

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

[N17 I:4] UN DIOS OTOMÍ QUE PIERDE EL NOMBRE.

En varios de sus trabajos,¹ el Dr. Seler menciona un dios otomí, *Tatacoada*, equivalente al mexicano *Ueuecoyotl*. La información proviene del códice Telleriano-Remensis, donde entre las leyendas puestas alrededor de la figura de *Ueuecoyotl*, patrón de la cuarta trecena del tonalpoualli, hay una que dice *dios de los otomis* y otra, cerca de la anterior, que Seler leyó *Tatacoada* creyendo ser éste el nombre del dios en otomí.

Posteriormente el Dr. Soustelle en su obra *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (pg. 532) recoge el dato de Seler e interpreta *Tatacoada* por las palabras otomies *tata k'wada* (padre, hermano mayor), nombre que considera equivalente al de *padre viejo* que da la Relación de Querétaro para un dios otomí.

Pero la lectura de Seler está equivocada. Lo que realmente se lee es *tāto co adā* y no es un nombre otomí sino la frase española *tanto como Adán*.

Lo correcto de esta última paleografía se comprueba en el mismo códice. Frente a *Ueuecoyotl* está pintada la diosa *Ixnexitli* rigiendo con él la cuarta trecena, y el comentario dice *lo mesmo que eva pintanla ysnexitli como questa siempre llorando y mirando a su marido adā*.

Es evidente que el comentarista comparó la pareja *Ueuecoyotl Ixnexitli* con Adán y Eva.—PEDRO CARRASCO.

¹ p. ej. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I, 422; *Codex Borgia*, I, 99.



[N18 I:4] A WESTERN EXTENSION OF ZAPOTEC: FURTHER REMARKS.

In our previous issue¹ we mentioned a Zapotec-speaking town (Quauhzapotlan) which lay far west of the area normally regarded as

¹ N16 I:3.

Zapotec. It is now possible to locate this town on the basis of a land-grant found in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.² This grant places Quauhzapotlan between Cintla and Copalitech.

Cintla lay in very hot country a league or less from the sea, on a swift river, and near the salinas of a small lagoon. It was said to be in the district of the Mines of Zumpango, to be 60 leagues from Mexico, 23 from Acapulco, and 23 from Zumpango, and to confine with Copalitech ("Copalitas"), Tacolula, and Colutla.³

Copalitech lay two leagues from the sea, in "very hot flat country" near a swift river and a good fishing lagoon.⁴

Both Cintla and Copalitech belonged to the Archbishopric of Tlaxcala.⁵

Let us proceed to locate Cintla and Copalitech—and thereby Quauhzapotlan. The information just given may be clarified by a list of ports and rivers and other costal features, dated 1582. This catalogue reads from east to west⁶ and mentions first "Tequanapa vna boca de rrio," next "la ençenada de Çintla [con] vn rryo cavdaloso," then the "rrio de Copalitas, ay en alaguna de Xalapa y Copalitas, con vna pesqueria," "otro rrio mas adelante que entra en la laguna," and finally "otro rrio mas adelante que llaman de Nespa que entra en otra laguna de pesqueria." These rivers can be identified.⁷ The first (Tequanapa) is the R. Santa Catarina, on which Tecoanapa still stands; the second (Cintla) must be the R. San Luis; the third (Copalitas) the R. Copala;

² Mercedes, 11:22v. The document dates from c. 1581, and begins "Don lo suares [de Mendoza] &c por la presente en n.e de su m.g hago merced a ju.o lopes dauila vzo de la costa del mar del sur de un sitio de es.cia p.a ganado mayor con una caballeria de tierra en terminos del p.o de quauçapotlan y cintla junto a un arroyo de agua que en lengua mexicana se llama quamescatitlan y e[n el] camino que va del pu.o de sintla al de copalitas. . . ."

³ Suma de Visitas, No. 97: "Çiutla [sic] . . . en Su Magestad . . . tienen pesqueria . . . es tierra muy calida y enferma . . . esta media legua de la mar, tiene de largo seis leguas y de ancho çinco; esta de Mexico sesenta leguas, y del puerto de Acapulco veinte y tres, y de las minas de Çumpango veynte y tres. Confina con Copalitech y Tacolula y Colutla." *Papeles de Nueva España*, 2ª Ser., 4:257: "Declaro ser Çintla pueblo maritimo por estar una legua de la mar, y tener montes y vn rrio cavdaloso, y vnas salinas, junto a la mar, en vna alaguna pequeña."

⁴ Suma, No. 239: "... llega sus terminos a la mar; es tierra muy calida y llana . . . alcançan vn rio de buena pesqueria. . ." *Papeles de Nueva España, loc. cit.*, "Declaro ser pueblo maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y vna alaguna de pesqueria. . ."

⁵ *Papeles de Nueva España*, 2ª Ser., 4:255.

⁶ "Ay en esta costa desta juridición la punta de Quahuitlan . . . tiene de la vanda del poniente vna ensenada que dizen de Tequanapa . . . y desde allí es todo playa . . . hasta llegar Acapulco. . ." (*Papeles de Nueva España*, 2ª Ser., 4:262.)

⁷ On the Millionth Map of the American Geographical Society, Sheet Ciudad de México.

the fourth some unmarked tributary to the same lagoon; and the last the R. Ayutla or Nexpa.

Copalitech, then, must be the modern Copala, and Cintla not far from the modern Juchitán, which places Quauhzapotlan (between the two) even farther west than we had surmised. It is truly startling to find references to a large Zapotec town *west of Azoyú*—but the evidence is all to that effect.

