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## I

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 THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF  
MIDDLE AND SOUTH AMERICA  
ON THE EVE OF THE CONQUEST

## I. MESOAMERICA BEFORE 1519

A comprehensive bibliography dealing with the archaeology and ethno-history of Mesoamerica and the north of Mexico has been prepared by Ignacio Bernal, *Bibliografía de arqueología y etnografía de Mesoamérica y norte de México, 1514–1960* (Mexico, D.F., 1962). Descriptions of many of the extant indigenous sources, i.e. pictorial manuscripts and others in the native historical tradition, are provided by John B. Glass, Donald Robertson, Charles Gibson and Henry B. Nicholson in a series of articles in volumes 14 and 15 (1975), edited by Howard F. Cline, of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, ed. Robert Wauchope, 16 vols. (Austin, Tex., 1964–76). An invaluable reference work, giving a chronology of Nahuatl scholarship from 1546 to 1980 and a catalogue of Nahuatl printed works (some 2,961 items), has been assembled by Ascensión H. de León-Portilla, *Tepuztlabcuilolli: Impresos en náhuatl: Historia y bibliografía*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1988). An indispensable guide to Nahuatl manuscripts in the Newberry Library, Chicago, the Latin American Library of Tulane University and the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, is provided by John Frederick Schwaller in *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 18 (1986), 315–83. On Nahuatl manuscripts in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, see *Estudios de cultura náhuatl*, 21 (1991), 311–38.

The works of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish, mestizo and Indian chroniclers containing basic references to the pre-Columbian epoch have been the subject of various analyses and critical appraisals, although there is no comprehensive study which examines them all systematically. A general survey can be found in *Historiografía indiana*, by Fran-

*I. Indigenous peoples on the eve of conquest*

cisco Esteve Barba (Madrid, 1964). A number of studies about the works of authors like Bernardino de Sahagún, Antonio de Herrera and Juan de Torquemada are included in 'The guide to ethnohistorical sources', *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 12 (Austin, Tex., 1973). The National University of Mexico has published critical editions of some of the indigenous sources and of the sixteenth-century chronicles: *Textos de los informantes indígenas de Sabagún, Códices Matritenses*, edited by Angel María Garibay and Miguel León-Portilla, 4 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1958–69); *Poesía náhuatl*, edited by A. M. Garibay, 3 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1964, 1965, and 1968); *Apologética historia sumaria*, by Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1967); *Memoriales*, by Toribio de Benavente Motolinía (Mexico, D.F., 1971); *Obras históricas*, by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1975–7), edited by Edmundo O'Gorman et al.; and *Monarquía indiana*, by Juan de Torquemada, edited by M. León-Portilla et al., 7 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1975–80). Also important on Sahagún are Mauricio J. Mixco's fine English translation and revision of Luis Nicolau d'Olwer's classic 1952 study, *Fray Bernardino de Sabagún, 1499–1590* (Salt Lake City, 1987), and a set of stimulating essays in J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson and Eloise Quiñones Keber (eds.), *The Work of Bernardino de Sabagún: Pioneer Ethnographer of Sixteenth-Century Aztec Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1988). A valuable edition of Motolinía's *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España* was prepared by Georges Baudot (Madrid, 1985). Important, too, is a facsimile edition of a major Nahuatl–Spanish confession manual, with an introductory essay by Roberto Moreno, Alonso de Molina's *Confesionario mayor en la lengua mexicana y castellana* (Mexico, D.F., 1984).

A contribution deserving particular attention is the edition and translation into English prepared by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble of the encyclopedia source for the study of the cultures of central Mexico, *Florentine Codex*, 12 vols. (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 1950–82). Important contributions include the publication of two bilingual editions (English–Nahuatl and Spanish–Nahuatl) of the early colonial record of the Indian municipality of Tlaxcala: see James Lockhart, Frances Berdan and Arthur J. O. Anderson (trans. and eds.), *The Tlaxcalan Actas: A Compendium of the Records of the Cabildo of Tlaxcala, 1545–1627* (Salt Lake City, 1986); and Eustaquio Celestino Solís et al. (trans. and eds.), *Actas de Cabildo de Tlaxcala, 1547–1567* (Mexico, D.F., 1985). The former selects twenty-five sessions, while the latter represents the complete minutes of 184

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Excerpt

[More information](#)1. *Mesoamerica before 1519*

3

meetings of the Indian council. Both editions include historical essays. In the case of the Maya, no later edition has surpassed the work of Alfred M. Tozzer as editor, translator and commentator of the chronicle by Diego de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatán* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), although Anthony R. Pagden's English edition and translation, *The Maya: Diego de Landa's Account of the Affairs of Yucatán* (Chicago, 1975), is worthy of note.

