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AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GEOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE TARASCAN REGION: PART I*

By DONALD D. BRAND

INTRODUCTION

This paper is a brief study of geographic and anthropologic research in the Tarascan region, together with a listing of pertinent references. Material for this study has been collected by the writer since 1938-39 when he examined the literature preliminary to fieldwork in the states of México, Michoacán and Guerrero. Geographic and archaeologic fieldwork was carried on in the summers of 1939 and 1941, primarily in northwestern and southern Michoacán, southwestern México, and northwestern Guerrero. The war has caused postponement of further fieldwork "for the duration." The writer has been aided greatly by graduate students who participated in preliminary campus seminars and who worked in the field and in the archives and museums of Mexico City and Morelia. These students were Marjorie Flinn, Dorothy Goggin, John Goggin, Anita Leibel, Robert Lister, Daniel McKnight, Carolyn Miles, Douglas Osborne, William Pearce, and Virgil Peterson. Although the emphasis of field, archival and library work was placed on the drainage basin of the Río Balsas and on northwestern Michoacán (areas peripheral to the nuclear Tarascan area), nevertheless considerable information was gathered pertaining to the geography, archaeology and history of the entire Tarascan region.

THE TARASCAN REGION

To speak of "The Tarascan Region" is to assume that a spatial entity exists which is concretely definable. No such entity exists. The limits of this region fluctuate with time and criteria. In broad terms one can speak of at least five Tarascan regions—archaeologic, socio-economic, racial, political and linguistic. Each of these has varied areally in time.

Probably most lacking in definition is the archaeologic region. At one time it was fashionable to consider a certain type of large hollow human figurine, found sporadically from Guerrero and Michoacán northwestward into Sinaloa, as diagnostic of Tarascan prehistoric culture. However, most of the areas of proved Tarascan occupation lack this type of figurine. Chiefly on the basis of legends and traditions, Michoacán was once included in a great theoretical Toltec Empire. More recently the identification of some small human figurines and associated pottery from northern Michoacán and adjacent areas as being similar to so-called archaic types from the Valley of Mexico led to the setting-up of a Tarascan-Archaic region. Archaeologic research of the past fifteen years, and especially during

* Part I is concerned primarily with a delineation of the Tarascan Region, and with bibliographic notes. Part II will appear in another medium, to be announced later.

the last five years, has shown that there is no archaeologic complex that covers any extensive area in Michoacán, and certainly none that is co-extensive with the putative limits of the Tarascan state. Unfortunately most of the comparative studies to date have considered not the archaeologic complex but merely ceramics. Some of Lumholtz's polychrome ceramics from Cherán have not been found elsewhere; the polychrome ware of Chupícuaro (Guanajuato) is not widely represented; the al fresco vessels from Jiquilpan are nearly unique in Michoacán, although apparently more plentiful in the drainage basins of the Río Grande de Tepalcatepec, Río de Coahuayana, Río de la Armería and Río de Cihuatlán to the south and west; ceramics from Cojumatlán find their closest similarities in wares from the basins of the Río de la Armería and the Río Lerma; Apatzingán material indicates filiation with Colima on the one hand and Tzintzuntzan on the other; and the bulk of archaeologic material from southeastern Michoacán seems equally distinct from that of southwestern and of northern Michoacán. Furthermore, the artifacts found so far in the traditional Tarascan centers of Zacapu, Zinapécuaro, Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio and Pátzcuaro do not constitute parts of but one complex. The explanations of this confusion are evident. To date there have been very few scientific excavations in Michoacán, and those done have been superficial and not well spaced areally. Actually, it is not possible to say what the approximate total archaeologic content of one site might be. Hence it is premature to delineate archaeologic provinces within the Tarascan region. Furthermore, because of the lack of sufficient stratigraphic work, it is impossible to place most of the items recovered to date in their proper chronologic relationships. It is probable that much of the dissimilar material from within, for example, the Tarascan highlands represents different time periods. One can postulate an early sedentary period with local variants of primitive wares, followed by an intermediate period of extensive regional differentiation, which in turn was succeeded by the pan-Tarascan period which accomplished a certain fusion of cultures but which did not completely eliminate local differences. However, one must conclude that as yet there have not been established either the criteria or the limits of Tarascan archaeologic culture or cultures. (See section on archaeology, in part two, for references.)

Theoretically it might be possible to establish the limits of the Tarascan complex of social organization and economy. However, this has not been done as yet for the modern period; it will entail years of archival work to recover the socio-economic pattern and its distribution at the time of the conquest; and it is an obvious impossibility for the prehistoric period since archaeologic remains will not suffice, the "Relación de Michoacán" holds good only for the Tarascan Sierra and Laguna areas, and the material collected by the various *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* in their *relaciones* of 1579-1582 is both scanty and vitiated by the lapse of time since the conquest. Furthermore, Tarascan culture undoubtedly has been in a

constant state of flux. Traditionally, a Tarascan people or culture (properly known as Purépecha) came into existence when the "Chichimecs" of Zacapu amalgamated by force with the peoples of the Lake of Michoacán (Pátzcuaro) area. Trade with adjacent regions, conquests of nearby peoples (Tecos, Cuitlatecos, etc.), incorporation of Matlatzinca (Pirinda) allies, and harboring refugees from the westward push of the Mexicans all conditioned the evolving Tarascan culture. The Spanish conquest brought not only European acculturation but also elements from the cultures of Mexican, Otomi and other Indians taken by the Spaniards into the Tarascan region. The Tarascan culture, therefore, has always been a blend of various Indian cultures to which European culture elements have been added in forms and amounts varying with the location, status, and local economy of the native communities, and varying also with the social status of the individual. (See section on ethnology, in part two, for references.)

A racial Tarascan region might also be determined, but even less work has been done with physical anthropology than with archaeology and socio-economics. Only a few prehistoric skeletons have been studied, and most of these lacked an adequate archaeologic connotation. A larger number of living Tarascans has been studied but the number is too small to yield valid data. It is indicated that large series from many communities must be studied towards the end of isolating, if possible, the influences of admixtures of white, negro, and other Indian blood. Such a study would have to be extended far past the extreme limits of the former Tarascan state so as to determine the other valid Indian racial types. At present no one can prove, for example, that racially the inhabitants of Tzintzuntzan or Nahuatzen are more Tarascan than the inhabitants of Charo (a Pirinda colony) or of Ixtlán (presumably Teco at one time). (See section on physical anthropology, in part two, for references.)

The former extensions of the Tarascan state are a source of much controversy and a subject for much further study. Because of the relatively peaceful conquest of the Tarascans as compared with the bloody conquest of Tenochtitlán, because the Tarascans had no interpreters or protagonists such as did the Mexicans (e. g., Sahagún, Motolinía, Mendieta, Torquemada, Durán, Ixtlilxochitl, and Tezozómoc), and because they did not have or did not preserve the equivalent of a Codex Mendoza, the real extent and importance of the Tarascan state seldom has been appreciated. The most common mistake made by historians and anthropologists is concerning the southern portion of the boundary between the Tarascan and Mexican states. Commonly maps show and writers state that the Mexican state extended south to the Pacific Ocean and thence northwestward to include the provinces of Zacatollan and Coliman (modern southwestern Guerrero, southwestern Michoacán, and Colima). This has been based on four most unsubstantial bits of evidence.

Until recently all that area was mapped linguistically as Nahuatlán. This means precisely nothing since both Tarascans and Mexicans ruled over peoples of other linguistic stocks. Carried to absurdity, as it once was, the presence of Nahuatlana stock could imply a Mexican hegemony extending into Sinaloa or farther northward. Furthermore, recent archival research indicates that several non-Nahuatlana peoples occupied much of this area and that they completely broke any coastal connection between the Mexicans and the Nahuatlans of southwestern Mexico. (See section on linguistics.) Another bit of evidence was the presumptive presence of many Mexican placenames. This again means nothing since some of the names seemed Mexican by reason of being Nahuatlán, while others were changed to Mexican forms after the conquest because the Spaniards made most of their initial contacts with natives in southwestern Mexico through Mexican interpreters who translated native non-Nahuatlán placenames into Mexican equivalents (e.g., Cutzamala for Apaçingan, place of weasles, and Jiquilpan for Huanemba or Vanimba, place of blue-dye or indigo).

A third bit of evidence was a story, narrated *only* by prideful Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl of the Acolhua house of rulers of Texcoco, that a Texcocan soldier in the company of a few merchants gained the submission of Zacatollan to Texcoco by killing the Zacatollan ruler. This claim is nowhere else substantiated, and is contrary to all available statements concerning Mexican conquests south and west into what are now portions of the states of México, Morelos, and Guerrero. There is not one pre-hispanic or colonial codex nor a single writer of the first century of Spanish occupation which contains an account of or even a mention of any Mexican conquest of Zacatollan and Coliman. Finally, some tributary places depicted in the *Códice Mendocino* have been identified with communities in Zacatollan and Coliman. These places are few, widely spaced, and without close connections with the proved area of Mexican hegemony. The identifications are based primarily upon similarity of name (e.g., Zacatollan, Petatlán, Coyucac, Ixtapan), occasionally bolstered by a tribute that conceivably could come from such a place or area (blankets, cotton, cacao, seashells). In every case except that of Coliman other examples of places with the same or similar names and with the possibility of providing the tributes mentioned can be found outside of southwestern Mexico. However, it is possible that the compilers of the *Códice Mendocino* (who were working hurriedly and for European consumption, and who made many known errors of omission and commission) did intend to include the Zacatollan towns since trade materials did come to Tenochtitlán from that area and possibly even from Coliman, the Mexicans did make raids westward into the Costa Grande of what is now Guerrero from an Acapulco base, and by the time of Axayacatl or Ahuitzotl (ca.1464-1502) the Mexicans did hold the Pacific coast westward into Cuitlateco area that might have been considered a part of the province or kingdom of Zacatollan.

Use of these various types of evidence and conclusions from

them have varied considerably among writers of the seventeenth century to the present. Ixtlilxochitl and Solís were the most exuberant in claiming an extension of Mexican dominions northwestward into Sinaloa (to the Gulf of California). Clavijero, a writer whose chief contribution was a reorganization of earlier material and a simpler and clearer presentation by reason of omitting much controversial material, didactically, and chiefly on the basis of the tribute rolls within the *Códice Mendocino*, claimed Colima and Zacatula for the Mexican empire. He has been followed by most authors since. However, earlier Herrera claimed only Zacatollan, and such later historians as Orozco y Berra and Bancroft have disclaimed Colima pointedly.

In this connection it might be worth while to summarize the relationships of the Tarascan and Mexican states as they appear to this writer after a perusal of the source material. (The better sources on limits of the Tarascan state are listed in the bibliographic section of this paper.) The Tarascan state came into being under the rule of Tariácuire (Characu), about 1370 to 1400/1440, who, assisted by his son (?) Hiqugaje and his nephews or second cousins (?) Hiripan and Tangaxoan I, began the wars against the Mexicans, conquered the Tecos and other peoples of what is now northwestern Michoacán and adjacent Jalisco (in part the early Spanish colonial Ávalos province), and conquered the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán and northwestern Guerrero. Upon his death the three cousin kings ruled in Coyuca, Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan but Tangaxoan I (who died about 1454) acquired preeminence. Tangaxoan's son Tzitzic Pandacuare (who died about 1479) gained sole control of the Tarascan state, conquered southeastern Jalisco, Colima, and Zacatula in the 1460s, and defeated the Mexican Axayacatl in the great war 1469-78. During the reign of his son Zuanga (who died about 1520) seemingly much of the Zacatula, Colima, and Jalisco areas was lost by the Tarascans, but the Tarascans were consistently victorious over the Mexicans along the entire eastern boundary. In fact, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards the Tarascans were pushing aggressively into north central Guerrero from garrison centers at Ajuchitlán and Cutzamala in the Balsas valley of Guerrero. Zuanga was succeeded about 1520 by the *cazonci* Tangaxoan II (Tsintsicha) who gave up with little struggle in 1522-23 to the Spaniards, but was killed by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán in 1530. This ended the line of Tarascan rulers, although his son Antonio and other descendants such as Pedro Cuinurapiti, Fernando Titu Huitziméngari, and Constantino maintained certain feudal rights under the Spaniards in the Pátzcuaro area.

The Mexican state (tripart confederacy of Tenochitlán, Texcoco, and Tlacopan) developed more or less synchronously with the Tarascan state. The fourth Aztec ruler Itzcoatl (1428-40) began the conquests of the confederacy. Montezuma I (1440-69) began the southern conquest and conquered the Tlahuixca, Coahuixca, and Chontales of Morelos, southwestern state of México and northern Guerrero by

about 1448. Axayacatl (1469-81) conquered the Matlatzinca of the Valley of Toluca, waged war against the Tarascans (allies of the Matlatzinca), and extended conquests in Guerrero. He was succeeded by Tizoc (1481-86) during whose reign minor frontier clashes with the Tarascans occurred. Ahuitzotl (1486-1502) reconquered revolted territory in the Teloloapan-Ixcateopan region of Guerrero adjacent to the southeastern Tarascan border, built or rebuilt the great fortress of Ostuma and placed garrisons in the region about 1487. During the rule of Ahuitzotl occurred the strongest attacks up the Costa Grande against Zacatollan, and seemingly the eastern portion of Zacatollan (perhaps as far west as Petatlán) was conquered by the Mexicans. Also at this time the Mexicans conquered some of the Cuitlatecos in the Balsas valley and advanced down the river to Pezuapa between Tetela and Ajuchitlán, where they were checked by the Tarascans. Montezuma II (1502-1520) waged primarily a defensive war against the Tarascans. His forces were defeated at Indaparapeo in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and the southern forts were invested by the Tarascans at the time of the coming of the Spaniards.

The Tarascans maintained a line of forts and garrisons against the "Chichimecs," Mexicans, and other peoples of the northeast, east, and southeast, which included such places as Yuririapúndaro, Acámbaro, Maravatío, Taximaroa, Zitácuaro, Cutzamala, Chapultepec near Tlalchapa, and Ajuchitlán. The Mexicans had a similar line which ran through Ixtlahuaca, Villa Victoria (Llaves), Temascaltepec, Tlatlaya, Ostuma-Acapetlahuaya, and Tetela del Río. The region in between was a sort of no-man's-land occupied by "Chichimecs," Otomi, Mazahua, Matlatzinca, Chontales, and Cuitlatecos. The more densely populated zone outlined by Acámbaro, Zitácuaro, Ixtlahuaca, and Tlatlaya apparently was used as a battlefield only during major campaigns, but the southern sector was the scene of much warfare due, probably, to the Tarascan desire to acquire the salt deposits of Ixtapan and Alahuistlan and the Mexican desire to possess the cotton, cacao, honey, wax, copper, and gold which came abundantly from the lower Cuitlatecapan and Coyucan in the Balsas basin. Muñoz Camargo attributes Mexican raids as far westward as Zinapécuaro and Ucareo to a desire for copper and gold, but he probably confused these raids or wars (held by other writers to be caused by a desire for slaves and sacrificial victims) with those farther to the south since the bulk of Tarascan gold and copper came from the Tierra Caliente.

So far as the middle segment of the boundary between the Tarascan and Mexican states is concerned we may conclude that it coincided very closely with the present mutual boundary of the states of Michoacán and México. Furthermore, the southern portion of the boundary seemingly approximated the location of the mutual frontier of the Michoacán and México dioceses as it was from the sixteenth into the nineteenth century, and of the intendencies of Valladolid (Michoacán) and México. Apparently some of the intendencies of 1786 and a number of the states of the early independent period

tended to coincide with religious administrative units (commonly dioceses), and the latter, at least in the case of the diocese of Michoacán, with the putative extent of the native states. However, the intendency of Guadalajara and the original state of Jalisco approximated most closely the Franciscan province of Jalisco. We can base our conclusions relative to the boundary from Querétaro to the Pacific Ocean on a variety of evidence including the location of fortresses, distribution of placenames (a very poor type of evidence), traditions and native history (as in Durán, Tezozómoc, the *Relación de Michoacán*, and the *relaciones geográficas*), and post-conquest claims by Tarascans and Mexicans (as in the *informaciones* of Antonio and Constantino Huitziméngari and the *Códice Mendocino*).

The extent of the Tarascan state south of the Río Balsas is uncertain. According to Tarascan tradition, verified in part by the *relaciones geográficas* and the sixteenth century distribution of Tarascan speech and placenames, and by archaeologic material, the Tierra Caliente lands of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec rivers were conquered between 1370 and 1440. These lands were occupied by such peoples as the Cuiclatecos, Apanecos, Chumbios, Tolimecos, Nahuatlans, Cuauhcomecos, and Xilotlantzincos. Probably these initial conquests south into the Tierra Caliente were prompted by a desire to eliminate any danger of attack from that direction and more especially by a need for an assured supply of copper, gold, cinnabar, "chalchihuite," honey, wax, cacao, cotton, feathers, hides and skins, *axin*, vegetable fats, linoaloé, and gums and oleo-resins (such as copal), which abounded in the conquered territory. Bernal Díaz, Sahagún, Cervantes de Salazar, Herrera, and others, as well as various tribute lists, indicate the presence and acquisition of such items from this region. In this connection it may be that the Cuiclatecos and the Cuiclatecapan were named not because they were "the people in the place of ordure" but because their land abounded in gold (*teocuitlatl*).

Just how far south this conquest extended is difficult to ascertain, especially since the line of forts along and on both sides of the Río Balsas has not been accurately dated as yet. These forts, probably built by the various native peoples and later reoccupied and garrisoned by the Tarascans, are usually situated on bluffs, promontories, mesas, hills and similar eminences within bow-shot of the river, and are so located and spaced that they not only command passage on and along the river but also constitute a chain of signal stations. It would have been possible, by means of smoke and other signaling devices, to transmit a message from Pezuapa to Hacienda Balsas (via such stations as El Cubo, Mesa Prieta, Cerro del Embarcadero, El Respaldo, Mexiquito, and San Jerónimo) and also, by laterals leading north, to Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan within a few hours. In addition there are several chains of sites in fortress and signalling position that lead up such southern tributaries of the Balsas as the Ajuchitlán (Tehuahueta), Cuitzio (Cuirio), and Río del Oro, and which tap the northern flanks of the Sierra Madre del Sur—so rich in minerals and other re-

sources. Probably the eastern portion of the southern boundary of the Tarascan state was an unoccupied or scantily populated marchland which occupied the heights of the Sierra Madre del Sur. To this day this region is almost uninhabited, possesses a mysterious fearsomeness for the people of the lower slopes, is crossed by no wagon-trace and by but few trails, and much of it is labeled *Región Inexplorada* on official Mexican maps. Judging from the accounts in the *relaciones geográficas*, the Tarascans did raid occasionally as far as the lands of the Tlacotepehua-Tepuztecos, southeast of the valley Cuitlatecos, but they never crossed the high Sierra Madre of Guerrero to the Costa Grande. It is definitely recorded in the *relaciones* of Ichcateopan and Asuchitlán that the Tarascans approached to within three leagues of Tetela del Río, that most of the Cuitlatecos were vassals of the *cazonci*, and that garrisons were maintained against Tetela and Capulalcóluclo (Xanimeo or Xanimeo in the Sierra Madre).

From headquarters in the sub-kingdom of Coyucan (Enian or Hinían) the Tarascans (according to their traditions) conquered at least a portion of Zacatollan about the 1460s. As yet it is impossible to prove or disprove that the Tarascans conquered not only the Chumbios of the Coahuayutla area but also the Tolimecos, Pantecos, and other peoples of the Costa Grande. The writer believes that the evidence in hand indicates either a brief conquest of western Zacatollan or sporadic raids for booty, and the collection of tribute for a limited period. Salt, colored seashells, cacao, cotton, and vegetable fats were among the most prized products of the Costa Grande or Zacatollan. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century the Tarascans lost whatever hold they had on Zacatollan, a native state which incorporated a number of peoples (to judge from the *relaciones geográficas*, although it is possible that they represented merely sub-divisions or dialects of one language) was established, and this native state of Zacatollan was able to preserve its sovereignty against the onslaughts of the Mexicans although possibly the region from the Laguna Mitla and Atoyac to the Laguna Cuadrada and Petatlán paid tribute to the Mexicans during the rule of Ahuitzotl and Montezuma II. Incidentally, at least a pseudo-cultural unity can be assumed for Zacatollan on the basis of the statement attributed by Espinosa to Fray Pedro de Garrovillas that the people of Zacatula and Motines had the most idols and most human sacrifice of any part of the kingdom of Michoacán. The pueblo of Zacatula, near the mouth of the Río Zacatula or Río de las Balsas, was independent of both the Tarascans and the Mexicans in 1522, since Cortés in his third letter reported that Zacatula was reached from Tzintzuntzan across the lands of a chief at enmity with the Tarascan ruler (the statement is definite about independence from the Tarascans, and independence from the Mexicans is implied).

At about the same time as the Zacatollan conquest (1460s), the Tarascans under Pandacuare conquered Coliman, which embraced the areas known in colonial times as Motines, Colima proper, Zapotlán, Amula, Sayula, and Autlán. It is probable that the state of Coliman did

not exist at the time of this conquest, which rendered the Tarascan conquest comparatively easy since they were dealing with little independent groups of Nahuatlán, Otomian, and other speech. From various sources (traditions and records collected by Galindo, *relaciones geográficas*, *Relacion de Michoacán*, etc.) it seems that the Tarascan central government controlled Colima for only about ten years, after which some of the Tarascan officials who had been left in local control set up a number of independent states. These were welded together by the chief of Colima proper who gained some sort of control over a large area from Lake Chapala to Motines. The tributary *cacicazgos* or *tlatoanazgos* included Sayula with Zacoalco and Cocula, Ameca, Zapotlán with Tuxpan, Tamazula and Zapotitlán, and Autlán. Some writers, e. g., Mota Padilla, make Ameca a garrison post and list Xicotlán as the fourth subkingdom. Often a tributary town of Jiquilpan is listed, but this is a town near San Gabriel and should not be confused with the Jiquilpan in northwestern Michoacán. It has been maintained by some writers that Colima was a member of a loose confederacy known as Chimalhuacan, which comprised such other entities (there is little agreement among these writers, e. g., Santoscoy, Diguët, López Portillo y Rojas, López Portillo y Weber as to the constituent members) as Tonallan, Xalisco, Cuitzeo, Chapallan, etc. The writer of this article has failed to find any sixteenth century mention of such a confederacy. If such ever existed it probably was composed of only those entities facing the Tarascans, and possibly it was called into existence but twice—about 1480 to defeat the last great Tarascan push westward, and again in 1530 to combat the Guzmán *entrada*. However, the events of the Spanish conquest, 1522-1542, would tend to disprove the existence of such a confederacy since the peoples of the Coliman sub-kingsdoms of Sayula (Zaulan, Coyula, and other variants) and Zapotlán eagerly allied themselves with the Spaniards and Tarascans against Colima and Motines, 1522-24, and there is no indication of any widespread joint-action among the Indians of Nueva Galicia during the conquests and revolts, 1524-26, 1530, and 1536-42. If ever a Chimalhuacan existed it would most appropriately have been the "kingdom" of Colima which closely approximated a working confederacy, and from which area archaeologists have recovered a considerable number of figurines representing warriors carrying large shields (for examples see illustrations in Disselhoff, *Baessler Archiv* numbers 1 and 2, vol. XIX, 1936, and for sixteenth century descriptions see *Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia*).

The Tarascans made their two great advances of the 1460s and 1480s (and possibly others) into Colima to obtain salt, metals, slaves, and other commodities. The *salinas* of Motines (Salinas del Cayman), coastal Colima and Sayula (lakes) were a prime consideration. The metals sought were probably gold (Motines), copper (Ameca), and silver (Tamazula). It is possible that the famous Morcillo silver mine near Tamazula was worked in pre-conquest days. Many modern writers seem in ignorance as to the approximate

location of this famous "lost" mine, and have even placed it near Zitácuaro, Tlalpujahua, and Zinapécuaro. However, sixteenth century records are quite precise. This mine (mentioned by López de Gómara as having been discovered in 1525, and concerning which Puga gives a royal *cedula* of 1528, "Tamaçula donde hay las minas de la plata") is rather definitely located by Ponce (II, pp. 114-115) who says, "allí tambien está la mina afamada de Morcillo" when writing of the Tamazula-Tuxpan area. Tello also places the Morcillo mine near Tamazula.

A few citations will indicate the extent of Tarascan penetration to the southwest, as well as elsewhere. In the *Relación de Michoacán* occurs this passage, "Iban a esta conquista los de Mechuacan y los chichimecas y otomíes quel cazonci tenia sujetos, y maltalcingas y vetamaecha, y chontales, y los de Tuspa y Tamazula y Capotlan." According to the *descripción de Ameca 1579* the Tarascans waged war against Ameca until the coming of the Spaniards, but never were able to conquer Ameca. The *descripción de Amula 1579* states that the *cazonci* conquered the province and left three captains to rule the land. From these and other records of the sixteenth century we may assume that the Tarascans for a brief time held all of Motines, Colima, and southeastern Jalisco to a line running approximately from Cocola to Cihuatlán, but were unable to reconquer a united Coliman after a decisive defeat at Zacoalco during the rule of Zuanga. The present Michoacán-Jalisco boundary from Colima to Lake Chapala probably closely approximates the effective southwestern limits of the Tarascan state. Such Jalisco towns as Mazamitla (reported in the sixteenth century to have only a Tarascan population) and Tuxpan (reported to have some Tarascan population in the sixteenth century) probably represented fifteenth century colonizations into the marchland.

North and west of Lake Chapala was a region of linguistic diversity and several small states at the time of the Guzmán *entrada*. The Tarascans in the 1580s (about fifty years before the coming of the Spaniards, in the normal phraseology employed in the early accounts) conquered the "Chichimecas" (Guachichiles or Tecos) of Ixtlán and the Tecuexes (Tecos) of Coinan (La Barca, Ocotlán, Zula, Atotonilco, Ayo area), colonized Cuitzeo, and had won parts of Chapallan (Cosalá, etc.) and Tonallan (modern Guadalajara region) through victories at Acatlán, Tlajomulco, and Ahualulco before being defeated at Tlajomulco. The decisive defeat of the Tarascans at the second battle of Tlajomulco apparently was made possible by the coördinated efforts of the Sayultecos (aided by Colimecos), peoples of Ameca, and the Cocas, Tecuexes, and Cazcan of Tonallan and Chapallan. Thereafter sporadic war was waged by the Tarascans but seemingly they were not able to hold any lands to the northwest of the eastern end of Lake Chapala and the lower Río Lerma. The Cuitzeo colony became an independent Tarascan state, and Coinan was an independent Tarascan-Teco state. The above summary is an integration of data mainly

from the Guzmán *relaciones* and sixteenth and seventeenth century writings by the religious. It should be added that ruins of fortresses occur at strategic points commanding the four main pre-conquest roads west (Jiquilpan-Mazamitla-Teocuitatlán-Zacoalco, etc.); (Zamora-Chavinda-Sahuayo-Cojumatlán-Tuxcueca-Jocotepec, etc.); (Ixtlán-La Barca-Ocotlán-Cuitzeo-Mexcala-Chapala-Tlajomulco, etc.); (Tlazazalca, Yurécuaro, Zula, Zapotlán, Toluatlán, etc.).

The northern frontier against the various "chichimecas" and Otomi groups apparently was highly elastic. The *Relación de Michoacán*, various land grants and titles of the sixteenth century, and chronicles of the Franciscans and Augustinians indicate that although the Jacona-Zamora region was conquered from the Tecos by the Tarascans between 1370 and 1440, nevertheless it remained in frontier position against the "chichimecas" (possibly Teco-Tecuexes as well as Guachichiles) into Spanish times. There is no definite record or even recorded tradition of pre-Spanish Tarascan conquest in the zone from La Piedad, Penjamillo, Puruándiro, and Yuriría to León, Silao, Guanajuato, and San Miguel, but the evidence of archaeologic artifacts and fortresses indicates that there was some type of Tarascan penetration into this region of nomadic and semi-nomadic Chichimecas (Guachichiles and Guamares). Some modern commentators believe that there was a fifteenth century Tarascan occupation of the region which was followed by a withdrawal southward shortly before the Spanish conquest. From land grants and religious chronicles we know that Tarascans as well as Otomies and Mexicans participated in the conquest of what is now Guanajuato and Querétaro, and that Tarascans colonized and were congregated in a number of the towns and missions of the region, e. g., Pénjamo, San Francisco del Rincón, León, Silao, Irapuato, Guanajuato, etc. It is possible that some of these congregated Tarascans represented remnants of Tarascan garrisons. There is strong archaeologic, linguistic, and traditional evidence for a Tarascan conquest and colonization in the southern Pame region, especially from Acámbaro and Jerécuaro to Amealco and Apaseo. Tarascan traditions claim a control as far north as Xichú, but probably this represented only occasional punitive raids and campaigns to obtain tribute and booty. It is possible that by this route came Gulf of Mexico seashells and certain artifacts of Huastec and Totonac affiliation.

In summary it can be stated that the Tarascan state, at its zenith, had definite control of all the lands now within the state of Michoacán, and that its temporary conquests, ephemeral tributaries and areas of potential and occasionally expressed military dominance embraced almost all of the lands within the diocese of Michoacán (north to a line approximately from León to Xichú) as it was constituted in 1565 at the death of bishop Quiroga. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that the Tarascans raided as far west as Guadalajara, and as far east as Ixtlahuaca and Ixtapan de la Sal. This conclusion is intermediate between the excessive claims of Constantino Huit-

ziméngari and Beaumont and the inadequate extension supported by Clavijero and Orozo y Berra.

The fifth and last "Tarascan region"—the linguistic region—probably most closely approximated the area of interest to students of Tarascan anthropology. The linguistic region probably has fluctuated more than any of the others mentioned. So far, it has been impossible to determine either the relationships of the Tarascan language and stock or the probable region of origin prior to establishment in Michoacán. Most philologists have been content to place the Tarascan language in an independent stock. However, a few adventurous souls (on the basis of phonology, gross morphology, inherent psychology, and mainly intuition) have hazarded guesses of possible connections with such linguistic phyla as the Macro-Penutian, Hoka-Siouan, and Macro-Otomanguean. A few individuals (e.g., Ruiz and Domínguez Assiayn) even have suggested affiliation with the Quechua in South America. Should Harrington's belief that Quechua is Hoka be correct, then possibly Tarascan is an intermediary link.

In searching for the possible provenience or entry-route of the Tarascans one can almost box the compass, but most of the possibilities center in the northwest, the northeast, and the southeast. A conventional thesis is that the ancestral Tarascans came out of the northwest (Asia, Aztatlán, Chicomóztoc, etc.) and entered Michoacán by one or another of three routes (Zapotlán-Sayula region south of Lake Chapala, Cuitzeo-La Barca region north of Lake Chapala, or across the Bajío in the vicinity of Pénjamo). Certainly Tarascan traditions indicate that Zacapu, to the northwest of Lake Pátzcuaro, was one of the earliest Tarascan settlements, but to date there is neither linguistic nor archaeologic evidence for a northwestern provenience. The terrain indicates a possibility of migrations from the Gulf of Mexico or the southeastern portion of the Meseta Central across Guanajuato and Querétaro or down the valley of the Lerma. Furthermore, there is some archaeologic basis for postulating contacts with or movements out of the lands to the northeast, but probably this archaeologic material is too late to have any bearing on Tarascan origins, and the linguistic evidence is nil. A southeastern origin, either out of the Mixteca region of Oaxaca and Guerrero via the Balsas valley or by sea up to the Costa Grande and thence northward up the Balsas-Tepaltepec-Marqués, seems most probable to the writer, but the evidence is very weak. The writer would not go so far as to affirm a South American origin, but there are interesting similarities between certain elements of Tarascan language and culture and those of northwestern Perú and Ecuador. However, the writer believes that the closest similarities are with cultural remains from the Mixteca.

