

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

[N₄ I: 2] THE LACANDON OF THE 1790's.

A notable correspondence about the Lacandon uprisings of 1792-93 is preserved among the Ms. holdings of the Bancroft Library at the University of California (Berkeley). This is Ms. No. 1466.Q5, and consists of 36 folios, some being originals and some copies. It is mostly an exchange of letters between Manuel Joseph Calderón, the cura of Palenque (in whose vicinity the troubles centered) and Agustín de las Quèntas Zayas, Governador Intendente at Ciudad Real (San Cristóbal), Chiapas. A few letters are from other administrators in other places. The cura writes that he has been "buying off" the Indians with gifts of goods. In one letter he is granted "ocho piasas de Nagua criolla angosta, dosientas mantas . . . sien petates . . . tres quintales de hierro, y el correspondiente Azero para machetes" to stave off trouble, but the Intendente advises him to be chary about gifts, and wishes to solve matters more definitely, considering it an outrage "... para los que mandamos estos terrenos, tener dentro de ellos á unas gentes que se miran, y son temidos como enemigos." The cura solicits aid, any delay in which "será una lástima que debería ser llorada con lágrimas de sangre." Ultimately the cura makes an *entrada* into the disturbed area of 40 days, beginning Sunday, June 9, 1793, and his account of this *entrada* is the highlight of the collection. (Folios 45v-50r and 51v-53r.) He cannot await the Intendente's arrival, but goes among the "Lacandones mas sercanos . . . armados en flechas, de cuerpo gentil," in his church attire of "estola, manípulo, Bolsa de corporales, y Paño de Caliz de los propios colores; el Misal, y el Manual, pues con estos ya en mi quietud, y buena esperanza entre aquellos Pobres, tendré mis glorias en el Paraízo de mi Alma, que es la Sacratísima Missa . . ."

He left after saying mass, and though deserted by part of those who were to accompany him, penetrated on the second day to a place where 14 Lacandones appeared, armed with bow and arrow. At this, "... para mas asegurarles de que no les teníamos temor, y que ellos tampoco lo tuvieran de nosotros, pasados dos Milpas de ellos, llegamos á su terreno,

el qual estava en una Milpa grande, y luego se nos presentaron hombres, Mugerres, Chicos y grandes, los quales acariciamos lo bastante, y disuadimos de temor diciéndoles, que iva yo, el Sr. Teniente, y todos para el bien de ellos, y no para su mal. . . ." By tactful handling and giving of presents, he gathered them into the fold, and founded a church large enough for 400 persons, which they built during his stay, and a couple of other buildings. ". . . en todas las Facciones," he points out, "nunca se les permitió trabajasen en nada, todo se hizo con gente pagada, en Substentos, y todo lo necesario. . . ." The church was dedicated to S. Joseph, and "con el Beneplacito del Soberano, será el Pueblo de Señor San Joseph de Gracia Real." He adds, ". . . quatro Missas dixe en ella á Favor de aquellos pobrecitos Yndios. . . ."

This is only part of the story. Much more can be found in these documents to piece out some of the background of the Lacandon, who have received so much attention from ethnologists. There is a scattering of minor ethnographic data in the correspondence, but difference of approach between the priest and the civil official is the most striking thing. It is this divided approach, symbolized by the priest's "pobrecitos indios" and the Intendente's remark that the "carácter, costumbres, e ydeas del Yndio . . . con cortísima diferencia, todos son iguales . . ." which has created many of the problems of Latin America.—[R. H. B.]



[N5 I:2] THE *TLACOPINTLI*.

The pre-Hispanic unit of dry measurement known as the *tlacopintli*¹ does not seem to have survived the competition of the Spanish *hanega* [*fanega*] and *almud* system. From certain references in Ixtlilxochitl, however, it can be worked out. Its obvious bearing on native tribute reckoning makes this worth doing.

The town of Texcoco, relates our chronicler, gave the court daily "en grano veinticinco *tlacopintlis* de maíz, para tomarlos, que era una medida que en aquel tiempo se usaba, y cada *tlacopintli* tenía tres almudes más de una fanega, que reducidos á fanegas montan treinta y una fanegas y tres almudes."²

Although two *almudes* are usually reckoned to the *fanega*, his mention of one *fanega* three *almudes* shows that he considers an *almud* as considerably less than a half-*fanega*.

