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A Reexamination of Bandelier's Studies of Ancient Mexico

Clarissa P. Fuller

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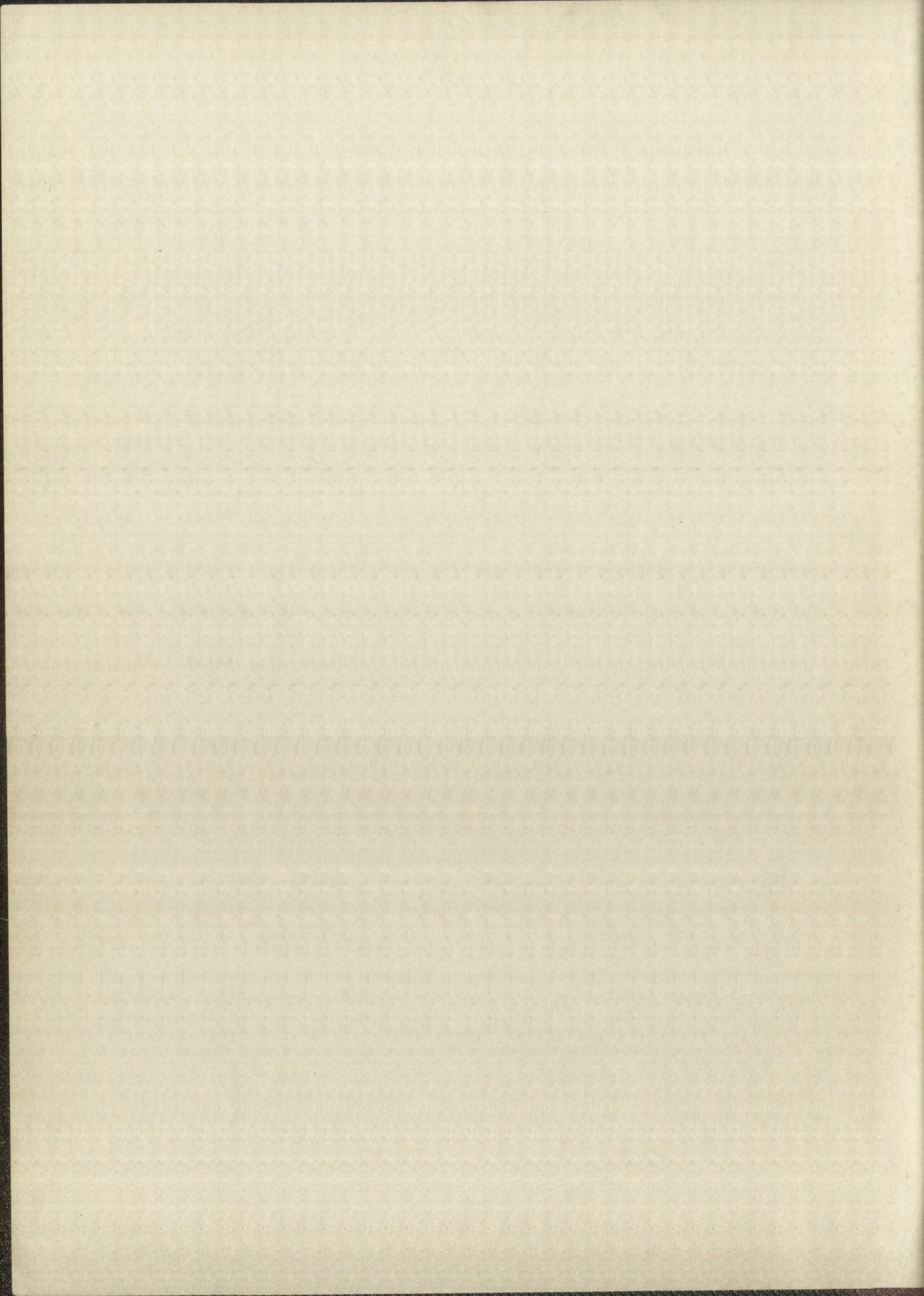
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A REEXAMINATION OF BANDELLER'S STUDIES OF
ANCIENT MEXICO

By

Clarissa P. Fuller

A Dissertation

In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

The University of New Mexico
1950





This dissertation, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DEAN

May 27, 1950

DATE

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by

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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May 22, 1930

Date

A REEXAMINATION OF KANT'S THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

by

Charles F. Miller

Committee

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AGN Archivo general y publico de la nacion. Mexico, D. F.
- DII Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubri-
miento, conquista, y colonizacion de las posesiones
espanolas en America y Oceania ... Indias. 42 vols.
Madrid, 1864-84.
- DIE Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la historia de
Espana. 112 vols. Madrid, 1889.
- PNE Papeles de Nueva Espana. Segunda serie. Francisco del
Paso y Troncoso, ed. 7 vols. Madrid, 1905-1906.
- UCPAAE University of California Publications American Archaeology
and Ethnology.

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INTRODUCTION

The rapid conquest and occupation of Middle and South America by Spanish soldiers and colonists in the 16th century aroused lively European interest in the native populations of the New World. The Age of Discovery was a time of awakened intellectual curiosity. The revival of classical learning and the assiduous study of the achievements of ancient civilizations had already produced a new attitude of interest in things which lay outside of Europe and the present. The newly discovered native civilizations of America attracted wide attention, and provided fresh fields for investigations and study.

The clash and merger of Spanish aims and ambitions with aboriginal custom in the Americas served not only to draw attention to the outstanding features of the organization of Indian life, but to stimulate further investigation of the details of native ways. The missionary clergy quickly perceived that knowledge of the religious beliefs and the social structure of the Indian groups was necessary to the accomplishment of their major aim, the conversion of the natives to Christianity. The officers of Spanish colonial government likewise found it advisable to have some understanding of Indian social and political organization. The maintenance of Spanish authority over the New World required that European institutions of government and political organization be

established throughout the Indies, but the Spanish monarchs and their overseas representatives at an early date learned that many elements of aboriginal governing custom could be valuably incorporated into the colonial government. This was particularly true for the administration of Indian towns, the tenure of land, the recruiting of native labor, and the assessment and collection of tribute. The establishment of such an administrative policy, however, demanded a careful investigation of pre-conquest social and political organization in the major areas of colonization.

Another factor which aroused great interest in the organization of native society in the New World was the prolonged polemic, which continued throughout most of the 16th century, concerning the proper and just method of governing the new subjects of Spain. This debate, prompted by the conflict between missionary and economic motives of empire, raised fundamental issues, such as the justice of Spain's title to the Indies, just method of waging war on the aborigines, appropriate measures for promoting the missionary program, and whether it was fair to enslave the Indians or to allow them some measure of independence. All of intellectual Spain was drawn into the often embarrassing argument over the rights of conquered and conqueror. Many of the participants in the quarrel looked for justification of their views in the reports of colonial and native writers, and some of them visited the Indies to obtain their own information at first hand.

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writers, and some of them visited the Indies to obtain their own
information at first hand.

To satisfy the curiosity of the Old World, to plead the cause of the New, or to supply the information which the crown required for the formulation of colonial policy, important treatises on native history and society were written during the early years following discovery and conquest. Throughout the colonial period, but especially during the 16th century, numerous studies of this nature were compiled by Spaniards, mestizos, and Indians. Many of these reports were immediately printed and given wide circulation; others remained unpublished until the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Mexican empire conquered by Fernando Cortés during the years of 1519 to 1521 was the most important native state in Spanish North America. The conqueror's reports to his sovereign, the dispatch of rich treasure to Spain, the rapid expansion of Spanish domain across and beyond the limits of Aztec area, immediately directed interest to the history and organization of this native state, an interest which has continued undiminished to the present time. The colonial literature dealing with the Aztec area, consisting of official chronicles, administrative reports, missionary treatises, and the works of native apologists of the ancient régime, is more extensive than for any other major region of the Spanish American empire.

This wealth of source material provided a broad basis for the study of the Aztecs by later writers, some of whom achieved wide reputation and exerted profound influence on the development of

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Americanist studies. Outstanding examples were William Robertson in the 18th century, and W. H. Prescott, H. H. Bancroft, and Manuel Orozco y Berra in the 19th century. These authors presented the Aztec state at conquest as a feudally organized monarchy with a distinct class stratification.

Vigorous dissent from this point of view was expressed, however, by Adolph Bandelier in three papers published from 1877 to 1880. Under the influence of Lewis H. Morgan, Bandelier had associated himself intellectually with the current school of parallelistic evolutionary anthropologists. The same awakening curiosity which had prompted 16th century Europe to look with interest at the newly discovered American Indians had developed by the 19th century into the new science of the study of mankind. The concern of the moment was with man in his primitive state. The facilities for wide travel and for investigation of all parts of the world had made it possible by this time for theories expressed during the two preceding centuries about the relationship of savage to civilized man to be tested by actual examination of primitive peoples. Methods for making these examinations and ways of classifying the results were much discussed and various investigators advanced their own notions and laws. After Darwin many of these pioneer anthropologists had adopted his revelations of evolutionary process as their means for classifying any native group in a certain stage of development toward civilization. It remained for Morgan

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and his friends to dictate rigid rules for the proper determination of the characteristics of each stage, and to insist that such stages were passed through with undeviating regularity on every continent.

With these rules in mind, Bandelier made the only examination of the ancient Mexicans which was possible so long after they had lived, vis. by studying the materials which had been written about them. His study brought him to the conclusion that the Aztecs were not as they had been presented by those who saw them or by those who had later written about them; they were, instead, only a typical, warlike Indian tribe which had formed a military alliance with two other such independent tribes, Texcoco and Tacuba, for the purpose of forcing weaker Mexican groups to furnish food and other necessities for the increasing populations of the three partners. In Bandelier's view the internal organization of these three and all other Mexican tribes was characteristically democratic. He found no evidences of class system, no notion of private ownership of land or other wealth.

Bandelier's emphatic pronouncements and his impressive use of source material exerted a strong influence on the thoughts of his contemporaries and his views have largely been accepted by many who followed him. Thus the Bandelier thesis has been perpetuated by Brinton and Waterman, to some extent by Lowie, and almost entirely by Vaillant. On the other hand, there have been writers who expressed substantial doubts of the validity of large parts of his

thesis. Among the latter were Bancroft, Radin, and others. Recently the Mexican scholar, Manuel Moreno, went so far as to contradict the whole of the Bandelier view of Aztec organization.

These doubts and contradictions have prompted the author of this dissertation (who believes that the vigorous Aztecs understood feudal organization, had conceived of a monarchy, and had laid much of the necessary foundation for the perfecting of their despotic state) to make a more thorough examination of Bandelier's studies of ancient Mexico, with reference to his method, his use of sources, and the evidence furnished by newer materials not available in his time.

This review of the Bandelier thesis will be divided into four chapters. The first chapter will survey the principal sources used by Bandelier and the earlier writers such as Robertson, Prescott, Bancroft, and Orozco y Berra. To this discussion will be added some description of newer materials, chiefly manuscript sources, which throw additional light on the problem of Aztec organization.

Chapter II will describe very briefly the development of Bandelier's ideas under the influence of Morgan's schooling. In somewhat more detail the reasons for Morgan's disbelief in an American Indian empire will be presented, and the influence or rejection of the joint Bandelier-Morgan theories will be traced in works of prominent authorities from the 1890's to the present day.

Chapters III and IV will be devoted to an examination of the Bandelier articles relating to the Aztec situation. Due to the great length and voluminous footnotes in the three papers it would be impossible within the limits of this dissertation to subject them to a page by page scrutiny, nor is such treatment necessary, due to the frequent repetition of his views and his references. Instead, in Chapter III this examination will endeavor to present Bandelier's main steps as he develops his case in one article, the first in the series, which deals with warfare among the Aztecs. Bandelier's thesis was introduced in this article and his method of proof is the same in all three of his papers. Such comment on and correction of his views as appears valid at this time will be included in the discussion of his method.

Chapter IV will summarize and tie together various points which have been developed in the preceding chapter, and will suggest further lines of research which would appear to merit the attention of scholars interested in the problem of Aztec organization.

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CHAPTER I

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF AZTEC ORGANIZATION

This chapter will review the major sources used by Bandelier and other early writers on Aztec organization together with some account of materials that have been made available more recently. Most of the items singled out for extensive discussion are those most frequently cited by Bandelier in his three papers on ancient Mexico.

For the present purpose the materials may be conveniently grouped into three major classifications. The first group includes important eye witness accounts by Spaniards who participated in the conquest, some second-hand accounts by other authors based largely on the reports of conquistadores, and certain general chronicles of the Indies written in the 16th century. The second category includes major items based wholly or in part on native tradition or data collected directly from native informants. Under this classification have been grouped certain well known accounts of Spanish authors, treatises compiled by mestizo and native writers, important missionary chronicles, linguistic materials, the great work of Sahagún on the Aztecs, and various Mexican picture-writings of the 16th century. The third group comprises legal materials, colonial administrative reports, and judicial documents which have special significance for the problem under discussion.

CHAPTER I

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF ASIAN COMMUNITARIANISM

This chapter will review the major sources used by the author

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The third group comprises legal materials, colonial administrative
reports, and judicial documents which have special significance for
the problem under discussion.

The accounts (Relaciones) in letters written by Cortes to Charles V during the years 1519 to 1526 are the major early source for the conquest of Mexico. They contain the conqueror's account of his arrival in Mexico, the journey inland, the conquest of the Aztec capital, the subsequent exploration and occupation of the surrounding areas, and the expedition to Honduras.¹

On the surface these letters appear to be a soldier's day-by-day account of the progress toward the final defeat of the Aztecs and their descriptions of the country and the people are not full. However, for the king, Cortes gave a full account of his dealings with the people, both in his march toward Mexico and after the fall of the empire, and in this record there is much valuable information on native custom. Particularly this is true in the matter of succession to office among the village lords. For in certain towns where Montezuma II had placed his own people as governors, judges, or tribute gatherers, the approach of the Spaniards caused such

¹ The standard edition of the Spanish texts is Pascual Gayangos, Cartas y relaciones de Hernan Cortes al Emperador Carlos V (Paris, 1866), and the best English translation is Francis A. MacNutt, Fernando Cortes: his five letters of Relation to the Emperor Charles V (2 vols., Cleveland, 1906).

The account (Relaciones) in letters written by Cortes to Charles V during the years 1519 to 1526 are the main source for the conquest of Mexico. They contain the conqueror's account of his arrival in Mexico, the journey inland, the conquest of the Aztec capital, the subsequent expansion and consolidation of the surrounding areas, and the expedition to Honduras.

In the various other letters appear to be a reliable day-by-day account of the progress toward the final defeat of the Aztecs and their descriptions of the country and the people and their life. However, for the king, Cortes gave a full account of his dealings with the people, both in his letters toward Mexico and other letters of the empire, and in this record there is much valuable information on native custom. Particularly this is true in the letters of succession to office among the village lords. For in certain towns where Cortes had placed his own people as governors, judges or tribute collectors, the approval of the Spaniards carried with

1 The standard edition of the Spanish texts is Cortes, *Cartas y relaciones de Hernan Cortes al Emperador Carlos V* (Paris, 1863), and the best English translation is Knudsen, *Letters of Cortes* (New York, 1907).

officials to vacate their offices and flee to Mexico. Native or "rightful" lords then wished to be reestablished in office. There was a question in some cases, since considerable time had passed under the imposed officers, as to who should receive the office and Cortes was called on to decide between different candidates who pressed their various claims.² Smallpox, following the Spanish invasion, took off certain other lords, to whose offices succession had to be established.³ Some of the native rulers deserted their people in fear when Cortés appeared, making it necessary for the towns to select other caciques from the lordly lineage.⁴ Cortés went into little detail in repeating what he learned in these cases. He merely gave the facts. But his suggestion that he followed what appeared to be native custom in judging these cases makes his decisions of great value.

Bandelier made rather extensive use of the Cortés letters in certain sections of his three articles, not for evidence that might be obtained from, for instance, the above mentioned succession cases, but preferably for what the letters omitted to mention. This peculiar technique will be illustrated in later chapters of this dissertation.

² MacNutt, op. cit., I, 316.

³ Ibid., II, 7.

⁴ Ibid., I, 313.

Two smaller, important eye-witness accounts of Mexico at conquest were written by the Anonymous Conqueror and by Andres de Tapia. The first is a brief and excellent description of the cities, government, people, dress, weapons, food, sacrifices, and other matters in the areas first conquered by Cortes.⁵ The second is an account of the early stages of the Conquest.⁶ Both were used by Bandelier to produce evidence in support of his ideas.

Next in importance to the Cortes letters, however, as a first hand account of the conquest, is the Historia verdadera de la conquista de Nueva Espana of Bernal Diaz del Castillo,⁷ an unlettered soldier in Cortes' army. Distressed that the soldiers were not given greater credit for the taking of Mexico in Gomara's account, which will be discussed later, Bernal Diaz set out late in life to write his True History. There are some inaccuracies in

⁵ The Anonymous Conqueror, Narrative of Some Things of New Spain and of the Great City of Tenestitan Mexico, trans. by Marshall H. Saville, Documents and Narratives Concerning the Discovery and Conquest of Latin America, No. 1, The Cortes Society (New York, 1917).

There has been much speculation as to the identity of the Anonymous Conqueror. It was thought that he might have been Francisco de Terrasas, a gentleman who accompanied Cortes to Mexico, but this has not been established as fact and the name of the author is still unknown.

⁶ Andres de Tapia, Relacion de algunas cosas de las que acaecieron al muy Ilustre Senor Don Hernando de Cortes, published by Garcia Icazbalceta in Coleccion de documentos ineditos ... Mexico (Mexico, 1866), II, 554-595.

⁷ The best of the older texts of Bernal Diaz was published by Genaro Garcia (2 vols., Mexico, 1904-5). A more recent edition was published by Pedro Robredo (3 vols., Mexico, 1939).

the account and it is done in boastful and ungrammatical style, but it is still a lively and vigorous story of the capture of Mexico and is valuable, as an eye-witness account. Bandelier found Bernal Díaz useful, like Cortés, for everything Bernal Díaz omitted to mention, and for favorable evidence for the Bandelier theory. He also explained more than once that certain items in the True History were creations of Bernal Díaz' imagination.

The first important chronicle for New World affairs is the Decades or De Orbo Novo of Peter Martyr.⁸ This Italian visitor to the Spanish court stayed on as unofficial royal chronicler after 1520 and later became a member of the Council of Indies. He saw and talked with the explorers and conquerors as they left and when they returned. He used their reports both verbal and written for his running chronicle of events. The Decades are useful for a great deal of information based on items which are not available elsewhere. The author was never in the Indies, however, and his writing lacks perspective in some instances. He was somewhat biased and skeptical, especially in regard to Cortés and his part in the conquest. Bandelier found Peter Martyr a helpful reference in many instances.

The Historia general y natural de las Indias by Gonzalo

⁸ Pietro Martire d'Angliera, De Orbo Novo, Fuentes históricas sobre Colón y América (4 vols., Madrid, 1892). There is an English translation by F. A. MacNutt (2 vols., New York, 1912).

Fernández de Oviedo y Valdez,⁹ the first official chronicler of the Indies, is another good source for the period under discussion. Oviedo lived in the New World for many years and thus had personal knowledge of the country. He was considered a keen observer of native life. His Historia has valuable descriptions of Indian custom.

The writings of Bartolomé de las Casas, the great champion of the Indians, are good sources for the study of native life generally in the New World. His long years of residence in the Antilles, on the northern coast of South America, and in Chiapas furnished him the materials for his Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias,¹⁰ which was a diatribe against Spanish handling of the natives, and for his great Historia de las Indias,¹¹ Bandelier made frequent reference to statements of Las Casas. The Bandelier-Morgan theory held that Indians were much alike over the North American continent. Las Casas' remarks about custom in Chiapas were used to throw light on the Aztec situation.

The most important general chronicle for the purpose of the

⁹ Oviedo's Historia was not published in its entirety until the middle of the 19th century (4 vols., Madrid, 1851-1855).

¹⁰ Published in Sevilla, 1552. There is a modern English translation by Francis A. MacNutt, Bartholomew de las Casas (New York, 1909).

¹¹ The Historia is published in D I E, LXII-LXVI (Madrid, 1875-6).

study of the Aztecs was written by Francisco López de Gómara, personal chaplain and historian of Cortés. During the last years of the conqueror's life and afterwards, Gómara lived in the Cortés household. He had access not only to all of the family papers and to other manuscripts which have now disappeared, but to the advice and assistance of the Cortés family while he was writing the Historia de la conquista de México.¹²

Joaquín Ramírez Cabanas, writing an introduction to a late edition of Gómara, says that the title of Gómara's Conquista de México might be the Life of Cortés.¹³ It is largely concerned with the deeds of the conqueror. This emphasis on the important role played by Cortés in the conquest prompted Bernal Díaz to write his corrective True History. But Gómara's account, even though he was not with Cortés in Mexico and was never in America, is the accepted version of the conquest. Gómara's education and training made it possible for him to write a more clear and usable history than the Bernal Díaz account, and for his task he was given every facility in the way of materials. The authenticity of his Conquista de México is attested by the fact that the Spanish government apparently uncomfortable with its truths, suppressed the work shortly after it

¹² The Conquista de México is the second part of Gómara's Cronica general de las Indias. It is available in a recent edition of Pedro Robredo (2 vols., Mexico, 1943).

¹³ Gómara, Conquista de Mexico (1943), I, 11.

was published in 1552 in an edict that was maintained until 1729.¹⁴ And the esteem of native Mexicans for the Conquista caused the Mexican analyst Chimalpahin¹⁵ to translate it into Nahuatl.¹⁶

Together with the facts of Cortes' life and the account of his campaign in Mexico, Gómara added forty-eight chapters on native custom at the time of the conquest. Bandelier made some use of this material but often found Gómara "too fantastic".¹⁷

The last of the great 16th century chroniclers for the Spanish American empire was Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas. His Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano¹⁸ is so well known that it needs little further mention in this dissertation. As official chronicler for the court Herrera had access to all letters, reports, and other

¹⁴ Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America (8 vols., Boston, 1886), I, 412.