If any confirmation were necessary, it might be pointed out that Cintla as here identified falls about equidistant from Acapulco and Zumpango—which is what our documents call for; that the Colutla with which it bordered, bordered also with Azoyú,⁸ and that its other lindero, Tacolula, belonged to Gutierre de Badajoz,⁹ conqueror of Yope northeast of Acapulco.

Since the location of Zapotec speakers in this region is so extraordinary, it may be well to reiterate that our laconic source states “they have always spoken Zapotec and still speak it.” We are dealing with no colonial implantation.—R. H. B.

⁸ Suma, No. 96.

⁹ Suma, No. 647.



[N19 I:4] UN BARRIO PREHISPÁNICO DE LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO.

En la antigua Parroquia de “Santa Cruz Cuaccontzinco,” nombre que pasó a la iglesia de la Soledad de Santa Cruz, existe el barrio de la Candelarita—conocido más comúnmente por el de Candelaria de los Patos, por ser este lugar en donde principalmente se comerciaba hasta hace pocos años con este palmípedo que cazaban los indígenas en la Laguna de Texcoco. Dicho barrio, según un documento encontrado por el Sr. R. H. Barlow¹ se llamó durante la época prehispánica Ometochtitlan, lugar de Ometochtli, divinidad nahua que se identifica con Tezcatzoncatl, dios del pulque. Ya en la época colonial se le agregó el nombre de Calendaria Ometochtitlan, juntando el concepto religioso de la Virgen de la Candelaria con el dios del pulque. Cruzando la plazuela de la Candelarita existe hasta la fecha la calle de S. Ciprián, en la que existió una chinampa y una casita cuyos títulos de propiedad el ser investigados proporcionaron esta aclaración importante para los nombres del antiguo Tenochtitlan.—VICENTE T. MENDOZA.

¹ Archivo General de la Nación, México, D. F., *Tierras*, Tomo 1264, exp. 8: “... una casita y chinampa en el callejon de Sⁿ Ciprian del Varrio de la Candelaria Omethoxtitlan perteneciente a la Parroquia de Santa Cruz Cuaccontzinco [sic].”



[N₂₀ I:4] THE TLAQUILTENANGO MANUSCRIPTS.¹

The monastery church of Santo Domingo in Tlaquiltenango, Morelos, was completed in 1540, and was for many years a very important mission. For some unknown reason manuscripts in the native style of writing, as well as fragments of Spanish records, were cut up and pasted face down in a band or frieze around the colonnade of the monastery. After becoming weather-worn these strips were overlaid and protected by several layers of plaster. They were discovered by accident a few years ago. Some of them, particularly the fragments of the Codex Mauricio de la Arena, have gravitated to the National Museum of Mexico;² others are now preserved in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.³

The documents in New York are numerous, being written on paper made from the amate tree macerated to an even thickness. In some instances traces of the original surfacing of fine lime is still present. They consist of tax records, genealogics, and land titles. Almost all date from after the Spanish Conquest. Not only are Spanish coins indicated, but inscriptions in the Roman alphabet, both in Spanish and Nahuatl, are present. The discoverer of these documents backed them on coarse brown paper, not always in the most logical order.

Because Tlaquiltenango was an important center of the Tlalhuica tribe, and because there are a good many documents in the group, the New York series deserves to be known.

¹ The following note was sent us by an anonymous reader of TLALOCAN and has been somewhat condensed by the editors, who express their thanks to the unknown contributor.

² Published by Mazari in *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, Epoca 4, T. 4:273-278.

³ Anthropology Accession 1911-31 (Anthropology Catalogue No. 30.1-4435), Museum Library and on exhibition.

[N₂₁ I:4] THE 18TH CENTURY *RELACIONES GEOGRÁFICAS*, FURTHER NOTES.

A few titles have turned up to supplement the bibliography of 18th Century *Relaciones* published at the beginning of this volume.¹ The manuscripts are in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris² (cited as BNP)

¹ TLALOCAN I:54-70.

² Data from a note by Núñez y Domínguez in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Históricos*, 2:128-129; and from the Boban Catalogue. Since the manuscripts themselves have not been examined, identification of towns and states may be inaccurate in a couple of cases.

and in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City (cited as AGN). The Paris manuscripts also include some duplicate copies of titles in our first list—R. H. B.

I. LIST BY TOWNS

- | | |
|---|--|
| AMACUECA, JAL.
Amacueca.
April 1778.
(On W. shore of L. Sayula.)
BNP Ms. 201.
[] | va Vizcaya, Obispado de Durango.
Nov. 1777.
[]
BNP Ms. 201.
[] |
| BABORIGAME, CHIH.
Misión de San Francisco Xavier Baborigame.
Oct. 1777.
(NW. of Guadalupe y Calvo, S. of Tonachic.)
BNP.
[] | SANTA ANA, CHIH.
Misión de Santa Ana, provincia de Tarahumara la baja del Obispado de Durango.
22 Sept. 1777.
(W. of Camargo, NW. of Balleza. ³)
[] |
| *COLIMA, COL.
Partido de Colima.
2 Jan. 1793.
AGN, Padrones, 11:1-17.
Pub. <i>Boletín AGN</i> , 11:485-511. | SIANORI, DGO.
Pueblo, Real y Cabezera de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Sianori.
Sept. 1778.
(W. of Topia, NE. of Tamazula.)
BNP.
[] |
| CHIHUAHUA, CHIH.
Corregimiento de la Villa de San Felipe de Chiguagua.
[]
(The state capital.)
BNP Ms. 201.
[] | TUPARES, CHIH.
Misión de Sr. San Miguel de los Tubares, provincias de Tarahumara baja.
April 1778.
(S. of Cerocahui, W. of Tonachic. Cf. Tamaron, 172.)
BNP.
[] |
| PUEBLO NUEVO, (DGO.?)
Pueblo Nuevo, provincia de la Nue- | |

II. LIST BY STATES

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| COLIMA
Colima. | DURANGO
Pueblo Nuevo (?), Sianori. |
| CHIHUAHUA
Baborigame, Chihuahua, Santa Ana, Tupares. | JALISCO
Amacueca. |

³ Kindly identified by Sr. Atanasio Saravia.

