

QUINCENTENNIAL PUBLISHING: An Ocean of Print

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"The greatest event in world history,
excepting the birth and death of
Christ. . . ."
Francisco López de Gómara (1552)

"Columbus's voyage to America
began a legacy of European piracy,
brutality, slave trading, murder,
disease, conquest, and ethnocide. . . ."
The American Library Association (1990)

These contrasting pronouncements on Christopher Columbus's transatlantic navigation in 1492 crystalize the extreme division of opinion that characterized the recent quincentennial. The five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage inspired among other things a world's fair, several replicas of the *Niña*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa María*, two feature films, and an opera. Commemoration of the event also inspired, in time-honored tradition, the publication of thousands of works dedicated to this major event. Thus although publishing technology is speeding along toward electronic rather than printed images, the fifth centennial of Columbus's voyage has been marked most significantly by the rolling of the presses.

As a bibliographer charged with selecting and acquiring Ibero-Americana for a research library, I have monitored the growth of the quincentennial literature closely. This article will examine some of the intellectual legacy of the quincentennial through the lens of publication, delineating its characteristics and trends in content.

PUBLISHING

Quantitative Dimensions

The most casual observer of the book trade will have noticed the recent surge of works on Columbus and the events of 1492. But as this essay will demonstrate, publications linked to the quincentennial cover a much broader array of themes than any single person or date. Hence

examining the burgeoning of quincennial publications requires some definition of the universe involved that can answer the question of which publications pertain to the quincennial. Some are clearly labeled as such on their title pages, like the periodicals and monographic series listed in the appendix. But many defy easy identification. The National Endowment for the Humanities offered guidance in the breach in outlining the foci the NEH considered suitable for its own quincennial program: "expansion of European civilization through the efforts of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns"; "new societies and new forms of cultural expression that emerged from the encounters of native American, European and African peoples"; and "the ideas—political, religious, philosophical, scientific, technological, and aesthetic—that shaped the processes of exploration, settlement, and cultural conflict and transformation set into motion by Columbus's event of epic chance."¹ By defining the quincennial so broadly, the NEH opened the doors to maximum participation in its program. Yet such a large scope points to the difficulty of using this or any other definition advanced thus far to bracket a precise set of publications. Rather than apply these criteria ad hoc, this essay will follow a library model to define the bibliographic universe. The statistics cited refer to books assigned subject descriptors relevant to the quincennial in the course of library cataloging, all of them published since 1979, when the earliest quincennial committees were organized.

Counts of the relevant publications showed the growth of two sets of quincennial-related publications over the past two years. The data revealed the number of "clusters" (the term given discrete bibliographic units in the Research Libraries Information Network, or RLIN) that appeared when this database was consulted between January 1990 and December 1992.² RLIN displays the catalog records for a number of major Latin American collections in the United States, among them the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and university libraries at Columbia, Yale, University of Florida, Cornell, the University of Southern California, Stanford, and the University of California, Berkeley. Thus although the database does not contain entries for all titles related to the quincennial, its records accurately reflect the size and growth of the nation's relevant stock of bibliographic items.

The most obvious access point for quincennial publications is the subject heading "Christopher Columbus." The Library of Congress

1. Pamphlet issued by the National Endowment for the Humanities, *The Columbian Quincennial, 1492–1992* (Washington, D.C.: NEH, n.d.).

2. Because of nuances in the way the RLIN filing algorithms search a bibliographic record, clusters are not totally synonymous with discrete works. Moreover, because the database preserves the records created at each member institution, the same bibliographic items sometimes appear as separate clusters due to local cataloging procedures or individual interpretations of bibliographic information.

currently employs more than forty headings to organize his life and work, which are arranged alphabetically from anniversaries to tomb and include such arcane subdivisions as "Contributions in Medicine," "Friends and Associates," "Relations with Jews," and "Homes and Haunts—Europe." The number of Columbus clusters in RLIN, even when limited to works published since 1979, numbered nearly a thousand by the end of 1992. This uninterrupted growth in the number of Columbus items manifested a series of short-term variations, with the sharpest increase occurring in the period between January 1991 and June 1992. This peak suggests that many editorial projects were timed for release shortly before the quincennial observance in an effort to capitalize on the anticipated heightened public awareness of the historic events. It would be interesting to plot sales figures along the same axis, if they ever become available. A sharp drop in publications since June 1992 demonstrates that the Columbus publishing wave has now crested, although some works published during the peak have yet to find their way into national databases.

The Columbus-related items were also sorted into their main language components. Seventeen languages emerged, with English and Spanish predominating in 75 percent of the items (45 percent in English, 30 percent in Spanish). Of the Spanish-language segment, peninsular works comprise nearly 65 percent of the 309 titles identified. Italian ranked third in Columbus studies with 134 titles (less than 15 percent). The language breakdown quantifies the expected strong interest in Columbus in Spain and Italy, the lands of his patronage and birth. English-language works account for almost half of all the Columbus studies identified here, but the total is surely skewed by a database that includes the full range of materials copyrighted in the United States and Great Britain but only those materials in other languages that were deemed useful to users of U.S. and Canadian research libraries.

A second search cast a wider net beyond Columbus to the more general subject of the early European encounter with America. Searching under the heading "America—Discovery and Exploration—Spanish" allowed examination of relevant works in wider geographic and chronological scope: the Spanish Indies from 1492 to 1550. As with the Columbus heading, the number of works in RLIN increased dramatically in a short time, 92 percent (from 293 to 564 clusters) in the first six months of 1991. As before, English and Spanish dominate as languages of publication, accounting for more than 80 percent of the titles. But under this heading, Spanish-language works predominate (divided almost equally between Spain and Latin America), and Italian titles shrink to only 8 percent of the sample.

The results of these two searches suggest several observations. First, interest in Columbus is international in nature but is particularly evident in the United States and the countries of his birth, chartering, and

encounter. Second, more interest has been shown in Columbus himself in Europe, while the encounter has been the primary focus in the Americas. Third, Spain played a large role in quincentennial publication.

Underlying these generalizations are nuances that color this account of publication trends and scholarly understanding of the messages contained in those publications. First, quincentennial publishing has been largely a Hispanic undertaking. Spanish-language publications, especially those from Iberia, dominate new contributions to the historical literature and offer the widest range of subjects available. The sizable number of English-language publications must be placed in the larger context of U.S. publishing output, which is nearly three times as big as those of Spain and Spanish America combined. Moreover, close examination of the English-language titles from RLIN reveals a large number of juvenile books, translations, and reprints published on quincentenary subjects. For instance, these three categories account for more than a quarter of a sample of 192 titles taken from the heading "America—Discovery and Exploration" (27 of them juvenile works). When considering only works of original research and writing dedicated to quincentennial themes published since 1980, Spanish-language imprints clearly outnumber the publications in other languages. Thus this latter-day enterprise of the Indies was also a largely Spanish undertaking.

The Publishing Industry

Behind the Spanish-language dominance is a series of national policies that translated into publishing on the quincentenary. Spain began its quincentennial observations early and poured a great deal of money into them. One source estimated that expenditures would reach five billion dollars, evidently an accurate guess if the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona are included in the total.³

In 1981 the Spanish government formed a nonpartisan Comisión Nacional del Quinto Centenario centered in Madrid. The commission immediately created a publishing arm headed by Luis Martínez, who launched an ambitious project he called the Biblioteca Quinto Centenario. The Biblioteca became an umbrella organization that advanced the cause of quincentennial publication and channeled subsidies to thirty-five to forty publishers who participated in the program. Most of the major Spanish houses—Espasa Calpe, Anaya, Alianza, Aguilar, Alhambra, Plaza y Janés—signed on and have produced striking results. More than five hundred titles have been published on a variety of subjects. Although some of these works bear only slight relationships to the quincentennial (such as Anaya's multivolume *Biblioteca Iberoamericana*, which features

3. Michael Kilian, "New World of Hype," *Chicago Tribune*, 12 Aug. 1990, sec. 5, p. 9.

works as tangential as a biography of José Martí and handbooks for several Latin American countries), the program succeeded nonetheless in making publishing a featured part of the Spanish celebration.⁴

Italy and the city of Genoa in particular also translated political support for the quincentenary into a set of publications. The Nuova Raccolta Colombiana, a monographic series uniting texts and scholarly studies of Columbus with his era, was begun in 1988 as a project of the Italian government intended to emulate the classic *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi* that published critical editions of most of the Columbus documents known to scholars between 1892 and 1894.⁵ A series sponsored by the city of Genoa, the *Monografie su Temi Colombiani*, has now produced ten works on various Columbian topics.

France, a country with only tenuous connections to 1492, also sponsored publications on the episodes commemorated in the quincentennial. In the wake of the monumental bicentennial celebrations in 1989, the French government created an institution with the politically correct title of *Comité National pour la Célébration du Cinquième Centenaire de la Rencontre des Deux Mondes*. The committee did not offer cash subsidies, but it attempted to organize and publicize a national publication effort.⁶

Substantial government subventions for the quincentennial were never approved in the United States, an outcome that heightened the contrast between the Spanish and U.S. approaches. The Columbus Jubilee Commission, the U.S. counterpart to Spain's *Comisión Nacional del Quinto Centenario*, never captured popular or governmental attention. The Jubilee Commission was severely underfunded: when creating it in 1984, the U.S. Congress limited its total appropriation to two million dollars. And the commission's disastrous history further reduced its effectiveness.⁷ Moreover, the year 1992 transpired in a political and intellectual climate that was hostile to the implications of "discovery" and "conquest." All these factors combined to stifle the quincentennial and preclude its becoming a high-profile event in the United States.