¹⁵ Domingo Francisco de San Antón Munon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, 16th century author. For the other works of this Mexican analyst see a later section of this chapter.

¹⁶ Gómara, Conquista de Mexico, I, 27-28.

¹⁷ Leslie A. White, Pioneers in American Anthropology: The Bandelier-Morgan Letters 1873-1883 (2 vols., University of New Mexico Press, 1940), II, 79.

¹⁸ First published in Madrid, 1601-15. The best version is the Barcia edition (4 vols., Madrid, 1726-27).

documents in the royal archives. He used the work of Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Gomara, Oviedo, the great Landa report on Yucatan, and other manuscripts of importance, many of which had not been published and were not to be made available for several centuries. Herrera's Historia is the foundation for study of the Spanish American empire. Both Morgan and Bandelier relied heavily on Herrera. Morgan apparently read the Historia in translation.¹⁹

During his investigations of Aztec society and organization, Bandelier made considerable use of Padre José de Acosta's Historia natural y moral de las Indias. The author of this treatise, a member of the Jesuit Order, lived from 1571 to 1587 in Perú and Mexico and thus had personal knowledge of those areas and their Indians. His work is divided into a description of the geography of the New World and a discussion of the religion and government of the natives, with emphasis on Perú and Mexico. The book was very popular when published in Madrid in 1590, and it continued in high esteem until, in 1596, a close resemblance between the sections on Mexico and an earlier manuscript account by Diego Durán, a half-Texcocan, half-Spanish Dominican monk was discovered by a brother Dominican, Dávila

¹⁹ The English edition by John Stevens (6 vols., London, 1725-26), was partly an abridgment and is consequently not wholly reliable.

Padilla.²⁰

In the first bibliographical work on materials for the study of the Indies, León Pinelo noted in 1629 that Acosta had added to his history by using two manuscripts of Durán.²¹ After this the work stood in a peculiar light for some two or three centuries. Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro, a foremost writer in Spain of the 18th century, declared it one of Spain's greatest contributions to world literature.²² This view was challenged in the 19th century by the Mexican scholar Alfredo Chavero, who bitterly denounced both Acosta for plagiarism and Feijóo for claiming as Spanish a work partially done by a Mexican Indian.²³ Winsor, discussing the question in 1886, in his Narrative and Critical History,²⁴ made the reasonable suggestion that Acosta had not acknowledged the use of Durán's manuscript because he did not know that Durán was the real

²⁰ B. Sánchez Alonso, Historia de la historiografía española (2 vols., Madrid, 1944), II, 107. Padre Dávila Padilla was the author of the principal early chronicle of the Dominican order in America, Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de Mexico (Madrid, 1596).

²¹ Antonio de León Pinelo, Epítome de la biblioteca oriental y occidental (Buenos Aires, 1919), 101. Durán's manuscript was not published until the 19th century.

²² José de Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias (2 vols., Madrid, 1894), ii-iii.

²³ Vicente Riva Polacio, ed., México a través de los siglos (Mexico, 1887-9), I, 111.

²⁴ Winsor, op. cit., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 420.

author of a work which was given to him by a certain Juan Tovar,²⁵ and which Acosta credited to Tovar in the Historia natural. Others reached the same conclusion and Acosta was finally absolved of the charge of plagiarism.

The question of Acosta's material for Mexico became highly involved again, however, in the 19th century, when an anonymous Spanish manuscript of the 16th century, usually designated as the Codex Ramírez,²⁶ was found to be remarkably similar to the histories of Acosta and Durán. Where did this third related item fit into the picture? After examining the form and content of the Codex, and considering its possible relationship to Acosta and Durán, the consensus of the scholars in Mexico was that it was a translation of some unknown original work on the history of the Aztec tribe, which had been written in Nahuatl by a native.²⁷ Jose Ramírez believed that both Acosta and Durán, at different times, had seen

²⁵ Juan Tovar, d. 1626; a member of the Jesuit Order, Tovar dedicated his life to teaching the Indians. See Manuel Orozco y Berra, ed., Códice Ramírez (Mexico, 1944), 221.

²⁶ This Codex was discovered by José Ramírez, a foremost Mexicanist, when the Franciscan archives in Mexico were destroyed in 1856. The text was edited and published (together with the Cronica Mexicana of Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc), in 1878, by Manuel Orozco y Berra who with Alfredo Chavero named the manuscript the Codex Ramírez. There is a more recent edition, Códice Ramírez (Mexico, 1944), which reproduces both the text and the pictures which accompanied it.

²⁷ Alfredo Chavero, Apuntes viejos de bibliografía mexicana (Mexico, 1903), 25-26.

author of a work which was published in 1850, and which is now in the hands of the Library of Congress. The work is a history of the city of Mexico, and it is a very valuable work. It is a work which is very valuable to the history of Mexico, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of the city of Mexico.

The question of the author's identity is a very difficult one. It is a question which has been discussed by many scholars, and it is a question which has not yet been settled. The author's name is given as "Juan de la Cruz", but it is not clear whether this is his real name or a pseudonym. The work is a very valuable work, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of Mexico. It is a work which is very valuable to the history of the city of Mexico, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of the country of Mexico.

25. This work was discovered by the author, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of Mexico. It is a work which is very valuable to the history of the city of Mexico, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of the country of Mexico. The work is a very valuable work, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of Mexico. It is a work which is very valuable to the history of the city of Mexico, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of the country of Mexico.

26. This work was discovered by the author, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of Mexico. It is a work which is very valuable to the history of the city of Mexico, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of the country of Mexico. The work is a very valuable work, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of Mexico. It is a work which is very valuable to the history of the city of Mexico, and it is a work which is very valuable to the history of the country of Mexico.

and used the Codex and that Acosta had never seen Durán's manuscript.²⁸ The Mexican scholars also noticed that the Crónica Mexicana of Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc,²⁹ and parts of the Monarchia Indiana of Juan de Torquemada³⁰ likewise resembled the Codex Ramírez. Two schools of thought about the Codex arose now in Mexico: either Acosta, Durán, Tezozomoc, and Torquemada had based their accounts on the Codex Ramírez, copying it, sometimes almost word for word, or these four authors and the anonymous author of the Codex had used a common original source.

In 1920 Paul Radin published his well known study of the sources for Mexican history. His attempt to solve the whole puzzling situation was to suggest that the common source of all of the works involved was not an original manuscript, but a series of Aztec paintings for the entire period of Aztec history, dating back approximately to 1100 A.D.³¹ He suggested that these pictures when seen by the various authors were explained to them by the persons who had them in charge. Selections from this series of paintings

²⁸ Sánchez Alonso, op. cit., II, 107, n.190.

²⁹ The identity of this author is still somewhat of a mystery. It is believed that he was of noble Mexican lineage. The Crónica was written c. 1598. See Códice Ramírez (Mexico, 1944), 215.

³⁰ Infra, n.65.

³¹ Paul Radin, "The Sources and Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans," U C P A A E, XVII (1920-1926).

were reproduced in Durán's Historia and in the Codex Ramírez. The texts of both, Radin though, could be considered as "expanded commentaries", or explanations of the pictures.³²

The final solution of this problem in historiography lies in the future. At present it seems safe to say that these various works on Aztec history and organization, Acosta, Durán, Tezozomoc, and the text of the Codex Ramírez, have a good foundation in fact, if the paintings on which they are based are of value as historical evidence. For an estimate of the value of the pictures we turn again to Radin, whose opinion on the authenticity of Mexican sources seems well considered and objective to a high degree. He says that a comparison of the subject matter of the paintings, with materials from other codices, anaes, and later written accounts, causes him to believe that they are actual representations of historical events, kept in memory in this manner by a people with an historical sense, who were evidently determined to preserve their past history.³³ He thinks that a traditional knowledge of what the paintings meant was handed down to their keepers. He accounts for the differences in the versions of Durán and his contemporaries by pointing out that

³² Ibid., 29. It is still evident, however, that the scholars in Mexico hope to find an original manuscript, copies of which were used by Acosta and his contemporaries. For when the Codex Ramírez was published in 1944 in Mexico, former beliefs were reiterated in reprinted opinions which stated that there was an original manuscript in the Mexican language which was the source for Acosta's Historia natural and the several others somewhat like it. See Códice Ramírez (Mexico, 1944), 221-222.

³³ Radin, op. cit., 14-15.

the personalities of these authors and the amount of information known by the keepers who explained the meanings would give a different depth and slant to each story.³⁴

A brief comparison of the accounts by Acosta, Durán, the author of the Codex, and by Tezozomoc, will indicate how this theme which evidently stemmed from some original, common source, be it a native history in Nahuatl, or a series of explained paintings, was developed by the above four writers.

Acosta, with the viewpoint of some of the Spanish churchmen, looked on the Aztec empire as an edifice, which, though interesting, must be torn down and rebuilt in civilized design. His purpose in describing the inhabitants of the New World in the Historia natural y moral was to furnish information which would assist in saving their souls. The Mexicans, he noted in his prologue, had preserved the memory of their origin and development, making it possible to discuss them as a nation.³⁵ He therefore traces the history of the Aztecs from their departure from their home in the north, through the migration, the arrival at the lake, the establishment of the dynasty of kings, the rise to power, and the meeting with Cortés. His style is clear and polished. He obviously aimed to be understood in

³⁴ Ibid., 29.

³⁵ Acosta, Historia natural y moral de las Indias (1894), I, ix-x.

The personal life of these authors and the history of their work is known to the public and the public is entitled to know the details of their life and work.

A brief biography of the authors of the book, which will indicate how this book was written, and which will show the origin of the book, is given in the introduction, which is written by the author of the book.

As the volume of the book is so large, it is not possible to give a full account of the book in this introduction. The book is divided into two parts, the first part is devoted to the history of the book, and the second part is devoted to the history of the book. The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and it is easy to read. The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and it is easy to read. The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and it is easy to read.

The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and it is easy to read. The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and it is easy to read. The book is written in a simple and straightforward manner, and it is easy to read.

Europe. He was usually quite faithful as to his facts, and even grew enthusiastic over the story in places, though the general attitude is that of one who views precocious barbarians.

Durán, the mestizo, trained by the Dominican Order to believe in the benefits of Christianity, yet took great pride in the history of the pagan Mexicans. To present it perfectly truthfully he used original sources whenever possible, asking for opinions of his contemporaries only when necessary.³⁶ His work is built around fifty-two reproductions of the original paintings, each painting furnishing the theme of a chapter. His style is full, heavy, exact, and serious,--Winsor calls it clumsy,³⁷ which is probably the result of the fact that the story is told from no particular viewpoint. Radin and Chavero consider Durán's Historia de las Indias a source of great importance.³⁸ Although Durán gives many more details, his work follows in the same general pattern with Acosta's Historia.

The Codex Ramírez tells the same story as recorded by Acosta and Durán, but the method of presentation is different. As in the case of Durán's work, the Codex is constructed around a series of

³⁶ Diego Durán, Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de Tierra Firme (Mexico, 1867-1880). For Radin's criticism of Durán's Historia see Radin, op. cit., 20.

³⁷ Winsor, op. cit., II, 40.

³⁸ Códice Ramírez, 223; Radin, op. cit., 28.

paintings, but the text seems more closely related to its pictures. For example we cite the reader to the painting of the arrival of the water in Mexico City by aqueduct from Coyahuacan³⁹ and the brief, lively description in the text which explains very naturally who the pictured king was, what costume the priests had donned for the day, what sacrifices were performed, with additional remarks on the welcoming greetings of the people to their friend, the water. The work is skillfully written, throughout. The story moves purposefully through the now familiar pattern of Aztec history, with the aim of showing that the Aztecs were always free of blame in any situation. It has the added interest of the author's determination to show that the empire was not built by the wisdom and energy of the kings and soldiers alone, but also with the equal ability of the priesthood. Radin calls attention to the clever use in the Codex of speeches in the mouths of leading figures at critical moments, to indicate not only the nature of an event or change, but when it occurred and the person who was responsible for the change.⁴⁰

³⁹ Ibid., lam.xv, p. 95, 92-93.

⁴⁰ Radin, op. cit., 30. The Codex Ramírez is thought by some to be the original work from which the copies were made. Its form suggests that it is a translation, however, for it is written in a left hand column with the space to the right remaining blank as though for another language. There is very little in the text to suggest however, that the translation was done by a Spaniard and not by a native. The comparison of Tenochtitlan, after the water came from Coyahuacan and raised the lake level, to Venice could not be considered such evidence, for there were a number of very well educated Indians in Mexico by the middle of the 16th century any one of whom had certainly heard about Venice. If it is a translation from Nahuatl, it was cleverly put into Spanish. It loses no sparkle in Radin's translation into English.

The Crónica Mexicana by Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc begins the history of the Aztecs at the same point where it starts in the other accounts, but it ends as the news of the landing of Cortes lies in shocking implication over the court of Montezuma II. It is a more extended version than the Codex Ramírez, being full of details which the other did not contain, but it is not as long as Duran's history. The emphasis in the Crónica is on the important part played by the viceroy to the king, the Cihuacoatl, or Snake Woman, who Tezozomoc suggests, was equally important with the kings in building the empire and governing the people. Radin considers this account much more ambitiously designed, a real history rather than a series of "expanded commentaries".⁴¹

The manuscript of the Crónica Mexicana was first published during the years 1847 to 1849 in a French translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans.⁴² It was published also in Spanish in volume IX of the Kingsborough Antiquities of Mexico.⁴³ Bandelier discovered it in the Antiquities the year that he began his studies of Mexican organisation. He immediately admired it for its apparent genuineness, but did not connect it at that time with Acosta with whom he was

⁴¹ Radin, op. cit., 28.

⁴² Henri Ternaux-Compans, ed., Nouvelles Annales des voyages, (Paris, 1847-1849).

⁴³ Edward King, Lord Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico (9 vols., London, 1830-1848).

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold air. It was a sharp contrast to the warm interior. I looked around, trying to get my bearings. The street was empty, and the buildings on either side were old and weathered. I felt a sense of isolation, as if I had been dropped into a new world. I took a deep breath and started walking. The ground beneath my feet was uneven, and I had to be careful not to trip. As I walked, I noticed a few people in the distance, but they seemed to be going in different directions. I continued on my way, feeling a mix of curiosity and apprehension. The air smelled like old paper and dust, and the silence was almost oppressive. I kept walking, trying to find a way out of this strange place.

The morning was overcast, and the rain had started to fall. I was walking alone, and the sound of the raindrops on the pavement was the only sound I could hear. I felt a sense of loneliness, as if I had been abandoned. I looked down at my hands, which were clenched into fists. I wanted to scream, but I knew that no one would hear me. I continued to walk, feeling a sense of despair. The rain was getting heavier, and I was getting wet. I felt a sense of hopelessness, as if I had been trapped in a never-ending cycle. I kept walking, trying to find a way out of this nightmare.

By the time I reached the end of the street, I was completely drenched. I stood there, looking up at the sky. The rain was still falling, and the air was thick with moisture. I felt a sense of resignation, as if I had accepted my fate. I turned around and started walking back the way I came. The street was still empty, and the buildings were still there. I felt a sense of familiarity, as if I had been here before. I continued to walk, feeling a sense of peace. The rain was still falling, but it no longer bothered me. I felt a sense of acceptance, as if I had found my way home.

familiar. He felt that it was a translation of an original Nahuatl history. This was after his conversion to Morgan's view that there was no Aztec empire and when it was necessary for him to find some explanation for the clear presentation of such an empire in the works of his most admired authors. He felt that the Spanish translations of native histories were to blame for the perversion of the picture which was correctly given in the native originals. He was very much disappointed then, when he later learned that the Crónica Mexicana was originally written in Spanish.⁴⁴

Radin feels that Tezozomoc is a first class authority.⁴⁵ Chavero considers that Durán and Tezozomoc are the most reliable native historians of the Aztec empire.⁴⁶

Turning now from accounts of the rise of the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan, three other histories written by natives must be mentioned: Ixtlilxochitl's Historia Chichimeca, for the Culhuas of Texcoco, the other great and powerful city in the valley of Mexico; Comargo's history of the "republic" of Tlaxcala, which city allied itself with Cortes against the hated Montezuma II; and the anonymous Relación de Michoacan, an account of the Tarascans, the nation the Aztecs could not conquer.

⁴⁴ White, Bandelier-Morgan Letters, I, 223.

⁴⁵ Radin, op. cit., 28.

⁴⁶ Códice Ramírez, 223.

fact that it was a translation of an original Spanish history. This was after his conversion to Mexican life and was no longer a native and when it was necessary for him to find some explanation for the clear presentation of such an author in the work of his most valued authors. He felt that the Spanish translation of native legends were to him for the preservation of the picture which was correctly given in the native original. He was very much disappointed then, when he later learned that the Spanish legends were originally written in Spanish.

Radio feels that Teneo is a first class authority. Heavens comments that Teneo and Teneo are the most reliable native historians of the Aztec empire.

Turning now from accounts of the rise of the Aztec of Teneo, there other histories written by native men in Teneo: Indicaciones de la historia de Teneo, for the Aztec of Teneo, the other great and powerful city in the valley of Mexico; Historia de la Republica de Teneo, which city allied itself with Cortes against the hated Montezuma II; and the anonymous Relacion de Teneo, an account of the Teneo, the nation the Aztec could not conquer.

de Teneo, Indicaciones de la historia de Teneo, I, 223.

de Teneo, Indicaciones de la historia de Teneo, II, 22.

de Teneo, Indicaciones de la historia de Teneo, 223.

The first was written by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of one of the last kings of Texcoco, who lived from 1569 to 1648 and served as official interpreter for the viceroy of Mexico. His extreme pride in his ancestry and his patriotism for Texcoco, a place of culture and learning long before the Aztecs of Tenochtitlan attained greatness, led him to write several accounts of the history of his people which portray them as the most outstanding of the lake tribes from the founding of their city until the Spanish conquest. The high point of their achievement and influence, he indicates, was during the reigns of Nezahualcoytl and his son Nezahualpilli, who died in 1515.

The bias of this author must always be kept in mind, though it is refreshing to read another point of view than that of the Aztecs. It has been remarked that the prejudices of Ixtlilxochitl would cause the credulous reader to conclude that the city of Texcoco was of more real aid to Cortés in bringing down Tenochtitlan than was Tlaxcala, the acknowledged ally of Spain; indeed that Texcoco was of more aid to Spain than was Cortés.⁴⁷

Despite this bias, Ixtlilxochitl is valuable both for the clarity of his writing and for the significant sources of his information. He was able to see native records which were no longer available to others. He consulted the important people in many

⁴⁷ Sánchez Alonso, op. cit., II, 264-265.

The first of these is the fact that the
document is of the type of a letter
to the President of the United States
and is addressed to him. The second
is the fact that the document is
a piece of official business and
is not a private letter. The third
is the fact that the document is
dated in 1862. The fourth is the
fact that the document is signed
by the President of the United States.
The fifth is the fact that the
document is a copy of a letter
from the President of the United States
to the Secretary of the Interior.
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villages. Among them he mentions a Dona Bartola, governor of Istapalapa, who showed him manuscripts given to her by her father, the keeper of the royal archives of Texcoco.⁴⁸ His sources also included folklore, songs, and other orally repeated versions of native history.

The best work of Ixtlilxochitl, according to many authorities, was his last, the Historia Chichimeca, written between 1608 and 1616.⁴⁹ This account begins with the establishment of the tribe in Anahuac and ends after the conquest. Sánchez Alonso thinks that this last work of Ixtlilxochitl so far exceeds the work in his other writings that it is hard to believe that the same man wrote it.⁵⁰

The second of these native histories is the Historia de Tlaxcala by Diego Muñoz de Camargo, concerning whom very little is known except that he was a noble of Tlaxcala who lived in the 16th century and was an interpreter for the Spaniards.⁵¹ The country

⁴⁸ Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, "Relaciones," Obras históricas (publ. by Alfredo Chavero, Mexico, 1891), I, 60-61.

⁴⁹ Ixtlilxochitl, "Historia Chichimeca," Obras Históricas (Mexico, 1892), II. For a discussion of the native sources for this "Historia," see Radin, op. cit., 18.

⁵⁰ Sánchez Alonso, op. cit., II, 266.

⁵¹ Diego Muñoz Camargo, Historia de Tlaxcala (publ. by Alfredo Chavero, Mexico, 1892), 3-4.

Alonso. Among these he mentions a Juan de la Cruz, Governor of
Tlaxcala, who showed him some papers given to him by his father,
the brother of the royal treasurer of Mexico.¹⁸ His sources also
included letters, maps, and other early-preserved versions of
native history.

The best work of Sahagún is, according to many authorities,
his last, the *Historia General*, written between 1563 and
1574.¹⁹ This account begins with the establishment of the tribe
in America and ends after the conquest. Sanchez Alonso thinks that
this last work of Sahagún still so far exceeds the work in his other
writings that it is hard to believe that the same man wrote it.²⁰

The account of these native histories in the *Historia de*
Alonso de la Cruz is, however, concerning them very little in
known events that he was a pupil of Sahagún who lived in the 16th
century and was an interpreter for the Spaniards.²¹ The country

¹⁸ Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, "Relaciones," *Annuaire*
philologique (Paris), 1891, 1, 50-51.

¹⁹ Ixtlilxochitl, "Historia General," *Opus Historiae*
(Mexico, 1892), II, 1-2. For a discussion of the native sources for
this "Historia," see Sahagún, op. cit., 16.

²⁰ Sanchez Alonso, op. cit., II, 106.

