NOTES

The Lacandon of the 1790s.

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 Quentas Zayas, Governor 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 piezas de Nagua criolla angosta, doscientas 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 de veria ser lloreada 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 serenos... armados en flechas, de cuerpo gentil," in his church attire of "estola, manto, Bolsa de corporales, y Paño de Caliz de los propios colores; el Misa, y el Manual, pues con estos ya en mi quietud, y buena esperanza entre aquellos Pobres, tendré mis glorias en el Paraíso de mi Alma, que es la Sacratísima Misa..."

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 tuvieron de nosotros, pasados dos Milpas de ellos, llegamos á su terreno, el qual estaba en una Milpa grande, y luego se nos presentaron hombres, Mugeres, 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 Josep de Gracia Real." He adds, "... cuatro 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 "pobre- citos indios" and the Intendente's remark that the "carácter, costumbres, y eidades del Yndio... con cortísima diferencia, todos son iguales..." which has created many of the problems of Latin America.—

[R. H. B.]

* * *

The Tlacobintli.

The pre-Hispanic unit of dry measurement known as the tlacobintli does not seem to have survived the competition of the Spanish hanega [fanega] and almad system. From certain references in Itxlilxochitl, 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 tlacobintli de maíz, para tomarlos, que era una medida que en aquel tiempo se usaba, y cada tlacobintli tenia tres almudes más de una fanega, que reducidos á fanegas montan treinta y una fanegas y tres almudes."1

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

Itxlilxochitl'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 sel set consistent and that they seem to be in harmony with vigesimal reckoning.

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

2 Historia Chichimeca, 168.
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.]

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*[N5 I:2] THE TLMOCINTLI.

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2 Historia Chichimeca, 168.
Tlalocan

Ixtlixochitl 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
25 tl &= 31 + 3 al \\
1 tl &= 1 + 3 al
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
24 tl &= 30 f \\
1 tl &= 1\frac{1}{4} f
\end{align*}
\]

Substituting this value in the above equations, we get

\[
1 al = 1/12 \text{ of a fanega (in Ixtlixochitl's reckoning).}
\]

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 Matricula de Tributos and the Codex Mendocino, is estimated by the Spanish annotator of the latter as taking 4000 to 5000 fanegas to fill. Ixtlixochitl 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 Matricula-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 Texcoco "de ordinario en [el] palacio se gastaban en cada un año (según parece por los padrones reales), treinta y un mil y seiscientos 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 tlacopintli</th>
<th>1 almu (Ixtlixochitl)</th>
<th>1 Imperial troxe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11\frac{1}{4} fanegas</td>
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<td>4000 tlacopintlis = 5000 fanegas</td>
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[EDGAR ANDERSON and R. H. B.]

\[
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Notes and Queries


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, serious attention was first given them by Federico Gómez de Orozco. He published one of them in full, the Codex of San Antonio Techialoyan, 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 Ramirez).
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 denote "CodeX H."

Codex H is described in the auction catalogue of the Getz library, 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 Zoletpec. Its present owner is Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, according to information given by the Parke-Bernet Galleries, owners of Anderson Galleries.

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[Edgar Anderson and R. H. B.]

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\[\text{Op. cit., 266.}\]

Notes and Queries 161

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

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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 Maria Ocolotpec, which has been corrupted into Santa Maria Zoletpe, adjacent to Otzolotepec (sic) 17 Km. N.E. of Toluca, on the R. Lerma. This is clear from the references to Xochiquihuatlan, Yxtlahuaca, and other pueblos of the vicinity, which, incidentally, show that Xononcatlan is the sixteenth century form of Xonacatlan San Francisco. There is no reason for identifying the Santa Maria Ocolotpec of the Ms. with that of the district of Mixhuatlan, 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 Maria Zoletpe from 1535, and what is most interesting, from the month of Atlaclahuacalco (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.²—[R. H. B.]

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[R7 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 Diaz’ Historia Verdadera, 1632. Among the works of a later period are Alegre’s Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, 3 vols., 1841; Icazbalceta’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

¹ In the Getz catalogue, p. 15, a similar Ms. in the British Museum is referred to. This will be considered in a later Note.

² "Latin American Catalogue E" contains a complete description of microfilm works on Mexico.

³ Edited by J. F. Ramírez (2 vols., Mexico, 1867, 1880).


⁵ De Orbe Novo, the Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d’Anghiera (translated by F. A. MacNutt, 2 vols., New York, 1912).

⁶ A History of Ancient Mexico, Nashville, 1932.


⁸ Paul Radin, op. cit.
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[No 1:2] NEW TRANSLATION OF SAHAGÜN 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. Because of her untimely death the entire work was never completed.

Tlaocan 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 edition 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

[Q 3:1] THE NAME "TENOCHTITLAN."

What is the latest date at which the name Tenochtitlan was used in local documents to designate the Mexican capital? Palacios 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.

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

REVIEWS


This little book will be attacked by the enemies of General Ubico as having some obscurely nefarious purpose; it will be attacked by those decayed hacendados who squirm at the suggestion that Quiché might possibly be as legitimate a language as French and English they go to such pains to acquire: the writer wishes to praise it.

Here is a small book written in an important native tongue, not to underline the imminence of Hell or the necessity of increasing taxes, but to tell people who live in thatched houses how to avoid smallpox, what the Judicial Power is, not to waste their money on witch doctors, and the like.

The little chapters of this book were circulated singly in a newspaper, and then gathered up, so that they deal with such topical matters as the National Fair. There is a distant effort to awaken pride in belonging to the native culture: a speech from the Great White Owl of the Lenni Lenape is almost inflammatory in its rejection of substitute Caucasian values, yet here the speech is, in Quiché, alongside some paragraphs on the Día de la Raza. There is an air of frankness and good will about this book. Some of the advice about health and sanitation may be unrealistic: there must be other help besides advice. But it is salutary to even have these matters discussed in Quiché, in a book which is designed for free distribution to a large audience.

The author, Father Teletor, is modest, about his command of Quiché, probably unnecessarily so. He deserves thanks and encouragement. Ultimately books must be written in Quiché by native speakers, and these must deal with just as many topics as Spanish books deal with. When the natives have knowledge of their relationship to the world, then it is up to them to decide if they wish to become bilingual or adopt the Spanish tongue completely. Until there are cookbooks and histories and drama and geographies in the native tongues, the native is walled within the Middle Ages. During 400 years attempts to compel him to learn Spanish have had little success. The Cartilla de civismo en lengua Quiché indicates the inevitable course.—[R. H. B.]