PLACE-NAMES, CONQUEST, AND EMPIRE:

SPANISH AND AMERINDIAN

CONCEPTIONS OF PLACE

IN THE NEW WORLD

by

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ABSTRACT

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This research corrects the one-sided historiography of toponyms in the New World, which focus only on the European imposition of place-names, viewed by many postmodernist scholars as a way to oppress and suppress the native Indians. Instead this transatlantic dissertation recognizes that the Spanish brought patterns of place-naming created in the Old World over to the New World. The naming of the New World was not a unilateral Spanish undertaking. The Spanish did create new toponyms in the Americas. They described the land, honored their Catholic faith and their nobility, and they transferred Old World place-names to the New World—but this only accounts for a portion of the toponyms used in the Spanish New World. Amerindians continued using their own place-names and contributed many of them to the Spanish, who adopted and

adapted them. A number of the toponyms in the New World, as demonstrated both by contemporary Spanish chronicles and maps, were in fact syncretized place-names. For every Spanish "Vera Cruz" there was an Indian "Oaxaca" and a creolized "San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan." The syncretized toponyms of the Spanish New World are best understood in the wider context of the transtlantic encounter.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PLACE-NAMES, MAPS, AND SPANISH AMERICA

While taking a course on the cartography of empires in the transatlantic world at

the University of Texas at Arlington with Dr. Richard V. Francaviglia, I became very

interested in the ideas of the "new map historians." These cartographic historians, such

as J. B. Harley and Denis Wood, held that maps were not neutral, scientifically created,

objective representations of the surface of the earth, but cultural artifacts that were

biased, propagandistic, and subjective creations—texts that historians could deconstruct

and study for evidence of power relationships.[1] Such scholars interpreted these maps and

the toponyms on them as tools of imperialism. Raymond B. Craib, writing on the

creation of New Spain during the Spanish conquest, wrote that: "In effect, European

practices of mapping and naming provided a textual tangibility for a landscape in which

their own history could begin to unfold and colonization could occur."[2] Cartographic

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[1] For more on the usage of the "new cartographic history," see John Brian Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Denis Wood and John Fels, *The Power of Maps* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998); D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 5-13; Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 17-28; Graham Huggan, "Decolonizing the Map: Post-Colonialism, Post Structuralism and the Cartographic Connection," *Ariel* 20, no. 4 (October 1989): 115-129; Barbara Belyea, "Images of Power: Derrida/Foucault/Harley," *Cartographica* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1992): 1-9; Raymond B. Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain," *Latin American Research Review* 35, no. 1 (2000): 8-13; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 150-151.

[2] Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain," 11.

historians like Christian Jacob have heartily adopted such ideas. Jacob wrote:

> A special case is constituted by toponymy that takes up the place-names of old continents [*sic*]: New Spain, New England, New France. It is an astonishing example when the original toponym is detached from the geographical country that it names in order to preserve only its symbolic and political meaning. The oceanic fracture has the function of a symmetrical axis that favors this doubling, the reflection of the Old World upon the New World…. It delimits an area of appropriation and of influence that transposes onto virgin lands of the New World the principle of the sovereign states of the Old World.[3]

J. B. Harley himself wrote that, "Naming a place anew is a widely documented act of political possession in settlement history. Equally, the taking away of a name is an act of dispossession."[4] Could the place-naming practices of the European colonial powers, like Spain, be reduced to such imperialist motives?

Toponymy is the scientific study of place-names,[5] their meaning, origins, and classification. Toponymists, scholars who study place-names, see their science as a branch of onomastics, the study of proper names in general. Toponymy is closely allied to linguistic disciplines like etymology and social sciences such as geography and certain branches of sociology. The word "toponym" comes from the Greek words τόπος ("place") and ὄνομα ("name"), first recorded in the English language in 1876, though studies of place-names occurred well before then in English and other languages. "Place-

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[3] Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches in Cartography Throughout History*, ed. Edward H. Dahl, trans. Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 205.

[4] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178-179.

[5] The British are fond of the hyphenated word "place-name" while Americans favor the hyphen-less "place name" or the newer compound word "placename." The American Name Society has recently recommended that "placenames" be used for its journal *Names: A Journal of Onomastics*, though there are a number of learned societies in Britain, such as the English Place-Name Society, that use the hyphenated construction. The form "place-name" is used in this work to accentuate that these two separate words represent the one word, and one thing: *toponym*. (Also, the compound form "placename" might legitimately and confusingly be mispronounced.)

name" first appeared in print as "place name" in 1772 (there is also the construction

"placename"), though references to "name of the place" or "a place's name" predate that

citation.[6] In Spanish, *toponimia* and *toponimo* are relatively recent scholarly adoptions,

though "nombre de lugar" (place-name) and other variations date from at least the

nineteenth century.[7] British antiquarians wrote the first studies of place-names in the

eighteenth century, usually on the varied derivations and the long history of toponyms in

Great Britain. These old works attempted to uncover the original form and etymology of

place-names, and did not consider much beyond the mere historical fact of the name's

first imposition. Many researchers collected place-names and their etymologies into

gazetteers and dictionaries, such as Henry Gannet's 1902 *The Origin of Certain Place*

Names in the United States, published by the United States government.[8]

   A typical example of these types of works is the influential 1864 *Words and*

Places, by Isaac Taylor, one of the first successful attempts to give a history of place-

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[6] Naftali Kadmon, *Toponymy: The Lore, Laws, and Language of Geographical Names* (New York: Vantage, 2000); George R. Stewart, *Names on the Globe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 1-161; W. F. H. Nicolaisen, "Onamastics–An Independent Discipline?," in *The Study of Place Names*, ed. Ronald L. Baker (Terre Haute, IN: Indiana Council of Teachers of English and the Hoosier Folklore Society, 1991), 9-22; W. Edson Richmond, "The Value of the Study of Place Names," in *The Study of Place Names*, ed. Ronald L. Baker (Terre Haute, IN: Indiana Council of Teachers of English and the Hoosier Folklore Society, 1991), 23-31; Derek Nelson, *Off the Map: The Curious Histories of Place-Names* (New York: Kodansha International, 1997); *Oxford English Dictionary*, Online. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), s.vv. "toponym, " "toponymy."

[7] Ignacio Guzmán Betancourt, "La toponimia: Introducción general al estudio de nombres de lugar," in *De toponimia... y topónimos: Contribuciones al estudio de nombres de lugar provenientes de lenguas indígenas de México*, ed. Ignacio Guzmán Betancourt (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1987), 13-39; David Robinson, "The Language and Significance of Place in Latin America," in *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*, ed. John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 157-184; *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, Vigésima segunda edición. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 2005), s.v. "toponimia," "toponimo"; Francisco Moreno Fernández, "La lengua, la tierra, el hombre," in *Atlas toponímico de España*, by Jairo Javier García Sánchez (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2007), 11-13.

[8] Nelson, *Off the Map*, 15ff.; Nicolaisen, "Onamastics," 9-22; Henry Gannett, *The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905).

names the world over. He discussed the first landfall of Christopher Columbus in the New World in a fashion typical of nineteenth century historians who aspired to writing artistic works full of purple prose:

> The earliest land descried by Columbus was the island of SAN SALVADOR. From day to day he had held on, in spite of the threats of his mutinous crew, who threatened to throw the crazy visionary into the sea. With what vividness does this name of San Salvador disclose the feelings with which, on the seventieth night of the dreary voyage, the brave Genoese caught sight of what seemed to be a light gleaming on some distant shore; how vividly does that name enable us to realize the scene when, on the next day, with a humble and grateful pride, he set foot upon that NEW WORLD of which he had dreamed from his boyhood, and, having erected the symbol of the Christian faith and knelt before it, he rose from his knees and proclaimed, in a broken voice, that the land should henceforth bear the name of San Salvador—the Holy Saviour, who had preserved him through so many perils![9]

This hagiographic form was typical of nineteenth century investigators. In the twentieth century, place-name researchers were increasingly more concerned with history and sociology. Sociologists (and linguists) looked at toponyms to examine interrelationships between language and society. Toponymists of a historical bent often searched for the earliest form of a place-name to elucidate the history of a city or region. Authors of books for a general readership, such as *Words on the Map* by scientist and author Isaac Asimov, often collected place-name histories into short collections, merely explaining the history of interesting toponyms.[10]

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[9] Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places: or, Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography* (London: Macmillan, 1864), 12-13.

[10] Ronald L. Baker, ed., *The Study of Place Names* (Terre Haute, IN: Indiana Council of Teachers of English and the Hoosier Folklore Society, 1991); Gail Carle Pizzola, "A Sociolinguistic Study of the Folk Etymology of Selected Texas Place Names" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2000), 1-13; Madison S. Beeler, "George R. Stewart, Toponymist," *Names* 24 (1976): 77-85; Kadmon, *Toponymy*; Isaac Asimov, *Words on the Map* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962).

In 1945 George Rippey Stewart (1895–1980), at times a novelist, historian, and professor of English literature, wrote *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States*. Based on sound scholarship, it was a narrative history of place-naming in the United States, written in a popular style. It chronologically discussed the history of place-names in the United States and shifted the focus of historical scholars for the first time from the toponym and its meaning, to the namer and his motivation. Stewart was instrumental in founding the American Name Society in 1951, with a focus on toponyms and other names, along with the society's flagship publication *Names: A Journal of Onomastics*. In his 1975 work *Names on the Globe*, he extended his history of place-names from the United States to the entire world, and he attempted to divine patterns and rules to the giving of toponyms.[11]

Stewart wrote in his 1945 *Names on the Land* that the toponyms of the United States reflected "the life, and the life-blood, of all those who had gone before."[12] In the wake of this work there was a growing divide between the subject matter of toponymists in Europe and the United States. Stewart wrote in 1970 that: "In short, the chief problem of interest to the European scholar is the meaning of the name; to his American

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[11] Beeler, "George R. Stewart," 77-85; Matt Weiland, "Introduction," in *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States*, by George R. Stewart (New York: New York Review Books, 2008), ix-xvi; George Rippey Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States* (New York: Random House, 1945); George R. Stewart, *Names on the Land: A Historical Account of Place-Naming in the United States* (New York: New York Review Books, 2008); Stewart, *Names on the Globe*; George Rippey Stewart, *American Place-Names: A Concise and Selective Dictionary for the Continental United States of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), ix-xl; Mark S. Monmonier, *From Squaw Tit to Whorehouse Meadow: How Maps Name, Claim, and Inflame* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 6.

[12] Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 4.

counterpart, the motivation of the namer."[13] The antiquity of the ancient names of

Europe meant that it was difficult to divine why they were named, though tracing

etymologies could possibly discover who did the naming. The relatively recent place-

names of the United States and the entire Americas, on the other hand, made it easier to

determine the reasons and motivations behind the bestowal of place-names.[14] Linguistic

scholar Madison S. Beeler commented that, "[Stewart's] emphasis is clearly on the

human activity of naming; the philological and linguistic minutiae of the language of

names do not interest [him]."[15]

By the 1970s scholars had accumulated a large amount of material on place-

names in the Americas, mainly in the United States, though the Indian toponyms of Latin

America had received much attention as well. It was during this period that historians

began discovering the literary theories of postmodernists, post-structuralists, and

semioticians like Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and their ilk. In general, these

theories held that there is no objective truth and no objective knowledge derived from

these truths. Instead, knowledge is a product of culture. For these scholars, each culture

had differing definitions of what was true or untrue and what was fact or falsehood.

Since it was the ideologies of the ruling class that defined culture in a society, following

the notion of cultural hegemony espoused by Antonio Gramsci, the ideologies of the

ruling classes were perceived to be the norm in a society, and they were structured to

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[13] Stewart, *American Place-Names*, xii.

[14] Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 46, 86; Stewart, *American Place-Names*, xi-xiii; Beeler, "George R. Stewart," 81-83.

[15] Beeler, "George R. Stewart," 82.

benefit the ruling class. Thus all normal products of a culture were symbols of power: religion kept the non-ruling masses in line with superstition; literature reinforced the folkways and morals of the elites; and so forth. Even seemingly innocuous cultural productions, like maps, were not representations of any actual truth, but derivations of subjective truth created by the ruling classes. Knowledge, then, was power; and those in power created knowledge. Those who did not conform to these norms constituted an "Other."[16] The European colonizers, according to these theories, saw themselves and their culture as superior to the Amerindian[17] Others they intended to conquer and rule.

In 1982 Bulgarian-born and Paris-based semiotician Tzvetan Todorov wrote *The Conquest of America*, which maintained that Europeans were able to conquer Amerindian civilizations so easily because they were able to visualize them as an "Other" outside the cultural norms. He coupled this with the belief that since most Indians did not have an alphabetic writing system, they were superior to the Indians in communicating ideas to others. According to this, Todorov said the Aztecs, for instance, were ill-equipped to

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[16] Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists Are Murdering Our Past* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 1-39, 58-60, 169-170; Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 336-337; Christopher Butler, *Postmodernism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45-50; Catherine Belsey, *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 72ff.; Miguel León-Portilla, *La multilingüe toponimia de México: sus estratos milenarios* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios de Historia de México Condumex, 1983), 20-25; Georges Jean, *Signs, Symbols, and Ciphers*, trans. Sophie Hawkes (New York: Abrams, 1998).

[17] Many map historians use "Amerindian" when contrasting the maps of indigenous peoples in the Americas and Europeans. I will use "Amerindian" and "Indian" interchangeably. See, for instance, Barbara Belyea, "Amerindian Maps: The Explorer as Translator," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 3 (July 1992): 267-277; John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Exploration of the New World* (London: Reaktion, 2009); G. Malcolm Lewis, *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini, eds., *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); Padrón, *The Spacious Word*.

adapt and fight the invading Spaniards under Cortés.[18] It was Todorov who first gave the

place-names established by the Spanish Empire an interpretation based on these theories.

He noted that even though Columbus recorded the native name, Guanahani, of the island

he landed on in October 12, 1492, he still gave it the new name, San Salvador, honoring

Jesus. The next four names Santa María de la Concepción, Fernandina, Isabella, and

Juana, glorified the Virgin, the king, the queen, and the crown prince. Todorov wrote:

> Columbus knows perfectly well that these islands already have names… [but] others' words interest him very little, however, and he seeks to rename places in terms of the rank they occupy in his discovery, to give them the *right* names; moreover nomination is equivalent to taking possession.[19]

For scholars like Todorov who adopted the notions of the postmodernists, toponyms had

become mere tools of conquest. What was worse, Columbus and the Spaniards who

followed in his wake, cared little for the cultures, languages, and place-names of the

Indians they subdued, since they were an "Other" to be shunned.

Other scholars took the ideas of Foucault, Derrida, and Todorov and claimed that

maps, and the place-names placed upon them, were tools of conquest created by

European powers to erase the "Other" they encountered in Africa, Asia, and the

Americas. For Paul Carter, who wrote a postcolonial revisionist deconstruction of early

Australian colonial history in 1981, the Europeans did not even recognize a place had a

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[18] Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 3-123; Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, 41-68; Inga Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty': Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico," in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Jay Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 12-47. Clendinnen offers a direct and devastating critique of Todorov's analysis in "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty.'"

[19] Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 27.

history until it was named and mapped by a European.[20] In 1988 and 1989 the

cartographic historian J. B Harley wrote three influential papers, entitled "Silences and

Secrecy," "Maps, Knowledge and Power," and "Deconstructing the Map," advocating

that the methods of Foucault and Derrida be applied to maps.[21] Of place-names, Harley

wrote that, "Naming a place anew is a widely documented act of political possession in

settlement history. Equally, the taking away of a name is an act of dispossession."[22]

Denis Wood wrote *The Power of Maps* in 1992 with chapters entitled, "Maps Work by

Serving Interests," "Maps Are Embedded in a History They Help Construct," and so

forth. Edward Said, in his 1978 book *Orientalism* (an important book in postcolonial

studies) stated that when the Europeans created a false cultural idea of "the Orient," they

based it on a created geography. Benedict Anderson wrote that governments could use

maps to fashion the "imagined community" of a nation-state. Maps and the place-names

on them were seen not as objective depictions of a portion of the earth's surface, but

subjective and propagandistic documents meant to support the colonial powers that be.[23]

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[20] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987).

[21] Black, *Maps and Politics*, 17-28; Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain," 8-13; Belyea, "Images of Power," 1-9.

[22] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178-179.

[23] Black, *Maps and Politics*, 17-28; Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, 93-120; Huggan, "Decolonizing the Map."; Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed*, 5-13; Belyea, "Images of Power," 1-9; Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain," 8-13; Wood and Fels, *The Power of Maps*; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 49-72; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 170-178; Denis Wood and John Fels, "The Natures of Maps: Cartographic Constructions of the Natural World," *Cartographica* 43, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 189-202. Belyea finds Harley's use of Foucault and Derrida problematic, as "neither Derrida nor Foucault provides the 'social theory' Harley would like to rely on" (p. 7).

Scholars writing about toponyms in the Spanish New World have echoed these sentiments. Literary theorist Stephen Greenblatt called European renaming of the New World an act of "Christian imperialism" and a "manifestation of power."[24] Linguist Martin Lienhard has written that "European power was engraved (not just metaphorically!) on the landscape through the Christianization of the indigenous toponymy."[25] Art historian Barbara Mundy has noted, in her important work *The Mapping of New Spain* that "scholars have dwelt on the violence implicit in the Spanish program of renaming, as the new Spanish and Christian names erased the landscape created by indigenous toponyms."[26] Semiotician Walter D. Mignolo called the Spanish delineation of the New World "a process of mapping, naming, and silencing."[27] Literary scholar Rebecca Ann Bach has taken a typical stance in her book *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World* in 2000. She claimed that the Spanish used names and maps as "tools of conquest" to erase the names of the indigenous populations.[28] She continued: "Place-naming can support other forms of oppression, and native inhabitants… must often fight against hegemonic, oppressive

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[24] Stephen Jay Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 82.

[25] Martin Lienhard, "Writing and Power in the Conquest of America," trans. Carlos Perez, *Latin American Perspectives* 19, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 80. Parentheses in the original.

[26] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167.

[27] Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 286.

[28] Rebecca Ann Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580-1640* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 85.

toponyms that have achieved mystified and powerfully interpellative status over hundreds of years of domination."[29]

Unfortunately, this postmodernist and poststructuralist approach to place-names in the Spanish Americas is one of the few analytical interpretations available, even making its way into popular historical literature.[30] Other researchers into New World toponymy, and the Spanish New World in particular, have tended to be anthropologists and historical linguists who only study the etymology and linguistic history of place-names, especially indigenous ones, in the Americas.[31] As ethnohistorian Ursula Dyckerhoff has stated: "The study of toponymy has a long tradition in Mexico, but until recently its main aim has been the translation and semantic analysis of the names of towns and villages."[32] Dyckerhoff studied how the Nahautl place-names of a region called Huejotzingo in Central Mexico changed from 1560 to 1972, but she did not study how and why Spanish toponyms were transferred across the Atlantic and planted during

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[29] Ibid., 69.

[30] See the various literary theorists examined above and especially their interpretations of the place-names given by Christopher Columbus and Hernando Cortés discussed in following chapters. Popular accounts utilizing this interpretation include, among others, Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*; Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

[31] See, for instance, Ursula Dyckerhoff, "Mexican Toponyms as a Source in Regional Ethnohistory," in *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. H. R. Harvey and Hanns J. Prem (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 229-231; Jack Emory Davis, "The Spanish of Mexico: An Annotated Bibliography for 1940-69," *Hispania* 54 (October 1971): 647-653; Randal C. Fulk, "The Spanish of Mexico: A Partially Annotated Bibliography for 1990-99 with Updates for 1970-89 Part II," *Hispania* 84, no. 2 (May 2001): 224-225; Michael E. Smith, "A Quarter-Century of Aztec Studies," *Mexicon* 25, no. 1 (February 2003): 5; Miguel León-Portilla, "Los nombres de lugar en náhuatl: Su morfología, sintaxis y representación glífica," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 15 (1982): 37-88; León-Portilla, *La multilingüe toponimia de México*.

[32] Dyckerhoff, "Mexican Toponyms as a Source in Regional Ethnohistory," 229.

the conquest.[33] Aside from the approach of the literary theorists and postmodernists,

there have been no comprehensive studies of how Spanish explorers,[34] settlers, and

government officials transferred toponyms from the Iberian Peninsula and placed them

on a landscape full of Indians.

I knew from recent trends in cartographic history that Amerindian information

found its way onto European maps. Beginning with the work of Louis De Vorsey in the

late 1970s and early 1980s, scholars increasingly recognized the important contribution

of indigenes to European exploration, discovery, and mapping of the New World.[35]

Scholars like G. Malcolm Lewis, John Rennie Short, and even J. B. Harley all recognized

Indian information and conceptions made their way onto European maps.[36] As Short

wrote:

> The maps made by white explorers drew heavily upon an indigenous cartographic
> contribution. Cartographic encounters result in maps made by the white

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[33] Dyckerhoff, "Mexican Toponyms as a Source in Regional Ethnohistory."

[34] For more on how the Spaniards explored the new world and claimed lands, bringing patterns from the Eastern Atlantic to the Western Atlantic, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Patricia Seed, "Exploration and Conquest," in *A Companion to Latin American History*, ed. Thomas Holloway (London: Blackwell, 2011), 73-88.

[35] Louis De Vorsey, "Amerindian Contributions to the Mapping of North America: A Preliminary View," *Imago Mundi* 30 (1978): 71-78; Louis De Vorsey, "Native American Maps and World Views in the Age of Encounter," *The Map Collector*, no. 58 (Spring 1992): 24-29.

[36] G. Malcolm Lewis, "Introduction," in *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*, ed. G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1-6; Lewis, *Cartographic Encounters*; Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, 9-13, 21; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 170-178; John Brian Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretive Guide to the Travelling Exhibition* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, 1990), xi-xiii; Mark Warhus, *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998).

Europeans in contact with the Native Americans as well as maps made by the indigenous people in contact with the white Europeans.[37]

Another burgeoning field in cartography at the same time analyzed Amerindian maps from before the Columbian encounter and how facets of these native styles survived European colonialism.[38] Several works demonstrated the admixture of Amerindian and European mapping styles in the maps of New Spain.[39] It is disconcerting then to read in Barbara Mundy's groundbreaking 1996 work on the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps of sixteenth century New Spain, a book highlighting "the resilience of indigenous self-conceptions" through their cartography,[40] that "the Spanish program of renaming… erased the landscape created by indigenous toponyms."[41] If European and Indian maps were hybridized, the result of a negotiated encounter between peoples, why would the Spanish erase native place-names?

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[37] Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, 12-13.

[38] James R. Akerman, *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 3-5; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, xix; Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, 12-13.

[39] See, by way of introduction, Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*; Barbara E. Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 183-256; Barbara E. Mundy, "Aztec Geography and Spatial Imagination," in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard J. A. Talbert (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 108-127; David Buisseret, "Introduction," in *Creolization in the Americas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 10; David Buisseret, "Meso-American and Spanish Cartography: An Unusual Example of Syncretic Development," in *The Mapping of the Entradas into the Greater Southwest*, ed. Dennis Reinhartz and Gerald D. Saxon (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 30-55; David Buisseret, "Spain Maps Her 'New World'," *Encounters* 8 (February 1992): 14-19; Dorothy Tanck Estrada, *Atlas ilustrado de los pueblos de indios: Nueva España, 1800* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2005). The best introduction to the subject of cartography in Central America, in any language, is Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography."

[40] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 216.

[41] Ibid., 167.

As a student in the Transatlantic History program, I was familiar with the hybridized or syncretic mixture of cultures that inhabited the Atlantic world.[42] Traditional historiography treated the colonization of the New World as a one-way process of Europeans imposing their culture and will upon Amerindians.[43] According to historian David Buisseret, the primary conception of imperial historians was that European culture remained unchanged as it replaced native cultures in colonial America. Colonial histories too often forced their narratives and studies into narrow national categories. Atlantic historians instead promote the idea, utilized by other historical schools as well, that all cultures on the Atlantic Basin were connected in ways that oceans, borders, and frontiers could not contain. Atlantic historians instead endorse the notion that Amerindian cultures, European cultures, and African cultures were each agents of and products of change. This is the process Buisseret called "creolization" (better designated "syncretization" or "syncretism" in Latin America, as the word "creole" in the Spanish world denoted white Europeans born in the New World), a term created to replace older models of "acculturation" or "assimilation" that imply one

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[42] For more information on the concept of Atlantic/Transatlantic history, see the following: Steven G. Reinhardt and Dennis Reinhartz, eds., *Transatlantic History*, The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures 37 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); Bernard Bailyn, *The Idea of Atlantic History* (Cambridge, MA: International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, 1500-1800, 1996); Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005); David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, ed. David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 11-29; Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 741-757; Jack P. Greene, and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[43] See David Buisseret and Steven G. Reinhardt, eds., *Creolization in the Americas*, The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures 32 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000). Buisseret offers a fine overview to the concept of creolization or syncretization in his introduction to *Creolization in the Americas*, pp. 3-19. The blending of cultures in Latin America will be discussed below.

superior group survives contact with a lesser group intact while that inferior group undergoes profound change.[44]

Historical geographer D. W. Meinig stated that the colonization of the Americas "was not simply an enlargement into a Greater Europe." Instead, "it is better seen as a new Atlantic World."[45] Meinig continued:

> The Atlantic World was the scene of a vast interaction rather than merely the transfer of Europeans onto American shores. Instead of a European discovery of a new world, we might better consider it as a sudden and harsh encounter between two old worlds that transformed both and integrated them into a single New World.[46]

Transatlantic history focuses on the interplay between cultures rather than a one-way imposition of culture. Ida Altman, a historian of Extremadura, correctly stated that "the currents of influence and impact flowed in both directions" between Europe and the Americas.[47] Knowing the syncretic nature of the Atlantic world and the importance of Amerindian geographical knowledge to the maps of Europeans in the New World, I believed that the prevailing interpretation of toponyms in the New World, inherited from postmodernist and poststructuralists, that Spaniards merely imposed place-names on the Americas at will as tools of imperial conquest, paints an incorrect and incomplete picture of toponymy in the Spanish colonial empire.

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[44] Buisseret, "Introduction," 5-7.

[45] D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History: Atlantic America, 1492-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 65.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 276.

This lead to the topic of my dissertation: how and why did the Spanish name their New World empire? The Spanish transferred several patterns of place-naming across the Atlantic. One such pattern was created during the *reconquista*. Far from erasing non-Spanish and non-Christian place-names from the landscape, the Spanish learned during the *reconquista* to live amongst such toponyms. As the reconquest moved south down the Iberian Peninsula, the various Spanish kingdoms brought Moorish populations into their domains, and kept many Arabic, Berber, and other place-names, as they were familiar with both the names and the heterogeneous populations. When kings and settlers founded new settlements for Christian colonizers, they gave new Spanish toponyms to them, usually transferring names across the peninsula or describing the local geography.

Another pattern that made its way to the New World from the Old developed in the Eastern Atlantic, as the Spanish inherited the descriptive naming patterns of sailors, recorded the native place-names of new peoples they encountered, and adopted and adapted toponyms from non-European populations they brought into their empire. On the Canaries, the Spanish would sometimes add the name of a patron saint to a Guanche settlement. These patterns first landed in the New World with Columbus. His epochal landfall also instituted a long negotiated encounter between the Spaniards who seized basic political control over the Indies and the Indian peoples brought into the Spanish Empire. Columbus did name places with an eye to curry favor at court, overwriting native toponyms, but he also utilized, adopted, and adapted the place-names of Indian peoples he encountered. The conquest of Cortés too followed these transatlantic patterns:

building towns for Spaniards with Spanish names, adding a saint name to indigenous cities, and recording and retaining many other Indian toponyms.

As the Spanish brought large, sedentary, tribute-based polities into their empire, they generally named newly built towns for Europeans with Spanish names, while they adopted and adapted the names of the indigenous settlements they incorporated into their domains. The Spanish empire was one that extracted tribute and labor, which depended on keeping native economic structures as intact as possible.[48] Though the Spanish sought to alter some facets of native culture, many aspects of indigenous culture were allowed to persist, as placating the native populations and keeping societies intact were essential to providing the Spaniards with a stable source of labor and income. The capricious re-naming of towns, villages, and provinces would serve only to sow confusion and discord in the indigenous population, and it was not attempted. A negotiated relationship of accommodation underscores the "power" natives wielded in the Spanish New World to retain various aspects of their culture, including the toponyms they gave to their lands.

Echoing patterns from the Old World, the survival of native place-names under Spanish dominion usually depended on the number of indigenes who remained after conquest, the sedentary nature of their population, and the ease of the toponym's pronunciation. This dissertation research generally confirms two general rules

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[48] See, for instance, John Huxtable Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 20-21; John Huxtable Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 114-115; James Lang, *Conquest and Commerce: Spain and England in the Americas* (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 7-24; James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 26-54. Lockhart remarked: "When the Spaniards came to central Mexico and conquered it, they would need, as everywhere in Spanish America, to operate in a great many respects through existing sociopolitical units" (pp. 26-27).

toponymist George Stewart proposed concerning Indian toponyms across the Americas.

Stewart wrote that, "With Indian names in general these first Spaniards did what all

people do when hearing words in a strange language. They wrote down sounds which

most nearly approximated their own speech."[49] If a name sounded familiar enough to

Spanish ears, it was more likely to survive the colonial encounter. Stewart's second rule

provided a demographic and cultural argument. Stewart noted that the Spanish and other

Europeans all "found native peoples in the newly discovered lands, and took names from

them," explaining:

> The number and kinds of names thus adopted seems to depend not so much upon
> the nationality of the Europeans as upon local conditions. The degree to which
> the Indians were few, low in culture, and hostile, was likely to influence adversely
> the transmission of names. Change any of these factors, and the Indian name
> more easily passed the language barrier, no matter what the nationality of the
> Europeans.[50]

The Spanish, due to the *reconquista* and conquest of the Canaries, were accustomed to

living amongst non-Spanish populations and their toponyms. Spaniards felt no need to

erase toponyms as an aspect of empire building; as the *conquistadores* incorporated

indigenous maps and knowledge of the land into their view of the America, they

necessarily retained and utilized native place-names.

As this dissertation examines the transfer of medieval place-naming patterns from

Iberia across the Atlantic to the Americas, it is important to look at patterns of settlement

during the *reconquista* that influenced such development in the Indies. In the 1940s

Spanish historian Américo Castro advanced the idea of *convivencia* (roughly, "living-

[49] Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 13.

[50] Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 326-327.

togetherness"), which Castro defined as a productive, generally peaceful, yet tense, relationship between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Later historians of the *reconquista*, such as Thomas Glick and J. N. Hilgarth, modified this conception somewhat, noting that the Christians wielded power and the threat of violence over the Moors and Jews, but there was still ample room for cooperation and tolerance in economic, social, and cultural spheres. There were wide avenues for cultural interaction between Christians and non-Christians in the *reconquista* Spanish kingdoms.[51] These authors have not studied the patterns of Iberian toponymy during the *reconquista* in a *convivencia* context, as one of interaction, though there are plenty of studies on the multilingual toponyms of Spain.[52]

The transfer of medieval Spanish institutions and idea across the Atlantic has been another field that of helpful research. Beginning in the 1950s, Mexican historian Luis Weckmann highlighted the fruitful study of "the numerous mediaeval survivals scattered throughout the early and middle history of Latin America to which, for no apparent

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[51] J. N. Hillgarth, "Spanish Historiography and Iberian Reality," *History and Theory* 24, no. 1 (February 1985): 32-35; Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval Convivencia," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 1-18; Américo Castro, *The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History*, trans. Willard F. King and Selma Margaretten (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 584; Thomas F. Glick, "Convivencia: An Introductory Note," in *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn Denise Dodds (New York: Braziller, 1992), 1-10; Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 1-3; Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, eds., *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: Braziller, 1992); David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

[52] Jairo Javier García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2007), 16-23; Moreno Fernández, "La lengua, la tierra, el hombre," 11-13; Francisco Marsá, "Toponimia de reconquista," in *Enciclopedia lingüística hispánica*, ed. Manuel Alvar et al. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960), 2:615-646. See the bibliography in García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, for an overview of scholarship on Spanish toponyms in Spain. Most studies, as of toponyms elsewhere, are linguistic and etymological in nature.

reason, little or no attention has been paid."[53] Weckmann's work culminated in a widely

respected book examining various cultural, political, and economic artifacts arising in

medieval Spain and surviving in colonial New Spain. This included a *reconquista* spirit

amongst its conquistadors and medieval traits in the church, state, and society.[54]

Weckmann noted the use of saint's names in Mexican toponymy, including the addition

of a patron's name to an indigenous toponym, connecting it to Spanish notions of piety

and Portuguese precedents in the Eastern Atlantic. He did not, however, address Spanish

toponyms transferred to the New World, descriptive place-names, or why Spaniards

would allow native names, many referencing indigenous gods, to remain on the

landscape.[55] Other scholars have commented on the *reconquista* spirit in the Americas,

but none have discussed Spanish place-naming patterns cross the Atlantic.[56]

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[53] Luis Weckmann, "The Middle Ages in the Conquest of America," *Speculum* 26, no. 1 (January 1951): 130-141. The quotation is from p. 130.

[54] Luis Weckmann, *La herencia medieval de Mexico* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1984); Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, trans. Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992). See, especially, his introduction to *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, pp. 1-13.

[55] Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, 320-322.

[56] Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2007), 225; Derek W. Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain* (New York: Longman, 1978), 178; John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000-1714* (London: Routledge, 2005), 296ff.; Luis Antonio Díaz Vasconcelos, *España en España y España en Indias: ensayos* (Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional, 1978), 119, 135, passim; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 212-217; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 17-20; John Huxtable Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin, 2002), 45; Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11-12; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 69-99; Alan Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193-221; Kathleen Deagan, "Colonial Origins and Colonial Transformations in Spanish America," *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 4 (January 2003): 3-4; Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 3 (July 1993): 515-543; Hernán G. H. Taboada, "Mentalidad de reconquista y primeros conquistadores," *Revista de Historia*

The interplay between European and Amerindian toponyms in the New World is reminiscent of many interchanges between Spanish and Indian cultures in colonial Latin America. Frontier studies examine the interchange between Spanish society and Indians across a borderland. In the introduction to his fine study of the northern Spanish frontier, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, David Weber writes: "At the most basic level, for example, the character of indigenous societies determined which Spanish institutions would flourish and which would wither."[57] The "institution" of Spanish place-names is also affected by such forces, though they are not discussed by those who study the borderlands.[58] Ethnohistorians, who study the indigenous peoples of Latin America by bringing together anthropological and historical approaches, especially to written sources, have demonstrated the persistence of Indian ways of life after the conquest, and the changes wrought by the colonial encounter.[59] Several ethnohistorical works dealing with

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de América, no. 135 (July 2004): 39-48. Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, offers a discussion of the debate on the continuities and discontinuities between Spain and New Spain; on the *reconquista*, see pp. 193-194. Stevens-Arroyo has written that the *reconquista* ideals were not used in the conquest of the Canaries and Caribbean, and were only resumed with the conquest of New Spain, see "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm"; the conquest, and place-naming of the Caribbean followed other Old World models. In a contrary vein, Taboada has argued, in "Mentalidad de reconquista y primeros conquistadores," that "Reconquista themes and language exist in the [conquest] chronicles, but are decorative and superficial" (p. 39).

[57] David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 13.

[58] For a general introduction to studies of Spanish frontiers, see Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*; David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*, ed. John Francis Bannon (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds., *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998). The introduction to Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America* offers a fine introduction to frontier/borderlands studies.

[59] Kevin Terraciano and Lisa Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, ed. Jose C. Moya (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 26-32; Susan Toby Evans and David L. Webster, eds., *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America: An Encyclopedia*

New Spain illustrate the ways in which Indians were able to retain much of their pre-Columbian worldview intact—this would include their toponyms. Charles Gibson, author of works like *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule* (1964), demonstrated how Spaniards relied on indigenous elites and organizations and how Indians in such communities were not mere pawns of their new colonial masters, but they actively responded to colonial rule. In a similar way, scholars like James Lockhart and his followers studied the vast corpus of local archival documents in New Spain, many written in native languages like Nahuatl. Often called the "new philology" because of its reliance on non-European writings, those using this approached depicted indigenous societies from the "bottom-up," countering histories too dependent on the incoming Spaniards.[60]

Lockhart's 1992 book *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, described as "monumental" in one historiographical essay,[61] used Nahuatl writings from communities in Central Mexico to establish the resilience of Nahua culture, language, and institutions well past the significant changes begun by Spanish conquest and rule. Newer works like Stephanie Wood's *Transcending Conquest* (2003), studied Nahuatl texts to examine the

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(New York: Routledge, 2001), 240ff.; Matthew Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 113n1; Ronald Spores, "New World Ethnohistory and Archaeology, 1970-1980," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980): 575-603; W. Raymond Wood, "Ethnohistory and Historical Method," *Archaeological Method and Theory* 2 (1990): 81-109. Wood and Spores both offer a brief history of Ethnohistory and outline the subjects studied with such approaches.

[60] Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 27-32; Alan Knight, "Latin America," in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bentley (London: Routledge, 2003), 734; Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," 113-134; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*. Restall, in "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," offers a brief overview of the Lockhart School. Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 27-32, offer an outline of the study of Indian societies in New Spain over the past few decades.

[61] Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 30.

native views of conquest and how aspects of their politics and culture survived.[62] Several

historians using this approach have extended the geographical range of their studies.

Kevin Terraciano studied the Mixtec; Michel Oudijk the Zapotec; Matthew Restall the

Yucatec Maya.[63] The "new cultural history," as defined by Eric Van Young and others,

similarly attempts to examine continuities in the indigenous world from the bottom-up,

but looking more to "mentalities, signifiers, representations, imaginings, discourses, and

manners and morality" in the cultural realm, not the economic or political worlds.[64]

Several scholars have used such ethnohistorical and cultural approaches to

analyze many facets of culture.[65] Ross Hassig's *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and*

Colonial Mexico, for instance, discusses the blending of Aztec timekeeping practices

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[62] Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*; Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003). Wood's first chapter, pp. 3-22, offers a nice historiographical overview of the "new philology."

[63] Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Nudzahui History, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004); Michel R. Oudijk, *Historiography of the Bènizàa: The Postclassic and Early Colonial Periods (1000-1600 A.D.)* (Leiden: Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies, 2000); Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550-1850* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

[64] Eric Van Young, "The New Cultural History Comes to Old Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 211-247; Alan Knight, "Subalterns, Signifiers, and Statistics: Perspectives on Mexican Historiography," *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 2 (2002): 136-158; Stephen H. Haber, "The Worst of Both Worlds: The New Cultural History of Mexico," *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos* 13, no. 2 (July 1997): 363-383; Claudio Lomnitz, "Barbarians at the Gate? A Few Remarks on the Politics of the New Cultural History of Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no. 2 (May 1999): 367-385. Haber, in "The Worst of Both Worlds,"critiqued Van Young and the social historians, saying that "instead of testing hypothesesm the New History operates with templates that are slapped down on the historical record" and "at times in the New History, the rejection of logical thought is elevated to a virtue" (p. 379). Lomnitz offers a riposte to Haber; Knight, in "Subalterns, Signifiers, and Statistics," states that though he sees some problems with the "new cultural history," he also rejects Haber's appeal for a "narrow positivism."

[65] See the numerous examples of cultural history in Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain."; Knight, "Latin America."

with Spanish ones after the conquest.[66] Susan Kellogg and Brian Phillip Owensby have

both studied how Indians in colonial Mexico learned enough of the Spanish legal system

to use it to their own advantage, often to secure rights and lands once held before the

conquest.[67] Samuel Edgerton's *Theaters of Conversion* discusses the syncretic nature of

church architecture, religious art, and churchgoing in sixteenth century Mexico.[68]

Indeed, even Mundy's *Mapping New Spain* discusses continuities of Indian mapping

techniques as they blended with Spanish mapping practices after the conquest.[69] The

literature of Latin American historians such as these all note the resilience of indigenous

cultural traditions in the face of the Spanish conquest. Though very few of these works

discuss toponymy, they all provide examples of the agency of native peoples in the face

of Spanish power and the negotiated relationship between Indians and Europeans. Place-

names too would be swept up in these syncretizing processes of the transatlantic

encounter.

Though much recent work in colonial Latin America seeks to study the resilience

and continuities of indigenous peoples, the cultural baggage brought by the Spaniards to

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[66] Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

[67] Susan Kellogg, *Law and Transformation of the Aztec Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); Brian Philip Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

[68] Samuel Y. Edgerton, *Theaters of Conversion: Religious Architecture and Indian Artisans in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001); Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 37-40; Susan Schroeder and Stafford Poole, eds., *Religion in New Spain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007). Indeed, since "syncretism" is often used of the blending of religious and mythological traditions, I often use "syncretization" to stress the ongoing *process* of blending of other features, as a cognate of the "creolization" process discussed by Buisseret above.

[69] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*; Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 43-44.

the New World is a fruitful field of study.[70] In this transatlantic dissertation, I want to

focus on the patterns of place-naming that the Spanish acquired in the Old World and

brought to the New World. This analysis of toponyms reflected Spanish aspirations and

history, and demonstrates that far from using place-names to erade any trace of the

indigenous population, the Spanish in fact adopted and adapted from those they wished to

incorporate into their empire. This dissertation recognizes that the interchange between

European and Amerindian cultures produced a syncretized Hispano-Indian culture, and

that the Spanish Empire was also part of a larger Atlantic world. The toponyms the

Spaniards and the Indians put on the landscape and their maps were swept up in the

syncretizing processes and exchanges engendered by the connectedness of the Atlantic

world. The naming of the New World was not a unilateral Spanish undertaking. Like

other relationships between peoples in the transatlantic encounter, the Spanish had to

recognize and accommodate the wishes and, in some respects, the power of the

Amerindians that they lived with and wished to incorporate into their empire. The

Spanish did create new toponyms in the Americas. They described the land, honored

their Catholic faith and their nobility, and they transferred Old World place-names to the

New World—but this only accounts for a portion of the toponyms used in the Spanish

New World. Amerindians continued using their own place-names and contributed many

of them to the Spanish, who adopted and adapted them. A number of the toponyms in the

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[70] Knight, "Subalterns, Signifiers, and Statistics," 141; Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 34-35. Terraciano and Sousa bewail the fact that, "We have reached a point, ironically, where we know as much, if not more, about indigenous society as we know about Spaniards, other Europeans, and criollos in New Spain" (p. 34). Knight wonders if the "new cultural history" is "at all interested in non-subalterns (be they 'elites,' 'superordinates,' or 'ruling classes')"; he states that it cultural history is "entirely suitable for elite studies" (p. 141).

New World, as demonstrated both by contemporary Spanish chronicles and maps, were in fact creolized place-names. For every Spanish "Vera Cruz" there was an Indian "Oaxaca" and a creolized "San Juan Evangelista Culhuacan." The syncretized toponyms of the Spanish New World are best understood in the wider context of the cultural blending of the Atlantic encounter.

The second chapter discusses the interplay between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Spain. Iberians were quite accustomed to populations of non-Christian peoples— and, of course, their toponyms. The place-names of the Christian *reconquista* would provide the Spanish with models and examples they would later employ in their transatlantic encounter. Just as the Spanish did not erase Arabic toponyms in Andalucía, they did not desire or even attempt to erase Amerindian place-names. Analyzing Iberian maps from the late middle ages, it was Christian rule that made a place Spanish, not its toponym. The third chapter examines the place-naming patterns of sailors and geographers at the beginning of the age of discovery. The conquest of the Canary Islands and the exploration of the Eastern Atlantic would provide models to explorers and conquerers in the Western Atlantic.

In the fourth chapter, Columbus, though a Genoese, utilized naming patterns he learned from his Portuguese employers and his adopted Spanish homeland. Columbus the sailor described many places with toponyms; Columbus the politician baptized many places with the names of religious and royal figures; and Columbus the discoverer recorded many Amerindian toponyms. Following the lead of Columbus, who imbibed the Spanish and Portuguese naming patterns he learned in his formative years, the

Spanish would eventually utilize, adopt, and adapt the place-names of the Indian peoples that they incorporated into their empire. Chapter five details the process by which the scholars of Europe and Spain processed the discoveries of Christopher Columbus and those who followed in his wake. Countering the literary theorists and postmodernists who discuss Spanish toponyms and mapping as tools to erase any trace of the indigene, analysis shows that the Spanish cataloged and utilized many native names alongside new names that they gave to the landscape. Modern postmodernist thinkers have posited that the Spanish first "invented" the idea of "America" in order to create their empire in the New World. In fact, a study of toponyms and maps from this period indicate that the Spanish somehow managed to create their empire in spite of a stunningly nebulous and confused picture of the New World's geography and toponymy.

Chapter six considers the epochal encounter between the Aztec state and the conquistador Hernando Cortés alongside the creation of a so-called "New Spain." Cortés desired to present his temporal lord, Emperor Carlos V, an organized, tribute-based empire that could bring wealth and prestige to Spain (with the added benefit of souls for the Church). Placating the native populations and keeping societies as intact as possible was essential to this design. The Spanish could not capriciously re-naming of towns, villages, and provinces, which would serve only to sow confusion and discord in the indigenous population—it was not attempted. Far from recreating a "New Spain" in the Indies with European toponyms, as some scholars have contended, Cortés left many facets of Indian culture, and thus place-names, as intact as possible. The seventh chapter discusses encounters between Spanish conquistador and Indian subject in the decades

after Cortés's conquest on the mainland. Spanish naming practices continued to follow

established patterns: explorers recorded native names to indicate primacy of discovery;

newly constructed settlements generally earned European toponyms; *adelantados*

baptized indigenous settlements with a Christian name, one that inhabitants usually

dropped in common parlance; and conquistadors used place-names for their own political

ends. Indian tongues like Nahuatl and Quechua survived the introduction of Castilian

and Amerindian mapping traditions endured in the face of European learning and

hegemony. Place-names and maps provide more evidence that a new syncretized

Hispano-Indian culture evolved in the New World.

The eighth chapter serves as a sort of epilogue, showing that the Spanish place-

naming patterns brought over the Atlantic were so ingrained in their culture that the

acquisition and settlement of the province of Nuevo Santander in the middle of the

eighteenth century mimicked those of the sixteenth century. Though scholars often

present this final colonial effort in New Spain as new and novel, the process by which

colonial cartographers conceptualized the land, portrayed its native inhabitants, and

named its places illustrate the traditional methods the Spanish had used for centuries.

CHAPTER 2

PLACE-NAMES IN *RECONQUISTA* SPAIN

The varied, multilingual toponyms that monarchs and settlers adapted, adopted, and created during the Christian *reconquista* and *repoblación* of the Iberian Peninsula and the conquest of the Canary Islands established patterns that the Spanish would repeat in the Americas. The types of place-names that the Christian inhabitants of the various Hispanic kingdoms gave or retained for old and new settlements in a heterogeneous land in the centuries before 1492 resemble those that Spanish Christians would bestow in a New World of similarly diverse populations. The Spaniards of the *reconquista* did not Erase non-Spanish and non-Christian place-names from the landscape, as they were familiar with these toponyms. As the reconquest moved down the Iberian Peninsula, the various Spanish kingdoms brought Moorish populations into their domains, and kept many Arabic, Berber, and other place-names as a result. When kings and settlers founded new settlements for Christian colonizers on empty lands, they gave new Spanish toponyms to them, usually transferring place-names across the peninsula or describing the local geography. The interplay between Christians and Muslims in Spain and the settlement patterns of the *reconquista* would provide a model for the way names were bestowed and retained among the numerous Amerindian groups in the New World.

The Iberian Peninsula has always been a polyglot region of Europe. The peninsula's location made it a crossroads by both land and sea. Merchants and conquerors from several eras and empires left their languages and toponyms on the countryside. The Basque language pre-dated the Indo-European languages on the peninsula, surviving its contact with the various languages and peoples who would wash into Hispania. Celtic incomers from Gaul invaded in the fifth century BC, mixing with the indigenous Iberian inhabitants, creating a Celtiberian language that dominated the area, aside from a few seafaring Greeks and Phoenician-speaking Carthaginians, until the arrival of Latin with the conquering Roman Empire. Three invading Germanic groups, the Suevi, Visigoths, and Alans, broke the hegemony of classical Latin over Iberia as the Western Roman Empire broke apart in the fifth century. These groups fostered the creation of three major Romance language groups on the peninsula: Galician-Portuguese (*gallego*), Castilian (*castellano*), and Catalan (*catalàn*). Numerous other Latinate languages, such as Astur-Leonese, Extremaduran, and Aragonese, evolved in the area, and survive today. These languages were still developing when the Arabic-speaking armies of the Umayyad Caliphate conquered the Visigothic kingdom of Hispania in the eighth century.[1]

The new masters of much of the peninsula added a layer of Arabic to the emerging languages of Iberia. The Christians under Arabic rule in *al-Andalus*, the name medieval Arabic authors gave to the formerly Christian lands they conquered, created

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[1] Ralph J. Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-33; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 27-87; Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 301, 331-334.

their own language, a Romance language with several Arabic borrowings and often written in Arabic script, that scholars call Mozarabic. The Muslim overlords of Spain also brought Berber mercenaries and settlers from Africa and continued to allow Jews to inhabit their kingdoms. This historical babel, coupled with the spread of Hispanic languages during the reconquest (see fig. 2.1), left a dizzying array of toponyms on the map of Spain. Though Castilian became the most prominent and widely-spoken language of the Iberian Peninsula during the *reconquista* and, eventually, the *de facto* language of the Spanish court and empire (such that today "the Spanish language" is in most cases, a synonym for "Castilian"), the toponyms of the peninsula derived from a variety of tongues.[2]

Just as the diversity of peoples and languages on the Iberian Peninsula would contribute to the cultural, religious, and linguistic mélange that became "Spain," this varied assortment of peoples left their toponymic mark on the Spanish landscape.[3] The Christian kingdoms participating in the reconquest of Hispania from the Moors would adopt and adapt these place-names, using them alongside the new names they created on the advancing military and settlement frontier.[4] For centuries, scholars and chroniclers

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[2] Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, 1-33; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 27-87; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 301, 331-334; J. N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 1:3-15; Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo, "El tiempo de los morros," in *Tópicos y realidades de la Edad Media*, ed. Eloy Benito Ruano (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2000), 79; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 128.

[3] Serafín Fanjul, *Al-Andalus contra España: la forja del mito* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 2002), 189.

[4] Though a constituent part of Visigothic Hispania, Portugal will be generally ignored in this study, which focuses on the regions of the Iberian Peninsula later generally recognized as the constituent parts of the Kingdom of Spain.

Figure 2.1. Languages in Iberia, 13th Century AD.
During the *reconquista*, several languages and dialects co-existed on the Iberian Peninsula. *Source*: Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 333.

have argued over the complex etymology of place-names such as Toledo. The city, called Toletum in Latin, Tulaytulah in Arabic, Toldoth in Judaeo-Spanish (Ladino), and Tolétho in Mozarabic, has a complex history. First recorded in Latin as Toletium, the first part of the word, *Tol-*, might be from a pre-Celtic Indo-European root *tel-*, meaning "water." The middle portion of the word, *-et-*, may derive from the Celtic *'aite*, signifying "a place." The last portion, *-ium* or *-um*, is a common Latin word-ending

(compare to Londinium, Roman London). Still, there persists an unlikely legend that a band of wandering Jews founded Toledo as Toledoth, meaning "[city of] generations."[5] The true meaning of the name is probably lost to history. The Carthaginians founded the city of Cartagena (Carthage) on the southeast coast of Spain, from the Phoenician Kart Hadasht. The Romans knew the settlement as Carthago Nova (New Carthage). The original Phoenician name of the city of Cádiz was Gadir ("walled city"), which passed into Latin as Gades and eventually the Arabic Qādis.[6] Several places in Spain carry the Arabic article *al-* ("the"), as in Almería or Algeciras, or the base *wādī* ("river" or "valley"), often transliterated into Spanish as *guada-*, as in Guadalajara or Guadalupe.[7] The toponyms of Spain were varied and multilayered when the *reconquista* and *repoblación* was underway. The new rulers and settlers of the various Christian kingdoms moving into Muslim-held areas would retain many existing toponyms, including those of the Moors, and they would also baptize many places, especially new settlements devoid of preexisting populations, with novel names celebrating their own religion, culture, and homelands.

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[5] García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 40; Victor Perera, *The Cross and the Pear Tree: A Sephardic Journey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 35; Aviva Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America: A Diasporic History* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 11; Albert Frederick Calvert, *Toledo: An Historical and Descriptive Account of the "City of Generations"* (New York: J. Lane Co., 1907), 2; Martin J. Ball and James Fife, *The Celtic Languages* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 185; Thomas Stratton, *The Celtic Origin of a Great Part of the Greek and Latin Languages, And of Many Classical Proper Names, Proved by a Comparison of Greek and Latin with the Gaelic Language or the Celtic of Scotland* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan & Stewart, 1870), 85; Muzaffar Iqbāl, *Science and Islam* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 105.

[6] García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 49, 70; Maurice Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, trans. Joan Spencer (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2003), 139.

[7] García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-65.

The Christian victory over a Muslim raiding party at Covadonga in the hills of

Asturias in 722, which Hispanic chroniclers portrayed as the first battle of a military

reconquista, actually began an intermittent movement of fits and starts, battles and

alliances, across the Iberian Peninsula.[8] Though the Spanish have highlighted the

military aspects of the reconquest, attributing to it a mythical quality, the complimentary

repopulation of reclaimed lands became just as important, if less belligerent. The kings

of Asturias, beginning with Alfonso I (r. 739–757) and continuing for several centuries,

secured their realm from Moorish attack by creating a depopulated region as a buffer

zone between Christian and Muslim realms. According to a later chronicle from the

reign of Alfonso III of León-Asturias-Galicia (r. 866–910), Alfonso I conquered thirty

towns from the Muslims, expelling the Moors and withdrawing Christians from the

region. The resulting depopulated lands (*despoblado*) created what contemporary

documents called *tierras baldías* ("waste land") , *tierras vagas* ("vacant land"), or *yerma*

("desert"). The rulers of the Christian kingdoms of Spain became the legal owners of

territory reclaimed from the Moors, and many records call these lands *tierras realengas*

("crown lands").   Still, these empty lands were often appropriated by squatters, who

claimed the land using a legal concept that evolved from the concept of *terra nullius* or

res nullius in Roman law, in which land that was unoccupied could be seized if put to a

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[8] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 161-178; Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), 44, 50-52; Gonzalo Martínez Díez, *El condado de Castilla, 711-1038: la historia frente a la la leyenda* (Valladolid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2005), 61ff.; Pauline L. Goode, "Covadonga, Su Historia y su Leyenda," *Hispania* 10, no. 3 (May 1927): 160-166.

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proper use, such as farming.[9] The monarch had the right to dispense of these lands to

groups of settlers, seigniorial lords, or existing tenants.[10] Historian Lyle McAlister

succinctly noted that when the Crown of Asturias, and later, the kingdoms of León and

Castilla, began peopling these "empty lands," the "Reconquest really began."[11] A

prominent feature of this *repoblación* was the mental *reconquista* of place-names.

Settlers began moving into the *tierras baldías* along the River Duero in the reign

of Ordoño I of Asturias (r. 850–866) and his son Alfonso III, using the *presura* system,

whereby squatters claimed land by moving onto it, cultivating it, and creating a

rudimentary town government. Descended from both Germanic and Roman customs, a

monarch or noble legitimated the squatters after the fact through the use of a *carta

presura* or *carta de población*, a document detailing the settlement and improvement of

the empty land. Oftentimes these documents were read to assembled inhabitants in

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[9] Gonzalo Ortega Aragón, "Cuestiones de toponimia mayor palentina," *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses* 70 (1999): 519-521; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 43; Juan Manuel Sánchez Miguel, "Aportación a la toponimia mozárabe del Reino de Toledo," in *Homenaje a José Manuel Blecua*, ed. María Luisa Atáres (Huesca, Spain: Instituto de Estudios Aragoneses, 1986), 175; Zacarías García Villada, ed., *Crónica de Alfonso III* (Madrid: Tipografico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1918), 68-70; Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de historia de España, 1966), 125ff., 251; Andrew Sluyter, *Colonialism and Landscape: Postcolonial Theory and Applications* (Lanham. MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 180; José María Mínguez Fernández, *La Reconquista* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1989), 47; David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 7-10; Ophelia Marquez and Lillian Ramos Navarro Wold, *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms and Document Related Phrases* (Midway City, CA: Society of Hispanic Historical and Ancestral Research Press, 1998), s.vv. "baldias," "realengas"; Thomas F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 45.

[10] Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile*, 7-10.

[11] McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 6. Prominent historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto agrees in *Before Columbus*, stating that, "The making of Castile and Portugal was less in the reconquest of lands peopled by Moors than in the repeopling of lands which the Moor devastated or deserted" (43).

formal ceremonies.[12] In some areas the depopulation of the Duero basin was so complete

that many of these *cartas* lacked toponyms for points of reference. The records instead

mention vague landmarks like *illo monte* ("that mount"), *illa aqua* ("that water"), or *illo

molina* ("that mill").[13]

The names given to these new settlements varied. Some names mirrored the

patron saint of the area church, others honored the local lord, and many sported names of

a military nature. Santibáñez de Tera, located on the Río Tera which flows into the

Duero, carries the name of the parish church venerating Saint John. The names of other

locales in the region derive from ecclesiastical positions referencing convents or

monasteries built during the *repoblación*, such as Santa Columba de las Monjas (*monjas*,

"nuns") or Dueñas ("a chief religious sister"), both on tributaries of the Duero. Place-

names that commemorate local nobility or founding fathers dot the region as well, such

as Pobladura de Pelayo García or Villagarcía de Campos, named for long-forgotten

grandees. Other towns take their toponyms from chains of forts built to protect the

frontier, carrying military components such as *castro* or *castillo* ("castle"), *tor* or *torre*

("tower"), *segura* ("safe," as in "stronghold"), or *guardia* ("guard"). Towns in this

category include, for example, Castronuevo, Torres de Carrizal, Segura de Toro, and La

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[12] Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 88-89; Jonathan D. Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 99-103; Esther Peña Bocos, *La atribución social del espacio en la castilla altomedieval: una nueva aproximación al feudalismo peninsular* (Santander, Spain: Universidad de Cantabria, 1995), 150-151; Manuel Márquez-Sterling, *Fernán González, First Count of Castile: The Man and the Legend* (Oxford, MS: University of Mississippi Romance Monographs, 1980), 11ff.; Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile*, 10-13.

[13] Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle del Duero*, 241-243.

Guardia.[14] The large number of *castillos* built to defend against the Muslim invader in the northern Bardulia region led its residents to name it Castilla.[15] The *Chronicle of Alfonso III* noted that the inhabitants had made the name change: "…Bardulia quae nunc appellatur Castella" (…Bardulia which is now named Castilla).[16]

There were cities in the region with resident populations. Ordoño I took control and peopled several cities, including León, Tuy, Astorga, and Amaya. His son Alfonso III gained cities such as Porto, Simancas, and Zamora.[17] Though Alfonso's laudatory chroniclers state that their monarch killed all the Arab inhabitants of nearly thirty towns, "omnes quoque Árabes occupatores supradictarum ciuitatum interficiens" (also all Arabs occupying the above-mentioned cities he slew),[18] this was almost certainly bluster, as many Muslims remained to work the farmland surrounding these cities. The victories of Alfonso (see fig. 2.2) and his father attracted many Mozarabs (from the Arabic *musta'rib* or "Arabized"), Christians who had lived under Islamic rule and adopted Islamic culture,

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[14] Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 44-45, 88-89; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 82-85, 269-283; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 112-115; Marsá, "Toponimia de reconquista."; Carlos Manuel Reglero de la Fuente, "La ocupacion de la Cuenca del Duero Leonesa por el reino Astur," in *La época de Alfonso III y San Salvador de Valdediós*, ed. Francisco Javier Fernández Conde (Oviedo, Spain: Universidad de Oviedo, 1994), 148; Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del Valle del Duero*, 243, 311ff.; *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.v. "dueña."

[15] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Spain, A Historical Enigma* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1975), 2:959; Marsá, "Toponimia de reconquista," 2:623; Asimov, *Words on the Map*, 43; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 113; Donald N. Tuten, *Koineization in Medieval Spanish* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 96.

[16] García Villada, *Crónica de Alfonso III*, 69. When a translation in English follows a quotation in an original un-translated language, the translation is my own; when the English of a foreign language source is given alone, it is from a translated source.

[17] Reglero de la Fuente, "La ocupacion de la Cuenca del Duero."; Martínez Díez, *El condado de Castilla*, 163; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 112-113; Wolf, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 168-175.

[18] García Villada, *Crónica de Alfonso III*, 69.

to their realm. The significant number of Arabic- and Mozarabic-speaking people in the

newly conquered regions meant that even Arabic and Arabicized toponyms would remain

on the land (see figs. 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5). Several sites carry names that begin with the

article *al-* ("the"), such as Algadefe, Almanza, and Almaraz de Duero ("farmland of the

Duero"). Medina de Rioseco, on a tributary of the Duero, begins with the Arabic word

for city (*madīna*). Just southwest of the city of Burgos is the little village of Mahamud,

named for someone bearing the name of the prophet of Islam.[19]

Similar patterns of granting and retaining names during the *repoblación* and

military *reconquista* continued in the next few centuries (see fig. 2.6). In 1085, after

years of harassing and demanding tribute from several Muslim *taifas*, the numerous petty

realms that sprang up after the collapse of the Umayyad Caliphate in the eleventh

century, Alfonso VI of León and Castilla (see fig. 2.7) captured the ancient city of Toledo

from its Moorish rulers.[20] He made Toledo, the ancient Visigothic capital, his own

capital and attached his new lands, the "reino de Toledo" (kingdom of Toledo) to the

Crown of Castilla. In the popular imagination, Castilla la Nueva was the name of the

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[19] Reglero de la Fuente, "La ocupacion de la Cuenca del Duero," 148; Martínez Díez, *El condado de Castilla*, 163ff.; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 112-113; Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, 18-20; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-74, 198; Lombard, *The Golden Age of Islam*, 75; Sánchez Miguel, "Aportación a la toponimia mozárabe del Reino de Toledo," 175; Juan Ortega Rubio, *Los pueblos de la provincia de Valladolid* (Valladolid: Imprenta del Hospicio Provincial, 1895), 2:15; Jane S. Gerber, *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 93ff.; García Villada, *Crónica de Alfonso III*, 68-85; Wolf, "The Chronicle of Alfonso III," 168-176.

[20] The most complete biography of Alfonso VI is José María Mínguez Fernández, *Alfonso VI: poder, expansión y reorganización interior* (Hondarribia, Spain: Nerea, 2000). Over the course of his life he was the King of León from 1065–1109 (though he was briefly deposed in 1072), King of Castile from 1072–1109, King of Galicia from 1073–1109, Count of Portugal from 1073–1093, and self-proclaimed Emperor of Spain from 1077–1109.
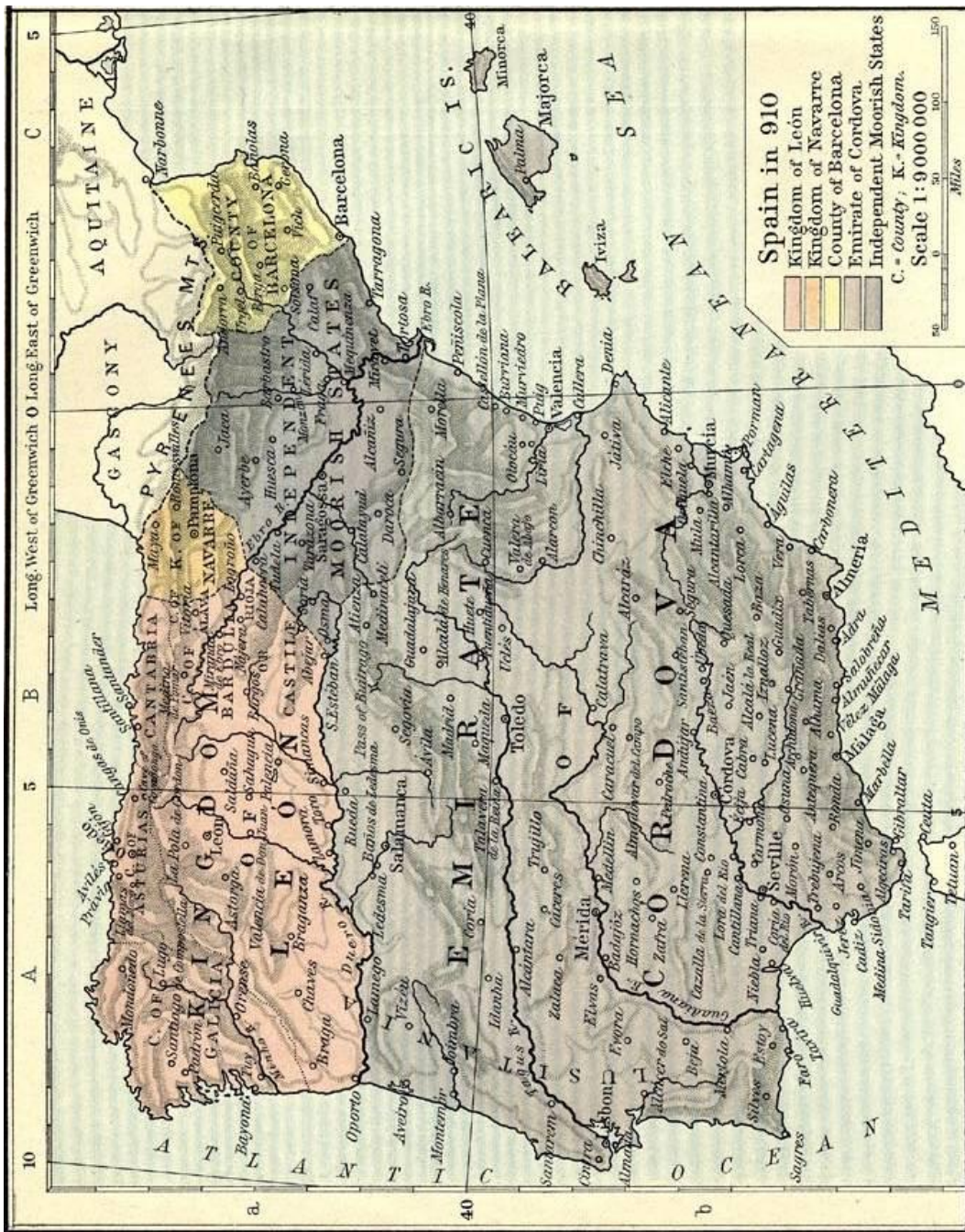
Figure 2.2. Spain in 910.

