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## A Translation History of Fontaneda

by Peter Ferdinando

### Introduction

The captivity of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda<sup>1</sup> by the Calusa Indians led to the creation of a series of documents that vividly depict the indigenous peoples of southern Florida. These writings clearly have proto-ethnographic qualities. Students of Florida history and archaeology have frequently utilized this information to better understand native peoples who lived on the peninsula.<sup>2</sup> In the case of Fontaneda's writings, however, we must ask vital questions about translation. He wrote in sixteenth century Spanish, yet the current lingua franca of the academic and research community in the United States is the

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1. This paper follows established tradition and utilizes Fontaneda as the surname abbreviation, instead of the more appropriate Escalante or Escalante Fontaneda.
2. For example, John H. Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995); Ryan J. Wheeler, *Treasure of the Calusa: The Johnson/Willcox Collection from Mound Key, Florida*, Monographs in Florida Archaeology (Tallahassee: Rose Printing, 2000); and Randolph J. Widmer, *The Evolution of the Calusa: A Nonagricultural Chiefdom on the Southwest Florida Coast* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988); along with numerous others.

English of the twenty-first century. This paper investigates the Fontaneda's texts as they have been translated over the years; the path from his original Spanish version, through several transcriptions, to its translation into multiple English versions. This translation history is more than a mere recitation of the publication history of Fontaneda's documents. It also delves into the similarities and differences between these texts, both interlingually (i.e., from Spanish to English) and intralingually (i.e., between the English versions) and assesses the potential influence of individual translators in enacting prevailing societal norms in translations, considerations of audience, and the translator's position vis-à-vis the split between antiquarians and professional historians. The importance of Fontaneda's writing to the ethnohistory of southern Florida indicates that this project is long overdue.

### Theoretical and Methodological Background

Despite the importance of Fontaneda to Florida historians and archaeologists, it is essential to delve into the theoretical and methodological background of another discipline for the necessary investigative tools to approach the present examination. Indeed, while linguistic translation has been important since the mythical confusion of Babel, Translation Studies as a distinct research entity is still relatively young.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, several important theoretical and methodological insights from this discipline influence this paper, including translative norms, the influence of the translators, and, of course, translation history.

Gideon Toury's work on norms is vital to this translation history.<sup>4</sup> He divided norms into preliminary and operational, with the former focused on the general overarching policy applied to translation and the latter emphasizing the actual choices made during a specific translation. Moreover, operational norms focus on the models followed for the acceptance of translations as legitimate. Toury also splits such normalizing into basic, secondary, and other

3. For example, Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, introduction to *A Companion to Translation Studies*, eds. Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, Topics in Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 2007), 1-12.

4. Gideon Toury, "The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation," in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, eds. James S. Holmes, Jose Lambert, and Raymond van den Broeck (Leuven: ACCO, 1978), 83-100.

tolerated behaviors. These terms indicate the position of the translation activity vis-à-vis the accepted translative norm. In this schema, a basic translative norm would be practically mandatory, a secondary norm would be a favored activity, and the tolerated behavior is just that, merely permitted. Such norms can significantly influence the translator's decisions. Thus, utilizing these definitions, we can effectively track the influence of translative norms on the translations of Fontaneda.

The work of Anthony Pym is central to the development of a methodology for translation history, but Lynne Long also contributed some vital points.<sup>5</sup> Pym established four principles of translation history:

- 1) translation history should explain *why* translations were produced in a particular social time and place, 2) central object: should be the human translator, 3) if translation history is to focus on translators, it must organize the world around the social contexts where translators live and work, and 4) why anyone would want to do translation history in the first place.<sup>6</sup>

Pym also named three discourses of translation history.<sup>7</sup> The first discourse, archaeology, discusses the basic facts of translation. The second discourse, criticism, investigates reasons why the facts occurred, and the third element, explanation, tries to place the facts and reasons into context with the individuals involved. Additionally, Long noted that translation history is an important tool to analyze the same document through multiple translations; an idea clearly applicable to the multiple translations of Fontaneda.

The methods for this translation history are deceptively simple; review Fontaneda and his documents, discuss the available adaptations of his work analyzing the transcribers and translators, compare interlingual and intralingual selections drawn from these multiple versions, and finally, link these processes back to the theoretical work mentioned above. Discussion of Fontaneda

5. Lynne Long, "Chapter 4 History and Translation," in *A Companion of Translation Studies*, eds. Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, Topics in Translation (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters LTD, 2007), 63-76; and Anthony Pym, *Methods in Translation History* (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998).

6. Pym, *Methods in Translation History*, ix-xi.

7. Ibid, 5-6.

and his documents, along with the various transcribers and translators, is vital to situating them in their respective times and places. However, the primary analysis revolves around investigating the similarities and differences between the various versions of Fontaneda's text utilizing interlingual and intralingual comparisons. Interlingual analysis, is concerned with comparing the Spanish to the English. This is accomplished through the use of a literally translated English version in place of the Spanish. Such a literal translation will retain the word order and grammatical structure of the Spanish. Thus, alterations in the textual order can be investigated in respect to minor alterations for coherence in English, or greater changes for other, to be investigated, reasons. This literal version will not take into consideration the cultural context of the text. Intralingual comparison in contrast, assists with tracking changes in the English versions. The overall goal is to ascertain why the various versions of Fontaneda's documents were created, investigate the transcribers and translators, and analyze their academic position (e.g., avocational or professional historian), while trying to identify norms and influences on their work; i.e., a history of the translations. Yet, before this work begins, we must look at the man at the center of this expanding translative web, Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda.

### Fontaneda: The Man

Even though Fontaneda's exploits took place almost 500 years ago, today we have much information about his life (ca. 1536-1575).<sup>8</sup> His parents served the King in Spanish America; first in Peru, and later in Carthagen (in modern day Columbia). His mother, Doña Ana de Aldana and his father, Garcia de Escalante, a conquistador, had two sons, an unnamed older brother and Fontaneda. When Fontaneda was in his early teens, his parents

8. Along with some biographical data in his *Memoir*, additional information about Fontaneda is available in Gonzalo Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés: Memorial*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Connor (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964); Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), 148, 177; Gail Swanson, *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys and Miami, 1513-1765* (Haverford: Infinity Publishing, 2003), 67-68; and John E. Worth, *Discovering Florida: First-Contact Narratives from Florida's Lower Gulf Coast* (Draft Manuscript in Review: University Press of Florida, n.d.).

sent the brothers to Salamanca, Spain, for education. During the voyage they were shipwrecked along the Florida coast. Calusa Indians, found a number of survivors and brought them to Carlos, both the name of the ruling cacique (chief) and the capital town of the Calusa domain. The Calusa killed many of the shipwreck survivors, including Fontaneda's brother. Fontaneda described the sacrificial practices of the Calusa in one of his textual fragments.

In his writings, Fontaneda notes that he was thirteen years of age when shipwrecked and thirty years old when rescued. The Pedro Menéndez de Avilés expedition to the southwest rescued Fontaneda in 1566, placing the shipwreck in 1549.<sup>9</sup> Menéndez, the *adelantado* of Florida and founder of St. Augustine, employed several former captives as interpreters. Historian Eugene Lyon observed that Fontaneda served as a translator in this regard, based on the presence of his name on a list of supplies from 1566-1569.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Fontaneda's linguistic skill and familiarity with the Calusa cacique would have been extremely useful for Menéndez. Following this effort, Fontaneda returned to Spain and wrote his various texts by 1575. After this, he disappeared from the historical record.

### Fontaneda: The Documents

The most extensive portion of Fontaneda's writing is commonly called the *Memoir*, although the full Spanish title is *Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida* (literal English rendering: Memory of the things and coast and indians of the Florida).<sup>11</sup> The *Memoir* takes the form of an address to the Spanish King and describes Florida's resources, places, and peoples. In it, Fontaneda suggested that he possesses extensive knowledge about this area, owing to his captivity, and that he speaks four Native American languages. Moreover, the *Memoir* included some of his suggestions for the proper exploitation of Florida. For example, Fontaneda offered a plan for controlling the Indian population that included enslaving

9. As noted in an extract from a letter of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to the Crown, October 20, 1566 in Worth, *Discovering Florida*, 419-425.

10. Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida*, 177.

11. Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoir*, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Archivo General de Indias, Patronato Real 18, Numero 5, <http://pares.mcu.es> (accessed May 2010).

some of them to help reduce their numbers and the potential threat they posed. He also advocated concepts that others later effectively employed in Florida. For example, he suggested the raising of cattle in the region, a practice that is still widespread today in the state. He also promoted the building of a fort on Florida's east coast to oversee the Bahamas Channel as a means of protecting the valuable shipping traffic from the New World back to Spain. It is unclear if Philip II of Spain ever saw the *Memoir*, or if what we have today is the final version of the document or merely a draft in progress. The following assortment of textual fragments suggests some revising had occurred.

The other textual elements, the *Memoranda*, *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*, are shorter pieces of text.<sup>12</sup> These may represent pieces deleted from, or planned for addition to, the main document. Buckingham Smith, the first English translator of Fontaneda's writings, appears to have named the *Memoranda*. Another translator, John E. Worth, noted that the original document has no title.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, what, in many versions, appears to be the title is actually a note inserted by a transcriber, Juan Bautista Muñoz. This note reads *Junto con la relacion antecedente, en un pliego suelto que le sirve de cubierta, va lo siguiente* (literal English rendering: Along with the relation preceding, in a sheet loose that the serves of cover, goes the following).<sup>14</sup> As Muñoz's note suggests, this piece originally appeared as part of the *Memoir*, but was separated from it sometime before the early 1900s. This note includes several paragraphs detailing a variety of topics, including local geography, a general introduction and preview of some of the upcoming subjects in the main document, a discussion of the Abalachi, and brief mention by Fontaneda that he cannot remember all the names for the towns in this region. Interestingly, in his English translation, Smith noted locations in the *Memoir* where the

12. Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoranda* and *Memorial*, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Archivo General de Indias, Patronato Real 19, Ramo 32, <http://pares.mcu.es>, (accessed May 2010); and Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, Portal de Archivos Españoles, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General 1529, Numero 40, <http://pares.mcu.es> (accessed May 2010).

