

NOTES *and* QUERIES

[This department will welcome notes, queries, and answers from its readers. Each item is assigned a number, and references in future issues may be made to this number. N=Note; Q=Query; A=Answer; I: 1 = Volume I, Number 1, etc.]

NOTES

[N₁ I: 1] ANOTHER *EPISTOLARIO* DOCUMENT

Various of the documents designed for inclusion in the *Epistolario de Nueva España*, now completed, had disappeared during the years the manuscripts lay in genteel pawn in warehouses and bank-vaults. Their numbers, however, were retained in the published series, in the hope they would turn up. In the final volume, along with a splendid index, some of the missing items are indeed restored, from copies made for other purposes by other people. We should like to point out another possible restoration: the "Minuta del inventario de los papeles que quedaron por muerte de Alonso de Santa Cruz, cosmógrafo de S. M." This was to be Doc. 665, but fails to appear in the place assigned it (T. XI, 135). It may be found in the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias (Perú)* which Jiménez de la Espada published in Madrid in 1885 (T. II, xxx-xxxviii).—(R.H.B.)

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[N₂ I: 1] A MS. OF RAMON DE ORDÓÑEZ Y AGUIAR.

Nicolás León published two editions of the curious *Historia de la Creación del Cielo y de la Tierra*, by Ramón de Ordóñez y Aguiar. In 1907 he included it in his *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII*¹ "por vez primera"

¹ Sección primera, cuarta parte, A-Z, pp. 1-272.

and "íntegro" as he claimed. At another time he began an edition which bears no date and which was later circulated as an *obra trunca*, since he never finished printing it. Both of these León editions follow the same mutilated text. In the *obra trunca* León says in the Introduction that he found an incomplete Ordóñez Ms. in the National Museum of Mexico on which he made many notes in preparation for publication. This Ms. is the one which Brasseur saw a century ago.^{1a} But before León had the opportunity to publish this fragment, he heard of a more nearly complete Ms. in the hands of Dr. Gustave Brühl of Cincinnati, Ohio, and obtained permission to use it. Even in this Ms. (apparently the base of both his editions) there exist a number of lacunae, especially in the early part. It is now possible to fill in most of these from yet another Ms. in the Bancroft Library.² The third is the amplest of all three texts. This latter Ms. contains 356 folios, the first 172, with the exception of 1, 11, and 12, appear to be in an 18th century hand. The remainder is definitely 19th century. However, the Ms. as a whole seems to be a fairly accurate copy. León's *obra*

^{1a} *Lettres pour servir d'Introduction des nations civilisées de l'Amérique septentrionale* (México, 1851). This is the Ms. which first called attention to Ordóñez. The autobiographical data on Ordóñez present in this Ms. (and which the Brühl Ms. published by León lacks) is also present in the Bancroft Ms. (ff. 1-12v).

² Mexican Ms. 177. (From the Ramirez collection, auction catalogue lot 615.)

trunca ends a little past f. 117v of this Ms. F. 326r closes with the words: "Nueba Goathemala Junio 30 de 1794. [Dr. Dn. Miguel de] Bata-ller." There are eleven chapters. Ff. 328r-347v contain further notes from Ordóñez' pen. F. 348rv contains "Nota de la Lengua Zendal," a Biblical discussion of the origin of the language of Palenque. Ff. 350r-356v contain "Fracmentos," of the lost second volume.

The following two comparisons, chosen at random, show how the Bancroft Ms. can supplement León's published text, cited here from the *obra trunca*:

1. León Ed., chap. I, p. 21, No. 7: "... el antiguo oráculo () . . . Es a todos . . ."

Bancroft Ms., f. 26r: "... el antiguo oraculo; (f) pero que este Dios cuya existencia dictada de la luz natural de la razon, no hai baxo del cielo, nacion barbara alguna que no conoza: *Quis tantes dementies est, ut cum coelum viderit Deum esse non agnoscat*, que decia el ethnico Fullio, (g) es a todos . . ."

"(f) *Orac. apud Porphia. Vide Porph. apud Calm. in Act. Apost. cap. 17 et 28.*
"(g) *Cicer. oc Arispicum respons. apud Calm. in Psal. 18 et 1.*"

2. León Ed., chap. II, p. 23: "Nota 2. Nums. 1 y 2.—En este ¶ de su Historia, cuentan los Culebras, el estado del chaos; pero no hablan de la creacion del cielo, d. . . dando a entender que el todo Poderoso crió el cielo y la tierra en el principio de los tiempos, . . . y fuera de si mismo, dió ser á todas las creaturas."

