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ADOLPHE F. A. BANDELIER

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
ADOLPHE FRANCIS ALPHONSE BANDELIER

By F. W. HODGE

THE subject of this sketch, who laid the foundation for research in the archaeology and early history of the Southwest more than half a century ago, was born in Bern, Switzerland, August 6, 1840, and died in Sevilla, Spain, March 18, 1914. His early formal education was very slight, and he never attended school after his eighth year. He was brought to the United States as a boy by his father, who had been an officer in the Swiss army and who settled at Highland, Illinois, where he engaged in banking. In 1857 his father sent him to Bern, where he studied geology under Professor Studer of Bern University. On his return to Illinois the young man was associated with his father in banking and mining enterprises; but he soon learned that the humdrum life of a man of affairs was not to his liking, consequently, always being a student, he turned his attention to ethnology and archaeology, thus following the footsteps of his two distinguished countrymen, Albert Gallatin and Albert S. Gatschet, pioneers in elucidating the problems of Indian languages, and reflecting in his studies the direct and lasting influence of Lewis Henry Morgan, "Father of American Ethnology," of whom Bandelier has been characterized as the "most militant advocate and defender," and to whom he was fond of referring as his "revered teacher."

From his youth Bandelier engaged in the study of the early history and ethnology of Latin America, and when only twenty-three years of age showed his familiarity with the literature of these subjects in letters to Morgan. In 1877 he widened his knowledge by extensive travel in Mexico and Central America, a part of the product of which was the publication of papers from 1877 to 1879 on the ethnology of the ancient Mexicans. These influenced the Executive Committee of the newly-organized Archæological In-

stitute of America to appoint him to conduct special researches in New Mexico and to refer to him as "marked by sound judgment and correct methods of historical interpretation," and to have "shown a minute and familiar acquaintance with the existing sources of information concerning the conditions of the native races at the time of the Spanish Conquest." Continuing, the Committee said: "Thoroughly equipped in this respect and possessing a knowledge of several European languages, and a fondness for linguistic studies which qualified him for the ready acquisition of native dialects, he has also the advantage of an enthusiastic devotion to his favorite studies, a readiness to endure any hardship in their pursuit, and a capacity for adapting himself to any necessity."

Proceeding to New Mexico in 1880, Bandelier's first attention was devoted to the ruins of the pueblo of Pecos, the results of which were published in 1881 (second edition, 1883) in connection with an "Historical Introduction."

From Pecos, Bandelier extended his researches to the Keres pueblo of Cochití, where he remained two months on terms of such familiarity and inspiring such confidence that he was adopted into tribal membership. "My relations with the Indians of this pueblo," he wrote, "are very friendly. Sharing their food, their hardships, and their pleasures, simple as they are, a mutual attachment has formed itself, which grows into sincere affection. They begin to treat me as one of their own, and to exhibit toward me that spirit of fraternity which prevails among them in their communism. Of course they have squabbles among themselves, which often reveal to me some new features of their organization; but on the whole they are the best people the sun shines upon." This sojourn at Cochití was the beginning of several which brought to the observer a keen insight into the life and customs of these villagers, and which, with similar observations among the Tewa, especially at San Juan, finally resulted in "The Delight Makers," published in German early in 1890 and in English that same year. This novel of

early Pueblo life, shrouded under a title that affords little clue to its contents, did not meet the appreciation it deserved until years later, when much greater interest was taken in the Pueblo Indian tribes, making necessary a second edition in 1916 and a reprint two years later. It was Bandelier's belief that only by presenting the results of ethnologic study in the guise of fiction would they be read by the layman.]