Yet the quincentennial did not pass totally unnoticed in Washington. The National Endowment for the Humanities had announced the Colombian Quincentenary as a special initiative in 1984 and funded a

4. See María Luisa Laviana Cuetos, *José Martí: la libertad de Cuba*, Biblioteca Iberoamericana no. 47 (Madrid: Anaya, 1988); and Omar Pedraza, *Colombia*, 2 vols., Biblioteca Iberoamericana nos. 3 and 5 (Madrid: Anaya, 1988).

5. For a useful report on this series, see Graziella Galliano, "La vecchia e la nuova raccolta colombiana," *La Casana* 31, no. 3 (1989):32–36.

6. Christine Ferrand, "Les Editeurs sur les pas de Christophe Colomb," *Livres Hebdo*, 17 May 1991, pp. 57–60.

7. The trials and tribulations of the commission are recorded in official congressional documents. See especially those of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on Census and Population, *Oversight Hearing to Review the Activities of the Columbus Quincentenary Commission* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).

series of projects ranging from a critical edition of the *Chilam Balam* to a planning conference on the Lewis and Clark expedition as part of the Columbian legacy. But the NEH did not begin to muster the kind of support it offered to U.S. bicentennial celebrations in 1976 and 1989. The Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution also featured the quincentennial among their programs in 1992. "An Ongoing Voyage" became the theme for the Library of Congress's set of "exhibitions, research projects, research guides, documentary projects, preparations of facsimiles of Library treasures, educational outreach miniconferences, lectures and film series."⁸ Among its quincentennial publications are Louis De Vorse's *Keys to the Encounter* (1992) and Estela Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach's *The Hispanic World, 1492–1898: A Guide to Photo-reproduced Manuscripts from Spain in the Collections of the United States, Guam, and Puerto Rico* (announced for 1993). The Smithsonian mounted a year-long series of events, the most visible being the exhibit "Seeds of Change," which was accompanied by a catalog edited by Herman J. Viola and Carolyn Margolis.⁹

To understand the different levels of quincentennial activities and commitment between Spain and the United States, it is enlightening to compare two documents in which the Spanish and U.S. quincentennial commissions describe their activities. Interested readers will find it helpful to compare Madrid's *500 Years, 500 Programs* with Washington's *A Report to the Congress by the Christopher Columbus Jubilee Commission*.¹⁰

Trends in Editorship

Reprints of classic and not so classic studies of the quincentennial events form an important component of works appearing in conjunction with 1992. Three major works now available again are Francisco Morales Padrón's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de América*, a reprint of José María Ascencio's biography of Columbus first issued in conjunction with the Fourth Centennial in 1891, and a monograph assembling Alice Bache Gould's magisterial work on the crew of the first voyage, which was

8. John Hébert and Barbara Lose, "'An Ongoing Voyage' Reaches Its Chief Goal: Quincentenary Program Exhibit to Open in August," *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* 51, no. 15 (27 July 1992):327.

9. *Seeds of Change: A Quincentennial Commemoration*, edited by Herman J. Viola and Carolyn Margolis (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991). For further description of Smithsonian programs, see the pamphlet published by the Smithsonian's Office of Quincentenary Programs, *Quincentenary, 1492–1992*.

10. See *500 Years, 500 Programs: Report* (Madrid: Commission Quincentennial, 1988). Also, *A Report by the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission* (Washington, D.C.: Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, 1987).

originally published as a series of articles in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*.¹¹

The international character of quinquennial publishing is underscored by the large number of recently translated works. Translations into English include spicy titles like *The Portuguese Columbus, Secret Agent of King John II* and fictional works by such internationally recognized authors as Alejo Carpentier. Publication of Camusso Lorenzo's fascinating travel guide to fifteenth-century Europe shows that U.S. publishing houses were occasionally willing to reach beyond established historical figures and authors.¹² Across the Atlantic, publishers sought to capture important voices in other languages, such as those of Bartolomé Bennasar (translated from Spanish to Portuguese) and Jacques Attali (from French to Spanish and Portuguese). European publishers have also tried translating new English-language scholarship, such as the biography of Columbus by Felipe Fernández-Armesto that was published first in English by Oxford University Press.¹³

Nowhere is internationalism more evident than in the number of copublication agreements reached by editorial houses to bring quinquennial works to light. Perhaps the best illustration of these agreements was the publication of Franco Cardini's *Europa 1492*, a work originally written in Italian and published in Milan by Rizzoli and in the United States (in English and Spanish) by Facts on File, which was released the following year simultaneously in German by Südwest of Munich and in French by Solar in Paris.

QUINCENTENNIAL THEMES

Although the NEH's programmatic definition of the quinquennial as the expansion of Europe, new societies in the Americas, and ideas that shaped the events does not identify the bibliographic universe of the quinquennial, it more than adequately subsumes the range of quinquen-

11. See Francisco Morales Padrón, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de América*, 5th ed. (Madrid: Gredos, 1990); and José María Ascensio, *Cristóbal Colón: su vida, sus viajes, sus descubrimientos*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial del Valle de Mexico, 1991). See also Alice Bache Gould, *Nueva lista documentada de los tripulantes de Colón en 1492* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1984). Other new editions of note include Salvador de Madariaga, *Vida del muy magnífico señor don Cristóbal Colón*, 5th ed. (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1992); Pascual de Andagoya, *Relación y documentos*, edited by Adrián Blázquez (Madrid: Historia 16, 1986); and Carlos Pereyra, *Las huellas de los conquistadores* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1986).

12. See Mascarenhas Barreto, *The Portuguese Columbus, Secret Agent of King John II*, translated by Reginald A. Brown (New York: St. Martin's, 1992); Alejo Carpentier, *The Harp and the Shadow, A Novel*, translated by Thomas Christensen and Carol Christensen (San Francisco: Mercury House, 1990); and Lorenzo Camusso, *Travel Guide to Europe, 1492: Ten Itineraries in the Old World* (New York: Henry Holt, 1992).

13. For examples, see Bartolomé Bennasar, *1492: Un Monde nouveau?* (Paris: Perrin, 1991); Jacques Attali, *1492* (Paris: Fayard, 1991); and Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

ennial themes. In keeping with the directions already established here, however, this essay will offer a complimentary typology that incorporates an emphasis on publishing as well as thematic trends.

Columbus

Christopher Columbus towered over the quincentennial as he did over the four-hundredth anniversary in 1892. But whereas the earlier event represented an unabashed celebration of his accomplishments, the admiral's actions and legacy were often scrutinized more critically a century later.

Interest in certain Columbian topics seems insatiable enough to spawn virtual cottage industries. For example, a single Spanish author, José Luis de Pando Villarroya, wrote some twenty books on the admiral and his life between 1982 and 1987, all published by what appears to be his own publishing house.¹⁴ Recent works have focused repeatedly on Columbus's nationality (the Mallorcans being particularly insistent on claiming him), his supposed Semitic origins, the landfall in the New World (with several islands continuing to vie for the honor), and his love life.¹⁵

Columbus scholarship has moved considerably beyond these themes, however. A number of biographies have appeared recently, some based on new interpretations and some on translations and the reediting of past publications. As examples of this last tendency, the work of foreign scholars (especially Italians) has become accessible to English-reading audiences through trade and university presses in the United States.¹⁶ These works will certainly broaden general under-

14. Examples include *Colón y Fernández de Navarrete* (1986); *Colón y el oro* (1985); *Colón, marinero* (1987); and *Colón e el viaje tercero* (1986). All these works were published in Madrid by Pando.

15. On the nationality question, see Bartomeu Costa-Amic, *Colom catalán de Mallorca, sobrino de los Reyes Católicos*, 3d ed. (Mexico City: Costa-Amic, 1989); Gabriel Verd Martorell, *Cristóbal Colón era noble y de sangre real: una realidad nacido en Mallorca* (Palma de Mallorca: Verd Martorell, 1989); Nito Verdera, *La verdad de un nacimiento: Colón ibiceno* (Madrid: Kaydeda, 1988); and Mascarenhas Barreto, *O Português Cristovão Colombo, Agente Secreto do Rei Dom João II* (Lisbon: Referendo Amadora, Distribuidora de Livros Bertrand, 1988). On Jewish origins, see Jane Frances Amler, *Christopher Columbus's Jewish Roots* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1991). On the voyage, see Michael Anthony, *The Golden Quest: The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (London: Macmillan, 1992); and Mauricio Obregón, *Colón en el mar de los Caribes* (Bogotá: Ediciones Uniades, Tercer Mundo Editores, 1990). On the landfall, see Alejandro Raymundo Pérez, *The Columbus Landfall in America and the Hidden Clues in His Journal* (Washington, D.C.: Abbe, 1987); and Adam Szaszdi Nagy, *La primera tierra americana descubierta* (Valladolid, Spain: Casa-Museo de Colón, 1988). On Columbus's love life, see Alexandre Cioranesai, *Una amiga de Cristóbal Colón, doña Beatriz de Bobadilla* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Caja de Ahorros de Canarias, 1989); and María de Freitas Treen, *The Admiral and His Lady: Columbus and Filipa of Portugal* (New York: R. Speller, 1989).

16. See Gianni Granzotto, *Christopher Columbus* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985); Paolo Emilio Taviani, *Columbus, the Great Adventure: His Life, His Times, and His Voyages* (New York: Orion, 1991); and Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World from Christopher*

standing of Columbus's life and times, although the lack of translations from Spanish of the work of important scholars like Consuelo Varela and Juan Gil leaves their contributions underappreciated in the United States and Canada.

