1564, he states being the “ynterpetre [sic] mayor”¹⁰ (Lohmann, 1997: 129) of the Lima Audiencia. His name, profession and place of residency were necessary to identify him.

Not surprisingly, there was a second Juan de Betanzos in Lima in the 1560’s. But according to Lohmann (1997: 130), they are not to be confused because while the first Juan de Betanzos, the author, identifies himself as “staying in Lima but a neighbor¹¹ in Cuzco,” the second one is described as an “alguacil” or sheriff in the Lima Audiencia.

Anthony Pym’s work (2000) on translation and interculturality has led me to recall not only that a person is what he writes, but also to look for clues in linguistic areas that can clarify the many questions that still surround this early colonial Spanish author. Lexical items in his *Suma y narración* give us clues about his origins and mother tongue. The first information this analysis brings out is that his text, written in Spanish, is heavily marked by Arabisms:

# Page	Arabism	Source of Language Identity
12, 13	fulanos	Corominas 1983: 284
38	Zapatos (vulgar variant)	Corominas 1983: 622
53	Bultico ¿sefarad?	
60	Juncia (mozarab)	Corominas 1983: 348)
62	algodon	Corominas 1983: 41
68	Azotes	Corominas 1983: 76
68	adobados	Corominas 1983: 28
68	enea [sic: anea]	Corominas 1983: 51
76	adobes	Corominas 1983: 28
83	alcuña ¹² [sic: alcurnia]	Corominas 1983: 38
84	ajuares	Corominas 1983: 35
86	Horones (mozarab)	Corominas 1983: 325
89,117	maroma	Corominas 1983: 383
93, 103	Geme, jeme	
103, 181	acequia	Corominas 1983: 24
134	Papagayo (probable)	Corominas 1983: 438
157	Albarradas [sic: albardas]	Corominas 1983: 36
164	Zaque (vulgar variant)	Corominas 1983: 622
170	jarro	Corominas 1983: 344
170	Aljibes (vulgar variant)	Corominas 1983: 42
210	Atab [sic: atabal] (vulgar)	Corominas 1983: 69
61, 251	Atambor(es)	Corominas 1983: 555
309	Aljofar	Corominas 1983: 42

These results were unexpected since Arabs and Mozarabs were forbidden to travel to the Indies. Nevertheless, his Spanish-Arab lexicon points to Betanzos' origin in an area where Arabs and Mozarabs lived in close contact with Spaniards, like Granada or Cordoba. It is interesting to note that Corominas' etymologies indicate in several instances that the Arabic words Betanzos chose belong to a vulgar register. This lexical information, transferred to the social paradigm, would place Betanzos in or close to the Arab or Mozarab populations in Spain, and at a low echelon.

This conclusion leads me to believe that he arrived in the Indies having already had an intercultural experience, that of the proximity of the Arab or Mozarab world in the Iberian peninsula, and perhaps, of being part of those minority social and linguistic groups. Betanzos appears not to be aware of the presence of Arabisms in his lexicon, since he does not indicate that to his readers. Those words seem to be entirely assimilated, with the author being unable to distinguish them from the ones derived from Latin. His degree of linguistic awareness would have been modified through formal schooling in Spanish, but that was either very minimal or nonexistent. Formally or not, he did learn to read and write. Betanzos declares he has linguistic limitations when he laments to the Viceroy, to whom he dedicates his text, of having to express himself as the natives did, and not in the refined Spanish he would have liked (1987: 7). This could be a case of excessive humility, but it can also be a recognition of his linguistic shortcomings.

He exhibits a "native bilingualism," and an intercultural experience that only got richer in the Indies. Here he came into contact with a variety of indigenous languages, mainly Quechua and Aimara, but also Puquina, Taino, Kuna, and Nahuatl, and he includes words from them in his text. A general presentation of his indigenous lexicon in the *Suma y narración* can be found at <<http://www.coh.arizona.edu/spanish/FossaLydia/Betanzos/betanzos.htm>>. This website houses a 541 entry glossary of indigenous terms he used in his text. Most of them are in Andean languages, but, as we will see, many others are in languages spoken in the Caribbean: Santo Domingo and Haiti (Hispaniola), Panama-Tierra Firme, and in Mexico. In the following table I present a list of Antillanisms, fifteen items so far; some of them repeated through his text, and some written only once. The page numbers indicate the first time they appear in the book:

# Page	Entry	Language	Source of Language Identity
5	Piru, Peru	Kuna ^{13?}	Cieza de León, 1989: 12
51	aji	Taino from Santo Domingo ¹⁴	Corominas, 1983: 34 and Alvar, 1970: 45-46
61	cabuya	Taino from Santo Domingo	Corominas, 1983: 114
17	Cacique(s)	Taino from Santo Domingo	Corominas, 1983: 114 and Alvar, 1970: 55-56
201	Chaquira(s)	A Caribbean language, probably Kuna from Panama	Corominas 1983: 192
61	chicha	Probably Panamanian Kuna	Corominas, 1983: 194
63	maiz	Taino from Haiti	Corominas, 1983: 374 and Alvar, 1970: 76-77
69	tunas	Taino from Haiti	Corominas, 1983: 589 and Alvar, 1970: 101-102

134	yuca	Taino from Santo Domingo	Corominas, 1983: 616 and Alvar, 1970: 104
134	micos	Probably from the Caribbean area of Tierra Firme	Corominas, 1983: 395
163	Xaqueyes [xaguey]	Taino from Santo Domingo	Corominas, 1983: 342
192	galpon	Azteca [Nahuatl]	Corominas, 1983: 289
201	gaobo [caoba]	Taino from Santo Domingo	Corominas, 1983: 128
250	hamacas	Taino from Santo Domingo	Corominas, 1983: 314 and Alvar, 1970: 67-68
264	petacas	Azteca [Nahuatl]	Corominas, 1983: 455 and Alvar, 1970: 87

The presence of Antillanisms can mean two things in Betanzos' case. First, that he remained for a considerable length of time on the islands; or second, that those words had already been incorporated into the Spanish that was spreading all over America, wherever Spaniards went. Betanzos learned them fast, being young when he crossed the Atlantic. On the other hand, the words in Nahuatl in his lexicon indicate that he included them in his vocabulary after Hernán Cortés' expeditions into Mexican territory, between 1516 and 1523. After this period words in that language were learned and used by the Spaniards in Mexico, Yucatán, Guatemala, and in the Antilles. Later, between 1523 and 1543, they were carried into the Andean region by Spaniards and their retinues of African and indigenous slaves. Also, the use of words identified as belonging to the area of Panama (Kuna), indicate that their incorporation into daily language and written expressions by Spaniards in the Andes was done after 1523. They went South with Francisco Pizarro's expeditions (Cieza, 1989: 11).¹⁵ According to these facts, Betanzos must have travelled to the Indies around 1540.

Not only Betanzos used Caribbean lexical items to describe the Andean world. Agustín de Zárate reported in 1557 the traveling of Antillanisms with Spaniards when crossing over different geographical locations and distinct languages in the Indies. It is not surprising to find Taino and even Nahuatl terminology in his contemporary Pedro de Cieza, since he lived in Nueva Granada (Colombia, and parts of Panama, Ecuador and Venezuela) for more than ten years. Instead, a study of the lexical items used by Polo Ondegardo,¹⁶ who did not live in Central America, shows only the Caribbean terms already assimilated into Spanish and used all over Spanish America: *ají*, *cacique*, *chicha* and *maíz* (Enguita Utrilla, 1979: 300 and 1996: 235). But, for an author like Betanzos, who supposedly never remained for a long time in the Caribbean territories, the fifteen lexical items from that area are significant. Bernal Díaz del Castillo¹⁷ is another author of the period to take into account. He did live in the Caribbean islands and was familiar with Taino dialects. According to Alvar (1970: 19), Bernal presents "an inventory of more than eighty lexical Americanisms," of which "he employs no less than thirty from the Antilles".¹⁸ So, Bernal doubles Betanzos' Antillanisms. According to López-Morales (1990: 147), Oviedo and Las Casas use around 50 indigenous words each, not only Antillanisms. They lived in the Antilles most of their lives. Furthermore, López-Morales believes orality in Spanish is even more bilingual, that is, includes a more indigenous lexicon than written colonial texts: "It is clear that the indigenous words that reached the documents, whichever

they were, were only part of the spoken language of the time; the prevalent bilingualism would promote them with more emphasis" (1990: 150).¹⁹ I believe the linguistic factor supports the idea of a Caribbean stop in Betanzos' voyage, or a very close and long association of a very young Betanzos with people who lived there, as the Pizarro family.

His Spanish also shows "vulgar" varieties of words such as "tresquilar" (1987: 44) which he uses to describe indigenous hairdos but is part of the semantic field of wool cattle shearing. Betanzos employs the adjective "atusado" (1987: 44); Covarrubias has an interesting explanation of the word: "Atusado, aquel a quien han quitado el cabello bajo: pero este término atusar no es usado entre gente cortesana." (1995: 138).²⁰ The word "espital" (Betanzos, 1987: 72) is a vulgar corruption of "hospital" or "ospital" (Covarrubias 1995: 648).²¹ These references to vulgar Spanish corroborate and support the use of vulgar expressions of Arabic words also, and exhibit the socio-economic extraction of the author. Additionally, words like "desmamparado" (Betanzos, 1987: 28), which is "desmanparado" in folio 10 of the manuscript for "desamparado"; also "prosupuesto" (1987: 29) (f 10), and "prosuponer" (1987: 25) (f 9) for "presuponer"²² indicate a superficial knowledge, mostly oral, and a restricted use of the Spanish language.

His first official job in Peru in 1543 was that of a writer in a context of oral translation and transcodification between indigenous *kipukamayuc*²³ and an interpreter or *lengua*, also indigenous. This information appeared in Fray Antonio's "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Yncas," a text dated in Cuzco, March 11, 1608. Fray Antonio²⁴ describes how this information was obtained and by whom: the few remaining *kipukamayuc* were summoned by Don Cristóbal Vaca de Castro,²⁵ and interrogated through a native interpreter while two Spaniards wrote what was said: "Estos [cuatro historiadores muy viejos] trajeron sus quipus y los descifraron ante Vaca de Castro mediando como intérprete el indio Pedro Escalante y los vecinos²⁶ del Cuzco Juan de Betanzos y Francisco de Villacastín los quales iban escribiendo lo que por los quipus iban declarando" (These [four very old historians] brought their *kipu* and deciphered them before Vaca de Castro; the Indian Pedro Escalante acting as interpreter, while the neighbors of Cuzco, Juan de Betanzos and Francisco de Villacastín, wrote what was being declared by the *kipu*)²⁷ ([1608] 1920: 5). In fact, I believe Betanzos used the drafts of this document as the source for the later *Suma y narracion* (Fossa, 2003).

In 1544 Juan de Betanzos married the indigenous noblewoman Cuxirimay Ocllo, who had been Francisco Pizarro's consort. Pizarro was dead by then, and Vaca de Castro had been instructed to care for his descendants, and to marry single indigenous noblewomen to Spaniards. Cuxirimay Ocllo was baptized as Angelina, and known as doña Angelina, using first the patronym Pizarro in 1544 documents drawn in Lima, and that of Yupanque in 1563 documents related to her daughter María Díez de Betanzos (Lohmann, 1997: 129). This marriage makes Betanzos a rich man, and a "neighbor," since he is now co-owner of the properties Pizarro handed Cuxirimay/Angelina on account of her kinship to Atahualpa.

Even though Fray Antonio states that Betanzos and Villacastin knew the indigenous language (Quechua) in 1543,²⁸ there are opinions to the contrary. The most important one is that of Licentiate Martel de Santoyo who specifies, in a letter to the Crown, the absence of Spanish interpreters, religious²⁹ or judicial, in Peru in Vaca de

Castro's times: "The *tongues* or interpreters that exist on this land are local Indians who know something of the Spanish language and up to now there has not been any Spaniard as interpreter and this has not been sought after, with the inconveniences that derive from this ..." (Lisson-Chaves, 1943:112).³⁰ In 1609, Garcilaso registers a somewhat unflattering view of the "lengua": "Juan de Betanzos boasted of being a great speaker of the general language of that land" (De la Vega, 1960, IV: 140).³¹ Note that Garcilaso says "boasted"³² and not "was." These affirmations leave us, in 1542, with a Betanzos writing the Spanish version of what the *kipukamayuc* reported, but who still knows little or no Quechua.