The achievements of archaeological research in Mesoamerica are recorded and described by Gordon R. Willey and Jeremy A. Sabloff in *A History of American Archaeology* (San Francisco, 1974), and by Ignacio Bernal, *Historia de la arqueología en México* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). A volume edited by Norman Hammond includes various papers dealing with some of the research programmes: *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (Austin, Tex., 1974). Vols. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 of *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (1965, 1966, and 1971) include several excellent syntheses about the archaeology of the various areas of northern and southern Mesoamerica. The first volume of a series entitled *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians* covers research in the area during the 1970s: *Archaeology*, edited by Jeremy A. Sabloff, assisted by Patricia A. Andrews (Austin, Tex., 1981).

A few reliable surveys of the cultural evolution of Mesoamerica in its entirety have appeared during recent decades. Wigberto Jiménez Moreno revised a previously published work that throws considerable light on the subject: 'Mesoamerica before the Toltecs', in *Ancient Oaxaca*, edited by John Paddock (Stanford, Calif., 1968). The joint effort of several specialists coordinated by José Luis Lorenzo, Alberto Ruz, Ignacio Bernal and Miguel León-Portilla has resulted in an ample section devoted to the Mesoamerican past in the first three volumes of *Historia de México*, 11 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1974). Amongst the contributions made in terms of theory may be mentioned the small volume edited by William T. Sanders and Barbara J. Price to demonstrate that civilization can be understood as a result of ecological adaptation: *Mesoamerica: The Evolution of a Civilization* (New York, 1968). In the same vein, see Angel Palerm, *México pre-hispánico: Ensayos sobre evolución ecológica* (Mexico, D.F., 1990).

During recent decades, publications about particular areas, periods or aspects within the cultural evolution of Mesoamerica have been extremely abundant but of uneven quality. For the origins, development and diffusion of Olmec culture, see Michael D. Coe, *America's First Civilization* (New York, 1968), Ignacio Bernal, *The Olmec World* (Berkeley, 1969),

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Edited by Leslie Bethell

Excerpt

[More information](#)

4

*I. Indigenous peoples on the eve of conquest*

Robert J. Sharer and David C. Grove, *Regional Perspectives on the Olmec* (Cambridge, Eng., 1989) and Jacques Soustelle, *The Olmecs: The Oldest Civilization in Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1985). Michael D. Coe has published a well-documented synthesis, *The Maya* (London, 1966; rev. ed. 1980). See also the classic contributions of J. Eric S. Thompson: *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1954; 2nd ed. Norman, Okla., 1967); *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: An Introduction* (Norman, Okla., 1970); *A Catalog of Maya Hieroglyphs* (Norman, Okla., 1962); and *Maya History and Religion* (Norman, Okla., 1970). Among more recent works, see John S. Henderson, *The World of the Ancient Maya* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981); Norman Hammond, *Ancient Maya Civilization* (Cambridge, Eng., 1982); T. Patrick Culbert and Don S. Rice, *Precolumbian Population History in the Maya Lowlands* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1990); and William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice, *Word and Image in Maya Culture: Explorations in Language, Writing and Representations* (Salt Lake City, 1990). *Ancient Oaxaca*, edited by John Paddock (Stanford, Calif., 1968), includes important contributions about the Zapotec and Mixtec cultures. Also by John Paddock, see 'Tezcatlipoca in Oaxaca', *Ethnohistory*, 32/4 (1985), 309–25. Ronald Spores's expanded study (from the 1967 original) of the Mixteca Alta, *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times* (Norman, Okla., 1984) is also useful. Other peoples are examined in Shirley Gorenstein and Helen Perlstein Pollard, *The Tarascan Civilization: A Late Prehispanic Cultural System* (Nashville, Tenn., 1983); Elio Masferrer Kan, 'Las condiciones históricas de la etnicidad entre los totonacos', *América Indígena* 46/4, (1986), 733–49; William R. Fowler, Jr., *The Cultural Evolution of Ancient Nabua Civilizations: The Pipil-Nicarao of Central America* (Norman, Okla., 1989); and Miguel León-Portilla, *The Aztec Image of Self and Society: An Introduction to Nabua Culture*, edited and with an introduction by J. Jorge Klor de Alva (Salt Lake City, 1992).