An important new thrust in Columbus studies is exploring the European world in 1492. When viewed through the lens of social and intellectual history, Columbus's life and accomplishments emerge in a context of technological, demographic, and religious developments. Studies by Alain Mantine, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, and William and Carla Rahn Phillips stand out in this regard.¹⁷

Columbus has also become a subject for studies employing newer scholarly emphases on mentalities and the environment. Such attention has focused on the admiral's penchant for prophecy, his relationship with Franciscan mysticism, the European myths of discovery in the late medieval age, and the myths that grew up to describe the New World after 1492.¹⁸ The environment—its pre-European state as well as its degradation under regimes bent on extraction—set the stage for a scholarly and polemical debate that captured attention outside academia.¹⁹

It is not yet clear how Columbus will emerge from the quincenary. Gary Wills's extensive review of books on Columbus concluded that the metaphorical Columbus (the persona associated with the voyage and its aftermath) rather than the man himself should be the object of attention.²⁰ Clearly, the 1992 round of commemorations did not yield the uncritical praise of a century ago. But given that Columbus's all-too-human nature was appreciated by contemporaries such as *cronistas* Pietro Martire d'Anghiera and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who also recognized the importance of his accomplishments, perhaps such evenhandedness will reassert itself in the coming century.²¹

Columbus to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985).

17. See Alain Mantine, *Le Grand Admiral* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1991); Fernández-Armesto, *Columbus*; and William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *The Worlds of Christopher Columbus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

18. See Alain Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español* (Valladolid, Spain: Casa-Museo Colón, 1983); Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del descubrimiento* (Madrid: Alianza, 1989); and Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Imaginative Landscape of Christopher Columbus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992).

19. On the environment, see the engaging work by Antonello Gerbi, *Nature in the New World*; and Kirkpatrick Sale's muckraking work, *The Conquest of Paradise* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

20. Gary Wills, "Man of the Year," *New York Review*, 21 Nov. 1991, pp. 12–18.

21. For recent commentaries on Columbus historiography, see Enrique de Gandía, *El descubrimiento de América en los viejos y nuevos historiadores de Colón* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de Geografía, 1989); Ilaria Caraci Luzzana, *Colombo vero e falso: la costruzione delle storie ferdandine* (Genova: Sage, 1989); and Juan Antonio Ortega y Medina, *La idea colombina del descubrimiento desde México (1836–1986)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987).

Other Figures of the Period

Under the general category of European biography, attention to the events of the first decades of the sixteenth century has inspired a series of works devoted to figures central to the early history of Europeans in America. The Florentine associates of Columbus, his ship captains the Pinzón brothers, and Juan de la Cosa (the Cantabrian pilot, map maker, and explorer of Tierra Firme) have all been the subjects of major new works or new editions.²² One clear trend in Spanish works has been to underscore the importance of Iberian regions in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European contact with America, a reflection of the flowering of regional autonomy in modern Iberia. As a result, the Aragonese, Catalan, and Gallegan presence in the early years are now better documented.²³ Publications from non-Iberian Europe are further expanding knowledge of early trans-Atlantic exploration.²⁴ And a series of major figures of the conquest period—particularly Hernán Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, and Diego de Almagro—have been studied by senior scholars.²⁵

Perhaps the most interesting “other figure” of the period who has received recent attention is Columbus’s indefatigable adversary, Bartolomé de las Casas. Las Casas has been championed in some quarters as a “kinder, gentler” representative of early Europeans in America, a theme developed in Pedro Borges’s biography. The first compilation of the complete works of Las Casas is now being published in Madrid, despite considerable opposition from conservative sectors in Spain.²⁶

22. See Consuelo Varela, *Colón y los florentinos* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988); Juan Manzano Manzano, *Los Pinzones y el descubrimiento de América*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1988); and Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *El cantabro Juan de la Cosa y el descubrimiento de América* (Santander, Spain: Diputación Regional de Cantabria, 1987).

23. Carlos Franco de Espés Mantecón, *El negocio americano de un señor aragonés* (Zaragoza, Spain: Comisión Aragonesa V Centenario, Diputación General de Aragón, 1990); Pere Català i Roca, *Els primers missioners d'Amèrica foren Catalans?* (Barcelona: Dalmau, 1988); *200 Catalans a les Amèriques, 1493–1987* (Barcelona: Comissió Catalana del Cinquè Centenari del Descobrimiento d'Amèrica, 1988); and *Primeras jornadas, presencia de España en América: aportación gallega* (Madrid: Deimos, 1989).

24. For a French perspective, see Jean-François Baqué, *La conquête des Amériques: XVe–XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 1991). For a German viewpoint, see Wolfgang Neuber, *Fremde Welt im Europäischen Horizont: Zur Topik der Deutschen Amerika-Reiseberichte der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1991).

25. See *Hernán Cortés y su tiempo: actas del Congreso Hernán Cortés y su Tiempo, V Centenario (1485–1985)* (Mérida, Spain: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 1987); Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *Francisco Pizarro, testimonio: documentos oficiales, cartas y escritos varios* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986); Gerardo Larrain Valdés, *Dios, sol y oro: Diego de Almagro y el descubrimiento de Chile* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1987); and Jorge Sánchez Lillo, *Diego de Almagro* (Ciudad Real, Spain: Diputación de Ciudad Real, 1983).

26. Pedro Borges, *¿Quién era Bartolomé de las Casas?* (Madrid: Rialp, 1990); and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988–).

Mulling over the Quincentennial

The recording of current opinion on the events and implications of the quincentennial consumed a small forest. No region of the world was exempted from holding a conference on some part of the subject, including Japan, the USSR (when it still existed), and Ayacucho, Peru (where Sendero Luminoso has disrupted all facets of life). Countries where the commemoration was well received, particularly Spain and the Dominican Republic, produced an interminable round of sessions.²⁷ The published proceedings are the kind of material that libraries will probably collect now and eventually remove from their collections as available space contracts and embrittlement sets in. Much of this material has lasting value, however, and Russ Davidson's formation of the Columbian Quincentenary Archive at the University of New Mexico's Zimmerman Library offers the prospect that at least a broad sampling of these documents will survive.

The quincentennial also inspired a series of museum exhibitions whose catalogs reproduced objects seldom presented to the public. Expo '92 in Seville provided an enormous platform, and such publications as *Navigation* and *15th Century* (both issued by the fair) preserve some of the imaginative displays that were mounted in 1992. Catalogs such as *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (from a show at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.), *Maps and the Columbian Encounter: An Interpretive Guide to the Traveling Exhibition* (prepared by the American Geographical Society), and *Die Neue Welt: Asterreich und die Erforschung Amerikas* (published by the Austrian National Library) all capture images of rare artifacts from a number of the world's major collections.²⁸

Recent publications also document the ongoing debate that enlivened quincentennial observances. Famous persons ranging from Fidel Castro to Rigoberta Menchú and Leopoldo Zea have offered their thoughts in print. Meanwhile, literary and academic luminaries including Gabriel García Márquez, Mario Vargas Llosa, André Gunder Frank,

27. For opinions from Japan, see *500 años de mestizaje en los Andes*, edited by Hiroyasu Tomoeda and Luis Millones (Osaka: Museo Nacional de Etnología, 1992); from the former Soviet Union, see "500 años del descubrimiento de América: encuentro de culturas y continentes," *América Latina* 5 (1988). From Peru, see Ranulfo Caveró Carrasco, *Ayacucho a 500 años de la conquista de América* (Ayacucho, Peru: Comisión del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América de la Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1991). Santo Domingo kept a running calendar entitled *Quinto Centenario* as a monthly supplement to the nation's major newspaper, *Listín Diario*.

28. See *Navigation* (Seville: Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal Sevilla and Centro Publicaciones, 1992); *Fifteenth Century* (Seville: Sociedad Estatal para la Exposición Universal Sevilla, 1992); *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, edited by Jay A. Levenson (Washington, D.C., and New Haven, Conn.: National Gallery of Art and Yale University Press, 1991); and *Die Neue Welt: Osterreich und die Erforschung Amerikas* (Vienna: Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Edition C. Brandstätter, 1992).

Enrique Arrom, and a host of lesser lights have made their contributions as well.²⁹

Texts

In a recent bibliographic guide, Foster Provost pointed out that despite the collecting of most Columbus texts a century ago, scholars still lack definitive editions of these sources.³⁰ Although he is correct about scholars' need for canonical editions, much of the energy of quincennial-related publishing has been directed toward bringing documents to light.

Versions of Las Casas's abstract and transcription of Columbus's log of the 1492 voyage (the closest thing now known to the original) have been published no fewer than twenty times in the last decade. The log is currently available in Spanish, English, German, Italian, Japanese, Swedish, and French in editions ranging from paperback costing less than ten dollars to a facsimile of the original manuscript priced at eleven hundred dollars. For something in between, a collector's edition stamped in twenty-four-karat gold and signed by Lee Iacocca and Virginius Dabney is available for a mere eighty-five dollars. The most meticulous edition to date is that edited by Oliver Dunn and James Kelley.³¹

Although the log has received top billing, other Columbus documents have not gone unnoticed. Antonio Muro Orejón continues publication of his edition of the thirty-year litigation waged by the Spanish Crown against its admiral and his descendants in the *Pleitos colombinos*.³² Consuelo Varela's collection of Columbus materials won praise for its completeness

29. Fidel Castro speaks in *Nuestra América frente al V Centenario* (Mexico City: J. Mortiz and Planeta, 1989); Rigoberta Menchú elaborates in *1492-1992, la interminable conquista*, edited by Heinz Dieterich (Mexico City: J. Mortiz and Planeta, 1990); and Zea reflects on events and their significance in his *Descubrimiento e identidad latinoamericana* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990). Comments by many literary luminaries can be found in *500 años después: ¿descubrimiento o genocidio?*, edited by Carlos Aznárez and Néstor Norma (Madrid: Nuer, 1992). For a sampling of the other works that mull over the quincenary, see *Actas del Primer Encuentro Internacional Colombino*, edited by Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Turner, 1990); J. M. Blaut, *1492: The Debate on Colonialism, Eurocentrism, and History* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1992); and *L'America Latina alle soglie del V centenario della conquista* (Rome: Edizioni Associate, 1988).