²¹ Diego Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala* (Tlaxcala, 1911), 1-2.

of Tlaxcala has special interest, not only because the city had not yet succumbed to the Aztec rulers when Cortés arrived, but also in view of its different political organization. Instead of the customary king, or lord, with his coadjutor (in Tenochtitlan called the Cihuacoatl) and the hierarchy of nobles, this city was governed by the lords of its four quarters, thus accounting for the name "Republic of Tlaxcala."

Comargo's treatise covers ancient times, the years of the conquest, and the colonial period down to the term of office of Viceroy Manrique (1585-1590). It is full of digressions, and the historical information is interwoven with myth, fancy, and unimportant fact. As some indication of its reliability, however, it must be noted that a lineage chart for one of the quarters of the city, Ocotelulco, prepared from Comargo's history, checks exactly with a family tree for the lordly lineage of the quarter, drawn in a 1562 legal process, which has been recently photofilmed from the Mexican archives for France V. Scholes.⁵²

The third native history, the Relación de Michuacan, was prepared by an unknown person in the middle of the 16th century for presentation to Viceroy Mendoza. Robert Ricard, author of a well known treatise on Mexican mission history in the 16th century, believes that it was compiled by one of the twelve Franciscans, the

⁵² A G N, Tierras 20, exp. 1, pt. 1 a.

"Twelve Apostles to Mexico", who came to the country in 1525.⁵³

It is said by its author to be a translation of the words of the old men of Tzintzuntzan.⁵⁴

The Relación describes pre-conquest religion, organization, and history of the Tarascans. Later histories of Michoacan show evidence of having drawn on the Relación for information regarding the elaborate elections and funeral rites of Tarascan lords. It includes also the native account of the arrival of the Spaniards and the conquest by Cortés and Guzmán which is valuable for its revelations of the superstitions, beliefs, and other psychological processes of these sturdy and resourceful natives who, like the Aztecs, were apparently engaged in building an empire.

Besides these narrative accounts of areas or towns, there are many other valuable native sources, such as mapas, anales, and various picture writings, some of which have been mentioned in connection with the Codex Ramírez. The reader is cited to Radin's article⁵⁵ and to the introduction to volume I of Riva Palacios' México a través de los siglos for a comprehensive discussions of

⁵³ Robert Ricard, La "conquête spirituelle" du Mexique (Paris, 1933), 32-33.

⁵⁴ "Relación de Michuacan," Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, LIII (Madrid, 1869), 11-12.

⁵⁵ Radin, op. cit.

such materials. Vaillant lists the Mexican codices in his Aztecs of Mexico,⁵⁶ and some of the most famous may be seen in reproduction in Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico. An important older interpretation of a codex is Edward Seler's "Mexican Picture Writings" (1893),⁵⁷ and a more recent example is Wigberto Jiminez Moreno's Código de Yanhuitlan (1940).⁵⁸ The Annales de Chimalpahin illustrates another type of native record. It was written in Mexican, and is a yearly account of the history of Mexico generally, with emphasis on the vital affairs of the lords of the town of Amecameca, mingled with terse statements about solar eclipses, the activity of Popocatepetl, epidemics, wars with neighbors, and so on, for the years 1258 to 1612.⁵⁹ Another important codex which deserves mention here is the celebrated Codex Mendoza, the three sections of which describe in pictures the history of the Aztecs, the tributes paid to Tenochtitlan by various conquered towns, and the customs of the ancient

⁵⁶ George A. Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico (New York, 1944), 303-309.

⁵⁷ Edward Seler, "Mexican Picture Writings of Alexander von Humboldt," Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 28: Mexican Antiquities (Washington, 1904), 123-229.

⁵⁸ Wigberto Jiminez Moreno and Salvador Mateos Figueroa, Código de Yanhuitlan (Mexico, 1940).

⁵⁹ Domingo Francisco de San Antón Munon Chimalpahin Quautlehuanitzin, Annales, translated from Nahuatl into French by Rami Simeon (Paris, 1889).

Mexicans.⁶⁰

When the various types of native sources, including both written records and oral tradition, were taken in hand by a remarkable group of Franciscan priests who served in Mexico in the 16th and 17th centuries, the scholarship of this early period reached its unquestioned peak. It was necessary, of course, for these missionaries to learn the languages of those to whom they came to preach, and they produced numerous grammars and vocabularies for the native tongues. The greatest of the Nahuatl vocabularies was compiled by Fray Alonso de Molina, who learned the language as a youth before he joined the Franciscan Order. Molina's Vocabulario en lengua Castellana y mexicana, published in 1571,⁶¹ for Nahuatl to Spanish and Spanish to Nahuatl, is an extremely valuable aid in studying Aztec culture. Bandelier used Molina with great pleasure in the early stages of his research. He believed that an understanding of Aztec social organization and history could be arrived at by studying the construction of the words of the language.

An examination of the early vocabularies for the native languages reveals by the selections of words, not only the interests

⁶⁰ This Codex was ordered to be compiled sometime before 1549 by Viceroy Mendoza for Charles V. See Mexico a través de los siglos, I, viii-ix, and Radin, op. cit., 25-26.

⁶¹ Alonso de Molina, Vocabulario en lengua Castellana y mexicana (Mexico, 1571).

and purposes of the authors of such words, but a great deal about native life and the progress toward understanding between natives and Spaniards. The organizations of these books is also significant. Thus Molina's first vocabulary, written in 1555, was for Spanish into Nahuatl, the important thing at the time being for the priests to transmit their message to the Indians. His second vocabulary, the 1571 version, is for Spanish to Nahuatl and Nahuatl to Spanish, and is a much fuller list, indicating not only that conversation between the two cultures had broadened and had become a two-way affair, but that the Franciscans now were interested in and wanted to hear what the Indians had to say.

While they were learning to preach to the people, the missionaries endeavored also to learn about native ways. At first the purpose of such study was to facilitate conversion to Christianity. There were some, however, who became more and more deeply involved in trying to discover as much as possible about the people for sheer interest in the culture, to the extent that they were harshly criticized for the possible bad effect on natives who were supposed to be forgetting their pagan times. Fortunately, some of the Franciscan "ethnologists" were encouraged, even urged, by other church elements, to write their accounts of native life. Much of this writing has survived the critical attack, shipwreck, destruction in archives, and other hazards common to manuscripts of that day.

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Gerónimo de Mendieta's Historia eclesiástica indiana,⁶² the first ecclesiastical history of the New World, collected about 1596, after the author had lived in Mexico for forty-two years. Mendieta modestly acknowledges that the sources for Book Two, which deals with the origin, religion, history, custom, and organization of the Aztecs, with remarks about similar matters to the west among the Tarascans, and to the east in Tlaxcala, were the writings of his predecessors and companions, Fathers Olmos and Motolinia.⁶³ But the opinion of the critics is the Mendieta's Historia eclesiástica is based also on a great deal of personal investigation, and that the accounts of native life could not be more genuine if done by a native. Mendieta's manuscript was sent to Spain when finished and it then disappeared for two hundred and seventy-four years,⁶⁴ until finally published by García Icazbalceta in 1870.

The only information about Mendieta's writing was to he had

⁶² Gerónimo de Mendieta, Historia eclesiástica indiana, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed. and annotator (Mexico, 1870).

⁶³ Mendieta, op. cit., 75-76. Fray Olmos, one of the early Franciscan missionaries, wrote the first grammar of the Mexican language. His writings are lost except as they are reflected in Mendieta. Motolinia was the name adopted by Fray Toribio de Benavente, one of the Twelve Apostles. He was the author of Historia de los Indios de Nueva España (c. 1541), which was not published until 1848 in the Kingsborough Antiquities. The most recent edition is by Chavez Hayhoe (Mexico, 1941).

⁶⁴ Mendieta, op. cit., xxiii.

in another important chronicle of the time, the Monarchia Indiana of the Franciscan Juan de Torquemada.⁶⁵ By order of the Comisario General de las Indias, Torquemada in 1609 began to write a history of New Spain based on what he had learned of the country during fifty years of residence in Mexico. The work was first published in 1614. Although he mentioned that a similar piece of writing had been done before him by Mendieta, Torquemada did not say that he had seen either the original or a copy of Mendieta's Historia eclesiastica and had incorporated large sections of it, especially Book II, literally word for word in his own work.⁶⁶ The favorite expression of modern critics of Torquemada is that he "took from others by the handful." He did not even bother to change the wording of the original writing. He made liberal use of Mendieta, Camargo, either a copy or the original of the Codex Ramirez, Ixtlilxochitl, Sahagún, and other manuscripts he could see in the colonial archives. Torquemada, strangely enough, is almost never criticized for taking so much of his work directly from others. Monarchia Indiana was of great value, if for nothing else, for being the repository of works unavailable at the time. But as García Icazbalceta very fairly notes,⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Juan de Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana (3rd ed., 2 vols., Mexico, 1943).

⁶⁶ This can be seen by comparing Torquemada, bk. XI, ch. XXVII with Mendieta, bk. II, ch. XXXVII.

⁶⁷ Mendieta, op. cit., xxxv.

Torquemada is more reasonable, a more erudite author or compiler than many of those whose work he copied. For instance, Mendieta, the unrestrained firebrand and champion of the natives, appears less emotionally in Torquemada who wrote when the necessity for such bitter remarks about the treatment of the Indians was more or less over. Father Francisco Clavijero, writing in the 18th century, said of Torquemada that it required great patience to read through the wordy Monarchia indiana but since it contained precious information not found elsewhere, one must search through its rubbish for pearls.⁶⁸

The greatest of this group of Franciscans who studied the ancient life of the villages of Mexico was Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, whose Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España is the most important, the indispensable work on native Mexico. The story of Sahagún's life is too well known to require detailed discussion here. It will be sufficient to state that within a short time after his arrival in Mexico in 1529 he began a lifelong study of the customs of the ancient Mexicans. For many years his investigations were encouraged and financed by the fathers of his Order, but this support was eventually withdrawn as the result of the complaints of jealous and suspicious brothers that colonial aid for a project of doubtful benefit to the Indians was sinful extravagance. Fortunately he had been able to complete the Nahuatl text before opposition to his work

⁶⁸ Francisco Javiero Clavijero, Historia antigua de México (2 vols., Mexico, 1917), I, xxxvi-xxxvii.

took severe form, but he was not permitted to complete the Spanish translations. As the result of conflicting reports concerning his work, the king in 1577 ordered the Viceroy of New Spain to collect all copies and originals of Sahagún's papers for immediate shipment to Spain. It was felt, so the royal decree stated, that printing and circulating such a book on native religion and customs would be unwise. Sahagún never saw the manuscripts again, and died, in 1590, ignorant of the fate of these products of so many years of loving labor.⁶⁹

Intolerant Spaniards thus conquered such other Spaniards as Sahagún and Mendieta, but not permanently. Two centuries later another king, Charles III, sent another investigator, Juan Bautista Muñoz, to search all official and private archives for materials on New Spain. In 1779, Muñoz found the manuscript of the Sahagún Historia general in the Franciscan archives at Tolosa. From there it was brought to light and to use, for which it was intended.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Sanchez Alonso, op. cit., II, 135.

⁷⁰ The best and most recent edition of Sahagún is: Bernardino de Sahagún, Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, ed. Pedro Robredo (5 vols., Mexico, 1938). In the introduction to volume I of this edition there is a comprehensive discussion of Sahagún's life and work by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno. He gives the present location of copies and parts of the original manuscript and lists former editions of the work. His criticism of all of these editions and his presentation of other pertinent information adds value and interest to the article, which is of great assistance to the reader of the Historia general.

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Informant Spaniards thus composed such other Spaniards as Sahagún and Hendrick, but not permanently. Two centuries later another king, Charles III, sent another investigator, Juan Bautista Muñoz, to search all official and private archives for materials on New Spain. In 1775, Muñoz found the manuscript of the Sahagún Historia General in the Spanish archives at Madrid. From there it was brought to light and to see, for which it was republished.

By Sanchez Alamos, pp. 11, 12.

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Bancroft speaks admiringly of Sahagún's method of studying native life in Mexico.⁷¹ From Sahagún, himself, we are able to learn of the plan for the work and the way it was carried out.⁷² Wigberto Jiménez Moreno tells us that when Sahagún began the project he was already accomplished in speaking Nahuatl, and was well acquainted in many areas of Mexico and Michoacan. He had taught in the Indian college for lord's sons in Tlatelulco. Wherever he went he was received by devoted former students. After being authorized sometime near the middle of the 16th century to prepare a work in Nahuatl on anything in Mexican life that he might consider of importance to the missionary program, he first prepared a list of subjects,-- gods, heaven and hell, lordship, and humanity, to be discussed when he went out to talk with the people.⁷³

In Tepepulco, where he went first, Don Diego de Mendoza, the village lord, called a consultation of principales, the aristocracy of the town, to hear Sahagún's plan. These men chose their ablest informants to help him. Four of his former students who lived in the village, with the ten or twelve informants, and Sahagún, then

⁷¹ Hubert Howe Bancroft, Native Races (5 vols., San Francisco, 1883), III, 231.

⁷² Sahagún, Historia general (1938), I, 79-83.

⁷³ Sahagún, Historia general, I, XXXVIII.

spent two years in discussion of the list of subjects Sahagún had prepared. The informants put down their opinions in picture writing. The scholars wrote explanations in Nahuatl at the foot of each picture, and also wrote down songs which were dictated by the other natives. This done, Sahagún took the papers to the college at Tlatelulco where a similar investigation took place under the supervision of scholars from the school and principales from the town. The next move was to the Franciscan Convent in Mexico. There he spent three years putting the work together, dividing it into the eleven books: gods; calendar and ceremony; mythology; divination; prognostication; language; astrology; lordship and government; merchants and traders; vices, virtues, medicine, history; animals and plants; to which was added the twelfth book, the conquest by Spain. Songs and vocabulary were added and the book was ready for translation into Spanish.⁷⁴

By looking at the list of matters discussed or by reading any book in the Historia general, it may appear that Sahagún was unduly concerned with the supernatural aspects of native thought, mingling it with every phase of his discussion. As Sánchez Alonso points out, however, this was but the faithful reproduction of the Aztec outlook.⁷⁵ The Jesuit historian, P. Mariano Cuevas, likewise recognizes Sahagún's

⁷⁴ Ibid., I, XXXVIII, 79-82.

⁷⁵ Sánchez Alonso, op. cit., II, 136.

insight, saying that he is the greatest interpreter of pre-Cortés Mexico.⁷⁶

The exactness of his phraseology,⁷⁷ the restrained yet confidently flowing style, the choice of subjects, and the dedicated spirit of the work, produce a feeling of immediate trust in Sahagún. His facts, comparatively viewed are never disappointing. For example, his election of a lord⁷⁸ might be the election of Chimalpopoca described in Torquemada,⁷⁹ or the election of Cacama recorded by Ixtlilxochitl.⁸⁰

Sahagún's reason for studying the Aztecs, often quoted, was that a doctor must understand the illness before he can cure; consequently the missionary being a physician of souls, must therefore understand the spiritual and social ills of the natures of the Indians he would convert. This reminds us at once of Acosta's

⁷⁶ P. Mariano Cuevas, Historia de la iglesia en México (Mexico, 1921), 8.

⁷⁷ For example, the word "cacique", so generally applied by the Spaniards after they picked it up in the Antilles, is used only once or twice in Sahagún, until he speaks of post-Spanish times.

⁷⁸ Sahagún, op. cit., II, 275.

⁷⁹ Torquemada, Monarchia indiana (1943), I, bk. II, ch. xviii, p. 107.

⁸⁰ Ixtlilxochitl, Historia chichimeca, ch. lxxvi, 329-333.

1914, saying that he is the greatest authority of his time

1914, 1915

The essence of his philosophy, the treatment of
consciously living with the sense of subject, and the
spirit of the work, which is a feeling of immediate
his facts, comparatively viewed are never disappearing.
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papers described in foreword, 17 or the election of
by intellectual, 30

Barney's reason for staying in the house, when
that a doctor was suggested the illness was not
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16. Barney's reason for staying in the house
(Barney, 1914, 1915)

17. For example, the word "conscious", as generally
the spiritual after they are in the spiritual, is used only
once or twice in Barney's work, and is never of great

18. Barney, pp. 11, 12, 13.

19. Foreword, Barney's reason for staying in the house
p. 107.

20. Intellectual, Barney's reason for staying in the house, pp. 107, 108.

prologue to the Historia natural. The difference, however, can quickly be discovered by reading a few passages in both authors. Acosta obviously meant what he said. Sahagún, good Christian though he was, wrote much more than a missionary manual. His treatise is not only the most complete, but the most sympathetic work on Aztec custom compiled in colonial times.

The central agencies of government in Spanish America--the viceregal office and the audiencias, for example--were patterned on Castilian models. The same was true of provincial administration and the government of the colonial municipalities. In the case of the Indian towns, however, and occasionally in larger areas, the Spaniards continued in office the native lords, or caciques, subject, of course, to some measure of supervision by local colonial authorities. They recognized, in many cases, the hereditary character of these native lordships, confirmed title to lands said to have formed the patrimony of the ruling families, and granted the caciques services and other privileges which they had customarily enjoyed in pre-conquest times.

In the execution of these policies the colonial authorities frequently encountered serious difficulty. Disputes arose over

conflicting claims to caciqueships, the ownership of cacique lands, and the services and privileges demanded by these native lords. The colonial documents also contain numerous reports that the caciques abused their authority and made excessive demands on the Indians subject to them. These problems prompted the Crown, on several occasions, to call for extensive reports concerning the character of pre-conquest social and political organization, forms of land tenure, and the services and tributes formerly required by the native rulers.

In 1553, and again in 1577, comprehensive questionnaires, covering a wide range of topics relating to native organization, were sent out to the colonial audiencias for distribution to the local officials or churchmen who could best handle such a fact-finding inquiry in their respective districts. Replies were to be drafted on the basis of testimony received from the most reliable older Indians, who, in turn, should substantiate their statements, whenever possible, by reference to such native printings and records that might be available.

The questionnaire of 1553, although concerned chiefly with tribute customs, contained one section of queries about lordship: "Which lords among the caciques had lordship by succession and inheritance, and which by election? What power and jurisdiction did the caciques exercise over their subjects before the Conquest? and what similar power do they now have? What benefit comes from this

lordship?⁸¹

Within a year after this interrogatory was issued, several replies were dispatched to the Crown. These included an important report on the province of Chalco compiled by Fray Nicolás de Witte, member of the Augustinian Order. The Dominican Provincial, Fray Domingo de Anunciación, made a similar report from Chimalhuacan.⁸² Bandelier made considerable use of the latter.

The most important reply to the questionnaire of 1553, and one highly regarded by Bandelier during later stages of his work, was the Breve y sumaria relación de los señores de la Nueva España, written several years later by a distinguished colonial judge, Alonso de Zorita who had served in the audiencias of Santo Domingo and Mexico from 1547 to 1566.⁸³ Too occupied with his official duties to write out the report at the time, Zorita waited until after his retirement to Spain in 1566 to put together the information which

⁸¹ Vasco de Puga, Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones de su Majestad (2 vols., Mexico, 1878), II.

⁸² Printed texts of these reports are now available in Mariano Guevas, Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México (Mexico, 1914), pp. 221-28.

⁸³ Zorita's report was published in 1867 by J. García Icazbalceta, Nueva colección de documentos ... México, III (Mexico, 1891). This version has been reprinted in Relaciones de Texcoco y de la Nueva España: Pomar y Zorita (Mexico, 1941), pp. 65-289. This second edition is cited hereafter.

he had gathered as the result of extensive contacts with the Indians. In collecting his data he was assisted by three Franciscans who had lived in Mexico for a long time, knew the history of the people and the native languages and could serve as interpreters for Zorita in questioning the Indians.⁸⁴

Zorita devoted the greater part of his report to answering the questions on lordship. He discussed at some length the "supreme" power among the ancient Mexicans, and then described the subordinate units, the district, the calpulli, and the family. Landholding custom also received considerable attention.

His treatise has been criticized for its pro-Indian attitude and for its idealization of Indian character.⁸⁵ There is no doubt that Zorita admired the old Mexican way of life and that his sympathies were always with the Indians, especially the lords who had suffered much from the Spaniards. It would appear, however, that this bias did not lead him to distort the truth for, as new evidence on Aztec organization, comes little by little from the archives, Zorita's facts continue to appear in good light. On the vexed question of succession to office, on the distribution of land and types of tenure, and on other points, Zorita's treatment compares well with

⁸⁴ Zorita, Breve relacion, pp. 71-72.

⁸⁵ See Manuel Serrano y Sanz' introduction to Zorita's Historia de la Nueva Espana (Madrid, 1909), I, xcvi, and Garcia Icazbalceta's introduction to the Breve relacion, p. xviii.

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OFFICE OF THE DEAN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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the best of the old sources and the latest of the newer materials.

The second general questionnaire, sent out by Philip II in 1577 with orders that it be distributed to all the principal Indian towns, called for a much more extensive inquiry on native life and custom than the interrogatory of 1553. Numerous relaciones, or reports, were returned to the king, among them the Relacion de Texcoco, written by a native Juan Bautista Pomar, whom Icazbalceta considers in some ways a more reliable authority for Texcoco than Ixtlilxochitl.⁸⁶ Bandelier acquired some knowledge of this wonderful collection of town reports after he began serious work on ancient Mexico, but he never had access to the complete series. Most of the relaciones for Mexico were not printed until 1903, when Francisco Paso del Troncoso included some seventy of them in the second series of his Papeles de Nuevo Espana (vols. II-VII). These reports for many of the principal towns of central Mexico are a mine of information on native custom and organization.

Evidence recorded in these relaciones is supplemented and

⁸⁶ Pomar's report was first printed by Icazbalceta in his Nueva coleccion de documentos ... Mexico, III, 3-64. It has been reprinted, with Zorita's treatise in the Relaciones de Texcoco y de la Nuevo Espana cited in note 104, supra.

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The second general question concerns, and is, Philip II.

