Encounter, Engagement, and Exchange

Wright, John B.

Published by Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials

Wright, John B.
Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials, 2011.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/111660.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/111660

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=3429354
14. A New World of Words: Amerindian Language Printing in the Colonial World

Daniel J. Slive

Introduction

This presentation is based on a gathering of approximately six hundred books from the colonial period in the Americas, containing Indian language material, held by the John Carter Brown (JCB) Library. The JCB Library is an outstanding collection of primary materials relating to virtually all aspects of the discovery, exploration, and colonization of the New World. From its beginnings in 1846, when the collector John Carter Brown began to focus on the early history of the Americas, the library has grown to include more than fifty thousand printed books, major holdings of maps and prints, and a large number of manuscript codices. While terminal collecting dates vary for different areas of the Western Hemisphere, the holdings range from the late fifteenth century to approximately 1825, when direct colonial European involvement in American affairs officially came to an end.

Reflecting the scope of the JCB, the majority of the Indian language material is printed (rather than in manuscript) and was published in both Europe and the Americas throughout the colonial period. The library’s focus is concerned with the entire Western Hemisphere throughout this time period, and its Indian language holdings reflect this geographic and chronological range.

These works document the languages of some of the Amerindian populations in contact with Europeans during this era. The types of documentation include brief word lists, dictionaries, and grammars as well as texts translated into native languages found throughout the Americas. Not included are books that contain only single words mentioned in passing (such as “canoe” or “bar-b-q”). Works that contain only descriptions (but not documentation) of the languages (i.e., “the natives all speak sweetly”) are not considered in this presentation either.

The difficulties of communicating across cultural, ideological, and linguistic boundaries played a role in relations between natives and Europeans throughout the colonial period. In addition to negotiating practical matters such as trade and the control of territory, Europeans also wished to communicate theological concepts for the purpose of converting Indians to Christianity. These various aspects of colonization contributed to the documentation and utilization of Indian languages in texts printed in both Europe and the Americas.
The early publication of Amerindian languages, often in the form of word lists and brief vocabularies, appeared in accounts of voyages and travels and other documents of colonial expansion. Initial word-gatherings were eventually expanded into more comprehensive vocabularies and dictionaries. Missionaries, who often spent years in a region learning the local language, collaborated with native speakers to create these dictionaries as well as grammars. These texts were intended to train others in the indigenous languages in which they would proselytize. In addition to language-learning tools, a variety of religious works were printed in Indian languages to assist in the conversion of indigenous peoples. A small number of secular texts, such as government documents, were also printed in selected native languages.

The creation, production, and utilization of these works represent a series of border-crossings and transformations as well as encounters, engagements, and exchanges. In addition to the primary geographic and linguistic borders between Europeans and natives, cultural, religious, and technological boundaries were also negotiated. The texts themselves represent a series of transliterations, translations, and transformations from oral, and previously non-alphabetic, language to written word in Roman alphabet to the printed page and the bound book created with European technology. The manner in which many of these works were utilized reflects yet another series of crossings as the printed texts were often read aloud to native speakers as part of the conversion process. Finally, the printing history of these books also reflects the transportation of European printing technology to the Americas as well as the movement of Amerindian languages back to Europe for press production there.

Note: The titles in the citations below are transcribed from the title pages of the original works, thus documenting the inconsistencies of the orthography and accentuation of the colonial period. However, typography and capitalization have been modernized. In the descriptions of the items, the spelling, accents, and capitals in the titles have been modernized.

I. First Impressions

The initial documentation of Amerindian Languages appeared in the form of brief word lists. These are most often found in various histories of the New World, descriptions of particular voyages, and chronicles by settlers, missionaries, and soldiers who spent time in the Americas.


Although not containing any word lists or other documentation of Amerindian languages, this book still serves as an appropriate introduction for this presentation. Its illustrated title page portrays the historic encounter between the Inca Atahualpa and the Spanish conquerors, led by Francisco
Pizarro. According to various chroniclers, the Inca Atahualpa was shown a copy of the Bible, with the explanation that it was the word of God. After examining the book but not “hearing” any words, the Inca summarily dismissed the book by throwing it on the ground in frustration. At that moment, the Spaniards attacked and captured Atahualpa, thus beginning the conquest of Peru. The image and the story symbolize the encounter, the conquest, and the multitude of cultural and linguistic misunderstandings that occured throughout the colonial period.