The accurate determination of the Tarascan linguistic frontiers at the time of the Spanish conquest is impossible. Sufficient data to justify drawing a linguistic map are not available until the second half of the sixteenth century, by which time disease, immigration, emigration, congregation, etc., had changed many details of linguistic

distributions. However, on the basis of sixteenth century records certain broad approximations can be made.

We can assume that the Mexicano language was not contiguous with the Tarascan anywhere excepting where Mexican garrisons had been established. A broad wedge of Otomian languages (Pame, Mazahua, Otomi, Matlatzinca) was inserted between the Tarascan and Mexicano in an area whose southwestern side would run approximately from Yuriría and Acámbaro, down the valley of the Tuxpán-Zitácuaro-Cutzamala, and to an apex near Zacualpan. There are indications that Pame advanced prehistorically at the expense of Tarascan, and that the most southwestward extensions of Mazahua and Otomi (e. g., Ucareo, Jungapeo, Zitácuaro, and Susupuato) were post-Spanish. However, some of the Otomian colonization on the northeastern Tarascan border was pre-Spanish since the *Relación de Michoacán* mentions that the Mexicans had placed Otomies there because they were good fighters. Matlatzincas occupied the most southern portions in the Otomian wedge, and also were colonized by the Tarascans in the Morelia-Charo-Undameo region, where they were known as Pirindas, and in the Huetamo area where they became known Vetamaechas or Betamas. It is possible that Matlatzincas may have been colonized more or less continuously down the basin of the Río Cutzamala and across to Huetamo prior to congregation at the end of the sixteenth century. Either Mexicans or Mexican speech moved rapidly into the Cutzamala basin after the Spanish conquest as we find Mexicano and Matlatzinca in the *partido* of Texcaltitlán by 1569, and Villaseñor in 1745 reported Mexicano and Tarascan in Tuzantla. The bringing of Indian workers from considerable distances to the mines in this general region (Tlapujahua, Temascaltepec, Susupuato, Sultepec, Zacualpan, Taxco, etc.) and elsewhere undoubtedly explains many of the linguistic discontinuities that appear so frequently in the records of the colonial period. It is known, for example, that Tarascans were settled as far east as the mines of Taxco. According to the *Suma de Visitas* Tarascans from Cuyseo, Cutzamala, Yuriría and Necotlan served in the Taxco mines, and other Tarascan communities provided labor for such mines as Sultepec, Espíritu Santo, etc.

South of the Otomian wedge Tarascan was spoken in the frontier districts of Cutzamala and Ajuchitlán, but probably this represented a late pre-Spanish development since the Tarascans had a tradition of a fifteenth century conquest of Coyucan and the Cuitlatecapan, and Cuitlateco was recorded in the sixteenth century as being the native language from about Changata (below Ajuchitlán) to Acatlán del Río (above Tetela). There is no record of the pre-Tarascan language in the northeastern Cutzamala region but it probably was Chontal since the *Relación de Michoacán* mentions Chontal subjects and the Cutzamala district or region fronted against the districts of Ostuma-Acapetlahuaya and Totoltepec which were of Chontal speech. Chontal has been extinct for a long time and there is no known grammar or

dictionary. The name is of Mexicano origin (*Chontalli* meaning strange, exotic, or uncouth), but this gives no clue as to possible affiliation. The writer believes that Chontal probably was Otomanguan. The Cuiclateco or Popoloco of Guerrero is still understood by a few individuals in the Ajuchitlán-Totolapan region, and it has been studied recently by Hendrichs, Weitlaner, and others. Its relationships have not been proved although it may be Hokan-Siouan or Macro Otomanguan. Very definitely it is not Nahuatl as so many authors have stated, almost entirely on the authority of Moreno who wrote in the 1760s. Nicolás León and Francisco Plancarte y Navarrete were most guilty of the false identification of Cuiclateco as Nahuatl, and of connecting the Cuiclatecos of Guerrero with the Tecos of northwestern Michoacán. The most important Mexican garrison and colony on the Tarascan border was that at Ostuma-Acapetlahuaya in Chontal territory. It is related by Durán, Tezozómoc and the *relación de Ichcateopan* that Ostuma and Acapetlahuaya were razed by Ahuitzotl, the children and others who were spared were distributed among the Mexican provinces, and these two towns were repopulated by one to three thousand families recruited from all parts of the Mexican state. The colonists included Matlatzincas, Otomies, etc., but Mexicano was the dominant language and ultimately became the only language spoken in these two towns. Such movements of subject peoples was not only common among the Mexicans and Quechuas, but also obtained among the Tarascans, e. g., Matlatzincas to Huetamo and Charo, Tecos to Pátzcuaro and Uruapan, etc.

When the Tarascans conquered and colonized Coyucan and the Cuiclatecapan they obtained control of the northern slopes of the Sierra Madre del Sur and thus came in contact with the Tepuzteco-Tlacotepehuas who occupied much of the Sierra Madre highlands and *barrancas* from a point between Chichihualco and Tlacotepec westward past Oatlán an uncertain distance. Despite recent maps to the contrary, the writer believes that the Tepuzteco-Tlacotepehuas practically isolated the coastal Cuiclatecos from those under Tarascan control in the valley of the Balsas. However, it is probable that Tepuzteco was a dialect of Cuiclateco. Unfortunately, Tepuzteco has been extinct for apparently a long time. However, in 1939 the writer obtained a few words that appeared to be non-Nahuatl from an elderly couple in the Sierra Madre between Coronilla and Tepantitlán. In recent years Mexicano-speaking people, commonly stock-raisers, have been migrating from east of the Mexico City-Acapulco highway westward throughout the former Tepuzteco country, at least as far as the Río Tehuehuetla. Undoubtedly some Mexicano garrison-colonies were placed in the region in pre-Spanish times which may partly explain the Mexicano speech reported by Orozco y Berra in Tetela del Río, Huautla and Tlacotepec at the middle of the nineteenth century.

The main source for linguistic information concerning Zacatollan is the *relaciones geográficas*. From these and other sixteenth century sources we can conclude that in 1580 neither Tarascan nor Mexicano

was spoken as a mother tongue in the Zacatula region excepting possibly among the descendants of the Tarascan and Mexican laborers who were taken to Zacatula in the 1520s to work in Cortez' shipyards. Vascones 1580 did report "Mexicana corrupta" along the lower Río Zacatula (Balsas), but this could have represented (a) a vulgar form of Mexicano acquired by the natives from the religious and from the Mexicans brought in by the Spaniards, (b) dialectic variants of Náhuatl spoken by Indian laborers who were brought from many parts of the former Mexican state, or (c) an indigenous Nahuatlana tongue which patently was related to Mexicano. The latter supposition is a strong possibility. In this connection it should be pointed out that during the colonial period, and especially during the sixteenth century, "Mexicana corrupta" was used as synonymous with Nahua or Náhuatl (Naual, Naval) and Nauatlato, and these terms referred to any language (or people speaking a language) which was related to Mexicano but was not "the perfect Mexicano." In other words, whenever the previously mentioned terms are used we can assume only a relationship with Mexicano which might be on the order of a dialect (like Andalucian within Spanish), or a closely cognate language (like Portuguese to Spanish), or possibly a more distant but still obvious relative (like Roumanian to Spanish). Apparently these terms were employed mainly in cases of degrees of relationship such as now are expressed by position within the linguistic sub-division or sub-family known as Náhuatl or Nahuatlan. The following table will clarify this statement:

I. Phylum Macro-Penutian

A. Sub-phylum or group Aztec-Tanoan

1. Sub-group or stock or family Uto-Aztecan

a. Division or family Nahuatlana (Aztecoidan, Mexicana)

aa. Sub-division or sub-family Náhuatl or Nahuatlan.
This includes such languages as Náhuatl (Mexicano)
and Cazcan.

ab. Sub-division or sub-family Nahuatoid. This may
include such languages as Sayulteco and Zacateca.

Most of the recent writers have placed the "Mexicana corrupta" of western Zacatollan (from the valley of the Río Zacatula to the Río Nexpa or to the Río Cachán) within the Náhuatl or Mexicano language, but the evidence in hand indicates that with certainty it can be placed only in the Nahuatlana or Aztecoidan division or family and just as logically could be labeled Nahuatoid as Nahuatlan. Orozco y Berra reported Mexicano spoken about the middle of the nineteenth century in Tecpan, Petatlán, Zacatula, and Coahuayutla, but merely stated that Mexicano was spoken in the coastal strip of modern Michoacán. Evidently Orozco y Berra received no detailed statement from the Coalcomán-Salazar region, and no linguistic studies have been made more recently in this region.

As was stated in the previous paragraph, neither Tarascan nor Mexicano was native or important in Zacatollan during the sixteenth century. Tarascan, however, was the dominant language all along

the northern edge of Zacatollan and throughout the Balsas-Tepalcatepec basin from a point between Coyuca and Ajuchitlán (about Tanganhuate and Amuco) westward through Zirándaro and Sinagua to Pinzándaro and Tomatlán. The *relaciones geográficas* indicate the presence of three small linguistic groups (Tolimeca, Chumbia, and Panteca) between the Río Zacatula on the west and the Río Ixtapa on the east, and the yet smaller Apaneca group near Zirándaro, but these groups are extinct, no grammars or vocabularies ever were composed for them, and there is no present hope for either classifying them or accurately determining their areal extension. Evidently the Tarascan was in process of replacing the Apaneca, Chumbia, and northern Tolimeca during the sixteenth century, and in turn the Tarascan was nearly supplanted by Spanish by the end of the eighteenth century. Apparently a minor people, the Tumbes, were located in the Tumbescatio area and in the general region outlined by the Río Tepalcatepec, Sierra Espinazo del Diablo, and the Apo-Ranjel-Organal ridge, but they either were colonial Tarascans or had replaced their native language with Tarascan.

The most southwestern portion of Michoacán (former Motines; also considered a part of Colima at one time) and adjacent portions of Colima and Jalisco present a rather confused linguistic picture in the sixteenth century. The writer can discuss only certain phases with some degree of confidence since he has not had access to all known sixteenth century material on this area. The Tarascans conquered and held this region for only a brief period and were unable to impose their language over any considerable area. Tarascan-speaking peoples are reported from Tuxpan and Pómaro in the sixteenth century, but it is impossible to determine whether they were pre-Spanish or post-conquest in time. The region of Motines commonly has been mapped as Nahuatlán, and recently as Cuauhcomeca (affiliation unknown). In this connection it is interesting to note the following items. Some Tarascan traditions claim (a) that captive Mexicans were put to work mining gold and other metals in Motines for their Tarascan overlords, and (b) that the Mexicans were allowed transit across Tarascan territory from the Valley of Mexico to Motines and Colima in return for a tribute or toll of gold and other items. Villaseñor in 1745 reported the language of Pómaro, Maquilí, Coalcomán, Jolotlán, Chamila, and Zinacamitlán (the last three in modern Colima) to be Tarascan. Zarate in 1789 lists Mexicano for Pómaro, Maquilí, Coalcomán, Coire, and Aquila; calls Coahuayana a mulatto community; and names seven towns in a considerable area around and southeast of Pómaro which were reported as having been in ruins for a long time and the inhabitants congregated in Pómaro. The rapid shift from Tarascan to Mexicano within 23 years may possibly be explained by the bringing in of "Mexicanos" from such places as Titzupan and Huahua to the southeast, but there remains to be explained (1) where did the Tarascans of Pómaro go, (2) what happened to the Tarascans of the other towns mentioned by Villaseñor,

and (3) just how long a period of time is implied by the statement "se asolaron y arruinaron hace muchos tiempos." Orozco y Berra lists Pómaro as a former Tarascan town which spoke only Spanish by the middle of the nineteenth century. The 1930 Mexican census gave 1,280 people of Mexicano speech in the Aquila municipality, and no Tarascans. A remote possibility to explain the sudden appearance of a Mexicano population is that Mexican miners may have been brought into the area in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, it is more likely that the change was accomplished through religious who had the Spanish and Mexicano but not the Tarascan and other languages of this region.

During the sixteenth century there were apparently four stocks or families represented along a west-east line from the Río Cihuatlán to Apatzingán—Nahuatlana, Otomian, Xilotlantzincan, and Tarascan. The Nahuatlana comprised "Mexicana corrupta" throughout nearly all of Colima proper, and the perhaps identical "Naua" which extended north and east from Colima to Zapotlán, Tuxpan, and Tamazula. Although many modern writers speak glibly of Tecos and Cocas in this region, the writer has yet to see a justification of statement or map that is based upon sixteenth century primary material. Both Nahuatlana and non-Nahuatlana were rapidly converted to Christianity and to the Mexicano language by the Franciscan and secular curates since they were preached to and confessed in Mexicano because of (as Ponce has pointed out; see linguistic section in bibliographic notes) the great variety of languages. By the eighteenth century Mexicano and Spanish were everywhere codominant; and at present Spanish is spoken throughout the region, Mexicano is retained in a few communities (e.g., Suchitlán in Colima and Tuxpan in Jalisco), and the other languages apparently are extinct. However, a few Tarascans were reported in Tuxpan in 1902, and there may be a few vestiges of the Otomian and Xilotlantzincan to be salvaged from some of the old people resident in the mountain country of Autlán and in the basin of the upper Río Tepalcatepec.

By combining data from the *Suma de Visitas, the relaciones geográficas*, Ponce, Ruiz Colmenero, and other sources one obtains evidence for Otomian in southern Jalisco and Colima and for Xilotlantzincan in the contiguous southern portions of Jalisco and Michoacán. Many of the data were printed 1872-1878, and earlier were available to Orozco y Berra and Pimentel in manuscript form, but seemingly no one until Santosey ca. 1901 made use of them. Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal 1936-37 were the first to produce a map showing the Otomi of Jalisco, Xilotlantzincan, and Cuauhcomeca. Quite definitely the Amultecos of Tuxcacuexco, the Bapames of Cuзалapa, the Pinos of Tonaya, and the Zapotecos of Zapotitlán (who extended to Zacualpan in Colima), and possibly the nearby Tiam and Cochin, were Otomian. These Otomians were west of the Sierra Tapalpa-Colima ridge and north of the rivers Patcajo and Juluapan. Although probably once conquered by the Tarascans, these Otomies retained nothing of the

Tarascan language by the sixteenth century. It is remotely possible that these Otomies were colonized in the region during the period of conquest and establishment of *encomiendas* (1520s). However, the implication of the *Suma de Visitas* and of the *relaciones geográficas* is that these Otomies were in the region from pre-Spanish times. If this were so, then when and how did the Otomies, also mentioned in the *Suma de Visitas*, get to a location near Culiacán in Sinaloa? Perhaps Paso y Troncoso (on the basis of Sahagún) was correct in assuming that *Otomies* meant only uncouth or rustic; or, perhaps, some if not all of these "Otomies" were Matlatzincas and Otomies proper colonized there by the Tarascans to guard the frontier (See Herrera Dec. 3, Lib. 4).

The Xilotlantzinco dominated the Tamazula area and extended "muchas leguas hácia el mar del Sur por partidos y visitas de clérigos." Seemingly it occupied much of the upper drainage basins of the Tuxpan and Tepalcatepec rivers, or approximately the modern Jalisco municipalities of Tamazula, Quitupan, Manuel Dieguez, Jilotlán, and Tecalitlán, and portions of Pihuamo in Jalisco, and Buena Vista, Tepalcatepec, Coalcomán, and Villa Victoria in Michoacán. Where the *Piguames* fit into the picture is uncertain. Also, the writer is uncertain whether Tepalcatepec was Xilotlantzinco, Nahuatlana, or Tarascan. At any rate, by the middle of the eighteenth century the natives of Tepalcatepec were preached to in Mexicano although the Indians less than twenty miles to the east were Tarascans. Probably the affinities of Xilotlantzinco will never be determined. However, the statements on Tamazula in the *Suma de Visitas* and in Ponce's *Relación* may provide some leads. According to the *Suma de Visitas* Tamazula extended from Mazamitla and Quitupan to Jilotlán and Tuxpan; most of the inhabitants were "Chichimecas" of the "lengua piñol"; and there were also "Naguales y Tarascos entre ellos." By direct implication the *piñol* was neither Nahuatlana nor Tarascan. Since Ponce, perhaps fifty years later, says of Tamazula "sus vecinos y los de las visitas de aquella presidencia son de una lengua particular que llaman de Xilotlantzingo," we may assume that *piñol* and *Xilotlantzinco* were the same. The connection of Xilotlantzinco with such terms as *piñol* and *chichimecas* could imply (1) that it was Otomian, or (2) that the people were of Nahuatlana speech, or (3) merely that they were comparatively crude, barbarous, or uncouth.

At this time the reader should be reminded that a number of names of Nahuatlana origin were applied both to languages and peoples of Nahuatlana affiliation and to members of other groups, which terms referred only to the strangeness of the language or the low culture of the people. Pertinent examples are *chontal*, *popoloco*, *chichimeca*, and *pinome* (*pino*, *piñol*, *pinutl*, etc.). The existence of two or more peoples speaking languages that have one of the above names never implies genetic relationship of language, and if a linguistic relationship has sometimes been proved this has been purely coincidental. Because

the Tecos of northwestern Michoacán sometimes had been referred to as *popolocos* (meaning alien, strange, foreign, or unintelligible to a Mexicano), and because the Cuitlatecos also had been termed *Popolocos de Guerrero*, many writers from the eighteenth century on (including Orozco y Berra) have insisted on relating the Tecos with the Cuitlatecos and with the Popolocos of Puebla, Guatemala, and elsewhere. In a similar manner a number of naive souls have attempted to link the Chontal (meaning strange, exotic or uncouth to a Mexicano) of Guerrero with other Chontal peoples in Oaxaca, Tabasco, and Central America. The term *chichimeca* never should be used as a linguistic term since Sahagún makes clear that it was used with historical and cultural connotations, and we know that both Otomian and Nahuatlán peoples were referred to as Chichimecas. It is probable that *chochon* and *otomi* also were used occasionally in a derogatory and non-linguistic sense. On the basis of Molina's definition of *pinotlatoa* (to speak in a strange language), and the statements of the *Suma de Visitas*, Ponce, and Ruiz Colmenero, we must conclude that the *pinutl*, *pinome*, *pinonuquia*, *pino*, and *piñol* of Jalisco were not all related and may even have represented three distinct stocks or families: Nahuatlana, Otomian, and perhaps Xilotlantzinca. Ponce definitely linked the Coano, Huaynamota, Ahuacatlan, Juchipilteca, Cazcan, Pinutl, Pinome, Pinonuquia, and Cora of north and western Jalisco (including present Nayarit) as being essentially one language, but he merely stated that Mazatlán (southern Jalisco) had a particular language (termed *pino* by Ruiz Colmenero and identified as Otomi in the *Suma de Visitas* and the 1579 *relación geográfica*), and he termed the language south and west of Lake Chapala (Teocuitatlán, Amacueca, Atoyac, Techaluta, Zacoalco, etc.) *pinome* without linking it with the *pinome* of the Tepic-Acaponeta region. Evidently the terms having a *pin-* stem are of little use as aids in linguistic classification.

Between the Otomi, Nahuatlana (Nauval or Mexicana Corrupta) and Xilotlantzinco on the southwest, south, and southeast, Lake Chapala on the north, and Tarascan on the east was Sayula (Saulan) or the Ávalos province in which two main languages were reported during the sixteenth century—Pinome and Tzaulteca (Sayulteco). The northern portion of Sayula, around the western end of Lake Chapala, contained "Mexicana corrupta" or "Nauval," Coca, and Tachtoque. The best source for this region is Ponce, since Guzmán's route was north of Lake Chapala, the *relaciones geográficas* are missing for most of the region, and the accounts of Ruiz Colmenero and of Tello are more than a century after the conquest. Possibly no other comparable area in Mexico has provoked so much controversy over linguistic affinities and distributions. Most writers from the eighteenth century to the present have relied upon Tello, Mota Padilla, Beaumont, the various versions of the Mexican origin-migration legend, and upon each other. This writer does not pretend to be able to settle the controversial points, but he can outline the problems and their solutions as they appear to him after examination of the source material.

Ponce clearly states that Tarascan extended west to Mazamitla, Xochillan, and Cojumatlán in the region between the Sierra del Tigre and Lake Chapala. Jiquilpan was reported to be about half Tarascan and half Tzaulteca, but nearly all of the surrounding area was Tarascan, and the Tzaulteca was isolated by Tarascan and Pinome territory from the main Tzaulteca region. This would indicate that the Tarascans colonized some captive Tzaultecos in Jiquilpan. Although Ponce was acquainted with the Coca in the Poncitlán region north of Lake Chapala (where such other sources as the *relaciones geográficas*, Ruiz Colmenero, Tello, and Torres concur in terming the language Coca), and also in the Tlajomulco and Guadalajara areas, he used the terms Pinome, Tachtoque, and *Mexicana corrupta* in three other regions which some sixty years later were lumped as Coca by Ruiz Colmenero and Tello. A special difficulty arises in connection with the Pinome (according to Ponce spoken in the region of the modern municipalities of La Manzanilla, Concepción de Buenos Aires, Teocuitatlán, Atoyac, Amacueca, Techaluta, and Zacoalco). Since Ponce was accompanied by a Mexicano interpreter the term Pinome could have represented his interpreter's reaction toward a language that sounded either completely foreign or at least rather strange. On the other hand, later on the western and coastal Pinome was stated to be similar to or identical with languages which included Cazcan said to resemble "algun tanto a la Mexicana." Furthermore, Ponce termed the language of the Lake Chapala villages from Tuxcueca to Chapala as *Mexicana corrupta* or Naul; in another place Ponce said that all the Indians of the *presidencia* of Teocuitatlán spoke Pinome; an anonymous list (date uncertain) has Tuxcueca as a *visita* of Teocuitatlán; and the *Suma de Visitas* mentions Tizapán (El Alto) as an *estancia* of Teocuitatlán. Overlooking the inconsistencies of terminology, it would seem that (a) Coca was not close enough to Mexicano to be termed "Mexicana corrupta," (b) the Pinome probably was similar enough to Mexicano to be classified as Nahuatlán although it was not necessarily the same language as that spoken along the western shores of Lake Chapala since the term "Mexicana corrupta" was used widely in a simple descriptive sense, and (c) Pinome was not and should not be called Coca. The writer does not know how to explain the seventeenth century usage of the term Coca so that it included not only the sixteenth century Coca north of Lake Chapala but also other peoples to the south. However, until better grounded arguments are presented than have been produced so far by such as Santoscoy and Dávila Garibi, the writer will believe that in the seventeenth century *Coca* meant more than just the name of a language. It is possible that *coca* may have been used, much as were such terms as *pinome* and *totonac*, to express strangeness or crudity of culture.

There has been somewhat less argument concerning the Tzaulteca or Sayulteco of the region from Zapotlán el Grande (Ciudad Guzmán) to the Lake of Sayula. However, most linguistic cartographers have seen fit, for reasons unstated, to extend the Sayulteco to Lake Chapala,

which it could only have attained by a replacement of Tarascan and Pinome not justified by the sixteenth century sources known by the writer. The Sayulteco, as well as such other languages as Pinome, Xilotlantzinco, Náhuatl of Colima, and Zapoteco of Jalisco (Otomian), often has been absorbed into the Coca by the energetic members of the "Pan-Coca" school. It is not unlikely that Sayulteco was a Nahuatlana language, but the writer is not aware of any conclusive evidence either for or against such a supposition. A discussion of the possible affiliations of the Totonac of Ameca and the Tachtoque of Cocula is not pertinent to this paper since the Tarascans had but little contact with the peoples west of the lakes.

Between the northern shores of Lake Chapala and the Río Grande de Santiago were three major lordships (Tonallan, Chapallan, and Cuitzeo) and several minor ones. To the east of Cuitzeo were a number of "Teco" states, such as that of Coinan which occupied the Ocotlán-La Barca-Atotonilco el Alto triangle. In this area were spoken *Mexicana corrupta* or Naul (which may have been Cazcan in part), Coca, Teco, and Tarascan. The Coca apparently occupied the east-west depression from Poncitlán to Tlajomulco with an extension north to Guadalajara, and the Teco or Teco-Tecuexe was east and north of the Coca. Combining the data from the Guzmán *relaciones* and other sixteenth century sources, it would appear that the Tarascans had managed through conquest, colonization, and acculturation to impose their language over a presumptive Teco area from Jacona-Zamora down the valley of the Duero and into the Teco state of Coinan and the Coca state of Cuitzeo. During the first half of the sixteenth century Cuitzeo was predominantly Tarascan in speech, and Tarascan was spoken to a considerable extent in Coinan. However, in the next one hundred years Coca and Teco reasserted themselves only to be supplanted by Spanish and Mexicano. Also, the "Chichimecas" (in this case probably Guachichiles) had been advancing into Teco and Tarascan territory in what is now northwestern Michoacán and adjacent portions of Jalisco and Guanajuato, and their advance lasted from pre-conquest times into the Spanish period. In 1530 the *visitador* Juan de Sabcedo noted that Ixtlán was "en tierra de los Chichimecas." However, it is quite possible that some of the Tecos were included in the term "Chichimecas." In this connection it is interesting to note that Villaseñor in 1745 found Mexicano spoken in Ixtlán and Jiquilpan, although Tarascan was dominant in the surrounding country, e. g., Sahuayo, Guarachita, Pajacuarán, and Jacona. This brings up the question of the linguistic position of Teco.

León has claimed that *teco* is a Tarascan word derived from *tecu*, and was applied by the Tarascans to Mexicans. León and others also claimed that the Cuitlatecos of Guerrero were the same as the Tecos of Michoacán, and that peoples adjacent to the Tarascans whose names contained the root *teco* or *tecu* as a prefix or suffix (e. g., Tecoxin, Tecuexe, Sayulteco) were Náhuatl. Some writers have gone so far as to claim that all groups with such names were but one people—the

Tecos. León's thesis does not stand up, since Cuitlateco rather definitely is not Nahuatlana, Tamazulteco (Xilotlantzinco) probably was not, and Sayulteco is somewhat problematic. Another school of thought derives Teco from *tehqui* or *taeki*, fingernail or fingernails, on the assumption that the Tecos (not necessarily a people distinct from the Tarascans) were so named from having their nails blue from indigo. In weak support of this explanation there can be cited the prevalence of a blue-dye plant in the Zamora to Jiquilpan region, the original significance of the placename Jiquilpan or Vanemba as place of blue-dye plant, and the tradition that the Indians of Paracho (famous for indigo-dyed textiles) came there from Zamora in the days of the Guzmán *entrada*. Although much of the Teco lands was conquered in the fifteenth century by the Tarascans and many Tecos were colonized in towns of the Tarascan sierra, and although Tecos were living in northwestern Michoacán towards the end of the Spanish colonial period, seemingly no Teco grammar or vocabulary ever was produced. This probably was because most of the Tecos in Michoacán spoke Tarascan and Spanish. It is possible that a fragmentary vocabulary still could be obtained from some of the older Indians in *barrios* of Jacona and Zamora and in some of the nearby communities such as Santiago Tangamandapio. However, La Rea (1639) claimed that all the Tecos had been absorbed by the Tarascans. Although the evidence is incomplete, all available data indicate that the Tecos or at least the so-called Teco-Tecuexes were Uto-Aztecan.

The northern linguistic frontier of Tarascan seemingly oscillated considerably during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This oscillation was conditioned mainly by the movements of the "Chichimecas" who occupied practically all of the northern marchland. Until recently the term "chichimeca" meant little more linguistically than a hodgepodge of such unrelated or unclassified entities as Coras, Guachichiles, Pames, Otomies, etc. Thanks to the work of such men as Sauer, Kroeber, Mason, and Jiménez Moreno it now appears fairly certain that the Guachichiles were Nahuatlana within the Cora-Huichol sub-division. The Guachichiles marched with the Tarascans in a zone from about Yurécuaro to Penjamillo and northward an uncertain distance past the Río Lerma. The Guamares, apparently an Otomian people, overlapped upon Guachichil territory to the west and Pame country to the east—from Pénjamo to Acámbaro. The Pames have been mentioned earlier in this paper. As of about the period 1530-40 a line from the mouth of the Río Lerma passing through Puruándiro and Cuitzeo to Ucareo would mark the effective northern limits of predominant Tarascan speech. During the remainder of the century Tarascans colonized widely into Guanajuato and Querétaro, as well as into Jalisco, Sinaloa, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí and Durango. However, these northern Tarascan colonies were both widely and thinly scattered, and but few communities retained Tarascan speech into the eighteenth century. A fascinating study in itself would be to trace the perignations of Tarascan colonists (miners, farm laborers, etc.) over the

huge area from Guerrero to New Mexico, and to study the language and the historical traditions of their descendants.