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Indians recorded in these reports are supplemented and

50. Indians' report was first printed by Indians in his
first collection of documents... Indians, III, 3-4. It has been
reprinted, with Indians' notes in the Indians de Indians X
de la Indians cited in note 10, supra.

confirmed in many cases by local legislation and administrative decrees,⁸⁷ the reports of visitors or special investigations made in certain areas, and the colonial court records. Of special importance are the records of lawsuits dealing with cacique succession and conflicting claims to Indian lands. Only a few documents of this kind have been published;⁸⁸ hundreds of others, many of them containing extensive Indian testimony, picture writings, and family trees tracing descent from pre-conquest times, are available in the Tierras and Vínculos sections of the Mexican national archive. Selected documents from these collections reproduced in microfilm for F. V. Scholes have been consulted by the author of this dissertation.

The value of the Spanish documents, especially the administrative and judicial records, has been challenged by certain writers, including Bandelier, on the ground that the Spaniards found it difficult to understand native customs so different from their own and

⁸⁷ S. Zavala and M. Costelo, Fuentes para la historia del trabajo en Nueva España (8 vols., Mexico, n.d.), contains an extensive series of administrative decrees on Indian labor, in which we find interesting data concerning the relationships between former lords and their subjects. F. V. Scholes possesses transcripts of many other items dealing with cacique privileges and status.

⁸⁸ One interesting case, involving lands granted to the caciques of Axapasco by Cortés, was published in the second volume of Icazbalceta's Colección de documentos para la historia de México (Mexico, 1866). Bandelier made some use of this document in his discussions of land tenure in ancient Mexico.

confirmed in many cases by direct testimony and administrative records.⁵⁷ The reports of the various special investigations made in certain areas, and the collected court records. Of special importance are the records of lawsuits dealing with native land claims and constituting claims to native lands. Only a few documents of this kind have been published.⁵⁸ Records of other, such as those containing extensive Indian testimony, claims, judgments, and finally these special records from pre-conquest times, are available in the Library and Museum sections of the National Archives. Selected documents from these collections reproduced in this book. For V. V. Scholten have been examined by the author of this book.

The value of the Spanish documents, especially the native and judicial records, has been enlarged by certain writers, including Bernaldo, as the ground that the Spanish records are not so understood native sources as different from them.

57. Zavala and E. Zavala, Historia de la Republica Mexicana en nueve tomos (9 vols., Mexico, 1900), contains in volume five series of administrative records on Indian lands. It will give interesting data concerning the relationship between Spaniards and their subjects. V. V. Scholten possesses fragments of many other items dealing with native privileges and status.

58. One interesting case, involving lands granted to the descendants of Spaniards by Cortes, was published in the Journal of the American Historical Association (vol. 10, 1900). Bernaldo made some use of this document in his discussion of land tenure in ancient Mexico.

that they evaluated those customs in the light of their own legal concepts and ideas. It is obvious that considerable caution must be exercised in using the evidence recorded in the Spanish records. On the other hand, data recorded in native sources and in the Spanish records often dovetail in such a neat manner that the reliability of the Spanish sources cannot be challenged without casting serious doubt on the value of much of the native evidence.

The first attempt to make a scientific study of ancient Mexico and the Spanish conquest was made by the Scottish historian William Robertson, whose theory of writing history demanded that all available sources be consulted and critically examined. Although denied access to the Spanish archives, Robertson uncovered missing letters of Cortes in the Vienna libraries, and he made a conscientious effort to survey all of the available chronicle material. The sections on Mexico in his History of America, published in 1775, are surprisingly full and accurate, and are characterized by scrupulous respect for fact carefully determined and dispassionately presented.

A contemporary of Robertson, the Mexican Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero, wrote a more colorful account of the Aztecs in his Storia Antica del Messico (1780). Clavijero had the advantage of familiarity with the country and long contact with its people, and during his years of service in Mexico, prior to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, he had made a careful study of native materials for the ancient history and conquest of the area. Although somewhat

enthusiastic about certain features of Aztec life, such as the advanced educational system, Clavijero's Storia Antica contained a breadth of view not found in earlier writings by Mexican historians.

In Spain the investigations of two distinguished scholars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Juan Bautista Muñoz and Martín Fernández de Navarrete, brought to light new materials in the royal archives, much of which was made available to W. H. Prescott for use in preparing his Conquest of Mexico (1847). Although Prescott's work immediately received wide acclaim, many Mexican historians felt that the definitive work on the Aztecs and their downfall had not yet been written. These men--among them Ramírez, Clavero, and García Icazbalceta--searched Mexican and Spanish archives for new materials, much of which was utilized by Manuel Orozco y Berra in his Historia antigua de Mexico, published in 1880. With the appearance of this work, Clavero expressed the view that the dream of a perfect history of early Mexico had been fulfilled.

Orozco y Berra is a rich and rewarding source for almost every phase of Aztec organization and history. Mythology, geography, chronology, calendar, religion, social and political customs, and sources of all kinds are discussed at length and with authority.

These historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries--Robertson, Clavijero, Prescott, and Orozco y Berra--consistently pictured ancient Mexico as a feudal monarchy. They used many of

the same sources employed by Bandelier, who also completed his Mexican studies in 1880, to challenge this traditional view of Aztec organization. That Bandelier was able to draw contrary conclusions from the chronicles and other Spanish sources may be explained, in part, by his acceptance of the anthropological theories of his famous contemporary, Lewis H. Morgan.

The same method employed by Hamilton, who also explained the
position of the United States in 1800, as a result of the
organization. That Hamilton was able to do this country's
from the American and other Spanish sources may be explained, in
part, by the acceptance of the anthropological theories of his
time, particularly those of Lewis and Clark.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF BANDELIER'S VIEWS ON AZTEC ORGANIZATION

When Bandelier and Morgan met and began to work together in 1873, they had completely divergent views on ancient Mexico. Bandelier believed what he read in the Spanish sources, which pictured Aztec organization as feudal in character. Morgan for reasons of his own, refused to accept the Spanish accounts at face value. After a short conflict, however, Morgan, the famous anthropologist, was able to convince his new friend, the business man who wanted to be a scholar, that the colonial sources presented a colored and unreliable account of the Aztec state.

But it was not easy for Bandelier to abandon his former view and accept that of his new mentor. His letters to Morgan during the early days of their friendship reflect the struggle he had with himself as he read and re-read the sources trying to see what Morgan wanted him to see. More than once he repeated his belief that Montezuma II was a monarch and Mexico a feudally organized empire. There were so many authorities, not connected in any way, who told the same story,¹ he said. It was necessary for Morgan to explain to his friend again and again that the Spaniards had not understood

¹ Bandelier-Morgan Letters, I, 117.

what they saw, and even if they had, their language had no words to describe it.² Finally Bandelier was won over and could say, "You need not fear the influence of the Spanish authorities, I rather hope to prove to you that these can be wielded and used to advantage."³

Morgan's quarrel with the Spanish documentary authorities was not new. Throughout the years while he was establishing his reputation as an anthropologist by his investigations of the Iroquois⁴ and by his revelations of the important relationship of kinship terminologies to social organization,⁵ it had been in his mind that someone should undertake a study of the Aztecs in the light of the new evolutionary theories abroad at that time, a study which would correct the story told by the Spaniards, and to his way of thinking, obviously untrue.⁶ Morgan himself planned to open fire on the old view in his forthcoming Ancient Society, but his knowledge

² Ibid., I, 112, 150, 163, 171.

³ Ibid., II, 6.

⁴ Lewis H. Morgan, League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois (New York, 1851).

⁵ _____, "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," Smithsonian Institution Contribution to Knowledge, Vol. XVII (1870), Art. 2.

⁶ Charles Gibson II, "Lewis Henry Morgan and the Aztec Monarchy", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, III (1947), No. 1, 82.

that they are, and even if they had, their language had no words
to describe it. I really hesitated, but was over-ruled and could not
hesitate any longer. The influence of the Spanish authorities, I believe
helped to prove to you that there was no accident and need to study
page 4.

Horgan's quarrel with the Spanish documentary authorities
was not new. Throughout the years when he was establishing his
reputation as an anthropologist by his investigations of the In-
dians, and by his revelations of the important relationship of
Spanish colonization to social organization, it has been in his
mind that someone would undertake a study of the subject in the light
of the new evolutionary theories shown at that time, a study which
would correct the story told by the Spaniards, and by the way of
thinking, obviously untrue. Horgan himself planned to open fire on
the old view in his forthcoming book, Indian Society, but his knowledge

¹ Indian Society, I, 112, 120, 121, 122.

² Indian Society, II, 4.

³ Indian Society, I, 112, 120, 121, 122.
quote (New York, 1911).

⁴ Indian Society, I, 112, 120, 121, 122.
quote (New York, 1911).

⁵ Indian Society, I, 112, 120, 121, 122.
quote (New York, 1911).

of Spanish was not sufficient for him to do the research needed for a complete attack on the Spanish writers, and it appeared that he would be forced to draw his conclusions by using what little of value he found in the few accounts he could read, filling in what he lacked with Iroquois procedure, which he knew well and believed to be similar.⁷

Some account of his reasons for disbelieving what the Spaniards said is necessary for an understanding of Bandelier's later conclusions. They involve the famous Morgan scheme for classifying primitive people in six stages of progress from savagery toward the seventh stage, civilization, all stages passed through by all mankind. In each stage, Morgan thought, characteristic ways of doing things and of thinking were manifested.⁸ Technological achievements served as the guide for placing a group in its proper category. Thus, the use of iron tools by a tribe placed it in the sixth and highest stage, directly before civilization. Just below this was a stage of farming with irrigation and the use of adobe brick and stone for house construction. Here Morgan placed the Aztecs. Below them one step, because they made pottery but did not yet build with adobe or stone, were the Iroquois.⁹

⁷ Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York, 1877), 186-187.

⁸ Ancient Society, 10-12.

⁹ Ibid., 11.

Categorizing the ideologies of each stage was more difficult but Morgan's experience with primitive people allowed him to handle it by saying that in all of the stages preceding civilization, organization was social, based on bonds of relationship of all members of a group to each other; leaders were democratically chosen, for merit, by the group; land was thought of as belonging to the group as a whole, for the use of all members.

After progressing through the six stages, if a tribe in the highest stage, those using iron tools, developed a phonetic alphabet and learned to write, it advanced into civilization. After this it was possible for the tribal members to break away from living with their relatives, move among strangers, and enter into a political government based on geographical grouping. Individual ownership of land now became desirable; estates could be built up at the expense of weaker individuals; powerful leaders could become kings and tyrants who conquered other kings, merging foreign lands and populations with their own into a state or even a monarchy. None of this could happen, however, unless a people had first used iron tools, developed a phonetic alphabet, and learned to write.

A mistake had been made, then, in Morgan's view, when the Aztecs, who did none of these three things, were described by those who saw them as having a monarchy. If the accounts were right, the Aztecs would have to be classified as half-civilized, half-primitive, an untidy procedure which threatened to upset Morgan's whole scheme.

Integrating the ideology of each group was more difficult but Morgan's experience with individual people allowed him to handle it by saying that in all of the larger governing institutions, organization was needed, based on bonds of relationship of all members of a group to each other; leaders were essentially chosen for merit by the group; and was thought of as belonging to the group as a whole, for the use of all members.

After it was decided that the idea of a group was the highest stage, those who had been called, developed a general principle and learned to write, it advanced into civilization. After this it was possible for the tribal members to break away from living with their relatives, move away separately, and even into a primitive government based on geographical groups. Individual members of land now became something; estates could be built up at the expense of other individuals; powerful leaders could become kings and tyrants who conquered other kings, making kingdoms; lands and populations with their own laws or even a territory. Some of this could happen, however, against a people and if it were done, people, developed a primitive alphabet, and learned to write.

A mistake had been made, then, in Morgan's view, when the Aztecs, who did none of these things, were described by those who saw them as having a territory. If the accounts were right, the Aztecs would have to be classified as half-civilized, half-tribe, and no society procedure which threatened to upset Morgan's whole system.

Morgan's research among the Iroquois had taught him that in social organization, the governmental machinery of all people who had not attained civilization, the democratic process of electing leaders was always followed, making dynastic kingship and monarchy impossible. Also, property was always held communally, making landed, inheritable, estates out of the question. If he could prove, then, that the Aztecs had social, not political, organization, his case would be won. It was necessary to go through what he called the Spanish nonsense, searching for evidences of a social, non-political bond, the criterion of which would be the presence among the Aztecs of clans. It was impossible, however, for him to wade through the colonial sources because of his inadequate knowledge of Spanish.

Thus the advent of Bandelier, the linguist, was more than opportune; particularly so when the latter began to drop away his old ideas and form new ones under Morgan's guidance. After a few months Bandelier's reaction to the Spanish writers had so "improved" in this matter that it was almost entirely determined by the ease with which he could extract Morgan's ideas from their writing. If an author resisted, he drew Bandelier's wrath. Thus, as he told Morgan of his endeavor to make Mexican fortifications appear similar to Morgan's Mound-pueblos,¹⁰ he lashed at Clavijero as "a great

¹⁰ Lewis H. Morgan, "Houses of the Mound Builders", North American Review, CXXIII (1876), 60-85.

mischief doer".¹¹ On another occasion he explained delay in obtaining linguistic data for Morgan because of the "almost wild confusion" of Molina's vocabulary.¹² And again, he called Ixtlilxochitl a formidable opponent, not like the guileless, innocent, talkative, Torquemada who could be used.¹³

As Morgan moved toward the completion of Ancient Society his confidence in his pupil was so strong that he accepted Bandelier's contributions without question. This led him into errors which have lately brought his work under criticism for unscholarliness.¹⁴ Differences in scientific standards between that day and this are further suggested by Bandelier's remarks in his letters to Morgan. Asked to read the Aztec chapter in Ancient Society before it went to press, Bandelier reported that he was not too pleased with it, but no matter, in his own next monograph he hoped to sustain it.¹⁵ And, even though proof that a council was superior to the "king" in Aztec organization was scarce and unsatisfactory, he advised Morgan

¹¹ Bandelier-Morgan Letters, II, 8-9.

¹² Ibid., II, 71.

¹³ Ibid., I, 221.

¹⁴ Gibson, op. cit., 78, 82-83.

¹⁵ Bandelier-Morgan Letters, II, 35-36.

attached copy. 1- The above copy is an original letter
 containing the following text for the purpose of the "Hague
 Convention" of 1907. 2- And again, the called
 International & Technical Commission, not like the previous
 scientific, technical and legal. 3-
 as before we have the signature of the Secretary of
 Conference in his paper as so strong that he accepted the
 Convention without difficulty. This led the two sides which have
 lately brought his very serious situation for consideration.
 Differences in scientific standards between the two sides and
 further suggested by the Secretary's remarks in his letter to the
 United States in the same paper in which he stated that he
 to press, the Secretary reported that he was not too pleased with
 but no matter, in his own mind, he would be bound to accept it.
 And, even though great that a result was expected to the
 in the organization was serious and unsatisfactory, he stated

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- 11 Handwritten letter, II, 3-9.
 - 12 Id., II, 10.
 - 13 Id., I, 22.
 - 14 Id., pp. 11, 12, 13.
 - 15 Handwritten letter, II, 15-16.

to present it so and "leave it to assailants to prove the non-existence of that council."¹⁶

Ancient Society was published in 1877. Working now, according to his letters, in the closest collaboration with Morgan, Bandelier brought out his own article dealing with Aztec warfare the same year, followed in the next three years by his papers on Aztec land tenure and government.¹⁷

Considerable interest, some praise, and at least one sharp criticism greeted the Morgan-Bandelier theory when it was presented to the world in these four works and Morgan's article, "Montezuma's Dinner",¹⁸ published in 1876. Their idea fitted well into the beliefs of current school of Evolutionists. Those who had theories of their

¹⁶ Ibid., II, 34.

¹⁷ Adolph Bandelier, "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans", Tenth Annual Report Peabody Museum Harvard University, (Cambridge, 1877), II, 95-165, hereinafter referred to as "Warfare";

"On the Distribution and Tenure of Lands, and the Customs with Respect to Inheritance, among the Ancient Mexicans", Eleventh Annual Report Peabody Museum Harvard University (1878), II, 385-448, hereinafter referred to as "Land Tenure";

"On the Social Organization and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans", Twelfth Annual Report Peabody Museum Harvard University (1880), II, 557-699, hereinafter referred to as "Social Organisation".

¹⁸ North American Review, CXXII (1876), 265-308.

to present it as and "leave it to the nation to pass the law."
existence of that country. 16

Another country was published in 1817. Working was working
to his father, in the latest collection with the year, 1817.
brought out the new article dealing with the year, 1817.
followed in the next three years by his papers on the year, 1817.
and government. 17

Constitutional interest, some interest, and at least one more
criticism greeted the foreign-language theory when it was presented
in the world in these four years and the year, 1817.
Stunt, 18 published in 1817. That was the first time the article
of current school of constitutionalism. There was no change of their

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- 16 Ibid., II, 11.
17 Adolph Bruckner, "On the Law of the Law and the Law of the Law"
of the American Revolution, (Cambridge, 1817), II, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 17-18, 19-20, 21-22, 23-24, 25-26, 27-28, 29-30, 31-32, 33-34, 35-36, 37-38, 39-40, 41-42, 43-44, 45-46, 47-48, 49-50, 51-52, 53-54, 55-56, 57-58, 59-60, 61-62, 63-64, 65-66, 67-68, 69-70, 71-72, 73-74, 75-76, 77-78, 79-80, 81-82, 83-84, 85-86, 87-88, 89-90, 91-92, 93-94, 95-96, 97-98, 99-100, 101-102, 103-104, 105-106, 107-108, 109-110, 111-112, 113-114, 115-116, 117-118, 119-120, 121-122, 123-124, 125-126, 127-128, 129-130, 131-132, 133-134, 135-136, 137-138, 139-140, 141-142, 143-144, 145-146, 147-148, 149-150, 151-152, 153-154, 155-156, 157-158, 159-160, 161-162, 163-164, 165-166, 167-168, 169-170, 171-172, 173-174, 175-176, 177-178, 179-180, 181-182, 183-184, 185-186, 187-188, 189-190, 191-192, 193-194, 195-196, 197-198, 199-200, 201-202, 203-204, 205-206, 207-208, 209-210, 211-212, 213-214, 215-216, 217-218, 219-220, 221-222, 223-224, 225-226, 227-228, 229-230, 231-232, 233-234, 235-236, 237-238, 239-240, 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907-908, 909-910, 911-912, 913-914, 915-916, 917-918, 919-920, 921-922, 923-924, 925-926, 927-928, 929-930, 931-932, 933-934, 935-936, 937-938, 939-940, 941-942, 943-944, 945-946, 947-948, 949-950, 951-952, 953-954, 955-956, 957-958, 959-960, 961-962, 963-964, 965-966, 967-968, 969-970, 971-972, 973-974, 975-976, 977-978, 979-980, 981-982, 983-984, 985-986, 987-988, 989-990, 991-992, 993-994, 995-996, 997-998, 999-1000, 1001-1002, 1003-1004, 1005-1006, 1007-1008, 1009-1010, 1011-1012, 1013-1014, 1015-1016, 1017-1018, 1019-1020, 1021-1022, 1023-1024, 1025-1026, 1027-1028, 1029-1030, 1031-1032, 1033-1034, 1035-1036, 1037-1038, 1039-1040, 1041-1042, 1043-1044, 1045-1046, 1047-1048, 1049-1050, 1051-1052, 1053-1054, 1055-1056, 1057-1058, 1059-1060, 1061-1062, 1063-1064, 1065-1066, 1067-1068, 1069-1070, 1071-1072, 1073-1074, 1075-1076, 1077-1078, 1079-1080, 1081-1082, 1083-1084, 1085-1086, 1087-1088, 1089-1090, 1091-1092, 1093-1094, 1095-1096, 1097-1098, 1099-1100, 1101-1102, 1103-1104, 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own, not so generally accepted, were interested, but usually non-committal.¹⁹ As for those who still believed the Spanish accounts, Morgan's reputation and Bandelier's impressive use of the sources were formidable defenses against their criticism. One who dared to speak up, however, was Hubert Howe Bancroft, occupied at the time with the examination and compilation in Native Races²⁰ of a far vaster number of the sources than Bandelier had used. In spite of Morgan-Bandelier ridicule as a blind follower, with Prescott, of the "Montezuma myth",²¹ Bancroft had voiced an intelligent and still apt criticism of the reliability of the Spanish accounts. He said that they staggered him at times, yet, though he realized that it was advantageous to many Spaniards to represent to the king that they had conquered a mighty foe, or that a civilized land awaited Christianity, still the sameness of hundreds of reports could not be explained away as mere copying, nor could one explain away architectural remains and exquisite jewelry which still exist.²² The Morgan-Bandelier studies were dismissed by Bancroft with the remark that

¹⁹ Bernhard J. Stern, Lewis Henry Morgan (Chicago, 1931), Ch. V.

²⁰ Hubert Howe Bancroft, Native Races (5 vols., San Francisco, 1875-1890). Bancroft collected the vast number of documents which now are in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

²¹ Stern, op. cit., 115-116; Bandelier-Morgan Letters, I, 89.