The opportunity being afforded the Archæological Institute of sending a representative to join in the researches of the Lorillard expedition to Mexico and Central America under Désiré Charnay, Bandelier temporarily suspended his New Mexico investigations, and in February, 1881, proceeded to Mexico, only to find that Charnay had ceased operations and was about to return to France. Bandelier thereupon proceeded to Cholula, where he spent four months in studying its famous pyramid, the customs and beliefs of the native inhabitants, and especially those respecting the deity Quetzalcoatl, for whose worship Cholula was particularly celebrated. In June he visited Mitla, and later Tlacolula and Monte Alban, and after preparing a report on his Mexican observations, which was published in 1884 by the Archæological Institute under the title "An Archæological Tour in Mexico in 1881," returned to the United States in March, to resume his observations on the Pueblos and their remains, a report on which was issued by the Institute in 1883. Bandelier continued his studies along the same general lines from 1883 to the winter of 1886, meanwhile (in 1885) making Santa Fe his home in order to be in more immediate touch with the field of his observations. During these years he penetrated almost every corner of New Mexico, southern Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua, and explored the country even farther southward in Mexico, visiting and describing hundreds of ruins and surveying and mapping many of them. His travels throughout this vast area were almost exclusively afoot and frequently were fraught with danger. More than once he was beset by hostile Indians, including a band of Apache while on a raid, and on one of these occa-

sions his life was spared only because he simulated insanity. During one of his journeys he was afflicted with smallpox, and again, in 1882, had a narrow escape from death in a midwinter blizzard in the desert of eastern New Mexico, where his two companions perished, but his own hardihood enabled him to brave the storm and to reach safety after journeying 93 miles on horseback and 35 miles afoot through deep snow. So persistent was Bandelier in carrying out his plans of exploration and study, no matter what the personal risk, that several times he was reported to have been killed. He traveled armed only with a stick a meter long and graduated for measuring ruins, and relied on the meager hospitality of a pitifully unsettled and arid country for the means to keep body and soul together. Only by one who knows the difficulties of travel in the field of Bandelier's researches half a century ago, can the trials experienced by this earnest and enthusiastic student during the years of his labors be comprehended.

Limitation of space forbids at this time an extended review of Bandelier's investigations in our Southwest and in Mexico. But he who would may read the published accounts of this remarkable man's scholarly efforts, for during his most active years he wrote prolifically of the results of his studies. No small part of his ambition was to upset the popular theories respecting the history, archaeology, and ethnology of the great Southwest. To this end he destroyed the fanciful notions regarding the "Aztec" origin of various Pueblo ruins, the "Montezuma" myth among the Pueblos, the age of the city of Santa Fe, the mystery of Quivira and of the "Gran Quivira," the location of the Seven Cities of Cibola, the routes of various early Spanish explorers, and many other fallacious beliefs, and was the first to offer scientific evidence, based on his broad scholarship and remarkable ability in the utilization of source material, to settle once for all the varied problems concerning the condition and range of the Pueblo and other tribes before and after the beginning of the Spanish period. As to the enduring

value of Bandelier's work, the present writer, who has dabbled in a limited area of the same field, can confidently say that no study pertaining to the history of the tribes of our Southwest and of northern Mexico should be conducted without utilizing the product of Bandelier's researches as a foundation. His sane and acute sense of discrimination in interpreting the *intent* of early Spanish explorers and missionaries, his unequaled familiarity with the country, the sources of material, and the Indians themselves, and his remarkable power of analysis, have been the means of placing in the hands of present and future students the materials for more intensive work without which their tasks would be arduous indeed.

From time to time Bandelier prepared various accounts of the progress of his investigations in the Southwest, which were incorporated chiefly in the annual reports of the Archæological Institute, although several valuable papers appeared in various periodicals, while some of his knowledge was embodied in brief articles contributed to the "Century Cyclopedia of Names" and, more recently, to "The Catholic Encyclopedia." What may be regarded as his magnum opus, however, is the "Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885," Part I of which was issued by the Archæological Institute in 1890, and Part II in 1892. Of equal importance, from the historical point of view, is his "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States," published also by the Archæological Institute in 1890, partly at the expense of Mrs. Mary Hemenway.

Although the two investigators had been working along related lines in the same field for about three years, Bandelier and Cushing did not meet until 1883, but from the moment of their contact at the Pueblo of Zuñi, where Cushing, in the prosecution of his studies, was then leading the life of an Indian, a warm friendship sprang up which ceased only with Cushing's death in 1900. In Bandelier's judg-

ment the only way in which ethnological researches can be conducted successfully is by long and intimate life among the people to be studied, in the manner then being pursued by Cushing. In Bandelier's estimation Cushing was the only American ethnologist who ever "saw beneath the surface" of the Indians, who was able to think as the Indian thought. In the words of Bandelier, written in 1888, "the value of Mr. Cushing's results does not lie so much in establishing a direct connection between such and such tribes; it establishes a *method of research* unknown heretofore,—one which leads to connections as well as to discriminations hitherto unnoticed."

