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ABSTRACT

The Newberry Library, (Chicago, Illinois) lays claim to holding within the Edward E. Ayer collection the finest singler collection of books on the culture and history of native america. This paper discusses the mandates and challenges that confronted the Newberry staff when it mounted its quincentennial exhibition entitled, "American in 1492." Written by the exhibit's curator, the paper focuses on how the curatorial staff dealt with certain central facts; namely, that: (1) virtually all of the available materials were produced by Europeans; (2) the civilizations of America in 1492 all lacked printing while in many European countries printing was becoming widespread; and (3) most of these American civilizations lacked complex written records. Thus the task of the library was to mount an exhibit using primarily European print media--that offered a necessarily European perspective--to illustrate worlds lacking printed materials on the eve of the Columbian voyages. Their success in doing so is assessed, and the methodology employed by the curators in selecting among the available materials is outlined. Two hundred forty-three items became part of the actual exhibition. By category of medium they were as follows: 92 books, 8 manuscripts, 6 maps, 38 original flat art works, 44 pieces of reproduced art, 52 artifacts, 2 objects borrowed from private lenders, and 1 modern Pueblo D. m. About one-third of the items were made or interpreted primarily by native hands or voices. A checklist of items included in the exhibit is appended. (DB)

Using Books to Illustrate a World Without Them: Selecting Materials for the Newberry Library Exhibition, "America in 1492"

William R. Swagerty/University of Idaho

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There are many great research libraries in this country and abroad that house wonderful, often unparalleled collections on the history of the European reconnaissance and colonization of the Americas. In North America, The Newberry proudly stands along with the Huntington, the John Carter Brown, the Lilly, the New York Public Research Library, and the Bancroft as a premier institution whose librarians have diligently purchased or acquired the "essential" sources on European voyages of discovery, colonization efforts, and early relations with native peoples in the Western Hemisphere. The Newberry is fundamentally a five-storied granite edifice, inside of which millions of flat images on vellum, cloth, canvas, parchment, and paper are carefully stored and occasionally used by scholars seeking specific information on academic subjects. Although there is art and a few artifacts in the collection, the Newberry is primarily a collection of printed books, complemented with manuscript holdings and occasional objects retained as part of the intellectual baggage associated with a specific writer's work.

The Newberry rightly lays claim to holding within the Edward E. Ayer Collection the finest single corporate body of books on the culture and history of Native America. Ayer, a turn-of-the-century Chicago-based timber and freight magnate, collected art and

artifacts as well as books and manuscripts for his private library. Much of the art remains; the artifacts including native made rugs, pots, and baskets, do not, having been auctioned off or given to the Field Museum of Natural History.

Looking back in 1992 at the Euroamerican accomplishment in amassing this great collection of printed literature on Indian-America, two perspectives seem appropriate: first, what we now have available to us in institutions such as the Newberry is an impressive and numerically dazzling assemblage of over five hundred years of contact history between the two hemispheres. In a sense, it is symbolic of the European and Asian technological achievements made possible by the spread of cultures of literacy from across both the Atlantic and the Pacific into this hemisphere.

A second perspective and one that all ethnohistorians must raise in tackling any research question on the Indian experience, is this: how much of the material in hand at Newberry and other research libraries tells the Indian side of the "American" story? Where do we have native voice? Where has that voice been preserved? Where has it been distorted to fit non-Indian preconceptions, needs, or goals?

This takes us back to 1492. In that year, Europeans had been in the business of disseminating ideas and information by way of the printing press for less than forty years. In most urban centers

associated with the spread of Renaissance European culture, the art of the printer was both novelty and rarity even in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. By century's end, that had changed. Books were still rare, but they were increasing in number, in variety by language and subject, and in place of publication.

Columbus was, in fact, born in the age predating moveable type. Except for the clergy and a handful of humanist scholars and scribes, the average European in the 1450s lacked access to texts of any kind. Great libraries and archives within the Church housed the record of European thought and accomplishment--accumulations of histories, liturgies, laws, philosophy, and fables of mythical adventures or far away lands. These were preserved as manuscripts, often assembled into the form of the codex, a collection of sheets on vellum or parchment and increasingly on paper; folded and fastened together at the back or spine; and, usually enveloped by covers of leather or boards.[1]

By 1471, as Columbus turned twenty and left Genoa to begin his career as a professional navigator, fourteen European cities (including his native city) experimented with the adoption of Gutenberg's moveable type and reusable mould process--an invention soon to be shared and replicated throughout the Western European world. At the time of the explorer's death in 1506, some sixty towns in Italy alone had printing presses; France claimed over

forty printers' towns; Spain around twenty; and dozens of presses could be found in major German-speaking towns along the Danube, Ruhr, Elbe, and Rhine rivers as well as in Holland and Belgium. Clearly, the multiple-copy printed book was well on the road to acceptance as the most efficient and most effective way to record, reveal, and interpret the European experience--and that of all exotic peoples recently reported from other parts of the world.

And so, to vellum and skin, the printed page on paper was added as the medium of recording and disseminating ideas, making it possible for families like that of the Genoese gatekeeper Domenico Colombo to start a small family library. We do not have a complete inventory of his library nor that of his son, but we know that Columbus was possessor of books, charts, and maps representing both orthodox and rather radical geographical and cosmographical views of the globe.[2]

Columbus's library included Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly's Imago mundi, Pliny's Historia naturalis, Plutarch's Parallel Lives, Seneca's Tragedies, John Mandeville and Marco Polo's respective Travels, and, perhaps most important of all, the 1490 edition of Claudius Ptolemy's Cosmographia, whose map of the world did not include a western hemisphere giving Columbus his basic rationale for sailing west to reach the East. By twentieth century scholarly standards, Columbus had a very limited library and very few reliable sources. He had a few sea charts on vellum; a few pilots' rutters or

guides--each meticulously copied by hand; and, he had probably seen globes similar to that of Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, whose sphere, completed in 1492, represented the most advanced cartographic thinking of the day, assembled primarily from Portuguese sources.[3]

Together, these vellum, paper, and parchment objects provided pieces of "evidence" for his theory of reaching the Japans and China--a perspective fraught with geographical error, religious arrogance, and European ethnocentricity, the consequences of which we have been reassessing during the quincentenary of his first voyage.[4]

