Vol. I.

ANAHUAC, or the EMPIRE of MEXICO, the KINGDOMS of Acolhuacan & Michuacan &c. as they were in the year 1521.

Barbarous CHECHEMECAS and OTOMIES

KINGDOM OF COLIMA

MICHUACAN

MAZA-HUACAN

MATLATZINCO

TLAHUICAN

CUITLATECAPAN

ZACATOLLAN

COHUIXCO

HUAXTECAPAN

MEZTITLAN

TOTONACAPAN

TLAXCALLAN

MEXICO

TEZCUCO

MAZATLAN

CUETLACHTITLAN

MIXTECAPAN

TZAPOTECAPAN

JOPAS

COATZACUALCO

ONOHUALCO

TEOCHIAPAN

XOCONOCHCO

GULF OF MEXICO

PACIFIC OCEAN

Villa ricca de la Veracruz the first Colony of the Spaniards

R. of Papalloapan

T. Conder Sculp.

Hemeroteca Nacional
1423

THE

HISTORY

OF

MEXICO.

COLLECTED FROM

SPANISH and MEXICAN HISTORIANS,

FROM

MANUSCRIPTS, and Ancient PAINTINGS of the INDIANS.

ILLUSTRATED BY

CHARTS, and other COPPER PLATES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

CRITICAL DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

LAND, the ANIMALS, and INHABITANTS of MEXICO.

By Abbé D. FRANCESCO SAVERIO CLAVIGERO.

Tranſlated from the Original ITALIAN,

By CHARLES CULLEN, Eſq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON,

Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, No. 25, Pater-noſter Row.

MDCCLXXXVII.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF BUTE.

14.23

MY LORD,

I Have the Honour to preſent to your LORDSHIP a Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of MEXICO, written by a Native of that Country. The Obligation I am under to your LORDSHIP for an Acquaintance with the Original, and the Relation which every Effort to diſſeminate pleaſing and inſtructive Knowledge, bears to your Lordſhip's Life and Manners, have dictated this Addreſs. I chearfully lent my

DEDICATION.

Induſtry to aſſiſt an Advocate in the Cauſe of Truth, who ſaw her Intereſts abandoned, and felt for her Oppreſſion. Though the Taſk might eaſily have fallen into abler Hands, I dare freely appeal to your LORDSHIP for the Fidelity of my Labours.

I have the Honour to be, with the utmoſt Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's much obliged,

And moſt obedient humble Servant,

CHARLES CULLEN.

TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

THE diſcovery of America conſtitutes one of the moſt remarkable æras of the world; and the hiſtory of it a ſubject not only curious but univerſally intereſting, from its various connections with almoſt every other part of the globe. The Spaniſh hiſtorians of the two preceding centuries have done little towards elucidating this point. Partiality, prejudice, ignorance, and credulity, have occaſioned them all to blend ſo many abſurdities and improbabilities with their accounts, that it has not been merely difficult, but altogether impoſſible, to aſcertain the truth. To collect from their ſcattered materials whatever wore the face of probability, that was naturally curious, or politically intereſting, ſo as to form one uniform conſiſtent relation of the whole, was a taſk in which, for a long time, no modern writer dared to engage. Dr. Robertſon at laſt undertook, and executed it with the applauſe due to his beauty of ſtyle, his induſtry, and his judgment.

But notwithſtanding the aſſiduity of his reſearches, and the pains he has taken to extricate facts from the confuſion of different authors, as what is true does not always appear poſſible, and what appears probable is not always true, he has not entirely ſucceeded, though he has done all that

could be expected. The want of many eſſential documents, which are preſerved in archives of the new world, and other diſadvantages attending the ſituation of a writer at a diſtance from that continent, unacquainted with its languages, productions, or people, perhaps, have made him diffident of entering into very minute details, or of dwelling upon grounds where he was uncertain of being accurate, and induced him, rather than offer conjectures which might not have reached the truth reſpecting that country and its inhabitants, to adhere to records more authentic concerning the diſcoverers of it.

This conduct, however prudent, has left the American ſide of the picture ſtill greatly in the dark. The Abbé Raynal and M. de Paw have not contributed much to remedy this defect. The hiſtory of Mexico, by the Abbé Clavigero, a native of Vera Cruz, who reſided near forty years in the provinces of New Spain, examined its natural produce, acquired the language of the Mexicans and other nations, gathered many of their traditions, ſtudied their hiſtorical paintings, and other monuments of antiquity, it is preſumed, has ſupplied their deficiencies. The tranſlator, therefore, hopes the preſent work which contains all the valuable matter of other authors, beſides many important particulars never before publiſhed, will prove acceptable to the public.

PRE-

PREFACE.

THE hiſtory of Mexico, undertaken in order to avoid the pain and reproach of idleneſs to which I found my life condemned, to ſerve to the utmoſt of my power my native country, and to reſtore to their full light truths obſcured by an incredible number of modern writers on America, has been a taſk equally laborious, difficult, and expenſive. Excluſive of the great expences occaſioned by procuring from Cadiz, Madrid, and other cities of Europe, the books which were neceſſary to my purpoſe, I have read and examined every publication which has appeared hitherto on the ſubject: I have compared the accounts of authors, and critically weighed their authority; I have ſtudied many hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans; I have profited from their manuſcripts, which I read formerly in Mexico; and conſulted with many perſons well acquainted with theſe countries. In addition to ſuch diligence I might add, to give credit to my labours, that I reſided thirty-ſix years in that extenſive kingdom; acquired the Mexican language, and for ſeveral years converſed with the Mexicans, whoſe hiſtory I write. I do not, however, flatter myſelf with having been able to give a perfect work; ſince, beſides finding myſelf unpoſſeſſed of thoſe endowments of genius, judgment, and eloquence, which are the requiſites of a good hiſtorian, the loſs of the greateſt part of the Mexican paintings, and the want of many valuable manuſcripts which are preſerved in different libraries of Mexico, and required repeated conſultation, are inſuperable obſtacles to any one who undertakes ſuch a hiſtory, particularly at a conſiderable diſtance from theſe countries. Nevertheleſs, I hope my work will be acceptable; not on account of the elegance of

the

the ſtyle, the beauty of the deſcriptions, the magnitude of the events, or the weight of the opinions delivered in it; but from the diligence of my reſearches, the integrity of my relation, and the ſervice done to the learned, who are deſirous of being made acquainted with the hiſtory of Mexico.

At the perſuaſion of ſome perſons of learning, I wrote the Eſſay on the Natural Hiſtory of Mexico, contained in the firſt book, which I had not before judged neceſſary; and it may, in the opinion of many, be conſidered as foreign to the purpoſe: but not to deviate from my ſubject, I have connected the account of natural productions with the general hiſtory, by mentioning the uſe which the Mexicans made of them. On the other hand, to thoſe who are attached to the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory, this eſſay will appear, what in truth it is, too confined and ſuperficial; but to ſatisfy the curious on that ſubject, it would be neceſſary to write a work very different from that which I have undertaken. At the ſame time, I ſhould have ſpared myſelf a great deal of trouble, if I had not been obliged to comply with the ſolicitations of my friends; as in writing that ſketch of Natural Hiſtory, I found it neceſſary to ſtudy the works of Pliny, Dioſcorides, Laet, Hernandez, Ulloa, Buffon, Bomare, and other naturaliſts; not content with what I had ſeen myſelf, or the information I had received from intelligent people to whom thoſe countries were well known.

In this hiſtory, nothing has been more anxiouſly ſtudied than fidelity; I might have abridged my labours, and, perhaps, rendered my work more acceptable to many, if all the diligence which I uſed to inveſtigate facts, had been employed to ſtrew the relation with philoſophical and political reflexions, or fictions of capricious invention, after the example of many authors in this boaſted age; but to me, as to thoſe who are the ſworn enemies of deceit, falſehood, or affectation, truth appears a beauty whoſe charms increaſe in proportion to her ſimplicity of dreſs. In recounting the events of the conqueſt made by the Spaniards, I have equally abſtained from the panegyric of Solis, or the in-

invectives of Las Caſas (*a*); being unwilling either to flatter or calumniate my countrymen. I have left facts in the ſame degree of certainty, or probability, in which I found them; wherever I could not aſcertain an event on account of the diſagreement among authors, as for example, the death of Montezuma, I have faithfully reported their different opinions, without having omitted, however, ſuch additional conjectures as reflexion on the ſubject has ſuggeſted. In ſhort, I have always had before my eyes the two ſacred laws of hiſtory; not to dare to ſpeak what is falſe; nor to fear to ſpeak what is true: and I flatter myſelf I have violated neither.