Several excellent facsimile reproductions of indigenous books or 'codices', both pre-Columbian and early colonial of native Mesoamerican origin, facilitate the study of these primary sources: *Codex Cospi*, *Codex Borbonicus*, *Codex Borgia*, with a commentary by K. A. Nowotny (Graz, 1968, 1974, 1978); *Codex Egerton*, *Codex Land*, *Codex Fejervary Mayer*, with an introduction by C. A. Burland (Graz, 1965, 1966, 1971); *Codice Xolotl*, with an introductory study by Charles E. Dibble, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1980).

The cultures of Central Mexico, in particular those which succeeded in building the metropoli of Teotihuacan, Tula and Mexico-Tenochtitlan,

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 1. Mesoamerica before 1519

5

have been the object of increasing attention. The proceedings of the XI Round Table of the Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología include various important papers about the classic metropolis, *Teotihuacán*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1966–72). Concerning the development of urbanism in the Teotihuacan period, the mapping project headed by René Millon has resulted in several contributions. See, for instance, his 'Teotihuacan: Completion of map of giant ancient city in the Valley of Mexico', *Science*, 170 (1970), 1977–82, and 'The study of urbanism in Teotihuacan', in Norman Hammond (ed.), *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (London, 1974), 313–34. For comprehensive ethnohistorical studies on the Toltecs, see Nigel Davies, *The Toltecs: Until the Fall of Tula* (Norman, Okla., 1977) and *The Toltec Heritage* (Norman, Okla., 1980). A substantial archaeological contribution is Richard A. Diehl, *Tula: The Toltec Capital of Ancient Mexico* (New York, 1983), while Janice Dewey, 'Huémac: El fiero de Cincalco', *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, 16 (1983), 183–92, is a treatment of mythical sources on this Toltec king.

On the socio-economic and political structures prevalent in central Mesoamerica at the time of the contact with the Spaniards, see Manuel M. Moreno, *La organización política y social de los Aztecas* (Mexico, D.F., 1962); Friedrich Katz, *Situación social y económica de los Aztecas durante los siglos XV y XVI* (Mexico, D.F., 1966); Pedro Carrasco, 'Social organisation in Ancient Mexico', *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 10 (1972), 349–75; Johanna Broda, Pedro Carrasco, et al., *Estratificación social en la Mesoamérica prehispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1976); Pedro Carrasco and Johanna Broda (eds.), *Economía política e ideología en el México prehispánico* (Mexico, D.F., 1978); Pedro Carrasco, 'La economía prehispánica de México', in Enrique Florescano (ed.), *Ensayos sobre el desarrollo económico de México y América Latina (1500–1950)* (Mexico, D.F., 1979). On the formation of the state among the Toltecs, Chichimecs and Mexica, see Brigitte Boehm de Lameiras, *Formación del estado en México prehispánico* (Zamora, Mex., 1986). Angel Palerm, in *Obras hidráulicas prehispánicas* (Mexico, D.F., 1973), stresses the role of irrigation in Mesoamerican development, making use of the ideas expressed by Karl A. Wittfogel. See also Warwick Bray, 'Land use, settlement patterns and politics in Prehispanic Middle America, a review', in Peter J. Ucko, Ruth Tringham and G.W. Dimpleby (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972).

