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KEY SOURCES OF BANDELIER'S HISTORY OF THE SOUTHWEST

ERNEST J. BURRUS, S.J.

THIS STUDY IS LIMITED to analyzing the main sources of Bandelier's most important work: *Histoire de la Colonisation et des Missions de Sonora, Chihuahua, Nouveau Mexique et Arizona jusqu'à l'année 1700 par Ad. F. Bandelier de l'Institut Archéologique Américain, avec quatre volumes de planches en couleurs, de plans, et de photographies, et un atlas*.¹ Although reference must be made to many of his other publications, it is not necessary to detail on what authorities he based them, inasmuch as they are not the direct object here.

The *Histoire* begins with the earliest known record—not always written but furnishing information based on tradition, especially as communicated by the Indians to Bandelier personally—until 1700, and not infrequently well beyond that official date until the author's time. The scene of Bandelier's account is indicated in the title: the two Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua and the two American territories of New Mexico and Arizona. Before 1700 the El Paso valley—on both sides of the Rio Grande—formed a part of New Mexico and hence is included in his account. Bandelier also furnishes much post-1700 information on the area, as will be pointed out.

The work was commissioned by J. B. Salpointe, archbishop of Santa Fe, shortly before 4 October 1886, as a unique gift of the archdiocese to Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of the pontiff's Golden Jubilee of his priesthood on 31 December 1887 and that of his first Mass on 1 January 1888. The *Histoire* is made up of two very unequal series: seven volumes (parts) of text and five volumes of

illustrations—four albums of 388 original drawings in color, 7 blueprints, 96 photos, and an atlas of 11 maps. Although the actual compilation of the text and illustrations took only a little more than a year, Bandelier drew on work that he had begun or accomplished a decade or more earlier.²

Bandelier read and spoke several modern languages and conversed in some of the Indian dialects of the Southwest, and even kept a detailed *Journal* and corresponded in Spanish, English, German, and French, but the sad truth is that he was incapable of writing flawlessly in any of them. It seems that all the great genius of the man focused on the thought-content of the languages rather than on their literary or even idiomatic form. Of all the languages he knew, he came to write English with the fewest mistakes; but he thought that Leo XIII would not be able to read the history if he wrote it in that language. Hence he decided on French, which the pontiff read with ease.

As Bandelier composed the monumental work, he became increasingly aware of its unsatisfactory literary form, so he persuaded a native French priest, Augustin Navet, parish priest of nearby Peña Blanca, to revise the 1,400 pages. Considering the time at his disposal—less than a year—and his pressing ministerial tasks, Navet's accomplishment must be regarded as truly amazing, even though the result was not always perfect—there are slight omissions, a few obscurities, and some minor mistakes. Navet revised only the text proper of the *Histoire*. He did not find time to check all the notes and endless discussions at the foot of the pages, the titles, and data included in the sketches, blueprints, photos, and maps. Bandelier had to attend to all these.

On completion of the entire work, Bandelier informed Salpointe: "All the maps, except number 3, were drawn by Mr. H. Hartmann, a topographical engineer of this city of Santa Fe. The plates and plans—as is evident from their imperfections—are my own exclusive work."³ The historian-artist-cartographer-ethnologist is much too modest in this disclaimer, which fails to disclose the enormous amount of research and hard work these five supplementary volumes demanded. The 388 drawings, all in color, were based on some seven years of field work. Bandelier often excavated alone, then again with a lone assistant, in dozens of sites in the four regions

mentioned. Gran Quivira and Pecos in New Mexico, Showlow and Casa Grande in Arizona, the old Jesuit missions in Sonora, and Casas Grandes (Paquimé) in Chihuahua, were but a few of the sites he studied, excavated, measured (metrically) feature by feature, and recorded in his truly artistic drawings. While in the field, he jotted down all pertinent data, sketched the general area, and detailed objects in quick, rough strokes. All this he took back home to Santa Fe, where, in all leisure and intense satisfaction, he worked over the rough material into productions of real art and exceptional beauty. To appreciate this work, it is sufficient to compare his field sketches with the final form of the *Histoire*.⁴ Themes of his drawings are not only extensive archaeological sites but everyday life: utensils, household and community tools, dress (ordinary and ceremonial), dances, symbols, petroglyphs, and native drawings.

Bandelier's ninety-six photos reveal the varied life of the Indians and his own activity and are as instructive as the drawings themselves although by no means as beautiful and artistic. He bought some of the photos from commercial photographers but relied more frequently on his own productions. A pity he could not have secured something like our handy efficient modern equipment!

The seven blueprints are very similar to Bandelier's drawings. He may have acquired and inserted them into the albums to illustrate graphically the areas and objects that interested him. Thus, item 212 in Album 3 is entitled "A Pueblo in ruins on the Las Animas River, Colorado," an area he does not seem to have visited.

He also included eleven most informative maps. As we have seen, he had his friend, Mr. H. Hartmann of Santa Fe, draw a large map showing the four pertinent regions. This map, in purple ink, hectographed on a gelatin pad, served as an outline chart into which Bandelier then inserted a vast amount of data according to the topic he was illustrating. To compile such information, he had to devote months of reading and research, as the following list of the contents of the maps so clearly reflects:⁵

- (1) This production shows: a) the northern limits of the *felis onca*; b) the southern limits of the *ovis montana*.
- (2) This map contains modern and historical data: a) the Indian reservations in the U.S. west of the 84th meridian and the number of Indians belonging thereto, 1881; b) an outline

of the expeditions of the Spaniards in the southwestern part of the U.S. in 1535–36 and 1550.

- (3) This map records two expeditions in great detail: a) the route of Cabeza de Vaca and companions in 1535–36; b) the expedition of Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539.
- (4) This production is entitled Spanish expeditions to the Southwest in 1540–42.
- (5) The expedition of Chamuscado and Three Religious in 1581.
- (6) The expedition of Antonio de Espejo, 1582–83.
- (7) The expeditions of Gaspar Castaño de Sosa and of Leyva Bonilla, 1590 to 1595, at the latest.
- (8) The expeditions of Juan de Oñate, 1598–1605.
- (9) Colonization: missions and Indian tribes in 1680, prior to the great revolt.
- (10) Colonization: missions and Indians in the year 1700.

Now an analysis of the sources of the seven parts (*parties*) of the text of the *Histoire* is needed. Since critical discussions and indication of translations and editions of the works cited would demand a good-sized volume, they will be omitted. Bandelier cites his authorities in a bewildering variety of ways, seldom twice in the same way or in the same wording. When discussing printed materials, he usually omits the place and year of publication, and his manuscript sources are not always readily identifiable. In all instances, his sources will be cited in the briefest intelligible form.

PART I

This part is obviously introductory and of a general nature dealing with the entire region and valid for the whole time span. The individual chapters specify the contents of each.⁶

Chapters 1–2: Physical geography and hydrography. For these two topics, Bandelier relies on numerous governmental publications, sometimes referring to them merely as “Government Reports”; at other times, specifying them and other sources by author and title such as J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Mineral Resources of the States* (1868); John Wesley Powell, *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West* (1877); Henry Gannett, *List of Elevations*; anonymous, *Annual Reports of the Chief of Engineers for 1875*.