A member of the Council of the Indies and chronicler for the Spanish Crown, Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, known in English as Peter Martyr, produced the first official history of the New World. Appended to the 1516 edition, edited by the Renaissance humanist Antonio de Nebrija, is a five page “Vocabula Barbara” that includes words from the Antilles. (Nebrija also provided an appropriate quote for this presentation in his *Gramatica sobre la lengua castellana*, published in 1492, in which he wrote “language has always been the companion of empire.”)


Antonio Pigafetta’s account of the Spanish expedition around the world from 1519 to 1522, under the command of Ferdinand Magellan, includes brief lists of words heard in Brazil and Patagonia.


French Calvinist minister Jean de Léry lived in the Rio de Janeiro area in 1556-1557 during an unsuccessful attempt at French colonization in Brazil. In his account of his experiences and observations is this colloquy between a Frenchman, newly arrived in Brazil, and a native. The dialogue serves as an introduction to the Tupi language, including basic grammatical rules and words and phrases useful for travelers. This is the first edition of his *Histoire*.


Courtier and soldier Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga fought in the Spanish wars against the Araucanian Indians of Chile. His epic poem, *La Araucana*, records the history of these battles and the eventual defeat of the natives. In the preface to the first part, published in 1569, Ercilla explains particular terms “which because they are of Indian origin, are not well understood.” In this Madrid 1590 edition, which incorporates all three parts of the poem, the poet
expanded this small list into a glossary of “words and names, which although of indigenous origin, are heard and used so often in that region, that they have not been translated into Spanish.”


This work includes a brief vocabulary of Iroquoian languages consisting of words for the numbers one through ten, human body parts, everyday objects, environmental phenomena, and practical phrases. It is appended to an account of Jacques Cartier’s first voyage to New France in 1534, printed in Rouen in 1598. This French edition itself represents a series of translation processes, as the text was first published in Venice in 1556 as volume three of Ramusio’s *Navigationi et viaggi*. That Italian translation had in turn been based on an unpublished French manuscript.


Pablo José de Arriaga, a Jesuit missionary, wrote about the eradication of idolatry in the Andes following his experiences as a *visitador*, investigating manifestations of indigenous worship. His manual, essentially a how-to book on finding and eradicating native religious activities, includes a glossary of sixty-four Quichua words with Spanish glosses, including terms and objects related to ritual practices.


Intended to “enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager,” William Wood’s *New Englands Prospect* was the first printed, detailed account of the geography and natives of Massachusetts. The five-page Massachuset vocabulary with English equivalents predates Roger Williams’s *A Key into the Language of America* by nine years and John Eliot’s “Indian Bible” by twenty-seven years, although both men may have assisted the author in the compilation of this “small nomenclator.” Wood writes that “their language is hard to learn; few of the English being able to speak any of it, or capable of the right pronunciation, which is the chief grace of their tongue…They love any man that can utter his mind in their words, yet are they not a little proud that they can speake the English tongue, using it as much as their own, when they meet with such as can understand it, puzzling strange Indians, which sometimes visit them from more remote places, with an unheard language.”
II. Dictionaries and Vocabularies

Expanding upon brief word lists, the next stage in the documentation of Amerindian languages was the creation of full-fledged dictionaries and vocabularies. These works were based on the collaboration of Europeans and Indians, although authorship is often given solely to the former. Such books were printed in the New World and in Europe.


The earliest printed dictionary of any Amerindian language, Alonso de Molina’s vocabulary was printed in Mexico in 1555. Arranged alphabetically, it is translated from Spanish into “Mexicana” or Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs. The author came to Mexico as a child soon after the Conquest and served as an interpreter between the first missionaries and the natives. In addition to this dictionary, he also wrote other works in Nahuatl, including a grammar, a *Confesionario breve*, a *Confessionario mayor*, and a *Doctrina christiana*.


The earliest printed vocabulary for Quichua, the language of the Incas and the indigenous *lingua franca* of colonial Peru, was printed in Spain in 1560, as printing did not begin in Peru until 1584. Domingo de Santo Tomás was a Dominican priest and the first bishop of Charcas in Peru. The volume also contains his *Grammatica, o Arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los reynos del Perú*, the earliest published grammar of the Quichua language.


The first printed Huron dictionary was issued as part of Gabriel Sagard’s *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, published in Paris in 1632. Sagard was a Recollect lay-brother who spent ten months in New France in 1624. His work is considered one of the most informative texts on the Huron language and a major source regarding the Recollect missions from 1615 to their expulsion from New France in 1629.