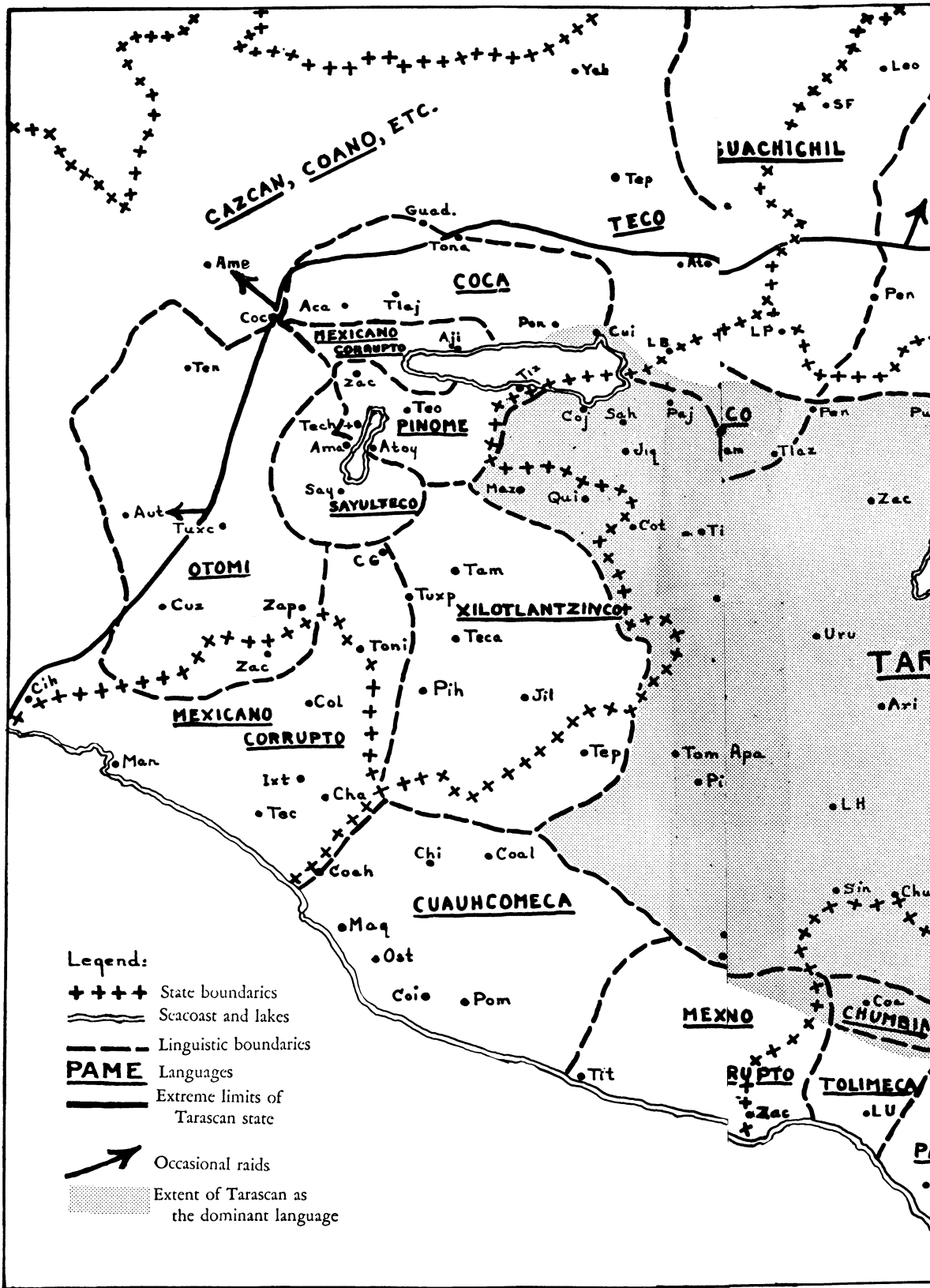
The linguistic neighbors of the sixteenth century Tarascans have been discussed briefly in the preceding paragraphs. The area so circumscribed was the Tarascan linguistic region. Everywhere within this region the Tarascan was the mother-tongue, with the exception of the Vetamaecha, Pirinda, Teco, and Apaneca colonies and islands mentioned previously. Although the Tarascan was supplanted in whole or in part by other Indian tongues in a few places after the Spanish conquest (by Mexicano in San Lucas, Tlapehuala, Tuzantla, Jiquilpan, etc., and by Otomian tongues in the northeastern mining districts), most of the Tarascan recession was caused by disease, emigration, congregation, and the impact of Spanish. By comparing the data in Villaseñor 1740s, Orozco y Berra 1850s, and the 1930 Mexican census one can obtain a fairly good idea of actual areal reductions involved in the process of linguistic recession. At the present time most of the Tarascan speaking population is to be found in the municipalities of Pátzcuaro, Quiroga, Tzintzuntzan, Chilchota, Los Reyes, Paracho, Cherán, Tangamandapio, Zacapu, Parangaricutiro (excluding the effect of the recent volcanic eruptions), Tangancicuaro, Coeneo, Tingambato, Erongarícuaro, Nahuatzen, Charapan, and Uruapan. These municipalities form a compact area on the peripheries of which Tarascans are found in decreasing numbers as in Santa Clara, Ziracuaretiro, Taretan, Nuevo Urecho, Parácuaro, Tancitaro, and Peribán to the south, Acuitzeo and Morelia on the east, and Huaniqueo, Villa Jiménez, Purépero, Tlazazalca, Zamora, and Jacona to the north. Away from this peripheral band there are relatively few individuals of Tarascan speech although a few will be found in nearly every municipality of Michoacán.

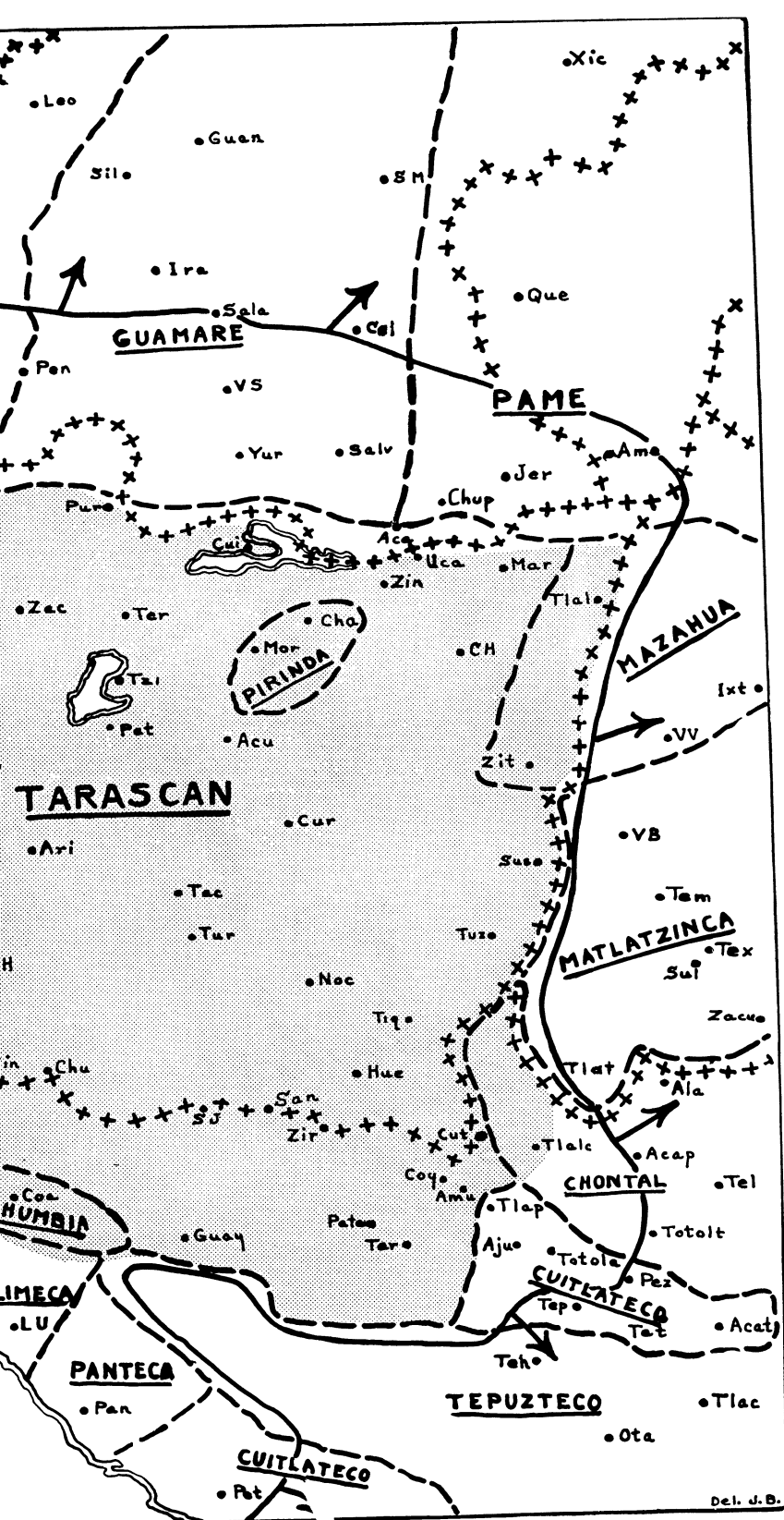
It can be seen readily that the greatest losses during Spanish and republican times have been in the Tierra Caliente on the south and southeast. This was a region which was originally colonial as far as the Tarascans were concerned, and which was or became (the pre-Spanish conditions are practically unknown) notorious for its diseases and high mortality. At the present time this is the region (together with the Sierra Coalcomán country) with the largest municipalities, the lowest density of population, and the smallest incidence of Indian placenames. Although it has been assumed (on the basis of traditions, archaeology, etc.) that the Tierra Caliente was a colonial Tarascan region, it might be well to point out that such centers or areas as Huacanan-Sinxagua, Guayameo-Huetamo, and Coyucan (Cuinao or Enian)-Pungarabato apparently played a very important part in the economic, religious, and military affairs of the Tarascan state. In this part of the paper space will be taken to discuss only one element—the famous Tarascan lacquers.

It is commonly assumed that lacquer was indigenous in the Tarascan highlands, although there is but one definite statement to that effect from the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Relación*

de Michoacán (1869, p. 18) states "Habia otro diputado sobre todos los que pintaban xicales, llamado uraniatari, el cual hay todavia." About the same time is a listing of tribute of *jícaras* from the Peribán area in the *Suma de Visitas*. However, a tribute of *jícaras* is also mentioned from Coyuca and Cuyseo in the Tierra Caliente. These tribute statements are most interesting since (a) in colonial times the Tarascan lacquers were often referred to as being from Peribán although recent writers have tried to explain this by saying that the Pátzcuaro-Uruapan area was the real center and Peribán got the credit because of the periodic markets there, (b) at present most of the Tarascan lacquer is on *Tilia* wood (presumably a technique-change brought about by the Spaniards) and not on gourds although gourds (*Lagenaria* and *Cucurbita*) and tree-calabash (*Crescentia*) are still used in the Balsas Valley in the forms and under the names of *guaje* or *bule*, *xicalpextle*, and *balsa* (from *Lagenaria* and *Cucurbita*), and *sirián* or *tecomate*, *balsa*, *sacual*, and *jicara* (from *Crescentia*), and (c) the highland Tarascans formerly went to the Balsas (Huetamo region) for *axin* to use as a varnish ingredient. It is worthy of note that the *axin* (*axe*, *aje*) insect (*Coccus axin*) and substance, although reported from Yucatán to Jalisco and common in the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán, is not known in Michoacán by a non-Nahuatl name unless *ticuin* may be applied to this insect as well as to an arboreal lizard, and unless *niínea* is a Tarascan term for the substance. The *axin* was reported in use in the sixteenth century (Sahagún, Molina, et al.) from Michoacán to Guatemala as a yellow unguent used as a cosmetic, salve, medicine, ingredient of *chicle* chewing gum, and as a basic ingredient of a varnish (*axin* combined with a drying oil of *Salvia* or *Argemone* and powdered dolomite) used in painting *jícaras*. Also, the *corregidor* of Ajuchitlán in 1579 stated that one kind of *chia* (*Salvia*) was grown which "sirve de sacar azeite para dar lustre a las pinturas de jícaras, que son de calabazas y las pintan en esta tierra." Upon the basis of a present discontinuous distribution of lacquer from Vera Cruz, Chiapas, and Oaxaca across Guerrero to Michoacán (during the past fifty years lacquered *jícaras* have been reported made at such places as Tuxtla in Chiapas, Ocotlán in Oaxaca, Acapetlahuaya and Tlapehuala in Guerrero, Celaya in Guanajuato, and from unspecified localities in Jalisco), of an early well known lacquer on *jícaras* in the Gulf of Mexico region (Anáhuac xicalanco), and of the former dependence of highland Tarascans upon the *axin* of the Tierra Caliente, the writer believes that Mexican lacquer art originated in the Tierra Caliente of the Gulf of Mexico coastlands, and was carried across Oaxaca into the basin of the Balsas whence it spread to the Tarascan highlands. There is no reason to postulate an Asiatic origin since (a) the techniques are quite different, and (b) the first ship from the Philippines did not reach Mexico until 1565 and the first galleon with Chinese goods did not arrive until 1573.

No better summary of part one of this paper could be made than a map. Such a map is appended.





PLACENAMES :

Colima	SM—Sa
Cha—Chamila	(S)
Col—Colima	Sil—Sil
Ist—Ixtlahuacán	VS—V
Man—Manzanillo	Xic—V
Tec—Tecomán	de
Zac—Zacualpan	Yur—Y
Jalisco	Querétaro
Aca—Acatlán de Juárez	Ame—A
Aji—Ajiic	Que—Q
Ama—Amacueca	México
Amc—Ameca	Ist—Ix
Ara—Arandas	Sul—Su
Ato—Atotonilco el Alto	Alqui
Atoy—Atoyac	Tem—T
Aut—Autlán	Tex—S
CG—Ciudad Guzmán	Tlat—T
(Zapotlán el Grande)	VB—V
Cih—Cihuatlán	(T)
Coc—Cocula	VV—V
Cuz—Cuzalapa	Zacu—
Cui—Cuitzeo (del Río)	Guerrero
Guad—Guadalajara	Acap—
Jil—Jilotlán de los Dolores	Acac—
LB—La Barca (Chicoahuaestenco)	Aju—A
Maz—Mazamitla	Ala—A
Pih—Pihuamo	Amu—
Pon—Poncitlán	Coa—C
Qui—Quitupan	Coy—C
Say—Sayula	Cut—C
Tam—Tamazula de Gordiano	(A)
Teca—Tecalitlán	Guay—
Tech—Techaluta	LU—L
Ten—Tenamaxtlán	Nu—
Teo—Teocuitatlán de Corona	Ota—O
Tep—Tepatitlán de Morelos	Pan—P
Tiz—Tizapán el Alto	Pata—
Tlaj—Tlajomulco	Pet—P
Tona—Tonala	Pic—P
Toni—Tonila	SJ—S
Tuac—Tuxcacuesco	Tar—T
Tuxp—Tuxpan	Teh—T
Yah—Yahualica	Tel—T
Zac—Zacoalco de Torres	Tep—T
Zap—Zapotitlán	Tec—T
Guanajuato	Tlac—T
Aca—Acámbaro	Tlalc—
Cel—Celaya	Tlap—
Chup—Chupicuaro	Totola—
Guan—Guanajuato	Totolt—
Ira—Irapuato	Zic—Z
Jer—Jerécuaro	Zir—Zi
Leo—León	Michoacán
Pen—Pénjamo	Acu—A
Sala—Salamanca	Apa—A
Salv—Salvatierra	Const
SF—San Francisco del Rincón	Ari—A
	Art—A

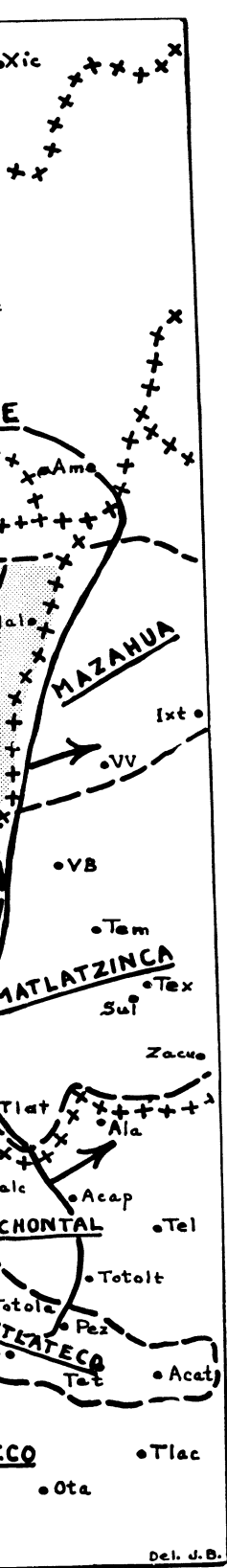
Only a few placenames are included for the exceptions of Necotlan, Jaso, Xochillan a Geographical Society and the Mexican govern Jalisco by Barcena and Negrete, and in the re changes in placenames are indicated in paren of abbreviations. Necotlan was southeast of was west of Cojumatlan. Calpulalcolulco was Río, although the *Suma de Visitas* places i undoubtedly falls in the triangle formed by C nilla or one of the several large ruins in the a

Although most of the data are from the depict linguistic distributions as they were at ments of native population after 1520, so far consideration. The linguistic boundaries must most of the data are spread over the period the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from usually in terms of *doctrinas* or of *pueblos* communities were unnamed, or only partially all determinations of linguistic distributions i exceptions of the Apaneca and Cuauhcomeca w

Theoretical major groups, super-families sents probable familial affiliation of the langua

- I Tarascan or Purépecha
- II Nahuatlana (Aztecoidan)
 - A. Nahuatlán
 - Mexicano
 - Cazcan (?) (possibly Cora-Huichol)
 - "Mexicano corrupto" or "Nauatl" (several languages thus termed)
 - B. Nahuatoid
 - Sayulteco (?)
 - Pinome of eastern Jalisco (?)
 - "Mexicano corrupto"
 - C. Cora-Huichol (a better term might Nahuatoid")
 - Teco-Tecuexe (?)
 - Coca (?)
 - Guachichil (?)
- III Otomian

Mazahua



PLACENAMES:

Colima
 Cha—Chamila
 Col—Colima
 Ixt—Ixtlahuacán
 Man—Manzanillo
 Teo—Tecmán
 Zac—Zacualpan
 Jalisco
 Aca—Acatlán de Juárez
 Aji—Ajijic
 Ama—Amacueca
 Ame—Ameca
 Ara—Arandas
 Ato—Atotonilco el Alto
 Atoy—Atoyac
 Aut—Autlán
 CG—Ciudad Guzmán
 (Zapotlán el Grande)
 Cih—Cihuatlán
 Coc—Cocula
 Cuz—Cuzalapa
 Cui—Cuizteo (del Río)
 Guad—Guadalajara
 Jil—Jilotlán de los Dolores
 LB—La Barca (Chicoahuastranco)
 Maz—Mazamitla
 Pih—Pihuamo
 Pon—Poncitlán
 Qui—Quitupan
 Say—Sayula
 Tam—Tamazula de Gordiano
 Teca—Tecalitlán
 Tech—Techaluta
 Ten—Tenamaxtlán
 Teo—Teocuitatlán de Corona
 Tep—Tepatitlán de Morelos
 Tiz—Tizapán el Alto
 Tlaj—Tlajomulco
 Tona—Tonalá
 Toni—Tonila
 Tuxc—Tuxcacuesco
 Tuxp—Tuxpan
 Yah—Yahualica
 Zac—Zacoalco de Torres
 Zap—Zapotitlán
 Guanajuato
 Aca—Acámbaro
 Cel—Celaya
 Chup—Chupicuaro
 Guan—Guanajuato
 Ira—Irapuato
 Jer—Jerécuaro
 Leo—León
 Pen—Pénjamo
 Sala—Salamanca
 Salv—Salvatierra
 SF—San Francisco del Rincón

SM—San Miguel de Allende
 (S. M. el Grande)
 Sil—Silao
 VS—Valle de Santiago
 Xic—Villa Victoria (Xichú de Indios)
 Yur—Yuriria
 Querétaro
 Ame—Amealco
 Que—Querétaro
 México
 Ixt—Ixtlahuaca de Rayón
 Sul—Sultepec de Pedro Ascencio
 Alquisiras
 Tem—Temascaltepec de González
 Tex—Santiago Texcalitlán
 Tlat—Tlatlaya
 VB—Valle de Bravo
 (Temascaltepec del Valle)
 VV—Villa Victoria (Llaves)
 Zacu—Zacualpan
 Guerrero
 Acap—Acapetlahuaya
 Acat—Acatlán del Río
 Aju—Ajuchitlán del Progreso
 Ala—Alahuistlán
 Amu—Amuco de la Reforma
 Coa—Coahuayutla de Guerrero
 Coy—Coyuca de Catalán
 Cut—Cutzamala de Pinzón
 (Apasangan)
 Guay—Guayameo
 LU—La Unión (Cong. de los Nuevos)
 Ota—Otatlán
 Pan—Pantla
 Pata—Patambo
 Pet—Petatlán
 Pez—Pezuapa
 SJ—San Jerónimo (Marsan)
 Tar—Taretaro
 Teh—Tehuacuetla
 Tel—Teloloapan
 Tep—Tepantitlán
 Tlat—Telata del Río
 Tlac—Tlacotepec
 Tlalc—Tlalchapa
 Tlap—Tlapachuala
 Totola—San Miguel Totolapan
 Totolt—Tototepec (Tototepec)
 Zac—Zacatlula
 Zir—Zirándaro
 Michoacán
 Acu—Acuitzio del Canje
 Apa—Apatzingán de la Constitución
 Art—Aro de Rosales (Guanaxo)
 Arte—Arteaga

Cha—Charo (Matalcingo)
 Chi—Villa Victoria (Chinicuila)
 Chu—Churumuc
 CH—Ciudad Hidalgo
 (Taximaroa)
 Coah—Coahuayana
 Coal—Coahuacán de Matamoros
 Col—Coire
 Coj—Cojumatlán
 Cot—Cotija de la Paz
 Cui—Cuizteo del Porvenir
 (Cuizteo de la Laguna)
 Cur—Curcupaseo
 Hue—Huétamo de Núñez
 Ixt—Ixtlán
 Jac—Jacoma (Chucuman)
 Jiq—Jiquilpan de Juárez
 (Huanimba)
 LH—La Huacana (Tamacuaro)
 LP—La Piedad Cavadas
 Maq—Maquili
 Mar—Maravatío
 Mor—Morelia (Valladolid)
 Noc—Nocupétaro
 Ost—Ostula
 Paj—Pajuarán
 Pat—Pátzcuaro
 Pen—Penjamillo de Degollado
 Per—Peribán de Ramos
 Pin—Pinzándaro
 Pom—Pómaro (Motines de Oro)
 Pur—Purandiro de Calderón
 Sah—Sahuayo de Porfirio Díaz
 San—Santiago Congripito
 Sin—Sinagua
 Sui—Susupato de Guerrero
 Tac—Tacámbaro de Codallos
 Tan—Tancitaro de Medellín
 Ter—Teremendo
 Tep—Tepalcatepec (Eroxio)
 Tin—Tingúindin de Argandar
 Tig—Tiguicheo
 Tit—Tizapán
 Tlat—Tlalpujahua de Rayón
 Tlaz—Tlazazalca (Cuereyán)
 Tom—Buenavista Tomatlán
 Tum—Tumbiscatio
 Tur—Turicato
 Tuz—Tuzantla
 Tzi—Tzintzuntzan
 Uca—Ucareo
 Uru—Uruapan del Progreso
 Yure—Yurécuaro
 Zac—Zacapu de Mier
 Zam—Zamora
 Zim—Zinapécuaro de Figueroa
 Zit—Zitácuaro

Only a few placenames are included for purposes of orientation. All places mentioned in the text (with the exceptions of Necotlan, Jaso, Xochillan and Calpulalcolulco) will be found on maps of the American Geographical Society and the Mexican government, private maps of Michoacán by Ortiz Rubio and of Jalisco by Barcena and Negrete, and in the reports of the Mexican censuses. A few of the more important changes in placenames are indicated in parentheses after the full modern names listed in the explanation of abbreviations. Necotlan was southeast of Morelia. Jaso has been absorbed by Teremendo. Xochillan was west of Cojumatlán. Calpulalcolulco was in 1579 officially *cabecera de doctrina* instead of *Tetela del Río*, although the *Suma de Visitas* places it in Zacatlula bordering Ajuchitlán, Tetela and Otatlán. It undoubtedly falls in the triangle formed by Coronilla, Tehuacuetla and Tepantitlán, and probably is Coronilla or one of the several large ruins in the area.

Although most of the data are from the second half of the sixteenth century, the map attempts to depict linguistic distributions as they were at the time of the Spanish conquest. All colonizations and movements of native population after 1520, so far as known or reasonably postulated, have been eliminated from consideration. The linguistic boundaries must be considered as mere approximations for three reasons: (1) most of the data are spread over the period 1522-1652; (2) there are absolutely no linguistic data during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a number of areas; (3) the linguistic data, when given, were usually in terms of *doctrinas* or of *pueblos* whose boundaries were poorly defined and whose constituent communities were unnamed, or only partially named, or cannot now be identified. The writer has based all determinations of linguistic distributions upon his own interpretation of the source materials with the exceptions of the Apaneca and Cuauhomeca which have been modified from Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal.

LANGUAGES

Theoretical major groups, super-families or phyla are not here considered. The following table represents probable familial affiliation of the languages mentioned.

I Tarascan or Purépecha	Matlatzinca (including Pirinda, Vetamaecha)
II Nahuatlana (Aztecoidan)	Pame
A. Nahuatlán	Guamare (?)
Mexicano	Otomi of Jalisco (?) (including Amulteco, Bapame, Pino, Zapotec, etc.)
Cazcan (?) (possibly Cora-Huichol)	Unclassified (Extant)
"Mexicano corrupto" or "Naua" (probably several languages thus termed)	Cuitlateco (Otomian?)
B. Nahuatoid	Unclassified (Extinct)
Sayulteco (?)	Tepuzteco (Cuitlatecan?)
Pinome of eastern Jalisco (?)	Chontal of Guerrero (Otomian?)
"Mexicano corrupto"	Mazatec of Guerrero (Otomian?)
C. Cora-Huichol (a better term might be "Sub-Nahuatoid")	Izcuca
Teco-Tecuexa (?)	Apaneca
Coca (?)	Panteca
Guachichil (?)	Tolimeca
III Otomian	Chumbia
Mazahua	Xilotlantzinco (Nahuatlana?)
	Cuauhomeca (Nahuatlana?)

NOTES:

Tarascan State. All of the area embraced within the extreme limits of the Tarascan state probably was never at any one time under Tarascan control. The effective Tarascan state as of about 1520 probably included all of the area in which Tarascan was the dominant language, together with extensions (1) into Motines (Cuauhcomeca) and the region between Motines and Lake Chapala (Xilotlantzinco, Sayulteco, and Pinome) as far west as the river Coahuayana-Tuxpan and nearly to the Zapotlán-Sayula-Zacualco line of lakes, (2) northward into Tecu, Guachichil, Guamare and Pame country as far as the river Lerma, and (3) southeastward into Chontal and Cuiclateco country. The eight arrows indicate the extra-Tarascan domains into which Tarascans raided or whence tribute was obtained at one time or another. Beginning in the southwest and going clockwise, these areas were: Amula into Autlán, Cocula into Ameca, Tlazazalca and Pénjamo into the region of Silao and León, Yuriria and Celaya into Xichú, Taximaroa and Zitácuaro into Ixtlahuaca and domains of Tlacopan, Cutzamala and Talchapa into salines of Alahuistlán, Ajuchitlán into country of highland Tepuzteco, Pantla and Petatlán into Joluchuca-Tecpan-Atoyac region of eastern Zacatollan.

Tarascan Language. The Tarascan or Purépecha, although not so aggressive as the Mexicano, apparently did take over considerable areas of what had formerly been Tecu, Chontal, Cuiclateco, and Chumbia. It is now impossible to say what languages, if any in addition to the Apaneca and Chumbia reported in the sixteenth century for the Zirándaro and the Coahuayutla areas respectively, were replaced or displaced south of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec rivers from Amuco to Aguillilla, although they may have been Tepuzteco, "Mexicano corrupto," Cuauhcomeca and Xilotlantzinco. Probably there was a slight advance westward at the expense of Xilotlantzinco, Pinome and Coca. The only losses in pre-Spanish times seemingly were to the Guachichil, Guamare, and Pame along the northern frontier. It is uncertain whether the Mazahua or the Tarascan was first in the upper basin of the Río Tuxpan. The Tarascan colonies near Taxco, in a number of the Guanajuatoan towns and near Yahualica were definitely post-Cortesian in time, but those in Pomaro, Tuxpan and southern Guanajuato cannot be dated certainly.

Mexicano. There was no Mexicano in or near the Tarascan region excepting in the military colonies or garrisons of which Acapetlahuaya-Ostuma is the best example. There are traditions that conquered Mexicano-speaking peoples fleeing from the tripart confederacy were settled within the Tarascan realm, but there is no particularized statement of the location of such colonies.

Cazcan. There was no Cazcan in the Tarascan region unless the "Mexicano corrupto" at the west end of Lake Chapala were Cazcan.

"Mexicano corrupto" or "Nauatl." The three areas of *Mexicano corrupto* (Zacatula, Colima, Chapala) probably represented three languages. The Chapalan language possibly was Cazcan, but the other two cannot be identified with any known Nahuatl language because of paucity of material. Galindo believes that the Nauatl or "Mexicano corrupto" of Colima was Tecu. Of these three areas that of *Mexicano corrupto* in western Zacatollan is most uncertain as to areal extension. In fact, the major portion so mapped by this writer and mapped as Nahuatl by others is sheer guesswork since only a few identifiable places are mentioned in the sources.

Sayulteco. The isolated group or island of Sayultecos who comprised about one-half the population of Jiquilpan, and who were completely surrounded by Tarascans, has not been indicated on the map.

Pinome of eastern Jalisco. To what extent these Pinome bordered on Lake Chapala is uncertain. Cojumatlán was Tarascan, Tizapán el Alto probably was Pinome, Tuxcucua was either "Mexicano corrupto" or Pinome.

Teco-Tecuexce. The Tecuexes of Teco speech may once have extended southeast to Zacapu, but by the time of the Spanish conquest Jacana and Tlazazalca represented the limits of a tongue which extended up the Duero basin from the main Teco area in Jalisco essentially north of the Río Grande de Santiago. In northern Jalisco was a melange of Teco, Cazcan, Coano and other peoples or languages. A number of Teco colonies were established by the Tarascans within the nuclear Tarascan region, especially in or near Pátzcuaro, Uruapan, and Tancitaro. These colonies have not been indicated on the map.

Coca. The Coca has been mapped in the restricted distribution according to the sixteenth century sources utilized by the writer. Cocula seems to have been an area of colonization by or a meeting point for a number of peoples such as Coca, "Mexicano corrupto," Cazcan, and Otomi (?).

Guachichil. One of the Teo-chichimeca groups which apparently was advancing at Teco and Tarascan expense.

Mazahua. In early accounts often confused with Otomi proper. Seemingly most of the Mazahua were tributary to Tlacopan, and probably they were the "Otomies" colonized on the Tarascan border by the Mexicans.

Matlatzinca. Some of the Matlatzinca voluntarily allied themselves with the Tarascans and were colonized in the Undameo-Guayangareo-Charo region (Pirinda) and in the Huetaoma area (Vetamaecha). The Vetamaecha are not indicated on the map. Herrera states that some Matlatzinca from Conacatepec settled in Michoacán near Tlaulan (Sayula?). An active frontier for the Matlatzinca at the time of the conquest was along their southern border where they were advancing at Chontal expense.

Pame. Evidently the Pame gave the Tarascans considerable trouble since punitive raids were made by the Tarascans as far as Xichú. Archaeologic evidence (such as at or near Chupicuaro, Jerécuaro, Amesalco, Tarimoro, Apaseo, etc.) indicates that Tarascan culture, and possibly language, once extended considerably north of the Río Lerma.

Guamare. There was a mixture of Guamare, Pame and Tarascan in the region between Lake Cuictezo and the great bend of the Río Lerma.

Otomi of Jalisco. In addition to the Amultepec, Bapame, Pino and Zapoteco, the Cuyuteca, Tiam, Cochín, Totonac, Tachtoque, and other now extinct languages or dialects of southern Jalisco may have been Otomian. It is now impossible to determine (1) if "Otomita" was a linguistic or a cultural term, and (2) if the various "Otomita" groups represented languages or dialects.

Cuiclateco. The source material does not allow for a continuous mapping of Cuiclateco from the Balsas valley to the Pacific coast, nor does it justify an extension up the valley of the Cutzamala. Cuiclateco marched with Matlame at the east—not indicated on the map.

Tepuzteco. Only the Tlacotepec and Otatlán areas definitely were Tepuzteco. The extension westward along the Sierra Madre through Calpulalcolulco is dubious, and this sparsely inhabited region may have been Cuiclateco, Tarascan, Panteca or some unrecorded language.

Chontal of Guerrero. Apparently the Chontal once occupied nearly all of the region from the Río Balsas northward nearly to the Nevado de Toluca and from the Río Cutzamala eastward to the Río Cocula, Iguala and Taxco. On the east they marched with the Matlame, Cohuixa (Náhuatl) and Tlahuixca (Náhuatl), but were being pushed westward by the various Náhuatl-speaking peoples. Mexicano (Cohuixa, Pilcuixa, Azteca, etc.) colonies were established in such places as Cuezala, Teloloapan, Acapetlahuaya, Tlaxaya, etc. Also there was the Tuzteca (extinct by 1579) in the Ixcateopan area, and the Iscuca or Izcucua in the Teloloapan area. The Mazateca of Ixcapuzaleco and scattered eastward through Ixcateopan and Tenango to Taxco are suspect as being colonized there by the Mexicans.