Chapter 3: Flora of the Southwest. For this topic Bandelier draws on two main sources, one of the eighteenth century and the other contemporary: Johann Nentwig, *Rudo ensayo*, and several *Annual Reports*. Chapter 4: Fauna of the Southwest. They include insects, reptiles, birds, and mammals. The pertinent information is derived mainly from *Surveys West of the 100th Meridian* (1878), and a series of *Annual Reports*, with emphasis on those of 1878. More specific items include Jesús Sánchez, "Datos para el catálogo de las aves que viven en México," in *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, tomo 1; Antonio de Mendoza, *Deuxième lettre à l'empereur Charles V, 17 avril 1540; Hackluyt Society's Publications*; John G. Shea, *Relation du voyage entrepris par feu Mons. Robert Cavalier Sieur de la Salle* (1858); Cabeza de Vaca, *Nafragios*; Antonio de Espejo, *Relación del viaje*; Frank Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches*; J. J. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis*; Pedro de Castañeda, *Voyage de Cibola*. Chapter 5: Buffalo. Trade. Nomadic and sedentary Indians of the 16th century. Bandelier appends no notes or explanations to this chapter.

PART 2

This part, made up of fourteen chapters, deals with the history of the area from the fall of Mexico City to the submission of the Pueblos and the definitive establishment of the Franciscan missions (early 1600s).

Chapter 1: Northern Mexico after 1519; Cabeza de Vaca and companions; Church and Missions until 1538. By way of introduction, Bandelier cites several publications of Lewis Morgan, on whom he relied heavily at this time, and many of his own writings: *Ancient Society; Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge); *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines* (Contributions to North American Ethnology); and also his *On the Social Organization and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans* (12th Report of the Peabody Museum for American Archaeology and Ethnology), *On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*; *On the Tenure of Land and Customs with Respect to Inheritance*; *An Archaeological Tour in Mexico, 1884*.

Other sources cited include Durán, *Historia*; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*; Cortés, *Cartas*; Tezozómoc, *Crónica mexicana*; Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las lenguas* and *Ojeada sobre la cronología mexicana*; J. García Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*; Cervantes de Salazar, *México en 1554*; Robert Thompson, *Voyages* (Hackluyt ed.), Samuel Champlain, *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the Years 1599–1602* (1859); Herrera, *Historia general* (1730 ed.); the anonymous *Relación de las ceremonias y ritos, población y gobierno de los indios de Mechucacán* (Florencia Janis ed.); Matías de la Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de Indias*.

Chapter 2: The discovery of Arizona and N. Mex. by Fray Marcos de Niza.⁷ Here he begins to cite several important collections of published documents: *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (DHM);⁸ *Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias* (DII); *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, ed. Icazbalceta (DHI); *Colección de Vedia* (CV);⁹ Henri Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux* (from whose twenty-one vols. Bandelier will cite numerous specific items);¹⁰ Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos*.

Then follows a series of religious chronicles that Bandelier cites throughout much of the *Histoire*:¹¹ Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Alegre, *Historia*; Remesal, *Historia*, Torquemada, *Monarquía*; Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*; Agustín de Vtancurt, *Menologio*; Agustín Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación . . . de la Provincia de Santiago de México de la orden de Predicadores* (1625); Grijalva, *Crónica* (1624); Arrivcita, *Crónica*.

Other important sources cited include the anonymous *Popol-Vuh*; Fray Gregorio García, *Origen de los indios* (1729 ed.); Francisco Pimentel, *Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de México*; Hornius, *De originibus americanis*; Jan Ruysch, *Universalior cogniti Orbis tabula* (1508); Antonio de León y Pinelo, *Tratado*; Solórzano Pereyra, *Política indiana*; Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*; Alfredo Chavero, *Sahagún*; B. Silliman, *Turquoise of New Mexico* (Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, August 1880); Juan de Velasco, *Histoire de royaume de Quito*. He also cites a manuscript (AGN)

of 1799: Colonel José Cortés, "Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España."

Chapter 3: Viceroy Mendoza and Cortés. Expeditions: in the Pacific, Coronado, Alarcón. Hopis and Grand Canyon. Bandelier cites numerous earlier sources—e.g. Navarrete, Torquemada, J. W. Powell—and adds many new authorities: Alvaro de Saavedra, *Relación a las islas del Maluco*; B. Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*; the *Relations* (from Ternaux-Compans) by Alarcón and Jaramillo; Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario mexicano* (1571); Cornelius Wytfliet, *Descriptionis Ptolemaicae augmentum* (1597); Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia* (1623); Ives and Newberry, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West* (1864); an anonymous *Fifth Annual Report* (Archaeological Institute of America, 1883).

Chapter 4: Spaniards in N. Mex. and Arizona. Bandelier draws on a manuscript source in AGN that deals among other topics with Coronado's expedition and is to be cited many times elsewhere: "Relación postrera de Sívola [Cíbola]." Other sources include Benavides, *Memorial*; DII, vols. 15 and 16, for Oñate, *Discurso* and *Obediencia*; Espejo, *Relación*; and Bandelier, *A Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Rio Pecos* (Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, vol. 1).

Chapter 5: Quivira. Coronado goes to Kansas. Expeditions along the Río Grande. Much the same sources as in the preceding chapter; also Juan de Castellanos, *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* (1852); J. G. Shea, *The Expedition of D. Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa*¹² and *Description of Louisiana*; an anonymous *Nouvelle Découverte*; Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones* (DHM, 3^a serie); Juan Amando Niel, *Apuntamientos*;¹³ an anonymous *Journal historique de l'establissement des français à la Louisiane*. Bandelier also cites a manuscript from El Paso del Norte (Juárez): "Libro 2^o de difuntos."¹⁴

Chapter 6: News from Sonora. Return of the expeditioners; results. Bandelier draws on the same sources as for the last five chapters and adds a few new ones: two items from the Hackluyt publications (vol. 8): Luis Hernández de Biedma, *A Relation of what took place during the Expedition of Captain Soto*, and the anonymous account, *The Worthy and Famous Travailes, Discovery and Conquest of that Great Continent of Terra Florida*. He also

cites Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, 1853.

Chapter 7: Friar companions of Coronado. Memories of Coronado and the Missionaries preserved by the N. Mex. Indians. The main sources are Vetancurt, *Menologio*; Mendieta, *Menologio franciscano*, and the manuscript (AGN) already cited in other chapters: "Relación postrera de Sívola."¹⁵

Chapter 8: Nueva Galicia. Zacatecas. Sonora and Chihuahua. Yaquis. Ibarra. Mines and personal service of the Indians. Martyrs. Santa Bárbara. Bandelier draws on numerous sources for this lengthy and important chapter: Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*; Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*; Orozco y Berra, *Geografía*; Torquemada, *Monarquía*; Icazbalceta, *Documentos*; DII, vol. 16; Humboldt, *Essai politique de la Nouvelle Espagne* (1827); Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Solórzano Pereyra, *Política*; numerous anonymous *Leyes y ordenanzas*, and the *Nuevas Leyes*; Vetancurt, *Teatro*; Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*; and his own, "Die Sage des Dorado im nördlichen Süd-Amerika" (New York Staatszeitung, 1876-77).

