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: : Volume I, Number 1, etc.]

NOTES

[N 1: 1] ANOTHER EPISLALARIO DOCUMENT

Various of the documents designed for inclusion in the Epistolario de Nueva España, now completed, had disappeared during the years the manuscript 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, xxxviii).—(R.H.B.)

[N 2: 1] A MS. OF RAMON DE ORDOÑEZ Y AGUIAR.

Nicolás León published two editions of the curious Historia de la Creación del Cielo y de la Tierra, by Ramón de Ordoñez y Aguiar. In 1907 he included it in his Bibliografia Mexicana del Siglo XVIII "por vez primera" and "integro" 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 Ordoñez Ms. in the National Museum of Mexico on which he made many notes in preparation for publication. This Ms. is the one which Brauer saw a century ago.  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. The third is the ampest 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

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1 Lettres pour servir d'introduction des nations civilisées de l'Amérique septentrio- nale (Mexico, 1861). This is the Ms. which first called attention to Ordoñez. The autobiographical data on Ordoñez present in this Ms. (and which the Brühl Ms. published by León lacks) is also present in the Bancroft Ms. (f. 1-12v).

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

truncas ends a little past f. 117v of this Ms.
F. 520r closes with the words: "Nueve Goathenaja Junio 30 de 1794. [Dr. Dn. Miguel de] Bata-
lle."
There are eleven chapters. Ff. 328r-347v contain further notes from Ordóñez' pen. F. 348rv contains "No-
ta de la Lengua Zendal", a Biblical discussion of the origin of the language of Puebla.
Ff. 556v-595v contain "Fräntemenos", of the lost second volume.

The following two comparisons, chosen at random, show how the Bank-
croft Ms. can supplement León's published text, cited here from the obra truncan:
1. León Ed., chap. I, p. 21, No. 7: 
...el antiguo oráculo (...) ...Es a todos...
Bankcroft Ms., f. 26r: ...el antiguo oráculo; (f) pero que este Dios cuya existencia dictada de la luz na-
tural, la razón, no se haido del cielo, nacion barbara alguna que no conozca: Qui tam dementes est, ut cum coelum viderit Deus esse non agnos-
cat, que decía el esclavo Fulvio, (g) es a todos...

2. León Ed., chap. II, p. 23: "Nota a. Num. 1 y 2..." En este § de su Hist-
oria, cuentan los Culebras, el estado del chaos; pero no hablan de la cre-
ación del cielo, d... dando a enten-
der que el todo Poderoso creó el cielo y la tierra en el principio de los tiempos... y fuera de si mismo, dió ser a todas las criaturas.
Bankcroft Ms., f. 272: "Nota 2. Num. 1. En este § de su Historia cuen-
tan los Culebras, el estado del chaos, antes de la creación del Mundo; pero ni en él, ni en alguno de los que si-
guen, hablan una sola palabra de la crea-
tión del Cielo, y de la Tierra, su-
poniendo haverlo hecho en el 2. § del anterior capítulo.

Num. 2. En el citado § dan a en-
tender nuestros Americanos, que el
Todo Poderoso, creó el cielo, y la Tie-
erra, en el principio de los tiempos; que es como si digiesen, que el Su-


premio Hacedor creó el Cielo y la Tie-
erra, en aquel principio, que estando en[-]... immutable, como saliendo de el. A criar fuera de si mismo dió ser a todas las criaturas.

Occasionally one finds that the Ms. itself contains minor copyist's errors, as, for example:
León Ed., Prefación, § 17: ...des-
pues de algunas horas, y he aquí que lleva su phantasia...
Bankcroft Ms., Prefación, § 16: ...des-
pues de algunas horas, and [has been crossed out and written above] lleva su phantasia...

Different readings are found in
some places, as:
León Ed., Prefación, § 16: "Acusas-
ten un hombre a dormir."
Bankcroft Ms., Prefación, § 15: "Acusaste este hombre a dormir."

If the curious work of Ordóñez has any value for students of aboriginal culture, and León certainly went to
such great trouble to obtain it — the auth-
ors could best be helped by a publication of the whole thing, eventually, and not just a piece meal text. Herein lies the value of the Bankcroft Ms.