13. John E. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited: Five Descriptions of Sixteenth-Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (January 1995): 347.

14. Juan Bautista Muñoz, *Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida*, *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel D. Cervantes*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com> (accessed May 2010).

*Memoranda* paragraphs either should be positioned or from where they were deleted.

The *Memorial*, full name *Memoria de todos los caciques de la Florida* (literal English rendering: Memorial of every the caciques of the Florida), is a listing of towns/caciques in Florida. It appears to be a more extensive version of a similar list found in the *Memoir*. Indeed, as the list in the *Memorial* includes additional names that Fontaneda apparently did not remember while drafting the *Memoir*, it suggests that Fontaneda drafted the former after the latter.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2* detail some of the more gruesome customs of the Indians of southern Florida, including the sacrifice of captives and the treatment of deceased caciques. *Fragment 1* details customs among the Calusa, and is simply entitled *Memoria* (literal English rendering: Memorial). *Fragment 2* deals with the Tocobaga and Tequesta. Since it addresses two distinct tribes, this textual fragment is divided into *Fragment 2A* and *Fragment 2B* for this paper. Moreover, each piece has its own title: *Memoria de los yndios y ceremonias de los yndios de Tocobaga* (literal English rendering: Memorial of the indians and ceremonies of the indians of Tocobaga) and *Los yndios de Tegesta que es otra provincial dende los martires hasta el Cañaberal* (literal English rendering: The indians of Tequesta that is another province from the martyrs as far as the Canaveral). It is unclear if Fontaneda drafted these fragments after the main document, or if these fragments were deleted from it due to the aforementioned unseemly details. However, these pieces, along with the *Memoranda* and *Memorial*, add significant cultural data to the information already present in Fontaneda's *Memoir*.

The *Archivo General de Indias* in Sevilla, Spain holds the original copies of Fontaneda's documents. I did not have direct access to them for this project. However, they are available digitally through the *Portal de Archivos Españoles* and I consulted this electronic copy for the present paper. The difficulty of accessing rare, fragile, and far distant documents has gratefully begun to ease due to the digitization and posting of many similar texts on the Internet. Nonetheless, transcriptions are also of importance because the foundations of the vast majority of English translations of Fontaneda are transcripts, not the original documents.

15. As previously suggested by Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited," 341.

### The Transcriptions: Spreading the Source

Juan Bautista Muñoz, Jeannette Thurber Connor, Woodbury Lowery, and John E. Worth have undertaken Spanish transcription of Fontaneda's documents. Short biographical details about these transcribers are included in the descriptions below. Although somewhat brief, these sketches will assist with identifying each transcription's time and place of creation. There are two important points to note in reference to the following analysis. First, Lowery's transcriptions were not available for this study. Second, most transcribers only worked with one or two of Fontaneda's documents, resulting in a hodgepodge of transcriptions. Indeed, Worth appears to be the only transcriber to have copied every known Fontaneda piece.

Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745-1799) transcribed Fontaneda's *Memoir* and *Memoranda* sometime in the late eighteenth century while gathering documents for his *History of the New World*.<sup>16</sup> He was a well-known historian of Spanish America. Many of the documents he gathered became the foundation of the *Archivo General de Indias*. Muñoz also added a few brief notes to Fontaneda's original documents. The most pertinent is his assessment of Fontaneda's *Memoir*: "*Muy buena relacion, aunque de hombre que no conocia el arte de escribir, y asi quedan muchos perodos sin sentido*" (literal English rendering: Very good relation, although of man that no know the art of writing, and thus are many times without sense).<sup>17</sup> From his notes it is also clear that Fontaneda's *Memoranda* was attached to the *Memoir* at the time Muñoz transcribed these two pieces. One of Fontaneda's translators, Buckingham Smith, accessed a copy of Muñoz's transcription held in the Rich Collection at the New York Public Library. Additionally, a published copy of Muñoz's transcription is available in *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Espanolas en America y Oceania* (literal English rendering: Collections of unpublished documents relating to the discovery, conquest and organization of the former Spanish possessions in America and Oceania).<sup>18</sup> Finally, a transcript of Muñoz's work is available elec-

16. Juan Bautista Muñoz, *The History of the New World* (London: Printed for G.G. and J. Robinson, Patervoster-Row, 1797).

17. Muñoz, *Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida*.

18. D. Luis Torres de Mendoza, *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones Espanolas en America y Oceania* (Madrid: Imprenta de Frias y compania, 1866), 532-548.

tronically from the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* (BVMC). It is from this final source that I analyzed Muñoz's Spanish transcription of the *Memoir* and *Memoranda* for this project. Interestingly, as noted later in this paper, the Muñoz transcription included silent corrections to Fontaneda's spelling and grammar, i.e., although he did not acknowledge his editing of the source material, Muñoz's transcription corrects spelling errors and adds grammatical structure. These silent alterations are especially noticeable in comparison with the original documents and the transcriptions of Conner and Worth.

The next transcript of the *Memoir* was created by Jeannette Thurber Connor (1872-1927). She transcribed and translated documents from the *Archivo General de Indias* for deposit in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the New York Historical Society. Connor did not transcribe the *Memoranda*. As alluded to earlier, it appears that the *Memoranda* was separated from the *Memoir* by the time Connor transcribed the latter.<sup>19</sup> Although the specific date of her transcription is unknown, considering the time Connor was actively researching and publishing suggests that it was sometime during the first few decades of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> David O. True reprinted a copy of Connor's Spanish transcript of the *Memoir*, held by the Library of Congress, in his volume about Fontaneda; it is from True's source that Connor's transcript was sourced for this study.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, Connor's transcript includes a number of, apparently, misspelled words, little grammatical marks, e.g., punctuation, and numerous '/' and '//' throughout. However, these elements appear in Fontaneda's original documents, and are not errors on the part of Connor.

19. As also noted by John E. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited," 339.

20. For example, Jeannette Thurber Connor, trans. and ed., *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: Letters and Reports of Governors and Secular Persons, Volume I, 1570-1577* (Deland: Publication of the Florida State Historical Society, 1925); Jeannette Thurber Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida: Letters and Reports of Governors, Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, Royal Decrees, and other Documents, Volume II, 1577-1580* (Deland: Publication of the Florida State Historical Society, 1930); and Solis de Meras, *Pedro Menendez de Avilés*, Jeannette Thurber Connor, trans.

21. David O. True, trans. and ed., *Memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida* (Miami: University of Miami and the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1944; reprint, Coral Gables: Glades House, 1945).

Leaving his life as a lawyer, Woodbury Lowery (1853-1906) wrote extensively about the Spanish settlement of the New World and left a significant document legacy at the Library of Congress.<sup>22</sup> He transcribed the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. Unfortunately, Lowery's Spanish transcriptions were not within reach of this project. However, several English translations based on his transcriptions are utilized in this paper for intralingual examination, although, the authorship of these pieces is misattributed to Juan López de Velasco.

The final transcriber under consideration is John E. Worth (1966-), who is currently an Assistant Professor at the University of West Florida. Worth's interest in Fontaneda spans the last several decades. He was the first to publish a correct attribution of Fontaneda as the author of the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, his forthcoming book is the first time a transcription and translation of all of Fontaneda's documents have appeared in one source.<sup>24</sup> His transcript of the *Memoir* is, in many respects, similar to that of Connor, retaining Fontaneda's original spelling and lack of grammar. Moreover, Worth's transcript of the *Memoranda* serves as a useful comparison to Muñoz's because of the latter's aforementioned penchant for silent spelling and grammar fixes. Worth's new volume, especially his transcripts, were an invaluable resource for this present translation history.

Interestingly, despite being separated by several hundred years, these four transcribers do share some similarities, along with some to-be-expected differences. For example, they were all deeply familiar with their subject material. This is clearly illustrated by their respective multiple publications concerning the history of the New World. Muñoz and Worth could be classified as historians, albeit of quite different eras, while both Connor and Lowery might be considered antiquarians. Yet, the texts do not reflect this antiquarian-historian dichotomy. In actuality, it appears that the specific context and time of the transcriptions

22. For example, Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States: Florida, 1562-1574* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905); Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States Florida, 1513-1561* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911); along with 8 reels of microfilm on file at the Library of Congress.

23. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited."

24. Worth, *Discovering Florida*.

resulted in the observed differences. Undeniably, the biggest divergence in these transcripts is between Muñoz, on the one hand, and Connor and Worth, on the other hand. This difference in the rendering of Fontaneda's spelling and grammar will be explored later in this paper.

### Translations: The Document Trail

English translations of Fontaneda are available from a variety of sources. However, only Worth's forthcoming volume includes translations of all five known documents. The following descriptions of the translations are in chronological order, with reference to the specific transcription utilized, if known. Moreover, short biographical details about the translators are included to help situate the translator and their translation in time and place. Published version of the English translations under discussion appeared between 1854 and the present day, thus spanning over one hundred and fifty years. Yet, the first translation of Fontaneda appeared in French, not English.

Henri Ternaux-Compan (1807-1864) published a French translation of Fontaneda in 1841.<sup>25</sup> This text included both the *Memoir* and *Memoranda*. It used Muñoz's Spanish transcription and included several of Muñoz's notes. Compan altered Fontaneda to Fontanedo, a change retained by several future English translators. Compan was a historian who also served in the French embassies in Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Consequently, he appears to have had a familiarity with Spanish and the Americas. After these appointments ended, he studied documents in libraries in Spain and South America. Along with the volume that includes Fontaneda's *Memoir*, he published additional works on the early history of South America.<sup>26</sup>

Unfortunately, I can provide little more about Compan's translation of Fontaneda because I do not read French. Nonetheless, I refer to it here for two reasons. First, it is included because it is the first published translation of Fontaneda's work. Second, several English translations utilize this French translation

25. Henri Ternaux-Compan, *Voyages, relations et memoires originaux pour servir A l'histoire de la decouverte de l'Amerique* (Paris: Artmus Bertrand, 1841), 9-42.