I do not doubt there may be readers too nice and refined to bear with the harſhneſs of ſo many Mexican names as are ſcattered through this hiſtory; but it is an evil which I have not been able to remedy, without hazarding another defect leſs tolerable, though ſufficiently common in almoſt all the Europeans who have written on America, that is, the altering of names, for the purpoſe of ſoftening them, until they are rendered unintelligible. Who would be capable of divining that De Solis ſpeaks of Quauhnahuac, when he ſays *Quatlabaca*; of Huejotlipan, where he ſubſtitutes *Gualipar*; or of Cuitlalpitoc, where he writes *Pilpatoc?* I have therefore thought it moſt ſafe to imitate the example of thoſe modern writers, who, whenever they introduce into their works the names of perſons, places, or rivers, of any particular country of Europe, write them in the language of its reſpective nation; and in the writings of theſe authors there are names taken from the German, and other tongues, fully harſher to the ear, from the greater concourſe of rough conſonants, than any of the words I have made uſe of. I do not, however, reject names that have been formerly altered, by which there is no danger of being deceived, as they are generally known.

With reſpect to the geography of Anahuac, I have uſed every endeavour to render it correct; availing myſelf of the knowledge which I

(*a*) I do not mean to charge Solis with flattery, nor Las Caſas with calumny: all I wiſh to be underſtood is, that I could not adopt the ſentiments of Solis, who was ambitious of aggrandizing his hero; nor of Las Caſas, who was fired with pious zeal in behalf of the Indians, without accuſing myſelf of both.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

WRITERS

ON THE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF MEXICO.

In the Sixteenth Century.

FErdinand Cortes. The four very long letters written by this famous conqueror to his ſovereign, Charles the Fifth, containing an account of the Conqueſt, and many valuable particulars reſpecting Mexico, and the Mexicans, were publiſhed in Spaniſh, in Latin, in the Tuſcan, and other languages; the firſt of theſe letters was printed in Seville in 1522; they are all well written, and diſcover both modeſty and ſincerity in the relation; as he has neither made a boaſt of his own actions, nor thrown obſcurity on thoſe of others. If he had had the raſhneſs to deceive his king, his enemies who preſented ſo many complaints at court againſt him, would not have failed to reproach him with ſuch a crime.

Bernal Diaz del Caſtillo, a ſoldier and conqueror; *A True Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of New Spain*, written by him, was printed in Madrid in 1632, in one volume, folio. Notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of his undertaking, and the coarſeneſs of the ſtyle, this hiſtory has been much eſteemed for the ſimplicity and ſincerity of its author, which is every where diſcoverable. He was an eye-witneſs of all that he relates; but, from being illiterate, he was unqualified for the taſk he untook; and frequently ſhews himſelf forgetful of facts, by having written many years after the conqueſt.

Al-

Alfonſo de Mata, and Alfonſo d'Ojeda, both conquerors, and writers of commentaries on the conqueſt of Mexico, which Herrera and Torquemada have made uſe of. Thoſe of Ojeda are the fulleſt and the moſt eſteemed. He was more acquainted with the Indians, being the perſon appointed to attend to the auxiliary troops of the Spaniards.

The Anonymous Conqueror. This is the name given to the author of a ſhort, but very curious, and eſteemed relation which is found in the collection of Ramuſio, under the title of *The Relation of a Gentleman who attended Ferdinand Cortes*. I have not been able to conjecture who this gentleman may have been, as no author makes mention of him; but, whoever he was, he is candid, accurate, and curious. Without troubling himſelf with the events of the conqueſt, he relates what he obſerved in Mexico concerning the houſes, the ſepulchres, the arms, the dreſſes, the manner of eating and drinking, &c. of the Mexicans, and deſcribes the form of their temples. If his work had not been ſo much confined, there would have been no one comparable to it reſpecting the antiquities of Mexico.

Franciſco Lopez de Gomara. The hiſtory of New Spain, written by this learned Spaniard agreeable to information received from the mouths of the conquerors, and the writings of the firſt religious miſſionaries who were employed in the converſion of the Mexicans, and printed in Saragoſſa in 1554, is curious and well drawn up. He was the firſt who publiſhed the feſtivals, rites, laws, and the method by which the Mexicans computed time: but there are many inaccuracies in it on account of theſe firſt informations which he obtained not having been altogether exact. The tranſlation of this work in the Tuſcan language, printed at Venice in 1599, is ſo full of errors it cannot be read without diſguſt.

Toribio de Benavente. A moſt celebrated Spaniard of the order of St. Francis, and one of the twelve firſt preachers who announced the goſpel to the Mexicans, known commonly from his evangelical poverty, by the Mexican name of *Motolinia*, wrote, among his apoſtolical works, *The Hiſtory of the Indians of New Spain*, divided into three parts. In the firſt, he explains the rites of their ancient religion; in

the ſecond, their converſion to the Chriſtian faith, and their life when Chriſtians; and in the third, he diſcourſes of their genius, their arts, and their cuſtoms. Of this hiſtory, which is completed in one volume, folio, there are ſome copies to be found in Spain. He wrote alſo a work on the Mexican Calendar (the original of which is preſerved in Mexico), and others not leſs uſeful to the Spaniards than the Indians.

Andrea d' Olmos. A Franciſcan Spaniard, of holy memory. This indefatigable preacher acquired the Mexican, Totonacan, and Huaxtecan languages, and compoſed a Grammar and Dictionary of all three. Beſides other works written by him for the uſe of the Spaniards and the Indians, he wrote in Spaniſh a Treatiſe on Mexican Antiquities; and in the Mexican language, the exhortations which the ancient Mexicans uſed to their children, of which there is a ſpecimen in the ſeventh book of this hiſtory.

Bernardo Sahagun, a laborious Franciſcan Spaniard. Having been more than ſixty years employed in inſtructing the Mexicans, he made great proficiency in their language and the knowledge of their hiſtory. Beſides ſeveral works written by him, both in Mexican and in Spaniſh, he compoſed in twelve great volumes in folio, a Univerſal Dictionary of the Mexican Language, containing all that belonged to the geography, the religion, and the political and natural hiſtory of the Mexicans. This work, of immenſe erudition and labour, was ſent to the royal hiſtoriographer of America, reſident at Madrid, by the marquis of Villamanrique, viceroy of Mexico; and we do not doubt, but it is ſtill preſerved in ſome library of Spain. He wrote alſo the General Hiſtory of New Spain, in four volumes, which were preſerved in manuſcript in the library of the convent of Franciſcans in Toloſa dè Navarra, according to the affirmation of Juan de S. Antonio, in his *Bibliotheca Franciſcana*.

Alfonſo Zurita, a Spaniſh lawyer and judge of Mexico. After having, by order of king Philip II. made diligent reſearches into the civil government of the Mexicans, he wrote in Spaniſh *A compendious Relation of the Lords there were in Mexico, and their Difference:*

of

of the Laws, Uſages, and Cuſtoms of the Mexicans: of the Tributes which they paid, &c. The original manuſcript in folio, is preſerved in the library of the college of St. Peter and St. Paul, of the Jeſuits of Mexico. From this work, which is well written, ſome conſiderable part of what we have ſaid on the ſame ſubject is extracted.

Juan de Tobar, a moſt noble Jeſuit of Mexico. He wrote on the ancient hiſtory of the kingdoms of Mexico, of Acolhuacan, and of Tlacopan, after having made diligent enquiries, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, D. Martino Enriquez. By theſe manuſcripts, P. Acoſta was principally directed in what he wrote concerning Mexican antiquities, as he himſelf acknowledges.

Joſeph D'Acoſta, a moſt celebrated Spaniſh Jeſuit, well known in the literary world by his writings. This great man, after having reſided ſome years in both the Americas, and informed himſelf, from experienced people, of the cuſtoms of thoſe nations, wrote in Spaniſh the *Natural and Moral Hiſtory of the Indians*, which was printed firſt in Seville, in 1589, reprinted afterwards in Barcelona in 1591, and from thence circulated into various languages of Europe. This work is well written, particularly in regard to the phyſical obſervations on the climate of America; but, it is too confined, defective in many articles, and there are ſome miſtakes concerning ancient hiſtory.

Fernando Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, ſon of *Coanacotzin*, laſt king of Acolhuacan, and Antonio de Tobar Cano Motezuma Ixtlilxochitl, a deſcendant of the two royal houſes of Mexico and Acolhuacan. Theſe two nobles, at the requeſt of the count of Benavente, and the viceroy of Mexico D. Luis de Velaſco, wrote letters on the genealogy of the kings of Acolhuacan, and other points relative to the ancient hiſtory of that kingdom, which are preſerved in the above mentioned college of the Jeſuits.