30. Foster Provost, *Columbus: An Annotated Guide to the Scholarship on His Life and Writings, 1750-1988* (Detroit, Mich.: Published for the John Carter Brown Library by Omnigraphics, 1991), p. xxv.

31. For a representative sample of recent publications of the log, see *Libro de la primera navegación*, facsimile of the manuscript autographed by Bartolomé de las Casas (Madrid: Testimonio Compañía, 1984); *Das Bordbuch 1492* (Stuttgart, Germany: Edition Erdmann in K. Thunemanns Verl., 1983); *Giornale di bordo del primo viaggio, 1492-1493* (Verona, Italy: Cassa de Risparmio de Verona, Vicenza e Belluno, 1984); and *The Diary of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493*, transcribed and translated by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

32. See the multivolume *Pleitos colombinos*, edited by Antonio Muro Orejón (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1964-).

and textual accuracy. And a microfilm collection of the Library of Congress's printed documents and writings on Columbus assembled some five hundred titles on the man and his times.³³

Other published documents go well beyond those produced by Columbus himself. Spanish investigators have assembled three collections of letters written to the Admiral, accounts of early visitors to the Indies, and private letters from America.³⁴ These new sources provide a counterpoint to Milagros del Vas Mingo's compilation of the *capitulaciones* issued between the Spanish Crown and a series of conquistadores and would-be conquistadores in the sixteenth century. The new sources also complement Francisco de Solano's edition of questionnaires for the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*.³⁵

Two ambitious projects hold out the promise of addressing Foster Provost's call for authoritative texts. Part of the Biblioteca Quinto Centenario brings together original documents related to Christopher Columbus and his age. These works, known as the Tabula Americanae Collection, total fourteen facsimile editions with accompanying transcriptions and textual studies. Among the works in the series are the log of the first voyage, *The Book of Prophecies*, Columbus's copy of Marco Polo's *Book of the World's Wonders*, Columbian documents from the Dukes of Alba, and Columbus's so-called *Libro copiator*. These editions are expensive (the whole collection costs more than seventeen thousand dollars), but they are exquisite and feature a full scholarly apparatus.

The second project is the Repertorium Columbianum based at the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. Despite major setbacks, the Repertorium has now announced its first volume, James Lockhart's *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, and is maintaining its original goal of publishing authoritative editions of works documenting the Columbian voyages, their contexts in the European tradition, and their effects on native American traditions. Fifteen volumes are projected, all to be tied together by an index and a computerized database.

Broad access to primary texts of the Spanish experience in the Americas has been a goal of Latin American historians for over a quarter-

33. *Cristóbal Colón: textos y documentos completos*, edited by Consuelo Varela, 3d ed. (Madrid: Alianza, 1986); and *Christopher Columbus Collection of the Library of Congress*, edited by Everette E. Larson (Bethesda, Md.: University Publications of America, 1991).

34. For examples, see *Cartas de particulares a Colón y relaciones coetáneas*, edited by Juan Gil and Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Alianza, 1984); Tomás López Medel, *Colonización de América: informes y testimonios, 1549–1572* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990); and *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540–1616*, edited by Enrique Otte (Cadiz: n.p., 1988).

35. See *Las capitulaciones de Indias en el siglo xvi*, edited by Milagros del Vas Mingo (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1986); and *Cuestionarios para la formación de las relaciones geográficas de Indias, siglos xvi–xix*, edited by Francisco de Solano (Madrid: n.p., 1988).

century. When the late Lewis Hanke was asked by the editors of *Historia Mexicana* how he would like to see the quincentennial celebrated, he wished (again) for an "international cooperative project for microfilm reproduction of essential manuscripts, especially Spanish ones, and a way to make them available widely along with catalogs to access them."³⁶ Jiménez Codinach's already cited *The Hispanic World, 1492–1898* represents a first step toward access to archival texts. The efforts of the Conference of Latin American Historians (CLAH) to expand this effort are chronicled in sections of *The Hispanic Experience in North America* and in a paper presented to the Forty-Seventh International Congress of Americanists by John Frederick Schwaller.³⁷ But the wide range of materials that Hanke envisioned will likely await the results of a project now underway to convert the manuscripts in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville to "bitmapped" or digitized images. This ambitious undertaking, sponsored by the Spanish Ministerio de Cultura, the Ramón Areces Foundation, and IBM Spain, proposes to do nothing less than convert eighty-two million pages of documents and to create thematic and onomastic indexes for them. Progress reports to date describe the project as 10 percent completed and moving forward in both document-scanning and indexing components.³⁸

Textual Criticism

The application of modern critical theory to texts of the early modern period has led to some exciting work on quincentennial themes. Recognizing this new stream of study, library catalogers have begun to apply the subject term "Influence" (traditionally reserved for literary works) to such books as James Axtell's *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* and Jeffrey Burton Russell's highly original contribution, *Inventing the Flat Earth*.

Studies of Iberian literary and historical texts from the age of the Catholic Kings as well as Spanish-language accounts of the conquest have opened new vistas on events and writers of this era. Of particular interest

36. My translation of Dr. Hanke's remarks in "Cómo deben conmemorarse los quinientos años del descubrimiento de América," *Historia Mexicana* 37, no. 1 (1987):101–13, 107.

37. *The Hispanic Experience in North America: Sources for Study in the United States*, edited by Lawrence A. Clayton (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992); and Schwaller, "The History of a Quincentennial Project: Latin American Documents in the United States," paper presented to the Forty-Seventh International Congress of Americanists, 7–11 July 1991, New Orleans, Louisiana.

38. See, for instance, J. L. Bercerril, "Computerization of the 'Archivo General de Indias.'" Paper presented at the conference "Archives and Records for the Hispanic Experience in the United States, 1492–1850," Washington, D.C., 22–25 Sept. 1987; and a more recent consultants' report by Hans Rütimann and M. Stuart Lynn, *Computerization Project of the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain* (Washington, D.C.: Commission on Preservation and Access, 1992).

are Margarita Zamora's *Reading Columbus* and the attention devoted to the quincentennial in special numbers of the journal *Hispanic Issues*.³⁹ In addition, historians have joined literary scholars in examining the sources and influences of the documents themselves. David Henige's study of the sources of the first voyage and Noé Jitrik's work on European concepts of acquisitiveness extracted from Columbus's writings stand out for their confidence and clarity.⁴⁰ This is a promising approach that scholars are likely to see more of in the future.

Creative Arts

Musicians, playwrights, novelists, and poets also responded to themes implicit in the quincentennial. Given the harshness of some of the recent criticism of Columbus, Don White's *opéra bouffe* entitled *Christopher Columbus* might seem an appropriate overture in portraying the admiral as a deranged dreamer who discovered Brooklyn and married Pocahontas. More serious music written for the event includes the *Himno del Quinto Centenario* written by Dominican composer José Delmonte Pequero, Leonardo Balada's opera *Cristóbal Colón*, and the choral score entitled *Christopher's Round*. The most visible musical commemoration in the United States has been the Waverly Consort's graceful performance of Spanish music in the age of Columbus, described in *The Year 1492*.⁴¹

Considering the drama of Columbus's life, it not surprising that playwrights find him a compelling subject. As part of the pro-Columbus "Columbus Countdown 1992," Anne Paolucci wrote a three-act play entitled *Cipango!* in tribute to his accomplishments. Don Nigro's darker portrayal in *Mariner* juxtaposes Columbus with the inquisitor Juan de Torquemada. Seeking synthesis, Mario Moretti adopted a scholarly approach to the admiral's theatrical legacy in presenting *Colombo a teatro*.⁴²

Other creative writers also exercised their talents in commemorat-

39. See, for example, *Literatura hispánica, reyes católicos y descubrimiento*, edited by Manuel Criado de Val (Barcelona, Spain: PPU, 1989); and Beatriz Pastor, *Discursos narrativos de la conquista: mitificación y emergencia* (Hanover, N.H.: Ediciones del Norte, 1988). See also two special issues of *Hispanic Issues*: "Re/Discovering Colonial Writing," vol. 4 (1989), and "Amerindian Images and the Legacy of Columbus," vol. 9 (1992). These special issues feature introductions by René Jara and Nicolás Spadaccini.

40. See David P. Henige, *In Search of Columbus: The Sources of the First Voyage* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991); and Noé Jitrik, *Los dos ejes de la cruz* (N.p.: Centro de Ciencias de Lenguaje, ICUAP, Editorial Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1983).

41. See José Delmonte Pequero, *Himno del Quinto Centenario* (Santo Domingo: Comisión Dominicana para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario, 1990); Leonardo Balada, *Cristóbal Colón: opera en dos actos*, 2 vols. (Pittsburgh Pa.: Betaca Music, 1989); Philip Hagemann, *Christopher's Round* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); and *The Year 1492*, Waverly Consort Program Guide 7, no. 3 (1992).