Roger Williams’s *Key* is the earliest book devoted to an Amerindian language printed in English. It was also the first book published by Williams, the founder of Rhode Island. Dictionaries, vocabularies, grammars, and
religious works had already been produced for the native languages of Spanish America and New France, but this was the first such book generated in the British colonies.

The phrase book is comprehensive in its treatment of Narragansett Indian life. Williams attempted to cover everything from the essentials of food, clothing, and shelter to customs, government, religion, commerce, and natural history. He observes in the section on travel that the Narragansetts “are joyfull in meeting of any in travell, and will strike fire either with stones or sticks, to take Tobacco, and discourse a little together.”


Raymond Breton, a French Dominican who served as a missionary on the island of Dominica, compiled this Carib-French dictionary, a small portion of which appeared earlier in a thirteen-page “Vocabulaire Caraïbe,” published in Charles de Rochefort’s *Histoire naturelle et morale des iles Antilles de l’Amérique . . . Avec un vocabulaire Caraïbe*. In the latter work, however, the words are arranged by subjects rather than alphabetically.

Bound with the JCB copy of Breton’s Carib-French dictionary is his French-Carib dictionary of 1666. In addition, the Dominican wrote a catechism (1664) and a grammar (1667). All of these Carib language books were printed in Auxerre, France.


This 1722 Guaraní vocabulary was printed by the Jesuits’ mission press in Paraguay, which operated between 1700 and 1727. It was excerpted, with revisions, from the 1640 Madrid edition of Antonio Ruiz de Montoya’s *Arte, y bocabulario de la lengua guaraní*. The mission press also published an edition of the author’s *Arte de la lengua guaraní* in 1724. Here one can observe multiple instances of border crossings: the dictionary was created in the New World but the text was first printed in Europe. The actual books were transported to Paraguay, where they were reprinted on local presses using European technology that had also been shipped from the Old World to the New.


The appendix of this description of Iceland and Greenland consists of a brief vocabulary, a grammar, and some statements of Christian faith and prayers,
all in Danish, German, and the Eskimo language (except for the grammar, which excludes Danish). The work was reprinted in German the following year and, by 1750, was also translated into Dutch, Danish, and French.


Compiled chiefly from the manuscripts of the Jesuit Pierre Pelleprat, a missionary in Guiana, this 1763 Galibi dictionary is variously attributed to Simon Philibert de la Salle de L’Étang and Monsieur de la Sauvage. Earlier published Galibi vocabularies by Antoine Biet (1664) and Paul Boyer (1654) were also incorporated. It was issued as part of the Chevalier de Préfontaine’s *Maison rustique*, a guide for successful emigration to Guiana, and also published as a separate work. The author expressed his confidence that the dictionary would be one of the “principal sources of success” for the colony. Note again that here the words are organized by subject (“Des Animaux”) rather than in “purely alphabetical” order.


In the chapter of Jonathan Carver’s *Travels* entitled “Of their Language, Hieroglyphicks, &c,” short vocabularies and numerical terms are given for the “Chipéway” and “Naudowessie” languages. The author, a British captain in the Seven Years War, claimed the former “appears to be the most prevailing [of the native languages of North America]; it being held in such esteem, that the chiefs of every tribe…speak this language alone in their councils, notwithstanding each has a peculiar one of their own.” At least a dozen English editions—plus French, German, and Dutch translations—of Carver’s *Travels* were published before 1800.

III. Grammars and Instructions

An additional element in the documentation and teaching of indigenous languages was the creation of grammars. These most often were produced in the style of Latin grammars then in use in Europe. Early on, many of the European authors expressed their awareness of the limits of this format for explaining such radically different, non-European, languages. However, the motivation to train missionaries in these languages as quickly as possible took precedence over their desire to explain the nuances of exotic languages. It should also be noted, however, that many of the authors, once reasonably fluent, were responsible for the creation of works in other genres, including dictionaries and doctrinal works.


The first printed grammar of a Native American language was Maturino Gilberti’s *Arte de la le[n]gua de Michuaca[n]*, published in Mexico in 1558. The author was born in France, ordained a Franciscan priest in 1531, and arrived in New Spain in 1542. In addition to this grammar, he also wrote a Spanish-Tarascan/Tarascan-Spanish dictionary and several doctrinal and devotional works in the same language, including his *Dialogo de doctrina christiana* printed in 1559. The language of Michuacan has been called “Tarascan” since the sixteenth century, but those who speak it today prefer to call it “Purepecha.”