The Americas had their own thinkers and tinkerers; theoreticians and scholars; and, in some places, libraries and art studios for recording important information. In fact, by 1492, an art form quite similar to the European tradition of recording and illustrating with the codex had developed among at least thirteen cultural traditions within the broad culture area we have come to call Mesoamerica. While scholars are not in perfect agreement on how to classify these systems of writing, there is general consensus that the iconography of these systems that survived on stone, on ceramic vessels, as paintings on temple walls, and on skin, bark, or paper codices represents one of the highest intellectual achievements in the world before the Spanish invasion beginning in 1519.[5]

Unfortunately, most of the codices from pre-Columbian America did not survive. Some were destroyed by conquering native peoples as they consolidated their empires in the two centuries before 1500 A.D. Many others, especially those of the Aztec and the Maya, were confiscated and burned by Europeans during the conquests of Mexico, and the Yucatán in the sixteenth century. Ironically, many of our most important sources on native societies and history had to be reassembled and literally redrawn under the auspices of Catholic priests such as Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, who saw great value in preserving a native view of the American past. This did not stop the European printing press from replacing the Aztec or Maya codex, however. In Mexico beginning in 1535 and in Peru in 1584, presses began to churn out catechisms, grammars and dictionaries in native languages, and religious tracts to aid in the conversion of native peoples and ultimately to foster the consolidation of empires; a pattern to be repeated elsewhere as Europeans planted flags, plantations, and settlers throughout the world.

It is from those few presses in the Americas and their counterparts in Europe that the bulk of any library collection on the civilization of the Americas is derived, not native texts. Even had many of those texts not been destroyed, few cultures relative to the thousands living in the hemisphere at 1492 would be represented by Mesoamerican writing systems.

Thus, the curatorial challenge in assembling materials to interpret

America in 1492 became the task of identifying the best visual, textual, artistic, and artifactual materials that convey to viewers and readers the worlds of civilizations all lacking printing; most lacking complex iconographic records.

What follows is an assessment of how the staff of The Newberry Library's quincentennial exhibition, "America in 1492," used primarily European print media in an attempt to illustrate worlds lacking printed materials on the eve of the Columbian voyages.[6]

We had several mandates. First, our target audience was not to be Columbus scholars nor was this to be an exhibit on Columbus and the contact experience. Unlike other exhibitions funded by the National Endowment under the Quincentenary Initiative, our show focused on the diversity and the complexity of societies in the Americas before widespread European colonization. We had some contact materials and a "First Contact" Case with Columbus materials and several quotations from Columbus' journals, but these were not in the exhibit to assess the impact of contact; rather, they were used as a springboard for rethinking the Americas before and after the European invasion.[7] We included the Columbus letters as examples of the educational value in the earliest accounts of the Americas in printed literature.[8] We also included Father Bartolomé de Las Casas's transcription of the Columbus logbook to give some context for the difficulties that one faces in reconstructing events from documents that have gone through several

generations of editing and for which the originals are lost.[9]

The target audience for the accompanying trade book, America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples Before the Arrival of Columbus[10] and for the exhibit labels has been a general, literate audience: advanced secondary students and above; not Indian history specialists or college-level instructors of American history, Native American Studies, or Latin America. That stated, this turned out to be a didactic exhibit with a heavy textual burden on viewers. One could spend a few minutes or several hours reading labels. We wanted to give as much context as possible to those seriously interested in a specific item or theme, but we tried to avoid intimidating the casual reader.

When we first began searching for the best items to fit our thematic sections, we selected about an equal number of texts lacking illustrations as those with pictures or images. In the end, choices were made favoring illustrations over text in most cases. The average viewer is simply not interested in reading Spanish, Latin, or even English text through dimly lit, refracted light under plexiglass. That was a hard reality to accept, but it became a guiding principle as we finalized our lists.

Another problem that had to be addressed was the use of modern editions, facsimiles, and very recently published books. With so many first editions of the earliest contact literature available to

us, it was often tempting to select items for their role in the historiography of Euroamerican reporting on the Americas. But that would have been inconsistent with our main purpose, which was not to show off what the Newberry possesses in rare books and manuscripts, but to educate students and to interpret the meaning of America in 1492. Some Newberry treasures certainly graced the cases, but the uniqueness of an item was a secondary, not a primary consideration for its inclusion.

Some one-of-a-kinds were obvious choices for the show. Examples here include the manuscript of the "Popol Vuh," the "Sacred Council Book" of the Maya, and the only extant copy in Quiché and in Spanish that survived beyond the seventeenth century.[11] The manuscript map on amatl (fig bark) of the city of Teotihuacán, which has a very vague provenance, but is considered by several experts to be authentic and datable to the late sixteenth century or earlier constitutes another example.[12] The Hernán Cortés Praeclara of 1524, with the only extant hand colored copy of the woodcut map of Tenochtitlán, thought by some to have been based directly on information given to Cortes by Montezuma before the latter's execution, is a third example.[13]

We almost did not use two manuscripts that might seem obvious choices for exhibition: Had both Father Antonio de la Ascensión and Father Silvestre Escalante's manuscript diaries not served important thematic purposes in describing band-level societies of

Baja California and the Great Basin (respectively), they would not have been in the show, even though they are two of the most important pieces of Americana owned by The Newberry.[14] Ascensión is, in fact, the earliest manuscript diary of exploration in the Americas in the collection. Recommending to readers missionary accounts is itself problematic without providing context for the bias inherent in the source. We assumed intelligence on the part of the viewer in this case without lecturing.

At the opposite extreme of these manuscripts, we decided to use reproduced art, as long as that art derived from a printed item shown somewhere in the exhibit. Therefore, although Newberry owns no original John White watercolors from his experiences in the 1580s among the Roanoke Indians, we do show the original 1964 edition of John White's drawings assembled by Paul Hulton and David Quinn in the music section.[15] Elsewhere, we used other sketches as photo-facsimiles to visually highlight a wall. The same was true of the Tupinamba family included in Jean de Léry's 1578 History of Brazil;[16] and, our source of the exhibition's logo, the seventeenth century Peruvian chronicler, Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose 1615 manuscript is housed in the Royal Museum in Copenhagen, but whose book in various twentieth century editions is part of the Newberry holdings.[17] One notable exception here was our inclusion of two reproductions of watercolors by Christophe Weiditz of an Aztec man and woman, completed in 1529 while these Native peoples were on tour in Europe. These are unparalleled views and are poorly

reproduced in the printed literature. The originals are in a library in Nuremberg.[18]

In the books and in the reproduced art, with the exception of a large photograph of what remains of Teotihuacán today (reproduced from an important book on Mesoamerica's ancient cities),[19] we intentionally avoided photographic illustrations, preferring woodcuts, engravings, lithographs, and original art. This, we felt, helped us avoid the pitfall of implying that Indian societies (like all cultures) have not changed across five hundred years. It also obviated the need to qualify nineteenth and twentieth century material culture included in modern photographs.

