

Bendelitt 1880-
1882



Adolph F. Bandelier as a young man

The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier

1880-1882

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ALBUQUERQUE

THE SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH
MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO PRESS
SANTA FE

SEPTEMBER 3: Very fine, went out with Bennett to photograph and then to Kozlowski's and to Ruiz. * Called at Señor Mariano Ruiz. Found him after considerable trouble and search. Sat down under a tree and talked. He came in 1837 from Jemez, when there were but eighteen Indians left. Was adopted como *hijo del pueblo* [as a son of the pueblo]. In 1838, the *capitán de la guerra* [war captain] of Jemez came over, having heard that the Indians of Pecos were fast dying, as well as their flocks. The sickness was *fiebre* [influenza], commencing with *tembladas* [chills], and closing with *calenturas* [fever]. The Pecos then were not willing to leave, but in 1839 they sold the flocks and everything, and made a deed to Ruiz for the land. This deed is now in the hands of Major Sena at Santa Fe. In 1840, the *gobernador*, the *capitán*, and the *cacique* of Jemez, with two or three other Indians, came over again, and the Pecos, five in number, with their families, left for Jemez. Their houses were still standing, three stories high. They kept their holy embers (not fire) alive in the great room at the north wing, and met in the *estufa*,⁶³ but Ruiz was never permitted to assist. Every year an Indian was elected *para cuidar del fuego* [to care for the fire], and the tale was, that if anyone who had ever taken care of the fire left the tribe, he would die. On that account, Ruiz always refused to take charge of the fire. They were idolators, and Ruiz says that the report was that they worshipped a [large] serpent (*una vivora grande*) which they kept concealed. He presumed that they took both the embers and the snake to Jemez.⁶⁴ Does

63. The Spanish word *estufa* (stove) was given by the early Spanish explorers to the ceremonial rooms of the Pueblo Indians presumably because of the resemblance of the Rio Grande structures to an outside oven or, possibly, to a sweat-house. At present the Hopi word for these ceremonial buildings, *kiva*, has completely replaced *estufa* in anthropological literature.

64. The "snake worship" probably refers to the activities of a snake society. Of the sacred fire, Parsons commented:

"Accounts of such fire-making or keeping ritual have combined with White preconception to produce the legend of the perpetual fire which has been current for years among the Whites in the Southwest. The account given Simpson of the Pecos fire is in this connection of interest. 'The old man and his daughter, who at the time were tending the Sacred fire at Pecos (i.e., engaged in some

not recollect anything about their language beyond that it is the same as that of Jemez. Insisted that they understood neither those of Santo Domingo, nor those of Tesuque, but conversed with them in Spanish.⁶⁵ Therefore he did not pay any attention to it.

Says that all the officials, the *governador*, *capitán*, and *cacique*, are elected for life. The son can succeed to the father *si está bueno* [if he is competent]. The two first officers *son guerreros* [are warriors]. The *capitán* has charge of the lands. I asked him about the burial places, and he said that *el campo santo* [cemetery] of the heathen Pecos was in a *barranca* [canyon] on the right hand side of the creek. This is doubtful. I then went back

ceremonial), the enemy (Mexicans) seized and beat—the daughter at length being carried away captive, and the old man escaping by way of Galisteo to Jemez. This was the reason of the fire of Montezuma ceasing . . . At the time of Simpson's visit the Montezuma legend was in full career as the most convenient camouflage for native ceremonial. The *kivas* were described to the enquiring lieutenant as the churches of Montezuma." (Parsons 1925: 75-6)

65. There are several language stocks and sub-stocks located in the Southwest. Among Pueblos in the Rio Grande drainage two such stocks are represented, Tanoan and Keresan. Tanoan is further broken down into the languages Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa, plus Tano (actually only a variant of Tewa) and Piro. Tiwa settlements include the pueblos of Taos, Picuris (now called San Lorenzo), Sandia, and Isleta. Tewa is spoken at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, Pojoaque, Nambé, and Tesuque with Tano, the language of the extinct Galisteo pueblos represented at Tewa village or Hano in Hopi country. Towa is spoken only by Jemez (and settlers from the town of Pecos in the Pecos drainage, now living at Jemez). Piro was the language of the pueblos in the Abó, Tibira area, and of groups along the Rio Grande south of Albuquerque.

Keresan pueblos along the Rio Grande proper include Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe, while Zia and Santa Ana are in the Jemez drainage. Farther west and somewhat more isolated are the pueblos of Acoma and Laguna.

In addition to these stocks two others are found among the pueblos. Zuni is represented only by the language of the Zuni Indians of west central New Mexico. The Hopi villagers (with the exception of Hano) speak a Shoshonean language.

Non-puebloan peoples include the Navajo and Apache speaking languages of the Apachean branch of Athabascan, the Utes, Paiutes, and Comanche speaking dialects of Shoshonean, the Pima and Papago using Piman languages (related to Shoshonean and, with the latter, part of the great Uto-Aztecan stock). On the eastern edge of the Southwest the Kiowa speak a language probably related to Tanoan.