Antonio Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, ſon of D. Fernando Pimentel. He wrote Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Kingdom of Acolhuacan, by which Torquemada was aſſiſted; and from it we have taken the calculation

lation mentioned in the fourth book of our hiſtory, of the annual expences incurred in the palace of the famous king Nezahualcojotl, great-great-grandfather of that author.

Taddeo de Niza, a noble Indian of Tlaſcala. He wrote in the year 1548, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt, which was ſubſcribed by thirty other nobles of Tlaſcala.

Gabriel d' Ayala, a noble Indian of Tezcuco. He wrote in the Mexican language Hiſtorical Commentaries; containing an account of all the affairs of the Mexicans from the year 1243 of the vulgar æra, unto 1562.

Juan Ventura Zapata e Mendoza, a noble of Tlaſcala. He wrote in the Mexican language the Chronicle of Tlaſcala; containing all the events of that nation, from their arrival in the country of Anahuac, to the year 1589.

Pedro Ponce, a noble Indian, rector of Tzompahuacan. He wrote in Spaniſh, An Account of the Gods and the Rites of Mexican Paganiſm.

The chiefs of Colhuacan. They wrote the Annals of the Kingdom of Colhuacan. A copy of this work was in the above mentioned library of the Jeſuits.

Chriſtoval del Caſtillo, a Mexican Meſtee. He wrote the Hiſtory of the Travels of the Aztecas, or Mexicans, to the country of Anahuac; which manuſcript was preſerved in the library of the college of Jeſuits of Tepozotlan.

Diego Mugnoz Camargo, a noble Meſtee of Tlaſcala. He wrote in Spaniſh the Hiſtory of the City and Republic of Tlaſcala. Torquemada made uſe of this work, and there are copies of it both in Spain and Mexico.

Fernando d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, a Tezcucan, and deſcendant, in a right line from the kings of Acolhuacan. This noble Indian ex-

tremely converſant with the antiquities of his nation, wrote, at the requeſt of the viceroy of Mexico, ſeveral very learned and valuable works; 1. The Hiſtory of New Spain; 2. The Hiſtory of the Chechemecan Lords; 3. An Epitome of the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Tezcuco; 4. Hiſtorical Memoirs of the Toltecas, and other nations of Anahuac. All theſe works, written in Spaniſh, were preſerved in the library of St. Peter and St. Paul of the Jeſuits of Mexico, and from them we have extracted ſome materials for this hiſtory. The author was ſo cautious in writing, that, in order to remove any grounds for ſuſpicion of fiction, he made his accounts conform exactly with the hiſtorical paintings, which he inherited from his illuſtrious anceſtors.

Juan Batiſta Pomar, of Tezcuco, or Cholula, a deſcendant from a baſtard of the royal houſe of Tezcuco. He wrote Hiſtorical Memoirs of that Kingdom, which Torquemada has made uſe of.

Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpain, a noble Indian of Mexico. He wrote in the Mexican language four works, much eſteemed by the intelligent: 1. American Chronicle, containing all the Events of that Nation, from the Year 1068, to the Year 1597 of the vulgar era. 2. The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniards. 3. *Original* Accounts of the Kingdoms of Acolhuacan, of Mexico, and of other provinces. 4. Hiſtorical Commentaries from the year 1064 to 1521. Theſe works, which I moſt ardently wiſhed for, were preſerved in the library of the college of St. Peter and St. Paul of Mexico. Boturini had copies of them, as well as of almoſt all the works of the Indians, which I have mentioned; there was a copy of the Chronicle alſo in the library of the college of St. Gregory of the Jeſuits of Mexico.

Fernando d' Alvarado Tezozomoc, an Indian of Mexico. He wrote in Spaniſh a Mexican Chronicle, about the year 1598, which was preſerved in the above mentioned library of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Bartolomè de Las Caſas, a famous Dominican Spaniard, firſt biſhop of Chiapa, and highly worthy of memory among the Indians. The bitter

bitter memorials preſented by this venerable prelate to king Charles V. and Philip II. in favour of the Indians, and againſt the Spaniſh conquerors, printed in Seville, and afterwards tranſlated and reprinted, in odium to the Spaniards, in various languages of Europe; contains ſome particulars of the ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans, but ſo altered and exaggerated, we cannot rely on the authority of the author, however otherwiſe reſpectable. The exceſſive fire of his zeal ſent forth light and ſmoke together, that is, he mixed truth with falſehood, not becauſe he ſtudied an opportunity of deceiving his king and the world, as a ſuſpicion of ſuch guilt in him would be offering wrong to that virtue which his enemies acknowledged and revered; but becauſe, not having been preſent at what he relates concerning Mexico, he truſted too much to information from others, which will be made to appear in ſome parts of this hiſtory. We ſhould have, probably, been much more aſſiſted by two great works of the ſame prelate never publiſhed, the one, A Hiſtory of the Climate and Soil of the Countries of America; and the Genius and Manners, &c. of the Americans under Subjection to the Catholic King. This manuſcript, conſiſting of 830 pages, was preſerved in the library of the Dominicans of Valladolid, in Spain, where it was put by Remeſal, as he makes us credit in his Chronicle of the Dominicans of Chiapa and Guatemala. The other, A General Hiſtory of America, in three volumes, folio; a copy of which was in the library of the count of Villaumbroſa, in Madrid, where Pinelo ſaw it, as he affirms, in his *Bibliotheca Occidentali:* two volumes of this hiſtory the above mentioned author ſaw in the celebrated archives of Simancas, which have been the ſepulchre of many precious manuſcripts on America. Two volumes alſo were in the library of J. Kricio, at Amſterdam.

Aguſtino Davila, and Padillo, a noble and ingenious Dominican of Mexico, preacher to king Philip III. royal hiſtoriographer of America, and archbiſhop of the iſland of St. Domingo. Beſides the Chronicle of the Dominicans of Mexico, printed in Madrid, in 1596, and the Hiſtory of New Spain and Florida, printed in Valladolid, in 1632, he wrote the Ancient Hiſtory of the Mexicans, employing materials already collected by Fernando Duran, a Dominican of Tezcuco; but this work has not been found.

Doctor Cervantes, dean of the metropolitan church of Mexico. Herrera, the Chronicle-writer, praiſes the Hiſtorical Memoirs of Mexico, written by this author; but we have no other intelligence of him.

Antonio de Saavedra Guzman, a noble Mexican, during his voyage to Spain, wrote in twenty cantos, the Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico, and printed it in Madrid, under the Spaniſh title of *El Peregrino Indiano*, in 1599. This work ought to be reckoned amongſt the hiſtories of Mexico; for it has nothing of poetry but the meaſure.

Pedro Guterrez de S. Chiara. Betancourt made uſe of the manuſcripts of this author in his Hiſtory of Mexico; but we know nothing of the title or quality of the work, nor of the country of the author, although we ſuſpect he was an Indian.

In the Seventeenth Century.

Antonio de Herrera, royal hiſtoriographer for the Indies. This candid and judicious author wrote in four volumes in folio, Eight Decades of the Hiſtory of America, beginning from the year 1492, together with a Geographical Deſcription of the Spaniſh Colonies; which work was printed for the firſt time in Madrid, at the beginning of the laſt century, and afterwards reprinted in 1730; alſo tranſlated and publiſhed in other languages of Europe. Although the principal deſign of the author was to relate the actions of the Spaniards, he does not, however, omit the Ancient Hiſtory of the Americans; but in what relates to the Mexicans, he copies for the moſt part the accounts of Acoſta and Gomara. His method, however, like that of all rigid annaliſts, is diſagreeable to the lovers of hiſtory, becauſe at every ſtep the narration of facts is interrupted with the account of other unconnected occurrences.

Arigo Martinez, a foreign author, although of Spaniſh ſurname. After having travelled through the greateſt part of Europe, and reſided many years in Mexico, where he made himſelf moſt uſeful by his great ſkill in mathematics, he wrote the Hiſtory of New Spain,

which was printed in Mexico in 1606. In the Ancient Hiſtory, he treads for the moſt part in the footſteps of Acoſta; but there are aſtronomical and phyſical obſervations in it of importance to the geography and natural hiſtory of theſe countries.

Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican Spaniard. His famous treatiſe on the Origin of the Americans, printed in quarto, at Valentia, in 1607, afterwards enlarged and reprinted in Madrid, in 1729, in folio, is a work of vaſt erudition, but almoſt totally uſeleſs, as it gives little or no aſſiſtance in diſcovering truth; the foundation for the opinions which he maintains concerning the origin of the Americans, are, for the moſt part, weak conjectures founded on the reſemblance between ſome of their cuſtoms and words, and thoſe of other nations.