In addition to publishing numerous works in Nahuatl and Quichua, printers in Mexico and Peru also published works for the conversion of natives who lived beyond the borders of the former Aztec and Inca empires. For the Allentiac language of the Cuyo region of Argentina, the Jesuit Luis de Valdivia wrote one of the few studies ever made of the language, accompanied by a short vocabulary, confession, catechism, and Christian doctrine.


The publication of language-learning materials in Mexico extended beyond locally spoken dialects to include this 1738 grammar printed for missionaries preparing to work in Japan. Not having access to oriental typefaces, the authors and printers reproduced the Japanese words phonetically using Roman type.


Authors of Amerindian grammars often remarked that the sounds of the native languages could not be adequately conveyed using standard Roman typefaces. In his Cakchikel grammar, printed in Guatemala in 1753, Flores attempted to introduce additional symbols to convey the proper pronunciation.


This second, abridged edition of Carochi’s Nahuatl grammar includes additions by Ignacio de Paredes, a sometime superior of the Jesuit seminary at Tepoztlan and rector of the college of San Andrés in Mexico. The copperplate engraving of St. Ignatius of Loyola instructing the peoples of the world also
served as the frontispiece to Paredes’s own 1759 *Promptuario manual mexicano*, a work containing fifty-two sermons and forty moral discussions in Nahuatl.

25. John Eliot. *The Indian grammar begun; or, An essay to bring the Indian language into rules: for the help of such as desire to learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them...* Cambridge, [Mass.], 1666.

With the assistance of a native interpreter, John Eliot wrote this introductory grammar to the Massachuset language for the officers of The Society or Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America. It was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1666. The printer, Marmaduke Johnson, was also involved in the production of the New Testament (1661) and the Old Testament (1663) in the same native language. He was assisted by an Indian known as James Printer, whose knowledge of Massachuset clearly contributed to the production of these works.


Born in Moravia in 1721, Zeisberger served as a missionary in North America from 1740 until his death in 1808. In addition to this introduction to the Delaware language, he also produced a trilingual dictionary in German, English, and Delaware. Zeisberger expressed dissatisfaction with this publication of his work as four articles in his original manuscript (including reading lessons, conjugation examples, the Delaware numbers, and a short history of the Bible) were omitted and apparently replaced with the Lord’s Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a short litany, all in Delaware and English.


After introducing alphabets and vocabularies, the remainder of Claus’s Mohawk primer is devoted to Christian doctrine and prayers, with the English and Mohawk languages on opposite pages. The engraved frontispiece depicting Indian children in a classroom represents the intention of the work as stated on the title page: “To acquire the spelling and reading of their own, as well as to get acquainted with the English tongue.” This second edition was printed in London in 1786, five years after the first edition was published in Montreal. Claus, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada for the British government, also translated *The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and some other Offices of the Church of England* into Mohawk.
IV. Sacred Texts and Doctrinal Works

For the missionaries, the goal of these linguistic labors was the translation of sacred texts and doctrinal works into the native languages and their dissemination in printed form. As with the grammars and dictionaries, it is important to recall the role that bilingual native translators played in the creation of these texts. It should also be noted that the transformation of these texts continued after publication as these books were often read aloud to others as part of the conversion effort, rather than silently to oneself.


Juan de la Cruz’s 1571 *Doctrina christiana* is the most profusely illustrated book printed in Mexico in the sixteenth century. The text contains seventy-three separate woodcuts, some used multiple times to bring the total number of illustrations to 140. Nearly all of the illustrations had been used previously, either in Maturino Gilberti’s 1558 *Thesoro [sic] spiritual en lengua de mechuaca[n]* or Pedro de Feria’s 1567 *Doctrina christiana en lengua castellana y çapoteca*. Created expressly for this work, however, were the woodcuts of hands. The insertion of various type-printed labels on the fingers allowed this mnemonic device to be used throughout the book to assist the teaching of religious concepts such as the Sacraments, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments.


This 1585 trilingual *Confessionario*, written by order of the Provincial Council of Lima of 1583, was the second book printed in Lima. Written in Spanish, Quichua, and Aymara, it provided missionaries with texts enabling them to conduct confessions in two of the languages spoken in the Inca Empire. The JCB copy is bound with two other early trilingual religious works: *Tercero cathecismo y exposición de la doctrina christiana, por sermones* (Lima, 1585) and *Doctrina christiana* (Lima, 1584). Especially notable is the typographical layout involved in accommodating three languages on each page.