42. See Anne Paolucci, *Cipango!* (Whitestone, N.Y.: Griffon House, 1985); Don Nigro, *Mariner* (New York: S. French, 1991); and Mario Moretti, *Colombo a teatro* (Rome: Lucarini, 1991).

ing 1492. Barbara Hyena captured impressions of the voyage in her suite of poems entitled *The Double Reckoning of Christopher Columbus, 3 August–12 October 1492*. Poetic works also reflect the spectrum of opinion evoked by the quincentennial: two works sympathetic to Columbus's accomplishments, *Padre del mar* and *Columbus, Dream and Act: A Tragic Suite*, clash with the rather contemptuous *Admiral of the Mosquitoes* and the unequivocal *Fuck You, Columbus*.⁴³ Novelists captured an even wider audience. Cuban novelist Alejo Carpentier catalyzed fictional accounts of Columbus with his *Arpa y la sombra* (first published in 1979 and recently released in the English translation already cited). Mexican Boom novelist Carlos Fuentes also wrote a Columbus novel, *Cristóbal nonato* (1987), which was translated into English two years later as *Christopher Unborn*.⁴⁴ Mexican writer Homero Aridjis traced the American wanderings of his protagonist Juan Cabezón, who crossed the Atlantic with Columbus and stayed on in the New World, in a gloriously picaresque set of novels. Meanwhile, English novelist Stephen Marlowe's fictional memoirs create a Columbus who has read his critics and labors to set the record straight with a human touch. The most highly acclaimed of the quincentennial novels was U.S. writer Newton Frohlich's *1492*, which portrays Columbus as a converted Jew who believed that it was his destiny to enlighten the Gentiles.⁴⁵

European Background

Studies of Europe in the early modern period (1450 to 1600) developed a number of themes relevant to the quincentennial. The state of Europe in the pivotal year of 1492 received considerable attention. Jacques Attali's *1492* has been enhanced by works written by Bernard Vincent and Franco Cardini as well as by a set of essays edited by Guy Martinière and Consuelo Varela.⁴⁶ The Spanish context has received considerable

43. Barbara Helfgott Hyett, *The Double Reckoning of Christopher Columbus, 3 Aug.–12 Oct. 1492* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Luis López Anglada, *Padre del mar* (San Juan: Comisión Puertorriqueña para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América y Puerto Rico, 1988); Foster Provost, *Columbus, Dream and Act: A Tragic Suite* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library, 1986); Mollee Kruger, *Admiral of the Mosquitoes* (Rockville, Md.: Maryben, 1990); and J. L. Schneider, *Fuck You, Columbus* (Providence, R.I.: 12th Street Press, 1992).

44. Carlos Fuentes, *Cristóbal nonato* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987); also *Christopher Unborn*, translated by Alfred MacAdam and Fuentes (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1989).

45. Aridjis has thus far given us *1492: vida y tiempos de Juan Cabezón de Castilla* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1985) and *Memorias del nuevo mundo* (Mexico City: Diana, 1988). See also Stephen Marlowe, *The Memoirs of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Scribner's, 1987); and Newton Frohlich, *1492* (New York: St. Martin's, 1990). For Frohlich's opinions on a Jewish Columbus, see "Was the Discoverer of America Jewish?," *Moment* 16, no. 6 (Dec. 1991):35–43.

46. See Bernard Vincent, *1492: L'Année admirable* (Paris: Aubier, 1991); Franco Cardini,

attention in recent years, beginning with Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's distillation, *La edad media española y la empresa hispánica de América*. Spanish authors have also studied various Iberian regions in 1492, the role of the monarchy in the "discovery," and Seville as the main nexus between Europe and America.⁴⁷

An important development in this regard has been the examination of science and technology as factors in navigation of the high seas and exploration of the unknown Americas. Cardini's study of European universities offers an overview on the state of higher learning when Columbus made his first voyage, and Rolando La Guarda Triás contributed an overview of Spanish science at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴⁸ Advances in naval science and navigation are ably presented in the beautifully illustrated *El cielo de Colón*.⁴⁹ Several other studies of geography and cartography will enhance general understanding of the European vision of the physical world, among them George Nunn's *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (an expanded version of the 1924 original) and José Ruiz de Esparza's *El alcance de un sueño*.⁵⁰

Commentators on the observance of the celebration in 1892 often alluded to the "liga ibérica," a brand of pan-Iberianism that included Portugal but placed it in the shadow of Spain. The quincentennial took a different tack, with Portugal calling attention to an enterprise that rounded Africa in 1488 and opened sea routes to the Far East in the early sixteenth century. *Portugal-Brazil: The Age of Atlantic Discoveries*, a sumptuously illustrated catalog of Portugal's traveling exhibits, and *Portugal e os Descobrimientos*, prepared for the Portuguese pavilion at Expo '92, both highlight Portuguese leadership in the first age of European expansion.⁵¹ The Portuguese perspective also appears in the publications of *Descoberta do Mundo*, a government-subsidized series emphasizing navigational ac-

Europa 1992 (New York: Facts on File, 1989); and *L'Etat du monde en 1492*, edited by Guy Martinière and Consuelo Varela (Paris and Madrid: La Découverte and Sociedad Estatal para la Ejecución de Programas del Quinto Centenario, 1992).

47. See Miguel-Angel Ladero Quesada, *España colombina* (Barcelona: Lunewerg, 1990); Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba, *La corona y el descubrimiento de América* (Valencia: Asociación Francisco López, 1989); and Luis Navarro García, *Sevilla entre dos mundos* (Seville: Algaida, 1992).

48. See Franco Cardini, *Universidades de Europa en 1492* (Barcelona: Anaya, 1992); Rolando A. Laguarda Triás, *La ciencia española en el descubrimiento de América* (Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón and Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1990).

49. José Luis Comellas, *El cielo de Colón: técnicas navales y astronómicas en el viaje del descubrimiento* (Madrid: Tabapress, 1992).

50. George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus: A Critical Consideration of Four Problems* (Milwaukee: American Geographical Society Collection of the Golda Meir Library, University of Wisconsin, and New York American Geographical Society, 1992); and José Ruiz de Esparza, *El alcance de un sueño* (Mexico City: Salvat, 1991).

51. *Portugal-Brazil: The Age of Atlantic Discoveries*, edited by Max Justo Guedes and Gerald Lombardi (Lisbon, Milan, and New York: Bertrand, F. M. Ricci, and Brazilian Cultural Foundation, 1990); and *Portugal e os Descobrimientos* (Lisbon: Comissariado de Portugal para a Exposição Universal de Sevilha, 1992).

accomplishments in which Pedro Alvares Cabral was a minor figure and Brazil merely a sidelight. The series includes reprints of classic histories such as Antonio Pinto Pereira's *Historia da India* (1617) and the impressive *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*.

The Role of the Catholic Church

Because of the critical role played by religion in spreading European ideas in the Western Hemisphere and intellectually justifying the subjugation of native peoples to European empires, Christian—and especially Roman Catholic—sources devoted special attention to the quincentennial. When 1492 was commemorated four hundred years later, Columbus was proposed for sainthood, and although the papacy refused this denomination (probably because of Columbus's acknowledged extramarital relationship with Beatriz de Arana), Leo XII issued an encyclical praising Columbus: "the exploit is in itself the highest and grandest which any age has ever seen accomplished by man."⁵² John Paul II was more circumspect a century later. In 1979 the Pope chose Santo Domingo as his first foreign destination, consciously evoking Columbus's route and the first Christian evangelists. But when John Paul returned to the city in October 1992, he downplayed the quincentennial by citing the opening of the fourth Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano as the main reason for his trip.

Scholars found 1992 to be an impetus to writing on the missions, America's most conspicuous vehicle for transferring of religion. The results include studies of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the Indies and Pedro Borges's interpretive synthesis of evangelization in early Spanish America.⁵³ The major thrust of publications focusing on the Catholic Church and the quincentennial, however, was the idea that the history of the five-hundred-year evangelical enterprise in the Americas is a prologue to the present and the future. The most thorough of these studies was the one edited by Enrique Dussel, *The Church in Latin America, 1492–1992*.⁵⁴ Pastoral messages like those issued by Central American bishops emphasized the historic mission of the church as defender of the people. These themes reflect the importance of liberation theology in the region, another perspective that asserted itself during the quincentennial.⁵⁵ Many of these sentiments were also pronounced in the publica-

52. Robert Royal, *1492 and All That: Political Manipulations of History* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1992), 11.

53. *Los franciscanos y el nuevo mundo* (Seville: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 1992); Miguel Angel Medina, *Los dominicos en América* (Madrid: Mapfre, 1992); and Pedro Borges, *Misión y civilización en América* (Madrid: Alhambra, 1987).

54. *The Church in Latin America, 1492–1992*, edited by Enrique Dussel (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1992).

55. See *Quinientos años sembrando el evangelio* (Antigua, Guatemala: Publicaciones O.M., 1992); and *Es hora de una nueva evangelización* (San José: Conferencia Episcopal de Costa Rica,

tions of Protestant denominations. For example, the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America published *Dangerous Memories: Invasion and Resistance since 1492*, a work that provides sources and teaching strategies for presenting an anti-European perspective.⁵⁶

Native Americans

Studies of America's native peoples and the impact of European contact on their lives highlighted the deep divisions in 1992 over the Columbian legacy. Until twenty years ago, the significance of 1492 and the colonial years that followed was perceived almost exclusively from a European perspective. Themes like the debate over the humanity of the Indians and the growth of judicial institutions concerned with the Spanish Crown's new subjects are typical of this traditional concern and were treated again in recent works.⁵⁷

A parallel approach emphasizes the aboriginal world up to 1492, that is, the American background. Several works sweep the entire American landscape in examining pre-Columbian themes. *America 1492* is a cultural study of America wrapped around illustrations of the hemisphere's artifacts, while Alvin Josephy's edited volume, *America in 1492*, presents essays written by scholars that are intended for the general public.⁵⁸ Other works take a narrower approach in studying particular Indian groups (such as the Lucayan Arawaks of the Bahamas or the Caribs) or topics like patterns of coca production in Andean valleys.⁵⁹

The contact between European and American peoples in the years after 1492 has provided the most fertile theme in studying Native Americans—and the most controversial as well. In addressing this topic, Americanists have adopted two very different approaches. The first emphasizes the trans-Atlantic processes that Alfred Crosby named

1991). For examples of liberation theology reflected in quinquennial literature, see José Oscar Beozzo, *Evangelização e V^o Centenário* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1991); *1492–1992: The Voice of the Victims*, edited by Leonardo Boff and Virgil Elizondo (London: and Philadelphia: SCM Press and Trinity Press International, 1990); and *Poverty and Power: Latin America after 500 Years*, edited by George Gelber (London: CAFOD, 1992).