Juan de Torquemâda, a Franciſcan Spaniard. The Hiſtory of Mexico, written by him under the title of the Indian Monarchy, printed in Madrid about 1614, in three great volumes in folio, is, without queſtion, the moſt complete in reſpect to the antiquity of Mexico of any hitherto publiſhed. The author reſided in Mexico from his youth to his death; knew the Mexican language well, converſed with the Mexicans for upwards of fifty years, collected a great number of ancient pictures and excellent manuſcripts, and laboured at his work more than twenty years; but in ſpite of his diligence, and ſuch advantages, he frequently betrays want of memory, of critical ſkill, and good taſte; and in his hiſtory there appear many groſs contradictions, particularly in chronology, ſeveral childiſh recitals, and a great deal of ſuperfluous learning, on which account it requires conſiderable patience to read it; nevertheleſs, there being many things of curioſity and value in it, which would be ſought for in vain in other authors, I was under the neceſſity to do with this hiſtory what Virgil did with the works of Ennius, to ſearch for the gems amongſt the rubbiſh.

Arias Villalobos, a Spaniard. His Hiſtory of Mexico carried on from the foundation of the capital, to the year 1623, written in verſe, and printed there in the above year, is a work of little value.

Chriſtoval

Chriſtoval Chaves Caſtillejo, a Spaniard. He wrote, about the year 1632, a volume in folio, on the Origin of the Indians, and their firſt Colonies in the Country of Anahuac.

Carlos de Siguenza e Gongora, a celebrated Mexican profeſſor of mathematics in the univerſity of his native country. This author has been one of the moſt comprehenſive writers on the Hiſtory of Mexico, as he made, at a great expence, a large and choice collection of ancient pictures and manuſcripts, and applied himſelf with the greateſt diligence and aſſiduity to illuſtrate the antiquity of that kingdom. Beſides many mathematical, critical, hiſtorical, and poetical works compoſed by him, ſome of them manuſcripts, ſome of them printed in Mexico from the year 1680 to 1693, he wrote in Spaniſh, 1. *The Mexican Cyclography*, a work of great labour, in which, by calculating eclipſes and comets, marked in the hiſtorical pictures of the Mexicans, he adjuſted their epochs with ours, and by availing himſelf of good inſtruction, explained the method they uſed to count centuries, years, and months. 2. *The Hiſtory of the Chechemecan Empire*, in which he explains what he found in Mexican manuſcripts and paintings concerning the firſt colonies which paſſed from Aſia to America, and the events of the moſt ancient nations eſtabliſhed in Anahuac. 3. A long and learned Diſſertation on the Announcing of the Goſpel in Anahuac; which was done there, as he believed, by the apoſtle St. Thomas, ſupporting his opinion on traditions of the Indians, croſſes found, and formerly worſhipped in Mexico, and other monuments. 4. The Genealogy of the Mexican Kings; in which he traced their aſcending line as far back as the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra. 5. Critical Annotations on the Works of Torquemada and Bernal Diaz; all theſe moſt learned manuſcripts which would have afforded conſiderable aid to this hiſtory, were loſt through the negligence of the heirs of that learned author; and there now remain only ſome fragments of them preſerved in the works of other contemporary writers, namely, of Gemelli, Betancourt, and Florencia.

Aguſtino de Betancourt, a Franciſcan of Mexico: his Ancient and Modern Hiſtory of Mexico, printed in that capital, in 1698, in one volume

volume in folio, under the title of *The Mexican Theatre*, is nothing elſe in reſpect to ancient hiſtory, but an abridgment of Torquemada done in haſte, and written with little accuracy.

Antonio de Solis, royal hiſtoriographer of America. The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of New Spain, written by this poliſhed and ingegenious Spaniard, is more a panegyric than a hiſtory. His diction is pure and elegant, but his manner is rather affected; the ſentences are too much laboured, and the public ſpeeches are the work of his own fancy; like one leſs ſtudious of truth than embelliſhment, he frequently contradicts authors the moſt worthy of credit, and even Cortes himſelf, whoſe panegyric he undertook. In the laſt books of this hiſtory, we ſhall take notice of ſome of the miſtakes of this famous writer.

In the Eighteenth Century.

Pedro Fernandez del Pulgar, a learned Spaniard, ſucceſſor to Solis in the office of hiſtoriographer. *The true Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of New Spain*, written by him, is found cited in the Preface of the modern edition of Herrera, but we have not ſeen it. It is to be believed, that he ſet about writing it for the purpoſe of correcting the errors of his predeceſſor.

Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, of Milan. This curious and learned gentleman arrived in Mexico in 1736; and, deſirous of writing the hiſtory of that kingdom, he made, during eight years he remained there, the moſt diligent reſearches into its antiquity; acquired a conſiderable maſtery of the Mexican language, entered into friendſhip with the Indians to obtain their ancient pictures from them, and procured copies of many valuable manuſcripts which were in the libraries of the monaſteries. The muſeum which he formed of paintings and ancient manuſcripts, was the moſt numerous and ſelect ever ſeen in that kingdom, excepting that of the celebrated Siguenza; but before he put a hand to his work, the exceſſive jealouſy of the Spaniſh government ſtripped him of all his literary eſtate, and ſent him into Spain, where, being

being entirely cleared from every ſuſpicion againſt his loyalty and honour, but without recovering his manuſcripts, he publiſhed in Madrid, in 1746, in one volume in quarto, a ſketch of the great hiſtory he was meditating. It was found to contain much important knowledge, never before publiſhed; but there were alſo ſome errors in it. The hiſtorical ſyſtem which he had formed to himſelf, was too magnificent for execution, and therefore fantaſtical.

Beſides theſe and other Spaniſh and Indian writers, there are ſome anonymous writers whoſe works are worthy of being recorded on account of the importance of their ſubject; ſuch as, 1. Certain Annals of the Toltecan nation, painted on paper, and written in the Mexican language, in which there is an account given of the pilgrimage and wars of the Toltecas, of their king, of the founding of Tollan, their metropolis, and other occurrences until the year 1547 of the vulgar æra. 2. Certain Hiſtorical Commentaries in the Mexican Language on the Events of the Aztecan, or Mexican Nation, from the year 1066 to 1316; and others alſo in the Mexican language from the year 1367 to 1509. 3. A Mexican Hiſtory in the Mexican language, carried back as far as the year 1406. In this hiſtory, the arrival of the Mexicans at the city of Tollan, is fixed at 1196, agreeable to what we report in our hiſtory. All theſe manuſcripts were in the valuable muſeum of Boturini.

We ſhall not here mention thoſe authors who wrote on the antiquity of Michuacan, of Yucatan, of Guatemala, and of New Mexico; becauſe, although many at preſent believe all theſe provinces were comprehended in Mexico, they did not belong to the Mexican empire, the hiſtory of which we write. We have mentioned the writers on the ancient hiſtory of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and the republic of Tlaſcala, becauſe their events are for the moſt part connected with thoſe of the Mexicans.

If in enumerating the writers on Mexico, we meant to diſplay our erudition, we could add a long catalogue of French, Engliſh, Italian, Dutch, Flemiſh, and German writers, who have written either deſignedly, or accidentally, on the ancient hiſtory of that kingdom; but after having read many of them, to obtain aſſiſtance to this work, I found none who were of ſervice except the two Italians, Gemelli and Botu-

Boturini, who having been in Mexico, and procured from the Mexicans many of their paintings, and particular intelligence concerning their antiquity, have contributed in ſome meaſure to illuſtrate their hiſtory. All the others have either repeated what was already written by Spaniſh authors mentioned by us, or have altered facts, at their own diſcretion, to inveigh the more ſtrongly againſt the Spaniards, as has lately been done by M. de Paw, in his Philoſophical Enquiries concerning the Americans, and Marmontel in his Romance of *The Incas*.

Amongſt the foreign hiſtorians of Mexico, none is more celebrated by them than the Engliſh writer, Thomas Gage, whom I obſerve many have quoted as an oracle, and yet there is no writer on America more addicted to falſehood. Some, under the influence of the paſſions of hatred, love, or vanity, have been induced to mix fables with their writings; but Gage appears to have delighted in the invention of falſehoods. What motive or intereſt could occaſion this author to ſay, that the Capuchins had a beautiful convent in Tacubaja, that in Xalapa there was a biſhop's palace erected in his time, with an income of ten thouſand ducats; that from Xalapa, he went to Rinconada, and from thence in one day to Tepeaca; that there is in this city a great abundance of *anonas* and of *chicozapotes*, that this fruit has a kernel larger than a pear; that the wilderneſs of the Carmelites ſtands to the north-weſt of the capital; that the Spaniards burnt the city Tinguez, in Quivira; that having rebuilt it, they inhabited it at the time he was there; that the Jeſuits had a college in it; and a thouſand other ridiculous lies, which appear in every page, and excite in readers who are acquainted with theſe countries both laughter and contempt?