Four Nahua scholars assisted the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún in producing this hymnal. Printed in 1583, it is the only Nahuatl songbook
printed in Mexico during the colonial period. The hymns were mostly derived from the liturgy and the lives of the saints. The native assistants’ participation included translating texts from Spanish and Latin, refining the friar’s Nahuatl, and typesetting. Here again one can appreciate the use of visual images, as well as language, to assist the missionaries’ program of teaching and conversion.


Included in Pérez Bocanegra’s *Ritual formulario* is an engraved kinship diagram of the Inca genealogical system indicating the general rules for both acceptable and prohibited marriages: relatives may marry only at the generation of great-great-grandchildren. While representing native Andean concepts and terms, the shape and form of this diagram (without the specific Quichua terminology) may also have been based on medieval European traditions for constructing genealogical models. This bilingual manual for priests administering to Indian populations in the Andes includes instructions on conducting baptisms, confirmations, the Eucharist, and confessions.


In addition to narrative texts, dramatic and musical performances were also found by the missionaries to be useful teaching tools. These songs in the Kariri language of Brazil were intended for native choirboys. This catechism also includes essential teachings and prayers such as the Ten Commandments, the Pater Noster, and the Ave Maria. The text, presented in Kariri and Portuguese in parallel columns, had to be printed in Lisbon, as printing was not established in Brazil until the early nineteenth century.


The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England was responsible for one of the landmarks of early printing in the British colonies. The “Eliot Indian Bible,” completed in Cambridge in 1663, was the first Bible printed in the New World, and the first example of the translation and printing of the entire Bible into a new language (Massachuset) as a means of evangelism. Eliot had previously produced the New Testament in the Massachuset tongue, also printed in Cambridge in 1661. In all of these achievements he had the assistance of native translators.


Martin Luther’s *Der kleine Catechismus* was translated into the Delaware, or Lénni-Lenâpé, language by the Swedish missionary Johan Campanius
and edited by his grandson Thomas Campanius Holm, the first historian of New Sweden. The work was printed in Stockholm in 1696 at royal expense, expressly for the purpose of converting the Amerindian population. In addition to the religious teachings, the volume also includes a glossary of Delaware words.


While many major products of the colonial press have been discussed, other less imposing works were also printed in indigenous languages. One example is this broadside. Printed in Nahuatl in Mexico in 1755, it is a religious hymn that honors the Virgin of Guadalupe, the story of whose apparition aided friars throughout the colonial period in their attempts to convert the native populations. The author also compiled a synthesis of earlier Nahuatl grammars, entitled *Arte de la lengua mexicana*, published in Mexico in 1754.


The first translation into Mohawk of *The Book of Common Prayer* was printed in New York in 1715, with later editions appearing in 1769 and 1780. This first illustrated edition, printed in parallel Mohawk and English, was revised by Daniel Claus, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Canada for the British government, and printed in London in 1787 for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In addition to the frontispiece of George III’s reception of the Mohawk delegation to London, the volume contains eighteen engravings depicting biblical themes.

V. Secular Texts

While the great majority of religious texts, vocabularies, and grammars were produced with missionary motives in mind, some secular works in indigenous languages were also printed during the colonial period.


This remarkable quadrilingual document of Argentina’s General Assembly ratifies the September 1, 1811 decree of the Junta Provisional Gubernativa that freed the Indians from church-related tributes and *encomienda* and *mita* obligations. It is printed in double-column format on two sides in Spanish, Aymara, Quichua, and Guaraní.

In 1810, the government printed a broadside in Nahuatl declaring the cessation of tribute payments by the Indians of Mexico to the King of Spain. The decree was enacted in reaction to the Hidalgo revolt of 1810, which had wide support among the native population.

**Conclusion**

In this presentation, a wide variety of printed works that include Amerindian languages have been discussed. These range from the briefest of word lists to full-fledged dictionaries, grammars, Bibles, and doctrinal works. These printed works not only document—admittedly through a series of transliterations, translations, and inevitable transformations—indigenous languages as spoken centuries ago, but they also serve as evidence of the very real interaction and communication between Europeans, colonists, and the indigenous peoples throughout the Americas in the colonial period.

Finally, for more information on the Amerindian language sources at the John Carter Brown Library, please see the online database available at http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/ildb/index.php (Website accessed November 11, 2011.)
This page intentionally left blank