Bancroft Ms. f. 27r: "Nota 2, Num. 1. En este ¶ de su Historia cuentan los Culebras, el estado del chaos, antes de la creacion del Mundo; pero ni en el, ni en alguno de los que siguen, hablan una sola palabra de la creacion del Cielo, y de la Tierra, suponiendo haverlo hecho en el 2.¶. del anterior capitulo.

"Num. 2. En el citado ¶ dan a entender nuestros Americanos, que el

Todo Poderoso, crió el cielo, y la Tierra, en el principio de los tiempos: que es como si digessen, que el Supremo Hacedor crió el Cielo y la Tierra, en aquel principio, que estando en[.] inmutable, como saliendo de él. A criar fuera de si mismo dió ser a todas las creaturas."

Occasionally one finds that the Ms. itself contains minor copyist's errors, as, for example:

León Ed., *Prefación*, ¶17: "... despues de algunas horas, y he aquí que lleva su phantasia . . ."

Bancroft Ms., *Prefación*, ¶16³: "... despues de algunas horas, y [que has been crossed out and y written above] lleva su phantasia . . ."

Different readings are found in some places, as:

León Ed., *Prefación*, ¶16: "Accuestan un hombre a dormir."

Bancroft Ms., *Prefación*, ¶15: "Acuestase este hombre a dormir."

If the curious work of Ordóñez has any value for students of aboriginal culture, and León certainly went to great trouble to obtain it — those students can best benefit by a publication of the whole thing, eventually, and not just a piecemeal text. Herein lies the value of the Bancroft Ms.

The first volume of the opus is essentially a copious paraphrase of Fr. Francisco Ximénez' translation of the Quiché legends called the *Popul Buj*, to which Ordóñez has added an infinitude of notes and etymologies, which should be exploited in future editions of the *Popul Buj*. Volume Two—of which the León editions preserve only a couple of pages, and of which the Bancroft Ms. has a slightly longer variant—was based on a 5 or 6 folio Tzendal Ms. (based in turn on some pictorial codex) bearing the odd title "Prueba de que soy culebra"⁴ By far

³ The paragraph numbers are one less than the printed work, because of error in paragraphing at No. 4 (of *Prefación*).

⁴ *Letras pour servir*, etc., p. 49.

the largest known Ms. fragment of Part II, however, is that of 51 leaves in the Middle American Research Institute.⁵—(G.T.S.)

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[N₃ I: 1] CHALCHIUHNENETZIN

Among the new historical data unlocked by Charles E. Dibble's edition of the *Códice en Cruz*¹ is the only picture of the once-celebrated adulteress who was Queen of Texcoco in the late Fifteenth Century. Dibble quotes the 1498 entry from the *Anales de Cuauh-titlán* in his identification of the drawing, and the story from Ixtlilxóchitl, but overlooks further details in Pomar, Chimalpahin, and the new *Epistolario de Nueva España*, which enable us to restore the whole incident a little more critically.

Chalchiuhnenetzin² was one of the sisters of the Younger Moctezuma. She was the only one of the sisters to attain note, with the doubtful exception of the one who is said to have married the Zapotec cacique of Tehuantepec. Two other sisters whose names are not recorded married the *caciques* of Tecamachalco and Ocuilán, in eastern Puebla and southern Mexico State,

¹ Ms. 1796. Descripción de la ciudad Palenque. Libro ii. La historia del cielo, y de la tierra, etc. Por el canónigo Dr. Dn. Ramón de Ordóñez y Aguiar. From Brasseur de Bourbourg collection. About 1796. 51 leaves. (*Middle American Research Series*, Pub. No. 5, Tulane University, 1934.)

Curiously enough, this Ms. does not appear in the *Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatemaliens* catalogue of Brasseur (*Paris*, 1871, 112-113) which lists (a) the 258 ff. copy, Vol. I plus 4 ff. of Vol. II, he made in the Museo Nacional in 1848-49; (b) a similar copy of 23 ff. "Memoria relativa á las ruinas... de Palenque," comprising four documents; (c) a similar copy of 8 ff. of "Notas de Chiapas y Palenque."

¹ To be reviewed in our next issue.

² From *chalchiuitl* (jadeite—figuratively precious) and *nenetl* (doll)—"Jade Doll" or "Precious Doll." Sr. Adrián León informs me that *nenetl* may also mean womb.

respectively³; but they are shadows, while Chalchiuhnenetzin remains a definite personality.