The description that best fits Betanzos in this period is that of a transcoder, since he is registering in a written form the oral translation the *lengua* was making of the information stored in *kipu* which the *kipukamayuc* were voicing. It was thus a process of two transcodings, *kipu* to Quechua spoken language, and Spanish spoken language to a written code. Between those two transcodings, one translation took place, from oral Quechua to oral Spanish.

In 1548, in the *Cédula de encomienda*³³ extended by President Don Pedro de la Gasca, Juan de Betanzos is identified as "lengua." This document mentions his merits to be awarded the encomienda, one of the most important being the fact that he had been busy translating doctrinal texts into Quechua: "... as a person so well instructed in the language of the indigenous peoples you busied yourself in translating our Christian doctrine in that same indigenous language so that the clergy who are supposed to teach it can better make themselves understood and the natives can apprehend it in a way that His Majesty has been and is served and the Catholic faith satisfied" (Quoted by Domínguez, 1994: 68).³⁴

In a later letter, written in Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes) in September 25, 1548, to the King, Gasca identifies Juan de Betanzos as "lengua," and indicates that he is married to an indigenous woman who is the mother of a bastard child of Francisco Pizarro's (Angulo, 1924: xxxix).³⁵ Thus, the transformation from a mere encoder or writer of other's translation to a full-fledged interpreter (tongue or *lengua*) happened in Cuzco between 1543 and 1548.

In his own text, started circa 1551 and finished in 1564, Betanzos gives some detail about his activities as translator. In the Prologue, his first words after the salutation are: "A book of Christian doctrine was recently translated and compiled [by me] which book contains the Christian doctrine and two vocabularies, one of lexical items and another one of notable things, and full prayers and colloquia and confessionaries ..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).³⁶ He also indicates he has spent six years of his life doing this, and that it took him a great effort, leaving him exhausted. These facts prompted him to resolve that he would never again translate a text to or from the "Indian language" since it had been a very strenuous task due to its complexity. He was also set back because of the difficulties inherent in consolidating the differences of opinion he received on the same subjects, and on the diverse opinions the Spaniards held with respect to those of the Indians (1987: 9).

He was aware that people not only needed to know indigenous languages, but they also had to know how to inquire: "... as new in the treatment of Indians they would not know how to inquire and ask about it [the past] lacking the intelligence of the language, and the Indians, not trusting them, will not dare to give full reports ..." (1987: 9).³⁷ Also, he set out the vision of his own job as translator, and on the quality

of his work: "... the subtle and experienced judgement of Your Illustrious Lordship required gracious style and smooth eloquence which I at present and as a service that I am due to Your Excellency lack and the history of such matters does not allow, since in order to be a real and faithful translator I have to maintain the way and order of speaking these indigenous peoples had..." (1987: 9).³⁸ Here he is adhering to the foreignizing approach to translation, apparently not to domesticate the text (Schleiermacher, 1992: 42; Venuti 1993: 210). But I have doubts if it is so or he is only justifying his defective Spanish. Anyway, he does not follow his strategy consistently. He also lamented the short time he had been granted to finish his translation: "It has also been very strenuous due to the short time I have had to busy myself with it, because all (my time) was necessary for the other book of the Doctrine, and above all it was harder having to finish this book now that Your Excellency ordered me to do it ..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).³⁹ And, finally, just in case anybody accused him of poorly interpreting his informers or rendering false descriptions, he dismissed those virtual accusations as "dreams or whims." He stated in his defense that he knew the indigenous language better than the first "lenguas" indicating with this affirmation his awareness of being part of a second generation of interpreters in the Andes, in the 1540's, those of peninsular provenance who had replaced indigenous ones as reported by Martel de Santoyo.

Betanzos identifies himself as "interpreter" in official documents only after he was appointed as "main interpreter"⁴⁰ in the Audiencia de Lima in May 1564 (Lohmann, 1997: 129). From then on, he is "tongue interpreter of the Royal Audiencia in the çibdad de los rreyes" (Lohmann, 1997: 129).⁴¹ He used his professional activity as an identifier only when it had been officially recognized.

Sebastián de Covarrubias, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana y española* first published in 1611, defines "lengua" the person, as: "The interpreter who declares one language with another one, intervening between two different languages. Sometimes we use this term lengua because of its similarity and reference..." ([1611] 1995: 709).⁴² And, "interpreter" is: "He who turns the words and concepts of one language into another one, in which task fidelity, prudence and cunning are required; having equal knowledge of both languages and of what is said in them through references and metaphorical terms, being able to ascertain what can correspond to it in the other language" ([1611] 1995: 671).⁴³ For "traduzir": "... in the Spanish one means to turn the sentence from one language into another one, as translating from Italian or French some book into Castilian." ([1611] 1995: 930). "Translation. This same volume and the translator its author. If this is not made with utmost care and prudence, knowing equally both languages and translating in some parts not according to the letter but to the sense; this will be what a sage and critical man said, that that was pouring, meaning spilling and wasting." ([1611] 1995: 930)⁴⁴. Please notice that the first two references, "lengua," and "intérprete" refer to verbal expressions, and "traducir" to written ones. These definitions embody the criteria shared by learned peoples in Spain on how to translate in the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth. It cannot be said that Betanzos belonged to this group of people, but it is without doubt that he understood what the processes were about.

Regarding his approach to translation, Betanzos adds that "... I, being ordered to do so, have to translate as it happened ..." (1987: 10).⁴⁵ Thus, he announces he will adhere to literal translation, repeating in a Romance language, synthetic, what was

said in an indigenous one, agglutinant. That in itself is impossible to attain. Besides, his project is laden with his own fictionalizing strategies, present all along his text (Fossa, In press). Also, the text he said he translated literally is studded with words and phrases he maintained in the source language. He did accompany them with several types of bilingual equivalences,⁴⁶ so it is evident that he wanted the text to be clear and understandable to his readers. Why did he maintain the words in their original language? Exotism? In a word, he did not adhere to any of the announcements he made regarding translation and codification.

This brings us to the question of his Quechua learning. Demand and opportunity are the key words here: Demand for interpreters and translators of Quechua and Spanish, and the opportunity of learning indigenous languages and of being associated with the entities that needed these professionals, the Church and the Audiencias. Betanzos indicated he spent six years of his life "... writing a vocabulary in Indian language and confessionaries and vocabularies...."⁴⁷ He is referring to the preparation of a bilingual Quechua/Spanish version of the texts that go along with the "Christian doctrine primer," and to one 'Christian doctrine primer' proper. The elaboration of evangelical texts leaves us with the sole option of associating Betanzos with a religious order that would have been busy, in Cuzco and even in Los Reyes, with these tasks in the 1540's. It is impossible to even think of a lay person with relatively little formal instruction, as our author, to take up the task, on his own and at his own risk, of writing some of the first⁴⁸ volumes destined to natives' evangelization in the Andes. This responsibility would fall, necessarily, on members of a religious order, and a prestigious one at that. My hypothesis is that he did this work between 1543 and 1551.

I believe that his participation in the production of translated evangelical texts must have been related to the more mechanic aspects of copyist or translator of first versions and to the incorporation of changes and corrections to the different versions. I do not see him assuming responsibility for the content and the final linguistic forms, and he does not claim to be the author of those religious texts either. He only says he worked on the compilations and translations to Quechua from Spanish (I do not think he knew Latin).

Clergymen were in dire need of prayer books, vocabularies, and grammars in the main native languages in order to be able to prepare their sermons, to follow confessions, to teach the natives how to pray, and know the basics of religious doctrine. It is plausible that parallel efforts were carried out for these urgent and monumental tasks by Dominicans and also by members of other Orders, in different locations. They had to comply with the requirements of the Crown at that point of evangelizing in native languages. Some members of the clergy might have been more inclined towards learning and teaching Quechua within their own Order, and others, of applying it to evangelization. These were complementary and simultaneous efforts.

In Betanzos' case, the relationship with Dominican friars seems to be the most probable for several reasons. One is the support this Order gave to don Cristóbal Vaca de Castro upon his arrival at Ciudad de Los Reyes in 1541. Fray Tomás de San Martín, Superior of the Dominican Order in the province of Perú (Pérez, 1986: 102) proclaimed Licenciado Vaca de Castro as Governor. San Martín may have also recommended Betanzos for the job of writer in the *Khipukamayuyq* report of 1543. Another reason is the early installation and organization of the Order in Los Reyes and in Cuzco, and the considerable number of friars it counted on. According to Isacio

Pérez, "... en 1540 ya había en el Perú unos 35 ó 40 dominicos..." (... in 1540 there already were about 35 or 40 Dominicans in Peru...) (1986: 101). Several people were needed to learn the language, write bilingual vocabularies and indigenous language grammars, as well as fill the duties of friars and missionaries throughout the immense territory: "... in these years of 1541-1545, the evangelization of Indians in their own language was already underway" (Pérez, 1986: 165).⁴⁹ In 1541, following the same author, Fray Tomás de San Martín worked on an "evangelization plan" in native languages, in which manuscript Christian doctrine primers were essential: The task of manually writing all the primers that were needed for lay and ordered friars to use required many people working simultaneously.

San Martín's policies were continued by Fray Juan Solano, second Bishop of Cuzco, arriving in early 1545 to replace Vicente de Valverde who had died in November of 1541. In 1545, the Dominican Fray Jerónimo de Loayza, first Bishop of Los Reyes, forbade the use of catechism primers in indigenous languages "until they be seen and examined by us together with their authors and other persons who understand well the language and the ones [primers] that go through this process be limited to one version" (Pérez, 1986: 165).⁵⁰ The First *Concilio Limense* of 1551-52 certified that this model primer had already been prepared: the Jesuit priest Francisco Mateos thus indicates in his *Constituciones*, quoted by Pérez (1986: 165). According to Mateos, besides the doctrinal primer certain "coloquia" were written, also in Quechua, which would add commentaries or explanations, and dealt with "the Creation and other useful things" (Pérez, 1986: 165).⁵¹ If we remember Betanzos' bilingual religious work, the two coincide: "A book of Christian doctrine was recently translated and compiled which book contains the Christian doctrine and two vocabularies, one of lexical items and another one of notable things, and full prayers and coloquia and confessionaries ..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).⁵² In 1551 both doctrinal primers, the one Betanzos "translates and compiles," in his own words, and the one approved by the First *Concilio Limense* were completed. They share many characteristics, thus we are probably talking about the same series of texts. The presentation of the text before the *Concilio* can also explain the effort mentioned by Betanzos of finishing it in a rush.

The type of translation fostered by Dominican friars such as Domingo de Santo Tomás, author of the earliest grammar and vocabulary in Quechua, was far from literal. In fact, what was at play here was the need for the linguistic support the indoctrination campaign required. It was thus a translation with an objective: the Catholic message had to be conveyed quickly and as efficiently as possible in Quechua and other indigenous languages. The fulfilling of this requisite was possible through the semantic, syntactic, and morphological manipulation of the Quechua language.⁵³ The result of this forced hybridization was the inclusion of a series of Quechua words or phrases whose content was Spanish or Catholic, and many loan words from Spanish when it was impossible to convey religious dogma with Quechua words. These linguistic manipulations produced what César Itier has called "Quechua misionero," a Hispanized, Christianized language.