With mutual appreciation of their respective endeavors, there is little wonder that, when in 1886 the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition was organized under the patronage of the late Mrs. Mary Hemenway, of Boston, and under the directorship of Cushing, Bandelier was selected as its historiographer. During the next three years he applied himself assiduously to a study of the Spanish archives relating to the Southwest, not only in Santa Fe, but in the City of Mexico and elsewhere. On the termination of the Hemenway Expedition in July, 1889, Bandelier's collection of copies of documents, together with a few originals, comprising in all about 350 titles, was deposited in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.¹ In 1887-88 he prepared, in French, an elaborate manuscript history of 1,400 pages, illustrated with 400 water-color sketches, of the colonization and the missions of Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico, and Arizona, to the year 1700, at the instance of Archbishop Salpointe, who offered it to Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of the Pontiff's jubilee, and it now reposes in the Vatican.

In July, 1892, Bandelier went to Peru to engage in archæological and historical researches under the patronage

1. See The Bandelier Collection of Copies of Documents Relating to the History of New Mexico and Arizona. *Report of the U. S. Commission to the Columbian Exposition at Madrid, 1892-93*, pp. 304-326, Washington, 1895.

of the late Henry Villard of New York; these were prosecuted under Mr. Villard's patronage until April, 1894, when the important collections which had been gathered were given to the American Museum of Natural History, and the investigations were continued by and for that institution, Bandelier's field of operations being now shifted to Bolivia. Meanwhile, soon after their arrival in Peru, Mrs. Bandelier died, and in December, 1893, at Lima, our explorer married Fanny Ritter, an estimable and charming woman, who, by reason of her linguistic training, her appreciation of the problems to the elucidation of which her husband was devoting the remainder of his life, and the breadth of her intellect, was a helpmate in every sense to the day of his death. In Bolivia Bandelier and his wife visited the ruins of Tiahuanacu, where many valuable collections were obtained and the structural details of the ruins studied and platted. Returning to La Paz the couple explored the slopes of Illimani, where, at an altitude of 13,000 feet, other valuable collections were gathered from the ruins and burial cists. In December of the same year Mr. and Mrs. Bandelier visited the island of Titicaca, where three and a half months were spent in archaeological and ethnological investigations; subsequently similar important work was conducted on the island of Koati.

Bandelier returned to the United States from South America in 1903, when he became officially connected with the American Museum of Natural History and undertook the task of recording his South American work for publication. He was also given a lectureship in Spanish American Literature in its connection with ethnology and archæology, in Columbia University in 1904. In 1906 he resigned from the American Museum and accepted an appointment with the Hispanic Society of America, under the auspices of which he prepared and published several contributions to South American history and archaeology. During a period of about three years, from 1909 to 1911, Bandelier suffered practically total blindness from cataract, but he continued

his work, with the aid of his wife, who now became eyes and hands to him. During this period of darkness the most important of his writings on South American history and archaeology, "The Islands of Titicaca and Koati" (New York, 1910), was published by the Hispanic Society.

In October, 1911, Bandelier was appointed research associate in the Carnegie Institution of Washington for the purpose of enabling him to complete his studies of the Spanish documentary history of the Pueblo Indians, under a grant to extend for a period of three years. Proceeding to the City of Mexico, he was there engaged for several months, aided by his wife, in transcribing early documents pertaining to the subject of his investigation. He returned to the United States in 1913, and in the autumn of that year sailed for Spain for the purpose of continuing his researches in the archives of Madrid, Sevilla, and Simancas. In these investigations he was engaged at the time of his death.