Alfonso Caso, in addition to his archaeological research in the Oaxaca area and his facsimile editions with the 'lecture' of several Mixtec codices, has written many studies on the Aztecs and on the calendric systems of

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Edited by Leslie Bethell

Excerpt

[More information](#)

6

*I. Indigenous peoples on the eve of conquest*

central Mesoamerica, including *Los calendarios prehispánicos* (Mexico, D.F., 1967). The culmination of many years' work on the Aztec calendar and religious foundations is Michel Graulich, *Mythes et rituels du Mexique ancien préhispanique* (Brussels, 1987). A useful synthesis of Mesoamerican calendrics is Gordon Brotherston, *A Key to the Mesoamerican Reckoning of Time: The Chronology Recorded in Native Texts*, British Museum Occasional Paper (London, 1982). Eduardo Noguera's many pioneering contributions in the field of ceramics culminated in a basic work of reference, *La cerámica arqueológica de Mesoamérica* (Mexico, D.F., 1975). Ignacio Marquina's volume, *Arquitectura prehispánica* (Mexico, D.F., 1960), provides the classic treatment of this subject.

The literary creations of the Nahuatl-speaking groups have been researched by Angel María Garibay, whose *Historia de la literatura nahuatl*, 2 vols. (Mexico, D.F., 1953–4) remains a landmark in these studies. A selection of Garibay's writings appears in his *Sabiduría de Anáhuac*, selected and presented by Gonzalo Pérez Gómez (Toluca, Mex., 1986). A general guide to the indigenous literary productions of the Maya, Nahuatl and Mixtec peoples is provided by M. León-Portilla, *Precolumbian Literatures of Mexico* (Norman, Okla., 1969; 2nd ed. 1986). See also Gordon Brotherston, *Book of the Fourth World: Reading the Native Americans through their Literature* (Cambridge, Eng., 1992). Also of interest are a complete transcription and translation into English of the so-called Huehuetlatolli, a Nahuatl–Spanish text housed in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley; Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart (eds.), *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues* (Los Angeles, 1987); James M. Taggart, *Nahuatl Myth and Social Structure* (Austin, Tex., 1983); and Gary H. Gossen (ed.), *Symbol and Meaning Beyond the Closed Community: Essays in Mesoamerican Ideas* (Albany, N.Y., 1986). A collection of texts of the native Mesoamerican tradition, translated from Nahuatl, Maya, Quiche and Mixtec, including creation myths, examples of the 'ancient word', poetry and the saga of Quetzalcoatl, has been edited by Miguel León-Portilla, J. O. Arthur Anderson, Charles E. Dibble and Munro S. Edmonson, *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality* (New York, 1980).

Religion and world view in Mesoamerica have been better approached during the last two decades through the analysis of the indigenous manuscripts and the findings of archaeology. A pioneering paper in this field is that of J. Eric S. Thompson, *Sky Bearers, Colors and Directions in Maya and Mexican Religion* (Washington, D.C., 1934). Alfonso Caso's *The Aztecs: People of the Sun* (Norman, Okla., 1958) keeps its value as an introduction

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

## 1. Mesoamerica before 1519

7

to the religion of the Aztecs. For its challenging thesis on the role of 'ideology' in human societies, see the comparative work of Geoffrey W. Conrad and Arthur A. Demarest, *Religion and Empire: The Dynamics of Aztec and Inca Expansionism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1984). An indispensable volume of eighteen essays, also with comparative aspirations, is George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (eds.), *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History* (New York, 1982). Several writings of the great Mexicanist, Eduard Seler, included in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1902–23), are also of considerable importance for the study of Mesoamerican religion and world view. *Aztec Thought and Culture: A Study of the Ancient Nahuatl Mind* (Norman, Okla., 1963), and *Time and Reality in the Thought of the Maya* (Boston, 1972), by Miguel León-Portilla, provide analysis of texts considered of primary importance to approach the world view of these two peoples. Additional works which are worthy of mention on different aspects of the Mexica civilisation include Jerome A. Offner, *Law and Politics in Aztec Texcoco* (Cambridge, Eng., 1983); Susan D. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexican History* (Tucson, Ariz., 1988); Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman, Okla., 1988); Alfredo López Austin's 1980 synthesis of Nahuatl political culture and medicine, translated into English as *The Human Body and Ideology: Concepts of the Ancient Nahuas*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1988); Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano, *Aztec Medicine, Health and Nutrition* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990); and the three essays in Johanna Broda, David Carrasco and Eduardo Matos Moctezuma (eds.), *The Great Temple of Tenochtitlan: Center and Periphery in the Aztec World* (Berkeley, 1988). Papers rich in new insights are those of Thomas S. Barthel, 'Algunos principios de ordenación en el panteón azteca', *Traducciones Mesoamericanistas*, 2, 45–78 (1968), and the classificatory attempt of the various deities prepared by Henry B. Nicholson, 'Religion in pre-Hispanic Central Mexico', in *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 10 (1972), 305–446.