The Christian kings of the Iberian Peninsula began pushing repopulating the Duero region in the ninth century, just as the Emirate of Córdoba gained strength. *Source*: William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1926), 82.

Figure 2.3. Arabic toponyms.

Arabic toponyms are strewn across the Spanish landscape. *Source:* Jairo Javier García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2007), figure I.6.1.

Figure 2.4. Arabicized toponyms.

The Moors altered the pre-Arabic toponyms of the Iberian Peninsula, adding a layer of Arabic to many place-names that survived the *reconquista*. *Source:* Jairo Javier García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros,

Figure 2.5. Mozarabic toponyms.

The Christian Mozarabs left their mark on the place-names of Spain. Many toponyms contain Arabicized elements.
Source: Jairo Javier García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2007), figure I.6.4.
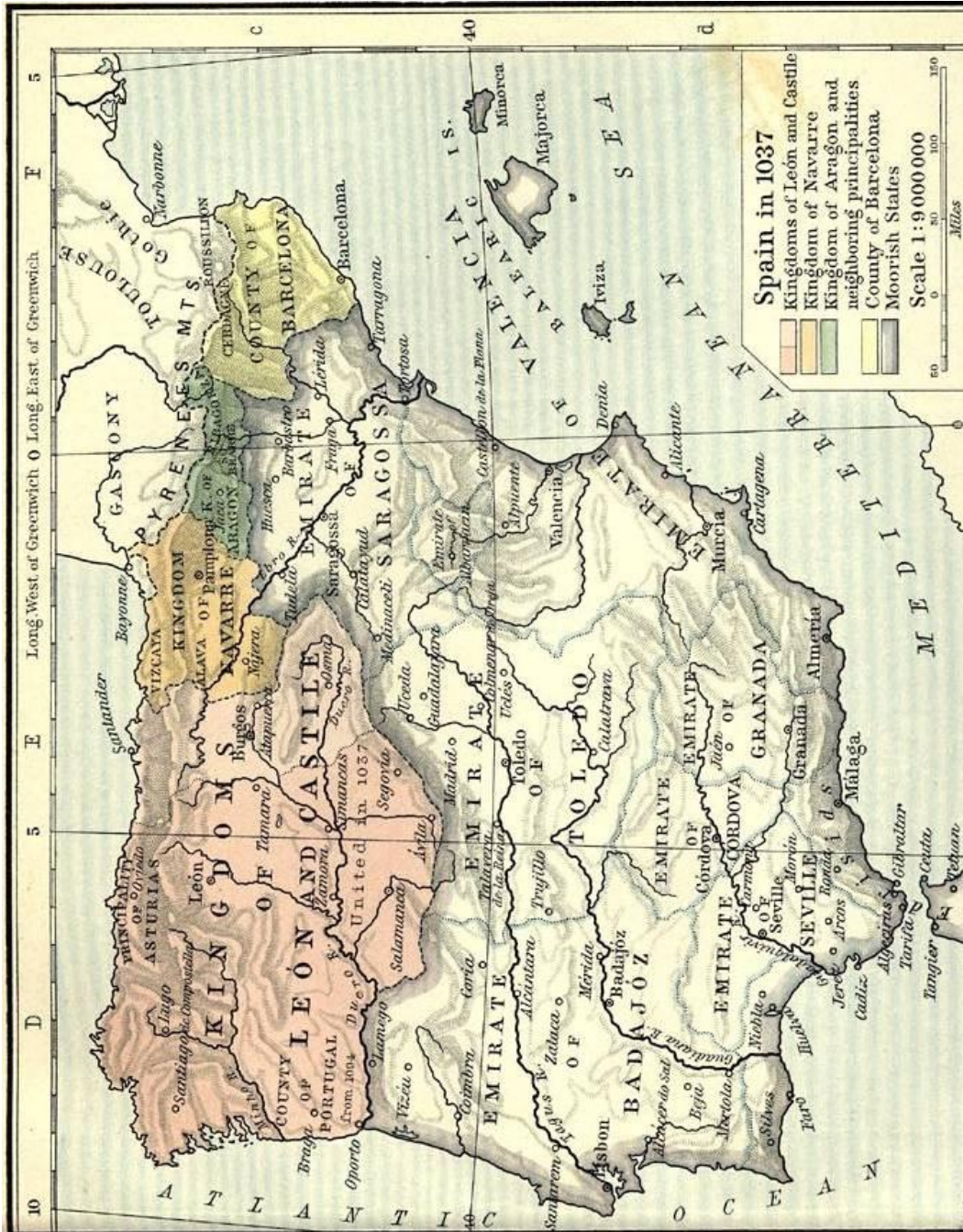
Figure 2.6. Spain in 1037.

As the Caliphate of Córdoba broke into several Moorish *taifas*, the kingdom of Castilla expanded south, culminating in Alfonso VI taking Toledo in 1085. *Source:* William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1926), 83.

Figure 2.7. Alfonso VI of León and Castilla.
The conquereor of Toledo sits enthroned in a twelfth century painting at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. *Source*: Wikimedia Commons.

new conquests, separating old from new, and the first of the Spanish "New kingdoms," a

naming practice that would spread across the Atlantic. In the immediate area, many

Moors chose to remain under Christian rule, known as *mudéjares* (corrupted from the

Arabic *mudajjan*, meaning "subdued") or *mauri pacis* ("peaceful Moors"). Many of

these *mudéjares* were of humble circumstance, who toiled in the fields of the Toledan

region. Alfonso VI guaranteed their rights to remain and practice Islam, even calling

himself the "emperor of the two religions" in Arabic documents. He further instituted the

widespread use of Arabic-speaking government officials. Together with a significant

number of resident and immigrant Mozarabs, they again ensured that Arabic toponyms

remained in the Christian kingdom. These included several small places like Almoguera,

Alocén, and Algete, each beginning with the prefix *al-*, to towns like Maqueda southwest

of Madrid, from the Arabic *makāda*, meaning "strong place."[21] The number of people

remaining in the newly conquered areas who were accustomed to the Arabicized

toponyms of the region, residents useful to the Christian kingdom of Castilla, meant that

these names would survive conquest.

In addition to leaving the toponyms of already settled regions in place, incoming

Christian settlers from the northern part of the peninsula followed naming patterns

established in the early years of the *reconquista*: honoring a local lord given dominion by

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[21] Clay Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion in Islam's Ebro Frontier Under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 279n2; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-74, 204; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 204-207; Tuten, *Koineization in Medieval Spanish*, 147-148; Sánchez Miguel, "Aportación a la toponimia mozárabe del Reino de Toledo."; *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.v. "mudéjar"; Juan Francisco Rivera Recio, *Reconquista y pobladors del antiguo reino de Toledo* (Toledo, Spain: Diputación Provincial, 1966), 26-55; Mínguez Fernández, *Alfonso VI*, 131; Francisco Abad Nebot, *"Lengua española" para la historia de un concepto y un objeto* (Murcia, Spain: Universidad de Murcia, 2003), 280-281; Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi, *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), 47.

the monarch or bringing toponyms with them from their homeland. Squatters founded

fewer settlements using the *presura* system, as the rulers of the Spanish kingdoms

dispensed with creating depopulated buffer zones and immediately assigned settlers and

lands to nobles, granting *fueros*, various rights or privileges, in documents called *carta de

población*. If fleeing Moors abandoned their developed lands, the royal government

inventoried and apportioned the properties, a process called *repartimiento*. As along the

Duero, settlers named new places with military components like *torre* and *castro*, such as

Torre Val de San Pedro and Castroserna de Abajo (see fig. 2.8). Incomers from other

regions would often name their new communities after their old one, beginning with the

words *villa de* or *puebla*, or sometimes *pobla* or *pola* (see fig. 2.9).[22] Old towns

generally kept enough of the "indigenous" population to retain their toponyms;

newcomers usually brought new names with them.

Over the next two centuries of the *reconquista*, the Christian kingdoms continued

to push the Muslim realms south. With the military movement went *repoblación*. In the

eastern third of the Iberian Peninsula, the naming patterns in the kingdoms of Valencia

and Aragón followed those of Castilla and León. Like Alfonso VI of León and Castilla,

Alfonso I of Aragón and Navarra (r. 1104–1134) conquered several regions along the

river Ebro with significant Muslim populations that chose to remain under Christian rule

(see fig. 2.10). Alfonso I, called *el Battalador* ("the Battler"), and his successors wished

to retain the Moorish inhabitants as farm laborers and a tax-revenue base. Enough

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[22] Ortega Aragón, "Cuestiones de toponimia mayor palentina," 520-521; Marsá, "Toponimia de reconquista," 631-639; Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 99-103; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-74, 269-277; Rivera Recio, *Reconquista y pobladors del antiguo reino de Toledo*, 14-28.
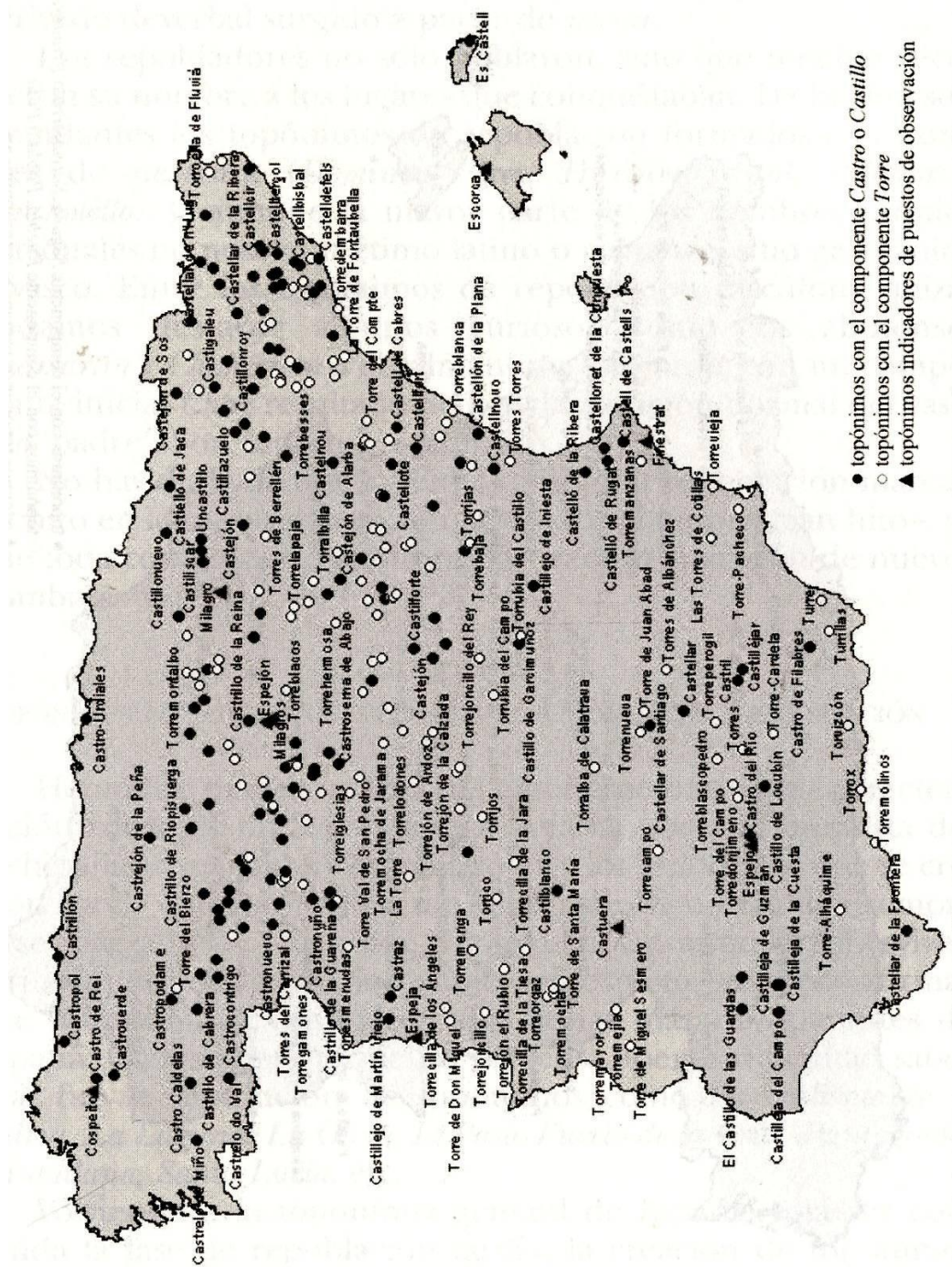
Figure 2.8. *Reconquista* toponyms.

Many toponyms of the *reconquista* contain military elements such as *castro* and *torre*. *Source:* Jairo Javier García Sánchez. *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros. 2007). figure I.8.2.A.

Figure 2.9. *Reconquista* toponyms.

Many *reconquista* toponyms referenced the frontier between Christian and Muslim lands, carry the names of settlers, or honored leaders and nobles. *Source:* Jairo Javier García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros,
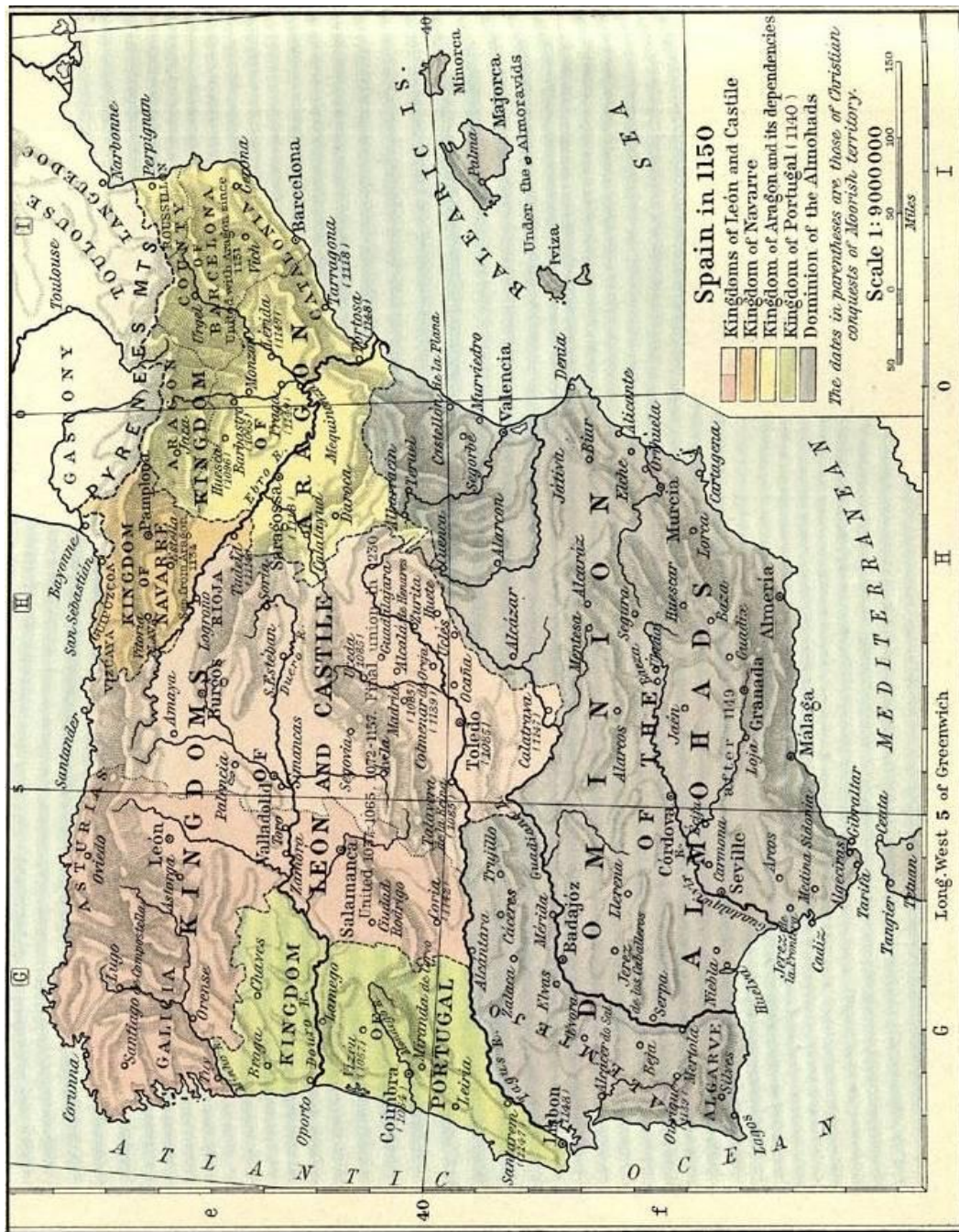
Figure 2.10. Spain in 1150.

The kings of Castilla and Aragón, with renewed confidence, pushed their *reconquista* south in the twelfth century. *Source:* William R. Shepherd. *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt. 1926). 82.

Muslims remained around Zaragoza (Roman Caesar Augusta, corrupted to Saraugusta, which became the Arabic Saraqusta, before becoming Spanish and Catalan Zaragoza) that a significant *morería*, or Moorish district, grew up outside the city walls, alongside Jewish and Berber neighborhoods. Arabic words and toponyms remained. The Spanish word *almunia* ("farm") descends from the Arabic *almúnya* ("the farm") and remains in the hybridized Arabic and Spanish place-name Almunia de San Juan in Aragón. Other Arabic toponyms include Albelda, Alfarras, and Alquézar. Alquézar is an Aragonese modification of the Arabic *al qasr* ("the castle"), itself adapted by the Moors from the Latin *castrum* ("castle"); all across Spain there are several toponyms containing the Castilian equivalent Alcázar. Though some squatters did use *presura* rights (called *aprisio* in Catalan) to claim land, by the time of Alfonso the Battler, in most cases the monarch granted rights and properties in the form of *fueros* (*furs* in Catalan). He settled Christians in any abandoned Muslim farms, only founding one settlement, Monreal del Campo, near Teruel. His successors brought in new settlers, who followed town-naming patterns similar to those in Castilla, using *pobla*, *castella*, and *torre* in many places. In many cases they simply retained towns, boundaries, and toponyms from Muslim times.[23]

In 1229 Jaume I of Aragón attacked Majorca, in the Balearic Islands off the eastern coast of Spain, which had been in Muslim hands since 902, subduing most of the island by the next year. Many Muslims chose to leave the island, and Jaume used *repartimientos* (*repartiment* in Catalan) to distribute land and estates to primarily

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[23] Stalls, *Possessing the Land*, 59-71, 279-285; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 59; Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, 89, 115; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 219-220; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 51, 63-74; *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.vv. "almunia," "alcázar."

Catalan-speaking colonists. In the lowlands and around the coast, many of the toponyms are Catalan or show Catalan forms. Some exhibit Catalan suffixes like *-et*, *-eta*, and *-ita* such as Sa Caseta des Capellans and Sa Rapita. In the rugged, mountainous interior of the island, the king struck a deal with thousands of resisting Moors in 1232. In these areas, many place-names remained Arabic, such as Binissalem and Algaida.[24] Jaume, who earned the moniker *el Conqueridor*, continued his military exploits, taking the islands of Ibiza and Formentera in 1235, and, turning on the Muslim *taifa* south of his realm, conquering Valencia in 1238. (The Muslims on Minorca accepted Jaume as their sovereign in 1232, colonization did not occur until 1286.) Many Muslims remained in the newly created Kingdom of Valencia, attached to the Crown of Aragón. Most remained in the southern half of the region, mostly as rural farmers and laborers.[25] Again, as in other areas of Christian Spain, Arabic and Arabicized toponyms lingered where a large number of Muslims lived. Sites with names like Almenenara and Benetusser are Arabic. Incoming Aragonese and Catalan residents established new settlements like Castellón de la Plana and Castellnovo, both named for defensive fortifications.

After Alfonso VIII of Castilla broke the power of Almohad Caliphate, which had briefly reunified the Muslim domains of the Iberian Peninsula, at the battle of Las Navas

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[24] O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 340-343; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 11-26; Vicenç M. Rosselló i Verger, *Toponímia, geografia i cartografia* (Valencia, Spain: Universitat de València, 2004), 55-59; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-65.

[25] O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 342-349; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-87.

de Tolosa in 1212, Fernando III (King of Castilla from 1217–1252; King of León from 1230–1252) began pressing the Moors of Andalucía. He captured Úbeda in 1233 and pushed to the río Guadalquivir. Fernando's vassals took several towns in Extremadura over the next few years. In June 1236, Fernando entered Córdoba, before moving on to conquests in Jaén in 1246 and Sevilla in 1248. Several towns that fell under his sway retained their Arabic names, such as Alcalá de Guadaíra, Alcalá del Río, and Guadalcanal. Alcalá is from the Arabic *al-qal'at* meaning "castle" and Guadalcanal from the Arabic *wādī* and *al-kanal*, an Arabicized form of the Latin word *canal*. Again, as in previous conquests, familiar Arabicized names remained on the landscape, as many Moors chose to live under Christian rule. Fernando continued the repopulation practices of his predecessors to settle unused lands, issuing *repartimientos* to noblemen, chivalric orders, and the Church. As before many of the place-names were military in nature, such as Castilleja de la Cuesta ("castle of the hillside") and El Castillo de las Guardas ("the castle of the guards"). New settlers often affixed "La Puebla" and another descriptive term to the villages they built on empty lands.[26]

Fernando's son and successor as King of Castilla and León, Alfonso X (r. 1252–1284), called *el Sabio* ("the Wise"), kept up the pressure on al-Andalus and continued the repopulation of the frontier (see fig. 2.11).[27] The urbane, learned, and energetic monarch

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[26] Julio González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1951), 1:5-91; John Edwards, *Christian Córdoba: The City and Its Region in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 6-23; Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 22-25; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 333-340, 343-349, 351-357; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 36, 63-74, 82-85, 90, 164.

[27] From 1257 to 1275, Alfonso X also claimed the throne of the Holy Roman Empire through his Hohenstaufen mother Elizabeth. The best two biographies of Alfonso X in English is Joseph F.

left several laws (including the famed *Siete Partidas*), chronicles, and works of literature,

many in his own hand, and countless records survive of his efforts toward *repoblación*

and *repartimiento*. Alfonso continued to push the borders militarily, taking several

important towns, including Jerez (1255), Niebla (1262), Cádiz (1262), and Écija (1263).

Alfonso, a zealous Christian who advocated for a North African crusade and campaigned

for the throne of the Holy Roman Empire, took particular interest in *fueros* and

repartimientos, granting lands to allies and chivalric orders, even to the point of *re-*

naming settlements.[28]

In the countryside, Moors usually fled for the relative safety of the Kingdom of

Granada or the larger towns, where they would more readily be accepted. Alfonso settled

many small, depopulated villages (*aldeas*) in the region along the frontier around Sevilla,

giving them new toponyms in his *Libros de Repartimientos*. There are many examples,

such as: "el aldea que dicien en el tempo de moros Pilias, a quien yo [Alfonso] pus

nombre Torre del Rey" (the village that was called in the time of the Moors Pilias, which

I [Alfonso] named Tower of the King).[29] Alfonso rechristened Corcobina, when he

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O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993); H Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*, trans. Odile Cisneros (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[28] Shelby G. Thacker and José Escobar, trans., *Chronicle of Alfonxo X* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 35ff.; Robert Bartlett, *La formación de Europa: conquista, civilización y cambio cultural, 950-1350*, trans. Ana Rodríguez López (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003), 223; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 359ff.; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 60; Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 22-26; Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, the Learned*, 148-184, passim.

[29] Julio González, ed., *Repartimiento de Sevilla* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1951), 2:310.

granted it to his uncle Alfonso de Molina, brother of Fernando III, making it Molina.[30]

Alfonso changed the name of the seaside town of Alcante (or Alcantif) to Santa María del

Puerto (or Puerto de Santa María), to honor the Virgin, a name that received popular

acclamation.[31]

Alfonso's officials were conscious of the propagandistic value of such

symbolism. When the *repartimiento* of Écija began in 1264, the royal commission

looked down on the city from the old mosque and divided the city in the form of a cross,

symbolizing the redemption of the newly Christian city.[32] The records state:

> Partimos la villa en quarto collaciones en remembrança de cruz; la primera, la
> mayor, Sancta y verdadera Cruz; e la del lado diestro Santa María; e la del lado
> siniestro Sant Joan; e la de adelante de todos tres, Sancta Barbara, en semeiança
> del pueblo que está ante la Cruz pidiendo merçed e laudando en nombre de
> Jhesucristo.
> (We parted the town into four sections in remembrance of the cross; the first, the
> greater, the Holy and true Cross; and on the right side Saint Mary; and on the left
> side Saint John; and in front of all three, Saint Barbara, in semblance of the
> people that are before the Cross, asking for mercy and lauding the name of Jesus
> Christ.)[33]

Alfonso repopulated several areas along the frontier from the Atlantic coast to Jaén and

then over to Murcia, surrounding the last Muslim stronghold in Andalucía, the Emirate of

Granada. Alfonso's policies induced many Moors to migrate to Granada and most of

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[30] Pablo Espinosa de los Monteros, *Segunda parte de la Historia y grandezas de la gran ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville, 1630), 2; Manuel Gonzalez Jiménez, "Repartimientos andaluces del siglo XIII, perspectiva de conjunto y problemas," *De Al-Andalus a la Sociedad feudal* (1990): 110; Bartlett, *La formación de Europa*, 223.

[31] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 101; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 60.

[32] González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, 58-59; Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms*, 23; Robinson and Rouhi, *Under the Influence*, 48.

[33] From the *Libro del Repartimiento de Ecija* in González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, 59.
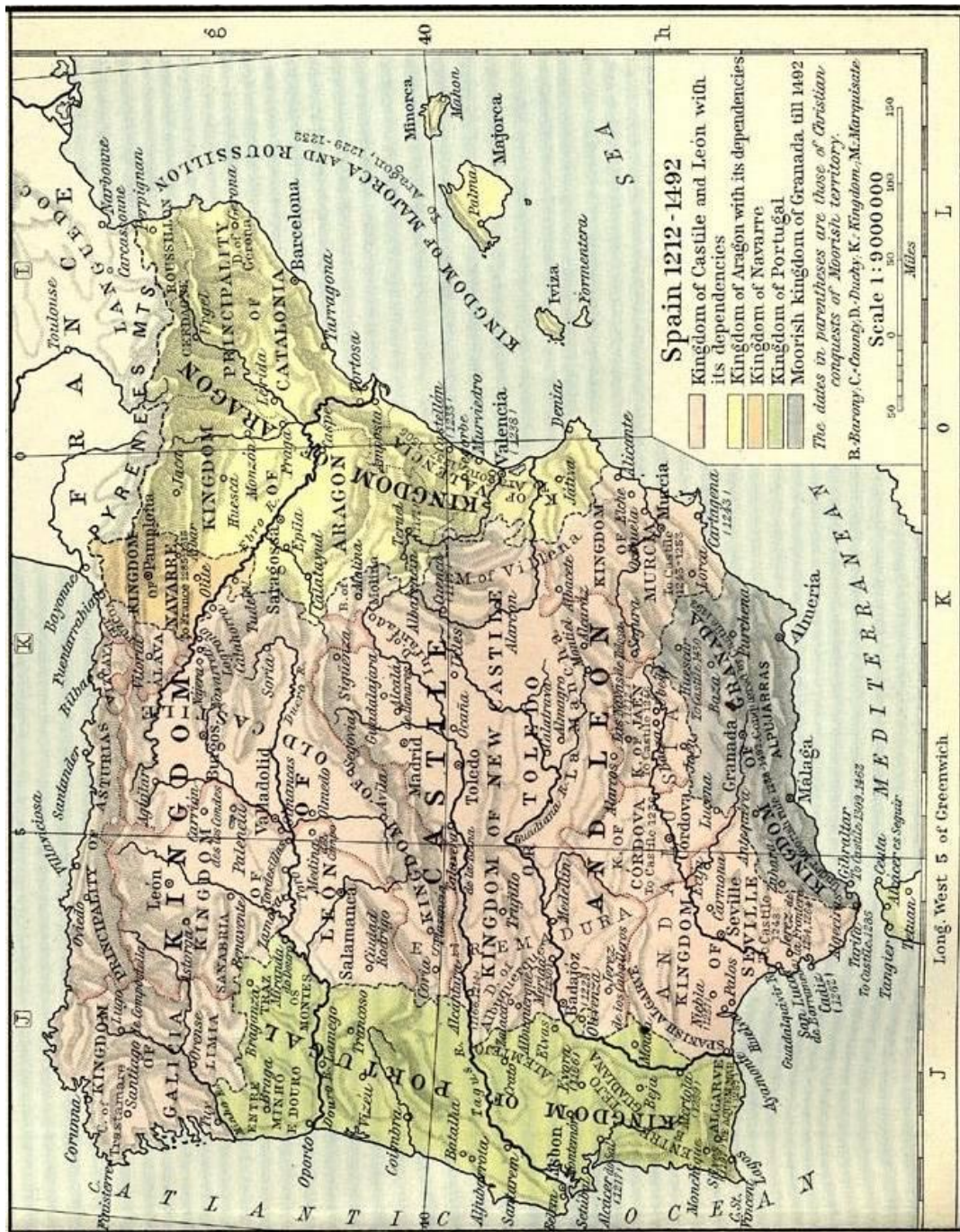
Figure 2.11. Spain 1212-1492.

After the expansions of the early thirteenth century, the frontier between Moorish Granada and Christian Castile remained fairly static until the latter half of the fifteenth century. *Source*: William R. Shepherd.

them abandoned their properties in all but the largest cities. In their stead, Alfonso

planted many new settlements, using time-honored elements such as *castillo*, *torre*,

puebla, *frontera*, and *salvatierra* ("saved land") in toponyms. The large towns of Jerez

and Palos too gained new suffixes, becoming Jerez de la Frontera and Palos de la

Frontera.[34] Felipe Fernández-Armesto noted that:

> Alfonso X reduced the frontier from Jeréz to Gibraltar to a wasteland. The most
> telling evidence for the displacement of the Moorish population derives from
> place names. It is not only modern dictators who try to expunge the past by
> changing the names and the wholesale substitution of Christian for Moorish
> names was usually by royal command.[35]

Alfonso's zealous desire to erase Arabic toponyms from the landscape did not always

succeed. Alfonso, who sponsored several chivalric orders, tried to change the name of

the large city of Medina Sidonia after he took it in 1264. Alfonso gave the city to the

Orden de Santa María de España, whose symbol was an eight-pointed star surrounding a

circle containing a depiction of the Virgin and Child.[36] A *repartimiento* document reads:

"la villa e el castiello de Medina Sidonia, a que nos ponemos nombre Estrella" (the town

and the castle of Medina Sidonia, to which we gave the name Estrella).[37] This name

change did not last, as the large resident population, which included a significant number

of Arabic-speakers, ensured that the old Medina Sidonia remained in use. This pattern

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[34] Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 60; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63-85.

[35] Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 60.

[36] Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Noticas acerca de la orden militar de Santa María de España, instituída por Alfonso X* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museod, 1907), 14n1; O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 162; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 60; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 90.

[37] Juan Torres Fontes, "La Orden de Santa María de España," *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 3 (1977): 110.

would cross the Atlantic as well, new settlements created by Spaniards would receive new Spanish names while larger settlements inhabited by a number of "natives" would retain their names even in the rare instances when the government tried to change them.

The frontier between Castilla and the Emirate of Granada remained relatively stable until the early decades of the fifteenth century (see fig. 2.11), when Castillian armies took sites such as Antequera (1410) and Gibraltar (1462). Castillian monarchs believed that it was better to keep receiving tribute from a denuded Granada than undertake an expensive conquest. In 1469 the marriage of Fernando II of Aragón (r. 1479–1516) and Isabel (or Ysabel) I of Castilla (r. 1474–1504) eventually put the combined might of two kingdoms behind a renewed *reconquista*, which began in 1481. As before, Moors retained their property if they desired, and Arabic place-names were preserved, such as Almería (*al-merīya*, "the watchtower") and Guadix (from the Arabic *wādī* and pre-Roman toponym Acci). In the winter of 1490-1491, the armies of Christian Spain encamped in the *vega* ("bottomlands") of Granada on the river Genil, a tributary of the Guadalquivir, just west of the last remaining bastion of Muslim al-Andalus, the city of Granada. At the bidding of Fernando, the soldiers built a town of stone and brick as a permanent base of operations. In a highly symbolic move, reminiscent of the division of the town of Écija, the troops built the town in an oblong rectangle, with two large avenues forming a cross. The soldier-laborers, primarily from Castilla, wanted to name the new city Isabel after their queen, but she decided on Santa Fe (Holy Faith), because Muslim inhabitants had never tainted this pristine settlement. It was from Santa Fe that Fernando and Isabel proceeded to Granada to accept the surrender of Abu ʿabd-Allah

Muhammad XII, known in Spanish chronicles as Boabdil.[38] The reconquest of nearly

eight centuries ended.

The *reconquista* and *repoblación* left many imprints on Spanish culture. The

hundreds of years of reconquest, though composed of interspersed periods of peace and

war, created a frontier society that prided itself on its solitary, independent campaign

against the Moors. Though there were a large number of Muslims and Jews in Spain

until the conversions and expulsions of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries,

the majority of the population remained Christian, and only Christians belonged to the

Hispanic "republic" (*res publica*, "public entity"). The Christian society of Spain

generally geared itself towards the *reconquista*, despite much interaction between diverse

peoples on a local level on the frontier.[39] New governments and settlers encountered

stubborn toponyms and populations accustomed to their use, even Arabic place-names

and inhabitants. In building new settlements in cleared territory, the Christians that

resettled the peninsula transferred some names from one part of Spain to another (such as

Sevilla la Nueva or Palenciana), named others for prominent settlers, or referred to the

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[38] José Cepeda Adán, "La ciudad de Santa Fe, símbolo de una época," *Cuadernos de historia moderna* 13 (1992): 74; Nancy Rubin, *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 285-288; Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Isabel la Católica* (Madrid: Espasa, 2003), 267-279; O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 666-669; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 63, 90; Hugh Thomas, *Rivers of Gold: The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), 3-4; Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 19-21; William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (New York: J. B. Millar & Co., 1885), 1:330-331.

[39] Julián Montemayor, "Ciudaded hispánicas y signos de identidad," in *México en el mundo hispánico*, ed. Óscar Mazín Gómez (Zamora, Michoacán, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2000), 289-293; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 173-178; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 19ff.; Richard A. Collins, "Tell Me Whose Company You Keep: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish Frontier Identity" (Master's thesis, West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University, 2009), 43-45; Glick, "Convivencia," 1-10; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 1-8.

military aspect of the *reconquista*, using toponyms with elements such as *castro* and *torre*.

The peninsula-wide devotion to Santiago Matamoros ("Saint James the Moor-slayer") is another aspect of the reconquest culture (see fig. 2.12). In the early eighth century, the legend that the apostle James had evangelized in the Roman province of Hispania before his martyrdom in Jerusalem in the year 44 gained acceptance. Early patristic documents do not record such a visit by James and even the Spanish churchman Julian of Toledo rejected the story in the seventh century. Saint Beatus (or Beato) of Liébana, a Cantabrian monk who wrote a popular commentary on the book of Revelation in 776 (*Commentaria In Apocalypsin*), supported the contention that James proselytized in Spain. Sometime between 818 and 842, according to a later chronicle, a shepherd named Pelayo discovered the long-lost tomb of James by following a heavenly light. Alfonso II of Asturias (r. 759-842) built a cathedral on the site, which locals and pilgrims soon called Santiago de Compostela. Supposedly, Compostela is from the Latin *campus stellae* ("field of stars"), though it may derive from the Latin *compositus* ("buried"), or the Latin *composita* ("[well-]composed"), with the Galician diminutive *-ela*.[40]

The assembled host of Ramiro I of Asturias (r. 842–850) saw the image of James in the sky on a white charger at the Battle of Clavijo in 844, though the battle may be the imagining of a later chronicler. Over the next several centuries, the apparition of James

[40] Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 194ff.; Chris Lowney, *A Vanished World: Medieval Spain's Golden Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Free Press, 2005); Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 29-31; Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, "La auténtica batalla de Clavijo," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 9 (1948): 94-139; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 258, 279-283.

Figure 2.12. Santiago Matamoros.
Saint James the Moor-slayer, here represented as a medieval knight in the dress of the chivalric Order of Santiago. From an eighteenth century painting, probably from the Cuzco School of Perú. *Source*: New Orleans Museum of Art, New Orleans.

apparently appeared at several battles to aid the Christians. "¡Santiago!" became a Spanish battle-cry and artists depicted the first-century Jewish fisherman as an armored knight killing the Moors. By 1200 the Castilian monarchy sponsored the military Order of Santiago, dedicated to the reconquest of Spain. Several towns founded during the *repoblación* bear the name of Santiago, including La Nava de Santiago, Salvatierra de Santiago, and Villamayor de Santiago. Scores of towns in the New World would be named Santiago for Spain's patron saint, the patron saint of conquest.[41]

The few extant maps from the Iberian Peninsula during the *reconquista* demonstrate how Spaniards dealt with place-names. In the original *Commentaria In Apocalypsin*, now lost, Beatus included a quadripartite *mappa mundi*. Similar in form to the tripartite T-O maps of Iberian predecessors like Isidore of Sevilla (ca. 560–636), which showed the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe, these added a fourth continent to the south of Africa: the Antipodes (see figs. 2.13 and 2.14). In the manuscript copies made over the next few centuries, the toponyms on the Iberian section of the map changed as the Christian kingdoms pushed the Moors south. Early Beatus maps, such as the circa 945 copy at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the 975 copy at the Museu de la Catedral de Girona, Cataluña, or the circa 1050 Saint-Sever copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France contain no Arabic city or region names. In their stead, the names of old Roman provinces like Baetica or Tarraconensis remain. On the

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[41] O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 194ff.; Lowney, *A Vanished World*, 43-53; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 29-31; Sánchez-Albornoz, "La auténtica batalla de Clavijo."; Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, "La Reconquista cartográfica: el Islam peninsular en la cartografía medieval hispana," *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 61-62 (2006): 281ff.; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 258, 279-283; José Antonio Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española en el Nuevo Mundo* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1990), 271-291.

Figure 2.13. The Saint-Sever Beatus *mappa mundi* from ca. 1050.

This map shows the typical quadripartite division of the world found in the maps of Beatus's *Commentaria*. Oriented with east at the top, Europe is on the lower left, Africa on the lower right, and Asia is at the top. Several islands surround the world and in the extreme southern portion of the map, across a sea of red, is the fabled fourth continent, the Antipodes. *Source*: "[Saint-Sever Beatus Map]," manuscript map, color, ca. 1050, MS Lat. 8878, [Saint-Sever], ff.45bisv-45ter, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 2.14. Toponyms of the Saint-Sever Beatus map.

This line-drawing highlights the many toponyms. Notice the absence of the names for any Iberian cities or regions under Muslim control, though Astures, Cantabria, Gallicia and Lusitania appear. Note also the two islands marked Insulae Fortunatarum, the "Fortunate Isles" of the ancients, off the coast of Africa. These are the soon to be rediscovered Canary Islands. *Source*: Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, "Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 134 (1954): 137-291.

1086 copy found in the Archivo de la Catedral de Burgo de Osma, in Soria, Castilla la

Vieja, the old Latin form of Toledo, *Toletum*, appears for the first time, just one year after

Alfonso VI took the city (see fig. 2.15). The Beatus mappa mundi of San Andrés de

Arroyo located at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, shows Sevilla, as *Sevilia* (from

Roman *Hispalis* via the Arabic *Išbīliya*), for the first time, around the time that Fernando

III conquered it in 1248 (see fig. 2.16).[42] In her study of the Beatus mappae mundi,

Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez wrote that:

> These maps show a utopian image of the world in which Islam is not
> present. Their depiction of the Iberian Peninsula is closely linked with the
> process of the Reconquest: territory that had been occupied by Islam is included
> as part of the world only after it has been conquered by the Christians…. The
> cartographers of these maps, in choosing what to communicate and what to
> conceal, modified or disguised reality, changing the image of the world which
> they wished to project. These maps thus reflect a territorial narration of history—a
> subjective history, told by its own protagonists.[43]

Looking at these maps, it appears that what makes a place-name truly "Spanish" was not

its derivation or pronunciation, but when Christian Spaniards controlled it. The Spanish

could have attempted a wholesale change of Moorish toponyms, but a non-Christian

name did not prevent them from bringing such places into their domains.

Scholars have long noted the cultural connections between the *reconquista* on one

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[42] Sáenz-López Pérez, "La Reconquista cartográfica," 280-290; Leo Bagrow and Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, *History of Cartography*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1985), 43-44; Lloyd Brown, *The Story of Maps* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1949), 94; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 68; Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, "Mozárabes y asturianos en la cultura de la Alta Edad Media," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 134 (1954): 137-291; John Williams, "Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 7-32; "[Saint-Sever Beatus Map]," manuscript map, color, ca 1050, MS Lat. 8878, [Saint-Sever], ff. 45bisv-45ter, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; "[Burgo de Osma Beatus Map]," manuscript map, color, 1086, Cod. 1, ff. 34V:35, Archivo de la Catedral, Burgo de Osma, Spain; "[San Andrés de Arroyo Beatus Map]," manuscript map, color, ca 1248, MS Lat. 2290, [San Andrés de Arroyo], ff. 13v-14, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Alfred Hiatt, *Terra Incognita: Mapping the Antipodes before 1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 84-87.

[43] Sáenz-López Pérez, "La Reconquista cartográfica," 280-281.

Figure 2.15. Beatus map detail, 1050.

A detail from the European section of the Beatus map housed at the Cathedral of Burgo de Osma shows the Iberian Peninsula below the Pyrenees, marked by a line. Among the toponyms is "Toletum" (near the cathedral at lower right), the old Latin form of Toledo.   Toledo appears on the Beatus *mappae mundi* for the first time because they were redeemed to Christendom by Alfonso VI of León and Castilla in 1085, just a year before the production of this map. *Source:* "[Burgo de Osma Beatus Map]," manuscript map, color, 1086, Cod. 1, ff. 34V:35, Archivo de la Catedral, Burgo de Osma, Spain.

Figure 2.16. Beatus map detail, ca. 1248.
The Beatus map of San Andrés de Arroyo, from circa 1248, just after the fall of Sevilla
Fernando III. Like Toledo on earlier *mappae mundi*, Sevilla (here "Sevila"), did not
appear as a toponym until conquered by Christian forces from the Moors. *Source*: "[San
Andrés de Arroyo Beatus Map]," manuscript map, color, ca. 1248, MS Lat. 2290, [San
Andrés de Arroyo], ff. 13v-14, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

hand, and the conquest of the Americas on the other. Conquistadors carried the crusading spirit of Spain from the Old World to the New. Sixteenth century Spanish chronicler Francisco López de Gómara concluded, "Comenzaron las conquistas de indios acabada la de moros, por que siempre guerreasen españoles contra infieles" (They commenced the conquest of the Indians when that of the Moors finished, because the Spanish are always warring against infidels).[44] Modern historians agree. Derek W. Lomax noted that:

> Only Spain was able to conquer, administer, Christianize and europeanize the populous areas of the New World precisely because during the previous seven centuries her society had been constructed for the purpose of conquering, administering, Christianizing and europeanizing the inhabitants of al-Andalus.[45]

Scholars have devoted innumerable works to the "crusading culture" of Spain and the cultural artifacts transferred from Spain to Spanish America.[46] The transfer of toponyms from the Iberian Peninsula is less-studied,[47] and often depicted simply as form of imperialist oppression. Barbara Mundy, for instance, noted that "scholars have dwelt on the violence implicit in the Spanish program of renaming, as the new Spanish and

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[44] Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (Madrid: Calpe, 1922), 1:5.

[45] Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 178.

[46] Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, 225; Díaz Vasconcelos, *España en España y España en Indias*, 119, 135, passim; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 212-217; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 17-18; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 56-66; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 11-12; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 69-99; Ross Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 7-16; John Edwards, "A Conquistador Society? the Spain Columbus Left," *History Today* 42, no. 5 (May 1992): 10-16; Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 1-5; Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, 193-195; Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*. For more on how Indians dealt with Spanish imperialism, see the various works in Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain" and the landmark work of Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, which analyzes the process of colononization on Indian culture and society.

[47] See, by way of introduction, Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 11-16.

Christian names erased the landscape created by indigenous toponyms."[48] This is an incorrect, one-sided, and incomplete view of toponymy in the Spanish New World. The Spanish had little reason to erase the toponyms of the peoples they brought into their empire.

Several naming patterns and precedents resulted from the centuries-long *reconquista* undertaken by the various Spanish kingdoms. Not only had Christian Spaniards become familiar with "alien" indigenes, heathen populations of Muslims (and Jews), they were well-acquainted with "alien" toponyms. Usually, most Hispanic monarchs did not drive out pliant populations of Moors, instead retaining them as farmhands, merchants, and readily available sources of taxation. Where significant Arabic-speaking populations existed in newly conquered regions, time-honored, pre-Christian, and Arabic place-names survived the re-Christianization of space and place. Though the Spaniards converted mosques into churches, apportioned cities like Écija in the form of a cross, and used the threat of violence to control Muslims,[49] Arabic-language toponyms like Guadalajara, Algeciras, and Mahamud were not Christianized. Names that changed their form during Moorish rule were not changed to a more "Spanish" form. Sevilla, the voicing of which owes more to the Arabic Išbīliya than Roman Hispalis, underlines this familiarity with non-Spanish pronunciation. The unsuccessful attempt of Alfonso X to rename Medina Sidonia "Estrella" highlights attachment to decidedly un-Christian place-names. The Spanish retained Arabic, Phoenician, and other toponyms;

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[48] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167.

[49] For historians who look at the concept of *convivencia* in Spain, like Nirenberg, violence was a necessary component of the coexistence of peoples; see Glick, "Convivencia."; Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*.

presaging the way they adopted, adapted, and utilized place-names from several indigenous language groups in the Americas.

Still, Spanish conquerors and rulers sometimes utilized toponyms for their symbolic effect. The use of toponyms with militaristic overtones like *segura*, *frontera*, and *torre* echoed the central Spanish mythos of a crusading *reconquista*. Such place-names would find their way across the Atlantic Ocean, as chroniclers presented the conquest of America as a continuation of the fight against the Moors. Settlers from the northern reaches of the Iberian Peninsula also exhibited the standard human desire to name places after strongmen, landscape features, and original homelands. This process occurred in the New World as well. Namers also chose names for political reasons. Isabel of Castilla rallied her troops to the cause of holy *reconquista* when she named the town of Santa Fe outside Granada's walls, just as Columbus would later name the sight of his first landfall San Salvador to praise Jesus Christ. The culture of Spain became geared to spreading Christianity and Spanish civilization, while bringing in, and often placating, diverse groups within its borders. "Spanish" and "Christian" place-names moved across Iberia while Muslim place-names were tolerated, accepted, and, eventually, even moved across the Atlantic Basin.

CHAPTER 3

EXPLORERS, CONQUERORS, AND PLACE-NAMING IN THE EASTERN
ATLANTIC

The exploration, discovery, and naming of the islands in the eastern Atlantic by

the Italians, Portuguese, and Spanish, would create more patterns of naming that would

follow Christopher Columbus across the Atlantic. Explorers of the Eastern Atlantic

named places from the prows of their ships based on ancient geographical notions and

physical descriptions of the land. Naming a place with a physical descriptor was easy for

uninhabited islands and empty coastlines, and would aid sailors on return expeditions.

Sailors and explorers often employed this method. The encounter with new peoples in

the Canaries and Africa too led to a mixture of place-names, as explorers adopted and

adapted native toponyms. The Portuguese recorded and used native place-names, both as

proof of their discovery and because they wished to trade with the African civilizations

they encountered. As the Spanish brought the non-Christian, Neolithic Guanche peoples

of the Canaries into their realm, they used and modified their toponyms. Aspects of the

conquest followed *reconquista* precedents, though they were many differences. As

many Guanches were brought into the Kingdom of Castilla, usually to fight other

Canarians, their day-to-day encounter with Spaniards meant that their toponyms would be

utilized by the incoming settlers. Just as the Spaniards did not obliterate Moorish

toponyms from the Iberian Peninsula, they did not erase Guanche toponyms. These patterns created in the Old World, would be utilized in the New World.

The Canary Islands off the coast of Morocco was one of the first discovered and settled by Europeans. Founders of settlements, "discoverers," explorers, and settlers brought toponyms with them from Spain (and other areas of Europe). Still, the native inhabitants of the Canaries, the Guanches, ensured that their place-names clung to the landscape. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, exploration of the Atlantic began in full force. Sailors, cartographers, and pilots from across Europe manned the expeditions, with Mediterranean mariners from Aragón, Majorca, and Italian states like Genoa taking an early role, while seafarers from Andalusian Castile and Portugal took the lead as the *reconquista* wound down. New sailing techniques and technologies borrowed from the Arabs, Renaissance cartography, and political upheaval (the rise of the Ottoman Empire hampered overland and maritime trade in the eastern Mediterranean) placed Portugal and Castile, whose coasts faced the little-explored Atlantic Ocean, in a prime position to exploit the unknown West African coast and search for sea routes to the fabled riches of the Orient.[1] The names Europeans gave to these places would mix toponyms from classical geography, the descriptive monikers used by sailors, and the names of indigenes.

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[1] Several authors provide explanations and reasons for the overseas exploration and expansion of Spain and Portugal, especially in the fifteenth century. The following list of works provide a standard introduction to the subject, and each work contains suggestions for further study. See J. H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Glenn J. Ames, *The Globe Encompassed: The Age of European Discovery, 1500-1700* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008), 1-18; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 73-88; William H. McNeill, "Transatlantic History in World Perspective," in *Transatlantic History*, ed. Steven G. Reinhardt and Dennis Reinhartz (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 3-18.

Carthaginian, Greek, and Roman mariners may have known about the Canary Islands for centuries. According to Pliny the Elder, expeditions organized by Juba II, the first century king of Numidia and Mauretania and protégé of Caesar Augustus, encountered the islands. Juba's explorers named several of the islands, such as Nivaria ("snowy"), possibly alluding to the snow-capped peak of Tenerife, and Pluvialia ("rainy"), which may refer to the rain-soaked western island of El Hierro. Juba and the ancients believed that this group of islands were the so-called Fortunate Isles or Hesperides, where the favored dead resided in eternal bliss.[2] Plutarch noted in his *Lives* that the climate and produce of the apparently uninhabited islands was such that "a firm belief has made its way, even to the Barbarians, that here is the Elysian Field and the abode of the blessed, of which Homer sang."[3] Pliny gave the name of one island, notable for its canine denizens: "The one next to it is Canaria; it contains vast multitudes of dogs of very large size, two of which were brought home to Juba: there are some traces of buildings to be seen here."[4] The collective toponym that these Roman historians gave to the island, the Fortunate Isles, appears on many maps (see figs. 2.13 and 2.14), including several medieval mappae mundi and fourteenth century portolan maps (nautical charts),

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[2] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919), 8:20-23; Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley (London: George Bell & Sons, 1890), 2:107-108; Juan de Abreu de Galindo, *The history of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands: translated from a Spanish manuscript, lately found in the island of Palma. With an enquiry into the origin of the ancient inhabitants...* (Dublin: D. Chamberlaine, 1767), 1:76-78; D. B. Harden, "The Phoenicians on the West Coast of Africa," *Antiquity* 22, no. 87 (September 1948): 141-150; Paul T. Keyser, "From Myth to Map: The Blessed Isles in the First Century BC," *The Ancient World* 24, no. 2 (1993): 149-168; Duane W. Roller, *Through the Pillars of Herakles: Greco-Roman Exploration of the Atlantic* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 44-56; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 153-154; Asimov, *Words on the Map*, 40.

[3] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, 8:23.

[4] Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History of Pliny*, 108.

but the terms Canary Isles or Isles of Canary appear on many charts beginning in the

1340s.[5]

The Fortunate Isles provided a lure for mariners, and Muslim ships may have

visited them in the twelfth century. In the spring of 1291 two brothers named Vandino

and Ugolino Vivaldi headed an expedition from Genoa financed by Tedisio d'Oria. Two

galleys that may have been named *Allegranza* and *San Antonio*, piloted by Majorcan

sailors, sailed westward through the Strait of Gibraltar, headed for the Canaries and

Africa.[6] The annals of Genoa's d'Oria (or Doria) family record the reason for the

voyage, "ut per mare occeanum irent ad partes Indie mercimonia utilia inde deferente"

([to sail] through the Ocean Sea to parts of India to bring back useful merchandise from

thence).[7] The expedition never returned, though one tiny islet in the Canaries still bears

the name Alegranza, perhaps for the Genoese galley.[8] A later expedition by Lancelotto

(or Lanzarotus or Lanzarotto or Lanzorote) Malocello, also from Genoa, set sail

sometime around 1336, probably from Lisbon, presumably in search of the missing

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[5] Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 153-154; Asimov, *Words on the Map*, 40; Toby Lester, *Fourth Part of the World: The Race to the Ends of the Earth, and the Making of History's Greatest Map* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 113-115.

[6] Francis M. Rogers, "The Vivaldi Expedition," *Annual Reports of the Dante Society, with Accompanying Papers*, no. 73 (1955): 31-45; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 94-95; Charles Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), 3:410-418; William Henry Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic: A Study in Medieval Geography* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1922), 7; Armando Cortesão, *The Nautical Chart of 1424 and the Early Discovery and Cartographical Representation of America; A Study on the History of Early Navigation and Cartography* (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 1954), 40-48; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders: A Global History of Exploration* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 122.

[7] "Iacobi Auriae Annales," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1863), 18:335.

[8] Rogers, "The Vivaldi Expedition," 37-38; Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 3:413.

Vivaldi brothers. Malocello discovered at least two islands before the island's indigenous inhabitants killed him.[9]

The 1339 portolan map of Angelino Dulcert, a Majorcan, shows two islands of the Moroccan coast, and labels one Insula de Lanzarotus Marocelus, the Canarian island known today as Lanzarote.[10] Other fourteenth century portolan charts and maps (see fig. 3.1) record the names Lanzarote, Lanciloto, Lansalot, Maroxetto, Marucdu, or Maloxdo, all based on Malocello's first and last names.[11] In an intriguing work entitled *Libro del conosçimiento de todos los reynos y tierras y señoríos que son por el mundo* ("Book of the knowledge of all the kingdoms and lands and lordships that are in the world"), probably written between 1350 and 1360, discusses the geography of the world through the device of a fictitious travelogue.[12] The anonymous author, a Castilian Franciscan friar, records that he "apres della es la isla de lançarote y dizen le asi porque las gentes desta isla mataron á vn ginoues que dezian lançarote" (after this is the isle of Lançarote and they said this is because the people of this island killed a Genoese of the said [name]

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[9] J. R. S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 149; Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 412-418; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 154-155; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Civilizations: Culture, Ambition, and the Transformation of Nature* (New York: Free Press, 2001), 408-409; Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 122; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 113-115.

[10] Angelino Dulcert, "[Carte marine de la mer Baltique, de la mer du Nord, de l'océan Atlantique Est, de la mer Méditerranée, de la mer Noire et de la mer Rouge]," manuscript map, color, 75 x 102 cm (Palma, Majorca, 1339), FRBNF40667403, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

[11] Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 412.

[12] Clements Markham, "Introduction," in *Book of the Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that are in the World, and the Arms and Devices of Each Land and Lordship, or of the KIngs and Lords who Possess Them* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1912), viii.

Figure 3.1. The eastern Atlantic on the Catalan Atlas.
The western portion of the Catalan Atlas, a map that carries many of the traits of
contemporary portolan charts, shows the colorful Canary Islands off the coast of Africa.
Source: Abraham Cresques, "[Atlas nautique, dit Atlas Catalan]," manuscript map, color,
64.5 x 150 cm, Majorca, 1375, FRBNF40670221. Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Paris.

Lançarote).[13] The fifteenth century chronicle known as *Le Canarien*, which recounts a later military expedition to the islands, noted that soldiers occupied "vng vieil chastel que Lancelot Maloesel" (an old castle of Lancelot Maloesel).[14]

The author of the *Libro del conosçimiento* recorded the names of several of the Canary Islands, many which mirror the modern names, such as: Canaria, Lançarote, Alegrança, and Tenerife. This proves that even before the 1402 expedition of Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de la Salle, which conquered some of the islands for Castilla, the islands became well-known by mariners and mapmakers, probably through trade and missionary work. Even Petrarch and Boccaccio, famed Renaissance scholars in Italy, took time to discuss the Fortunate Isles.[15] The toponyms of the *Libro del conosçimiento*, such as Tenerife, also show that Europeans recognized some of the place-names of the indigenous Guanche inhabitants at such an early date. Europeans were already recording such names as a sort of proof of discovery. The successful conquest of Lanzarote began in 1402, followed by Béthencourt's subjugation of Fuerteventura and El Hierro in the two decades that followed. Béthencourt garrisoned La Gomera, but natives resisted Castilian hegemony for decades. The more densely-populated islands of La Palma and Tenerife

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[13] Márcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Libro del conosçimiento de todos los reynos y tierras y señoríos que son por el mundo y de las señales y armas que han cada tierra señorío por sy y de los reyes y señores que los proueen* (Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1877), 50.

[14] Jean de Béthencourt, *Le Canarien: livre de la conquête et conversions des Canaries (1402-1422)*, ed. Gabriel Gravier (Rouen: Imprimerie de E. Cagniard, 1874), 50.

[15] Jiménez de la Espada, *Libro del conosçimiento*, 50; Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 122ff.; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 154-159.

resisted conquest until Alonso Fernández de Lugo defeated the last Guanche kings on Tenerife in 1496.[16]

Unlike the Moors of al-Andalus, European learning deemed the indigenes, though descended from North African Berbers, to be savages. The natives, who went by many names (the Spanish later extended the name Guanches, for the inhabitants of Tenerife, to all the islands), were primarily tribe-based herders and hunter-gatherers (only those on Gran Canaria practiced agriculture). The Canarian peoples had no cities and a tribal polity (where some rulers were chosen by election and others inherited their title). The right to settlement and conquest followed *reconquista* patterns: savages who did not embrace Christianity could have their land taken under the doctrine of *terra nullius*. Isabel of Castilla even granted lords the right to conquer as *adelantados* and assigned *fueros* to newly founded towns. The military occupation of the islands should have been a simple task, as the Neolithic Canarians had to fight European weaponry, horses, and disease, but the vicissitudes of conquest meant that Spanish leaders sought military alliances with peaceful Guanche leaders in order to defeat insurgent ones (see fig. 3.2). This usually involved submission to Castilian authority and acceptance of the Catholic faith. Guanches who submitted retained their grazing lands and living areas, much like the acquiescent Iberian Muslims. Though disease, slavery, and intermarriage eventually

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[16] Béthencourt, *Le Canarien*; Abreu de Galindo, *The history of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands*; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 172-185, 207-212; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 52-54.

Figure 3.2. The Guanche.
Adelantado Alonso Fernández presents Guanche leaders to Fernando and Isabel. From a wall painting at the *ayuntamiento* of San Cristobal de La Laguna, Tenerife, Spain. *Source*: Wikimedia Commons.

reduced already meager Guanche numbers (they are extinct today as a distinct people), their toponyms remain on the land (see fig. 3.3).[17]

The slow, decades-long Castilian conquest of the Canaries, and the differing demography of the several islands, meant that in some places Guanche toponyms survived, while in other places many disappeared. On islands where the native

[17] Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 204-217; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *The Canary Islands After the Conquest: The Making of a Colonial Society in the Early Sixteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 1-12; Nicole Maca-Meyer et al., "Ancient mtDNA Analysis and the Origin of the Guanches," *European Journal of Human Genetics* 12, no. 2 (2004): 155–162; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 51-52, 55, 63-65; William D. Phillips, *Slavery from Roman Times to the Early Transatlantic Trade* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 168-169; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 52-54; Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm," 521-522; Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*, 133-136; Robert A. Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought: The Discourses of Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 76-80.

population was high, or native groups aided the Spanish, the victors utilized more

Guanche place-names. Thus on the islands with the largest populations, like Tenerife and

Gran Canaria, native names like Adeje, Telde, Teror, and Tegueste survived the

conquest. Relatively few such names exist on Fuerteventura and El Hierro, which had

small, pliant, and easily subdued populations. Here very few such toponyms remained.

Many Guanche toponyms begin with *Ta-*, *Ti-*, or *Te-*, such as Tacornte, Tegueste, and

Tindaya. The name of the island Tenerife may derive from this prefix and the Spanish

infierno ("hell"), for the fires of the impressive, snow-capped Teide volcano. Spanish

names tend to be descriptive or hagiographic, such as La Laguna, La Palma, Santa Cruz,

and San Miguel. The patron saint of the *reconquista*, Saint James, makes an appearance

in the Canaries as Santiago del Teide.[18] Again, as on the Iberian Peninsula, non-Spanish

names remain on the land often when surrounded by an indigenous population that the

Spanish brought into their empire. These demographic patterns would extend to the New

World: where native populations were high, native names remained; in other places the

conquerors gave descriptive or religious toponyms, especially to new settlements for

Spaniards or places cleared of indigenes they considered outside their dominion.

Besides the Canary Islands, Europeans had wondered about the possibility of

other lands in the Atlantic Ocean. European cosmographers, basing their suppositions on

classical notions of earthly balance, surmised that a continent existed in the southern

hemisphere. Several T-O maps dating from the Middle Ages showed this antipodean

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[18] García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 75-77; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 63-65; Manuel Alvar, "Adaptación, adopción y creación en el español de las Islas Canarias," in *Variedad y unidad del español* (Madrid: Ed. Prensa Espanola, 1969), 147-174.

Figure 3.3. Guanche toponyms.

Many Guanche toponyms were adopted and adapted by the Spanish conquistadors, especially on islands with large Guancche populations that acceded to Castillian authority. *Source*: Jairo Javier García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España* (Madrid: Arco/Libros. 2007). figure I.5.1.

continent.[19] Churchman and scholar Isidore of Sevilla (ca. 560–636) vaguely described

the location of the antipodes in his encyclopedic work *Etymologiae*: "Apart from these

three parts [Europe, Asia, and Africa] of the world there exists a fourth part, beyond the

Ocean, further inland toward the south."[20] While most such mappae mundi show the

fabled continent south of Africa (see fig. 2.13, for instance), some maps showed it lying

westward from Europe across the Ocean Sea (see fig. 3.4).[21] Stories abounded in the late

middle ages of mythical lands in the Atlantic. The Greeks and Romans spoke of the

Fortunate Isles, or Isles of the Blessed, which appeared on many maps. Plutarch put them

opposite the Strait of Gibraltar, "ten thousand furlongs [about 1,250 miles] distant from

Africa."[22] The Beatus mappa mundi of 1086 at the Catedral de Burgo de Osma, shows an

island west of Galicia called *solitio magna* or island of the Great Solstice.[23] An eleventh

century text relates the tale of an adventurer named Trezenzónio who traveled to this

paradisiacal island, which he referred to as *insula solistitionis magna*.[24]

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[19] Bagrow and Skelton, *History of Cartography*, 43-44; Brown, *The Story of Maps*, 94; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 75-79; Williams, "Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map."; Hiatt, *Terra Incognita*, 14-89.

[20] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 293.

[21] "Conversatio s. Affrae et ancillarum eius," manuscript codex, 900s, f. 182 r., Codex Einseideln 263 (Msc. 973) (4 Nr. 29), Kloster Einseideln, Stiftsbibliothek, Einseideln, Switzerland.