Chapter 9: N. Mex. in 1581. Franciscan Friars. Bandelier cites only one important new item: Arthur von Münster, *Auctarium martyrologii franciscani* (1650). The remaining sources have been cited in previous chapters: Pimentel, *Cuadro*; Vetancurt, *Crónica* and *Menologio*; Mendieta, *Historia*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Niel, *Apuntamientos*; Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones*; and Oñate, *Discurso*.

Chapter 10: Espejo and his expedition to N. Mex. Bandelier draws on only a few key sources: Joannes de Laet, *Novus Orbis seu Descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis* (1633); Oñate, *Discurso*; and the manuscript (AGN): Francisco Xavier de Villanueva y Chavarri, "Breve resumen y noticia del descubrimiento de la Nueva España, demarcación y descripción de aquellas provincias, 1750."

Chapter 11: The Jesuits come to Mexico. Sonora and Chihuahua. Casas Grandes. Inasmuch as this chapter deals with the Jesuits, it draws mainly on their standard chronicles: Florencia, *Historia*; Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Alegre, *Historia*; Cavo, *Historia*. Also cited are the anonymous *Recopilación de leyes de Indias*; *Leyes y ordenanzas* from DII (vol. 16); Arlegui, *Crónica*; Alejandro Prieto, *Historia geográfica y estadística del estado de Tamaulipas* (1873); Juan Agustín de Morfi, *Viaje de indios y diario del Nuevo México*;

Gaspar de Villagr , *Historia de la Nueva M xico* (Alcal , 1610). Bandelier cites the anonymous manuscript (AGN), "Noticias de la naci n mexicana que pobl  esta tierra de la Nueva Espa a," although it was also published in the DHM, 3^a serie, pp. 47-50.¹⁶

Chapter 12: N. Mex. expeditions of Casta o and Huma a. Bandelier mentions here, as he does frequently elsewhere, both the manuscript (AGN, Historia 2) and printed (DHM) of Z rate Salmer n, *Relaciones*. Other sources include DII (vol. 1); DHM (vols. 14 and 16); Villagr , *Historia*; Fern ndez Duro, *Don Diego Dionisio de Pe alosa* (1882); also the handwritten (AGN), Fray Alonso de Posadas, "Informe al rey sobre las tierras del N.M., Quivira y Teguayo."¹⁷

Chapter 13: O ate's peaceful conquest of N. Mex. San Gabriel del Yunque. Bandelier's main sources are AGN manuscripts "C dula del rey, 8 mayo 1596"; Conde de Monterrey, "Discurso . . . del N.M."; "Mandamiento al virrey"; a series of anonymous "Relaciones"; and "Carta de Silvestre V lez de Escalante al P. Morfi, 2 abril 1778." He also draws on Villagr , *Historia*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Vetancurt, *Cr nica*. He quotes at length here and in many subsequent chapters from DII (vol. 16) *Ordenanzas* and a series of *Obediencias* of the N. Mex. pueblos.

Chapter 14: Establishment of Missions. Pueblos submit.  coma revolts. Missionaries' difficulties. Bandelier's main, almost exclusive sources, are Villagr , *Historia*; DII (vol. 16) for the *Obediencias* of the N. Mex. pueblos; and items from Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*.

PART 3

This part is made up of only four chapters, which deal with the continuation of the pioneer Franciscan and later missions. Obviously, Bandelier will draw heavily on their chroniclers. Nearly all the items cited in this part were already referred to in the previous part.

Chapter 1: Chihuahua in the 17th century. First inhabitants. Sierra Madre Oriental. Casas Grandes. The more important printed sources are Orozco y Berra, *Geograf a*; numerous items taken from DII (vols. 15-16) and DHM; P rez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Alegre,

Historia; Vetancurt, *Crónica* and *Menologio*; Arlegui, *Crónica de Zacatecas*; Pimentel, *Cuadro*; Gorráez Beaumont, *Informe de 23 octubre 1667*; J. G. Bourke, *An Apache Campaign* (1876); Kino, *Breve Relación de la insigne victoria de los pimas, 25 octubre 1698*; Nentwig, *Rudo ensayo*. Most of the handwritten materials are from AGN "Carta de Escalante a Morfi, 2 abril 1778"; Posadas, "Informe de 1632"; and Fray Nicolás López, "Memorial acerca de la repoblación de N.M." Bandelier acquired "Fragmentos de los libros de partidas de Bacadéhuachi" when he was in that Jesuit mission.¹⁸

Chapter 2: Franciscans in Chihuahua. Secularization. Eminent Franciscan Missionaries. Conchos. Casas Grandes. El Paso del Norte (Juárez). The Jumanos. Besides the standard Franciscan chronicles and menologies, manuscript sources in AGN furnished most of the materials for this chapter. For El Paso del Norte, Bandelier consulted the church records there.¹⁹ He also used the most important AGN documents: Morfi, "Descripción geográfica del N.M." (*Historia* 25); Ayeta, "Carta al virrey en nombre del gobernador, cabildo y regimiento de la Villa de Santa Fe, N.M., 1676" and numerous other items from the same volume; "Documentos para la historia del N.M. formados por D. Antonio de Otermín sobre el levantamiento del año de 1680" (*Historia* 26); Pedro Acuña, "Misiones de la Provincia de la N.M."; Bonilla, "Apuntes históricos" (*Historia* 25);²⁰ Nicolás López, "Interrogatorios y declaraciones de varios indios hechas de orden de D. Antonio de Otermín, diciembre 1681" (*Historia* 26);²¹ "Carta de Escalante a Morfi, 1778." In addition, Bandelier cites items from DII (vol. 16) and several other printed sources: Ribadeneyra, *Manual Compendio*; Juan Francisco de Montemayor, *Sumario de las cédulas, órdenes y provisiones reales* (Mexico City, 1678); Juan Joseph Moreno, *Qui-roga*; Mendieta, *Historia*; Mota Padilla, *Historia*; Cavo, *Historia*.

Chapter 3: The Jesuits in Chihuahua. Parral founded. Chihuahua mines. Spanish colonization at the beginning of the 18th century. The Jesuit chroniclers furnish most of Bandelier's data: Alegre, *Historia*; Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Florencia, *Menologio*. He also quotes from Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*, and the Jesuit missionary José de Pascual "Noticias de las misiones, 1651" (presumably an AGN manuscript), which, says Bandelier, "Supplements Alegre."

Chapter 4: Indian uprisings in Chihuahua. Trouble at El Paso del Norte. Establishment of presidios. Bandelier cites numerous manuscripts: "Libro de partidas," consulted in Bacadéhuachi, Sonora, an old Jesuit mission; "Registros de Opotu," studied in that Jesuit mission (Sonora);²² Ayeta, "Auto acordado, 9 septiembre 1676" (AGN); José de Berrotarán, "Informe acerca de los presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya" and Antonio Bonilla, "Apuntes históricos" (AGN, *Historia* 25). He also quotes from the printed *Apostólicos afanes*.