Since the 70's, José M. Enguita Utrilla has studied the presence of what he calls "indoamericanismos léxicos" in Spanish lay texts (documents and chronicles), clarifying his Hispanic perspective on the subject. He makes interesting contributions to the study and analysis of translation in the sixteenth century as performed by semi-cult Spanish individuals who started writing history or chronicles and reports. He

proposes several “procedures” through which Spaniards decipher the semantics contained in “barbarous words” (Enguita 1979: 288). The procedures he has identified are: Descriptions, Definitions, Explanations, Coordinations between indigenous terms and Spanish ones (disjunctive, copulative), and Translations. The aim of these procedures was to make the texts closer to Spanish, European readers, and the translation went from indigenous languages to Spanish. But, as I have discussed before, the main translation tasks from Spanish or Latin into indigenous languages, regarding doctrinal texts, were not for Spaniards but for native peoples. In these texts, written and oral, other procedures are found, besides the ones Enguita mentions. These have been studied by C. Itier, and signal a more complex, systematic approach to the translated text. It encompassed the manipulations, and then the transformation, of the indigenous languages themselves, since they were forced to say things that were never thought by their speakers, forcing morphology to express European concepts (1995: 321-322). The resulting effects of these manipulations not only changed the language, but created turns and combinations that were incomprehensible for native speakers.⁵⁴ Friars continued to use them, maybe believing them to be crystal clear, even though little was obtained in the expected conversions into Christianity.

Nicanor Domínguez (1994) and myself (In press) believe that Betanzos was formed as a translator in this atmosphere, within the Dominican Order, and with the conviction that Quechua and the other indigenous languages were incapable of expressing the subtle, sophisticated Spanish ideas regarding religious belief. Indigenous languages were always seen, in this context, as lacking the appropriate vocabulary for intelligent expression, and always in need of manipulation. In my book, soon to be published in Lima, I studied the degree of knowledge Betanzos had in Quechua, based on his use of the possessives, and concluded that it was not that advanced or systematic. My study was based on several examples similar to this one, although the one I will analyze here was not included in the previous work:

Page	Folio	Quotation
220	106r	<i>Ynga Guauquin</i> que dice el hermano del Ynga

According to Enguita, this procedure would be that of Definition, “easy and exact perception of the corresponding original concept. It is characterized by its conciseness” (1979: 288). That is what appears, at first sight, to be happening in this example. I will start with the grammatical aspects of the phrase in Quechua. One of the possessives in Quechua, when needed, bears two suffix marks, one on the possessor, *_p*, and one in the possessed, *_n*. In the present example, the possessed is marked by the suffix *_n*, but not the possessor. The correct form would be: *Yngap Guauquin*. This omission is probably due to the influence of Spanish, where a word ending in an labial occlusive sound is unusual. Regarding now its semantic aspect, the Quechua meaning of *guauque*, /wawqi/, is not simply “brother.” It also means relative and ally according to Santo Tomás (1951: 289).⁵⁵ For the Anonymous Quechua Lexicographer, this word has even more, and more complex meanings, besides those of blood or amical kinship: “**Hua[u]que** dezían a la estatua o ydolo particular que tenia cada nación. (That is what they called the statue or particular idol each nation had.) My translation.” (1951: 50). In Aimara, Bertonio offers: “**Huaque, kochomasi**: amigo (friend)” (1879: 154). So, in the phrase of the example: “*Ynga Guauquin* que dice el hermano del

Ynga (Ynga Guauquin which says the Ynga's brother) My translation.,” *guauque* could refer to a living human being, or a representation of oneself⁵⁶ or of a whole nation. *Guauque* had a meaning that was closer to *alter ego*, than to “brother.” The wide and diverse semantic field covered in Quechua by the word *guauque* is reduced to the one in Spanish, restricted to humans, to individuals. The two words *quauque* and “hermano”⁵⁷ may certainly have some shared traces of meaning; the problem is that once the term is translated into Spanish without any other explanation that could compensate for the loss, it remains for Spanish speakers and readers as a perfect synonym of “hermano,” thus losing all other inherent traces in the process of translation. Thus, indigenous lexical items in general, and Quechua words in particular, lose an important part of their semantic content besides most of their symbolic content. Pym provides us with the model of *intersection* (2000: 6) that could very well illustrate the first part of this situation, that of the common semantic traces. In my example, the semantic traces which exceed this intersection are ignored, and the parity or equivalence with the foreign term is based only on the traces which intersect. If we were to redraw Pym's intersecting circles to illustrate the result of this equivalence, the circle representing *guauque* would be significantly larger than the one representing the word “hermano (brother)”; and the whole of “hermano (brother)” will coincide with *guauque*. In this case, then, *guauque* covers and largely exceeds the semantic field of “hermano.” All this “excess” in meaning, excessive from a Spanish perspective, is lost in Betanzos' version. For Itier, this would be a case of “substitution of realities conceived of by Andeans with European realities, through language” (My translation) (Itier, 1995: 325). Pratt describes it as “traffic,” not translation (2002). My way of expressing this is that a “reduction” or banalization⁵⁸ and simplification of Quechua terms and concepts has taken place, creating the situation for sublating (Niranjana, 1992), not translating, the language and subalternizing the culture. Venuti stresses “the power or translation to (re)constitute and cheapen foreign texts, to trivialize and exclude foreign cultures...” (1993: 208).

I have chosen several examples to illustrate the discussion on Betanzos' skills as a translator from Quechua to Spanish from the large selection compiled in his Glossary (Fossa 2003). I want to begin with the apparently simple noun equivalences he presents to us:

Page	Folio	Quotation
254	122r	“... que traia encima de la cabeza un chuco que dice bonete...”

This is a case of “explanation⁵⁹ and translation,”⁶⁰ as will have it Enguita. Simple, except that each one belongs to a different culture. What is a *bonete*? Does it have the same function as a *chuco*? Besides occupying the same place on the body, are the shapes, colors, textures, different? I will examine Covarrubias' Spanish dictionary, and compare his entries with those of the bilingual Quechua-Spanish vocabularies, to answer these questions and thus evaluate the translation strategy. I will give here an edited version of Covarrubias' entry, which is very long⁶¹:

“Bonete. Cierta cobertura de la cabeza que en latin se llama *pileus*, *vel pileum* dicen en francés. El bonete usan los clérigos, digo el de cuatro esquinas, que encima forma una cruz. Dice Pierio Valeriano que significa las cuatro partes del mundo y el polo del cielo, por el ápice de en medio; para significar que los eclesiásticos han de tener gran capaci-

dad y enderezar todos sus pensamientos al cielo. Y hasta nuestros tiempos le usaron los letrados juristas, y sobre él ponían las borlas los doctores, en señal de la doctrina y eminente ciencia ... Por **imposición del bonete** se hacen las colaciones de los beneficios eclesiásticos, y los que han de gozar de sus privilegios le han de traer; porque los sombreros se permiten por el sol y el agua, cuando se camina. ... nosotros le traemos por honestidad y por conformar con el demás vestido, que comúnmente es negro, a diferencia de los señores cardenales que le traen rojo, conforme a su hábito, significando la inflamada caridad y la excelencia de su estado. El bonete redondo usan algunos preladados de las órdenes monacales y clérigos cuando traen luto, por cuya razón se pudieron llamar brunetes, y corruptamente bonetes, desde el tiempo de los sacerdotes de Plutón, que le usaban negro, como está dicho. Los que son desta hechura colorada, usan los moros de Berbería” (Covarrubias [1608] 1995: 198).

Covarrubias first describes the use and function of the bonnet, and then he explains who wore this garment. He is very explicit in regard to form, color, and symbolism. His description of the item is comprehensive, going into antique sources to validate his opinions, and indicating with clarity that meanings and senses have changed historically. Let's compare this entry with the Quechua *chucu*. Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás offers two entries in his *Lexicon* ([1550] 1951: 272): “**Chuco o tanca**. bonete, cobertura de la cabeça,”⁶² and “**Chuco**. capacete, armadura de la cabeça.” He does not carry *tanca* in his *Lexicon*. The Anonymous lexicographer has: “**Chucu**, bonete de Indios, sombreros o casquetes” ([1586] 1951: 38). For **Tanca o calla**, an apparent synonym of *chucu*, he gives “*rueca*,” something unrelated ([1586] 1951: 82). In this same text, in the Spanish section, we find *bonete de indios collas* ([1586] 1951: 119), specifying that this type of hat or headdress belongs only to the Colla Indians. He offers *chucu* as the Quechua equivalent. If it only belongs to the Colla, the Aimara dictionaries might help us, since that is the language they spoke. Bertonio's Aimara vocabulary⁶³ clarifies the question: “bonete de clérigo, **Tanca**” ([1612] 1879: 99). He adds: “becoquin⁶⁴ bonnet. **Huachu**. ([1612] 1879: 99). **Tanca**. Hat, and clerics' bonnet; **Tanca cchucutha**. hicho [sic: *ichu*]⁶⁵ woven in the Indian's old style. *Tanca* postponed to *puma*. Hat made of the skin of the head of the lion, with its teeth, eyes, etc. Which was worn in their dances” (Bertonio, [1612] 1879: 99)⁶⁶. For *Huachu*, Bertonio offers: “Becoquin o escofia” ([1612] 1879: 141).

There are two important things to discuss here. First, the common use of many words in Quechua and Aimara, languages that have shared the same territories for centuries or even millennia. Second, the apparently simple thing of analyzing the use of interlanguage equivalences turned complicated once each of those words is housed in its own cultural context. Aimara and Quechua are very close languages; they share many lexical items, grammatical structure, and their respective cultures are roughly similar. Even though the two indigenous languages mentioned are close, it is nevertheless surprising to find that an illustrated Quechua learner, such as Domingo de Santo Tomás, does not distinguish between the two, or at least does not tell his readers that the words he is using belong to two different languages. He simply uses them as interchangeable synonyms within a Quechua vocabulary. This use must reflect what was happening at street level.

Betzanos' gloss can be extended somewhat to give us the cultural context that frames his utterance: “los indios le dijeron que el capito⁶⁷ que era un hombre alto y que tenía la cara llena de barbas y que era todo metido y envuelto en ropa desde los pies hasta la garganta...e que traía encima de la cabeza un chuco que dice bonete...”

(1987: 254). His choice for the indigenous word *chuco* in a description of Pizarro is indicative of his plan of “speaking as they do.” As he is talking now from an indigenous perspective: he uses *chuco* when he could have very well used “capacete.” And also, why didn’t Betanzos just say “*chuco que es su capacete*”? I believe he wanted us to be familiar with the generic, since both *chuco* and *bonete* can be particularized adding adjectives or other modifiers. We can see why Santo Tomás added a second entry for *chuco*; this second one should be used when describing Spaniards: “**Chuco.** cap, armour or the head” ([1550] 1951: 272).⁶⁸ What Pizarro probably had on his head was a helmet.⁶⁹

Pedro de Cieza (1550) adds an interesting spin to the question of *bonete*, as used by indians: “y en la cabeça se ponian unas trenças o llauto, que llaman ‘*pillaca*’; ques como corona, debaxo del qual colgavan unas orejeras de oro y ençima se ponía un bonete de pluma casi como diadema que ellos llaman ‘*paucarchuco*’...” (1985: 18). Again we see here the equivalent of *chuco* (as in *paucarchuco*) and *bonete*, used in an indigenous context. By Cieza’s description, it can be ascertained that it is a cover that goes right on top of the head, and fits there snugly. It can be made of *ichu*, feather on a textile base, and even animal skin, if we go back to *tanca*.

Llautu, then, is the generic for headdress; and *chuco* is a particular kind, especially used by people from Collasuyu. These garments were very important in indigenous life because each ethnic group or even family group had a special, different one. It served as identifier and as lineage marker. Probably that is why it was important to describe the kind Pizarro was wearing, from an indigenous people point of view it was important to decipher to what ethnic group he belonged and his position within it.

The word “bonete” coincides only in part with *chuco*. Both words, each in its own context, have marked symbolisms. Those of the indigenous terms are mostly lost, since lexicographers explained only those of Spanish, as is the case of “bonete.” Contrary to Enguita’s classification, I believe this is a case of “sub-lation,” following Niranjana (1992). She means by this the under-translation of the indigenous languages and terms, which remain only half-way explained and understood, being associated with a term from the colonizing culture. This term will transfer its own meaning into the native form, notwithstanding its partial coincidence and overlapping. In adapting the indigenous word to the Spanish sphere, meanings, senses, and symbolisms are lost because they are never rendered if they exceed those of the “equivalent” word in the colonizing language, thus subalternizing the culture that hosts it.