many ruined buildings of stone in this bottom, but Juan José tells me they are Mexican as after the reconquest many Spaniards settled there, but were finally driven out by the Navajo. We measured every room, notwithstanding the cacti which are superabundant in the ruins, *Opuntia arborescens* growing in them almost like trees. 210 meters east of these are a number of ruined structures very similar to the "outhouses" at Pecos, but utterly shapeless. Juan José says they may have been almacenes [store houses]. The rim of the potrero is not fortified like that of Pecos, only the four very tortuous and steep paths leading up to it—one on the north-west side, and three from the south. The following is about the shape of the surface of the potrero, (a) being the pueblo, b.b.b.b. the four places of access. These creep up through narrow gorges and on either side of their landing on the top, the Indians had erected bulwarks of stone at which sentinels and guards stood to watch any approach. It required a ruse and a feint to capture this otherwise impregnable stronghold. This survey is not complete; much is yet to be done. For example, I am told that there is water on the mesa behind the pueblo—an arroyo, and also a tank. The drainage generally is to the south. We descended at 2 P.M., very difficult and even dangerous, in the very steep and crumbling pumice. Height of potrero evidently 1,000-2,000 feet.⁹⁶

Lucero very friendly, coffee, tortillas, and sheep's meat. Have a grant yet, from about 1694. Could not see it yet. Left at 3 P.M. and on the way talked a great deal. Conversed about the word Tihua, but Juan José could not give me any definite information in regard to its meaning. He says it is an accentuation of "man," and may be in some relation with *Tigua-yú*, from which they all claim to descend. He also says that Yute means "there" in *Tiguayú*. Yu (por allá), and Te as abbreviation of Tigua, or Tehua. It is evidently an old and very important utterance. There are two Piro Indians from Senecú at Cochiti who still speak their idiom. One of them is the son of a Cochiti who mar-

⁹⁶. Bandelier's estimate here is incorrect to an extent warranting comment. Potrero Viejo actually stands about 670 feet above Spanish Cañada.



ried a Piro woman. Consequently, the child is Piro. This is important. Reached home 5 P.M. tired; 18 miles about.*

OCTOBER 9: Left for Peña Blanca at 6 A.M. Distance from church to first bridge about 800 meters; between bridges, 100 meters. Found my things at Peña Blanca. Went over to Wallace, last mile on foot. Met Padre Ribera and the Bacas. He has valise. Got shaved at Wallace.

I have forgotten to write down many items which Juan José Montoya told me. Thus, he said that before any expedition is sent out, a general meeting is held. The capitán first presents his gun, etc. to his teniente or the oldest principal, who examines the weapons. Then the capitán examines the arms of the teniente. Then each one goes around his own way in the circle of men, visiting [inspecting] the arms of each man. If any are found out of order, the man is ordered to prepare them for such and such a time. If by then he fails to be in trim, the capitán imprisons him without further delay. This he has a right to do without consulting any of the principales, for in military affairs the capitán is supreme and can act as he pleases (very important). In cases of crimes, of dispute, etc., the governor is the party to apply to, but then the council first investigates and decides upon the offense. They are the judges, and the governor is but the executive. The fiscal has nothing to do except care for the church; he is not even a principal necessarily.

Am tired. A freight train will take me up to Santa Fe. This is the windiest place I ever saw. Juan José Montoya owns thirty-seven cows, three horses, one mule, and one burro. The merced [grant] of Cochiti, is one league east, one league south, 2 leagues, 1.25 cadenas [chains of ten meters] north, and the same (2 1.25 c.) west. This is on account of the pasturage. He also told me the name of a twelfth generation [clan], but I forgot to put it down yesterday. I noticed that every morning before breakfast, the girls grind the corn for the tortillas. Therefore, the early singing.

Yesterday Juan José Montoya told me that his oldest son (Adelaido) was called Haeyash, cloud, or rather, Haeyashtihua.

NOVEMBER 19: I went to Peña Blanca. There is only a small fillet of water running in the Brazo, and it is very low also. The bridge is broken, the beavers having eaten the beams. They are very frequent in the river and very large. There are also otters though they are not frequent in the river, but more so in the Valle [Grande]. The Mexicans call them "perritos de agua" (little water dogs).

On the 17th, the thermometer at Padre Ribera's stood at 0.0° again. At 11 A.M. it was 29½°F. within the entrance to the court, therefore inside the door. Padre Ribera tells me that in seven years he has never witnessed such a cold. Letters from Professor Norton and from Papa and Joe.

Went home about 2:30 P.M. and called on several parties, among them, on an old man called Bautista, in whose house there were not less than ten drums, variously painted, nine of which were suspended from the ceiling. I tried in vain to get him to make boxes for me; he scarcely listened. Saw them make chiquihuites and bartered for two. No fire in my room. I tried to close the window with paper. It is very dark now. My washing is done. At Bautista's I also saw pottery newly made, unpainted. Shall buy some if I can. Can hardly stand the cold any longer.

About 8:00 P.M. I was surprised again by the call of my neighbor's wife. She is better and came to have a chat. She spoke of old tepalcates [potsherds] in her possession, and so I went over to see her family. The whole [family] was acostado [had retired] and the room was dimly lighted by the glowing embers. There were two cuartos [rooms], a westerly storeroom and an easterly dwelling room; the latter was very warm and the former correspondingly cold. The outer door was, besides, hung within by a great sheet of heavy white domestic, and the communication between the two (through a thick wall) was by an elliptical doorway, very narrow and low, so that I had to squeeze through with much stooping.

They all got up, and we had a pleasant talk. The tepalcate is a broken piece of Acoma pottery. She says that, even now, the



thumbnail is allowed to grow, to make the indentations of the rim in their pottery. The man said that those who came from Teguayu and went south are still living at El Paso (the Piros), and that they made the glazed pottery. He also confirms that the fire is kept up in the house of the cacique, but discards the snake story, though perhaps with some embarrassment. Shall return to my neighbor. It appears that Juan Chavez is courting our girl against Juan José's will!