PART 4

This part deals mainly with New Mexico. Its nine chapters record that region's history in great detail from the Oñate expedition in 1598 to the Pueblo Revolt in 1680. Obviously, the story is essentially that of the Franciscan missions during this early period.

Chapter 1: N. Mex. Indians at the beginning of the 17th century: Mansos, Pueblos, Apaches, Navajos, and Plains Indians. The principal manuscripts (AGN) cited are Zárate Salmerón, "Relaciones" and "Relación postrera de Sívola." A few new and many old sources are drawn on: Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*; Vetancurt, *Teatro*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Otermín, DHM; Torquemada, *Monarquía*; Mota Padilla, *Historia*; Villagrà, *Historia*; Oñate, *Discurso*; Coronado, *Carta al emperador* (DII, vol. 3); Castañeda, *Cíbola*; Gatschet, *Classification into Seven Linguistic Stocks and Zwölf Sprachen aus dem Südwesten Nord-Amerika*.

Chapter 2: First years of San Gabriel del Yunque (N. Mex.). Oñate's expeditions to Quivira, California, and the mouth of the Colorado. Besides most of the sources quoted in the previous chapter, Bandelier also cites Fray Alonso de Posadas, "Informe al rey sobre las tierras del N.M., Quivira y Teguayo"; and "Carta de Escalante a Morfi" (both AGN documents).

Chapter 3: Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul (N. Mex.). Eminent Franciscans. Pueblo churches. Establishment of Santa Fe. Governor Peralta. N. Mex. in 1617. This chapter draws almost exclusively on AGN manuscript sources: a long series of "Reales Cédulas," several of them cited more than once: 30 junio 1668, 20 mayo 1620, 12 octubre 1665, etc.; other AGN documents: "Autos" of 27 septiembre 1636, 17 abril 1617, 26 septiembre 1647, etc.;

Sebastián de Novoa y Castro, "Queja contra Juan de Escarranad, 17 abril 1617"; Ascensio de Archuleta, "Testimonio de 18 abril 1647"; "Petición de los pobladores de la Villa de San Gabriel del N.M." From the Biblioteca Nacional de México Bandelier cites a most important source: Manje, "Luz de tierra incognita."²³ Some of the key printed materials include Torquemada, *Monarquía*; Escalona, *Carta de relación*; Juan Díez de la Calle, *Memorial y noticia*; Bandelier, *Visit to the Aboriginal Ruins in the Valley of the Río Pecos*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Alonso de Villadiego, *Instrucción política y práctica judicial* (2 ed., 1720); DII (vol. 16).

Chapter 4: Missionaries and governors of N. Mex. Missions among the Tompiros and Piros. Pacifying the Navajos and Apaches. Jumano missions. Missions among the Zuñis, Hopis, and at Ácoma. Bandelier cites two important maps: Sanson's of 1668 and Jean Jansson's of 1657. He also draws on several works of Vetancurt; of Fray Balthasar de Medina, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Diego de México* (1682); Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*. The bulk of his sources, however, are manuscript (AGN): "Reales cédulas de 19 mayo 1631 y 30 junio 1668"; Francisco Martínez de Baeza, "Auto de 27 septiembre 1676"; Fray Pedro Serrano, "Informe al señor virrey sobre el N.M., 1761"; an important "Carta al virrey, del padre Custodio y de los Definidores del N.M., 28 noviembre 1676" (*Provincias Internas*); Fray Cristo de Quirós, "Pedimento al gobernador, 1636."

Chapter 5: Attempts to raise N. Mex. to a bishopric. New Governors and Missionaries. Martyrs. The Mission of Gran Quivira. The only important printed items are Juan Díez de la Calle, *Memorial y noticia*; Benavides, *Memorial*; and Alegre, *Historia*. The other sources are AGN documents: "Reales cédulas, 30 junio 1668 y tomò 2º, num. 11"; Fray Pedro Zambrano, "Carta al virrey, 6 noviembre 1636"; Fray Andrés Suárez, "Carta al virrey, 26 octubre 1647"; Francisco Gómez, sargento mayor, "Carta al virrey, 26 octubre 1638"; "Mandamiento del apostólico y real tribunal de la Santa Cruzada sobre asuntos del N.M., 22 agosto 1633"; Fray Cristo de Quirós, "Carta al gobernador Baeza, 1636"; Fray Pedro Serrano, "Informe, 1761"; Palafox, "Informe al Conde de Salvatierra" (*Historia I*); Alonso Pacheco de Heredia, "Auto, 13 octubre 1643." Bandelier also cites a key "Informe" from "Breve noticia de la

Provincia del N. M. y su Custodia de la Conversión de San Pablo, 1831."

Chapter 6: N. Mex. Governors. Accusations against the Franciscans. Bishop Palafox and Viceroy Salvatierra.²⁴ No new sources are cited. Mainly dependent on previous chapter.

Chapters 7–8. N. Mex. from 1643 to 1661. Sporadic rebellion of some Pueblos. New governors. Peñalosa. Searching for Quivira after 1601. Bandelier cites three AGN manuscripts: Otermín, "Interrogatorio de preguntas, 1681"; "Carta de Escalante a Morfi, 1778"; Benavides, "Carta al Virrey." The main printed items include Freytas, *Sermón*; J. G. Shea, *The Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa*; Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *Don Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa* (Madrid, 1882);²⁵ Cavo, *Historia*; Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro*.

Chapter 9: The Missions from 1664 to 1680. The Apaches. Conspiracy of the Pueblos. N. Mex. in 1676. The Spaniards in N. Mex. in 1680. Besides the published works of Vetancurt, the main manuscripts (AGN) cited are Otermín, "Interrogatorio de preguntas, 1681" and "Documentos formados sobre el levantamiento del año de 1680"; "Real cédula, 30 junio 1680"; "Carta de Escalante a Morfi, 1778"; "Parecer del fiscal, 5 septiembre 1676."

Chapter 10: The Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The sources of the previous chapter are repeated here.²⁶ From the archives in El Paso del Norte Bandelier also cites Francisco Núñez, "Carta al virrey, 15 octubre 1680"; from AGN: Otermín, "Diario del sitio de la Villa de Santa Fe por los indios alzados, 1680"; Francisco de Ayeta, "Dos cartas: una al R. P. Comisario General, 20 diciembre 1680, otra al señor virrey, 31 agosto 1680"; anonymous "Dictamen, 2 enero 1681"; and "Nombres, patrias y provincias de donde son hijos los veinte y un religiosos que han muerto los indios apóstatas de las provincias de la N. M.," cited from "Carta al señor virrey, 11 septiembre 1680."

Chapter 11: Pueblos, masters of N. Mex. Their dealings with Apaches and Navajos. Popé dies. Spaniards in El Paso del Norte. Otermín returns to Cochití in 1681. Towns established near El Paso del Norte: Senecú, Ysleta, Socorro. Cruzate. Reneros de Posada. Expedition of 1688. Cía. Jumanos, Sumas, and Mansos. Nearly all Bandelier's sources are unpublished (AGN and Santa Fe). Printed

sources include Cavo, *Historia*; DHM (3ª serie), especially "Relación de la reconquista"; Vetancurt, *Teatro*. The AGN documents cited are Diego de Vargas, "Cartas"; Ayeta, "Dos cartas"; Otermín, "Interrogatorio de preguntas, 1681"; "Carta de Escalante a Morfi." From the archives of Santa Fe, Bandelier uses "Diario de la jornada que hizo el maese de campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza"; "Testimonio sacado a la letra de los autos, despedimiento del cabildo, justisia y reximiento en que piden licencia para salirse de este puesto, 1684"; Cruzate, "Manifiesto, 16 agosto 1684"; Pedro Reneros de Posada, "Auto de diligencias, 6 octubre 1687" and "Merced a los indios del Pueblo de Pecos, 25 septiembre 1689."