Intercultural issues, in the sense of overlapping or intersecting Pym gives this phrase (2000: 5), are of a very complex nature in these texts. There is first the author’s interculturality, premise based on his identified Arabic, Spanish, and even Sephardic lexical items, combined with those of the Antilles (Taino and Kuna) and also Andean, from sources such as Quechua and Aimara. It is interesting to observe how words change or increase meaning or acquire new ones when they are either extracted from or reinserted into their own cultural contexts. Meanings vary when words are presented in isolation or contextualized. The crucial role context has in dispelling ambiguity, and culture has in attaching all its values to words, should not be overlooked.

In the following example other aspects of interculturality will be explored:

Page	Folio	Quotation
17	5v	<i>Ayarmango</i> a quien despues llamaron <i>Mango Capac</i> que quiere decir Rey <i>Mango</i>
78	36v	“...si caso fuese que el <i>Ynga</i> muriese dejando este tal tan niño que no supiese gobernar hacianle señor e ponianle la borla en la cabeza aunque este tal estuviere mamando e llamabanle al tal niño <i>Guaina Capac</i> que dice mancebo rey...”

The equivalence here seems to be transparent: *Capac* means Rey or King. But, if the idiosyncracies of government are not known, how can equivalences be established? We can then say that this is certainly an adaptation. This pair of words gets more complicated when Betanzos adds:

Page	Folio	Quotation
9	3r	«...este libro en breve agora que Vuestra Excelencia me lo mando los nombres de los <i>yngas</i> que los indios llamaron <i>Capac Cuna</i> que a su entender quiere decir que mayor no lo hay ni puede haber y cuyos hechos y vidas aqui escribo...»

Before getting into the analysis, it should be said that the Quechua lexical item *Cuna*, when written as a separate word as Betanzos does, has no apparent meaning. What Betanzos wants to stress is the idea of plurality this particle carries. The suffix *_kuna* is one of the most utilized plural forms in Quechua. But, this language does not require pluralization except when the number will be unclear in the sentence or utterance. In this example, Betanzos should have written *capacuna*, as one word, or omit the suffix entirely. He wrote it as two words because he capitalized both *Capac* and *Cuna* in the text as well as the manuscript. He is now referring to the Inkas and says that, according to the Indians, the list of *Capac Cuna* included only the ones associated with outstanding deeds. So *Capac* now means “the best,” because in this list only Inkas are mentioned; but not any Inka, only the best ever. The connection between “King” and “best” could be found in the semic trace /high/. In his text, Betanzos uses *capac* in two ways, and writes one of them in two different ways: *Capac*, *Capac Cuna*, and *Capacuna* (Fossa 2003).

The encoding of indigenous languages in alphabetical characters is a complicated matter for Spaniards, who had trouble representing the sounds Quechua does not share with Spanish, which are quite a few. One of them is *q*, which requires a post-velar occlusion. On page 9, Betanzos elaborates the suffix *_q* or *_c* in his spelling, on the positioning of the adjectives in Quechua and Spanish, and also on the semantics of *capac*: “aunque los que construyen este nombre [*Guaina Capac*] no entendiendo lo que quiere decir dicen que dice mancebo rico porque habran de saber que *capa* sin *c* postrera dice rico y *Guaina* dice mancebo e si dijera este nombre *Capaguaina* dijera mancebo rico mas dice *Guaina Capac* postrera que dice mancebo rey.”⁷⁰ There is, according to Betanzos, a difference in meaning between *capa* and *capac*. The first word means rich, and the second one, king. But, the difference goes beyond semantics. From a morphological perspective, the suffix *_q* added to a verbal root nominalizes it, and indicates the agent of that action. Also, when that suffix is used with a verb of movement, it indicates purpose of the action described by the

verb (Gálvez, 1990: 91). Syntactically, there are also differences. In the first case, *Capaguaina*, *capa* is modifying *guaina* (rich youngster), and in the second one, *Guaina Capac* (young king), *Guaina* is modifying *Capac*, although Betanzos does not say so, focused as he is on the suffix. The word *capac*, which should be written *qhapaq*, is shared by Quechua and, in this case, Puquina, another major indigenous language spoken in the southeast part of Peru.⁷¹ Betanzos seems to be unaware of the sharing of this lexical item, and he attributes the term solely to Quechua. Both words might have sounded similar to Spaniards, but phonetically, they are very different: /kapa/ and /qhapaq/. Only a foreigner, a Spaniard, could confuse them.

Capacuna or *Capac Cuna*, then, is the plural of *Capac*. It is a roll of all the *Capac*, that is, of all the Inkas, which Betanzos is careful to list as one dynastic lineage of kings, or monarchs. A *monarch* is a single person who exercises government, which recent research indicates was not the case with the Inka (Pease, 1991; Rostworoski, 1983). Nevertheless, Betanzos' *Capacuna* is still one of the earliest list of rulers of the Inka period available though it is now believed that some of them governed simultaneously, and that the unsuccessful rulers were eliminated from that roll.

I contend here that Betanzos' European concept of a kingdom, and of a king, superseded the tradition found in the Andes. He himself describes in detail the ceremony of accession to power, which interestingly enough, was also a marriage ceremony. All the symbolism of the situation escapes our author, as well as the process by which an indigenous ruler and his wife were nominated or selected. After the marriage-accession to power ceremony was completed, the wives or Coyas are seldom mentioned by him or by other authors, such as Cieza. Spaniards are focused on the activities of the men in power, following their own masculine traditions. We have in this example a case of interculturality, in the sense that the ceremony was recognized as one of conferring power, but the other aspects of its meaning, which did not overlap with the European, Spanish content, were ignored and invested with European significations. In Enguita's terms, this would be a Translation. In my words, it is a case of cultural colonization through overpowering language contact and translation, in which the original language's semantic traces have been reduced to those of the equivalent in the target language, and furthermore, the traces of the target language that exceeded the original meaning have been transferred to the semantic content of the indigenous word.

In the following quotation, I want to stress the characteristics of cultural colonial translation (a translation of languages of unequal value and prestige, usually the colonized language being explained and assimilated into the colonizing language), while underlining the author's efforts in conveying the content and context of an unknown reality.

Page	Folio	Quotation
17	5v	"... y las mujeres salieron ansi mismo vestidas muy ricamente con unas mantas y fajas que ellos llaman chumbis muy labradas de oro y con los prendedores de oro muy fino los cuales son los unos alfileres largos de dos palmos que ellos llaman topos ..."

In this passage, Betanzos is talking about women's garments. He uses two words in quechua: *chumbis* /chumpi/, and *topos* /tupu/. The first term is somewhat ambiguous

in what he says “con unas mantas y fajas que ellos llaman **chumbis**”: it is not clear if he is referring to both, “mantas y fajas (covers and belts),” or only to the last one. According to Santo Tomás, *chumbi* is “ceñidero” (waistband); and *chumbi* or *guachuco* is “faja para ceñirse” (belt to tie) (1951: 273). The Anonymous Quechua lexicographer has *chumpi* as “color castaño” (hazel color) (1951: 29), and a second entry for *chumpi*, meaning “faja de Indias, o cingulo” (female indians’ belt or sash). “Faja,” “ceñidero,” and “cingulo” mean roughly the same: sash. The Anonymous Quechua lexicographer confirms the use of *chumpi* only by women, who had these sashes around their waists to keep their other garments in place. Betanzos goes on to say that these *chumpi* were special, in that they were worked in gold thread. I presume it is because of this fact that he describes them at all, to show that gold was present everywhere, also in women’s attire. He sees another golden item: the *topo* or *tupu*/. Besides indicating that they were made of very fine gold, he adds measurements to the description (“dos palmos” about 20 centimeters) in order to enhance the fact of their being precious.

The stress on the gold present in the garments distracts us, and the author, from the ceremonial use of these items, and from the ceremony itself. The festivities are related to the beginnings of Inka culture, the emergence of the inaugural couples from the Pacaritampu cave. Betanzos is only giving us the characteristic that particularly struck him the most, from an European perspective, and not the most important general aspect as seen from the indigenous perspective. What we are seeing here is not only a “reduction” of the Quechua meanings (Fossa, 1998),⁷² but a change in focus. This last translation procedure is as important as the first; the first one refers to the semantic content, and the second one to the cultural content and symbolism. I want to underline the fact that his perspective is the one that prevails, to the detriment of the indigenous one which goes unheeded. Venuti would call this a “transgression of discursive values” (1993: 209). The effect of simplistic, banalizing translations on the general public’s idea of cultural value of the translated society is of great import.⁷³

Page	Folio	Quotation
109	54v	“... que fuesen señaladas ciertas Cozcoynacacuna que dice como decimos ciertas matronas romanas...” («... that some Cozcoynacacuna, which says as we say certain Roman matrons, were made to stand out...») My translation.

This word, *Cozcoynacacuna* is in fact, two: *Cozco* and *yñacacuna*, meaning the *yñacacuna* from Cuzco. One might think that *yñaca* would be Quechua, being associated with Cuzco, but neither Domingo de Santo Tomás or the Anonymous lexicographer include that word in their Vocabularies. Bertonio does, so *yñaca* is Aimara. He says: “Iñaca, vel Palla; Muger que viene de casta noble de los Ingas” (1879: 175). Bertonio feels the need to include the interlinguistic equivalent, *palla*. The Anonymous offers the same meaning for *Palla* in Quechua: “India noble, señora de linage de Ingas.” (1951: 67) as Bertonio does for “yñaca.” As we already know, the suffix *_cuna* is a pluralizer in Quechua. So, what we have here is an Aimara word treated as a Quechua word by Betanzos. In this sense, we have an assimilation of Aimara into Quechua, of which the author does not know, or at least, does not inform us.

On the other hand, we have another assimilation, or what I called a “saturation” of meanings. The Inka civilization has been dubbed an “empire” for its similarities with what the Spaniards knew of it in the sixteenth century. Many aspects of Inka life have been compared to that of the Romans, like their roads, and buildings, their host of deities and rituals, etc. Those real or imagined similarities led them to describe Tawantinsuyu as an “empire.” This conviction overflows the political and invades the demographic: it is Inka women who are described as “Roman matrons.” I do not believe this is an error in perception, but a strategy of transmission of the unknown by association with the known. Furthermore, they do not allow the establishment of relations of identity with Quechua semantic contents. They are a distraction towards European ideas or constructs with which they coincide only in part (Fossa, 1998: 10). But, if they are used as is the case here, Betanzos thought his readers will understand the function these women played in the Inka state, as he understood it also, through that conceptual filter. The final effect of this strategy is the emptying of the meaning of *yñaca* as understood in its own culture, and its replenishing with foreign semantic and cultural traces. This derives in a decrease in intrinsic, proper, semantic content, and in a super abundance of extrinsic, added meaning.⁷⁴

Another example of linguistic, and semantic “traffic”⁷⁵ (Pratt, 2002), a form of cultural colonization, will be studied below.

111	56r	<p>“Ordeno y mando que de toda la redondez de la ciudad y de las partes que bien le estuviesen viniesen a la ciudad del <i>Cuzco</i> todos los hombres y mujeres con las cosas que ansi tuviesen de comida y otros menesteres y frutas y en la plaza publica de la ciudad hiciesen un mercado en la cual vendiesen y mercasen al cual mercado puso nombre...<i>Cuxipata Cato</i> que dice el placer venturoso...”</p> <p>(He ordered and commanded that from all the surroundings of the city and from the parts that suited him, all men and women with the things that they thus had for eating and other businesses, and fruits will come to the public plaza of the city of Cuzco to do a market in which they would sell and market; which market he called <i>Cuxipata Cato</i> which says blissful pleasure...»). My translation.</p>
-----	-----	--

Let’s start with *Cuxipata*. It might be a good idea to use a second instance of the use of *Cuxi*, as in *Cuxirimay* (below) to draw better conclusions.