56. *Dangerous Memories: Invasion and Resistance since 1492* (Chicago, Ill.: Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 1992).

57. See *La ética en la conquista de América* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984); and Luciano Pereña Vicente, *Carta Magna de los indios* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1987).

58. Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *America 1492: retrato de un continente hace quinientos años* (New York: Facts on File, 1990); and *America in 1492: The World of the Indian Peoples before the Arrival of Columbus*, edited by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. (New York: Knopf, 1992).

59. William F. Keegan, *The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1992); *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day*, edited by Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992); and *Visita de los Valles de Songo en los yunca de coca de La Paz (1558–1570)*, edited by John V. Murra, *Monografías Economía Quinto Centenario* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1991).

"the Columbian exchange." Recent research has opened new vistas on trans-Atlantic commerce, dietary habits, miscegenation, and art styles.⁶⁰ Especially stimulating are works that examine West-to-East flows, such as Julia García París's study of edible plants and Emma Martinell Gifre's investigation of the linguistic effects of Spanish/Indian contact on the Castillian language.⁶¹

The second "Americanist" approach emphasized what might be called "the other agenda," taking a phrase from Tzvetan Todorov's lexicon. This agenda rejects the notion of Columbus's discovery and offers a dark appraisal of the consequences of 1492. In tones ranging from measured to hysterical, historians, theologians, and political activists have developed a line of argument that appropriates Columbus and the quincentenary as a metaphor for five centuries of European exploitation and native resistance.⁶² Some authors chose terms like *collision*, *irruption*, and even *holocaust* to describe the results of European contact with America. At its most strident, this perspective fixes 1492 as the beginning of all pain and suffering in the Americas. In *A Faithful Response to the 500th Anniversary of the Arrival of Christopher Columbus*, the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ cites as the principal legacies of Columbus "invasion, genocide, slavery, ecocide, and exploitation of the wealth of the land."⁶³ Native North Americans echoed these sentiments in newsletters that include *Native Nations* (published in New York), *Resistance 500* (Berkeley, California), and *Indigenous Thought* (Gainesville, Florida).

60. Angel Fernández Nogales, *Política comercial de las empresas españolas en Iberoamérica* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica del Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1987); *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991); Gastón Baquero, *Indios, blancos y negros en el caldero de América* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1991); Jaime Barrios Pena, *Arte mestizo en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Fénix, 1989); and Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

61. Julia García París, *Intercambio y difusión de plantas de consumo entre el nuevo y el viejo mundo* (Madrid: Servicio de Extensión Agraria, Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, 1991); and Emma Martinell Gifre, *Aspectos lingüísticos del descubrimiento y de la conquista* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988).

62. For examples of "the other agenda," see Ramiro Reynaga Burgoa, *Tawa-inti-suyo: cinco siglos de guerra kheswaymara contra España* (Lima: Consejo Indio de Sud América, 1989); Luís Rivera Pagán, *La esperanza de los vencidos: hacia una visión crítica del quinto centenario* (Guaynabo, P.R.: Sondador, 1989); and *Identidad étnica y movimientos indios: la cara india, la cruz del '92*, edited by Jesús Contreras (Madrid: Revolución, 1988).

63. Examples of these descriptions are Adolfo Colombres, *1492–1992: a los 500 años del choque de dos mundos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Sol, 1989); Ramón Reig, *La irrupción: transformaciones sociales y económicas del mundo indígena prehispánico a la época colonial* (Seville: Alfar, 1987); David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: Columbus and the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); and *A Faithful Response to the 500th Anniversary of the Arrival of Christopher Columbus* (New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, 1990).

REFERENCE SOURCES

The burgeoning bibliography of quincentennial materials is currently organized by a set of works designed to provide readers with concise information and access to relevant materials. At this writing, four excellent bibliographies cover Columbus and Columbiana, along with two Columbus dictionaries and a two-volume *Columbus Encyclopedia*.⁶⁴

These print sources are being enhanced by rapidly developing electronic resources that provide bibliographic access to quincentennial materials and also contain the texts themselves. The Computerized Information Retrieval System (CIRS) on Columbus and the Age of Discovery at Millersville University in Pennsylvania has served as a source for textual materials and quincentennial events since 1991. Currently the more than one thousand electronic texts in CIRS are accessible over phone lines for a small subscription fee, and the system should be available via the Internet as well by 1994.⁶⁵

Internet too is becoming a rich source for quincentennial information. A recent search of available files revealed two examples. The Internet Protocol (IP) connects to a server with a file of color images of Columbus in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress.⁶⁶ Columbus Quincentenary Protest files are housed in the NATIVE-L list, available in several locations.⁶⁷ Although these conventions seem exotic in an essay on bygone events, electronic texts are clearly here to stay and will become more important as new equipment and telecommunications standards broaden avenues for scholarly dialogue.

Pedagogical Resources

Teaching materials on the quincentennial now come in a variety of formats and points of view. Funds provided by NEH Summer Institutes sponsored the publication of several useful compilations, among them *The Intellectual World of Christopher Columbus* and *A Guidebook to Resources for*

64. See Simonetta Conti, *Un secolo di bibliografia colombiana, 1880–1985* (Genova: Cassa di Risparmio di Genova e Imperia, 1986); *Bibliografía colombiana*, compiled by Joseph P. Sánchez, Jerry L. Gurulé, and William H. Broughton (Albuquerque, N.M.: National Park Service, 1990); Foster Provost, *Columbus: An Annotated Guide to the Study of His Life and Writings, 1750–1988*; Denis Channing Landis, *The Literature of the Encounter: A Selection of Books from European Americana* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library, 1991); José Luis Barceló F. de la Mora, *Summa colombiana: diccionario enciclopédico de Colón* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario and Progenza, 1990); Foster Provost, *Columbus Dictionary* (Detroit, Mich.: Omnigraphics, 1991); and *The Christopher Columbus Encyclopedia*, edited by Silvio A. Bedini (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992).

65. Thomas C. Tirado is the director of the Computerized Information Retrieval Service.

66. The Internet Protocol address is SEQ1.LOC.GOV. The directory address is /pub/library.of.congress/research.guides/prints.photographs/columbus.color.

67. One reliable source is the IP address REDSPREAD.CSS.ITD.UMICH.EDU under the directory /pub/nativenet/1492.

Teachers of the Columbian Encounter. De Vorsey's *Keys to the Encounter and 1492, an Ongoing Voyage: Quincentenary Teacher's Packet* (both published by the Library of Congress) as well as *1492: Discovery, Invasion, Encounter*, edited by Marvin Lunenfeld, provide a variety of source materials and classroom activities.⁶⁸ Those in search of a point-counterpoint approach to the quincentennial might consider juxtaposing two opposing perspectives: Hans Koning's *Columbus, His Enterprise: Exploding the Myth*, a work fast becoming the canonical text for those who view Columbus's Atlantic crossing as a "drama of the murderer coming ever closer to his victims"; and Robert Royal's *1492 and All That: Political Manipulations of History*, which was written in the wake of Columbus criticism to counter excesses.⁶⁹

Cartographic sources for studying early America appear in various compilations. Kenneth Nebenzahl's *Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries* has brought together the most famous of the maps and charts associated with European perceptions of early America. Complementary collections appear in *America: Early Maps of the New World* (based on an exhibit mounted in the Bavarian State Library), *Precedentes cartográficos del descubrimiento de America* (published by the Pan American Institute for Geography and History), and the monumental compilation of facsimiles and explanatory essays assembled in a new edition of *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*.⁷⁰

The advent of video recordings at affordable prices has added a new dimension to teaching the subject of the quincentennial. A lengthy listing of available video resources is described in greater detail at the end of this essay.

CONCLUSION

This overview of the bibliographic landscape from the vantage point of 1993 suggests that recent publications on quincentennial themes

68. *The Intellectual World of Christopher Columbus: 1989 Summer Institute, July 10 to August 11, 1989, Curriculum Packet*, 2 vols. (N.p.: n.p., n.d.); *A Guidebook to Resources for Teachers of the Columbian Encounter*, edited by David Buisseret and Tina Reithmaier (Chicago, Ill.: Hermon Dunlap Smith Center for the History of Cartography, Newberry Library, 1992); Louis De Vorsey, *Keys to the Encounter . . . 1492, an Ongoing Voyage: Quincentenary Teacher's Packet* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Educational Programs, Library of Congress, 1992); and Marvin Lunenfeld, *1492 Discovery, Invasion, Encounter: Sources and Interpretation* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1991).

69. Hans Koning, *Columbus, His Enterprise: Exploding the Myth* (New York: Monthly Review, 1991); and Robert Royal, *1492 and All That*. For the source of Koning's quote and a description of the use of his work in New York City schools, see Sam Dillon, "Schools Growing Harsher in Scrutiny of Columbus," *New York Times*, 12 Oct. 1992, pp. A1, B7.