Chapter 12: Vargas and the Reconquest of N. Mex. Revolt of N. Mex. Indians. N. Mex. in 1700. Comanches. The main printed items include Niel, *Apuntamientos*; Villagutierre, *Historia de la conquista y reducciones de los itzaes*; Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, *Crónica apostólica y seráfica de todos los colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva España*; Mota Padilla, *Historia*; Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*. The AGN documents include "Carta de Escalante a Morfi, 1778"; "Relación anónima"; Morfi, "Descripción geográfica"; Diego de Vargas, "Carta de 16 de octubre 1692" and "Diario."

PART 5

This part, made up of only five chapters, deals with about one century of Jesuit missionary activity in northern Mexico from about 1600 to 1700. The main sources are the standard Jesuit chronicles and AGN documents.

Chapter 1: The Jesuits in Sonora. The Indians of Sonora in 1600. Captain Hurdaide. Obviously, Bandelier's main sources shift from Franciscan to Jesuit, although he also cites several more general works. His key printed items include Alegre, *Historia*; Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos* (these two items he quotes most frequently throughout the fifth part); Orozco y Berra, *Geografía*; Gatschet, *Classification*; Hamy, *Quelques observations*; Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro*; Pfefferkorn, *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora* (Cologne, 1794); Castañeda, *Cíbola*; Pimentel, *Cuadro*; "Descubrimiento de las siete ciudades" (DII, vol. 3). The main AGN documents

(all cited anonymously) are: "Descripción geográfica, natural y curiosa de la Provincia de Sonora, 1764"; "Misiones de Nébomes de Nuestro Padre San Francisco de Borja, 1658"; "Noticias de la Pimería del año de 1740"; and "Estado de la Provincia de Sonora, 1730."

Chapter 2: Jesuits in Sonora until 1646. Missions among the Yaquis, Nébomes, and Opatas. Civil province of Sonora created. With the exception of the last manuscript cited in the previous chapter, Bandelier's sources are printed items: Alegre, *Historia*; Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Cavo, *Historia*; Florencia, *Menologio*; Beristáin, *Biblioteca*; Castañeda, *Cíbola*; an anonymous *Catálogo de las partidas de las misiones de Sonora, 1685* (DHM, 3ª serie).

Chapter 3: Missionary life in Sonora. Spaniards and mines. Indian incursions. Attempts at settling Lower California. A few printed items are used; all the rest are from manuscript sources. The key published references are to Montemayor, *Sumarios de cédulas*; Alegre, *Historia*; Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; *Apostólicos afanes*; Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*. Because Bandelier cites "page 828" of "Informe del Capitán D. Ventura Fernández Calvo, 1724," one must presume he is referring to the version printed in the DHM series. AGN documents cited are "Noticia del estado actual de las misiones que en la gobernación de Sonora administran los padres del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Querétaro"; "Descripción geográfica, 1764"; "Libros de Partidos de Bacadéhuachi, 1655."²⁷

Chapter 4: Uprising in Sonora after 1680. Salvatierra and Kino. Missions in southern Arizona. Pimas. Casa Grande. Besides the standard printed sources—Alegre, *Historia*; Beristáin, *Biblioteca*; *Apostólicos afanes*; Orozco y Berra, *Geografía*; Florencia, *Menologio*; Cristóbal Martín Bernal, *Relación del estado de Pimería* (DHM)—Bandelier cites the manuscript letters of Kino, which he consulted in 1885 in the Munich Royal Library,²⁸ and two AGN items: Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones*, and the anonymous "Estado de la Provincia de Sonora."

Chapter 5: The province of Sonora. Chihuahua Indians' incursions into Sonora. Apaches. The Southwest: Missions and Spanish colonies in 1700. Bandelier cites his own map to illustrate the events of this chapter; also he used Alegre, *Historia*; Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*; Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro*; several items from

DHM (3ª serie), and a printed *Real ordenanza para el establecimiento e instrucción de intendentes, 1786*, which, despite its late date, contains material pertinent to his topic. He cites no important manuscripts.

PART 6

This section deals with the present status of the Indians of Sonora, Chihuahua, Arizona, and New Mexico.

Chapter 1: The Indians of Sonora at present.²⁹ Bandelier quotes at length from the *Noticias de Sonora* (printed in DHM, 3ª serie); other published sources include Orozco y Berra, *Geografía*; Pfefferkorn, *Beschreibung*; Stone, *Notes*. He also cites the AGN document, "Descripción geográfica."

Chapter 2: The Indians of Chihuahua, including those of El Paso del Norte. Bandelier quotes at great length from the El Paso del Norte archives: "Libro 2º de Casamientos, año de 1707," "Libro 2º de Bautismos, año de 1682";³⁰ also—without any indication of the depository—he notes Antonio Cordero, "Noticias relativas a la nación apache," presumably from the AGN. Important printed sources include Orozco y Berra, *Geografía*; Pimentel, *Cuadro*; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*; Escudero, *Noticias estadísticas del estado de Chihuahua* (1834); Velasco, *Noticias estadísticas del estado de Sonora*.

Chapter 3: Arizona Indians: Havasupay, Mohave, Huallapais, Yumas, Cocopas, Maricopas, Pimas, Papagos, and Hopis. Bandelier quotes from two key manuscripts (AGN): Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones*; Morfi, *Descripción geográfica*. His most important printed sources are A. S. Gatschet, *Classification and Zwölf Sprachen*; Bancroft, *Native Races*; Espejo, *Relación*; Garcés, *Diario*; H. C. Yarrow, *A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians* (Publication of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1879); his own *Archaeological Tour in Mexico*; Francisco Atanasio Domínguez y Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, *Diario y derrotero* (DHM, 2ª serie, tomo 1); Carl E. Buschmann, *Spuren der aztekischen Sprachen*; L. H. Morgan, *Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines*; and an anonymous 1880–1881 *Map of the Moquis* (issued by the Bureau of Ethnology).

Chapter 4: Apaches and Navajos. The three key manuscripts (AGN) used here are "Carta de Escalante a Morfi 1778"; "Noticias relativas a la nación apache"; and "Relación postrera de Sívola." The more important published sources include Benavides, *Memorial*; Espejo, *Relación*; Oñate, *Discurso*; Castañeda, *Cíbola*; Jar-amillo, *Relación*; Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro*; Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica*; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*; Gatschet, *Classification and Zwölf Sprachen*; Captain Bourke, *An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre*; J. J. von Tschudi, *Peru*; E. Lamberg, *Inspección de las colonias militares de Chihuahua* (Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística, vol. 3).