26. For example, Henri Ternaux-Compan, *Bibliothèque Americaine, ou catalogue des ouvrages relatifs a l'Amerique depuis sa decouverte en 1493, jusqu'en l'an 1700* (Amsterdam: B.R. Gruner, 1968).

as their primary source rather than referencing a Spanish transcription. Thus, due to the French translation tradition of '*les belles infidels*,' i.e., beautiful renditions of sources that are perhaps not always the most faithful translations of the original texts, it is quite possible that this version of Fontaneda, while certainly beautiful, will be less faithful to the original. The English translations based on Compan's writings are undoubtedly more readable than those obtained from the Spanish versions, but they also appear to stray from the source.

The earliest known English translation of Fontaneda's *Memoir* and *Memoranda* was by Buckingham Smith (1810-1871). He published this volume in 1854 based on the Muñoz transcript.<sup>27</sup> Smith published extensively, including many works translated from Spanish to English.<sup>28</sup> Significant biographical information concerning Smith can be found in a memorial to him in a posthumous volume of the translation.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the details of his life appear to have situated him in several prime positions to access original documents and to acquire the necessary skills to translate them from Spanish into English. He grew up in St. Augustine where he established a permanent residence when not working on other assignments. Smith also often accompanied his father to Mexico during his teenage years. This experience apparently left him with the bilingual ability necessary for translation. He studied law at Harvard, later entered politics, was elected to the Florida Senate, and received several governmental appointments to Mexico and Spain. While in Mexico, he met other individuals interested in history and translated a number of documents for publication. Through such activities he became a member of the New York Historical Society, the American Ethnological Society, the American Antiquarian Society, and the New England Historical-Genealogical Society. He continued his research while working in Spain. What emerges from this brief portrait is an antiquarian of the highest order, a man dedicated to uncovering historical details.

27. Buckingham Smith, trans., *Letter of Hernando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda*, (Washington, 1854).

28. For example, Buckingham Smith, trans., *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1966).

29. Shea, J. Gilmary, "Memoir of Thomas Buckingham Smith," in Smith, *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*, 255-263.

The second published English translation of Fontaneda comes by a slightly roundabout route. B. F. French's (1799-1877) 1875 version used the French translation of Compan, which is based on Muñoz's Spanish transcription.<sup>30</sup> French only published the *Memoir*, despite the fact that Compan included the *Memoranda*. Also of interest, French's translation retains Compan's misspelling of Fontaneda as Fontanedo. French also changed the organization of the text, dividing it into three chapters. Along with the volume that includes Fontaneda, French also published other historical materials.<sup>31</sup> Although research for this paper revealed little more about him, he appears to have been more of an antiquarian than historian in his methodology.

Barnard Shipp (1813- unknown) used elements of French's translation in his own version of Fontaneda's text.<sup>32</sup> Published in 1881, Shipp's version is shorter than French's English adaptation of Compan's French translation. Some of the deletions appear related to Fontaneda's penchant for repetition, while the reason for other removals is simply not clear. Moreover, in comparison with French's translation, Shipp's version has slightly different grammar, and is not separated into three chapters. Nonetheless, the similarities between these versions clearly indicate that French is the source for Shipp's edition. As with French, Shipp only published the *Memoir*, not the *Memoranda*. He also published another volume on *The Indian and antiquities of America*.<sup>33</sup> Little else is known about Shipp, although he also published another volume focused on *The Indian and Antiquities of America*. In sum, he appears to fit the nineteenth century antiquarian model similar to Smith and French.

Anthropologist John Reed Swanton (1873-1958) was the first professional researcher to utilize English translations of Fontaneda. He worked for the Bureau of American Ethnology, and published

30. B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida: Including Translations of Original Manuscripts Relating to Their Discovery and Settlement; Historical Memoirs and Narratives, 1527-1702* (New York: Albert Mason, 1875), 235-265.

31. For example, B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana Embracing Translations of Many Rare and Valuable Documents Relating to the Natural, Civil and Political History of the State* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846).

32. Barnard Shipp, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida; or, Record of the Events of Fifty-Six Years, from 1512 to 1568* (Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay, 1881), 584-589.

33. Barnard Shipp, *The Indian and Antiquities of America* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1897).

several extensive tomes.<sup>34</sup> In two of these volumes, one from 1922, and the second from 1946, Swanton included some excerpts from Fontaneda's *Memoir*, along with the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. His *Memoir* translations are based on the work of B. F. French, and thus trace back to Compan's French translation of Muñoz's Spanish transcription. It is unclear why Swanton used a version so far removed from the original, especially when he was familiar with Smith's English translation, which is included in Swanton's bibliography. However, perhaps he made this choice based on the work's readability. Whereas Smith's version retains much of the repetition and literal flow of Fontaneda, French's version is more accessible to the general reader. For the *Memorial* translation, Swanton utilized Lowery's transcript. He speculated that this text might be from the hand of Fontaneda. He also sourced *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2* from Lowery, using translations prepared by Brooks. Information about Brooks is quite scant, although historian John H. Hann noted that the Brooks translations "left much to be desired and deleted important details as well."<sup>35</sup> Concerning *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, Swanton noted these textual fragments are from "*Notes and Annotations of the Cosmographer, López de Velasco*." Swanton's published volumes are extensive and represent the author's keen intellect and expansive knowledge. However, his choices in reference to Fontaneda's documents suggest he may have been slightly careless when choosing source data or he preferred audience readability over accuracy. Nonetheless, some allowances are possible, especially due to the sheer size and span of the topic covered in these volumes, and this fact may outweigh the need to focus intently on the little details about a single cultural group at the extremes of his research scope.

David O. True (unknown-1967) edited the next English translation of Fontaneda, which was published in 1944.<sup>36</sup> He consciously designed this volume as an updated version of Smith's translation. Indeed, True stated that it was a "reappraisal and amended translation of Fontaneda's *Memoir* by Buckingham Smith," and "in this

34. For example, John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922); and John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946).

35. John H. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, Ripley P. Bullen Series (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 315.

36. True, *Memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida*.

reprint, we have retained Buckingham Smith's translation, where the meaning is not materially different, although the flowing vocabulary of Smith is quite at variance with the stilted expressions and tireless repetitions of Fontaneda."<sup>37</sup> For his updating of the English translation of the *Memoir*, True used both the Muñoz transcription as brought through in Smith and Connor's transcription, the latter of which is included in True's book. For the *Memoranda*, True utilized Muñoz's transcription, as this was the only one available. The Spanish text of the *Memoranda* is also included in True's volume. Concerning possible errors in Smith's translation, True stated "his errors are due to some extent to the imperfect copy made for Muñoz . . . some are due to careless proof reading . . . errors of translation are few . . . [but] . . . they have thrown some of the most important passages into confusion."<sup>38</sup> Moreover, he observed that it is remarkable that those interested in the history of Florida "accepted Buckingham Smith's translation without checking the original document or Spanish copies made from it."<sup>39</sup>

Additional data about True's volume is available from a small anonymous publication announcement in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.<sup>40</sup> The author of this announcement noted that a reprint is necessary because Smith's book was limited to one hundred copies, is rare, and hence difficult to access. Additionally, the anonymous writer confirms the source of the Spanish transcription of the *Memoir* included with True's volume, noting that the transcription included was from the version placed in the Library of Congress by Connor. It also comments that this volume included an introduction by True and textual notes by True, Smith, and Swanton. Finally, this announcement indicated that Angela del Castillo suggested certain corrections to Smith's translations, but this fact is not further explained.

Biographical and other information about True is available from his obituary, along with his other publications.<sup>41</sup> He was a long time member of the Florida Historical Society, and served on

37. *Ibid.*, 7, 17.

38. *Ibid.*, 17.

39. *Ibid.*, 16.

40. "A Reprint of Fontaneda," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (April 1945): 249-250.

41. "Obituary David O. True," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (April 1967): 439; David O. True, "The Freducci Map of 1514-1515: What it Discloses of Early Florida History," *Tequesta* 4 (1944): 50-55; David O. True, "Some Early Maps Relating to Florida," *Imago Mundi* 11 (1954): 73-84; and David O. True, "Cabot Explorations in North America," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 11-25.

the editorial board of the *Tequesta* journal. He also published articles on cartography, and helped get photocopies of rare early maps for the Library of Congress, the University of Miami Library, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Consequently, it appears True was interested in numerous projects and did not specifically focus on translating documents. Thus, True's research focus, coupled with the noted assistance from Castillo, suggests True may not have possessed the translative skills to complete a new translation. These factors may answer why the True text was consciously designed as a revision of Smith, rather than an original translation from Spanish transcriptions.

John H. Hann (1926-2009) worked tirelessly to advance our understanding of Florida history through the publication of numerous books.<sup>42</sup> His 1991 volume of document translations concerning the Calusa included the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. Hann did not recognize Fontaneda as the author; these pieces are in a section entitled "*Brief Memorials and Notes, 1569(?) by Juan López de Velasco.*"<sup>43</sup> They are based on Lowery's, work and an additional copy of *Fragment 1* from Stapells-Johnson. No additional data has yet been located concerning Stapells-Johnson. Hann referenced Swanton's publication of *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, but he noted that Swanton employed the inadequate translations of Brooks.<sup>44</sup> Hann was clearly a professional historian. In addition, he was the site historian for Mission San Luis, an important archaeological site situated at the location of a Spanish mission in an Apalachee Indian village.