An excellent survey of the culture of the inhabitants of Central Mexico before the arrival of the Spaniards is available in Warwick Bray, *Everyday Life of the Aztecs* (London, 1968). For a fine general synthesis, see Nigel Davies, *The Aztecs* (London, 1973) and the same author's *The Aztec Empire: The Toltec Resurgence* (Norman, Okla., 1987). A well-written and speculative account is Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, Eng., 1991). Finally, James Lockhart's much-awaited *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central*

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

8

*I. Indigenous peoples on the eve of conquest*

*Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 1992) charts the Indian peoples into the colonial era in interesting ways.

## 2. THE CARIBBEAN AND CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Several of the major sixteenth-century European chroniclers of Spanish exploration and settlement in the New World provide primary material concerning the native customs of the Greater Antilles, northern Venezuela, the northern half of Colombia and lower Central America. The following sources are, therefore, fundamental to any ethnohistorical research concerning the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, available in two volumes in English translation by Francis Augustus MacNutt under the title *De Orbe Novo, The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera* (New York, 1912); Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, edited in three volumes by Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico, D.F., 1951); Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 5 vols. (1851–5; Madrid, 1959), and, by the same author, *Sumario de la natural historia de las Indias* (1526; Mexico, D.F., 1950), translated into English and edited by Sterling A. Stoudemire as *Natural History of the West Indies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959). *Historie del S.D. Fernando Colombo* (Venice, 1571), also published by Ramón Iglesia as *Vida del Almirante Don Cristóbal Colón* (Mexico, D.F., 1947), should also be consulted, particularly for the Greater Antilles and lower Central America. This record of Columbus's voyages has been translated into English by Benjamin Keen as *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by his Son, Ferdinand* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1959).

Luis Duque Gómez's two-volume work on Colombian prehistory provides a basic introduction to that country's indigenous peoples at the time of the conquest. Both volumes, *Prehistoria*, vol. 1: *Etnohistoria y arqueología* (1965) and vol. 2: *Tribus indígenas y sitios arqueológicos* (1967), have been published as vol. 1 of *Historia extensa de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1965, 1967). *Prehistoria*, vol. 2, chap. 1 contains a useful discussion of the various chroniclers whose works provide much primary data. Of these, Pedro de Aquado's *Recopilación historial* is particularly significant, for many well-known later writers rested heavily on this source. The four-volume edition by Juan Friede (Bogotá, 1956–7) is definitive. Another exceptional



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Excerpt

[More information](#)2. *The Caribbean and circum-Caribbean*

9

sixteenth-century observer, Pedro de Cieza de León, left an excellent description of his travels through the Cauca Valley. This material is contained in the first part of his well-known chronicle of Peru (1554) and was translated into English by Clements R. Markham as *The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de León, 1532–1550* (London, 1864).

Turning to contemporary scholars, much data concerning Cauca Valley peoples has been compiled by Hermann Trimborn in *Vergessene Königreiche* (Brunswick, 1948). This work, however, is seriously flawed by outmoded theories and questionable generalizations, and must be used with care. More recently Luis Duque Gómez has focused specifically on the indigenous peoples of the Quindío region in *Los Quimbayas* (Bogotá, 1970). An excellent discussion of traditional settlements and agricultural adaptations is provided by Thomas S. Schorr, 'Cauca Valley settlements, a culture ecological interpretation', in *Actas y Memorias*, 1, 37th Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Buenos Aires, 1968), 449–66.