Chapter 5: The N. Mex. Pueblo Indians: their number, architecture, arts, crafts, weapons, agriculture, social organization, and government. Because of the great variety of topics taken up in this chapter, the sources cited are exceptionally extensive. The principal manuscripts (AGN) include Bonilla, "Apuntes sobre el N.M."; Cordero, "Noticias de la nación apache"; Morfi, "Descripción geográfica." From the Santa Fe archives he cites "Depredaciones indias." Some of the more important published references include Stone, *Notes on Sonora*; Captain Bourke, *An Apache Campaign*; G. Mallery, *Sign Language among the North American Indians* (First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1879-80); Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, *Informes de 1778* (DHM, 3ª serie); Velasco, *Noticias de Sonora*; Dr. Washington Matthews, *Some Deities and Demons of the Navajos, Navajo Weavers, Navajo Silversmiths, and A Part of the Navajo's Mythology*; Bancroft, *Native Races*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Espejo, *Relación*; Johann Christian Münster,³¹ *Kirchengeschichte von Dänemark und Norwegen*, vol. 1; Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches*; J. W. Powell, *Sketches of the Mythology of the North American Indians*; Rivera, *Diario y derrotero*; Mota Padilla, *Historia*; Castañeda, *Cíbola*; W. H. Holmes, *Pottery of the Ancient Pueblos*; an anonymous *Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections Obtained from the Pueblos* (Bureau of Ethnology 1881-1882); Molina, *Vocabulario*.

Chapter 6: Idolatry in Pueblos today. Dances, Kachinas, secret societies, pagan beliefs, sorcery, fetishism. The influence of idolatry on the character and way of life of the Pueblo Indians. Inasmuch as Bandelier could draw on his own frequent observation of life in

the Pueblos, he was not forced to consult as many sources here (all printed except one—Diego de Vargas, "Relacion," place of preservation not indicated): Castañeda, *Cíbola*; Captain Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Dr. Matthews, *Navajo Names for Plants*; Cushing, *Zuñi Fetiches*.

Chapter 7: The Pueblo Indians as Catholics. Their Future. The author appends no notes or references, relying entirely on his observations, experiences, and reflections.

PART 7

This last part, made up of eight chapters, is of a most miscellaneous nature: ruins, ancient architecture, agriculture, tools, stories, myths and prayers, racial and linguistic affinities of the various tribes, and their earlier migrations.

Chapter 1: The ruins of ancient native dwellings. Bandelier begins by asking the reader's pardon for referring here so frequently to his explorations and excavations carried out in the Southwest for the American Institute of Archaeology from 1880 to 1884.³² His only other sources of information cited are John J. Short, *The North Americans of Antiquity*; General Simpson, *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance*; Morgan, *Houses and House-life*; Hernando Alarcón, *Rapport*. He also refers to "Reports" (not otherwise specified) by Holmes and Jackson.³³

Chapter 2: Ancient Architecture. The large communal houses. The small cliff houses. Man-made caverns. Changes in architecture from north to south. Fortified hills. Throughout this section Bandelier refers to his illustrations, especially his drawings, and cites only published sources: the *Relaciones* of Castañeda, Jaramillo and Alarcón; Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; W. H. Dall, *Tribes of the Extreme Northwest*; George Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon*; Morgan, *Houses and House-life*; Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*; E. G. Squier, *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*; Short, *The North Americans of Antiquity*; Bancroft, *Native Races*; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*; Castañeda, *Cíbola*; from DHM (3^a serie) he takes important Jesuit accounts: Sedelmair's account of Tubutama, Sonora, and Pólici, *Relación del estado de la Pimería*. He also cites

a long list (on folio 1256) of his own "Vues photographiques" and the printed *Archaeological Tour* (referred to several times in previous chapters).

Chapter 3: Agriculture in the Southwest prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Irrigation canals. Dikes. Plowing implements. Weapons. Stone and wood. Absence of copper instruments in the Southwest. Bandelier appends neither bibliography nor references. He stops only to explain a few Spanish and Indian terms used in the text. Obviously, he draws on his own observations in the Southwest and his wide reading in Peruvian sources without stopping to specify them. In much of this chapter he finds striking analogies between the Southwest and its South American counterpart, which in a few years he studied first hand. Chapter 4: Tools. Pottery. Clothes. Tools found in the Southwest are listed in the text, but neither bibliography nor commentary is appended.

Chapter 5. Indian treasures. Turquoises and shells. Ancient fetishes. Red osier. Pipes and tobacco. Aerolites of Chihuahua. Paintings and carvings on rocks. Tombs and cremation. Skulls and skeletons. Sources of information are native informers, Bandelier's own experience and observations, and a few printed items, ancient and contemporary: Villagrà, *Historia*; Espejo, *Relación*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*; F. W. Putnam, *Report upon Geographical Surveys West of the One-Hundredth Meridian* and *Report on the United States Surveys*; Garrick Mallery, *A Collection of Gestures, Signs and Signals of the North American Indians*; Captain Bourke, *Snake Dance of the Moquis*; H. C. Yarrow, *Notice of a ruined Pueblo and an ancient burial place in the Valley of the Río Chama* (Report of United States Surveys, vol. 7); and his own *Visit to the Aboriginal ruins in the Valley of the Río Pecos*.

Chapter 6: Popular stories, myths, and prayers of the Indians of the Southwest. Their relation to the ancient history of the tribes. Again, Bandelier draws mainly on his own observations, although he cites two AGN manuscripts: "Carta de Escalante a Morfi, 1778" and "Descripción geográfica de Sonora en 1764." He often quotes Manje, *Luz de tierra incógnita*, and at considerable length, this time from the printed version (DHM, 4ª serie), also anonymously, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (1868

ed.); the numerous volumes of Dr. Matthews (cited earlier); Pfefferkorn, *Beschreibung*; Bancroft, *Native Races*; Sedelmair's account from DHM, as recorded earlier.

Chapter 7: Linguistic affinities: Navajos, Apaches, Tinné, Shoshonis (Numas), Yutes (Utahs), Yaquis, Tarahumaras, Nahuatl. Resemblance of the morals and customs of the southwestern tribes and those of other American peoples. Mound builders. It is not surprising that the varied nature of this chapter led Bandelier into citing a vast number of sources, only one of which was a manuscript (AGN). The lone exception is Gabriel de Rojas, "Relación de Cholula." Some of the more important printed sources include Cushing, *Zuñi Fetishes*; Bancroft, *Native Races*; Gatschet, *Classification and Zwölf Sprachen*; Hamy, *Quelques observations*; Albert Gallatin, *Transactions* (vol. 1); Fray Miguel Tellechea, *Compendio*; Benavides, *Memorial*; Molina, *Vocabulario*; the anonymous account cited earlier, *Relación de las ceremonias . . . Mechuacán*; P. Jacques Gravin, S.J., *Relation*; Diego de Landa, *Relación*; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*; Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de Indias*; a series of accounts about the Incas by Cristóbal de Molina and others as published in English translation by the Hackluyt Society; Morgan, *Ancient Society*; Short, *Contributions and North Americans of Antiquity*; F. W. Putnam, *Archaeological Explorations in Tennessee*; Dr. Matthews, *Mythic Dry Paintings of the Navajos*; Alice C. Fletcher, *Indian Ceremonies* (15th Annual Report of the Peabody Museum); Pérez de Ribas, *Triumphos*; Apostólicos afanes; Sahagún, *Historia*; Torquemada, *Monarquía*; *Popol-Vuh*.³⁴

Chapter 8: Native migrations. Indians' knowledge of the ocean. Traces of relations between American peoples in the pre-Columbian era. This concluding chapter is based exclusively on important printed sources: Diego de Landa, *Relación* (1566); the anonymous Codex Mendoza; Chavero, *México a través de los siglos*; Juan de Tovar, *Historia*; J. García Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*; his own *Social Organization and Mode of Government*; Squier, *Peru*; W. H. Holmes, *Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans* (Annual Report); Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*; Acosta, *Historia natural y moral*; Navarrete, *Collección de los viages*; Gregorio García, *Orgien de los indios* (1729 ed.).