In personality Bandelier was as simple as a child; he detested sham and charlatanry, was immovable in his friendship, and was an implacable enemy; he was the soul of generosity and hospitality, and was often saved from his troubles (which at times, owing to an extremely sensitive nature, he was wont to exaggerate) through a remarkably effulgent humor. Modesty was one of his strongest characteristics; he abhorred notoriety, and rarely spoke of his personal achievements or of the dangers to which he had often been exposed during his work, except to a few intimates. He cordially disliked titles, and especially that of "Professor"; when thus addressed he is known to have said, "I *profess* nothing—if you would attach a handle to my name, let it be 'Mister.'" And when he was addressed as "Doctor," his reaction most likely would be, "Don't 'doctor' me; I'm in perfectly good health, thank you!" He equally detested to hear his name pronounced in any but the French way. He was sometimes hypercritical, as when he referred to H. H. Bancroft as "the great wholesale book manufactory



BANDELIER AT THE CHURCH (since destroyed) IN SANTO DOMINGO PUEBLO

at San Francisco who threatens the world with another senseless, brainless compilation"; but this was long before the extreme usefulness of Bancroft's great work became widely recognized.

The value of Bandelier's scientific work has already been inadequately appraised in this all too brief sketch of the life and activities of the eminent scholar. There can be no question that the product of his untiring mind during a period of nearly forty years will stand the test of time, although Bandelier himself, with characteristic modesty, once expressed the fear that the results of his Southwestern labors, at least, might not eventually prove to be worthy of his efforts. Those who knew Bandelier and the importance of his researches will agree fully with the expression of a companion in the South American field and a long-time friend:

"Fully conscious of the results of his absolute thoroughness of work, he was averse to notoriety; he cared only for the verdict of the Scientific world—and even for that, not enough to pursue it. He was a man essentially modest. Had he not been, he would have been blazoned throughout the world, as far less eminent scholars have been. As it is, his monument is his work, and the love and reverence of those who knew him and his achievements. . . His extraordinary intuition was balanced by a judicial quality no less rare, which characterizes not only his own writings but his own estimate of his own work. His tireless and conclusive investigations upset many theories, and made him a target of much controversy, of which much was not of the same temperate and equitable quality. His work throughout is distinguished no less by its deep and definitive learning, than by the moderation, gentleness, and justice with which he disposed of theories and statements advanced with less honest revision."²

2. Charles F. Lummis in *El Palacio*, Santa Fe, N. Mex., April-May, 1914.

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In the half-title the first paper is called "Part I," for the reason that the author (p. 29) hoped "to continue this 'Historical Introduction,' in the shape of a discussion of the various expeditions into New Mexico, and from it to other points north-west and north-east, up to the year 1605." Part II was not published, but its announced content was incorporated in Bandelier's subsequent papers, notably the *Contributions*, the *Final Report*, and the *Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos*. The *Historical Introduction*, which is dated "Santa Fé, N. M., Sept. 19, 1880," includes pp. 1-29, followed by a note on "The Gran Quivira" from the notes of U. S. Deputy Surveyor Willison on file in the U. S. Surveyor General's office at Santa Fe, pp. (30)-(33). Part II of the volume, the half-title of which reads "II. A visit to the aboriginal ruins in the valley of the Rio Pecos," is dated "Santa Fé, Sept. 17, 1880," and is addressed "To Professor C. E. Norton, President of the Archæological Institute of America, Cambridge, Mass.,"; it comprises pp. (35)-133, followed by "Grant of 1689 to the pueblo of Pecos," pp. (134)-(135); 11 pl., 7 fig. Pl. xi, "Maps of country near Santa Fé," was obviously intended to accompany the *Historical Introduction*. A "second edition" of the entire volume (Boston: Published by Cupples, Upham, & Co. London: N. Trübner and Co. 1883) was issued.

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The work is expected to consist of four volumes; while not the entire product of Bandelier, this compilation is included herein because of the intimate part he took in initiating it.

[Certification regarding facsimiles of two war-god idols of San Juan pueblo, New Mexico, in the handwriting of Bandelier, who signs as one of the witnesses. Dated San Juan de los Caballeros, March 1, 1889.] *Indian Notes*, IV, no. 4, p. 397, New York, Oct., 1927. [81]

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[The journals of Adolph Bandelier, 1880-1914. I, The Southwest. II, Mexico. III, Peru and Bolivia. Edited by Fanny R. Bandelier.] [83]

The editing of Bandelier's journals, covering a period of thirty-four years, is in progress by his wife, with a view to their publication in three volumes by Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., with which Mrs. Bandelier is associated. The titles above given are only approximate.