²² Bancroft, Native Races, II, 158-160.

they proved nothing. Morgan, he felt, could not prove his case in Mexico though he declared that he had done so. And Morgan's disciples, wilder than he, were "rushing headlong into a gulf of absurdities."²³

No further studies of the Aztecs were published by either Morgan or Bandelier. The latter made a trip to Mexico in 1881, during which he inspected architectural remains and explored the archives, but his only comment on Aztec organization afterward was that three years of study and field work had not changed the ideas he had expressed in his three articles one iota.²⁴ And after visiting Tlaxcala he advised those who would understand its primitive government to read Morgan's studies of the Iroquois.²⁵

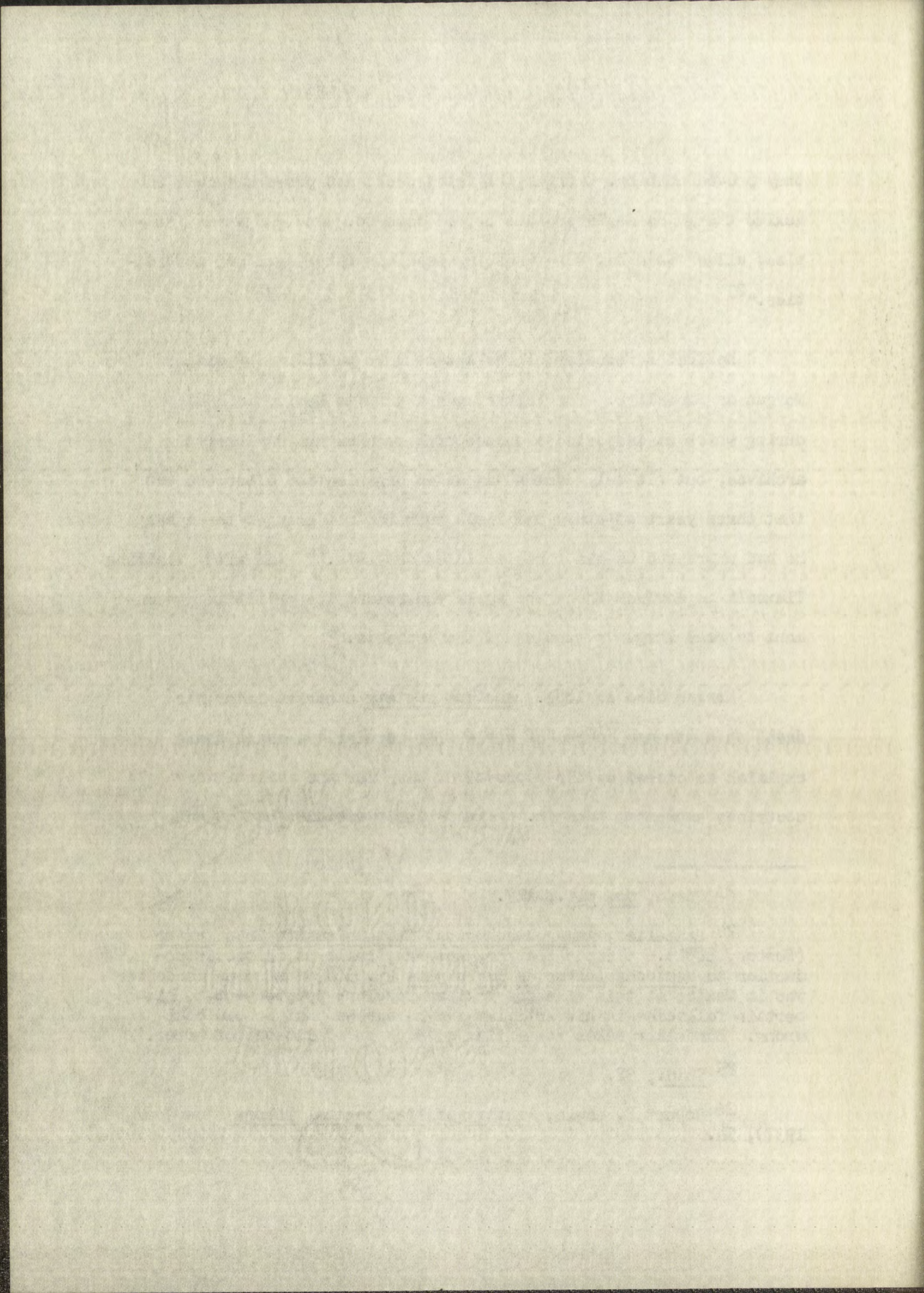
Morgan died in 1881. Ancient Society embarked after his death on a strange course of world wide popularity, which Lowie explains as caused by the approval of Marx for the evolutionary doctrines expressed therein.²⁶ Bandelier's articles had no such

²³ Stern, op. cit., 127.

²⁴ Bandelier, An Archaeological Reconnaissance into Mexico (Boston, 1884). Alfredo Chavero, however, tells us in the introduction to Mexico a traves de los siglos (p. 568) that when Bandelier was in Mexico at this time the Mexican scholars pointed out to him certain fallacies in his articles and he agreed that he had been wrong. Bandelier makes no mention of such an admittance of error.

²⁵ Ibid., 32.

²⁶ Robert H. Lowie, History of Ethnological Theory (New York, 1937), 54.



popular appeal, but nothing has been written on ancient Mexico since his time that does not in some way recall his conclusions, either by tacit acceptance, direct quotation, or violent disagreement.

Writing at the end of the 19th century, Daniel Brinton himself an arch-evolutionist, says that Morgan and Bandelier carried their evolutionary-stage doctrine too far,²⁷ but when Brinton describes American Indians he too finds them all much alike, the differences between Aztecs and Algonkins being 'only an invention or two'.²⁸ And when he looks at Nezahualcoyotl's palace in Texcoco, he sees it as the "communal house" of that ruler.²⁹ Nor will he, either,³⁰ allow that the Aztec tribe had a cultured and mighty predecessor, and he disposes of the Toltecs as myth.³¹

T. T. Waterman, who by no means belonged to the older evolutionary school, writing in 1917, listed Morgan, Bandelier, John Fiske,

²⁷ Daniel G. Brinton, The American Race (New York, 1891), 45.

²⁸ Ibid., 44.

²⁹ Brinton, Essays of An Americanist (Philadelphia, 1890), 25; "Land Tenure", 406-407, n. 48.

³⁰ Bandelier, "Land Tenure", n.7, pp. 388-392.

³¹ Essays of an Americanist, 100.

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and the sentiments of most ethnologists on the side opposite from the Spanish authors.³² He criticizes Bandelier's style, method, and a few of his conclusions, but after reading the same sources that Bandelier used, Waterman reveals his acceptance of a large part of Bandelier's work by complaining about the terminology of the Spanish authors, approving Bandelier's point that feudal Spain could not understand democratic Mexico, using Bandelier's expressions such as "officer" for "señor", and "war leader or elder brother" for "king"; by finding a strong clan organization,³³ a council superior to the "king",³⁴ procedure generally analogous to that of the Iroquois,³⁵ and a society of democratic character.³⁶ He feels that Morgan's ideas were fully confirmed by Bandelier, and that the latter has undoubtedly made the most serious contributions on the subject.³⁷

Paul Radin and Robert Lowie, a few years later, took a more questioning stand on Bandelier's work. Morgan's notion of the

³² T. T. Waterman, "Bandelier's Contributions to the Study of Ancient Mexican Social Organization," U C P A A E, XII, No. 7 (February, 1917), 249-250.

³³ Ibid., 276.

³⁴ Ibid., 264.

³⁵ Ibid., 275.

³⁶ Ibid., 276.

³⁷ Ibid., 250.

always upward progress of mankind had made it necessary for Bandelier to explain away the traditional high culture of Toltec and Chichimec predecessors of the Aztecs. This he did by throwing discredit on Indian record of anything that happened very long before the conquest.³⁸ It was thought, then, for a number of years after Bandelier that codices were worthless as historical evidence. This attitude was finally challenged by Radin in his inspired study, aforementioned, of all primary Indian source material for the Aztec area.³⁹ Employing archeological evidence and 16th century written Nahuatl history as a check for their reliability, he came to the conclusion that the codices, mapas, anales and the like were valuable and authentic evidence. His tentative outline of Mexican history based on the use of archeological findings and such primary sources disagreed in many particulars with Bandelier's articles. For instance, in the matter of the Toltecs, Radin was able to reestablish them as real people, with reliable records that went back perhaps to the 9th century⁴⁰ and with culture which certainly did not fit into Morgan's frame for a stage of development several steps below the Aztecs. Radin advised, then, that no definite stand be taken on Mexican history until further

³⁸ "Land Tenure", 387-395.

³⁹ Radin, "Sources and Authenticity of History of Ancient Mexico", 132.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 133.

always appear to be of a different kind, and it is not possible to explain them by the same principles. The evidence of the antiquity of the human race is not only derived from the study of the human remains, but also from the study of the human language. The human language is a product of the human mind, and it is not possible to explain it by the same principles. The human language is a product of the human mind, and it is not possible to explain it by the same principles.

38 "The human race" 187-188.
 39 "The human race" 187-188.
 40 "The human race" 187-188.

extensive and critical examination of primary and secondary sources had been made.

Lowie's Primitive Society, published the same year, doubts also that the discussion on ancient Mexico was closed by Bandelier or is yet ready to be closed. It must be noted that Lowie did not engage himself to examine and weigh the original sources; but he brought a mature experience with matters of social organization to the problem of balancing pros and cons in the several arguments. Lowie's estimate of Bandelier was that the latter had "lavished the resources of his vast erudition in an attempt to interpret historical sources in a sense favorable to Morgan's sib scheme."⁴¹ But Lowie felt that certain conclusions in the Bandelier articles would stand. He thought that probably there were no feudal overlords, and that Aztec land was collectively held by the calpulli. But he admitted that the nature of the calpulli was still most uncertain,⁴² and to Morgan's decree that monarchy and such an organization were incompatible, he answered 'nonsense'.⁴³

Something further on the nature of the calpulli was revealed when Manuel Moreno re-read Bandelier's sources and other materials for a study of Aztec social and political organization which he did

⁴¹ Robert H. Lowie, Primitive Society (New York, 1920), 218.

⁴² Ibid., 219.

⁴³ Ibid., 309.

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under the direction of Alfonso Caso. The calpulli, stronghold of democratic practices according to Morgan and Bandelier, was now exposed by Moreno as actually undemocratic. Using Zorita as his authority, Moreno tells us that it was true that the calpulli was ruled by an elected official, but he was always a lord, a member of the calpulli, and of established lordly lineage. His office was for life, and his successor was apt to be his son.⁴⁴ Moreover, the bonds of the calpulli organization had fallen away before the Spaniards arrived, leaving the people looking to the Aztec state for the direction of their lives, except in small neighborhood matters.⁴⁵

Reading the sources differently from Bandelier on other points also, Moreno saw land held originally by the whole tribe, then by the calpulli; after the defeat of Atzacatzalco by the Aztecs under Itzcoatl in the early 15th century, lands in conquered territories were given outright to favored individuals by the ruler.⁴⁶ The award of such estates to relatives and friends, plus the destruction of the calpulli structure were among the developments which led to building up in Mexico of what Moreno saw, in the time of Montezuma II,

⁴⁴ Manuel M. Moreno, La organización política y social de los Aztecas (Mexico, 1931), 46.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 47.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 21.

as a 'frankly monarchical' empire.⁴⁷

Eric Thompson and George Vaillant, however, were not so convinced that Mexico was a feudal monarchy, though Vaillant was more inclined to go back to Bandelier's views than was Thompson. In Mexico Before Cortés, Thompson advised taking a compromise view. All through this book the ideas of Bandelier can be seen as they are accepted or rejected. Thus, though he sees feudal estates and peasants who must farm for their lord⁴⁸ and fight for the ruler,⁴⁹ yet Thompson agrees with Bandelier that the ruler was not absolute but had to share his power and the right to wear the peaked, mosaic crown with a civil chief, the Cihuacoatl,⁵⁰ both yielding in certain matters to the decisions of a council, the voice of the people.⁵¹ Moreover, although Thompson sees stratification of Aztec society, with nobles, commoners, and slaves and a school, the Calmecac,⁵² for the sons of the high born, when he discusses the Eagle Order of warriors, reputedly only attained by nobles, he turns back to

⁴⁷ Ibid., 82-83.

⁴⁸ J. Eric Thompson, Mexico Before Cortés (New York, 1933), 61.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 114.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 108.

⁵¹ Ibid., 100-101, 119.

⁵² Ibid., 41.

as a 'starkly unimpaired' figure.

His Thompson and George Walland, however, were not so convinced that Mexico was a feudal country, though Walland was more inclined to go back to Rindol's view than was Thompson. In Mexico before Cortes, Thompson talked of a 'feudal' system. All through this book the idea of Rindol's can be seen as they are accepted or rejected. Thus, though he sees feudal system and Rindol's idea of 'the light and dark' and light for the same, yet Thompson agrees with Rindol that the ruler was not absolute but had to share his power and the right to wear the sacred, mosaic crown with a chief called, the tlatoani,²⁰ both playing in certain manner to the decision of a council, the voice of the people.²¹ However, although Thompson has suggestions of a 'feudal' system, with nobles, commons, and slaves and a school, the tlatoani,²² for the good of the high born, when he discusses the tlatoani order of merit, especially only obtained by nobles, he comes back to

20 Ibid., 62-63.
21 Ibid., 62-63, Mexico before Cortes (New York, 1922).
22 Ibid., 111.
23 Ibid., 108.
24 Ibid., 100-101, 112.
25 Ibid., 111.

Bandelier and disagrees with the Spanish accounts for erroneously imputing aristocratic distinctions which only applied in Europe.⁵³

When it came to land tenure, however, Thompson, like Moreno, relied solidly on Spanish authority, seeing land held collectively by the calpulli, in abstract ownership by the nobles, and for life by warriors who received it for outstanding service to the state.⁵⁴ Thompson also disagreed with Bandelier's thesis that war was the pre-occupation of Aztec existence. For he thought the Aztecs were essentially devoted to agriculture and to religion, although he admitted that a military aristocracy was undoubtedly gaining ascendancy over all else when the Spaniards arrived.⁵⁵

Vaillant's extensive archeological researches into Aztec and earlier Mexican past history brought him into no disagreement with Bandelier's ideas of their political and social organization. Even in their late development he finds no indication that a feudal system had evolved from their original communal way of life. Thus, when he describes a mid-16th century painting on native cloth, partly in Aztec picture writing and partly in written Nahuatl, which presents the genealogy and claims to office and land of a certain chief of a

⁵³ Ibid., 118.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 60-61.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 119, 135-136.

village in Tlaxcala, Vaillant sees as "pathetic" the efforts of this person to document rights which he only acquired after the Spaniards took over. For, as Vaillant explains, "Indian chiefs held property only so long as they held office. At their death or removal it reverted to the whole community before being invested in a chosen successor. Hereditary ownership was an unheard of institution in their communal system...."⁵⁶

At the end of the same article he describes the town of Chiconauhtla, a fief of the city state of Texcoco. The excavated palace of the chief of Chiconauhtla shows constant elaboration and enlargement throughout two centuries at least. Throne rooms with raised daises, elaborate apartments for the chief, quarters for judges and visiting chieftains, and the probable large farm territories required to maintain this palace only indicate to Vaillant that the administrative machinery of a democratic tribe had grown large and complicated. He declines to say whether chiefs looked on this establishment as personal property, but admits their efforts to convince the Spaniards that such was the case.⁵⁷

In his later book, Astecs of Mexico, when he discusses the social and political organization at greater length, he not only

⁵⁶ George C. Vaillant, "Twilight of Aztec Civilization", Natural History, XLIV (1939), 38.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 46.

village in Mexico, which was "reported" the source of the
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 their communal system."

At the end of the same article he describes the case of
 Chicomucuil, a chief of the city state of Yucatan. The excavated
 palace of the chief of Chicomucuil shows a central staircase and
 a large hall through which two streets passed. There were also
 raised balconies, elaborate apartments for the chief, quarters for
 judges and visiting officials, and the probable large law court.
 There is no evidence to maintain this palace only indicates to Villalón
 that the administrative machinery of a domestic tribe had grown
 large and complicated. He declines to say whether chiefs looked
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 to organize the Spaniards that such was the case.

In his latest book, Aspects of Mexico, when he discusses the
 social and political organization of greater length, he not only

26 George D. Villalón, "Twilight of Aztec Civilization,"
Natural History, LXXV (1937), 28.
 27 Ibid., 28.

follows Bandelier's ideas closely, but refers to him frequently as his authority. Vaillant presents the Aztecs as democratic in theory and practice.⁵⁸ The supreme chief had been chosen for proven merit from among four elected officials. He was the war leader. The Cihuacoatl headed the tribe in religious and civil matters.⁵⁹ Among the people there was rank, gained by personal effort, but no classes, though children benefitted from their fathers' efforts if they could prove themselves worthy of their advanced station.⁶⁰ He did not explain the Calmecac.⁶¹ The "tecnhtli" distinction was earned by service.⁶² Land was held communally.⁶³ There was no established army and no defensive "words".⁶⁴ And in spite of their growth in size and power, the internal political organization of the Aztecs had not changed, nor had it become their foreign policy to conquer and incorporate other tribes into their own. Vaillant added of this last that Indians generally, the Incas excepted, never did this.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico (New York, 1944), 108, 113.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 116.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 113.

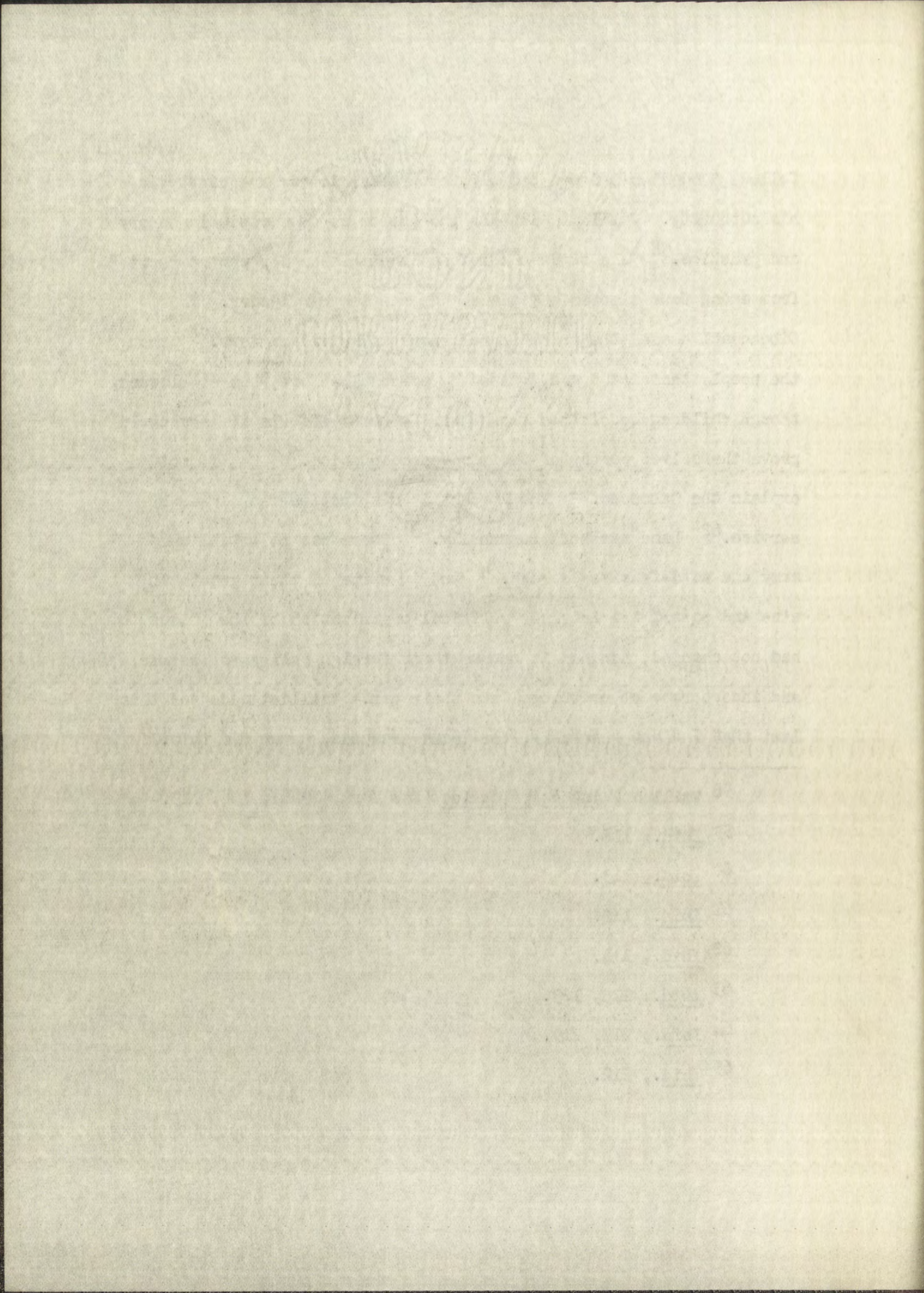
⁶¹ Ibid., 110.

⁶² Ibid., 114.

⁶³ Ibid., 113, 123.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 217, 219.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 212.



He pays tribute to many other authors, but Bandelier's articles head his bibliographical lists of exhaustive studies of social organization, land tenure, and warfare.⁶⁶

It is apparent therefore that in spite of everything that was written before Bandelier, his own work, and a great deal that has been said since his time, the problem of Aztec organization is still open to debate. At present, advocates of one view or the other make occasional sorties into print in guerilla warfare fashion. For example, Lowie states in Social Organization that the "much vaunted Aztec Confederacy" was only a temporary alliance of Texcoco, Tenochtitlan, and Tacuba for the despoilment of common enemies and that no permanent merging of interests ensued.⁶⁷ A. L. Kroeber, in Anthropology, on the other hand, advises those who look at the advanced areas of Meso America to lay aside here the assumption of primitive egalitarian democracy, for here there were genuine lords and vassals in full medieval sense.⁶⁸

It appears also that the dividing line between belief and disbelief in the Aztec empire was drawn decisively by Bandelier, though Morgan, no longer thought of as a Mexicanist, was largely

⁶⁶ Ibid., 288, 289, 294.

⁶⁷ Lowie, Social Organization (New York, 1948), 320.

⁶⁸ A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York, 1948), 799.