Our initial strategy in selecting items was admittedly rather scattershot. We established a preliminary "wish list" for items in the permanent collections of the Field Museum of Natural History. John Aubrey, the assistant curator, and I share the view that European-generated books and manuscripts alone can not impart to the viewer enough of the material and spiritual essence of Native America without items wrought by Indians themselves. We immediately eliminated many objects known to have been taken from graves and restricted our request for cemetery-associated artifacts to those pre-dating 800 A.D. A Nazca textile and two Peruvian copper ceremonial axes qualify under this category.[20] We asked for several items that were denied by Field Museum officers on the basis of the Native American Freedom of Religion Act or because

recognized native groups have asked that these items not be displayed or loaned for study or display.[21]

To help us select objects and books, we invited several consultants to the Newberry, asking each to provide us with a list of the "top ten or fifteen" books or manuscript items they would use for their area of specialization. With these lists in hand, we photographed around 300 possible book openings, reproductions, or manuscripts and around 85 possible loan items from the Field Museum. From these, 243 items became part of the actual exhibition. By category of mediums, they break down as follows:

Ninety-two books, including a few duplicates such as (a) Theodore De Bry's India Occidentalis with the redrawn engravings based upon John White's watercolors and Jacques LeMoyne de Morgue's sketches from Florida;[22] (b) Samuel de Champlain's narrative of exploration along the St. Lawrence[23] and Antoine Simon LePage du Pratz's History of Louisiana (1758).[24]

Eight manuscripts, including two original codices in the intertribal warfare case ("Mapa de Sigueza" and the "Codex Cempoallan").[25]

Six maps, including John Wesley Powell's important "Linguistic Stocks of American Indians North of Mexico" (1891)[26] and three newly drawn to show items for which no printed maps would do.[27]

Thirty-eight original flat art works including several from George Catlin's 1844 Portfolio and his 1852 Souvenirs[28]; Karl Bodmer's Illustrations accompanying Maximilian's Travels, also released in 1844[29]; and, seven colored lithographic plates from Frederick Catherwood's Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and the Yucatan (a portfolio designed to supplement a travelogue by the lawyer-scholar, John Lloyd Stephens, and ready for distribution in that seemingly-popular year of 1844).[30]

Forty-four pieces of reproduced art, including all items on the reading rails and murals on the walls were destributed in the two halls.

Fifty-two "artifacts" from the Field Museum which ranged from three very small gold items in the "Trade Goods" case to a miniature Southern Cheyenne tipi collected by James Mooney in 1904, to the largest case in the exhibit--Transportation--which had a full-scale Cree toboggan, as well as snowshoes and four miniature boats.[31]

Two objects borrowed from private lenders.[32]

And, a modern Pueblo Drum made in 1991 by Steve Herrera for the exhibition; blessed and played at the exhibit's openings on January 17-18.[33]

Total: 243 items.

How many of these convey native voices without the filter of a European illustrator or interpreter? If, for a moment, we eliminate the artifacts, we are left with three books out of the ninety-two that really qualify as "native voice" complete with illustrations by the author. These are the Badianus Manuscript, an Aztec herbal produced in 1552 by two Aztec scholars but not published until 1940[34]; Guaman Poma de Ayala, Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, not published in full until 1936; recently reissued in Mexico City in 1980 with scholarly commentary by John Murra and Rowena Adorno[35]; and, a book by a Christianized Greenlandic Eskimo named "Aaron," who provided his own woodcuts for a three-volume set published between 1859 and 1861.[36]

Five of the eight manuscripts also qualify:

1. Teotihuacan Map
2. Mapa de Siguenza
3. Codex Cempoallan
4. Popol Vuh
5. Don Domingo de San Anton Munon Chimalpahin Quauhtelhuantzin, La Conquista de Mexico, a revised version of Francisco López de Gómara's history of 1552 by a native scholar, completed around 1740, some eighty years after Chimalpahin's death and now known as the Browning Manuscript (after the family that recently donated it to The Newberry).[37]

Eight Facsimiles of Codices, including

Kingsborough (Codex Mendoza)[38]

Sahagún, Codex Florentine[39]

Codex Dresdensis[40]

Codex Bodley[41]

Codex Borgia[42]

Matricula de Tributos[43]

Eight pieces of native art including:

Original works by Awa Tsireh (Alfonso Roybal) and Richard Martinez.[44]

Reproductions of Chumash rock art from caves near Santa Barbara.[45]

Maya temple wall frescoes at Chichén Itzá showing life during the seventh or eighth century at that important ceremonial and trading complex in the Yucatán.[46]

If we add the Field Museum artifacts to these "flat pieces," we have a total of 78 items, or around one-third of the total exhibition--made or interpreted primarily by native hands or voices.

Of these objects, only two Hopi pots, an Inca quipu, two Aztec spindle whorls, and possibly a stone effigy jar from The Dalles Trade Center along the Columbia River in Oregon, approximate the dateline of 1492. Our other objects fall on either side of that benchmark in two large clusterings:[47]

Several Moche vessels from Peru,[48] along with the aforementioned Nazca textile and the copper ceremonial blades from Ancón, Peru date no later than A.D. 800. Three gold items from Colombia, Costa Rica, and Chile illustrating levels of accomplishment in metallurgy and precicus trade items have no dates, nor does a Mexican serpentine mask, but they are pre 1492 in style and in technique of manufacture.[49]

A California obsidian blade and two stone celts from the Bahamas are probably pre-Columbian, although documentation on both is inadequate.[50]

We skip at least two and possibly three centuries before we have other artifacts. A very special Nootka Whaling Chief's hat is in the style of eighteenth century hats sketched, described, and collected by James Cook and Alejandro Malaspina in the 1780s and 1790s but not collected until 1905 during the Newcombe Expedition sent by the Field Museum to British Columbia.[51] Hopi turquoise ear ornaments used in our "Trade Objects" case and a carved wooden halibut fishing hook in our "Fishing Systems" case could also be eighteenth century.[52] All other items were probably made in the second half of the nineteenth century or during the first two decades of the twentieth, most having been acquired by the Field Museum in the first thirty years of the museum's existence (1893-1923). Documentation on most items is very sparse and is very disappointing for historians seeking clear chronologies and

correlates with ethnographic descriptions. Many have no date; others the date of acquisition without any reference to association or source. What seemed most important to early registrars was merely who collected the item, when collected, and the material of construction.