Amongſt modern writers on American affairs, the moſt famous and eſteemed are the Abbé Raynal and Dr. Robertſon. The Abbé, beſides ſeveral groſs deluſions, into which he has fallen reſpecting the preſent ſtate of New Spain, doubts of every thing which is ſaid concerning the founding of Mexico, and the ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans. "Nothing," ſays he, "are we permitted to affirm, except that the "Mexican empire was governed by Montezuma, at the time that the "Spaniards landed on the Mexican coaſt." This is the manner of ſpeaking of a philoſopher of the eighteenth century. Nothing more

can we be permitted to affirm? And why not doubt alſo of the exiſtence of Montezuma? If we are permitted to affirm this, as it is aſcertained by the teſtimony of the Spaniards who ſaw that king, we find the atteſtation of the ſame Spaniards to a vaſt many other things belonging to the ancient hiſtory of Mexico which were ſeen by them, and further confirmed by the depoſitions of the Indians themſelves. Such particulars therefore may be affirmed, as poſitively as the exiſtence of Montezuma, or we ought alſo to entertain a doubt of it. If there is reaſon, however, to doubt of all the ancient hiſtory of the Mexicans, the antiquity of moſt other nations in the world will come equally in queſtion; for it is not eaſy to find another hiſtory, the events of which have been confirmed by a greater number of hiſtorians than thoſe of the Mexicans; nor do we know that any people ever publiſhed ſo ſevere a law againſt falſe hiſtorians as that of the *Acolhuas* mentioned in our eighth book.

Dr. Robertſon, though more moderate than Raynal, in his diſtruſt of their hiſtory, and furniſhed with more Spaniſh books and manuſcripts, has fallen into more errors and contradictions while he endeavoured to penetrate further into the knowledge of America and the Americans. To make us deſpair of being able to obtain any tolerable knowledge of the inſtitutions and cuſtoms of the Mexicans, he exaggerates the negligence of the conquerors, and the deſtruction made of the hiſtorical monuments of that nation by the ſuperſtition of the firſt miſſionaries. "In conſequence," ſays he, "of this fanatical zeal of the "monks, we have totally loſt every intelligence of the moſt remote "events contained in theſe rude monuments, and there does not re-"main a *ſingle* trace of the policy and ancient revolutions of the em-"pire, excepting thoſe which are derived from tradition, or from ſome "fragments of their hiſtorical pictures which eſcaped the barbarous ſearch "of Zumaraga. It appears evident from the experience of all na-"tions, that the memory of paſt events cannot be long preſerved, "nor tranſmitted with fidelity by tradition. The Mexican pictures, "which are ſuppoſed to have ſerved as annals of their empire, are "few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus from the un-"certainty of the one, and the obſcurity of the others, we are obliged "to avail ourſelves of ſuch intelligence as can be gleaned from the "impe-

imperfect materials which are found ſcattered in the Spaniſh writers." But in theſe aſſertions this author is grievouſly deceived; for, 1. The materials which we find in Spaniſh hiſtorians are not ſo imperfect, but we may form from them a probable, though not altogether an authentic hiſtory of the Mexicans; which will appear evident to any one who impartially conſults them; all that is neceſſary is to make a ſelection. 2. Nor in the writing ſuch a hiſtory is it neceſſary to uſe the materials of the Spaniſh writers, while there are ſo many hiſtories and memoirs written by the Indians themſelves, of which Robertſon had no knowledge. 3. Nor are the hiſtorical pictures ſo few in number, which eſcaped the ſearch of the firſt miſſionaries, unleſs we compare thoſe which remain with the incredible quantity that formerly exiſted; as may eaſily be underſtood from this hiſtory, Torquemada, and other writers. 4. Neither are ſuch pictures of ambiguous meaning, except to Robertſon and thoſe who do not underſtand the characters and figures of the Mexicans, nor know the method they uſed to repreſent things. Our writings are of doubtful ſignification to thoſe who have not learned to read them. At the time the miſſionaries made that unfortunate burning of the pictures, many Acolhuan, Mexican, Tepanecan, Tlaſcalan, and other hiſtorians were living, and employed themſelves to repair the loſs of theſe monuments. This they in part accompliſhed by painting new pictures, or making uſe of our characters which they had learned, and inſtructing, by word of mouth, their preachers in their antiquity, that it might be preſerved in their writings, which Motolinia, Olmos, and Sahagun have done. It is therefore abſolutely falſe, that every knowledge of the moſt remote events has been totally loſt. It is falſe, beſides, that there is not a ſingle trace remaining of the political government, and ancient revolutions of the empire, excepting what is derived from tradition, &c. In this hiſtory, and chiefly in the diſſertations, we ſhall detect ſome of the many miſrepreſentations which occur in the hiſtory of the above mentioned author, and in the works of other foreign writers, which we might ſwell into large volumes. Some authors not contented with introducing errors, trifles, and lies, into the hiſtory of Mexico, have confounded it with falſe images and figures, ſuch as thoſe of the famous Theodore Bry. In Gage's work, in

the general hiſtory of the travels of Prevoſt, and others, is repreſented a beautiful road made over the Mexican lake, from Mexico to Tezcuco, which is certainly the greateſt abſurdity imaginable. The great work, entitled, *La Galerie agreable du Mond*, ſays that ambaſſadors were ſent in former times to the court of Mexico, mounted on elephants. Such fictions belong to romance not hiſtory.

OF PAINTINGS.

WE do not pretend here to give a regiſter of all the Mexican pictures ſaved from the burning of the firſt miſſionaries, or executed afterwards by the Indian hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century, of which ſome Spaniſh writers have availed themſelves, as ſuch an enumeration would not be leſs uſeleſs than tedious to our readers; but will only mention ſome collections, the knowledge of which may be of ſervice to any one inclined to write the hiſtory of that kingdom.

I. The collection of Mendoza. Thus we call the collection of ſixty-three Mexican paintings made by the firſt biſhop of Mexico, D. Antonio Mendoza, to which he cauſed to be added ſkilful interpretations in the Mexican and Spaniſh languages, for the purpoſe of ſending them to the emperor Charles V. The veſſel in which they were ſent was taken by a French corſair, and carried into France. The paintings fell into the hands of Thevenot, geographer to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, of whoſe heirs they were purchaſed at a high price by Hakluit, then chaplain to the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France. Being from thence carried into England, the Spaniſh interpretations were tranſlated into Engliſh by Locke, but not the famous metaphyſician, by order of ſir Walter Ralegh; and laſtly, at the requeſt of the learned ſir Henry Spelman, publiſhed by Samuel Purchas in the third volume of his Collection. In 1692, they were afreſh printed in Paris, with a French interpretation by Thevenot, in the ſecond volume of his work, entitled, *Relation de divers Voiages Curieux*. The pictures as we

we have mentioned before, were ſixty-three in number; the twelve firſt containing the hiſtory of the foundation of Mexico, the years and conqueſts of the Mexican kings; the thirty-ſix following, repreſenting the tributary cities of that crown, and the quantity and ſpecies of their tributes; and the remaining fifteen, explained a part of the education of their youth, and their civil government. But it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the edition by Thevenot is imperfect; for in the copies of the eleventh and twelfth pictures, the figures of the years are changed; the figures which belong to the reign of Montezuma, being applied to the reign of Ahuitzotl; and on the contrary: the copies of the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond pictures are entirely wanting, and alſo in great part the figures of the tributary cities. Kirker republiſhed a copy of the firſt painting from that of Purchas, in his work, entitled, *Oedipus Ægyptiacus*. This collection of Mendoza we have diligently ſtudied, and obtained much aſſiſtance to our hiſtory from it.

II. The collection of the Vatican. Acoſta makes mention of ſome painted Mexican annals which were in his time in the library of the Vatican. We have no doubt but they are ſtill there; conſidering the laudable curioſity and great attention of the Italian gentlemen to preſerve ſuch monuments of antiquity; but we had not any opportunity of applying there to conſult them.