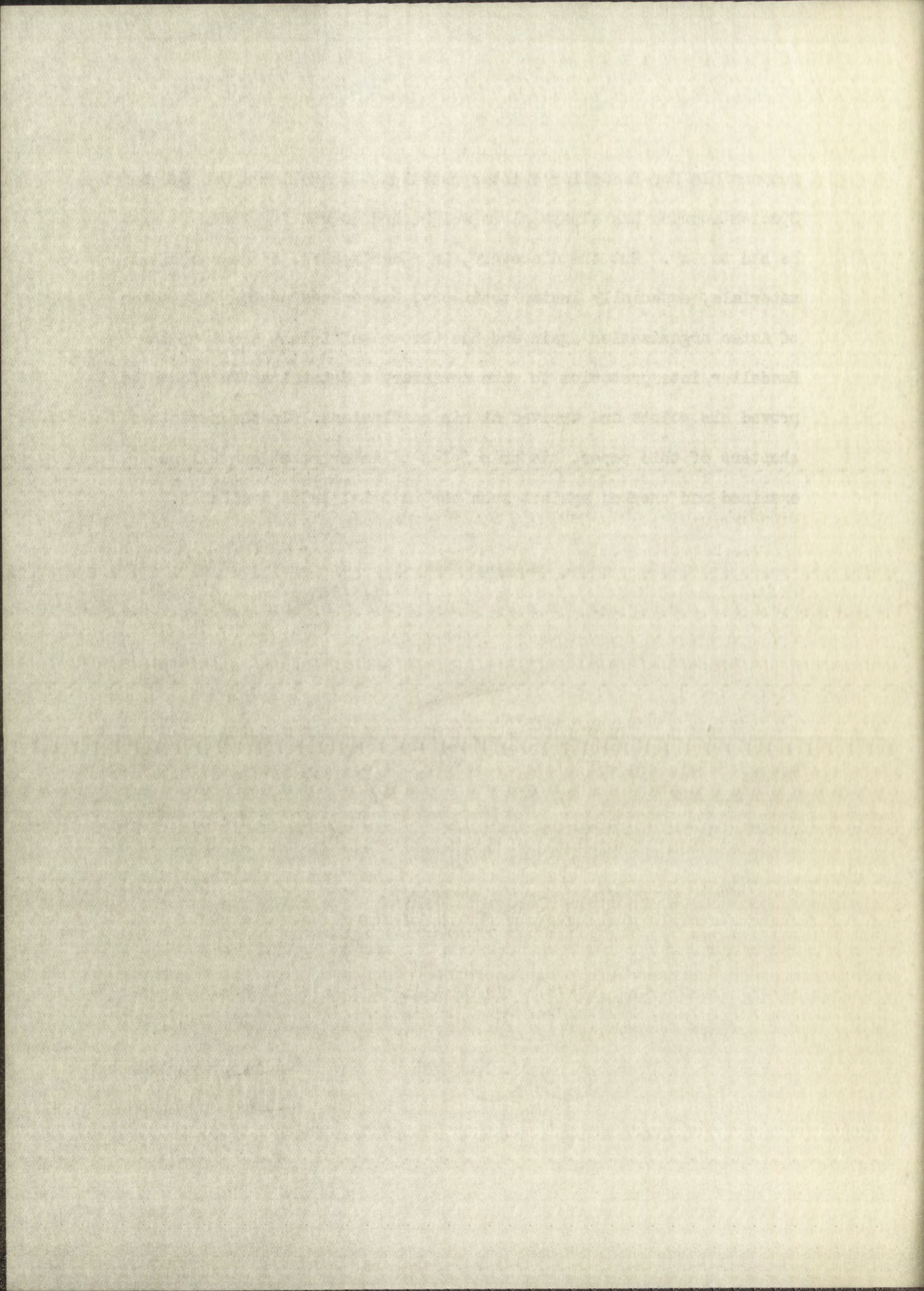
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It appears also that the dividing line between belief and
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though perhaps, no longer thought of as a determinative, was largely

⁶⁵ Ibid., 258, 259, 261.
⁶⁷ Ibid., Social Organization (New York, 1902), 330.
⁶⁸ A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York, 1939), 177.

responsible for Bandelier's interpretation. Bandelier's use of the Spanish sources has always given weight and convincing force to what he had to say. But the discovery, in recent years, of new archival materials, especially Indian testimony, has opened up the discussion of Aztec organization again and has thrown sufficient doubt on the Bandelier interpretation to make necessary a determination of how he proved his points and arrived at his conclusions. In the next three chapters of this paper, his principles of interpretation will be examined and checked against such new material as is available.



CHAPTER III

BANDELIER'S ARTICLE ON WARFARE AMONG THE ANCIENT MEXICANS

Bandelier's first paper on the Aztecs of Mexico, entitled "On the Art of War and Mode of Warfare of the Ancient Mexicans", was published in 1877. His objective in his articles on ancient Mexico, it will be remembered, was to prove that the Aztecs fitted into the Middle Stage of Barbarism in Morgan's scheme for the classification of all uncivilized groups of people. In this stage the tribe was still primitive, its members were democratic, they held their land in common, and they were governed by leaders of their own choice who held office for life or at the pleasure of the tribe. It was necessary, then, to show first that the Aztecs were primitive and democratic.

War, Bandelier believed, was the major occupation of the Aztecs. The basic character of their organization should be reflected in their way of pursuing this occupation. The ideas of all other Mexican tribes on this subject could be judged similar to those of the Aztecs.

In Bandelier's hands the Aztecs became a typical tribe of sedentary, village Indians. Yet agriculture and civil pursuits were of secondary importance to them because of their love of warfare. As warriors they were fierce and capable but their military organization was primitive. For instance, it had not yet occurred to these

CHAPTER III

BARONET'S ARTICLES ON WARFAR AND THE ANCIENT MEXICANS

Baronet's first paper on the history of Mexico, entitled "The

the art of war and mode of warfare of the ancient Mexicans", was

published in 1877. His objective in his articles on ancient Mexico,

it will be remembered, was to show that the Aztecs fitted into the

middle stage of barbarism in Morgan's scheme for the classification

of all civilized groups of people. In this stage the Aztecs were

still primitive, the Aztecs were democratic, they held their land

in common, and they were governed by leaders of their own choice who

held office for life or at the pleasure of the tribe. It was necessary,

then, to show that the Aztecs were primitive and democratic.

Baronet, however, was the major occupation of the

Aztecs. The basic character of their organization should be reflected

in their way of producing this organization. The basis of all other

Mexican tribes on this subject could be judged similar to those of

the Aztecs.

In Baronet's hands the Aztecs became a typical tribe of

sedentary, village Indians. Yet agriculture and civil government were

of secondary importance to them because of their love of warfare.

In warfare they were brave and capable but their military organization

was primitive. For instance, it had not yet advanced to those

simple natives to maintain a regular guard for the safety of their city; each man was trained to come to its defense if danger threatened. Nor had they yet developed a system for protecting their outlying conquered territory or holding it in control by any such means as the establishment of garrisons with units of Aztec soldiery. Instead, they maintained their sway over their tributary tribes by instilling in them the fear of imminent and murderous forays from the citadel in the lake.

Such forays, either to put down rebellion or to make new conquests, were decided upon and ordered by an elected tribal council, the real governing power of the Aztecs. To carry out the orders of this body there was a head war chief who functioned, with a coadjutor, as the executive agency of the tribe both in war and in peace. The head war chief, though elected by the people, was always chosen from a certain family and must have high qualifications for leadership. He held his office for life. Lesser war chiefs were chosen for ability and bravery demonstrated in battle.

While fighting a war the Aztecs used only such arms, armor, and campaign tactics as were customarily utilized by primitive people. The unadvanced state of their military organization revealed itself in the meeting with the Spanish armed forces. The Mexicans rose to their highest achievement in the defense of their city, but they were not able, even so, to approach the battle skill of the Europeans.

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Astec determination to survive in the face of such odds did prove however that they were fanatically devoted to their city and their way of life. Such devotion could not have been inspired in the people by a despotic ruler. To Bandelier, the defense of Tenochtitlan proved that the Mexicans were a "barbarous but free military democracy".¹

Critical analysis of some of the major propositions outlined above will demonstrate that Bandelier's conclusions were based on dubious methodology, misuse of sources, and failure to cite evidence contrary to the conclusions stated. Such procedures, which he followed in his other papers, necessarily cast doubt on the validity of his propositions.

In support of his thesis that offensive war was the principal occupation of the Aztecs after the founding of Tenochtitlan, Bandelier quoted a passage from Tezozomoc's Crónica Mexicana, as follows: "After a number of years had passed, the king, Montezuma, said to Cihuacoatl Tlacaeleltzin, the general-judge, 'it seems to me that for many days we have been idle.'" "Idle", Bandelier explains, meant not at war, and war was therefore immediately provoked against the province of Chalco.²

¹ Bandelier, "Warfare", 161.

² "Warfare", 98, n.7.

If we turn to Tezozomoc's statement, we find that Montezuma's speech continues without a break in this manner: "Let us begin, then, and build the temple and house of . . . Huitzilopochtli."³ The king and the Cihuacoatl then decided to send out messengers to invite lords of all principal neighboring cities to assist with building this temple. All but Chalco agreed to help. Ample opportunity was given to this city to change its mind. When it failed to do so, war broke out.⁴ Thus it appears that Montezuma did not suggest the need for going to war to correct the idleness of the Aztecs. War in this case resulted from the failure of Chalco to join in the plans for building the temple. Bandelier's use of Tezozomoc illustrates his technique of lifting phrases from sentences, or sentences from paragraphs, which he employed frequently to "wield and use" the authorities.⁵

The same method was utilized in proving his proposition that there were no armed guards in Tenochtitlan, which he develops as one line of proof of the primitive nature of Aztec military organization. In this case, though he admits that Gómara mentioned guards, he presents a phrase from Gómara to the effect that "in the city no

³ Tezozomoc, Crónica Mexicana, ch. XXI, 79.

⁴ Ibid., 81-88.

⁵ Cf. p. 49 supra.

If we turn to Tzucun's statement, we find that Tzucun's speech continues without a break in this manner: "Let us begin, then, and let the people and house of . . . Huitzilpochtli." The king and the diviners then decided to send out messengers to invite lords of all principal neighboring cities to assist with building this temple. All but Chalan agreed to help. Finally, a treaty was given to this city to change its mind. When it failed to do so, war broke out. Thus it appears that Tzucun did not suggest the need for going to war to correct the failure of the treaty. For in this case resulted from the failure of Chalan to join in the plan for building the temple. Tzucun's use of Tzucun's illustrated his technique of lifting phrases from sentences, or sentences from paragraphs, which he employed frequently to "wind and end" the sentences.

The same method was utilized in giving his proposition that there were no sacred grounds in Tzucun's land, which he developed as one line of proof of the primitive nature of Aztec military organization. In this case, though he states that Tzucun mentioned grounds, he presents a phrase from Tzucun to the effect that "in the city"

Tzucun, Charles H. Smith, ed. XII, 79.

Ind., 31-32.

Cl. p. 12 supra.

one carried arms..."⁶ Gómara's statement actually reads, "In the city no one carried arms; they were carried to war, in the hunt, and in the guard." And the chronicler goes on to describe the armed guard in the city which was a force of six hundred lords, each accompanied by up to twenty servants as weapon bearers.⁷

Thus Bandelier again lifted a phrase from its context; he also suppressed Gómara's definite mention of a guard. Sahagun describes guards and watches in the city,⁸ but Bandelier failed to record this additional evidence. On the other hand he resorted to another typical line of reasoning, noting in support of his argument, that neither Cortés nor Tapia mention guards.⁹

As further proof of the primitive character of Aztec military organization, Bandelier asserts that no garrisons were maintained outside of the city of Tenochtitlan. The conquered areas were controlled by fear of forays against them but not by forts and troops in the outlying districts. In substantiation of these assertions he calls attention to the failure of Cortés to mention anything of this kind in his account of the march toward the city in 1519.¹⁰

⁶ "Warfare", 99, n. 10.

⁷ Gómara, Conquista de Mexico (1943), I, 226, 227.

⁸ Sahagún, Historia general (1938), II, 319-320.

⁹ "Warfare", 99, n. 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., 100, n. 17.

Actually the evidence for the existence of garrisons and outposts is overwhelming but Bandelier chose to ignore it. He said nothing about the extensive lines of forts facing each other on the Mexican-Tarascan border, which were described in Beaumont's Crónica de Michoacan.¹¹ An edition of this Crónica was published in 1874 and was thus available in his time. Also available, for Bandelier mentions seeing them, were some of the answers to the 1577 questionnaire of Philip II. Judging by the Paso Troncoso collection of these reports,¹² it is obvious that Bandelier could have found numerous references to garrisons in them. By means of these references, and with the assistance of R. H. Barlow's map,¹³ it is possible to make out the outlines of a chain of frontier forts which circled the borders of the empire. Certain of these posts were located at Acatlan east of Tlaxcala;¹⁴ at Ocopetlayuca near the Tlaxcallan border;¹⁵ at Papalotlcpac on the border of Teotitlan-Tochtepec;¹⁶ at Tochtepec,

¹¹ Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont, Crónica de Michoacan (5 vols., Mexico, 1874), III, 98-99.

¹² Supra, 44.

¹³ Found in R. H. Barlow, "The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica", Ibero-Americana: 28 (University of California Press, 1949).

¹⁴ P N E, V, 113.

¹⁵ Ibid., VI, 256.

¹⁶ Ibid., IV, 90.

Actually the evidence for the existence of gardens and
 forests is overwhelming but Bendaizer does to know it. He tells
 nothing about the extensive lines of forest facing each other on the
 Mexican-Texas border, which were described in Manzanilla
de Hefner.¹¹ An edition of this Cronica was published in 1911
 and was then available in the time. Also available for Bendaizer
 mentions seeing them, were some of the answers to the 1911 question-
 naire of Philip H. Knight by the two Mexican collectors of these
 reports.¹² It is evident that Bendaizer could have found numerous
 references to gardens in Texas. It seems of those references, and
 with the statements of E. E. Ruffin's map.¹³ It is possible to make
 out the outlines of a chain of frontier towns which strided the
 borders of the empire. Certain of these points were located at anti-
 jan west of El Paso; ¹⁴ at Ocotillo near the Mexican border;¹⁵
 at Papagayo on the border of the United States;¹⁶ as indicated.

¹¹ Vol. 12 in United States Government Documents, Order of
Manzanilla (2 vols., Mexico, 1911), III, 76-77.

¹² Expos. 16.

¹³ Found in E. E. Ruffin, "The Extent of the Empire of the
 United States," Geographical Magazine, 25 (University of California Press,
 1913).

¹⁴ Vol. 12, 113.

¹⁵ Vol. 12, 113.

¹⁶ Vol. 12, 113.

below Vera Cruz;¹⁷ at Acatepec near Zaachila on the road to Guatemala;¹⁸ in Mixteca;¹⁹ at Chilapa near Acapulco;²⁰ at Tlacotepec in Guerrero;²¹ at the salt holes near Oztuma;²² at Oztuma, the principal fort on the Tarascan border;²³ at Mexicalcingo below Toluca,²⁴ and at many other strategic points. Garrisons on the Mexican-Tarascan border are mentioned in the recently published Información of Don Antonio Huitaimengari (written in 1553) in which he boasted that his ancestors, the kings of Michoacan, maintained their garrisons successfully at Toluca, nine leagues from Tenochtitlan, but more than forty from Tzintzuntzan, the Tarascan capital.²⁵

Barlow's monograph reveals that the above mentioned forts, stationed around the borders of the empire, were not merely isolated and primitive encampments but were part of a carefully planned and

¹⁷ Ibid., IV, 61-62.

¹⁸ Ibid., IV, 194.

¹⁹ Ibid., IV, 185.

²⁰ Ibid., V, 178.

²¹ Ibid., VI, 123.

²² Ibid., VI, 105, 110.

²³ Ibid., VI, 113.

²⁴ Ibid., VI, 196-197.

²⁵ Manuel Toussaint, Patzcuaro (Mexico, 1942), 229.

well organized system for the protection of the Aztec country. This system was netted in, section by section, from all sides toward the center, Tenochtitlan. Many of the structural details of this system can be determined from Barlow's article. For example, on the central west side of the empire, the fort of Oztuma listed above, was the most important frontier fortification near the border. There were smaller stations close to Oztuma which supplied it with food and rallied to its aid when necessary. Oztuma and its dependents were the outposts which gave protection to the great presidio of the area, placed farther in from the border at Tepequalquilco. This last post was heavily garrisoned. To it was brought all tribute from that part of the empire, to be carried to the capital. Similar units of such major and minor forts and stations were located in many other areas.²⁶ In the light of such impressive evidence of a well planned protective system throughout the empire, Bandelier's denial of the existence of garrisons appears to be a serious error.

In support of his proposition that the democratic nature of Aztec society would be revealed by examining the concepts of the people with regard to military matters, Bandelier states that the people, not the king (as had been reported), owned and stored the weapons. He offered no authority in this case except his own opinion.²⁷ If, however, we consult Gomara, who had his information from Cortes,

²⁶ Barlow, op. cit., 18-21, et passim.

²⁷ "Warfare", 104.

or Sahagun, who relied for his facts on the words of his native informants, we find that there is considerable evidence that the warrior's military equipment actually was in the possession of the king. Gomara says, "Montezuma had many arsenals....There were quantities of all of the types of arms which they used...."²⁸ And Sahagun tells us that when the lord decided to go to war, he ordered that the weapons be brought to him from the storehouses so that he might arm the warriors for battle.²⁹ Such 16th century testimony of the control of the king over weapons, the most necessary property of a warlike population, would have endangered the Bandelier thesis and was therefore not mentioned.

Bandelier advanced his belief that the numerous arsenals which were reported to have been placed throughout the city of Tenochtitlan were the communal storehouses where the warriors of the various tribal subdivisions kept their own weapons. It was necessary for Bandelier to emphasize the great number of these arsenals if he allowed one to every subdivision. In presenting evidence in this matter he made a curious slip: he quoted Herrera to the effect that "he had not one but many houses for the keeping and storage of arms."³⁰ Whether Bandelier forgot for the minute that

²⁸ Gomara, op. cit. (1943), I, 226.

²⁹ Sahagun, op. cit., II, 315.

³⁰ "Warfare", 103, n. 30.

he was disproving royal ownership of arsenals or whether he trusted that the reader would not be curious about who "he" was, it is impossible to say. Reference to the passage in Herrera reveals that "he" was Montezuma; among this monarch's possessions were "not one but many houses...."³¹ Bandelier's technique of lifting phrases to support his propositions was in this instance so carelessly executed as to defeat his purpose.

The unadvanced and primitive way in which the Aztec warrior made use of his simple weapons was offered by Bandelier as evidence of the uncivilized state of the ancient Mexicans. The warrior's most important offensive weapons were missiles, Bandelier stated. This could be inferred, he said, from the "general mode of Indian warfare", the objective of the Indian soldier being to inflict damage on the enemy from as great a distance as was possible.³² Bandelier's parallelistic beliefs about the similarity of the behavior of all Indians led him astray at this point. For, as Thompson has pointed out, the Aztec warrior preferred to fight at close quarters: his purpose was not to kill but to capture!³³ A determination to fit the Mexican soldier into Morgan's pattern of a barbarian has caused Bandelier at this point to forget that the

³¹ Herrera, Historia, dec. II, bk. VII, ch. XI.

³² "Warfare", 105.

³³ Thompson, Mexico Before Cortés, 122.

unique and elemental motive of the Aztec at war was the fanatical urge to procure the sacrificial victim.

Bandelier's newly acquired skill in interpretation of Nahuatl terms was brought to play as he introduced further evidence of the primitive state of the Aztec soldier. The warrior carried loose darts in his hand as he went into battle, Bandelier asserted. The Spaniards had reported that these darts were sent at the enemy by using the atlatl. This was a mistake, Bandelier said, for Molina gave the meaning of "atlatl" as "amiente" which translates into English as "a chin strap for a helmet"; the atlatl could not therefore have been a war implement.³⁴ Bandelier placed great faith in his ability to correct the Spanish version of the features of Aztec life by means of his knowledge of Nahuatl. His performance in this case throws some doubt on his other interpretations undertaken in the same manner.

The relative inefficiency of another common Aztec weapon was introduced by Bandelier as further evidence in his case against possible Mexican civilization. The macana, or stone-bladed sword pictured frequently in the codices, was only effective for the first blow or two, Bandelier stated. The blade quickly broke off, he explained, leaving the weapon no other usefulness than as a club.³⁵

³⁴ Ibid., 105, n. 37.

³⁵ Bandelier, "Warfare", 107.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

REPORT OF THE
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TO THE
DIRECTOR

FOR THE
YEAR 1900

BY
J. H. ...

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Bandelier's derogation of the macana is hardly warranted by the accounts of the Spanish soldiers who received its blows or saw what it could do; among these was Bernal Diaz who reported that it had a better cutting edge than the steel swords of the Spaniards.³⁶

Bandelier discussed the manner in which the warrior defended himself in battle as further evidence of an unadvanced stage of development. Though each man had a shield with which to protect himself, Bandelier stated, there were no guards whose duty it was to protect others. Reports of such units in the accounts of Durán and other 16th century historians were incorrect; such an implication of specialization would indicate "greater progress of the military art among the Mexicans than we may safely allow."³⁷ Bandelier quoted Durán's statement about the various units of warriors, the fighters and guards for the bowmen, who came in canoes to the battle at Tequitlatenco, but he explained that this division of the forces was an impromptu measure which was adopted for that battle only. He failed to appreciate the significance of Durán's eulogistic description of the skillful way in which the guards could turn an oncoming arrow off their shields in such a way as to return it at the enemy.³⁸ In placing more faith in Morgan than in Durán, Bandelier here missed a

³⁶ Thompson, op. cit., 121.