NOVEMBER 20: The day has been spent at home and drawing. Finished letter to Professor Norton. Drew shield of Juan José. Shall send him to Santa Fe tomorrow. It is cheaper than to go myself. Call from Juan de Jesús Pancho. He spent nearly a week in Santa Fe, grinding his wheat at the water-mill; he pays \$3.00 for six fanegas. Called at Victoriano's. The good fellow is all heart. Have arranged to copy his shields tomorrow. Victoriano also tells me that they divide into squads of ten when they go to war, the capitán naming the leaders. This is possibly a misunderstanding. Juan Chavez and José Francisco Chavez called on me late. Missed my pen!

NOVEMBER 21: Juan José went to Santa Fe at 10:00 A.M. There is much jealousy about me in the pueblo. I go to Victoriano to paint his two shields.

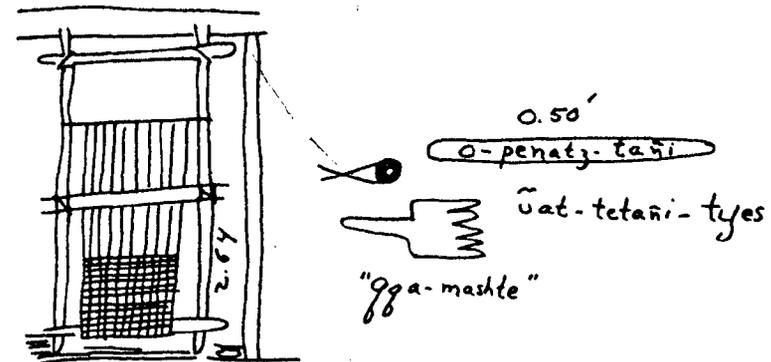
I did not do much more than copy the shield of Victoriano, and he lent me vermilion and almagre [Indian red]. The wife of Victoriano made a paint brush for me out of the palmillo (*hash-tshya*, *P. chiquito*; *ha-tyoni*, *P. ancho*), cutting it fine, and then pounding its end with a stone, so as to form a brush. The vermilion was but mixed with water, but afterwards José Hilario told me that if used with foam of amole it would stick. Adelaido brought me some amole at home, and indeed, it proved to stick. But the amole had no effect on pencil. The green paint used by them is malachite or copper stain, which they get from the Nuevos Placeres, and then burn with turpentine (so says Juan Chavez?). It is true that Victoriano also tells

something similar. The painting and drawing now goes so well that I intend to draw and paint all the implements I can get hold of. It is cheaper than buying.

At night, there were no less than four boys in my room, Hayohua, his brother-in-law Gervasio, Juan Chavez, and José Francisco Pancho. The latter two stayed long again but are very free with their information. I have plenty of fire wood. Hayohua goes to Santa Fe tomorrow and he will return with the box, that is, if he secures a wagon. He suffers from backache. Next Sunday it is the turn of Victoriano to attend to the horses, and they will pasture them about the Potrero de las Vacas and Rito de los Frijoles, sleeping in the Cueva Pintada. On close examination, the vocabulary becomes more simple. Although in reality I have not done much, I am still very tired tonight.

NOVEMBER 22: I copied the second shield of Victoriano.* No letters.* In the afternoon, after finishing my shields at last, I went to call on old man Chavez, and found him and his wife weaving. They were making serapes, and when he sat down to talk, she took his place. They were very communicative.

They all state that the glazed pottery was made by those "pasaron por abajo" [that went south], and that the Pueblo Indians of Chihuahua (they mean the Piro) make it yet. This is an error. But the tradition of a southerly migration is very firmly implanted, and the Piro of Senecu are well known and still recognized as Pueblos. The old man threw out the suggestion that the glazing might be made by burning with turpentine! I strongly urged them to try it next spring. He also says that wooden hoes (cavadores) were used formerly, and also the round pounding stone in place of the metate [mano?]. At night a long call from Luis Montoya and from his wife. Spoke to him about the dress of the malinche, but he referred me to the cacique for the permission to copy them. After them came two boys and Juan Chavez. The latter stayed late, and assisted, or rather guided, me in drawing the weaving stand, which was



very useful to me. Although I have not done much, still I am satisfied with the day. The discovery that I can draw somewhat is a great relief to me, and I hope now to go ahead better and with greater results.

NOVEMBER 23: Juan José came back early in the morning. He brought all my things and also a long letter from Dr. Thomas requesting me to take the census, if Don Andrés Cabeza de Vaca could not do it. We accordingly went to Peña Blanca at once and on the road met August Wilcken, Mormon Elder, with whom José Hilario had stayed three years ago when he went to California. He was going to Cochiti to preach and convert. Don Andrés said that he would take the census at once, of which I was very glad. So I wrote to Dr. Thomas, and Bennett writes that he may come Friday or Saturday.