Axayacatl, conqueror of Tlaltelolco and Toluca, had many wives and many children besides Moctezuma II. "The 18th child was a princess who was asked for by the king of Acolhuacán-Texcoco," Nezahualpilli,⁴ we are told. And another source speaks of Nezahualpiltzintli and "his legitimate wife, daughter of Axayacatzin, king of Mexico."⁵

A descendant of the Texcocan kings gives us the amplest version. Chalchiuhnenetzin was one of a number of noble maidens sent to the king of Texcoco, Nezahualpilli, for the latter's purpose of sorting them over, selecting a "legitimate wife," and keeping the rest for "concubines." She being the daughter of his powerful western ally, the king saw fit to choose her. Since she was very young, the king put her away in a palace with idle hands and far too many servants. Being "astute and diabolical" and doubtless very bored, she began to have affairs with all the young men she fancied, afterward killing them in remorse. She is said to have kept artisans busy making and adorning statues of them which she kept in her quarters—perhaps a garbed version of some funerary rite. These statues became very numerous, and the king asked her what they

³ Chimalpahin, p. 148.

⁴ "Le dix-huitième enfant est aussi une princesse que demanda le roi d'Acolhuacan-Tetzcuco, Nēzahualpilli Acamapichtli" (Chimalpahin, *loc. cit.*)

⁵ "Su legitima mujer, hija de Axayacatzin, rey de México" (Pomar, *Relación de Texcoco*, 1582, in García Icazbalceta, *Nueva Colección de Documentos*, México, 1891, III, 25). A reference elsewhere in an undated 16th Century document calls her "su mujer principal... hija del señor de México llamado Avicōtzin predecesor de Motenzuma" (*La orden que tenían los indios*, etc., in *Epistolario de Nueva España*, XIV, 146). The reference to Ahuizotl here carries no weight, since it is a Spaniard speaking, not an Indian as in the case of Chimalpahin, and he does not even mention her name.

meant. She put him off by calling them her gods. Knowing the superstitious nature of his neighbor the Mexican king, and being a man of the world, he seems to have accepted this explanation.

Three of her lovers she had not slain, either because she was still diverted by them or because of their importance. One—which one is not stated—ruled the town of Tezoyucan.⁶ This lack of efficiency on her part proved her undoing. One of the lovers was noticed by the king wearing a jewel he himself had given to the "astute" woman,⁷ and his suspicions were aroused. Going to her quarters at night, the king was told his lady was asleep, but pushed his way in and found only a wooden figure of her reclining on the couch. (Fatal predilection of hers!) Much afflicted, he called his guards, and soon routed out the missing wench performing certain questionable dances with all three of her lovers.

The matter was given to the judges—who could hardly have had much choice—and they found her and all her servants, artisans, jewelers, undertakers, and other helpers guilty. Persons of rank were condemned to strangulation, the traditional punishment for high-ranking victims. This was carried out publicly, with full knowledge of her Mexican relatives.⁸ The *tlatoani* of Mexico and Tlacopan attended the executions. Indeed, the former "came to kill her," says one account.⁹ All the neighboring princes

who could be quartered in the town were invited, and they were requested to bring along any young daughters who might profit by the example. Chalchiuhnenetzin and her three lovers were strangled, the others killed somehow, and their bodies burned with all the collection of statues. Some may even have been burned alive.¹⁰ The adulterous ashes were gathered in a great jar made especially for the purpose, and thrown into a gorge near the Temple of Adulterers. The archeologists may seek it there.

A large number of people certainly perished in this affair. Two thousand, according to our chief informant; another lowers this to four hundred, both men and women, adding that "among these were very important persons."¹¹

The goods of the offenders were seized, and their houses razed.¹² The ruins were conspicuous years after the Spanish conquest although these events took place in 1498, as we see confirmed by the *Código en Cruz*.¹³

Although "legitimate wife" Chalchiuhnenetzin left no blood in the veins of the Texcocan rulers,¹⁴ her status as

¹⁰ See Note 12, *infra*.

¹¹ "El señor de allí . . . mandó matar un día cuatrocientos principales, entre hombres y mujeres que se hallaron culpados en el adulterio. . . Entre estos muertos hubo personas muy principales" (*La orden que tenían los indios*, *loc. cit.*) Ixtlilxóchitl, *Historia Chichimeca*, Cap. LXIV, is the authority for any items not bearing other citations above.

¹² Apparently a wide-spread custom, cited also from the Nahuatl-dominated Totonaca of N. Puebla. "Donde hera ladronçio o adulterio . . . los que así cometian alguna cosa morian quemados bivos, y así mismo les quemaban sus cassas, y a todos los que de aquel linaje dependian los destravan a todos" (*Relación de Xonotla*, 1581, in Paso and Troncoso [ed.], *Papeles de Nueva España*, 2a Serie, V, 128).