³⁷ "Warfare", 109.

³⁸ Loc. cit., n. 56; Durán, op. cit., I, 121.

valuable testament to an interesting specialization, and to the great proficiency of the specialist.

The structure of army organization, especially its leadership, was examined by Bandelier for evidences of the democracy which he sought to reveal for the whole society. He offered proof that the highest military authority was not the monarch but, as could be expected in non-political organization, a supreme council of chiefs. The existence of this council among the Aztecs was indicated, Bandelier said, by the fact that there were councils among their neighbors. From an account in Bernal Díaz's True History Bandelier learned that twenty great lords and other companions were always with Montezuma in his captivity. These men, Bandelier said, were "probably" the members of the supreme council.³⁹ We do not deny that a council existed, nor that it was with the king at all times. For Sahagún relates that four lords were elected immediately after the election of a king to be with him always and to assist him with difficult decisions.⁴⁰ But the evidence presented by Bandelier,--councils elsewhere and the fact that twenty or more great lords remained with their formerly powerful and much adored leader during his incarceration,--seems tenuous as proof of the existence of a supreme council

³⁹ "Warfare", 127, n. 125.

⁴⁰ Sahagún, op. cit., II, 321-322.

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"which proves the Mexicans to have been not subject to the despotic rule of a monarch . . ."

Bandelier cited Acosta as evidence to prove that the council was superior to the king in authority. The Historia Natural contained information, which Bandelier quoted, about four titularies to whom the king was required to look for direction in settling the affairs of the tribe.⁴¹ This passage begins, however with the statement, "Below the king in rank were the four prince-electors ... usually the brothers or close relatives of the king." Their official names are given, then the quotation which Bandelier used.⁴² It is obvious that the entire passage could not have been presented by Bandelier as evidence for a democratic feature in Aztec society. When a king is so fortunate as to be required to account only to his brothers or cousins below him in rank, the people can be expected to exercise very little control over their affairs.

Bandelier's proposition that the council had the sole right to make the most important decision in military matters,--the decision to declare war,--was advanced to show that as chief military officer the "king" did not have despotic powers. As evidence in this matter he cited, but did not present, a statement by Gomara which deals with

⁴¹ "Warfare", 127, n. 127.

⁴² Acosta, op. cit., II, 215-216.

the wars of the Aztecs.⁴³ By consulting Gómara's account we find that the author of the Conquista de México explained that when the lord decided to go to war he first informed the people (pueblo) of his intention so that all might offer advice, particularly the old women, who remembered wars in the past.⁴⁴ This might be construed as evidence of a democratic feeling between king and people in regard to the initiation of a war, but is perverted by Bandelier to prove that the "elected council" made the decision to declare war. A passage in Sahagún, which was not offered as evidence by Bandelier, has further definite information on the inauguration of a war against another city. Sahagún says that when the lord decided that it was necessary to go to battle he first took his soldiers into his confidence. Spies were then sent out to obtain information about the enemy. When they returned with their data in picture writing, then the war captains were consulted, and the weapons were brought to the lord.⁴⁵ Bandelier himself, it will be remembered, had previously stated that the king initiated the war against Chalco. In presenting his evidence in the matter of the council's right to make the decision to go to war Bandelier has perverted Gómara's statement, suppressed information from Sahagún, and forgotten that he previously presented evidence that the lord made the decision to go to war.

⁴³ Ibid., 129, n. 133.

⁴⁴ Gómara, op. cit. (1943), II, 253.

⁴⁵ Sahagún, op. cit., II, 315.

Bandelier premised that no office, no dignity was transmitted by inheritance in Mexico.⁴⁶ Thereupon he strengthened his case against the reported despotism of Montezuma II and the preceding rulers by presenting evidence which would prove that these rulers (being considered in their roles as military heads) had been democratically chosen as head warchiefs solely because of bravery in past battles and indications of ability as leaders in future campaigns. Bandelier gave Sahagun as his principal witness in this matter. The passage which he quoted from Sahagun deals with the election of a new lord by groups who represent the people. Sahagun's list of qualifications for the new lord is headed by the requirement that he be one of the most noble descendants of the line of past kings.⁴⁷ Bandelier explained that this meant he must belong to a certain descendancy.⁴⁸ If Bandelier had presented some record of the practice in the matter of choosing the "ruler" in Mexico, his case for even the democratic election from a relatively large group of related men would not have stood. For he could not have failed to show that Montezuma II was the son of Axayacatl, who was the grandson of Montezuma I; and Montezuma I was the grandson of Acamapichtli, the first

⁴⁶ "Warfare", 116-117.

⁴⁷ Sahagun, op. cit., II, 321.

⁴⁸ "Warfare", 123.

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regularly elected king of the Aztecs.⁴⁹ This makes it apparent that the people's choice for "ruler" or "head war chief" was probably even more limited than Sahagun represented it to be; it was apparently restricted to brother, nephew, or son of the old lord.⁵⁰ Given the small list of possible candidates whose descent from Acamapichtli in direct line made them eligible, the electors had the privilege of choosing a man from this restricted number whose qualifications appeared to them to be the most perfect for a ruler. As in other instances Bandelier in this case preferred to interpret some piece of evidence to mean that Morgan's views were correct, rather than to accept and to present the clearly established truths from a majority of sources.

The successful head military chief of a war-minded tribe might develop into a despot, Bandelier stated, but in the case of the Aztec "ruler" this could not happen. Bandelier offered evidence to prove that the people could depose any officer whose conduct displeased them. He cited the case of Montezuma II who was replaced in office by Cuitlahuac.⁵¹ Again Bandelier chose to establish Morgan's law

⁴⁹ See the lineages of the rulers of the important lake cities in Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico. Further information can be gained from Seler, "Mexican Picture Writings", in Mexican Antiquities, 166; Chavero Mexico a traves de los siglos, I, 647; Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, 203, et passim; and from many other sources.

⁵⁰ Duran says "hermano, hijo, o primo hermano" (Duran, Historia, I, 125).

⁵¹ "Warfare", 123-124.

of democratic procedure (derived from the Iroquois situation) with facts which have otherwise obvious explanations. In this case Montezuma, being a prisoner of the Spaniards, could no longer direct the activities of the Mexicans; it was only natural that they chose another leader.

A further check on the exercise of despotic power, Bandelier explained, was the presence in the government of a civil chief, the Cihuacoatl, who had equal power with the head war chief. This moved the Mexicans more perfectly in line with Morgan's Iroquois, who, Bandelier said, have two principal war chiefs.⁵² By presenting Montezuma as war leader and the Cihuacoatl as civil chief, Bandelier realized that he put himself in a dangerous position with regard to the specialization of activity which he would not allow in the case of the guards for the archers. He extricated himself from this dilemma by explaining that the Cihuacoatl could alternate with Montezuma as war leader.

Except for his statement that the Cihuacoatl had equal power with the king and was a civil (sometimes military) chief, Bandelier did not discuss the mysterious Snake Woman further in his article on warfare, except to say that the Cihuacoatl was, like the king, elected. His thesis for Aztec democracy would, of course, not permit that any evidence be presented which might indicate that the "ruler" had the power to appoint any person to any office. Such a privilege

⁵² Ibid., 124, n. 108.

would have enabled the head war-chief to place favorites and relatives in key positions and thus build a governmental mechanism for the control of Mexico. Bandelier made it clear then that this "viceroys" to the head war-chief received his office from the people. His authority for this assertion was Tezozomoc, but he cited neither chapter nor page.⁵³ The Crónica Mexicana is found to contain one passage which might have given Bandelier some foundation for his belief in the election of the Cihuacoatl. At the death of Cihuacoatl-Tlacaeltzin, Tezozomoc says, "They put his son in his place."⁵⁴ But the Duran version of the story is more detailed. Duran recounts that when Tlacaeltzin was dying, the king, Ahuitzotl, in the presence of the great lords of the empire, bestowed the dignity of Cihuacoatl on the oldest son of Tlacaeltzin.⁵⁵ This account dispels any notion of election by the people in the case of the son of Tlacaeltzin. Nor had Tlacaeltzin himself been elected by the people. For as Chavero points out, evidence from the Codex Ramirez and other sources shows that the office of Cihuacoatl as a political feature was established by Montezuma I for Tlacaeltzin.⁵⁶ Nor is there valid reason to suppose that the office became elective after the time of Tlacaeltzin's son.

⁵³ Loc. cit., n. 108.

⁵⁴ Tezozomoc, op. cit., I, 379.

⁵⁵ Durán, op. cit., I, 381.

⁵⁶ Chavero, México a través de los siglos, I, 647-648.

This would have been in the time of Montezuma II who was not noted for a tendency to relax the royal prerogative of his ancestors into the hands of the people. Bandelier's assertion that the Cihuacoatl was elected appears to have been unfounded by fact.

His other brief statements regarding the functions of the Cihuacoatl appear equally untenable. Though the history of the office cannot be distinguished clearly as yet, there is evidence to indicate that the Cihuacoatl was never a check on royal authority. This can best be determined by reviewing what is known of the life of Tlacaelel, who held the office through the reigns of several rulers. Before the office was created for him, he was already the head priest of the goddess Cihuacoatl, by inheritance from his grandfather Acamapichtli; and also the head war captain, Tlacochealcatl, by award for valor as a warrior, from Montezuma's predecessor, Izcoatl. These factors confuse the picture of his later activity as Cihuacoatl. Some accounts suggest that he continued to be a priest, since he referred to this class as "my brothers"; yet he was not celibate for his son succeeded to his office. He was diplomat, for he handled all the most difficult and dangerous missions of the kings; he was leading warrior, for he is pictured in the codices with the same battle dress as the king; he was the apex of the judicial hierarchy, for Torquemada says there was no appeal

This would have been in the time of Constantine II who was not noted for a tendency to reject the royal prerogative of his ancestors from the hands of the people. Nevertheless, a tradition that the Cinnamoni was elected appears to have been maintained by fact.

His other brief statements regarding the functions of the Cinnamoni appear equally unreliable. Though the history of the office cannot be distinguished clearly as yet, there is evidence to indicate that the Cinnamoni was never a check on royal authority. This can best be determined by reviewing what is known of the life of Theodoros, who held the office through the reigns of several rulers. Before the office was created for him, he was already the head priest of the goddess Cinnamoni, by inheritance from his father (Cinnamoni), and also the head war captain, Theodoros, by name for value as a warrior, from Theodoros's predecessor. These facts confirm the picture of his later activity as Cinnamoni. Some accounts suggest that he continued to be a priest, since he referred to this class as "my brothers"; yet he was not satisfied for his own advancement in the office. He was eloquent, for he handled all the most difficult and dangerous business of the king; he was leading warrior, for he is pictured in the colossus with the same battle dress as the king; he was the spokesman of the judicial hierarchy, for Theodoros says there was no appeal.

from his decisions:⁵⁷ He was the friend and companion of the otherwise unapproachable and austere Aztec kings, for their speeches to him are affectionate and begin with "Cihuacoatl, how does this seem to you?". In all of his functions, however, Chavero thinks that the Cihuacoatl in no way interfered with the authority of the king. The kings with whom Tlacaehlel was associated would never have permitted a threat to their absolute sway.⁵⁸

There can be no doubt that Bandelier was familiar with the life of Cihuacoatl-Tlacaehlel. The sources which Bandelier used are full of accounts of the "Viceroy". By wielding these accounts to form Cihuacoatl into the counterpart of the second Iroquois war chief Bandelier was forced to use a great deal of interpretative ingenuity.

After presenting his proof for the democratic character of high military leadership, Bandelier offered to show that the army proper,--the soldiers and their immediate superiors,--functioned also in egalitarian fashion. The soldiers trained and came to battle in major units; each unit derived from its own subdivision of the tribe, called the "quarter" or "calpulli".⁵⁹ Bandelier gave

⁵⁷ Torquemada, Monarchía Indiana (1943), II, 350.

⁵⁸ Chavero, op. cit., 648.

⁵⁹ "Warfare", 115.

Torquemada as his authority for the division of the town into quarters or calpulli. He quoted the passage from Torquemada in Spanish in a footnote. It translates thus: "...each town should have parcialidades (sections) of many people and families...These sections were divided into calpules which are barrios (parishes, wards) and it followed that a section had three, four, or many calpules...."⁶⁰ It is difficult to see how Bandelier extracted his main "quarters (calpulli)" from this passage. He had previously offered quotations in his footnotes which damaged his argument in some particular point. But the calpulli was supremely important to him for he intended to show that it was a clan, the organizational unit of Aztec society, the intrinsically democratic cell of a democratic body. It is possible that he had realized the importance of the "quarter" motif in the Mexican organization pattern and had hoped to associate it firmly with the "relationship" concept which he believed he could prove for the calpulli. His failure to establish the quarters as calpulli is indicated by consulting a recent monograph on the calpulli by Arturo Monzon who gives a division of the town which agrees with Torquemada. Monzon's divisions descend thus: town into four sections; sections into several calpulli; calpulli into smaller districts, and so forth.⁶¹ It is not the intention of the author of this

⁶⁰ Loc. cit., n. 77.

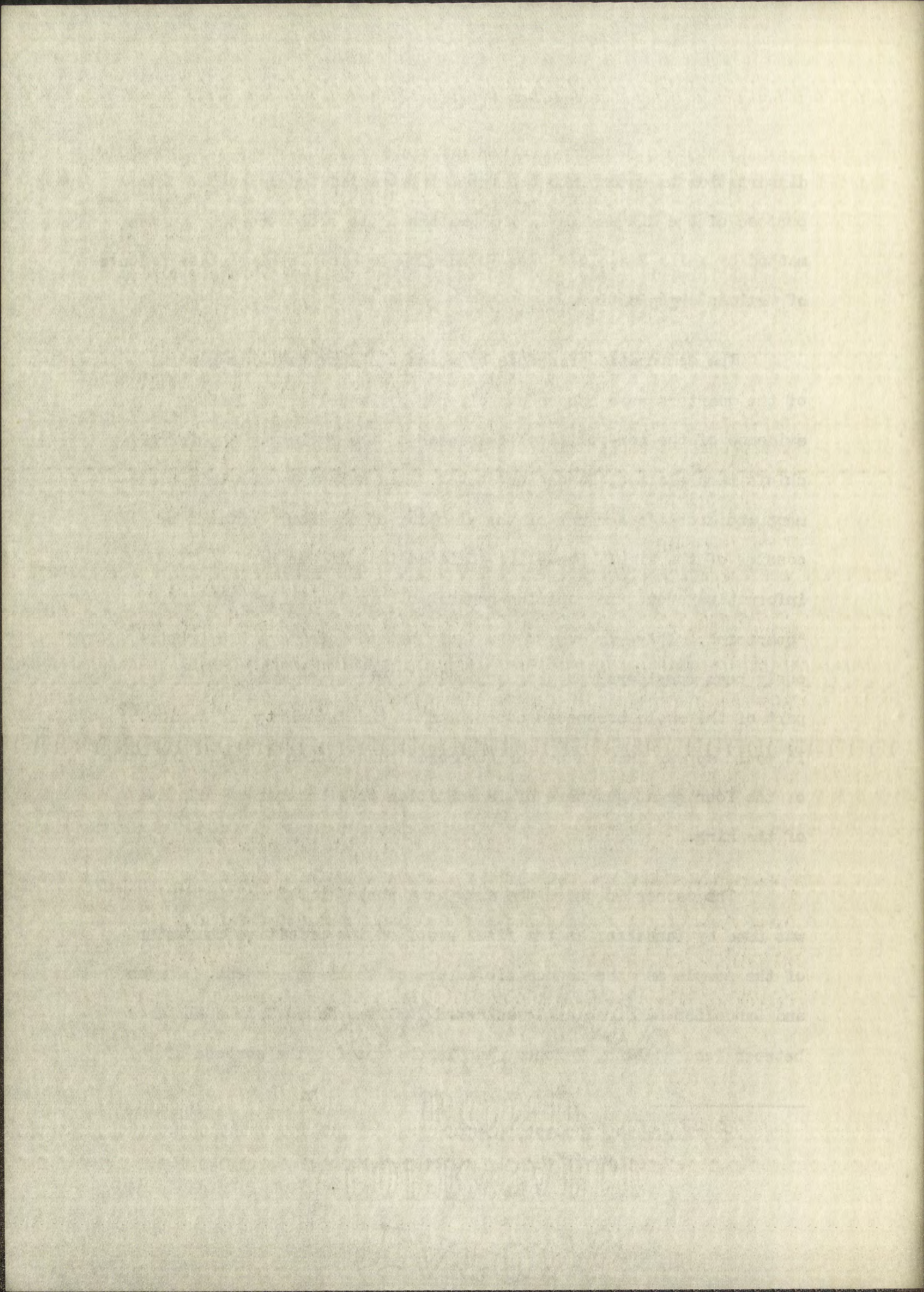
⁶¹ Arturo Monzon, El calpulli en la organizaci3n social de los Tenocha (Mexico, 1949).

dissertation to enter into the vexed question of the calpulli. The purpose of the discussion in this matter is to call attention to the method by which Bandelier gave foundation to his most important feature of Mexican organization.

The democratic principle by which the four captains-general of the quarters were chosen was offered by Bandelier as further evidence of the non-political character of the society. The four chiefs were elected, Bandelier stated. His authority for this statement was Acosta's account of the election of the four brothers or cousins of the king! Bandelier admitted that it was hard to find information about the captains-general of his "socially" organized "quarters". This was due to the fact that the quarters had erroneously been considered as geographical divisions, he said, which was part of the whole erroneous conception of the feudality of Mexico.⁶² It would appear that Bandelier furthered this notion by assigning each of the four great quarters of Tenochtitlan to a brother or relative of the king.

The manner in which the army as a whole functioned in war was used by Bandelier as the final proof of the primitive character of the people and the democratic nature of their government. Morgan and Bandelier had frequently asserted that the famed Triple Alliance between Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tacuba was for the purpose of

⁶² "Warfare", 120-121, n. 99.



conquest only. It could have been expected that Bandelier would at this time discuss the nature of this war association. He was unready to do so, he said, but stated that the two other cities were under the military leadership of Mexico. This he proved by the assertion that when Cortes moved in from the coast toward the lake he heard nothing about the other cities but a great deal about the power of the Mexicans. Other evidence in this matter was drawn from Zorita, who says that the combined armies of the confederates were always commanded by Mexican chiefs.⁶³ Bandelier's reason for his discussion of warfare among the Aztecs, it will be remembered, was to show that the ideas which prevailed with regard to war revealed the nature of Mexican thought in all matters. But the evidence which he took from Cortes and Zorita, instead of confirming the thesis of a loose confederacy of the three lake cities for conquest only, would appear to prove the existence of a more centralized form of organization the influence of which was felt from city to the coast.

The independence and democracy of the tribes could be seen by their procedure in marching to a battle, Bandelier said. In placing the various divisions of the army by tribes, Bandelier made the astonishing statement that "the Mexicans were mostly in the rear".⁶⁴ Whether he intended to imply that they assumed this position in order

⁶³ Ibid., 132-133.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 134.

to drive their subjects and allies into the battle or whether he used this means to suggest that the Aztecs were not such valiant warriors, as had been reported, is not clear. He gives no authority for his remark.

By consulting Sahagún we get a different view of the armies on the march. The order of going to war was this, Sahagún says: on the first day the priests with the idols set forth; on the second day the captains and the bravest soldiers started; the third day the Mexican army began to march, followed in succession by the forces of Texcoco, Tacuba, and, finally, the subject provinces. When all of the forces were gathered at the battle ground they waited until the priests gave the sign, then the battle began.⁶⁵

The events which took place at the end of a successful campaign by the confederated armies yielded valuable facts, so Bandelier thought, to disprove the supposed monarchical empire of Mexico. He took note of the fact that a source frequently used by proponents of the view that Tenochtitlan had subjected and held large portions of the center of present-day Mexico was the record of victories over conquered tribes by Mexico and her allies. These "victories" were the successful termination of one short skirmish between the Mexicans and enemy towns, and they in no way indicated that Mexico had added

⁶⁵ Sahagún, op. cit., II, 316.

REPORT

to the Board of Directors of the Company, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the matter of the proposed extension of the term of the lease of the land on which the building is situated. I have also received the letter of the 12th inst. from the same source, and in reply to inform you that the Board of Directors has considered the matter and has decided to grant the extension of the term of the lease for a period of five years, from the 1st day of January, 1901, to the 31st day of December, 1905. This decision is based upon the fact that the building is a valuable asset of the Company, and it is deemed advisable to allow the lessee to continue to occupy the same for the purpose of completing the same. The Board of Directors also decided to grant the lessee the option to purchase the land at the expiration of the term of the lease, at a price to be determined by the Board of Directors. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst. in relation to the matter of the proposed extension of the term of the lease of the land on which the building is situated. I have also received the letter of the 17th inst. from the same source, and in reply to inform you that the Board of Directors has considered the matter and has decided to grant the extension of the term of the lease for a period of five years, from the 1st day of January, 1901, to the 31st day of December, 1905. This decision is based upon the fact that the building is a valuable asset of the Company, and it is deemed advisable to allow the lessee to continue to occupy the same for the purpose of completing the same. The Board of Directors also decided to grant the lessee the option to purchase the land at the expiration of the term of the lease, at a price to be determined by the Board of Directors. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th inst. in relation to the matter of the proposed extension of the term of the lease of the land on which the building is situated. I have also received the letter of the 22nd inst. from the same source, and in reply to inform you that the Board of Directors has considered the matter and has decided to grant the extension of the term of the lease for a period of five years, from the 1st day of January, 1901, to the 31st day of December, 1905. This decision is based upon the fact that the building is a valuable asset of the Company, and it is deemed advisable to allow the lessee to continue to occupy the same for the purpose of completing the same. The Board of Directors also decided to grant the lessee the option to purchase the land at the expiration of the term of the lease, at a price to be determined by the Board of Directors.