[22] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, 8:21.

[23] "[Burgo de Osma Beatus Map]."

[24] Chet Van Duzer, "The History of the Azores as Insulae solis or Islands of the Sun in 16th-Century Cartography," *Terrae Incognitae* 40 (2008): 30-32.

Figure 3.4. T-O map with a western antipodean continent.
This tenth century T-O map shows an antipodean continent lying to the west of Africa
and Europe, labeled as both India and the earthly paradise. *Source*: "Conversatio s.
Affrae et ancillarum eius," manuscript codex, 900s , f. 182 r., Codex Einseideln 263
(Msc. 973) (4 Nr. 29), Kloster Einseideln, Stiftsbibliothek, Einseideln, Switzerland.

The legendary travels of the sixth-century Irish monk Saint Brendan (Bréanainn) of

Clonfert, Galway, reached a wide audience. Recorded in an anonymous Latin text of the

ninth century titled *Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis*, Brendan supposedly voyaged for

several years in the western seas with a party of monks visiting several islands before

reaching his goal, the so-called Promised Land of the Saints. His exploits appeared on

maps, beginning with the well-known Ebstorf and Hereford mappae mundi of the

thirteenth century. The Isle of Saint Brendan, the renamed Promised Land of the Saints,

cropped up on portolan charts and other maps through the 1500s as either a large single

island or part of the Azores, Madeiras, or Canaries. Another mythical Atlantic island

with roots in Ireland was Hy-Brasil. The name of the island probably derived from the

Gaelic words *Í Breasail*, meaning something akin to "isle of the greats," and various

portolan charts showed the island anywhere from the coast off western Ireland south to

the Canary Islands.[25] Armchair navigators like Prince Henrique of Portugal and later

sailors like Columbus searched for these islands in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

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[25] John J. O'Meara, trans., *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land: The Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Dolmen Press, 1978); Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, 34-67; Jorge Magasich-Airola and Jean-Marc de Beer, *America Magica: When Renaissance Europe Thought It Had Conquered Paradise*, trans. Monica Sandor (London: Anthem Press, 2007), 132-140; Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 91-98; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 87-89, 209; Donald S. Johnson, *Phantom Islands of the Atlantic: The Legends of Seven Lands That Never Were* (New York: Walker and Co., 1996), 113-128, 142-181; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages, A.D. 500-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 13-31, 102-105; Cyrus H. Gordon, *Before Columbus: Links between the Old World and Ancient America* (New York: Crown, 1971), 119-126. Other commentators believe that Brasil is related to the Latinate word for "ember," such as Portuguese *braza* and *braseiro*, the Spanish *brasero*, and the Italian *braciere*, a name which was given to an ember-colored, reddish dyewood from South America that the Portuguese called *pau-brasil*. Brazilwood, as it is known in English, gave the land of Brazil its name, though some have tried to tie it to Hy-Brasil; see Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, 52-55. An even more outlandish theory is that Brazil derives from the Semitic *barzel*, meaning "iron," and that Hebrews or Phoenicians mined the ore more than a millennium before Cabral landed there; see Gordon, *Before Columbus*, 119-126.

The most prominent island believed by Europeans to exist in the mists of the

Atlantic was Antillia (or Antilia), also called the Island of Seven Cities. The name

Antillia proved so popular Europeans eventually transferred it to the New World. A 1367

chart by Venetian mapmaker Franciscus Pizzigani (or Pizzigano) contained a legend in

the ocean, across from the Pillars of Hercules, which spoke of the *ripas Atulliae* ("shores

of Atulliae"), though one scholar read it as "Antullia." The island first appeared on

another Italian chart, the 1424 portolan of Zuane Pizzigano (perhaps related to Pizzigani),

as a large rectangular island lying about where the Azores would later be discovered (see

fig. 3.5). The island, here labeled "Antillia," showed up on several other maps in the

fifteenth century, in the same general shape and position. Antillia may be an

amalgamation of two Portuguese words: *ante* or *anti*, meaning "opposite," and *ilha*,

meaning "island." Other islands often accompanied Antillia, bearing several names. One

neighbor, generally half the size of Antillia bore the name Santanzes, Satanaxio, or Santa

Ana. The Portuguese soon equated Antillia with the legendary Island of Seven Cities.

Portuguese royal grants of the 1470s and 1480s referenced the island.[26] The first

complete retelling of the legend of the Island of Seven Cities is on the terrestrial globe

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[26] Magasich-Airola and de Beer, *America Magica*, 140-146; Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape*, 88-90; Johnson, *Phantom Islands of the Atlantic*, 91-112; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 210-211; Ernest Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim: His Life and His Globe* (London: George Philip & Son, 1908), 74-77; Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, 68-80; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, 97-102; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 15-21, 32, 44; G. R. Crone, "The Origin of the Name Antillia," *The Geographical Journal* 91, no. 3 (March 1938): 260-262; Armando Cortesão, "The North Atlantic Nautical Chart of 1424," *Imago Mundi* 10 (1953): 2-3; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 13-15; Zuane Pizzigano, "[1424 Pizzigano Chart]," manuscript map, color, 57 x 90 cm, 1424, TC Wilson Library Bell 1424 mPi, James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN. Morison, following Crone, posits that the Atulliae of the 1367 chart is a corruption of Getuliae (from Getulia), a Roman name for the Mauretanian coast.

Figure 3.5. The 1424 Pizzigano Chart.

This 1424 portolan by Zuane Pizzigano is the first surviving map to show the mythical island of Antillia, and its three smaller companions, about where the Azores are located. *Source:* Zuane Pizzigano, "[1424 Pizzigano Chart]," manuscript map, color, 57 x 90 cm, 1424, TC Wilson Library Bell 1424 mPi, James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.

created by Martin Behaim (1459–1507) of Nürnberg in 1492. On the *Erdapfel* ("earth-apple"), as he called his globe, Behaim depicted a small Antillia halfway between the Canaries and Cipangu, the contemporary European name for Japan (see fig. 4.2).[27] An inscription on the globe told the story of the Seven Cities:

> In the year 734 of Christ, when the whole of Spain had been won by the heathen of Africa [the Moors], the above island Antilia, called *Septe citade* [Seven cities], was inhabited by an archbishop from Porto in Portugal, with six other bishops, and other Christians, men and women, who had fled thither from Spain, by ship, together with their cattle, belongings, and goods. [In] 1414 a ship from Spain got near to it without becoming endangered.[28]

Mariners sought these islands in the fourteenth and fifteenth century and scholars exposited on their existence. The renascence of interest in Hellenistic geographical authors such as Strabo and Ptolemy during the Renaissance led many mapmakers to adopt the concepts and place-names of the Classical world. By 1250, the nation of Portugal had finished its *reconquista* and secured its borders against Spanish encroachment. With long shore touching on the Atlantic and trade with Africa tantalizingly near, the Portuguese began to look outward, gradually replacing the city-states of northern Italy as Atlantic traders and explorers. Under the auspices of Infante Dom Henrique of Portugal (1394–1460), called *o Navegador* ("the Navigator"; known in English as Prince Henry the Navigator), the Portuguese Crown masterminded and sponsored a series of exploratory and mercantile voyages down the Atlantic coast of Africa, searching for an all-water route to the riches of the Orient, the source of African

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[27] Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 232-235; Andrew Taylor, *The World of Gerard Mercator: The Mapmaker Who Revolutionized Geography* (New York: Walker, 2004), 25-26; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 52-54.

[28] Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, 77.

gold, and the legendary realm of Christian king Prester John, who lived strategically behind the Muslim enemy. Sailors working at the behest of Henrique, third son of King João I of Portugal (r. 1385–1433), discovered several uninhabited islands in the Atlantic, often granting *cartas de donação* (charters of donation) to sailors and settlers searching for new islands.[29] The process by which the government of Portugal sponsored exploration and claiming,[30] as well as the names they gave to these newly discovered lands, established more patterns that Columbus and the Spaniards who followed him would utilize later in the Americas.

The Carthaginians and the Romans may have known about the Madeiras, and sailors certainly visited them in the fourteenth century, as they appear on portolan charts of the era. The *Libro del conosçimiento*, probably written before 1360, mentions the islands and gives them names similar to the ones the Portuguese would later utilize. An archipelago of several volcanic islands three hundred miles off the Moroccan coast, the Madeira group came into the Portuguese sphere in the 1420s. Portuguese chronicler Gomes Eannes de Azurara (ca. 1410–1474) stated that two mariners working for Henrique, João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira, sought shelter in a storm at one of the islands they called Porto Santo ("holy port"). Henrique sent a colony to the isles in 1425, planting settlements on Porto Santo and the larger nearby island of

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[29] Peter Russell, *Prince Henry "the Navigator": A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 122-135; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 180-197; Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (London: Phoenix, 2001), 194-199; Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 238; Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America*, 29-33.

[30] For more on the legal aspects of exploration and the claiming of land, see Seed, "Exploration and Conquest."; Patricia Seed, "Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (April 1992): 183–209; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*; Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought*, 76-80.

Madeira, which meant merely "wooded island." A smaller group of inhospitable islets

the Portuguese called Ilhas Desertas, or "deserted isles." All of the islands of the

Madeira group were uninhabited, and with no indigenous names to contend with,

mariners gave simple descriptive names to the islands. One was wooded, another a

desert, and one provided a holy port in a storm.[31] These are the names of explorers,[32]

who often used descriptive names.

The Azores were the next islands the Portuguese encountered and settled under

Henrique's administration. Like the Madeiras, wayward sailors may have visited the

islands before their official discovery, as portolan charts sometimes depicted a group of

islands in the same general vicinity of the Azores. The volcanic islands, the nearest eight

hundred miles west of Lisbon, the westernmost island halfway between North America

and Europe, lay on the best return track for ships heading homeward from the Canaries or

the African coast. Henrique began settling the islands in the 1420s, and they appear on a

map in the proper orientation on a 1439 Majorcan chart. The nine major islands in the

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[31] Gomes Eannes de Azurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1899), 2:245ff.; Jiménez de la Espada, *Libro del conosçimiento*, 50; Clements Markham, ed., *Book of the Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that are in the World, and the Arms and Devices of Each Land and Lordship, or of the KIngs and Lords who Possess Them* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1912), 29; Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 127-128; Russell, *Prince Henry "the Navigator,"* 85-88; Malyn Newitt, *A History of Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1668* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 22; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 303; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 382.

[32] Though not necessarily *Portuguese* explorers. Italian and Majorcan portolan maps of the fourteenth century often show the Madeira group with similar names: holy, wooded, deserted. A Genoese map from the last quarter of the 1300s shows "Isola de lo Legname" ("isle of wood"), "Porto Santo," and "Isole deserte"; compare to the similar names on the Catalan Atlas of 1375. The *Libro del conosçimiento* has "lecmane," "puerto santo," and "desierta." Abraham Cresques, "[Atlas nautique, dit Atlas Catalan]," manuscript map, color, 64.5 x 150 cm (Majorca, 1375), FRBNF40670221, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Jiménez de la Espada, *Libro del conosçimiento*, 50; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, "Atlantic Exploration before Columbus: The Evidence of Maps," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 30, no. 1 (1986): 13-14, 23; Richard Henry Major, *The Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator, and Their Results: Being the Narrative of the Discovery by Sea, Within One Century, of More than Half the World* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877), 54-55; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 382.

archipelago received the collective name Ilhas dos Açores, meaning "Isles of the

Goshawks," which may have referred to any of several larger bird species, important to

mariners of the times as signs of nearby land. The names given to the previously

uninhabited islands were typically descriptive: Graciosa ("enchanting"), Pico ("peak"; the

island's massive stratovolcano is the highest point in the Azores), Corvo ("crow"), and

Terceira ("third"; presumably because it was the third island Portugal discovered or

settled in the archipelago). The religious calendar played a role too, as the Portuguese

named Santa Maria and São Miguel for the saint day when their people sighted them.[33]

Again, the explorers and mariners who found these islands gave them descriptive

explorer's names, probably to aid in later identification on return voyages.

The Portuguese naming of the Atlantic islands was easy because the toponyms of

an indigenous population did not oppose the new designations of Henrique's captains and

settlers. Similarly, the Portuguese had a free hand in naming the islands and coasts they

encountered as they plied the waters southward down the African coast, in pursuit of their

sea route to the Indies. Only along the Moroccan coasts were they obliged to use place-

names from Arabic and classical sources. One cape, situated where the Sahara began,

carried the Arabic name *nūn*, meaning "fish," either because the cape looked like the

fourteenth letter of the Semitic alphabets (Hebrew נ or Arabic ن) or because of the

number of fish caught in the area. The Portuguese, believing that *nun* meant "no," called

the landform Cabo de Não ("Cape of No"), believing that the cape represented a point of

[33] Jiménez de la Espada, *Libro del conosçimiento*, 50; Russell, *Prince Henry "the Navigator,"* 99-106, 383n43; Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America*, 11-15; Jules Mees, *Histoire de la découverte des Îles Açores et de l'origine de leur dénomination d'Îles Flamandes* (Gand: Librairie Vuylsteke, 1901), 54-55; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 382; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 303-305; James H. Guill, *A History of the Azores Islands* (Tulare, CA: Golden Shield Publications, 1993), 124-132.

no return. When Portuguese ships did return from that place, the next known point was Cape Bojador, considered by Arab and Christian geographers to be the southernmost point ships could navigate. Gil Eanes passed this landmark in 1434 on his second attempt, at Henrique's insistence, and into a land of no names. Here the bleak and monotonous sands of the Sahara touched the Atlantic. The Portuguese explorers learned to create descriptive place-names that would aid returning mariners. In 1436, for instance, Afonso Gonçalves Baldaia sighted a cape he thought resembled the prow of a galley, so he named it Pedra de Gale ("galley-stone").[34]

When the Portuguese navigated past the Sahara and encountered black Africans at the Senegal and Gambia rivers they encountered civilizations again, and entrenched place-names. Along the coast the Portuguese continued using descriptive, explorer's toponyms, such as Cape Verde, because the vegetation was strikingly lush at that point (they later transferred the name to the archipelago offshore). Several rivers received Portuguese designations, such as the Volta ("twist") and Cameroon (from Rio dos Camarões, or "river of shrimp"). They also named whole swathes of coastal territory after the primary trade good of an area, like the Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, or Malagueta Coast (named for malagueta pepper, also called grains of paradise, an African spice). To

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[34] Russell, *Prince Henry "the Navigator,"* 109-113, 128; Charles Raymond Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator: The Hero of Portugal and of Modern Discovery, 1394-1460 A.D.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895), 112ff.; Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, 420-421; Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 134; Jorge Nascimento Rodrigues and Tessaleno Devezas, *Portugal: o pioneiro da globalização: a Herança das descobertas* (Vila Nova de Famalição: Centro Atlântico, 2009), 189-190; Anthony Disney, "Portuguese Expansion, 1400-1800: Encounters, Negotations, and Interactions," in *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 284; Gilbert Renault, *The Caravels of Christ*, trans. Richmond Hill (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959), 49; Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Topónimos de origem portuguesa na costa ocidental de África desde o Cabo Bojador ao Cabo de Santa Caterina* (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1950), 78-80.

mark their discoveries, the Portuguese explorers also often erected a stone *padrão* ("standard") in the shape of a cross, inscribed with the royal coat of arms and accompanied by appropriate words, in prominent seaside locations. Eager to establish good trading relations with the societies they encountered, the Portuguese used and recorded native toponyms as well. Many of the rivers they encountered kept their indigenous names, such as the Gambia and the Congo. The 1502 Cantino map (see fig. 4.1), copied from a Portuguese master map, shows both these European and African place-names along the coasts of the continent (see fig. 3.3). The names of native kingdoms and peoples dot the map, including "jelof" (the Wolof), "mandinga" (the Mandinka), and "congo" (the Kongo). Knowing indigenous place-names also allowed the Portuguese to convince other European nations of their claim to newly discovered lands.[35] This is one of the primary reasons explorers would record native toponyms in addition to creating their own.

The Portuguese set several precedents for naming in the age of discovery. Mariners from other European nations would create easily memorable, descriptive toponyms for topographical features along the coasts of their discoveries. These mnemonics would aid in making a place familiar to navigators on return voyages, in discovery narratives, and on maps. This did not mean that native place-names were

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[35] Disney, "Portuguese Expansion," 284, 287; Renault, *The Caravels of Christ*, 60-63, 81-90; "Charta da navigar per le isole novamente t[rovate] in la parte de l'India dono Alberto Cantino al S. duca Hercole," manuscript map, color, 105 x 225 cm (Portugal, 1502), C.G.A.2., Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, Italy; "Carta del Cantino: Charta da navigar per le isole novamente t[rovate] in la parte de l'India dono Alberto Cantino al S. duca Hercole," printed map facsimile, color, 105 x 225 cm (Modena: Il Bulino, 2004); Ernesto Milano, *Carta del Cantino: commentario all'edizione in facsimile* (Modena: Il Bulino, 2004), 82-87; John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400 - 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), 36-40; Asimov, *Words on the Map*, 23, 39, 158; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 305, 362; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 132ff., 174-175; Jack Turner, *Spice: The History of a Temptation* (New York: Knopf, 2004), 45-46.

Figure 3.6. Western Africa on the Cantino map.
The discoveries of the Portuguese, and the numerous place-names they gave and encountered, are shown on this section of a 1502 planisphere copied from Portuguese master maps. The Azores and Cape Verdes are marked, like other Portuguese discoveries, by the standard of Portugal. The numerous place-names written on the coast are a mixture of Portuguese given names and native names. *Source*: "Charta da navigar per le isole novamente t[rovate] in la parte de l'India dono Alberto Cantino al S. duca Hercole," manuscript map, color, 105 x 225 cm (Portugal, 1502), C.G.A.2., Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, Italy.

ignored, as many Europeans tried to foster good relations with the indigenes they

encountered, whether for trade, war, or information, especially geographic information.

In one respect, the Portuguese were unlike other European nations who would soon enter

the competition of world discovery. Mariners, explorers, tradesmen, and settlers of the

Portuguese Empire did not name places after their homeland.[36] Seventeenth-century

Portuguese historian João Pinto Ribeiro (ca. 1590–1649) compared his nation's practice

to that of the Spanish:

> Mostraram os nossos Capitaes o animo livre e desinteressado com que proceiam
> nas terras descobertas o vencidas. A nenhuma mudaram seu antigo nome, a
> nenhuma o deram de uma cidade ou provincia de Portugal…. Pelo contrario, os
> Castelhanos tomaram as terras e ilhes e mudaram os nomes.
> (Our captains showed their free and disinterested spirit with that process in the
> lands discovered and won. They never changed the old [place-]name, nor did
> they give it [the name of] a city or province of Portugal…. On the contrary, the
> Castilians took lands and isles and changed the [place-]names.)[37]

The exploration of the lands on the Eastern Atlantic and the conquest of the

Canary Islands created patterns that would later be utilized by the Spanush in the New

World. Europeans sailors named places with descriptive toponyms and saint names,

while they also recorded indigenous place-names. In the Canaries, in ways reminiscent

of the *reconquista*, the conquerers adopted and adapted place-names of the peoples they

brought into their empire, while creating new settlements for outside settlers on land

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[36] Disney, "Portuguese Expansion," 287; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 303-304; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 175-176; Francisco José Velozo, "A teoria da expansão portuguesa e o princípio das nacionalidades no pensamento de João Pinto Ribeiro (Século XVII)," in *Congresso Internacional de História dos Descobrimentos, Actas* (Lisbon: Comissão Executiva das comemoracões do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1961), 407.

[37] João Pinto Ribeiro, *Desengano ao parecer enganoso, que se deu a El Rey de Castella Dom Felippe IIII contra Portugal* (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1645).

cleared of warring Guanches. These new settlements received new Spanish names,

sometimes transferred from Spain.

CHAPTER 4

THE COLUMBIAN ENCOUNTER AND PLACE-NAMES IN THE NEW WORLD

The exploration, discovery, and naming of the New World by Christopher Columbus was not an undertaking with no precedent. Columbus, a Genoese long in the employ of Portugal who imbibed the *reconquista* spirit of Spain, continued using established patterns of naming that Iberian soldiers, settlers, and explorers had used for centuries. The process whereby he gave new names and recorded and retained old names in the Americas served several legal and political functions. These patterns were decades and centuries old by the time he used them. Columbus the mariner gave many places descriptive names; Columbus the courtier christened many places with the names of religious and royal figures; and Columbus the ethnographer and settler recorded many Amerindian toponyms for the places he encountered. The purpose of these place-names was not to erase the indigene, but record claims to territory and provide descriptions for future sailors.

With the islands of the eastern Atlantic settled by the Iberian nations and the heirs of Infante Henrique's explorers feeling their way southward down the African coast, a Genoese mariner, long-resident in the Madeiras and Lisbon, made a Portuguese-style

voyage of discovery for Spain. Christopher Columbus was born Cristoforo Colombo[1]

between August 25 and October 31, 1451, to Domenico Colombo and his wife Susanna

Fontanarossa in the seaside Republic of Genoa.[2] Columbus, growing up in the cities of

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[1] Columbus was a man of many homes and many names. Christopher Columbus is the familiar Anglicization of the Latin form of his name, Christophorus Columbus. Christopher was the name of a third century saint named Reprobus, who earned the moniker Christopher (from the Greek Χριστόφορος, meaning "Christ-bearer") because he carried an apparition of the Christ-child across a swollen river. Columbus is from the Italian and Latin word for dove, *columba*. In the local Ligurian dialect of Genoa the Italian Cristoforo Colombo may have been heard as Christoffa Corombo (or Cömbo), *corombo* or *cömbo* being the local word for dove. In contemporary Genoese documents the Latin form of his first name usually appeared, and the texts presented his surname in various Latinate and Italianate forms: Columbus, Columbo, Collombo, Colombo, etc.; his cousins in 1496 used "Colombo." In early documents he signed himself "Columbus de Terra Ruba" (Columbus of the red earth), referring perhaps to the neighborhood of Terrarossa ("red earth" in Italian) in the Quinto suburb outside the east gate of Genoa, where Columbus's grandfather Giovanni and father Domenico once lived. The *Capitulaciones* outlining the first voyage referred to him as Xpõval Colon (*Xpo*, a Greek abbreviation for "Christ," *Cristóbal* is the standard Spanish for Christopher). After his 1492 voyage Columbus referred to himself by his title, *El Almirante* ("The Admiral") and signed his correspondence with an odd cryptogram including the Greco-Latin *Xpõ FERENS*, a polyglot transliteration of his name Christopher (*Xpo* "Christ"; *ferens* "bearer"). In Portuguese his name was generally rendered as Cristóvão Colom, in Catalan as Cristòfor Colom, and in Castilian as Cristóbal Colón (though some, like Spanish historian Oviedo, used Colom). Early German works used *Dauber* for his surname, translating "dove" into the German language. Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Life of Christopher Columbus* (New York: MJF Books, 1997), 10-11; Fernando Colón, *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus*, trans. Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1959), 4, 36-37; John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Works, His Remains* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), 1:239-240, 245-246, 249; Christoforo Zabata, ed., *Rime diverse, in lingua genovese* (Pavia: Gli Heredi di G. Bartoli, 1595), 117; Giovanni Casaccia, ed., *Dizionario genovese-italiano* (Genoa: Gaetano Schenone, 1876), s.v. "cömbo"; Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico City: Frondo de Cultura Económica, 1965), 1:28; Bartolomé de las Casas, *Las Casas on Columbus: Background and the Second and Fourth Voyages*, Repertorium Columbianum 7 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 254; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y Tierra-Firme del mar Océano*, ed. José Amador de los Ríos (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1851), 1:12-13; Francesco Tarducci, *The Life of Christopher Columbus*, trans. Henry F. Brownson (Detroit: H. F. Brownson, 1890), 1:9; Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Heritage Press, 1963), 10; William Eleroy Curtis, ed., *The Authentic Letters of Columbus*, Field Columbian Museum Publication 2 (Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1895), 117 passim; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1883), 1:251; Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape*, 78-79; Miles H. Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Reexamined* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 14-15; Virgil I. Milani, *The Written Language of Cristopher Columbus* (Buffalo: State University of New York at Buffalo, 1973), 7-18; Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 54.

[2] John E. Dotson and Aldo Agosto, eds., *Christopher Columbus and His Family: The Genoese and Ligurian Documents*, Repertorium Columbianum 4 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998); Luciano F. Farina and Robert W. Tolf, *Columbus Documents: Summaries of Documents in Genoa* (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 1992), 93-94; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 7-14; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), viii-ix, 1; Eugene Lyon, "Search for Columbus," *National Geographic*

Genoa and nearby Savona, learned his father's wool-weaving trade as a youth. The Most

Serene Republic of Genoa, which sat on the Ligurian coast of northern Italy, was, in the

fifteenth century, a republic built on extensive maritime trade and banking. Though

slowly losing its commercial power due to the concurrent rise of Portugal, Spain, Venice,

and the Ottoman Empire, the merchants of the city maintained trading networks all along

the Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic, with outposts of Genoese expatriates from the

Greek island of Chios to the Iberian ports of Lisbon and Sevilla. Columbus, instead of

following in his father's footsteps, took to the sea, probably in his late teens or early

twenties.[3] Columbus himself noted that:

> De muy pequeña edad entré en la mar navegando e lo e continuado hasta oy. La misma arte inclina a quien la prosigue a desear saber los secretos deste mundo. (At a very tender age I entered upon the sea sailing, and that has continued to this day. The same art [of navigation] inclines those that follow it to desire to know the secrets of this world.)[4]

181, no. 1 (January 1992): 8-12; Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, 1:230-233, 249-263; Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La lengua de Cristóbal Colón: El estilo de Santa Teresa, y otros estudios sobre el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), 9; *Christopher Columbus: Documents and Proofs of His Genoese Origin*, English-German edition. (Genoa: Istituto d'Arti Grafiche, 1932), 4-9, 17-19; Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 4-9, 17-19; Milani, *The Written Language of Cristopher Columbus*, 7-18; Ruggero Marino, *Christopher Columbus, the Last Templar*, trans. Ariel Godwin (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 2007). It is the consensus of the majority of Columbus scholars that Columbus was born in Genoa to wool-weaver Domenico Colombo; contemporary documents and the statements of the explorer himself prove this. Many authors, however, usually either on the fringes of scholarship or for reasons of local pride, have suggested that the real Columbus was Catalan, Aragonese, Majorcan, Galician, Portuguese, Castilian, French, Corsican, Greek, Swiss, English, Jewish, or any of several other possibilities. Others make more outlandish suggestions, positing an Armenian, Scandinavian, and even Chinese Columbus. One work of pseudo-history (Marino, *Christopher Columbus, the Last Templar*) even makes the outrageous claim that Columbus was the illegitimate son of Pope Innocent VIII (1484–1492), who was born Giovanni Battista Cybo (born 1432) in Genoa; according to this whimsical theory, Columbus was a secret Knight Templar whose goal was to set up a New Jerusalem in the already Templar-explored Americas where Muslims, Christians, and Jews could live together in harmony.

[3] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 18-26; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible*, 8-14; Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958-1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 271-318.

[4] Christopher Columbus, *Christopher Columbus's Book of Prophecies: Reproduction of the Original Manuscript with English Translation*, ed. Kay Brigham (Barcelona: CLIE, 1991), 33.

The voyages of Columbus the mariner took him along many of the expanding European trade routes of the fifteenth century. He probably made regular runs between Genoa and the Aragonese coast, the islands of the western Mediterranean, and made at least one voyage to the island of Chios in the Aegean. In 1476 Columbus joined a fleet of Genoese ships heading to Portugal, England, and Flanders that fell into an attack off Cape St. Vincent. His ship destroyed, Columbus swam to the Portuguese city of Lagos, eventually making his way to Lisbon. Columbus made the Kingdom of Portugal his home for nearly a decade and soon took to the sea again, sailing on Portuguese vessels to Ireland, Iceland, and Britain in the north, the Atlantic islands to the west, and even to the Portuguese trading fortress off the Guinea coast to the south. He maintained contacts with Genoa, facilitating a sugar purchase on Madeira, which had become a center of cane production, for a group of Genoese merchants. He also worked in the Lisbon mapmaking business of his younger brother Bartolomeo, who had preceded him to Lisbon, and hawked books and maps. His years in Portugal allowed him to learn Portuguese navigation and exploration methods, cartography, and the winds and currents of the Atlantic.[5]

Columbus the merchant sailor became preoccupied with upward social mobility and the tales of the sea. His marriage to Felipa Perestrello e Moniz de Mello in 1478 (or 1479) served both of these characteristic interests. Felipa was the daughter of

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[5] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 18-42; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 6-19; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible*, 14-19; Onésimo T. Almeida, "Science During the Portuguese Maritime Discoveries: A Telling Case of Interaction Between Experimenters and Theoreticians," in *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800*, ed. Daniela Bleichmar et al. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 78-92.

Bartolomeo Pallastrelli (ca. 1395–1457), rendered in Portuguese as Bartolomeu

Perestrello (or Perestrelo), who was of Lombard extraction. Bartolomeu Perestrello was

raised in the household of the young Infantes João and Henrique, and, duly knighted,

Henrique the Navigator tasked him in the 1420s with colonizing the island of Porto Santo

in the Madeira group. Felipa was born to Perestrello's third and final wife Isabel Moniz,

of a noble Portuguese family. Though noble, the widow Moniz de Perestrello and her

daughters were in tough financial circumstances, and Columbus with his Genoese

merchant connections seemed to be a young bachelor on the rise, thus no dowry or bride

price were exchanged between the parties. Diego, who would be Columbus's heir, was

born to this union around 1480, and Felipa died sometime before 1485. The lucky

marriage provided Columbus with a modicum of status in Portuguese society and

something he perhaps craved more: information.[6] Columbus's son Fernando, the

offspring of his later liaison with Beatriz Enríquez de Arana, recorded that the mariner

happily received stories and maps from his widowed mother-in-law. She regaled her son-

in-law with the exploits of her dearly departed husband Bartolomeu Perestrello:

> Perché l'intendere cotali navigazioni, e istoria piaceva molto all'Ammiraglio, la
> suocera gli diede le scritture e carte di navigare, che di suo marito gli erano
> rimase; per lo che l'Ammiraglio si accese più....
> (Because she understood the navigations and stories pleased the Admiral, the
> mother-in-law gave him the writings and navigational maps that had remained
> from her husband, by which the Admiral was excited more....)[7]

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[6] Fernando Colón, *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, ed. Giulio Antimaco, trans. Alfonso de Ulloa (London: Dulau & Co., 1867), 19-20; Colón, *The Life of the Admiral*, 14-15; Nicolau Florentino and Regina Maney, *The Wife of Columbus: With Genealogical Tree of the Perestrello and Moniz Families* (New York: Stettinger, Lambert & Co., 1893), 10, 15, 23-27, 38-48; Russell, *Prince Henry "the Navigator,"* 88; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 37-39; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 17-18; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible*, 16-17; Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 44-47.

Columbus's decades of sailing and the years of living in Portuguese territory familiarized him with the methods of exploration and naming utilized by the Portuguese. In addition to the texts and maps of his father-in-law he studied historical, geographical, and biblical texts and sought out the stories of Atlantic sailors to buttress his budding idea: sail west from the Occident to the Orient. His wide-ranging knowledge in books, sea-tales, and practical experience not only provided him with proof that a westward route to the Indies could be feasible, it furnished him a wealth of possible toponyms to expect when he reached the East. The surviving books of Columbus's library provide a window into his reading choices, and his marginal annotations (called "postils" by Columbus scholars) display his thought processes. Columbus annotated books by classical authors such as Pliny and Plutarch, who discussed mythical Atlantic islands and the jewels, ores, and spices that resided in the islands of the East. His familiarity with the geographical works of Ptolemy, Strabo, Aristotle, and Marinus of Tyre convinced him that his proposed trip was practicable. Perhaps more important was his reading of more recent cosmographical and travel writings. He read a world history by Pope Pius II named *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* ("History of matters conducted everywhere"), Pierre d'Ailly's cosmographical treatise *Imago mundi*, the fanciful *Travels* of one "Sir John Mandeville," and Marco Polo's *Travels* (also called *Il Milione*, "the million," supposedly for the number of lies it contained). These books, especially Polo's, which mentioned thousands of islands in the sea off the coast of eastern Asia, provided

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[7] Colón, *Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*, 20.

Columbus with a store of place-names he would later seek in the Caribbean.[8] Like most

devoted and sometimes fanatic seekers, he would bend his ear until he made some Indian

names into Polo's.

Columbus shopped his "empresa de las Indias" (enterprise of the Indies) to

several monarchs, beginning with João II of Portugal (r. 1481–1495), grandnephew of

Henrique the Navigator. Columbus's idea rested on the twin beliefs that the Atlantic was

not as wide as expected and that further islands, perhaps even an antipodean continent,

existed in the great Ocean Sea of the Atlantic. Using Polo to amend Ptolemy's

geography, Columbus posited that the continent of Asia extended farther to the east than

expected, resulting in a narrower Atlantic. Columbus also believed the circumference of

the earth was smaller than most geographers believed, using a length for an equatorial

degree of his own derivation that was about twelve miles too short. If this distance was

still too lengthy to entice backers, Columbus noted the existence of island way-stations in

the Atlantic. Sailors and mapmakers still placed Antillia in the Azores area and Polo's

Cipangu supposedly sat 1,500 miles east of China. According to Polo's *Travels*, Cipangu

or Chipangu, a corruption of *Zhi-păn-kwé* or *Jin-pön-kuo*, Chinese for "land of the rising

sun," was exceedingly rich and surrounded by thousands of lesser islands. This first

European inkling of Japan would serve to break the trip into easy stages. Columbus

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[8] Christopher Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos: relaciones de viajes, cartas y memoriales*, ed. Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1984), 9-15; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 24-44; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 54-63; Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 11-12, 63-64, 72-73, 80-96; Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape*, 42-77; Henry Yule, "Marco Polo and His Book: Introductory Notices," in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East* (New York: Scribner, 1903), 67; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 250-255; Giles Milton, *The Riddle and the Knight: In Search of Sir John Mandeville, the World's Greatest Traveler* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 215-218.

guessed that the distance from the Canaries to China was a mere 3,550 miles, with

Cipangu in easy reach. The true distance is about 11,700 miles. Columbus also

presented corroboration from a contemporary scholar, Italian Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli

(1397–1482), who created a map showing these geographical concepts (see fig. 4.1).

Martin Behaim constructed a globe showing very similar geography in Nürnberg in 1492

(see fig. 4.2). The learned men of João's court turned down the venture, however,

claiming the reasoning of Columbus was faulty, especially considering his reliance on the

fabulous tales of Polo.[9]

After the King of Portugal refused to back Columbus's enterprise, Columbus and

his brother Bartolomeo looked for other patrons. In 1485 Columbus and his son moved

to Castilla, which he would call home for the remainder of his life, and he began

establishing connections with Queen Isabel's court in Castile. He secured an audience

with Isabel, her husband Fernando of Aragón, and her learned scholars and counselors in

1486. The primary issue was the width of the Atlantic, which the scholars judged was

wider than Columbus estimated. Rebuffed by the Spanish, Bartolomeo tried to interest

Henry VII of England and Charles VIII of France in the Columbian venture, to no avail.

Columbus himself may have tried to interest his native republic and the papacy. He tried

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[9] Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 23-47; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 54-78; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 74, 240-255; George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus: A Critical Consideration of Four Problems* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1924), 1-11, 30; Henry Vignaud, *Toscanelli and Columbus: The Letter and Chart of Toscanelli on the Route to the Indies by Way of the West, Sent in 1474 to the Portuguese Fernam Martins, and Later on to Christopher Columbus* (London: Sands & Co., 1902), 291n41; Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian: Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, trans. Henry Yule (New York: Scribner, 1903), 2:235-236, 238n1; Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, 32; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 34-36, 52-54. Some authors have suggested a possible connection between Columbus, Toscanelli, and Behaim, as the similarities between reconstructions of Toscanelli's now-lost chart and Behaim's globe are striking. Behaim and Columbus may have met, as the German was in Portugal between 1484 and 1490. See Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, 32ff.
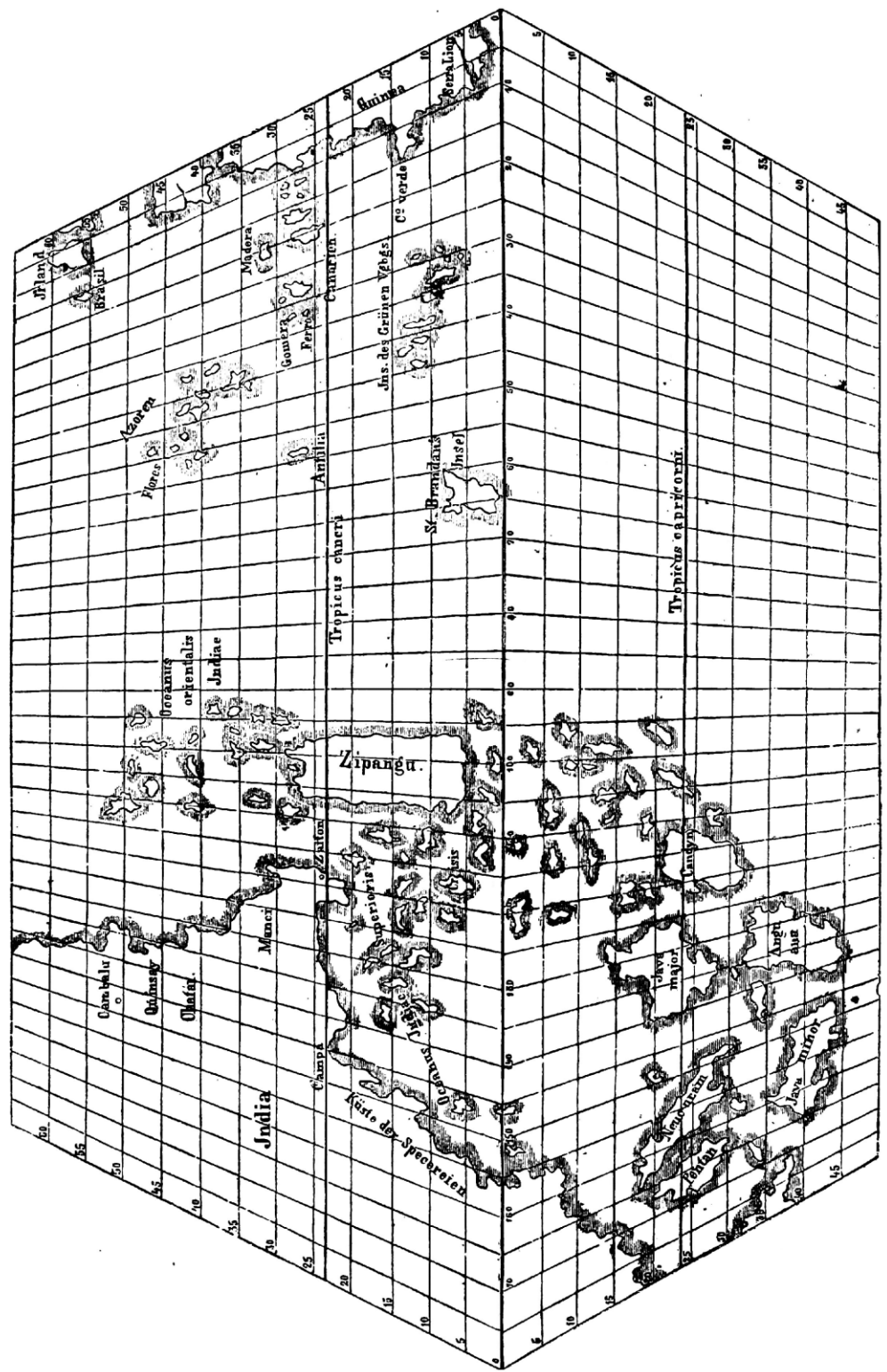
Figure 4.1. Toscanelli's map of the Atlantic.

This reconstruction of the map Toscanelli sent Columbus shows the narrow Atlantic with Antillia, St. Brendan's Isle, Cipangu, and several isles on the route to the Orient. *Source*: Justin Winsor, ed. *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886), 2:103
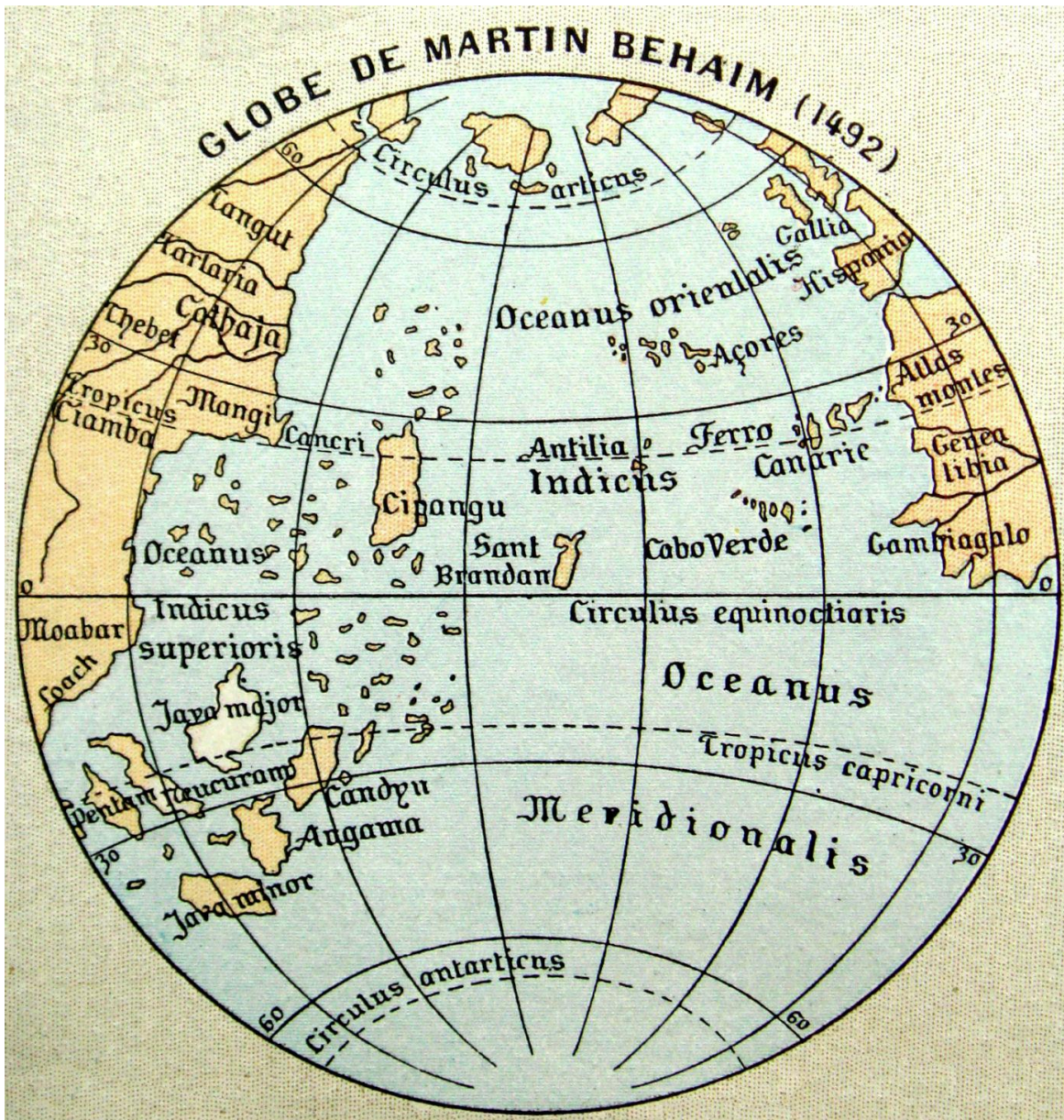
Figure 4.2. Behaim's globe.
This 1898 reproduction of the 1492 globe or Erdapfel by German cosmographer Martin Behaim, who spent several years in Portugal when Columbus was there. He too may have used the information of Toscanelli to produce this view of the Atlantic, which depicts Columbus's view of a narrow ocean with several island stopping-points on the route to Cathay. *Source*: Wikimedia Commons.

Portugal again in 1488, but the successful rounding of Africa's southern tip by

Bartolomeu Dias, which opened the easterly route to the Indies for the Portuguese, made

a risky western route superfluous.[10] Felipe Fernández-Armesto explained the search for

the "support of some mighty prince" in his biography of the explorer: "A private

individual might make a discovery, but could not advance a claim to sovereignty."[11]

Only in late 1491, with the aid of Fernando's finance minister Luis de Santangel,

did Columbus get another chance to sell his enterprise to the monarchs of Spain.

Fernando and Isabel were in the field spearheading the attack on Moorish Granada, Isabel

at her camp in Santa Fe.[12] Here Columbus witnessed the surrender of Granada to

Christian forces on January 2, 1492, an event that he later described in moving terms:

> Este presente año de 1492, después de Vuestras Altezas aver dado fin é la guerra
> de los moros, que reynavan en Europa, y aver acabado la guerra en la muy grande
> çiudad de Granada, adonde este presente año, a dos días del mes de Enero, por
> fuerça de armas vide poner las vanderas reales de V. Al. en las torres de la
> Alfambra, que es la fortaleza de la dicha çiudad, y vide salir al Rey moro a las
> puertas de la çiudad, y besar las reaies manos de Vuestras Altezas y del Príncipe
> mi Señor.
> ([In] this present year of 1492, after Your Highnesses put an end to the war with
> the Moors, who had reigned in Europe, and completed the war in the very grand

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[10] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 85-92; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 45-55; Asimov, *Words on the Map*, 41; Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 174-175; João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia* (Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1778), 1:190. Portuguese chronicler João de Barros (1496–1570), recorded an anecdote about the naming of Africa's famous southwestern tip, the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Agulhas, about ninety miles east-southeast is the *southernmost* tip of Africa). According to Barros, Dias, who encountered windy and perilous conditions around the tip of Africa, named the rocky headland Cabo das Tormentoso ("cape of storms"), but João II "lhe deo outro nome mais illuſtre, chamando-lhe Cabo de Boa Eſperança, pola que elle promettia deſte deſcubrimento da India tão eſperada" (gave it another more illustrious name, calling it Cape of Good Hope, because it promised the long-hoped for discovery of India); see Barros, *Décadas*, 1:190. Interestingly, the flagship of Dias's expedition was the *São Cristóvão*, yet another "Christ-bearer."

[11] Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 45.

[12] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 98-103; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible*, 34-39.

city of Granada, where in this same year, on the second of January, by force of arms I saw the royal banners of Your Highnesses placed on the towers of the Alhambra, which is the fortress of said city, and I saw the Moorish king come out to the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of Your Highnesses and the Prince [Juan] my lord.)[13]

Columbus's emotional account of the end of the *reconquista* underscores his strongly held religious convictions. Columbus read books on prophecy, the Bible (especially the apocalyptic sections), and was devoutly religious, claiming to hear heavenly voices and, later in life, appearing before court in a Franciscan habit. The Genoese mariner firmly believed that he was part of a divine plan to bring benighted souls to the Church, and facilitate the reconquest of the Holy Land from the Muslims.[14] Columbus stated that before his 1492 journey he "protesté a Vuestras Altezas, que toda la ganançia d'esta mi empresa se gastase en la conquista de Hierusalem" (swore to Your Highnesses that all the profits of this my enterprise should be spent on the conquest of Jerusalem).[15] Columbus easily adopted the crusading spirit of the Spanish.

The monarchs rejected Columbus's enterprise again, and the dejected Genoese set out on his mule for Córdoba. Miles away he was accosted by a royal messenger who beckoned him to return to Granada, where Santangel had convinced Fernando and Isabel to back the scheme, presumably stating it would redound to their glory as Christians and

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[13] From the *Diario*, or log-book, of Columbus's first voyage, as transcribed from his lost original by Bartolomé de las Casas; Francesca Lardicci, ed., *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, Repertorium Columbianum 6 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1999), 307.

[14] Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 3, 90-93; Pauline Moffitt Watts, "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's 'Enterprise of the Indies'," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 1 (February 1985): 84-85, 93-102; Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos*, 268; Kay Brigham, *Christopher Columbus: His Life and Discovery in the Light of His Prophecies* (Barcelona: CLIE, 1990); William Hickling Prescott, *Columbus and the Crowns*, ed. David Bowen (San Antonio: Corona Publishing Co., 1991), 24-25.

[15] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 391.

enhance their treasury at little expenditure. During the first several months of 1492

Columbus and officials of the court hammered out a written agreement called the

Capitulaciones, signed on April 17, 1492. The document is a contract (from *capítulos*,

"chapters" or "sections" of a contract) between the monarchs and Columbus, enabling

him to sail in the name of Castilla and outlining what would occur after a successful

return. Separated into five articles, the first stated that Columbus was to sail into the

Ocean Sea and be made Admiral of the lands discovered; the second appointed him

Viceroy and Governor-General of said lands; the third gave him a tenth of all gold, silver,

gems, and other trade goods found there; the fourth and fifth discussed the rights of

Columbus over merchant trade in his domains. Many scholars have noted that the terms

of the *Capitulaciones* are similar to those of the medieval *cartas de población* or

repartimientos used in Spain during the *reconquista* to assign newly conquered lands to

Christian lords and settlers.[16] Noted Hispanist J. H. Elliott stated that "like a commander

in the *Reconquista* he [Columbus] had made a private contract with the Crown for very

considerable rights over the new lands that he was to win for it."[17] Historian Samuel

Eliot Morison, whose 1942 biography of Columbus, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, earned a

Pulitzer Prize for Biography, likened the contract to the *cartas de donação* Portuguese

royals granted to navigators exploring the eastern Atlantic.[18] This contract showed both

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[16] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 104-108; Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 26-36; Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 171-189; William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 133-134; Prescott, *Columbus and the Crowns*, 27-28; Díaz Vasconcelos, *España en España y España en Indias*, 119; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 60-62; Seed, "Exploration and Conquest," 77.

[17] Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 61.

Portuguese and Spanish features, mixing aspects of the *reconquista* and the exploration

of the eastern Atlantic. The naming patterns the contract holder, Columbus, would use

were based on precedents created during these periods.

The preamble of the *Capitulaciones*, from the oldest surviving copy in the royal

archives of Aragón,[19] reads:

> Las cosas suplicadas e que Vuestras Altezas dan e otorgan a don Xpoval de
> Colon, en alguna satisfacion de lo que ha descubierto en las Mares Oceanas y del
> viage que agora, con el ayuda de Dios, ha de fazer por ellas en servicio de
> Vuestras Altezas….
> (The things petitioned and which Your Highnesses give and grant to Don
> Christopher Columbus, in some satisfaction of that which he has discovered in the
> Ocean Seas and for the voyage which, with the help of God, he will make for us
> in the service of Your Highnesses….)[20]

Many commentators have noticed the past tense used in the phrase "lo que ha

descubierto" (that which he has discovered). Several surmised that this phrase provides

proof that Columbus made a "prior-discovery" and already knew he would find a land

hitherto unknown to Europeans. In fact, though the explorer's whole enterprise was to

discover a route to the Orient, the document did not name or reference Asia, Cathay

(China), Cipangu, or the Indies.[21] Instead the document contained no place-names, and

was decidedly vague:

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[18] Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 26-27, 28n1; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 104-108; Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America*, 29-33.

[19] Federico Udina Martorell, "Las capitulaciones de Colón y problemas que plantea," *Saggi e documenti* 6 (1985): 427-433.

[20] "Capitulaciones del Almirante don Cristóbal Colón 'o de Santa Fe'," manuscript codex, 1492, f. 135v, ES.08019.ACA/1.1.1.1.9// ACA, CANCILLERÍA, REGISTROS, NÚM. 3569, folios 135v-136v, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Spain. Hereafter referred to as "Capitulaciones de Santa Fe (ACA)."

> Vuestras Altezas como Señores que son de las dichas Mares Oceanas fazen dende agora al dicho don Xpoval Colon su Almirante en todas aquellas islas y tierras firmes que por su mano o industria se descubriran o ganaran en las dichas Mares Oceanas….
> (Your Highnesses as lords of the said Ocean Seas from this time forward appoint said Christopher Columbus their Admiral in all those islands and mainlands that by his hand or industry he will discover or gain en the said Ocean Seas….)[22]

This inchoate phraseology did not indicate any prior-discovery or ambiguity about where Columbus believed he was heading. In fact this wording was in proper fifteenth century legalese. No contemporary commented on the past tense of "that which he has discovered." Alonzo de Santa Cruz and Bartolomé de las Casas, both writing in the middle of the sixteenth century and quoting original Columbus documents used the future tense ("that are to be discovered") without any mention of the differing copy.[23] In fact, another copy of the *Capitulaciones* in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, has different wording: "en alguna satisfaçión de lo que a descubierto en los mares oçéanos" (in some satisfaction from what is discovered in the ocean seas).[24] This is a standard legal *quid pro quo*: the monarchs will grant these items *if and after* Columbus discovers lands in the Ocean Sea.[25] The imprecise "islas y tierras firmes" (islands and mainlands) in the contract can be explained in similar fashion. Morison noted that "the phrase is

[21] Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 171-178; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 104-108; Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 26-27, 28n1; Evelina Gužauskytė, "The Places of Places: Naming and Ordering the World in Christopher Columbus's 'Diario de a bordo' (1492-1504)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2005), 1-2.

[22] "Capitulaciones de Santa Fe (ACA)," 135v.

[23] Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 173.

[24] "Capitulaciones de Santa Fe," manuscript, 1492, ES.41091.AGI/1.16403.15.412// INDIFERENTE, 418, L.1, folios 1r-1v, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

[25] Rafael Diego-Fernández, *Capitulaciones colombinas (1492-1506)* (Zamora, Mexico: Colegio de Michoacán, 1987), 291-292.

taken from the Portuguese *cartas de donação*, mentioned above, and is merely a customary phrase for legal completeness."[26] Clearly the objective of Columbus was the East, as the monarchs provided a Latin passport to him that stated he traveled "cum tribus carauelis armatis per maria oceana as partes Indie" (with three equipped caravels through the ocean seas towards regions [of] India).[27] Following Spanish and Portuguese precedent, both of which Columbus was familiar with, as the holder of a contract of lordship and an explorer, he would have the rights to name his discoveries in the Indies. The place-names he would give in the Caribbean would follow the patterns of both nations.

After several months of preparations, including securing the investments of brothers Martín Alonso and Vicente Yáñez Pinzón from Palos de la Frontera, the three humble ships of Columbus's expedition, departed from Palos de la Frontera on August 3, 1492. The caravels *Niña* and *Pinta* and the larger *nao* (or carrack) *Santa María* (dubbed the *Gallega* because boats with saint names were nicknamed in Spanish tradition) headed south towards the Canary Islands to provision and catch favorable winds (see fig. 4.3). Through September Columbus sailed westward into the unknown, keeping his ship-log (*diario a bordo*) and, evidently, a sea-chart (he also forged log entries to calm the nerves of the sailors who believed this was a suicide mission). Columbus's long-lost onboard map evidently showed Cipangu along the same latitude as the Canaries and several islands before the Asian mainland, including, presumably, Antillia and St. Brendan's isle.

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[26] Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 28n1.

[27] "Fernando II el Católico. Diversorum Sigilli Secreti 9. [Cathalonie et Insularum]," manuscript codex, 1493 1490, f. 136, ES.08019.ACA/1.1.1.1.9// ACA, CANCILLERÍA, REGISTROS, NÚM. 3569, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona, Spain.
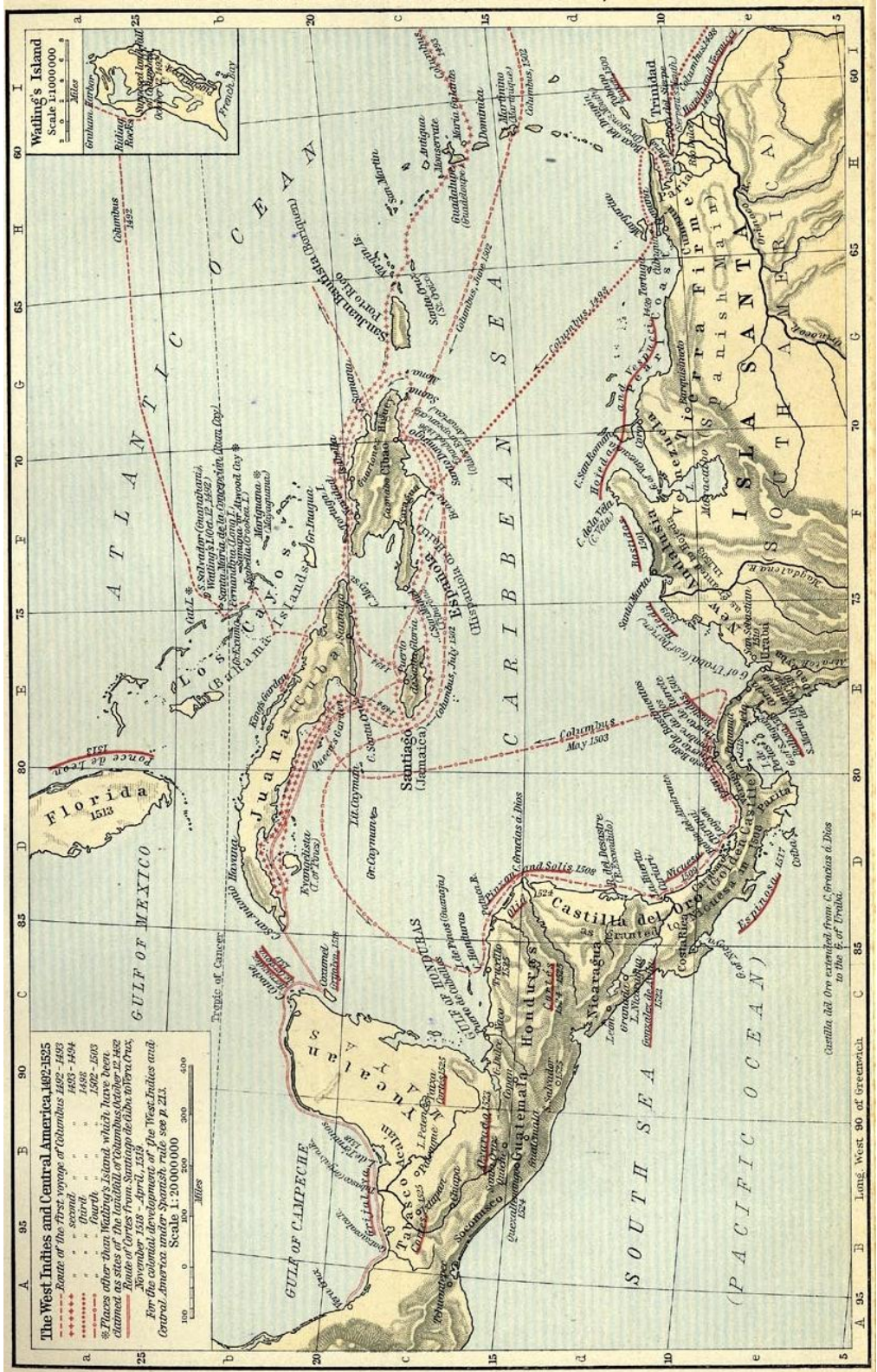
Figure 4.3. The West Indies and Central America, 1492-1525.
Source: William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York:
Henry Holt, 1926), 105.

The four voyage of Columbus are plotted on this map of the Indies.

In October the sailors saw evidence of nearby land: thick seaweed, wooden debris, and land birds. In the early morning moonlight of October 12, 1492, seaman Rodrigo de Triana, the lookout on the *Pinta*, sang out "*¡Tierra, tierra!*" Hours later the ships of the flotilla made anchorage and sighted naked people on the beach. Columbus went ashore in one of the *Santa María*'s boats, as did the captains of the *Niña* and *Pinta*, the Pinzón brothers, in their boats. Unbeknownst to this party of men from Spain, they were the first known Europeans since the Norsemen centuries before to set foot in the New World.[28]

Onshore the landing party prayed and gave thanks to God, and then Columbus solemnly arose and named the island San Salvador, though he noted the assembled natives called it Guanahani. He then had witnesses and notaries watch as he took formal possession of the island in the name of Fernando and Isabel.[29] The formal naming and

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[28] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 109-134, 153-166, 197-236; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 67-82; Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 295-306; Peter Rivière, *Christopher Columbus* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998), 24-33; Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 43, 45, passim.

[29] Scholars have written scores of articles, papers, and books trying to determine which particular island Columbus landed on that October morning in 1492. The sober-minded historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto, in his biography *Columbus*, said that this "enormous amount of time and effort has been wasted" (p. 81). Writers have suggested at least a dozen different islands in the Lucayan Archipelago (the Bahamas or the Turks and Caicos) as San Salvador, beginning with British naturalist Mark Catesby, who suggested Cat Island in 1731. The leading candidates today are Watling Island (or Watlings Island; which the Bahamian government renamed San Salvador in 1925) and Samana Cay (also known as Atwood Cay). Historian Samuel Eliot Morison, who also attained the rank of Rear Admiral in the United States Navy, suggested Watling/San Salvador. He sailed the Columbus route himself, and popularized the location in his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Columbus. Researchers Daniel T. Peck and Robin Knox-Johnston separately sailed the route from the Canaries using the *Diario* as a guide; both ended up at Watling/San Salvador. More interestingly, maps of the early sixteenth century showed both an island named Samana and one named Guanahani. The earliest extant map of the New World, Juan de la Cosa's 1500 chart, shows both Guanahani and Samana, with Guanahani placed in the same general location as modern-day Watling/San Salvador (or perhaps nearby Rum Cay). Furthermore, the account of the 1513 expedition of Juan Ponce de León passes through the Bahamas, naming Samana and Guanahani as separate islands, again, about where Watling/San Salvador should be. The preponderance of evidence suggests that Guanahani, the island Columbus named San Salvador, is the current San Salvador in the Bahamas, the former Watling Island. Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 47-48; Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos*, 139-140; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 80-82; Morison,

possession ceremony was reminiscent of the founding and re-founding of settlements in

the *reconquista*, where locals assembled to hear the official *cartas de población* or

repartimientos recited. It was to become a hallmark of the Spanish colonial empire in the

New World as well (see fig. 4.4). Columbus noted in a 1493 letter he sent to various

court officials in Spain that:

> yo fallé muy muchas islas pobladas con gente sin número, y d'ellas todas he
> tomado posesión por Sus Altezas con pregón y vandera real estendida, y non me
> fue contradicho.
> (I found very many islands populated with people without number, and all of
> which I took possession for Their Highnesses with proclamations and royal
> banners raised, and I was not contradicted.)[30]

Columbus and his crew would have also performed some ritualistic act of possession, like

gathering a handful of soil, cutting a tree branch, or pouring water on dry land in a mock

baptism. Always there was a religious ceremony and the formal reading of the orders the

monarch had given to the explorer.[31] Significant too are the words Columbus used in his

account: "he tomado posesión" (I took possession). For the Spaniards, these words had a

military and *reconquista* meaning, as the act of "taking possession" here was akin to

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Admiral of the Ocean Sea; Robert H. Fuson, ed., *The Log of Christopher Columbus* (Camden, ME: International Marine Publishing, 1987), 199-221; Douglas T. Peck, *Cristoforo Colombo: God's Navigator* (Columbus, WI: Columbian Publishers, 1994); Louis De Vorsey and John Parker, eds., *In the Wake of Columbus: Islands and Controversy* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985); Joseph Judge, ed., *A Columbus Casebook: A Supplement to "Where Columbus Found the New World"* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1986); Joseph Judge, "Where Columbus Found the New World," *National Geographic* 170, no. 5 (November 1986): 566–599; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 60-62; Robin Knox-Johnston, "In the Wake of Columbus," *The Map Collector*, no. 58 (Spring 1992): 14-17; Juan de la Cosa, "Juan de la Cosa la fizo en el puerto de S. Mª en año de 1500," manuscript map, color, 96 x 183 cm, 1500, Núm. de catálogo: 257, Museo Naval de Madrid, Mardid, Spain.

[30] "Letter to Santangel" in Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos*, 140.

[31] David Day, *Conquest: How Societies Overwhelm Others* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 13; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 13; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 229; Henry R. Wagner, "Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts," *Pacific Historical Review* 7, no. 4 (December 1938): 297-326.

Figure 4.4. Columbus taking possession of San Salvador.

This chromolithographic print from 1893 shows a typically fanciful view of Columbus taking possession of Guanahani, making it San Salvador. The natives cower in the brush at right, and do not dispute his claim.

Source: "Columbus Taking Possession of the New Country," (Boston: L. Prang & Co.,, 1893), LC-DIG-pga-02388, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

forcibly reclaiming land from the Moors. This decidedly Spanish *reconquista* spirit so

pervaded Columbus's spirit that when he founded the little settlement of La Navidad on

Española in December he used the same words "he tomado possessión" for a newly built

village.[32]

After plying the natives with trinkets, and gathering geographical information

from them as best as he could, Columbus and his three-ship flotilla headed southward.