As for the books: We have two from the fifteenth century (Columbus letters); seventeen from the sixteenth century; twelve from the seventeenth century; fourteen from the eighteenth century; twenty-six from the nineteenth century; and, seventeen from the twentieth century, of which eight are facsimiles of codices dating to the seventeenth century or earlier.

For all flat media on display, including art but excluding artifacts, a breakdown of the exhibit by criteria of primary goal of the reporter in question reveals the following:

Twenty-five non-Indian artists are represented; Twelve priests or clergy (3 Protestant; 9 Catholic); Seven printers/publishers such as Theodore DeBry and Richard Hakluyt; Twenty-two natural scientists or scholars whose work was published before 1900 are represented; seventeen from the 20th century. Twenty-nine individuals are associated with military expeditions or they can be considered official agents for their respective governments. Fifteen travelers/tourists are represented; Twelve explorers--including Columbus, James Cook, Lewis and Clark; Samuel Hearne,

Samuel Champlain, and Alejandro Malaspina (many of these are crossovers into other categories).

Finally, if we list those native peoples who emerge in the exhibit as persons (identified by their names), we have twenty-eight people. By name and culture, they are:

Eight Deer Tiger Claw (Mixtec)

Nezhualpilli (Aztec from Texcoco)

Little Crow (Sioux)

Quoniambec (Tamoio-Tupi)

Chin-Cha-Pee (Assiniboin)

Wingina (Coastal Algonquian)

Pitatapiu (Assiniboin)

Eeh-nis-kim (Blackfeet)

Titu Cusi Yupangui (Inca)

"Aaron" (Greenlandic Eskimo)

Martin de la Cruz and Juannes Badianus (Aztec)

Awa Tsireh (San Ildefonso Pueblo)

Richard Martinez (San Ildefonso Pueblo)

Guaman Poma de Ayala (Inca)

Moctezuma (Aztec)

Manco Capac (Inca)

Big Bow (Kiowa)

Maquina and daughter, Izto-coti-clemot (Nootka)

Caliccum (Nootka)

Great Sun and Great Serpent (Natchez)

Peter Garcia and Cipriano Garcia (San Juan Pueblo)

Carpio Trujillo (San Juan Pueblo)

Eelapuash (Crow)

Steve Herrera (Cochití Pueblo)

A final area where "native voice" was incorporated was through the medium of sound, often neglected in library exhibitions. In one gallery we used the music of San Juan Pueblo composers, drummers, and singers Peter Garcia and Carpio Trujillo, who came to the library to bless the drum and to open the exhibit in January. Fittingly, they were part of the American Indian group that led the Bicentennial Parade in Washington in 1976. In the other gallery we chose a commercially-available cassette produced by Bob Haddad for his corporation, "Music of the World." The music is from the Andes and from Argentina and is played on traditional instruments. Bob Haddad reports that the group, Tahuantinsuyo, a New York City-based ensemble consisting Indian people from South America, plays instruments known to have been used during Inca times. One song, "Tarkeada," is still played by Indians in Bolivia today and is thought to be pre-Columbian in origin. Seventy-one percent of Bolivia's population is Indian, making it the largest per capita residence of Native Americans in the hemisphere 500 years after Columbus--a fitting connection between past and present.[53]

Notes:

1. On the chronology of European printing see W. Turner Berry and H. Edmund Poole, Annals of Printing: A Chronological Encyclopedia from the Earliest Times to 1950 (London: Blandford Press, 1966).

2. An excellent brief summary of Columbus's early life has recently been issued by the American Historical Association. See William D. Phillips, Jr., Before 1492: Christopher Columbus's Formative Years (Washington, D.C.: American Historical Association, 1992).

3. On cartographic materials available to Columbus and his generation see Kenneth Nebenzahl, Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990).

4. On Columbus' geographic world see Kenneth Nebenzahl, Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1990); Paolo Emilio Taviani, Christopher Columbus: The Grand Design (London: Orbis, 1985); and J. B. Harley, Maps and the Columbian Encounter (Milwaukee: The Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, 1990).

5. See Elizabeth P. Benson, ed., Mesoamerican Writing Systems (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 1973); H. B. Nicholson, ed., Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica (Los Angeles: U.C.L.A.. Latin American Center Publications, 1976).

The most exciting recent work is on the Maya, where scholars have recently deciphered glyphs on stelae revealing complex sentence structure complete with nouns, action verbs, and modifiers, not unlike Indo-European languages. Dr. Linda Shele and her students at the University of Texas and the father-son team of George and David Stuart of the National Geographic Society have been at the forefront of the new work on Maya writing systems.

6. The staff of "America in 1492" consisted of:
Frederick E. Hoxie, Project Director
William R. Swagerty, Curator
John S. Aubrey, Assistant Curator
Lawana Trout, Curriculum Unit Specialist
Joan Ten Hoor, Conservator
Carol Sue Whitehouse, Conservator
Robin Zurawski, Conservator
Ken Cain, Photography
Karen Kohn and Associates, Design
Meg Moss and Associates, Editing
Jay Miller, Project Manager
Holly Chenette, Administrative Assistant
Todd Tibutis, Research Assistant
Margaret Curtis, Office Management
Consultants:

Alfonso Ortiz, Raymond D. Fogelson, Charles Stanish, James VanStone, Raymond DeMallie, Jr., Robert Hall, & Ross Hassig.

7. Our quotations from the journals included: "In all these islands, I saw no great diversity in the appearance of the people or in their manners and language. On the contrary, they all understand one another, which is a very curious thing...". We used several modern editions of Columbus's writings and recommend Voyages of Columbus: Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus, including those contained in R. H. Major's "Select Letters of Christopher Columbus, trans. and ed. Cecil Jane. 2 vols. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1929, 1932).