Mazatec of Guerrero. See paragraph on Chontal.

Izcucua. See paragraph on Chontal.

Apaneca. Not mapped. Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal place the Apaneca near Zirándaro.

Panteca. Located on the basis of only a few identifiable places and distance-directions. The exact area covered is highly uncertain.

Tolimeca. Same remarks as for Panteca.

Chumbia. Same remarks as for Panteca.

Xilotlantzinco. Boundaries dubious since only a few places are mentioned in the sixteenth century records.

Cuauhcomeca. Modified from Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

CONQUERORS

The conquerors of Michoacán and its borderlands, 1521-1531, such as Cristóbal de Olid, Juan Rodríguez Villafuerte, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Alonso de Ávalos, Juan Álvarez Chico, Francisco Cortés, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, Cristóbal Oñate, and Pedro Alméndiz Chirinos, left no personal narrative or history. The outlines of the conquest must be obtained from the letters of Hernando Cortés, the history by Díaz del Castillo, the secondhand accounts by López de Gómara and Fernández Oviedo y Valdés, letters of Franciscan friars from 1526 on, documents concerning *residencias* and *visitas* of conquerors and early administrators, and documents concerning the merits of conquerors and early colonists and their services in support of claims for *encomiendas*, offices, and other forms of royal reward and patronage. Although H. Cortés and Díaz del Castillo were not primary conquerors of Michoacán, nevertheless Cortés was in Michoacán shortly after the conquest and both were familiar with personalities and events of the conquest. López de Gómara, although never in Mexico, was chaplain to Cortés in Spain and Africa and his account is really that of Cortés. Oviedo y Valdés also never was in Mexico, but he was acquainted with many of the conquerors and, as the first official chronicler of the Indies (see discussion of official chroniclers below), he had access to nearly all of the contemporary documents. The letters and reports of the religious will be discussed in a later section, as will be the miscellaneous letters, *procesos*, *cédulas* and other documents pertaining to the conquerors and the conquest of Michoacán.

Hernando CORTÉS: Three of the best editions are, Pascual de GAYANGOS: *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al emperador Carlos V*, Paris, 1866; Francis A. MACNUTT: *The Letters of Cortés*, 2 vols., Cleveland, 1908; J. Bayard MORRIS, *Five Letters, 1519-1526*, London, 1928. [Born Spain 1485; wrote 1519-1526; died Spain 1547.]

Bernal DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO: *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*. A mutilated first edition, Madrid, 1632; and many others including good editions of 1904-05 edited by Genaro García in 2 vols., Mexico, of 1908-16 in Hakluyt Society publications edited in 5 vols., London, by A. P. Maudslay, and recent editions in New York, Mexico, Madrid, and Guatemala. [Born Spain 1492; wrote ca. 1562-68; died Guatemala 1584.]

Francisco LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA: *La Historia de las Indias y Conquista de México*. The first edition was 2 vols., Saragossa, 1552-53; later editions include González de Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos*, Madrid, 1749, and a reprint in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, vol. 22, Madrid, 1909. [Born Spain, c. 1510; wrote 1540- ; died Spain 1568.]

Gonzalo FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS: *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas, y Tierra-Firme del Mar Océano*. 4 vols., Madrid, 1851-55. Various partial editions from 1535 on. [Born Spain 1478; wrote 1520-55; died Spain 1557.]

PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS, ARCHIVES, DOCUMENTS

The bulk of information on colonial Michoacán probably still resides in archives and private collections, although considerable progress in publication has been made during the past one hundred years. Many data can be obtained from the *residencias* of conquerors and administrative officers such as those of the conqueror Hernando Cortés (Luis Ponce de León, et al., 1526-29), of the conqueror Nuño de Guzmán (Diego Pérez de la Torre, et al., 1536-44), of the *oidor* Vasco de Quiroga (Francisco de Loaysa, 1535-36), of the conqueror Francisco de Coronado (Lorenzo de Tejada, 1544), and of the first viceroy Antonio de Mendoza (Francisco Tello de Sandoval, 1544-47).

After the actual establishment of *alcaldías* and *encomiendas* 1522, the *audiencias* of Mexico 1528 and Nueva Galicia 1549, *corregimientos* 1531, and of the viceroyalty of Nueva España 1535, inspectors or visitors were sent out periodically to make *visitas* of these various entities. Beginning in 1533, two *audiencia oidores* and two religious officials made *visitas* of the *encomiendas* and *corregimientos*, and periodically prepared statements concerning the tributary Indians. The first census of the Indians of Nueva España grew out of this *visita* during the period 1535-40 (some historians believe it was as late as 1546-47). This is known as the *Suma de Visitas*, published by Paso y Troncoso. Also there were prepared other lists such as *Cuaderno de Tasaciones* 1528, *Tributos de Indios* 1536, *Tasaciones de Indios* 1558, and *Tributos de Pueblos de Indios* 1560. From 1536 on one *oidor* served as itinerant judge once every three years. The earliest known *visitas* of Michoacán were those of Luis de Cárdenas in 1527, and of Juan de Villaseñor in 1532 and the *oidor* Quiroga 1533-1535 who were sent there to appraise and solve the difficulties arising from the misdeeds of Nuño de Guzmán in 1530. The epidemics of 1520, 1531, 1545, 1564, 1576, 1588, and 1595, various famines, and the movement of labor to the mines caused such drastic changes in the number, location, and capacity to pay of tributary Indians that specific visitations were made to study the Indian problem which had been posed by Las Casas and others. The most famous of these was that of Francisco Tello de Sandoval, the first *visitador-general* to Nueva España 1544-47, who was also the *juez de residencia* of Mendoza, and who proclaimed the New Laws. Other major visitations were those of Gerónimo de Valderrama 1563-66, Pedro de Moya y Contreras 1583-86, Diego de Landeras 1606-09, Juan de Palafox and Pedro de Gálvez 1640-1654, Francisco Garzarón 1715-1728, and José de Galvés 1765-1772. Minor visitations pertinent to Michoacán were concerned with such items as boundary disputes (Michoacán-México 1534-84, Michoacán-Nueva Galicia 1548-63+), Indian affairs, and revenues and administration in general. Among the more important of these were the *visitas* of the *corregidor* Diego Ramírez about 1548-51, those of the Nueva Galicia *oidores* Lorenzo Lebrón de Quiñones and Miguel de Contreras Guevara about 1551-55, and that of the *oidor* Alonso de Zorita who studied the matter of Indian tributaries in Nueva España 1554-64.

Each viceroy, and his delegates, was supposed to visit all the country at least once during his administration. During the sixteenth century only Antonio de Mendoza and Martín Enríquez accomplished much in this line. In 1546 and 1547, Mendoza sent to Spain *probanzas* from Michoacán, Zacatula, and Colima, and in 1570 Enríquez visited at least the mining districts in the Michoacán-México borderlands. The *visitas* made by bishops and by provincials will be discussed later, as will be the three great *encuestas* of 1569-71, 1579-82, and 1602-10,

and the studies concerning the congregation of Indians 1593-98 and the establishment of *intendencias* 1774-86.

The above outline gives only a bare idea of the possible sources for information about early colonial Michoacán. The most important repositories for all types of official documents are the Archivo General de las Indias in Sevilla, the archives in Simancas, the library of the Escorial, the library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid, and the Biblioteca Nacional and Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. In Mexico the chief repositories are the Archivo General de la Nación, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Museo Nacional—all in Mexico City, and the Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia del Estado de Jalisco and the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco in Guadalajara. Of minor value are the archives in local centers of administration (*provincias* or *gobiernos*, *alcaldías mayores*, *corregimientos*, municipalities, and the like) such as Morelia, Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Jiquilpan, Colima, Yuriría, Celaya, León, Guanajuato, Querétaro, La Barca, Sayula, and Ciudad Guzmán. Most of the archives in Mexico were subject to removal, loss and destruction because of wars and insurrections (especially 1810-21, 1854-67, 1910-17, and 1926-29 in Michoacán), fires, theft, and carelessness. Probably some early documents are in the possession of descendants of early *encomenderos*, colonists, and officials, but investigations by the writer in parts of Michoacán and Guerrero would indicate that many of the colonial families of the area moved away or died out, and even when descendants were available they usually had no papers earlier than the nineteenth century. Documents of the religious will be discussed later.

A few names stand out among those who have collected or copied, preserved, and made available manuscript material on Mexico. Ixtlilxochitl (1568-1648) was among the first, and Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700) was the next great collector. Sigüenza y Góngora gave his collection, which included that of Ixtlilxochitl, to the Jesuit Colegio de México where they were utilized by Clavijero. Some of these collections are now in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Museo Nacional. However, material now current derives in large part from the collections of Boturini (1702-1750) and Muñoz (1745-1799). Lorenzo Boturini Beneduci collected in Mexico 1736-44 and later became historiographer for the Indies. His collections were used by Mariano José Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia (1718-1779), and upon Veytia's death Antonio de León y Gama (1735-1802) acquired Veytia's collection of original documents and copies. When León y Gama died his library was sold in Mexico City and among the purchasers was Humboldt, whose purchases are now in the Berlin Museum and National Library, although seemingly a portion was acquired as late as 1826 by the Mexican National Museum. Somewhat later Joseph Aubin, who was in Mexico with the French Scientific Commission, acquired further items of the Boturini-Veytia-León y Gama collection, perhaps by direct theft from the National Museum. It has been surmised that sometime between 1790 and 1840 several copies were made of the more important items in the Boturini collection (housed for a time in the Convento de San Francisco in Mexico) of which copies one set went to the Archivo General de la Nación and another set went to Muñoz in Spain. Ramírez copied extensively from the items which Aubin acquired. At present the collections of Boturini are to be found mainly in the Archivo General de la Nación and the Museo Nacional in Mexico, the library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (in part, in the Aubin collection), and in Berlin.

Juan Bautista Muñoz was senior cosmographer of the Indies from 1770 until his death. To him is due in great part certain re-organizations of the Archivo de Indias and especially the segregation and copying of an enormous amount of historical and geographical material pertaining to Mexico. His collections were used by and copied by such historians and collectors as Echeverría y Veytia and Diego Panes Abellán (1730-1811) through whom considerable material was brought to Mexico. After his death the Muñoz collections passed through many hands, including those of Henri Ternaux-Compans (1807-1864), and ultimately came to rest in the Academia de la Historia in Madrid (the major portion), the New York Public Library (some of the Rich-Lenox material), the Bancroft Library of the University of California, and elsewhere. Two other collectors of the eighteenth century should be mentioned, Francisco Antonio Lorenzana (1722-1804), and José Pichardo (born Cuernavaca 1748, died 1812).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Carlos María de Bustamante (1774-1848), Lucas Alamán (1792-1853), and José Mora (1794-1850) were the leading collectors and historians for the colonial period. However, their "pupils," José Fernando Ramírez (1804-1871), José María Andrade (1807-1883), Niceto de Zamacois (?-1886), Manuel Orozco y Berra (1816-1881), Joaquín García Icazbalceta (1825-1894), José María Vigil (1829-1909), Vicente Riva Palacio (1832-1896), and Antonio García Cubas (1832-1912) laid the foundations of modern collections and publications. Unfortunately, during the mature years of these men occurred the French intervention and the reign of Maximilian. Upon the overthrow of the imperial government Ramírez and Andrade went to Europe where their collections were sold, as were those of three European collectors of the period, Joseph M. A. Aubin (1802-?), Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg (1814-1874; he was in Mexico for long sojourns 1848-65), and August Fischer (1825-1887). The Andrade collection (presumably purchased in 1865 by Maximilian) was sold by Fischer in Leipzig and London in 1869. A large part of it is in the Bancroft Library, and the University of Texas has some of it through purchasing the Genaro García library. Ramírez made two collections, the first of which is now part of the Durango state library. Most of the second and more valuable collection was acquired by Chavero, who sold much of it to Fernández del Castillo, who upon the advice of Fischer sold it in London in 1880. The Bancroft Library obtained most of the best items from the London sales. However, some of Ramírez' manuscripts never left Mexico and passed through the hands of Orozco y Berra and Chavero and into the Museo Nacional. The Aubin collection ended in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. Alphonse Pinart acquired the Brasseur de Bourbourg collection in 1873-74, which he sold along with his library in Paris, 1894; and Father Fischer's own collections probably were lumped in with the Andrade sales of 1869, although some of Fischer's papers are in the Museo Nacional.

Orozco y Berra was more of an administrator, geographer, and historian than a primary collector of documents, and he relied largely upon the Ramírez, García Icazbalceta, and governmental collections. García Icazbalceta copied and gathered material prodigiously in Mexico, and obtained many transcripts from Spain through Francisco González de Vera and Prescott. Also, he acquired part of the Bustamante collection. He published some of his collections, loaned liberally to others for consultation and publication (e. g., Michoacán and other material to Nicolás León, and linguistic material to his brother-in-law, Francisco Pimentel, 1832-1893, and to Orozco y Berra), and left a large library of books and manuscripts to his son, Luis García Pimentel (?-1930). García Pimentel published some of the collections and sold some of the manuscripts to the Biblioteca Nacional

and others. His son, Luis García Pimentel, recently sold the García Icazbalceta library of books, but the University of Texas acquired many of the manuscripts in 1937. However, the *Archivo Franciscano* was obtained by the Biblioteca Nacional in 1919, and a number of other manuscripts of the García Icazbalceta collection are still in Mexico City.

During the Pax Porfiriana the Mexicans, Antonio Peñafiel (1831-1921), José María de Agreda y Sánchez (1838-1916), Alfredo Chavero (1841-1906), Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (1842-1916), and Vicente de Paula Andrade (1844-1915), and the foreigners, Hubert Bancroft (1832-1918), Eduard Selser (1849-1922), Alphonse Pinart (1852-1911), and Zelia Nuttall (1858-1933) continued collections and publications. Of these, Paso y Troncoso, Agreda y Sánchez, and Bancroft (aided by Pinart and Nuttall for a time) made the most extensive collections. Paso y Troncoso collected for the Mexican government in Europe 1892-1916, and his manuscripts (copied in part from the Muñoz collection in the Academia de la Historia) have been in the process of publication since 1905. Agreda y Sánchez built up a cosmopolitan collection (including part of the Riva Palacio collection of religious manuscripts and documents) which after his death passed into the hands of Genaro García, Henry Wagner, and others.

During the transition from the Díaz days through the Revolution to the modern period Nicolás León (1859-1929), Francisco A. de Icaza (1863-1923), Luis González Obregón (1865-1938), Genaro García (1867-1920), Jesús Galindo y Villa (1867-1937), Carlos Pereyra (1871-), Mariano Cuevas (1879-), Manuel Romero de Terreros y Vinent (1880-), and Genaro Estrada (1887-1937) continued search for, interpretation, and publication of documentary material. Genaro García acquired the largest collection (which included parts of the collections of Alamán, Andrade, Riva Palacio, and Agreda y Sánchez) and his library was purchased in 1921 by the University of Texas. Nicolás León bought, exchanged, and sold manuscripts and books extensively but he never had a large collection at any one time. This avaricious, excessively selfish and egotistic self-styled Father of Tarascan studies sold manuscripts and rare books in the United States and Europe, and especially to John Nicholas Brown and these items are now in the John Carter Brown library.

The modern period, since 1917 and especially since 1927, has seen a multiplication of the individuals, institutions, and publications concerned with Mexican documentary material, both in Mexico and in other countries. No attempt to discuss these developments will be made, but outstanding publications are listed below. It seems that at present, other than the centers already mentioned in Mexico and Spain, the chief institutions that have or may have material on Michoacán are (the order of listing has no significance): the University of California, the Los Angeles Public Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the University of New Mexico (which has a portion of Peñafiel's library, and also items from the Andrade-Maximilian-Fischer collection), the University of Texas (which has the Genaro García library as well as part of the García Icazbalceta collections), Tulane University, the Newberry Library of Chicago, the Library of Congress, the University of Pennsylvania, New York Public Library, the Hispanic Society of America, the American Geographical Society, the Museum of the American Indian, Yale University, Harvard University, the Boston Public Library, and Brown University (especially strong in linguistics and religious chronicles) in the United States; in Europe, prior to the dislocations and destructions of the war, the British Museum, Oxford University, the National Library of Paris, museums and libraries in Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig, Dresden, Munich, Hamburg, Marburg, Cologne, Bonn, and Wurtzburg, the Vatican

library in Rome, libraries and museums in Florence, Naples, Milan, Bologna, Palermo, Pisa, Padua, Modena, Turin, Venice, and Genoa, and the libraries of religious orders in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Germany, France and Belgium.

SPAIN—Archivo General de las Indias in Sevilla, Archivo General del Reino in Simancas, library in the Escorial, library of the Academia de la Historia in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional and Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. At first documents on the Indies were accumulated in various localities, especially Cádiz and Sevilla, and Simancas and the Escorial from 1566 and 1584 respectively. The eighteenth century saw a concentration of New World material in Sevilla from about 1784, the formation of the Academia de la Historia with a library containing originals and copies 1717, and the deposit of many originals and copies in the Biblioteca Nacional and Archivo Histórico Nacional especially from 1746 on. Based on these and other collections a number of published collections were begun in the nineteenth century, especially through the initiative of the official historian, Martín Fernández de Navarrete (1765-1844), and various members of the Academia de la Historia and of the Cuerpo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos.

Martín Fernández de NAVARRETE (Ed.): *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV*. 5 vols., Madrid, 1825-37; 2nd ed., 1858-80. Contains some material on Zacatula, Motines and Colima.

Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. 113 vols., Madrid, 1842-1895, and index 2 vols., Madrid, 1930-1931. Contains the following items with material pertinent to Michoacán: Cortés material in tomes 1, 2 and 4, *Relación de Mechuacán* and Motolinía's *Ritos Antiguos de los Indios de la Nueva España* in tome 53, Ponce's *Relación* in tomes 57 and 58, Las Casas material in tomes 62-66 and 70-71, a 1603 list of Augustinian convents in Michoacán in tome 100, and *Manual de Ministros de Indias 1656* in tome 104.

Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados, en su mayor parte del Real Archivo de Indias bajo la dirección de J. F. Pacheco, F. de Cárdenas y L. Torres de Mendoza. 42 vols., Madrid, 1864-84. Contains numerous items pertinent to Michoacán, e.g., Zorita's *Breve y sumaria relación* in tome 2, letters of *visitador* Valderrama, 1564, in tome 4, items on Lebrón and Quiroga *informe*, 1535, in tome 10, Guzmán material in tomes 13-16, Cortés material in tomes 12, 26, and 29, *Demarcación y División de las Indias* in tome 15, the fifty-point instructions for *Relaciones de las Indias* in tome 21 and 355-point interrogatory in tome 9, and Cárdenas 1527 on geographic divisions of New Spain in tome 40.

Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar. 25 vols., Madrid, 1885-1932. Second series of the above. Contains useful general reference material, e.g., *Gobernación espiritual y temporal de las Indias* in tomes 20-25, *Índice general de los papeles del consejo de Indias*, tomes 14-19.

Nueva colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España y sus Indias. 6 vols., Madrid, 1892-1896. A secession from and private continuation of *Col. Doc. España*.

Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de [Ibero-América] Hispano-América. 14 vols., Madrid, 1927-1932.

Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, 1871—, and the *Boletín de la [Real] Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, 1877—. Contain a few items of minor importance.

Cartas de Indias. Madrid, 1877.

Also there should be mentioned various societies and *Centros de Estudios* that have issued publications on Spanish America, such as those in Sevilla, Madrid, and Badajoz.

For the remainder of Europe it will suffice to mention two outstanding collections:

Edward KING, Viscount KINGSBOROUGH: *Antiquities of Mexico*. 9 vols., London, 1830-48. Contains *Códice Mendocino*, the *Códices Telleriano-Remensis* and *Vatican A*, *Sahagún*, *Motolinía*, *Tezozómoc*, *Ixtlilxochitl*, etc. [1795-1837].

Henri TERNAUX-COMPANS: *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*. 20 vols., Paris, 1837-41. This makes available many of Muñoz' collections not otherwise published, but the translating and editing are poor [1807-1864].

MEXICO—The bulk of the published collections are due to Bustamante, Ramírez, Orozco y Berra, García Icazbalceta and his son, Chavero, Paso y Troncoso, León, Genaro García, Ágreda y Sánchez, Estrada, and such contemporaries as Pereyra, Cuevas, Zavala and Gómez de Orozco. The series and periodicals having the most material on Michoacán are:

Archivo Mexicano: *Sumaria de la residencia tomada á D. Fernando Cortés*. 2 vols., Mexico, 1852-53; as part of the earliest series entitled *Documentos para la Historia de México*, 1847-53.

Archivo General de la Nación: *Publicaciones*. Mexico, 1910—. Volumes 3, 6, 12, 17-19 (Beaumont's *Crónica*) and 27 are of special interest. The earlier publications of 1847-1857, which were privately published, include the second *Documentos para la Historia de México* (published by Orozco y Berra in five series) but these contain very little on Michoacán. The *Archivo General* has lost many of the documents earlier than 1722, but sixteenth century material of value is to be found in the branches or departments of *Tierras*, *Mercedes*, *Civil*, *Congregaciones*, *Indios*, *Vínculos y Mayorazgos*, *Inquisición*, *Real Fisco*, *Reales Cédulas*, *Universidad*, and *Papeles de Bienes*. These have been only partially cataloged, and a bare beginning has been made of publication of indices in the *Boletín*.

Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación. Mexico, 1930—. This contains indices and occasional documents having material on Michoacán, e.g., in volumes 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12.

Biblioteca Nacional de México. The national library was established legally in 1833, and again in 1846, but it dates essentially from 1857 in which year Ramírez became librarian, and from reorganization in 1867 and formal inauguration in 1884. In the *Sección de Manuscritos* are originals and copies of many valuable documents including the *Archivo Franciscano*, many items from religious and educational establishments closed in the period 1857-1861 (especially El Carmen, San Francisco, Santo Domingo, San Fernando, San Diego, the University, and Colegio de Los Santos), and copies sent from Spain by Paso y Troncoso. Ramón Alcaraz and José Ramírez were the first two federal interventors or comptrollers of the libraries of the extinguished convents and colleges, and it was especially

through Ramírez that the Biblioteca Nacional acquired its fine religious collections. The magnificent Biblioteca Turriana provided an especially fine collection of books and manuscripts. Also, there is an excellent set of sixteen volumes covering Jalisco in the first half of the nineteenth century; and, through Nicolás León, interventor for the Biblioteca del Seminario de Morelia, a large portion of that library was acquired in 1922.

Museo Nacional de México. Possesses important documents concerning the religious orders, archbishopric of Mexico (also in the Archivo General de la Nación), inquisition, Indian *hospitales*, linguistics, and *relaciones geográficas*. Many of the papers of the Franciscan commissioners-general are here rather than in the Biblioteca Nacional. The materials acquired between 1831 and 1867 are now mainly in the Biblioteca Nacional, and the present library and archives date from 1868-69. The real development of the museum holdings was after 1887 through the enterprise of Paso y Troncoso, Agreda y Sánchez, Chavero, González Obregón, Galindo y Villa, Catarino López, Nicolás León, and Genaro García.

Anales del Museo Nacional. Mexico, 1877—. Occasionally documents and critical comments, e.g., the *Códice Mendocino*.

Boletín del Museo Nacional. Mexico, 1903—. Not so good as the *Anales* for primary documentary material but contains numerous secondary articles of value, e.g., León: *Los Tarascos* which was published partly in the *Anales*.

Joaquín GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA: *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*. 2 vols., Mexico, 1858-1866, sometimes considered to contain a third volume 1870. Vol. I contains Motolinía's *Historia*, etc.; Vol. II contains six relations concerning Guzmán, the history by Andrés de Tapia, Zorita's memorial, and fragments of Tello; Vol. III contains Mendieta's *Historia*. [1825-1894].

Joaquín GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA: *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*. 5 vols., Mexico, 1885-92; individual items reprinted in Mexico, 1941. This contains *Cartas de Religiosos de Nueva España* (1539-1594), the sixteenth century *Códice Franciscano* copied from Chavero's collection, *Breve Relación de Zurita*, Pomar, *Documentos Franciscanos*, *Códice Mendieta*, etc. These religious documents contain much on Michoacán.

Luis GARCÍA PIMENTEL: *Documentos Históricos de Méjico*, 5 vols., Mexico, 1903-07. Contains Motolinía's *Memoriales* in tome I, and *Relación de los Obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca y Otros Lugares* and *Cartas de Religiosos* in tome II. Actually the *Descripción del Arzobispado de México hecha en 1570 y Otros Documentos*, published by García Pimentel in 1897, should be considered the beginning of this series.

Anselmo de la PORTILLA: *Biblioteca Historica de La Iberia*. 20 vols., Mexico, 1870-75. Contains *Cartas de Cortés*, López de Gómara, Bernal Díaz, Vetancurt, Boturini, Beaumont, etc. Published in the periodical *La Iberia*. [1816-1879].

Antonio PEÑAFIEL: *Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana*. 6 vols., Mexico, 1897-1903. Very little of interest in re Michoacán. [1831-1921].

Victoriano AGÜEROS: *Biblioteca de Autores Mexicanos*. 78 vols., Mexico, 1896-1911. Contains reprints of many articles and critical works by Ramírez, García Icazbalceta, et al., normally difficult to locate. [1854-1911].

Genaro GARCÍA and Carlos PEREYRA (Eds.): *Documentos inéditos ó muy raros para la historia de México*. 36 vols., Mexico, 1905-11. Superseded by *Nuevos Documentos, etc.*, 3 vols., 1913-30. Mainly on nineteenth century, but 5, 7, 15, and 28 are on colonial religious matters. [García 1867-1920; Pereyra 1871-].

Mariano CUEVAS: *Documentos inéditos del siglo XVI para la historia de México*. Mexico, 1914. [1879-].

Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas. 31 vols., Mexico, 1925-35. Superseded by *Bibliografías Mexicanas*, 1937- . Very valuable guides, especially numbers 9 (Catálogo de la Colección de Manuscritos de Joaquín García Icazbalceta), 12-14-22-23 (Índice de Documentos de Nueva España existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla) and 25 (Apuntes para una Bibliografía geográfica e histórica de Michoacán).

Genaro ESTRADA and Silvio A. ZAVALA (Eds.): *Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de Obras Inéditas*. Mexico. 1st series 20 vols. since 1936; 2nd series 16 vols. since 1939. Includes in the first series numbers 4 (La "Utopía" de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España), 8-9-10-11 (Orozco y Berra: Historia de la Dominación Española en México), 17 (Documentos inéditos referentes al Ilustrísimo Señor Don Vasco de Quiroga), 18 (La Nueva Galicia a través de su Viejo Archivo Judicial), 20 (J. J. Moreno: Fragmentos de la vida del . . . D. Vasco de Quiroga); and the *Epistolario de Nueva España 1505-1818*, compiled by Paso y Troncoso, constituting all of the second series to date. [Estrada 1887-1937; Zavala 1909-].

A number of the historical, geographical and anthropological periodicals print unedited documents from time to time. Among the better of these are the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1839-), *Revista Mexicana de Estudios [Históricos] Antropológicos* (1927-), *Revista de Historia de América* (1938-), and *Divulgación Histórica* (1940-).

MICHOACÁN. There are few archives, libraries or collections of documents in Michoacán. Libraries and archives with some valuable material exist in Zamora, Jiquilpan, Pátzcuaro, Uruapan, Tacámbaro and elsewhere, but Morelia possesses the great bulk of documents and books to be found today in Michoacán. The earliest historians and archivists were the religious. In the past 150 years the leading collectors of documents and students of Michoacán history have been Antonio Arriaga, Julián Bonavit, Felipe E. Calvillo, José María Chávez y Villaseñor, Crescencio García, Alfonso García Pérez, Pelagio Antonio de Labastida y Dávalos, Francisco de Ponce León, Nicolás León, Juan José Martínez de Lejarza, Justo Mendoza, Manuel Mesa, Benito María de Moxó, Clemente de Jesús Munguía, José Corona Núñez, Melchor Ocampo Manzo, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, Francisco Hilarión Plancarte y Navarrete, Rafael Ramos, José Guadalupe Romero, Jesús Romero Flores, Eduardo Ruiz, Ramón Sánchez, Juan de la Torre, Mariano de Jesús Torres, Mucio Valdovinos, and Leopoldo Zincunegui Tercero. Eleven among these stand out by reason of their collections or publications.

As above mentioned, Nicolás León (born Quiroga 1859; died Oaxaca 1929) handled a great number of books and manuscripts, but nearly all of these were sold during his lifetime. The archbishop Labastida y Dávalos (born Zamora 1816; died in Morelos 1891) acquired many of the books and manuscripts that had belonged to Orozco y Berra and this entire library ultimately came into the hands of the bishop archaeologist Francisco Plancarte y Navarrete (born Zamora 1856; died 1920). Eduardo Ruiz (born Paracho 1839; died

Uruapan 1901) was the son of a Tarascan citizen of Paracho and Uruapan, and he recovered and published more Tarascan traditions than any other worker in the Tarascan field. Jesús Romero Flores (born La Piedad 1885) at present is the leading bibliographer, geographer and historian of Michoacán, and is director of the state library. Mariano de Jesús Torres (born Morelia 1838; died Morelia 1921) acquired a varied library which was purchased in 1925 by the state library. Antonio Arriaga, Felipe E. Calvillo and Julián Bonavit (born Morelia 1862; died ?) probably have worked the local archives more than any one else since the days of Nicolás León. The reputations of Benito María Moxó (fl. 1805), Juan José Martínez de Lejarza (born Morelia 1785; died 1824), and José Guadalupe Romero (born Silao 1814; died Leon 1866) rest on individual publications which will be mentioned later.

Archivo General y Público del Estado de Michoacán de Ocampo, located in the Palacio de Gobierno which occupies the former Seminario Tridentino. This includes the archives of the old colonial government and intendency of Valladolid as well as those of the republican state. Some archives of religious institutions also are included, but the bulk of these are in the other archives and libraries mentioned below. During the French intervention, in 1863, the archives were moved to Uruapan and many documents were lost or destroyed. However, this is one of the three best research collections in the state.

Biblioteca del Estado y Universitaria de la Ciudad de Morelia, located in the church of the ex-Jesuit college now occupied by the industrial school. This library contains a number of colonial documents and rare books which were acquired by the colleges which have gone into the makeup of the Universidad Michoacana (Real y Primitivo Colegio de San Nicolás Obispo founded in Pátzcuaro 1540, Colegio de San Miguel founded in Morelia about 1550, etc.), from religious institutions closed in 1859-61 such as the Seminario Tridentino (much of this library is now in Mexico City) and the Colegio de Santa Catalina de Pátzcuaro, by gift such as the library of Melchor Ocampo, and by purchase. Actually books and archives of the colonial period and the religious libraries sequestered in the period 1859-61 are to be found in five official repositories: the archives of the state, the state library, the university library, the library of the Museo Michoacano, and the archives in the Casa de Morelos.