John E. Worth (1966- ) undertook the next translations of Fontaneda.<sup>45</sup> As mentioned before, he is an Assistant Professor at the University of West Florida, and is best classified as a professional anthropologist. His 1995 article is indispensable for several reasons. First, his English translations were the first to utilize the original documents. Second, he was the first to confirm that Fontaneda authored the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*. Third, his article represents a prototypical translation history,

42. For example John H. Hann, *A History of Timucua Indians and Missions*, Ripley P. Bullen Series (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); and Hann, *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763*.

43. Hann, *Missions to the Calusa*, 315-319.

44. *Ibid*, 315.

45. Worth, "Fontaneda Revisited;" and Worth, *Discovering Florida*.

including a number of references to the transcribers and translators of Fontaneda. Indeed, it was a useful resource for this paper. Even more important, his forthcoming book is the first publication to include all five of Fontaneda's documents transcribed and translated together. Moreover, the source of his transcriptions and translations are directly from the original documents and represent an important step forward for the continued use of the vital ethnographic information found in the writings of Fontaneda. Due to his extensive, long term work with the Fontaneda documents, Worth has two different translations of the *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*, which will be distinguished in Worth 1995 for his article from that year, and Worth n.d., for this forthcoming volume.

Excerpts from Fontaneda's work continue to appear in books about Florida history. For example, Gail Swanson includes excerpts from True's Fontaneda translations in her book covering the Native Americans of the Florida Keys and the Miami area.<sup>46</sup> The importance of Fontaneda for Florida history and archaeology is immeasurable. As a result, we must endeavor to overcome the inherent translation problems in such documents.

Based on the available translations of Fontaneda, it is clear that a number of individuals have tackled this endeavor over the last one hundred and fifty years. The translators can be loosely separated into avocation antiquarians (French, Shipp, Smith, and True) practicing history after and around their other careers, and professional researchers (Swanton, Hann, and Worth) whose academic duties include working on these translations. There is clearly a temporal dimension to this avocational-professional division, with the modern development of college programs in history and anthropology contributing to the growth of the profession of the past. Nonetheless, the greatest textual division is evident between those books destined for more general readership, i.e., the more readable but less faithful French, Shipp, and Swanton, and those books aimed at a more specialized and academic audience, i.e., the work of Smith, True, Hann, and Worth. Indeed, the following textual analysis clearly supports this separation based on a hypothesized target audience.

46. Swanson, *Documentation of the Indians of the Florida Keys and Miami, 1513-1765*.

### Selection Rationale

Five excerpts were selected from the relevant materials available (see **Appendix: Selections from Fontaneda**). A number of factors influenced the choices, including the availability of Spanish transcription, the presence of multiple English translations, and variation in style and content. Two excerpts were drawn from the Spanish transcripts of the *Memoir* (Muñoz, Connor, and Worth), and one excerpt from each of the following: the *Memoranda* (Muñoz, and Worth), *Fragment 1* (Worth), and *Fragment 2* (Worth). Additionally, in consultation with digital copies of the original documents and Worth's new transcripts, I created transcripts of these five sections to aid with the literally translated English version necessary for interlingual analysis.

Importantly, each of the five selections is available in multiple English translations. The first selection from the *Memoir* is a general description of the Florida land, peoples, and food resources and is included in Smith, French, Shipp, Swanton(French), True, and Worth. The second selection from the *Memoir* details the social-cultural-political relationship between groups in southern Florida and the division of shipwreck riches among these populations and can be found in Smith, French, Shipp, True, and Worth. The selection from the *Memoranda* details the geography of the islands to Florida's south and east, including the Keys, Tortugas, and Bahamas and is available in Smith, True, and Worth. The other two selections are from *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2*, and are from Swanton (Brooks), and Hann, along with two different translations by Worth. For the present analysis, all of *Fragment 1* is included. This short text discusses the four kinds of human sacrifices performed by the Calusa. For the last selection, this paper uses the second half of *Fragment 2B*. This excerpt discusses the Tequesta custom for hunting marine mammals. Each of these choices differs in textual content, ranging from more concrete realities such as geography, to ideas that are more esoteric and open to debate like the socio-cultural relationships between different groups in southern Florida, from the practicalities of hunting to the enigmatic nature of religious practice. Thus, through choosing such differential content in these selections, it is possible to investigate if certain aspects of culture are harder to translate than others.

### Comparing and Contrasting the Selections

This section contains the actual textual analysis of the transcriptions and translations of Fontaneda. Initially, concerning the *Memoir* and *Memoranda* transcripts, there are several differences of note between that of Muñoz, on the one hand, and that of Connor (for the *Memoir* only), Worth, and the present author, on the other. Muñoz clearly altered Fontaneda's spelling and grammar to reflect a transition from 1500s to 1700s Spanish. Indeed, the founding of the *Real Academia Española* in 1713 surely brought pressure for regularization of the Spanish language. Some examples from Muñoz include the word 'inside', rendered as '*adentro*' instead of '*dentro*' as in Fontaneda, or 'I leave' as '*dejando*' instead of '*dexando*'. Additionally, Muñoz adds punctuation to Fontaneda and removes the insistent '/' and '//' that abound in the original. Clearly, the influence of the *Real Academia Española* and an awareness of what might constitute legitimate Spanish had some bearing on Muñoz's transcription choices. Discussion of such regularizing norms is included in the next section linking these observations to the theory covered earlier.

Another major difference between Worth's *Memoir* transcript and every other available one relates to a piece of text discussing the towns and inhabitants around Lake Okeechobee. Worth renders this important section as "*muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta I quarenta [I veinte otros tantos] lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns although they are of thirty and forty [and twenty other many] places), whereas Muñoz states "*muchos pueblos, aunque san de treynta y cuarenta vecinos, y otros tantos lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns, although they are of thirty and forty residents, and others many places), Connor states "*muchos pueblos avnque son de treynta I quarenta vs<sup>o</sup> y otros tantos lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns although they are of thirty and forty [each?] and others many places), and this author rendered it as "*muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta I quarenta lugares*" (literal English rendering: many towns although they are of thirty and forty places). The above rendering by Worth represents the most precise interpretation of this snippet from Fontaneda. All the other transcribers missed the text that Worth placed in square brackets. In the original Fontaneda documents, these elusive few words are included in extremely small letters above the rest of the sentence. Indeed, even this author's transcript does not include this snippet because

it was not seen during initial transcription; although, after comparing Worth's transcript to an enlarged copy of the original document, it is clear his rendering of the text is accurate.

Finally, comparing and contrasting the transcript excerpts from Fontaneda's *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2B* indicates there are a few differences of note between the versions of Worth and this author. The primary distinction relates to text in square brackets, i.e., text that is not legible in the original document due to damage or shorthand notations. This especially affects *Fragment 1*, where the right edge of the document has frayed, losing a letter or two off the edge. However, in no case does this impair the ability to render the text as Fontaneda wrote it over four hundred years ago.

As for the translations themselves, in terms of the first selection from the *Memoir*, the intralingual comparisons indicate several interesting things. The English excerpts are roughly divided into two groups, with Smith, True, and Worth's translations being significantly more literal than the others but harder to understand, whereas French, Shipp, and Swanton (French) offer less literal translations leading to a better flow and easier comprehensibility for the general audience. To accomplish the latter, the translators removed a number of the repetitions and transitional phrases from Fontaneda's writings, and the order of some of the text was changed. Additionally, Shipp deleted the second half of the excerpt for no apparent reason. There are also some minor differences between Smith, True, and Worth, e.g., Smith's "the inhabitants make bread" becomes "they have bread" in True and Worth, or "very high flavor" in Smith is rendered as "very savory" in True and "very delicious" in Worth, or Smith's "which rises in some season so high" becomes the more compact "which rises greatly" in Worth. These examples reveal that Smith tended to be more colorful in his renderings.

The most interesting issue related to the first *Memoir* excerpt, however concerns the previously discussed text addressing the population around Lake Okeechobee. Smith translated it as there "are many towns, although of not more than thirty of forty souls each; and as many more places there are *in which people are not so numerous* (emphasis added)," True's rendering is almost identical, and Worth's version states "it has many towns, although they are of thirty and forty (*and just as many with twenty*) places (emphasis added)." This difference is clearly due to the inaccurate transcript of Muñoz and Connor used by Smith and True. Nonetheless, this

difference is vital because there is often a correlation between population size and socio-cultural complexity. Thus, Worth's rendering has important implications for interpreting the population size around Lake Okeechobee. He notes "this phrase is extremely ambiguous, yet pivotal in ethnographic importance"<sup>47</sup>

For the second selection from the *Memoir*, the intralingual comparison indicates some minor differences between Smith, True, French, Shipp, and Worth. First, there are some phrasing differences between Smith, True, and Worth. While Smith states "and he took what *appeared to him well*, or the best part" (emphasis added), True renders it as "and he took what *pleased him*, or the best part" (emphasis added), and Worth as "and he took what *seemed suitable to him*, or the best." This would again seem to be indicative of Smith's previously noted use of more verbose wordings, along with the individual differences of each translator. Indeed, while the text is different, the evoked feeling is quite similar. Second, there are also some variations between French and Shipp. As with the first selection from the *Memoir*, Shipp deletes material when compared to French. For example, Shipp drops several of the transition phrases, such as "I will say no more now on this subject, but proceed to speak." He fixes some of the grammar, removing repeated use of the word 'of', as in "the Indians of Ais, of Jeaga, of Guacata, of Mayajuaca, and of Mayaca (emphasis added)." However, he also misspells Jeaga as "Feaga." Finally, when comparing Smith and True to French and Shipp, several deletions are seen in the latter grouping, including the removal of a reference to the Ais tribe, silver bars, and the fact that Carlos was the individual dividing up the shipwreck riches. The answers to these three discrepancies can be resolved with a comparison to the interlingual version.