8. Shortly after his return to Spain in 1493, Columbus made a public announcement of his discoveries by circulating an eight-page leaflet addressed to high public officials in the Kingdom of Aragon, with an intended audience of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella as well as all of Europe. The first edition, only one copy of which survives at the New York Public Library, was hastily printed in Spanish in Barcelona in the spring of 1493. A revised second edition in Latin and eight subsequent Latin editions were printed in Rome, Paris, Antwerp, and Basel within a year of the first. The Epistola, or Letter, was also sold as a poem, translated into Tuscan verse and reprinted five times during 1493. Seventeen editions (including ones in German and Italian) were published before 1501. The Columbus Letter was a best seller of its day; approximately 10,000 copies found their way into the homes and libraries of a semi-literate Europe within five years of the original announcement.

The three versions of the "Columbus Letter" used in the exhibition were: Cristoforo Colombo, Epistola Christofori Colom... (Rome, 1493); Carlo Verardi, De Insulis Nuper in Mari Indico Repertis Hispannia Regis... (Basel, 1494); and Giuliano Dati, La Lettera dell' Isole che ha trovato nuovamente il Re di Spagna. Poemetto in Ottava Rima (Bologna, 1873 [first issued in 1494]).

9. Bartolomé de las Casas, Diario de Colon: Libro de la Primera Navegacion y Descubrimiento de las Indias, transcribed by Carlos Sanz (Madrid, 1962).

10. Alvin Josephy, Jr., ed., America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples Before the Arrival of Columbus (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

The book has been issued in English, German, and French editions and may be released in additional languages.

11. Francisco Ximénez, Empiezan las Historias del Origen de los Indios de esta Provincia de Guatemala [Popol Vuh] (Manuscript in possession of The Newberry Library, c. 1700). Those seeking a modern edition in translation should consult Dennis Tedlock, trans. and ed., Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the

Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

12. Teotihuacán Map Fragment. Manuscript, ca. 1600.

Ancient Native Americans used maps to depict graphically their origins, histories, and current situations. In 1492, most maps were pictographic sketches drawn on any conceivable medium for religious and practical purposes. Most of these maps have not survived. A few, like this one, were completed on amatl, or fig bark, a tough fibrous material used by major civilizations in Mesoamerica.

The largest ceremonial and residential site built in the Americas before the European invasion was Teotihuacán, "the place where men become gods." Located forty-five miles northeast of Mexico City, the site covers over eight square miles and was occupied for a thousand years beginning around 300 B.C.

This map shows the major "Avenue of the Dead" with the Pyramid of the Sun, Pyramid of the Moon, and the "Citadel," as well as other temples, streets, and features.

13. Hernán Cortés, Praeclara Ferdinadi Cortesii de Nova maris Oceani Hyspania... (Nurember, 1524).

This colored woodcut shows the central city of Tenochtitlán as an island city in the middle of Lake Texcoco. It also has the Gulf of Mexico with major river systems flowing into the sea.

We used the map to make a strong point on urban life in the Americas at the time of European invasion and to demonstrate elaborate trading networks that converged at central marketplaces and trade centers throughout the hemisphere, especially in Mesoamerica.

14. Antonio de la Ascensión, Relación de la Jornada que hizo el General Sevastian Vizcayno al Descubrimiento de las Californias el Año de 1602. Manuscript, 1602.

This manuscript was written by a priest who accompanied Sebastián Vizcaíno on a voyage of reconnaissance along the California coast during the fall and winter of 1602-1603. Father Ascensión recorded his impressions of the coastal peoples he encountered, noting the linguistic and social diversity he witnessed. The account was published in a well-edited English translation by Henry R. Wagner through the California Historical Society in 1929.

Silvestre de Vélez de Escalante, Derretero y Diario... Manuscript, 1776-1777.

In this original Itinerary and Diary, written by a Fransican friar during an expedition from Santa Fe, New Mexico, many societies of the Great Basin were reported for the first time. Escalante recognized the importance of loosely knit "band" organization, whereby leaders at many levels assumed specific responsibility to locate food, build shelters, care for the sick and the aged, and protect and counsel the people.

15. Paul Hulton and David Beers Quinn, The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590... (London and Chapel Hill: Trustees of the British Museum and the University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

16. Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique (Geneva, 1578).

17. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala [Waman Puma], El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno, ed. John V. Murra and Rolena Adorno. 3 vols. (Mexico City, Siglo Veintiuno, 1980).

This is a marvelous source, especially for teachers in that Poma de Ayala, descended from the Incas, outlines life before and life after the Spanish conquest. The author created dozens of illustrations for his manuscript, giving scholars an unparalleled ethnographic view of Inca material and spiritual life. A French edition was issued in the 1930s and several other editions in Spanish have been printed, but to date, there is not a complete edition in English.

18. On the significance of the work of Christophe Weiditz see William C. Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of North America," in Fredi Chiappelli, ed., First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old. 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976,) Vol. 1, pp. 417-54, esp. p. 426.

19. William M. Ferguson and Arthur H. Rohn, with photographs by John Q Royce and William M. Ferguson, Mesoamerica's Ancient Cities: Aerial Views of Precolumbian Ruins in Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1990), upper plate, p. 26.

20. Nazca Textile, A.D. 100-800, Field Museum Registration No. 171699; Peruvian Ceremonial Copper Blades from the Necropolis at Ancón, pre-A.D. 1500, Field Museum Nos. 5349, 5363.

21. The Field Museum has joined other museums in cooperating with requests from the Iroquois, Pueblos and other tribal groups who have asked that some religious objects not be loaned or displayed.

22. Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida Americae... in Theodor de Bry, India Occidentalis... (Frankfurt, 1591).

This description of Florida in the 1560s and the copperplate engravings provided by the Flemish publishing firm of De Bry are the earliest images we have of much of the culture area of the Southeast. This volume is but one of several in the series, also known as "Great Voyages." DeBry also engraved plates from John White's sketches at Roanoke for the volume on Virginia.

23. Samuel de Champlain, Voyages et Descouvertures Faites en al Nouvelle France... (Paris, 1619).

We used three early editions (1619, 1620, 1627) in order to have three different illustrations appear in three sections. This gem of a book has very early impressions of the Montagnais, Huron, and Iroquois of the Northeast.

24. Antoine Simon LePage du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane Contenant la Découverte de ce vast Pays; sa Description Géographique.... 2 vols. (Paris, 1758).