Museo Michoacano, now located in an eighteenth century house once owned by the father-in-law of Emperor Agustín I (Iturbide). This museum was effectively founded in 1886 by Nicolás León upon the bases of earlier collections in archaeology, history, and natural history. During León's directorship, 1886-1892, three volumes of *Anales* were published 1888-91 which contain a few early documents and supplements such as Escobar's *Americana Thebaida*, and Laguna's *Arte y Diccionario Tarasco 1574*. Among the documents is the *relación* of Pátzcuaro 1581 from García Icazbalceta's collection, the Codex Plancarte, a reprint of Moxó's account of a Tarascan *lienzo*, etc. Since 1939 the *Anales* have been revived by the new director Antonio Arriaga. Among the museum holdings are part of the library of the Augustine Casa de Estudios de Tiripetío founded in 1540 by Alonso de la Veracruz, the archives and library of the Augustine Convento de Cutzeo, a number of *titulos de pueblos*, the original codices Plancarte (Carapan) and Puácuaro, copies of the *lienzos* of Jucutacato (the tattered original is at the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía in Mexico City) and Nahuatzen (the original was lost at the Madrid exposition of 1892).

Archivo del Museo Historico (Casa de Morelos), located in a house once lived in by the great *caudillo* Morelos. The most important

element is the *Archivo del Arzobispado* which was seized by the government in 1917.

In addition to the public library across the street, the Universidad Michoacana has a small library within its walls, in which are a few items of value for Tarascan and colonial research. Some valuable material is in the archives of the city council (archivos del ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de Morelia), and the same is probably true for other cities and towns especially such as Pátzcuaro, Zamora, Taximaroa (Villa Hidalgo), Maravatio, Uruapan, Jiquilpan, Zitácuaro and La Piedad.

For a brief period, 1905-1912, the Sociedad Michoacana de Geografía y Estadística issued a *Boletín* in which appeared a number of articles which were based on unpublished archival material. Occasionally *Universidad Michoacana* (1937-) has documents and articles of value.

COLIMA. The archival material in Colima is not well known, and has been used importantly as background for publications by only Miguel Galindo. Minor historians include Tiburcio Aguilar, Gregorio Barreto, Crescencio Castillo, J. Jesús Díaz, Petronilo Preciado, Ignacio Rodríguez, J. M. Rodríguez, and Ignacio Vizcarra. In the city of Colima will be found remnants of the archives of the colonial provincial and municipal governments and of the republican territory and state, as well as those of the city council. The only library of importance is the Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Colima.

Miguel GALINDO: *Apuntes para la historia de Colima*. 2 vols., Colima, 1923-24. [Born in Jalisco 1882].

Miguel GALINDO: *Historia pintoresca de Colima*. Colima, 1939.

QUERÉTARO. The writer is not acquainted with the archives of this state. Apparently the best library is that of the Escuela Normal para Profesores. However, the Palacio Episcopal de Querétaro is reported to have a fine library and colonial archives, and there is some material in the Palacio de Gobierno. Valentín Frías y Frías was the chief historian for Querétaro. Minor historians and collectors of documents include J. M. Zelaa e Hidalgo, José Antonio Septién y Villaseñor, Celestino Díaz, and bishop Rafael Sabás Camacho.

Valentín FRÍAS Y FRÍAS: *Leyendas y Tradiciones Queretanas*. Querétaro, 1900. [1862-1926].

Valentín FRÍAS Y FRÍAS: *Opúsculos queretanos. La Conquista de Querétaro*. Querétaro, 1906. Contains a number of valuable sixteenth century documents including the *Descripción de Querétaro 1582*.

Valentín FRÍAS Y FRÍAS: *Conferencias sobre historia de Querétaro*. Querétaro, 1914.

GUANAJUATO. During most of the colonial period Guanajuato was considered a part of Michoacán and the southern portion contained numerous pre-Spanish and post-conquest Tarascan settlements. The archives in many Guanajuatoan cities contain material concerning Tarascans, and a number of the historians of this state have concerned themselves, at least in part, with the Tarascans. Among the older historians might be mentioned Lucas Alamán (1792-1853), José M. L. Mora (1794-1850), Demitrio Montes de Oca, Lucio Marmolejo (1834-1885), Pedro González (1853- ?), and Gabino Chávez. Justo Mendoza (1831- ?) and José Romero (1814-1866), mentioned for Michoacán, were natives of Guanajuato state. The contemporary workers who have most collected and used documentary material are

Agustín Lanuza (died 1936), Alfonso Teja Zabre, Fulgencio Vargas, and Wigberto Jiménez Moreno. The best bets for research are the local archives in Acámbaro, Yuriría, Salvatierra, Celaya, Pénjamo, Salamanca, Valle de Santiago and León, and in the state archives in the Secretaría General del Gobierno in Guanajuato. A fair amount of conventual material will be found in the Biblioteca Pública del Colegio del Estado de Guanajuato.

Wigberto JIMÉNEZ MORENO: *Brevísimo Resumen de Historia Antigua de Guanajuato*. León, 1932-33.

Agustín LANUZA: *Romances, Tradiciones y Leyendas Guanajuatenses*. [1870-1936].

Fulgencio VARGAS has published in Guanajuato a number of small historical studies such as on *El Estado de Guanajuato* 1933, and *Santiago Silagua* (Silao) 1937; and also has monographs in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía* and the *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate"* such as on Yuririhapúndaro, Guanajuato, and Jaral del Progreso. [1875-].

JALISCO. Since the southeastern portion of Jalisco was once a march-land of the Tarascans, the archives and histories of Guadalajara, Nueva Galicia and Jalisco are of considerable importance in any thorough study of Tarascan history. During the first half of the nineteenth century little work was done with Nueva Galician archives except by Francisco Frejes (ca.1790-1845). However, since the 1840's there has consistently been a distinguished group working with documentary material. Among past workers were such as Francisco de Paula Escudero (? -1878), Ignacio Aguirre (? -1882), Agustín Rivera y Sanromán (1824-1916), José Hilarión Romero Gil (born Mascota 1822; died Guadalajara 1899), Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos (1827-1893), José María Vigil (1829-1909), Eufemio Mendoza (1840-1876), Agustín L. Gómez (1841-1910), Ignacio Navarrete, José López Portillo y Rojas (1850-1923), Luis Pérez Verdía (1857-1914), the Frenchman Leon Diguët (1859-1926), Alberto Santoscoy, and Francisco Orozco y Jiménez (1864-1936). Recent researchers (with a special emphasis on eastern Jalisco) include José Ignacio Paulino Dávila Garibi (1888-), José Ramírez Flores, Francisco Medina de la Torre, José Cornejo Franco, José María Arreola (born Ciudad Guzmán 1870), José G. Montes de Oca, Juan Bautista Iguíniz y Villalobos (born Guadalajara 1881), Carlos González Peña (born Lagos 1885), Luis Páez Brothie (born Guadalajara 1893), José López Portillo y Weber, and Luis del Refugio de Palacio y Basave.

Probably the greatest collector of documents was Juan Hernández y Dávalos who edited the 1878 edition of the *Cedulario de Puga* and the *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra de Independencia*, 6 vols., Mexico, 1877-82, and who was a leading figure in the publication of *Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia, Intendencia de Guadalajara*, Guadalajara, 1878. Most of the items in the latter work are from the last fifty years of the colonial period; however, pages 233-360 include the *relaciones* of Ameza 1579, Amula (Zapotitlán, Tuxcacuesco, Cuizalapa) 1579, Tenamaztlán 1579, and Teocaltiche 1584, loaned for publication by García Icazbalceta. The Junta Auxiliadora Jalisciense de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, founded in Guadalajara in 1864 and refounded in 1916, began a *Boletín* in 1919 under the editorship of Dávila Garibi. In this *Boletín* and as accompanying *folletos* have been published a number of worthwhile unedited documents and helpful historical articles such as a portion of the history by Torres. Archbishop Orozco y Jiménez in 1922 began the publication in Guadalajara of a *Colección de*

documentos históricos inéditos ó muy raros, referentes al arzobispado de Guadalajara, 6 vols., 1922-1927. The results of archival research by Alberto Santoscoy were published mainly in obscure or ephemeral media, e.g., *El Diario de Jalisco*, and as pamphlets and monographs of small circulation. However, Santoscoy was more concerned with Nayarit and western Jalisco, e.g., *Colección de documentos inéditos históricos y etnográficos referentes al Nayarit*, Guadalajara, 1899, than with the Jalisco-Michoacán borderlands. In the publications of Romero Gil and Rivera y Sanromán are preserved rare and important sixteenth century documents. Pérez Verdía probably had the finest private library in Jalisco.

There are two highly important archival research centers in Jalisco, both in Guadalajara. The Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco contains most of the sequestered ecclesiastical archives such as the *Archivos del Arzobispado de Guadalajara*, papers of the Seminario Clerical and the Jesuit Colegio de Santo Tomás, various Franciscan and Augustinian archives, and some of the *Archivos de la Real Audiencia de Nueva Galicia*. The richest conventual collections were from San Francisco, El Carmen, Santo Domingo, San Agustín, La Merced, and Zapopan. Among these collections are books 4, 5, and 6 of Tello, manuscripts by the chroniclers and historians Ornelas, Mota Padilla and Torres, and reports of episcopal visitations. The Archivo del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia del Estado de Jalisco, in the care of Páez Brothie, contains much of the *audiencia* archives. The material in these archives dates from 1563. A small collection of books and manuscripts is in the Museo del Estado de Jalisco. The local curates, other individuals, *ayuntamientos* and libraries in some of the eastern Jaliscan towns possess a few colonial manuscripts and historical works, especially in Lagos, La Barca, Ocotlán, Jocotepec, Tizapán el Alto, Zacoalco, Atoyac, Sayula, Ciudad Guzmán, Tamazula, Tuxpan and Jilotlán.

UNITED STATES. There is no institution or periodical in the United States that regularly publishes documentary material on colonial Mexico including Michoacán. Occasionally pertinent material appears in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1918-) and in *Ibero-Americana* such as numbers 7 and 13. The chief repositories of Mexican manuscripts in the United States have been mentioned previously. Guides or catalogs of such manuscript holdings have been issued by the Boston Public Library, New York Public Library, John Carter Brown Library, Hispanic Society of America, Department of Middle American Research of Tulane University, the Newberry Library, the Library of Congress, and the University of Texas. These vary considerably in completeness and in format (annual reports, bulletins, monographs, etc.). See Ernest C. Richardson: *A List of Printed Catalogs of Manuscript Books*, New York, 1935. Of specific interest for Michoacán and Tarascan studies are such items as the Tarascan grammars and dictionaries at Brown University and Tulane University, the various *relaciones geográficas* at the University of Texas, a 1780 copy of the *Relación de Mechuacán* in the New York Public Library, Sigüenza y Góngora's list of *alcaldías mayores* and *corregimientos* and material on the church in Michoacán 1645-49 in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, the Peter Force copy of the *Relación de Mechuacán* in the Library of Congress, and miscellaneous items on Michoacán 1566-1818 formerly in the possession of Nicolás León and now at Tulane University.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES. The individual wishing to make an exhaustive search for manuscript and published material on colonial Michoacán will now find a great number of bibliographic aids. A number of such helps have been mentioned above. For information

about writers and manuscripts, as well as published books, the works of Antonio Rodríguez de León Pinelo (especially the augmented González Barcia 3 vol. 1737-38 edition of *Epítome de la Biblioteca Oriental y Occidental, Náutica i Geográfica*, and the 1629 manuscript in the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia *Índice general de los papeles del Consejo de Indias para la historia de las Indias*), José Mariano Beristáin y Souza (*Bibliotheca Hispano Americana Setentrional*, 3 vol. 1883 Amecameca edition of first three books, fourth book Santiago de Chile 1897, and Ramírez additions published Mexico 1898), and José Toribio Medina (varied publications 1888-1912). The leading Mexican bibliographers have been Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700), Eguíara y Eguren (ca.1690-1763), José A. Pichardo (1748-1812), Beristáin y Souza (1756-1817), Félix Osoreo y Sotomayor (died 1851), José F. Ramírez (1804-1871), José M. Andrade (1807-1883), Joaquín García Icazbalceta (1825-1894), José M. Vigil (1829-1909), José M. de Ágreda y Sánchez (1838-1916), Alfredo Chavero (1841-1906), Vicente de P. Andrade (1844-1915), Nicolás León (1859-1929), Luis González Obregón (1865-1938), Genaro García (1867-1920), Jesús Galindo y Villa (1867-1937), Juan B. Iguíniz (1881-), Carlos González Peña (1885-), Genaro Estrada (1887-1937), Felipe Teixidor, Federico Gómez de Orozco (1891-), Silvio A. Zavala (1909-), Francisco Gamoneda, Emilio Valtón, Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Antonio Acevedo Escobedo (1909-), the Central American Rafael Heliodoro Valle (1891-), and the Cuban Jorge Vivó. For specific periods the leading authorities have been García Icazbalceta 1886 for the sixteenth century (see also León 1903, Fernández del Castillo 1914, and H. R. Wagner 1925 and 1929), V. de P. Andrade for the seventeenth century (1894; but use expanded 1899-1909 edition), and Nicolás León 1902-08 for the eighteenth century. The catalogs of the sales of the libraries of Andrade 1869 and list of 1906, Ramírez 1880, Fischer 1869 and 1880, León 1896, and Peñafiel 1912, as well as others, are quite helpful. Local bibliographies have been compiled for Michoacán by Jesús Romero Flores 1932, Nueva Galicia and Jalisco by Juan B. Iguíniz 1911 and 1918, and Querétaro by Valentín Frias 1900 and 1904. The writer knows of no good bibliographies on Colima or Guanajuato. Other helpful bibliographies are on manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional Madrid 1933 by Julián Paz, in the British Museum London 1875-1893 by Gayangos, in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris 1892 by Morel-Fatio, and in the Escorial 1924-29 by Cuevas. Other non-Mexican bibliographers, or historians whose works contain much bibliographic material on Mexico, are Boturini 1746, Ternaux-Compans 1837, Harisse 1866-72, Sabin et al., 1868-1936, Brasseur de Bourbourg 1871, Pinart 1883, Bancroft 1883-88, Winsor 1884-89, Lehmann 1909, Cejador y Frauca 1915-20, Streit 1916-26, Keniston 1920, Jones 1922ff., Palau y Dulcet 1923-27 and Wilgus 1942. Among the best current aids are the *Anuario Bibliográfico Mexicano* [1888] [1931-33] 1938-, *Revista de Filología Española* 1914-, *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris* 1919-, *El Libro y El Pueblo* 1922-25, 1941-, *Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv* 1930-, *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 1934-, *Handbook of Latin American Studies* 1935- (1936-), *Boletín Bibliográfico de Antropología Americana* 1937-, *Pan American Bookshelf* 1938-, *Bibliografía Mexicana* 1938-, *Boletín Bibliográfico Mexicano* 1939-, the historical periodicals previously mentioned, and catalogs of such Mexican book-dealers as Antigua Librería Robredo 1911-, Herrero Hermanos Sucrs. 1890-, and Porrúa Hermanos y Cia. 1909-

OFFICIAL CHRONICLERS AND COSMOGRAPHERS, AND THE
RELACIONES GEOGRÁFICAS

From the days of discovery on, the Spanish monarchs requested geographical and historical information about the Indies of the West. This was for their private gratification, for background for administrative policies, and for utilization by royal chroniclers and cosmographers. There were a number of chroniclers and cosmographers existent at any one time since the monarch might have a personal chronicler and cosmographer, with others for the kingdom of Castile, for the Casa de Contratación (1503-), and for the Consejo de las Indias (1524-). Also, there were grades among the cosmographers, such as *cosmógrafo*, *catedrático de cosmografía* and *cosmógrafo mayor*, and similar grades for chroniclers. On occasion one man might be the royal chronicler, and also chronicler for Castile and the Indies. Pedro Mártir (1457-1526) was a *cronista de Indias* in 1510, *cronista del rey* in 1520, and later was a councillor of the Consejo de las Indias, but he was not an official chronicler of the Consejo. The first official *cronista de Indias* (either *general* or *mayor*) was Gonzalo Hernández Oviedo y Valdés (1478-1557) who may have assumed the title when the office was created in 1524, but probably did not until 1530. Royal requests for information about Nueva España had been sent out in 1525 and 1528 but it was not until the royal *cédulas* of 1530 and 1532 to all the Indies to send *relaciones* for the use of Oviedo that much action was obtained. A very detailed request was sent out in 1533 also. Luis Cárdenas 1527, Juan de Villaseñor 1532 and Vasco de Quiroga 1535 supplied some of this information for Michoacán.

After the death of Oviedo the chroniclers and cosmographers of the Indies are not much heard from until Juan López de Velasco was made the first *cosmógrafo y cronista mayor de las Indias* in 1571. Previously, the emperor Charles V, and Juan de Figueroa, had made the first *visita* 1542 of the Consejo de las Indias, and the second *visita* was made by Juan de Ovando assisted by Ledesma and López de Velasco 1568-71. These three men drew up a 135-point interrogatory which was circulated in the New World 1569. The bulk of the information from Michoacán and from the rest of Nueva España 1569-71 was obtained from the religious authorities—bishops, provincials, custodians, curates, etc. The reports that have been published will be found in García Icazbalceta's *Nueva Colección* tome 2 (*Códice Franciscano* 1570), García Pimentel's 1897 edition of archbishop Montúfar's *Descripción del Arzobispado de México hecha en 1570 y otros Documentos*, and García Pimentel's *Documentos Históricos* tome 2 (*Relación de los Obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca, y otros Lugares and Cartas de Religiosos* which include Augustinian censuses of Tacámbaro, Tiripetío, etc.). At this same time, due to the great intellectual curiosity of Philip II (ruled 1556/69-1598), and during the presidency of Juan de Ovando over the Consejo (1571-1575) and the viceroyalty of Martín Enríquez de Almansa (1568-1580) in Nueva España, the scientific studies of the Consejo began. Dr. Francisco Hernández, physician to the king and *protomédico*, studied the natural history, chorography, archaeology, ethnology, and traditional history of Nueva España from 1570 to 1577. He was assisted by the royal geographer Francisco Domínguez, who continued in Nueva España until at least 1581, and who covered all of the territory of the *audiencia* of México and revised Hernández' *Descripción de Nueva España*. López de Velasco was *cosmógrafo-cronista mayor* 1571-1591. During this period he was given the papers of the cosmographer Alonso de la Santa Cruz, Las Casas, López de Gómara, the reports for the Ovando *visita* and the *relaciones geográficas* of 1579-82. However, his *Geogra-*

fía was written 1571-74 and consequently the *relaciones geográficas* were not utilized in this work.

About 1577 López de Velasco compiled a 50-point questionnaire which was circulated among both the lay and religious officials in the Indies. The replies to this questionnaire are known as the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 1579-82, and these were turned over in 1583 to López de Velasco. However, they were not used by him or by either of his successors (the position of *cosmógrafo-cronista mayor* was divided; Arias de Loyola was *cronista mayor* 1591-95, and Pedro Ambrosio de Onderiz was *cosmógrafo mayor* 1591-95 and held both positions 1595-96). The chronicler of the Indies and for the crown of Castile 1596-1625 was Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, and he made more use of the *relaciones* than anyone since. Apparently some use was made of them by succeeding chroniclers and cosmographers, but in the process of time the original *relaciones* and copies became scattered among various archives and the collections of official and private chroniclers and historians. Because of King Philip's personal interest in the geography and history of the Spanish possessions it is most probable that a complete set of all *relaciones* was deposited in the Biblioteca del Escorial, as were the papers and reports of Hernández and Domínguez. The Escorial was constructed 1563-84 and contained, among other things, all papers addressed to Philip II. A fire in the latter part of the seventeenth century destroyed many items, including sixteen tomes of the Hernández report, and possibly the Domínguez papers and some of the *relaciones*. Also, some items were taken (chiefly books and items from the armory) from the Escorial during the French Napoleonic occupation, and these became widely spread in France, Italy, and Germany. However, many of the *relaciones* have been reported in the Escorial during the past century, as well as in the Archivo de Simancas (whence they were taken or copied by Muñoz) and in the Archivo General de las Indias in Sevilla.

It is known that copies or originals of many if not all of the *relaciones* as well as of other papers mentioned above and of the *Historia* by Cervantes de Salazar were turned over to Herrera and probably also to the contemporary *cosmógrafos mayores* Andrés García de Céspedes (1576-1611) and Juan de Cedillo Díaz (1611-1628) and to the *cronista general de las Indias* Pedro de Valencia (1607-?). Quite probably a considerable number of *relaciones* were segregated and used by various other officials of the Consejo de las Indias, e.g., by Vázquez de Espinosa for his *Compendio y Descripción de las Indias* about 1628, and by Díez de la Calle for his *Memorial* of 1646. From 1628 until their expulsion Jesuits at the royal court performed the duties of the cosmographer, and possibly some of the *relaciones* will be found in Jesuit papers either in Spain or in Italy. After Herrera the *cronistas mayores* were Luis Tribaldos de Toledo (1625-35), Tomás Tomayo de Vargas (1635-43), and Gil González Dávila (1643-ca.1658). González Dávila, who was also chronicler for Philip IV, made use of the accumulated reports in his *Teatro eclesiástico* of 1649-55. During this period the great bibliographer and compiler, Antonio de León Pinelo, in part assisting Juan de Solórzano Pereira, worked in various capacities, including that of *relator*, for the *consejo*. He ultimately became the first *historiador del Consejo de las Indias* (? -1660), and it is from his works that much information is obtained concerning the *relaciones*. Succeeding chroniclers and historians included Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra (1650s-86), Pedro Fernández de Pulgar, Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, Ignacio de Salazar y Olarte, Juan Bautista Muñoz who also was *cosmógrafo mayor* from 1770-1799 as a result of the expulsion of the Jesuits, and Martín Fernández de Navarrete. However, the Real Academia de la Historia, founded in 1717, objected to some of the later historians especially Muñoz since it claimed to

have vested in it the titles and duties of official chronicler, historian and cosmographer.

Muñoz began the modern search for items missing from the original list of *relaciones* given in 1583 to López de Velasco and turned over in 1596 to Herrera y Tordesillas. With special reference to Mexico search was continued by such as José Fernando Ramírez, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, and Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. García Icazbalceta located (or had located for him by González de Vera in Spain) and copied a large number of *relaciones* about the middle of the nineteenth century, and these copies were much used by Manuel Orozco y Berra and Nicolás León. During the period 1892-1916 Paso y Troncoso searched archives in Spain and Italy for Mexican documentary material, and one of his main preoccupations was the location of *relaciones* for inclusion in *Papeles de Nueva España*, second series, devoted to geographic and statistical materials from the sixteenth century. Despite long years of intensive search a number of the *relaciones*, especially from Michoacán, were not located. As a result, tome VII devoted to *Relaciones de la Diócesis de México y de la de Michoacán* was never completed.

The present status of *relaciones* on Michoacán is about as follows. The total number of *relaciones* actually prepared and sent in from the diocese of Michoacán is unknown. Theoretically all the *corregidores* and *alcaldes mayores* compiled such reports, but it is quite probable that not all actually did so. Furthermore, it is rather difficult to determine the exact number, names and approximate extent of the *corregimientos* and *alcaldías mayores* in Michoacán as of about 1580. It is known that such *partidos* and *jurisdicciones* were established by Cortés and the first and second *audiencias*, that such establishments were recognized and provided for by a royal cedula of 1530, and that from 1535 on the viceroy had the power to establish, adjust and discontinue such administrative units as he saw fit. The general trend during the latter part of the sixteenth century and early portion of the seventeenth century was to reduce the number and to extend the areal extent of the *partidos* because of the great reduction of Indian population from epidemics and because of the abandonment of many early and ephemerally rich mines in Michoacán and accompanying migration to the more permanent mining centers of México, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí and Nueva Vizcaya. From several undated sixteenth century sources one can compile a list of undifferentiated *corregimientos* and *alcaldías mayores* within what is modern Michoacán and its borderlands in México, Guerrero, Colima, Jalisco, and Guanajuato. This can be compared with the list compiled by Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa about 1628 (Vázquez was in México in 1612 and in 1621), with the list of *relaciones* turned over to López de Velasco in 1583, and with the *relaciones* reported by León Pinelo, Muñoz, García Icazbalceta, Jiménez de la Espada, and Paso y Troncoso. Discarding the theoretical possibilities, we find that the present status of *relaciones* for Michoacán and its borderlands is as outlined in the following paragraphs.

From north to south within the western portion of the archdiocese of México and abutting against the diocese of Michoacán were A. Ixtlahuaca, C. Toluca, A. Temascaltepec, A. Sultepec, A. Zacualpan, C. Ixcateopan, and A. Acapulco. [Spellings are according to present official Mexican orthography; "A" stands for *alcaldía mayor*, "C" stands for *corregimiento*.] The districts along the northern common boundary of the former dioceses, from A. Jilotepec and A. Querétaro to A. San Miguel and San Felipe, will be discussed later. The reports of all of the above districts, excepting possibly Acapulco, would be of value in reconstructing the former Tarascan-Mexican frontier zone or march. Apparently López de Velasco received no *relaciones*

from Ixtlahuaca (Mequetepec) and Toluca (Valle de Matalzingo); the report on Zacualpan has been lost; the Temascaltepec *relación* (Temascaltepec and the modern Valle de Bravo which formerly was Temascaltepec del Valle) is in the page proof for tome VII of the *Papeles de Nueva España*; the Museo Nacional de México has a copy of the Sultepec report; and the report for Ixcateopan was published in tome VI of the *Papeles de Nueva España*. Ixcateopan in 1579 included the former *corregimiento* of Teloloapan, and its domain extended southward through Teteia del Río into the Sierra Madre del Sur. Consequently, this report is exceedingly valuable for details on fortresses, wars with the Tarascans, linguistics, etc.

The opposing districts in Michoacán were C. Maravatío, A. Tlalpujahua, C. Taximaroa (modern Ciudad Hidalgo), (?) Zitácuaro, (?) Tuzantla, C. Ajuchitlán, C. Guaymeo and Zirándaro, and A. Zacatula. The records concerning Zitácuaro and Tuzantla are uncertain. Maravatío and Taximaroa were under one *corregidor* but seemingly no report was sent in to the Council of the Indies, nor is a *relación* reported for Tlalpujahua. A copy of the report for Ajuchitlán is in the Museo Nacional. This valuable report covers a large area in the middle Río Balsas basin from San Miguel Totolapan to below Coyuca and from the mountain country north of Cutzamala to the Sierra Madre del Sur. The district of Guaymeo (modern San Agustín Guimeo, about two miles from Zirándaro) and Zirándaro, also known as Guaymeo and Minas del Espíritu Santo (mines near Huetamo), embraced a large area on both sides of the Río Balsas which included much of the later districts of Huetamo in Michoacán and Mina in Guerrero. A copy of the report for this district is also in the Museo Nacional. The *alcaldía mayor* of Zacatula in 1580 included eleven *corregimientos* and extended from the Laguna Mitla (west of Acapulco) westward across the lower Río Balsas as far as Texupan (modern Titzupan) east of the Río Cachán, and from the ocean northward nearly to the rivers Balsas and Tepalcatepec. It included practically all of the later districts of Galeana and Montes de Oca in Guerrero, and all of Arteaga (Salazar) and the eastern portions of Coalcomán in Michoacán. A copy of the Zacatula report is at the University of Texas in the García Icazbalceta collection, and probably at least two other copies are in Mexico City. The six available *relaciones* listed above provide a fairly adequate idea of the southern march between the Tarascans and the Mexicans.

For Tarascan conquests in the valley of the Balsas and attempts to reach the sea the *relaciones* for A. Sinagua, A. Guacománmotines, and A. Colima are most valuable. A copy of the Sinagua report was made by Paso y Troncoso, and presumably several copies are in Mexico City, including the Museo Nacional and the Biblioteca Nacional. Sinagua, at present a nearly abandoned *rancho* between the Balsas and Oropeo, was once the headquarters of a great mining district whence the Tarascans and Spaniards obtained copper and gold. Guacománmotines or Guacomán en Motines embraced the famous Motines mining area and comprised most of what later became the district of Coalcomán. Motines de Oro became modern Aquila, or Pómaro, or possibly Chinicuila de Oro (which is at present Villa Victoria), and ancient Guacomán is modern Coalcomán. A copy of the report on the province of Motines is in the Museo Nacional. Apparently no *relación* for Colima was received by López de Velasco. *Corregimientos* may have existed in 1579-1581 in the country just north of Guacománmotines, Zacatula and Sinagua (such as Nocupetáro, Turicato, La Huacana, Urecho, Apatzingán, Pinzándaro and Tepalcatepec) but this area was severely depopulated by the plagues of 1545 and 1576 and administration probably was from highland centers to the north.

The region from Motines and Colima to Lake Chapala, commonly known as the Ávalos provinces, was not only the southwestern march of the Tarascans against many little entities of Cuauhcomeca, Otomian, Coca, Nahuatlán and other languages, but also it was a region of changing jurisdiction between the *audiencias* of Nueva Galicia and México and between the dioceses of Guadalajara and Michoacán. The status of *corregimientos* and *alcaldías mayores* in the eastern portion of this area in 1579-1581 is not clear, but the following are known to have existed towards the ends of the sixteenth century: A. Amula, C. Tuxpan, C. Tamazula, A. Zapotlán, A. Sayula, C. Atoyac, and A. Ameca (not commonly considered a part of the Ávalos provinces). Possibly *corregimientos* existed in Jilotlán, Tecalitlán, Pihuamo, Tonila, Zapotitlán, Zapotiltic, Quitupan, Mazamitla, Tizapán el Alto, Teocuitatlán, Amacueca, Techaluta, Tapalpa, Atemajac, Zacoalco, Santa Ana Acatlán (modern Acatlán de Juárez), Tizapanito (modern Villa Corona), and Cocula. Probably reports on these areas were included in the *relaciones* of the above mentioned *alcaldías mayores*. A copy of a combined report of 1579 on Tuxpan, Tamazula and Zapotlán (modern Ciudad Guzmán) is in the Museo Nacional. A *relación* on Sayula and Atoyac was delivered to López de Velasco but this has been lost. In most chronicles the *pueblos de Ávalos* are spoken of as constituting but one *provincia de Ávalos*, and this was the same as the district or jurisdiction of Sayula which embraced such entities as Atoyac, Amacueca, Techaluta, Tapalpa, Atemajac, Cocula, Tizapanito, Acatlán, Zacoalco, Teocuitatlán, Tizapán el Alto, Tuxcueca, Jocotepec, and Ajijic and Chapala. The *relación* on Ameca and the *relación* on Amula were published in *Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia, Intendencia de Guadalajara* in 1878. The Amula *relación* embraces Zapotitlán, San Gabriel, Toliman, Tuxcacuesco, Tonaya, Cuзалapa, etc. The entities from Mazamitla and Quitupan to Jilotlán, Tecalitlán, Pihuamo and Tonila were divided between the jurisdictions of Zapotlán and Colima. Some of these *relaciones* were copied by Paso y Troncoso and were destined for tome VIII of his *Papeles de Nueva España*, and others were in the collection of García Icazbalceta. All or most of the above may be included in the *Relaciones geográficas de la Nueva Galicia*, a copy of which is in the Museo Nacional but which the writer has not seen.

Administrative districts within the Tarascan area and abutting against the Ávalos provinces and Lake Chapala included, from south to north, C. Tancitaro, C. Tingüindín, and C. Jiquilpan. By 1579-1581 these *corregimientos* may have absorbed Pinzándaro, Tepalcatepec, Peribán, Cotija and Tarecuato. Copies of the *relaciones* of Jiquilpan and Tingüindín are in the Museo Nacional, and the University of Texas has a copy of the *relación* of Tancitaro. The Jiquilpan *relación* should be quite valuable since the main routes for Tarascan incursions into the Sayula area passed through Jiquilpan and the passes of Mazamitla and Quitupan.