On the Cenú region of the north Colombian lowlands, two studies merit particular mention. B. LeRoy Gordon's *Human Geography and Ecology in the Sinú Country of Colombia* (Berkeley, 1957) includes a reconstruction of native cultures at the time of contact. James J. Parsons and William A. Bowen discuss evidence for intensive agricultural techniques in 'Ancient ridged fields of the San Jorge river floodplain, Colombia', *The Geographical Review*, 56 (1966), 317–43.

The traditional cultures of the Santa Marta region have been discussed in detail by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Datos históricos-culturales sobre las tribus de la antigua gobernación de Santa Marta* (Bogotá, 1951). Henning Bischof's excellent work, *Die Spanisch-Indianische Auseinandersetzung in der nördlichen Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (1501–1600)* (Bonn, 1971), builds on Reichel-Dolmatoff's earlier volume.

Much has been written on the Muisca or Chibcha. From among the numerous studies the following provide good introductions, particularly to questions of pre-Columbian ecology and socio-political organization: Robert C. Eidt, 'Aboriginal Chibcha settlement in Colombia', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 49 (1959), 374–92; Sylvia M. Broadbent, 'A prehistoric field system in Chibcha territory, Colombia', *Ñaupá Pacha*, 6 (1968), 135–47, and *Los Chibchas: Organización socio-política* (Bogotá, 1964); Juan A. and Judith E. Villamarín, 'Kinship and inheritance among the Sabana de Bogotá Chibcha at the time of Spanish conquest', *Ethnology*, 14 (1975), 173–9. On a broader note, Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff presents a general survey of pre-conquest agricultural

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Edited by Leslie Bethell

Excerpt

[More information](#)

10

*I. Indigenous peoples on the eve of conquest*

features in 'The agricultural basis of the sub-Andean chiefdoms of Colombia', in *The Evolution of Horticultural Systems in Native South America: Causes and Consequences*, edited by Johannes Wilbert (Caracas, 1961), 83–100. Regional and long-distance exchange in native Colombia is discussed by S. Henry Wassén, 'Algunos datos del comercio preColombino [sic] en Colombia', *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, 4 (1955), 87–110.

Although the fullest accounts of the indigenous cultures of Panama are contained in Oviedo y Valdéz's *Historia general* and his *Sumario*, valuable data concerning eastern Panama and north-western Colombia are to be found in the letter of 1513 to King Ferdinand written by Vasco Núñez de Balboa. This missive has been published with others by Martín Fernández de Navarrete in his *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1829), 358–76. An English translation can be found in the report by Pascual de Andagoya translated as *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme* by Clements R. Markham (London, 1865), i–xix. Andagoya's narrative is itself another important source.

Using these and other records, Samuel Lothrop presents a general summary of the pre-Columbian societies of western Panama in *Coclé: An Archaeological Study of Central Panama* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), part 1, 1–48. An earlier and little known history by C. L. G. Anderson, *Old Panama and Castilla del Oro* (Boston, 1914), is also useful. More recently Carl Sauer has discussed such topics as subsistence, settlement pattern and metallurgy in *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley, 1966). Mary W. Helms has analysed procedures for succession to chiefship in 'Competition, power, and succession to office in pre-Columbian Panama', in *Frontier Adaptations in Lower Central America*, edited by Mary W. Helms and Franklin O. Loveland (Philadelphia, 1976), 25–35. In another study entitled *Ancient Panama: Chiefs in Search of Power* (Austin, Tex., 1979), Helms has offered a general anthropological interpretation of the operation of Panamanian polities at the time of conquest with particular emphasis on long-distance contacts.

The standard introduction to Costa Rican materials has been Ricardo Fernández Guardia, *Historia de Costa Rica* (San José, C.R., 1905), also available in an English translation by Harry Weston Van Dyke as *History of the Discovery and Conquest of Costa Rica* (New York, 1913). Considerable ethnohistoric data are also found in the *Cartas de Juan Vázquez de Coronado*, also published by Fernández Guardia (Barcelona, 1908). The first chapter of his *Reseña histórica de Talamanca* (San José, C.R., 1918) provides informa-