Several points of interest emerge when comparing the literally translated English version to the existing English translations of the second excerpt from the *Memoir*. As with Smith, True, and Worth, my rendering does note that the Ais were, in fact, the tribe receiving many of the shipwrecked riches; this is at odds with French and Shipp. However, as with Worth's new translation, I do not see any references to bars of silver or Carlos as the individual who divided the shipwreck riches, although both could certainly be inferred from surrounding context and other sources.

47. Worth, *Discovering Florida*, 426.

For the *Memoranda*, in the intralingual comparisons of the English translations there are interesting differences between Smith, on the one hand, and True and Worth on the other hand. The last sentence of this excerpt is distinctly ordered. Smith states “*all the coasts on the Bahama Channel*, so that many vessels are lost on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires” (emphasis added), whereas True states “so that many vessels are lost *all along the coasts of the Bahama Channel* and on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires” (emphasis added), and Worth notes “many ships are lost in *all that coast of the Bahama Channel*, and the Tortugas Islands and [the islands] of the Martyrs.” A possible answer lies with the literally translated English version, which I rendered similar to the ordering of True and Worth. Indeed, True observed that Smith’s translation included some errors “due to careless proof reading.”<sup>48</sup> Thus, it may be due to a distracted reading of Fontaneda that Smith flipped the components of this sentence.

For *Fragment 1*, the comparison of the English translations of Swanton (Brooks), Hann, and both translations by Worth are quite enlightening. First, the translations of Brooks published in Swanton are significantly reordered and rephrased when compared to the other translations. For example, instead of spelling out the individual sacrifices, i.e., the first sacrifice, the second sacrifice, etc., Brooks simplified it to first, second, etc. Additionally, Brooks significantly simplifies the first sentence of this piece, which is clear when compared to this paper’s interlingual version. Second, each of the translators renders the “entity” coming in the fourth sacrifice slightly differently, with Brooks referring to “witches,” Hann to “shamans,” Worth 1995 to “sorcerers,” and Worth n.d. to “shamans.” While witches, shamans, and sorcerers are all acceptable translation of the Spanish “*hechiceros*,” these terms’ cultural baggage is quite varied. Indeed, it is telling that Worth’s later translation changed from sorcerers to shamans. Moreover, while this paper’s interlingual version uses the term “sorcerers,” the focus of this literal rendering was purposely not on culturally sensitive word choice. From this example, it should be clear that the translator’s cultural context may influence their word choice. This is something discussed in the next section linking the current textual observations to the previously covered Translation Studies’ methodology and theory.

48. True, *Memoir of Do d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida*, 17.

An additional area of study with this textual fragment revolves around the changes between Worth 1995 and Worth n.d. Having two translations from the same person provides an interesting window into how individual translators can also change their rendering through time. For example, in 1995 Worth retained the Spanish word for the head Indian, i.e., "*cacique*," a term that has commonly currency in ethnohistorical study. Yet, his newer translation renders "*cacique*" as "chief." Additionally, Worth earlier translated the Spanish "*adoran*" as "they adore," whereas in his newer volume he renders it as "they worship." As with the above discussion of *hechiceros*, cultural considerations might influence whether a people adore an idol or worship it. Again, in the interlingual version, where cultural consideration was not the chief concern, adore was the term used.

The last excerpt, *Fragment 2B*, includes English translations found in Swanton (Brooks), Hann, and, again, two from Worth. There are some major differences between Brooks, on the one hand, and Hann and Worth, on the other. First, the marine mammals the Tequesta hunted were "sea cows" according to Brooks, but a "whale" according to Hann and Worth. Second, in Brooks a sentence concerning the whale running aground on the sand is removed. Additionally, the terminology used in Brooks is quite distinct from that seen in Hann and Worth. For example, in Swanton's text, Brooks rendered the following as "carries three stakes fastened to his girdle and a rope on his arm," while both Hann and Worth (1995) render it as "carries three stakes in his belt and he throws the lasso," and Worth (n.d.) states "sent with three stakes at his waist, and he throws a lasso." Finally, comparing Hann and Worth, the former is slightly more elaborate in his text, e.g., "extract two bone" vs. "remove two bones," or "deceased" vs. "dead." Thus, the analysis of this fragment corroborates some of the translative issues with Brooks and notes overall similarities between Hann and Worth, despite the former's tendency to be more intricate in rendering.

Once again, comparing the two translations of *Fragment 2B* by Worth to the interlingual translation is instructive. For example, in 1995 Worth discusses "while the whale is diving," whereas his newer translation talks about "while it is coming up." Comparing these snippets to the literally translated, and quite awkwardly rendered, "while the whale is go plunging," suggests Worth's former translation might be closer to the original. Nonetheless, following

the logic of this text fragment, it is also quite possible to argue that the Indian hunters may have waited for the whale to come up for a breath prior to attempting to capture it. Also, once again there is the distinction between “adore” and “worship.” Finally, in describing a whale’s blowhole, Fontaneda’s original text states “*una estaca por una entana de las narices*” (literal English rendering: a stake through a window of the nose). This final example illustrates what is sometimes lost in translation, this delightfully playful phrase, “a window of the nose,” becomes the less interesting, albeit clearer, “nostril” or “nostrils” in Brooks, Hann, and Worth (1995), and “air holes” in Worth (n.d.).

### Ourobros: Folding the Selections back to the Theory

During the earlier discussion of the theory and methodology of Translations Studies, both Toury’s coverage of norms, and Pym and Long’s work on translation history were singled out for application to this current translation history of Fontaneda. Importantly, these researchers provided several avenues to analyze the work of the transcribers and translators discussed above. Moreover, by breaking down the individual transcribers and translators by specific times and locales, it is possible to speculate about potential influences, including considerations of audience and prevailing societal standards.

Without a doubt, there is a major distinction between the English translations of Fontaneda potentially related to the anticipated audience. Fontaneda’s original text is often difficult to follow, lacking flow, and replete with repetitions. While historians would accept such difficulties, the public at large may be less accommodating. On the one hand, Smith, True, Hann, and Worth might represent translations for a more specialized audience. Indeed, Smith’s text had an extremely limited print run of 100. Thus, such books are for those who are interested in hearing Fontaneda as he wrote. This notion is in keeping with the ‘foreignizing’ tradition in translation; i.e., they borrowed words from Spanish and kept the repetitions of Fontaneda. Their work was intended for an audience who expected some difficulties in translatable rendering, and accepted such obscurity as suitable translatable norms. On the other hand, French, Shipp, and Swanton (French/Brooks) “domesticated” Fontaneda; they removed the repetitions and unclear text. Their work evidently

was aimed at a more general audience who would not accept opacity in translation.

Such a distinction can be reframed utilizing the terminology of Toury.<sup>49</sup> For example, at the most basic level, both groups of translators utilize the same preliminary norms, i.e., an equivalent overarching translation policy; they were translating Fontaneda into English. However, they clearly differ in their operational norms, i.e., the actual choices in their individual translations. Such choices might relate to the expectations of the intended audience, along with what such an audience would accept as a legitimate rendering. Another example of this behavior of the individual translator relates to the aforementioned different translations of *hechiceros* and *adoran*. First, the words witches and sorcerers clearly have negative cultural associations in English, e.g., the legacy of Salem. Whereas the term shamans appears less culturally loaded and is probably a better descriptive term for the functions performed by the religious practitioners seen by Fontaneda. Second, while they adore and they worship are certainly acceptable translations of *adoran*, the latter appears a better fit for the implied ancestor reverence. These examples illustrate why perfunctory translation will result in, not just problematic grammar and word order, but also poor word choices and culturally invalid idioms. Finally, another example of norms and legitimization can be witnessed in reference to the Muñoz transcription. Muñoz clearly altered Fontaneda's spelling and grammar, quite probably due to the regularizing pressure of the *Real Academia Española*. Thus, we can witness influence on Muñoz's transcription due to his time and place, which, in turn, filtered through into Compan, French, Shipp, Smith, and True.

In a similar vein, in the second selection from the *Memoir*, when comparing Smith and True to French and Shipp, several alterations were noted in the former pair, including the inclusion of silver bars and the role of Carlos in dividing shipwreck riches. While these additions are not in the original text, they are not without merit based on what is known about sixteenth century southern Florida. Indeed, it does appear that the Calusa cacique controlled much of the trade/tribute in European shipwreck goods, which would have included items such as gold, silver, and human captives. These additions during translation certainly have

49. Toury, "The Nature and Role of Norms in Literary Translation."

some background in the established cultural surroundings and even in audience expectation. At any rate, a translator's introduction must address such translative choices so future scholars can investigate the many textual questions that will certainly abound about any translated piece.

Switching focus, our gaze must return to the titular concept of this paper, i.e., translation history. Long noted that translation history is an important tool to analyze the same document through multiple translations.<sup>50</sup> Such an approach did yield a number of intriguing similarities and differences in the various transcriptions and translations of Fontaneda. Moreover, utilizing the terminology developed by Pym, it is possible to frame the findings of this textual analysis in a wider scope.<sup>51</sup> For example, comparing the results of this paper to Pym's three discourses of translation history, i.e., archaeology, criticism, and explanation, demonstrates both the success of the current project and where future scholarship is needed.

This paper certainly meets the first discourse, by digging into the basic facts of the multiple versions of Fontaneda; albeit, with the realization that there are probably other copies of Fontaneda transcriptions and translations in hitherto unidentified texts. Indeed, as Fontaneda has been repeatedly transcribed into Spanish, and translated into English and French, it is possible that other editions exist somewhere, sitting on a dusty bookshelf. Nonetheless, what this paper demonstrates is there is a long lineage of Fontaneda versions, each with associated translative baggage.