198	95r	<p>“...mando que se señalase esta su sobrina <i>Cuxirimay Ocllo</i>...que dice el <i>Ocllo</i> como nosotros decimos doña...y el <i>Cuxirimay</i> dice habla ventura y por todo junto dice doña Habla Ventura y mandola que fuese mujer de <i>Atagualpa</i> si viviese porque de parte de los padres eran primos y de parte de las madres eran primos hermanos y las madres eran hermanas...”</p> <p>(... he ordered that this his niece, <i>Cuxirimay Ocllo</i>, be made to stand out... which says <i>Ocllo</i> as we say lady... and <i>Cuxirimay</i> says merry speech and all together says Lady Merry Speech and he ordered that she be the wife of <i>Atagualpa</i> if she lived through her young years because on the part of their fathers they were cousins and on the part of their mothers they were first degree cousins for their mothers were sisters...») My translation.</p>
-----	-----	--

Cuxi here is used as an adjective, modifying *pata* (*Cuxipata*), a noun, and *rimay* (*Cuxirimay*), a verb. *Pata* or *tiana* mean “poyo para assentarse” (bench to sit on) and *Pata pata* means “escalera de barro o de piedra o escalón” (staircase made of mud or

stone, or step) (Santo Tomás, 1951: 337). The Anonymous lexicographer gives us “poyo, grada, andén” (bench, step, platform) for *pata*. *Pata pata* would then be “gradas o escaleras.” (steps or stairways) (1951: 69). The same in Aimara: *Pata* means “poyo o grada” (bench or step), and *Patapata* means “muchas gradas” (many steps); *Patarana* means “Andenes de los cerros naturales o artificiales, aquellos como poyos” (Platforms on the sides of the hills, natural or artificial, such as benches) (Bertonio, 1879: 252). I should mention here that the reduplication of a word is another linguistic resource for indicating plurality in Quechua and Aimara. The plural *Pata pata* or *patarana* are known even today as “andenes,” the agricultural surfaces obtained from cutting “steps” into the slopes of mountains. The singular, *pata*, means grada (step) or poyo (narrow, raised plain or terrace).

Rimay means “hablar” (to speak) (Anonymous, 1951: 78; Santo Tomás, 1951: 347). *Cussicui* means “deleyte” (pleasure) for Quechuist Santo Tomás (1951: 277), and *Cussi* means “dicha o ventura, o contento” (happiness or good fortune, or glee) for the Anonymous (1951: 27). *Cusi* means “dicha, ventura” (happiness, good fortune) for Bertonio (Aimara) (1879: 61). So *Cuxipata* would translate roughly as “andén o explanada⁷⁶ venturoso/a o dichoso/a” or “fortunate or merry terrace.”⁷⁷ Betanzos indicates that *Cuxirimay* means “habla ventura” (speak good fortune), and that *cuxipata cato* means “el placer venturoso,” “the fortunate pleasure.” *Cussicuy* is a word used by the Anonymous lexicographer to explain “Plazer deleyte” (pleasure glee) (1951: 172). “Deleyte” is *cussicuy*, and “Plazer o deleyte” means *cussicuy* [sic] for Santo Tomás (1951: 99). “Ventura” (Good Fortune) is not in Santo Tomás’ Vocabulary, but the Anonymous offers that and other phrases. For “Ventura” he has: **cussi, sami**.

Before reaching any conclusions, let’s find out what *cato* means. *Catu* for the Anonymous means “mercado o feria” (market or fair) (1951: 23), and for Santo Tomás, *catu* /qatu/, o *catucona* /qatukuna/ means “feria o mercado” (fair or market) (1951: 252). *Feria* has the semantic traces of noisy, merry meeting place. *Mercado* (market) is a more complex word because it includes the concept of money exchange for goods, and that was not the case in the Andes. Barter was the way in which commerce was made, if at all, and this could take place in a fair. There is no such entry as *catu* in Aimara. So, instead of *el placer venturoso, cuxipata cato* should mean *feria de la alegre (venturosa) explanada* or “merry (fortunate) terrace fair.” These phrases do run parallel to *Cuxirimay* “habla ventura,” “fortunate speaking.” Is this a wrong translation, or an equivocal copy? The manuscript text is quite clear, so the doubt remains. Would the writer have mistaken “plaza” for “plazer”? But the accord between the noun and the adjective “plazer venturoso” (fortunate glee) in gender and number work against this hypothesis. An error in translation, or a mistranslation will support the idea of a relatively limited knowledge of the indigenous language Betanzos was supposed to master in order to translate effectively.

According to Betanzos, his indigenous wife, *Cuxirimay Ocllo* (baptized Angelina and bearing two successive last names, *Yupangue* and *Pizarro*) was also the sister of *Cuxi Yupangue*: “su hermano *Cuxi Yupangue*” (Betanzos, 1987: 217). *Cuxitopa Yupangue* was *Cuxi Yupangue* and *Cuxirimay Ocllo* or *Yupangue*’s uncle (Betanzos, 1987: 221). With names having meanings, where does translation end and patronyms begin? Is Betanzos trying to establish a lineage? Is he making evident, in a European way, that the persons he mentions not only were noble but also relatives? Is Betanzos “trafficking” with indigenous patronyms in order to give them a dynastic flavor? I

believe so, since he is trying to prove that his wife, Angelina Yupangue, was related to the highest Inka nobility. If he has married an indigenous noblewoman, he is entitled to the restitution of her property, a concept foreign to Inka civilization, but very active in early Spanish invasion.

Conclusions

It is difficult to ascertain, given the small amount of information available, Betanzos' ethnic origin. But, linguistic evidence points to a pluriethnic, pluricultural background that links Arab and Mozarab with Ladino and Castillian traces. All of them belong to a low social echelon, syndicating him as belonging to a mixed, lower class status.

His pluricultural background is further enriched with indigenous American vocabulary from the Caribbean area, Mexico, and the Andes. He is aware of differences between island and Andean languages, but within the last category, he is unable or unaware to discern between what he calls Quechua, and Aimara, and Puquina, as his writings show.

Regarding Betanzos' knowledge of Quechua, the review of several examples of his ability with the written language point to the fact that it was superficial and, at times, erroneous. Notwithstanding that he was trained as a writer of Quechua, and as an extension of this task, as a team translator of religious texts within the Dominican Order, those results cannot be evaluated since these sixteenth century doctrinal primers have not yet been found. Thus, no indigenous opinion of his Quechua versions has been recorded. He was, later in his life, official interpreter of the Audiencia de Lima, but the evidence produced so far does not substantiate the assertion of a proficient use of the indigenous language. Also, documents indicate that very little effort was made on the part of lay and religious people alike, in learning indigenous languages before 1542. His Spanish also lacks luster and an extensive vocabulary, confirming his scarce formal learning and his limitations regarding written and verbal expression.

Betanzos ability as a cultural and linguistic translator are more difficult to evaluate. He uses a wide range of strategies to translate the linguistic forms, wider and more complex than the list given by Enguita. In general, his translations speak more of a cultural trafficking: Betanzos perceived indigenous cultural aspects that would serve his interests, so he focused his attention not on the culture itself, but on those matters which would benefit him. He treasured the important information he had gathered from the *Khipukamayuq*, and used it to enhance the dynastic relationships of his indigenous wife so that she, and he through her, could apply for the restitutions the Crown recognized were due to noble Inka persons and their descendants.

He is aware that he is writing for a public ignorant not only of the language, but also of the culture. He not only has to explain the facts but also adapt the meanings to European realities. The version he produced is more Spanish than Andean, contributing to the devaluation and transfiguration of the Quechua language and its semantics.

Betanzos does not follow consistently any translation or transcoding strategy, tilting from a declared foreignizing approach to writing a domesticated version of Inka life. He belongs to the second generation of interpreters and translators, the first

one being of indigenous young men taught Spanish on ships and in convents in Spain. The second generation he talks about was formed mainly by Spaniards who knew some general Quechua, and mestizos, who were partly bilingual.

In performing cultural translations, Betanzos shortchanges indigenous languages constantly since he stops at giving equivalences as if they were perfect synonyms. The most important aspect of cultural translation, the permanence of symbolism, is lacking. Contextualization might help, and also explanatory items coming from an exhaustive knowledge of the culture that produces the symbolic traces adhered to certain expressions. Betanzos happens to be incapable of fulfilling the task of cultural translator due to his ignorance or lack of interest in the indigenous cultures and languages. When ignorance is at play, the cases of under-translation or sublation can be explained. If lack of interest is predominant, the cases of over-translation go unnoticed by the translator. The instances in which there is a change of focus fall also in the category of opaque translations since the stress in meaning is changed to that of the translator's culture without alerting the reader. The addition and subtraction of semantic content in the translation of indigenous languages into Spanish is not accounted for in Betanzos' text. But it happens constantly: some words are partly deprived of their semantic content while others are emptied and awarded the meanings of the target language. In these cases, as in others, the *traffic* of meanings is at play.

Betanzos thus diminishes the content and scope of words and phrases and of the culture that coined them, helping to show the colonized representation of indigenous peoples as ineffective, dull, inferior. He certainly fits the description of an agent of colonization, his versions always serving Spanish interests.

NOTES

1. Terence was a Latin author of six comedies. He lived in Carthage circa 185-159 B.C., and was a liberated slave (Larousse, 2001: 1714). My translation from Spanish.
2. "... en la cual *Suma* se contienen las vidas y hechos de los Ingas Capac Cuna pasados nuevamente traducido e recopilado de lengua india de los naturales del Piru por Juan de Betanzos vecino de la gran ciudad del Cuzco..." (... in which *Suma* the lives and deeds of the past Capac Cuna Inkas are contained; it has been recently translated and compiled from the Indian language of the natives of Peru by Juan de Betanzos, neighbor of the great city of Cuzco...) (1987: 2). My translation.
 "y el dicho Juan de Betanzos pidio a su Excelencia que le diese algun presente que de parte de su Majestad asi le diese al Ynga ... y ansi se partio el dicho Juan de Betanzos para la montaña donde los Yngas alzados" (and the said Juan de Betanzos asked his Excellency for a gift to be given to the Inka from His Majesty ... and thus the said Juan de Betanzos parted towards the jungle where the rebel Inkas were) (1987: 309). My translation.
3. <<http://www.ldelpino.com/hidalgrana.html>>.
4. <<http://www.ldelpino.com/hidalg.html>>.
5. <<http://www.genealogiaespañola.com>>.
6. "tongue, interpreter of the Royal Audiencia," my translation.
7. Former name of Lima, the capital of Peru.
8. "Resident" meant that he lived there temporarily.
9. "of this City of Kings, where I presently live," my translation.
10. "main interpreter," my translation.
11. Neighbor, or "vecino" in this period meant that he owned the house he lived in, and also had a land concession and was master of the serfs or "señor de los indios" that lived on that land.
12. "alcuna" en el manuscrito, folio 39r.
13. Por su ubicación cerca a Panamá, podría tratarse de la lengua Kuna. En palabras de Cieza: "Como Piçarro salio en su navio de Panama anduvieron hasta llegar a las yslas [de] las Perlas donde

tomaron puerto y ... de donde anduvieron hasta el puerto que llamaron de Piñas, por las muchas que junto a el se crian y saltaron los españoles todos en tierra con su capitan ... Determinaron de entrar la tierra [a]dentro en busca de mantenimiento para forneçer el navio creyendo que lo hallarian en la tierra de un cacique a quien llamavan Beruquete o Peruquete. Y anduvieron por un rio arriba tres dias con mucho trabajo porque caminavan por montañas espantosas que era la tierra por donde el rio corria tan espeça que con trabajo podian andar..." (1989: 11).

"Los españoles avian llegado a unas pequeñas casas que dezian ser del cacique Peruquete donde no hallaron otra cosa que algund mayz y de las rayzes que ellos comen. Dizen los antiguos españoles que el reyno del Peru se llamo asi por este pueblo o señorete llamado Peruquete y no por rio porque no lo hay que tenga tal nonbre." (1989: 12).