The *indios*, as Columbus called them because he assumed he was in the Indies, suggested

that innumerable islands lay in the immediate vicinity. The explorer believed that some

of the Indians indicated, through misunderstood words and gestures, that he could find

gold nearby. The Admiral, as the sailors now styled him, passed four more islands, and

though his guides named them, he rechristened them with new names: Santa María de la

Concepción, Fernandina, Isabella, and Juana. All of the islands Columbus had

encountered so far, of course, had Indian names: Guanahani, Manigua, Yuma, Samoeto,

and Cuba, some of which he recorded in his logs.[33] Many historians have commented on

the import of these European names, since the first two underscore Columbus's devout

Catholicism while the next three carry the names of his patrons: Fernando, Isabel, and

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[32] "Letter to Santangel" in Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos*, 144.

[33] Christopher Columbus, *Epistola de Insulis Nuper Inventis*, trans. Frank Robbins (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1966), 8; Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1:200-216; Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria: Cuanto a Las cualidades, dispusición, descripción, cielo y suelo destas tierras, y condiciones naturales policías, repúblicas, manera de vivir e costumbres de las gentes destas Indias Occidentales y Meridionales cuyo imperio soberano pertenece a los Reyes de Castilla* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1967), 1:9-14; Cecil Jane, ed., *The Four Voyages of Columbus: A History in Eight Documents, Including Five by Christopher Columbus, in the Original Spanish, with English Translations* (New York: Dover Publications, 1988), 1:2-3; Julian Granberry, "Lucayan Toponyms," *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society* 13 (October 1991): 3-12.

their son and heir Juan, Prince of Asturias.[34] The typical analysis implies that these

names are meant only to recreate European Chrstendom in a godless land. Literary

theorist Stephen J. Greenblatt writes in *Marvelous Possessions*, that:

> Naming, to be sure, has much to do with the manifestations of power through eponymous titles—hence Fernandina, Isabella, and Isla Juana…. The first two names—San Salvador and Isla de Santa María de la Concepción—suggest once again that the assertion of possession is bound up for Christian imperialism.[35]

This view, however, ignores the nearly hundreds of other place-names Columbus

gave during his four voyages to the Americas. It also fails to recognize the naming

patterns that Columbus inherited from the *reconquista* and the explorers, the "toponymic

milieu" in which he lived. The Italian-born historian of Spain, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera

(1457–1526), wrote that Columbus named only a small portion of the innumerable

islands he encountered.[36] Did this oversight leave those isles unclaimed? Only about

two hundred names survive in the edited version of Columbus's daily log by Bartolomé

de las Casas (1484–1566) and Las Casas's own *Historia de las Indias*. While many of

his names are religious in nature, like Trinidad and Santa Cruz, many more are

descriptive toponyms, such as islas de Arena ("sandy isles"), cabo de Palmas ("cape of

palms"), and río Verde ("green river"). Others conform to what toponymist George R.

Stewart called "the convenient system of naming a place by looking at the calendar and

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[34] Fernando became Fernandina and Juan became Juana because islands traditionally carried feminine endings in European thought. For more on the stress on these toponyms, see Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 92; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 84; Gužauskytė, "The Places of Places," 31ff.; Evelina Gužauskytė, "Stars of the Sky, Gems of the Earth: Place Names Related to 'Planets' and Metals in Columbus's Diario," *Colonial Latin American Review* 18, no. 2 (August 2009): 263.

[35] Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 82.

[36] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *Selections from Peter Martyr*, trans. Geoffrey Eatough, Repertorium Columbianum 5 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998), 150; Gužauskytė, "Stars of the Sky, Gems of the Earth," 261.

taking the name of the saint whose day it happened to be."[37] Spanish historian Gonzalo

Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478–1557), regularly known as Oviedo, bemoaned the

fact that:

> Tanto que mirando una destas nuestras cartas de marear, paresçe que va hombre leyendo por estas costas un kalendario ó catálogo de sanetos, no bien ordenado. (While looking at one of our [Spanish] sea charts, it appears that one goes along these coasts reading a calendar or catalog of saints, [though one] not well-ordered.)[38]

But Columbus did not content himself to merely give place-names, he recorded and used

the indigenous toponyms of the natives.

Columbus's journal contains several of the place-names of the *indios* he

encountered, beginning with those of the native *lucayos* in the Bahamas, who spoke a

dialect of Arawakan Taíno. Guanahani is of particular note, as Columbus records it in his

letter to Spanish officials, a letter crafted not only to curry favor with the court but enter

publication as well. Printers churned out a Spanish version of the letter in Barcelona in

the spring of 1493, and Latin, Italian, and German translations followed within the year.

Guanahani appeared to have been so widely known that the first surviving map of the

New World, by Juan de la Cosa in 1500, shows Guanahani as "guanahana," not

Columbus's "San Salvador." Guanahani, in fact appeared on many early maps and in

several accounts of the landfall, perhaps, in addition to its primacy, it was easy for

Spaniards to pronounce. The explorer's log lists several more Indian place-names and

the histories of Las Casas, Martyr, and Oviedo catalog dozens of others, as does the first

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[37] Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 327.

[38] Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 2:146.

manuscript maps of the discoveries.[39] Recording, publishing, and even placing these

indigenous toponyms on maps hardly squares with the stated notions of historians

concerning Spanish place-naming. Cartographic historian J. B. Harley, voicing a typical

sentiment, wrote that "Naming a place anew is a widely documented act of political

possession in settlement history. Equally, the taking away of a name is an act of

dispossession."[40] If the intent of Columbus and the Spanish was to erase the *indios* and

their place-names from the landscape, why note them at all?

There were several reasons to document indigenous toponyms, all arising out of

the early Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish explorations of the eastern Atlantic with which

Columbus was familiar. Native names served to prove to others that you had indeed

"been there." Explorers in the wake of Columbus could not usurp his mantle as

discoverer by claiming they found new places he had already located. The rulers of

Spain could also utilize their knowledge of native toponyms as evidence to convince

other European powers of their claim to the land.[41] Furthermore, based on their

experience during the *reconquista* and conquest of the Canaries, the Spaniards had also

noted and used non-Spanish names for centuries in the polyglot Iberian Peninsula,

[39] Granberry, "Lucayan Toponyms," 3; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 322-323; Christopher Columbus, *The Letter of Columbus on the Discovery of America: A Facsimile Reprint of the Pictorial Edition of 1493, with a Literal Translation, and an Introduction*, trans. Wilberforce Eames (New York: Lenox Library, 1893), v, vii-xi; Peck, *Cristoforo Colombo*; De Vorsey and Parker, *In the Wake of Columbus*; Rudolf Hirsch, "Printed Reports on the Early Discoveries and Their Reception," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, Michael J. B. Allen, and Robert Louis Benson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 537-540; Cosa, "Juan de la Cosa map."; Jesús Carrillo Castillo, "Naming Difference: The Politics of Naming in Fernandez de Oviedo's Historia general y natural de las Indias," *Science in Context* 16, no. 4 (2003): 499-502.

[40] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178-179.

[41] Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 308.

retained the Arabic place-names of the hated Moors, and adopted the toponyms of the stone-age Guanches of the Canary Islands. The Spanish became accustomed to the usage of non-Spanish, non-European, and non-Christian toponyms, as they had incorporated these places into their expanding empire for centuries. The names Columbus gave to the isles, rivers, and lands of the world he encountered in the Atlantic were not meant to erase the indigenes from the landscape.

Columbus followed the naming patterns he inherited from the cultures of his two adopted homelands: Portugal and Spain. Columbus was doubtlessly familiar with the naming conventions of the Portuguese, having visited their island possessions and sailed on several expeditions to the Guinea coast. The Portuguese noted the native names for the lands that they gave descriptive designations to provide a sort of "road map" to return for later sailors and settlers. The native toponyms served as a sort of deed, proof of first discovery, while the "explorer's names" allowed returning mariners to easily recognize the landscape. Columbus too did this, recording native place-names and christening the place with a descriptive moniker. From the Spanish (and, to as lesser extent, the Portuguese), Columbus acquired both a crusading spirit and a familiarity with non-European place-names. The verbiage of the Admiral ("took possession") and the religious names he employed were part of his Christianizing vision. They echoed the pattern the Spanish used during the *reconquista*: naming new places to honor the saints who made the conquest possible. Knowledge of non-Christian names, as the Spanish had used in al-Andalus and the Canaries, served to placate groups the Crown wanted to incorporate into their holdings. On the very first day of the Columbian encounter, the

explorer already envisioned a future where Guanahanians were part of the Spanish domain: "Ellos deven ser buenos servidores y de buen ingenio… y creo quie ligeramente se harían cristanos…" (They should be good servants and of good ingenuity… and I believe that they could easily be made Christians…).[42]

In October 1492, Columbus wended his way through the Bahamas in search of the Cathay (a name derived from a people of northern China called the *Qìdān*, *Khitan*, or *Khitai*) or Cipangu. From his reading of Polo, he believed that the sea around China and Japan was dotted with thousands of tiny islets, which was one of the reasons he thought these islands were the fabled Indies of his research and dreams. On October 16, he recorded that the natives told him there was gold on an island called Samoeto, to which he added the name Isabella. Here he heard the native names Colba and Bofío, two large islands, the first of which he thought could be fabulous Cipangu. When he arrived at Colba (Cuba) on October 28, he named the island Juana to honor the heir to Fernando and Isabel. He coasted westward along Cuba's long northern shore, and decided that its immensity must make it a part of the Chinese mainland. The place-names he heard from his Indian informants sounded to him like corruptions of words he knew from his readings: Cami, Cavila, and Cubanacan sounded too much like El Gran Can ("the Great Khan"), the ruler of the Mongols. (The news that the Mongolian dynasty of Genghis Khan described by Polo no longer ruled China had failed to reach Europe.) He sent expeditions into the interior, which of course returned without encountering the fantastic

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[42] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 321.

cities of Cathay. Still, Columbus tried to associate the place-names he heard from the

indios with those he gathered from Polo, Mandeville, and other authors.[43]

Columbus also kept up with his name-giving. He named a river after the Savior

and a bay for the Virgin. In between he named a cape Cabo de Palmas because "vido

cabo lleno de palmas" (he saw a cape covered in palms).[44] Far from merely erasing

indigenous names, Columbus became so comfortable with the name Cuba, probably from

a native word (*coabana*) meaning "great place," that he called one promontory Cabo de

Cuba. Perhaps this was because the Europeans found "Cuba" easy to pronounce.[45] He

continued naming various features on the Cuban coast, some religious (Puerto de Santa

Catalina), some political (Puerto del Principe), and others descriptive (Cabo Lindo,

"pretty cape"). From the eastern end of Cuba he headed east to an island that his

Guanahani guides declared was the source of their gold. Since Columbus now believed

that Cuba was part of the mainland, he surmised that this isle of Bofío, which he also

heard as Bohío, was Cipangu. His captive Indian guides worried as he neared Bohío,

stating, through the formidable language barrier, that this island was the home of the

fearful Caribs, who raided them and supposedly dined on them. Instead of focusing on

this horrid case of savage anthropophagy, Columbus focused on the place-names. The

Lucayans from Guanahani called these fearful people Caribs, their island Caniba or

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[43] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 237-279; Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 47-67, 215; Yule, "Marco Polo and His Book," 11-12.

[44] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 334-336. Quotation is from p. 336.

[45] Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 13.

Canima, and the landmass that purportedly lay beyond Caribata.[46] These all, especially

Caniba, sounded like Khan, "y sentía el Almirante que devían de ser del señorío del Gran

Can que los captibavan" (and the Admiral felt the people must belong to the dominion of

the Great Khan who captured them [the *lucayos*]).[47]

At this new island his naming continued. An isle off the coast of this larger isle

Columbus named Tortuga, either because its shape resembled a sea turtle or the mariners

saw turtles there; it still carries the French name Île de la Tortue. Columbus named an

inlet Puerto de San Nicolás because he encountered it on that saint's feast day, December

6, 1492. This large island called Bohío (meaning "home," it may have been a

miscommunication), which the natives also called Haytí (modern-day Haiti), seems to

have reminded the Admiral of Spain on many accounts. He noted the similarity of flora,

fauna, and landscape; he claimed that Puerto de San Nicolás looked like Cádiz Bay.[48]

Looking out over lush rivers and plains, Columbus declared them "las más hermosas del

mundo y quasi semejables a las tierras de Castilla" (the most beautiful in the world and

almost resembling the lands of Castilla).[49] For this reason, "puso nombre a la dicha isla

la isla Española" (he named the said island the isle Española).[50] The name Española,

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[46] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 75-86, 104; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 270-283; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible*, 53; José Juan Arrom, *Estudios de lexicología antillana* (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2000), 12.

[47] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 354.

[48] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 277-283; Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. Cecil Jane (New York: Bramhall House, 1960), 52ff.; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 310; Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 81-85, 237.

[49] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 366.

[50] Ibid.

"Little Spain," Latinized as Hispaniola, has managed to remain in use down the centuries,

probably because the island became the focus of Spanish colonization for the next several

decades. Sailing along Española's northern coast, he happened upon a large stream,

today's Trois Rivières in Haiti. He called it Guadalquivir (from the Arabic *al-wādī al-*

kabīr, meaning "the great river" or "the great valley"), because it reminded him of the

grand river near Córdoba.[51]

   Columbus continued to claim lands for Fernando and Isabel in ceremonies

reminiscent of those undertaken by the Iberian nations. Just as the crusading Spanish

placed crosses over conquered mosques or built Isabel's Santa Fe in the form of a cross in

Granada, and as the Portuguese erected stone crosses (*padrões*) to mark their discoveries,

Columbus erected crosses in prominent locations. This ensured that passersby could

readily see them from the sea (see fig. 4.5).[52] Columbus explained:

> Puso una gran cruz a la entrada del puerto, de la parte del Hueste, en un alto muy
> vistoso, «en señal» (dize él) «que V. Al. tienen la tierra por suya y principalmente
> por señal de Jesu Cristo Nuestro Señor, y honra de la cristiandad».
> (He put a large cross at the entrance of the harbor, on the western side, on a very
> visible height, "as a signal," he says, "that Your Highnesses possess the land for
> yourselves and principally as a marker of Jesus Christ Our Lord, and in honor of
> Christianity.")[53]

Columbus took his traditional rights as name-giver seriously. During his first voyage,

Martín Alonso Pinzón, the captain of the *Pinta*, strayed from Columbus in late 1492 and

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[51] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 285; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 164;
Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 89.

[52] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 70-94 passim; Seed,
Ceremonies of Possession, 131-132, 175; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 264; Day, *Conquest*, 13;
Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 93; Seed, "Taking Possession and Reading Texts," 192-193. Seed remarks
that the Portuguese (and perhaps the Spanish and Columbus) may have used stone pillars in emulation of
Roman stone markers.

[53] Lardicci, *A Synoptic Edition of the Log of Columbus's First Voyage*, 367.
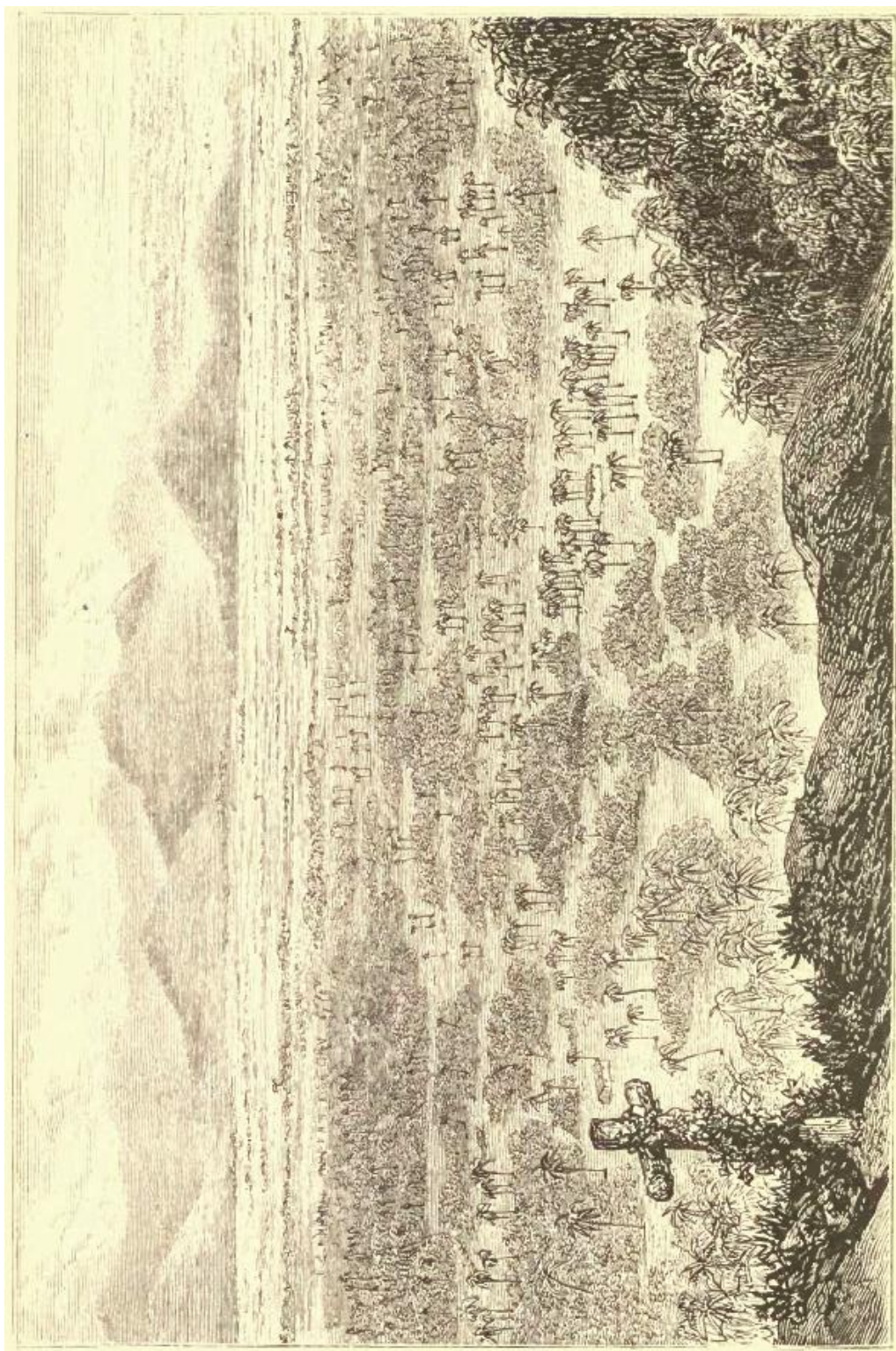
found the Admiral again in early 1493, declaring that he had, in the interim, named a

river after himself: Río Martín Alonso. Columbus could not brook such a breach of

protocol and renamed the river Río de Gracia.[54]

Remarkably, even though Columbus believed Cipangu and Cathay were nearby,

he had no compunction in renaming and claiming lands that might have been ruled by the

emperors of China or Japan. Many commentators believe that this is because naming and

cross-raising was indicative of a staggeringly arrogant and militant European

Christianity.[55] Greenblatt wrote that Columbus's possession ceremony on San Salvador,

when none of the native Lucayans contradicted his declaration of Spanish sovereignty,

was "either a cynical sneer or a skeptical joke" and "absurd."[56] Kirkpatrick Sale's 1990

Columbus philippic, *The Conquest of Paradise*, is particularly harsh on Columbus's

naming and claiming:

> Why would the Admiral assume that these territories were in some way
> *un*possessed—even by those clearly inhabiting them—and thus available for
> Spain to claim? Why would he not think twice about the possibility that some
> considerable potentate—the Grand Khan of China, for example… might descend
> upon him at any moment… and punish him for his territorial presumption? No
> European would have imagined that anyone—three small boatloads of Indians,
> say—could come up to a European shore or island and "take possession" of it….
> [C]an it all be explained as simple Eurocentrism, or Eurosuperiortiy, mixed with
> cupidity and naiveté?[57]

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[54] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 310; Casas, *Las Casas on Columbus*, 120.

[55] Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 26-33; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 58-60; Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 92-95; Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now*, 268-270.

[56] Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 58-59.

[57] Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 94. Emphasis in the original.

Such a simple view disregards the history of the Iberian *reconquista* and exploration in

the eastern Atlantic. Historian David Abulafia comments: "Had he in fact arrived on the

Asian mainland, in a great trading city such as Hangchow, any attempt to assert Castilian

sovereignty would have done him and his monarchs no good."[58] Indeed Columbus

carried a Latin passport to present to the Great Khan if he encountered his realms (much

as the Portuguese Vasco da Gama would do in 1498 when he reached Calicut in India).

Columbus could only take possession and name the lands of civilized nations if he

conquered them militarily, much as the Spanish only took possession of lands reclaimed

from the Moors. The most the Admiral could hope to do would be to set up good

relations and trading stations with the kingdoms of the Orient, much like the dealings

between the Portuguese and the various African kingdoms of Guinea.[59] Columbus could,

and did, following the precedent of the Canary Islands, claim lands from the simple

peoples he deemed to be without civilization.[60] The *indios* of the islands he encountered

were much like the Guanches of the Canaries, as he noted many times in his logs and

letters.

On Christmas morning along the northern shore of Española, Columbus wrecked

his flagship, the *Santa María*. Here a native *cacique* (a local Taíno word for chief or

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[58] David Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind: Atlantic Encounters in the Age of Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 29.

[59] Fernández-Armesto, *Pathfinders*, 180-182; Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 65-91 passim; Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, 29-30.

[60] For more on the debates in Castilla concerning the legality of conquering the Guanche (and enslaving them), see Phillips and Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus*, 59, 251; Warwick Bray, *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Europe and the Americas, 1492-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 70; Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought*, 76-80; Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*, 133-136.

leader), Guacanagarí, allowed Columbus to build a settlement, which he called La Navidad, short for La Natividad ("the Nativity"). Columbus saw the shipwreck as a blessing, as it allowed him to build his small colony in a land with some indications of gold. Still naming and claiming, he left for Spain on January 16, 1493, returning to Palos de la Frontera on March 15, after storms had forced him to layover in Portuguese territory.

Columbus's success in finding new lands encouraged the monarchs that perhaps the Orient could still be found along his route. The Admiral fitted out for a new expedition in late 1493. Columbus led a new armada of seventeen ships to his recently discovered lands. Taking a more southerly tack on this voyage, the expedition, which included priests and settlers, reached the modern day island of Dominica, named for the day of its discovery: Sunday ("domingo"), November 3, 1493. Columbus then sailed north and westward through a chain of islands, with the help of Indian guides, heading for his colony on Española. Again, many places received religious names, such as Santa Cruz, Maria-galante, and Cabo San Miguel. Others received descriptive toponyms, like Río Cañas ("river [of] canes") and Río Verde ("green river"). Columbus honored Queen Isabel (who as Queen of Castile was the monarch he needed to impress the most) with two place-names: La Isabela, the colonial settlement that replaced La Navidad on Española, and Islas del Jardín de la Reina ("islands of the queen's garden"), a collective name for the scores of islands off Cuba's southern coast.[61]

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[61] J. M. Cohen, ed., *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London: Penguin, 2004), 127-199; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 297-480; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 78-80.

Columbus gave similar place-names on his third (1498–1500) and fourth (1502–1504) voyages to the Indies. During his third expedition he encountered the shore of the South America, and began to doubt that it was the Orient, supposing it to be another continent. In his final exploration he tried to seek a westward passage to the East, but found only modern-day Central America.[62] The toponyms Columbus applied (see Appendix 1) to the lands he discovered for Spain over the course of his four voyages set or reinforced patterns that Spaniards would follow for centuries to come. The Genoese who learned the explorer's trade in Portugal and adopted *reconquista* Spain as his homeland brought the naming patterns of these countries across the Atlantic. Like the Portuguese, he assiduously recorded the indigenous place-names of newly discovered lands, and gave new descriptive ones to aid in return navigation. Like the Spanish he used religious names to celebrate the triumph of the holy faith over the heathen. During the *reconquista*, for example, Christian settlers christened many new towns for Santiago, just as Columbus named the island of Jamaica "Santiago" for the patron saint of crusading Spain.

Unfortunately, most works examining the toponyms of Columbus either follow the line of postmodernists or plunder them for personal uses. Scholars like Tzvetan Todorov, Stephen Greenblatt, and J. B. Harley focus primarily on the European and Christian import of the first six place-names (San Salvador, Santa María de la Concepción, Fernandina, Isabella, Juana, and Española) and what they judge to be the apparent Columbian disregard for Indian toponyms. They are then joined by other

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[62] Cohen, *The Four Voyages*, 203-320; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 505-655; Jaime Incer Barquero, ed., *Colón y la costa caribe de Centroamérica* (Managua: Fundación Vida, 2002).

devotees of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, such as Eduardo Subirats, Geoff King, and Peter Mason, positing that name-giving was a tool of European imperialism, a way to eradicate any trace of "the Other," in this case the Indian, and fill the resulting "*vacio continente*" (empty continent) with their colonial aspirations.[63] Geoff King summarized this view in his 1996 work *Mapping Reality*:

> When Columbus arrived in the "Indies" he was well aware that the natives already had their own names for the islands, but this did not stop him superimposing his own. The islands themselves, capes, mountains, points and ports were all confidently assigned Western names in a ritual of conquest, an act of conceptual appropriation seemingly inseparable from the seizure of the land itself…. the New World was converted into a legible text from which a colonial history could flow.[64]

This viewpoint fails to consider that Columbus also noted and, in several cases used, native place-names, as would later Spanish explorers and colonists. Of course, when scholars do note such a usage, it is usually dismissed,[65] as historian of imperialism Anthony Pagden does in *European Encounters with the New* World: "Columbus, it is true, will name things, and even some places, with Indian terms, *places of little significance*."[66] Of course, it is merely opinion that Cabo de Cuba is less important than

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[63] For more on this interpretation of Columbian toponyms, see Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 26-30; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 52-59; Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 92-95; Peter Mason, *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 25-35; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178-187; Gužauskytė, "The Places of Places," 22-26; Belyea, "Images of Power."; Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, 7-36; Geoff King, *Mapping Reality: An Exploration of Cultural Cartographies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 28; John Brian Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (September 1992): 522-536.

[64] King, *Mapping Reality*, 28.

[65] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 183.

[66] Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 35. Emphasis added.

Cabo Lindo. Such postmodern theorists, who make every action of Europeans into an act of colonial repression, must label any use of native place-names as "appropriation" or denigrate them as Pagden has done. Despite the pronouncements of such thinkers,[67] "colonial history could flow" *without* "Western names."

Other researchers bend the place-names to fit their pet historical theories. Writer Nito Verdera compared the toponyms of Columbus with those of the Mediterranean world, attempting to prove his contention that Columbus was a Catalan-speaking crypto-Jew from the small Balearic island of Ibiza. Unfortunately he must admit that, even by his own method, there are correspondences not only to the Catalan-speaking regions of Spain, but Galicia, Andalucía, and even the coast of Morocco. Furthermore, most of his supposedly Ibizian toponyms are purely descriptive and could be found anywhere. Surely a headland with red soil or rocks could be called "Punta Roja" (red point), whether it is in Catalonia or the New World.[68] Though Verdera decided that only one Columbus place-name is of Portuguese origin, another author, Mascarenhas Barreto, declared that more than forty were in fact transferred from Portugal to the Caribbean. Using these toponyms, he asserted that Columbus was a Portuguese explorer born in the aptly named municipality of Cuba, in the district of Beja, in south-central Portugal.[69] To underscore

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[67] For such an interpretation of place-naming and mapping, see Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*; for a critique of the literary theories underlying such works, see Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, 1-39.

[68] Nito Verdera, *Cristóbal Colón: originario de Ibiza y criptojudío* (Vila d'Eivissa, Spain: Consell Insular d'Eivissa i Formentera, 1999); Nito Verdera, *De ibiza y formentera al caribe: Cristóbal Colón y la toponimia* (Barcelona: N. Verdera, 2000).

[69] Mascarenhas Barreto, *The Portuguese Columbus: Secret Agent of King John II*, trans. Reginald Brown (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

the futility of such pursuits, a case could be made that since Columbus named many

places for religious figures and holy days that he was actually born in Christian heaven!

Considering the place-names of Columbus in their proper historical context leads

to different conclusions. Columbus followed the precedent of the explorers and crusaders

of the Iberian Peninsula. In the Spanish system, Columbus had the legal right,

hearkening back to the *reconquista* and the conquest of the Canaries, to name and claim

any newly discovered places that were devoid of civilized peoples. As an explorer

Columbus noted native toponyms to show proof of discovery and gave descriptive ones

to aid in easy return, following models used by explorers in the Eastern Atlantic.

Columbus the discoverer and settler followed standard Spanish *reconquista* practices. He

had the legal, political, and social rights to name places, much like the lords of Castilla

who built new villages in retaken al-Andalus. Significantly, the last two of the three

settlements Columbus founded in the New World, La Isabella and Santa María de Belén,

followed standard *reconquista* naming patterns. The first the Admiral named for the lord

(Queen Isabel of Castilla) and the second for a religious figure (the Virgin Mary); scores

of new towns in Spain carry such names. On Española Columbus built Fortaleza de

Santo Tomás in the interior to protect his gold-extracting operations,[70] following the

reconquista tradition of giving places names part militaristic and hagiographic. Naming

was an adjunct to empire building, but it was not bound up with eradicating peoples or

cultures. The rulers of the various Spanish kingdoms brought the Moors and Jews of

Iberia and the Guanches of the Canaries into their domains, adopting and adapting from

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[70] A creek and group of huts near the site still bears the name Fortaleza.

each, this too would occur in with the Indians of the New World, where new

Hispanicized-Indian cultures would form. The Spanish empire would exist on the

European-named Española just as it would on the Indian-named Cuba.

CHAPTER 5

OF MAPS AND MEN: MAPPING AND NAMING THE NEW DISCOVERIES

The discoveries of Christopher Columbus, and those who followed in his wake, created new questions for the rulers, learned-men, and cartographers of Europe. What relationship did the new lands of the west owe to the known continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa? Who were these natives that Columbus had so confidently named *indios* because he believed he was near India? Were they legitimate descendants of Adam deserving of Christian salvation or lesser beings? How would mapmakers place Columbus's discovery on the map—and what would they name it? The foundations of Western scholarship, the classical authors of Greece and Rome and the Holy Bible, seemed to offer no concrete indication that such lands would be found on the other side of the Ocean Sea. Columbus's belief that he had reached Asia might have been the simplest answer, but other thinkers had nagging suspicions that the Spanish had stumbled onto something completely different: a new world of new peoples and new names.

The first map of Columbus's discoveries, besides the Admiral's long-lost chart and a surviving sketch of northern Española on a scrap of paper, was undertaken by two

Lucayan Indians from the Bahamas for the court of the Portuguese king.[1] In February

1493, on his return from the western Atlantic, a storm battered the two remaining ships of

Columbus's fleet, forcing the Admiral on the *Niña* to seek shelter in the Portuguese

Azores while the *Pinta* sailed on to Spain. He left the Azores in late February only to

have another squall pound the vessel near the Portuguese coast. With one ragged sail

remaining, Columbus took refuge in Lisbon, the capital city of Castilla's chief rival. João

II (r. 1481–1495), King of Portugal and grandnephew of Henrique the Navigator, who

summoned Columbus to visit him in a monastery thirty miles outside the great port city.

The Genoese had earlier offered his "empresa de las Indias" to the king, who had turned

him away. Columbus arrived at the priory with samples from his voyage, including a

retinue of natives he claimed were *indios*. João and Columbus had a long conversation

on the discoveries, the king intimating that Columbus had been exploring in Portuguese-

claimed waters. Columbus stuck to his assertion that he had reached the Indies.[2]

Portuguese chronicler Rui de Pina (1440–1521), on the scene to record the event,

noted that Columbus claimed to have discovered the elusive Antillia and Polo's Japan:

> Christovão Colombo, italiano, que vinha do descubrimento das ilhas de Cipango e
> Antilhas, que por mandado d'El-Rei e da Rainha de Castella.

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[1] Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, "The Cartography of Columbus' First Voyage," in *The Journal of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Bramhall House, 1960), 221; Samuel Eliot Morison, "The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the Site of Navidad," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 31, no. 4 (December 1940): 263-264. Interestingly, the sketch-map records the settlement of La Navidad in its Italian form, "Nativida," one of the few instances the explorer wrote in Italian; see Morison, "The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti," 263n63.

[2] Columbus, *The Journal*, 164-187; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 324-349; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 93-94; Morison, *Journals and Other Documents*, 176-177; Rui de Pina, *Chronica de el-rei D. João II*, ed. Garcia Resende (Lisbon: Escriptorio, 1902), 3:20-22; Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1:323-326.

(Christopher Columbus, Italian, who came from a discovery of the isles of Cipangu and Antillia, on the command of the King and Queen of Castilla.)[3]

King João decided to test the assertions of Columbus by quizzing the *indios* in the entourage. Bartolomé de las Casas recorded the scene in his *Historia de las Indias*:

> Mandó, pues, el rey, estando hablando con el Almirante, disimuladamente traer una escudilla de habas y ponerla en una mesa que tenía cabe sí, e por señas mandó a un indio de aquéllos que con aquellas habas pintase o señalase aquellas tantas islas de la mar de su tierra quel Almirante decía haber descubierto; el indio, muy desenvueltamente y presto, señaló esta isla Española y la isla de Cuba, y las islas de los lucayos, y otras cuya noticia tenía.
> (He ordered, therefore, the King, while speaking with the Admiral, that a bowl of [fava] beans be stealthily brought and put on a table that was beside him, and by signs commanded an Indian there that he should depict or designate with those [fava] beans the many islands of the sea of his land that the Admiral said to have discovered; the Indian, very jauntily and readily, indicated the island of Española and the island of Cuba, and the islands of the *lucayos*, and others of which he had knowledge.)[4]

The monarch was stunned, and continued his experiment. João scrambled the beans and asked a second Indian, with gestures and signs, to map his homeland:

> El indio, con diligencia y como quien en pronto lo tenía, figuró con las habas lo que el otro habia figurado, y por ventura añidió muchas más islas y tierras, dando como razón de todo en su lengua (puesto que nadie lo entendía), lo que había pintado y significado.
> (The Indian, with diligence and as soon as he understood, represented with the [fava] beans what the other had represented, and luckily added many more islands and lands, giving an explanation of everything in his own language, although no one understood him, that he had depicted and signified.)[5]

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[3] Pina, *Chronica de el-rei D. João II*, 3:20-21.

[4] Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1:324-325.

[5] Ibid., 1:325.

The king beat his breast, recognizing that Columbus had found something novel, and bemoaned the fact that he had passed on the enterprise of the Indies.[6]

King João rewarded the Indian cartographers with a gift of scarlet garments and allowed Columbus to return to Spain. Just as the Portuguese utilized the information of African informants (captured or otherwise) on the Guinea coast, Columbus and all other Europeans in the New World, did the same with Indian informants. Even the toponyms of the *indios lucayos* of the Bahamas, who spoke a dialect of Arawakan Taíno, served as geographic markers. The names of their islands resembled a word-map: Inagua, "small eastern land"; Baneque, "big water island"; Guanahani, "small upper waters land"; Samana "small unforested [land]"; Boniana, "small western home"; and so forth. Some of these names made it into accounts of Columbus's voyage and onto later maps of the region, some, such as Inagua, survived the disappearance of the Lucayans to disease and slaving. Information from the various native groups of the islands Columbus found, the Arawak and the Carib, would survive as well.[7]

When Columbus finally reached Spain in mid-March 1493, the news of his discoveries in the Ocean Sea spread through Europe by government correspondents and the publication of a Columbus letter that bore the title *Epistola de Insulis Nuper Inventis* ("letter on islands newly reported"). Columbus, true to his theory, reported that his

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[6] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 344-349; Neil L. Whitehead, "Indigenous Cartography in Lowland South America and the Caribbean," in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 319-320; De Vorsey, "Native American Maps," 24; Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1:323-326.

[7] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 346-347; Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, 16-17; Lewis, *Cartographic Encounters*; Whitehead, "Indigenous Cartography in Lowland South America and the Caribbean."; De Vorsey, "Native American Maps."; Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter."; Granberry, "Lucayan Toponyms."

islands were near the Indies, and the name he used in his writings, including the journal

of his first voyage, was Indias. In October 1493, a Florentine theologian and poet named

Giuliano Dati recast Columbus's letter into Italian verse.[8] In the final stanza, the poet

called the new lands "nuove isole di Cannaria indiane" (new islands of [the] Indian

Canaries), drawing a link between the island groups on either side of the Atlantic.[9]

Meanwhile, Fernando and Isabel sought a papal affirmation of their right to lay claim to

the newly discovered territories. The pope, Alexander VI Borgia (r. 1492–1503), born in

the kingdom of Aragón and owing many favors to Fernando, issued a series of bulls

culminating in the *Inter caetera* of May 3, 1493.[10] It granted to the Crown of Castilla, the

right to claim and rule any "insulas remotissimas, et etiam terras firmas" (very remote

islands, and even mainlands) not in the possession of any Christian monarch in "partes

occidentales, ut dicitir, versus Indos, in mari occeano navigantes" (western parts, it is

said, towards the Indians, in the Ocean Sea).[11] Later bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas

of 1494, drew a dividing line from pole to pole three hundred seventy leagues west of the

Cape Verde Islands, granting Portugal lands to the east and Castilla lands to the west of

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[8] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 367-374; Columbus, *Epistola de Insulis Nuper Inventis*; Hirsch, "Printed Reports on the Early Discoveries," 537-540; Columbus, *The Letter of Columbus on the Discovery of America*, x.

[9] Christopher Columbus and Giuliano Dati, *La lettera dell'isole che ha trovato nuovamente il re di Spagna* (Bologna: Presso Gaetano Romagnoli, 1873), 26.

[10] Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 367-374; Edmundo O'Gorman, *The Invention of America: An Inquiry into the Historical Nature of the New World and the Meaning of Its History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 81-82.

[11] *Inter caetera* in Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1917), 56-63.

the line.[12] The papal authorities only gave a general location to the territories, "towards

the Indians," and did not give the lands a name.

The confident assertions of Columbus that he had been near India did not

convince everyone. The "*indios*," flora, and fauna he brought with him back to Spain did

not resemble anything in the books, despite Columbus's attempted explanations.

Similarly, some scholars still believed that the world had a larger circumference than

Columbus believed, and that he had not sailed far enough to reach the true Indies. One

such thinker was the Italian-born royal chronicler of Spain, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera

(1457–1526), known in Spain as Pedro Mártir de Anglería and Italian as Pietro Martire

d'Anghiera. Martyr was a humanist, churchman, prolific epistle-writer, tutor, diplomat,

and historian who had access to the highest echelons of the Spanish court.[13] Between

May and September he wrote three letters that mentioned Columbus's discoveries, calling

them the "Antipodes" or "occiduos Antipodes" (western antipodes), not India.[14] Martyr

explained his reasoning further in an October 1, 1493, letter to the Archbishop of Braga:

> Colonus quidam, occiduos adnavigavit, ad littus uſque Indicum (ut ipſe credit),
> antipodes. Inſulas reperit plures, has eſſe, de quibus ſit apud Cosmographos
> mentio ectra Occeanum Orientalem, adjacentes Indiæ arbitrantur. Nec inſicior
> ego penitus, quamvis ſphæræ magnitudo aliter ſentire videatur.
> (A certain Columbus, sailing westward to the antipodes, to the very shores of
> India, so he believes. He has discovered many islands, which are believed to be
> those mentioned by the cosmographers to be beyond the Eastern Ocean, adjoining

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[12] "Tratado de Tordesillas," manuscript (Tordesillas, Spain, June 7, 1494), ES.41091.AGI/1.16416.1.1// PATRONATO, 1, N.6, R.1, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

[13] Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 96-98; Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, 1:3-110; Edward Gaylord Bourne, "The Naming of America," *The American Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (October 1904): 47; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 382-385.

[14] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis* (Amsterdam: Typis Elzevirianis, 1670), 72-74.

the Indies. I do not wholly deny this, although the magnitude of the globe seems to suggest otherwise.)[15]

Finally, after another month of thought, Martyr ultimately decided that Columbus had discovered something important, and novel: a "novi Orbis," a *new world*.[16]

By the end of 1493, just a few months after Columbus's return, there were several theories concerning the location of Columbus's discoveries—and concurrently, what to name them. Columbus thought he was in the Indies; the Portuguese claimed he had found Antillia and small islands like those in the eastern Atlantic; and Martyr claimed the Admiral discovered the Antipodes. All of these theories would leave a name in the western Atlantic. The Spanish, following Columbus's cue, called the lands the Indies almost exclusively for centuries. Indeed, the Admiral himself was the first person to call the isles the "Yndias oçidentales" (west Indies) in a collection of charts, letters, and notes written before 1502. The major Spanish historians of the sixteenth centuries used "Indias" exclusively in the title and text of their works. The government utilized that name as well for government documents and agencies. In 1503 Fernando and Isabel created the Casa y Audiencia de Indias, commonly known as the La Casa de Contratación ("The House of Trade"), to control trade and colonization efforts in the Indies. By the reign of the Emperor Carlos V (r. 1516–1556) the Consejo de Indias was the council that politically administered Spanish holdings in the western hemisphere. Tomás López

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[15] Ibid., 74-75.

[16] Ibid., 76.

printed the first official Spanish map to use the word "America" to delineate these

continents in 1758, more than two and a half centuries after Columbus's voyages.[17]

The notion held by the Portuguese court after the encounter between Columbus

and King João II, that Columbus had merely discovered more islands like the Canaries

and the Azores in the vicinity of Antillia made its way onto the map as well. João and his

ministers believed that Antillia, settled by refugees from Porto according to the Seven

Cities legend, rightfully belonged to Portugal. The next king, Manuel I (r. 1495–1521),

may have even secretly ordered explorer Duarte Pacheco Pereira to explore Spain's new

discoveries in 1498.[18] In his book *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, written between 1505 and

1508 but not published until 1892, Pacheco Pereira stated that the king "mandou

deſcobrir ha parte oucidental" (sent me to discover western regions), where he found

"grande terra firme com muitas & grandes Ilhas ajacentes" (a great mainland with many

large islands adjacent). He claimed that these lands extended from latitudes 70° north to

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[17] Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 95-98; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus and the Conquest of the Impossible*, 60-63; Christopher Columbus, *Códice diplomatico-americano de Cristóbal Colón: colección de cartas de privilegios, cédulas y otras escrituras del gran descubridor del Nuevo Mundo* (Havana: El Iris, 1867), 258; Bourne, "The Naming of America," 47, 50; "Ordenanzas de los Reyes Católicos," manuscript, January 20, 1503, ES.41091.AGI/1.16403.15.412// INDIFERENTE, 418, L.3, folios 4r-8r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, 1492-1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 292; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 174; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 203, 375; Ezequiel Uricoechea, *Mapoteca colombiana: Coleccion de los títulos de todos los mapas, planos, vistas, etc. relativos á la América española, Brasil é islas adyacentes; Arreglada cronologicamente i precedida de una introduccion sobre la historia cartográfica de América* (London: Trübner, 1860), 8; Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (Madrid: Victoriano Suarez, 1892); Angel Delgado-Gómez and Susan L. Newbury, *Spanish Historical Writing About the New World, 1493-1700* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1994), 52-62. The frontispiece illustration of the rare *Milicia y descripcion de las Indias*, written by Bernardo de Vargas Machua and published in 1599, showed the author standing next to a small globe with the word "AMERICA" across the continent of North America; this is the first "map," however small, printed in Spain to use the word. Still, Vargas Machua used only "Indias" and "Nuevo Mundo" throughout the text.

[18] Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 272-276, 303-304; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, 97-102; Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America*, 15-21; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 97; Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim*, 77; Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1892), 6-7.

28° south.[19] Some of the information of his voyage may have ended up on the Cantino map of 1502. Ercole I d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (r. 1471–1506), desirous to learn about the discoveries of the Iberian nations, charged his agent Alberto Cantino with procuring information and a map from his informants in Portugal. Cantino complied, apparently paying a sizeable amount to obtain a copy of the Portuguese *padrão real* ("royal standard") or master map of the Casa da Índia. Cantino smuggled the chart from Lisbon to Italy, and the Duke of Ferrara received the chart in late 1502.[20]

The Cantino planisphere, a large (measuring more than three and a half feet by seven feet), colored, manuscript map on parchment showed Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the new discoveries of the west (see fig. 5.1). The details on the African and southern Asian sections were particularly detailed, highlighting the new, all-water Portuguese route east to India (see fig. 3.6). In the west, the map displayed the discoveries of the Spanish and Portuguese, as known by the Portuguese. The map displayed the islands that Columbus discovered on his first two three voyages, the lands found by John Cabot (ca. 1450–ca. 1500) in modern-day Canada (also visited by the Portuguese),[21] and a great

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[19] Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, 7.

[20] Mauro Bini, *Cantino's Map: Abstract of the Commentary by Ernesto Milano for the Facsimile Edition* (Modena: Il Bulino, 2005), 2-5; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 272-276, 303-304; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 338-342; Peter Whitfield, *The Image of the World: 20 Centuries of World Maps* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1997), 44-45.

[21] Several authors have written about the voyages of the English to the New World before the Elizabethan Age, but they are still sketchily detailed. Scholars continue to debate the extent and nature of the discoveries of John Cabot, an Italian in the service of Henry VII. Cabot met with King Fernando in Spain and may have met Columbus as well; he was certainly in Castilla when Columbus triumphantly returned from his first voyage. Recent evidence unearthed by Alwyn Ruddock and Evan T, Jones suggests that the well-worn notion he died at sea in 1498 or 1499 when his second expedition was lost are incorrect, and Cabot may have died of illness in England in 1500. Evidence of his discoveries and some of the place-names he left are recorded on maps of the early sixteenth century, including La Cosa's 1500 chart and the Ruysch map of 1508. See Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, 157-251;

southern continent found by Columbus on his third voyage and explored by Amerigo

Vespucci, Pedro Álvares Cabral, and others (see fig. 5.2). On the

Cantino map the isles encountered by Columbus clearly bear the label: "Las Antilhas del

Rey de Caſtella" (the Antilles of the King of Castile).[22] A comparable map, on vellum

and measuring four feet by six and a half feet, by the Genoese Nicolaus de Caverio and

dating to around 1506, has a similar label (see fig 5.3):

> Las antilhas del Rey de Castella descoberta por collonbo ienoeize almirante que
> es de las aquales ditas insullas se descobriram per mandado do muyto alto et
> poderoso principe Rey dom Fernando Rey de castella.
> (The Antilles of the King of Castilla, discovered by Columbus, a Genoese
> admiral, which said islands were discovered by order of the very illustrious and
> powerful prince King Dom Fernando, King of Castilla.)[23]

The Portuguese used this name, transferred from the fabled island of Antillia, for

centuries. Portuguese historian Antonio Galvão (ca. 1490–1557) referred to the islands

found by Columbus as Antilhas in his *Livro dos descobrimentos das Antilhas e India*,

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David Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620: From the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth: The Exploration, Exploitation, and Trial-and-Error Colonization of North America by the English* (New York: Knopf, 1973); James A. Williamson, ed., *The Cabot Voyages and Bristol Discovery Under Henry VII* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1962); Evan T. Jones, "Alwyn Ruddock: 'John Cabot and the Discovery of America'," *Historical Research* 81, no. 212 (May 2008): 224-254; Evan T. Jones, "Henry VII and the Bristol Expeditions to North America: The Condon Documents," *Historical Research* 83, no. 221 (August 2010): 444-454; Francesc Albardaner i Llorens, "John Cabot and Christopher Columbus Revisited," *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord* 10, no. 2 (July 2000): 91–102; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 283-288. See also the Cabot Project website at the University of Bristol.

[22] "Cantino planisphere."; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 272-276, 303-304; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 63-65.

[23] Nicolaus de Caverio, "[Planisphère nautique] Opus Nicolay de Caverio ianuensis," manuscript map, color, 225 x 115 cm, 1506, FRBNF40611546, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Edward Luther Stevenson, *Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio Januensis, 1502 (Circa): A Critical Study, with Facsimile* (New York: American Geographical Society of New York and Hispanic Society of America, 1907), 39-44.

Figure 5.1. The Cantino planisphere of 1502.

This impressive map showed the latest Portuguese knowledge of the world, including the discoveries in the west and the all-water route to India around the continent of Africa. *Source*: "Charta da navigar per le isole novamente t[rovate] in la parte de l'India dono Alberto Cantino al S. duca Hercole," manuscript map, color, 105 x 225 cm, Portugal, 1502, C.G.A.2, Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, Italy.

Figure 5.2. The newly discovered lands on the Cantino map of 1502.
This map illustrated the Caribbean isles discovered by Columbus, labeled "Las Antilhas del Rey de Caſtella" (the Antilles of the King of Castile), the large southern continent found on Columbus's third voyage, and what may be Florida on the west. The Treaty of Tordesillas line, dividing the world into Spanish and Portuguese spheres is illustrated as well. *Source*: "Charta da navigar per le isole novamente t[rovate] in la parte de l'India dono Alberto Cantino al S. duca Hercole," manuscript map, color, 105 x 225 cm, Portugal, 1502, C.G.A.2, Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, Italy.

published in Lisbon in 1563.[24] In 1500 the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512)

referred to the island of Hispaniola as Antiglia.[25] In 1511 Peter Martyr, expanding on his

earlier thoughts and writing in Latin, wrote that Columbus's belief he landed in Asia was

wrong as "examination of the maps, however, shows that it was the Antilles [islands] and

neighboring islands."[26] A 1519 map by the Portuguese chartmaker Lopo Homem showed

the area as "ANTE YLLAS"(before isles), perhaps reflecting the term's origin. Martyr's

term for the Caribbean islands, *Antilae insulae*, made its way onto many printed maps,

including the widely disseminated, and extensively copied, *Americae Sive Novi Orbis* of

Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598).[27] The name managed to even find

its way onto the mainland. A collection of Italian portolan maps from around 1510 in the

British Museum labeled the South American continent Antiglia. (Written across the

North American landmass was "Septem civitates," or "seven cities," transferring the

legend of the Seven Cities of Antillia there for Coronado to seek in the 1540s.) Another

anonymous world map in the Vatican from about 1530 places Antilia in nearly the same

[24] António Galvão, *The Discoveries of the World, From their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555*, ed. Charles Ramsay Drinkwater Bethune, trans. Richard Hakluyt (London: Hakluyt Society, 1862), 81ff. Richard Hakluyt (ca. 1552–1616), who translated this work in 1601, translated Antilhas as "Antiles," popularizing the later English name for the isles of the Caribbean: the Antilles.

[25] Amerigo Vespucci and Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents Illustrative of His Career*, trans. Clements Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1894), 29.

[26] Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), 1:61; Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, *The Decades of the newe worlde or west India*, trans. Richard Eden (London: In aedibus Guilhelmi Powell, 1555), 7. The quotation is from the former work, compared with the latter.

[27] Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, 145-147; William H. Tillinghast, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients Considered in Relation to the Discovery of America," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886), 49, 49n6; Abraham Ortelius, "Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio," printed map, color, 27 x 35 cm (Basel, 1587), 128/12 00615, Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, Special Collections Library, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX.

Figure 5.3. The Caverio map of 1506.

Similar to the Cantino map, this map labeled the New World "Las antilhas del Rey de Castella" (the Antilles of the King of Castilla). *Source*: Nicolaus de Caverio, "[Planisphère nautique] Opus Nicolay de Caverio ianuensis," manuscript map, color, 225 x 115 cm, 1506, FRBNF40611546, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

continental location.[28]

The Spanish rarely used Antilia to name the islands of the western ocean, preferring to use the term Columbus utilized: *Indias*. In 1503, the first printed translation of Marco Polo's writings into Castillian appeared in Sevilla. In an introduction by theologian and jurist Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella, the book's translator, he attempted to prove that the new Spanish lands were not the same as Polo's Orient.[29] He referenced both Antillia and India, and bemoaned the latter's inaccuracy:

> Muchos vulgares y aun hombres de mas suerte piensan que Antilla: o estas islas nuevamente halladas por mandado de nuestros muy catolicos rey don fernando y reyna doña ysabel son en las indias son engañados por el nombre que les pusieron de indias.
> (Many commoners and even men of better condition think that [it is] Antillia: or [that] these newly found islands, [found] by order of our very Catholic King Don Fernando and Queen Doña Isabel, are in the Indias, they are deceived by the name that they put [on it], Indias.)[30]

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[28] Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, 145-147; Tillinghast, "The Geographical Knowledge of the Ancients," 49, 49n6; "Egerton MS 2803," manuscript atlas, 1510, f. 1b, 7b-8, Egerton Manuscript Collection, Egerton MS 2803, British Library, London; Arthur Davies, "The Egerton MS. 2803 Map and the Padrón Real of Spain in 1510," *Imago Mundi* 11 (1954): 47-52; Chet Van Duzer, "Cartographic Invention: The Southern Continent on Vatican MS Urb. Lat. 274, Folios 73v-74r (c. 1530)," *Imago Mundi* 59, no. 2 (July 2007): 196; Lorenzo Bagnoli, "Il Manoscritto Egerton 2803 della British Library e il Nuovo Mondo," *Studi e Ricerche di Geografia*, no. 25 (2002): 81-110; Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 6, 27-29; Thomas Suárez, *Shedding the Veil: Mapping the European Discovery of America and the World* (River Edge, NJ: World Scientific, 1992), 33n7.

[29] Francisco Vindel Angulo, *Mapas de América en los libros españoles de los siglos XVI al XVIII (1503-1798)* (Madrid, 1955), 1-5; W. G. L. Randles, "Classical Models of World Geography and Their Transformation following the Discovery of America," in *The Classical Tradition and the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Haase and Meyer Reinhold (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 49; Edmundo O'Gorman, *La idea del descubrimiento de América: historia de esa interpretación y crítica de sus fundamentos* (Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Filosóficos, 1951), 109.

[30] Marco Polo, *El libro famoso Marco Paulo veneciano de las cosas maravillosas que vido en las partes orientales*, trans. Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella (Seville: Lanzalao Polono y Jacome Cronberger, 1503).

Santaella concluded, like Peter Martyr, that the newly discovered isles and coasts were distinct from Asia, even calling the lands "Opposite India." Still, the illustration on the title page (see fig. 5.4) showed a European-looking city labeled "S. Domingo ẽ la yſla Yſabela" (Santo Domingo on the isle Isabella). This engraved depiction of the town of Santo Domingo on Española (known for a short time as Isla Isabela) sits below the image of a standing Marco Polo and next to a depiction of the city of Calicut on the Indian Ocean.[31] A brief glance at the title page would link the Spanish Indies with the Indies described by Marco Polo in the mind of the reader.

The use of the term New World to describe the ongoing discoveries of the Spanish in the Atlantic Ocean depended on whether scholars, cartographers, and officials considered them entities separate from Asia. Columbus thought that the islands of his first and second voyages lay off the coast of China, but the large land he found on the third voyage convinced him he may have encountered a hitherto unknown land. While sailing along the seemingly never-ending coastline west of the island of Trinidad in 1498, he encountered the embouchure of the muddy Orinoco, which disgorged fresh water into the salty sea for miles. Columbus compared the river to the Andalusian Guadalquivir in flood and surmised that such a river must flow through a continental landmass, one that neither the classical authors nor Polo had encountered before.[32] Las Casas recorded that Columbus wrote in a letter to the monarchs: "Vuestras Altezas ganaron estas tierras

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[31] Vindel Angulo, *Mapas de América en los libros españoles*, 1-5; Randles, "Classical Models of World Geography," 49; Rogers, "Valentim Fernandes, Rodrigo de Santaella, and the Recognition of the Antilles as 'Opposite-India'," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* (September 1957): 279-309.

[32] Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 2:26-27; Colón, *The Life of the Admiral*, 187-188; Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*, 127-128; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 546-548.
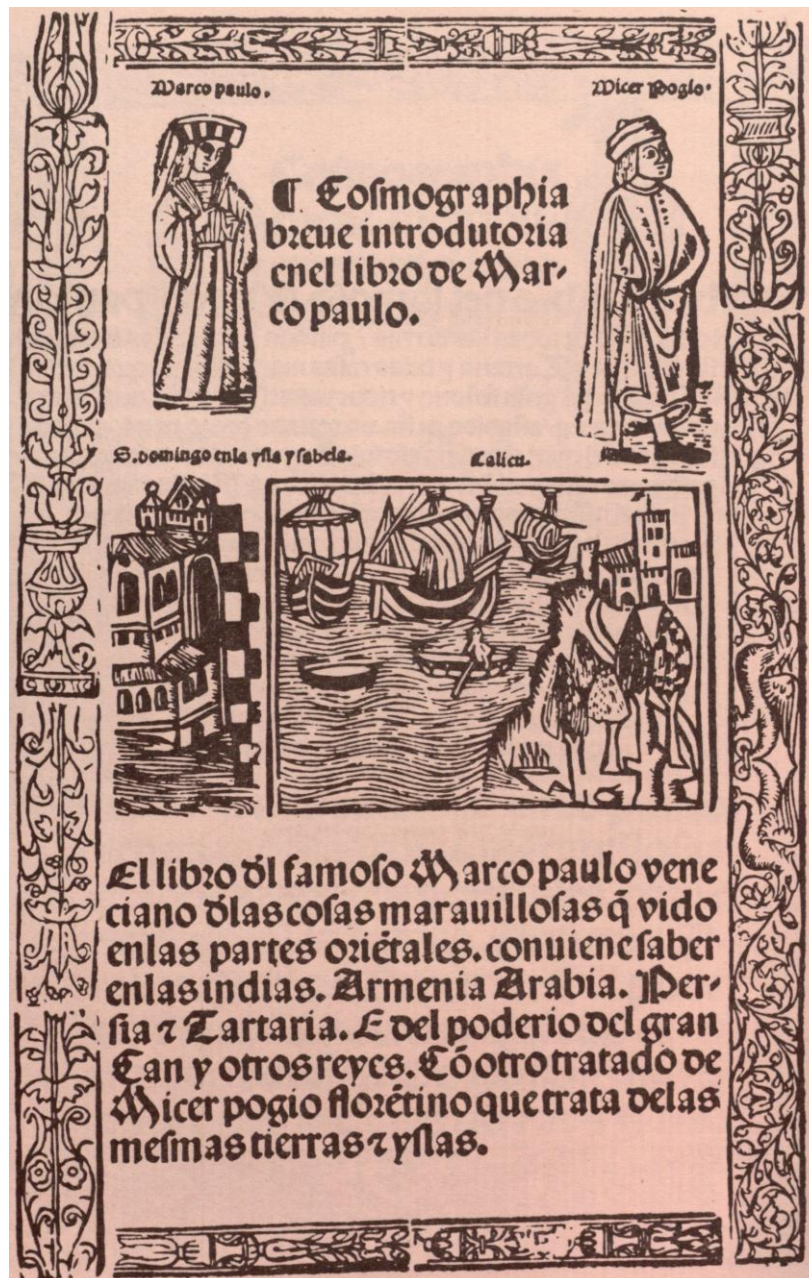
Figure 5.4. Polo title page, 1503.
Though the translator stated that the New World was not the Indies in his introduction, a glance at the title page, showing Santo Domingo below Marco Polo and next to the Indian city of Calicut, would create that illusion. *Source*: Marco Polo, *El libro famoso Marco Paulo veneciano de las cosas maravillosas que vido en las partes orientales*, trans. Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella (Seville: Lanzalao Polono y Jacome Cronberger, 1503).

tantas, que son *otro mundo*" (Your Highnesses have won these vast lands, which are an *other world*).[33] Where this "other world" lay in relation to the known continents of the world was still in question. Was it connected to Asia or wholly discrete?

Writing in Italian in the late fifteenth century, the Venetian explorer Alvise Cadamosto (ca. 1432–1488), who discovered some of the Cape Verde archipelago in the service of the Henrique the Navigator, used the term "un altro mondo" (other world) to describe the Portuguese discoveries along the African coast.[34] Though these lands were part of a continent known to antiquity, explorers still heralded their newness. Columbus described his *otro mundo* as novel and a "tierra firme grandíssima, de que hasta oy no se a sabido" (very great continent, that until today has been unknown), believing that they were very close to the Asian mainland.[35] After his fourth voyage to the coasts of modern-day Central America, he believed that he was coasting along the Golden Chersonese of Ptolemy, today's Malay Peninsula, which connected Asia to his new continent. A collection of sketch maps drawn by the Florentine Alessandro Zorzi in 1506, based on information from Columbus's brother Bartolomeo, illustrate this concept, (see fig. 5.5). One shows "MONDO NOVO," replete with place-names from

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[33] Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 2:27. Emphasis added.

[34] Alvise Cadamosto, "Delle Navigazioni di Messer Alvise da Ca da Mosto, Gentiluomo Veneziano," in *Il viaggio di Giovan Leone e le navigazioni di Alvise da Ca da Mosto, di Pietro di Cintra, di Annone, di un piloto portoghese e di Vasco di Gama*, ed. Giovanni Battista Ramusio (Venice: Luigi Plet, 1837), 175.

[35] "Relación del Tercer Viaje (1498)" in Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos*, 238.

Figure 5.5. One of the Zorzi sketch maps.

Drawn by the Florentine Alessandro Zorzi in 1506, based on information from Columbus's brother Bartolomeo, it illustrated Columbus's concept of the Indies. Thus the South American continent, labeled "MONDO NOVO" is connected by a thin bit of land to Asia on the left-hand side of the map. The isles first discovered by Columbus lie north of the "New World." *Source*: Alessandro Zorzi, "[Planisfero con il Mondo Novo]," manuscript map, 21.5 x 32 cm, 1506, BNCF Banco Rari 234, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence, Italy.

Columbus's third voyage, connected by a thin isthmus to Asia, labeled with toponyms

from Columbus's fourth expedition and Ptolemy's *Geography*.[36] For Columbus and his

contemporaries, the new Spanish lands might be an "other world" or a "new world," but

they could still be Asian in character—part of the Indies

Between Columbus's third voyage in 1498 and his last in 1502, other explorers

began cruising the western Atlantic and Caribbean Sea, as yet unnamed. The Spanish

named the sea a generic "Mar del Norte" (sea of the north) after Vasco Núñez de Balboa

claimed the Pacific for Spain as "Mar del Sur" (sea of the south) in 1513, because he

marched southward to reach the rumored ocean. The fierce Carib tribes Columbus

encountered during his voyages, purported to be anthrophagi, giving the word cannibal to

the world, called their islands Caniba or Canima. The islands appeared on non-Spanish

European maps as "Canibales insulae" (cannibal islands), and the English used the word

Caribees for the smaller islands in the archipelago.[37] Only in 1773 did British mapmaker

Thomas Jefferys call the body of water the Caribbean Sea in his *West-India Atlas*, stating:

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[36] Alessandro Zorzi, "[Planisfero con il Mondo Novo]," manuscript map, 21.5 x 32 cm, 1506, f. 60v, BNCF Banco Rari 234, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Florence, Italy; John Bigelow, "The So-Called Bartholomew Columbus Map of 1506," *Geographical Review* 25, no. 4 (October 1935): 643-656; George E. Nunn, "The Three Maplets Attributed to Bartholomew Columbus," *Imago Mundi* 9 (1952): 12-22; Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus*, 54-90; Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise*, 380n2; Eviatar Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita: The Mental Discovery of America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 96-97; Raleigh Ashlin Skelton, *Explorers' Maps: Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (New York: Spring Books, 1970), 71. Some authors, like Bigelow and Sale, believe that the Zorzi maplets have nothing to do with Bartolomeo or Christopher Columbus; others, such as Nunn, Skelton, and Zerubavel believe that they accurately illustrate Columbian geographical ideals, and were probably derived from information given by Bartolomeo.

[37] Carl Ortwin Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 1-2; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 270-283; Joan Blaeu, *Atlas Maior of 1665* (Köln: Taschen, 2006), 389-391.

"It has ſometimes been called the *Caribbean-Sea*, which name it would be better to adopt than to leave this ſpace quite anonymous."[38]

In May 1499, Spaniard Alonso de Ojeda (ca. 1465–ca. 1515), who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, set sail for the Indies. He took along cosmographer Juan de la Cosa, another veteran of Columbus's expeditions, who would later create the earliest surviving map of the New World, and the Florentine Amerigo Vespucci, the scion of an upper-class family and lately a merchant and banking agent for the Medici. Ships under Ojeda's command searched the northern coast of the continent Columbus stumbled on during his third voyage. A ship under Vespucci found the Amazon River while Ojeda personally headed north and west. Ojeda sighted a great bay, today's Gulf of Venezuela and Lake Maracaibo, where local Indians built houses on piles over the water, like dwellings in Venice. Locals called the region Cuquibacoa and Ojeda named the body of water for the day he found it, dubbing it Lago de San Bartolomé. In later reports he compared the region to "Venecia." The coast soon acquired the nickname Venezuela ("little Venice"), which it retains today. Conquistador Martín Fernández de Enciso (ca. 1470–1528) wrote in his 1519 work *Suma de Geografía*, however, that an indigenous tribe called the Veneciuela gave the land its name.[39] Was the place-name a native one adapted to European tongues, or a case of descriptive naming by Europeans?