In the case of Pym's second and third discourses, it is harder to develop a definitive answer as to why a specific translation may have occurred and also to conclusively demonstrate the influence of an individual translator and their surrounding context. Nonetheless, in the case of True it is possible to discuss the reasons why the translation occurred and, in reference to Worth, clearly connect the translative work with his context. On the one hand, True's text was designed explicitly as both a reprint and update to Smith's text, to increase availability of Fontaneda's *Memoir* and as a means for correcting a few of Smith's errors and omissions. In reference to True's brief biographic sketch discussed earlier, it is apparent he was not in a position to complete a new translation of Fontaneda. This evidently explains True's use of an additional

50. Long, "Chapter 4 History and Translation."

51. Pym, *Methods in Translation History*.

individual, Angela del Castillo, to make limited suggestions on the translation itself. On the other hand, Worth's new translation is a long-overdue effort to bring all of Fontaneda's documents together in one text. Moreover, his familiarity with the subject, e.g., his previous article attributing Fontaneda's authorship to the previously unrecognized *Memorial*, *Fragment 1*, and *Fragment 2*, demonstrates why he was in a position to produce a brand new transcription and translation of the five Fontaneda texts.

Pym also developed four principles of translation history, and this paper explores each of these aspects in reference to Fontaneda's multiple reproductions. First, while there are still some gaps, this paper details the times and places of the various Fontaneda transcriptions and translations, addresses why some of these translations were produced, and questions the differences between them. Second, this paper attempts to place these various works in relation to those who authored them, i.e., naming the individual transcribers and translators. Third, the surrounding social context of these individuals was explored, especially with reference to such dichotomies as antiquarian vs. historian and general vs. specialized audience. Interestingly, while this first division does not align with the major textual differences, the latter pairing appears to be central to the major schism in the translated version of Fontaneda's *Memoir*. The final principle asks why do translation history? Indeed, why is this translation history of Fontaneda necessary and important? Quite simply, Fontaneda's proto-ethnographic observations of the indigenous societies of southern Florida are unparalleled. The knowledge contained in these five primary documents is vital for anyone interested in the past of this region. Moreover, this translation history reveals why we must get closer to the original source and why we must constantly question the available translations and transcriptions. The past is never static, because the influence of the present colors our view. Yet, looking through this prism, we can witness something of Fontaneda's experiences among the Calusa.

### Conclusion

The results of this textual analysis are quite clear. Foremost, it was past time for a new translation of Fontaneda that includes all five of his writings and reached back to the original documents. John E. Worth's forthcoming volume effectively meets these

requirements.<sup>52</sup> Second, it is imperative that Florida historians and archaeologists do not merely parrot the historical document translations describing the state's history. We must question translations because factors like legitimizing norms and consideration of audience will sway their production in a multitude of ways. Nevertheless, with the increasing digitization of original documents, a world of texts has opened for the modern historian. Such developments suggest a future where history is no longer reliant on sometimes fallible transcriptions, but where the historian will have access to original sources from anywhere in the world.

### Appendix: Selections from Fontaneda

This appendix includes the multiple versions of the five Fontaneda excerpts utilized in this translation history. The literally rendered English translations by the author were sourced from a digital copy of Fontaneda's original documents available from the *Portal de Archivos Españoles*, along with consultation of new transcriptions of Worth (n.d.) for any unclear elements. For the first selection from the *Memoir*, the excerpts included the Muñoz, Connor, and Worth Spanish transcriptions, a transcript and literal English rendering by the author, and the English translations of Smith, True, French, Shipp, Swanton (French), and Worth. The second selection from the *Memoir* includes the Spanish transcriptions of Muñoz, Connor, and Worth, a transcript and literal English rendering by the author, and the English translations of Smith, True, French, Shipp, and Worth. The excerpts from the *Memoranda* include the Muñoz and Worth Spanish transcription, a transcript and literal English rendering by the author, and the English translations of Smith, True, and Worth. Finally, for the last two selections Spanish sources for *Fragment 1* and *Fragment 2* are drawn from Worth and the present author's transcription, and English translations are drawn from Swanton (Brooks), Hann, Worth (1995) and Worth (n.d.), along with this author's literally rendered version. Finally, while the texts are reproduced as rendered, several extraneous textual notes contained in the selections from Smith and True have been deleted.

52. Worth, *Discovering Florida*.

**Memoir Selection 1****Muñoz Transcription in BVMC**

sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra adentro, tiene muchos pueblos, aunque san de treinta y cuarenta vecinos, y otros tantos lugares. Tienen pan de raíces, ques la comida ordinaria la más parte del tiempo, aunque por caso de la laguna, que crece mucho, no alcanzan estas raíces por estorbo de la mucha agua; y ansí dejan de comer algún tiempo este pan. Hay pescado mucho y muy bueno, y otras raíces a manera de turmas, y otras diferentes de muchas maneras; mas cuando hay caza, ansí de venados como de aves, entonces comen carne o ave. También digo que hay en aquellos ríos de agua dulce en finitísimas anguillas, muy ricas, y truchas grandísimas, casi tamaño de un hombre, las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

**Connor Transcription in True 1945: 67-68**

sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra dentro tiene muchos pueblos avnque son de treynta i quarenta vs<sup>o</sup> y otros tantos lugares tienen pan de rraises ques la comida ordinaria la mas parte del tienpo Avnque por caso de la laguna que crese mucho que no alcansan estas rraises por estorbo de la mucha Agua y ansi dejan de comer Algun tienpo este pan pescado mucho y muy bueno / otras Rayses a manera de turmas de las de Aca duses y otras diferentes / de muchas maneras mas quando ai casa Ansi de benados como de abes entonses comen carne o abe / tambien digo que ai en aquellos Rios de aqua duce en finitisimas anguillas y muy rricas y truchas grandisimas casi tamaño de vn hombre las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

**Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 366-367**

sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra dentro tiene muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta i quarenta [i veinte otros tantos] lugares tienen pan de rraises ques la comida ordinario la mas parte del tienpo aunque por caso de la laguna que crese mucho que no alcansan estas rraises por estorbo de la mucha agua y ansi dejan de comer algun tienpo este pan pescado mucho y muy bueno / otras rayses a manera de turmas de las de du[l]ses y otras diferentes / de muchas maneras mas quando ai casa ansí de benados como de abes entonses comen carne o abe / tambien digo que ai en aquellos rios de agua du[l]ce en finitisimas anguillas y muy

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rricas y truchas grandisimas casi tamaño de un hombre las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

Transcription from digital copy by the author

Sobre esta laguna que corre por en medio de la tierra dentro tiene muchos pueblos aunque son de treynta I quarenta lugares tienen pan de rraises ques la comida ordinario la mas parte del tienpo aunque por caso de la laguna que crese mucho que no alcansan estas rraises por estorbo de la mucha agua y ansí dejan de comer algun tienpo este pan pescado mucho y muy bueno / otras rayses a manera de turmas de las de aca de[l]ses y otras diferentes / de muchas maneras mas quando ai casa ansi de benados como de abes, en[tonces comen] carne o abe / tambien [d]igo que ai en aquellos rios de agua [dulce en]finitisimas anguillas y muy rricas y truchas grandisimas casi tamaño de un hombre las anguillas gordas como el muslo y menores

Literal Translation by the author

On this lagoon that run by in middle of the land inside have many towns although they are 30 and 40 places they have bread of roots that the food ordinary the more part of the time although for case of the lagoon that grows much no reach these roots for hindrance of the much water and this way stop of the eating some time this bread fish many and very good other roots in manner of truffles of the from here sweet and others different / of many manners but when there is hunting this way of deer like of birds at that time eats meat or birds / also I say that there are in rivers of water sweet infinite eels and very rich and trout large almost size of a man the eels fat like the thigh and smaller

Smith 1854: 15-16

On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, although of not more than thirty or forty souls each; and as many more places there are in which people are not so numerous. The inhabitants make bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the year; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for some time without eating this bread. Fish is plenty and very good. There is another root, like the truffle of this country, which is sweet; and there are other different roots of many kinds; but when there is game, either deer or birds,

they prefer to eat flesh or fowl. I will also mention, that in the rivers of fresh water are infinity of eels of very high flavor, and enormous trout, nearly the size of a man. The eels are the thickness of the thigh, and some of them are smaller.

True 1945: 27

On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, of thirty to forty inhabitants each; and as many more places there are in which people are not so numerous. They have bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the time; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for some time without eating this bread. Fish is plenty and very good. There is another root, like the truffle over here, which is sweet; and there are other different roots of many kinds; but when there is hunting, either deer or birds, they prefer to eat meat or fowl. I will also mention, that in the rivers of fresh water are infinite quantities of eels, very savory, and enormous trout. The eels are nearly the size of a man, thick as the thigh, and some of them are smaller.

French 1875: 248-249

This lake is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots during most of the year. They cannot procure it, however, when the waters of the lake rise very high. They have roots which resemble the truffles of this country (Spain), and have besides excellent fish. Whenever game is to be had, either deer or birds, they eat meat. Large numbers of very fat eels are found in the rivers, some of them as large as a man's thigh, and enormous trout, almost as large as a man's body; although smaller ones are also found.

Shipp 1881: 585

This lake is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots, during most of the year. They, however, cannot procure it when the waters of the lake rise very high.

Swanton (French) 1922: 388

This lake [Mayaimi] is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots during most of the year. They can not procure it, however, when the waters of the lake rise very high. They have roots which resemble the truffles of this country [Spain], and have besides excellent fish. Whenever game is to be had, either deer or birds, they eat meat. Large numbers of very fat eels are found in the rivers, some of them as large as a man's thigh, and enormous trout, almost as large as a man's body; although smaller ones are also found.