[N22 I:4] EXPEDITIONS IN WESTERN GUERRERO: THE WEITLANER PARTY, SPRING, 1944.

In order to gather material for the Mesa Redonda de Antropología, whose fourth session will deal with problems of the Balsas basin and the Tarascan area, two expeditions were sent into the field in February and March, 1944. These survey parties were sponsored by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City, to which organization TLALOCAN owes thanks for permission to publish a summary account. One group was led by Ing. Robert J. Weitlaner and the other by Sr. Pedro Armillas.¹

ESTACIÓN BALSAS-COYUCA DE BENÍTEZ

The party led by Ing. Weitlaner descended the sierra from the Balsas to the coast near Acapulco and then doubled back along a different route. On the first half of the trip he was accompanied by R. H. Barlow of the University of California, as *ayudante*, being joined at the coast by Dr. T. I. Bullock of Cambridge University and Sr. Alberto Sandoval for the return trip. A photographer was actively present along the entire route.

Aside from the 16th Century *Relaciones*, almost no colonial (or pre-colonial) documents are known from the region between the Estación Balsas, where the railroad ends, and Coyuca de Benítez. These *Relaciones*, however, tell us the region was inhabited by the Tepehua or Tepuztecos—the Mountain Lords, the Copper People. These Tepehua or Tepuztecos have long formed a linguistic and ethnographic question mark. The single known word of Tepuzteco (not to be confused with the *mexicano* of Tepuztlan, Morelos), *andut*, was the name of a god. Its form showed the language to be neither Tlappanec nor Cuiclatec nor any of the other known Guerrero tongues. Through the expedition a dim light was shed on these Tepuztecos, if we may anticipate, though no live Tepuzteco was found.

The party set out on horses from the Estación Balsas, a withered riverside town which marks the end of the railroad, and left February 17, 1944, reaching the coast March 3. As was found in the first day's riding, published maps of the zone traversed are very incomplete, and many additional place-names were gathered all along the route, together with pilings and altitude measurements. At the end of two days the sierra had been entered. From there to the coast the route lay

¹ An account of the Armillas party will appear in our next issue. The presence of this material in TLALOCAN does not imply any incipient metamorphosis into a journal of modern ethnography and archeology. It forms, rather, an exception to editorial policy due to a desire for prompt publication in view of the approaching Mesa Redonda.

unvaryingly through valley bottoms of citrus, cane, and bananas, and over autumnal peaks of pine and mixed hardwoods. On the road to Tlacotepec, the first real town, a stone sculpture called the Cihuatel (*mujer de piedra*) exists near La Cienaga. This was not seen, inasmuch as we learned of it some while after passing the site. Tlacotepec enjoys an isolation mitigated by the stream of merchants and pack animals which flow to and from the end of the railroad. The first of many petroglyphs were found here, and a few Nahuatl-speakers, from whom a remarkable migration myth was obtained, this clearly referring to the peopling of the sierra by the Tepuztecos whose old home was Tixtlanzingo. Vocabularies and texts in this local Nahuatl dialect as well as an ethnographic questionnaire were taken down.

At Tlacotepec the party divided, to meet again at Paso del Río, Ing. Weitlaner going via Huerta Vieja and Corral de Piedra, and the others via El Naranjo, which was said to be Tlacotepec el Viejo, and the previous stage in the migration route. These points proved to be the center of a culture of cave-burials, copper-working, and pottery-making of an advanced type. The pottery, shown in Plate 4, is found in Corral de Piedra, caves near El Naranjo, and the huge ruined city called Iglesia Vieja which lies southwest of El Naranjo. It seems to form a type not previously reported in Mexico. The slope of the bowl suggests Central America, as does the geometrical design in black and orange on a cream slip. The ruin at El Naranjo consists of various platforms and mounds, all looted. A stone carved with the date 1 Tochtli had been carried from the ruins to form the foundations of a nearby hut, and was photographed. Petroglyphs, clay animal seals, and copper objects abound in this zone, rings being found among the hundreds of burials in the caves, and various axe-heads, needles, and earrings appearing in Corral de Piedra. Tamales wrapped in palm leaves are a delicacy noted in the latter town.