The first volume of the opus is essen-
tially a copious paraphrase of Fr.
Francisco Ximénez' translation of the Quiché legends called the Polup Buj, to which Ordóñez has added an infini-
tude of notes and etymologies, which should be exploited in future editions of the Polup Buj, Volume Two—of
which the León editions preserve only a couple of pages, and of which the
Bankcroft 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" by far
the largest known Ms. fragment of
Part II, however, is that of 51 leaves in the Middle American Research
Institute—(G.T.S.)

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[N3 1: 1] CHALCHIHNENETZIN

Among the new historical data un-
locked by Charles E. Dibble's edition of the Códice en Cruz 1 is the only pic-
ture of the once-celebrated adulterers who was Queen of Texcoco in the late
Fifteenth Century. Dibble quotes the 1496 entry from the Anales de Cuauht-
titlan in his identification of the draw-
ing, and the story from Ixtlixochitl, but overlooks further details in Pomar,
Chimalpahin, and the new Epistolar of Nueva España, which enable us to
restore the whole incident a little more
Chalchihuenetzin 2 was one of the
sisters of the Younger Mocotzuma. She
was the only one of the three to attend
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 Tex-
cocamachulo and Ocuilán, in eastern
Puebla and southern Mexico State,

2 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 Aguilar. From Bras-
seur de Bourbourg collection. About 1796. 51 leaves. (Middle American Research
Series. Pub. No. 5, Tulane University, 1956.)

Curiously enough, this Ms. does not ap-
pear in the Bibliothèque Mexico-Guatem-
alese catalogue of Brasseur (Paris, 1871, 112-113) which lists (a) the 258 ft. copy, Vol. I plus 4 ft. of Vol. II, he made in the
Museo Nacional in 1864-69; (b) a similar
copy of 23 ft. "Memoria relativa á las ruinas... de Palenque", comprising four documents; (c) a similar copy of 3 ft. of "Notas de Chiapas y Palenque."

To be reviewed in our next issue.

From Chalchihuitl (adjective—figuratively precious) and nenetz (doll) "Jade Doll" or "Precious Doll." Sr. Adris León in-
formed me that nenetz may also mean woomb.

3 The paragraph numbers are one less than the printed work, because of error in paragraphs at No. 4 (of Prefación).
4 Lettres pour servir, etc., p. 49.
Tlacocan

trunque ends a little past 1.17 of this Ms. F. 328r closes with the words: "Nueva Gomthema. Junio 30.de 1794. [Dr. Dn. Miguel del] Batal·".


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

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Bancroft Ms., f. 26r: ". ...el antiguo oráculo; (f) pero que este Dios cuya existencia dictada de la luz natural, en la razón, es bajo el cielo, nació bendita alguna que no conozca: Quis tantes dementes est, ut cum coelum viderit Deus esse non agnoscac, que decia el pintor Fúllido, (g) es a todos ...


2. León Ed., chap. II, p. 23: "Nota a Nums. 1 y 2—En este § de su Historia, cuentan los Culebras, el estado del chao; pero no hablan de la creación del cielo, d... dando a entender que el todo Poderoso creó el cielo y la tierra en el principio de los tiempos,... y fuera de sí mismo, dió ser a todas las criaturas.

Bancroft Ms., f. 277r: "Nota a 2. Num. 1. En este § de su Historia cuentan los Culebras, el estado del chao, antes de la creación del Mundo; pero ni en él, ni en alguno de los que siguen, hablan una sola palabra de la creación del Cielo, y de la Tierra, suponiendo haverlo hecho en el ² ¼, del anterior capítulo.

Num. 2. En el citado § dan a entender nuestros Americanos, que el Todo Poderoso, creó el cielo, y la Tierra, en el principio de los tiempos; que es como si digesen, que el Supremo Hacedor creó el Cielo y la Tierra, en aquel principio, que estando en[-] immutable, como saliendo de él. A criar fuera de sí mismo dió ser a todas las criaturas.

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Different readings are found in some places, as:

León Ed., Prefacon, ¶16: "Acuestas un hombre a dormir.