Worth n.d.: 384

Upon this lake, which runs through the middle of the interior, it has many towns, although they are of thirty and forty (and just as many with twenty) places. They have bread from roots, which is the ordinary food during the greater part of the time, although in the case of the lake, which rises greatly, they cannot reach these roots due to the obstacle of the amount of water, and thus they leave off eating this bread for some time. [They also have] much and very good fish, and other roots in the manner of truffles like the sweet ones here, and other different ones in varieties. Furthermore, when there is game, both of deer and birds, then they eat meat of fowl. I also say that in those freshwater rivers are infinite eels, and very delicious, and very large trout, almost as large as a man, and the eels as thick as the thigh and smaller.

### *Memoir Selection 2*

Muñoz Transcription in BVMC

Dejando esto aparte, quiero hablar de las riquezas que los indios de Ais hallaron, que sería hasta un millón y más en barras y en oro y otras cosas de joyas, hechas de manos de indios mexicanos que traían los pasajeros; las cuales se repartieron el cacique de Ais y Jeaga y Guacata y Mayaguaci y Mayata, y él tomó lo que le pareció o lo mejor. Con estos navíos y otros dichos y carabelas perdidas, y indios de Cuba y de Honduras, perdidos en busca del río Jordán, que venían ricos, y los cogían Carlos y el de Ais y Jeaga y las islas de Guarugumbe, son ricos, como tengo dicho, de la mar y no de la tierra.

Connor Transcription in True 1945: 73

dexando esto aparte / quiero hablar de las Riqsas que los yndios de ays hallaron que seria hasta millon y mas en barras y en oro y otras / / cosas de joias hechas de manos de yndios mejicanos que traian los pasajeros la qual lo rrepartio el casique de ais y jeaga y guacata y mayajuaca y mayaca y el tomo lo que le parezio / o lo mejor / con estos nabios y otros dhos. y carabelas perdidas y indios de cuba y de honduras perdidos en busca del Rio jordan que benian Ricos. y los cojian carlos / y el de ais y jeaga / y las yslas de guarugunbe / son Ricos como dho tengo de la mar y no de la tieRa

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 377-378

Dexando esto aparte / quiero hablar de las riqu[ue]sas que los yndios de Ays hallaron que seria hasta myllon y mas en barras y en oro y otras cosas de joias hechas de manos de yndios Mejicanos que traian los pasajeros la qual lo rrepartio el cacique de Ais y Jeaga y Guacata y Mayajuaca y Mayaca y el tomo lo que le parezio / o lo major / con estos nabios y otros d[ic]hos y carabelas perdidas y indios de Cuba y de Honduras perdidos en busca del Río Jordan que benian ricos y los cojian Carlos / y el de Ais y Jeaga / y las yslas de Guarugunbe / son ricos como d[ic]ho tengo de la mar y no de la tiera /

Transcription from digital copy by the author

Dexando esto aparte / quiero hablar de las riqu[ue]sas que los yndios de Ays hallaron que seria hasta myllon y mas en barras y en oro y otras cosas de joias hechas de manos de yndios Mejicanos que traian los pasajeros la qual lo rrepartio el cacique de Ais y Jeaga y Guacata y Mayajuaca y Mayaca y el tomo lo que le parezio / o lo major / con estos nabios y otros d[ic]hos y carabelas perdidas y indios de Cuba y de Honduras perdidos en busca del Río Jordan que benian ricos y los cojian Carlos / y el de Ais y Jeaga / y las yslas de Guarugunbe / son ricos como d[ic]ho tengo de la mar y no de la tiera /

Literal Translation by the author

To leave this beside / I want to speak of the wealth that the Indians of Ais discovered that being even a million and more in bars and in gold and others things of jewels complete of hands of Indians Mexico that bring the passengers; which it distributed the cacique

of Ais and Jeaga and Guacata and Mayaguaci and Mayata, and the I take him that the opinion / or the attractive / With these ships and others such and caravels loses, and Indians of Cuba and of Honduras losts in search of the river Jordan, that come rich, and the Carlos / and the of Ais and Jeaga / and the islands of Guaragunbre / are rich like the aforementioned I have of the sea and no of the land /

Smith 1854: 23-24

Leaving this matter aside, I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which perhaps were as much as a million of dollars, or over, in bars of silver, in gold, and in articles of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers were bringing with them. These things Carlos divided with the caciques of Ais, Jeaga, Guacata, Mayajuaci, and Mayaca, and he took what appeared to him well, or the best part. These vessels, and the wreck of the others mentioned, and of caravels, with the substance of the Indians of Cuba and Honduras who were lost while in search of the River Jordan, and who came well off, were taken by Carlos, and by the chiefs of Ais and Jeaga. The Indians of the Islands of Guarungunve are rich; but, in the way that I have stated, from the sea, not from the land.

True 1945: 34-35

Leaving this matter aside, I desire to speak of the riches found by the Indians of Ais, which perhaps were as much as a million dollars, or over, in bars of silver, in gold, and in articles of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers were bringing with them. These things Carlos divided with the caciques of Ais, Jeaga, Guacata, Mayajuaco, and Mayaca, and he took what pleased him, or the best part. These vessels, and the wreck of the others mentioned, and of caravels, with the substance of the Indians of Cuba and Honduras who were lost while in search of the River Jordan, and who came well off, were taken by Carlos, and by the chiefs of Ais and Jeaga. The Indians of the Islands of Guaragunbe are rich; but, in the way that I have stated, from the sea, not from the land.

French 1875: 262

I will say no more now on this subject, but proceed to speak of the wealth which the Indians found in bars of gold and Mexican jewel-

ry belonging to the shipwrecked passengers, amounting to more than a million. The chief retained the best part of it for himself, and divided the remainder among the Indians of *Ais*, of *Jaega*, of *Guacata*, of *Mayajuaca*, and of *Mayaca*. Most of the vessels or caravels, as I stated before, which had been shipwrecked there were from Cuba and Honduras, and going in search of the river *Jordan*, which explains how the Indians of *Ais*, of *Jaega*, and the Guardgumve Islands became so enriched by the sea and not by the land.

Shipp 1881: 588

Of the wealth which the Indians found in bars of gold and Mexican jewelry, belonging to the shipwrecked passengers, amounting to more than a million, the chief retained the best part for himself, and divided the remainder among the Indians of the *Ais*, *Feaga*, *Guacata*, *Mayajuaca*, and *Mayaca*. Most of the vessels which had been shipwrecked were from Cuba and Honduras, and going in search of the river *Jordan*, which explains how the Indians of *Ais*, *Feaga*, and the *Guaragunve* Islands became so enriched by sea, and not by land.

Worth n.d.: 396-397

Leaving this aside, I wish to speak about the riches that the Indians of *Ays* found, which would be up to a million or more in bars and in gold and other things of jewelry made by the hands of Mexican Indians, which the passengers brought, all of which was distributed by the chief of *Ais* and *Jeaga* and *Guacata* and *Mayajuaca* and *Mayaca*, and he took what seemed suitable to him, or the best, with these ships and others mentioned, and caravels lost, and Indians from Cuba and from Honduras lost in search of the River *Jordan*. They came rich, and Carlos captured them, and the [chief] of *Ais* and *Jeaga* and the islands of *Guaragunbe* are rich, as I have stated, from the sea and not from the land.

### **Memoranda Selection**

Muñoz Transcription in BVMC

Las islas Lucayo son de tres suertes, y es desta manera: lo primero las islas de Bahama, lo segundo las islas de los Órganos, lo tercero las islas de Los Mártires, que confinan con unos cabos de las Tortugas, hacia Poniente, y estos cabos son de arena, y como son

de arena, no se ven de lejos, y por esta causa se pierden muchos navíos en toda aquella costa de la canal de Bahama y las islas Tortugas y de Los Mártires.

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 401-402

Las islas Lucayo son de tres suertes, y es desta manera lo primero las yslas de Bahama lo segundo las yslas de los Organos lo tercero las yslas de los Martires que confirma con unos caios de las Tertugas hacia poniente y estos caios son de harena y como son de harena no se ben de lejos y por esta causa se pierden muchos nabios en toda aquella costa de la canal de Bahama y islas Tertugas y de los Martires.

Transcription from digital copy by the author

Las islas Lucayo son de tres suertes, y es desta manera lo primero las yslas de Bahama lo segundo las yslas de los Organos lo tercero las yslas de los Martires que confirma con unos caios de las Tertugas hacia poniente y estos caios son de harena y como son de harena no se ben de lejos y por esta causa se pierden muchos nabios en toda aquella costa de la canal de Bahama y islas Tertugas y de los Martires.

Literal Translation by the author

The islands Lucayo they are of three kinds and to be this manner the first the islands of Bahama the second the islands of the Organos the third the islands of the Martires that confine with some keys of the Tortugas towards the West and they are keys to be of sand and they are to be of sand no knowledge to come of in the distance and for this cause themselves lose view of many ships in all that one coast of the canal of Bahama and the islands Tortugas and of the Martires

Smith 1854: 26

The islands of the Lucayos are made up of three groups, in this wise: First, the islands of the Bahama; second, the islands of the Organos; third, the islands of the Martires, which have their confines on the west in certain *cayos* (keys), the Tortugas, formed of sand, and for this reason are not to be seen from a distance, as is the case with all the coasts on the Bahama Channel, so that many vessels are lost on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires.

True 1945: 37

The islands of the Lucayos are made up of three groups, in this wise: First, the islands of the Bahama; second, the islands of the Organos; third, the islands of the Martires, which are adjacent on the west to certain cayos (keys), the Tortugas, formed of sand, and for this reason are not to be seen from a distance, so that many vessels are lost all along the coasts of the Bahama Channel and on the islands of the Tortugas and the Martires.

Worth n.d.: 405

The Lucayos Islands are of three sorts, and it is in this fashion: the first, the islands of Bahama; the second, the islands of the Organos; the third, the islands of the Martyrs, which borders toward the west with some keys called Las Tortugas. These keys are of sand, and since they are of sand, they cannot be seen from afar, and for this reason many ships are lost in all that coast of the Bahama Channel, and the Tortugas Islands and [the islands] of the Martyrs.