At Paso del Río, the first use of ocote torches held in the hand was observed. This is the normal means of illumination, if it can be called that, from there to Xaleaca, and is remarked in the *Relaciones*. Reports at Paso del Río of a non-*mexicano* language in Politepec caused a deviation to that rancheria, but the strangers turned out to be Tlappanec newcomers. Yeztla was reached the same day, and a tantalizing song "El Tepuzteco," about which the party had been told in Tlacotepec, was written down. This mangy ballad contains a few scraps of *mexicano*, and some rather old Spanish forms, but is far gone in decay, so that the provocative opening lines "Es mi tierra y no lo puedo negar" are not satisfactorily elaborated. In Yeztla no "mexicaneros" were found, though the town-name was explained as "tierra de sangre," a good Nahuatl etymology. There is a vague memory of ancient wars in the town, though their age, or that of the town, is uncertain. Classi-

cally beautiful pottery, continuing the prehispanic tradition of the looped leg, continues to be made there.²

In the vicinity of Yeztla "tigres" formerly abounded, and one huge specimen had been killed recently. Izotepec, farther down the road, also produced a memory of gold-panning. Los Chicauales, which looks like a Walt Disney reservation for dwarfs, held a notable lithic industry which was photographed with the motion picture camera, legless metates (tecuiches) being patiently chipped and ground out of suitable river stones with stone pestles. (It may be remarked that the use of archeological tecuiches in present-day kitchens is universal in this zone.) Here at Los Chicauales the "stratigraphy" of the precipitous landscape is especially evident in the form of banana-plots under pine-covered slopes.

Xaleaca—explained by denizens as "punto arenoso"—was visited next, and proved the last stronghold of ocote illumination, some composite outdoor torches reaching a length of three meters. An ethnographic questionnaire was filled out here. A short ride from Xaleaca brings one to a Pueblo Viejo, located on a sugar cane hacienda, where ruins less extensive, but more complete, than those of El Naranjo were visited and potsherds dug. Several designs incised on boulders were photographed in the vicinity of this Pueblo Viejo (I), these being different from the chalk-filled drawings which abound in the Tlacotepec-Huerta Vieja area. This Pueblo Viejo was also a step in the Tlacotepec migration legend.

Beyond Xaleaca lie Santa Barbara and Ceutla. Ceutla is a sort of summer capital of the former town, almost depopulated save in time of planting and harvesting. Ruins were found at Santa Barbara, and an astonishingly thick coarse pottery, fragments perhaps of great jars, was dug from deep down in the side of an arroyo. This pottery was light yellow in color and grooved on the outside. In the scattering of houses which comprise Ceutla, a corncrib was noted in which maize was stacked for long-time storage, the shafts of colored ears forming a cross on a background of white ones. Here also a tiny and very primitive sun-altar exists on a hilltop, and much more important ruins stretch toward San Cristóbal. There is reason to believe that this site, from which a tripod vessel was acquired, is the Anecuilco mentioned in the *Relaciones*.

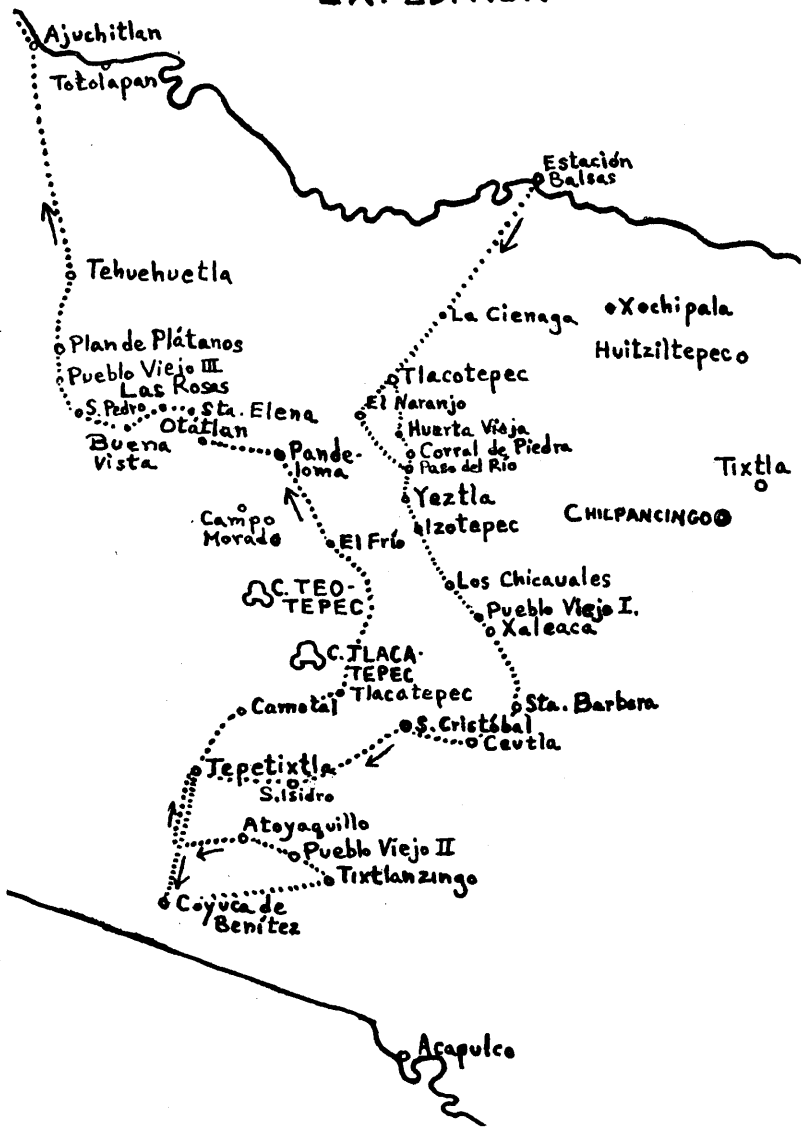
From Ceutla to San Cristóbal—which is badly located on available maps—is only a couple of hours, but the atmosphere is quite different. At San Cristóbal one enters the Costa Grande, and negroid elements

² This looped leg may be seen in Plate 4, and in Lothrop, *Pottery of Costa Rica and Nicaragua* (New York, 1926), 1:224 and 2: pl. clxvii and clxxiii.