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[38] Thomas Jefferys, *The West-India Atlas: Or, a Compendious Description of the West-Indies: Illustrated with Forty One Correct Charts and Maps, Taken from Actual Surveys. Together with an Historical Account of the Several Countries and Islands Which Compose That Part of the World* (London: Robert Sayer and John Bennett, 1788), 6.

[39] Martín Fernández de Navarrete, ed., *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV, con varios documentos inéditos concernientes á la historia de la marina castellana y de la marina castellana y de los establecimientos españoles en Indias* (Madrid:

Amerigo Vespucci returned from this voyage to the New World and sent a letter to his former patron, Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, a banker and cousin to the famed Florentine statesman Lorenzo de' Medici. Vespucci's letter indicated that he had explored near to Asia. Vespucci moved to Portugal and sailed on a 1501 expedition to the present-day Brazilian coast, led by Gonçalo Coelho. The year before, courtier Pedro Álvares Cabral (ca. 1468–1530), on an expedition to India, encountered a portion of the New World that lay on the Portuguese side of the Treaty of Tordesillas line. He called the region Ilha de Vera Cruz ("island of the True Cross"), believing it to be an island. Later maps and reports subtly changed the name to Terra de Santa Cruz ("land of the Holy Cross"). On this voyage, Coelho and Vespucci followed the coast southward, well past the equator. The immensity of the land encountered convinced Vespucci, like Columbus before him, that this was a land continental in nature. Commenting on the hitherto unknown flora, fauna, and peoples, Vespucci, like Peter Martyr, called it a "New World."[40]

Imprenta Real, 1829), 3:7n4, 3:548; Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 2:129; Ángel Rosenblat, *El nombre de Venezuela* (Caracas: Tipografía Vargas, 1956); Alberto J. Rodríguez Díaz and Francisco Escamilla Vera, "500 años del nombre de Venezuela," *Biblio 3W. Revista Bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, no. 152 (April 19, 1999); Louis-André Vigneras, *The Discovery of South America and the Andalusian Voyages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 47-63; Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo: The Man Who Gave His Name to America* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2006), 67ff.; Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, 184-194.

[40] Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 217-229, 233-235, 276-288; Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo*, 88-97; Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 302-323; Frederick J. Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci: Pilot Major* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 130; William Brooks Greenlee, ed., *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India: From Contemporary Documents and Narratives* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1938), 7n2. The mariners of Cabral's fleet were so impressed by the number and color of the macaws on the Portuguese coast, that Brazil was often called "terra dos papagaios" (land of parrots). Three large and vividly painted birds appear in Brazil on the Cantino map of 1502. People soon named the land Brazil for the abundant dyewood, called brazilwood (*pau-brasil*), found there. See chapter 3, footnote 7, supra.

Vespucci's life is a tissue of half-truths, boasts, and inconsistencies. Scholars

disagree on the number of voyages he undertook and just which letters, published and

unpublished, he penned. In 1504, two printed booklets appeared across Europe in Latin

and various vernacular languages, claiming to be the record of four expeditions led by

Vespucci to the lands of the western Atlantic, including one in 1497 that supposedly

reached South America a year before Columbus and North America days before Cabot.

Most biographers, such as Felipe Fernández-Armesto and Frederick J. Pohl, hold that he

only made two voyages, and that these published writings were fraudulent documents

that Vespucci had no connection with. One was an essay titled *Mundus Novus*, pieced

together from extracts of Vespucci's letters to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici and

augmented with copious amounts of sensational exaggeration.[41] Columbus's discovery

of an *otro mundo* was written in a log and not widely disseminated; Vespucci's

determination that he had found a *mundus novus* was broadcast widely, printed in several

languages and editions, including Latin, High and Low German, French, Italian, Dutch,

and even Czech.[42] The first paragraph of *Mundus Novus* trumpets the assertion boldly:

> Ab novis illis regionibo, quas et claſſe et impenſis et mandato iſtius ſerenissimi
> portugalie regis perquiſivimus et invenimus quaſque novum mundum appellare
> licet.
> (To those new regions, that we found and explored at the cost and command of
> the Most Serene King of Portugal, and that we may rightly call a New World.)[43]

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[41] Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo*, 120-135; Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci*, 147-167.

[42] Hirsch, "Printed Reports on the Early Discoveries," 540-542.

[43] Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus nouus: Albericus Vespucius Laurentio Petri de Medicis salutem plurimam dicit* (Venice: Johannes Baptista Sessa, 1504), unpaginated, 1st page.

The *Mundus Novus* was immensely popular, as was its follow-up, entitled *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci dell'isole nuovamente trovati in quattro suoi viaggi* (which created the notion that Vespucci had commanded four explorations of the New World). These works were full of wonder and sex, describing the lush continent in lavish terms and depicting the inhabitants as naked, savage, cannibalistic, and lascivious. This became part of their mass appeal.[44]

The works of Vespucci and pseudo-Vespucci reached two German scholars in the town of Sankt Didel (Saint-Dié in French), just west of the Rhine in the Vosges Mountains, Duchy of Lorraine. These two men, Matthias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemüller, decided to compose and publish an updated version of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Ringmann had connections in Italy, and procured charts similar to that of the Genoese Caverio, which showed the extent of Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the New World. Pouring over numerous charts and texts, Waldseemüller created a large map, printed on twelve separate sheets, resulting in a chart that measured about eight feet wide by four feet when put together. The map, titled *Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorū que lustrationes* ("Universal cosmography according to the tradition of Ptolemy and the voyages of Amerigo Vespucci and others"), was introduced by a short treatise composed primarily by Ringmann, called *Cosmographiae Introductio*.[45]

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[44] Fernández-Armesto, *Amerigo*, 120-135.

[45] Lester, *Fourth Part of the World*, 327-370; John W. Hessler, ed., *The Naming of America: Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 World Map and the Cosmographiae Introductio* (London: GILES, 2008), 38-66; Christine R. Johnson, "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America," *Past & Present*, no. 191 (May 2006): 3-43.

The map and accompanying text praised Vespucci profusely (see fig. 5.6). The map's title equated Vespucci with the great classical cosmographer Ptolemy, and they both looked over the map in vignettes at the top of the chart. Text on the map parroted the fallacious story that Vespucci had discovered the large unknown southern continent before Columbus; a note indicated that Columbus only discovered mere *inſule*, just islands. On the large landmass, near the bottom of the map (see fig. 5.7), was the simple toponym: AMERICA.[46] Waldseemüller and Ringmann decided to honor Amerigo Vespucci by naming the southern continent after him (see fig 5.8). The *Cosmographiae Introductio* read:

> Now, these parts of the earth have been more extensively explored and a fourth part has been discovered by Amerigo Vespucci (as will be set forth in what follows). Inasmuch as both Europe and Asia received their names from women, I see no reason why any one should justly object to calling this part Amerige, i.e., the land of Amerigo, or America, after Amerigo, its discoverer, a man of great ability.[47]

The name America, the Latin feminine form of Vespucci's first name, paralleled the names of the other continents, Asia, Africa, and Europa. The name caught on with mapmakers, especially the printers of the German-speaking states, even after Waldseemüller removed the name from his later maps. For years America appeared only on the southern continent, until Gerard Mercator applied it to both continents, north and

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[46] Martin Waldseemüller, "Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorū que lustrationes," printed map, 128 x 293 cm, 1507, G3200 1507 .W3 Vault, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Hessler, *The Naming of America*, 8-35; Whitfield, *The Image of the World*, 48-49.

[47] Charles George Herbermann, Joseph Fischer, and Franz Von Wieser, eds., *The Cosmographiæ Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller in Facsimile: Followed by the Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci, with Their Translation into English; to Which Are Added Waldseemüller's Two World Maps of 1507* (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1907), 70.
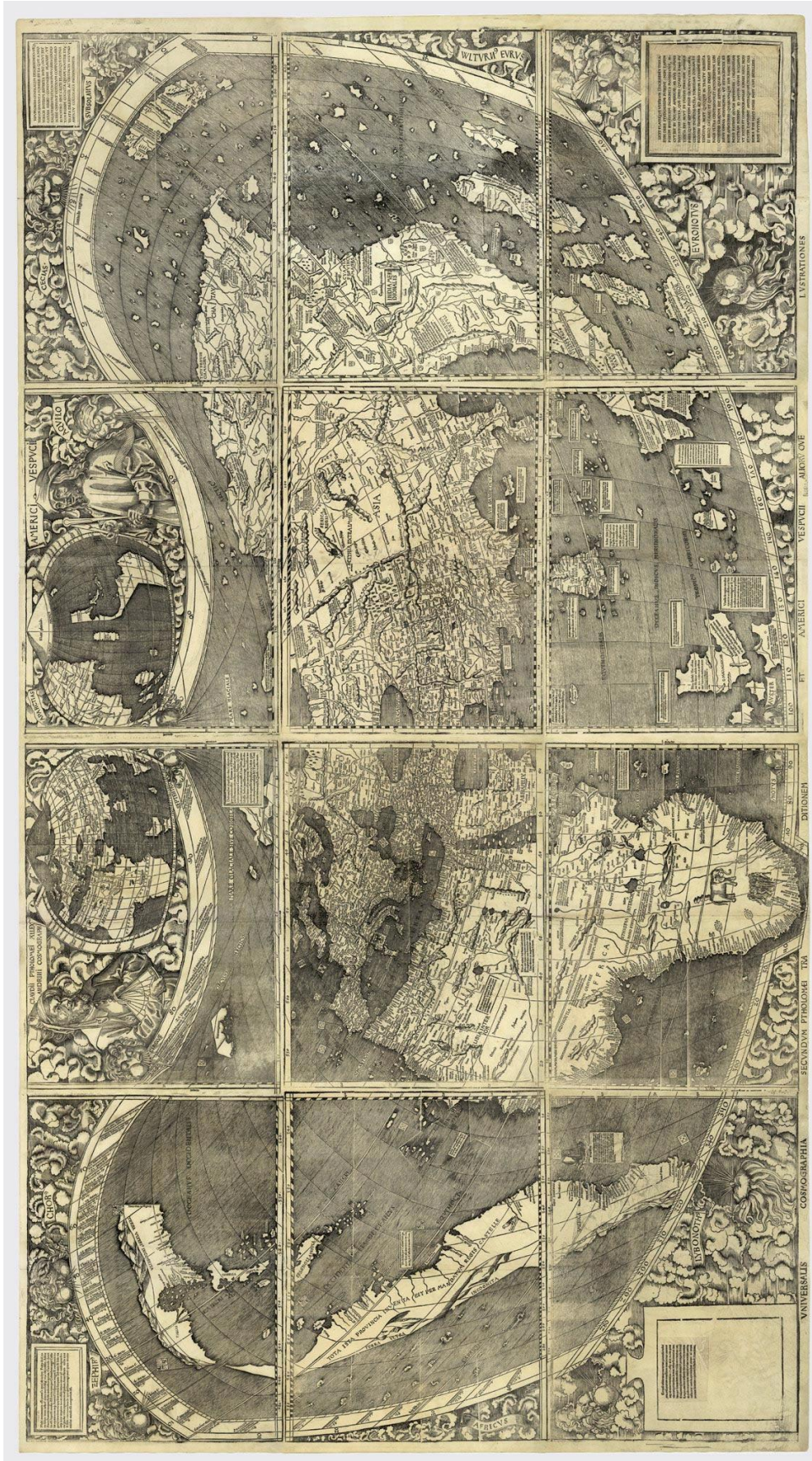
Figure 5.6. The famed Waldseemüller map of 1507.

The map showed the new "fourth part of the world, with the southern continent named "AMERICA" in honor of Amerigo Vespucci, who presides over the map along with Ptolemy. *Source:* Martin Waldseemüller, "Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorū que lustrationes," printed map, 128 x 293 cm, 1507, G3200 1507 .W3 Vault, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Figure 5.7. Detail from the Waldseemüller map.
The South American continent is labeled "AMERICA." *Source*: Martin Waldseemüller, "Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorū que lustrationes," printed map, 128 x 293 cm, 1507, G3200 1507 .W3 Vault, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

south, on his 1538 world map.[48]

Several scholars hold to the notion that the depiction and naming of *America* as a discrete continent was an integral event in the subjugation of the continents by European peoples. Mexican historian and philosopher Edmundo O'Gorman, writing in the 1950s, was the first to differentiate between the *discovery* of America and the *invention* of America. O'Gorman held that concept of America was created as part of a process
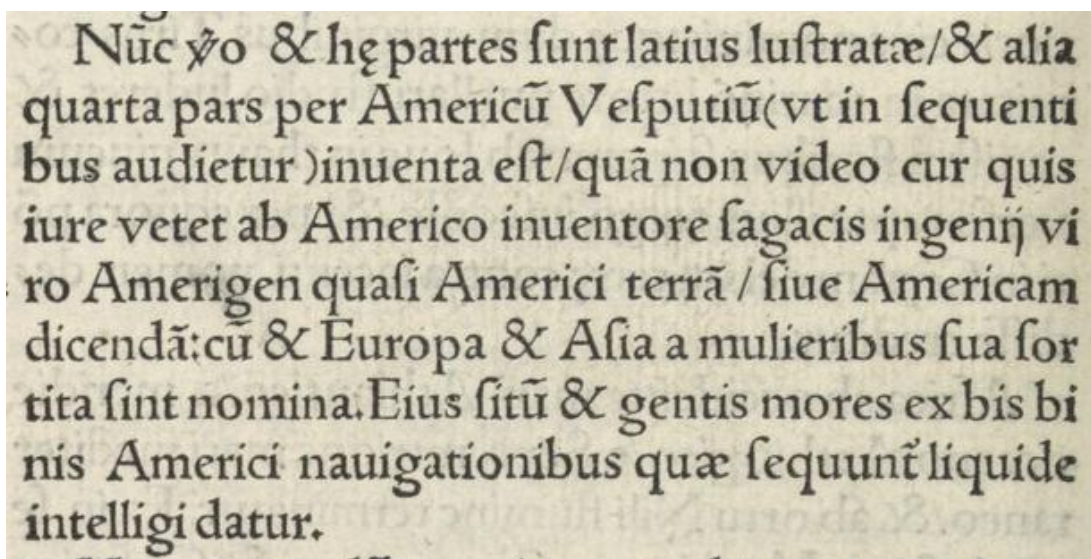
Figure 5.8. America is named.
The text where Waldseemüller and Ringmann explain why they decided to honor
Amerigo Vespucci by naming the newly discovered southern continent after him.
Source: Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringmann, *Cosmographiae Introductio cum quibusdam geometriae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes. Universalis Cosmographiae descriptio tam in solido quam plano, eis etiam insertis, quae Ptholomaeo ignota a nuperis reperta sunt* (Saint-Dié: Walter et Nikolaus Lud, 1507).

[48] Bourne, "The Naming of America," 50; Pohl, *Amerigo Vespucci*, 174; Jonathan Cohen, "The Naming of America: Vespucci's Good Name," *Encounters* 7 (1991): 16-20; Taylor, *The World of Gerard Mercator*, 89; Rodney Broome, *The True Story of How America Got Its Name* (New York: MJF Books, 2001). Other theories about the origin of the toponym America, such as its derivation from a range of mountains in Nicaragua called the Serranías Amerrique (see Cohen, "The Naming of America," 16-17) or from the surname of Bristol merchant Richard Amerike (Broome, *The True Story*), are merely the fanciful imaginings of enthusiasts akin to those who propose Columbus was not a native of Genoa.

whereby Europeans assimilated the strange and jarring encounter with the unknown

continent into their consciousness. The naming of the continent on Waldseemüller's

map, and its depiction as a separate entity, a "fourth part of the world" added to the

standard three of European thought, was the culmination of this process.[49] Other

thinkers, such as Walter D. Mignolo, Ricardo Padrón, Eviatar Zerubavel, John Muthyala,

Enrique Dussel, and José Rabasa have argued that the "invention of America" concept

gave Europeans the intellectual capability to conquer the peoples of the New World.[50]

Walter D. Mignolo, an Argentine semiotician who has written several works studying the

relationship between literacy and colonization,[51] has made the most fervent

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[49] Edmundo O'Gorman, *La invención de América: el universalismo de la cultura de Occidente* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958); O'Gorman, *The Invention of America*, 123-124.

[50] See Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007); Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*; Padrón, *The Spacious Word*; Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita*; John Muthyala, *Reworlding America: Myth, History, and Narrative* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006); Enrique Dussel, *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*, trans. Michael D. Barber (New York: Continuum, 1995); José Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

[51] Literary theories and postcolonial studies have made inroads into the study of Latin American history. See the discussions in Peter Hulme, "Voice from the Margins? Walter Mignolo's The Darker Side of the Renaissance," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (November 1999): 219-233; Patricia Seed, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse," *Latin American Research Review* 26, no. 3 (1991): 181-200; Walter D. Mignolo, "Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: Cultural Critique or Academic Colonialism?," *Latin American Research Review* 28, no. 3 (1993): 120-134; Rolena Adorno, "Reconsidering Colonial Discourse for Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish America," *Latin American Research Review* 28, no. 3 (1993): 135-145; Hernán Vidal, "The Concept of Colonial and Postcolonial Discourse: A Perspective from Literary Criticism," *Latin American Research Review* 28, no. 3 (1993): 113-119; Patricia Seed, "More Colonial and Postcolonial Discourses," *Latin American Research Review* 28, no. 3 (1993): 146-152; Walter D. Mignolo, "Second Thoughts on The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Afterword to the Second Edition," in *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 427-463.

link between the invention and naming of America and colonialism.[52]

In *The Idea of Latin America*, Mignolo stated that:

America, as a concept, goes hand in hand with that of modernity, and both are the self-representation of imperial projects and global designs that originated in and were implemented by European actors and institutions. The invention of America was one of the nodal points that contributed to create the conditions for imperial European expansion….[53]

Referring specifically to the naming of the continent, he wrote:

The "idea" of America was indeed a European invention that took away the naming of the continent from people that had inhabited the land for many centuries before Columbus "discovered" it. This phenomenon has been described as "deculturation," as "dispossession" (both material and spiritual), and more recently as "colonization of knowledge" and "colonization of beings."[54]

And:

"America" did not name itself as such, despite the invisibility of the power relations behind its nomenclature. At work here is the coloniality of knowledge, which appropriates meaning just as the coloniality of power takes authority, appropriates land, and exploits labor.[55]

In harsh terms, Mignolo has tied the very naming of America, and the power to name, to

colonialism, subjugation, and exploitation.

Mignolo, and others, have made several historical mistakes in their analysis of the

naming and "invention" of America. The Spanish, for instance, did not name America

"America," and, for centuries after Waldseemüller depicted North and South America as

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[52] Some authors dealing with the mapping (and naming) of Latin America have used literary theories and postcolonial studies to underscore the relationship between naming, power, and colonialism. Along with the works of Mignolo see, for instance, Padrón, *The Spacious Word*; Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain."

[53] Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 6.

[54] Ibid., 21.

[55] Ibid., 152.

continents separate from Asia, mapmakers showed the continent as an extension of Asia.

The Spanish, of course, referred to the newly discovered lands as the "Indies" or the

"New World," only starting to use "America" with any frequency in the late eighteenth

century during the reforms of the Borbón dynasty.[56] Many Spaniards, in fact, objected

strenuously to the homage to Vespucci. Las Casas complained that "han tomado los

escritores extranjeros de nombrar la nuestra tierra firme América" (foreign writers have

taken to naming our mainland América), honoring Vespucci over Columbus. He

suggested that "se llamara la dicha tierra firme Columba, de Colón o Columbo que la

descubrió" (that the said mainland be called Columba, after Colón or Columbo, who

discovered it).[57] In 1626 a friar by the name of Pedro Simón suggested in his *Noticias*

historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias occidentales that the Royal

Council should prohibit the use of any globe, map, or atlas that used the name America,

because it dishonored Spain.[58] Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, the great-grandson of

Francisco Pizarro, writing in his 1639 book *Varones ilustres del nuevo mundo*, took it

upon himself to rename America, "uvlgarmente ſe denomina" (as it is vulgarly called),

coining the odd portmanteau "Fer-Isabelica" to commemorate Fernando and Isabel.[59]

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[56] Bourne, "The Naming of America," 50; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 93; Johnson, "Renaissance German Cosmographers and the Naming of America," 36-43; Randles, "Classical Models of World Geography," 53.

[57] Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 2:40.

[58] Pedro Simón, *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias occidentales* (Bogata: Imprenta de Medardo Rivas, 1882), 1:17.

[59] Fernando Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones ilustres del nuevo mundo: descubridores, conquistadores y pacificadores del opulento, dilatado, y poderoso Imperio de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid: Diego Diaz de la Carrera, 1639), 1.

Despite the protestations and suggestions of authors such as these, the name America

survived throughout Europe outside the Iberian Peninsula.

"America" carried several names, not just one, yet the Spanish still managed to, in

the words of Mignolo, "dispossess" the continent "from people that had inhabited the

land for many centuries before Columbus." The much-vaunted "invention of America"

touted by Mignolo and defined by O'Gorman as the conception that America is "a single

and distinct geographical entity,"[60] was an idea that many European geographers, the

Spanish included, did not fully accept. Columbus, of course, believed until his death that

his "other world" was an extension of Asia, a belief echoed by the maps of Bartolomeo

Columbus.[61] Columbus's son Fernando maintained that the new lands were an

"unknown eastern part of India."[62] Even after Magellan's expedition circled the world,

Las Casas maintained that the West Indies lay next to the East Indies; Oviedo theorized

that the New World linked to the Old by a land bridge in the North Atlantic; José de

Acosta proposed a similar attachment in the North Pacific, Antonio de Herrera theorized

the Old World was connected to the New somewhere in the Arctic.[63]

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[60] O'Gorman, *The Invention of America*, 123; Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 262-269; Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, 241n20. O'Gorman recognized that many Spanish writers did not believe that the Indies were separate from Asia, yet he discounts this so-called "backsliding"; see Padrón, 241n20.

[61] Bigelow, "The So-Called Bartholomew Columbus Map."; Nunn, "The Three Maplets Attributed to Bartholomew Columbus."

[62] Colón, *The Life of the Admiral*, 16-17.

[63] Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, 28-29; Mason, *Deconstructing America*, 24; Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, Commonly Call'd the West-Indies, from the First Discovery Thereof: with the Best Accounts the People Could Give of Their Antiquities, Collected from the Original Relations Sent to the Kings of Spain*, trans. John Stevens (London: Jer. Batley, 1725), 1:21.

Indeed until news of Vitus Bering's 1728 expedition proved that Asia and North

America were unconnected, many geographers showed the continents as linked on their

maps. This juncture allowed the Catholic Church, and the Spanish, to maintain that

Indians were legitimate descendants of Adam and Eve, and, as Pope Paul III declared in

the bull *Sublimus Dei*, rational beings deserving Christian salvation.[64] Printed after the

circumnavigation of the world by Magellan and the conquest of the Aztecs by Cortés, the

early sixteenth century maps of Oronce Finé (Orontius Finnaeus) and Caspar Vopel

(Gasparus Vopelius), for instance, depicted Asia and Mexico as one and the same region,

even mixing toponyms. Vopel's 1545 map (and its subsequent reprintings in 1558 and

1570) showed regions found in Marco Polo's works, like Mangi and Cathay, alongside

Mexico and Hispania Nova, or New Spain (see fig. 5.9). Vopel's map even named the

Gulf of Mexico "Mare Cathayum" (Chinese Sea).[65] A Spaniard named Jerónimo Girava,

cosmographer to Emperor Carlos V, published a map based on Vopel's at Milan in 1556

(reprinted at Venice in 1570) that showed the Americas as a part of Asia

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[64] Carla Lois, "América quarta pars: ¿isla o continente? El debate conceptual sobre el estatus geográfico del Nuevo Mundo en el siglo XVI," *Fronteras de la Historia* 13, no. 2 (2008): 259-279; Orcutt William Frost, *Bering: The Russian Discovery of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), xiii-xiv; Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *The Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (April 1937): 65-102; Patricia Seed, "'Are These Not Also Men?': The Indians' Humanity and Capacity for Spanish Civilisation," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25, no. 3 (October 1993): 629-652; Abulafia, *The Discovery of Mankind*, 286-294; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 459.

[65] Justin Winsor, *Christopher Columbus and How He Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1891), 606-609; Justin Winsor, "The Earliest Maps of the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1886), 126-128; Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita*, 98-100; Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700* (London: Holland Press, 1983), 85, 115-118, 148-149.

(see fig. 5.10).[66] As late as the 1560s, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition into the

region north of New Spain, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, stated that Coronado explored

very near to China and India: "Y como esta tierra de la Nueba España es tierra firme con

el Perú, ansí lo es con la India Mayor o de la China" (And like this land of New Spain is

[on a connected] landmass with Perú, so it is with Greater India or China).[67] Other

geographers held even more confused notions. German Lorenz Friess (Laurentius

Frisius), for instance, issued a map in 1525 that labeled the North American continent

"Terra de Cuba Partis Affrice" (land of Cuba, part of Africa), perhaps harkening back to

the Norse notion that Vinland, their discoveries to the west, was connected to Africa.[68]

These attempts to assimilate the Americas into the Old World hardly resemble the so-

called "invention of America" as a separate and distinct entity.

Of course, other literary theorists working on the history of colonialism in

America have seemingly argued both sides of the issue. Peter Mason, for instance, in

Deconstructing America, noted that Europeans in general and the Spanish in particular,

[66] Jerónimo Girava, "Typo de la carta cosmographica de Gaspar Vopellio Medeburgense," printed map, 40.5 x 28 cm (Venice: Iordan Zileti y su compañero, 1570), B570 G523c, Archive of Early American Images, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI; Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Materiales para una cartografia mexicana* (Mexico City: Imprenta del gobierno, 1871), 36; R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-Makers*, 6th ed. (New York: Dorset Press, 1978), 112; Carl Moreland and David Bannister, *Antique Maps* (London: Phaidon, 2000), 227.

[67] Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, *Las Siete ciudades de Cíbola: textos y testimonios sobre la expedición de Vázquez Coronado*, ed. Carmen de Mora Valcárcel (Seville: Ediciones Alfar, 1992), 109.

[68] Winsor, "The Earliest Maps of the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries," 126-128; Kare Prytz, "The Antilia of 1424 and Later Maps of America," *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography* 31, no. 2 (1977): 61; Stevenson, *Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio*, 23n1; Anne Holtsmark, ed., *Vinland the Good: The Saga of Leif Eiriksson and the Viking Discovery of America*, trans. Joan Tindale Blindheim (Oslo: Tanum, 1966), 77; Fridtjof Nansen, *In Northern Mists: Arctic Exploration in Early Times*, trans. Arthur G. Chater (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1911), 2:1ff.; Andrew Fossum, *The Norse Discovery of America* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918), 56-57.

Figure 5.9. The Caspar Vopell map of 1545.

This map from 1545, reprinted by Bernard Van den Putte in 1570, mixed the toponyms of Asia with those of Mexico. Thus Cathay Hispania Nova are intertwined. The Gulf of Mexico is even called t"Mare Cathayum" (Chinese Sea). *Source*: Reprinted in Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World: Early Printed World Maps, 1472-1700* (London: Holland Press, 1983), 148-149.

Figure 5.10. The Jerónimo Girava map of 1570.

This map by the Spanish-born cosmographer of Emperor Carlos V is based on Vopel's, and shows the Americas as an extension of Asia. *Source*: Jerónimo Girava, "Typo de la carta cosmographica de Gaspar Vopellio Medeburgense," printed map, 40.5 x 28 cm, Venice: Iordan Zileti y su compañero, 1570, B570 G523c, Archive of Early American Images, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI.

described and explained the New World in the terms of the Old World and noted the amazing dissimilarities between the two. To use Mason's parlance, they construct a world where the "frame of reference remains the Old World" on one hand, and "Otherize" the continent on the other hand.[69] It seems that any method the Spanish used to conceptualize or name the New World is but a means to subdue it and its inhabitants. Other scholars perform similar mental gymnastics concerning toponyms. Cartographic historian J. B. Harley devoted several pages to place-names, writing that "Naming a place anew is a widely documented act of political possession in settlement history. Equally, the taking away of a name is an act of dispossession."[70] Harley then declared that "even where attempts were made to record Indian place-names in maps, this was hardly an innocent expression of scholarly curiosity."[71] He then quoted anthropologist Johannes Fabian approvingly: "By putting regions on a map and native words on a list, explorers laid the first, and deepest, foundations for colonial power."[72] Barbara Mundy too has explained that by writing Indian toponyms in the Latin alphabet, the Spanish "removed a primary means of representing a community… from the reach of New Spain's indigenous community."[73] Anthony Pagden, using similar methodology, dismissed Columbus's use

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[69] Mason, *Deconstructing America*, 13-38.

[70] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178-179.

[71] Ibid., 183.

[72] Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: The Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo, 1880-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 24. Quoted in Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 183.

[73] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167.

of native names, claiming he used them only for "places of little significance."[74]

According to this line of thinking when the Spanish ignored indigenous place-names and created new ones, they were claiming the land while suppressing the natives; conversely, when they employed indigenous toponyms, they were still claiming the land while suppressing the natives. This is a neat trick, where everything, including naming and acting, the Spanish did in the Americas is, ipso facto, oppressive and colonial. It represents the union of literary theories that historians have increasingly used, such as postmodernism, post-structuralism, and semiotics,[75] and postcolonialism, most ably represented by Walter D. Mignolo's influential *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*.[76] These theorists all come to the evidence with an *a priori* notion that Western mapping traditions are colonial tools and indigenous maps are not. Cultural anthropologist Barbara Bender described this notion, writing, "The Western map is the reality, the technology, the metaphor of global capital penetration. The alternative [i.e. indigenous] maps are equally the reality, technology and metaphor of local resistance."[77] How useful is a conceptual framework that automatically reduces any activity by the Spanish to a form of colonial repression?

Mignolo, of course, ascribed such notions to Spanish toponyms and maps, calling them "social and semiotic interactions and territorial control instead of representations of

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[74] Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 35.

[75] Windschuttle, *The Killing of History*, 7-39.

[76] See Hulme, "Voice from the Margins," 219-233.

[77] Barbara Bender, "Subverting the Western Gaze: Mapping Alternative Worlds," in *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape*, ed. Peter J. Ucko and Robert Layton (New York: Routledge, 1999), 42.

ontological space."[78] Such a view presents the Spanish as unbridled conquerors, with the

power to rename and claim at will. Of course, many Hispanists instead stress the creation

of a syncretized Hispanicized-Indian culture in the New World. The encounter changed

both the Spanish and the Indians and blended their cultures. Though the Spanish seized

basic political control, they could not and did not exercise unbridled control over Indians

or their culture, including maps and place-names.[79] Just as the Spanish did not erase

Moorish culture or toponyms from the landscape during the *reconquista*, they did not

erase Amerindian culture or toponyms from the landscape during the American conquest.

Just as the Spanish authorities were unsuccessful in replacing the Arabic name Medina

Sidonia with the Christian Estrella, many Indian toponyms would defy all official

attempts at renaming.

Columbus had named the island the native called Cuba "Juana" during his first

transatlantic voyage in 1492. Despite this attempted renaming, and Columbus's belief

that it was a peninsula of the Asiatic mainland, it appeared as an island on the 1500 map

of Juan de la Cosa, and labeled Cuba. In fact, Columbus used "Cuba" just as much as

"Juana" in his own journals. The Caverio map of 1506 and Waldseemüller's famous

1507 map both call label the island "Isabella," the name Columbus had originally given

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[78] Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 313.

[79] Typical ethnohistorical studies of Latin America, of course, note that the Atlantic encounter created a hybridized Hispanicized-Indian culture, see, for instance, Terraciano and Sousa, "Historiography of New Spain," 27-32; Knight, "Latin America," 734; Restall, "A History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," 113-134; Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*. Unfortunately, the predominant authors on maps and toponyms utilize the works of literary theorists and postmodernists.

to a small Bahamian isle.[80] In 1515 King Fernando sent a letter to Diego Velázquez de

Cuéllar (1465–1524), who subdued the Indians of Cuba for the Spanish, suggesting that

the official name of Cuba should be Fernandina.[81] Columbus had first given this

laudatory name to an insignificant bit of Lucayan sand. Government documents, through

the 1550s used the name Fernandina to refer to Cuba, but noted the previous name, which

was regularly used in common parlance.[82] Royal letters and *cédulas* through the late

1530s hedged their bets and used both toponyms, reading: "la isla Fernandina, que hasta

aquí se llamaba de Cuba" (Fernandina Island, which until now was called Cuba); "Cuba,

se llame Fernandina" (Cuba, that is called Fernandina); or "la isla Fernandina, que antes

se solía llamar de Cuba" (the island Fernandina, which previously used to be called

Cuba).[83] Between the late 1530s and about 1555, official documents used Fernandina

almost exclusively, but still, the native name, Cuba, survived.[84]

On the few surviving Spanish maps of this period, the government tried to keep

all cartographic information about the New World a secret, cartographers all used "Cuba"

[80] Columbus, *Textos y documentos completos*, 15-138 passim; Cosa, "Juan de la Cosa map.";
Caverio, "Caverio map."; Waldseemüller, "Waldseemüller map."; Arrom, *Estudios de lexicología
antillana*, 5-12; Carlos Sanz, *El Nombre América: Libros y mapas que lo impusieron* (Madrid: Libreria
General Victoriano Suárez, 1959), 237-239. In the *Diario* of Columbus's first voyage, he used the name
Cuba thirteen times, and Juana only seven times.

[81] "Respuesta a carta de Diego Velázquez," manuscript letter (Medina del Campo, February 28,
1515), ES.41091.AGI/1.16403.15.413// INDIFERENTE, 419, L.5, folios 399V-400V, Archivo General de
Indias, Seville, Spain.

[82] Columbus, *Epistola de Insulis Nuper Inventis*, 8; Arrom, *Estudios de lexicología antillana*, 5-
12; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 274.

[83] *Colección de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las
antiquas posesiones españolas de Ultramar* (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1885), 1:55, 59, 69.
There are numerous examples in the documents.

[84] Arrom, *Estudios de lexicología antillana*, 8-9; *Colección de documentos ineditos*, 6:43ff.

to refer to the island. This included the Pineda map of 1519, made by a Spanish explorer, the 1529 world map of Diogo Ribeiro, and the manuscript maps of Alonzo de Santa Cruz's *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo* of the 1540s (see fig. 5.11).[85] Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias*, written between 1523 and 1566, used Fernandina only once. He used "Cuba" throughout his mammoth history; only a single time did he mention the alternate name: "la isla de Cuba, que agora llaman Fernandina" (the isle of Cuba, that is now called Fernandina).[86] Official documents after 1555 used Cuba exclusively, and Fernandina had fallen into general disuse, except by a few poets and literati.[87] Why did Columbus's Juana and King Fernando's Fernandina lose out to the native Cuba? Toponymist George Stewart gave two likely reasons. One was that Spaniards found "Cuba" easy to pronounce, even if changed a bit from the indigenous *coabana*. Stewart wrote that, "With Indian names in general these first Spaniards did what all people do when hearing words in a strange language. They wrote down sounds which most nearly approximated their own speech."[88] It helped that *cuba* sounded like a

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[85] Alonso Alvarez de Pineda, "[Mapa de las costas de Tierra firme decubiertas por Juan Ponce, Francisco de Garay, Diego Velázquez, etc.]," manuscript map, 31 x 45 cm, 1519, Patronato 1-1-1/26-16 [ES.41091.AGI/ 16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 5], Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Diogo Ribeiro and J. G. Kohl, "Map of America by Diego Ribero, 1529," manuscript tracing of 1529 manuscript map, 1840 1529, G3290 1529 .K5, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo*, 1550, 19v, 321r; Mariano Cuesta Domingo, "La cartografía de Santa Cruz," *Estudios Geográficos* 65, no. 254 (2004): 150-167; Mariano Cuesta Domingo, "Alonso de Santa Cruz, cartógrafo y fabricante de instrumentos náuticos de la Casa de Contratación," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, no. 30 (2004): 7-40.

[86] Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1:486.

[87] Arrom, *Estudios de lexicología antillana*, 8-9.

[88] Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 13.

Figure 5.11. Cuba from Alonso de Santa Cruz's ca. 1550 *Islario*.
Though the official legal name of the island was Fernandina, the official state cartographer still labeled it Cuba, using the native, popular, and unofficial name. *Source:* Alonso de Santa Cruz, *Islario general de todas las islas del mundo*, 1550, folio 321r., RES/38, Sede de Recoletos en Sala Cervantes, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain.

Castilian word for a drinking basin.[89] Stewart also noted that the Spanish and other

Europeans all "found native peoples in the newly discovered lands, and took names from

them," noting:

> The number and kinds of names thus adopted seems to depend not so much upon
> the nationality of the Europeans as upon local conditions. The degree to which
> the Indians were few, low in culture, and hostile, was likely to influence adversely
> the transmission of names. Change any of these factors, and the Indian name
> more easily passed the language barrier, no matter what the nationality of the
> Europeans.[90]

The Taíno Indians of Cuba belonged to several farming chiefdoms and lived in

small villages. Diego Velázquez landed on the island in 1511 and conquered most of the

island by the end of the decade. Whereas most of Española's native inhabitants perished

due to disease and the harsh labor of the *encomienda* system (a form of lordship where a

number of *indios* were entrusted—*encomendar* is "to entrust" in Spanish—to an

encomendero who extracted labor from them in return for his protection) within a few

decades, Cuba's natives managed to survive in greater numbers for a few decades longer,

though their numbers dwindled as well. Some indigenous villages survived in Cuba to

around 1900. As Velázquez settled the island with Spanish *encomenderos*, he established

towns near the gold fields in the highlands and around areas of high Indian population.

The large number of Indians living near these towns, and the high incidence of

intermarriage between native women and Spanish men, meant that there was a large

amount of cultural syncretization, including place-names. At the site of his landfall,

which the natives called Baracoa, Velázquez established the city of Nuestra Señora de la

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[89] *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.v. "cuba."

[90] Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 326-327.

Asunción de Baracoa. In official documents Velázquez called the town Asunción, but

locals and Spanish historians like Herrera called it Baracoa, which is its name today.

Velázquez established other villas: San Salvador de Bayamo, Sancti Spíritus, Villa de la

Santísima Trinidad, Santiago, Santa María del Puerto del Príncipe, and San Cristóbal de

la Habana. Locals called San Salvador "Bayamo" and Puerto del Príncipe "Camagüey,"

old native names by which these cities are now known. Scholars have long debated the

root of Habana's name, though contemporary Spanish sources said it derived from the

name of a local Indian cacique: Habaguanex.[91]

The history of place-names on the isle of Cuba hardly mimics the theories of

authors like Mignolo and Harley. Instead of a colonizer-colonized relationship where the

Spanish named islands, regions, and towns without paying any heed to its inhabitants, the

toponyms of Velázquez and others reflected those of the indigenes. Like the Spanish

experience during the reconquest of Spain from the Moors or the taking of the Canary

Islands, new populations were brought into the empire along with their place-names. The

Spanish retained Arabic and Islamic toponyms and adopted Guanche names. Many of

these names were augmented by the name of a saint. This pattern repeated itself in the

New World, especially where Spaniards encountered a dense population of Indians they

found useful as farmers or mine-workers. Thus more indigenous place-names survived

the colonial encounter on Cuba than on other islands. The Indians of the Bahamas left

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[91] Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin (New York: Penguin, 1992), 18-30; *Colección de documentos ineditos*, 6:39, 75, 77 passim; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 274-285; Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 150-161; Jan Rogozinski, *A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the Present* (New York: Plume, 2008), 28-33; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 157-159; Dick Cluster and Rafael Hernández, *The History of Havana* (New York: Macmillan, 2008), 1-2.

relatively few names, since their already thin population disappeared by 1513 due to slave-raiding. The Spanish would adopt and adapt even more Amerindian place-names when they encountered the sedentary, city-building civilizations of the Central and South American mainland.

The Spanish naming of the New World in the few decades after its discovery by Columbus was an outgrowth of its encounter with the Moors and the Guanches of the eastern Atlantic. The Spanish cataloged and used native names alongside new names that they gave to the landscape. Some researchers into New World toponyms hold that European names were used to erase the indigene, and make it easier to possess a then Europeanized and Christianized land. Harley called place-naming an "act of political possession" and Greenblatt labeled it "Christian imperialism."[92] Their theories, however, are contingent on Spanish imposition of names, when the Spanish often adopted native ones, even to the point of having native toponyms foisted upon them, as the names on the island of Cuba show. In the end the Spanish in the Caribbean did not have unbridled power to designate places as they wished. The considerations of the indigenes (their agency), their toponyms, were taken into account, whether because local practice demanded it or it provided continuity to the past. The Spanish did not create their empire in the New World because they "invented America" or named it to claim it—they created their empire in spite of a stunningly inchoate picture of the New World's geography and toponymy. Were the lands merely "New Canaries," the Indies, the Antipodes, or an appendage of Asia? Were they to be called the Antilles, the New World, the Indies, or

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[92] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 82.

the Americas? Place-names were not a tool used to create an empire; they were a

complex mixture of Christian, Spanish, and Amerindian cultures, cultures syncretized by

the colonial encounter.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONQUEST AND NAMING OF "NEW SPAIN"

As Spanish explorers, conquerors, and settlers found their way to the mainlands encountered in the years after Columbus's 1492 voyage, they encountered Indian societies far more technologically advanced than any found among the archipelagos of the Caribbean. The Maya, Aztec, and Inca civilizations had organized governments, agriculture, cities, and complex ways to transmit language—including cartographic information like maps and toponyms. The Spaniard *conquistadores* like Cortés and Pizarro, who politically subdued these polities, brought with them generations of *reconquista* spirit and legal principles, viewing themselves as the heirs of those who fought the Moors and resettled Spain. The *conquista* of Indian lands, like the *reconquista* of Muslim Spain, did not entail a wholesale erasure of culture or place-names. Spanish civilization brought with it to the Americas a host of toponyms, particularly the names of explorers and crusaders, as well as settlers. Amerindian civilizations responded to the power of the Spaniards with power of their own, retaining toponyms of their own. The resultant blending of cultures led to the creation and use of syncretic toponyms and, eventually, maps. Like the names given in the reconquest of Spain and the settlement of the Caribbean, the toponyms of the Spanish conquests on the mainland reflected the culture, aspirations, and power (or lack thereof) of the *conquistadores*.

After Columbus's death in 1506, the Spanish kept exploring and settling the New World they claimed as theirs in accordance with various papal bulls. Several expeditions explored the northern coast of South America and by 1520 Diego Velázquez de Cuéllar had subdued most of the island of Cuba. The islands of the West Indies brought meager, if any, profits to the Crown of Castilla, as European settlement was sparse and the Indian population fell drastically due to disease, harsh *encomienda* labor (often mining), and slaving. Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, who had sailed with Columbus in 1492, and Juan Díaz de Solís led an expedition in 1508 in search of a passage to Asia that may have touched at the Yucatán Peninsula and farther north. In 1510 Vasco Núñez de Balboa founded the town of Santa María la Antigua del Darién on the Isthmus of Panamá, named for an ancient church in Valladolid, Spain, and an Indian word, "Darién," of uncertain derivation. It was the first permanent mainland settlement of the Spanish and the base of operations for Balboa's 1513 trek to the Pacific Ocean. Cuba's conqueror, Velázquez, a veteran of the fall of Granada, Columbus's second voyage, and the pacification of Española, sought new ways to increase his fortune and fame. In April 1514 he wrote to King Fernando that he had heard reports of lands beyond Cuba, which Indians reached in five or six days by canoe.[1] Velázquez wished to exploit these new lands.

In February 1517 Velázquez commissioned Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, who had helped with the subjugation of Cuba, to explore the lands believed to lay to the west. The expedition reached land after encountering stormy seas west of Cuba. The

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[1] John Huxtable Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez and Charles V," in *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*, ed. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), xvii; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 274-285, 414-415; Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main*, 212; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 230; William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (London: Bickers & Sons, 1878), 104-105.

sailors and soldiers of the expedition, accustomed to the simple Indian villages of the

Antilles, were flabbergasted to see stone-built cities on a continental coast, signs of

organized government, high civilization, and, tantalizingly, riches. The *conquistadores*

in the expedition, like the soldier Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492–1585), compared this

newly discovered non-Christian civilization to the one they knew the best: the Muslims

of the *reconquista* and the Old World. Díaz del Castillo recorded that Hernández de

Córdoba named the first city they saw, Ecab on the northern coast of the Yucatán, Gran

Cairo ("great Cairo"), presumably due to its supposed resemblance to the great city on

the Nile. The next morning the local Mayas came to the ships in their canoes and invited

them ashore, saying, "Cones catoche, cones catoche," which meant "Come here, to our

homes." The Spaniards mistakenly thought the Indian name for the land was Catoche,

and called the place Cabo Catoche; this is similar to Columbus's belief that Bohío, which

merely meant "home," was the native name for Española.[2] Like the previous Spanish

experience in the Caribbean, these explorers were giving descriptive names to the coast

and misinterpreting the language of Indians.

Confusion over Indian words and place-names extends to the very name of the

peninsula as well. Contemporary chroniclers and later historians have offered several

different etymologies for the word Yucatán. Díaz del Castillo recorded that the Spanish

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[2] Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 417-418; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1968), 1:44-45; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, trans. J. M. Cohen (New York: Penguin, 1963), 16-18; López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 1:114-115; Susan Kepecs and Rani T. Alexander, *The Postclassic to Spanish-Era Transition in Mesoamerica: Archaeological Perspectives* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 123; Diego de Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, trans. William Gates (New York: Dover Publications, 1978), 2; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 45-46; Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, 105, 182; Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 105-106.

and Indians misunderstood each other, and the Indians pointed to mounds of growing yucca plants (cassava) saying *yuca tlati*, or "yucca mounds." Sixteenth century historian López de Gómara says that the Indians were repeating the word *tectetan* to Spanish inquiries, meaning "I don't understand." Diego de Landa Calderón (1524–1579) stated in his *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* that the Mayans were exhorting their fellows to pay attention to the Spanish, "They say it!" or *Ci uthan*.[3] (Another suggestion is that it is from a Nahuatl word *yokatlan*, meaning "place of richness," though other scholars of the language and region doubt this derivation.)[4] Hernández de Córdoba's expedition overstayed their welcome, breaking Maya political protocol or stealing water, which was a precious commodity on the river-less limestone peninsula, where water collected in *cenotes*, groundwater sinkhole wells. Attacked by Maya warriors, the party sailed westward, arriving at Campeche on March 29, a feast day of St. Lazarus, so the Spaniards named it Lázaro. The Spaniards left when asked to leave, traveling further to Champotón, landing again for water. Here the natives successfully attacked the newcomers with overwhelming numbers, killing half of the hundred Spanish soldiers and wounding all but one. Hernández de Córdoba bore more than a dozen injuries and

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[3] Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 56; López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 1:115; Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, 2.

[4] Lyle Campbell, *American Indian Languages: The Historical Linguistics of Native America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 403n27; David Frye, "yucatan etymology," *Nahuat-l*, January 16, 2007, http://www.famsi.org/pipermail/nahuatl/2007-January/000413.html; John Sullivan, "yucatan etymology," *Nahuat-l*, January 16, 2007, http://www.famsi.org/pipermail/nahuatl/2007-January/000414.html.

succumbed to his wounds when the expedition returned to Cuba in April 1517. The

Spanish called this coastline La Costa de Mala Pelea ("the coast of the evil battle").[5]

At some point during the expedition, probably near Cabo Catoche, Hernández de

Córdoba performed a possession ceremony not unlike those of the *reconquista* or those

executed by Columbus on Guanahani and by other explorers in countless ceremonies

afterwards. He claimed the land for the King, named the region, and had it all witnessed

and recorded by a scribe.[6] By this time he may have read the *Requerimiento* to any

assembled Indians. Written by Castilian jurist Juan López Palacios Rubios around 1512,

the *Requerimiento* created a juridical protocol for conquest. The document stated that

God had given authority to the Pope through St. Peter, and the Pope had given Castilla

authority over the Indies—Indians must submit to becoming vassals of the Crown or face

the prospect of justified war. The *Requerimiento* had Muslim precedents. Muslim

jurisprudence held that a leader send a messenger (*rasūl*) to enemies, inviting them to

submit to Islam before waging war on them. Christians and Jews could live in Muslim

lands after conquest as *dhimmi*, with some rights guaranteed. The *Requerimiento* was

also similar to the agreements that allowed Moors and Jews to remain in Spain if they

submitted to Christian rule; it even mimicked demands read to Canarian Guanches

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[5] Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 15-26; Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 88-96; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 45-51; Henry R. Wagner, *The Discovery of Yucatan by Francisco Hernándes de Córdoba* (Berkeley, CA: The Cortes Society, 1942), 19-26.

[6] "Probanza sobre las causas que se dieron a la suplicación de las provisiones el veedor Cristóbal de Tapia, que se hizo por parte del capitán Hernando Cortés," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 9, no. 2 (1938): 224.

commanding them to accept Christianity and Castilian sovereignty.[7] Patricia Seed, who

has noted many of these Muslim and Iberian precedents, wrote that:

> Castilian Christians began to offer these Moslem communities the same political
> privileges as Christians had been offered. Calling Moslem and Jewish-speaking
> communities *aljamas* (after the Arabic word for community)…. The status of
> Indians who surrendered to the Spanish crown were virtually identical to *aljama*
> status…. The Spanish crown called this separate political community [in the New
> World] not *aljama* but "the republic of the Indians" (*república de indios*).[8]

The *Requerimiento* was read to natives in a ceremony that claimed their lands, almost

always in languages that they could not understand (like Castilian or Latin), and served

mainly to ease the conscience of the Spanish, giving their conquest legality.[9] During this

ceremony in 1517 Hernández de Córdoba named the peninsula, which he mistook for an

island, Santa María de los Remedios.[10] Like Columbus and other explorers of the coast,

Hernández de Córdoba did not ask if the natives had a name for the "island."

The toponyms the Spanish imposed on the towns, like Gran Cairo and Lázaro, did

not survive on maps or in general usage, though the general names for the coast, like

Costa de Mala Pelea and Cabo Catoche, lasted for a long time (the latter still appears on

maps today). In general, the names the Spanish gave to coastal features tended to replace

Indian ones rather easily and remained on European charts as sailors, mapmakers, and

government bureaucrats often referred to these maps. Santa María de los Remedios as a

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[7] Thomas, *Conquest*, 91; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 265-266; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 69-99; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 90.

[8] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 85-86.

[9] McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 90; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 95-99.

[10] Thomas, *Conquest*, 91; Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. José Sancho Rayon (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1875), 4:350. Las Casas mistakenly stated that the island of Cozumel was named Santa María de los Remedios, see Wagner, *The Discovery of Yucatan by Francisco Hernándes de Córdoba*, 78n5.

name for the peninsula died out rather quickly, though the other name the Spanish used, Yucatán, survived, though it was some sort of corruption or misunderstanding. The Maya apparently called the peninsula "uluumil cutz yetel ceh" (the land of the wild turkey and deer).[11]

After Hernández de Córdoba's battered expedition returned to Cuba, Velázquez sent his nephew Juan de Grijalva to reconnoiter the new discoveries. The Grijalva expedition left Cuban waters in April 1518 with four ships and around three hundred men, equipped with small cannons, arquebuses, and other weapons to better subdue any organized resistance. After a week of sailing the ships reached a long island off the coast of the Yucatán. Like the previous expedition, the Spanish espied several stone-built houses, pyramids, and towers. Again, the Spanish compared the appearance of this non-Christian civilization to the other one they understood the best, the Moors, often calling Maya temples "mezquitas" (mosques). The natives called the place "Ah-Cuzamil-Peten" (island of the swallows) which the Spanish shortened and pronounced as Cozumel, but Grijalva named it Santa Cruz because it was the Catholic feast day of the Holy Cross, May 3. Three days later he named a town on Cozumel "San Juan de Portalatina" (St. John before the Latin Gate) for that feast day. Aided by the rough translations of two kidnapped Indians from Córdoba's expedition, the ships sailed south, reaching a bay they named Bahía de la Ascensión because they found it on that feast day.[12] Grijalva's ships

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[11] Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, 2; Daniel G. Brinton, "Critical Remarks on the Editions of Diego de Landa's Writings," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 24, no. 125 (June 1887): 3.

[12] Juan Díaz, "Itinerario de la armada del rey católico a la isla de Yucatán, en la India, el año 1518, en la que fue por Comandante y Capitán General Juan de Grijalva," in *Colección de documentos para la*

returned to Cozumel to take on water and continued exploring northwards. Rounding

Cape Catoche, the expedition moved along the coast, sailing past Campeche. They

stopped at a river the natives called Tabasco; they rechristened it after their leader: Río

Grijalva. Locals call the watershed by both names today. Grijalva followed the coast

northward, leaving behind the Maya civilization, and encountered Indian cities that owed

their allegiance to the Aztec Triple Alliance, the empire ruled by the Mexica. Grijalva

ranged as far north as the Río Pánuco and decided to return to Cuba, satisfied that he had

fulfilled his orders from Velázquez, though some of his sailors wanted to conquer a city

or plant a settlement. Somewhere along the coast he claimed the land for Castilla and

read the *Requerimiento*.[13]

The place-names the Spaniards bestowed on the coast were reminiscent of the

descriptive words sailors often gave to the shores they explored. They echo the

characterizations Portuguese sailors gave to the coast of Africa and Columbus gave to

numerous features of the Caribbean.[14] Díaz del Castillo gives several such names in his

account of the Grijalva exploration: Isla Blanca, because it was made of white sand; Isla

historia de México, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: J. M. Andrade, 1858), 1:281-288; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 27-30; Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Cronica de la Nueva España* (Madrid: The Hispanic Society of America, 1914), 64-67; Antonio Velazquez de Bazan, "Memorial de D. Antonio Velazquez de Bazan," in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, ed. Martín Fernández de Navarette (Madrid: Viuda de Carelo, 1842), 4:232-238; Thomas, *Conquest*, 97-104; Hernando Cortés, *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico*, trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 6; Brinton, "Critical Remarks on the Editions of Diego de Landa's Writings," 3.

[13] Díaz, "Itinerario de Grijalva," 1:284-308; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 30-43; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 6-9; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 52-54; Thomas, *Conquest*, 104-107, 112-117; Jorge Gurría Lacroix, *Itinerario de Hernán Cortés/Itinerary of Hernan Cortes*, trans. Paul Cannady (Mexico City: Ediciones Euroamericanas, 1973), 27.

[14] Carmen Val Julián, "Entre la realidad y el deseo: la toponimia de descubrimiento en Colón y Cortés," in *México en el mundo hispánico*, ed. Óscar Mazín Gómez (Zamora, Michoacán, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2000), 273.

Verde, because it was lush with trees; and Isleta de Sacrificios, because the two temples

built on the island were strewn with body parts and stained with blood. Others are

combinations of Christian saint days and native words, like the isle of San Juan de Ulúa,

which Díaz del Castillo said was due to a misunderstanding. The Spanish landed on the

isle on Saint John's feast day, and the befuddled natives said the city of Culhua (or Culúa,

a shortened form of Culhuacan) had ordered a human sacrifice that same day. The

Spaniards misheard the word as Ulúa and believed it was the native name for the island.[15]

Even before Grijalva's return to Cuba, Velázquez began outfitting another

expedition and appointed Hernando Cortés (see fig. 6.1), one of the captains who had

helped him conquer Cuba earlier in the decade, to lead it. Hernando Cortés de Monroy y

Pizarro (his first name also appeared as Hernando, Fernando, Hernán, or Fernán)[16] hailed

from the Extremaduran city of Medellín, where he was born in 1484. The son of poor

parents from good families, Martín Cortés de Monroy and Catalina Pizarro Altamirano of

the lower *hidalguía* (non-title holding nobility: *hidalgos*), young Hernando grew up in a

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[15] Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 71.

[16] Today Cortés's first name usually appears as Hernán, but this seems to be a late custom. In his personal documents he almost invariably signed himself "Hernando," though some versions of his second letter from Mexico have "Fernán," which may be the work of a later copyist. After Emperor Carlos V bestowed the title Marqués del Valle de Oaxaca on him in 1529, he signed most correspondence "el marqués del Valle" or some variation thereof. His contemporaries usually referred to him as either Hernando or Fernando with about equal frequency. At that time the *f* and *h* were both silent in many Iberian languages, including Castillian (note Spanish *hidalgo* and Portuguese *fidalgo*). His father was born Martín Cortés, the illegitimate son of one María Cortés and Rodrigo de Monroy, the latter of a noble family. Martín and Hernando later added "de Monroy" to their surname. Thomas, *Conquest*, 117-119; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 422; Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), x; Camilla Townsend, *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 271n16; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 159, 280, 337, 452n19, 482n118; Hernando Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, ed. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1963), 499; Penny, *A History of the Spanish Language*, 103-104; R. Thomas Douglass, "The Letter H in Spanish," *Hispania* 70, no. 4 (December 1987): 949-951.

typical frontier town that still pulsed with the ideology of the *reconquista*. The Medellín of his youth still had sizeable, as well as peaceful, Muslim and Jewish quarters. The future conqueror was familiar with differing societies living next to one another. Tales and reminiscences of the campaign against the Moors would have still been fresh in the minds of the populace, including his father and other kinsmen.[17] One of the translators of Cortés's works, Spanish scholar Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, said that he was "un hombre de frontera" (a man of the frontier), growing up in a land with a "larga tradición guerrera contra los musulmanes, que impuso una peculiar ideología de Cruzada [y] espíritu caballeresco" (long warrior tradition against the Muslims, that imposed a distinct crusading ideology [and] chivalrous spirit).[18]

A sickly child in his youth, Cortés went to Salamanca in 1496, presumably to study Latin, which he took to well, and grammar in preparation for a legal career. This training, which may have been at that town's university, would aid him in the New World. He soon wearied of studies, however, and wandered to Sevilla, where he almost joined the 1502 expedition of Nicolás de Ovando (1460–1518) to Española, but, as tradition tells it, he missed the boat when he injured himself falling out of a paramour's window. He spent the next few years wandering over southern Spain, toying with the idea of making his fortune and glory fighting in the wars in Italy. Finally in 1506 (not

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[17] Thomas, *Conquest*, 119-123; Jon Ewbank Manchip White, *Cortés and the Downfall of the Aztec Empire: A Study in a Conflict of Cultures* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1989), 20-22, 29-34; Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 109-118; Anthony Pagden, "Translator's Introduction," in *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), xliv-liii; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 27; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 51, 54. Medellín was named for Roman general Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, and evolved over the centuries into its current form.

[18] Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, "Introducción," in *Cartas y documentos*, xiii.

Figure 6.1. Hernando Cortés.
A standard rendering of the conquistador from about 1700. *Source*: Antonio de Solis, *Istoria della conquista del Messico della popolazione, e de' progressi nell'America Settentrionale conosciuta sotto nome di Nuova Spagna* (Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1704).

1504 as historians once assumed), Cortés left for the New World, where he served as a

notary for Ovando on Española until the end of the decade. He then served as secretary

to Velázquez and participated in the subjugation of the island of Cuba, which began in

1511. Velázquez and Cortés shared good relations until troubles arose over a woman,

Catalina Suárez, who later became Cortés's first wife. By this time Cortés had a sizeable

encomienda of Indians working for him, some gold mines, and had twice served as

alcalde of the town of Santiago. Still, Velázquez trusted Cortés enough in late 1518 to

make him the head of the next expedition to the mainland.[19]

The commission Velázquez gave to Cortés was, in the words of historian Hugh

Thomas, "a long and, in some ways, a contradictory document."[20] The preamble of the

document said that the purpose was to "poblar las dichas islas e tierras, e a descubrir

otras" (people the said isles and lands, and to discover others).[21] Velázquez would later

claim he had given Cortés no authority to settle, and the thrust of the document suggests

reconnaissance, exploration, barter, and the possible conversion of the Indians.[22] Cortés

began putting together his expedition, using much of his own money. He recruited men,

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[19] Thomas, *Conquest*, 123-137; White, *Cortés and the Downfall of the Aztec Empire*, 44-51, 56-57; Pagden, "Translator's Introduction," xlviii-liii; Gurría Lacroix, *Itinerario de Hernán Cortés*, 40-46. Historians have long thought that Cortés left for the New World in 1504, but British historian Hugh Thomas unearthed an unpublished document in the Archivo de Protocolos of Sevilla that proves he left for Española in 1506. Thomas publishes a translation of the document in his *Conquest*, p. 632.

[20] Thomas, *Conquest*, 137.

[21] "Instrucción Diego Velázquez: Hernán Cortés y Juan Grijalva," manuscript, October 13, 1518, ES.41091.AGI/1.16416.2.14.1// PATRONATO, 15, R.11, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

[22] "Instrucción de Diego Velázquez a Hernán Cortés," manuscript, October 23, 1518, ES.41091.AGI/1.16416.2.14.1// PATRONATO, 15, R.7, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; "Instrucción Diego Velázquez: Hernán Cortés y Juan Grijalva."; Thomas, *Conquest*, 137; Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 118.

many of them his friends, secured ships, and purchased provisions. In just a few weeks

he had gathered three ships and three hundred men in Santiago, and Velázquez soon

worried what Cortés might do once he left the shores of Cuba. On November 18, 1518,

Cortés left Santiago in haste for the western end of the island, adding three more ships to

his fleet just before he departed. He picked up supplies at various towns, outrunning and

ignoring messages from Velázquez relieving him of command. Stopping at Havana, he

gathered more men, provisions, and horses, bringing the total number of ships in his

armada to eleven. His expedition consisted of over five hundred men, most of them from

the Crown of Castilla, primarily from Andalucía and Extremadura. The sailors hailed

from further afield, some from Portugal, Genoa, and Naples. There were also a number

of African freemen and slaves, Cuban *indios*, and two Indians captured on previous

journeys to the mainland to serve as interpreters. The Cortés expedition finally left Cuba

for Yucatán on February 18, 1519.[23]

The expedition, scattered by bad weather, met at Cozumel at the beginning of

March. Cortés's ship arrived last, and he set about trying to initiate friendly relations

with the town's inhabitants and bring them to Christianity. He rebuked his lieutenant and

friend Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras for allowing his men to loot the townspeople,

passed out gifts, and threw the native idols out of the temple, erecting a cross in its place.

Cortés heard of stranded Spaniards who had lived among the Mayas since 1511, when a

merchant named Diego de Nicuesa, sailing from Darién to Santo Domingo, wrecked his

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[23] Thomas, *Conquest*, 137-157; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 44-56; Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 55-58; Peter Gerhard, "A Black Conquistador in Mexico," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (August 1978): 451-459.

ship off the Yucatán Peninsula. After several days, the shipwrecked Gerónimo de

Aguilar, an Andalusian, joined the expedition as a valuable interpreter, speaking Chontal

Maya and some other Yucatec Maya dialects. Cortés left Cozumel, headed north, and

rounded Cape Catoche. His expedition traveled around the peninsula and landed at the

river that Grijalva had named for himself the year before. The expedition stayed and

fought for several days at the Maya town of Potonchán, where Cortés again preached the

advantages of Christianity and Castilian suzerainty to the chastened inhabitants.[24]

Thomas stated that Cortés thought of the Indians as vassals "as if they had been citizens

of a small Moorish town conquered by the Castilian army."[25] Cortés also renamed the

town Santa María de la Victoria, as the fight occurred on Lady Day, March 25. This

name, like so many others, soon fell into disuse.[26] No Spanish settlers were there to use

the new name.

The leaders of the Potonchán region also gave Cortés twenty slave women, one of

whom spoke the Chontal Maya of Potonchán and Nahuatl, the lingua franca of the region

to the northwest. This woman originally bore the name Malinali, the daughter of

Nahuatl-speaking elites at the southern frontier of the Aztec state. Her mother, to rid

herself of an inconvenient stepchild, had given her in slavery to a group of Mayan

traders. The Spanish rechristened her Marina and Cortés soon found her invaluable as a

translator and confidant (as well as mistress). Later Nahuatl-speakers called her

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[24] Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 57-76; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 11-23; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 422-424; Thomas, *Conquest*, 157-171.

[25] Thomas, *Conquest*, 171.

[26] Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 1:116; Thomas, *Conquest*, 171.

Malintzin, the *-tzin* suffix was an honorific; Spaniards heard this as Malinche, though

they also called her Doña Marina.[27] With two interpreters and fresh provisions, Cortés

headed further along the coast, stopping at the island Grijalva named San Juan de Ulúa

the year before. Two canoes of local Indians, Totonacs, and the local Aztec governor

came out to the ships where both sides exchanged pleasantries and goods. The next day,

Good Friday, April 22, 1519, Cortés landed with men, horses, and guns. The following

day emissaries of Motecuhzoma, ruler of the Aztec Empire, arrived. The two parties

exchanged gifts that evening and held a banquet the next day, Easter Sunday.[28]

Motecuhzoma[29] (r. 1502–1520) was the ruler, or *tlatoani*, of a fledgling empire

later historians have called the Aztec Empire or the Aztec Triple Alliance, as it was

originally based around the three *altepemeh* (singular *altepetl*), meaning "polities" or

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[27] Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 85-87; Thomas, *Conquest*, 171-173; Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, 82-83; Townsend, *Malintzin's Choices*, 12-13.