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If the curious work of Ordóñez has any value for students of aboriginal culture, and León certainly went to great trouble to obtain it — the autographs can be authenticated by a publication of the whole thing, eventually, and not just a piece meel 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 Tsendal Ms. (based in turn on some pictorial codex) bearing the odd title "Prueba de que soy culebra" by far

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

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[N3 1: 1] CHALCHIUNNETZIN

Among the new historical data unlocked by Charles E. Dibble’s edition of the Códice en Cruzi 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 Cuauhtitlán in his identification of the drawing, and says it was fertilized further details in Pomar, Chimalpahin, and the new Epistolarü de Nueva España, which enable us to restore the whole incident a little more critically.

Chalchiunnetzin3 was one of the sisters of the Younger Moctezuma. She was the only one of theletters to answer, 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,

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1 To be reviewed in our next issue.

2 From chalachuitl (adulteress—figuratively precious) and nenel (doll)—"Jade Doll" or "Precious Doll." Sr. Adrián León informed me that nenel may also mean womb.

3 Chimalpahin, p. 148.

4 "Le dix-huitième enfant est aussi une princesse que demande le roi d’Acéhuan-Tzecoco, Nezahualpilli Acamapochtli" (Chimalpahin, loc. cit.)

5 Su legítima mujer, hija de Azayacatl, rey de México" (Pomar, Relaciones de Texcoco, 1882, in García Icazbalceta, Nueva Colección de Documentos, México, 1891, III, 29). A reference elsewhere in an undated 16th Century document calls her "su mujer principal... hija del señor de México llamado Aviloxco, pregoner de Mocte-

zuma" (Lo que ordenan los indios, etc., in Epistolarü de Nueva España, XIV, 146). The reference to Achiutl has 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 Texoyucan. 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, and his suspicions were aroused. Going to her quarters at night, the king told his lady was asleep, but pushed his way in and found only a wooden figure of her reclining on the couch. (Fatal predication of hers!) Much afflicted, he called his guards, and soon routed out the man 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 confederates, artisans, jewelers, under-takers, 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.

The tlatoani of Mexico and Tlacopan attended the executions. Indeed, the former "came to kill her," says one account. 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. Chalchiuhnetzin and her three lovers were strangled, the other killed somehow, and their bodies burned with all the collection of statues. Some may even have been burned alive. The adulatorous ashes were gathered in a great jar made especially for the purpose, and thrown into a gorge near the Temple of Adulators. 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."

The goods of the offenders were seized, and their houses razed. 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.

Although "legitimate wife" Chalchiuhnetzin left no blood in the veins of the Texcocan rulers, her status as Queen must have contributed to the fratricidal strife prevailing when the Spaniards arrived. Her successor, Tlacayuatzin, became mother of eleven princes (we are told), among them the pair Cortés found disputing the interrupted succession.15—(R.H.B.)

* QUERIES

[Q1:1] 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 Cocoyoc—Pij—in 1875. 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 baton in the right hand and a shield in the left. "Great earrings adorn his ears, and the lower lip displays a lip-peg. 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 an almost 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. Arches en Nefalulultitlantl... por no haber hijo legítimo de su legítima mujer... que la mató" (Fumar, loc. cit.).

13 "Derribándole las cabezas. en Tezoco se muestran hoy algunas de hombres que eran muy principales... cuyas casas y cercas parece[n] hoy en día derruidas y todos sus bienes y vasallos se aplicaron al señor" (Lo orden que tenían los indios, loc. cit.)

14 "El señor de allí... mandó matar un día cuatrocientos principales indios y mujeres que se hallaron culpados en el adulterio... Entre estos muertos hubo personas muy principales" (Lo orden que tenían los indios, loc. cit.)

Ixtlilxochitl, Historia Chichimeca, Cap. LXIV, is the authority for any items not bearing other citations above.

12 Apparently a widespread custom, cited also from the Nahua-dominated To- tomace of N. Puebla. "Donde hera laorden- quior adulterio... los que asi cometieran alguna cosa morían quemados vivos, y asi mismo les quemaban sus casas, y a todos los que de aquel linaje dependían los des- terraban a todos" (Relación de Xochóte, 1581, in Paso y Troncoso [ed.], Papeles de Nueva España, 2a Serie, V, 128).