Stayed [at Peña Blanca] to dinner with Don Andrés. He told me that, at the Pueblo Quemado, at six feet below the ground, an entire room had once been opened, in which a large tinaja was found filled with flour, which tinaja was, and still may be, in possession of Alejandro Montoya of Cieneguilla. He also has a *chalchihuitl* [turquoise] which came from the ruins, perforated and polished, and he will give it to me if he finds it. He says that the ants often disinter such things. He also assures me

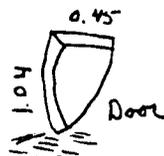
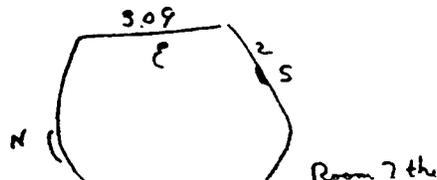
house] of the Navajo country, and distinctly added that the Mexicans call it Teguayo, thus implying that this name may be of Spanish origin, perhaps? One of them, Cristóbal, is about seventy years of age. He was at Santa Fe when they killed Perez, and says that the Abreus were killed by those of Santo Domingo by the roadside, where the pile of stones is erected. He also was one of those who guided the American engineers to New Mexico and hid the maps and charts in their chungas [chonga, or club of hair] or pig-tails, so that the Mexicans could not find them.

From here, they say the Jemez, Queres, Tigua, etc., scattered, settling as different pueblos; here they were all together as one people, after they had left the Teguayo.

Room of the cacique. Height 2.30 meters. The top is very smoky. Door. I found my pottery all safe and intact; also the stone implements. The night is very clear and warm, even, and as we sleep six in the room together, it is very comfortable. Opened the second can of beef this morning and also finished it completely.

DECEMBER 4: The rooms are remarkably well preserved in most cases, and much stonework used.* The goats have filled them with their dung. Went up west and examined the cliffs. Everything in its place. Snow ceased about 10 A.M., and we photographed the central part, the houses outside, and the projecting end with caves. These views were taken from the south side of the arroyo (the shady side), standing with the instruments in snow up to the ankles and with a fierce northwesterly wind blowing, making it necessary to hold the instruments.

Took dinner of tortillas and coffee without sugar; then measured the cluster of caves above the ruins and above the group of erosion cones. The climbing was difficult, but it is evident that little paths led up to every house. The floor is perfect in most cases, also the yellow plastering. The ceiling is generally smokey and sooty. Luis and the others left early for the top to cut brooms. José Hilario carried wood. Adelaido did not come. Our coffee is diminishing, and the sugar and meat are gone.



Not a trace of animal life, except crows and an occasional shohaqqa [?].

There are, lower down, several of these large circular rooms like our present quarters. Were they estufas? The Indians say not; they are all houses, and the estufas were those below in the valleys. Asking them about it, I ascertained from them that at Acoma and at Taos, the gentes are still kept separate, and go to separate estufas in a body. The name of *Shipeue* [a kind of sage] is also found in Cochiti, but they do not know the meaning of it. They say that at Taos there are gentes of the eagle, bear, puma, etc. The pottery is prevailingly glazed. The men found several stone hammers in the caves west. In general the ruins are very rich in fine fragments of pottery and manos, fragments of metates, etc. also obsidian and lava.

But there are no traces of fields. There is a good deal of black and white pottery, too, but no indented and corrugated pieces at all. Tomorrow we intend to finish here. Then we shall try to reach Cochiti or the Cañada on Monday.*

Every room has its fireplace, except such as were evidently used as storehouses. The ruins are in groups, and the deep recesses and reentering angles of the cliffs are avoided, notwithstanding the numbers of caves which they naturally contain. The photographs, if successfully brought to Santa Fe, will be very good. It will not be possible for me to go higher up, although Juan José has assured me that there are two or three small pueblos in caves higher up yet. The ruins farther down are very well kept, and their walls are similar to those of the other pueblos. The round towers are, according to the people here, the work of the Salas [family]. But the date is not known.

The boy is chewing chiquihuite de pingue, *ne-etsh* [pine gum?], which is said to be very good for the chest. Tortillas gave out tonight, and no Adelaido. Prospects hungry. We have plenty of ocote for the night. Cristóbal went home.

DECEMBER 5: Last night Juan José himself came about 6 P.M. with every necessary provision. There is a difference of opinion in regard to the casa del común. Juan José says it is another

house, farther east. I rather believe Luis and José Hilario. Am writing this at 3 A.M. (Juan José has been bragging terribly about his exploits.)

In general, the rooms of the eastern half are larger than those of the western section, there are even a number of very large ones. They are all plastered yellow, and smoky above.* Lowest ruin in the valley, about 30 meters north of arroyo, 640 meters southeast from round towers.* Double round tower. This tower is made of a double wall of pumice stone, and therefore double thickness. Two stories are visible, and so is the white plaster inside. The vigas [rafters] are round and still to be seen. It is partly well preserved, and evidently of Spanish make, as the tradition has it, too.

The lowest ruin stands immediately over the arroyo, and some places are well preserved, thus the northwest corner of one room is about 2 feet above the ground. Glazed pottery in large pieces; also black and white. This morning we went out to photograph west of our room, and took four views, all very good. Then I completed the eastern end, which is very rugged and almost impossible to survey owing to steep slopes and erosion cones, etc. Part of it I merely counted the rooms far below.

Many of the rooms contained carved walls, but while the carvings may have been made by Indians, they are certainly posterior to abandonment of the caves, as they are carved in the plastering. Stood in the cave all afternoon, talking.

DECEMBER 6: [The people of] Isleta near El Paso del Norte are in bad reputation as brujos (*shyatz* [*shaiyak*(?) hunt shamans] also). Started from the Rito early, and took a stereoscopic view of the Cañón del Norte, reaching the Cañada de Cochiti at sunset. Juan José left us at the foot of the Potrero de los Idolos. Was glad of it. José Hilario turned sullen also.