Ixtlilxochitl's precise statements permit us to integrate them with each other and with the Spanish *fanega*. We may anticipate our conclusions by stating that the data he gives are self consistent and that they seem to be in harmony with vigesimal reckoning.

¹ Defined by Molina as "trasladada escriptura, o cosa sacada de otra."

² *Historia Chichimeca*, 168.

Ixtlilxochitl says that one *tlacopintli* equals one *fanega* plus three *almudes*, and that twenty-five *tlacopintlis* equal thirty-one *fanegas* plus three *almudes*. If we set these statements as equations and solve them in terms of *fanegas* we have the following result:

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \text{ tl} = 31 \text{ f} + 3 \text{ al} \\ 1 \text{ tl} = 1 \text{ f} + 3 \text{ al} \\ \hline 24 \text{ tl} = 30 \text{ f} \\ 1 \text{ tl} = 1\frac{1}{4} \text{ f} \end{array}$$

Substituting this value in the above equations, we get

$$1 \text{ al} = 1/12 \text{ of a fanega (in Ixtlilxochitl's reckoning).}$$

Further, substituting these values for apparently arbitrary quantities in Spanish *fanegas*, we get results which are much more reasonable from the native standpoint. For example, the capacity of the imperial storage bins or *troxes*, which appear in the Matrícula de Tributos and the Codex Mendocino, is estimated by the Spanish annotator of the latter as taking 4000 to 5000 *fanegas* to fill. Ixtlilxochitl also uses this estimate of 4000 or 5000 *fanegas* to a *troxe*. In a vigesimal system we would expect to find units of 20 *tlacopintlis*, 400 *tlacopintlis* (20 x 20) and 8000 *tlacopintlis* (20 x 20 x 20). Now, in the tribute lists mentioned, the Matrícula-Mendocino, the commonest unit of tribute for maize, beans, and chia is two storage bins (*troxes*), which, as we have said, held "4000 or 5000" *fanegas* each. In a vigesimal system the largest "round number" to be expected would be 8000—a quantity represented in picture-writing by a purse-full of incense. Eight thousand *tlacopintlis* would be 10,000 *fanegas* by the above reckoning, or exactly the two *troxes* which appear so frequently in the tribute-lists. Thus the widespread vacillation between "4000 and 5000" *fanegas* is due to the fact that the bins held 4000 *tlacopintlis*, which are 5000 *fanegas*.

Let us translate another Spanish figure into native ones. In the court at Texcoco³ "de ordinario en [el] palacio se gastaban en cada un año (según parece por los padrones reales), treinta y un mil y seiscientas fanegas de maíz. . . ." This quantity, 31,600 *fanegas*, divided by $1\frac{1}{4}$ gives the number in *tlacopintlis* of 25,280—which equals three units of 800, three of 400, and four of twenty, all units by which native reckoning was done.

TABLE

1 <i>tlacopintli</i>	= $1\frac{1}{4}$ <i>fanegas</i>
1 <i>almud</i> (Ixtlilxochitl)	= $1/12$ <i>fanega</i>
1 Imperial <i>troxe</i>	= 4000 <i>tlacopintlis</i> = 5000 <i>fanegas</i>

—[EDGAR ANDERSON and R. H. B.]

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³ *Op. cit.*, 266.

[N6 I:2] THE TECHIALOYAN CODICES: CODEX H.

There exists a sizable, though widely-scattered, group of early post-Conquest codices, all on coarse native paper, with drawings and text (Náhuatl) in a bold and handsome European style. These deal with land-titles, local and Biblical history, and perhaps other matters. Though one of them was published a half century ago by Quaritch, the London bookseller,¹ serious attention was first given them by Federico Gómez de Orozco. He published one of them in full, the Codex of San Antonio Techialoyan,² along with fragments and descriptions of certain others, thus establishing the existence of a group. He attributes them to a school of Indian painters established by Gante in the Franciscan Monastery of Mexico City.