As a source for the Natchez of the lower Mississippi Valley, LePage has no equals. He witnessed several Mississippian rituals, including a burial among this, the last major Mississippian culture of the eighteenth century.

25. "Mapa de Siguenza," is an undated manuscript fragment on amatl (bark) which traces the migration of the Aztec through the central valley of Mexico from A.D. 900 to 1200. This example was probably copied after the Spanish conquest from an older version.

Codex Cempoallan is another manuscript on fig bark dating from the 1600s. Based upon native oral histories, it is an account of the village of Cempoallan with boundaries and information on water rights, fields, and houses. It is a classic "transitional" document in that it shows conventional Aztec warriors dressed in feather garments with obsidian macanas (swords) as well as Indians wearing European-style cotton tunics and shirts.

26. John Wesley Powell, Linguistic Stocks of American Indians North of Mexico (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1891).

Powell's map is very important historically. As first director of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology, he undertook this project to demonstrate the interconnectedness of American Indians by language "families." Although some of the areas have been modified by subsequent linguists, it remains the base map for modern studies of native languages north of Mexico.

27. These were: "Housing Types in the Americas, ca. 1492," "Language Families of the Western Hemisphere, ca. 1492," and "Ancient Maya Trade Routes," the latter of which was based upon a 1989 National Geographic Society map illustrating the same subject.

28. George Catlin, Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio (London, 1844); Catlin, Souvenir of the North American Indians. 2 vols. (London, 1852).

Although far removed in time from 1492, Catlin's pencil sketches in Souvenirs and his hand-colored lithographs in the Portfolio take the viewer onto the Plains while native peoples still controlled the land and its resources. We intentionally chose items that excluded horses and down-scored material incorporations such as glass beads, metal cooking vessels, and guns.

29. Karl Bodmer, Illustrations to Maximilian Prince of Wied's Travels in the Interior of North America. (London, 1844).

Like Catlin, Swiss artist Bodmer was on the Plains in the 1830s and like his counterpart, Bodmer captured on canvas impressions that give ethnographic detail of lifeways on the eve of widespread cultural changes, brought about by material introductions, disease, and increased intertribal warfare. No student of the American Indian should ignore Bodmer's art and Maximilian's commentary in his Travels. Both were committed to presenting an accurate, if overly romantic, view of Native American life.

30. Frederick Catherwood, Views of Ancient Monuments in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan (New York, 1844).

When "rediscovered between 1839 and 1843 by the American lawyer, explorer, and writer John Lloyd Stephens and English artist and architect Frederick Catherwood, the world of the classical Maya had been largely forgotten, in part because the ancient cities of the Yucatán had been subsumed by vegetation. In order to sketch forty-four ceremonial centers such as Uxmal and Chichén Itzá, Catherwood and his crew had to clear away the jungle. What was revealed continues to dazzle scholars and tourists alike and is among the greatest architectural and artistic achievements in the Western Hemisphere.

This important portfolio of colored lithographs documents the architectural unity among Maya cities and was issued in conjunction with Stephens's Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan, 2 vols. (New York, 1841).

Together, Stephens and Catherwood dispelled the theory that the ancient cities of Mesoamerica had been built by an advanced civilization that had migrated from the "old world," an idea "eminently un-philosophical" according to Catherwood. Instead, they proposed that Mayan structures represented "an indigenous school of art," and that their murals were superior to those of the ancient Romans.

31. See appended "Check List of Items" for Field Museum registration numbers on these items.

32. We are indebted to linguist Douglas Parks of Bloomington, Indiana for the loan of a miniature Missouri River "bullboat" made on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota by Mrs. Rabbit Head sometime between A.D. 1900 and 1920. We also are grateful to anthropologist Jay Miller for use of two miniature ball playing sticks from the Seminole of present-day Oklahoma.

33. Steve Herrera is widely known as one of the great Pueblo drum-makers still living. He was commissioned by Dr. Alfonso Ortiz, chairman of the Center for the History of the American Indian's Advisory Council and a native of San Juan Pueblo to make this commemorative drum. Mr. Herrera uses aspen that has fallen naturally on mountains behind Cochití Pueblo. Once insects have

begun hollowing out the center, he harvests the tree and uses adzes and chisels to complete the hollow center. His drumheads are of elk skin and the colors decorating the drum represent cardinal colors of one of the Pueblo moieties. This drum carries turquoise, white, black, and red, Winter People colors.

34. Martin de la Cruz, The Badianus Manuscript...An Aztec Herbal of 1552, ed. Emily Wlcott Emmart (Baltimore, 1940).

This manuscript was provided by two Aztec men in 1552 and was intended as a gift for Charles I, king of Spain. Martin de la Cruz, an Aztec physician in Mexico City composed the work in Nahuatl and Juannees Badianus supplied a text in Latin. The original is in the form of a codex containing 184 illustrations of native plants and trees, all in color.

Several European medical guides to New World plants were completed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Badianus Manuscript is the only medical textbook known to have been compiled entirely by Aztec experts and illustrators. It thus represents the beginning of a genre of native medicinal reference works, examples of which followed for the Maya and other major American civilizations.

35. See above, note 17.

36. Kaladlit Okalluktualliait, Kaladlisut Kablunatudlo, 3 vols. (Greenland, 1859-1861).

This work is especially important for understanding, through illustrations by the native artist, Aaron, family life, recreation, and methods of survival among the Greenlandic Eskimo.

37. The Chimalpahin or "Browning Manuscript" is especially important in that in the middle of the eighteenth century, this Nahua scholar "corrected" the falsehoods he read in Gómara's influential Historia general de las Indias (Saragosa, 1552) and provided notes in the margins on his oral sources. His own native village looms very large in the revised history, which is currently being translated and edited by Susan Schroeder of Loyola University of Chicago.

38. Edward King, Viscount Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico..., 8 vols. (London, 1830-1848).

This massive eight volume publication was assembled by Lord Kingsborough, with hand-colored lithographs by Augustine Aglio. Volume one contains a reproduction of the Codex Mendoza, an important Aztec codex completed during the sixteenth century by native artists under the direction of Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain (Mexico) for Charles I, king of Spain. The codex is especially important for showing all the stages of life in the world of the Aztec. Elites, commoners, and the merchant-artisan class are all depicted from birth to death.

39. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Codex Florentine, 3 vols. (Mexico City, 1979).