← Coyuca de Catalán

○ Iguala

ROUTE OF THE EXPEDITION



appear all at once. A large mound, its heart blasted out by treasure-seekers from Chilapa, was the most notable archeological object at San Cristóbal.

Beyond, the trail dipped through gorges of lianas and bamboo, with pine woods on the heights. Tepetitla (recently ridden by smallpox) was reached at length, and the following day Coyuca de Benítez.

COYUCA DE BENÍTEZ-COYUCA DE CATALÁN

Coyuca de Benítez, a coastal town which is just now caught in the throngs and dust of road construction, offers an unusually rich field for archeology. The church is built on deep layers of potsherds which are separated in places by strata of small white shells (probably of lacustrine origin). Behind and above the town is a level platform called the Campamento, where numerous slab metates appear. Adjoining this is another plateau with one high pyramid and approaching causeway.

Sherds excavated at random and purchased artifacts reveal the occurrence of:

1. archaic heads, some with elaborate headdresses. Similar figures have been known to appear at other coastal sites, north of Acapulco;
2. one single support of unmistakably Teotihuacán type;
3. a substantial number of unusually high supports with convex inside and flat outside. These front sides are decorated either with geometrical motifs (cf. Plate 5) or show human figures in relief, these anthropomorphic forms being hitherto unknown in Mexican ceramics. One specimen is reminiscent of the Monte Alban "danzantes," while others show grotesque faces with wrinkled brows, drooping eyelids, and pronounced denture;
4. flat figurine heads made in molds, reminiscent of Mazapan types.

Two remarkable stone sculptures were drawn and photographed.

Turning north again, the next stop was made at Tixtlanzingo, from which point the people of Tlacotepec claim to have begun their migration. Culture element lists and a vocabulary of the practically extinct Nahuatl dialect of the region were obtained. Somewhat in contradiction to the Tepuztec migration legend, found at Tlacotepec, local tradition has the people of Tixtlanzingo come from near Tixtla, Guerrero—and this seems to be confirmed by a comparison of the word list from Tixtlanzingo with others from the region of Chilapa. It is, however, believed that Pueblo Viejo, not far distant, antedates Tixtlanzingo. In Tixtlanzingo a very large rock bearing numerous petroglyphs was photographed. Here also was found a dance called "Los Mecos," which is performed with bow and arrow, and report was heard of a now-vanished brotherhood, the "Rancho de la Virgen," which kept and ate cows for the benefit of the Virgen. It may be



Photograph by JOHN McDONALD

POTTERY FROM WESTERN GUERRERO

Upper left: Looped legged bowl with black and red decoration on dark cream slip. Corral de Piedra. *Upper right:* Bowl with black and orange-red decoration on cream slip. Corral de Piedra. *Middle and lower right:* Pottery stamps from Corral de Piedra and Huerta Vieja. *Lower left:* Archaic figurine head with elaborate headdress. Coyuca de Benítez.



Photograph by JOHN McDONALD

POTTERY FROM WESTERN GUERRERO

(Approximately half size)

Pottery supports from Coyuca de Benítez, with decoration in relief on flat outer surface. (Lower right figure rests on side.) *Third from left: Figurine head, Coyuca de Benítez.*

remarked in passing from the coast to the sierra that an emergency food named "maíz jolco" is found along the coast.

From Tixtlanzingo the party headed for Pueblo Viejo (II), rich in ceramics, to judge by a specimen acquired. Much modern pottery is made here. A second crop of maize called "chahue" is collected. The path leads then to Atoyaquillo, on a beautiful stream and beyond, the Río Grande valley is entered again, bringing one to Tepetitla, which we had visited on the descent. Here the peaks of Tlacatepec and Teotepec loom massively in the background. This large and important village is of recent origin, being composed of immigrants from various regions. *Mexicano* will no longer be spoken there a generation hence. Approaching the higher mountains, vegetation becomes more luxuriant. Fern trees and rubber trees, and *vainilla* are found near Camotal, a coffee-producing center. From this latter place, ascent is made by an extremely steep and quite dangerous trail to the real highland region of Tlacatepec, with the ranchería of the same name as its center. Extensive pastures with cattle and prospects of cultivated fields give the landscape a distinct Alpine aspect. Back of these towers Tlacatepec, within easy reach; archeological sites being pointed out to us on its ridges. These sites are said to exist even on its very summit. Numerous stone axes are found hereabout.

Maize in this area of Tlacatepec is stored either in round cribs made of vertical posts and thatched with grass or in house-like structures which are even more pretentious than the habitations. Occupation is partly seasonal, all of the settlers coming from Xaleaca, two days distant.

We now passed for two days through a forest hardly equalled in beauty and grandeur anywhere in Mexico. Enormous pine trees, thirty to forty meters high, mingle with majestic tepozcohuites equally tall, ayacahuites, oak trees with splendid orchids, sassafras, and at still higher altitudes (2800 m.) oyameles. This virgin forest extends for over a hundred kilometers toward the west. In these woods, remarkably free of underbrush, live the Pastores, about whom a few words may be said.

In former visits to Chilapa and Mazapa some information had been obtained regarding this remarkable people, all of the accounts pointing towards the East as their original home. They are seminomadic, inhabiting the wooded area just described so long as the dry season lasts. The owners of herds or their pastoral followers, wearing chapareras, generally live in tents or windbreaks. Their flocks of goats and sheep number a few hundred, and grazing areas are chosen according to need, being changed frequently. Metates, maize, and other articles are carried along, and arms are kept handy against the constant danger of depre-dations by jaguars, pumas, and mountain cats. It is during the dry season that purchasers arrive.