¹³ "Derrribábanles las casas como en Tezcoco se muestran hoy algunas de hombres que eran muy principales . . . cuyas casas y cercas parece[n] hoy derrribadas y todos sus bienes y vasallos se aplicaron al señorío" (*La orden que tenían los indios*, *loc. cit.*)

¹⁴ "Il n'en avait point eu d'enfant" (Chimalpahin, *loc. cit.*) "Esta orden de suceder se guardó . . . hasta que se quebró

⁶ Tezoyucan (not to be confused with Tizayucan in the same area) lies 11 kms. NNW. of Texcoco, and figured as an important vassal of the latter in the time of the Tepanec Wars. (Ixtlilxóchitl, *Novena Relación*.) Its glyph appears on f. 22r of the Codex Mendocino.

⁷ Perhaps one of the handsome jewels portrayed in the Codex Kingsborough, originating in nearby Tepetlaoztoc.

⁸ Her father was long dead, and Ahuizotl, her uncle, was ruler in 1498.

⁹ "Los de México vinieron a matar a ella" (*La orden que tenían los indios*, *loc. cit.*)

Queen must have contributed to the fratricidal strife prevailing when the Spaniards arrived. Her successor, Tlacayhuatzin, became mother of eleven princes (we are told), among them the pair Cortés found disputing the interrupted succession.¹⁵—(R.H.B.)

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QUERIES

[Q1 I:1] THE TRAIL OF A ZAPOTEC ROYAL PORTRAIT

In *El México Antiguo* there recently appeared an account of the discovery and looting of a royal tomb in Tehuantepec—the old domain of Cocijopij—in 1875.¹ One of the few pieces which were not destroyed was the gold figure of a cacique, perhaps resembling the portrait statue of Tizoc published by Saville.² It was a seated figure, with a diadem on the head, a hatchet in the right hand and a shield in the left. "Great earrings adorn his ears, and the lower lip displays a lip-plug. He wears a woman's head on his chest. . . . The most interesting thing about this figure . . . is the clarity with which all these attributes appear, giving us an exact idea of how a Zapotec lord was adorned." This piece, we are further told, was purchased by a Mr. "Garlock," then United States Consul at Tehuantepec, who is known to have had it photographed. In the hope of locating the photograph at least, a letter was written to the State Department, evoking the following reply from the National Archives, Division of State Dept. Ar-

en Nezahualpiltzintli . . . por no haber hijo legítimo de su legítima mujer . . . que la mató" (Pomar, *loc. cit.*)

¹⁵ Ixtlilxóchitl, *Relación Duodécima*. Perhaps some specialist in Texcocan matters will write us a note clearing up the relative legitimacy of these pretensions.

¹ Maler, Teobert, "Descubrimiento de una tumba, &c.," in *El México Antiguo*, T. VI (Mayo 1942), p. 1.

² Saville, M., *Tizoc, Great Lord of the Aztecs*, New York, 1929.

chives. An examination of the consular records at Acapulco by someone who has access to them may lead to the location of Garlock's heirs and the figure or the photograph discussed.

"December 17, 1942.

"Mr. Thomas Carlock, described in a despatch of November 11, 1872, from Acapulco as 'an American citizen residing at Tehuantepec . . . a respectable and favorably known gentleman,' (Consular Despatches, Acapulco, Vol. 6), was commissioned as consular agent at Tehuantepec and Salinas [*sic*] Cruz on December 11, 1872 (*Register of the Department of State, 1872*). The consular agency at Tehuantepec was under the American consulate at Acapulco. On March 24, 1881, John A. Sutter, Jr., United States Consul at Acapulco, wrote Hon. David H. Strother, Consul General at Mexico City, as follows: 'Mr. Thomas Carlock U. S. consular agent at Tehuantepec and Salina Cruz died March 23, 1881.' (Consular Post Records, Acapulco, Correspondence, 1881-1882). Mr. Carlock held the position as consular agent continuously from 1872 until his death.

"This name has not been found as 'Garlock.' No information is available as to the names of his heirs."

—(R.H.B.)

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[Q2 I:1] OVEJAS DEL PERÚ

The Marqués del Valle held the little hill east of Mexico City which was once the islet of Tepepulco, but which with the drying of the lakes became called El Peñon del Marqués. There the caciques of Mexico formerly had certain gardens and houses of recreation, but their colonial owner put the land to use grazing "ganado mayor y ovejas del Piru." This we read in an account of 1579.¹ Even a decade before, a "*Relación de lo que*

¹ *Relación de Coatepec-Chalco, Papeles de Nueva España*, 2a Serie, VI, 60.

valieron las rentas del Marqués del Valle" speaks of his "cuarenta y dos ovejas de Perú" on the nearby island-hill of Xico.²

Is anything more known about this

² *Epistolario de Nueva España*, XI, 57.

attempt to introduce the llama into New Spain? It is curious that both references are to *hills*, as if Xico and Tepepulco were meant to suggest Chimborazo to the homesick quadrapeds!—(R.H.B.)