Stopped at the house of Luis Lucero. He was not at home, but his wife offered us hospitality. Gave up the idea of photographing the other lion. At night, Señora Lucero and José Hilario talked about the Pueblos. He is very positive about the fact that the inhabitants of Cuahpa retired to the Potrero Viejo



Rito de los Frijoles

for safety from the attacks of the Tehua. The latter also attacked the Potrero Viejo, and the fight lasted all day. At night the Tehua were beaten back and the Cochiteños pursued them, driving them across the Rio Grande with great slaughter.

Telisfero and Herrera both do not recollect the time when the lion of the Potrero de los Idolos was not mutilated. They both positively assert that the round towers at the Rito de los Frijoles are the work of the early Spanish settlers. Lower down the Rito, on a bluff, there is another small ruin which I did not see, but Juan José saw it. No supper tonight, but an excellent warm room and kind reception. The conduct of Juan José is very childish. In the canyon of the Rio Grande my horse fell into a gulch, and I fell over his head, but without hurting myself or the horse—although both were very likely to happen.

DECEMBER 7: Took the view of the Potrero Viejo from in front of the house of Luis Lucero, stereoscopic. At 9 A.M. started for the Potrero Viejo on foot, the mule alone along, carrying the apparatus. Took the road to the ruin of the potrero south, and then ascended by a path, not as steep as the other paths, but still very bad, to the top. Along this whole side there are still walls of stones piled up, along the brink, dating back to the time when the pueblo was inhabited.

Photographed a section of the walls from the west side, and then José Hilario went down to the Cañada to get the horses, while we descended with the mule to the road to wait for him. There are two water tanks on the potrero also, but I did not see them. Reached the Barranca Blanca at 3:30 P.M., passing on the north and east side of the valley of the Kolle [Canyon] (In Queres, *Quetz-i-qaash*). This name is Queres, and signifies the descent into a room from above by a ladder. Reached Cochiti by 5 P.M. Very kindly received. Trip so far glorious. (My nose is again very sore. Wrote home.)

DECEMBER 8: (Written on the 10th.) Went to Peña Blanca; there received letters from Joe, from Dr. W. J. Hoffmann, and from Icazbalceta. Arranged with the Padre to get Bennett to Santa Fe. Leandro came with the ambulance. The bridge is

brown or gray corn which was shunned by the people on account of its being *maiz de brujerías* [witchcraft corn]. It occurred as follows.

In a row of houses near the Peralta Arroyo, now abandoned, there lived (in *Q'oyes*) [cois?] two men, good hunters both. One of them was a sorcerer, the other not. The sorcerer and the other man's wife entered into a compact against the life of the other, in order that they might marry each other. So one night the [innocent] hunter was in the Cañada late and not wishing to return home before dark sat down in a rocky recess on the righthand side of the arroyo. While there, crows and owls began to alight upon the neighboring trees, and then change themselves into the forms of men and women. One of them approached the rock, without noticing the hunter, and the rock opened, showing a cave inside. Soon that cave filled with sorcerers and witches which all came in the shape of owls and crows. Among them were the friend of his and finally his own wife. She came late. When asked by the chief of the sorcerers where her husband was, she replied that he was still absent hunting but that she had placed his food on a certain shelf and that, upon his return, the brown corn would speak to him and inform him where the victuals were. It was then agreed upon to have the hunter killed in the morning by a deer, and for that purpose two of the sorcerers were sent out to fetch in the deer. They brought in the animal. It was called upon to sit down and a cigar was offered to it. After the deer had begun to smoke, it threw off its fur and was ready to talk. The task was then assigned to the deer, namely, to be on the other side of the arroyo the next morning, that the two hunters would come after it. Then the deer should [rush] upon the doomed one and kill him with its antlers. The deer wept, but said that, being once under the spell of the cigar, it could not refuse to obey although it was very wrong. It was led out again, and the listener stealthily went home.

There, indeed, the corn spoke to him. He seized it, dipped it

into urine, and dashed it against the wall, then took a firebrand and examined the inner closet where he found, in a small painted cup, the natural eyes of his wife. These he also dipped into urine and replaced them, and then laid down. After midnight his wife returned, went into the closet, and remained there. At daybreak the traitor called him out; they went and found the deer as agreed. The deer rushed upon them but killed the traitor in place of the hunter who dextrously avoided the thrust. He then went home and found his wife sitting in the dark with her face covered. Seizing her by the hair he found that she had the eyes of an owl, not having been able to use her own. He threw her down, and she died.

Such stories appear to be current. Nambé and Isleta del Sur are great places for sorcery. During this talk Juan José unwittingly let out that the Koshare practiced medicine also, and that there were Koshare among the Piroos too.

APRIL 26: Rode to Santa Fe with José Hilario. Collected the *caña agria*. It is used by the Mexicans for tanning; being mashed and the hide left in a trough with the plant and water. Afterwards *salvado* [bran] is used. Reached Santa Fe at 3 P.M. and dispatched José Hilario. Lecture for Friday night. Beautiful weather. Evening at Governor Ritch. Many letters. All right.

APRIL 27: Wrote and painted. Wrote cards to Joe, to Mrs. Morgan, Dr. Moore, Dr. Brühl, Dr. Engelmann, and [sent] bugs to Maly. Dr. Covert presented me with a beautiful old piece of glossy pottery, found in a walled-up cave in the Cerrillos, together with some charred tubes. Night at McLeans. Visits of D. J. Miller, Brown, Pearce, Ed McLean, etc. Every friendship shown. Dined at the Parroquia.