After perusing the above listing of Bandelier's sources, the reader may well wonder where he was able to consult such a wealth of materials. Surely not in remote and diminutive Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he compiled the *Histoire!* Inasmuch as the sources of his five volumes of illustrations and maps have already been indicated, one should note in conclusion the centers where he obtained the data for his seven volumes of text.

For archival material he consulted the Archivo General de la Nacion (AGN) in Mexico City, the archives in Santa Fe, El Paso del Norte (present Juárez), and the old Jesuit missions in Sonora. Not until 1913–14 was he able to do research in the Archivo de Indias (Seville, Spain), the principal depository for Hispanic American materials. As it was, he had to consult the *Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias* (DII), which contained many pertinent items for his *Histoire*.

But where could he consult his published materials? Where was he able to find so many books and articles, some of which were extremely rare? As a young man, working in the Highland (Illinois) bank, bored by the unrelieved monotony of a job he utterly detested, he began reading—at the suggestion and urging of the eminent Mexican historian Icazbalceta—all the key sources of Hispanic American history. For this purpose, he bought a few items and borrowed the rest. Through influential friends, such as Lewis Morgan, he secured precious volumes from Harvard and other centers and copied out what interested him, sometimes entire volumes. Incredibly, he borrowed the gem of Gaspar de Villagrà, *Historia de la Nueva México* (Alcalá, 1610) from Harvard and kept it long enough to copy every word, “printing” with quill and ink, imitating the original so closely, page for page, line for line, that even an expert might be deceived into thinking that it came off a printing press. Bandelier's copy is still preserved in the Peabody Museum of the Harvard University.³⁵

The key manuscript and printed materials indicated here may help the reader appreciate the quantity and quality of the sources Bandelier consulted to write the history of the Southwest. He subjected them to a careful comparison and analysis. They were, however, only one set of many “sources” he used in his monumental

work. Archaeology, oral history, personal observation, and linguistics also contributed to make his *Histoire* a remarkably complete account of the region and its peoples then and today.

NOTES

1. This work, edited by E. J. Burrus, is to be published jointly by the Vatican and the Jesuit Historical Institute (Rome). It will continue the series: *A History of the Southwest*, vol. 1: *A Catalogue of the Bandelier Collection in the Vatican Library*, and Supplement to vol. 1: *Reproduction in Color of Thirty Sketches and of Ten Maps* (1969) (HS and HSS, respectively).

2. Adolph F. A. Bandelier was born in Berne, Switzerland, on 6 August 1840. The family migrated to Highland, Ill., opposite St. Louis, Mo. in 1848. After finishing elementary school in his new home and tutored by his father, he helped Adolph, Sr., in the local Ryhiner Bank. Meanwhile, he had married Josephine Huegy, a local girl, on 4 January 1862. Lewis Morgan interested him in the North American Indians as early as 1873, and Icazbalceta had him reading the main Hispanic American historical sources by 1875. By 1877 he had published his scholarly *On the Art of War and the Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans*. Two weeks after his fortieth birthday, he set out for Santa Fe, commissioned by the American Archaeological Institute of Boston to do research. In 1881 he traveled to Mexico, two years later he worked in El Paso del Norte for the first time, and in 1884–85 he went to Switzerland and Germany. He was back in El Paso in 1887, but in 1890 he returned to Mexico. He worked in South America, mainly in Lima and La Paz, from 1892—the year he left the Southwest—until 1903. His first wife died in Lima on 11 December 1892, and he married Fanny Ritter, a most scholarly woman, in La Paz 30 December 1893. From 1903 to 1913 Bandelier was in New York and Washington, D.C. Late in 1913, he left with his wife for Seville, Spain, to work in its Archivo de Indias. He died in Seville on 18 March 1914 and was buried in a pauper's grave.

3. Quoted from his letter of 18 October 1887, to the archbishop, published in HS, pp. 11–13. The map is studied in HS, number 454 (pages 201–2).

4. The rough sketches are preserved in part among the thirteen volumes of his diaries in the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe. Thirty finished sketches were published (see note 1).

5. All are explained in HS, numbers 453–56, 464–65, 472–73, 478–79; they are reproduced in HSS, plates 30–39.

6. The original French titles of the chapters, with an English translation and index, are reproduced in HS, pp. 72–93.

7. Bandelier's most extensive study of the controversial friar was "La Découverte du Nouveau-Mexique par le moine Franciscain Frère Marcos de Nice en 1539," in *Revue d'Ethnographie* (Paris, 1886). Recently, Dr. Madeleine T. Rodack edited the work in English translation: *Adolph F. Bandelier's The Discovery*

of *New Mexico by the Franciscan Monk, Friar Marcos de Niza in 1539* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1981).

8. Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, 2 parts (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937), p. 522, the 23 vols. of DHM (Mexico City, 1853-57) were made of four series: 1 (7 vols.), 2 (5 vols.), 3 (4 parts in one large folio vol.), 4 (7 vols.).

9. Bandelier was particularly interested in one volume of the series: Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia*.

10. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, shows that Ternaux-Compans published 21 vols. (Paris, 1837-40), with the general title *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux, pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*.

11. Inasmuch as Bandelier frequently quotes the religious chroniclers (Franciscan and Jesuit in particular), the interested reader may find useful the general study by Burrus, "Religious Chroniclers and Historians: A Summary with Annotated Bibliography," in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 13: *Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, part 2 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973), pp. 138-85.

12. Bandelier said about his friend's scholarly book: "La relation est apocryphe dans le sens que le voyage qu'elle décrit n'eut jamais lieu, mais elle exprime pourtant les idées courantes au 17^{ième} siècle au sujet de Quivira." In making use of materials in Spanish archives in 1882, Duro completely demolished the Peñalosa claims; Bandelier cited this work several times in the *Histoire*.

13. At the time of the compilation of the *Histoire*, Bandelier was unaware of the apocryphal nature of this writing. After subsequent research, he rejected it as a source of New Mexican history; see Burrus, "Bandelier's Manuscript Sources for the Study of the American Southwest," in *Homenaje a Don José María de la Peña y Cámara* (Madrid: Jose Porrúa Turanzas, 1969), pp. 39-40, n. 22. Niel's entire work is studied in Burrus, "A Forged Commentary on Zárate's *Relaciones del Nuevo México*," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 42 (November 1962): 569-76.