14. "Pero no sólo la isla [Española o Santo Domingo] tiene esta posición clave, sino que podemos decir que su lengua es asimismo 'fundamento y raíz' de la lengua de 'todas las islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano'" (Lüdtke 1994: 73).
15. A somewhat similar periodization has been presented by Silvia Tieffemberg (1989). She dates the words based on their first registered appearance in a text; those dates are, necessarily, continually being revised due to the large amount of documentation that constantly comes to public knowledge.
16. Please consult Polo Ondegardo's bilingual glossary in native languages-Spanish extracted from his *Notables daños de no guardar a los indios sus fueros* at <<http://www.coh.arizona.edu/spanish/FossaLydia/Ondegardo/Ondegardo.html>>.
17. Author of the *Verdadera y notable relación del descubrimiento y conquista de la Nueva España y Guatemala*, ca 1575.
18. My translation of "un inventario de más de ochenta americanismos léxicos," and of "emplea no menos de treinta antillanos" Alvar (1970: 19).
19. My translation of: "Queda claro que los indigenismos que llegan a los papeles, sean estos los que sean, no fueron todos manejados realmente por la lengua hablada de aquellos tiempos en que el bilingüismo debía promoverlos con más ahínco" (López-Morales, 1990: 150).
20. "Atusado, the one whose low hair has been removed; but this word *atusar* is not used among courtiers" (my translation).
21. "Espital... espitalero... Muchos con mas propiedad, vuelven la palabra latina [*hospicium*] en ospital, ospitalero" (Covarrubias, 1995: 648).
22. Other forms of this word, such as "prosupuso" and "prosupusiese" can be found on page 50, folio 20.
23. Persons skilled in the manipulation of *kipu*, the knotted cords used to register information.
24. There were several Fray Antonios in Cuzco at that time, as Porras explains: "Pero la balanza parece inclinarse del lado de Fray Antonio Martínez, agustino aunque hubo otro del mismo nombre dominico predicador y más tarde prior de Chuquisaca" (1986: 747) ("But the scale seems to weigh towards the Agustinian Fray Antonio Martinez' side, although there was another by this same name, a Dominican preacher, who was later prior in Chuquisaca.). My translation.
25. Judge and Governor sent by the Spanish Crown to investigate the death of Diego de Almagro.
26. Fray Antonio's opinion that Betanzos was "neighbor in Cuzco" when he was part of the *kipukamayuaq* interview orderd by Vaca de Castro in 1542 has no documented support.
27. My translation.
28. "personas que sabian muy bien la lengua general deste reino" (Martínez, 1920: 5)
29. "... hasta oy en ningun pueblo desta tierra se sabe que por persona alguna Religioso ni seglar con tener como todos tienen yndios asy conventos de frayles como prelado y algunos clerigos se aya entendido en la dicha conversion ni doctrina ni dadose a saber vocablos de la lengua natural para ello..." (Lisson-Chaves, 1943: 100) (... until today in no town of this land is known that any person being cleric or laic having as they all do indians ... has cared in the said conversion or doctrine or has been interested in knowing words in the natural language for that purpose...). My translation.
30. My translation of: "Los lenguas o ynterpretes que ay en esta tierra son yndios naturales della que saben algo de la lengua española e asta oy no a avido español ninguno que sea ynterprete ni esto se ha procurado de que ay ynconveniente..." (Lisson-Chaves, 1943: 112).
31. My translation of: "Juan de Betanzos presumía de gran lenguaraz en la lengua general de aquella tierra" (De la Vega, 1960, IV: 140).
32. "As 'to boast' means in the seventeenth century the same as in the twentieth, we have an interesting gap to surmount. We know that Garcilaso was very critical about Spaniards' knowledge of Quechua. In his view, they never learned it well. He accuses them of having altered and even ruined it. But in

- Betanzos' case, Garcilaso reports that it was more what he said he knew than what he actually did." (Fossa, In press).
33. This Cédula, studied by Nicanor Domínguez (1994: 68), can be found in the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú, Sala de Investigaciones, document A-29, f 31-31v.
 34. My translation of: "... como persona tan inestructa [sic] en la lengua de los naturales os ocupastes en traduzir nuestra doctrina xpiana en la lengua mesma de los naturales para que mejor se les pueda dar a entender por los religiosos que tienen cargo dello y ellos tomarlo de que su magestad a sido y es servido e la fe xpiana cumplida" (Quoted by Domínguez, 1994: 68).
 35. "that this land (*repartimiento*) should be granted to a son of Marquis Dn. Francisco Pizarro which he had in an Indian who is now wife of a Betanzos, tongue." My translation of: "que este repartimiento se proveyese a un hijo del Marques Dn. Francisco Pizarro que hubo en una india que es agora muger de un Betanzos, lengua" (Angulo, 1924: xxxix).
 36. My translation of: "Acabado de traducir y co[m]pilar un libro que doctrina xpiana se dice en el cual se contiene la doctrina xpiana y dos vocabularios uno de bocablos y otro de noticias y oraciones enteras y coloquios y confisionarios..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).
 37. My translation of: "... como nuevos en el trato de los indios no sabrian inquirirlo y preguntarlo faltandoles la inteligencia de la lengua y los indios recelandose no osarian dar entera relacion..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).
 38. My translation of: "... el delicado y experimentado juicio de Vuestra Ilustrisima señoria requeria estilo gracioso y elocuencia suave lo cual yo para presente y servicio que yo a Vuestra Excelencia hiciese en mi falta y la historia de semejante materia no da lugar pues para ser verdadero y fiel traductor tengo de guardar la manera y orden del hablar de estos naturales..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).
 39. My translation of: "Ame sido tambien muy penosa por el poco tiempo que he tenido para ocuparme en ella pues para el otro libro de la Doctrina era menester todo y sobre todo añadiose al trabajo haber de dar fin a este libro en breve agora que Vuestra Excelencia me lo mando..." (Betanzos, 1987: 9).
 40. My translation of: "ynterpetre [sic] mayor" (Lohmann, 129).
 41. My translation of: "lengua ynterpetre [sic] en la Real audiencia de la çibdad de los rreyes" (Lohmann, 129).
 42. My translation of: "El intérprete que declara una lengua con otra, interviniendo entre dos de diferentes lenguajes. Algunas veces usamos deste término lengua por semejanza y alusión..." (Covarrubias, [1611] 1995: 709).
 43. My translation of: "El que vuelve las palabras y conceptos de una lengua en otra, en el cual se requiere fidelidad, prudencia y sagacidad y tener igual noticia de ambas lenguas y lo que en ellas se dice por alusiones y terminos metafóricos mirar lo que en estotra lengua le puede corresponder" (Covarrubias, [1611] 1995: 671).
 44. My translation of: "... en la española significa el volver la sentencia de una lengua en otra, como traducir de italiano o de francés algún libro en castellano." ([1611] 1995: 930). "Traducción. Esta mesma obra y traductor el autor della. Si esto no se hace con primor y prudencia, sabiendo igualmente las dos lenguas y trasladando en algunas partes no conforme a la letra pero según el sentido seria lo que dijo un hombre sabio y critico, que aquello era verter, tomándolo en significación de derramar y echar a perder." (Covarrubias, [1611] 1995: 930).
 45. My translation of: "... yo siendo mandado tengo de traducir como ello pasaba..." (Betanzos, 1987: 10).
 46. I am following here the classification offered by Enguita Utrilla in his 1979 article. Further citations come from his 1996 publication.
 47. My translation of: "... escribir[endo] un vocabulario en lengua india y unos confesionarios y phrasis..."
 48. "Rivet y Créqui-Montfort (1951-1956) mencionan, en su monumental bibliografía del quechua y del aimara, el nombre de Pedro de Aparicio, como el primero que habría redactado, hacia 1540, un *Arte y Vocabulario del Quechua* (cf. Tomo I: No.1). De igual modo, la tradición señala al mercedario Martín de la Victoria, como el primer autor de un *Arte y Vocabulario de la lengua del Inca* (según la leyenda que aparece en un óleo del personaje existente en el convento de la Merced de Quito, comunicación personal de Ruth Moya; cf. también Rivet y Créqui-Montfort, *Op. Cit.*, I, No. 23). Fuera de ello, sabemos, por declaración de su propio autor, que Betanzos ([1551] 1987), en su dedicatoria al virrey Antonio de Mendoza, confiesa haber escrito, además de una *Doctrina*, 'dos vocabularios uno de bocablos y otro de noticias y oraciones enteras y coloquios y confisionarios,' y ello tuvo que haber sido antes de 1550. Ninguna de tales obras se han encontrado a la fecha." (Cerrón-Palomino, 1995: xiv).

My translation: “Rivet and Créqui-Montfort (1951-1956) include, in their monumental Quechua and Aimara bibliography, the name of Pedro de Aparicio as the first one to have written, towards 1540, an *Arte y Vocabulario del Quechua* (cf. Tomo I: No.1). Also, tradition points to the Mercedary friar Martin de la Victoria as the first author of an *Arte y Vocabulario de la lengua del Inca* (according to the text in an oil painting of that friar housed in the Merced Convent in Quito, personal communication of Ruth Moya; cf also Rivet and Créqui-Montfort, *Op.Cit*, I, No. 23). Besides that, we know, through his own declaration, that Betanzos indicates, in his Dedication to the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, having written besides a *Doctrina* ‘two vocabularies, one of words and other of notices and whole prayers and colloquia and confessionaries,’ and that had to have taken place before 1550. None of these works has been found to date” (Cerrón-Palomino, 1995: xiv).

49. My translation of: “... en estos años de 1541-1545, ya estaba en marcha la evangelización de los indios en su propia lengua” (Pérez, 1986: 165).
50. My translation of: “hasta tanto que por Nos juntamente con los autores dellas y otras personas que entiendan bien la lengua sean vistas y examinadas y de las que así estan hechas se reduzcan y hagan una” (Pérez, 1986: 165).
51. My translation of: “la creación y otras cosas útiles” (Pérez, 1986: 165).
52. My translation of: “Acabado de traducir y co[m]pillar un libro que doctrina xpiana se dice en el cual se contiene la doctrina xpiana y dos vocabularios uno de bocablos y otro de noticias y oraciones enteras y coloquios y confisionarios...” (Betanzos, 1987: 9).
53. “... la tradición oral y la lengua quechuas fueron objeto, de parte de la iglesia peruana colonial, de una minuciosa e inteligente empresa de manipulación.” (“... Quechua oral tradition and language were the object, from the part of the Peruvian Colonial Church, of a conscientious and intelligent manipulation enterprise.” My translation.) (Itier, 1993: 172).
54. See Rafael (1993) for the case in the Philippines.
55. “**Guauquine**, hermano generalmente (brother generally). **Guauquine**, primo hermano o pariente cercano (first cousin or close relative). **Guauquine ayillo**, cercano en sangre (close in blood ties). **Guauquinchacuni**, **gui**, hacerse hermanos o amigos (become brothers or friends). **Guauquinacoc**, aliados en amistad assi (allied in friendship thus)” (Santo Tomás, 1951: 289) (My translations).
56. The full quotation reads thus: “...teniendo esta nueva y se viese señor mando luego hacer un bulto de sus mismas uñas y cabellos el cual imitaba a su persona y mando que se llamase este bulto **Ynga Guauquin** que dice el hermano del **Ynga** y este bulto ansi hecho mando que fuese puesto en unas andas y mando a un criado suyo que se decia **Chima** que dando a este bulto que le sirviese y que tuviese cargo de guardarle y mirarle y dando a este bulto otros muchos mozos y servicio mando que luego fuese...llevado en sus andas por la posta a do sus capitanes estaban **Chalcuchima** y **Quizquiz** para que las provincias y gentes que sujetasen diesen obediencia a aquel bulto en lugar de su persona y ansi fue...llevado y dado a los capitanes los cuales...hicieronles...muy grandes sacrificios y ansi servian y respetaban a este bulto como si fuera allí en persona el mismo **Atagualpa**...” (“... having received this news and seeing himself as lord, he then ordered a representation of himself be done from his own nails and hairs. This bundle mirrored his person and he ordered it to be called **Ynga Guauquin** which says **Inga**’s brother. And this bundle thus made he ordered to be placed on a portable platform, and he ordered a subject of his called **Chima** on giving him this bundle, to serve and look after it, and assigning to this bundle other many young men and service he ordered that it then be ... taken on this portable platform by the relay service all the way to where his captains **Chalcuchima** and **Quizquiz** were so the provinces and peoples that would fall under their power would obey that bundle instead of his person and thus it was ... taken and given to the captains who... made... very great sacrifices and thus served and respected this bundle as if there were in person the same **Atagualpa**...” My translation). (Betanzos, 1987: 220).
57. In Spanish the meanings of “hermano” are limited to the field of kinship (legal or illegal), and religious order (the last one as an extension of the first one). This is so in the 1611 Covarrubias’ *Tesoro* (629), and in the twenty-first century *Diccionario de la lengua española* (1992: 774).
58. “En este contexto, la traducción tiene una definición especial, tal como lo explica Tejaswini Niranjana, que refleja la lucha por el poder en la que tiene lugar. Así, sería más apropiado referirse a la traducción como ‘sub-ducción’ (sublation en inglés). Por sub-ducción me refiero al proceso de simplificación, reducción y banalización de los significados y de los contenidos semánticos que tiene lugar cuando se traducen lenguas colonizadas a la lengua del colonizador. Así, la sub-ducción también confirma el menor prestigio que el colonizador le atribuye a las lenguas nativas ya que éstas no pueden expresar sus ideas ‘exactamente”” (My translation: “In this context, translation has a special definition, as Tejaswini Niranjana explains, that reflects the struggle for power in which it

takes place. Thus, it would be more appropriate to refer to translation as 'sub-lation.' By 'sub-lation' I mean the process of simplification, reduction and banalization of meanings and semantic contents that takes place when colonized languages are translated into the language of the colonizer. In this way, sub-lation also confirms the lower prestige the colonizer attributes indigenous languages since they cannot 'exactly' express his ideas." (Fossa, 1998: 163).