APRIL 28: Worked and painted. Wrote to Mr. Parkman in the afternoon. Dr. Thomas has a beautiful old stone-hatchet from Laguna, with handle. I have been rather neglectful of my duties in regard to my journal. It is a day of preparation for my lecture, and I trust to God for the result. He has been very good to me thus far.

shouting. The logs were tied with ropes, then drifted into the current and slowly pulled in by ropes to the shore. They got through by 4 P.M.

We spent the day in the fields and the nearest hills. Many cacti—some new forms. At sunset, all the chimneys began to smoke, and many people returned. The goats and sheep of the pueblo, which had been kept on the east side of the river all day, were driven across, north of the pueblo. The cattle, about 150-200 head, which had been driven to a pasture north of the village at the foot of the mesa in the morning, returned at night, and the steers, about a dozen, were driven into the river. They swam across, probably to be ready for work in the fields tomorrow.

They danced the Baile de las Tablas yesterday. We waited on the switch till the train came at 7 P.M., and returned to Albuquerque by magnificent moonlight. Very tired, but still glad. Joe stands it remarkably well. She is strong and healthy almost.

MAY 3: The 3 conical hills¹³³ west of the river and of Albuquerque are said by Willie to be burnt out volcanoes; at least the most northerly of them. I went to town and got a letter from Mr. Collet. Painted groundplan of orchards at San Felipe. Wrote up my journal. Called on Judge Hazeldine. Saw Mr. Provencher who gave me directions in regard to Acoma. Wrote the *Garbancillo* article and a letter to Father Brun.¹³⁴

MAY 4: Went to East [New] Albuquerque and got letter from Mrs. Morgan. Decided not to return to Cochiti, but to stay until Sunday. In the afternoon I met three Indians from Isleta

¹³³. Three of the five volcanic cones on the heights west of the Rio Grande above Albuquerque.

¹³⁴. John B. Brun, French ancestry, brother of Mrs. Dumas Provencher, was ordained by Bishop John B. Lamy August 15, 1868. After serving briefly at Taos and Pecos, he was given charge of the churches and chapels of Cebolleta, Cubero, San Rafael, San Mateo, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi. Biographic material on Father Brun and on several other persons in the Acoma-Laguna area was supplied the editors by Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, formerly Archivist, Museum of New Mexico.

in the plaza and asked from them the names of the Pueblos. One of them was Domingo Abeyta, whom I had met at Lamy on the 17th of March. The poor man lost his plough by the railroad company. [There follows a list of Pueblo names given in Tiwa.]

They acknowledge that they understand the Taos somewhat, but principally the Picuries [Picurís]. They have no knowledge of the Tano pueblos, and no names for them in their own idiom. They say that those of Senecu are Piros, but those of the Isleta del Sur are Tiguas and speak their own language. Their pueblo they also call *Tshia-hiu-pa*. Their cacique is speechless now, owing to infirmity, but this does not invalidate him.

They [?] have a fine live magpie in the house, black and white. Sent plants to Dr. Engelmann, a cactus. Wrote to Collet. Went to town and got pass and compass. Saw a magnificent Navajo blanket. Left the washing with a Chinese as follows: 3 white and 2 gray shirts, and 1 night-shirt, 1 undershirt, 1 pair drawers, 2 pairs socks, 4 handkerchiefs, 6 collars. Spent the night pleasantly. Resolved to leave day after tomorrow.

MAY 5: Went to town to arrange for tomorrow. Drew salary and \$100 [for future needs]. Got letters from Papa and from Dr. Engelmann. Went to W. A. Smith and bought pottery, shipping it to St. Louis. Bought shirts, etc., also paper. Went to the Parroquia and met Father Personnet also. They have old books at the Parroquia, but they contain little as far as I can see. Wrote to Mr. Parkman. Also to Papa, sending him \$84.00 and the bill against Mr. Collet for \$16.00 for collection. Wrote to Juan José, etc. I thus gradually prepared everything for tomorrow. My stay at Albuquerque has not been without effect, of course. There are church books which may be of interest but, after having looked for them in vain several times, I got them when it was altogether too late. Saw Mr. Provencher and took a card from him to his wife.¹³⁵

¹³⁵. Mrs. Dumas Provencher, a sister of Fr. John B. Brun of San Rafael. Provencher, a settler of French ancestry, with various other members of his

The banks of the arroyo are steep, about 3.0 [meters] high, and at 0.30 to 0.40 [meter] from the top there runs a seam of charcoal bits; plain, smoked, and corrugated pottery. I begin to believe that this seam is a remnant of the old rubbish-heaps and of the pottery-hearths combined, nearly all the pottery being very much charred. The pueblo had three plazas with two visible entrances to the east, facing steep wooded hills. Depressions still indicate former rooms. No trace of estufas. In the center of the southern plaza is a round structure, built of dry stone, and of Mexican origin. The people here are kind. The young ones, however, do not know anything about the pueblo. One of them recalls Pecos, three years after it was abandoned. There were three stories; they lived in the middle and upper ones—the lower one being dark and vacant. They used chimneys like the Mexicans of today. Their pottery was white, painted with black, also glossy, the glossy lines being sometimes brown and greenish. They had many metates in frames in the middle and upper stories. Painted late.

NOVEMBER 15: It remained cloudy until noon, and then, at last, seeing that there was no remedy, went and photographed the ruins from the southeast. Time 5 seconds, smallest diaphragm. Painted all forenoon, three pieces of pottery. Photographed the ruins at noon; could not do any better.