### *Fragment 1 Selection*

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 414

De lo que en la Florida pasa de los yndios de la misma tierra los de Carlos primeram[n]te tienen por costumbre cada vez que muere un hijo del casique cazrifican cada vesino sus hijos o hijas q[ue] van en compañía de la muerte del hijo del casique / la segunda cacrefisio es que quando el casique mismo muere o la casica matan los mismos criados del o della y este es el Segundo cacrefisio / el tersero cacrifisio es que matan cada año un captive cristiano para dar de comer a su ydolo que adoran en el que disen que su ydolo come ojos de onbre umano y con la cabeza baylan cada año que tiene por costumbre /

y el quarto cacrifisio es que despues del verano bienen unos hichiseros en figura del demono con unos cuernos en la caveda y vienen aullando como lobos y ot[r]os muchos ydolos diferentes que dan boses como anymales del monte y estan estos ydolos quarto meses que nunca cosiegan noche ni de día que tan coriendo con mucha furia que cosa p[ar]a contar la gran bestelidad quellos hazen /

Transcription from digital copy by the author

De lo que en la Florida pasa de los yndios de la mi[s]ma tierra los

de Carlos primeram[n]te tienen por costunbre cada ves que muere un hij[o] del casique cazrifican cada vesino sus hij[os] o hijas q[ue] van en conpania de la muerte del hijo del casique / la segunda cacrefisi[o] es que quando el casique mismo muere o la casica matan los mismos criados del o della y este es el

Segundo cacrefisio /

el tersero cacrifisio es que matan cada ano un captive cristiano para dar de comer a s[u] ydolo que adoran en el que disen qu[e] su ydolo come ojos de onbre umano y con la cabeza baylan cada ano que tiene por costunbre /

y el quarto cacrifisio es que despues del verano bienen unos hichiseros en figura del demono con unos cuern[os] en la cavea y vienen aullando como lobos y ot[r]os muchos ydolos diferentes que dan boses como anymales del monte y estan estos ydolos quarto meses que nunca cosiegan noche ni de dia que tan coriendo con mucha furia que cosa p[ar]a contar la gran bestelidad quellos hazen /

Literal Translation by the author

Of what in the Florida passes of the Indians of the same land those of Carlos first they have by custom every time that dies a son of the casique sacrifice each citizen their son or daughter that they go in company of the death of the son of the casique /

the second sacrifice is that when the casique dies or the casica kill the same servants of him or her and this is the second sacrifice /

the third sacrifice is that kill every year a captive Christian for to give of food to their idol that they adore in the that design that their idol eat eyes of man human and with the head they dance each year that they have by custom /

and the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer there comes sorcerers in figure of the devil with some horns in the head and comes howling as wolves and others many idols different that they shout as animals of the forest and are these idols four months that never rest night or of day that so run with much fury that thing to tell the great bestiality that they act /

Swanton (Brooks) 1922: 389

The Indians of Carlos have the following customs:

First. Every time that the son of a cacique dies, each neighbor sacrifices (or kills) his sons or daughters who have accompanied the dead body of the cacique's son.

Second. When the cacique himself, or the caciqua [his wife] dies, every servant of his or hers, as the case may be, is put to death.

Third. Each year they kill a Christian captive to feed their idol, which they adore, and they say that it has to eat every year the eyes of a man, and then they all dance around the dead man's head.

Fourth. Every year after the summer begins they make witches, in the shape of devils with horns on their heads, howling like wolves, and many other idols of different kinds, who cry loud like wild beasts, which they remain four months. They never rest, but on the contrary, they keep on the run with fury all the time, day and night. The actions of these bestial creatures are worth relating.

Hann 1991: 316

About what happens in Florida concerning the Indians of the same land. Those of Carlos firstly have as a custom each time a son of the cacique dies each inhabitant sacrifices his sons or daughters, who go in company of the death of the cacique's son; the second sacrifice is that when the chief himself or the chieftainness dies, they kill his or her own servants, and this is the second sacrifice.

The third sacrifice is that each year they kill a Christian captive so that they may feed their idol, which they adore in [doing] it. That they say their idol eats human men's eyes. And they dance with his head each year. They have this as a custom.

And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer some shamans (*hichizeros*) come in the guise (*figura*) of the devil with some horns on their head. And they come howling like wolves and many other different idols, which make noises like animals from the woods (*del monte*). And these idols are four months that they never rest neither day nor night that they go running about with great fury. That the great bestiality that they do is a thing to tell about.

Worth 1995: 344

Of what happens in Florida among Indians of the same land. Those of Carlos firstly have as custom [that] each time a child of the cacique dies, each resident sacrifices his sons or daughters who go in company of the death of the child of the cacique./ The second sacrifice is that when the cacique himself dies, or the cacica, they kill his or her own servants, and this is the second sacrifice./ The third sacrifice is that they kill each year a Christian captive in order to feed their idol which they adore, and which they say eats the eyes of the human male and eats the head. They dance each

year, which they have for custom./ And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer come some sorcerers in the shape of the devil with some horns on their heads, and they come howling like wolves and many other different idols which yell like animals of the woods, and these idols stay four months, in which they never rest night or day, running so much with great fury. What a thing to relate the great bestiality which they do!

Worth n.d.: 416-417

Of what happens among the Indians of the land itself, those of Carlos. Firstly, they have as custom that each time a child of the chief dies, each resident sacrifices their sons or daughters, who go in company of the death of the child of the chief. The second sacrifice is that when the male chief himself dies, or the female chief, they kill the very servants of him or her, and this is the second sacrifice.

The third sacrifice is that they kill every year one captive Christian in order to feed the idol that they worship, which they say eats the eyes of humans, and they dance with the head each year, which they have as a custom.

And the fourth sacrifice is that after the summer, there come some shamans in the figure of the devil, with some horns on their heads, and they come howling like wolves, and many other different idols that shout like animals of the woods, and these idols are there four months, during which they never rest, night or day, running with great fury. What a thing to recount the great bestiality that they perform.

### *Fragment 2B Selection*

Worth Transcription in Worth n.d.: 415-416

Y en el ynierno salen todas las canoas a la mar entre todos estos yndios sale un yndio envixado que lleba tres estacas en la cinta y echale el laco al pescuezo y mientras la vallena se ba sumiendo mete una estaca por una ventana de las narices y ansi como se cabulle no la pierde porq[ue] va sobre ella y en matandola q[ue] la mata sacanla asta q[ue] encall[e] en la arena y lo prim[er]o q[ue] le acen abrenle la cabeza y sacanle dos guesos q[ue] tiene en el casc[o] y estros dos guesos hechanlos en esta caxa q[ue] ellos meten los difuntos y en esto adoran

Transcription from digital copy by the author

y en el ynvierño salen todas las canoas a la mar entre todos estos yndios sale un yndio envixado que lleba tres estacas en la cinta y echale el laco al pescuezo y mientras la vallena se ba sumiendo metele una estaca por una ventana de las narices y ansi como se cabulle no la pierde porq[ue] va sobre ella y en matandola q[ue] la mata sacanla asta q[ue] encalle en la arena y lo prim[er]o q[ue] le acen abrenle la cabeca y sacanle dos guesos q[ue] tiene en el casco y estros dos guesos hechanlos en esta caxa q[ue] ellos meten los difuntos y en esto adoran

Literal Translation by the author

And in the winter out all the canoes to the sea among all these Indians out a Indian sent that carry three stakes in the band and throw his lasso to the neck and while the whale is go plunging he places a stake through a window of the nose and this way as is tied up he no the to lose because go on it and in killing that the kills pull it that strand it on the sand and the first that they do open the head and take out two bones that have in the skull and these two bones they put in this box that they put the dead and in this they adore it

Swanton (Brooks) 1922: 389

In winter all the Indians go out to sea in their canoes, to hunt for sea cows. One of their number carries three stakes fastened to his girdle and a rope on his arm. When he discovers a sea cow he throws his rope around its neck, and as the animal sinks under the water, the Indian drives a stake through one of its nostrils, and no matter how much it may dive, the Indian never loses it, because he goes on its back. After it has been killed they cut open its head and take out two large bones, which they place in the coffin, with the bodies of their dead and worship them.

Hann 1991: 319

And in the winter all the canoes go out to the sea. Among all these Indians one Indian sent (*enbixado?*) goes out, who carries three stakes in his belt and he throws the lasso around its neck (*y echale el laco al pesquezo*) and while the whale is proceeding to disappear, he shoves a stake through one of its nostrils (*por una ventana de las narizes*) and thus [as it] is tied up (*como se cabulle*) he does not lose it because he goes on top of it. And in killing it as he is killing it

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(*y en matandola que la mata*) they pull it in until it runs aground on the sand. And the first thing that they do to it [is that] they open the head and extract two bones that it has in the skull and they throw these two bones in this chest (*caja*) in which they place the deceased and in this they adore.

Worth 1995: 344-345

And in the winter all the canoes come forth to the sea. Among all these Indians one Indian is sent forth who carries three stakes in his belt, and he throws the lasso around the neck, and while the whale is diving he inserts a stake through one nostril, and thus as it is tied he does not lose it, because he goes on it, and in killing it as he kills it they pull it until it runs aground in the sand, and the first that they do is open the head and remove two bones which it has in its head, and these two bones they put in this chest in which they place the dead, and they adore this.

Worth n.d.: 418

And in the winter, all the canoes go to the sea, and among all these Indians there comes forth one Indian who is sent with three stakes at his waist, and he throws a lasso around the neck of a whale, and while it is coming up, he places a stake in one of the air holes, and thus since it is tied up he does not lose it because he goes on top of it, and upon killing it as they do, they run it aground on the sand, and the first that they do is to open up the head and remove two bones that it has in the skull, and they place these bones in this box where they place their dead, and they worship this.