11 See Note 12, infra.

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VOEJAS 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 Peñón 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 Piri." This we read in an account of 1579. Even a decade before, a "Relación de lo que

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2 Saville, M., Tizoc, Great Lord of the Aztecs, New York, 1929.
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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." The goods of the offenders were seized, and their houses razed. The ruins were conspicuous years after the Spanish conquest although these events took place in 1498, as we see confirmed by the Códice en Cruz.12

Although "legitimate wife" Chalchiuhnetzin left no blood in the veins of the Texcocan rulers, she was a woman of much influence in the history of Mexico. (See Note 12, infra.)

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13 "Derrubándose las ciudades de Texcoco se muestran hoy algunas de hombres que eran muy principales...cuyas casas y cercas pasearon hoy en destinos, y todos sus bienes y vasallos se aplicaron al señor" (Lo que tenían los índios, loc. cit.)

[Q2.1] 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 Peñón 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 Piri." This we read in an account of 1759.1 Even a decade before, a "Relación de lo que..." was written. 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 Salina 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, 1871, John A. Sutter, Jr., United States Consul at Acapulco, wrote Hon. David H. Gamer, 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.)

[Q1:1] 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 Cocijo Pij—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 boustier or cuirass 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 some 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.

... en Nuevasulitzinlutl... por no haber sido legítimo de su legítima mujer... que lo mato" (Fonser, loc. cit.)

13 Ixtlilxochitl, Relación Duodécima. Perhaps some specialist in Texcocan matters will use us some note clearing up the relative legitimacy of these pretensions.


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

The Ms. from which this imposing and important work was translated is the Barberini Lat. 3584 Ms. of the Vatican. It contains 112 printed pages and 273 Ms. folios. Vázquez wrote the work about 1628 or 1629, but died before it could be completely printed. It has waited 500 years until Dr. Clark, with a grant through the Smithsonian Institution, was able to explore the libraries of Spain, Portugal, and Italy for material on the early history of the New World. Dr. Clark had hoped to publish both the Spanish and English, but this was not possible. The translation, however, is carefully done and apparently in close sympathy with the original. However, some mistranslations undoubtedly occur, such as the “correcting” of Mazateca (language) to Mixteca, an error which could readily be discerned if the original text had been printed as planned.

Little is known of the life of Vázquez de Espinosa, a Carmelite friar, who spent ten years in travel in the Western Hemisphere. His *Compendium* is a detailed description of his trip through New Spain and South America. His observations are genuine, being based largely upon personal observations or eyewitnesses. He says his purpose is “the description of the provinces,” with “a bit of everything for the reader’s entertainment.”

Vázquez arrived in Mexico City in 1612 and after an arduous itinerary returned to Spain in 1622. He shows an acquaintance with the writers on the period of the Conquest, such as Herrera, Acosta, the Inca Garcilaso, Gómara, Solórzano. He often adds new points to their histories. His account by Capt. Altamirano of the Urua-Águire expedition down the Marañon in 1559, and his account of the Arcipilla earthquake in 1600 from an eyewitness, provide new data. Descriptions of mining processes, causes of volcanoes, accounts of animals and plants, and descriptions of medicinal herbs, show him to be scientifically minded.

His *Compendium* will interest a variety of students: Geographers, because of his detailed topographical descriptions; botanists will enjoy his numerous references to the flora; anthropologists, because of his comments on such Indian tribes as the Arawak and Carib, the Pampas, Charrúas, and Guacurúi; and historians, for his numerous references to colonial and ecclesiastical administration.

Books III–V deal with New Spain. Vázquez disembarked in Yucatán and visited Mérida and vicinity. He then landed at Veracruz and came to Mexico City by way of the highway through Jalapa, Puebla, and Taxco. After a thorough survey of Mexico City, he made visits to or gathered first-hand data about the regions of the Huaxteca, Pánuco, Michoacán, San Luis Potosí, Oaxaca, New Galicia, New Vizcaya, New México, Guatemala, and Chiapas.

The translating and editing the *Compendium* constituted a stupendous task. We congratulate the translator for carrying his work through so successfully. We hope the original Spanish text can some day be published.—(G.T.S.)