TLALOCAN proposes to catalogue the group as data accumulates, assigning the following arbitrary letters of identification to those codices listed by Gómez de Orozco:

- A. Códice de San Antonio Techialoyan, Méx., 1534.
- B. Codex of Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, one leaf (described by Ramírez).
- C. Códice de San Pedro Cuajimalpa, D. F.
- E. Códice de Cempoalan, Hidalgo, c. 1530.
- F. Códice de Ixtapalapa, D. F.
- G. Códice del Sr. Enciso.

These will be reverted to in time. Let us go on with a codex which we shall denominate "Codex H."

Codex H is described in the auction catalogue of the Getz library,³ with the usual freely-imparted ignorance of such compilations. Some of the errors will be pointed out below. The Ms. consists of 27 leaves of "maguey" paper in quarto, the first 11 pp. being Náhuatl text, the balance pictorial with Náhuatl captions. The drawings are inferior to others of the Techialoyan group. Nearly half of folio 1 is missing, and f. 27 is defective. Bound with the Ms. is a Spanish translation of c. 1750, 3 pp., 8vo.

The Ms. was sold by Mr. Dring of Quaritch's to Mrs. Alice Millard of Pasadena, from whom it went to Mrs. Getz. At the auction it brought enough money to purchase the whole town of Santa María Zolotepec. Its present owner is Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, according to information given by the Parke-Bernet Galleries, owners of Anderson Galleries.

The Getz catalogue reproduces one page of the text and two of the

¹ *Mexican Picture Chronicle of Cempoallan . . . about 1530*. London, 1890.

² "El Códice de San Antonio Techialoyan," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, Epoca IV, 8:311-332 + 19 leaves of plates.

³ *The Notable Library Formed by Mrs. Milton E. Getz*, Anderson Galleries, N. Y., 1936. Sale No. 4278, Part I, Item No. 61.

pictures, as well as long excerpts from a letter of Joyce of the British Museum, translating into English some of the Spanish version of the original. Though the codex is inventively and persistently stated to be from Oaxaca (!)—we presume that Dr. Joyce is not responsible for such Never-Never Land geography—it really originates in the State of Mexico. It contains the land-titles of Santa María Ocelotepec, which has been corrupted into Santa María Zolotepec, adjacent to Otzolotepec (*sic*) 17 Km. N. E. of Toluca, on the R. Lerma. This is clear from the references to Xochiquauhtlan, Yxtlahuaca, and other pueblos of the vicinity, which, incidentally, show that *Xonacatitlan* is the sixteenth century form of Xonacatlan San Francisco. There is no reason for identifying the Santa María Ocelotepec of the Ms. with that of the district of Miahuatlan, Oax.

Once the Oaxaca delusion is dissipated, we can probably trust the catalogue quotations from Joyce's version of the Spanish. The latter date these titles of Santa María Zolotepec from 1535, and what is most interesting, from the month of Atlacahualco (*sic*). D. Antonio de Mendoza is spoken of as the "Huei Tlaltocatzin" (*sic*) who confirmed the titles. The scribe signs himself Don Salvador de San Francisco.

A multitude of local topographic and personal names are given, and (though none of this is quoted) something of the history of the pueblo. All this is encrusted with the fatuous remarks of the cataloguer, but will have to serve until this valuable source for the Toluca area is published.⁴—[R. H. B.]



[N7 I:2] RARE BOOKS ON MEXICO IN MICROFILM.

Various source books on Mexico available only to students who have access to key libraries are now being microfilmed by Southwest Microfilm Inc., Box 152, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.¹

The books already available include Gómara's *Historia de México*, 2 vols., 1554; Molina's *Vocabulario en Lengua Mexicana y Castellana*, 1571; Acosta's *Historia Natural*, 1596; Herrera's *Historia General*, 8 vols., 1601; and Bernal Díaz' *Historia Verdadera*, 1632. Among the works of a later period are Alegre's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 3 vols., 1841; Icañbalceta's *Colección de documentos*, 2 vols., 1859; Mota Padilla's *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de Nueva Galicia*, 1870; Las Casas' *Historia de las Indias*, 5 vols., 1875; Orozco y

⁴ In the Getz catalogue, p. 15, a similar Ms. in the British Museum is referred to. This will be considered in a later Note.