14. Bandelier notes that the entries in this book began in 1685. An entry on folio 16 indicates that on 21 January 1689, an Indian woman named María, "Quivira de nación" and eighty years old, a servant of Ana de Tapia and unmarried, died there. Obviously, Bandelier was most interested that a Quivira Indian died in El Paso del Norte (Juárez).

15. Bandelier states that this manuscript account was contained "dans le *Libro de Oro o Tesoro Indico de Motolinía*."

16. As indicated above in note eight, the third series consisted of four parts in one volume.

17. Bandelier had long been interested in this theme, as is pointed out in Burrus, "Quivira and Teguayo in the Correspondence of Bandelier and Shea with Collet (1882-1889)," *Manuscripta* 2 (July 1967): 67-83.

18. In 1884, when Bandelier visited the old Jesuit missions of Sonora; see HS, pp. 26-27.

19. Bandelier cites the El Paso del Norte archives to indicate the tribal affiliation of the Indians living in the El Paso area: "D'après les registres de la paroisse de El Paso, de 1682 à 1714, il n'eut pas moins de quinze tribus indiennes représentées à El Paso, soit par baptême, mariage ou enterremens." After studying "Libro 2° de Bautismos, 1682," "Libro 2° de Difuntos, 1685," "Libro tercero de Difuntos, 1693," and "Libro segundo de Casamientos, 1707," he concludes: "Les tribus dont les noms figurent dans ces registres sont les suivants: mansos, zumas, janos, jumanos, yutas, piros, apaches, pananas, quiviras, zuñis, queres, conchos, tehuas, tanos et tiguas. Les 'pananas' sont les 'panis'—les pawnees en anglais. Il faut ajouter à cette liste les 'jémez,' ce qui augmente les nombres à 16. En outre, il y avait des espagnols, des métis, des nègres et des mulâtres. La population de El Paso était donc légèrement mélangée. Il n'y a qu'à consulter le 'Libro segundo de Casamientos' pour s'en assurer (jusqu'au folio 46)."

20. Bandelier always cites the manuscript as "Apuntos [*sic*] históricos."

21. Presumably the author was a Franciscan. Bandelier avers that he was a companion of the well-known Franciscan Francisco de Ayeta. Compare with note thirty.

22. Bandelier was there in 1884 (see note eighteen). He spells the name of the old Jesuit mission "Opoto."

23. Bandelier copied out the entire manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional (Mexico City). His copy takes up pp. 1-419 of vol. 15 of the Mary Hemenway Collection in the Peabody Museum (Harvard University). This is still the most accurate version because the printed editions are derived from a faulty copy.

24. The Burrus-Zubillaga edition of Alegre, *Historia* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1959), vol. 3, deals with this last topic in a most exhaustive manner. See the index, p. 495, under "Sarmiento de Sotomayor."

25. See above note twelve. Fernández Duro's scholarly publication is summarized in Burrus, *Kino and the Cartography of Northwestern New Spain* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1965), p. 98 (check pages through the index).

26. Many of the AGN documents Bandelier cites for the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 have since been published in both the Spanish original and in Spanish translation; see Vina Walz, "History of the El Paso Area, 1680-1692" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1951).

27. In referring to the old Jesuit missions in Sonora, Bandelier remarks on folio 900: "Je fis le trajet de Bacadéhuachi à Nácori deux fois en 1884 et je vis les traces des horribles dévastations commises par les apaches dans ces parages." In note six to this chapter, in speaking about Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, he promises: "Je reviendrai sur ce jésuite célèbre au prochain chapitre." As we shall see, he keeps his promise.

28. Bandelier notes on folio 927: "Il existe dans la bibliothèque royale de Munich plusieurs lettres authographes du P. Kuehn [*sic*]. J'obtins la permission de les consulter en 1885. Elles sont datées de Californie en 1684 et 85, et signées 'Eusebius Kinus.' Dans ses communications en espagnol, il signait 'Kino.'" He

goes on to discuss "la contradiction de Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora." Obviously, he does not think very much of the Mexican savant: "Je ne parlerai pas de la critique de Sigüenza; laquelle, comme tout ce qu'il a écrit, ne mérite que peu d'attention." Bandelier was misled by Humboldt, *Essai*, into thinking that Kino was a German who spelled his name "Kuehn."

29. Bandelier draws heavily on his own observations; e.g. folio 965: "Ainsi en 1884 j'ai trouvé un chef des ópatas à Banámichi, un autre à Sinoquipe, et un troisième à Huepaca. Dans leur vie publique, les ópatas se conforment extérieurement aux dispositions des lois de réforme de 1857, mais entr'eux ils ont toujours une organisation à part, qui rappelle celle qui était en vogue du temps des pères jésuites."

30. Bandelier again draws on his observations to support his contentions in this chapter; e.g. folios 979-81: "Ainsi dans le 'Libro 2º de Casamientos, año de 1707' (ms. El Paso del Norte, 1707 à 1728), il y a, entre autres, des mariages des mansos avec tanos, apaches, sumas, tehuas, tiguas, piros (folios 21, 22, 25, 28) et janos." Regarding the decline of the native population, he observes: "La diminution avant tout en est due à la petite vérole. Je tiens ceci d'informations orales obtenues au Paso del Norte en 1883, et des anciens livres de l'église." From the nationality of native family names he argues for the presence of various tribes in the area: "Des deux établissements d'Indiens sumas formés par le Fray Nicolás López, seul, celui de San Lorenzo el Real, resta. En 1744 il contenait 50 familles indigènes; en 1765, 21 familles. Ainsi les noms de mansos, sumas et piros dans les livres d'église du Paso sont très douteux. Par exemple le 'Libro 2º de Bautismos, año de 1682,' les noms de mansos *Moque* . . . les noms sumas *Guntique*. . . ." Omitted here are his two long lists of native names, but his observations continue: "Je donne ces noms, et j'en ai copié d'autres encore, comme étant tout ce qui nous reste de l'idiome sumas; et même ces noms sont suspects dans bien des cas." Finally, he notes signs of Apache presence around Casas Grandes in May of 1884 while he was there accompanied by Teodoro Alvarado "chasseur qui connaissait à fond les apaches."

31. He is also called "Münter."

32. Bandelier says: "On voudra bien me pardonner, si je commence par mentionner les travaux que j'ai été appelé à faire moi-même au Sud-Ouest pour l'Institut Archéologique Américain. Ces explorations ont commencé en 1880 et se sont officiellement terminés en 1884."

33. For earlier settlements in ruins he requests his readers: "Voyez les rapports de MM. Holmes et Jackson sur les ruines du Colorado meridional."

34. After giving a lengthy explanation of Indian dances on folio 1318 (HS, number 493; reproduced in HSS, plate 20), Bandelier adds: "Telle est l'explication que me donna un indien d'Acoma. C'est donc aussi une danse que le tableau doit représenter." For a Zuñi fable, he quotes Cushing, possibly from a personal conversation since he cites no published source.

35. See Burrus, "Bandelier's Manuscript Sources," p. 45.