Left at 4 P.M. At Lamy met Don José María Telles, and Don Lorenzo Abadia. The latter repeated to me that the Jumanos were a branch of the Comanche,¹⁵⁷ and that the Mesa Jumana

157. The "Jumano problem" has never been conclusively solved, but the facts seem to be as follows. The Jumano were noted as early as 1582 at La Junta de los Rios (the modern Presidio area) where they were in contact with the sedentary Patarabueve. In the next two centuries they ranged a territory from La Junta to the Colorado River (Texas) southwestward to the Gulf Coast and perhaps as far south as Coahuila. During the 17th century the Jumano were bitter enemies of the Apache, but during the 18th they allied themselves with Apache groups and may eventually have merged with them. The Jumano were migratory and lived either in tents or in some form of easy-to-construct dwelling. Their linguistic affiliation remains a mystery, but it is unlikely that they were related to the Comanche as stated here. Aside from the Jumano

was Quivira. There are no ruins at Gran Quivira.¹⁵⁸ Arrived at Santa Fe. Reception most friendly. Spent an hour at Dr. Eggert's. Letters from Joe, Prof. Norton, Mr. Parkman, Dr. Engelmann, Mr. Collet. Wrote to Joe. God be with her.

NOVEMBER 16: South and west of Anton Chico there are ruins at Cañón Pintado, thirty miles south of Anton Chico at Agua Negra, seven miles [from] the Pecos. To the point of the Sierra del Capitán, and around the mountain, at forty miles from the Pecos River. Apparently connected with this, to the west, around the base of the Sierra Blanca and extending to near the malpais of the Carrizo. There are many ruins there. From the Capitán south, evidences of ruins on both the Rio Bonito and Rio Ruidoso. Those two join, forming the Rio Hondo; no ruins noted there.

Twenty-five miles south to the Sierrita Pajarito, ruin, fortifications on top of volcanic breccia. Has noticed nothing south of it, except mounds of stones along trails leading to water. He observed that custom almost everywhere among the Indians of New Mexico. Between San Juan and Picurís there are pueblos. Northeast of Picurís there are ruins which the Picurís Indians claim as those of their villages. All along the Rio Taos and up to the Conejos there are ruins also, claimed by the Taos Indians as their own. This is information from Mr. Willison, who spent the whole evening with me in the kindest manner possible.

I paid visits, and wrote to Joe, dear Joe. In the afternoon, all of a sudden, Mr. Stephenson dropped in. He told me that, in the Cañón de Chelle, he had visited forty-six cliff villages, and that he had seen upwards of fifty in all, but that some of them were so high up as to be out of reach, and there is no access to them at present. In these cliff-houses he found hand-

proper certain other groups, including the Taovaya, Wichita, Pawnee, and Havasupai have at one time or other been called Jumano, a term cognate with "rayado" (painted or decorated). (Cf. Kelley, n.d.; also Bandelier 1890-92: I, 85 et seq.)

158. A puzzling statement in view of the mission church and large ruin. The site referred to by Bandelier as Gran Quivira was probably Humanas.

is difficult, and I am growing weary. Wrote to Dr. Gerlich, Dr. Engelmann, to my wife, and to Dr. Walliser. Nothing new. Sent word to the Padre at Peña Blanca. Clouds lowering. Prints coming out fine. Gold shipped his goods. Dr. Eggert insisted upon my charging \$300 for them, and gave good reasons for it. Bought the ornament of the matachinas, blankets, etc.

NOVEMBER 24: Had a beautiful letter from Joe last night. Thank God for it. Received a letter from the Padre who sent me his carriage. Shall start tomorrow. Bought some more things. Sent photographs to Dr. Gerlich, 20 select ones. Very beautiful. Also a piece of turquoise in the rock. No possibility of taking photographs for Brown, from the top of Fort Marcy. Too cloudy. Saw D. Miller. He gives good report of José Olivas. The horse is not suitable, having a sore back. Drew \$100 (November salary) and paid \$50 to J. Gold and \$20 to Marsh. Shall start tomorrow. Bought woolen jacket for José Hilario, and [?] for the Padre. Marsh brought me pottery from Triapi, and from the site of Nuestra Señora del Rosario at Santa Fe. The latter is old, black-on-white. Sent photographs to Parkman and Norton. Eight views. Passed [the time of day?] at Brown, and then went to Dr. Eggert. Everything ready for tomorrow.

NOVEMBER 25: About the time we reached the Cieneguilla the fog began to lift, after a heavy cold flurry. We stopped at the house of José de la Luz Romero, to warm ourselves. He assured me that there was not only one, but that there were several pueblos at and near the Cieneguilla, that many ruins were originally met with on the site itself, that metates, pottery, turquoise, etc., had been found, and that there were still old men living, who recalled the name of the pueblo. I arranged with him to stop at the place on my return. Photographed the Bajada, the sky having cleared sufficiently. Arrived at Peña Blanca about 3 P.M. and was received with the customary cordiality.

The Padre lives perfectly alone, and takes his meals at Don Nicolás Lucero's. There is to be a grand wedding tonight, the daughter of Don Nicolás, with Hilario Ortiz of Santa Fe. Rómulo Martinez is [their padrino?].

The wedding took place in church, and the Padre spoke very well. Then we followed to the house of Don Nicolás, where refreshments were extended. Don Nicolás told me that there was indeed a pueblo at the Cieneguilla, and that it was a well-known fact. The name he could not recollect. About the ruin of Santo Domingo he is very positive also, and he affirms that it took place after the reconquest. Juan José intimated between 1689 and 1692. Don Nicolás lived a long time among the Tehua and says that Yunque is the name given to the region about San Ildefonso. He mentions it as: El Reyno de Yunque [the community of Yunque].