III. The collection of Vienna. Eight Mexican paintings are preſerved in the library of this court. "From a note," ſays Dr. Robertſon, "to this Mexican code, it appears, that it was made a preſent by Emanuel, king of Portugal, to pope Clement VII. After having paſſed through the hands of ſeveral illuſtrious proprietors, it came into the poſſeſſion of the cardinal of Saxe Eiſenach, who preſented it to the emperor Leopold." The ſame author, in his Hiſtory of America, gives a copy of one of theſe paintings, the firſt part of which repreſents a king, who makes war upon a city after having ſent an embaſſy to it. The figures of temples, and of ſome years and days appear in it; but as it is a ſingle copy without colours, or thoſe marks in the human figures, which, in other Mexican paintings, enable

able us to diſtinguiſh perſons, it is not ſimply difficult, but totally impoſſible to comprehend its ſignification. If Dr. Robertſon, had along with it publiſhed the other ſeven copies ſent him from Vienna, probably the meaning of them all might have been underſtood.

IV. The collection of Siguenza. This very learned Mexican having been extremely attached to the ſtudy of antiquity, collected a large number of ſelect ancient paintings, part of which he purchaſed at a great expence, and part were left him in legacy by the very noble Indian D. Juan d' Alba Ixtlilxochitl, who inherited them from the kings of Tezcuco, his anceſtors. Thoſe repreſentations of the Mexican century, and the migration of the Aztecas; and thoſe portraits of the Mexican kings, which Gemelli publiſhed in his *Tour of the World*, are copies of the paintings belonging to Siguenza, who was living in Mexico when Gemelli landed there *(a)*. The figure of the century, and the Mexican year, is the ſame in effect with that publiſhed a century before in Italy by Valades, in his *Chriſtian Rhetorick*. Siguenza, after having made uſe of the above mentioned paintings in his learned works, left them at his death to the college of St. Peter and St. Paul of the Jeſuits of Mexico; together with his ſelect library, and excellent mathematical inſtruments; where we ſaw and conſulted in the year 1759, ſome volumes of ſuch paintings, containing chiefly the penal laws of the Mexicans.

(*a*) Dr. Robertſon ſays, that the painting of the migration of the Mexicans, or Aztecas, was given to Gemelli by D. Chriſtoval Guadalaxara; but in that he contradicts Gemelli himſelf, who profeſſes he was indebted to Siguenza for all the Mexican antiquities that are copied in his relation. From Guadalaxara he had only the chart of the Mexican lake. "But as now," adds Robertſon, "it appears to be a generally received opinion, ſupported on I know "not what evidence, that Carreri never went out of Italy, and that his famous Tour of the "World was the narrative of fictitious travels, I have been unwilling to make any mention of "theſe pictures." If we did not live in the eighteenth century, in which the moſt extravagant ſentiments have been adopted, I ſhould be aſtoniſhed that ſuch an opinion was generally received. Who can poſſibly imagine, that any man who was never at Mexico ſhould have been capable of giving the moſt circumſtantial account of the moſt minute events of that time, of the perſons then living, of their rank and employments, of all the monaſteries of Mexico and other cities, of the number of their religious, of the altars of every church; and other particulars never before publiſhed? On the contrary, we muſt declare, in juſtice to the merit of this Italian, that we have found no traveller more accurate and exact in relating all that he ſaw himſelf, or learned by information from others.

V. The

V. The collection of Boturini. This valuable collection of Mexican antiquities, ſeized upon formerly, and taken from that learned and induſtrious gentleman by the jealous government of Mexico, was preſerved chiefly in the archives of the viceroy. We ſaw ſome of theſe paintings, repreſenting ſome events of the conqueſt, and ſome fine portraits of the kings of Mexico. In 1770, were publiſhed in Mexico, along with the letters of Cortes, the figure of the Mexican year, and thirty-two copies of paintings of tributes, which were paid by different cities to the crown of Mexico, taken from the muſeum of Boturini. Thoſe of the tributes are the ſame with Mendoſa's, publiſhed by Purchas and Thevenot, but they are better executed, and have the figures of the tributary cities, which are entirely wanting in thoſe of Purchas and Thevenot; but ſtill ſix copies of thoſe repreſenting the tributes are wanting, and there are a thouſand blunders in the interpretations, ariſing from total ignorance of antiquity, and the Mexican language. So much is neceſſary to be obſerved, that they who ſee that work publiſhed in Mexico, under a reſpectable name, may not be led into errors.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHerever we have occaſion to make mention of perches, feet, or inches, without any ſpecification, they are to be underſtood, according to the meaſures of Paris; which, as they are more generally known, will, therefore, not be ſo apt to cauſe ambiguity to the reader. The perch of Paris *(toiſe)* is equal to ſix royal feet *(pie du roi)*. Every foot is equal to twelve inches, or thumbs *(pouces)*, and every inch to twelve lines. A line is ſuppoſed to conſiſt of ten parts, or points, in order to be able the more eaſily to expreſs the proportion which this foot bears to others. The Toledan, or Spaniſh foot, which is the third part of a Caſtilian *vara* (yard), is to the royal foot as 1240 to 1440; that is, of the 1440 parts, of which the royal foot is conſidered to be compoſed, the Toledan foot has 1240; wherefore ſeven Toledan feet make about ſix royal feet, or a Pariſian perch.

In the chart of the Mexican empire, we have thought it ſufficient to mark the provinces, and ſome few places; omitting a great many, even conſiderable cities, as their names are ſo long, the inſertion of them would not have left room for the names of the provinces.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

MEXICO.

BOOK I.

Deſcription of the Country of Anahuac, or a ſhort Account of the Soil, Climate, Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Minerals, Plants, Animals, and People of the Kingdom of Mexico.

THE name of *Anahuac*, which was originally given to the Vale of Mexico only, from its principal cities having been ſituated on little iſlands, and upon the borders of two lakes, taking afterwards a more extenſive ſignification, was uſed to denominate almoſt all that tract of land, which is known at preſent by the Name of *New Spain* (*a*).

SECT. I. Diviſion of the country of Anahuac.

This vaſt country was then divided into the kingdoms of Mexico, *Acolhuacan*, *Tlacopan*, and *Michuacan*; into the republics of *Tlaxcallan*, *Cholollan*, and *Huexotzinco*, and ſeveral other diſtinct ſtates.

The kingdom of Michuacan, the moſt weſterly of the whole, was bounded on the eaſt and ſouth by the Mexican dominions, on the

(*a*) *Anahuac* ſignifies *near to the water*, and from thence appears to be derived the name of *Anahuatlaca*, or *Nahuatlaca*, by which the poliſhed nations occupying the banks of the Mexican lake have been known.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA

BOOK I. north by the country of the Chichemecas, and other more barbarous nations, and on the weſt by the lake of Chapallan, and ſome independent ſtates. The capital *Tzintzuntzan*, called by the Mexicans *Huitzitzilla*, was ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the beautiful lake of *Pazcuaro*. Beſides theſe two cities, there were others very conſiderable; namely, *Tiripitio*, *Zacapu*, and *Tarecuato*. All this country was pleaſant, rich, and well inhabited.

The kingdom of Tlacopan, ſituated between Mexico and Michuacan, was of ſo ſmall extent, that, excepting the capital of that name, it comprehended but a few cities of the Tepaneca nation, and the villages of the Mazahui, ſituated in the mountains to the weſt of the vale of Mexico.

The court of Tlacopan was on the weſtern border of the lake of Tezcuco, four miles weſtward from that of Mexico *(b)*.

The kingdom of Acolhuacan, the moſt ancient, and in former times the moſt extenſive, was afterwards reduced to more narrow limits by the acquiſitions of the Mexicans. It was bounded on the eaſt by the republic of Tlaxcallan; on the ſouth, by the province of Chalco, belonging to the kingdom of Mexico; on the north, by the country of the Huaxtecas; and in the weſt, it was alſo bounded by different ſtates of Mexico, and terminated in the lake of Tezcuco. Its length from ſouth to north was little more than two hundred miles, and its greateſt breadth did not exceed ſixty; but in this ſmall diſtrict there were large cities, and a numerous population. The court of Tezcuco, ſituated upon the eaſtern bank of the lake of the ſame name, fifteen miles to the eaſtward of that of Mexico, was juſtly celebrated not leſs for its antiquity and grandeur than for the poliſh and civilization of its inhabitants. The three cities of *Huexotla*, *Coatlichan*, and *Atenco*, were ſo near adjacent, they appeared like its ſuburbs. *Otompan* was alſo a conſiderable city, and likewiſe *Acolman*, and *Tepepolco*.