Very respectfully,
J. H. Smith, Secretary

the town to her empire, for the towns were always left in complete independence.⁶⁶ But he gave no proof of this assertion and ignored evidence to the contrary.

Sahagun's version of the end of the battle is different: Having pacified the province, the lords established the tribute for the conquered people; and then they elected governors and officials who should preside in the province, not from among the natives but from among those who had conquered them.⁶⁷ The letters of Cortes, we have noted, record that governors from Mexico fled from certain towns leaving the town free to reinstate their own lord. Mendieta's Historia ecclesiastica says that the subject towns had governors and tribute collectors, Mexican aristocrats who were sent by Montezuma to maintain justice, collect tribute, and prevent rebellion.⁶⁸ The town reports edited by Paso Troncoso in Papeles de Nueva Espana frequently mention Mexican governors, judges, army units, and corps of tribute collectors who were sent out to live in subjected towns. Paso Troncoso has identified many of these towns in the Codex Mendoza, which records the amount of tribute, the king by whom the town was conquered, and when it was brought into the Mexican system.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ "Warfare", 141.

⁶⁷ Mendieta, op. cit., 152.

⁶⁸ Sahagun, op. cit., II, 317.

⁶⁹ P N E, IV, 45, 58; V, 9, 85; VI, 276, 123, 205.

Bandelier's statement that the conquered towns were left in independence is questionable in the light of so much evidence to the contrary.

The final war effort of the Aztecs, Bandelier stated, revealed their primitive stage of development and the democratic character of the whole population. From the record of the seige of Mexico he drew evidence to culminate his proof in this matter. Their unadvanced way of fighting, the inefficiency of the weapons, the failure of other independent cities to come to their aid, all indicated that they were uncivilized Indians who could not expect to hold out against the Spanish soldiers. Despite these disadvantages in the final combat with Cortes's armies, they resisted for several weeks. But the fierce and tenacious quality of this resistance merely proved to Bandelier's satisfaction that they were democratic: no king could have inspired in them such devotion to their city.

It is worthy of note, however, that Bandelier's account of the seige has little to say about Cuauhtemoc for whom the Aztecs had almost fanatical loyalty, according to many reports. It was Cuauhtemoc who directed Aztec resistance with the Cihuacoatl in actual command of the native troops, and the long and stubborn resistance of the Aztecs might be attributed to good leadership as well as to the individual valor of the Indian fighting for his fellows, as Bandelier believed. Moreover, Cortes informed Charles V that only

when Cuauhtemoc was captured did the Mexicans surrender?⁷⁰

⁷⁰ MacHutt, Letters of Cortés to Charles V, II, 125.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY

Morgan's law that American Indians could not be classed as civilized because of the lack of certain technological developments among the tribes in the Western hemisphere prompted Bandelier to defend his friend's thesis in the case of the Aztecs.

This was a two-fold assignment: first, he was forced to destroy the picture that had been painted by the Spaniards and had been accepted as the truth since the time of the conquest; second, in eliminating the old view he attempted to establish the "true" nature of the society of the ancient Mexicans.

The accomplishment of the first of his two objectives was achieved by means of denying the correctness of the Spanish accounts, twisting them to fit his purpose whenever possible or ignoring them when it was not. To assist him with the second of his projects he drew frequently from Morgan's information for the Iroquois and the other tribes in northeastern United States.

His results were made known in the three papers on ancient Mexico. In his article on warfare, his opening attack in defense of Morgan's theory, he examined the Mexican "nation" at war,—to him its most important occupation. At the conclusion of the paper he stated that his examination of the Mexican people, the army leaders,

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the soldiers, and the method of fighting both Indian and Spanish adversaries, indicated to him that with regard to war, there had never been any other governmental concept in Mexico except democracy.

In the paper on land tenure he developed his proof in another line: by searching through the record of land holding custom in Mexico, both in pre-Cortes and later years, for evidence to prove that it was never considered suitable or desirable for the individual to hold land. Information which he obtained in this matter allowed him to state that there was no notion of such private ownership and he announced that feudalism, therefore, never existed.

With regard to this conclusion, we pause for a brief discussion of Bandelier's ideas on ownership of land by the village lord. His denial of lordly estates, together with his proof that all land was held communally, form the theme which actually holds his articles together. In "Warfare" he introduced his foundation unit for holding land, the calpulli; in "Land Tenure" he invested the calpulli with all of the productive land in the tribe's territory; and in "Social Organization" he revealed that the use of the land was intimately connected with the governmental activities of the tribe. For example, Bandelier pointed out that when a tribal member was elected to chieftainship, his duties in this office made it impossible for him to do his own farming. The assistance given him by others in doing his farming for him, had been construed by the Spaniards as the duty of a vassal to work his lord's estate: This

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the office of the Secretary of the Navy, and who have been assigned to the various divisions of the office.

1. The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. J. D. Long.

2. The Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Mr. J. D. Long.

3. The Chief Clerk, Mr. J. D. Long.

4. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Affairs, Mr. J. D. Long.

5. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Construction, Mr. J. D. Long.

6. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Ordnance, Mr. J. D. Long.

7. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Mr. J. D. Long.

8. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Supplies, Mr. J. D. Long.

9. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Training, Mr. J. D. Long.

10. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Medicine, Mr. J. D. Long.

11. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Engineering, Mr. J. D. Long.

12. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Architecture, Mr. J. D. Long.

13. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Hydrography, Mr. J. D. Long.

14. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Meteorology, Mr. J. D. Long.

15. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Astronomy, Mr. J. D. Long.

16. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Geodesy, Mr. J. D. Long.

17. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Cartography, Mr. J. D. Long.

18. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Navigation, Mr. J. D. Long.

19. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Communication, Mr. J. D. Long.

20. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Transportation, Mr. J. D. Long.

21. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Maintenance, Mr. J. D. Long.

22. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Repair, Mr. J. D. Long.

23. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Salvage, Mr. J. D. Long.

24. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Investigation, Mr. J. D. Long.

25. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Intelligence, Mr. J. D. Long.

26. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Security, Mr. J. D. Long.

27. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Defense, Mr. J. D. Long.

28. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Offense, Mr. J. D. Long.

29. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Diplomacy, Mr. J. D. Long.

30. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Economy, Mr. J. D. Long.

31. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Efficiency, Mr. J. D. Long.

32. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Effectiveness, Mr. J. D. Long.

33. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Endurance, Mr. J. D. Long.

34. The Chief of the Bureau of Naval Energy, Mr. J. D. Long.

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erroneous view, Bandelier thought, had caused the Spaniards to describe Mexico as a feudal state.

Bandelier's proposition that land was held communally, and never in abstract ownership by an individual, would not allow that a feudal system could have existed. Nor would Bandelier admit that such a system could possibly have been evolving. But from certain archival materials and other sources which were not available to Bandelier we now have evidence to prove that there was good foundation for the Spanish view on feudal estates in Mexico. And by examining evidence from several areas it is possible to make out different "degrees of ownership" of land by the cacique, which suggest possible evolutionary steps toward the feudalism in full medieval sense which Kroeber saw in Meso-America. In the Tzapotec country there was apparently no notion of private ownership of land, for even the feudal minded Spaniards have nothing to say about manorial estates in this area.¹ But in a land suit for a town in Oaxaca there is an extensive description of the lands belonging to the lordship of the village, with the suggestion that whatever lord is cacique, enjoys the possession of these lands:² A land suit from Tula deals with a dispute between the people and the natural lord of the town, a son of

¹ Oscar Schrieder, The Settlements of Tzapotec and Nije Indians (University of California Publications in Geography, IV, (1930), 21.

² A G N, Tierras, Exp. 6.

Montezuma II, over land which the lord claims as private property but which the people said was not his but theirs.³ And in Tecomastlahuaca, in the Mixtec area, there is indisputable evidence to prove the existence of at least one great manorial estate on which there were villages and land renters. The codex which accompanied the papers in a suit involving this estate shows that the estate had been so constituted for at least six generations before the conquest.⁴ Bandelier's denial of the feudal estate and the evolutionary tendency toward the possible foundation of such a system is thus open to the judgment that he formed his opinions before all of the evidence was examined.

Having disposed of the "despotic king" by his examination of the Aztecs at war, and the "feudal lord" by testing the lord's right to land, Bandelier offered to prove by a scrutiny of Aztec organization itself, that Mexico was completely democratic. He looked for evidences of the presence among the Aztecs of clans, which to him and Morgan were the organizational units of other tribes in the same stage of development with the Mexicans. Within the clan the relatives could be expected to be equal and would not seek to enrich themselves with possessions or power, but would instead think only of the welfare of each member and the entire clan. When he found evidence that the

³ A G N, Civil, V, 1988.

⁴ Schmieder, op. cit., 20.

calpulli was such a clan, he stated triumphantly at the end of his article on social organization in Mexico that he had achieved his aim,--he had proved that Mexico was a "military democracy, originally based on communism in living."

His methods in obtaining evidence and proving points in all of his articles were the same, except that after "Warfare" he drew proof whenever necessary from points which he had already established. As an illustration, in "Land Tenure" (page 423), he quoted Clavijero to the effect that the land was divided according to the number of quarters in a town, and each quarter had its own land thereafter. The quarters, Bandelier explained were calpullis. It followed in Bandelier's reasoning that the calpulli, the democratic clan, held the land.

On the other hand, in the second and third papers he corrected (unconsciously) certain decisive statements which he had made in "Warfare". Thus, in "Land Tenure" (page 422) he asserted that the Mexicans did maintain military outposts on the borders of the tribal area, the reason being that Mexico grew overpopulated but since it was impossible for them to go to live in other communities due to the fact that their kinships would not fuse with those of strangers, some of the Aztecs had to go out to live in military outposts.

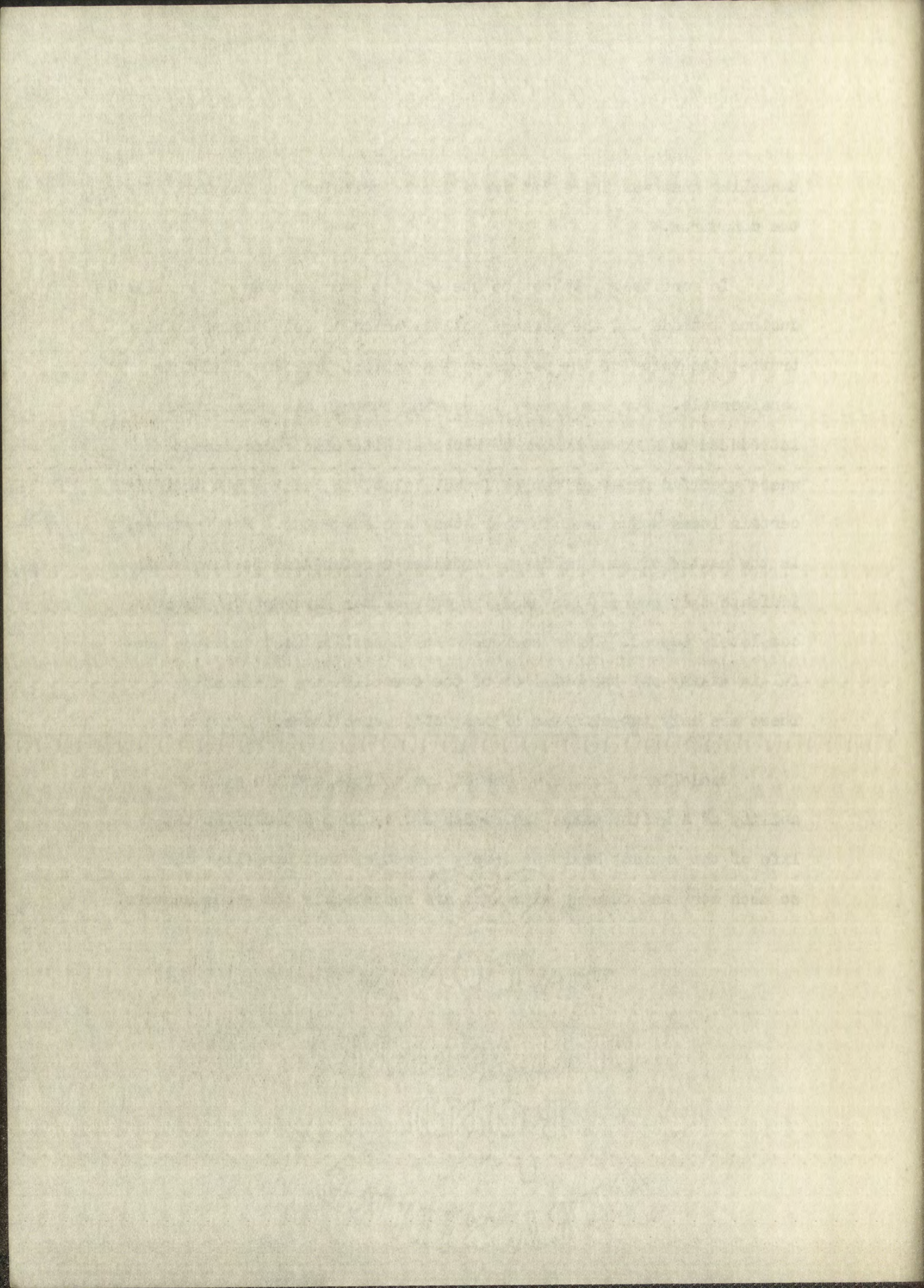
A variation of a technique which he had employed "tellingly" in "Warfare" allowed him in "Social Organization" (page 634), to explain that while Cortes did not mention a certain feature which



Bandelier knew was there "it was a simple omission" on the part of the conqueror.

In conclusion, it can be stated that even in view of Bandelier's dubious methods and the strange notions which he established as his truths, the value of the papers on the ancient Mexicans is not inconsiderable. For one thing, in seeking through his pages one is introduced to a great number of sources, with page references to where specific material can be found. Also, in reading his articles, certain items which need further study are suggested. For instance, in the matter of land holding, Bandelier's references to Torquemada indicate that sources for study in this matter have not yet been completely tapped. Other sources which Bandelier used would be useful in making out the outlines of the councils more distinctly. These are only two examples of many other such items.

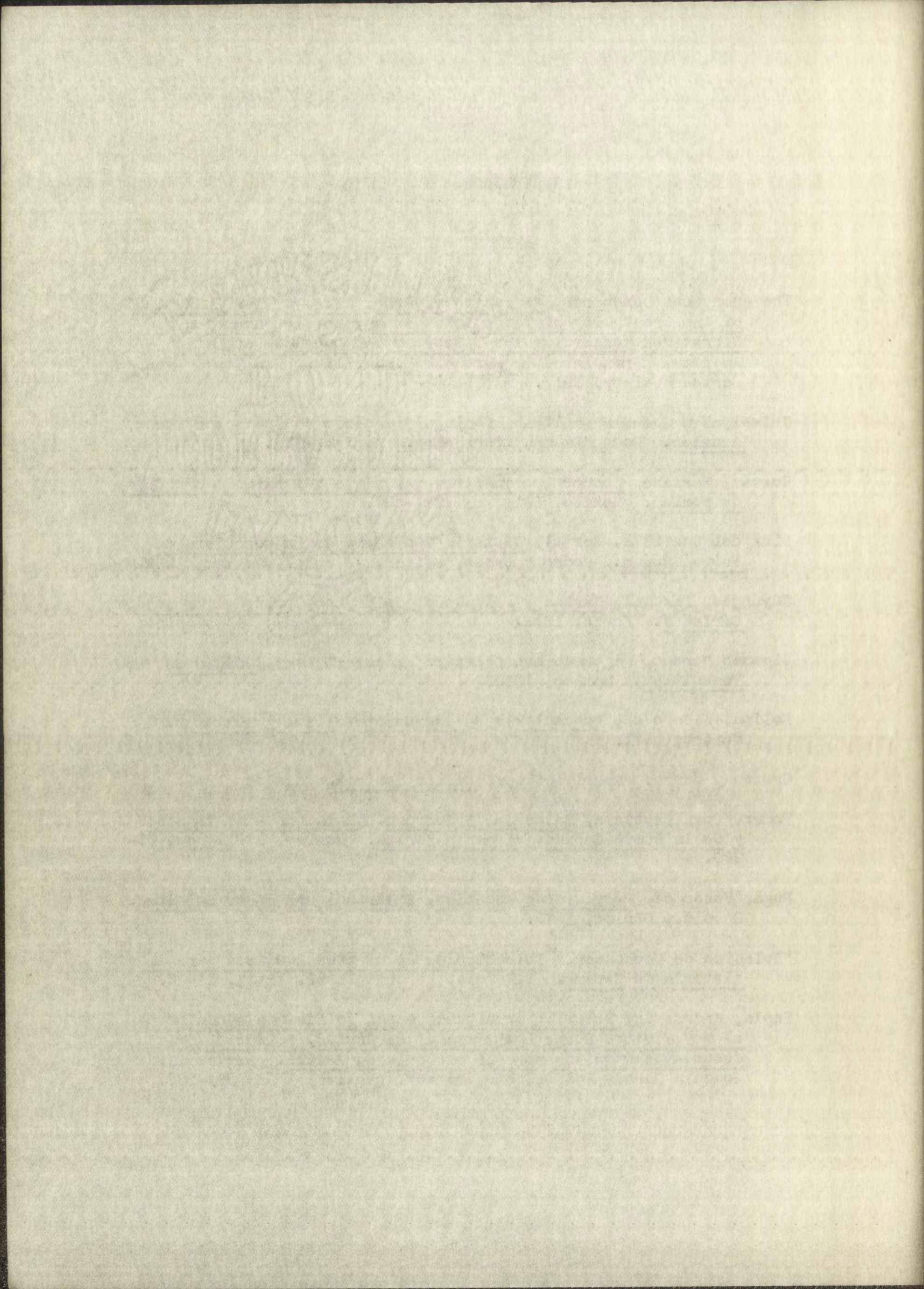
Bandelier's extensive use of the sources and his evident ability as a writer makes the reader of his long articles on the life of the ancient Mexicans deeply regretful that Bandelier did so much work and came up with what are undoubtedly the wrong answers.



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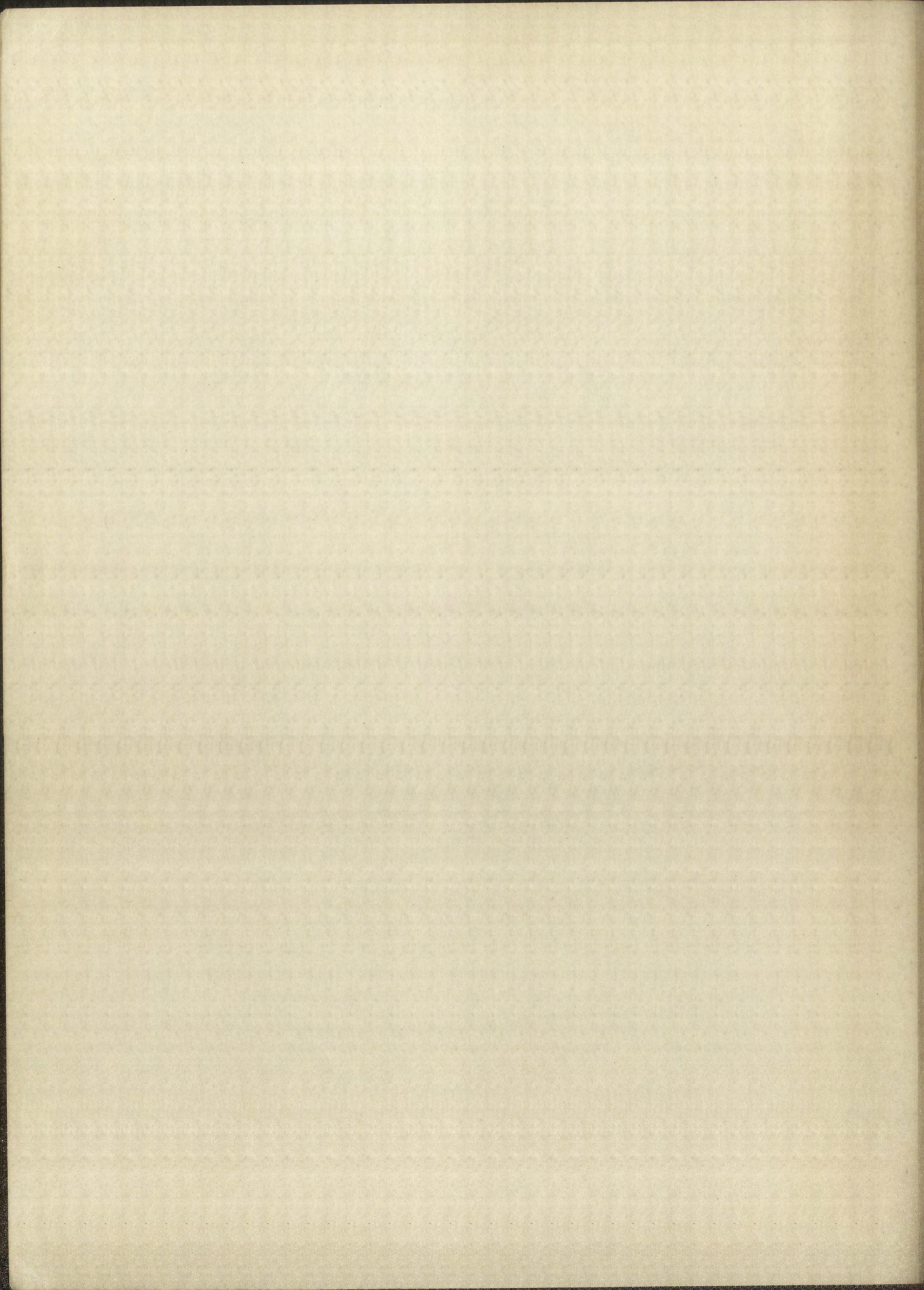
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D.T.



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