[28] Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 88-92; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 23-26; Thomas, *Conquest*, 173-177; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 65-69.

[29] I have chosen to follow the spelling of Miguel León-Portilla's popular book *The Broken Spears*. Scholars have transliterated this name numerous ways, including Moctezuma, Moctezoma, Moteuczoma, Motecuhzoma, and Motecuçoma, meaning either "courageous lord" or "he is one who frowns like a lord" in Nahuatl. The conquistadors heard it as either Montezuma (Díaz del Castillo) or Mutezuma (Cortés). In the latter half of the sixteenth century, Motecuhzoma's descendants used Moteçoma and Bernardino de Sahagún used Motecuçoma in the Nahuatl version of the *Florentine Codex*. He was also known as Motecuhzoma Xocoyotzin, or "Motecuhzoma the Younger" (historians often use MotecuhzomaII), to distinguish him from an earlier Motecuhzoma (r. 1440–1469). The name may have been pronounced *mo-teuc-tzo-ma* or *mock-tey-coo-schoma*. The form most-used in present-day Spanish, including Mexico, is Moctezuma; many scholars use this form, though Motecuhzoma is also popular. Patrick Thomas Hajovsky provides a list of twenty historical variations from 1519 to 1600 in an appendix to his 2007 dissertation. Patrick Thomas Hajovsky, "On the Lips of Others: Fame and the Transformation of Moctezuma's Image" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2007), 1n3, 260; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 460n3; J. Richard Andrews, *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 599; Peter G. Tsouras, *Montezuma: Warlord of the Aztecs* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005), xi; Buddy Levy, *Conquistador: Hernán Cortés, King Montezuma, and the Last Stand of the Aztecs* (New York: Bantam, 2008), 4n; Thomas, *Conquest*, xx; Miguel León-Portilla, ed., *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*, trans. Angel María Garibay K. and Lysander Kemp (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), vii, xxxin1.

"city-states," of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan. These peoples grew in power in Anáhuac ("land between the waters"), the Valley of Mexico, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, spreading their dominance to the Pacific and Gulf of Mexico. By the end of the 1400s, the Mexica ethnic group based at Tenochtitlan (also called México-Tenochtitlan or Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco, the latter a sister-city) dominated the alliance. Their language, Nahuatl, spoken by many other groups as well, was the lingua franca of the empire. The Mexica believed that they arose from a place called Aztlán; *aztecatl* means "person from Aztlán," and nineteenth century writers like Alexander von Humboldt and William H. Prescott used the term "Aztec" to describe the peoples of the Triple Alliance. Scholars debate terminology, but, generally, "Aztec," "Aztec Empire," and "Aztec Triple Alliance" refers to the empire based at Tenochtitlan and peoples linked to it by tribute and conquest; "Mexica" denotes the inhabitants of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco (they sometimes referred to themselves as "Culhua-Mexica," after the ancient people of the nearby city of Culhuacan); "Nahuas" refers to the peoples before and after the Spanish conquest who spoke Nahuatl and other Nahua languages. The empire ruled from Tenochtitlan by Motecuhzoma in 1519 was a diverse collection of *altepemeh*—some Nahuas, some not—loosely tied together by tribute agreements, marriage alliances between nobles, and the fear of the fierce Mexica military.[30]

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[30] Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 17-44; Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, 132-140; Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1, 18, 301n2; Friedrich Katz, *The Ancient American Civilizations* (Edison, NJ: Castle Books, 2004), 134-242; Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996), 4, 42, 49-58, 163-165; Tsouras, *Montezuma*, 3ff.; Eloise Quiñones Keber, "Aztecs Before and After the Conquest," *Colonial Latin American Review* 1, no. 1 (1992): 225; Eloise Quiñones Keber, "(Re)discovering Aztec Images," in *Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus*, ed. René Jara and Nicholas Spadaccini (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 138-139; R. H. Barlow, *The Extent of the Empire of*

The visits between Aztec emissaries and the Spanish continued over the next several weeks. Cortés learned from other local Indians that the Aztec had powerful enemies. By May Cortés was plotting, with his various allies on the expedition, to engineer a sort of coup, removing himself from the authority of Velázquez. He sent some of Velázquez's partisans on an expedition up the coast to look for a good site for a port, having convinced them he would soon return to Cuba. In their absence, the remaining soldiers constituted themselves as a town in good Hispanic tradition, declaring themselves *vecinos* (citizens) of the new municipality, electing *alcaldes* ("magistrates"; with administrative and judicial functions), *regidores* ("councilmen"), and *alguaciles* ("constables"). These government officials constituted a *regimiento* or *cabildo municipal* ("municipal government"), with authority to elect officers and act in the name of the King of Castilla, until the monarch decided otherwise.[31] The *regimiento* duly elected Cortés leader of the new municipality, earning the titles *alcalde mayor* ("chief magistrate"), *justicia mayor* ("chief justice"), and *capitán de las armadas reales* ("captain of the royal armies").[32] In the fashion of towns founded during the Iberian

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the Culhua Mexica (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), 1; Mundy, "Aztec Geography and Spatial Imagination," 108-110; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 1:23n16; R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the Term 'Aztec Empire'," *The Americas* 1, no. 3 (January 1945): 345-349.

[31] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 26-27; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 101-102; Thomas, *Conquest*, 198-201; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 68-70; Marquez and Wold, *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms*; Jay Kinsbruner, *The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 5, 33-35. In the Spanish world, there were different classes of settlements: the *pueblo* was the smallest, the *villa* the next largest, and the *ciudad* the largest. Each type of settlement had different rights and privileges, and *ciudades* were granted that status by the crown. See Kinsbruner, *The Colonial Spanish-American City*, 5ff.

[32] The "First Letter" of Cortés to Spain from Mexico, dated July 10, 1519, and a previously unknown letter from July 6, 1519, first printed by Thomas, use these titles; see Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 21; Hernando Cortés, "A letter from Cortés in Mexico, 6 July 1519," in *Conquest:*

reconquista, the settlers selected a name for their, as yet hypothetical, community: Villa

Rica de Vera Cruz ("rich town of the true cross").[33] Foot-soldier Díaz del Castillo

explained why they chose that name:

> Y luego ordenamos de hacer y fundar y poblar una villa que se nombró la Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz; porque llegamos Jueves de la Cena y desembarcamos en Viernes Santo de la Cruz, y rica por aquel caballero que dije en el capitulo que se llegó á Cortés y le dijo que mirase las tierras ricas y que se supiese bien gobernar (And then we ordained and established and peopled a town that we named Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, because we arrived on Thursday of the [Lord's] Supper [Maundy Thursday] and disembarked on Friday of the True Cross [Good Friday]; and [we called it] rich for that which the gentleman, as I said in a [another] chapter, came to Cortés and said to him: "Look at the rich lands and may you know how to govern them well.")[34]

Cortés inherited and perpetuated the extensive legal and cultural tradition of the

reconquista, and became a politician of the first order. His university training in the law

and his work as a notary in Castilla and Cuba meant that he was probably familiar with

the famed *Siete Partidas* of King Alfonso X the Wise (r. 1252–1284). Alfonso was a

monarch intimately concerned with the founding, conquest, and naming of settlements

during the *reconquista*, and his *Siete Partidas* provided a way for Cortés to justify and

legalize the maneuver of removing himself from the patronage of Velázquez: subjects of

the kingdom can found a new town on conquered territory in the interests of the kingdom.

The new settlement of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz was officially under the direct control of

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Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico, trans. Hugh Thomas (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 633-634.

[33] The so-called "First Letter" of Cortés to Spain, from all the members of the *regimiento* of Vera Cruz, calls the place "Rica Villa de Vera Cruz" and, in the preamble, "Muy Rica Villa de Vera Cruz"; Cortés himself uses just "Vera Cruz" in his later epistles; see Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 3, 26, 48.

[34] Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 1:138-139.

the monarchy, and the *cabildo* could choose Cortés as its leader until the monarch decided otherwise.[35] When the expedition of Velázquez allies returned from their reconnaissance of the gulf coast, Cortés presented them with the creation of a "town" as a *fait accompli,* although it was, as one writer said, "una ciudad escriturada" (a city on paper).[36] Cortés decided to build Vera Cruz at a site some forty miles north of San Juan de Ulúa opposite a Totonac village called Quiahuitztlan. On his march there he stopped at Cempoallan (which Cortés and Díaz del Castillo called "Cempoal"), one of the chief towns of the Totonac people, who had recently come into the tribute-heavy dominion of the Aztec Empire. The Spaniard convinced the leader of Cempoallan to rebel against the Aztecs.[37]

In late June 1519, Cortés and the Spaniards with him started to build the physical Villa Rica de Vera Cruz on an empty beach near the Totonac village of Quiahuitztlan. Following the tradition of all newly founded Iberian communities from the *reconquista* onwards, the builders first planned the church and surrounding plaza.[38] Eyewitness Díaz del Castillo explained that they "traza de iglesia y plaza y atarazanas, *y todas las cosas*

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[35] Thomas, *Conquest*, 198-204; Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez and Charles V," xviii-xxi; John Huxtable Elliott, "The Mental World of Hernán Cortés," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 17 (1967): 43-51; Víctor Frankl, "Hernán Cortés y la tradicion de las Siete Partidas," *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 53/54 (December 1962): 29-31; José Valero Silva, *El legalismo de Hernán Cortés como instrumento de su conquista* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965), 11-18, 27-35; Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, 19-21.

[36] Margo Glantz, "Ciudad y escritura: La Ciudad de México en las 'Cartas de relación'," *Hispamérica* 19, no. 56/57 (December 1990): 165-174.

[37] Thomas, *Conquest*, 205ff.; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 70-72; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 50; Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 1:144.

[38] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521*, ed. Genaro García, trans. A. P. Maudslay (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1956), 94-95.

que convenian para parecer villa" (laid out a church and plaza and arsenal, *and all the things that we thought suitable for a town*).[39] Cortés then composed a letter to Carlos V, King of Castilla, the other kingdoms of Spain, and Emperor-Elect of the Holy Roman Emperor,[40] had the town council of his new city compose a similar missive, and sent them to Europe with most of his accumulated treasure and two *procuradores* (roughly, "delegates"). Cortés intended for the letters and messengers, as well as the riches, to convince the government that his expedition was justified in setting aside the instructions of Velázquez, creating a town, and planning the conquest of new territory. Cortés's personal letter to Carlos has not survived, though several copies of the letter from the *cabildo* of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, usually called the "First Letter of Cortés," have. Like many letters, journals, and official documents written by explorers and settlers to the Crown of Castilla, toponyms play a major role.[41] Cortés and his companions utilized

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[39] Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 1:151. Emphasis added.

[40] Carlos (English and French, *Charles*; German, *Karl*; Dutch, *Karel*) is usually called "Carlos V" by Spanish-speaking authors, as he was the fifth Holy Roman Emperor by that name, although he was only the first Carlos to be monarch of the Spanish realms. Born in the Flemish city of Ghent in 1500, he was the grandson of Fernando of Aragón and Isabel of Castilla on his maternal side (he ruled his Spanish dominions as co-monarch with his invalid mother, Juana *la Loca*, from 1516 to 1555), and grandson of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, on his paternal side. He was the ruler of several Burgundian realms from 1506 to 1555, King of Naples from 1516 to 1554; King of Aragón, Castilla, León, and Navarra ("Spain") from 1516 to 1556; King of the Romans from 1519 to 1530 (he called himself Emperor-Elect); and Holy Roman Emperor, officially, from 1530 to 1558. He held several other titles. Carlos V died at the monastery of Yuste, near Cuacos de Yuste, in Extremadura in 1558. The extent of his realms was considerable, and its multilingual nature best expressed by a supposed quip of the emperor's: "I speak Spanish to God, Italian to women, French to men and German to my horse." Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 139-147; Jiří Louda and Michael Maclagan, *Lines of Succession: Heraldry of the Royal Families of Europe* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 2002), 96; Ralph Bauer, *The Cultural Geography of Colonial American Literatures: Empire, Travel, Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 8; William Maltby, *The Reign of Charles V* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

[41] Thomas, *Conquest*, 216-220; Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez and Charles V," xvii-xxvi; Pagden, "Translator's Introduction," liii-lviii; Carmen Val Julián, "Albores de la toponimía indiana: Colón y

indigenous place-names to indicate the primacy of their discoveries and christened places

with European names to further their own political ends.

In the "first letter," Cortés and the other officials of Villa Rica de Vera Cruz

declared that the previous explorations under the aegis of Velázquez used incorrect place-

names:

> Bien creemos que vuestras majestades, por letras de Diego Velázquez, teniente de almirante en la isla Fernandina, habrán sido informados de una tierra nueva que puede haber dos años poco mas ó menos que en estas partes fue descubierta, que al principio fue intitulada por nombre Cozumel y después la nombraron Yucatán, sin ser lo uno ni lo otro, como por esta nuestra relación vuestras reales altezas mandarán ver.
> (We well believe that Your Majesties, by letters of Diego Velázquez, lieutenant of the Admiral [Diego Colón] on the island Fernandina [Cuba], have been informed of a new land discovered in these parts more or less two years ago, that initially were entitled by name Cozumel and then named Yucatán, without it being one or the other, as Your Royal Highnesses will see by our relation.)[42]

The first letter never gave a true name for the region, but in the note Cortés sent along

with the letter and the *procuradores* called the region Qulna, a corruption of Culhua

(another term for the Mexica, who liked to claim they were related to the older people

based at Culhuacan).[43] The writers of the epistle from Vera Cruz did use the Spanish

names that the expeditions of Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva gave to native lands,

like Santa Cruz for Cozumel and Río Grijalva for Tabasco.[44] By noting that he knew the

proper indigenous names for places, and that his rivals did not, Cortés sought to indicate

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Cortés," in *La formación de la cultura virreinal*, ed. Karl Kohut and Sonia V. Rose (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2000), 287.

[42] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 5-6.

[43] Cortés, "A letter from Cortés in Mexico, 6 July 1519," 634; Thomas, *Conquest*, 275, 772n5; Barlow, "Some Remarks on the Term 'Aztec Empire'," 345-349; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 1:23n16.

[44] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 8-9.

the primacy and legitimacy of his discoveries. Cortés also wished to sway his monarch

Carlos with the propagandistic value of his new settlement's name: Villa Rica de Vera

Cruz. The allusion to the True Cross honored the holy Catholic faith; the hopes that it

would be a "rich villa" suggested the riches that might accrue if the expedition received

royal support.

     While Cortés's messengers wended their way across the ocean to Castilla, the

conquistador began his two-fold design to conquer the Aztecs and convert the natives to

Christianity. After scuttling his ships so his men could no longer think of returning to

Cuba, Cortés gathered soldiers, porters, and provisions from Cempoallan and the Totonac

regions, marching his military expedition inland, towards Motecuhzoma's capital of

Tenochtitlan (see fig. 6.2). As the Spanish reached Tlaxcala, a confederation of four

altepemeh (Ocotelolco, Quiahuiztlan, Tepeticpac, and Tizatlan) who were fierce enemies

of the Aztecs, they fought many fierce battles over several days. Finally, the Tlaxcala

confederation decided to ally with the Spaniards against the Aztecs, their hated rivals.[45]

With new Indian allies in tow, Cortés continued his march towards Tenochtitlan. On

November 8, 1519, Cortés's Europeans and his allied Indians, in their battle finery,

paraded across a long causeway that spanned Lake Texcoco and connected the mainland

city of Iztapalapa to Tenochtitlan (see fig. 6.3). The city was larger than any the

Europeans had seen before, housing over two hundred thousand people and dotted

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[45] Thomas, *Conquest*, 230-249; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 71-88; Michel R. Oudijk and Matthew Restall, "Mesoamerican Conquistadors in the Sixteenth Century," in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, ed. Laura Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 44-47; Levy, *Conquistador*, 51-81; Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967), 21-30.
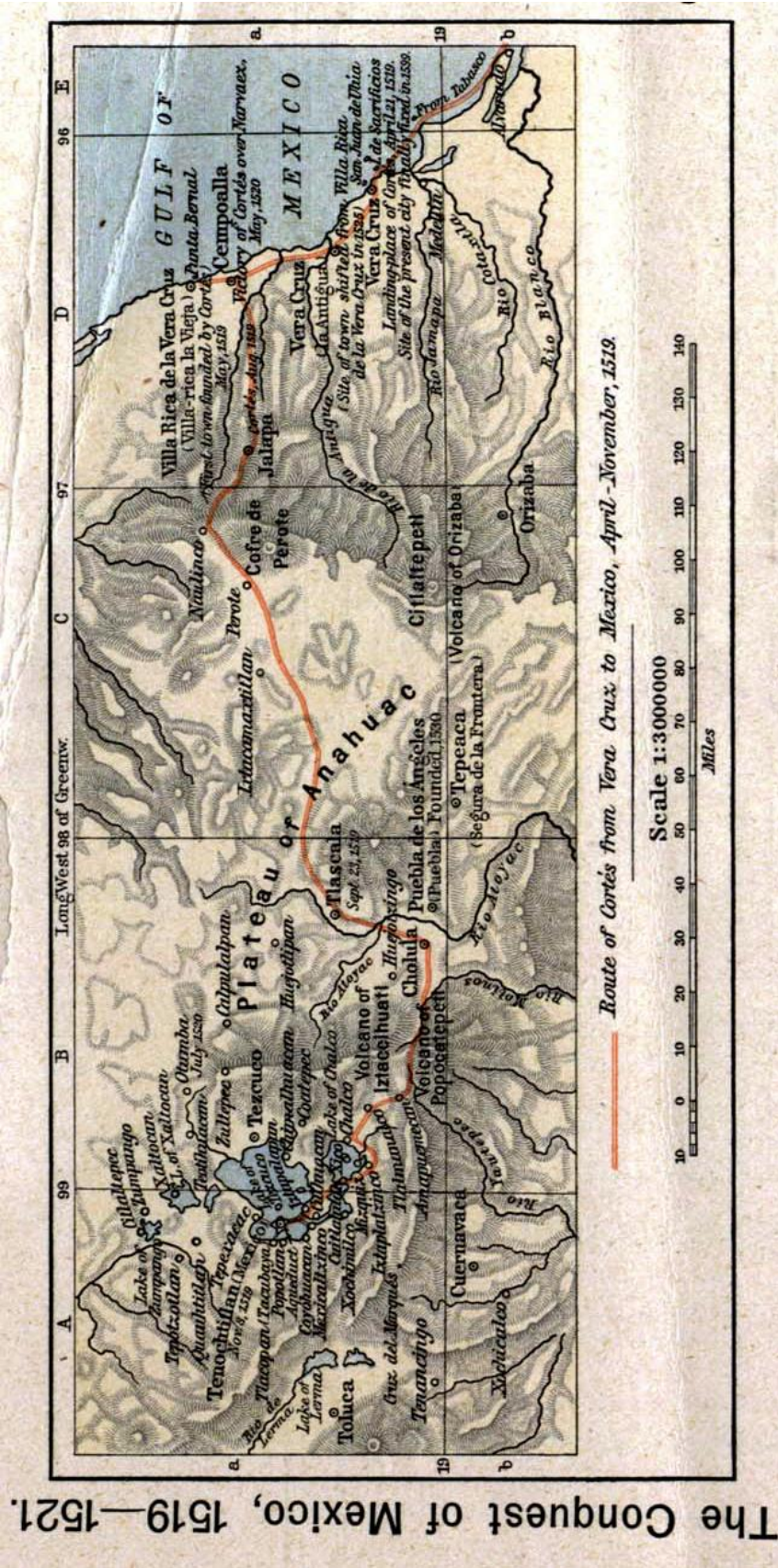
Figure 6.2. The Conquest of Mexico, 1519-1521.
The route of the Spanish march from the coast to Tenochtitlan. *Source*: William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1926), 106.

by huge, stucco-covered pyramids and temples.[46] One of Cortés's companions, known as "El Conquistador Anónimo" (the anonymous conqueror), called these buildings "mezquitas ó templos" (mosques or temples), and often compared the Indians to the Moors.[47] Cortés and his retinue were greeted along the causeway and escorted into the city, where Motecuhzoma arrived by litter to greet the Spaniard. After the exchange of greetings (through interpreters) and gifts, the Mexica housed the strange Europeans in one of Tenochtitlan's palaces, while most of the Tlaxcalans remained outside the city.[48]

While in Tenochtitlan, Cortés in a bold move, seized Motecuhzoma and used him as a puppet, but not before supposedly securing his voluntary allegiance to Emperor Carlos V. In November 1519, according to Cortés, Motecuhzoma recognized Carlos V of Castilla as his lord and put himself under Spanish vassalage. This discussion between the *tlatoani* and the *conquistador* that Cortés related in his second letter to the Emperor utilized the hoary language of the *reconquista*, the *Siete Partidas*, and the Bible—words and justifications sure to appeal to the *reconquista* spirit of the sovereign and the court back in Spain.[49] For the next several months, the Spaniard ruled vicariously through the great *tlatoani*, and manipulated the ruler to cease attacks on the Indian allies of the

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[46] Thomas, *Conquest*, 251-277; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 94-102; Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, 224-225.

[47] Conquistador Anónimo, "Relación de algunas cosas de Nueva España, y de la gran ciudad de Temestitán México," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: J. M. Andrade, 1858), 1:394-397.

[48] Thomas, *Conquest*, 278-281; Levy, *Conquistador*, 105-111.

[49] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 98-99, 467n42, 482n3; Glen Carman, *Rhetorical Conquests: Cortés, Gómara, and Renaissance Imperialism* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2006), 146-167; Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez and Charles V," xxvii-xxviii; Elliott, "The Mental World of Hernán Cortés," 51-54; Thomas, *Conquest*, 280-285.

Figure 6.3. The Meeting of Cortés and Motecuhzoma.
This painting from New Spain in the latter half of the seventeenth century depictes the meeting of Cortés and Motecuhzoma on the causeway leading into Tenochtitlan. *Source: The Meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma*, oil on canvas, ca 1675, 90, Jay I. Kislak Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Spanish. In April 1520 troops sent by Velázquez from Cuba, captained by Pánfilo de

Narváez, arrived on the coast to arrest Cortés. Cortés imprisoned Narváez at Vera Cruz

and added the newly arrived European soldiers, over one thousand of them (with horses,

crossbows, and arquebuses), to his number. Meanwhile, his deputy at Tenochtitlan,

Pedro de Alvarado, massacred thousands of Aztec noblemen during a festival in the city,

claiming that the Aztec leadership had planned to attack the Spanish garrison.[50]

On June 24, 1520, Cortés and his army returned to Tenochtitlan, entering it

unopposed. The Aztec army then besieged the Europeans in their quarters within the

city, blocking their escape and cutting off their supplies, for more than three weeks.

Cortés attempted to utilize his prisoner Motecuhzoma, urging him to climb on a roof and

calm his people. The inhabitants of Tenochtitlan and the Aztec soldiers did not listen,

however, and hurled stones at their emperor, who died the next day. The Aztecs had

elected a new *tlatoani*, Cuitláhuac (Motecuhzoma's younger brother), to oppose the

Spanish. The Spanish mythologized what followed as *La Noche Triste*, "The Sad Night,"

as Cortés and his men attempted to silently evacuate the city on the night of June 30 and

July 1, 1520 but where discovered by the Aztecs, who killed scores of Europeans and

hundreds of Tlaxcalans. Upon reaching Tlaxcalan territory, Cortés reaffirmed his

alliance with his confederates, and plotted his return to Tenochtitlan.[51]

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[50] Thomas, *Conquest*, 281-406, 732n66; Tsouras, *Montezuma*, 80-85; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 245-295; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 103-113; Diego Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, trans. Doris Heyden (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 545; León-Portilla, *The Broken Spears*, 90; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 98-99.

[51] Thomas, *Conquest*, 281-436, 732n66; Tsouras, *Montezuma*, 80-85; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 245-309; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 103-113; Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, 545; León-Portilla, *The Broken Spears*, 90; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 98-99.

To the south of Tlaxcalan territory, a group of Indians from the Aztec tributary city-state of Tepeaca attacked a band of Spaniards from Vera Cruz. Cortés did battle with Tepeacans to bolster his image among his Indian allies and gather new tribute. After defeating Tepeaca, their leaders swore fealty to the Spanish. Wanting to doubly secure this conquest, he decided to found his second Spanish town within the bounds of Tepeaca: La Villa Segura de la Frontera.[52] Thomas, in his recent history of the fall of the Aztecs, tried to connect the name of the town with one Cortés may have visited in Castilla, such as Segura de la Sierra or Segura de Toro.[53] The real reason emanated from the *reconquista* spirit that Cortés and his cohorts imbibed,[54] because Hispanic Christians utilized toponyms like *segura* ("safe" as in "stronghold") and *frontera* ("frontier") for forts and conquests in their fight with the Moors.[55] The enemy Indians were the new Moors and the frontier of the Aztec Empire like the frontier of al-Andalus—this *conquista* became a continuation of the *reconquista*.

Friar Diego Durán (ca. 1537–1588), citing Nahua sources, maintained that the Spanish murdered Motecuhzoma, other, mostly native sources, agreed; see the following: Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, 545; León-Portilla, ed., *The Broken* Spears, 90; and Thomas, *Conquest*, 732n66.

[52] Thomas, *Conquest*, 407-436; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 113-112; Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, 296-309; White, *Cortés and the Downfall of the Aztec Empire*, 232; Francisco López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 232.

[53] Thomas, *Conquest*, 436, 738n12.

[54] For more on the spirit of the *reconquista* among the conquistadors of the New World, see Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, 225; Lomax, *The Reconquest of Spain*, 178; France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom*, 296ff.; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 212-217; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 17-20; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 45; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 11-12; Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, 193-194; Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm."

[55] Carmen Val Julián, "La toponimia conquistadora," *Relaciones* 18, no. 70 (Spring 1997): 57-58; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 82-85; Elliott, "The Mental World of Hernán Cortés," 44.

Just as at Villa Rica de Vera Cruz, Cortés appointed city officials at Villa Segura de la Frontera and planned to construct Spanish buildings. Here Cortés wrote his second letter to Emperor Carlos V in the autumn of 1520, as he prepared to march again on Tenochtitlan. This lengthy epistle is replete with Indian and European place-names—six of which he bestowed himself (see Appendix 2)—and tells his story in narrative form to serve his political ambitions.[56] The first sentence of the letter introduced a new toponym to Europe: "Nueva España."[57] Cortés explained his choice of name for this new land at the end of his missive:

> Por lo que yo he visto y comprendido cerca de la similitud que toda esta tierra tiene a España, así en la fertilidad como en la grandeza y fríos que en ella hace, y en otras muchas cosas que le equiparan a ella, me pareció que el más conveniente nombre para esta dicha tierra era llamarse la Nueva España del mar Océano; y así, en nombre de vuestra majestad se le puso aqueste nombre. Humildemente suplico a vuestra alteza lo tenga por bien y mande que se nombre así.
> (From that I have seen and understood about the similarity that all this land has to Spain, as in the fertility and the great size and coldness found in it, and in many other things that equate to it, it seemed to me that the most suitable name for this said land was to call it the New Spain of the Ocean Sea, and so, in the name of Your Majesty that is what I have named it. I humbly beseech Your Highness has favor and orders that it is so named.)[58]

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[56] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 148, 159; Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*, 327-328; Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez and Charles V," xxvi-xxviii; Clendinnen, "'Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty'," 15-16; Val Julián, "Albores de la toponimía indiana: Colón y Cortés," 292-293.

[57] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 33; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana: de los veinte y un libros rituales y monarquía indiana, con el origen y guerras de los indios occidentales, de sus poblazones, descubrimiento, conquista, conversión y otras cosas maravillosas de la mesma tierra*, ed. Miguel León Portilla (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1975), 2:28; Thomas, *Conquest*, 723n56. Friar Juan de Torquemada (ca. 1562–1624), writing in 1615, said that Grijalva "fue el primero que le puso este nombre" (was the first to give it this name [of Nueva España]); see Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, 2:28. Thomas, among other historians, noted that "there is no evidence for that"; see Thomas, *Conquest*, 723n56.

[58] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 114.

The name had propagandistic import. This was not just the Española of Columbus, a "Little Spain," nor was it a piddling island like Velázquez's Cuba or the tiny Cozumel discovered by previous explorers. It was a "land" (*tierra*), a very large (*grandeza*) one like Spain—a New Spain. To further highlight the breadth and abundance of New Spain, Cortés compared it to the Holy Roman Empire, referencing Carlos's new title and domain: "se puede intitular de nuevo emperador de ella, y con título y no menos mérito que el de Alemaña" (one can entitle oneself emperor of her [this land], and bear such a title with no less merit than that of Germany).[59]

Several scholars have seized upon the naming of New Spain by Cortés as something more than just a propagandistic way to convince his emperor that his possibly illegal enterprise was worth legitimization. Linguists and literary theorists, following the lead of authors like Tzvetan Todorov and Stephen Greenblatt, have stated that Cortés was trying to remake the land with a toponym. Ricardo Padrón wrote that the toponym New Spain "identifies it as a simulacrum of the metropolis [Spain]."[60] José Rabasa, concurred: "Cortés has in mind a prospective transformation of Mexican urban centers into European-style cities," a change that is a "fundamental base for Cortés's ideal (new) Spain in America."[61] Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel called the conquistrador's christening of the land "one of the paradigmatic moments in the dramatization of power: naming as an act of discursive possession" and that he was "recreating Spain in

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[59] Ibid., 33.

[60] Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, 124.

[61] Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 117-118.

America."[62] Cartographic historians like Christian Jacob have heartily adopted such

ideas. Jacob wrote:

> A special case is constituted by toponymy that takes up the place-names of old
> continents [*sic*]: New Spain, New England, New France. It is an astonishing
> example when the original toponym is detached from the geographical country
> that it names in order to preserve only its symbolic and political meaning. The
> oceanic fracture has the function of a symmetrical axis that favors this doubling,
> the reflection of the Old World upon the New World…. It delimits an area of
> appropriation and of influence that transposes onto virgin lands of the New World
> the principle of the sovereign states of the Old World.[63]

Cortés's use of the name Nueva España was a political maneuver, and one as old

as the *reconquista*, when the Spanish conquered the Moorish kingdom of Toledo and

called it Castilla la Nueva. His original instructions from Velázquez had told him to look

for lands in the vicinity of "San Juan de Ulúa e Cozumel."[64] In July 1519, Cortés knew

from a ship in his expedition that arrived late (it had been laid up in Santiago de Cuba for

repairs), that Carlos V had given Velázquez permission to explore and settle land in the

neighborhood of Cozumel and Yucatán.[65] Thus Cortés's insistence in his first letter that

it was neither: "que al principio fue intitulada por nombre Cozumel y después la

nombraron Yucatán, sin ser lo uno ni lo otro" (that initially were entitled by name

Cozumel and then named Yucatán, without it being one or the other).[66] Instead, Cortés

insisted on calling his new region Nueva España. For the native name of the region, he

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[62] Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, *From Lack to Excess: "Minor" Readings of Latin American Colonial Discourse* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 65-66.

[63] Jacob, *The Sovereign Map*, 205.

[64] "Instrucción Diego Velázquez: Hernán Cortés y Juan Grijalva."

[65] Thomas, *Conquest*, 214.

[66] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 5-6.

used Culua (or Culúa), not the misheard Ulúa of the Grijalva expedition; he even called

San Juan de Ulúa simply "San Juan."[67] The name not only separated his discovery and

potential conquest from the territories allotted to Velázquez, but it played on the imperial

ambitions of Emperor Carlos, who used the title "King of Spain" though he was

technically the monarch of the two separate kingdoms of Castilla and Aragón.[68] Nueva

España and Vera Cruz had real staying power as place-names, both showing their

continuities with *reconquista* naming traditions and as political flattery, in the mold of

Columbus.

Like Columbus, however, most of the other toponyms Cortés bestowed on the

landscape in his second letter disappeared due to the influence of existing Indian place-

names. He mentioned, in passing, that "me partí de la ciudad de Cempoal, que yo intitule

Sevilla" (I parted for the city of Cempoallan, that I named Sevilla).[69] Cortés apparently

never told the local Totonacs of this change. The villa's inhabitants continued to use the

native name (spelled either Cempoallan, Cempoala, or Zempoala) until smallpox

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[67] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*; Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*. Soldier Díaz del Castillo, writing decades later and with no political dog in the hunt, used Ulúa and Culúa with equal frequency.

[68] Kamen, *Empire*, 49ff.; David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 44-46; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 139-147; Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 242; Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, "Habla del obispo de Badajoz, ó sea discurso de la corona," in *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1882), 4:293-298; Louis P. A. Maingon, "Mota, Pedro Ruiz de la," ed. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 468. In 1520 Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, Bishop of Badajoz and one of Carlos's favorites, gave a rousing, flattering speech to the Cortes of Castilla that called Carlos "Rey de España" in addition to Emperor, King of the Romans, and even "Emperador del mundo" (emperor of the world).

[69] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 34.

destroyed the population and forced the abandonment of the site around 1600. The

villa's *Relación Geográfica* map of 1580 called the place "Cenpoballa" in Latin

characters, alongside its ancient Nahuatl logogram (see fig. 6.11).[70] Two other Castillian

names he gave were for mountain passes (called *puertos* in the text): Puerto de Nombre

de Dios and Puerto de la Leña, and both were puns. Nombre de Dios ("Name of God")

because the pass was so high and dangerous, "el cual es tan agro y alto que no lo hay en

España otro tan dificultoso de pasar" (which is so steep and high that there is none in

Spain so difficult to pass); Puerto de la Leña ("Pass of the Firewood") because of the

amount of firewood surrounding an abandoned tower, "y alderredor de la torre más de

mil carretadas de leña cortada, muy dispuesta" (and surrounding the tower there were

more than a thousand cartloads of cut firewood, well-stacked).[71] Both held different

Spanish names by the 1700s,[72] perhaps because they were not inhabited by Spaniards.

Segura de la Frontera did not keep its Cortesian name either, as locals continued to refer

to it as Tepeaca, a name it still retains.[73]

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[70] "Cempoala," manuscript map, color, 83 x 66 cm, 1580, xxv-10, Relaciones Geográficas of Mexico and Guatemala, Joaquín García Icazbalceta Manuscript Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 142, 170-171; Joyce Kelly, *An Archaeological Guide to Central and Southern Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 273-277; Víctor Manuel Ballesteros García, *La pintura de la relación de Zempoala de 1580* (Pachuca, Hidalgo, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo, 2005).

[71] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 37-38.

[72] Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, *Historia de Nueva-España, escrita por su esclarecido conquistador Hernan Cortes; Aumentada con otros documentos, y notas, por el illustrissimo señor Don Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, Arzobispo de Mexico* (Mexico City: Hogal, 1770), ii-iii.

[73] López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 301; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 287; Thomas, *Conquest*, 436, 549; John K. Chance, *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1978), 31; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 292-293. In 1521 Cortés moved the town's government and place-

From his new village of Segura de la Frontera, Cortés secured his forces, aided his Indian allies, gathered supplies, and planned his attempt to retake Tenochtitlan and the Aztec Empire—a polity he believed Emperor Motecuhzoma had placed under the vassalage of his Emperor Carlos. Cortés was helped by reinforcements from Cuba and the spread of European disease. Smallpox had arrived in New Spain via Española and Cuba, probably stowing away on Narváez's ship in the body of an African porter from Cuba. Progressing among Indian villages, it appeared to Indian sensibilities as if their gods had deserted them. In late 1520 and early 1521 the epidemic reached Tenochtitlan and the Valley of Anáhuac, killing several rulers loyal to the Aztec Triple Alliance and even Motecuhzoma's successor Cuitláhuac. The remaining Aztec nobility elected Cuauhtémoc, a cousin of the previous two rulers, to be the new *tlatoani*.[74] Cortés headed to Tenochtitlan at the head of more than five hundred Spaniards and ten thousand Tlaxcalans, also launching thirteen brigantines into the lake surrounding the Aztec capital. In May 1521 the Spaniards and their allies attacked Tenochtitlan, instigating a land and naval siege of the city that lasted for months (see fig. 6.4). On August 13, 1521, Cortés and his men captured Emperor Cuauhtémoc and Tenochtitlan was in Spanish hands on.[75]

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name to the Pacifc coast near Tututepec, and then in 1522 to the vale of Oaxaca; in that location, its name evolved into Antequera, then Antequera de Guaxaca, and today Oaxaca, or, officially, Oaxaca de Juárez.

[74] Thomas, *Conquest*, 443-451; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 128-131; Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 210-212; William H. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York: Anchor Books, 1998), 19-21, 215-217.

[75] Thomas, *Conquest*, 451-530; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 131-175; Levy, *Conquistador*, 210-314.

Figure 6.4. The Fall of Tenochtiotlan.

This painting from New Spain in the latter half of the seventeenth century depictes the final attack by Cortés on the capital of the Aztec Empire. *Source: The Capture of Tenochtitlán*, oil on canvas, ca 1675, 96, Jay I. Kislak Collection, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Cortés had accomplished what historian J. H. Elliott called: "a *translatio imperii*, a transfer of empire, from Montezuma to his own master, the Emperor Charles V."[76] In his second letter to the Emperor Carlos V, Cortés stated that Motecuhzoma had recognized Carlos V of Castilla as his lord and put himself under Spanish vassalage. The words between the *tlatoani* and the *conquistador* sounded very legalistic, mimicking the language of the *reconquista*, the *Siete Partidas*, and the Bible. This voluntary placement of the Aztec throne under that of the Castillian conformed to Spanish law Cortés was assuredly familiar with, and it was sure to appeal to the *reconquista* spirit of the sovereign and the court back in Spain. Cortés's words sounded as is Motecuhzoma was little better than a defeated Moorish potentate placing himself under the yoke of a Castilian ruler.[77] Indeed, Cortés intended all his letters, notarized documents, and testimony for the eyes and ears of the Spanish government, from Emperor to churchman to bureaucrat. Just like his political justifications for removing himself from the command of Velázquez and his moral justifications for declaring the Aztec Empire a fiefdom in rebellion, he intended the place-names he bestowed on the Mexican landscape for Spanish audiences, not Indian ones.

Following a range of precedents, from the *reconquista* to the voyages of Columbus (and the Portuguese before that), Cortés assiduously noted and usedthe native toponyms of the mainland. In his second letter, for instance, he listed just twelve Spanish place-names (six he created, six from his predecessors) and forty-four Amerindian

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[76] Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 5.

[77] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 98-99, 467n42, 482n3; Carman, *Rhetorical Conquests*, 146-167; Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez and Charles V," xxvii-xxviii; Elliott, "The Mental World of Hernán Cortés," 51-54; Thomas, *Conquest*, 280-285.

toponyms. The purpose of this catalog was to indicate the primacy of his discoveries over any other intruding European power or would-be *conquistador* attempting to usurp his title to the lands he found. This was the same reason explorers recorded native toponyms. Other Spanish names put a Christian veneer on indigenous toponyms, like the San Juan de Ulúa of the Grijalva expedition. Other names were merely descriptive, like Puerto de la Leña, and would allow others to relocate the place. Finally, Cortés named places like Nueva España, Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and Segura de la Frontera to evoke the spirit of the *reconquista* and flatter the imperial pretensions of the emperor. All these names followed established examples that Cortés would have been familiar with from his boyhood in Andalucía and his adulthood amongst the explorers and settlers of Sevilla and the Caribbean.

Indeed, Cortés's decision to create not a colony of Castilla but a kingdom on par with Castilla mimics the *reconquista*. Just as the Moorish place-names (and peoples) of the Toledo region in Spain remained under the rule of Castilla and the over-arching name Castilla la Nueva, Cortés referred to sub-regions such as Mexico and Temixtitan under the rubric of Nueva España.[78] It is unclear from the various firsthand accounts of the conquest if Cortés ever informed an Indian of his European place-names. There is no record of the *conquistadores* telling an Indian that their land was now called "New Spain." Both Spaniards and *indios* soon called Cempoallan and Tepeaca, which Cortés had renamed Sevilla and Segura de la Frontera, by their native names. Similarly, Cortés

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[78] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 273.

noted the Spanish called the indigenous community of Nautecal "Almería." In fact, Grijalva had christened it on his first voyage for the Spanish city with the Arabic name, but the locals continued to call it Nautla, down to the present day. Cortés did not change the names of the towns and lands that swore their fealty to Carlos V as formal allies, such as the towns of the Totonacs or Tlaxcalans, though he made some cosmetic attempts to Christianize these populations.[79]

The Spaniards of Cortés's generation, the cultural inheritors of the *reconquista*, knew, as J. H. Elliott put it, that "sedentary infidel populations who were capable of being subjugated, implied simultaneously souls for salvation and bodies to provide tribute and labour."[80] Cortés knew that his future wealth and fame depended not only on any gold that could be wrested from the earth, but transferring to Emperor Carlos an organized, tribute-based empire. Placating the native populations and keeping societies intact were essential to providing New Spain, and Spain, with a stable source of labor and income.[81] The capricious re-naming of towns, villages, and provinces would serve only to sow confusion and discord in the indigenous population, and it was not attempted. Just as Muslim toponyms remained on the post-*reconquista* landscape, Indian toponyms generally remained on the post-*conquista* landscape. Far from recreating a "New Spain" in the Indies with European toponyms, Cortés left Indian culture and place-names intact.

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[79] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*; Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*; Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 36; Díaz, "Itinerario de Grijalva," 1:301; Thomas, *Conquest*; Levy, *Conquistador*; Kelly, *An Archaeological Guide to Central and Southern Mexico*, 273-277; Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century*, 21-30.

[80] Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World*, 115.

[81] Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 20-21; Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World*, 114-115; Lang, *Conquest and Commerce*, 7-24; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 26-54.

Just as the Spanish-language toponyms Columbus bestowed on the landscape meant to honor the Spanish royal family and the holy Catholic faith, the (very few) Spanish-language toponyms Cortés gave glorified the imperial aspirations of Carlos V. Cortés the conqueror did not mean to erase indigenous cultures with his place-names. Like *reconquista* Spain, the Canary Islands, the Caribbean, and now Nueva España, Spanish place-names would not dominate the map, as Hispanicized-Indian cultures controlled enough space and held enough power to ensure that their toponyms would survive the colonial encounter.

CHAPTER 7

AN EMPIRE OF PLACE-NAMES

The patterns developed in the Old World whereby place-names were given and retained continued in the New World. Explorers recorded native toponyms while providing their own, often descriptive ones. Conquistadors, for their own political purposes, gave grandiose titles to their conquests. New settlements for Spaniards were named for old ones in Spain while native names were retained for Indian settlements. Just as Christian toponyms sat next to Muslim ones on the Iberian Peninsula, Spanish place-names co-existed with Indian ones in the New World. Though there had been a fair amount of cultural syncretization in the Canaries and Caribbean, the encounter between European and mainland Indian societies would leave neither culture untouched or unchanged. A hybrid Hispano-Indian society would rise in the Spanish Indies, evidenced physically in *mestizaje* and culturally in religion, language, and even cartography and toponymy. The ability of the Spanish to plant new place-names on the landscape of Indian America was an instrument and indication of their power, but their power was not absolute. It could not be. The Indian peoples accepted into the faith of the Roman Catholic Church and the government of the Kingdom of Castilla retained a measure of control over their lives, their lands, and their place-names. Toponyms (and maps) could be a tool of empire, and they still served personal and imperial motives, but Indian views

of place could blunt the impact of this tool, because the Spanairds were dependent on Indian geographical knowledge, just as they were dependent on Indian labor. Indian place-names survived "conquest" and often supplanted Spanish ones. As Spanish dominion spread north and south from the heartland of the conquered Aztec Empire, *conquistadores* and *pobladores* used European place-names for their own purposes while they concurrently adopted, adapted, and yielded to the power of Indian place-names and peoples.

While Velázquez and Cortés were subduing Cuba and hatching plans to explore and conquer the mainland, Spanish explorers continued exploring the waters and lands of the Indies. The names they gave to places and the ones they recorded on their maps followed the patterns of the forbearers. In 1513 Juan Ponce de León y Figueroa (1474–1521), veteran of Columbus's second voyage and the first Spanish governor of Puerto Rico, received permission to explore north of the Caribbean islands. Ponce de León sighted a long coastline on April 2, 1513. Going ashore on the holy day of Easter, which contemporary Spaniards called Pascua Florida ("Flowery Passover"), Ponce de León named the land Florida, continuing a long tradition of naming places for saints and holidays. It helped too, according to the Spanish chronicler Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1559–1625), that the land was rather lush and flowery. The other place-names of his expedition were typical of the names explorers gave to lands and islands from the sea, such as Río del Espíritu Santo or Las Tortugas (the present-day Dry

Tortugas), so named because the sailors captured one hundred and seventy turtles there for their supper.[1]

Though cartographic scholars like J. B. Harley have stated that "European maps of the period can be viewed as statements of territorial appropriation, cultural reproduction, or as devices by which a Native American presence could be silenced,"[2] the first Spanish maps depicting North America showed a mixture of Spanish and Amerindian place-names. The 1519 sketch of the Gulf of México made by Alonso Álvarez de Pineda, sent to explore the gulf by governor of Jamaica Francisco de Garay, included Spanish settlements with toponyms like Nombre de Dios in Panamá and Vera Cruz in México, while others represent borrowings from Indians, such as Río Pánuco, Cozumel, and Cuba. In 1544 the *cosmógrafo real* (royal cosmographer) Alonso de Santa Cruz (1506–1567) created a map based on information gathered from the explorations of Narváez, De Soto, and Cabeza de Vaca (scholars often call it the "De Soto map"), presenting the eastern lands of North America from México to the present-day Carolinas. It bore descriptive place-names typical of those explorers gave to places to aid their return. The rivers and capes all had descriptive toponyms, resembling sailor's portolan charts, such as: Río del Oro ("river of gold"), Río de Flores ("river of flowers"), Río de Montañas ("river of mountains"), and Cape Canaveral ("cape canebrake"). De Soto's chroniclers and mapmakers assiduously recorded and plotted indigenous place-names, remembering that claims of discovery relied on proof of first discovery. Thus the De

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[1] Herrera y Tordesillas, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, 2:33-37; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 502-516; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 33-34; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 11-12.

[2] Harley, "Rereading the Maps of the Columbian Encounter," 522.

Soto map included several interior toponyms like Chiaha, Talimachusy, Caxa, and Mabila. The last name belonged to a tribe that the later Spanish and French colonial administrators called Maubila, today's Mobile.[3] Herrera y Tordesillas noted that the De Soto explorers often changed Indian names a bit, to ease pronunciation:

> Los Caſtellanos nunca repararon en corromper poco los vocablos, y a otro lugar que tambien eſtaua alli, que ſe dezia Gualè, llamaron Gualdàpe.
> (The Castilians never refrained from a little corruption in words, and at another place that was there, that [the natives] called Gualè, they [instead] called Gualdàpe.)[4]

If Spaniards could easily say an Indian name, it often remained on European maps.

The spirit of the *reconquista* was so prevalent among the *conquistadores* that they even named California after a Spanish military romance. In 1510 the Spanish author Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo issued various volumes of a prose romance called *Las sergas del virtuoso cavallero Esplandian hijo de Amadis de Gaula* (the deeds of the virtuous knight Esplandian, son of Amadis of Gaul), a sequel to a chivalric story, published and unpublished, that had existed since the thirteenth century named *Amadis de*

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[3] Alvarez de Pineda, "[Mapa de las costas de Tierra firme]."; Alonso de Santa Cruz, "[Mapa del Golfo y costa de la Nueva España: desde el Río de Panuco hasta el cabo de Santa Elena…]," manuscript map, 18 x 23 cm, 1544, G3860 1572 .S3, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; The Gentleman of Elvas, "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto," in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543*, trans. Theodore Hayes Lewis (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1907), 156; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 11-13, 17; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 516-528; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 34--35, 49-55; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 174; Donald E. Chipman, *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 23-26; Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile: An Historical Study Largely from Original Sources, of the Alabama-Tombigbee Basin and the Old South West, from the Discovery of the Spiritu Santo in 1519 until the Demolition of Fort Charlotte in 1821* (Boston: Hougthon Mifflin, 1910), 22ff.

[4] Antonio Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar oceano* (Madrid: Emprenta Real, 1601), 2:309.

Gaula.[5] In it, there is a description of an island inhabited by a fierce tribe of black

Amazons, ruled by a queen named Calafia: "Sabed que a la diestra mano de las Indias

existe una isla llamada California muy cerca de un costado del Paraíso Terrenal" (Know

that at the right hand of the Indies exists an island called California very close to a side of

the Earthly Paradise).[6]

Cortés and his men certainly knew of these tales of Amadis and Esplandian.

Soldier Bernal Díaz del Castillo compared certain places to scenes in *Amadis*. After

Emperor Carlos V curbed the power of Cortés in the decade following the conquest, the

wily conquistador decided to fund exploration of the Pacific in hope of finding new

lands. He sent one of his pilots, Fortún Ximénez, north in search of a fabled island of

pearls and gold inhabited only by women. Ximénez sighted the southern tip of Baja

California, believing it was an island. He claimed it for Spain and Cortés and, though it

is unknown if the name originated at this time, by 1542 Spaniards commonly called the

peninsula California. It was not the only place named because of the European love for

classic tales of travel and romance. Columbus searched for names he found in Marco

Polo, Francisco de Orellana thought he had discovered Amazonia, and the name

Patagonia occurred in a romance entitled *Palmerín de Oliva*.[7]

[5] Donald C. Cutter, "Sources of the Name California," *Arizona and the West* 3, no. 3 (Autumn 1961): 233-236; Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages*, 617-619; Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York: Modern Library, 2007), 5-6. The author's name also appears as Garci Ordóñez de Montalvo.

[6] *Las sergas del virtuoso cavallero Esplandian hijo de Amadis de Gaula*, quoted in Elvira Buelna Serrano, Lucino Gutiérrez Herrera, and Santiago Ávila Sandoval, "Imaginario y realidad en la exploración de América Septentrional," *Análisis Económico* 24, no. 57 (2009): 355.

[7] Cutter, "Sources of the Name California," 233-244; Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 43-69; Morison, *The European Discovery*

In addition to the names recorded and given by explorers, and the toponyms brought over from Spain, the *conquistadores* also adopted and adapted native Indian place-names. This is partly because the Spaniards were accustomed to living among non-Spanish place-names, and felt no need to erase them in order to bring the organized Indian societies into their empire. To impulsively alter Indian place-names would cause confusion and do nothing to aid their extraction of wealth from their new Indian charges. Another reason is the utter reliance of the Spaniards on Indian geographical knowledge, maps, and place-names. Hernando Cortés made use of indigenous maps during his conquest of the Aztec Empire. While Motecuhzoma was his prisoner in Tenochtitlan, the Spaniard asked his captive for the location of a good port on the coast. Motecuhzoma replied that he would call an official and "él me haría pintar toda lo costa y ancones y ríos" (he would make a painting [map] of all the coast and coves and rivers).[8] The next day Cortés reported that "me trajeron figurada en un paño toda la costa" (they brought me, figured on a cloth, all the coast).[9] Both Cortés and Díaz del Castillo mention maps several times.[10] Mesoamerican cartography had advanced further than the verbal, gestural, and temporary maps of the Caribbean indigenes, like the fava bean maps the

of America: The Southern Voyages, 617-633; Starr, *California*, 5-6, 20-22; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 143-144; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 15; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 40; Thomas, *Conquest*, 61, 599; Erwin G. Gudde and William Bright, *California Place Names: The Origin and Etymology of Current Geographical Names* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 59-61; Serrano, Herrera, and Sandoval, "Imaginario y realidad en la exploración de América Septentrional," 355; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 298-300.

[8] "Second letter," in Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*, 65.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 1:317; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 94, 340, 344, passim; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 187.

Bahamian Indians made for the benefit of Columbus and King João II.[11] The *indios* of

Mesoamerica had a long tradition of cartography. Several types of maps survived the

Spanish discovery and conquest, though many more were lost to the vagaries of time,

military destruction, and the fires of Catholic priests. The Spanish used several words to

describe these native works, such as *mapas* ("maps"), *descripciones* ("descriptions"),

lienzos ("cloths"), *paño* ("panel or length of cloth"), or *pinturas* ("paintings").[12] These

Indian maps served several purposes, charting tribute systems, territorial claims, and city

streets. Many others, unlike most European maps, add a temporal dimension to the

representation of spatial territory. These maps, termed "cartographic histories," show not

only a community's territory, but its history as well. Many of these are extant today, as

they often recorded Indian claims to lands and Spanish officials utilized them after the

conquest.[13]

The first image in the *Codex Mendoza*, for instance, showed the founding of

Tenochtitlan in a form recognizable as an abstract map (see fig. 7.1). The codex, made

by Spanish and Nahua compilers in the 1540s, chronicled the Mexica migrations and the

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[11] The best introduction to the subject of cartography in Central America, in any language, is Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography."

[12] Mundy, "Aztec Geography and Spatial Imagination," 110-112; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 184-189; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 91-112; Whitehead, "Indigenous Cartography in Lowland South America and the Caribbean," 319-320; Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Maps of Territory, History, and Community in Aztec Mexico," in *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use*, ed. G. Malcolm Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 112-113; Alessandra Russo, *El realismo circular: tierras, espacios y paisajes de la cartografía indígena novohispana siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005), 17-28. Far more post-conquest maps in Nahuatl survive than those from any other time period or in any other language.

[13] Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 204ff.; Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 98ff.; Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*, 98-117. Gruzinski and Owensby examin how post-conquest Indians used their own maps to lay claim to lands and farms.

rise of the Aztec Empire both pictorially and textually. On the map of Tenochtitlan, a blue rectangle represented the lake that surrounded the city, and the crossing lines depicted the canals that separated the cities into four sections called *nauhcampan*. Various lake plants dot the land, and the artist drew the ten founders of Tenochtitlan sitting within the city, including Tenoch. In the center of the settlement is the eagle on the cactus, the sign the god Huitzilopochtli sent to the Mexica instructing them where to build Tenochtitlan in 1325; his shield lies below the cactus. Below the representation of the city, the mapmaker painted two scenes of military conquest, dateable to 1376; the count of years surrounds the map. This map may be more abstract than a European map, but it represents spatial and temporal information about Tenochtitlan in conbventional Mesoamerican forms.[14] Mundy concluded: "The map uses pictorial and symbolic shorthand to convey the events of Tenochtitlan's first 'century'… the Culhua-Mexica map includes a temporal dimension, showing the passage of time and the events that occurred."[15] Other Aztec maps were as varied as their Euopean counterparts. Mesoamericans used cartography to chart itineraries, divide farmlands, delineate urban centers, map trade and war routes, and diagram the heavens.[16]

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[14] Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, eds., *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2:3-7; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 20-25; John F. Lopez, "Negotiating Colonialism: Indigenous and Spanish City Planning and the Mapping of New Spain" (Master's thesis, University of Oregon, 2005), 7-9, 31-32; Leonardo López Luján, *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 67-68; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 192-194; Mundy, "Aztec Geography and Spatial Imagination," 121-125; "Codex Mendoza," manuscript book (Mexico, 1540s), f. 2r, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, MS Arch. Selden. A. 1, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[15] Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 194.

[16] Boone, "Maps in Aztec Mexico," 112ff.; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 204-240.

Figure 7.1. *Codex Mendoza*.
This abstract map from the Codex Mendoza showed the founding of
Tenochtitlan. *Source*: *Codex Mendoza*, manuscript book (Mexico, 1540s),
f. 2r, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, MS Arch. Selden. A. 1,
Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Conquest was a key component of Aztec cartographic histories, as it was of their empire. In the early fifteenth century, the Triple Alliance of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan easily achieved direct political control of the Valley of Mexico. Outside this valley, however, the Aztec rulers decided that instead of replacing the leaders of conquered city-states and garrisoning troops there, an expensive proposition, they would generally leave the defeated government intact and extract tribute.[17] Ethnohistorian Ross Hassig called this a "hegemonic empire."[18] This inexpensive form of empire building allowed the Aztecs to expand their domain further than any previous Mesoamerican state, bringing more than four hundred *altepemeh* under their control by the time of Cortés's arrival in 1519. Several peoples did manage to withstand the Aztec onslaught, including the Tarascan state on the west and the surrounded Tlaxcalan confederation on the east.[19] Like the Spanish, the Aztec Triple Alliance spread their language and place-names as they conquered.

The Aztecs also used maps for military and tributary purposes. Imperial bureaucrats maintained long lists of city-states (*altepemeh*) and provinces, like the extant second section of the *Codex Mendoza*, which lists towns and the tributes paid by each. In works like the *Codex Mendoza*, scribes listed tributary settlements by their glyph and then depicted the tribute goods each city-state paid. Spanish glosses on later codices translated these logograms, as Aztec writing was an intricate (and sometimes

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[17] Smith, *The Aztecs*, 173-185; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 27ff.; Katz, *The Ancient American Civilizations*, 194-196.

[18] Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 27.

[19] Smith, *The Aztecs*, 173-185; Hassig, *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*, 27ff.; Katz, *The Ancient American Civilizations*, 194-196.

confounding) mish-mash of pictographic, phonetic, and ideographic elements. Like their

European contemporaries, and all conquering societies, the Nahuatl-speaking Aztecs

spread their language as they expanded their hegemonic reach. Though many of the city-

states and regions they annexed into their domains spoke languages other than Nahuatl,

such as Mixtec, Zapotec, Otomi, or Huastec, Aztec officials imposed new Nahuatl place-

names on many of them, either translating the place-name or creating a wholly new

name. In the Mixtec-speaking region on the southern edge of the Aztec Triple Alliance,

for instance, the Aztecs imposed the Nahuatl name of Teozacoalco on the Mixtecan

Chiyo Ca'nu. In some places these names replaced their originals, while only officials

appear to have used the others. Still, Nahuatl, a language that pre-dated the Aztec Empire

and was spoken by many non-Mexica peoples, expanded over a large region, even

spreading beyond the bounds of the empire as a language of trade and culture. Within the

Aztec domain, many merchants and nobles adopted Nahuatl as a lingua franca, and each

town had a corps of *nauatlato* ("Nahuatl interpreters") on hand to translate.[20] For Nahuas

as well as Castilians, toponyms, language, and cartography were linked to empire

building.

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[20] Berdan and Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza*, 2:3-7; Joyce Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 54-57, 153-189; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 144, 166; H. B. Nicholson, "Phoneticism in the Late Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Writing System," in *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: A Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, October 30th and 31st, 1971*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1973), 14-18; Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 36-37, 51-53; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 33; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 341-355; Smith, *The Aztecs*, 36-54; Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life of the Aztecs: On the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*, trans. Patrick O'Brian (London: Phoenix Press, 2002), 82-83; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 326ff.; León-Portilla, *La multilingüe toponimia de México*, 14, 20-25.

Indeed, in 1492, the very year Granada fell and Columbus discovered his Indies, the humanist grammarian Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522) presented his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* to Queen Isabel at Valladolid. The queen had appreciated his earlier Latin grammar, but did not understand the need for a guidebook explaining her mother tongue. The bishop of Avila, standing nearby, told her that to impose her laws on conquered peoples, she must impose her language on them as well.[21] Based on his reading of history, Nebrija explained the sentiment succinctly in his prologue: "una cosa hállo & sáco por conclusion mui cierta: que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio" (one thing I find and draw as a most certain conclusion: that always language was a companion of empire).[22] Royal officials might have attempted to use Castilian Spanish as the language of the empire, a common language for a heterogeneous population, but the effort failed miserably. Several laws of the sixteenth and seventeenth century endeavored to have Indians instructed in Castilian, in an effort to Christianize them. The friars and priests tasked with the conversion of Indians found the utilization of native languages much more effective. In New Spain, scholars churned out a spate of Nahuatl grammars, dictionaries, manuals, and religious works and preachers learned the language before they began their missions. In 1570 Felipe II even issued a *cédula* rescinding his own previous orders, and those of his father Emperor Carlos V, that tried to impose the Castilian language on Indians. Instead, he mandated that all *indios* in New

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[21] Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 70, 524n40; Kamen, *Empire*, 3-4; Menéndez Pidal, *La lengua de Cristóbal Colón*, 49; Richard L. Kagan, *Clio & the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 16-17; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 331.

[22] Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana (Salamanca, 1492)*, ed. Ignacio González-Llubera (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 3.

Spain were to use Nahuatl. Native languages, like native culture, survived the Spanish

conquest, though they were Hispanicized in the process. The encounter with Indians

changed the language of the Spanish settlers as well, especially with the adoption of

many Nahuatl loanwords.[23]

Early Spanish governments, like the religious orders, were dependent on the use

of Nahuatl and other indigenous languages in New Spain. The *conquistadores* from

Cortés onward were dependent on Indian maps, and the toponyms written on them, for

information that aided conquest or governance. In 1524 a German press at Nürnberg

published a Latin translation of the second and third letters of Cortés to the Emperor

Carlos.[24] Included was a printed, woodcut map (see fig. 7.2) that depicted the coast of

the Gulf of Mexico on the left-hand side of the document (oriented with south on top),

and a unique bird's eye view of the city of Tenochtitlan as it stood before its conquest on

the right-hand side (oriented with west at the top). The creator of the map (often called

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[23] Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 52-67; Walter D. Mignolo, "Nebrija in the New World: The Question of the Letter, the Colonization of Amerindian Languages, and the Discontinuity of the Classical Tradition," *L'Homme* 32, no. 122/124 (December 1992): 196-200; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 331-379; David Rojinsky, *Companion to Empire: A Genealogy of the Written Word in Spain and New Spain, c. 550-1550* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 93ff.; Claudia Parodi, "The Indianization of Spaniards in New Spain," in *Mexican Indigenous Languages at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Margarita Hidalgo (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 29-52; Richard W. Pointer, *Encounters of the Spirit: Native Americans and European Colonial Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 14-42, passim; Kamen, *Empire*, 499. For more on the Indianization of Spanish culture in the New World, see Parodi, "The Indianization of Spaniards in New Spain."

[24] Hernando Cortés, *Praeclara Ferdina[n]di Cortesii de noua maris oceani Hyspania narratio sacratissimo, ac inuictissimo Carolo Romanoru[m] Imperatori semper Augusto, Hyspaniaru[m] &c. Regi anno Domini M.D.XX. transmissa : in qua continentur plurima scitu, & admiratione digna circa egregias earu[m] p[ro]uintiaru[m] urbes, incolaru[m] mores, pueroru[m] sacrificia, & reliogiosas personas, potissimu[m]q[ue] de celebri ciuitate Temixtitan variisq[ue] illi[us] mirabilib[us], qu[a]e lege[n]te[m] mirifice delectabu[n]t / p[er] Doctore[m] Petru[m] Saguorgnanu[m] Foro Iuliense[m] ... ex Hispano idiomate in Latinu[m] versa*, trans. Petrus Savorgnanus (Nuremberg: Fridericum Peypus, 1524); Rafael Heliodoro Valle, *Bibliografía de Hernán Cortés* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), 76-77; Dominique Gresle-Pouligny, *Un plan pour Mexico-Tenochtitlan: Les représentations de la cité et l'imaginaire européen (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999). Gresle-Pouligny's provides an extensive study of the Cortés map, placing it in its cultural milieu.

Figure 7.2. The "Cortés map."