The celebrated republic of Tlaxcallan or Tlaſcala, was bounded on the weſt by the kingdom of Acolhuacan, on the ſouth by the repub-

(b) The Spaniards have altered the Mexican names, and adapted them to their own language, ſaying Tacuba, Oculma, Otumaba, Guaxuta, Tepeaca, Guatemala, Churabuſco, &c. in place of Tlacopan, Acolman, Otompan, Huexotla, Tepejacac, Quauhtemallan, and Huitzilopochco, whoſe example we ſhall imitate, as far as it is convenient, to avoid giving our readers trouble in pronouncing them.

lics

lics of Cholollan and Huexotzinco, and by the ſtate of *Tepejacac*, belonging to the crown of Mexico, on the north by the ſtate of *Zacatlan*, and on the eaſt by other ſtates under ſubjection to the ſame crown. Its length did not reach fifty miles, nor its breadth more than thirty. Tlaſcala, from whence the republic took its name, was ſituated on the ſide of the great mountain *Mattalcueye*, towards the north-weſt, and about ſeventy miles to the eaſtward of the court of Mexico.

The kingdom of Mexico, although the moſt modern, was far more extenſive than all the other mentioned kingdoms and republics, taken together. It extended towards the ſouth-weſt and ſouth, as far as the Pacific Ocean; towards the ſouth-eaſt, as far as the neighbourhood of *Quauhtemallan*; towards the eaſt, excluſive of the diſtricts of the three republics, and a ſmall part of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, as far as the Gulf of Mexico; towards the north, to the country of the Huaxtecas; towards the north-weſt, it bordered on the barbarous Chichemecas; and the dominions of Tlacopan and Michuacan, were its boundaries towards the eaſt. The whole of the Mexican kingdom was comprehended between the 14th and 21ſt degrees of north latitude, and between 271 and 283 degrees of longitude, taken from the meridian of the iſland of Ferro (c).

The fineſt diſtrict of this country, in reſpect to advantage of ſituation, as well as population, was the vale itſelf of Mexico, crowned by beautiful and verdant mountains, whoſe circumference, meaſured at their baſe, exceeded a hundred and twenty miles. A great part of the vale is occupied by two lakes, the upper one of ſweet water, the lower one brackiſh, which communicate together by a canal. In the lower lake, on account of its lying in the very bottom of the valley, all the water running from the mountains collected; from thence, when extraordinary abundance of rains raiſed the water of the lake over its bed, it eaſily overflowed the city of Mexico, which was ſituated in the lake; which accident happened not leſs frequently under the Mexican monarchy than in the time of the Spaniards. Theſe two lakes, the circumference of which is not leſs than ninety miles, repreſented

(c) De Solis, and other Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh writers, allow ſtill more extent to the kingdom of Mexico; and Dr. Robertſon ſays, that the territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezcuco and Tacuba, ſcarcely yielded in extent to thoſe of the ſovereign of Mexico; but how far theſe authors are diſtant from the truth, will appear from our diſſertations.

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in ſome degree, the figure of a camel, the head and neck of which were formed by the lake of ſweet water, or *Chalco*, the body by the lake of brackiſh water, called the lake of *Tezcuco*, and the legs and feet were repreſented by the rivulets, and torrents, which ran from the mountains into the lake. Between the two lakes there is the little peninſula of *Itztapalapan*, which divides them. Beſides the three courts of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tlacopan, there were forty eminent cities, in this delightful vale, and innumerable villages and hamlets. The cities moſt noted next to theſe courts were *Xochimilco*, *Chalco*, *Itztapalapan*, and *Quauhtitlan*, which now, however, ſcarcely retain a twentieth part of their former greatneſs *(d)*.

Mexico, the moſt renowned of all the cities of the new world, and capital of the empire (the deſcription of which we ſhall give in another place) was, like Venice, built on ſeveral little iſlands in the lake of Tezcuco, in 19 deg. and 26 min. of north latitude, and in 276 deg. and 34 min. of longitude, between the two courts of Tetzcuco, and Tlacopan, 15 miles to the weſt of the one, and four to the eaſt of the other. Some of its provinces were inland, others maritime.

SECT. II. Provinces of the kingdom of Mexico.

The principal inland provinces to the northward were, the Otomies; to the ſouthweſt, the Matlatzincas and the Cuitlatecas; to the ſouth, the Tlahuicas and the Cohuixcas; to the ſouth-eaſt, after the ſtates of *Itzocan*, *Jauhtepec*, *Quauhquechollan*, *Atlixco*, *Tehuacan*, and others, were the great provinces of the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, and laſtly, the Chiapanecas. Towards the eaſt were the provinces of Tepeyacac, the Popolocas, and the Totonacas. The maritime provinces of the Mexican gulf were thoſe of *Coatzacualco* and *Cuetlachtlan*, which the Spaniards call Cotaſta. The provinces on the Pacific Ocean were thoſe of *Coliman*, *Zacatollan*, *Tototepec*, *Tecuantepec*, and *Xoconochco*.

The province of the Otomies commenced in the northern part of the Vale of Mexico, and extended through thoſe mountains to the

(a) The other reſpectable cities of the Vale of Mexico were, *Mizquic*, *Cuitlahuac*, *Azcapozalco*, *Tenayocan*, *Otompan*, *Colhuacan*, *Mexicaltzinco*, *Huitzilopochco*, *Coyohuacan*, *Atenco*, *Coatlichan*, *Huexotla*, *Chiautla*, *Acolman*, *Teotihuacan*, *Itztapaloccan*, *Tepetlaoztoc*, *Tepepolco*, *Tizayoccan*, *Citlaltepec*, *Coyotepec*, *Tzompanco*, *Toltitlan*, *Xaltoccan*, *Tetepanco*, *Ehecatepec*, *Tequizquiac*, *Huipochtlan*, *Tepotzotlan*, *Tehuillojocan*, *Huehetoca*, *Atlacuihuayan*, &c. See our Sixth Diſſertation.

north,

north, the diſtance of 90 miles from the capital. The ancient and famous city of *Tollan*, now *Tula*, diſtinguiſhed itſelf over all the inhabited places, of which there were many; alſo *Xilotepec*, which after the conqueſt made by the Spaniards, was the metropolis of the Otomies. Beyond the ſettlements of this nation towards the north and north-weſt, there were no other places inhabited as far as New Mexico. All this great track of land of more than a thouſand miles in length, was occupied by barbarous nations, who had no fixed reſidence, nor paid obedience to any ſovereign.

The province of the Matlatzincas, comprehended beſides the valley of Tolocan, all that ſpace from thence to *Tlaximaloyan* (now *Taximaroa)*, the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan. The fertile valley of Tolocan from the ſouth-eaſt to the north-weſt is upwards of forty miles long, and thirty in breadth where it is broadeſt. Tolocan, which was the principal city of the Matlatzincas, from whence the valley took its name, was, as it ſtill is, ſituated at the foot of a high mountain perpetually covered with ſnow, thirty miles diſtant from Mexico. All the other places of the valley were inhabited partly by the Matlatzincas, partly by the Otomies. In the neighbouring mountains there were the ſtates of *Xalatlauhco*, *Tzompahuacan*, and *Malinalco*; at no great diſtance to the eaſtward of the valley the ſtate of Ocuillan, and to the weſtward thoſe of *Tozantla* and *Zoltepec*.

The Cuitlatecas inhabited a country which extended more than two hundred miles from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, from the kingdom of Michuacan, as far as the Pacific Ocean. Their capital was the great and populous city of Mexcaltepec upon the coaſt, the ruins of which are now ſcarcely viſible.

The capital of the Tlahuicas was the pleaſant and ſtrong city of Quauhnahuac, called by the Spaniards Cuernabaca, about forty miles from Mexico towards the ſouth. Their province, which commenced from the ſouthern mountains of the vale of Mexico, extended almoſt ſixty miles ſouthward.

The great province of the Cohuixcas was bounded on the north by the Matlatzincas, and Tlahuicas, on the weſt by the Cuitlatecas, on the eaſt by the Jopi and Mixtecas, and to the ſouthward it extended itſelf as far as the Pacific Ocean, through that part where at preſent the

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the port and city of Acapulco lie. This province was divided into ſeveral diſtinct ſtates, namely, *Tzompanco*, *Chilapan*, *Tlapan*, and *Teoitztla*, now *Tiſtla*, a country for the moſt part too hot, and unhealthy. Tlachco, a place celebrated for its ſilver mines, either belonged to the above mentioned province, or bordered upon it.