NOVEMBER 26: The day being magnificent, I photographed the valley from Peña Blanca, looking north. After Mass I stayed with the Padre. At 2 P.M., José Hilario suddenly came. He was overjoyed. We returned to Cochiti together. Day splendid. Reception most friendly everywhere. Juan José is gone to the Rito with Mr. Gustin. Hai-ou-a [has gone] to the States. But the rest are here and the same good old friends as ever. Santiago, the governor, led me to an old Piro Indian of Senecu, a sentero, who gave me a good deal of information. He says that Teypana was at Cuaray, Trenaquel on the northern spur of the Sierra Blanca, that Cuaray was a pueblo of the Piro, Tigua, etc., that the pueblo of San Marcial was of the Manso. That the Zuma, as the Piro called them, were of the Apache, and still lived in small houses of adobe like the Mexicans, but they were more strictly sedentary. Quivira, he says, was not destroyed, but abandoned by its people owing to fear of a giant. All this is incongruous and suspicious.

Of the pueblos from Socorro (called San Miguel!) to San Marcial he affirms that they were inhabited formerly by those

who went south.¹⁶¹ There is an evident mixture of facts from the time of the reconquest with others of subsequent date. He says that some of the Piros of Quivira now live at Jemez. Santiago also told me that the people of San Marcos were Tanos, and not Queres. José Hilario also told me that the little amulets of alabaster are called *gua-puy*, and promised me three or four to paint.

There is to be Baile de los Entremeseros next Thursday, and the Baile de los Matachinas at Zile, on the 4th of December. Plenty of work before me. The Padre has a little amulet of alabaster, with a crucifix on it, which was found in the ruins of the Bajada. This might be looked upon as significative, but I have some doubt about its genuineness. Santiago tells me that the Cieneguilla is called *Hañi-china* [east arroyo].

Wrote to Joe. The infernal pen is making a good deal of trouble. It is a humbug after all.

It is interesting, how eager they are here for plumas de guacamayo [macaw feathers]. They insist . . . *que hacen mucha falta aqui* [that they are much needed here]. Pedro tells me that, when a boy and girl are engaged, it is customary for the boy to sleep with the girl every night. Adelaido indeed goes out every night.

NOVEMBER 27: Wrote to Henry Kaune. José Hilario, as usual, very late. Victorio brought me pozole and guayaves. Left at last on foot, without José Hilario, at 9 A.M. for Peña Blanca. Arrived at the Curacy at 10 A.M., the Padre being on the point of leaving for Wallace. Gave him my letters, and then waited for José Hilario.

161. Quarai was a Tiwa pueblo some 30 miles east of the Rio Grande near the present-day town of Manzano, New Mexico. Trenaquel was the most southerly Piro town on the west side of the Rio Grande, on or near the present-day site of San Marcial, south of Socorro, New Mexico. The Manso probably lived originally in the area of Las Cruces, New Mexico. Their linguistic affiliation is uncertain. The Zuma mentioned here is possibly Oñate's Zumaque, perhaps a southern Piro village. Gran Quivira probably was the old Humanas, the southernmost of the Salinas Piro settlements, some 28 miles due west of the modern town of Corona, New Mexico.

Size of the cradle: width 0.09 [meter]. Length 0.30 [meter]. Name in Queres: *O-a-tze-me*. The cradle suspended is called: *A-esh-to-tze*. Wrote to Professor Norton at night. José Hilario did not come to Peña Blanca until noon, and we returned at noon. Painted the cradle. It strikes me that I had very bad success with my writing and painting. The latter principally is incorrect. I believe it is because I am too hasty, too impatient. In the evening I wrote to the Ausland. It is better for me to keep up this correspondence, even if it is troublesome. José Hilario and Ventura Ortiz came in tonight. The entremeseros are practicing at the estufa.

NOVEMBER 28: Last night, the boy Ventura stayed until late. He told me many things about the Koshare and the Kwerana. There is a *qu-share-nauaya*, or *Qu-share-Mayor*, and a *qui-rana-nauaya*, or *Querana-Mayor*. Both are for life and elected. José Hilario told me that Romero Chavez was the *Chayane* [*chai-añi*] of the sun! Ventura also told me that the boys and girls go to sleep together in presence of their parents, if the girl likes the boy. But he does not say that actual cohabitation follows. It looks like a decent Kiltga [German, Kiltgang]. He asked for money "to go to sleep with the neighbors' girl." Thus it seems that presents are given, expected, and received.

At last we started, at 10 A.M., towards the Potrero de los Idolos. I found some nuggets of obsidian in the pumice. Measured the height of the cliffs. $58 \text{ heights} = 1.60 \times 58 = 92.80$ meters or 304 feet. The vertical around the top is from 10 to 60 feet high. The ascent of the cliffs is rugged but not impracticable, through a rill or gulch or slide on the south side. Top oblong, and covered with stunted piñones and sabinos. Ruins in about the same condition as in 1880. Photographed the potrero from the loma on the south side of the Cañada, and the sculptures on the top. Plate # 6 is the last. Exposure 8 and 9 seconds. Light delightful. We returned by way of the Cañada, stopping at the house of Doña Juliana Lucero, wife of Luis. He was not at home. Saw Martín. (Telis-