Along the northern shores of Lake Chapala and extending eastward up the valley of the lower Río Lerma were a number of Coca, Teco, Tarascan and "Chichimec" states which were conquered by Nuño de Guzmán. The first *alcaldía mayor* in this region was that of Tonalá, the eastern portion of which became La Barca. The latter *alcaldía mayor* included Jamay, Arandas, Ocotlán, Cuitzeo, Atotonilco, Tototlán, Tepatitlán and Poncitlán; however, unfortunately, no *relación* for this district was ever delivered to López de Velasco. Seemingly, however, there is available in the Museo Nacional a report on Cuitzeo and Poncitlán which may have been a *corregimiento* within A. La Barca. Within what is now southwestern Guanajuato was established the *alcaldía mayor* of León, which included Pénjamo. A report on León was delivered to López de Velasco but this has been lost. Adioin-

ing Lake Chapala, La Barca and León and within modern Michoacán were A. Jacona and Zamora which included Guarachita (modern Villamar), Pajacuarán, Sahuayo, and Ixtlán, C. Tlazazalca which was approximately the later district of La Piedad, and A. Huango which included essentially all of the later district of Puruándiro. No *relaciones* of the province of Jacona nor of Huango (modern Villa Morelos) were given to López de Velasco. The *relación* of Tlazazalca apparently is lost. Altogether, the northwestern Michoacán-Tarascan quadrant is the most poorly represented in available *relaciones geográficas*.

The remainder of the Tarascan march was in modern Guanajuato, Querétaro and México, in areas occupied by "Chichimecs" and Otomies. The northern districts included Yuririapúndaro (modern Yuriria), Silao, Irapuato, Guanajuato, Salamanca, Acámbaro, Jerécuaro, Apaseo, Celaya, Jilotepec, Querétaro, and San Miguel. There are records of *relaciones* for A. Celaya (a copy is in the Museo Nacional), A. San Miguel and San Felipe (lost except for a map), and A. Querétaro (published in San Luis Potosí 1897 and Querétaro 1906). Also, maps of the *partidos* of Acámbaro and Yuririapúndaro are in the Museo Nacional. The *relaciones* of Celaya and Querétaro embrace the bulk of the northeastern Tarascan march. Irapuato and Silao were in the A. Guanajuato for which no *relación* is reported. Just south of the above-mentioned march region were Chucándiro, Cuitzeo, Indaparapeo, Taimeo, Zinapécuaro, Araró, Ucareo, and the previously mentioned Maravatio and Tlalpujahua. For these districts reports on only C. Cuitzeo (de la Laguna) and C. Taimeo were turned over to López de Velasco, and the Museo Nacional has copies of both.

There remains to be mentioned the interior or nuclear Tarascan area. At various periods during the sixteenth century there were the *alcaldías mayores*, *tenientasgos*, and *corregimientos* of Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, Valladolid (modern Morelia), Charo or Matalcingo, Jaso and Teremendo, Capula, Chilchota, Necotlan, Tiripetio, Tacámbaro and Guanaxo (modern Ario de Rosales). Undoubtedly there were other districts (such as possibly Tarímbaro or Ixtapa, Etucuaró, Santa Clara, Acuitzio, Sevina, Uruapan, Pomacuarán, Patamban, Zacapu, Comanja, etc.), but the writer has not been able so far to obtain any further definite and dated statements of such jurisdictions within the area. During the sixteenth century Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro and Guayangareo-Valladolid were successively given the title of Ciudad de Michoacán, which causes some confusion in identifying a *relación* of the Ciudad de Michoacán which was given to López de Velasco and which some writers consider lost. However, since a *relación* of Valladolid was also listed among the reports given to López de Velasco (this *relación* apparently is lost), since a *relación* of Pátzcuaro dated 1581 has been published, and since by 1581 Tzintzuntzan was nearly abandoned, the Ciudad de Michoacán *relación* must be the one for Pátzcuaro. Another source of confusion has been the improper use of the corrupted Aztec name Utzila or Uchichila for Pátzcuaro as well as for Tzintzuntzan. The *relaciones* at present available, in addition to that of the *tenientasgo* of Pátzcuaro, are copies of C. Chilchota and C. Necotlan in the Museo Nacional, and C. Tiripetio at the University of Texas. Seemingly no reports were made for Ario, Charo, Jaso and Teremendo, Tacámbaro, and Tzintzuntzan (included in Pátzcuaro), and the reports for Capula and Valladolid have been lost.

The published *relaciones* pertinent to a study of the Tarascan region are:

Alcalde mayor Antonio de Leyva: *Descripción de Ameca*, 1579, in pp. 381-395 of tome 1, José María PÉREZ HERNÁNDEZ: *Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico, Biográfico*

fico de Industria y Comercio de la República Mexicana, Mexico, 1874. Also it is in pp. 233-282 in the work next cited.

Alcalde mayor Francisco de Agüero: *Descripción de Zapotitlán, Tuscacuesco y Cusalapa (Provincia de Amula)*, 1579. in pp. 282-321 of *Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia, Intendencia de Guadalajara*, Guadalajara, 1878.

Teniente de Alcalde Mayor Juan Martínez: *Descripción de la Ciudad de Pasquaro Mechuacán, 1581*. in pp. 41-48 of *Anales del Museo Michoacano*, año segundo, Morelia, 1889.

Alcalde Mayor Hernando de Vargas: *Descripción de Querétaro, 1582*. in pp. 1-48 of tome 1, Primo Feliciano VELÁZQUEZ: *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de San Luis Potosí*, San Luis Potosí, 1897. Also it is in Valentín FRÍAS: *La Conquista de Querétaro*, Querétaro, 1906. This is sometimes attributed to the scribe Ramos de Cárdenas.

Corregidor Lucas Pinto: *Relación de Ichcateopan y su Partido, 1579*. in pp. 87-152 of tome VI, Francisco del PASO Y TRONCOSO: *Papeles de Nueva España, Segunda Serie Geografía y Estadística*, Madrid, 1905.

Unpublished *relaciones* on Temascaltepec, Sultepec, Ajuchitlán, Guaymeo y Minas del Espíritu Santo, Sinagua, Provincia Motines, Tuxpan, Tamazula and Zapotlán, Jiquilpan, Tingüindín, Cuitzeo (del Río?), Celaya, Cuitzeo de la Laguna, Taimeo, Chilchota and Necotlan, and maps of Tuzantla, Acámbaro and Yurirapúndaro are in the Museo Nacional or the Biblioteca Nacional; and copies of *relaciones* on Zacatula, Tancitaro and Tiripetío are in the University of Texas. Apparently delivered to López de Velasco but since lost are *relaciones* on Zacualpan, Sayula-Atoyac, León, Tlazazalca, San Miguel and San Felipe, Valladolid and Capula.

In addition to the interrogations of 1569 (for Ovando *visita*) and 1579 (for the *cosmógrafo-cronista mayor* to use in writing a *Descripción General de las Indias*), there were five other important regional studies made of the land and peoples of Michoacán during the colonial period. The next was the group of studies centering upon the Indian and his lands—especially the *encomienda* and the *congregación*. From the beginning of missionary work in Michoacán, and especially after the dislocations resulting from Nuño de Guzmán's passage across Michoacán and impressment of an army of carriers, the Indians had been brought into more compact communities or congregations. This process was accelerated after every famine, epidemic or beginning of a new enterprise such as a mine or an irrigation system. However, it was not until the 1580's and 1590's that the pressure for more lands on the part of whites and mestizos led to field studies of the possibilities for shifts and congregations of Indians on a large scale. Most of the field studies in Michoacán took place 1593-99, and the proposed congregations were carried out 1599-1605. The reports on the field inspections are to be found mainly in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico and in the Archivo General de las Indias in Sevilla. A few for Michoacán have been published or utilized, chiefly by Camavitto, Simpson and Mendizábal. These reports usually describe the terrain and economy and give the language and tributes of the Indians. They do not contain historical material, as do the papers of 1569 and 1579.

In 1602/04 the Conde de Lemos, president of the Real Consejo de las Indias 1603-09, sent out a 355-point interrogatory which received very poor replies from Nueva España despite the fact that two energetic men were viceroys at the time (the Marqués de Montesclaro 1603-07 and the Marqués de Salinas 1607-11). One of the few

published accounts deriving from the interrogatory of 1602-10 is that by Mota y Escobar, the bishop of Guadalajara, who includes some information on the province of Ávalos and on southern Jalisco from an episcopal *visita* made between 1599 and 1603.

Many minor censuses or evaluations of the population and products of Michoacán were made during the remainder of the seventeenth century, e. g., 1614, 1625, 1654, 1662, 1664, 1665, and 1667, but no such census resulted in an important document until the 1740s. During the viceroyalty of the Conde de Fuenclara, 1741-46, José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez as cosmographer for Nueva España carried out field and archival studies and made a rough census of families 1742 which were published in his *Theatro* of 1746. This provides the most complete picture concerning the peoples, languages and economy in Michoacán that is available from any portion of the colonial period, and it also contains valuable historical notes. During the viceroyalty of the Marqués de Croix 1766-71 and the *visita* of the "great visitor" José de Galvés 1765-71 were initiated investigations and administrative reforms which led to the survey 1774-86 of the administrative regions of Nueva España. This survey resulted in a regrouping of political entities into *intendencias* 1786-87, and the abolition of *corregimientos* and *alcaldías mayores*. Unfortunately, very little of the survey material has been published. The last important regional studies of colonial times were the censuses of 1792-93 and 1793-94 during the viceroyalty of the Conde de Revilla Gigedo 1789-94. Local officials in the various jurisdictions or *partidos* and *visitadores* prepared statements of varying fullness concerning their districts. These reports were utilized by Humboldt 1803-04 and some of them have been published, e. g., on Jalisco in *Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia*.

Little has been said so far concerning the *cosmógrafos* of the Casa de Contratación. The Casa was concerned primarily with trade, navigation and emigration, and consequently little of the geographic and historical work of its cosmographers was pertinent to Michoacán specifically. Occasional items of interest, however, can be obtained from the publications and manuscripts of Sebastian Cabot (*pilote mayor* 1518-48), Diego Ribero, Alonso de Chaves, Alonso de la Cruz, Pedro Mejia, Jerónimo de Chaves (occupied first chair of cosmography 1552-), Sancho Gutiérrez, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and Rodrigo de Zamorano during the sixteenth century. Although there were official cosmographers and chroniclers for Nueva España (such as Villaseñor y Sánchez) and for some of the more important cities and provinces (such as Cervantes de Salazar for Mexico, 1558-67), most of them did little or no work and left few or no writings.

Many of the specific pertinent citations have been made previously. Further items include:

Antonio de ALCEDO Y BEXARANO: *Diccionario geográfico-histórico de las Indias Occidentales o América*. 5 vols., Madrid, 1786-89; English edition, 5 vols., London, 1812-15. [1736-1812].

Diego BARROS ARANA: *Los Cronistas de Indias*, t. 18 *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 1861. [1830-1907].

Lorenzo BOTURINI BENADUCCI: *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América Septentrional. Catálogo del museo histórico indiano de Benaduci*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1746. [Born Italy 1702; in Mexico 1736-45; died Spain 1750].

Dino CAMAVITTO: *La decadenza delle popolazioni messicane al tempo della conquista*. Roma, 1935.

Rómulo D. CARBIA: *La Crónica oficial de las Indias Occidentales*. Buenos Aires, 1934, 1940. [1885-].

Francisco CERVANTES DE SALAZAR: *Crónica de la Nueva España*. Madrid, 1914; and 3 vols., Madrid and Mexico, 1914-36. [Born Spain 1514; in Mexico 1550-75; wrote 1560- ; died 1575].

Juan DíEZ DE LA CALLE: *Memorial y Noticias Sacras y Reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales*. [Madrid], 1646; Mexico, 1932.

Leon DIGUET: "Le chimalhuacan," vol. 1, n.s., *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* 1903. [Born France 1859; in Mexico sporadically 1889-1913; died France 1926].

Martin FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE: *Biblioteca marítima española*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1851. And *Colección de opúsculos*, Madrid, 1848. [1765-1844].

Federico GÓMEZ DE ORÓZCO: "Relaciones Histórico-Geográficas de Nueva España," t. 3, *El Mexico Antiguo* 1931. [1891-].

Gil GONZÁLEZ DÁVILA: *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1649-1655. [1577-1658].

Clarence Henry HARING: *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*. Cambridge, 1918. [1885-].

Francisco HERNÁNDEZ. The geographical, historical and ethnographical portions of his work and that of Francisco DOMÍNGUEZ seem to have been lost. There is little of such material in the Hernández publications to date. [Hernández 1517-1587].

Antonio de HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS: *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Océano*. 8 vols., Madrid, 1601-15; English edition 6 vols., London 1725-26; 8 pts., Madrid, 1725-30; Madrid, 1934- . Made much use of Las Casas, Cervantes de Salazar, López de Gómara, Díaz del Castillo, the writings of Franciscans in Mexico, and the *relaciones geográficas*. A secondary source not to be used for Michoacán excepting for portions based on unpublished *relaciones*. His history was continued by Fernández del Pulgar. [1549-1625].

Alexander, Freiherr von HUMBOLDT: *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*. 5 vols., Paris, 1811; English edition, 4 vols., London, 1811-22; 5 vols., Mexico, 1941. [Born Germany 1769; in Mexico 1803-04; died Germany 1859].

INTERROGATIONS—The texts of the questionnaires of 1579 and 1602 will be found in *Colección . . . de Indias* tomes 21 and 9, and elsewhere.

Marcos JIMÉNEZ DE LA ESPADA (Ed.): *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*. 4 vols., Madrid, 1881-97. See introduction. [1831-1898].

Germán LATORRE: *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*. Sevilla, 1920.

Antonio Rodríguez de LEÓN PINELO: *Tratado de confirmaciones reales de encomiendas, oficios i casos, etc.* Madrid, 1630; Buenos Aires, 1922. [? -1660].

Juan LÓPEZ DE VELASCO: *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*. Madrid, 1894, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*. Written 1571-74.

Miguel Othón de MENDIZÁBAL: "La Demografía Mexicana: Epoca Colonial 1519-1810. Siglo XVI," t. 48, *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* 1939.

Alonso de la MOTA Y ESCOBAR: *Descripción Geo-*

gráfica de los Reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo Leon. Mexico, 1930, 1940. [Born Mexico 1546; bishop of Nueva Galicia 1599-1606; died Puebla 1625].

Juan Bautista MUÑOZ: *Historia del Nuevomundo.* Madrid, 1793; English edition, London, 1797. [1745-1799].

Francisco del PASO Y TRONCOSO: *Papeles de Nueva España, Segunda Serie Geografía y Estadística.* Madrid, 1905-06. Tome I *Suma de Visitas*; tome II (not published; destined for papers on the *corregimientos* of Nueva España and the *Relación* of Lebrón de Quiñones); tome III (destined for another version of *Arzobispado de México en 1570* published by García Pimentel; only in page proof); tome IV Oaxaca; tome V Tlaxcala; tome VI México; tome VII (incomplete; destined for México and Michoacán); tome VIII (destined for Nueva Galicia); other tomes contemplated. [1842-1916].

Herbert Ingram PRIESTLEY: *José de Gálvez, Visitor-general of New Spain, (1765-1771).* Berkeley, 1916. [1875-1944].

Manuel de la PUENTE Y OLEA: *Los trabajos geográficos de la Casa de Contratación.* Sevilla, 1900. [? -1910].

Vasco de PUGA: *Provisiones, Cédulas, Instrucciones de su Magestad . . . para la Administración y Governación de esta Nueva España . . . desde el año 1525 hasta . . . 1563.* Mexico, 1563; 2 vols., Mexico 1878-79. [an *oidor* of México deported by Valderrama in 1563].

Agustín RIVERA Y SANROMÁN: *Compendio de la historia antigua de México.* San Juan de los Lagos, 1878. Also, *Principios críticos sobre el vireinato de la Nueva España*, 3 vols., San Juan de los Lagos, 1884-88. [1824-1916].

Ernst H. J. SCHÄFER: *El Consejo real y supremo de las Indias; su historia, etc.* Sevilla, 1935- [1872-].

Lesley Byrd SIMPSON: "Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain," *Ibero-Americana* no. 7, 1934, no. 13, 1938. [1891-].

Antonio de SOLÍS Y RIVADENEYRA: *Historia de la Conquista de México.* Madrid, 1684. Continued by Ignacio de SALAZAR Y OLARTE, Córdoba, 1743. Two volume edition of both, Madrid, 1785. Solís is a rehash of Cortés, López de Gómara, and Bernal Díaz. [Solís 1610-1686; Salazar ? -1786].

[SOCIEDAD CIENTIFICA] ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE CIENCIAS "ANTONIO ALZATE": *Memorias y Revista*, Mexico, 1887-

For various items on Michoacán and its borderlands see tomes 3, 10, 15, 24, 26, 29, 34, 40, 42, 44 and 51 which include items on Temascaltepec, Morelia, Tzintzuntzan, Yuriria, etc.

SOCIEDAD MEXICANA DE GEOGRAFÍA Y ESTADÍSTICA: *Boletín.* Mexico, 1839-

See especially Series I: 1, 7, 8, 9, 10 (which contain J. H. Romero Gil's *Memoria sobre los descubrimientos que los españoles hicieron en el siglo XVI en Nueva Galicia*, J. G. Romero's *Noticias del Obispado de Michoacán*, etc.); Series II: 1, 2, 3, 4, (items on Colima in the XVI century, Salvatierra, Tacámbaro, etc.); Series III: 1, 4, 5, 6 (items on Jiquilpan, Sayula, Maravatio, Sierra Gorda, etc.); Series V: 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 (items on Códice Arantz, Chimalhuacan, etc.); and whole volumes 39-40 (Jiral del Progreso), 41 (Ocotlán, Colima), 42 (Tzintzuntzan), 43 (Querétaro), 44 (Otomi in Jalisco), 48 (Mendizábal on demography), 50 (Guanajuato), 51 (Colima), etc.

Juan de SOLÓRZANO Y PEREYRA: *Política Indiana*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1629-39, in Latin; Spanish editions, 1648 and 1776. [1575-1655].

Antonio VÁZQUEZ DE ESPINOSA: *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*. Washington, 1942. An English translation by Clark of a manuscript in the Vatican Library. [Born Spain ca.1560; in Mexico 1612 and 1621; wrote 1628; died 1630].

José de VEITIA LINAJE: *Norte de la contratación de las Indias Occidentales*. 2 vols., Sevilla, 1672; English edition, London, 1702. [? -1688].

José Antonio de VILLASEÑOR Y SANCHEZ: *Theatro Americano; Descripción general de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva España y sus Jurisdicciones*. 2 vols., Mexico, 1746-48.

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THE RELIGIOUS

Members of the religious orders were the first priests to have contacts with the Indians of Michoacán. During the first two hundred years of Spanish control the members of these orders (Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits) were the individuals most in contact with the natives, and it is through their writings that most of our information comes on the pre-history, history, languages, economics, sociology and beliefs of the Tarascans and other Indians. These writings can be grouped under the headings of: (1) letters and annual reports from individual missionaries, priors, presidents, rectors and other religious officials concerning their particular *misión, reducción, doctrina, guardianía, colegio*, and other similar establishments of a relatively restricted area; (2) the journals, annual notes and other continuous chronicles of *guardianías, custodias*, and *provincias*; (3) the reports for special purposes such as for the Ovando *visita* 1569-71, the reports of provincial visitors, the reports of *Capítulos generales* such as that of Pátzcuaro 1549, and the reports of commissioners-general such as that of Ponce 1584-88; (4) the formal histories or chronicles of specific provinces and orders; and, embracing more than the orders, the reports and histories of bishoprics, church councils, general missionary activity, and concerning the church as a whole.

The various religious organizations frequently shifted regional organization and headquarters, and consequently the value for Michoacán of the various reports and chronicles depends upon the date of composition. The first religious in Mexico were the Franciscans who arrived in 1523-24. Their *Custodia del Santo Evangelio* (1524 or 1525-) and *Provincia del Santo Evangelio* (1534/35-) embraced Michoacán and Jalisco (where a *custodia* was established in 1535-36 subsequent to the work of Martín de Jesús or de la Coruña and several other Franciscans who went to Michoacán 1525-26) until the *Provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán* was established in 1565-66. Within the latter province was set up the custody of Xalisco 1566 which became the province of Santiago de Xalisco in 1606-07. The Dominicans came to Mexico in 1526 but they did no work among the Indians of Michoacán. The Augustinians were the third order to arrive in Mexico 1533, where they established a province 1543-45. A separate Augustinian province of San Nicolás

Tolentino was set up in 1600-02 in Michoacán which they had entered in 1537. The next order to arrive, the Mercedarians in 1536, did little in Michoacán and Jalisco excepting to found convents in the largest cities. The fifth great "order" to arrive in Mexico was the Society of Jesus 1572, which set up its second college in New Spain in Pátzcuaro 1573. The Michoacán bishops Quiroga 1547 and 1551 and Chávez 1567 had been among the first to urge the Jesuits to come to New Spain, which probably explains their early establishment in that area. However, most of the Jesuit activity (outside of educational work) was carried on north and west of Michoacán. All of New Spain was but one Jesuit province. Other orders, such as the Carmelites, Benedictines and Dieguinos, confined themselves, as did the Dominicans and Mercedarians, to establishments in the larger cities and to ministering to the whites and mestizos. The great era of the orders in Michoacán was from 1526 to 1749, in which latter year the process of secularization was begun (with the Augustinian convents) and which was essentially concluded by the 1790s although some secularization was taking place into republican times. The Jesuits were expelled in 1767, at which time the most marked pro-Jesuit demonstrations of all New Spain occurred in Michoacán, Guanajuato and Jalisco. The entire organization of the church in Mexico was strongly conditioned and weakened by the revolutions, wars, reform laws and new constitutions which obtained primarily in the periods 1810-38, 1857-69, and 1910-34.

Organization of the secular clergy in New Spain can be said to have begun with the erection of the dioceses of Tlaxcala-Puebla, 1526, México 1528-30 (archdiocese 1545), Oaxaca 1535, Michoacán 1534-38 (archdiocese 1863), Chiapas 1541, Guadalajara 1548 (archdiocese 1863), and Yucatán 1561. Prior to 1545 all of the dioceses of Nueva España had been suffragans of the metropolitan see of Sevilla. During all of the colonial period nearly all of the greater Tarascan area fell within the diocese of Michoacán, which had its seat at Tzintzuntzan 1538-40, Pátzcuaro 1540-79, and Valladolid (Morelia) 1579-80 to date. At present the suffragan dioceses are Querétaro 1862-63, León 1862-63, Zamora 1862-63, and Tacámbaro 1913-20. It will be noted that the episcopal records of the colonial period are to be sought in the archives of Michoacán-Morelia. The records of the lands along the eastern margins of Michoacán are to be found in the archives of the archdiocese of México since the diocese of Chilapa (covering the state of Guerrero) was not formed until 1863. Furthermore, western Guerrero was part of the diocese of Michoacán in colonial times. For the west only the archives of Guadalajara are of value for the colonial period since the diocese of Colima was not established until 1881. A strip of territory from the northern shores of Lake Chapala to Colima (embracing the modern Jalisco municipalities of Poncitlán, Mazamitla, Tamazula de Gordiano, San Sebastián Gómez Farías, Ciudad Guzmán, Tuxpan, Tonila and all others to the east, and the state of Colima) was shifted from Valladolid to Guadalajara 1789-95. Modern Tizapán el Alto, Tuxcueca, La Manzanilla and Concepción de Buenos Aires were included, along with the rest of Sayula or the ancient Ávalos province, in the diocese of Guadalajara from the date of its organization.

The archives of the archdiocese of México and of the dioceses of Michoacán-Valladolid-Morelia and Nueva Galicia-Compostela-Guadalajara theoretically contain an enormous fund of information concerning both the *guardianías* and *doctrinas* of the religious orders, and the *vicariatos*, *curatos* or *parroquias* of the secular clergy. The present location of these archives (up to the time of sequestration) has been mentioned previously. Unfortunately, no complete catalog of manuscripts has ever been published, and it is known that important losses

and destructions have occurred. Among the most valuable religious contributions to geographic and ethnographic knowledge are the reports of *visitas* made by the bishops. Don Vasco de Quiroga, first actual bishop of Michoacán 1538-65 covered his diocese thoroughly and died while on a visit to Uruapan, but unfortunately all reports of his *visitas* seemingly were destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century, as were those of the fourth bishop and great *visitador* Juan de Medina Rincón. The reports of Maraver, first bishop of Guadalajara who actually visited his diocese, may be in manuscript in Guadalajara as well as in Rome. The visits of Alonso de la Mota y Escobar ca.1599-1603 and Juan Ruiz Colmenero 1648-49 in the diocese of Guadalajara are available; the first in published form, and the second in two manuscript tomes in Guadalajara. The second of these *visitas* yields linguistic information which exceeds even Ponce and Tello in fullness for parts of southeastern Jalisco.

Other religious sources of information are the archives of the Inquisition (formally in Mexico 1571) which has only incidental material on Indians, the records of the various Indian *hospitales* founded by Quiroga and the Franciscans and Augustinians in practically every Indian community of importance in Michoacán, the archives of the educational institutions (such as the Colegio de San Nicolás Tolentino founded 1540 by Quiroga in Pátzcuaro, the Casa de Estudios founded by the Augustinian Alonso de la Veracruz in Tiripetío 1540, the Franciscan Propaganda Fide *colegio* of Santa Cruz de Querétaro 1682, and the Jesuit *colegios* of Pátzcuaro 1576 and Valladolid 1580), the reports of the church councils of New Spain 1555, 1565, 1585, and 1771, and the religious correspondence with and reports to the *audiencias* and to the Consejo de las Indias on the subject of *encomiendas*.

The approximate order of importance of the religious archives having material on Michoacán and the Tarascans is as follows: Franciscan (Provinces of San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, Santo Evangelio de México, Santiago de Xalisco, mother province of San Gabriel de Extremadura in Spain, and headquarters in Rome), Augustinian (Provinces of San Nicolás Tolentino de Michoacán, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México, mother province of Castilla in Spain, headquarters in Rome), episcopal (Michoacán-Morelia, Nueva Galicia-Guadalajara, México, Sevilla, Rome), and Jesuit (Provincia Mexicana, Asistencia de España, headquarters in Rome). The archives of minor entities such as *doctrinas*, *guardianías*, *colegios*, *parroquias*, etc., are considered to be a part of the provinces and bishoprics mentioned above. Sixteenth century Franciscan convents covered nearly all of the greater Tarascan area and were especially numerous in the nuclear Tarascan area of the *laguna* and *sierra*. Augustinian convents were located chiefly on the northern and southern peripheries of the nuclear Tarascan area, and they ministered to more Pirinda, Otomi, Cuitlatecos, etc. than Tarascans. The Jesuits had comparatively few establishments and members in Michoacán and these ministered to the Indians principally in and near Pátzcuaro and in the Tierra Caliente, and importantly only from 1573 to 1650.

In a previous section there have been mentioned the principal present repositories of manuscript material on Michoacán and the more important published collections. In general, the archives, libraries and museums in Mexico City, Morelia and Guadalajara have the greatest amount of material on the religious in Michoacán. However, it must be remembered that during the period of sequestration and of the French Intervention (1857-67) religious libraries were scattered to the winds, private collectors gorged on precious manuscripts, and there was a great exodus of books and manuscripts—especially to the marts of Germany, England and France. Much

of such Mexican religious material is still in private and institutional hands in Europe, and important collections are to be found in the United States. At present, for religious material on Michoacán probably the best centers in the United States are the Bancroft Library (especially for Jesuit items), the Henry E. Huntington Library (Franciscan and Jesuit), the University of Texas (Franciscan and Jesuit), Tulane University (Franciscan and Augustinian material, including items from the collections of León and Plancarte), the Newberry Library, the Library of Congress (especially in the Peter Force collections), and the John Carter Brown Library (Franciscan, Augustinian). Among the leading private collections are those of Ocaranza, Cuevas, Decorme, Gómez de Orozco and García Granados in Mexico. In Europe the most important collections are in Sevilla, Rome, Madrid, the Escorial, Salamanca, Toledo, Paris and London.

As a possible indication of the validity of their writings, there follows a list of outstanding religious writers of the colonial period whose works contain an appreciable amount of material (other than linguistic) on Michoacán. No attempt has been made to include members of the Franciscan third order, other such lay members, and most members of the regular clergy. Nor are there listed the members of religious orders in Michoacán during the sixteenth century who are known for only a brief letter or minor report. When no specific mention of Michoacán (Mich.) is made, it is assumed that the individual never lived or worked in that region. Abbreviations are: "OP" Dominican; "OFM" Franciscan; "OSA" Augustinian; "SJ" Jesuit; "OC" Carmelite; "B" Born; "D" Died; "W" Wrote. The order is approximately chronological, either by birth or date of arrival in Mexico. Most of the dates given are very tentative since the writer frequently relied upon secondary authorities and did not take the time to examine carefully the often contradictory biographical data scattered so diffusely through the writings of the religious.

OP—Bartolomé de las CASAS—B. Spain 1474/76; Mexico 1532, 1546; W. 1522-61; D. Spain 1564/66.

OFM—Juan de ZUMÁRRAGA—B. Spain 1468/76; Mexico 1528-; D. Mexico 1548.

OFM—Martín [de JESÚS] de la CORUÑA—B. Spain; Mexico 1524-; Mich. 1525-; W. 1538/39; D. Pátzcuaro 1557/68.

OFM—Toribio (Paredes) [de BENAVENTE] MOTOLINÍA—B. Spain; Mexico 1524-; Mich. 1549; W. 1536-55; D. Texcoco 1568/69.

Vasco de QUIROGA—B. Spain 1470; Mexico 1530-; Mich. 1533-; W. 1535-; D. Uruapan 1565.

OP—Alonso de MONTÚFAR—B. Spain 1489; Mexico ca. 1554-; D. Mexico 1569.

OFM—Bernardino (Ribeira) de SAHAGÚN—B. Spain c.1499; Mexico 1529-; Mich. 1558; W. 1546-78; D. Tlaltelolco 1590/91.

OSA—Alonso (Gutiérrez) de la VERACRUZ—B. Spain 1504; Mexico 1536-; Mich. 1540-c.1552; D. Mexico 1583/84.

OFM—Gerónimo de MENDIETA—B. Spain 1525; Mexico 1554-; W. 1562-98; D. Mexico 1604.

OP—Diego DURÁN—B. Texcoco 1525/38; W. 1579-81; D. 1586/88.

OSA—Jerónimo ROMÁN Y ZAMORA—B. Spain 1536; never in New World; W. 1568-75; D. Spain 1597.

OFM—Diego MUÑOZ—W. 1583.

SJ—José de ACOSTA—B. Spain 1538/40; Mexico ca.1585-87; W. 1587/88; D. Spain 1600.

Alonso de la MOTA Y ESCOBAR—B. Mexico 1546; Mich. 1580s; W. 1602-05; D. Puebla 1625.