70. See Kenneth Nebenzahl, *Atlas of Columbus and the Great Discoveries* (Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally, 1990); *America: Early Maps of the New World*, edited by Hans Wolff (Munich: Prestel, 1993); *Precedentes cartográficos del descubrimiento de América* (Mexico City: Organización de los Estados Americanos and Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1989); and Armando Cortesão, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 2d ed., 6 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional and Casa da Moeda, 1987).

have made several lasting contributions to scholarship. Columbus emerged from 1992 better studied if not better understood, and his times, his associates, and his competitors have received overdue attention. The documentary heritage has also been enriched, if somewhat selectively. Literary critics and those using their approaches have encouraged readers to view these documents in new ways. The European background to Columbus's voyage, especially the scientific and technological advances of the fifteenth century, provide important context for his accomplishments. Finally, reference works have compiled and arranged quincentennial publications to make them more accessible. Yet the greatest challenge of the quincentenary—comprehension of the implications of the totally unanticipated contact between America and the Old World—awaits further work. The controversy generated by "the other agenda" has hindered formulation of a new synthesis on the historic encounter and its aftermath, while the African diaspora to the Americas has been virtually ignored.

Given the quincentennial's low profile in the United States, the tendency in this country has been to downplay its significance and perhaps breathe a sigh of relief that 1992 is over. But as those of us who work in area studies must continually remind our readers, there are other points of view. Spain and to a lesser degree Italy and the Dominican Republic viewed the quincentennial as an opportunity to focus international attention on what some national leaders consider a glorious period in history. Parts of Expo '92 and the Columbus lighthouse in Santo Domingo will remain as physical testimonials to the observances of 1992.

But more important than the architecture of 1992 has been the intellectual outpouring that was inspired by 1492 and the quincentenary. Part of that scholarly enterprise found its way into print. If the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage did not produce consensus on the legacy of the Euro-American encounter, it did provide an opportunity for new elaborations of traditional themes and for fresh voices to express themselves. Now that the quincentennial has passed, researchers may be able to ponder the significance of 1492 in peace as they examine the new ocean of print.

APPENDIX 1 QUINCENTENARY SERIALS

Actas Colombinas. Chile: Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad de la Serena. Año 1, no. 1- (1990-), frequency unknown.

América 92. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario. Año 1, no. 1- (May 1989-), quarterly.

Aurora. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bishops' V Centenary Committee, National Council of Catholic Bishops Ad Hoc Committee for the Observance of the V Centenary of Evangelization in the Americas. Vol. 1, no. 1- (Winter 1990-), quarterly.

Boletín Informativo. Bogotá: Comisión Colombiana para la Conmemoración del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. No. 1- (1987-), frequency unknown.

Columbus 92. Genova: Columbus 92. Vol. 1, no. 1- (Jan. 1985-), monthly.

Discovery Five Hundred: Newsletter of the International Columbian Quincentenary Alliance Ltd. Columbus, N.J.: International Columbian Quincentenary Alliance. Vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1985?–), three times a year.

Encounters. Albuquerque: Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico. Nos. 1–10 (Winter 1989–Fall 1992). Formerly published as *Encuentro*, vol. 1, no. 1–vol. 4, no. 4 (Summer 1985–Winter 1988).

Encuentro: Boletín de la Comisión Puertorriqueña para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América y Puerto Rico. San Juan: Comisión Puertorriqueña para la Celebración. No. 1– (1992–), quarterly.

Encuentro de Dos Mundos. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Departamento de Relaciones Públicas, Secretaría de Cultura y Turismo. Año 1, no. 1– (1987–), frequency unknown.

La Española 92. Santo Domingo: Comisión Dominicana Permanente para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento y Evangelización de América. Año 1, no. 1– (1987–), quarterly.

Five Hundred: Official Publication of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission. Coral Gables, Fla.: Quintus Communications Group. Vol. 1, no. 1– (May/June 1989–), monthly.

Herencia. Washington, D.C.: Academic Association for the Quincentenary, 1492–1992. Vol. 1, no. 1– (1988–), frequency unknown.

Ideas '92. Coral Gables, Fla.: 1992 Institute, University of Miami. Vol. 1, no. 1– (Fall 1987–), semiannually.

1992, A Columbus Newsletter. Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library. No. 1– (Oct. 1984–), semiannually.

The New World. Washington, D.C.: Office of Quincentenary Programs, Smithsonian Institution. No. 1– (Spring 1990–), quarterly.

Noticias. San José: Comisión Costarricense del Descubrimiento de América. No. 1– (1986–), frequency unknown.

Oceanos. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses. No. 1– (June 1989–), quarterly.

Quinto Centenario. Madrid: Departamento de Historia de América, Universidad Complutense. No. 1– (1981–), frequency unknown.

Quinto Centenario. Santo Domingo: Comisión Dominicana Permanente para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento y Evangelización de América. No. 1– (Feb. 1989–), monthly.

Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento de América: Encuentro de Dos Mundos/Quincentennial of the Discovery of America: Encounter of Two Worlds. Washington, D.C.: Secretaría General, Organización de los Estados Americanos. No. 1– (Aug. 1985–), quarterly.

Rábida. Huelva, Spain: Patronato Provincial del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. No. 1– (June 1985–), semiannually.

Temí Colombiani. Roma: Bulzoni Editore. Vol. 1– (1988–), annually.

APPENDIX 2 MONOGRAPHIC SERIES ON QUINCENTENNIAL THEMES

Argentina

Colección del 5° Centenario. Buenos Aires: Editorial Plus Ultra. Vol. 1– (1986–). A series dedicated to publishing the chronicles of discovery from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Three volumes have appeared to date, including an edition of *La relación de Pedro Sancho* with introduction and commentary by Luis Arocena (1986). The prospectus calls for twenty-five additional titles.

Edición de Fuentes de Derecho Indiano en Conmemoración del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Buenos Aires: Instituto de Investigaciones de Historia y Derecho. Vol. 1– (1983–). Mainly dedicated to publishing the laws of the Río de la Plata, *Libros registros-cedularios del Río de la Plata, 1534–1717* (1984–).

Serie V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Buenos Aires: Universidad del Museo Social Argentino. Unnumbered (1988–). Only two titles published thus far: *El virreinato rioplatense en las vistas fiscales de José Márquez de la Plata* (3 vols., 1988) and *Nueva historia del descubrimiento de América* (1989).

Chile

Colección V Centenario. Santiago: Editorial Los Andes. Unnumbered (1992–). Series dedicated principally to Chilean literature. The fourteen volumes published to date include an edition of Gabriela Mistral's *Pasiones de vivir* (1992).

Serie Quinto Centenario. Temuco: Universidad de la Frontera. No. 1– (1987–). Concentrating on southern Chile, this series lists four titles to date, the last being *Pobladores de Chile, 1565–1580* (1989).

Colombia

Colección V Centenario. Bogotá: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano. Vol. 1– (1986–). Collection holds historical monographs on the Catholic Church, specifically its role in the so-called spiritual conquest. The series now consists of some thirty-five titles, including *La obra misionera de la Iglesia en los llanos de Casanare, 1550–1910* (1988), *La Arquidiócesis de Santa Fe de Bogotá en la conquista y la colonia* (1987), and *Arzobispos limenses evangelizadores* (1987).

Costa Rica

Colección Quinto Centenario. San José: Asociación Libro Libre. Unnumbered (1989?–). The only title located thus far is *Nicaragua: viajes, rutas y encuentros (1502–1838)* (1990). Given the same series title in the Dominican Republic, the two may well be related.

Dominican Republic

Colección Quinto Centenario. Santo Domingo: various publishers. No. 1– (1989–). The series is divided into subseries: Conferencias, Catedral Primada, Historia de la Ciudad, Documentos, and Estudios. It has published works on a variety of themes: *Papeles del Padre Fuertes (1871–1926)* (1989), *En torno al Quinto Centenario* (1992), *Los restos de Colón* (1992), and *La fundación de la Villa de Santo Domingo* (1992).

Ecuador

Colección 500 Años. Quito: Abya-Yala. No. 1– (1988–). Series dedicated to “revalidating the cultural values of peoples who have been marginalized but continue to look for a space for autonomy and self expression.” Included are grammars (e.g., *Lenguaje y palabras chamánicas*, 1988), ethnographies (*Grupos étnicos de Colombia*, 1988) and oral traditions (*Pab igala historias de la tradición Kuna*, 1989).

Germany

Acta Columbina. Kassel: Reichenberger. Vol. 1– (1988?–). Series of short works dedicated mainly to literary topics. Two recent titles are *El indiano en las comedias de Lope de Vega* (1991) and *Kolumbus und die Lateinamerikanische Identität* (1992).

Italy

Colom Biana. Florence: Leo S. Olschki. Unnumbered (1992–). The only volume located to date is Roberto Almagia's *Cristoforo Colombo: visto da un geógrafo* (1992).

Coloumbeis. Genoa: Istituto de Filologia Classica e Medievale, Facoltà de Lettere, Università de Genoa. Vol. 1– (1986–). The first volumes (1986–1988) published the papers of a series of seminars honoring the quincentenary.

Litterature e Culture dell'America Latina. Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica. Vol. 1– (1982–). Although not originally established with the quincentenary in mind, this series has been largely devoted to it in recent years. Italian editions of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación y comentarios* (1984) and Hernán Cortés's *Cartas de relación* (1988) stand alongside Giuseppe Caraci's *Problemi vespucciani* (1987) in recent numbers.