59. "Explicaciones. Suministran información indirecta mediante la cual es posible captar determinados componentes semánticos que ayudan a identificar el valor conceptual de algunas formas léxicas, aunque no con absoluta precisión..." (My translation: Explanations. They provide indirect information through which it is possible to grasp specific semantic components that help identify the conceptual value of some lexical forms, though without absolute precision"). (Enguita Utrilla, 1996: 234).
60. "Traducción. Es la manera más directa de informar sobre el sentido de voces indígenas que equivalen, desde el punto de vista semántico, a términos patrimoniales o, en algunos casos, a indoamericanismos ya bien conocidos por los españoles..." (My translation: "Translation. It is the most direct way of informing about the meaning of indigenous voices which are equivalent, from a semantic point of view, to patrimonial terms or, in some cases, to indoamericanisms already well known by Spaniards..."). (Enguita Utrilla, 1996: 235).
61. "Bonete. Cierta cobertura de la cabeza que en latín se llama *pileus*, vel *pileum* dicen en francés. El *Lexicon Galico Latino* dice así: BONNET a couvrir sa teste, *pileus*. Bonnet de fer, *cassis*, *galea*. ... Nomenclator Adriani, verbo *pileus*, dice que bonete es vocablo alemán. El bonete usan los clérigos, digo el de cuatro esquinas, que encima forma una cruz. Dice Pierio Valeriano que significa las cuatro partes del mundo y el polo del cielo, por el ápice de en medio; para significar que los eclesiásticos han de tener gran capacidad y enderezar todos sus pensamientos al cielo. Y hasta nuestros tiempos le usaron los letrados juristas, y sobre él ponían las borlas los doctores, en señal de la doctrina y eminente ciencia; ya todos traen gorras como los demás seglares. El bonete antiguo era redonde y cacuminado o ahusado, insignia de libertad; porque cuando la daban a algún siervo le tresquilaban o rapaban la cabeza y le ponían este bonete, llamado *pileo*, del nombre griego ... Para significar libertad ponen un bonete destes redondos sobre la punta de un asta, que era la que llamaban *vindicta*, o el bastón dicho *rudis* ... Y para significar haber libertado la patria con muerte del tirano, ponen este bonete sobre la punta de un puñal, como se ve en la moneda que en Roma acuñó Bruto, después que él y Casio mataron a Julio César. Al esclavo que se vendía con sus tachas y condiciones malas o buenas, le sacaban a vender con un bonete en la cabeza... 'Bonete y almete hacen casas de copete'; las letras y las armas levantan las casas ilustres. Humbres de copete decimos al valeroso y de pensamientos levantados, aunque ya le usan los afeminados, pero esto no infama los generosos leones, ni en fisionomía a los que con remolinos tienen sobre la frente levantado el cabello. Por imposición del bonete se hacen las colaciones de los beneficios eclesiásticos, y los que han de gozar de sus privilegios le han de traer; porque los sombreros se permiten por el sol y el agua, cuando se camina. Pierio dice que el sacerdote de Plutón traía el bonete de color negra, para significar la escuridad de los lugares infernos; nosotros le traemos por honestidad y por conformar con el demás vestido, que comúnmente es negro, a diferencia de los señores cardenales que le traen rojo, conforme a su hábito, significando la inflamada caridad y la excelencia de su estado. El bonete redondo usan algunos prelatos de las órdenes monacales y clérigos cuando traen luto, por cuya razón se pudieron llamar brunetes, y corruptamente bonetes, desde el tiempo de los sacerdotes de Plutón, que le usaban negro, como está dicho. Los que son desta hechura colorada, usan los moros de Berbería" (My translation: "Bonnet. A certain covering of the head that is called *pileus* in Latin, and in French, *pileum*. The *Lexicon Galico Latino* says thus: BONNET to cover the head, *pileus*. Iron bonnet, *cassis*, *galea*. ... Nomenclator Adriani, who includes the word *pileus*, says that bonnet is a German word. Clerics use bonnets, I mean the four-cornered ones which form a cross on top. Pierio Valeriano says that this means the four parts of the world and the pole of the heavens for the apex in the center to mean that clergymen require great capacity and direct all their thoughts towards heaven. And even in our times it was used by lawyers, and above it doctors would place the tassels which signaled doctrine and eminent science; now they all carry caps as other lay people. The old bonnet was round and pointed at the top as a symbol of freedom: when freedom was given to a serf his head was first shaven and then this bonnet, called *pileus* following the Greek name, was placed on his head. ... In order to signify freedom they put one of these round bonnets on top of a flagstaff, the one called *vindicta*, or on top of the staff called *rudis*. And to mean having liberated the motherland after killing a tyrant they place this bonnet on the tip of a dagger, as seen on the coin that Brutus minted in Rome after he and Cassius killed Julius Ceasar. The slave that was sold with his

flaws and good or bad characteristics was brought for sale with a bonnet on his head... 'Bonnet and helmet give houses prestige': letters and weapons raise houses to illustrious heights. Forelock men are called the ones that are courageous and of high thoughts although it is now also used by effeminate but this fact does not make the generous lions infamous, nor in their physiognomy the ones that have cowlicks over the forehead, raising their hair. Because of **bonnet imposition**, bestowal of clerical benefices are made; the ones that will enjoy of those privileges should wear it; hats are permitted because of sun and water, when one walks. Pierio says that Pluto's high priest wore a black bonnet to signify the darkness of infernal places; we wear it because of composure and to conform with the rest of our attire, usually black, different from that of cardinal lords, which wear red ones, according to their vestments, signifying the inflamed charity and excellence of their state. Some prelates of monks' orders wear round bonnets; when clerics are in mourning they do the same; for this reason they should be called brunets, and bonnets as a linguistic corruption, since the times of Pluto's priests, who wore black ones, as said above. Those made in this way but red in color are used by Berber moors." (Covarrubias [1608] 1995: 198).

62. For "Bonete cobertura de cabeça," he has **chuco, o tanca**" (Santo Tomás, [1550] 1951: 272).
63. This vocabulary has two volumes. Volume I is the Spanish-Aimara section. Volume II is the Aimara-Spanish section.
64. "Beca. Es cierto ornamento de una chia de seda o paño que colgaba del cuello hasta cerca de los pies; y desta usaban los clerigos constituidos en dignidad sobre sus lobs, que ya no se usan, y solo las traen los que sirven a la majestad real en su capilla, que no se ponen sobrepellices, como son el limosnero mayor y los sumilleres de cortina. Antiguamente fue insignia de nobleza, y era en esta forma: una rosca que se encajaba en la cabeza con un ruedo que salia della, con que se subria la cabeza y colgaba hasta el pescuezo y por la otra parte una chia de media vara en ancho que se rodeaba al cuello y servia de cubrir el rostro, el cual en lengua toscana se llama *becco*, que es en el ave el pico, y en el hombre la nariz, y lo que del rostro tiene salido en punta; y porque con esta chia se cubrian el rostro, se llamo beca, de donde se dijo tambien 2. *becoquin*, porque cubre el rostro de camino. La beca fue ornamento de los nobles y en algunas tablas antiguas de devocion hallamos la imagen de San Sebastian con una beca puesta, la rosca en la cabeza y echada la chia por los hombros, y en tapicerias antiguas se ve lo mesmo; que no dejan de tener su autoridad como la tienen las letras, pues estas mesmas pinturas tienen nombre de historias, y los libros que tienen figuras decimos estar historiados. Fue tambien la beca insignia de doctores y asi pintan en los retablos antiguos los doctores de la ley que estan disputando en el templo con Cristo nuestro Redentor, y estos remedan los capirotos de los doctores. Pero los que se han alzado con las becas son los señores colegiales, salvo que la rosca la dejan colgar a un lado, y pienso que antiguamente en los entierros de cualquier colega que moria en el colegio, llevaban las roscas encajadas en la cabeza y suelta la chia por los hombros en señal de tristeza. 3. Llamam muchas veces beca la mesma prebenda, por ser la insignia señalada con el manto" (My translation: "Beca. It is a certain ornament made of a long, narrow, piece of silk or wool that hung from the neck to near the feet; it was used by clerics over their cassock and constituted their dignity, they do not wear it any more and is only worn now by those who serve the Royal Majesty in his chapel like the royal almoner and the curtain sommeliers, since they do not wear surplices. In the old times it was a nobility symbol, and it was thus: a ring or cockade that fitted on top of the head with a skirt that fell from it which covered the head and hung down to the back of the neck, and on the other side a *chia*, a piece of half a *vara* (44 cms. approx) that was wrapped around the neck and was used to cover the face; it is called *becco* in the Tuscan language, meaning the beck of the bird, and in man, the nose and what protrudes from the face. With this *chia* they covered the face, and that is why it was called *beca*, and also 2. *becoquin*, because it covers the face when on the road. The *beca* was an ornament worn by noblemen and in some old devotional tablets we find San Sebastian's image wearing a *beca*, the ring or cockade on the head and the *chia* thrown around the shoulders. In old tapestries the same thing is seen; *becas* do not lack in authority as letters have, since those paintings carry the name of histories, and the books that are illuminated we say that they are historied. The *beca* was also a symbol worn by doctors, and they are thus painted in the old altar pieces where doctors in law are disputing in the temple with Christ our Redemptor and the doctors' capes imitate them. But, the ones who carry now the *beca* are members of colleges, except that they let the cockade hang on one side, and I believe that in the old times in the burials of any colleague who died in college they wore the rings well set on the head and the *chia* loose on the shoulders in mourning. 3. The benefice or prebend is many times called *beca*, since this is the symbol represented by the mantle.") (Covarrubias [1608] 1995: 176).
65. Ichu: high altitude dry grass.