- OFM—Alonso de CIUDAD REAL—B. Spain 1551; Mexico 1584-88; Mich. 1585-87; W. 1580s; D. 1617.
- OSA—Juan de GRIJALVA—B. Colima 1559/80; Mich.; W. 1620s; D. 1638.
- OC—Antonio VÁZQUEZ DE ESPINOSA—B. Spain ca.1560; Mexico 1612, 1621; W. 1628-29; D. Spain 1630.
- OFM—Juan de TORQUEMADA—B. Spain 1550/53; Mexico ca.1563- ; Mich. ca.1584; W. 1589-1609; D. Mexico 1624/25.
- OFM—Antonio Tello—B. Guadalajara? 1564/66; W. ca.1650-53; D. ca.1653.
- SJ—Andrés PÉREZ DE RIBAS—B Spain 1576; Mexico 1602- ; W. ca.1644; D. Mexico 1655.
- OSA—Diego de BASALENQUE—B. Spain 1575/77; Mich.; W. 1644; D. Charo 1651.
- OSA—Juan GONZÁLEZ DE LA PUENTE—B. Spain 1580; Mich.; W. 1623; D. ?
- Juan RUIZ COLMENERO—B. Spain; W. ca.1649; D. Guadalajara 1683.
- OFM—Alonso de la REA—B. Querétaro 1610; Mich.; W. 1637-39; D. ?
- SJ—Francisco de FLORENCIA—B. Florida 1620; Mexico 1643- ; D. Mexico 1695.
- OFM—Agustín de VETANCURT—B. Mexico 1620; W. 1697-98; D. Mexico 1700/08.
- SJ—Carlos de SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA—B. Mexico 1645; D. Mexico 1700.
- OFM—Isidro Félix de ESPINOSA—B. Querétaro 1679; Mich.; W. 1740; D. Querétaro 1755.
- OSA—Matías de ESCOBAR—B. Canary Islands; Mich.; W. 1729; D. ?
- OFM—Francisco Mariano de TORRES—W. 1755; D. Cocula?
- OFM—Pablo de la Purísima Concepción BEAUMONT—B. Spain; Mich.; W. 1776-80; D. ?
- OFM—José Joaquín GRANADOS Y GÁLVEZ—W. 1770s; D. 1794.
- Juan José MORENO—W. 1760s; D. ?
- SJ—Francisco Javier ALEGRE—B. Veracruz 1729; W. 1765-80; D. Bologna 1788.
- SJ—Francisco Javier CLAVIJERO—B. Veracruz 1731; Mich. 1766-67; W. 1765-79; D. Bologna 1787.
- SJ—Andrés CAVO—B. Guadalajara 1729; W. 1760s; D. Rome 1794.
- OFM—Francisco FREJES—B. Guadalajara ca.1790; D. Zacatecas 1845.

FRANCISCAN. Probably the first to write on Michoacán was Martín de Jesús if he wrote the *Relación de Mechuacán* about 1538/39, and both parts of the postulate seemingly are correct. Toribio Motolinía was the first to write about the Tarascans within the broader context of New Spain. Diego Muñoz and Alonso de la Rea were the first chroniclers of the province of Michoacán whose writings have been preserved, and their most important successors were Isidro de Espinosa and Pablo Beaumont. Juan de Torquemada was the first great chronicler of the order in New Spain, and his most worthy successor was Agustín de Vetancurt. One of the later and greater chroniclers general of the entire order was José Torrubia. There follows a list of works, by or about Franciscans, which will serve as a guide to research. Many of these items contain biographies of missionaries within which are data on the Tarascans.

Pablo de la Purísima Concepción BEAUMONT: *Crónica de la*

Provincia de los Santos Apóstoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán. 3 vols., Mexico, 1874; first complete edition, 3 vols., Mexico, 1932.

[Antonio de CIUDAD REAL]: *Relación Breve y Verdadera de Algunas Cosas de las Muchas que Sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las Provincias de la Nueva España.* 2 vols., Madrid, 1872 (Col. Doc. España 57 & 58).

Marcellino de CIVEZZA: *Saggio di Bibliografia . . . Sanfrancescana.* Prato, 1879.

Antonio DAZA: *Cuarta Parte de la Chronica General de Nuestro Padre San Francisco y de su Apostólica Orden.* Valladolid, 1611.

Isidro Félix de ESPINOSA: *Crónica de la Provincia Franciscana de los Santos Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán.* Mexico, 1899.

Francisco FREJES: *Memoria Histórica de los Sucesos más Notables de la Conquista Particular de Jalisco por los Españoles.* Guadalajara, 1833, 1879.

Francisco FREJES: *Historia Breve de la Conquista de los Estados Independientes del Imperio Mejicano.* Zacatecas, 1838; Guadalajara, 1878.

Joaquín GARCÍA ICAZBALCETA: *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Primer Obispo y Arzobispo de México.* Mexico, 1881.

Francesco GONZAGA: *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae.* Rome, 1587.

Joseph Joaquín GRANADOS Y GÁLVEZ: *Tardes Americanas; gobierno gentil y católico; breve y particular noticia de toda la historia indiana.* Mexico, 1778.

Andrés de GUADALUPE: *Historia de la santa provincia de los Angeles.* Madrid, 1662.

Eduardo HEREDIA: *Fray Juan de San Miguel, fundador de Uruapan.* Uruapan, 1925.

Leonhard LEMMENS: *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen.* Münster, 1929.

Nicolás LEÓN: "Superiores de los Franciscanos de Michoacán," *El Estandarte*, San Luis Potosí, 1898.

Atanasio LÓPEZ: "Misiones o doctrinas de Michoacán y Jalisco (Méjico) en el siglo XVI, 1525-1585," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 1922, 1923.

Jerónimo de MENDIETA: *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana.* Mexico, 1870.

Toribio de Benavente, MOTOLINFÍA: *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España.* London, 1848 (Kingsborough); Mexico, 1858 and reprint 1941 (García Icazbalceta); Madrid, 1869 (Col. Doc. España 53); Barcelona, 1914.

Toribio de Benavente, MOTOLINFÍA: *Memoriales.* Mexico, 1903 (García Pimentel).

Juan Bautista MOLES: *Memorial de la Provincia de San Gabriel de la Orden de los Frayles Menores de Observancia.* Madrid, 1592.

Diego MUÑOZ: "Descripción de la Provincia de los Apóstoles San Pedro y San Pablo en las Indias de la Nueva España," *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 1922.

Fernando OCARANZA: *Capítulos de la Historia Franciscana.* 2 vols., Mexico, 1933-34.

Alonso de la REA: *Crónica de la Orden de N. Seraphico P. S. Francisco, Provincia de S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán en la Nueva España.* Mexico, 1643, 1882.

Luis de REBOLLEDO: *Primera Parte de la Crónica General de N. Seraphico P. S. Francisco, y de su Apostólica Orden.* Sevilla, 1598.

Bernardino de SAHAGÚN: *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España.* Partial editions 3 vols., Mexico, 1829-30; London,

1830-48 (Kingsborough 5, 7); Paris, 1880; Madrid, 1890-95; Stuttgart, 1926-27; Nashville, 1932; 5 vols., Mexico, 1938.

Pedro de SALAZAR: *Coronica y Historia de la Fundación y Progreso de la Provincia de Castilla, de la Orden del bienaventurado Padre San Francisco*. Madrid, 1612.

Juan de SAN ANTONIO: *Bibliotheca universa franciscana*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1732.

Antonio TELLO: *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelánea en que se trata de la Conquista Espiritual y Temporal de la Santa Provincia de Xalisco*. Guadalajara, 1891. See García Icazbalceta 1866.

Juan de TORQUEMADA: *Los Veintiún Libros Rituales y Monarquía Indiana*. 3 vols., Sevilla, 1615; 3 vols., Madrid, 1723.

Manuel Barbado de TORRE: *Compendio histórico Lego seráficoo, Fundación de la Orden de Menores, etc.* Madrid, 1745.

Francisco Mariano de TORRES: *Fragmentos de la Crónica de F. M. de Torres*. Guadalajara, 1938. Appeared in *Boletín de la Junta Auxiliar de la Soc. Mex. de Geog. y Estad.*, 1935-38.

José TORRUBIA: *Crónica de la seráfica religión*. Roma, 1756.

Juan de la TRINIDAD: *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gabriel*. Sevilla, 1652.

Agustín de VETANCURT: *Teatro Mexicano*. 4 pts. in 2 vols., Mexico, 1698; 4 vols., Mexico, 1870-71.

Román ZULAICA GÁRATE: *Los Franciscanos y la Imprenta en México en el Siglo XVI*. Mexico, 1939.

Periodical and other sources include:

Archivo Ibero-Americano. Madrid, 1914-

Archivum franciscanum historicum. Quaracchi, 1908-

Revue d'histoire franciscaine. Paris, 1924-

Studi francescani. Firenze, 1903-

AUGUSTINIAN. Among the first to write on Michoacán was Alonso de la Veracruz, but most of his pertinent writings are still unpublished. The leading chroniclers for the province of Michoacán were Juan González de la Puente, Diego de Basalenque and Matías de Escobar. Juan de Grijalva was the first great chronicler of the Augustinians in New Spain, although his work was based on the unpublished writings of A. de la Corúna, J. Estacio, L. H. de Peñalosa, D. de Salamanca, J. Núñez, A. de la Veracruz, A. de Buica and F. Muñoz. Valuable additions to Grijalva were made by Sicardo, but these are still in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

Diego BASALENQUE: *Historia de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del Orden de N. P. S. Agustín*. Mexico, 1673; 3 vols., Mexico, 1886.

Nicolás CRUSENIUS: *Monasticon Augustinianum*. Munich, 1623.

Matías de ESCOBAR: *Americana Thebaida, Vitas Patrum de los religiosos hermitaños de N. P. S. Agustín de la Provincia de S. Nicolás Tolentino de Mechoacán*. Morelia, 1890; complete edition, Mexico, 1924.

Esteban GARCÍA: *Crónica de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de México*. Madrid, 1918.

Federico GÓMEZ DE OROZCO: "Monasterios de la Orden de San Agustín en Nueva España en el siglo XVI," t. 1, *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, 1927.

Juan GONZÁLEZ DE LA PUENTE: *Primera Parte de la Chronica Augustiniana de Mechoacan*. Mexico, 1624; Cuernavaca, 1907.

Juan de GRIJALVA: *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España*. Mexico, 1624, 1924. He may have written a special history of the province of San Nicolás Tolentino which perhaps was published posthumously in 1646.

Tomás de HERRERA: *Alphabetum Augustinianum*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1644.

Tomás de HERRERA: *Historia del Convento de San Agustín de Salamanca*. Madrid, 1652.

Nicolás LEÓN: "Provinciales Agustonianos de la Provincia de San Nicolás Tolentino de Michoacán," *El Estandarte*, San Luis Potosí, 1899.

Augustino LUBIN: *Orbis Augustinianus*. Paris, 1639.

Joseph PAMPHILE: *Chronica Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini*. Roma, 1581.

Diego PÉREZ ARRILUCEA: "Los Agustinos en Méjico en el siglo XVI," t. 94-99, *La Ciudad de Dios*.

Sebastián de PORTILLO: *Chronica Espiritual Augustiniana*. 4 vols., Madrid, 1731-32.

Jerónimo ROMÁN Y ZAMORA: *Crónica de la Orden de los Ermitaños de Santo Agustín*. Salamanca, 1569.

Jerónimo ROMÁN Y ZAMORA: *Repúblicas de Indias*. Medina del Campo, 1575; 2 vols., Madrid, 1897.

Pedro SALGUERO: *Vida del Venrable P. . . Diego Basalencue*, etc., Mexico, 1664; Roma, 1761.

Andrés de SAN NICOLÁS: *Historia General de los Religiosos Descalzos del Orden de los Ermitaños del Gran Padre y Doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín*, etc. 2 vols., Madrid, 1664-81.

Gregorio de SANTIAGO VELA: *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*. 8 vols., Madrid and El Escorial, 1913-31.

Gregorio de SANTIAGO VELA: "La Provincia Agustiniiana de Michoacán y su historia," *Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano*, 1923.

Pedro M. VÉLEZ: *Leyendo nuestras crónicas*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1932.

Manuel VIDAL: *Agustinos de Salamanca*. 2 vols., Salamanca, 1751.

Periodical and serial sources include:

Archivo Histórico Hispano-Agustiniano, Madrid.

La Ciudad de Dios, El Escorial (Valladolid and Madrid), 1881-

JESUIT. The Jesuit writers were prolific, but they concentrated on northwestern Mexico rather than Michoacán. However, information of value will be found in the three leading Mexican chroniclers Pérez de Ribas, Florencia and Alegre, as well as scattered through other writers such as Acosta, Clavijero, Cavo, Cobo, et al.

José de ACOSTA: *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*. Partial Latin edition, Salamanca, 1588-89; Sevilla, 1590; Madrid, 1792; English edition 2 vols., London, 1880 (Hakluyt); Mexico, 1940.

Francisco Javier ALEGRE: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*. 3 vols., Mexico, 1841-42. Also, *Memorias*, 2 vols., Mexico, 1940-41.

Antonio ASTRAIN: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús, en la Asistencia de España*. 7 vols., Madrid, 1902-25.

Andrés CAVO: *Los Tres Siglos de México durante el Gobierno Español*. 4 vols., Mexico, 1836-38; Mexico, 1862.

Pierre CHARLES: *Les dossiers de l'action missionnaire*. 2 vols., Louvain, 1939.

Francisco Javier CLAVIJERO: *Historia Antigua de México y de su Conquista*. In Italian, 4 vols., Cesena, 1780-81; Spanish editions, 2 vols., London, 1826, Mexico, 1844, 1917; English editions, 2 vols., London, 1787, 1807.

Bernabé COBO: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. 4 vols., Sevilla, 1890-95.

Gerard DECORME: *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos Durante la Época Colonial 1572-1767*. 2 vols., Mexico, 1941.

Francisco de FLORENCIA: *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España*. Mexico, 1694.

Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus. 34 vols., Paris, 1702-76; new edition 14 vols., Lyon, 1819; Spanish edition 1753-57.

Andrés PÉREZ DE RIBAS: *Historia de los Triunphos de Nuestra Santa Fé entre Gentes las más Bárbaras y Fieras del Nuevo Orbe*. Madrid, 1645. Also, *Crónica histórica-religiosa de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en México*. Mexico, 1896.

Francisco RAMÍREZ: "Historia del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús Pátzcuaro," *El Tiempo*, Mexico, 1903.

Carlos SOMMERVOGEL: *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. 10 vols., Paris and Brussels, 1890-1909, and supplement in 5 parts, Toulouse, 1911-30. Incorporates and replaces of Backer and Carayon.

Joseph STÖCKLEIN: *Der Neue Welt-Bott*. 38 vols., Augsburg and Graz, 1728-61.

Periodical and serial sources include:

Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu. Roma, 1581-1654.

Archivum historicum societatis Iesu. Roma, 1932-

Mid-America. Chicago, 1918-

Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu. Madrid, 1894-

THE CHURCH IN GENERAL. The outstanding historical summations are by Cuevas and Ricard. The writings by bishops are specifically valuable for Michoacán. There will not be repeated here the various *visitas* of bishops and other religious items mentioned under PUBLISHED COLLECTIONS, ARCHIVES, DOCUMENTS.

Luis ALFARO Y PIÑA: *Relación Descriptiva de la Fundación, Dedicación, etc., de las Iglesias y Conventos de Mexico, etc.* Mexico, 1863.

Manuel APARICIO: *Los Conventos Suprimidos en México*. Mexico, 1861.

Bernard ARENS: *Manual des Missions Catholiques*. Louvain, 1925.

Bibliotheca Hispana Missionum. 2 vols., Barcelona-Sarría, 1930.

Charles S. BRADEN: *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico*. Durham, 1930.

José BRAVO UGARTE: *Diócesis y Obispos de la Iglesia Mexicana, 1519-39*. Mexico, 1941.

Bartolomé de las CASAS: *Historia de las Indias*. 6 vols., Madrid, 1875-79; and *Historia Apologética de las Indias*, Madrid, 1867. Both in *Col. Doc. España*, and many other editions.

Mariano CUEVAS: *Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico*. 4 vols., Tlalpam and Santa Julia, 1921-26; 5 vols., El Paso, 1928.

Agustín DÁVILA PADILLA: *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México, de la Orden de Predicadores, . . . y Casos Notables de Nueva España*. Madrid, 1596, Brussels, 1625.

Diego DURÁN: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme*. 2 vols. and atlas, Mexico, 1867-80.

Agustín Francisco ESQUIVEL Y VARGAS: *El Fénix de Amor*. Mexico, 1764.

Alonso FERNÁNDEZ: *Historia eclesiástica de Nuestros Tiempos*. Toledo, 1611.

Thomas GAGE: *The English-American, his travail by sea and land, etc.* London, 1648; New York, 1929.

Genaro GARCÍA: *El Clero de México durante la Dominación española según el Archivo inédito archiepiscopal metropolitano*. Mexico, 1907.

Gregorio GARCÍA: *Historia eclesiástica y seglar de la Yndia Oriental y Occidental, etc.* Baeza, 1626.

Jesús GARCÍA GUTIÉRREZ: *Apuntamientos de la Historia Eclesiástica Mexicana.* Mexico, 1922.

Raquel GARCÍA MÉNDEZ Y DESGARDIN: *Los cronistas religiosos del siglo XVI.* Mexico, 1930.

Matías GÓMEZ ZAMORA: *Regio Patronato español e indiano.* Madrid, 1897.

Gil GONZÁLEZ DÁVILA: *Teatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales.* 2 vols., Madrid, 1649-55. Contains interesting map of diocese of Michoacán.

Francisco Javier HERNÁNDEZ: *Colección de Bulas, Breves y Otros Documentos relativos a la Iglesia de América y Filipinas.* 2 vols., Brussels, 1879.

Francis Clement KELLEY: *Blood-drenched Altars.* Milwaukee, 1935.

Henry Charles LEA: *The Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies.* New York, 1908.

Nicolás LEÓN: "La Venerable Imagen de la Santísima Virgen de la Salud de Pátzcuaro," and articles on many other famous images and shrines of Michoacán in *El Tiempo*, Mexico, numbers 3, 4, 6, 20, 22, 24, 1901.

Antonio de LEÓN Y GAMA: "Descripción del Obispado de Michoacán," t. 1 appendix, *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, 1927.

Francisco Antonio LORENZANA: *Concilios Provinciales Primero y Segundo, etc.* Mexico, 1769, and additions, Mexico, 1770.

Baltasar de MEDINA: *Crónica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de México de religiosos descalzos de N. S. P. San Francisco en la Nueva España.* Mexico, 1682.

Cyriacus MORELIUS: *Fasti Novi Orbis, etc.* Venetis, 1776.

MICHOACÁN, Obispado de: *Colección de Ordenanzas, que para el gobierno del Obispado de Michoacán, hicieron y promulgaron . . . Fr. Marcos Ramírez de Prado y Don Juan Ortega Martínez.* Mexico, 1776.

Juan José MORENO: *Fragmentos de la Vida y Virtudes del V. Illmo. y Rmo. Sr. Dr. D. Vasco de Quiroga, Primer Obispo de Michoacán, etc.* Mexico, 1766; Morelia, 1939. See also *Documentos Inéditos referentes al Ilustrísimo Sr. D. Vasco de Quiroga, etc.*, Mexico, 1940, which reprints documents in appendix of Nicolás León: *El Illmo. Señor Don Vasco de Quiroga, Primer Obispo de Michoacán, etc.*, Morelia, n.d.; Alfredo Maillefert: *Don Vasco de Quiroga*, Mexico, 1936; Silvio A. Zavala: *La "Utopía" de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España*, Mexico, 1939; Rafael Aguayo Spencer: *Don Vasco de Quiroga, documentos, etc.* Mexico, 1939.

Alonso de la PEÑA MONTENEGRO: *Itinerario para párochos de Indios.* Madrid, 1668, 1771.

[Vasco de QUIROGA]: *Reglas y Ordenanzas para el Gobierno de las Hospitales de Santa Fé de México y Michoacán.* Mexico, 1940.

Antonio Joaquín de RIBADENEYRA: *Manual Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano.* Madrid, 1755.

Robert RICARD: *La "Conquête Spirituelle" du Mexique.* Paris, 1933. (*Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie* t. XX).

José Guadalupe ROMERO: *Noticias para formar la Historia y la Estadística del Obispado de Michoacán.* Mexico, 1923, reprinted from *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* 1860-62, and reprint of 1862.

Esteban de SALAZAR: *Veynte Discursos sobre el Credo.* Granada, 1577.

Alberto SANTOSCOY: *Historia de Nuestra Señora de San Juan de los Lagos*. Mexico, 1903.

Juan de SOLÓRZANO PEREIRA: *Política Indiana*. 2 vol. Latin edition, Madrid, 1629-39; Spanish edition, Madrid, 1648.

Francisco SOSA: *El Episcopado Mexicano*. Mexico, 1877.

Robert STREIT: *Bibliotheca Missionum*. 9 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-36.

Johannes THAUREN: *Atlas del katholischen Missionsgeschichte*. Mödling b. Wien, 1932.

Mariano de Jesús TORRES: *Historia Civil y Eclesiástica de Michoacán, etc.* Morelia, 1906.

J. TRINIDAD BASURTO: *El Arzobispado de Mexico*. Mexico, 1901.

Diego VALADÉS: *Rhetorica Christiane*. Pérouse, 1579.

Fortino Hipólito VERA: *Escritores Eclesiásticos de México, o bibliografía histórica eclesiástica Mexicana*. Amecameca, 1880.

Fortino Hipólito VERA: *Itinerario parroquial del Arzobispado de México y reseña histórica, etc.* Amecameca, 1880.

Fortino Hipólito VERA: *Catecismo geográfico, histórico, estadístico de la Iglesia Mexicana*. Amecameca, 1881.

Fortino Hipólito VERA: *Colección de Documentos Eclesiásticos de México, etc.* 3 vols., Amecameca, 1887.

Periodical and serial sources include:

Catholic Historical Review. Washington, 1915-

Revue d'histoire des missions. Paris, 1924-

Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. Münster, 1911-37.

PREHISTORY, TRADITIONS, AND SIXTEENTH CENTURY HISTORY

There are no known and proved inscribed monuments, codices, *lienzos* or other types of pre-conquest historical records from Michoacán or the Tarascan region. The written history of the Tarascan pre-conquest era is derived mainly from five post-conquest sources: (1) the traditions recorded by missionaries and lay administrators during the sixteenth century, such as the *Relación de Michoacán* and the various *Relaciones Geográficas*; (2) the claims and depositions made by relatives of the last Tarascan rulers and by other Tarascans, such as the *Información* of Antonio Huitziméngari and the *Información judicial* of Constantino Huitziméngari; (3) the material embodied in sixteenth century codices, *lienzos* and land titles, such as those of Jucutacato and Carapan; (4) the material pertinent to Michoacán and the Tarascans in Mexican codices, such as the *Códice Ramírez* and the *Códice Mendocino*; and (5) the traditions and legends re-claimed and garnished by modern investigators such as Ruiz and Romero Flores.

The *Relación de Michoacán* (*Relación de las ceremonias y ritos, población y gobierno de los indios de la provincia de Mechuacan, hecha al Ilmo. Sr. D. Antonio de Mendoza, virey y gobernador de Nueva España*) is the basic work for any study of Tarascan pre-history. The author and the date of composition are unknown, but information in the prologue, text, and illustrations, and other known historical data indicate that the relation was written by a Franciscan between 1538 and 1550, and probably by Martín (Chaves) de Jesús or Juan de San Miguel about 1538-39. Possibly this is the "Historia de Michoacán, costumbres y religion de sus Naturales, etc.," accredited by Beristáin to Martín de (Jesús) la Coruña, and which he stated should be in the library of the Escorial. Much in the manner of, and earlier than, Sahagún the friar-interpreter and scribe obtained information and illustrative paintings from the old men of the city

of Michoacán (either Tzintzuntzan, or its one-time *barrio* Pátzcuaro). Among his informants was a Pedro, Tarascan governor of the city, who was a close relative (seemingly brother-in-law) of the last king and who governed during the minority of the king's sons Francisco and Antonio. All published editions of the relation are based on Códice C. - IV. - 5 (140 sheets, plus 3 additional on the Tarascan calendar, plus 44 illustrations) in the Escorial, and it is sometimes known as the *Códice del Escorial*. A copy with illustrations was obtained by Peter Force, and this is now in the Library of Congress. Other manuscript copies are in the Aubin Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and in the New York Public Library. The relation was first published (without illustrations) in Madrid 1869 as tome 53 of the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, and was reissued fraudulently in 1875. The best edition is the second and last, that in Morelia of 1903, which is based on the Madrid edition compared with the Peter Force copy. Many writers have commented upon and have used the *Relación de Michoacán*, but the most informative notes and interesting interpretations are to be found in:

Charles Étienne BRASSEUR DE BOURBOURG: *Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale*. 4 vols., Paris, 1857-59. Also, *Bibliothèque Mexico-guatémaliennne*, Paris, 1871. The first modern to use the *Relación*.

Eduardo RUIZ: *Michoacán, Paisajes, Tradiciones y Leyendas*. Mexico, 1891.

Nicolás LEÓN: *Los Tarascos*. Part 1 appeared in vol. 1, numbers 2-12 and supplement, 1903-04, of the second series of the *Boletín del Museo Nacional de México*, and also separately bound in one volume, Mexico, 1904. The second and third parts appeared in the *Anales del Museo Nacional*, second epoch, tomes 1 and 3, 1903-06, and bound separately 1904 and 1906.

Eduard SELER: "Die alten Bewohner der Landschaft Michuacan," pp. 33-156, vol. 3, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde*, Berlin, 1908.

Atanasio LÓPEZ: "La 'Relación de las ceremonias y ritos de la provincia de Mechuan' háse publicado íntegramente y se sabe quién fué su autor?," pp. 262-271, vol. 13, *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 1920.

Nicolás LEÓN: "La Relación de Michoacan," pp. 191-213, vol. 1, *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, 1927.

Jesús ROMERO FLORES: *Michoacán histórico y legendario*. Mexico, 1936.

Manuel TOUSSAINT: "La Relación de Michoacán. Su Importancia Artística," vol. 1, *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*, 1937.

Federico GÓMEZ DE OROZCO: *Crónicas de Michoacán*. Mexico, 1940.

Very few of the writings on Tarascan prehistory and traditions by other sixteenth century religious in Michoacán have come down to us at first hand; nearly all of these are still in manuscript; and none, to this writer's knowledge, is from the first half of the sixteenth century. There is practically nothing pertinent in the extant writings of Quiroga, Maraver, and Alonso de la Veracruz, nor in Muñoz' *Descripción* of 1583, Ponce's *Relación* of 1584-88 or Ramírez' *Historia* of 1600. A few items obtained from now-lost earlier writings are

preserved in the works of such seventeenth century chroniclers as González de la Puente, La Rea, and Basalenque, of whom the last two contribute the most. Outside of Michoacán such religious writers as Motolinía, Sahagún, Mendieta, Román y Zamora, Acosta, Torquemada, and Dávila Padilla in the sixteenth century, and such as Mota y Escobar, Grijalva, Pérez de Ribas, Ruiz Colmenero, Tello, Florencia and Vetancurt in the seventeenth century, mention the Tarascans but one can glean worthwhile items on Tarascan prehistory only from Mendieta, Torquemada, Grijalva, Pérez de Ribas, and Tello. In the eighteenth century there was a plethora of writers. Those who wrote specifically on Michoacán were Escobar, Espinosa, Moreno, and Beaumont. Of these, and of all chroniclers of Michoacán, Beaumont was the most informative on Tarascan prehistory and on the first forty years of Spanish occupation. Beaumont, however, owed most of his material to such earlier writers as Torquemada, Grijalva, La Rea, Basalenque, and Tello. Other religious writers of the eighteenth century include Ornelas, Torres, Granados y Gálvez, Alegre, Clavijero and Cavo, but none of these apparently used any hitherto unpublished material on the early Tarascans. Clavijero because of his scientific method, apparent scholarship, and lucid style became the accepted authority on Mexican prehistory (including that of the Tarascans) for some sixty years, and he is still used uncritically by many anthropologists and historians. In summary, it can be said that within the group of religious writers mentioned above it is necessary to use only the *Relación de Michoacán*, Torquemada, Moreno, and Beaumont.

Material by sixteenth century lay writers on Tarascan prehistory and traditions is exceedingly scant, outside of the *Relaciones Geográficas* of 1579-82. The early reports of Ortega, Cárdenas, Guzmán, Villaseñor and the *oidor* Quiroga have practically nothing, and the same is true for the later reports by Diego Ramírez, Lebrón de Quíñones, Contreras Guevara, and Zorita, although Lebrón de Quíñones and Zorita are the best of the lot. Various editions of Zorita have been mentioned previously. The original of the Lebrón de Quíñones *relación de visita* 1554 is in the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla, but copies are available in the Museo Nacional in Mexico City, the Library of Congress, and the University of California. The early writers on the conquest of Michoacán have been listed previously (Cortés, Díaz del Castillo, López de Gómara, and Oviedo y Valdés), as have been the *Relación de Michoacán*, Las Casas, Torquemada, and the *procesos de residencia* against Guzmán and Cortés. Of some value also for history of the conquest are the *procesos* against Pedro de Alvarado, the *cazonci* Tangoxoan II and the viceroy Mendoza. Boturini obtained a "Lista de las familias que hubo entre los Indios Tarascos, y los tributos que pagaban a sus casiques," but seemingly this has been lost. Other historians whose works contain information on the conquest and sixteenth century Michoacán (in approximate order of writing) are Cervantes de Salazar, Hernández and Domínguez, Herrera, Solís, Mota Padilla, Villaseñor, Boturini, Lorenzana, Veytia, Alcedo, Muñoz, Lejarza, Frejes, Romero Gil, Navarrete, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Romero, Payno, Orozco y Berra, Rivera y Sanromán, Bancroft, Zamacois, Chavero and Riva Palacio, Pérez Verdía and others who will be cited or discussed in greater detail in part two of this paper.

Few of the writings of sixteenth century Tarascans are now available. Among these, with historical information, are:

"Información de los méritos y servicios de D. Antonio Huit Sinmigari y de su padre Cazoni rey y señor, natural que fue de toda la tierra y provincia de Tarasca, con fines

de México, hasta Culiacán, en Nueva España, 1553." This is a manuscript in the Archivo de Indias (T. 1, Fol. 185, Est. 1, Caj. 2, Leg. 7/27) of which a copy is in the Museo Nacional de México.

"Noticias sacadas de una información judicial practicada en 1594, a pedimento de D. Constantino Huitzimengari, nieto de Caltzontzin, último rey de Michoacán, con el objeto de probar la extensión de sus dominios." Orozco y Berra used a copy in the possession of J. F. Ramírez which had been made by Veytia from a document in the possession of Boturini. This material was used by Boturini and Beaumont, as well as by Orozco y Berra.

The testaments of Antonio Huitziméngari and of Fernando Huitziméngari have little excepting genealogical value.

The sixteenth century Tarascan codices, *lienzos*, and land titles are in much need of study. Seemingly most of the present Indian communities or *pueblos* that once were Indian have lost their original titles or else they date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, from the evidence of such inspectors as J. A. Calderón and J. Zarate, in the period 1776-89 a number of *pueblos* still possessed sixteenth century titles. These reports and many others pertaining to Tarascan lands will be found in the Archivo General de la Nación, *ramos de Historia, Tierras, and Indios*. Unscrupulous *hacendados*, lawyers and judges acquired a number of the old titles, and these can be found from time to time in private hands as well as in the Museo Michoacano and in other similar institutions. Examples of sixteenth century titles with historical information are the title to the Hacienda Bellas Fuentes near Zamora reported by Moxó, the *Codex Plancarte* or *Lienzo de Carapan*, and probably the *Código de Puácuaro*, *Pictografía de Arantz*, and *lienzos* of Nahuatzen, Pátzcuaro, and Sevina, which the writer has not examined. Originals of Carapan and Puácuaro and a copy of Nahuatzen are in the Museo Michoacano. The Museo Nacional possesses the *lienzos* of Pátzcuaro and Sevina, as well as a copy of the *Lienzo de Nahuatzen*. León has reported titles for Xaracuaro 1596, Chapitero, Tócuaro 1615, and one of Surumutaro copied in 1787.