At the close of the dry season, the end of May, herds are driven down towards the Balsas River or towards the East (Xochipala, Huitziltepec), where abundant pasture is found during the rains. November's return to the mountains closes the yearly cycle and any maize planted, for there is a little agriculture among the Pastores, is harvested in January and February. Salt is procured from the coast four times a year.

The majority of the Pastores speak *mexicano* and a word-list taken turned out to be identical with the one obtained at Hueycantenango in 1942. The dialect is alien to the region and points to the towns near Tlappa and adjacent parts of Puebla. Verbal traditions invariably point in the same direction. It appears further that their coming into these parts is of recent date, perhaps a generation ago. How much influence the medieval Spanish guild known as the Mesta had on the institution of the Pastores historical research may eventually reveal. About two hundred Pastores are supposed to exist, their herds totaling some 60,000 head.

Maize cultivation accompanied by seasonal occupation is intimately connected with the higher mountain region around Tlacatepec. Farmers having their permanent homes in the towns of Tlacotepec, Yeztla, Xaleaca, etc., come into these parts to sow maize during April, returning for clearing in September and harvest in January to March. Ears of corn are stored in cribs, taken out when needed, but otherwise left there as long as two years. A great variety of corn is sown, depending upon soil, climate, and altitude; for instance, maize "sapo" is planted in the higher altitudes with excellent results, showing eighteen to twenty rows of kernels. The three-legged metate "Mexicano," brought in from the East, is supplanting the slab metate hereabout, though its support by two forked sticks, as in the case of the latter, affords a strange case of hybridization. A nostalgic preference for colored maize prevails: "el maíz blanco tiene que regresar otra vez a su tierra [España!]."

Among other observations valid for most of the region may be mentioned the almost complete absence of the temascal (except perhaps for the Pastores). The use of toasted cigars, mentioned in the *Relaciones*, may be reflected by casual toasting of tobacco leaves on the comal. Native textiles, which we hoped to find still, are unknown today, but still exist in the Cuitlatec town of Totolapan. Archaic figures were not encountered after leaving Coyuca de Benítez.

The general impression one receives is that the culmination of the whole region resides in the mountain mass of Tlacatepec and Teotepec, legendary Man Mountain and God Mountain of the Tepuztecos. From their flanks flow streams of clear water as far north as the Balsas and as far south as the ocean. The carpet of virgin forest spreads far down their slopes until it finally mingles with plantains, palms, and sugar

cane. Fertile soil and grasses sustain agriculture and pasturage; potential wealth in copper, gold, and silver rests below. The zone thus attracts farmer and Pastor alike toward its fold magnetically, and must have done so in the past. That past remains obscure. We may never know, alas, what rites were once celebrated on mountain-tops, nor in what manner the "copper people" venerated rocks and trees, save for the few lines of text in the *Relaciones*.

From El Frío, with its ancient house sites, we reached Pandeloma, which is considered to be the center spiritually and economically of the Pastores. Some of the houses are the rather pretentious product of accumulated wealth. The administrative center of the Pastor organization lies, however, in Coronillas. Officers are elected for indefinite periods, payments are made for allotted pasture lands and quarrels are settled by the committee of the "comunidad." This semiautonomous body exerts jurisdiction only within certain limits; Pastores in other parts, for instance, Tehuehuetla, depend for their grazing land upon their respective municipios, Ajuchitlan in this case. Another branch of the same committee distributes land for agricultural use.

Primitive mills still grind gold in Pandeloma. Otatlan, below Pandeloma on the Río de las Truchas, consists of about forty to fifty families who do not marry with outsiders. Much goiter was noticed here.

Farther up the river, above Campo Morado, are the ruins of Pueblo Viejo and probably the famous Cerro de los Grados, which place we unfortunately could not visit. Another important complex of pyramids, located on a ridge above Otatlan called La Cienaga or El Guayabal was visited by two members of the party.

Santa Elena, a short distance below Otatlan, has an oblong temple mound, facing on a large platform. Several ranchers had made an excavation here and obtained a most interesting collection, consisting of a necklace composed of jade and shell beads, seals, copper bells, etc. Noteworthy is the occurrence of clay vessels in Tepuzteco-Naranjo style in association with vessels of typical late Aztec and Cholula-Textcoco ware. This coincidence may mark the date of Mexican occupation of Tepuzteco territory. (Cf. *Relación de Utatlan*.)

From Santa Elena a steep climb brings us to Las Rosas and by a still more perpendicular ascent Buena Vista is reached. It is situated on one of the typical ridges called "filos" and contains two rocks, bearing petroglyphs. A figurine head of Tarascan type seems to attest Tarascan extension this far south. (Plate 4.) Passing again through splendid forests with camps of Pastores, a long descent ends at S. Pedro, the innermost settlement on the Tehuehuetla or Ajuchitlan river. The village is built on and around an ancient temple site. Walls of river boulders laid in mud, a central square, a long and narrow temple foundation with a low pyramid on top, etc., are noteworthy.

More extensive yet is the complex of ruins of Pueblo Viejo (III) which is located a few hours below, and extends for almost half a kilometer along the left bank of the river. A day and a half were spent there, testing different places for sherds amid the massive walls of boulders laid in mud. Sherds were found to be uniformly undecorated, chocolate colored, and poorly fired. A very long and narrow (fifty-five paces by about twelve) temple mound with a low pyramid near one end forms the center of the complex. All the walls are constructed with river boulders and some of the outer retaining walls, facing the river, total almost ten meters in height. Two types of structures seem to predominate. The first are ceremonial temple foundations, some long and narrow, the majority square truncated pyramids, and the second (which appear to have served as habitations) are usually three times longer than wide and show what Sr. Armillas would term sunken courts (patios).