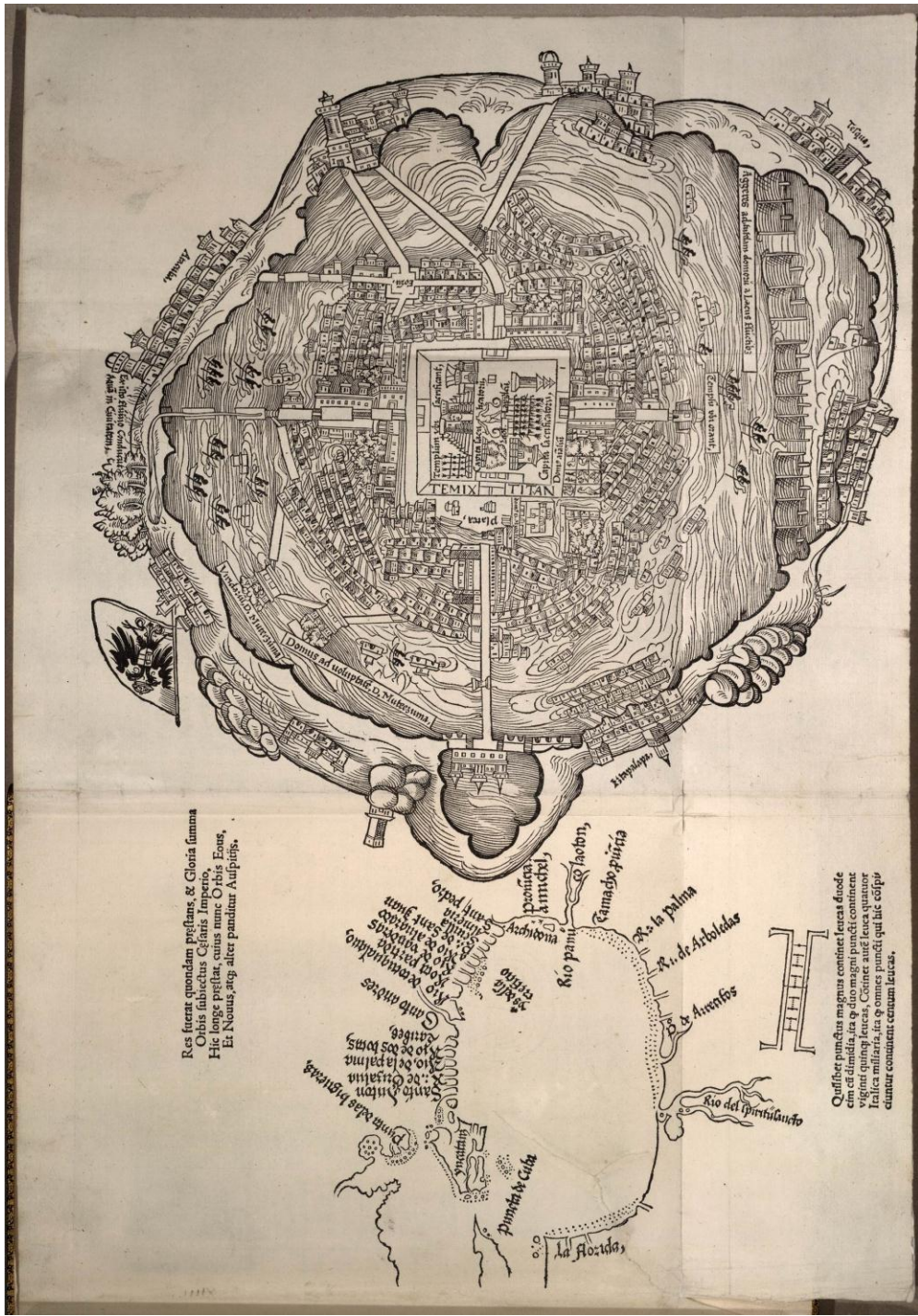This map of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan has both Amerindian and European sources. *Source:* "[Cortés map]" (Nuremberg: Fridericum Peypus, 1524), in *Praeclara Ferdina[n]di Cortesii de noua maris oceani Hyspania narratio sacratissimo*, F1230 .C883 1524m, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book/Special Collections Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

either the "Cortés map" or the "Nuremberg map") is unknown, though the European

xylographer probably based it on copies of charts Cortés sent to Europe. The map of the

gulf consisted primarily of European names, the toponyms previous expeditions had

given to the coast while they sailed along it. The map showed Sevilla and Almería, the

Spanish names for two native towns that appeared in the second letter, though these

places retained their indigenous monikers: Cempoallan and Nautecal. Cortés's original

maps certainly utilized Aztec information, such as the map of the coast that

Motecuhzoma had provided him. The map labeled one river "Rio de Totuqualquo," and

showed it extending a considerable length into the interior—doubtless due to Indian

information.[25]

The city view of Tenochtitlan on the Cortés map showed many features that

betray its Mexica sources (see fig. 7.3). The European artist that created it obviously

utilized European conventions, drawing the houses, towers, and dike system in European

style. The portrayal of the lake-borne, canal-crossed Tenochtitlan also owed some debt

to contemporary depictions of Venice, Italy's lagoon-ensconced, canal-strewn city. Art

historian Barbara Mundy, countering previous historians who saw the chart as a

singularly European document, noted several Mexica attributes. The illustration of the

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[25] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, xiii; Barbara E. Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital: The 1524 Nuremberg Map of Tenochtitlan, Its Sources and Meanings," *Imago Mundi* 50 (1998): 25-26; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 194-197; Henry Stevens, *Historical and Geographical Notes on the Earliest Discoveries in America, 1453-1530* (New Haven, CT: Office of the American Journal of Science, 1869), 38; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 94; Gresle-Pouligny, *Un plan pour Mexico-Tenochtitlan*, 21; Orozco y Berra, *Materiales para una cartografia mexicana*, 164; "[Cortés map]" (Nuremberg: Fridericum Peypus, 1524), In Praeclara Ferdina[n]di Cortesii de noua maris oceani Hyspania narratio sacratissimo, F1230 .C883 1524m, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book/Special Collections Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Gresle-Pouligny and Orozco y Berra both maintain that the long, native-named river is called Totuqualauo, while Stevens has Cocuqualquo. Nobody has identified which river is indicated.
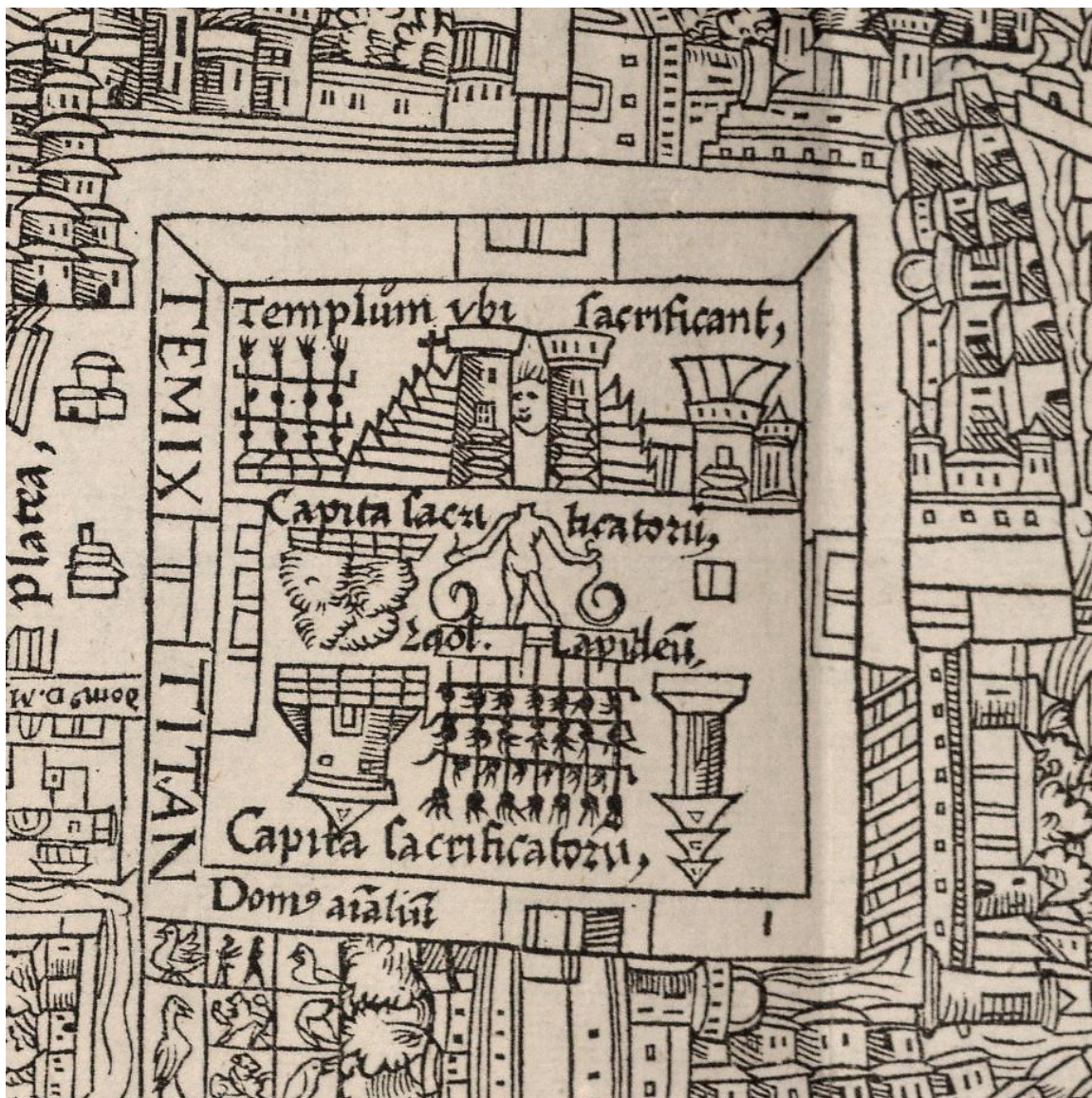
Figure 7.3. "Cortes map" detail.
The "Cortés map" depicted the central temple district of Tenochtitlan complete with a headless idol, a rack of skulls, and a representation of the twin-topped *huey teocalli* (or, in Spanish, *templo mayor*), the "great temple." The sun peeking through the towers could be seen only on the equinoxes. *Source*: "[Cortés map]" (Nuremberg: Fridericum Peypus, 1524), in *Praeclara Ferdina[n]di Cortesii de noua maris oceani Hyspania narratio sacratissimo*, F1230 .C883 1524m, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Rare Book/Special Collections Reading Room, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

city as sitting on a circular lake mimicked Aztec maps and histories, though the system of

lakes in the Valley of Anáhuac and Lake Texcoco, were not so round-shaped. The

temple precinct at the center of Tenochtitlan on the map accurately showed the great twin

pyramid-topped temple (Nahuatl, *huey teocalli* and Spanish, *templo mayor*, both meaning

"great temple") dedicated to Tlaloc (the god of rain, fertility, and water) and

Huitzilopochtli (the god of war and the sun, as well as patron of the city). A little sun,

drawn with a face and rays for hair, peeked between the gap between the pyramids, an

event that Aztec priests (*teopixqui*) standing on the circular temple dedicated to

Quetzalcoatl (god of the wind and knowledge; patron of the priesthood) could view on

the equinoxes.[26]

Furthermore, the Cortés map showed city as separated into four districts, which

the Aztecs called *nauhcampan* or *altepexexeloliz*, representing the four directions of the

winds, or *nauhcampas*. In Aztec cosmography, the earth, or *cem anahuac*, was a land

surrounded by water consisting of these four parts (winds) and the world's navel, or

tlaxico. The physical layout of Tenochtitlan mimicked these cosmological ideas, as the

temple precinct surrounding the twin-topped *templo mayor* mirrored the *tlaxico*, and the

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[26] "[Cortés map]."; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, xiii-xiv; Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital," 13-24; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 195; Mundy, "Aztec Geography and Spatial Imagination," 121-125; Vincent. Virga, *Cartographia: Mapping Civilizations* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2007), 178-182; Lez Smart, *Maps That Made History: The Influential, the Eccentric and the Sublime* (Kew, UK: National Archives, 2004), 56-59; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 81; López Luján, *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan*, 67; Clendinnen, *Aztecs*, 298-299; Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), s.v. "teopixqui"; Lopez, "Negotiating Colonialism," 14-20; Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *Tenochtitlán* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 2006). Even the Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who probably never visted Venice himself, called Tenochtitlan a "gran ciudad y poblada en el agua como Venecia" (great city and settled on the water like Venice); see Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 1:69. For a detailed discussion on the history and structure of the pre-Conquest Mexica capital, see Matos Moctezuma, *Tenochtitlán*.

four quarters of the city echoed the four parts of the world. Other native cosmographers held similar notions, and many cities in Mesoamerica followed this four-quadrant pattern. The image of Tenochtitlan in the post-conquest *Codex Mendoza* depicted these four sections, in a similar fashion to the Cortés map.[27] These quadrants in Tenochtitlan carried names, clockwise from the northwest: Cuepopan, Atzacoalco, Zoquiapan (or Teopan), and Moyotlan. Each was also dedicated to an Aztec god.[28] The Cortés map, though executed by a European, contained information from Aztec sources, and Europeans relied on native geography and place-names to govern their empire. They did not need to capriciously rename places to rule.

In the waning months of 1521 and first part of 1522, Cortés subdued various regions of the old Aztec hegemony, personally commanding some missions (called *entradas*, expeditions organized for exploration or conquest) himself and sending his

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[27] "[Cortés map]."; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 195, 229-237; Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital," 13-24; Mundy, "Aztec Geography and Spatial Imagination," 121-125; Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 81; Lopez, "Negotiating Colonialism," 6-20; Enrique Florescano, *Memory, Myth, and Time in Mexico: From the Aztecs to Independence*, trans. Albert G. Bork (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 12-16; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 22; Eduard Seler, *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer: An Old Mexican Picture Manuscript in the Liverpool Free Public Museums (12014/M)*, trans. A. H. Keane (London: T. and A. Constable, 1901), 5-31; Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*, 29. Another view of the structure of the cosmos, according to general Mesoamerican cosmography, consisted of a great world tree at the center and four lesser world trees at the corners of the earth. These smaller trees corresponded to the cardinal directions (like the winds). The Aztecs adopted this cosmography in addition to that of the winds (perhaps they could be harmonized); a pre-Columbian map of the cosmos created by the Mixtec in the Codex Fejérváry-Mayer showed this universal configuration; a Mayan cosmographical map in the Codex Madrid, dating to before the arrival of the Spanish, shows a similar quadripartite universe; see Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 229-237, and Seler, *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*, 5-31.

[28] Fernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, *Cronica mexicana*, ed. Manuel Orozco y Berra and José M. Vigil (Mexico City: Ireneo Paz, 1878), 451; López Luján, *The Offerings of the Templo Mayor of Tenochtitlan*, 67-68; Gabriel Escobar y Ezeta, "El régimen político-institucional nahuatl" (Thesis for licenciatura en derecho, Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965), 69; Lucía Mier y Terán Rocha, *La primera traza de la ciudad de México, 1524-1535* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2005), 1:107-108; Katz, *The Ancient American Civilizations*, 138-142; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 16-19; Matos Moctezuma, *Tenochtitlán*, 47; Jonathan G. Truitt, "Nahuas and Catholicism in Mexico Tenochtitlan: Religious Faith and Practice and La Capilla De San Josef De Los Naturales, 1523-1700" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 2009), 15-16.

lieutenants on others. Bolstered by a trickle of new settlers and adventurers from Cuba,

Cortés divided land and created new Spanish villas to enlarge his nascent Nueva España

del mar Océano—a creation still unofficial until Carlos V gave his imprimatur. In 1521

he moved Segura de la Frontera, which was basically a garrison of soldiers, from Tepeaca

to the Tututepec region on the Pacific coast. To honor his native city, he created the town

of Medellín in the Valley of Oaxaca, which Aztec nobles and Nahuatl tribute lists (like

the *Codex Mendoza*) insisted was the source of most of their gold. Historian Anthony

Pagden, in his translation of Cortés's five letters from Mexico, noted that Medellín's

creation provided the conquistador with another set of Spanish *cabildo* officials to protest

against Cristóbal de Tapia, an official sent to investigate and arrest Cortés for disobeying

Velázquez. Medellín, more of a legal fiction than actual settlement, moved nearer to the

Vera Cruz coast in 1523 before settlers abandoned it in 1528.[29]

On the holy day of Pentecost, called the Feast of the Holy Spirit, in 1522, Cortés's

lieutenant Gonzalo de Sandoval founded Villa del Espíritu Santo in the Tabasco region,

securing Indian allegiance to Spain and handing out *encomiendas*.[30] Cortés himself

raided northwards to the Pánuco region to subdue the Huastec Indians who lived near the

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[29] López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 298-312; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 269, 495n87, 496n94; Thomas, *Conquest*, 533ff.; Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 13; Salvador de Madariaga, *Hernán Cortés: Conqueror of Mexico*. (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1967), 403; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 169; Marquez and Wold, *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms*, s.v. "entrada." Tapia was a government judge sent by officials in Spain to investigate Cortés's behavior; the creation of another Spanish "town" with municipal officials loyal to Cortés allowed the conquistador to present Tapia with just one more set of documents praising and commending his actions and their legality.

[30] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 283-284; López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 300; Cervantes de Salazar, *Cronica de la Nueva España*, 805; Thomas, *Conquest*, 556. In 1825, as part of a general trend of honoring Mexico's Indian past, the federal government renamed the site Coatzacoalcos for the river that ran through the city.

coast along the Pánuco River, a sedentary farming people who spoke a Mayan language. Here, too, the governor of Jamaica, Francisco de Garay, had received permission to plant a colony, which he gave the name Vitoria Garayana, honoring his native Basque province, which has cities named both Vitoria and Garay. Cortés outmaneuvered Garay and founded a villa along the Río Pánuco called Santisteban del Puerto—there is a Santisteban del Puerto in the Jaén province of Andalucía—in December 1522. Spaniards named the surrounding province Pánuco (a native word probably meaning "place where they arrived by sea"), and most people called the settlement by that name, a toponym that has survived to the present day.[31]

The toponyms given to these places followed established patterns, honoring the Catholic faith and the cities of Spain. The Spaniards bestowed these Castilian names on newly created settlements, Cortés and his associates did not rename preexisting Indian cities. Though these new towns themselves were meant to project Spanish power into freshly subdued regions, the European names alone could not project power. Indeed, Indian places and place-names had their own sort of cultural power and cachet. In the months following the near destruction of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, Cortés left

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[31] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 296; Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, 2:84; López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 305-307; Thomas, *Conquest*, 559-560; Martín Reyes Vayssade, ed., *Cartografía histórica de Tamaulipas* (Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas: Instituto Tamaulipeco de Cultura, 1990), 56-57; Gabriel Gavira, *Nombres indigenas de todas las ciudades y municipios de la República Mexicana con la traducción de su significado en castellano* (Mexico City, 1953), 67; Donald E. Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán and the Province of Panuco in New Spain, 1518-1533* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967), 46-68; Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea: The Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500-1685* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1985), 131-146; García Sánchez, *Atlas toponímico de España*, 22, 100, 140, 294. Some authors, like Bancroft or the usually scrupulous Weddle, give *Victoria* Garayana instead of the correct *Vitoria* Garayana, losing the double-barreled connection to the Basque region. (Some documents do use "Victoria.") King Sancho VI Garcés el Sabio of Navarra (r. 1150–1194) of Navarra founded the town in 1181 to celebrate a victory on the Basque site of Gasteiz. Today it is officially Vitoria-Gasteiz.

only a token garrison at the site and depopulated the entire island it sat upon. He even

threatened to hang any Mexica who tried to resettle the place. By the early months of

1522, however, he decided to rebuild the city and make it the capital of Nueva España.

In his third letter to Carlos V, Cortés stated that after already creating three Spanish

villas, he still wanted to found a Spanish city near the great Lake Texcoco.[32] He reasoned

that the old Aztec capital "had once been so renowned and of such importance" that it

should be rebuilt.[33] He decided to rebuild the city because "esta cibdad en tiempo de los

yndios avia sido señora de las otras provincias" (this city in the time of the Indians had

been mistress of the other provinces).[34] The rebuilding began under the direction of

Alonso García Bravo, a soldier who had helped erect a fortress at Vera Cruz.[35]

The city's center, which had housed the temple precinct and the *temple mayor*,

would henceforth be the site of the main cathedral and the palaces of government. Cortés

and García Bravo determined that the several city blocks surrounding this *plaza mayor*

("grand plaza"), the *traza* (the "traced" or "laid out" section), would house the population

of Spaniards. This was the center of the kingdom of New Spain for Europeans, the

Hispanic *res publica*, or *república de españoles*. The colonizers relegated the Indians to

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[32] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 270; Thomas, *Conquest*, 560; Sergio Rivera-Ayala, "Riding High, the Horseman's View: Urban Space and Body in México en 1554," in *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience*, ed. Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press ; Associated University Presses, 2002), 258-259.

[33] Second letter, in Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 270. The quotation is from Pagden's translation; Cortés's sixteenth century Castilian is inscrutable here.

[34] According to a suit by Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia quoted in José María Marroqui, *La ciudad de México: contiene el origen de los nombres de muchas de sus calles y plazas, del de varios establecimientos públicos y privados, y no pocas noticias curiosas y entretenidas* (Mexico City: La Europeá, 1900), 1:23.

[35] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 495n89; Thomas, *Conquest*, 560-563.

four districts surrounding the Spanish center of the city, mirroring the quarters of the destroyed Mexica capital. This Indian settlement lived under their own leaders and regulations, much like the separate status granted Muslim and Jewish communities during the *reconquista* (the *aljamas*), this was the *república de indios*.[36] Consistent with Spain's Christianizing mission, the four Indian names of the *nauhcampan* received saintly prefixes as Spanish *barrios*: Santa María la Redonda Cuepopan, San Sebastián Atzacoalco, San Pablo Zoquiapan, and San Juan Moyotlan. The separate *cabildo* that governed the city's *indios*, operated under the auspices of the last emperor Cuauhtémoc (Cortés's prisoner since his capture), bore the name San Juan Tenochtitlan. The *cabildo* of Tenochtitlan's old sister-city of Tlatelolco now carried the additional prefix of Santiago.[37] Most sources based on Nahua informants in the sixteenth century dropped the references to the patron saints, and in common parlance, the *indios* probably only used the ancient native names for these *barrios*.[38]

Cortés moved his temporary seat of government at Coyoacán, a town on the southern edge of Lake Texcoco, to the rebuilt Tenochtitlan in 1524. It then served as the

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[36] Thomas, *Conquest*, 542, 561; Lopez, "Negotiating Colonialism," 27-32; Abelardo Levaggi, "República de indios y república de españoles en los reinos de Indias," *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos*, no. 23 (2001): 419-428; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 85-86; Montemayor, "Ciudaded hispánicas y signos de identidad," 289ff.; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 24, 177-181; Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 33.

[37] Tezozómoc, *Cronica mexicana*, 460; Escobar y Ezeta, "El régimen político-institucional nahuatl," 69; Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, 37, 173, 370-371; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 24-26; Lopez, "Negotiating Colonialism," 31-32; Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, 46.

[38] See Tezozómoc, *Cronica mexicana*, 460; Escobar y Ezeta, "El régimen político-institucional nahuatl," 69; Durán, *The History of the Indies of New Spain*, 46. Interestingly, Friar Diego Durán, usually assiduous in transmitting Nahua sources and history, referred to these quadrants only by their Castilian names.

center of the imperial government of New Spain, first under Cortés as *gobernador*

("governor")—Carlos V legitimized, temporarily, his conquest and military rule in 1522;

then as the home of the *real audiencia* (a "royal court" with political, administrative, and

judicial functions) from 1528; and finally as the seat of the *virrey* ("viceroy") from 1535.

The official name of the new Spanish city was in flux, though Cortés and the *cabildo* did

not bestow a new name on the city or add a saint's name to it. The Spanish used some

form of the words "México" or "Tenochtitlan" to refer to the city—sometimes one,

sometimes the other, sometimes both in various orders. Scribes spelled Tenochtitlan in a

spectacular number of ways.[39] Cortés mostly used Temixtitan in his letters (though he

used "ciudad de México" once, he used "ciudad de Temixtitan" in the same paragraph);

this is the form on the Cortés map of 1524.[40] Historian Oviedo wrote of "la gran cibdad

de Temistitan" (the great city of Temistitan).[41] The simple soldier Bernal Díaz del

Castillo generally used México while the Conquistador Anónimo called the city

"Temestitán México."[42] The 1522 *cédula* from Valladolid officially confirming Cortés as

governor and captain general read, "Temistitlán-México." A royal command sent the

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[39] Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 321-323; George Peter Hammond, ed., *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the Bancroft Library* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 2:136; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 1:12-14n12; Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 9n1; Thomas, *Conquest*, xix; Elliott, *Imperial Spain*; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 13, 180-183; Marquez and Wold, *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms*, s.v. "audiencia."

[40] Cortés, *Cartas y documentos*; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*; "[Cortés map]." See, for instance, *Cartas y documentos*, 262, and *Letters from Mexico*, 366 for his use of both toponyms.

[41] Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 2:290ff.

[42] Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico*; Conquistador Anónimo, "Relación de algunas cosas de Nueva España."

next year to Francisco de Garay, the governor of Jamaica, used "Tesmistitlan."[43] The

oldest records of the Spanish *cabildo* from 1524 echoed Cortés's Temixtitan. Another

cabildo document in 1524 used two forms in the same document: Temistitan-Mexico and

Tenuxtitan-Mexico; a record from 1528 used just "cibdad de Mexico" (city of Mexico).[44]

The Spanish settlers probably pronounced these differently spelled words in a similar

fashion.

Many scholars have interpreted this period of history and the name change in an

odd fashion. Alejandro Lugo, a professor of anthropology and Latina/Latino studies at

the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, for instance, has repeated the old saw

that Cortés, in a fit of colonial appropriation, renamed Tenochtitlan "Mexico City." Lugo

wrote: "That Cortés changed the official name of the indigenous city from 'Tenochtitlán'

to 'Mexico City' is well documented."[45] Lugo also stated: "By 1524, Cortés had already

received from the king [Carlos V], on July 4, 1523, the 'Coat of Arms for Mexico

City.'"[46] This shows how little the toponyms used by the *conquistadors* and settlers has

been studied, as the city's *cabildo* generally used various forms of Tenochtitlan for

several decades. And the order from Carlos V granting arms to the city referred to

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[43] Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza, eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los archivos del reino y muy especialmente del de Indias* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1864), 26:59, 71.

[44] Ignacio Bejarano, ed., *Actas de Cabildo del Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Mexico* (Mexico City: Aguilar e hijos, 1889), 1:4, 91-92, 183.

[45] Alejandro Lugo, *Fragmented Lives, Assembled Parts: Culture, Capitalism, and Conquest at the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 20.

[46] Ibid.

"Tenoxtitlán-México."[47] A later document that described the coat of arms called the city

"la gran Cibdad de Temustitan Mexico."[48]

Still, many historians have erroneously claimed Cortés himself renamed the city

"México," which is untrue.[49] Lugo concluded, after noting the un-Christian human

sacrifices of the old Aztec capital: "Thus, Mexico City was established in Tenochtitlán as

a form of religious revenge."[50] If so, this made little sense, as México probably derived

from the Nahuatl words "Mexitli" (place where [the god of war] Mexitli lives) or

"Metztli-xictli-co" (moon-navel [of the world]-place). The former referred to a Nahua

god while the latter probably echoed the supposed structure of the Aztec cosmos, where

the Mexica capital, and the temple precinct in particular, was the center of the world.

Tenochtitlan might mean either "in the place of Tenoch," its founder, or "near the prickly

pear growing on a rock," a reference to the founding myth of the city.[51] If "religious

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[47] Marta Lilia Bonilla Zazueta, *México a través de los signos: los escudos de México* (Mexico City: Once Ríos Editores, 2002), 83.

[48] Bejarano, *Actas de Cabildo del Ayuntamiento de la ciudad de Mexico*, 1:211-212.

[49] See, for instance, Herman Lee Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 17; Andrew Coe, *Mexico City* (Lincolnwood, IL: Passport Books, 1994), 15; Jonathan Kandell, *La capital: The Biography of Mexico City* (New York: Random House, 1988), 131-132.

[50] Lugo, *Fragmented Lives, Assembled Parts*, 20.

[51] López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 156-159; Gutierre Tibón, *Mexico—The Name* (Winnipeg, Canada: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1959); Francesco Saverio Clavigero, *The History of Mexico: Collected from Spanish and Mexican Historians, from Manuscripts and Ancient Paintings of the Indians*, trans. Charles Cullen (Philadelphia: Budd and Bartram, 1804), 1:162; Manuel de Olaguíbel, *La ciudad de México y el Distrito federal: toponimia azteca* (Toluca: Lambert Hermanos, 1898), 24-26; Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 459-460n2; Paul F. Griffin, "Geographical Elements in the Toponomy of Mexico," *The Scientific Monthly* 76, no. 1 (January 1953): 21; Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, 9, 9nn1-2; T. R. Fehrenbach, *Fire and Blood: A History of Mexico* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1985), 58-59; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 331; Andrews, *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*, 500; Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*, 145, 225; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 14; Levy, *Conquistador*, 339; Tsouras, *Montezuma*, xii-xiii; José Ignacio Hualde, *The Sounds of Spanish* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

revenge" was the goal of Cortés, why not give the capital of New Spain a Christian name? Why not a Spanish one? In fact, as the naming patterns that Spanish settlers and sailors had developed demonstrate, there was no need to replace unfamiliar toponyms with familiar ones in order to rule.

The Spanish did not need to conquer a place with Spanish names in order to bring it onto their expanding Hispano-Indian empire, and they often utilized the place-names of their indigenous allies in their conquests. The *conquistadores* that followed in Cortés's wake followed the general patterns of his conquest, including the retention and giving of place-names. In 1523 Cortés dispatched Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras (ca. 1485–1541) to the southern frontiers of the Aztec hegemony to accept the allegiance of peoples on the Pacific coast. Alvarado made this first foray into the territory of the southern Maya with a host of Nahuatl-speaking soldiers from Tlaxcala and the village of Guaquechula (or Quauhquechollan), the latter Alvarado's *encomienda* grant. The city that the local K'iche-speaking population called Q'umarkaj ("place of old reeds"), Alvarado and his Nahua allies called by its Nahuatl translation: Utatlán ("place of reeds"). His pacification of this region took several months, he completed it in April 1524, during which time he received the assistance of a city-state he called Guatemala. In fact, this city was the capital of a group of Kaqchikel-speaking Mayans, and they called the settlement Iximche

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2005), 27. Mexico was probably pronounced *meh-shee-koh*; Tenochtitlan probably sounded similar to *teh-nosh-tee-tlan*. The Latin letter *x* represented a sound in Nahuatl approximating the English *sh*. Over time, in Spanish, the *x* came to represent the *j* sound in Spanish (like *h* in English). Thus, even in Mexican Spanish, "Mexico," *meh-shee-koh* evolved into *meh-hee-koh*. See also, *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.v. "x."

("maize tree"). Again, Alvarado's Nahuatl-speaking auxiliaries used their name for the

site: Cuauhtemallan (or Quauhtemallan), also probably meaning "maize tree."[52]

The Kaqchikel, at first allied with the Spanish against their rivals the K'iche,

turned against Alvarado because of his cruel treatment and exorbitant demands for gold.

It took several years for the conquistador to finally subdue the region militarily. In the

meantime, on July 25, 1524, the feast day of Saint James, patron saint of Spain and

conquistadors, Alvarado founded a capital for his conquests near Iximche.[53] He wrote to

Cortés that he created, "en nombre de su majestad una ciudad de españoles, que se dice la

ciudad del Señor Santiago" (in the name of His Majesty, a city of Spaniards, that is called

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[52] Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras, "Relación hecha por Pedro de Albarado a Hernando Cortés," in *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, ed. Enrique de Vedia (Madrid: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1852), 457-459; Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras, "Otra relación hecha por Pedro de Albarado a Hernando Cortés," in *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, ed. Enrique de Vedia (Madrid: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1852), 460-464; Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras, *An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala in 1524*, trans. Sedley J. Mackie (Boston: Milford House, 1972), 50, 86; López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 314-320; Robert M. Carmack, *Evolución del reino K'iche'* (Guatemala City: Cholsamaj Fundacion, 2001), 31, 172, 516-517; Florine G. L. Asselbergs, "The Conquest in Images: Stories of Tlaxcalteca and Quauhquecholteca Conquistadors," in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, ed. Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 83-84; Laura E. Matthew, "Whose Conquest? Nahua, Zapoteca, and Mixteca Allies in the Conquest of Central America," in *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica*, ed. Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 123n18; Robert J. Sharer and Loa P. Traxler, *The Ancient Maya* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 763-766; Jorge F. Guillemín, *Iximché: capital del antiguo reino cakchiquel* (Guatemala City: Instituto de Antropología e Historia de Guatemala, 1965), 56; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 56; William George Lovell, *Conquest and Survival in Colonial Guatemala: A Historical Geography of the Cuchumatán Highlands, 1500-1821* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 56, 58-66; Asimov, *Words on the Map*, 94; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 331-332. The etymology of "Guatemala" is uncertain, and therr are several theories as to the meaning of the name. Other theories include "volcano of water," "land of the eagle," "place of trees," "rotten tree," "woodpile," and so forth.

[53] Alvarado y Contreras, "Otra relación hecha por Pedro de Albarado," 1:463; Alvarado y Contreras, *An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala*, 50, 86; Francisco Hernández Arana Xajilá, *The Annals of the Cakchiquels: The Original Text, with a Translation, Notes and Introduction*, trans. Daniel G. Brinton (Philadelphia: Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature, 1885), 176-190; Thomas, *Conquest*, 190-191; Domingo Juarros, *Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala* (Guatemala City: Imprenta de Luna, 1857), 1:85; Sharer and Traxler, *The Ancient Maya*, 763-766; Guillemín, *Iximché*; Dorothy H. Popenoe, *Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), 7ff.; Adrián Recinos, *Pedro de Alvarado: Conquistador de México y Guatemala* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1952), 100; Lovell, *Conquest and Survival in Colonial Guatemala*, 58-66.

the city of Lord Santiago).[54] The official name of the city was Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala ("Santiago of the Knights of Guatemala"), though only the word Guatemala survived the settlement's various moves, as floods and volcanic lava destroyed the city several times. The lava from a 1541 eruption of the nearby volcano killed Alvarado after a lifetime of conquests, intrigues, and adventures. Spanish authorities called the region Guatemala, and made it an *audiencia* and eventually a captaincy general, usually called the Reino de Guatemala ("Kingdom of Guatemala"). After a destructive earthquake in 1773, the royal government moved the capital to a safer site, the present-day Guatemala City.[55] Like many Indian toponyms, the fact that the name survived probably depended on the number of Indians who lived nearby (including Nahuatl-speaking settlers) and the relative ease of pronunciations for the Spanish.

The Spanish found the Maya of the Yucatán Peninsula difficult to subdue, as the political and social intricacy of the peninsula, coupled with the fierce opposition of the Indians to the Europeans, meant that some areas took decades to control. The first major attempt to bring the Yucatán Maya under Spanish control began with the expedition of Francisco de Montejo y Alvarez (ca. 1479–ca. 1553) in 1527. Emperor Carlos V tasked Montejo, a native of Salamanca in León and a veteran of the Grijalva and Cortés expeditions, with conquering Yucatán in 1526. While his *entrada* of 1527 to 1529 was ultimately unsuccessful, he did establish an ephemeral town near the Maya site of Xelha

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[54] Alvarado y Contreras, *An Account of the Conquest of Guatemala*, 50, 86.

[55] Popenoe, *Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala*, 7ff.; Stewart, *Names on the Globe*, 331-332; Juarros, *Compendio de la historia de la ciudad de Guatemala*, 1:249-252; Christopher H. Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala, 1541-1773: City, Caste, and the Colonial Experience* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). For more on the first capital of Guatemala, today's Antigua Guatemala, commonly called Antigua, see Lutz, *Santiago de Guatemala*.

to provide a Spanish government for the region. He appointed municipal officials to the

cabildo of his new Salamanca de Xelha, named for his hometown, erecting temporary

dwellings. After several months of futile marching, harrowing diseases, and hostile

natives, Montejo abandoned his attempted conquest and returned to New Spain to gather

men for a new venture. The Spaniards abandoned the paper city of Salamanca, moving

its *cabildo* to Xamanha, Xicalango, then Acalan, and finally Campeche on the western

end of Yucatán near the pacified Tabasco region. Montejo and his aide Alonso Dávila

(or de Ávila) tried to subdue Yucatán from this western terminus in over the next few

years but were unsuccessful.[56]

In 1530 Montejo designated his son, Francisco de Montejo y León (1502–1565),

nicknamed El Mozo ("the lad"), lieutenant governor and appointed him to try taking

Yucatán from the Tabasco area. Meanwhile, beginning in 1531, Dávila attempted a

military campaign from the south. The Maya managed to drive these two conquerors and

their armies from the peninsula in 1535, though in the meantime the Spanish had

managed to found another Salamanca in the Campeche area, a Villa Real on the east

coast neat a lake called Bacalar, and two settlments named Ciudad Real (echoing the

birthplace of Dávila in Castilla), one on the north coast and another astride the abandoned

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[56] Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, 19-24; Robert S. Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan, 1517-1550* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 17-66; Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20-37; Matthew Restall, *Maya Conquistador* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 3-28; J. Leslie Mitchell, *The Conquest of the Maya* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1935), 251-269; Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*, 19-20; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 59; Kimberly Henke Breuer, "Reshaping the Cosmos: Maya Society on the Yucatecan Frontier" (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2004), 71-82; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 248-249; Peter Gerhard, *The Southeast Frontier of New Spain*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 14-15, 69-70, 120. The classic history of the conquest of the Yucatán is Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan*; for the Spanish and Maya society of the Peninsula during and after the colonial encounter, see Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*. Restall, *Maya Conquistador*, has offered Maya views of the conquest.

pyramids of Chichen Itza. Again the fierce resistance of the Maya had expelled the invaders from their lands.[57] These towns, though ephemeral, followed standard Spanish naming conventions, as the would-be *conquistadores* built settlements for Spanish government on new sites giving them Spanish names, some transferred from the Old World.

For five years, the various Maya polities basically shut the Spanish out of Yucatán. In 1540, however, Montejo the Elder had his son, Montejo el Mozo, and his nephew, another Francisco de Montejo (1514–1572), called El Sobrino for his relationship to the *adelantado*, begin another campaign of conquest. In January 1542, Montejo el Mozo founded Mérida on a nearly abandoned Maya city called T'ho (an abbreviated form of a longer name, Ichkansihó). The deserted buildings supposedly reminded El Mozo of the old Roman architecture of Mérida in Spain. Similarly, in May 1543, Montejo el Sobrino founded Valladolid, named for the old Castilian capital, at a site called Chauac-ha. In 1545 the Spaniards moved the city to another Maya town called Zaki. After reconstituting the *cabildo*, the *conquistadores* dismantled the local native temple to build a church, and the Europeans laid out a proper Spanish settlement. Local Maya still utilize the old pre-contact names for these and many other locales. The Spaniards established a final permanent Salamanca, Salamanca de Bacalar, on the eastern side of the Peninsula in 1544.[58] Most of these Spanish cities were built on generally new

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[57] Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, 19-24; Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan*, 67-175; Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, 20-37; Restall, *Maya Conquistador*, 3-28; Mitchell, *The Conquest of the Maya*, 251-269; Breuer, "Reshaping the Cosmos," 82-105; Gerhard, *The Southeast Frontier of New Spain*, 14, 70, 140; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 91, 248, 329.

sites, though the imposition of Valladolid over the Indian city of Zaki presents an exception to the general rule. It may have been done because Zaki was in a prime location for a Spanish city, or as a consciuous attempt to impose "Spanishness" on a recalcitrant and rebellious population.

The political import of place-names was not lost on other conquerors. Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán (ca. 1490–1558), of a noble family of Guadalajara long in service to the monarchy, accepted a 1525 appointment to the governorship of the Pánuco region, officially called Pánuco y Vitoria Garayana. This was part of a concerted attempt by the royal government in Spain to curb the growing power of Cortés, who had militarily countered the attempts of Cristóbal de Olid to control Honduras and Garay's attempt to colonize the Pánuco, claiming they were parts of his Nueva España. Landing at Santisteban del Puerto in 1527 to take up his position, he immediately became a thorn in the side of Cortés at Tenochtitlan, handing out his own *encomienda* grants, enslaving Indians, and claiming territory. This thorn became pricklier when, later that same year, Emperor Carlos V named Guzmán the president of the five man *real audiencia* that was to rule New Spain and investigate the dealings of Cortés and his allies. He attempted to strip Cortés, who was in Spain trying to shore up his political position at the time, of as much power and wealth as possible.[59] During this time Guzmán decided to carve out his

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[58] Chamberlain, *The Conquest and Colonization of Yucatan*, 177-236; Restall, *Maya Conquistador*, 3-28; Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests*, 20-37; Breuer, "Reshaping the Cosmos," 105-118; Mitchell, *The Conquest of the Maya*, 251-269; Gerhard, *The Southeast Frontier of New Spain*, 114-115, 140; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 172, 248, 322; Erik Boot, *Continuity and Change in Text and Image at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Mexico: A Study of the Inscriptions, Iconography, and Architecture at a Late Classic to Early Postclassic Maya Site* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2005), 68.

own conquest north and west of Cortés's domain, into areas that the Aztecs had never conquered—blatantly political toponyms would follow, though the general Spanish adoption and adaptation of Indian place-names continued.

Setting out in December 1529 with a few hundred Spaniards and several thousand Indian allies, Guzmán began his bloody conquest by torturing and executing the leader of the Tarascan state, Tangaxuan, an overlord (*caconzi*) who had previously sworn fealty to Cortés. The Tarascan Empire, made up of several language groups but ruled by a P'urhépecha-speaking elite, had resisted Aztec imperialism and surrendered to Spanish suzerainty before Guzmán's *entrada*. The Nahuas with Guzmán called the Tarascan territory Michoacán, or "place that has fish," a name the area is still called today. Moving further west, into a territory of several dozen loose polities of Indians speaking several languages, Guzmán and his lieutenants scouted, burned, and claimed several villages, valleys, and lands. Guzmán made sure to properly claim the land in formal possession ceremonies, and he attempted to form alliances with some city-states, though the spreading infamy of his capricious and callous cruelty made such negotiations quite difficult. At one point he claimed the land in the name of Emperor Carlos V in a typical ceremony of possession, reading the *requerimiento*, chopping down tree branches, and

[59] Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán and the Province of Panuco in New Spain, 1518-1533*, 45-68, 111-141; Charles W. Hackett, "The Delimitation of Political Jurisdictions in Spanish North America to 1535," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 1, no. 1 (February 1918): 48-49, 57ff.; Pedro de Carranza, "Relación hecha por Pedro de Carranza sobre la jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman, de la entrada y sucesos en la Nueva Galicia-Año de 1531," in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1864), 349; López de Gómara, *Cortés*, 392-395; Thomas, *Conquest*, 598-599; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 395, 459; Alan Knight, *Mexico: The Colonial Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 54; Madariaga, *Hernán Cortés*, 448-450; Fausto Marín Tamayo, *Nuño de Guzmán* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1992), 26-117. The best presentation of Guzmán's career in English is Chipman's *Nuño de Guzmán and the Province of Panuco in New Spain*, which, unfortunately, focused primarily on his governorship in Pánuco. The best overall biography of Guzmán is Marín Tamayo's *Nuño de Guzmán*.

recording the name of the region with a notary. Guzmán pompously called the land, in a

bald attempt to outdo Cortés's Nueva España: la conquista del Espíritu Santo de la Mayor

España (the conquest of the Holy Spirit of the Greater Spain).[60]

Guzmán wrote a letter to the monarchs of Castilla, Emperor Carlos and his mother

Queen Juana, attempting to justify the grandiose title of *Greater* Spain by tying it to

Christian sentiment. Guzmán stated that after he "acabado de tomar la posesion en la

tierra con las ceremonias que se acostumbran" (had finished taking possession of the land

with the customary ceremonies), he:

> Tomé la posesion por Vuestra Magestad, poniéndole por nombre… la conquista
> del Espíritu Santo de la mayor España, porque sin su lumbre y gracia, mal se
> puede hacer cosa ninguna por tierras no sabidas y tan estrañas; y así suplico
> humildemente á Vuestra Magestad confirme estos nombres, que tan debidos y
> justos en tal dia se pusieron, y todos los demas que yo en nombre de Vuestra
> Magestad en estas partes pusiere.
> (Took possession for Your Majesty, putting on it the name… the conquest of the
> Holy Spirit of Greater Spain, because without her light and grace, evil can do
> anything in lands unknown and so strange; and so I humbly beseech Your

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[60] Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, "Carta á Su Magestad del presidente de la Audiencia de Méjico, Nuño de Guzman, en que refiere la jornada que hizo á Mechuacan, a conquistar la provincia de los Tebles-Chichimecas, que confina con Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1864), 13:356-393; Carranza, "Relación hecha por Pedro de Carranza," 14:358, 371; Marín Tamayo, *Nuño de Guzmán*, 118-251; Antonio Tello, "Fragmentos de la Historia de la Nueva Galicia," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: J. M. Andrade, 1858), 2:349; Adrián García Cortés, *La fundación de Mazatlán, y otros documentos* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1992), 19-30; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 2:344-357, 357n39; Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 39-51; Knight, *Mexico: From the Beginning to the Spanish Conquest*, 169-171; Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, 1:116-117; James Krippner-Martínez, *Rereading the Conquest: Power, Politics, and the History of Early Colonial Michoacán, Mexico, 1521-1565* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2003), 9-45; John Horace Parry, *The Audiencia of New Galicia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Spanish Colonial Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 14-34; Ida Altman, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524-1550* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010). Frair Antonio Tello, writing in 1650, called the conquest Castilla la Nueva de la Mayor España, however, all contemporary documents show this as a mistake for Espíritu Santo de la Mayor España; see Tello, "Fragmentos de la Historia de la Nueva Galicia," 349 and, for instance, Guzmán, "Carta á Su Magestad del presidente de la Audiencia de Méjico," 388.

Majesty to confirm these names, as they are so proper and just on the day they were given, and all other that I, in the name of Your Majesty, in these parts have given.)[61]

Queen Juana, or more likely her counselors (Carlos was engaged with one of his numerous problems in his German domains), did not approve of Guzmán's self-serving attempt to upstage Cortés and, apparently, the "Lesser" Spain back in Europe.[62] A letter from Juana read:

Habemos acordado de le Nombrar por n[uest]ro gobernador de la t[ie]rra q ha conquistador y pacificado a la qual habemos mando Nombrar Galicia de la Nueva España.
(We have agreed to name him [Guzmán] our governor of the land that he has conquered and pacified, which we have mandated to be named Galicia of the New Spain).[63]

The verbal attachment to Cortés's New Spain, "Galicia *de la Nueva España*," must surely have rankled Guzmán, but referring to a region in the New World with an Old World name was, by now, a well-established practice. The name of the region, later known in official documents as the Nuevo Reino de Galicia ("New Kingdom of Galicia") or the Reino de Nueva Galicia ("Kingdom of New Galicia"), quickly evolved into just Nueva Galicia.[64]

[61] Beltrán de Guzmán, "Carta á Su Magestad del presidente de la Audiencia de Méjico," 388.

[62] Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza: First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1927), 24-26; Tello, "Fragmentos de la Historia de la Nueva Galicia," 2:371; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 2:365n56; Domingo Lázaro de Arregui, *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia*, ed. François Chevalier (Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico: Gobierno de Jalisco, 1980), 30.

[63] "Carta de la reina la presidente y oidores de Nueva España," manuscript, January 25, 1531, ES.41091.AGI/16403.13.1103// MEXICO, 1088, L.1BIS, folios 45v-49r, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

[64] Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 3:560ff.; Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, "Nuño de Guzmán (c. 1490 to 1558) and the Conquest of Nueva Galicia," in *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*, ed. Rolena Adorno and Patrick

Those *indios* that survived the initial Spanish depredations in the region managed to keep their place-names on the map, though many were slightly adapted to fit Spanish pronunciation and often prefixed with the name of a patron saint. In a typical case of adoption and adaptation, Guzmán rechristened the Indian village of Colhuacan (meaning "place of those who adore the god Coltzin), calling it San Miguel de Culiacán—easier to say and properly Christianized. Today its residents in Sinaloa refer to it as Culiacán. Still, Guzmán and his lieutenants founded many towns with Spanish names. His right-hand man Juan de Oñate, founded Guadalajara, named for Guzmán's native city. Guzmán himself created Villa del Espíritu Santo de la Mayor España to serve as the capital of his conquest, though the crown discretely changed it to Santiago de Galicia de Compostela, honoring the famed pilgrimage site in Galicia. The capital moved to Guadalajara in 1560.[65] The way these names were given and retained showed continuities with the patterns developed in the Old World: Spaniards bgave new towns Spanish names, often transferred across the ocean and meant to flatter their own egos, while the *conquistadors* adopted and adapted the indigenous toponyms of peoples they wanted to utilize in their imperial system.

A map of Nueva Galicia from 1550, the first known showing the entire province, showed a mixture of Spanish and Indian toponyms (see fig. 7.4). The mapmaker drew

Charles Pautz, by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 3:354; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 2:356n56; Lázaro de Arregui, *Descripción de la Nueva Galicia*, 30.

[65] Tello, "Fragmentos de la Historia de la Nueva Galicia," 2:355; Alonso de Valverde, "Testimonio de la Real cédula sobre el buen tratamiento de los indios," in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Joaquín F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1864), 14:91; Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 3:557; Parry, *The Audiencia of New Galicia*; Everardo Mendoza Guerrero, *El léxico de Sinaloa* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 2002), 41-42; Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 39-56.

Figure 7.4. Nueva Galicia in 1550.
This map from 1550 shows that most of the settlements in the province bear indigenous place-names. The order of Nueva Galicia is contrasted by the wild *chichimecas* on the frontiers. *Source:* "Mapa de la Nueva Galicia," manuscript map, 31.8 x 43.9 cm, 1550, ES.41091.AGI/16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 560, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

east at the top and showed the coast of the Pacific and many cities in generally accurate

positions. Indicated too are rivers, hills, and the main road; most of the settlements are

indicated by little building, most sporting the cross as a symbol of civilization. On the

edges of the map, the cartographer has painted savage, *indios bárbaros* ("barbarian

Indians") warring against each other and the cities of New Spain. The Indians are labeled

chichimecas, a term borrowed from the Aztecs for the fierce, semi-nomadic peoples who

lived outside Aztec territory.[66] Miguel León-Portilla, the famed Mexican anthropologist

and historian, wrote of this map:

> Obviamente delineado por un español que conocía esta vasta región, es curiosa la
> presencia en él de las escenas que registran aconteceres al modo de los mapas-
> escenarios indígenas.
> (Obviously delineated by a Spaniard that knew this vast region, it is interesting to
> note the presence in it of scenes that record activities in the mode of indigenous
> picture-maps.)[67]

This map, though made by a Spaniard, presents the *chichimecas* ina manner that both the

Aztec and the Spaniards could appreciate. Of the numerous place-names on the map,

only a few are Spanish towns with European names (Guadalajara, Compostella, and Villa

de la Purificacion), most of the others are Indian towns with native toponyms (such as

Tepique, Chola, Capotlan), all without the names of the patron saints prefixed.

As Spanish civilization moved north from Nuevo Galicia and Nueva España, they

discovered large deposits of silver at a place called Zacatlan in Nahuatl. The Spanish

called the native *chichimecas* Zacatecas, borrowing the Nahua term. In 1546 Juan de

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[66] "Mapa de la Nueva Galicia," manuscript map, 31.8 x 43.9 cm, 1550, ES.41091.AGI/16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 560, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Miguel León-Portilla, "Cartografía prehispánica e hispanoindígena de México," *Estudios de cultura Náhuatl* 36 (2005): 196; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 14-16, 105; Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*, 48.

[67] León-Portilla, "Cartografía prehispánica e hispanoindígena de México," 196.

Tolosa founded a settlement he called Las Minas de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios,

though the workers and locals called it Las Minas de los Zacatecas. In 1585 the

government officially granted it the name La Ciudad de Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas,

mixing a Christian saint and a Nahuatl term. Various bands of *indios*, mainly from the

Nahuatl-speaking south, worked the silver and lived in segregated villas with native

names like Mexicalpan and Tlacuitlapan. In 1556 Ginés Vázquez de Mercado discovered

iron on a hill he named after himself, Cerro del Mercado. Near this lode in 1563,

Francisco de Ibarra, a native of the Basque province of Vizcaya (Biscay), founded the

settlement of Durango in honor of his birth city. He named the province, which he

governed, Nueva Vizcaya. Near to the mines the Indians lived in settlements with names

like Santa María del Tunal and Santiago Bayacora.[68] Again, Spaniards honored their

homeland by naming numerous places in the Viceroyalty of New Spain in honor of their

homeland while Indians used their own toponyms.

The Indians the Spanish had incorporated into their empire gave their place-

names to several locales across the northern frontier of New Spain. The Spanish utilized

Tlaxcalans for settlement and labor, ensuring that Nahuatl place-names spread farther

north than their language did in Aztec times. As formal allies of Cortés and the

conquistadores, their toponyms survived the conquest, and they were generally given free

rein to rule their territory under Spanish tutelage. Of the five *ciudades* and thirty-seven

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[68] Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 157-174, 201-205; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1884), 99-115; José Enciso Contreras, *Ordenanzas de Zacatecas del siglo XVI y otros documentos normativos neogallegos* (Zacatecas: Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 1998), 53; Oakah Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya : Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 1-2, 19ff.; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 93, 99; Kamen, *Empire*, 247-248; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 105-106, 211-212.

municipios in the modern-day state of Tlaxcala, thirty of them still bear indigenous names. In 1591 the viceroy Luis de Velasco decided to settle Tlaxcalans on the northern frontier, to settle the land and stand as an example to other *indios*. In 1591 a group of Tlaxcalans founded San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala in near present-day Saltillo. In the same decade they founded another Nueva Tlaxcala in Nueva Galicia. After 1600 one thousand Tlaxcalans and Tarascans moved to mining districts like Zacatecas and Durango. At San Luis Potosí there were enough Tlaxcalans to establish a settlement called Tlaxcalilla (there was another Tlaxcalilla in the south, near Jilotepec). As late as the mid-1700s, Tlaxcalans comprised groups that settled at the mission San Juan Bautista on the Río Bravo del Norte, in Texas at the ill-fated San Sabá mission, and in Nuevo Santander.[69] Like their colonial masters, the Tlaxcalans moved their place-names as they spread their influence.

Besides adopting preexisting native names and transporting Old World names across the Atlantic, the Spanish became so familiar with native toponyms during the colonial encounter and views of the land that they even utilized them. Sometime in the early 1540s, a Quechua llama shepherd named Diego Huallpa discovered lumps of silver on the slopes of a large mountain on the eastern fringe of the old Inca domain, hundreds of miles southeast of Cuzco. By 1545 a Spanish mine was at the site, called Cerro Rico

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[69] Marc Simmons, "Tlascalans in the Spanish Borderlands," *New Mexico Historical Review* 39, no. 2 (April 1964): 101-110; Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest*, 41-42, 483n56; Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 372; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 236, 324-327, 386; Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 75-77, 222-224; Fernándo Anaya Monroy, *La toponimia indígena en la historia y la cultura de Tlaxcala* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965); Gavira, *Nombres indigenas de todas las ciudades y municipios*, 65; Peter Standish, *The States of Mexico: A Reference Guide to History and Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 88, 262, 340, 394, 405-409; Robert S. Weddle, *San Juan Bautista: Gateway to Spanish Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 29-41 passim; Robert S. Weddle, *The San Sabá Mission: Spanish Pivot in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 43, 48-49.

Potosí ("rich hill Potosí"); the word Potosí of uncertain native derivation, perhaps relating

to the sound of thunder. In 1547 Emperor Carlos V called the place Villa Imperial de

Potosí ("imperial village of Potosí"), due to its importance to the realm and in 1561 the

viceroy at Lima, Diego López de Zúñiga y Velasco, Conde de Nieva, allowed the city to

form its own government. By 1570 perhaps 50,000 lived at the boomtown mining a hill

seemingly made of silver. It provided so much silver that the Spanish phrase "vale un

potosí" (worth a potosí) came to stand for something of great or inestimable value—like

the saying "worth a fortune."[70] In 1615 Miguel de Cervantes could write, in the second

part of *Don Quixote*, that the protagonist knight errant believed Sancho Panza was worth

more to him than "el teſoro de Venecia, las minas del Potoſi" (the treasure of Venice, the

mines of Potosí).[71] The mountain even appeared in syncretic Hispano-Indian paintings as

the Virgin Mary, such as the eighteenth century *La Virgen María con el cerro de Potosí*

("the Virgin Mary with the hill of Potosí"), worshipped by bishops, kings, and miners,

and crowned by God the Father, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit as a dove (see fig. 7.5). This

continued a long Andean tradition (see fig. 7.6) that venerated mountains as living

personifications of the gods, such as the earth mother Pachamama. The tradition has

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[70] "Conde de Nieva, virrey Perú: concesión privilegios, etc.: Potosí," manuscript, 1561, ES.41091.AGI/16416.5.16.4// PATRONATO, 188, R.27, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 535-536; Julio Lucas Jaimes, *La villa imperial de Potosí* (Buenos Aires: Talleres gráficos de L. J. Rosso, 1905), 1-50; Lewis Hanke, *The Imperial City of Potosí: An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Spanish America* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1956); Kamen, *Empire*, 285-287; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 93-94. The phrase was similar to another one, "valer un Perú," see *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.v. "potosí."

[71] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *Segunda parte del Ingenioso cauallero don Quixote de la Mancha* (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1615), 269.

Figure 7.5. *La Virgen María con el cerro de Potosí*.
This image of the Virgin as the Cerro Rico Potosí continued a long Andean tradition that venerated mountains as living personifications of the gods, such as the earth mother Pachamama. *Source*: *La Virgen María con el cerro de Potosí*, oil on canvas, 135 x 105 cm, 1700s , Casa de la Moneda, Potosí, Bolivia.

Figure 7.6. The man in the mountain.
The Kallawaya people living at Mt. Kaata near Lake Titicaca, people whose ancestors were once litter bearers to the Inca Emperor, still worship the mountain as if it was a large earthbound god, although they are nominally Catholic. This cosmological system echoes old Andean religious practices that the Spanish even adapted. *Source*: David J. Wilson, *Indigenous South Americans of the Past and Present: An Ecological Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 323.

survived until the present under a veneer of Catholicism.[72]

In 1592 Spaniards built a village at a hill called Cerro de San Pedro, east of Zacatecas in New Spain. The settlers at Cerro de San Pedro, a silver mining site surrounded by other rich mountains of gold and silver, named the village Pueblo de San Luis Mexquitic (or Mezquitic), the Nahuatl word meaning "place of mosquitos." The Nahuatl-speaking Tlaxcalan families that the Spanish brought to the region to dig ore from the earth and set good examples for the local *indios* may have given the place the latter name. As early as 1594, however, officials called the site "Misquitique potosi" and "minas del potosi," as if *potosí* was a synonym for silver. In 1602 another witness called the villa San Luis Potosí, while a 1617 document recorded the same name and a nearby settlement of Tlaxcalans called Tlaxcalilla. In 1656 the viceroy in México, Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Alburquerque, made the town a city and officially made the place's name San Luis Potosí.[73] Alburquerque made the comparison to the Andean Potosí complete, and Spaniards were comfortable enough with native toponyms to use them in other parts of their empire.

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[72] *La Virgen María con el cerro de Potosí*, oil on canvas, 135 x 105 cm, 1700s, Casa de la Moneda, Potosí, Bolivia; Carol Damian, "The Virgin of the Andes: Inka Queen and Christian Goddess," in *Woman and Art in Early Modern Latin America*, ed. Kellen Kee McIntyre and Richard E. Phillips (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 78-80; Joseph W. Bastien, *Mountain of the Condor: Metaphor and Ritual in an Andean Ayllu* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1985), 37-50; David J. Wilson, *Indigenous South Americans of the Past and Present: An Ecological Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 318-324.

[73] Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., "Autos y diligencias sobre hi jurisrfirrión de Sierra de Pinos—1594," in *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí, Mexico: Impr. del Editor, 1897), 1:51, 71; Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., "Informacion de los conventos, doctrinas y conversiones que se han fundado en la Provinica de Zacatecas—Año de 1602," in *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí, Mexico: Impr. del Editor, 1897), 1:147; Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., "Asiento y congregación de los Indios en San Miguel Mexquitic y Tlaxcalilla—1617," in *Coleccion de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (San Luis Potosí, Mexico: Impr. del Editor, 1897), 1:211; Standish, *The States of Mexico*, 340-342; Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain*, 234-237; Kamen, *Empire*, 88; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 93-94; Gavira, *Nombres indigenas de todas las ciudades y municipios*, 58.

Another example of Spanish officials transferring native names across their imperial holdings concerns the naming of New Mexico. As the mining and ranching frontier of New Spain crept northwards, rumors of a land like Aztec México entered the imagination of the conquerors as a "Nuevo México." In 1540 Francisco Vásquez de Coronado y Luján (1510–1554), commonly called Coronado, mounted an expedition north from Nueva Galicia in search of this fabled place, which he believed was the location of the lost Seven Cities of Antillia. These Seven Cities garnered a new name, Cíbola, from a previous expedition led by Friar Marcos de Niza. Cíbola might be an Ópata language word (an Uto-Aztecan language spoken by the Ópata people in Sonora) signifying the Zuni people; the Spaniards later utilized the word *cíbolo* to label the peculiar shaggy cattle of North America, the buffalo. The expedition was comprised of three hundred Spaniards and a diverse group of more than one thousand Indian allies, many of whom gave Nahuatl names to the landscape, though these were soon forgotten. The Spaniards, disappointed for not finding a grand city of gold, named the Zuni pueblo Granada because the buildings reminded them of the cramped Moorish houses of Granada. Though soon forgotten by the Spanish, the label "New Granada" appeared in various forms on European maps, such as the 1570 *Americae Sive Novi Orbis* by the Fleming Ortelius, and the 1688 *America Settentrionale* of Venetian friar Vincenzo Coronelli.[74]

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[74] Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, *The Journey of Coronado*, trans. George Parker Winship (New York: Dover, 1990); Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1542* (Dallas: Southern Medthodist University Press, 2005), 258, 267, 498, 504; Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Bolton, *Coronado*; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 45-49; Donald Cutter and Iris Engstrand, *Quest for Empire: Spanish Settlement in the Southwest* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing,

Over the next few decades, the Spanish again tried to subdue the region, which

they realized had some workable mines and a sedentary population of souls in need of

Christianization. In 1582 Antonio de Espejo led an expedition up the Río Grande, also

called the Río Bravo del Norte, through the future site of El Paso in an attempt to retrieve

two missing Franciscan missionaries. He desired to rename the land Nueva Andalucía

for his homeland, but the name Nuevo México was firmly entrenched in Spanish

imagination. When conquistador Juan de Oñate, of a noble Spanish family and wedded

to Isabel de Tolosa Cortés de Moctezuma (granddaughter of Cortés and great-

granddaughter of Motecuhzoma), formally claimed the region in 1598 during an

elaborate possession ceremony, he declared it Nuevo México. The Spanish established

new settlements with names like San Francisco de la Santa Fe and Alburquerque

(present-day Albuquerque), the latter named in honor of the Viceroy of New Spain. Yet

native toponyms survived the conquest, as did the culture of the Puebloan indigenes,

which proved a catalyst for the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Pueblo settlements like Taos and

Tesuque retained their native names, even after the Spanish reasserted their authority in

the 1692 reconquest of Nuevo México.[75] Again, the Spanish became so familiar with

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1996), 36-45; Maureen Ahern, "'Llevando el norte sobre el ojo isquierdo': Mapping, Measuring, and Naming in Castañeda's Relación de la jornada de Cíbola (1563)," in *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience*, ed. Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 34-36; Alain Musset and Carmen Val Julián, "De la Nueva España a México: nacimiento de una geopolítica," *Relaciones* 19, no. 75 (Summer 1998): 111–140; Abraham Ortelius, "Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio," printed map, color, 36 x 49 cm (Antwerp: Aegid, 1570), 24/4 220022, Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, Special Collections Library, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX; Vincenzo Coronelli, "America Settentrionale Colle Nuove Scoperti fin all' Anno 1688," printed map, color, 59 x 88 cm (Venice: Academia Cosmografo degli Argonauti, ca 1695), 00568@142/7, Virginia Garrett Cartographic History Library, Special Collections Library, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX.

native toponyms that they eventually transferred them from one part of their empire to another.

In the 1570s King Felipe II of Spain (r. 1556–1598) tasked his *cosmografo-cronista mayor* ("chief cosmographer-chronicler") Juan López de Velasco with creating an accurate and official map of his New World dominions. López de Velasco decided to send an *instrucción* or questionnaire to officials in the Indies, who would issue it local *cabildos* for answers. The questionnaires, collectively called the *Relaciones Geográficas*, asked for standard historical, economic, and geographical information and a map. The local *cabildo* officials oftentimes had *indios* familiar with the land create the maps. Many of the resultant charts mixed Castilian text and Nahuatl logograms, Spanish mapping conventions and Amerinidian approaches, European and Indian toponyms. These maps illustrated the fact that Spanish culture did not subsume and erase indigenous traditions. In fact, they often underscored the syncretic nature of the Spanish Empire in the New World, as the maps displayed hybrid features.[76] Significantly, on many of the maps, the *indios* who drew them did not use Latin letters for names (either in native

[75] Diego Pérez de Luxán, *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo, 1582-1583: As Revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, A Member of the Party*, trans. George Peter Hammond and Agapito Rey (Los Angeles: Quivira Society, 1929), 88ff.; George Peter Hammond and Agapito Rey, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyva de Bonilla and Humaña* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 213, 232; George Peter Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1927), 94-95; Marc Simmons, *The Last Conquistador: Juan De Oñate and the Settling of the Far Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993); Cutter and Engstrand, *Quest for Empire*, 61-72, 91-118; Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, 77-91, 133-141; Stewart, *Names on the Land*, 23-25; David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion that Drove the Spaniards Out of the Southwest* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004); Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 313-324; Paul Horgan, *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* (London: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), 154-157; Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children: Aztec Royalty Under Spanish Rule, 1520-1700* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 96-118.

[76] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 1-27; Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 244-247; Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 70-97; Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 35.

languages, like Nahuatl, or Spanish), often using Mesoamerican logograms to represent the names cities and landscape features. In many cases, the Castilian glosses on the maps were added later by Spanish scribes. Generally, the *Relaciones Geográficas* maps only showed original Indian toponyms, either in logographic or alphabetic form, without the patron saint name used by the Spaniards.[77] The Indians maintained an attachment to their mapping traditions, conceptions of place, and their place-names. The incoming Spaniards did not erase such facets of Indian culture, they did not desire to, and the Indians clung to the toponyms.