"Codex Plancarte," pp. 43-61, vol. 1, *Anales del Museo Michoacano*, 1888.

Benito Maria de MOXÓ: *Cartas Mexicanas*. Genova, 1805. See extract in *Anales del Museo Michoacano*, pp. 105-114, volume 1, 1888.

Ramón MENA: "Nuevo Código Tarasco—Pictografía de Arantz," pp. 341-43, 5th Series, vol. 6, 1913, *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*.

Among other Tarascan codices and paintings the most famous are the illustrations accompanying the *Relación de Michoacán*, the illustrations in Beaumont's *Crónica* (some of these may be reproductions of sixteenth century originals), the lost "Anales del reino de Michoacán" (used by J. J. Moreno and perhaps by M. Payno but now disappeared) written in Tarascan by Antonio or Constantino Huitziméngari, and the *Lienzo de Jucutacato*. A number of years ago it was suggested that the *Anales* might be in the *Ayuntamiento* or in private hands in Pátzcuaro. The *Lienzo de Jucutacato* has come in for an unjustifiable amount of use and commentary, probably because it is so cryptic that anyone can interpret and use it to further his own pet ideas. This *lienzo* once was owned in a little community near Uruapan, passed ultimately into the hands of Crescencio García (the historian of Jiquilpan), was exhibited at the

first exposition in Morelia 1877, and ended up by rotting and being eaten by rats in the storeroom of the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía in Mexico City. It has been described and commented upon by La Rea, León, Ruiz, Paso y Troncoso, Seler, Mendizábal, and Romero Flores.

Nicolás LEÓN: "Studies on the Archaeology of Michoacán," *Smithsonian Annual Report for 1886, Part I*, 1889. Also, in *Los Tarascos*.

Francisco del PASO Y TRONCOSO: *Catálogo de la Sección de México de la Exposición Histórico-Americana de Madrid*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1892.

Miguel Othón de MENDIZÁBAL: *El Lienzo de Jucutácató*. Mexico, 1926.

Walter LEHMANN: "Über Taraskische Bilderschriften," pp. 410-413, vol. 87, *Globus*, 1905.

Of great importance for Tarascan-Mexican relationships are the sixteenth century codices and writings by Mexicans and mestizos with pride in some sort of Nahuatlan ancestry. The *Codex Telleriano*, *Codex Vaticanus A* and Muñoz Camargo are among the sources of traditions concerning a Michoaca tribe or people. These are of little importance since they are patently attempts on the part of native cosmogenists to explain the peopling of the lands within their ken. The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* and the writings of Muñoz Camargo present Tlaxcaltecan views on the Tarascans and the Spanish conquest of Michoacán. Ixtlilxochitl, in this writer's opinion a thoroughly unreliable source, gives the Texcocan or Acolhua point of view. The *Códice Ramírez* and the writers who used it extensively (Durán, Tezozómoc, Acosta, et al.) represent the historical views of the Tenochca and other peoples of the western portion of the Valley of Mexico. Durán presents the most detailed accounts of the western expansion of the Mexican confederation and of its wars with the Tarascans that are extant. The *Colección de Mendoza* or *Códice Mendocino* contains information concerning the Mexican-Tarascan marchlands. Comments on these codices and writings will be found in Lehmann 1907, Weber 1911, and Radin 1920. Also see Boturini 1746, Clavijero 1780-81, and Veytia 1836. Among the more important collections of Mexican codices are Kingsborough 1830-48, Aubin and Boban 1885 and 1891, Junta Colombina 1892, and Peñafiel 1890 and 1903.

Eugene BOBAN: *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique. Catalogue raisonné de la collection de M. E. Eugène Goupil*. 2 vols. and atlas, Paris, 1891.

Codex Mendoza (*Códice Mendocino*, *Colección de Mendoza*). Composed about 1549, and includes a *Matrícula de Tributos* sometimes published separately. Passed through hands of Thevet and Hakluyt and is now in Bodleian Library of Oxford University. Partial editions in Purchas 1625, Thevenot 1692, Lorenzana 1770 (Tribute roll), Peñafiel 1890 (tribute roll), etc. Successively better editions are Kingsborough 1830-48 (vols. 1, 5, 6, 8); Paso y Troncoso and Galindo y Villa: *Colección de Mendoza o Códice Mendocino*, Mexico, 1925; J. C. Clark: *Codex Mendoza*, 3 vols., London, 1938. Valuable comments by Orozco y Berra will be found in tomes 1 and 2, 1877 & 1882, of the *Anales del Museo Nacional*. Plates 10, 12, 18, 39 and 40 contain information on the Tarascan-Mexican marchlands.

Códice Ramírez (*Códice Anónimo*). Published 1878 by Orozco y Berra, and 1903 by Charnay. Composed about

1530/50, and used by Tezozómoc, Durán, Acosta (through Tobar), et al. Rediscovered by Ramírez 1856. Valuable comments by Phillips *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 21, 1883. A pro-Aztec history.

Codex Telleriano-Remensis, Manuscript Mexicain. Paris, 1899, edited by Hamy. Also in Kingsborough (1, 5, 6). Composed about 1550. Another pro-Aztec history.

Codex Vaticanus A (Manoscritto Messicano Vaticano 3738). Roma, 1900. Also Kingsborough (2, 5, 6). Pro-Aztec.

Diego DURÁN: *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme*. 2 vols., and atlas, Mexico, 1867-80. [Born Texcoco? 1525/38; wrote 1579-81; died 1588.]

Jesús GALINDO Y VILLA: "Las Pinturas y los Manuscritos Jeroglíficos Mexicanos," pp. 25-56 (incomplete), vol. 2, Series 2, *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, 1905.

Fernando de Alva IXTLILXOCHITL: *Historia Chichimeca*. Vol. 2 of *Obras Historicas* edited by Chavero, Mexico, 1891-92. Earlier in Kingsborough 1848, and Ternaux-Compans 1840. Represents Texcoco or Acolhua point of view. Pomar in García Icazbalceta 1891 also expresses Acolhua views. [Born Texcoco? 1568/70; wrote 1608-16; died 1648.]

JUNTA COLOMBINA DE MÉXICO: *Antiquedades Mexicanas*. 1 vol. text, 1 vol. plates, Mexico, 1892. Edited by Chavero. Contains *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, composed ca. 1552/60, original lost but copy made 1773 and gloss 1779. Includes march of Tlaxcaltecs with Guzmán across Michoacán.

[Edward King, Viscount KINGSBOROUGH]: *Antiquities of Mexico*. 9 vols., London, 1830-48.

Walter LEHMANN: *Methods and Results in Mexican Research*. Paris, 1909. Translated from German original pp. 113-168, vol. 6, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1907.

Diego MUÑOZ CAMARGO: *Historia de Tlaxcala*. Mexico, 1892. Incomplete edition also edited by Chavero, Tlaxcala, 1870-71. [Born Tlaxcala 1526; wrote 1576-90; died 1599.]

Antonio PEÑAFIEL: *Colección de Documentos para la Historia Mexicana*. 6 vols., Mexico, 1897-1903.

Antonio PEÑAFIEL: *Monumentos del Arte Mexicano Antiguo*. 1 vol. text, 2 vols. plates, Berlin, 1890.

Paul RADIN: "The Sources and the Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans," vol. 17, no. 1, *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 1920.

Hernando Alvarado TEZOZÓMOC: *Crónica Mexicana*. Mexico, 1878, edited by Orozco y Berra. Earlier editions Kingsborough 1848 and Ternaux Compans 1853. [Born Tlacoapan? 1518/20; wrote 1598; died 1600.]

Friedrich WEBER: *Beiträge zur Charakteristik der älteren geschichtsschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika*. Leipzig, 1911.

Ethnologists have done little so far with Tarascan legends, traditions and folklore, but during the past sixty years considerable work has been done in this field by local historians and literati. The leaders in this field have been Eduardo Ruiz and Jesús Romero Flores. Neither Nicolás León nor Francisco Plancarte ever showed much interest in contemporary traditions. Other nineteenth century collectors of Tarascan traditions, such as Francisco Vaca and Vicente Riva Palacio, did not publish them to this writer's knowledge. Besides the works listed previously there are historical traditions in:

Felipe E. CALVILLO: *Leyendas y Sucesidos en Michoacán*. Morelia, 1912.

José CORONA NÚÑEZ: *Rincones Michoacanos. Leyendas y breves relatos históricos*. n.p., 1938.

Justino FERNÁNDEZ: *Morelia. Pátzcuaro. Uruapan*. 3 vols., Mexico, 1936.

Eduardo RUIZ: *Michoacán. Paisajes, tradiciones y leyendas*. Mexico, 1935. Not to be confused with 1891 publication of identical title.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY

In this section we shall not discuss the grammars, vocabularies, and religious writings in the native languages of Michoacán and its borderlands, but only those items that provide information as to the distribution of the various languages. The available literature from the conquest period (about 1521-41) provides no detailed information. During the remainder of the century there are only four important sources: the *Descripción del Arzobispado de México* and other reports prepared 1569-70 for the Ovando visita, the *Relaciones Geográficas* 1579-82, Ponce's *Relación* 1584-88, and the reports of field inspections 1593-99 in connection with proposed Indian congregations. The earlier reports and letters of the religious commonly do not specify the native language or languages obtaining in the various parishes and missions, and when they do it is usually for a community concerning which there is little question, e.g., one within the nuclear Tarascan area. Unfortunately, due to the uneven coverage obtained from the above mentioned sources, there are many communities in critical linguistic-frontier position from which we have no information as to language spoken during the sixteenth century. These gaps can be filled partially by gleaning casual bits of information scattered through all types of writings from the entire colonial period. Of some value in this regard are prefatory remarks in a number of grammars and dictionaries, and some of the biographies of religious who worked in the Tarascan region. Next in value after the reports of 1569-99 are the accounts of *visitas* made by bishops during the seventeenth century, especially that of bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero in Nueva Galicia 1648-49. Considerable linguistic material for the eighteenth century can be obtained from the reports of censuses and inspections 1744-89. These are incorporated chiefly in unpublished documents in the Archivo General de la Nación (especialy Ramo de Historia and Ramo de Tierras), although a few have been published such as those in the *Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia* and the *Theatro Americano* of José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez. The linguistic data in the compiled chronicles and histories of the religious (such as Pérez de Ribas, Tello, Beaumont, et al.) are scanty, have an uneven regional coverage, and do not always specify the language spoken at the time of conquest or beginning of indoctrination. Furthermore, the use of Mexican and Tarascan interpreters, the widespread removal and colonization of Indians by the Spaniards (especially 1530 to 1598), and the common practice of preaching in Mexican or Tarascan to peoples of other tongues often disguises the nature of the language actually native or obtaining at the time of conquest. Modern students and commentators on linguistic geography have been led widely astray by the latter practice, e.g., Orozco y Berra, Santoscoy, Dávila Garibi, and other sources for the most recent linguistic maps of Mexico (Mason and Johnson, 1940) and (Mendizábal and Jiménez Moreno 1939 in Vivó 1941).

Sources for the linguistic geography of the Tarascan region will

be considered by segments of the Tarascan frontier, commencing with the most difficult zone—the Michoacán-Jalisco borderlands. This zone, from the river Lerma and Lake Chapala to the Pacific Ocean in Colima and Motines, is difficult because of great linguistic diversity, because it was a region of conflicting and changing religious and political administration (*Audiencia* of Nueva Galicia, bishopric of Guadalajara, Franciscan province of Jalisco, etc., versus *Audiencia* of México, bishopric of Michoacán, Franciscan province of Michoacán, etc.), and because most of it was away from the frequented highways of the colonial period. The following sources and references will be listed in approximate chronologic order.

1. The various *relaciones* of the Guzmán *entrada* of 1530, and the *procesos* against the *cazonci* and Guzmán. From these we understand that Tarascan was spoken in the *provincia de Cuitzeo* (Jamay-Ocotlán-Cuitzeo area where Río Grande de Santiago flows out from Lake Chapala) and along with "Teco" in the *provincia de Coyña* (La Barca area).

2. The *Suma de Visitas de Pueblos por Orden Alfabético* (Paso y Troncoso I, 1905). There are very few linguistic data in this list of *encomiendas*, but it contains the earliest definite reference to Otomies in Jalisco (p. 82, Capotitlan, en Colima, "la gente es pobre y son Otomies"). Also it has the first reference to *piñol* (Pinome or Otomi?) (p. 221, Tamaçula, en Colima, "son de lengua piñol, Chichimecas, y ay Nagueales y Tarascos entre ellos"). The exact date of this list is uncertain; but internal evidence (the *encomenderos* mentioned in possession, names of *villas*, *minas* and administrative centers, etc.) indicate that (1) the material incorporated was obtained over a period of years, (2) the period of visitation was not earlier than 1533 nor later than 1549, and (3) most of the data for the Michoacán-Colima-Jalisco region were obtained between 1538 and 1541.

3. The *relación de visita* of Lebrón de Quiñones 1551-54, of use for the Ávalos, Colima, Motines, Zacatula region. Copies are in the Museo Nacional de México, Library of Congress, and University of California.

4. On the use and spread of Mexicano in Jalisco and adjacent areas see communication of bishop Pedro Gómez Maraver in *Colección de documentos históricos inéditos ó muy raros referentes al arzobispado de Guadalajara* (6 vols., Guadalajara, 1922-27), and also prologue by Alberto Santoscoy to the second edition of the *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana que fue usual entre los indios del obispado de Guadalajara y parte de los de Durango y Mechoacan escrito en 1692 por Fr. Juan Guerra*, Guadalajara, 1900.

5. The *relaciones geográficas* of 1579-82. Reports on Ameca and Amula have been published (*Noticias Varias de Nueva Galicia*, 1878); the *relación* on Sayula or the Ávalos province has been lost; the Museo Nacional has a combined report on Tuxpan, Tamazula and Zapotlán, and reports on Motines, Tingüindín and Jiquilpan; a report on Tancitaro is in the University of Texas library; seemingly no reports were made for Colima, La Barca, and Jacona-Zamora. However, some sort of *relación* on the Poncitlán-Cuitzeo area is in the Museo Nacional.

6. The *Relación* of the *visita* of Alonso Ponce, who was in Jalisco and Michoacán 1585-87. This *relación* (published

1872, *Col. . . de España*, t. 57 and 58) is the most specific and informative in its linguistic data for the area covered of any report from the sixteenth century. An important contribution is the indication that Ahuacatlan, Cazcana, Coano, Cora, Pinome, Pinonuquia, Pinutl, Vaynamota and Xuchipilteca are the same language or but dialects of the same language which resembled Mexicano. Another contribution is the information (see especially II, p. 17 and passing to p. 127) that throughout most of Jalisco and Colima the Indians understood, spoke, confessed in, and were preached to in Mexicano no matter whether their mother language was Nahuatlan, Otomian, Xilotlantzincan or some other stock "por las muchas diferencias de lenguas que hay." A notable exception to this were the *pinome*-speaking Indians of Techalutla who had to confess through interpreters although it was said of neighboring *pinomes* that they "hablan la lengua pinome, y la mesma hablan los demás de la guardianía, porque esta es su lengua materna, pero casi todos entienden y hablan la mexicana y en ella se confiesan y se les predica."

7. The religious chroniclers of the first half of the seventeenth century such as Torquemada, González de la Puente, La Rea, Pérez de Ribas and Basalenque. Most of these deal in generalities; La Rea and Pérez de Ribas are the best of the lot.

8. The *Visita General* of bishop Juan Ruiz Colmenero, 1648-49; two manuscript tomes reported in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado in Guadalajara, and summarized by Santoscoy 1902 in the *Diario de Jalisco* and in tome 7, 1903, of the *Anales del Musco Nacional de México*. This contains interesting data (some of which are confusing in the light of earlier statements), but it lacks material on Colima, Zapotlán and La Barca which were not part of the diocese of Guadalajara until the following century. The earlier *visita* by Mota y Escobar has little pertinent information.

9. The *Crónica Miscelánea* of Antonio Tello, written about 1650-53. Book I is lost; Book II was published 1866 (in part) and 1891; Book III is in manuscript in the John Carter Brown Library, as is the manuscript for Book II; Books IV, V and VI are in the Biblioteca Pública del Estado in Guadalajara. No one, seemingly, has had access to the complete manuscript since Mota Padilla, Torres, and Beaumont. Unfortunately, the lost first book would have been the most valuable for our purposes since it dealt primarily with the Indians of Nueva España. Basic and valuable as is the work of Tello (he apparently was an Indian, native of Guadalajara, educated in Mexico City, and served in such convents as Zacoalco, Tecolotlán, and Cocula), nevertheless it is a secondary work (so far as the early sixteenth century is concerned) with many errors of fact and interpretation. Tello can be checked and supplemented in part by "Las Fundiciones de los Conventos de la Santa Provincia de Santiago de Xalisco," a manuscript in the Biblioteca Pública in Guadalajara which has been published in part as "Fragmentos de la Crónica de Xalisco" by Eufemio Mendoza in *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, Mexico, 1871; "Anales Franciscanos, 1550-1744," four manuscript volumes in the Biblioteca Pública in Guadalajara; "Varios Escritos con-

teniendo Noticias sobre Misiones," also in manuscript in Guadalajara; and by various early accounts, now lost, utilized and published in part by Hilarión Romero Gil ("Memoria sobre los descubrimientos que los españoles hicieron en el siglo XVI en . . . Nueva Galicia," pp. 474-501, tome 8 of first series, *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 1860, and elsewhere), Agustín Rivera y Sanromán (*Anales Mexicanos* 1889, and *Principios críticos sobre el virreinato de la Nueva España* 1884-88), and Alberto Santoscoy (*Nayarit, Colección de documentos inéditos acerca de la sierra de ese nombre* 1899).

10. The *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva-Galicia*, written by Matías de la Mota Padilla 1742. Romero Gil found a manuscript copy in the Convento del Carmen de Guadalajara and published it 1855-56; but the best edition is that of 1870 in Mexico. Mota Padilla probably made fuller use of the Tello manuscript than any other historian whose writings have been published. However, there is very little in Mota Padilla that is pertinent to linguistic geography. Other chronicles and histories written between 1650 and 1750 include Florencia, Vetancurt, Ornelas, Escobar and Espinosa, but these contribute practically nothing.

11. The *Theatro Americano*, 1746, of Villaseñor y Sánchez contains little historical material but it provides the most complete picture of linguistic distributions available from colonial times. Additional eighteenth century information can be gleaned from the descriptions of jurisdictions of the intendency of Guadalajara (*Noticias Varias de la Nueva Galicia*) and the 1789 inspections of Zamora by José Calderón, Motines by Juan Zarate, and anonymous of Jiquilpan (Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo de Historia).

12. The historical works of Torres, Cavo, Alegre, Clavijero, Moreno, Granados y Gálvez, and Beaumont in the second half of the eighteenth century provide mainly a rehash of earlier available sources. Their interpretations are warped by lack of personal acquaintance with most of the area in question and from the lack of adequate topographic maps. Frejes (early nineteenth century) might be included in this group.

13. The *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México* of Manuel Orozco y Berra, Mexico, 1864. This is worthless for the sixteenth century (Orozco y Berra did not use Lebrón y Quiñones, Ponce, any *relación geográfica* excepting that for Ameca, or Ruiz Colmenero) since he relied mainly on Tello, Mota Padilla, La Rea and Beaumont. However, due to information received in the 1850s from the dioceses and states ("Estado que Manifiesta el Nombre de los Curatos del Obispado de Guadalajara . . . numero de pueblos que cada una comprende e idiomas que en ellos se usa," "Noticia de las Parroquias pertenecientes al Obispado de Michoacán, con expresión de sus nombres e idiomas de que usan los habitantes," etc.), Orozco y Berra does provide an unequalled picture of linguistic distributions in the nineteenth century. Not until the censuses of the twentieth century is there anything that can compare. Also Orozco y Berra has summarized some early material of value in his *Historia Antigua . . . de México*. 4 vols., Mexico, 1880.

14. During the nineteenth century a number of other historians, linguists, and other scholars have attempted reconstructions of linguistic geography. Among the more important of these have been José Martínez de Lejarza, José Guadalupe Romero, Hilarión Romero Gil, Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos, Ignacio Navarrete, Crescencio García, José López Portillo y Rojas, Ramón Sánchez, Luis Pérez Verdía, Anselmo Rodríguez, Gregorio Barreto, Francisco Plancarte y Navarrete, Alfredo Chavero, Francisco Pimentel, Manuel Mesa, Alberto Santoscoy, and Leon Diguët. More recent workers who have touched on linguistic relationships along the western Michoacán-Tarascan frontier include Nicolás León, Carl Lumholtz, Juan B. Iguíniz, Miguel Galindo, Luis B. Valdés, Pablo García Abarca, J. I. P. Dávila Garibi, Francisco Medina de la Torre, Luis Páez Brothie, José María Arreola, José Ramírez Flores, Jesús Romero Flores, Miguel O. de Mendizábal, José Cornejo Franco, José G. Montes de Oca and José López Portillo y Weber. Academic compilers include a long list from Clavijero, Gilij and Hervás to Thomas and Swanton, Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal, and Mason and Johnson. All of these will be cited specifically and discussed in the bibliographic notes on linguistics in the second part of this paper. It will suffice here to state that Thomas and Swanton followed Orozco y Berra too uncritically; Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal provide interesting innovations in their recent maps but many of the determinations are highly questionable and only blanket reference to secondary authorities is made; Mason and Johnson tend to follow Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal, incorporate (in the opinion of the writer) erroneous distributions and identifications in the area in question, and also rely upon secondary authorities. There is yet to appear a statement or map based upon sequential organization of sixteenth century material and minus reliance upon the frequently questionable and even erroneous conclusions of secondary authorities such as Tello, Mota Padilla, Clavijero, Alegre, Beaumont, Orozco y Berra, Santoscoy and León. Paul Kirchhoff has been working for the past five years on a documentary study of linguistic and ethnic distributions in the Tarascan region and when this is published it should be the best contribution on the subject to date.

The southern zone is that from Colima to Acapulco, which embraces all or parts of the one-time areas or provinces of Colima, Motines, Zacatula and Cuilatecapan. This was likewise a region of linguistic diversity. Fortunately, a considerable number of sixteenth century items with linguistic information are still available. The leading sources, listed in approximately chronologic order (the initial numbers are continued from the previous list for purposes of reference), are:

2. The *Suma de Visitas*. Although poor in specific linguistic information, it is valuable for geographic orientation.

3. The *relación de visita* of Lebrón de Quiñones.

5. The *relaciones geográficas* of 1579-82, such as those for Zacatula (copy at the University of Texas), Sinagua (copy in Museo Nacional), and Guacománmotines (copy in Museo Nacional). None of these has been published but the gist of the material will be found in Orozco y Berra (13) who quotes Vascones 1580 extensively on the Zacatula area, and in the three volumes of appendix to the *Diccionario Universal de*

Historia y de Geografía, Mexico, 1855-56. As mentioned previously, no *relación* apparently was made for Colima, but some material can be obtained from the writings of Miguel Galindo (such as *Apuntes para la historia de Colima*, 2 vols., Colima, 1923-24) who seemingly had access to a considerable amount of sixteenth century documentary material although he seldom cites specifically.

6A. The reports of inspections pertaining to congregations at the end of the sixteenth century. Since only a few have been examined in the *Ramo de Indios* and *Ramo de Tierras* of the Archivo General de la Nación, and even fewer have been published, it is not yet possible to say which regions are well covered by these reports.

7. The religious chroniclers of the first half of the seventeenth century. The Franciscans were most active in the southwest (Motines and Colima) and the Augustinians first missionized the southeast (Zacatula and most of the Tierra Caliente of Michoacán). The Jesuits came late and did not stay long. Very few linguistic data were recorded in the published chronicles and menologies.

10. The historical works of Florencia, Vetancurt, Escobar and Espinosa.

11. The *Theatro Americano* of Villaseñor y Sánchez, and manuscripts of inspections 1776-89 in the Archivo General de la Nación.

12. The works of Alegre, Clavijero and Beaumont.

13. The *Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México* by Orozco y Berra, for the data from Vascones and for a statement of conditions in the 1850s.

14. The writings of other nineteenth century commentators such as Martínez de Lejarza, J. G. Romero, I. Piquero, A. Rodríguez, M. Payno, G. Barreto, A. Chavero and F. Pimentel, and of such more recent writers as M. Galindo, L. Valdés, P. García Abarca, J. Romero Flores and M. O. de Mendizábal. Actually this region has attracted less scholarly attention than any other in Michoacán and its borderlands. Nearly all of the basic data available will be found in citations 3, 5, 11.

The eastern frontier zone extends from the Sierra Madre del Sur in Guerrero to the Río Lerma, and comprises all or parts of the one-time areas or provinces of Coyucan and Cuitlatecapán and the lands of the Chontales and Matlatzincas. Information from this zone is comparatively abundant, although a noticeable "blank" occupies a small area where the modern states of Guerrero, Michoacán, and México meet. The chief sources are:

2. The *Suma de Visitas*, which places the southeastern extension of Tarascan in the *partido* of Ajuchitlán (p. 34, Asuchitlan, en Mechuacan). Since the lands of this pueblo bordered on those of Tetela and Totoltepec, we can assume that Tarascan may have been spoken as far up river as Pezuapa, although it was definitely a late introduction into the conquered Cuitlateco country.

4A. The *Descripción del Arzobispado de México hecha en 1570*, published by Luis García Pimentel, Mexico, 1897. This was compiled by the archbishop Alonso Montúfar for the

visita of Ovando on the basis of returns from various curates and vicars. Pertinent for our purpose are the reports on Istlahuaca (pp. 101-104), Tlalchichilpa (pp. 153-161), Temascaltepec (73-75), Texcaltitlán (214-224), Zacualpa (133-139), and Teloloapan (242-248).

5. The *relaciones geográficas* such as those for Temascaltepec and Ixcateopan (Paso y Troncoso, vols. VII and VI), Sultepec, Ajuchitlán, and Guaymeo y Minas del Espíritu Santo (copies in the Museo Nacional), and the lost *relación* for Zacualpa. See also Manuel de la Puente y Oleo: "Relación de la comarca y minas de Temascaltepec 1579 por Gaspar de Covarrubias" in volume 3 of *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate."* These constitute the most complete information available from the sixteenth century.

6. Ponce's *Relación* allows for accurate plotting of distributions in a strip from Toluca and Malacatepec to Zitácuaro, Maravatio, Acámbaro and westward.

7, 10, and 12. The later chroniclers and historians add practically nothing.

11. Villaseñor y Sánchez is highly valuable for this area also.

13. Orozco y Berra is poor for this area excepting for nineteenth century conditions.

14. Among recent writers on portions of this area are Roberto Ramos ("Documentos Históricos Relativos a Valladolid, Pátzcuaro y Zitácuaro," *Universidad Michoacana* 17, 1940), José Castillo y Piña (*El Valle de Bravo*, Mexico, 1938), José García Payón (*La Zona Arqueológica de Tecaxic-Calixtlahuaca y Los Matlatzincas*, Mexico, 1936; *Matlatzincas o Pirindas*, Mexico, 1940), Pedro Hendrichs and Robert Weitlaner on the Cuitlatecos (*Mexico Antiguo*, vols. 4 & 5, 1939-41), Nicolás León (*Los Matlatzincas y Catálogo de Antigüedades Matlatzincas*, 2nd epoch, tome 1, 1903, *Boletín del Museo Nacional*), Jacques Soustelle (*Mexique, Terre Indienne*, Paris, 1936), and Frederick Starr (*Indians of Southern Mexico*, Chicago, 1899; and "Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico," vols. 8 and 9, *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences*, 1899-1903). There has been a marked lack of writings containing historical, ethnographical or linguistic material on the colonial period in the drainage area of the river Cutzmala.

The northern frontier occupied a west-east zone extending from Lake Chapala to Querétaro and from the basins of Lake Cuitzeo and the River Lerma northward through most of Guanajuato and Querétaro. This was the land of the "Chichimecs" into which Tarascans raided and colonized in pre-Spanish times, and colonized in post-conquest days. It is exceedingly difficult to determine the linguistic affiliations of all of the different Chichimec tribes, and to distinguish between pre-conquest and post-conquest Tarascan movements into Guanajuato and Querétaro. The leading sources are:

2. The *Suma de Visitas* for geographic orientation.

4B. The "Guerra de Chichimecas," probably composed in the 1570s by Gonzalo de las Casas and published in vol. 1 of second series of *Anales del Museo Nacional*, 1903, and by H.

Trimborn in *Quellen zur Kulturgeschichte des praekolumbischen Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1936.

5. The *relaciones geográficas* for León (lost), Tlazazalca (lost), Celaya (copy in the Museo Nacional), San Miguel y San Felipe (lost), Querétaro (published in Frías: *La Conquista de Querétaro*, Querétaro, 1906, and Velásquez: *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de San Luis Potosí*, 4 vols., San Luis Potosí, 1897-1899), and Cuitzeo (copy in Museo Nacional). Seemingly no reports were made for Zinapécuaro, Acámbaro, and other entities in the region, although maps exist for Acámbaro and Yuriría.

6. Ponce's *Relación* for the region Maravatío and Acámbaro to Zinapécuaro and westward.

7, 10, 12. The religious chronicles and menologies by Franciscans and Augustinians who missionized this region and congregated many of the Indian groups. The Augustinian writings (Basalenque, Escobar, González de la Puente, Grijalva, Salguero, et al., and archival material) are especially helpful, although there is some material in Franciscan works, such as Motolinía, Mendieta, Torquemada, La Rea, Vetancurt, Espinosa, Granados y Gálvez, and Beaumont. Moreno has some material because of bishop Quiroga's great concern for the "chichimecas." Odds and ends of information can be obtained from grammars, dictionaries and other works on and in Otomi and Matlatzincan, such as those by Castro, Cáceres, Basalenque, Naxera, et al.

11. The *Theatro Americano* of Villaseñor y Sánchez.

12A. *El Fénix del Amor* by Agustín Francisco Esquivel y Vargas, published in Mexico, 1764, which contains information on La Piedad area.

13. Orozco y Berra, who has utilized only the *relación* on Querétaro from the sixteenth century.

14. Random notes in many works of the nineteenth century by Moxó, Martínez de Lejarza, Piquero, Marmolejo, Dávila y Arrilaga, L. G. Romero, J. G. Romero, Pimentel, Pérez Hernández, Aguilar, P. González, and Velasco; and in the twentieth century writings of Frías, Torres, Mesa, Villarello, Dávalos, Valdés, Zincunegui Tercero, Lanuza, Gómez de Orozco, Mendizábal, Nieto, Vargas, Jiménez Moreno, Soustelle, Noguera, and the *Estudios histórico-económico-fiscales sobre los Estados de la República, I, Guanajuato*, Mexico, 1938. The above will be cited and discussed specifically in the bibliographic notes to part two of this paper.

[NOTE: Although the writer has had access to a majority of the items cited, undoubtedly there are a number of errors of fact or citation. If corrections are received in time they will be incorporated in the second part of this article.]