Few Europeans recognized or appreciated the levels of calculation Indians had achieved before the white invasion. This sixteenth century Spanish priest and scholar is considered the first field ethnologist of Mesoamerica. Sahagún recognized the importance of reconstructing "lost" or destroyed written records and therefore supervised this important project, which covers history, religion, and daily life of the Aztecs.

40. Helmut Deckert and Ferdinand Anders, eds., Codex Dresdensis... (Graz, Austria, 1975).

This is a Maya document, the original of which is in Dresden. Written in the thirteenth century, it contains almanacs, astronomical-astrological material, and prophecies for the year and for the katun (a cycle of twenty 360-day years).

The Codex Dresden comes from the Yucatán in Mexico, possibly from the site of Chichén Itzá, where similar glyphs on ceramic vessels and on stone monuments have been found. Above all, it shows the sophisticated level of quantification used by the ancient Maya in their observation of the heavens and in their very accurate calibrations of celestial movements.

41. Alfonso Caso, Interpretation of the Codex Bodley 2858, translated by Ruth Morales (Mexico City, 1960).

The Codex Bodley is housed in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University where arrived in the early seventeenth century, having been compiled during the Spanish conquest of Mexico (1519-1521). It is a very important document in that it illustrates and explains the history of princely successions of the Mixtec, predecessors of the Aztec. Most of the chronology predates the arrival of Europeans.

42. Codex Borgia; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana..., edited by Karl Anton Nowotny (Graz, Austria, 1976)

This Mesoamerican codex, written before Spanish contact, was for divination as well as for practical use, functioning as an almanac, historical record, and calendar of important religious days. The original manuscript, made from deerskin, became the property of Cardinal Stefano Borgia in the seventeenth century and is now in the Vatican Library.

43. Matricula de Tributos..., commentary by Frances F. Berdan and Jacqueline de Durand-Forest (Graz, Austria, 1980).

This manuscript is also known as the Códice de Montezuma. Now available in facsimile format, it contains an exact list of the tribute exacted by Montezuma, the last imperial ruler of the Aztecs, from conquered states and allied peoples. Each village is listed with the amount of labor and produce required annually to help support the Aztec Empire.

44. During the 1920s, a new "modern" style of Indian art was created among the Pueblos of New Mexico. Awa Tsireh (Alfonso Roybal) and Richard Martinez were among a dozen or so native artists whose work received wide acclaim in art circles throughout the United States and Europe. Awa Tsireh even had a private showing of his work at The Newberry Library in 1925. Some of that original art was acquired by Edward Ayer and it remains at The Newberry. Other hand-colored lithographs were reproduced by Hartley Burr Alexander in a portfolio edition titled Pueblo Indian Painting: Fifty Reproductions of Watercolors Paintings by Indian Artists of the New Mexico Pueblos... (Nice, France, 1932).

The paintings illustrate traditional ceremonies and social activities with a unique, brightly colored technique of bold images against neutral backgrounds.

45. Reproduced from Campbell Grant, The Rock Paintings of the Chumash (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965).

46. Anne Morris, Sea Coast Village, reproduced from a painting completed in 1927 for Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

This wonderful mural is a composite of walls found by archaeologists at Chichén Itzá. It shows Maya traders--by land and by sea--transporting a wide variety of goods between villages and ports. The high level of Maya trading activity is captured vividly in this mural.

47. The Hopi items are Sityatki ware and have been dated to A.D. 1450-1500. They are part of a marvelous collection held at the Field Museum from this late pre-historic/early historic site in modern Arizona. We chose a canteen (Field Museum No. 21174) and a bowl (No. 67123). The canteen has a kachina (masked god) figure while the bowl has a Nataska (ogre) figure as part of the decoration.

The Inca quipu (FM No. 111407) is one of four hundred or so that have survived from Inca times. This example dates to c. A.D. 1500. The quipu is an elaborate counting device made of woven cotton strings with knots at precise intervals. The strings are often color coded. Scribes used quipus much like a Chinese abacus to calculate village censuses, agricultural and mining production, warehouse storage, and military records. They were also used as "maps" to show distances between towns, forts, and rivers.

Ceramic Aztec spindle whorls such as the examples we chose (FM Nos. 94592, 94628) were important in weaving. Aztec girls were taught to spin cotton by passing a stick ten to twelve inches long through these small baked ceramic discs. The disc acted as a flywheel, giving extra momentum to the shaft of the spindle as it rotated.

One carved stone effigy jar (FM No. 60502) from an archaeological site near the Dalles in present-day Oregon is thought to date to A.D. 1400, but may be as late as A.D. 1800, for the site was used annually by Columbia River fishing tribes in

their quest for salmon during the summer migration upstream. This particular example has a bird's head and a human face carved on it and still has the residue of pine needles mixed with deer tallow, which was burned as incense and offered as smoke to the deities.

48. Examples abound in museums throughout the world of painted Moche vessels, most from the Chimbote region along the coast of Peru. Mochica artisans were among the best at creating realistic imagery of human activities, animal behavior, and in interpretation of the integration of material culture into daily life as well as religious ceremonies. Our examples were: a seated figure (FM No. 100060) of a man holding what may be a star chart o a shield with a geometric design; a man rowing a tule-reed boat such as were commonly used on Peru's Lake Titicaca in 1492 (FM No. 1217); and, an aged person with dental disease and osteoporosis (FM 100151). The Mochica often depicted suffering and death as well as happiness and health.

49. We chose a Chilean gold llama (FM No. 59653), a gold frog from Costa Rica (FM No. 6388), and a gold figurine in the shape of a human with a bird-like headdress, found in Columbia (FM No. 153014). This last item was cast using the "lost wax method," only recently "rediscovered." All are exquisite examples of the art of goldsmithing.

The Mexican serpentine mask cannot be dated but is the style common at Teotihuacán, the ancient ceremonial center that had been largely abandoned by 1519 at the time of Spanish invasion. Masks from Teotihuacán have been found in Tenochtitlán in the Temple Mayor (Major Temple) by archaeologists. Clearly the Aztec continued to revere the gods from Teotihuacán into historic times. This example (FM No. 23400) is of dark green serpentine and comes from the Mexican state of Guerrero. Masks were used to re-enact stories of gods and forces of the universe and were often buried in sacred vaults.

50. Large obsidian ceremonial blades such as the one we chose (FM No. 58781) have been found thousands of miles from the quarry where the blank was cut or the actual blade was manufactured. Obsidian is one of the most accurate "markers" for long-distance trade in that it was a highly prized commodity and, using modern techniques of chemistry and physics, we can accurately trace all obsidian to the exact quarry from which it originates.