The history of the encounters between Spanish conquistador and Indian subject was not just a tale of one-sided power. Spanish naming practices followed established patterns. Explorers duly recorded native names to indicate primacy of discovery; newly constructed settlements generally earned European toponyms; *adelantados* baptized indigenous settlements with a Christian name, one that inhabitants usually dropped in common parlance. The dual system of Spanish governance in the New World, a *república* each for the *españoles* and the *indios*, ensured that native culture, though hybridized by contact with Europeans, survived. Indigenous rulers adapted to Spanish-style governance and continued to rule their people. Indian tongues like Nahuatl survived the introduction of Castilian and churchmen adopted them to proselytize the Catholic faith. Amerindian mapping traditions endured in the face of European learning and hegemony for decades, and centuries, after the so-called "conquest." Toponyms that Spaniards found easy to pronounce usually superseded those that they did not. México

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[77] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 135-179; Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 71.

was easier to pronounce than Tenochtitlan. The Spanish utilized place-names for their own selfish designs, such as honoring their hometown (Medellín, Guadalajara), flattering their superiors (Nueva España), or outdoing their rivals (La Conquista del Espíritu Santo de la Mayor España). The toponyms of the Spanish New World were far more than just tools to oppress the natives, as some scholars have contended, but a product of history, personal ambition, and indigenous power in an imperial system conducive to the creation of a syncretized Hispano-Indian culture.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS: THE SPANISH COLONIAL NAMING PATTERN IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The patterns of place-naming with roots in the Old World evolved in the New

World, but general trends remained. Explorers gave places dewscriptive names,

conquistadors named new settlements in cleared areas with Spanish names, and Indian

villages brought into the empire retained their toponyms. These patterns, based on

precedents from the *reconquista* and exploration of the Eastern Atlantic, came to

America with Columbus and Cortés, and would survive until the end of Spain's colonial

expansion in the New World. In the early half of the eighteenth century, these patterns of

giving and retaining place-names were used to conquer the province of Nuevo Santander

in northeast New Spain. Echoing the strategies of previous conquistadors in the Spanish

New World, José de Escandón brought the organized, sedentary farming cultures of

southern Nuevo Santander into the Spanish sphere, recognizing and retaining their

toponyms.   These groups like the Huastecs and the Pames, remained on the land due to

the power of their numbers and their usefulness to the Spanish empire. Escandón only

brushed aside the nomadic Indians that could not be easily integrated into the Spanish

colonial system, building new settlements and naming them as he pleased, as there were

no civilizations, in his eyes, or toponyms to be reckoned with. The toponyms he created

on this cleared land followed established patterns as well, as he honored himself, his

homeland, and his backers. The process by which colonial cartographers and

conceptualized the land, portrayed its native inhabitants, and named its places illustrate

the traditional, long-term methods the Spanish utilized to deal with Indians, name the

land, and map their empire.[1]

By the start of the eighteenth century, the Spanish Empire in North America

stretched from California and New Mexico in the north to Chile in the south. The

familiar process of bringing Indians into the empire and naming places had played itself

out innumerable times over the centuries. Even in the era of the new Borbón dynasty of

Spain, which began reforming the governance of the empire in America,[2] the process of

colonizing Nuevo Santander followed traditional, established Spanish methods by which

colonial mapmakers conceptualized the land, depicted its Indians, and named its places.

The territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico stretching from the Nueces

River in the north to the Río Pánuco in the south was little-explored until the eighteenth

century. The area seemed to offer little to the Spaniards, possessing few easily

exploitable resources and several wild Indian groups. The Spanish only integrated the

Huastec along the Pánuco into their colonial system as they were a relatively civilized

maize- and cotton-farming people. The Spanish built a few missions and towns in the

area they called Huasteca (or Guasteca) in the area's southern reaches, but they made no

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[1] Portions of this chapter will appear in modified form in Gene Rhea Tucker, "Place-Names in Nuevo Santander: José de Escandón, Indians, and the Power of Names," *Journal of South Texas* (forthcoming).

[2] For more on the Bourbon reforms in America, see Weber, *Bárbaros*; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 302-355. Weber's *Bárbaros*, in particular analyzes how Spanish leaders tried to fashion a more "enlightened" policy toward their "savages" in the eighteenth century, but generally failed to enforce a consistent policy. Weber too, pp. 105-108, views Escandón's conquest of Nuevo Santander as more of a throwback to the sixteenth century than a "new method."

serious attempt to subdue the some eighty tribes of unruly *chichimecas* who inhabited the region to the north.[3]

Until the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the Spanish ignored this region, though it served as a haven for runaway Indian slaves, brigands, and cattle rustlers. On most maps and government reports it appeared as La Costa del Seno Mexicano ("the coast of the Mexican Gulf") or simply Seno Mexicano ("Gulf of Mexico"), though sometimes it was slyly depicted as part of the settled regions of Huasteca or neighboring Panuco, perhaps to convince other European powers it was a settled land.[4] The Spanish left these *chichimecas*, known by names such as *indios infieles*, *indios gentiles*, *indios salvajes*, or *indios bárbaros*, and their lands unconquered because they offered nothing to the imperial economy or society. Unlike the Christianized or Hispanicized Indians under Spanish domain, *indios domesticos*, the *bárbaros* ("barbarians") of the Seno Mexicano were hunter-gatherers, not organized farmers and laborers whose hierarchies were easily manipulated and exploitable.[5] Juan Rodríguez de Albuerne, Marqués de Altamira—Auditor General for Viceroy Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Conde de Revilla Gigedo—wrote that:

> Estos chichimecos, tan envejecidos, habituados y entorpecidos en el no uso de razón que, como errantes fieras, salvajes, inhumanas, atroces y nocivos a sí

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[3] Víctor Manuel Ruiz Naufal, "Pueblos, villas y ciudades: una tardía colonización," in *Cartografía histórica de Tamaulipas* (Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas: Instituto Tamaulipeco de Cultura, 1990), 67-86; Hubert J. Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander* (Edinburg, TX: New Santander Press, 1980), 2-3; Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, 358-368; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 105; Marquez and Wold, *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms*, s.v. "chichimeca."

[4] Ruiz Naufal, "Pueblos, villas y ciudades."

[5] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 14-16.

mismos y a los demás, viven dispersos y desnudos por los montes sin
sociabilidad, religíon, leyes o reglas….
(These *chichimecas*, so distressed, habituated, and hampered by the non-use of
reason that, as wandering beasts, savage, inhuman, atrocious, and harmful to
themselves and others, they are scattered in the wilds naked without sociability,
religion, laws, or rules….)[6]

By the 1730s, the viceregal government in Mexico City decided that the Seno

Mexicano should be pacified and settled to keep the French or the British from seizing

the region, to more quickly communicate with the faraway Texas frontier, and put an end

to the raids of *chichimecas* on the ranches and settlements in neighboring jurisdictions.

Officials described the Indians of the region as rebellious apostates who had purposefully

flouted Spanish law and Christian doctrine, ensuring the legality of their eradication if

they refused to submit.[7] The viceroy further noted that the "enemigos indios" (enemy

Indians) who "pervirtiendo" (perverted) neighboring Christian Indians with their

"incendios, muertes, robos, y todo género de inhumanas atrocidades" (fires, deaths,

robberies, and all manner of inhuman atrocities) prevented the proper utilization of a

region of "abundantes valles y cañadas y pingües tierras" (abundant valleys and canyons

and plentiful lands).[8]

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[6] Juan Rodríguez de Albuerne Marqués de Altamira, *El Marqués de Altamira y las provincias internas de Nueva España*, ed. María del Carmen Velázquez (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1976), 41.

[7] Gabriela Vázquez García, "José de Escandón y las Nuevas Poblaciones del Nuevo Santander," *Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 10, no. 218 (85) (August 1, 2006); Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander*, 4; Patricia Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander (1748-1772)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1997), 96; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 95-96; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 105-107.

[8] Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas Conde de Revilla Gigedo, "Acuerdos de la junta general de guerra y hacienda sobre la conquista, pacificación y población de la colonia del Nuevo Santander con las providencias conducentes a ella," in *Conquista espiritual del Nuevo Santander*, ed. Fidel de Lejarza (Madrid: Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1947), 17*.

The viceroy in Mexico City received three colonization plans for the Seno Mexicano in the 1730s. In 1736 Narciso Barquín de Montecuesta, the former *corregidor* of Villa de Valles in the nearby Sierra Gorda region, proposed a settlement north of the town of Pánuco to exploit the salt deposits there. José Antonio Fernández de Jáuregui y Urrutia, the governor of neighboring Nuevo León, proffered a second plan the same year, suggesting a settlement of the northern reaches of the Seno Mexicano from Nuevo Léon. In 1738 a wealthy cattle rancher on the Nuevo Léon frontier, Antonio Ladrón de Guevara, presented his plan to the viceroy. His plan was similar to Jáuregui's with the added inducement of *congregas*, which would allow settlers to assume control over the labor of a number of Indians. Unfortunately for the royal government, these three plans all required substantial funds from the royal treasury. Ladrón de Guevara made several self-funded trips into the Seno Mexicano in 1739, exploring the region and opening communications with the leaders of some of the wandering tribes who lived in small bands of less than a hundred persons each. He even traveled to Madrid to make his case, taking along a book he authored on Nuevo Léon and a manuscript map of the Seno Mexicano. Ladrón de Guevara's plan had the inside track for several years, and even garnered a royal recommendation in 1739. But the Auditor General in Mexico City, the Marqués de Altamira, was wary of acceding to Ladrón de Guevara's proposal, noting that the Indians hated the *congrega* system and Ladrón de Guevara was notorious for his lax morals with native women.[9]

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[9] Alejandro Prieto, *Historia, geografía y estadística del estado de Tamaulipas* (Mexico City: Tip. Escalerillas, 1873), 103-105; Ruiz Naufal, "Pueblos, villas y ciudades," 86-87; Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander*, 6-7; Vázquez García, "José de Escandón y las Nuevas Poblaciones.";

After years of debate, on September 3, 1746, the viceroy, the first Conde de
Revilla Gigedo, decided that José de Escandón y Helguera should receive the
appointment to colonize the Seno Mexicano.[10] Born in the hamlet of Soto la Marina in
the Santander province, Cantabria region, of Spain on May 19, 1700, Escandón served in
various military positions in New Spain after joining the army in 1715. He gained a
reputation as an Indian fighter in Guanajuato, Celaya, and Querétaro before his 1741
appointment as lieutenant captain general of the Sierra Gorda district, on the
southwestern edge of the Seno Mexicano.[11] As historian Gabriel Saldívar noted,
Escandón had learned to treat Indians "como amigos, con mano suave, y como enemigos,
con rigor implacable" (as friends, with gentle hand, and as enemies with unrelenting
rigor).[12] In early 1747, at the viceroy's instigation, Escandón engineered a thorough
exploration of the Seno Mexicano, leading one of the seven groups that converged at the
mouth of the Río Bravo. Escandón submitted a report to the viceroy in October 1747,
along with a manuscript map of the province.[13]

Robert S. Weddle, *The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), chap. 16.

[10] "Ladrón de Guevara's Report Concerning the Kingdom of Nuevo León (1739)," in *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 80; Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander*, 5, 7; Weddle, *The French Thorn*, chap. 16.

[11] Mario Alberto Cárdenas, "José de Escandón, The Last Spanish Conquistador: A Study of Royal Service and Personal Achievement in 18th Century New Spain" (Master's thesis, Texas A&M University - Kingsville, 1999), 9-21, 35-38.

[12] Gabriel Saldívar, *Historia compendiada de Tamaulipas* (Mexico City: Academia Nacional de Historia y Geografía, 1945), 78.

[13] Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander*, 9-13; Ruiz Naufal, "Pueblos, villas y ciudades," 91-92.

During the decade before 1746, the plans for pacifying the Seno Mexicano had stressed the barbarity and inhumanity of the *chichimecas* in the northern part of the region. These *bárbaros*, who had willingly spurned Spanish dominion and Christianity, posed a continuing threat to ordered Spanish existence. Like any other text, maps, and the toponyms on them, can illustrate the knowledge, preconceptions, and desires of the mapmaker and his society.[14] The maps produced by those associated with planning the pacification of the Seno Mexicano reflect the written depiction of the region as one burdened with wild barbarous Indians. Just as sixteenth century maps represented the New World as a place of semi-human creatures and cannibals ripe for Spanish conquest,[15] these maps portrayed the Seno Mexicano as a place in dire need of pacification.

Along with Ladrón de Guevara's reports was a map of the Seno Mexicano that gave it another of its well-known names (see fig. 8.1). Located in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, the colored manuscript map on a large sheet of parchment contrasts the settled nature of the "Nuebo Reyno de Leon" on the west with the unsettled "Pais despoblado" on the east. The countryside was not unpopulated as the map might seem to claim, as several bands and tribes of *chichimecas* lived in the area. To call the country *despoblado* was to say it was uncivilized. The Spanish equated civilization with life in settled towns and villages, to live outside such settlements, such *poblaciónes*, was to eschew civilization. The word *despoblado* has the further connotation of being

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[14] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*. See particularly chapter five, "Deconstructing the Map."

[15] Harley, *Maps and the Columbian Encounter*, 97.

Figure 8.1. Ladrón de Guevara's map.
This map probably from Ladrón de Guevara's 1736 report, portrayed the Seno Mexicano region as a *país despoblado* devoid of civilization, unlike the ordered Spanish settlements around it. *Source*: Antonio de Ladrón de Guevara, "[Mapa de la tierra y costa correspondiente al Nuevo Santander, desde Tampico hasta la Provincia de Texas y desde Monterrey al Mar]," manuscript map, 58 x 42.7 cm, 1736, ES.41091.AGI/16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 524, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

*de*populated, implying that the natives of the "país despoblado" had knowingly shunned

Spanish civilization.[16] Furthermore, the blank spaces of the "unsettled" Seno Mexicano

underscore the region's emptiness and lack of humanity. This is contrasted plainly by the

depiction of the settled regions surrounding the país despoblado, which are shown with

scores of towns and toponyms. Ladrón de Guevara encountered several *chichimecas*

during his expeditions and could have learned several native toponyms, but he presented

none. The cartographer even represented the towns by drawing little steepled buildings,

stressing again that civilization included settlements with churches. The map emphasized

the notion that this region was empty and begging for Spanish colonization. Ladrón de

Guevara even notes in one place that "Aqui se pretende la Poblazon" (the intended

settlement is [to be] here).[17]

This portrayal of the Seno Mexicano as an island of barbarity in a sea of

civilization appears again in a 1744 map by Miguel Custodio Durán, a respected artist,

architect, and intellectual who moved in official government circles in the capital city of

Nueva España, México (see fig. 8.2). On a painted map on parchment now in the

Mapoteca Manuel Orozco y Berra in Mexico City, Durán has covered the Seno Mexicano

with a multitude of uncivilized Indians. The savages are depicted as naked, hunting or

brandishing weapons. Several others are huddled into ominous groups. Settled Spanish

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[16] Antonio de Ladrón de Guevara, "[Mapa de la tierra y costa correspondiente al Nuevo Santander, desde Tampico hasta la Provincia de Texas y desde Monterrey al Mar]," manuscript map, 58 x 42.7 cm, 1736, ES.41091.AGI/16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 524, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, 108-109; Marquez and Wold, *Compilation of Colonial Spanish Terms*, s.v. "despoblado"; Weddle, *The French Thorn*, 262-263; Cárdenas, "José de Escandón, The Last Spanish Conquistador," 18.

[17] Ladrón de Guevara, "[Mapa de la Tierra y Costa Correspondiente al Nuevo Santander]."

Figure 8.2. Durán's map of the Seno Mexicano.
This map by Miguel Custodio Durán depicted it as being overrun with wild, cavorting natives, unlike the ordered towns of New Spain that surround it. *Source*: Miguel Custodio Durán, "Descripcion y Mapa de la Nueva Provincia, poblada de Barbaros, que en la America Septentrional se halla Situada, en la Costa del Seno Mexicano, desde el puerto de Tampico, corriendo para el Septentrion, hasta la Provincia de texas," manuscript map, color, 78 x 71 cm, 1744, Tamauilipas, Varilla: OYBTAMPS01, #127-OYB-7211-A, Mapoteca Manuel Orozco y Berra, Miguel Hidalgo, Mexico City, Mexico.

civilization, dotted with villages and buildings, encircled the barbaric land. Even the

sparsely populated Texas region is covered with town symbols, insinuating that its vast

expanse of unsettled territory was still more civilized than that of the Seno Mexicano. In

the lengthy legend on the map, Durán repeatedly calls the inhabitants of the region

"Barbaros" and "Gentiles" (barbarians and heathens). Their continued existence, Durán

stated, has impeded the advance of civilization for centuries.[18]

A third map, drawn up by Escandón after his 1747 reconnaissance of the territory,

also portrayed the territory as barbarous (see fig. 8.3). An original color copy resides at

the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, though several manuscript copies and its later

derivative maps circulated widely, with copies at several libraries and archives in Spain,

Mexico, the United States, and Britain. The map, titled *Mapa de la Sierra Gorda y Costa*

de el Seno Mexicano, depicted the region as one devoid of any trace of civilization.

Instead, several wild, dancing Indians dot the map, brandishing their weapons. Two rows

of teepees provide a ready contrast to the symbols of civilization that represent the

Spanish towns: well-built churches, representing the civil order provided by the Catholic

Church. Escandón plainly asserted in the map's legend that his map would aid in the

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[18] Miguel Custodio Durán, "Descripcion y Mapa de la Nueva Provincia, poblada de Barbaros, que en la America Septentrional se halla Situada, en la Costa del Seno Mexicano, desde el puerto de Tampico, corriendo para el Septentrion, hasta la Provincia de texas," manuscript map, color, 78 x 71 cm, 1744, Tamauilipas, Varilla: OYBTAMPS01, #127-OYB-7211-A, Mapoteca Manuel Orozco y Berra, Miguel Hidalgo, Mexico City, Mexico; Ruiz Naufal, "Pueblos, villas y ciudades," 88-90; Orozco y Berra, *Materiales para una cartografia mexicana*, 134-136.

Figure 8.3. Escandón's map of 1747.
This map by José de Escandón showed a land empty of civilization and full of barbarous Indians. The Seno Mexicano was in need of "pacificacion y pueble." *Source*: José de Escandón, "MAPA DE LAS SIERRA GORDA Y COSTA DE EL SENO MEXICANO… Año de 1747," manuscript map, color, 75 x 59 cm, 1747, ES.41091.AGI/16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 162, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

"pacificacion y pueble" (pacification and peopling) of the area.[19] This map, like those by

with Ladrón de Guevara and Durán, clearly underscored the mood of its maker. The

Seno Mexicano was a *país despoblado*, a land of quasi-human *indios bárbaros* who

menaced the ordered civility of the Spanish realms.

The maps of Ladrón de Guevara, Durán, and Escandón served as visual tools to

aid in the pacification of the unsettled Costa de Seno Mexicano region. The name given

to the region in the decades preceding settlement, the "*país despoblado*," presented it as

an essentially empty region. The Spanish colonizers of the land, however, could not treat

the land as one without people. Though several historians consider Escandón's treatment

of Indian populations to be quite harsh, one historian said that they "fueron exterminados

en un lapso de sesenta años de luchas y hostilidades continuas" (were exterminated in a

span of sixty years of struggles and continued hostilities),[20] Escandón could not eradicate

Indians without just cause. Several groups of Indians aided his campaigns and settled in

his colony. Evidence of this can be discerned in the toponyms given to various

settlements and places in the colony. Escandón did indeed wield significant and unique

power to give names to his colony; he followed established Spanish patterns with his

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[19] José de Escandón, "MAPA DE LAS SIERRA GORDA Y COSTA DE EL SENO MEXICANO, desde la Ciudad de Queretaro, que se halla situada cerca de los veinte y un grados hasta los veinte y ocho y medio en que está la Bahia de el Espíritu Santo, sus Rios, Ensenadas y Fronteras, hecho por Dn. Joseph de Escandon Coronel de el Regimiento de Queretaro, Theniente de Capitan General de la Sierra Gorda, sus Misiones, Precidios y Fronteras y Lugar Teniente de el Exmo. Señor Virrey de esta Nueva España para el reconocimiento, pacificacion y pueble de la Costa del Seno Mexicano y las suyas, que de orden de S. Exa. reconoció este Año de 1747," manuscript map, color, 75 x 59 cm, 1747, ES.41091.AGI/16418.17// MP-MEXICO, 162, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; Orozco y Berra, *Materiales para una cartografia mexicana*, 134; Jack Jackson, *Manuscript Maps Concerning the Gulf Coast, Texas, and the Southwest, (1519-1836): An Annotated Guide to the Karpinski Series of Photographs at the Newberry Library, Chicago, with Notice of Related Cartographic Materials* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1995), 47.

[20] Juan Fidel Zorrilla, *El poder colonial en Nuevo Santander* (Mexico City: M. Porrúa Librería, 1976), 8.

naming, which included incorporating the native names of Indians that he brought into the empire.

Escandón began his official colonization in December 1748. The viceroy gave the colony the name of Nuevo Santander. Escandón and the viceroy, the Conde Revilla Gigedo, both hailed from the province of Santander in Cantabria, Revilla Gigedo from the town of Reinosa.[21] This is a prime example of colonizers naming lands after their homelands, a process with numerous historical antecedents. Escandón, with sole power to grant town names in the newly christened Nuevo Santander founded several settlements, giving several of them names that honored his homeland, his family, and the viceregal officials that had appointed him colonizer. Between 1748 and 1755, Escandón founded twenty-two settlements (see Appendix 3). To honor his Cantabrian homeland he named the villas of Santillana, Camargo, Reinosa (or Reynosa), Santander, Burgos, Revilla, Soto La Marina, and Laredo. He named the settlement of Llera after his wife; Escandón for himself; Güemes, Horcasitas, and Aguayo, were personal names of the viceroy; to honor the vicereine he founded Padilla; Altamira and Mier paid homage to two viceregal officials who had supported him.[22] Escandón's power to name was not absolute, however. Most of these new named communities were in the regions that Escandón and his troops had cleared of *chichimecas*, those small groups of nomadic,

[21] Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander*, 14ff.; Consuelo Soldevilla Oria, *Cantabria y América* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), 57; Calderón Quijano, *Toponimia española*, 218.

[22] José Tienda de Cuervo, *Estado general de las fundaciones hechas por D. José de Escandón en la colonía del Nuevo Santander, Costa del Seno Mexicano*, ed. Rafael Lopez (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1929); Jesus Canales Ruiz, *José de Escandón: la Sierra Gorda y el Nuevo Santander* (Santander, Spain: Institución Cultural de Cantabria, 1985), chap. 17; Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander*, 122.

barbarous Indians. In the more densely-populated regions on the province's southern edge, the Huasteca and the Sierra Gorda, Escandón easily incorporated several settled and civilized Indian into his colony—their toponyms remained as well.

Several groups of Indians became a working part of the colony of Nuevo Santander, including several hundred Tlaxcalans from the other parts of New Spain. Most incoming settlers were from surrounding areas. A large percentage were termed *españoles*, with several acculturated Tlaxcalans, *mestizos*, and *mulatos*. This heterogeneous population was culturally Spanish and was relatively close-knit, bonding through work on the *rancherías* and fighting of Indian raids. Several native groups, such as the Huastecs and Pames, were incorporated in to the colony rather easily.[23] Some scholars, however, present the colonizing scheme as one that erased all aspects of Indian culture. Patricia Osante, one of the experts on Nuevo Santander, believes that colonial officials used missions to subvert the rights of submissive Indians and "opted for compulsory subjugation and extermination through death or exile of those groups that resisted Spanish control."[24] Juan Fidel Zorilla, a historian of Tamaulipas, believed that the Indians of Nuevo Santander, even those in the missions, "fueron exterminados en un lapso de sesenta años de luchas y hostilidades continuas" (were exterminated in a span of

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[23] Armando C. Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 48-49, 52, 272-273; Oakah L. Jones, *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 70-71; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 106; Simmons, "Tlascalans in the Spanish Borderlands," 106-107.

[24] Patricia Osante, "Colonization and Control: The Case of Nuevo Santander," in *Choice, Persuasion, and Coercion: Social Control on Spain's North American Frontiers*, ed. Jesús F. De la Teja and Ross Frank, trans. Ned F. Brierley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 240-241. The quotation is from p. 241.

sixty years of struggles and continued hostilities).[25] These authors stressed the

destruction of the wild *chichimecas* that would not submit to Spanish authority or easily

fit into the economic and social life of the new colony, forgetting about the more

sedentary groups that did. David Weber, historian of the Spanish borderlands, noted that

"many Indians, however, chose to submit—particularly sedentary peoples like Huastecos

and Pames, whose descendants, it would appear, were absorbed into Spanish society."[26]

The place-names of these peoples survived as well.

The settlement of Escandón was not wholly novel as it retained several features

and patterns the Spanish had utilized in the conquest and naming of previous lands. New

settlements received new Spanish toponyms and areas incorporated into the empire with

dense Indian populations preserved their toponyms. As already noted, the viceroy and

Escandón gave the colony the name of Nuevo Santander, following an established

practice where officials and the conqueror named a new province, usually after their

homeland. Escandón assigned Spanish names to the areas he cleared of wild

chichimecas. He named settlements to honor his family, his homeland, and his backers.

This occurred in places where there were neither permanent Indian settlements, nor a

dense population of Indians the Spanish could bring into their empire. Only in areas with

sparse Indian populations, where only a small number of *chichimecas* settled near towns,

did the Spanish ignore native place-names. Where there was a significant population of

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[25] Fidel Zorrilla, *El poder colonial*, 8.

[26] Weber, *Bárbaros*, 106.

already settled Indians, like in the Huasteca region, Escandón kept the indigenous

toponyms. This followed established patterns of settlement and naming.

Like scores of other colonizers before him, Escandón incorporated the more

settled Indians into his colony, and utilized their toponyms. In the southwest portion of

the colony, Escandón refounded or founded the villas of Tula, Juamave, and Palmillas,

christening each with a saint's name. Each bore Indian toponyms: Tula, a Nahua-derived

word ("tolin" or "tollan") for *tul*, a bulrush; Juamave (or Juamabe) a Huastec word

probably signifying "water, paper, and heavy rain"; and Palmillas, a corrupted form of

Pames (or Palmes), a settled Indian tribe related to the Otomi.[27] There were a significant

number of Pames, Olives (or Holipa), Huastecs, and Pisónes that lived near these towns,

settled in the missions, or worked for the incoming settlers.[28] Hundreds of localities and

features in Nuevo Santander carried Indian names, most of them Huastec, Pame, or

Pisón, and mostly in the southern and southwestern areas of the colony.[29] One ruined

mission site from the 1600s was still known by the moniker Tanguanchin, a Huastec

word (*tam-quitzin*) meaning "flowery place."[30] Perhaps a hundred places sported names

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[27] Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander*, 132; Joaquín Meade, *Etimologías toponímicas indígenas del estado de Tamaulipas* (Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas: Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1977), s.vv. "Tula," "Juamave"; *Diccionario de la lengua Española*, s.v. "tul"; Joaquín Meade, *La Huasteca tamaulipeca* (Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas: Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1977), 116, 119.

[28] José Tienda de Cuervo, *General State of the Foundation of the Colony of Nuevo Santander*, trans. Edna G. Brown (Corpus Christi: privately printed, 1994); Canales Ruiz, *José de Escandón*, 137-142, 221-223.

[29] Meade, *Etimologías toponímicas indígenas del estado de Tamaulipas*, 5.

[30] José de Escandón and Anonymous, "MAPA DE LA SIERRA GORDA y Costa de el Seno Mexicano, desde la Ciudad de Querétaro, situada cerca de los 21 g[rados] hasta los 28 ½ en que está, la Bahía de el Espíritu Santo, sus Ríos, Ensenadas y Provincias, que circumbalan la Costa del Seno Mexicano, reconocida, Pacificada y Poblada en la Mayor parte, por Don Joseph de Escandón: Conde de la Sierra

beginning with the prefix *tam-* or *tan-*, Huastec for "place." The incoming colonists

adopted not only names for habitations, but the names of natural features as well,

especially bodies of water. The *ríos* in Huasteca kept their Amerindian names after

Spanish settlement, like the Pánuco, the Tamesí, and the Guayalejo. Where the Spanish

ignored the Indians, they gave the rivers typical descriptive names in Spanish, such as

Río Conchas ("river of shells"), Río Pilón ("water trough river"), and Río de la

Purificación ("river of the purification"). The rugged hills that ran through the southern

half of the colony were called the Tamaulipa, a Huastec name meaning the "place of the

Holipa" or "place where people pray often." Upon Mexican independence, the colony

adopted the name Tamaulipas for the new federal state.[31] This is reminiscent of typical

Spanish naming patterns in the rest of the New World.

A 1792 map of Nuevo Santander, based on the 1747 map of Escandón and one he

probably created before his death in 1770, depicts the new nature of his colony (see fig.

8.4).[32] It showed the many settlements Escandón founded or re-founded. Only a few of

gorda, Caballero del Orden de Santiago, Coronel del Reximiento de Querétaro, Thente de Capn General de la Sierra Gorda, sus Misiones, Presidios y Fronteras, y Lugar Thente de el Excmo. Señor Virrey de esta Nueva España en dña Costa, de Cuyo orden hizo la referida expedición… Año 1792," manuscript map, color, 82 x 63 cm, 1792, MX09017AGNCL01SB01FO178MAPILUUS0221, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico; Prieto, *Historia, Geografía y Estadística*, 84n25; Meade, *Etimologías toponímicas indígenas del estado de Tamaulipas*, s.v. "Tanguanchin."

[31] Escandón and Anonymous, "MAPA DE LA SIERRA GORDA y Costa de el Seno Mexicano... 1792."; Saldívar, *Historia compendiada de Tamaulipas*, 23; Meade, *Etimologías toponímicas indígenas del estado de Tamaulipas*, s.v. "Tamaholipa"; Ruiz Naufal, "Pueblos, villas y ciudades," 102; Juan Fidel Zorrilla, *Tamaulipas - Tamaholipa* (Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas: Universidad Autónoma de Tamaulipas, 1980), 50.

[32] Escandón and Anonymous, "MAPA DE LA SIERRA GORDA y Costa de el Seno Mexicano... 1792."; Octavio Herrera Pérez, "Historia de las jurisdicciones políticas de Tamaulipas a través de la cartografía," in *Cartografía histórica de Tamaulipas* (Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas: Instituto Tamaulipeco de Cultura, 1990), 154-155. Herrera Pérez surmised, based on information from Escandón's papers, that

the ominous Indian figures from the 1747 map remain, cavorting in the northern

backwaters of the colony, where the "savage" Apaches were powerful enough to delay

settlement, and the harsh nature of the land was uninviting. In lieu of the wild emptiness

of the earlier map, more than twenty towns dot the map. The cartographer represented

each place with the handsome symbol of a large, well-built church, like the cities in the

surrounding provinces of Nueva España. The colony was now properly settled and

civilized. Emblazoned across the land is the proud name: "Colonia del Nuevo

Santander." This latter map, and Nuevo Santander itself, stood as Escandón's living

monument to himself, his family, and his native land. Yet, the map did not depict a

simulacrum of Spanish Santander, nor was it purely a Spanish land—two masses of

mountains run through the center of Nuevo Santander carrying the native names

Tamaulipa Oriental and Tamaulipa Nueva, and there are several Indian toponyms in the

southern reaches of the province.[33] Where the legend of the 1747 map noted that the area

begged for "pacificacion y pueble" (pacification and peopling), the 1792 map now

proudly proclaimed that the area had been "reconocida, Pacificada y Poblada en la Mayor

parte, por Don Joseph de Escandón: Conde de la Sierra gorda" (investigated, pacified and

settled in the most part, by Don José de Escandón, Conde de la Sierra Gorda).[34]

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prominent churchman Fr. Vicente de Santa María updated the map in 1792 by; see Herrera Pérez, "Historia de las jurisdicciones políticas de Tamaulipas a través de la cartografía," 154n15.

[33] Escandón, "MAPA DE LAS SIERRA GORDA Y COSTA DE EL SENO MEXICANO... 1747."; Escandón and Anonymous, "MAPA DE LA SIERRA GORDA y Costa de el Seno Mexicano... 1792."; Miller, *José de Escandón: Colonizer of Nuevo Santander*, 12.

[34] Escandón, "MAPA DE LAS SIERRA GORDA Y COSTA DE EL SENO MEXICANO... 1747."; Escandón and Anonymous, "MAPA DE LA SIERRA GORDA y Costa de el Seno Mexicano... 1792."

Figure 8.4. Escandón's map of 1792.
The 1792 map of Nuevo Santander, based on the 1747 map of Escandón, shows a settled land almost devoid of Indians. In the place of the wild savages of the 1747 map are ordered Spanish towns and their churches. *Source*: José de Escandón and Anonymous, "MAPA DE LA SIERRA GORDA y Costa de el Seno Mexicano… Año 1792," manuscript map, color, 82 x 63 cm, 1792, MX09017 AGNCL01 SB01FO178 MAPILUUS0221, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Mexico.

There were new features to the conquest of Nuevo Santander. Escandón ensured that the mission system had little power in the areas of the colony where there were a significant number of pacified Indians. He held a singular power to found and name towns, and he completed the settlement of the territory in record time.[35] Still, the military pacification and naming of Nuevo Santander followed established models. Cartographers, explorers, and officials described the area as wild and barbarous, a *país despoblado* in need of Spanish civilization and religion, full of native *indios bárbaros* to dispense with. Escandón was not the indiscriminate butcher as some historians portrayed him. In fact, the viceroy chose him because he was kind to pacified Indians, though he was tough with recalcitrant ones. Church historian Fidel de Lejarza noted that:

> En el caso de la conquista de la Sierra Gorda y establecimiento de la Colonia del Nuevo Santander cabe decir que su pacificación se llevó a efecto con un mínimum de crueldad, gracias a la capacidad política y al humanitarismo del jefe nombrado para realizarla.
> (In the case of the conquest of the Sierra Gorda and the establishment of the Colony of Nuevo Santander it is true that his pacification was put into effect with a minimum of cruelty, thanks to the political capacity and humanitarianism of the chief appointed for its realization.)[36]

Echoing the traditions and strategy of previous conquistadors in the Spanish New World and along the northern frontier of New Spain, Escandón brought the organized, sedentary farming cultures of southern Nuevo Santander into the Spanish sphere, recognizing and retaining their toponyms. He only brushed aside the nomadic Indians that could not be easily integrated into the Spanish colonial system, building new

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[35] Sergio M. Vasquez-Gomez, "The Advance of the Urban Frontier: The Settlement of Nuevo Santander" (Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1987); Osante, *Orígenes del Nuevo Santander*; Weber, *Bárbaros*, 3.

[36] Fidel de Lejarza, *Conquista espiritual del Nuevo Santander* (Madrid: Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1947), 120.

settlements and naming them as he pleased, as there were no civilizations, in his eyes, or

toponyms to be reckoned with. The toponyms of the sedentary Indians of Nuevo

Santander, like the Huastecs and the Pames, remained on the land due to the power of

their numbers and their usefulness to the Spanish Empire. Escandón's creation and

adoption of toponyms fit into regular patterns that stretched back through other settlers,

conquistadores, and explorers back through the centuries. Simply, newly conquered

regions and settlements generally received European names; the Indian villages brought

into the empire usually retained their names. Escandón, like Cortés and Juan de Oñate

before him, did not mean to remake the New World in the image of European Spain,

totally clearing the land of Indians. They wanted to save souls and extract wealth, giving

the Indians a power, an agency, to retain aspects of their beliefs, culture, and thus their

toponyms.

The way Escandón gave and retained toponyms in Nuevo Santander showed

many linkages and continuities to the naming patterns of Spain and the Spanish empire in

America that had developed over centuries. Far from erasing toponyms to prove their

Hispanic identity and Christian faith, the history of place-names on the Iberian Peninsula

during the *reconquista* showed that Spanish Christains were accustomed to living

amongst non-Christian populations and were quite familiar with Moorish toponyms like

Guadalajra or Almería. Just because these toponyms were produced by Muslim heathens

did not necessitate their removal and replacement with suitable Hispano-Christian words.

This is plainly evident in the sheer number of locales in the various kingdoms of the

Iberian Peninsula that today still bear names of Arabic derivation. Some Christian

settlers moving south named new villages for their old ones. Other Christians, caught up in crusading fervor, did name new settlements like Salvatierra de Santiago ("saved land of Saint James"), recognizing that land had been recaptured with the help of Spain's patron saint. But at the same time, when Alfonso X of Castilla attempted to change the name of the city of Medina Sidonia in 1264 to Estrella, locals, who included many remaining Arabic-speakers, ensured that the name of the city was not modified. As the Crown of Castilla expanded its domain to include the Canary Islands, they adopted or adapted many Guanche toponyms (just as they brought many of the Guanches into their vassalage and Christianized them), oftentimes merely adding the name of a Christian saint to a native word, such as Santa Cruz de Tenerife.

The Genoese Columbus, sailing for the Catholic Monarchs Fernando and Isabel, set new precedents for naming when he discovered lands unknown to Christendom in 1492. Taking with him naming precedents from his native Italy, from his apprenticeship as an explorer and mapmaker in Portugal, and his adoptive homeland of Spain, Columbus named places in the classic fashion of a sailor and explorer. The Italian and Portuguese sailors generally named coastal features and islands with descriptive toponyms, to aid recognition upon return. Other sites were named to honor royalty or the saint's day of their discovery. These patterns Columbus followed. He named many places with descriptive toponyms, such as cabo de Laguna ("cape of the lake"), cabo Verde ("green cape"), and islas de Arena ("isles of sand"). Others honored saint's days, the royal family, and his Christian faith. Others were surely propagandistic, like Española, "Little

Spain," meant to flatter his patrons. Yet scholars have routinely misunderstood the

reasons for and nature of Columbus's name-giving. Tzvetan Todorov wrote:

> Columbus knows perfectly well that these islands already have names… [but] others' words interest him very little, however, and he seeks to rename places in terms of the rank they occupy in his discovery, to give them the *right* names; moreover nomination is equivalent to taking possession.[37]

This is a position echoed by Stephen J. Greenblatt, who wrote that:

> Naming, to be sure, has much to do with the manifestations of power through eponymous titles—hence Fernandina, Isabella, and Isla Juana…. The first two names—San Salvador and Isla de Santa María de la Concepción—suggest once again that the assertion of possession is bound up for Christian imperialism.[38]

Yet this sort of theorizing has ignored the numerous descriptive toponyms he bestowed

and the innumerable indigenous names Columbus gathered and recorded. Indeed

Columbus called the island of Cuba "Cuba" more times in his journal than he called it

"Juana," the name he gave it. The native names provided evidence of discovery, his

descriptive names allowed for ease of return, and his laudatory names meant to curry

favor at court, not oppress natives.

Many scholars hold, following the pioneering work of Mexican historian

Edmundo O'Gorman, have believed that the depiction and naming of America as a

separate continent was an integral event in the subjugation of the continents by European

peoples. Thinkers such as Walter D. Mignolo, Ricardo Padrón, and José Rabasa have

argued that the conception and "invention of America" gave Europeans the intellectual

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[37] Todorov, *The Conquest of America*, 27.

[38] Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 82.

capacity to subjugate the peoples of the New World. Argentine semiotician Walter D.

Mignolo is especially strident in making this linkage:

> The "idea" of America was indeed a European invention that took away the naming of the continent from people that had inhabited the land for many centuries before Columbus "discovered" it. This phenomenon has been described as "deculturation," as "dispossession" (both material and spiritual), and more recently as "colonization of knowledge" and "colonization of beings."[39]

This sort of theory, that the concept and naming of America created conditions for

subjugating native peoples, is descended directly from postmodernist and post-

structuralist theories that enshrine the idea that the mentalities of the ruling classes are

created to subject the ruled. In fact, the Spanish, like their European brethren, had no

fixed concept of a continental America and no set name for it. Even as late as 1556, the

Spaniard Jerónimo Girava, cosmographer to Emperor Carlos V, published a map in Milan

that showed the Americas as a part of Asia; other maps mixed Asian and American

toponyms, mixing New Spain and Cathay. Still, without a concrete conception of

"America" or even a firm toponym for it, the Spanish still managed to rule over millions

of indigenes. So much for the theory that colonialism depended on imagining a

geography, Otherizing the inhabitants, and subduing these conceptions.

Like Columbus, the toponyms that Hernando Cortés bestowed on the landscape

have received special attention from scholars, especially the naming of his potential

conquest "Nueva España." Following the example of authors like Tzvetan Todorov and

Stephen Greenblatt, scholars have stated that Cortés was trying to reshape Indian land

with his choice of place-name. Ricardo Padrón wrote that the toponym New Spain

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[39] Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, 21.

"identifies it as a simulacrum of the metropolis [Spain]."[40] José Rabasa, concurred: "Cortés has in mind a prospective transformation of Mexican urban centers into European-style cities," a change that is a "fundamental base for Cortés's ideal (new) Spain in America."[41] Cartographic historians like Christian Jacob and J. B. Harley have heartily endorsed the idea that naming something new after an old piece of Europe was an act meant to dispossess native peoples of their land. Yet the toponym had less to do with stripping natives of their freedom than it was a political maneuver meant to curry favor with Emperor Carlos V. A look at the other toponyms Cortés underscores just how few he bestowed, and just how few survived the printing of his letters in Europe. His renaming of native places, like Sevilla for Cempoallan, did not last, while the toponyms of his new settlements, like Villa Rica de Vera Cruz and Villa Segura de la Frontera followed patterns established over centuries.

It is amazing too, considering the notion that the Spanish tried to erase the natives and supposedly devalued their knowledge, how much the Spaniards depended on Indian maps, views of place, and toponyms—and Indians themselves. After Cortés destroyed the capital city of the Aztec Triple Alliance, with the immeasurable aid of Indian allies like the Totonacs and Tlaxcalans, he decided to rebuild Tenochtitlan under its ancient name. Cortés, had he been intent on erasing any trace of Indianness, had he wanted to create a simulacrum of Spain in America, he surely could have chosen a site for his capital unconnected to ages of Mexica tradition and lore, and he could have selected a

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[40] Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, 124.

[41] Rabasa, *Inventing America*, 117-118.

more Christian and Spanish name for it. Why not Valladolid or Santiago or Rome?
Instead, Cortés rebuilt because "esta cibdad en tiempo de los yndios avia sido señora de
las otras provincias" (this city in the time of the Indians had been mistress of the other
provincias).[42] Surely the use of indigenous place-names and locations did little to advance
the "deculturation" and "dispossession"—to use Mignolo's words—of the Indians.

Of course, many scholars would label the rebuilding of the Aztec and Inca
capitals as acts of appropriation, just as they have said the usage of Indian place-names
was such an act. J.B. Harley, after declaring the giving of European names as an act of
dispossession, said that "even where attempts were made to record Indian place-names in
maps, this was hardly an innocent expression of scholarly curiosity."[43] Harley then
quoted anthropologist Johannes Fabian: "By putting regions on a map and native words
on a list, explorers laid the first, and deepest, foundations for colonial power."[44] Barbara
Mundy too complained that the transliteration of Indian toponyms into the Latin alphabet
"removed a primary means of representing a community… from the reach of New
Spain's indigenous community."[45] These scholars all hold that when the Spanish created
new European place-names and ignored native ones, they were claiming the land and
suppressing the natives; conversely, when they employed native toponyms, they were
still claiming the land while suppressing the indigenes. Such theories stem from the *a*

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[42] According to a suit by Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia quoted in Marroqui, *La ciudad de México*, 1:23.

[43] Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 183.

[44] Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power*, 24. Quoted in Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 183.

[45] Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 167.

priori notion that anything a colonial power like Spain does is meant to suppress or Otherize natives and native culture. This includes the belief that Western mapping traditions, and place-naming traditions, are merely colonial tools. But how useful is a conceptual framework that automatically reduces any activity by the Spanish to a form of colonial repression?

The way the Spanish brought toponyms to the New World and utilized Amerindian ones were not, as Mignolo said, "social and semiotic interactions and territorial control instead of representations of ontological space."[46] Such a view asserts that the Spanish were unbridled conquerors, with the power and will to rename and claim as they pleased. Of course, historians of the Atlantic world and Latin America instead stress the creation of a syncretized Hispanicized-Indian culture in the New World. The encounter changed both the Spanish and the Indians and blended their cultures. Though the Spanish seized basic political control, they could not and did not exercise unbridled control over Indians or their culture, including maps and place-names. Just as the Spanish did not erase Moorish culture or toponyms from the landscape during the *reconquista*, they did not erase Amerindian culture or toponyms from the landscape during the American conquest. Indeed, the Spanish use of Tlaxcalans as imperial mercenaries and settlers spread Nahuatl-language toponyms far outside the pre-Cortesian extent of Nahua settlement. Nahuatl place-names extended southward into the Maya lands of Guatemala and northward into Michoacán, Sinaloa, and Zacatecas. Around the turn of the seventeenth century Tlaxcalan miners and settlers practiced their own form of

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[46] Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 313.

"imperialism," founding settlements like San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala in Nueva

Vizcaya, Nueva Tlaxcala in Nueva Galicia, and Tlaxcalilla near Zacatecas.

There is no evidence in the Spanish realm of any imperial project to obliterate

native toponyms.[47] In fact, there is ample evidence among Spanish historians that they

bewailed the multitude of place-names Spanish sailors and explorers gave to the

Americas. Bartolomé de las Casas wrote that the sailors who gave new toponyms to the

Indies on each voyage sowed confusion that led to numerous shipwrecks:

> Todas estas islas e munchos puertos e partes de la Tierra Tirme están ya
> desconoscidas, por mudalles los nombres los que hazen las cartas de marear, en
> que no poca confusión engendran, e avn son causa de hartos yerros e perdición de
> navios rescebir la relación de cada marinero.
> (All these isles and many of the ports and regions of the mainland are still
> unknown, for the way the names have been changed on sea charts, and there has
> been no little confusion engendered by the habit of asking each seafarer to

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[47] Just as Patricia Seed has noted national differences in the way the colonial powers claimed land in *Ceremonies of Possession*, there is evidence that other imperial powers did attempt to remove Indian toponyms from the maps of their domains. Captain John Smith (1580–1631), the English explorer of America of Jamestown fame, gave the region north of Virginia the name New England to counter the Indian names for the region: "In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called it *New-England*: but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the eccho of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday*, and *Penaquid*" (Smith, 937). Smith even gave a manuscript copy of his map to Prince Charles, the future King Charles I (r. 1625–1649), asking him "to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince *Charles* was their God-father" (Smith, 699). This was an obvious act of place-name imperialism, meant to wipe Indian names from a New England. In Virginia in 1619, William Tucker petitioned the House of Burgesses "to change the savage name of Kiccowtan, and to give that Incorporation [county] a new name" (Tyler, 259). The Burgesses rechristened it Elizabeth City County. See Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*; John Smith, *Capt. John Smith, of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire; President of Virginia and Admiral of New England: Works, 1608-1631*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, UK: English Scholar's Library, 1884), 699, 937; Matthew H. Edney, "The Anglophone Toponyms Associated with John Smith's Description and Map of New England," *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* 57, no. 4 (December 2009): 189-207; Matthew H. Edney, "A Cautionary Historiography of John Smith's New England," *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 46, no. 1 (January 2011): 1-27; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 178-187; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 33; "Proceedings of the Virginia Assembly, 1619," in Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1907), 259; Norma Tucker, *Colonial Virginians and Their Maryland Relatives: A Genealogy of the Tucker Family and Also the Families of Allen, Blackistone, Chandler, Ford, Gerard, Harmor, Hume, Monroe, Skaggs, Smith, Stevesson, Stone, Sturman, Thompson, Ward, Yowell, and Others* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994), 9.

provide his own account of what he has seen and it is still responsible today for the many misunderstandings and losses at sea.)[48]

Historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo complained bitterly about the toponyms that Spaniards bestowed on the landscape.[49] He thought the practice of naming points after the Catholic liturgical calendar was unwieldy:

> Tanto que mirando una destas nuestras cartas de marear, paresçe que va hombre leyendo por estas costas un kalendario ó catálogo de sanetos, no bien ordenado. (While looking at one of our [Spanish] sea charts, it appears that one goes along these coasts reading a calendar or catalog of saints, [though one] not well-ordered.)[50]

He held that the descriptive toponyms that sailors and explorers gave to land features led to "tierras de los nombres duplicados son muy diferentes" (lands of duplicate names that are very different).[51] Oviedo even complained that when Pedro de Heredia founded and named Cartagena on the north coast of South America in 1533 (most of his sailors were from Cartagena in Murcia), it might confuse people into believing that the ancient Carthaginians had founded the place.[52] Oviedo suggested that, when at all possible, the Spanish should use the original native name of a place,[53] he wrote:

> Non obstante lo que está dicho, mi paresçer seria que nombres proprios donde saber se pudieren, se conserven.

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[48] Casas, *Las Casas on Columbus*, 428.

[49] Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World: From Christopher Columbus to Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo*, trans. Jeremy Moyle (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010), 282-283.

[50] Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 2:146.

[51] Ibid., 2:145.

[52] Ibid., 2:448.

[53] Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*, 282.

(However, as I have said, my opinion would be that where original names can be known, they [should be] conserved.)[54]

How did the Spanish name the New World? Explorers and sailors first described places with descriptive toponyms, or planted laudatory names honoring royalty or religion. They also recorded native names to indicate that they were the first to discover a place. Then conquerors and settlers subdued and planted settlements in a territory. Generally, established Indian villages retained their names, though they were often baptized with the name of a patron saint. Where indigenous populations were dense, and brought into the empire, more native place-names remained on the land. New cities for Spanish settlers usually received a new Spanish name chosen by the founder. These new toponyms were the names of saints, place-names transferred from the Old World to the New, often the hometown of the founder, or they were meant to flatter royal officials. The name of regions and new kingdoms often mimicked the kingdoms of Spain: New Castilla, New Andalucía, and Nueva Galicia. Many regions, though, had Indian names, like Perú, Panamá, and Tejas. José de Escandón's conquest of Nuevo Santander exemplified many of these traits: explorers gave descriptive names to places, Escandón had to bow to the Indian populations in the southern section of his colony and retain their toponyms, while he planted new settlements in the northern part of his territory, giving them names to honor his homeland and benefactors.

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[54] Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 2:146.

The naming of the Spanish Empire was not merely a Spanish undertaking; it was a Hispano-Indian undertaking.[55] This research is meant to correct the predominant historiography of toponyms in the New World, a postmodernist and poststructuralist approach which has stressed the European imposition of place-names on Amerindians. Toponyms and maps are not merely tools of conquest, tools "of oppression, and native inhabitants… must often fight against hegemonic, oppressive toponyms."[56] Instead, this transatlantic dissertation underlines the patterns of place-naming that the Spanish acquired in the Old World and brought to the New World. This analysis of toponyms reflected Spanish aspirations and history, and demonstrates that far from using place-names to erade any trace of the indigenous population, the Spanish in fact adopted and adapted from those they wished to incorporate into their empire.

One pattern was created during the *reconquista*, where Hispanic peoples lived alongside Moors and kept many non-Christian toponyms. When kings and settlers founded new settlements for Christian colonizers, they gave new Spanish toponyms to them, usually transferring names across the peninsula, honoring nobles, or describing the local geography. Another pattern that made its way to the New World from the Old developed in the Eastern Atlantic, as the Spanish inherited the descriptive naming

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[55] Indeed there was such an attachment to Indian toponyms that after the revolutions of the nineteenth century freed Latin America from Spanish rule, many places exchanged their European names for Amerindian ones. For instance, the viceroyalty of Nueva España chose the name México upon independence, though they toyed with the moniker Estados Unidos de Anáhuac. Most of the province of Nueva Vizcaya became Chihuahua; Nueva Extremadura became Coahuila; a major portion of Nueva Galicia took the name Jalisco; and Nuevo Santander adopted the old name Tamaulipas. For more on the adoption of Indian and nationalistic place-names in nineteenth century México, see Gene Rhea Tucker, "Re-Naming Texas: Competing Mexican and Anglo Placenaming in Texas, 1821-1836," *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* (forthcoming).

[56] Bach, *Colonial Transformations*, 69.

patterns of sailors, recorded the native place-names of new peoples they encountered, and adopted and adapted toponyms from non-European populations like the Guanche they brought into their empire. These patterns landed in the New World with Columbus, and explorers and conquerors would utilize them over the centuries. Columbus gave descriptive and self-serving place-names, but he also utilized, adopted, and adapted the place-names of Indian peoples he encountered. The conquest of Cortés too followed these transatlantic patterns: building towns for Spaniards with Spanish names, adding a saint name to indigenous cities, and recording and retaining many other Indian toponyms. As the Spanish brought large, sedentary, tribute-based polities into their empire, they generally named newly built towns for Europeans with Spanish names, while they adopted and adapted the names of the indigenous settlements they incorporated into their domains. Though the Spanish sought to alter some facets of native culture, they were conditionined by the *reconquista* to not try the wholesale re-naming of towns and villages which would serve only to sow confusion and discord. A negotiated relationship of accommodation underscores the "power" natives wielded in the Spanish New World to retain various aspects of their culture, including the toponyms they gave to their lands.

The toponyms the Spaniards and the Indians put on the landscape and their maps were swept up in the syncretizing processes and exchanges engendered by the connectedness of the Atlantic world. The Spanish did create new toponyms in the Americas. They described the land, honored their Catholic faith and their nobility, and they transferred Old World place-names to the New World—but this only accounts for a portion of the toponyms used in the Spanish New World. Amerindians continued using

their own place-names and contributed many of them to the Spanish, who adopted and adapted them. A number of the toponyms in the New World, as demonstrated both by contemporary Spanish chronicles and maps, were in fact hybridized place-names. For every Spanish "Medellín" transplanted to the Indies, there was an Indian "Tenochtitlan" and a syncretic "San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala." Spanish political power in the New World did not rest on their imposition of European place-names or their European-style maps—the Spanish did not erase indigenous toponyms, just as they did not eradicate the indigenes.

APPENDIX 1

PLACE-NAMES OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD

The following list of place-names is culled from various documentary sources of the four voyages of Columbus. The Columbian place-names are taken from what remains of Columbus's log-books (*Diario a bordo*), the histories of Bartolomé de las Casas (*Historia de las Indias* and *Apologética historia sumaria*), and Fernando Colón's biography of his father (*Vita di Cristoforo Colombo*). The native names come mostly from log and the writings of Las Casas, Oviedo, Peter Martyr, and, for the fourth voyage, Fernando Colón. Modern identifications come mostly from Samuel Eliot Morison's biography *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* and the notes of Cecil Jane's translation of Columbus's first voyage.

First Voyage (1492–1493)

Columbian Name	Native Name	Modern Name
isla San Salvador	Guanahani	San Salvador (Watling)
isla Santa María de la Concepción	Manigua	Rum Cay
isla Fernandina	Yuma	Long Island
isla Isabela	Samoeto	Crooked Island
cabo Hermoso		Fortune Island
cabo de Laguna		Bight of Aklins
cabo de Isleo		
cabo Verde		
islas de Arena		Ragged Islands
isla Juana	Cuba (Colba)	Cuba
río San Salvador		Bahía Bariay
río de la Luna		Río Jururú
río de Mares		Puerto Gibara
cabo de las Palmas		
	Cami	
	Cavila	
	Cubanacan	
río del Sol		Puerto Sama
cabo de Cuba		Punta Lucrecia
mar de Nuestra Señora		Bahía Tánamo

puerto del Principe		Bahía Jucaro
puerto de Santa Catalina		Punto Moa Grande
	Babeque (Bneque)	Great Inagua Island
cabo del Pico		Punta Guarico
cabo de Campana		
puerto Santo		Bahía de Baracoa
cabo Lindo		Punta del Fraile
punto Alpha y Omega		Cabo Maisi
puerto de San Nicolás [Puerto María]		Puerto de San Nicolás
cabo de la Estrella		
isla de Tortuga		Île de la Tortue
cabo del Elefante		Haut Piton
cabo del Cinquin		Pointe Jean Rabel
puerto de la Concepción		Baie Moustique
isla Española	Bohío or Haytí	Española (Hispaniola)
punta de la Pierna		
punta Lanzada		
río Guadalquivir		Trois Rivières
valle del Paraiso		
cabo Alto y Bajo		Limbe Pointe
isleta de Santo Tomás		Limbe Île
puerto de la mar de Santo Tomás		Baie Acul
isla la Amiga		Île Rat
punta Santa		Pointe Nicolet
monte Caribata		Cap-Haïtien
	Cibao	
villa de la Navidad		
puerto de Monte-Christi		Monte Cristi
río del Oro		Yaque del Norte
punta Roja		Punta Rucía
río de Gracia [río de Martin Alonso]		Puerto Blanco
cabo Belprado		Punta Patillo
monte de la Plata		Loma Isabela de Torres
cabo del Ángel		Punta Payne
punta del Hierro		Punta Macoris
cabo Redondo		Cabo de la Roca
cabo Francés		Cabo Francés
cabo del Buen Tiempo		
cabo Tajado		Cabo Tajado
cabo del Padre e Hijo		Cabo Cabrón
cabo del Enamorado		Cabo San Vicente
	Matinino	Martinique
golfo de las Flechas		Las Flechas (Bahía de Samana)

| cabo de San Theramo | | Cabo Engaño |

Second Voyage (1493–1496)

Columbian Name	Native Name	Modern Name
isla Dominica	Caire	Dominica
isla Marigalante		Marie-Galante
islas Todos los Santos		Îles des Saintes
isla Santa María de Guadalupe	Kerkeria	Guadeloupe
isla Deséada		La Désirade
isla Santa María de Montserrate		Montserrat
isla Santa María la Redonda	Ocamaniro	Redonda
isla Santa María del Antigua	Yaramaqui	
isla San Martín		Nevis
isla San Jorge	Liamuiga	Saint Kitts
isla Santa Anastasia		Saint Eustatius
isla San Cristóbal		Saba
isla Santa Cruz	Ayay	Saint Croix
cabo de la Flecha		
islas de Santa Úrsula		
y Las Once Mil Virgines		Virgin Islands
isla Graciosa		Vieques
isla San Juan Bautista	Boriquén	Puerto Rico
isla Mona	Ámona	Mona
cabo San Rafael		Cabo Engaño
villa de la Isabela		
	Niti	
puerto de los Hidalgos		
vega Real		
río Cañas		Río Yaque del Norte
río Verde		
puerto de Cibao		
fortaleza de Santo Tomás		
puerto Grande		Guantanamo Bay
puerto Bueno		
isla de Santiago	Jamaica	Jamaica
puerto Santa Gloria		Saint Ann's Bay
puerto Bueno		Dry Harbour
golfo fr Bien Tiempo		Montego Bay
cabo de Cruz		Cabo Cruz
islas del Jardín de la Reina		Jardines de la Reina
río de las Misas		Río San Juan

	Ornofay	
	Magón	
punta del Serafín		Punta Gorda
isla San Juan Evangelista		Isla de la Juventud
isla Santa Marta (mayor)		Cayo Largo
bahía de la Vaca		Portland Bight
cabo del Farol		Morant Point
cabo San Miguel de Saona		Péninsule de Tiburon
isla Saona		Saona

Third Voyage (1498–1500)

Columbian Name	Native Name	Modern Name
isla Trinidad	Iëre	Trindad
cabo de la Galera		Galeota Point
isla Santa		Punta Bombeador
punta de la Playa		Erin Point
punta del Arenal		Icacos Point
golfo de la Ballena		Golfo de Paria
boca de la Sierpe		Columbus Channel
isleta el Gallo		Piedra Soldado
isla de Gracia		Península de Paria
cabo de Lapa		
cabo Boto		Monos Island
isleta del Caracol		Chacachacare Island
isleta del Delfin		Huevos Island
boca del Drago		Bocas del Dragón
isla Bellaforma		Tobago
punta del Aguja		Punta Alcatraz
	Paria	Península de Paria
surgidero Jardines		
isla Sabeta		
isla Tramontana		
punta Seca		
punta Llana		
punta Sara		
golfo de las Perlas		
puerto de Gatos		
cabo de Conchas		
cabo Luengo		
cabo Sabor		
cabo Rico		

Columbian Name	Native Name	Modern Name
isla de la Asunción	Camahogne	Grenada
islas de la Concepción		
isletas de Los Testigos		Los Testigos
isla del Romero		La Sola
isletas de las Guardias		Los Frailes
isla Margarita		Margarita
isla del Martinet		Blanquilla
isleta Madama Beata		Isla Beata
isla Alto Velo		Alto Velo

Fourth Voyage (1502–1504)

Columbian Name	Native Name	Modern Name
isla de las Pozas		
isla Anegada		Cayo Largo del Sur
	Guanaja	Guanaja or Bonnaca
punta de Caxinas		Cabo Honduras
río de la Posesión		Río Romano
costa de la Oreja	Maia	Miskito Coast
cabo de Gracias a Dios		Cabo Gracias a Dios
río del Desastre		Río Grande (?)
cabo de Rojas		Monkey Point
	Cariai	Provincia de Limón
isla la Huerta	Quiriviri	Uva
	Carambaru	
	Quiriquetana	
bahía de Alburema		Laguna de Chiriqui
	Ciguare	
isla del Escudo		Escudo de Veragua
	Guaiga	Río Chiriqui
	Cativa	
	Cobrava	
	Veragua	Provincia de Veraguas
	Cubiga	
puerto Bello		Portobelo
puerto de los Bastimentos		Nombre de Dios
	Guigua	Río Culebra
puerto de Retrete		Puerto Escribanos
piedra el Peñón	Huiva	Bahía de Limón
río de los Lagartos		Río Chagres
costa de tos Contrastes		
río de Belén		Río Belén

villa de Santa María de Belén
islas de las Barbas
extremo de Mármol
islas de las Tortugas

Archipiélago de San Blas
Punta de Mosquito
Little Cayman
and Cayman Brac

APPENDIX 2

PLACE-NAMES IN THE SECOND LETTER OF CORTÉS

The following list of place-names is culled from the second letter Cortés sent from México to the court of Emperor Carlos V. Names marked with an asterisk (*) were probably coined by Cortés.

Native Names	Spanish Names
	Nueva España*
Yucatán	
Culúa	
Temustitán	
	Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz*
Cempoal	Sevilla*
Nautecal	Almería
Sienchimalem	
	Puerto de Nombre de Dios*
Teixuacan	
	Puerto de la Leña*
Caltanmy	
Yztacmasistan	
Cascalteca	
Churultecal	
Guasyncango	
Putunchan	
Acançingo	
Yzcucan	
Guasuçingo	
Chalco	
Amaqueruca	
Yztapalapa	
Caluaalcan	
Mesiçalgingo	
Niçiaca	
Huchilohuchico	
Çuçula	
Tamaçulapa	
Malinaltebeque	
Tuchitebeque	
Calchimeca	San Juan
Maçamalco	
Tuchintecla	
	San Martín
	San Antón
	Río Grijalva
Tescucu	
Acuruman	

Otumpa
Mesyco
Cumantan

                      San Juan

Quacucalco
Tesuacan
Tacuba
Bualipian
Tepeaca   Villa Segura de la Frontera*
Guasuçingo
B(G)uacachula
Ocupatuyo
Yzçucan

APPENDIX 3

SETTLEMENTS FOUNDED BY JOSÉ DE ESCANDÓN IN NUEVO SANTANDER,
1748-1755

The following list of new settlements founded by José de Escandón shows that most of them were named for cities in his home provine of Santander, Cantabria, Spain, or for viceregal officials who supported him.

Name	Named For	Date
Llera	Josefa de Llera de Escandón	1748
Altamira	Marqués de Altamira	1749
Burgos	Burgos in Spain?	1749
Camargo	Camargo, Santander	1749
Güemes	Conde de Revillagigedo	1749
Horcasitas	Conde de Revillagigedo	1749
Padilla	Doña Maria Padilla	1749
Real de los Infantes		1749
Reynosa	Reinosa, Santander	1749
San Fernando		1749
Santa Bárbara		1749
Santander	Santander	1749
Aguayo	Conde de Revillagigedo	1750
Revilla	Revilla, Santander	1750
Soto la Marina	Soto la Marina, Santander	1750
Hoyos		1752
Santillana	Santillana, Santander	1752
Mier	Francisco Mier y Torre	1753
Laredo	Laredo, Santander	1755

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Gene Rhea Tucker, originally from Killeen, Texas, earned his BA and MA in history from Tarleton State University in Stephenville, Texas. His 2006 master's thesis on the company store and workers of Thurber, Texas (a coal mining boomtown turned ghost-town), entitled "Oysters, Macaroni, and Beer," will be published as *Oysters, Macaroni, and Beer* by the Texas Tech University Press in early 2012. He has published or forthcoming several journal articles and book reviews, chiefly on cartographic topics. After earning his Ph.D., he plans to teach and continue his research and writing on various subjects.