The middle of the complex is now used as a cemetery; here a looted tomb can be inspected. It is two meters deep and two and a half long, the sides being constructed of boulders, forming a kind of corbeled arch with slabs covering the top. Rough estimates of the size of the entire complex were made. On the opposite shore a house foundation with exactly cruciform outlines was noted.

Below Pueblo Viejo III, one site follows the other at almost regular intervals. Above Plan de Plátanos an important town site called Ojo de Agua was visited by two of the party. In Acerilla near Pueblo Viejo III a number of copper earrings and small shell labrets were obtained. Numerous petroglyphs were seen or reported: below S. Pedro, above Plan de Plátanos, along the river, in El Capullin, etc. Other important mounds and temple foundations were seen in Tehuehuetla and somewhat below.

Forms of houses and temples seem to be similar to those found by the Armillas party in the middle Balsas basin. Pyramids, so far called *momoztlis*, are here termed *yácatas*; plant and animal names of Tarascan origin become more frequent, and the "huicho," a small apron-like bag worn in front below the belt makes its appearance. Large shades (enramadas) in front of churches are seen as one approaches the Tierra Caliente.

On the economic side, river bottom agriculture and maize planting at higher altitudes combine with primitive sugar mills, mescal distilleries, cattle herding, banana plantations, and irrigated garden cultivation. In the upper wooded approaches (Buena Vista, El Frío) forest burning reveals encroaching maize cultivation.

Below Tehuehuetla the valley narrows down into a long canyon until we enter a dry, hilly country with isolated high mountains on both sides of the Balsas River. Over sere flats with shrubby cascote trees,

Ajuchitlan is finally reached on the Balsas. Cascalotes, furnishing precious tanning material and ajonjolí are the principal export products of this rich section of the Tierra Caliente.

The last stage of the expedition was made by boat to Coyuca de Catalán, where some excellent filigree goldwork is still done. Two large mounds, partly exposed by the river, were seen, and numerous fish weirs passed on the way. Other impressions obtained on this river travel were: cultivation of rice on the very banks as well as tobacco and melons, and queer huge water wheels hoisting river water to the higher banks. Just above Coyuca de Catalán, the end point of a six and a half weeks' journey, numerous boys were seen running back and forth, shouting and waving flags on long poles to frighten birds away from a rice patch.

SUMMARY

1. *Environment and ecology.*

The country traversed abounds in small rivers and streams, and the higher portions extending west of the Tlacatepec massif are covered with dense, magnificent forests. Rock formation consists mainly of granite and porphyry, excepting the region between Tlacotepec-Xaleaca where calcareous rocks have favored the formation of numerous caves. Molars of mastodons were encountered in two places.

Maize is cultivated by seasonal occupation of the rich central mountain area which is also the habitat of the seminomadic Nahuá-speaking Pastores. Mining seems at present unimportant, as are also hunting and fishing. Coffee is grown on the moister and more abrupt southern slopes.

Skin disease (pinto) is unusually frequent and so is goiter in certain localities.

2. *Ethnography.*

The region south of the Balsas and west of the Acapulco highway seems to have undergone, and to continue to undergo, a profound change in its ethnic composition. Small farmers have, within a generation or less, drifted in from regions north of the Balsas and the country east of Chilpanzingo. This phenomenon becomes more accelerated as we proceed from East to West and is reflected in a heterogeneous array of culture elements such as variable house and corncrib constructions, two types of metates, U-shaped hearths beside the three fire-stones, and above all, by a complete absence of, or disinterest in, ceremonial and traditional aspects of culture.

A preliminary appraisal of culture elements seems to reveal an increasing influence of Tarascan culture as we approach the Balsas basin.

While our region does not offer such a fertile field for "virgin" ethnography as, for instance, eastern Guerrero, it offers an excellent

laboratory for studies in acculturation, a process which it is undergoing at present.

3. *Linguistics.*

Acculturation becomes even more manifest when we evaluate the linguistic situation. The farther we proceed south and then northwest, the fewer become the speakers of native languages, finally disappearing altogether, discounting of course the alien, *mexicano*-speaking Pastores. No trace of a Tepuzteco language was found, nor are there any hopes that any will ever be found in the future.

The limited linguistic material obtained on Nahua seems to indicate affiliation with eastern dialects rather than with those spoken to the north of the Balsas.

4. *Archeology.*

The area covered by the expedition was found to be unexpectedly rich in prehistoric remains. This is particularly true in the case of the country around Yeztla-Xaleaca, the upper reaches of the Río de las Truchas and the Río Ajuchitlan. It may be stated without exaggeration that it would be difficult to travel even a few hours along a mountain ridge or in a valley bottom without noticing petroglyphs, village sites, rock trenches, or temple foundations of prehispanic origin. Numerous place-names like Pueblo Viejo, Casas Viejas, etc., could be cited as proof. Legless scoop or slab metates are highly frequent throughout the area.

We are at a loss for a satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of so many ruins in a region which at present cannot be considered to be overpopulated. Future intensive investigation is urgently needed to help disentangle this knotty archeological problem. Present observations are based on a rapid survey only.