Monografie su Temi Colombiani. Genoa: Edizioni Culturali Internazionali. Vol. 1– (1987–). Series on Columbus sponsored by the city of Genoa projected to include twenty volumes. Those published to date include *La Genovesità di Colombo* (1987) and *La scoperta di Colombo e la chirurgia* (1990) are among the volumes published to date.

Nuova Raccolta Colombiana. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca del Stato, Libreria dello Stato. Vol. 1– (1988–). Modeled on the classic *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi* (1892–1894), this series has published a mixture of sources of the age of discovery, *La scoperta del Nuovo Mondo negli scritti di Pietro Martire d'Angheira* (1988), and modern studies such as *La Liguria e Genova al tempo de Colombo* (1988).

Oltremare. Milano: Serra e Riva. Vol. 1– (1984–). Currently numbering three titles, this series includes a volume on Vespucci, *Il mondo nuovo de Amerigo Vespucci* (1984), along with studies of early Italian voyages to the Levant.

Mexico

500 Años Después. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. No. 1– (1990–). Now including four titles, this series began with Leopoldo Zea's *Descubrimiento e identidad latinoamericana* (1990).

Portugal

Descoberta do Mundo. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional and Casa da Moeda. Vol. 1– (1986–). Portugal's different agenda for 1992 is reflected in this series, which covers the Portuguese era of expansion, particularly Asian exploits. Of interest to Latin Americanists are *O Essencial sobre Cristovão Colombo e os Portugueses* (1987) and the extraordinary cartographic collection entitled *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (1987).

Spain

Biblioteca de Viajeros Hispánicos. Madrid: Miraguano. Vol. 1– (1983?–). The series reproduces diaries and other accounts of Spanish exploration. The five volumes published to date include editions of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Historia de los Incas* (1988) and Juan Sebastián de Elcano's *La primera vuelta al mundo* (1988).

Biblioteca del Nuevo Mundo. Barcelona: Tusquets. Vol. 1– (1984–). Four volumes published to date present textual analyses of accounts from the colonial period such as Bernardino de Sahagún's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1985) and literary criticism such as José Miguel Oviedo's *La edad de oro* (1986).

Biblioteca del V Centenario. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica and Comisión Nacional para la Celebración del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Unnumbered (1983–). This series has been devoted to publishing the papers of a series of seminars on the native peoples of the Americas. To date, three publications (all beginning with the phrase "Seminario sobre la situación . . .") focus on the Taina (1983), the native peoples of Patagonia (1984), and those of the Andes (1985).

Cátedra V Centenario. Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia. Unnumbered (1987–). Concerned with the juridical and administrative implications of the encounter, three titles have been published so far, the latest being *La protección del indio* (1989).

Colección Aragón y América. Zaragoza: Comisión Aragonesa V Centenario, Diputación General de Aragón. Vol. 1– (1989–). The series is dedicated to the relationship between the Kingdom of Aragón and America in the early colonial period. The latest volume identified (no. 13) is María Jesús Lacarra's *Lo imaginario en la conquista de América* (1990).

Colección Ciudades Iberoamericanas. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana. Unnumbered (1986–). A series featuring illustrations more than texts. Volumes published to date are *La Habana* (1986), *Lima* (1986), and *Quito* (1989).

Colección Colombina. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica. Unnumbered (1988–). The only title located in this series is the three-volume *Los Pinzones y el descubrimiento de América* (1988).

Colección Encuentros. Madrid: various publishers. Unnumbered (1988–). A complex bibliographic structure made up of three subseries (Catálogos, Seminarios, Textos) covering equally broad subject matter. To date this series consists of nine titles, among them *Arte en Iberoamérica* (1989), *La cultura taina* (1989), *Culturas de la costa noroeste de América* (1989), and Max Hernández's psychological study of El Inca Garcilaso, *Memoria del bien perdido* (1991).

Colección Tierra Nueva e Cielo Nuevo. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and a number of copublishers. Vol. 1– (1981–). Twenty-five titles published by the end of 1989 are a mixture of finding guides (e.g., *Catálogo de las expediciones y viajes científicos españoles a América y Filipinas*, 1984), documents (e.g., *Descripción de la costa de California*, 1981), and historical monographs on the Indies and the Age of Discovery (e.g., *Don Diego Colón, almirante, virrey y gobernador de las Indias*, 1982; and *Epoca, genesis y texto de las "Noticias secretas de América" de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa*, 1985). Some volumes also bear the notation Medio Milenario del Descubrimiento de América.

Colecciones Mapfre 1492. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre. Numbered by subseries (1990–). This ambitious enterprise projecting 270 works is divided into nineteen series that include América 92, Indios de América, Lenguas y Literaturas Indígenas, Portugal y el Mundo, Europa y América, and Al-Andalús.

Cuadernos Colombinos. Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón and copublishers, no. 1– (1974–). One of the longest series on Columbus. Of the fifteen titles published to date, the latest are *La primera noticia de América* (1986) and *La primera tierra americana descubierta* (1988).

Crónicas de América. Madrid: Historia 16. Vol. 1– (1984–). Now numbering some seventy titles, this series presents new editions by prominent specialists of standard sources on the discovery and conquest, including Miguel León-Portilla's *Visión de los vencidos* (1985), *Chilam Balam de Chumayel*, edited by Miguel Rivera (1986), Fernando Alva de Ixtlilxochitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (1985), and Cristóbal de Molina's *Fábulas y mitos de los Incas* (1989).

En Conmemoración del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas. Vol. 1– (1988–). This series is dedicated to editing texts of the early Spanish period in America. The latest volume published is Number 4, *Historia de Maynas, un paraíso en el Amazonas: descripción de Francisco Requena* (1991).

Forjadores de América. Seville: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas. Unnumbered (1990–). The first two volumes are the biographies of Tupac Amaru (1990) and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (1990).

El Gran Encuentro. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario, CESMA. Vol. 1– (1988–). Series of twenty titles, all less than one hundred pages in length, including *Tierra a la vista: los viajes de Colón* (1989) and *Chichén Itzá, la ciudad sagrada* (1990).

Publicación Conmemorativa del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Unnumbered (1983–). Numbered titles in this series appear under the series title Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos. Publications to date include a guide to holdings of the Archivo General de las Indias in Seville, *Cartas de cabildos hispanoamericanos* (1985–), and the proceedings of the *Jornadas de Andalucía y América* (1983–).

Serie V Centenario. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española. Unnumbered (1988?–). A series of monographs within the long-running Publicaciones de la Fundación Universitaria Española. I have identified only one title, Francisco Sánchez-Castañer's *Don Juan de Palafox, Virrey de Nueva España* (1988).

Serie V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América. Seville: Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla. Vol. 1– (1983–). Ten titles to date covering Spanish colonial history from *Los mayas de las tierras altas en el siglo XVI* (1985) to *Análisis de una sociedad de frontera: Santa Cruz de la Sierra en los siglos XVI y XVII* (1988).

United States

Columbian Quincentenary Series. Tucson, Ariz.: Society for Historical Archaeology. Vol. 1– (1990–). The first title in the series, *The Archaeology of Spanish Colonialism in the Southeastern United States and the Caribbean*, also carries the series title Guides to the Archaeological Literature.

Columbus Quincentenary Series. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida. Unnumbered (1989–). The two titles published to date are *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492–1570* (1989) and *The People Who Discovered Columbus* (1992).

APPENDIX 3 VIDEO RESOURCES

The Buried Mirror: Reflection on Spain and the New World. Public Media Video, Smithsonian Institution, 1991. 5 videocassettes (VHS). This production, sponsored by Sogetel, the Smithsonian Institution, and Quinto Centenario España, was presented on the Public Broadcasting System in the fall of 1992. Copies available from Films Incorporated Video, 5547 N. Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60640-1199.

Columbus and the Age of Discovery. Films for the Humanities & Sciences. 7 videotapes (VHS). This series was shown on the Public Broadcasting System on WGBH in the

spring of 1992. Copies available from Films for the Humanities, Box 2053, Princeton, N.J. 08543-2053.

Columbus Didn't Discover Us. Turning Tide Productions, 1992. 1 cassette. Copies available from Turning Tide Productions, Box 864, Wendell, Mass. 01379.

First Images of the New World. UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1991. 7 videocassettes (VHS, Beta). A seven-part series depicting various aspects of the background, voyage, and consequences of 1492. Copies available from UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90024-1485.

The Great Explorers: Christopher Columbus. Phileas/Omnigraphics, Inc., 1989-1991. A seven-part series of videotapes on Columbus (VHS). Copies available from Omnigraphics, Inc., Penobscot Bldg., Detroit, Mich, 48226.

An International World View of the Effects of Columbus's Encounter with America. Educational Alternatives, Inc, Port Tobacco, Md., 1990. Thirty-two tapes (VHS). This series documented the presentations of thirty-four historians who spoke during the Library of Congress's Educators' Institute in 1990. For copies, telephone Raymond Hartjen at (301) 934-2992.

Quinto Centenario Video Library. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Ejecución de Programas del Quinto Centenario, 1992. Series of eleven tapes in Spanish, some of them also available in English, Portuguese, and Arabic (Beta). Copies available from the Sociedad at Aravaca, 22 bis., 28040 Madrid, Spain.

Sixteenth-Century Perceptions of Latin America: Civil or Savage? Video presentation by Elizabeth Larson (VHS). University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1990. Copies available from the Center for Latin America, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201.

Surviving Columbus: The Story of the Pueblo People. Produced by the Institute of American Indian Arts and KNME. Two-hour videocassette (VHS). Shown on Public Broadcasting System on 12 October 1992. Copies available from PBS Video, 1320 Braddock Pl., Alexandria, Va. 22314.