¹ "Latin American Catalogue E" contains a complete description of microfilm works on Mexico.

Berra's *Historia Antigua*, 4 vols., 1880; and Beristain's *Biblioteca Hispano Americana*, 3 vols., 2nd ed.

From the State Department papers preserved in the National Archives at Washington the same corporation has prepared on microfilm 53 vols. of Mexican Diplomatic Notes, Mexico City Consular Dispatches from 1811 to 1906, 28 vols. of Matamoros Consular Dispatches, and a large amount of other consular archive material.—[G. T. S.]

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[N8 I:2] DURÁN IN ENGLISH.

The *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de Tierra Firme* of Fr. Diego Durán¹ is one of the most important sixteenth century chronicles dealing with pre-Hispanic Mexico which have not been translated into English. There are two versions of the prose *Codex Ramírez*²; the accounts of Cortés and Bernal Díaz have been translated various times; Pedro Martyr also exists in English³; the first four books of Sahagún have been published by Mrs. Bandelier⁴; and all of Tezozomoc was translated by her husband many years ago, though the manuscript has vanished.⁵ Fragments of Chimalpahin, the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, and others texts are available in Radin's convenient anthology.⁶ Durán, however, has only recently been translated by August H. Mihsfeldt of Sacramento Junior College, and the purpose of this Note is to call attention to his version.

Mr. Mihsfeldt has handled the curious and sprawling prose of the original with felicity: he convoys Durán past the Charybdis of translation without losing a man. In view of the accuracy of his version and the impossibility of obtaining the two-volume original of 1867 and 1880, it is to be hoped that Mr. Mihsfeldt's work may see publication at an early date.—[R. H. B. and G. T. S.]

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¹ Edited by J. F. Ramírez (2 vols., Mexico, 1867, 1880).

² H. Phillips, *Notes upon the Codex Ramirez, with a translation of the same* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, vol. 21, Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 616-651). Paul Radin, *The Sources and Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 17, No. 1, Berkeley, 1920, pp. 57-66).

³ *De Orbe Novo, the eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghiera* (translated by F. A. MacNutt, 2 vols., New York, 1912).

⁴ *A History of Ancient Mexico*, Nashville, 1932.

⁵ See *Pioneers in American Anthropology, The Bandelier-Morgan Letters, 1873-1883* (edited by Leslie A. White, Albuquerque, 1940), vol. I, pp. 165-166, 259-260.

⁶ Paul Radin, *op. cit.*

[N₉ I:2] NEW TRANSLATION OF SAHAGÚN IN PROGRESS.

Eleven years ago Mrs. Fanny Bandelier published the first four books of her translation of Sahagún's *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*.¹ Because of her untimely death the entire work was never completed.

TLALOCAN is glad to inform its readers that another English translation of Sahagún is now in progress. Funds have been provided by the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs for Gabriel S. Yorke to undertake this translation, which is to be published by the Fiske University Press. Mr. Yorke's plans call for the translation of the 1938 Mexican edition² beginning with Book I and including the dedicatory letters, prologues, appendices, and notes derived from comparisons of the Robredo edition with the two by Bustamante and the French translation by Jourdanet and Siméon. He will also make use of the translations by Kingsborough, del Paso y Troncoso, and Seler.

English translations of source materials dealing with pre-Conquest Indian cultures of Mexico are very much needed. And no source material exists on the so-called Aztec culture that is more important than that compiled by Sahagún. The Coordinator and Mr. Yorke will undoubtedly receive the appreciation of all scholars and students of Mexican culture for making possible a complete English translation of this exceedingly important work.—[G. T. S.]



QUERY

[Q₃ I:2] THE NAME "TENOCHTITLAN."

What is the latest date at which the name Tenochtitlan was used in local documents to designate the Mexican capital? Palacios¹ notes it on Mercator's projection of 1569; this, however, was made far away in an age of poor transportation. How long was it used in the city itself?—[Q. S.]

¹ *A History of Ancient Mexico*, Nashville, 1932.

² *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España por el M. R. P. Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún*. México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938. 5 vols.

¹ E. J. Palacios, "¿De dónde viene la palabra México?" *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, Epoca IV, 4:486.