To cite a few cases more specifically, we may first point to the finds in the calcareous region of Yeztla, which we might provisionally call the Tepuzteco culture area. It is characterized by cave burials, offerings of clay vessels in caves, numerous rock paintings and petroglyphs, and an abundance of copper objects. Ceramically speaking, it is marked by tripod cajetes with cylindrical or bulbous supports, decorated with bands of geometric design, black or black and orange star-shaped ornaments on the outside of the vessel, over a cream colored slip. Rims are high, more or less vertical, and concave towards the outside. Somewhat similar shapes and types with looped legs, also found here, strongly resemble the publications of Lothrop (*Pottery of Costa Rica*, etc.). Numerous pottery stamps, slightly curved and bearing late highland motifs, were obtained.

In the second area, Coyuca de Benítez, the unusually high, flat-

convex supports with strange decorative motifs deserve special notice. Determination of relative stratigraphic position is urgent.

The third and fourth areas, the sites above Campo Morado and those in the Valley of Tehuchuetla, also deserve attention, not only to delimit Tarascan expansion but also to determine the possible existence of a culture cleavage between valley and mountain sites.

Beyond this, our material must also be projected against the archeological background of the Balsas basin expedition which has also completed its background.

A final observation may perhaps be allowed. A glance at an archeological map must reveal the fact that an enormous area in western Mexico remains still unexplored. A very wide strip beginning in coastal Michoacán and comprising the zone between Apatzingan, Xochicalco, Monte Alban, and the Pacific coast is practically unknown archeologically. Is it possible to establish chronological sequences and postulate vast migratory movements in the face of such a lacuna in our knowledge of prehistoric Mexico? Should not some of the effort now very often directed toward showy excavations be diverted towards regions which have remained too long blank on the map?

ROBERT J. WEITLANER and R. H. BARLOW.



QUERY

[Q5 I:4] THE POMAR *RELACIÓN*.

Joaquín García Icazbalceta's edition of the *Relación de Tezcoco* by Juan Bautista Pomar (*Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, vol. III, Mexico, 1891) is incomplete, breaking off with query XXXI. Other documents of this class usually give answers to three further queries, numbered through XXXIV, and conclude with affidavits, dates, and signatures of the declarants and informants. García Icazbalceta found his manuscript in the library of the former Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City, and long refrained from publishing it in the hope of locating the drawings to which the text refers (*id.*, p. vii). Recently J. Eric S. Thompson ("The Missing Illustrations of the Pomar *Relación*," *Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology*, No. 4, 1941, 15-21) has identified four derivatives from these drawings, but he does not refer to the missing queries.

According to the description of a manuscript copy (78 folios) offered for sale in Paris in 1883, the "original" manuscript of Pomar was copied in 1850 by Chimalpopoca Galicia; this copy found its way into

Brasseur de Bourbourg's collection, and the "original" was lost when the library of San Gregorio was dispersed during the struggle between Miramón and Juárez (*Catalogue . . . Pinart-Bourbourg*, Paris, 1883, p. 127, item No. 774).

Can anyone indicate the present location of the Colegio de San Gregorio manuscript? Are the answers to queries XXXII-XXXIV missing from it? Is the present location of the Chimalpopoca copy known to anyone?—GEORGE KUBLER, *Yale University*.



ANSWERS

[A1 I:4 to Q3 I:2] THE NAME "TENOCHTITLAN."

The use of the name Tenochtitlan in any orthographic variant, alone and without being joined to Mexico in the form Tenochtitlan-Mexico, is very rare in documents composed in the capital after 1530. One extremely late case may be noted in the minutes of the metropolitan *cabildo* for August 1533 (*Actas del cabildo*, III, 46).

The compound or double toponym, Tenochtitlan-Mexico, flourished until 1540-1545, in numerous variants, such as *Temextitan*, *Temistitan*, *Tenustitan*, *Temestitan*, *Tenuxtitan*: others will no doubt easily be found. The variants I cite occur in the *Actas del cabildo*, vols. I-V, (Mexico, 1859-1882), in Puga's *Cedulario* (2nd ed., Mexico, 1878), in the *Epistolario* (Mexico, 16 vols., 1939-1942), and in other collections of letters of the sixteenth century.

The standard designation as Mexico began as early as 1531 (*Actas*, II, 196), and became increasingly common, displacing the more ceremonious compound name completely by 1545. In the decade 1535-1545, be it noted, the double name is used only upon formal or ceremonious occasions.

The gradual atrophy of the name Tenochtitlan, first as a single toponym, and later in its compound form, may be related to the atrophy of the independent Indian community of Tlatelolco. Tenochtitlan signified only the Spanish center embraced within the great quadrangle of the original *traza* of the capital. The encroachment by Spanish colonists upon Indian lands may be traced in the grants awarded by the *cabildo* (*Actas*, passim). As the island city became Hispanized, the Indian community was pressed back upon its own plaza and *tecpan*, and the name Tenochtitlan, distinguishing what had once been a separate agglomeration, fell into disuse.

Chimalpahin used the double toponym as late as 1620 to refer to his

education in the capital (Boban, *Documents*, II, 162), and Boturini employed it as late as 1746 (*Idea de una nueva historia general* [1746], 79). Both these writers, however, allude to the old compound name in an elegiac and antiquarian manner. The last appearances of toponyms are as difficult to ascertain as the effective last appearances of prima donnas; all one may determine with assurance is the relative frequency of their "final" appearances.—GEORGE KUBLER, *Yale University*.



[A2 I:4 to Q4 I:3] ATHANASIUM INCA.

I published the map from this book, *West-Indische Spiegel*, in an article of mine, entitled *Some Imaginary California Geography*, in 1926. At that time I made an effort to ascertain the original from which this might have been taken, but without any success. As I recall it now my impression was that it was a made up book, that is, made up from various sources.—H. R. WAGNER.