Two stone celts from the Bahamas (FM No. 6293, 23747) are identical to those illustrated in the earliest "natural history" of the Americas produced by the Spanish scholar, Gonzalo de Oviedo y Valdés in 1535. One was hafted to a wooden shaft and was used as a hammer by the Taíno, the people who first met Columbus, while the other was held in the palm of the hand and used as a carving wedge. Both types of tools were important in the manufacture of dugout canoes, essential gear in the Caribbean islands at the time of Columbus.

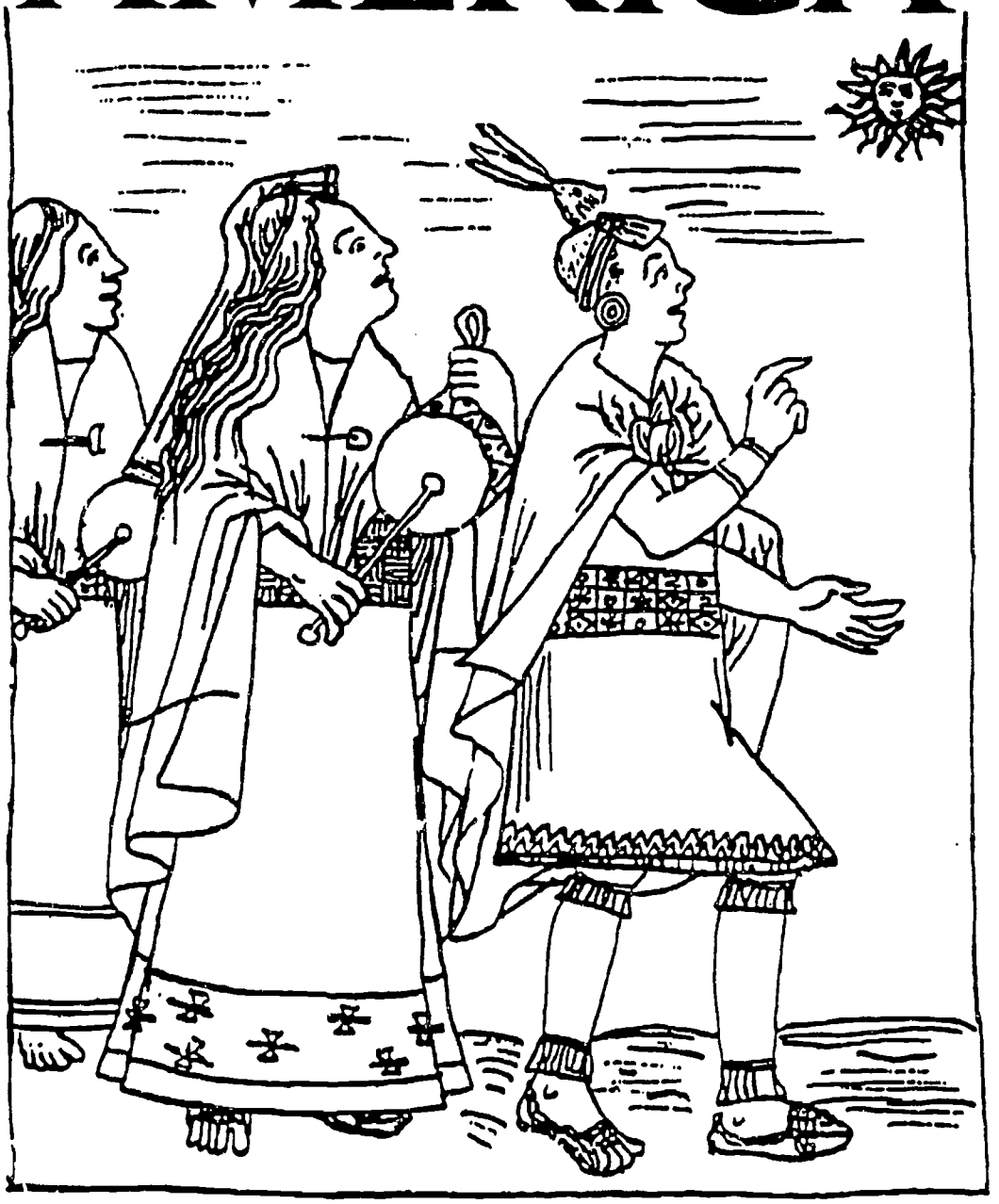
51. Nootka Chief's Hat (FM No. 19927). Only a few examples of this high-status headgear have survived into the twentieth century. We are very grateful to Dr. James VanStone, Curator of North American Ethnology at the Field Museum for taking this sole example out of the permanent exhibition, "Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast" for our show.

52. The Hopi earrings (FM No. 45073) come from Oraibi and could be much older or much later than the eighteenth century. These appear to be quite old and have abalone inlaid in the centers.

Wooden halibut hooks such as this one (FM No. 18152) have been found at the Ozette Site on Washington State's Olympic Peninsula. Ozette is a very important "dateline" for cultures throughout the Northwest Coast in that this Makah village was buried in a mudslide probably within a decade of Columbus's landfall. As such, it represents North America's Pompeii. Archaeologists have found elaborately carved wooden devices, primarily used in fishing and whaling enterprises, as well as examples of woven baskets and nets preserved in the oxygen-poor mud that covered the village around A.D. 1480.

53. Native American music used in the exhibition:
- Flutes and Strings of the Andes, Music of the World, Inc., Chapel Hill, N.C.
- Songs of the Chippewa, Canyon Records, Phoenix, Arizona
- Music from San Juan Pueblo Featuring the Garcia Brothers, Tribal Music International, Edgewood, N.M.
- Turtle Dance Songs of San Juan Pueblo and Sounds of America: Plains and Southwest, Recorded Live at the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial, Indian House Records, Taos, N.M.

AMERICA



IN 1492

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CHECK LIST OF ITEMS FOR THE EXHIBIT "AMERICA IN 1492"
JANUARY 18 TO APRIL 18, 1992.

I. Books and Manuscripts

ALEXANDER, Hartley Burr. 50 reproductions of watercolor paintings by Indian artists of the New Mexican pueblos of San Idelfonso and Sia. Nice (France): C. Szwedzicki, 1932.

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