66. My translation of: “bonetillo becoquin. **Huachu**. ([1612] 1879: 99). **Tanca**. Sombrero, y bonete de clerigos; **Tanca cchucutha**. Texerle de hicho [sic: *ichu*] a su modo antiguo de los indios. **Tanca** pospuesto a **puma**. Sombrero hecho del pellejo de la cabeça del Leon, con sus dientes, ojos, etc. Lo quan vian en sus danças” (Bertonio, [1612] 1879: 99).
67. “capito” is the indigenous version of “capitán.”
68. My translation of: “**Chuco**. capacete, armadura de la cabeça” ([1550] 1951: 272).
69. Covarrubias does not have an entry for **capacete**, but the editors redirect us to “**Almete**. Armor of the head, *latine cassis et galea*. It is a French word ... corrupted from *heaulme*, in other form of corruption *yelmo* ..., and in a further corruption, *almete*. In Italian it is called *elmo*, and *elmeto*, and in our old Spanish, *capacete*, *quia est armatura capitis*.” My edited translation of: “**Almete**. Armadura de la cabeza, *latine cassis et galea*. Es vocablo francés ... corrompido de *heaulme*, en otra manera de corrupción, *yelmo*, perdiendo el diptongo *au* y bolviendo la H en I, *ielmet*, *inde* *ielmo*, y de *ielmo* *ielmete*, y en mayor corrupción *almete*. El italiano le llama *elmo*, y *elmeto*, y nuestro antiguo castellano, *capacete*, *quia est armatura capitis*” ([1611] 1995: 71).
70. (“the ones that construct this name [Guaina Capac] not understanding what it means, say that it means rich youngster, because it is good that you know that *capa* without a final c means rich and Guaina means youngster, and if it said this name *Capaguaina* it would mean rich youngster, but it says Guaina Capac with final c which means young king”). My translation.
71. This is the opinion of expert linguist Marco Ferrell, collaborator of *Glosas croniquenses*.
72. “My opinion is that Cieza’s *Segunda Crónica* contains semantic information belonging to Quechua terms, and that it should be taken into consideration to account for, at least in part, of the “reduction” they have gone through in the process of incorporating them as the “novelty” in the European logosphere. It can also be observed there the transference of semic traces from Spanish into Quechua, traces that did not belong to speakers of Quechua in American contexts.” (My translation of: “Mi opinión es que la *Segunda Crónica* de Cieza contiene información semántica perteneciente a los términos quechua y que debe tomarse en consideración para dar cuenta, por lo menos en parte, de la “reducción” de que han sido objeto, al incorporársele como lo “nuevo” a la logósfera europea. También podemos observar allí la transferencia de rasgos sémicos del castellano al quechua, rasgos que no le eran propios a los hablantes de quechua en contextos americanos”) (Fossa, 1998: 7 en mi ms).
73. “... translation wields enormous power in the construction of national identities for foreign cultures and hence can play a role in racial and ethnic conflicts and geopolitical confrontations” (Venuti, 1993: 209).
74. “In this way, not only meanings and semantic traces of Quechua (as well as other indigenous languages) have been lost, but native words have been given semantic traces that do not belong to the conditions of Andean communication and pragmatics.” (My translation of: “De esta manera, no sólo se han perdido los significados y los rasgos del quechua (así como de otras lenguas vernáculos), sino que a los lexemas nativos se les ha atribuido rasgos semánticos que no son propios de las condiciones de comunicación y de pragmáticas andinas”) (Fossa, 1998: 10 en mi ms).
75. “Translation is a deep but incomplete metaphor for the traffic in meaning” (Pratt, 2002: 35).
76. I have observed a variation in degree between **pampa**, a large extension of natural levelled territory, and **pata**, a smaller one but cultivated or prepared for ceremonial use. This is not surprising in a mountainous region, where plains are rare or have to be made.
77. Simon and Schuster (c 1997: 934) give “cultivation terrace” for *andén*. I believe it is more specific than what we need here.

REFERENCIAS

- ALVAR, M. (1970): *Americanismos en la “historia” de Bernal Díaz del Castillo*, Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Revista de filología española, Anexo LXXXIX, Madrid.
- ANGULO, D. O.P. (1924): “Notas biográficas de Estete y Betanzos,” in *Historia de los Incas y conquista del Perú*, Ed. Sanmarti, Lima.
- ANÓNIMO ([1586] 1951): *Vocabulario y phrasis de la lengua general de los indios del Perú, llamada quichua y en la española 1586*, Ed. Fac. Instituto de Historia, UNMSM, Lima.
- BERTONIO, L. ([1612] 1879): *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara*, Ed. Fac., Teubner, Leipzig, 2 vols.
- BETANZOS, J. de (1987): *Suma y narración de los Incas (1551)*, María del Carmen Martín R., Ed., Atlas, Madrid.

- BETANZOS, J. de (1551): "Suma y narración de los Yngas..." unnumbered manuscript, Biblioteca Bartolomé March, Palma de Mallorca, 153 folios.
- CERRÓN PALOMINO, R. (1995): "Estudio Introductorio y Notas" in *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Peru* (1560), Ed. CERA Bartolomé de las Casas, Cuzco.
- CIEZA DE LEÓN, P. (1985): *Crónica del Perú. Segunda Parte, El señorío de los Yngas*, Edition, Prologue and Notes by F. Cantù, Ed. Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima.
- CIEZA DE LEÓN, P. (1989): *Crónica del Perú. Tercera Parte*, Edition, Prologue and Notes by Francesca Cantù, 2ª Edición, Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima.
- COVARRUBIAS, S. ([1611] 1995): *Tesoro de la lengua castellana y española*, Ed. Castalia, Madrid.
- COROMINAS, J. (1983): *Breve diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana*, 3rd. Ed., Gredos, Madrid.
- DE LA VEGA, G. (1960): *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, (1609), in Colección de Autores Españoles, Prologue and Notes Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María, Tome 133, Madrid.
- DE LA VEGA, G. (1960): *Historia general del Peru, Segunda Parte de los Comentarios Reales de los Yngas*, Córdova [1617], in Colección de Autores Españoles, Tome 134, Madrid.
- DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, B. (1998): *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1632), Introduction and notes by J. Ramírez Cabañas, 17th. Ed. Porrúa, México.
- DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO, B. (1992): *Diccionario de la lengua española*, Real Academia de la Lengua, 21th. Ed., Madrid,
- DOMÍNGUEZ FAURA, N. (1994): "Juan de Betanzos y las primeras cartillas de evangelización en la Lengua General del Inga (1536-1542)" in *La venida del reino. Religión, evangelización y cultura en América. Siglos XVI – XX*, Ed. CERA Bartolomé de Las Casas, Cusco, p. 65-74.
- Expedientes de hidalguía de Granada <<http://www.ldelpino.com/hidalgrana.html>>.
- Expedientes de hidalguía de Valladolid <<http://www.ldelpino.com/hidalg.html>>.
- ENGUITA UTRILLA, J. M. (1996): "Indoamericanismos léxicos en algunos textos relativos a la conquista y colonización del Nuevo Mundo" in *Studia Neophilologica*, Scandinavian University Press, Vol. LXVIII, No. 2, p. 233-243.
- ENGUITA UTRILLA, J. M. (1979): "Indoamericanismos léxicos en el *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias*" in *Anuario de Letras*, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Centro de Lingüística Hispánica, UNAM, México, p. 285-304.
- FOSSA, L. (In press): *Los Inkas bajo la pluma española*, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.
- FOSSA, L. (In press): "Betanzos, Sarmiento y Quipocamayos: una familia de textos," in *Construyendo la historia hispanoamericana a partir de las crónicas de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- FOSSA, L. (2003): <<http://www.coh.arizona.edu/spanish/FossaLydia/Betanzos.htm>>.
- FOSSA, L. (2001): <<http://www.coh.arizona.edu/spanish/FossaLydia/Ondegardo/Ondegardo.html>>.
- FOSSA, L. (1998): "La apropiación de lo 'nuevo': la traducción," en *Actas del II Congreso Nacional de Investigaciones Lingüístico-Filológicas*, Universidad Ricardo Palma, Facultad de Lenguas Modernas, Lima, Perú, p. 161-170.
- GÁLVEZ ASTORAYME, I. (1990): *Quechua Ayacuchoano. Primer Curso*, Ed. Extramuros, Lima.
- GÁMEZ, T. de (1997): *Simon and Schuster's International Dictionary. English/Spanish. Spanish/English*, Prentice Hall, New York.
- GENEALOGIES <www.genealogiaespañola.com>.
- HAMPE MARTÍNEZ, T. (1981): "La actuación del Obispo Vicente de Valverde en el Perú" en *Historia y Cultura*, Nos. 13 y 14, Lima, p. 109-153.
- ITIER, C. (1995): "La littérature quechua d'évangélisation (XVI^e et XVII^e siècles) comme source ethnolinguistique" in *Amérindia. Revue d'ethnolinguistique amérindienne*. Vol 19/20, SELAF, Paris, p. 321-330.
- ITIER, C. (1993): "Estudio y comentario lingüístico," in *Relacion de antigüedades deste reyno del Piru* by Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, IFEA-CBC, Cuzco, p. 129-178.
- LAROUSSE (2000): *El pequeño Larousse ilustrado 2001*, 7th. Edition, Colombia.
- LISSON CHAVES, E. (Ed.) (1943): *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, Sevilla.

- LOHMANN VILLENA, G. (1997): "Unas notas documentales sobre Juan Díez de Betanzos," in *Arqueología, antropología e historia en los Andes. Homenaje a Maria Rostworowski*, Ed. Rafael Varón Gabai and Javier Flores Espinoza, IEP and BCR, Lima, p. 127-131.
- LÓPEZ-MORALES, H. (1990): "Penetración de indigenismos antillanos en el español del siglo XVI," in *1er. Simposio de filología iberoamericana*, Zaragoza, Libros Pórtico, p. 137-152.
- LÜDTKE, J. (1994): "Estudio lingüístico de la *Información de los Jerónimos* (1517)," in *El español de América en el siglo XVI. Actas del Simposio del Instituto Iberoamericano de Berlín*, J. Lüdtke, comp., Vervuert-Iberoamericana, Frankfurt and Madrid, p. 73-85.
- MARTÍNEZ (¿?) and A. FRAY (1920): "Discurso sobre la descendencia y gobierno de los Incas" (Decaración de los quipocamayos a Vaca de Castro) in *Informaciones sobre el Antiguo Perú. Crónicas de 1535 a 1575*, Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la Historia del Perú, Tomo III, Second Series. Ed. Horacio H. Urteaga, Lima.
- NIRANJANA, T. (1992) *Siting Translation. History, Post-Structuralism and the Colonial Context*, U of California Press.
- ONDEGARDO, P. (1990): *Notables daños de no guardar a los yndios sus fueros... [1571]* (*El mundo de los incas*) Laura González and Alicia Alonso, eds., Historia 16, Madrid.
- PEASE, G.Y. (1991): *Los Incas*, Fondo Editorial Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima.
- PÉREZ FERNÁNDEZ, I. (1986): *Bartolomé de las Casas en el Perú. El espíritu lascasiano en la primera evangelización del imperio incaico. 1531-1573*, CERA B. de las Casas, Cuzco.
- PORRAS BARRENECHEA, R. (1986). *Los cronistas del Perú (1528-1650)*, Ed. Banco de Crédito, Lima.
- PRATT, M. L. (2002): "The Traffic in Meaning: Translation, Contagion, Infiltration," en *Profession 2002*, Modern Language Association of America (MLA), New York, p. 25-36.
- PYM, A. (2000): "On Method in Hispanic Translation History," Paper presented to the V Jornadas Internacionales de Historia de la traducción, Universidad de León, 28-31 May.
- RAFAEL, V. L. (1993): *Contracting Colonialism. Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*, Duke University Press, Durham and London.
- ROSTWOROWSKI, M. (1983): *Estructuras andinas del poder. Ideología religiosa y política*, Ed. IEP, Lima.
- SANTO TOMÁS, D. de (1951): *Lexicon o vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú*, Valladolid, Fernández de Córdova, Ed. Fac, UNMSM, Lima.
- SCHLEIERMACHER, F. (1992): "From *On the Different Methods of Translating*," in *Theories of Translation. An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*, University of Oxford Press.
- TIEFFEMBERG, S. (1989): "Acerca de los americanismos léxicos en la *Argentina* de Barco Centenera," in *Anuario de Letras*, Instituto de investigaciones filológicas de la UNAM, Vol. XXVII, México, p. 295-312.
- VENUTI, L. (1993): "Translation as Cultural Politics: Regimes of Domestication in English," in *Textual Practice*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Routledge, p. 208-223.
- ZÁRATE, A. De (1557): *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Peru*, 2nda. Ed., Alonso Escrivano, Sevilla.