Mixtecapan, or the province of the Mixtecas, extended itſelf from *Acatlan*, a place diſtant an hundred and twenty miles from the court, towards the ſouth-eaſt, as far as the Pacific Ocean, and contained ſeveral cities and villages, well inhabited, and of conſiderable trade. To the eaſt of the Mixtecas, were the Zapotecas, ſo called from their capital Teotzapotlan. The valley of *Huaxyacac* was in their diſtrict, called by the Spaniards *Oaxaca*, or *Guaxaca*. The city of Huaxyacac, was afterwards conſtituted a biſhoprick, and the valley a marquiſate in favour of the conqueror D. Ferdinand Cortes *(e)*.

To the northward of the Mixtecas was the province of *Mazatlan*, and to the northward and the eaſtward of the Zapotecas was *Chimantla*, with their capitals of the ſame name, from whence their inhabitants were called Mazatecas, and Chinantecas. The provinces of the Chiapanecas, Zoqui, and Queleni were the laſt of the Mexican empire towards the ſouth-eaſt. The principal cities of the Chiapanecas were *Tochiapan* (called by the Spaniards Chiapa de Indios), *Tochtla*, *Chamolla*, and *Tziuacantla*, of the Zoqui, *Tecpantla*, and of the Queleni, *Teopixca*. Upon the ſide and around the famous mountain *Popocatepec*, which is thirty-three miles diſtant towards the ſouth-eaſt from the court, were the great ſtates *Amaquemecan*, *Tepoztlan*, *Jauhtepec*, *Huaxtepec*, *Chietlan*, *Itzocan*, *Acapetlayoccan*, *Quauhquechollan*, *Atlixco*, *Cholollan*, and *Huexotzinco*; theſe two laſt, which were the moſt conſiderable, having, with the aſſiſtance of their neighbours the Tlaſcalans, ſhaken off the Mexican yoke, re-eſtabliſhed their former ariſtocratical government. Cholollan, or Cholula, and

(e) Some believe, that anciently there was nothing in the place called Huaxyacac, but a mere garriſon of the Mexicans, and that that city was founded by the Spaniards; but beſides that it appears by the tribute-roll, that Huaxyacac was one of the tributary cities to the crown of Mexico, we know that the Mexicans were not accuſtomed to eſtabliſh any garriſon, except in the moſt populous places of their conquered provinces. The Spaniards were ſaid to found a city whenever they gave a Spaniſh name to an Indian ſettlement, and gave it Spaniſh magiſtrates; *Antequera* in *Huaxjacac*, and *Segura della Frontera*, in *Tepejacac* were no otherwiſe founded.

Huexot-

Huexotzinco were the largeſt and moſt populous cities of all that land. The Cholulans poſſeſſed a ſmall hamlet called Cuitlaxcoapan, in the very place where afterwards the Spaniards founded the city of Angelopoli, which is the ſecond of New Spain *(f)*.

To the eaſt of Cholula there was the reſpectable ſtate of Tepeyacac; and beyond that, the Popolocas, whoſe principal cities were *Tecamachalco* and *Quecholac*. To the ſouthward of the Popolocas there was the ſtate of *Tehuacan*, bordering upon the country of the Mixtecas; to the eaſt the maritime province of *Cuetlachtlan*, and to the north the Totonacas. This great province, which was the laſt in that part of the empire, extended a hundred and fifty miles, beginning from the frontier of *Zacatlan*, a ſtate belonging to the crown of Mexico, about eighty miles diſtant from the court, and terminating in the Gulf of Mexico. Beſides the capital *Mixquihuacan*, fifteen miles to the eaſtward of Zacatlan, there was the beautiful city of *Chempoallan* upon the coaſt of the Gulf, which was the firſt city of the empire entered by the Spaniards, and where, as will hereafter appear, their ſucceſs began. Theſe were the principal inland provinces of the Mexican empire; omitting the mention, at preſent, of ſeveral other leſſer ſtates, which might render our deſcription tedious.

Among the maritime provinces of the Pacific Ocean, the moſt northern was Coliman; whoſe capital ſo called, lay in 19 deg. of latitude, and in 272 deg. of longitude. Purſuing the ſame coaſt, towards the ſouth-eaſt was the province of Zacatolan, with its capital of the ſame name; then the coaſt of the Cuitlatecas; and after it that of the Cohuixcas, in which diſtrict was Acapulco, at preſent a celebrated port for commerce with the Philippine Iſlands, in 16 deg. 40 min. of latitude, and 276 of longitude.

Adjoining to the coaſt of the Cohuixcas, were the Jopi; and adjoining to that, the Mixtecas, known in our time by the name of *Xicayan*. Then followed the great province of Tecuantepec; and laſtly, that of Xoconochco. The city of Tecuantepec, from which the ſtate derived its name, was ſituated on a beautiful little iſland,

(f) The Spaniards ſay *Tuſtla*, *Mecameca*, *Izucar*, *Atriſco* and *Quechula* in place of *Tochtlan*, *Amaquemecan*, *Itzocan*, *Atlixco*, and *Quecholac*.

formed

BOOK I.

formed by a river two miles from the ſea. The province of Xoconochco, which was the laſt and moſt ſoutherly of the empire, was bounded on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt by the country of *Xochitepec*, which did not belong to the crown of Mexico; on the weſt, by that of Tecuantepec; and on the ſouth terminated in the ocean. Its capital, called alſo *Xoconochco*, was ſituated between two rivers, in 14 deg. of latitude, and in 283 of longitude. Upon the Mexican Gulf there were, beſides the coaſt of the Totonacas, the provinces of *Cuetlachtlan* and *Coatzacualco*; this laſt was bounded on the eaſt by the vaſt country of *Onohualco*, under which name the Mexicans comprehended the ſtates of Tabaſco, and the peninſula of Yucatan, which were not ſubject to their dominion. Beſides the capital, called alſo Coatzacualco, ſounded upon the borders of a great river, there were other well-peopled places amongſt which *Painalla* merits particular mention by having been the place of the nativity of the famous *Malintzin*, one of the moſt powerful inſtruments of the conqueſt of Mexico. The province of Cuetlachtlan which had a capital ſo called, comprehended all that coaſt which is between the river Alvarado, where the province of Coatzacualco terminates, and the river Antigua *(g)*, where the province of the Totonacas began. On that part of the coaſt which the Mexicans called Chalchicuecan, lie at preſent the city and port of Vera Cruz, the moſt renowned of all New Spain.

All the country of Anahuac, generally ſpeaking, was well peopled. In the hiſtory and in the diſſertations we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſeveral particular cities, and to give ſome idea of the multitude of their inhabitants. Almoſt all the inhabited ſettlements with their ancient names, are now ſtill exiſting, though much altered; but all the ancient cities excepting thoſe of Mexico or Orizaba and ſome others, appear ſo reduced, they hardly contain the fourth part of the number of buildings and inhabitants which they formerly poſſeſſed; there are many which have preſerved but a tenth part, and others hardly the twentieth part of their ancient greatneſs.

To ſpeak in general of the Indians, and comparing the ſtate of their population, reported by the firſt Spaniſh hiſtorians, and their

(g) We give this river the Spaniſh name, by which it is known at preſent; as we are ignorant of its Mexican name.

native

native writers, with what we have ſeen ourſelves, we can affirm that at preſent there hardly remains one-tenth part of the ancient inhabitants; the miſerable conſequence of the calamities they have undergone.

SECT. III. Rivers, lakes, and fountains.

The land is in great part abrupt and mountainous, covered with thick woods, and watered by large rivers; though not to be compared with thoſe of South America: ſome of theſe run into the Gulf of Mexico, and others into the Pacific Ocean. Amongſt the firſt, thoſe of *Papaloapan*, *Coatzacualco*, and *Chiapan* are the greateſt. The river Papaloapan, which the Spaniards call *Alvarado*, from the name of the firſt Spaniſh captain who ſailed into it, has its principal ſource in the mountains of the Zapotecas, and after making a circuit through the province of Mazatlan, and receiving other ſmaller rivers and ſtreams, is diſcharged into the Gulf by three navigable mouths, at thirty miles diſtance from Vera Cruz. The river Coatzacualco, which is alſo navigable, comes down from the mountains of the *Mixes*, and croſſing the province of which it takes the name, empties itſelf into the ocean nigh to the country of Onohualco. The river Chiapan begins its courſe from the mountains called *Cuchumataneo*, which ſeparate the dioceſe of Chiapan from that of Guatemala, croſſes the province of its own name, and afterwards that of Onohualco, where it runs into the ſea. The Spaniards call it *Tabaſco*, which they alſo called that tract of land which unites the peninſula of Yucatan to the Mexican continent. They called it alſo the river *Grihalva*, from the commander of the firſt Spaniſh fleet who diſcovered it.

Amongſt the rivers which run into the Pacific Ocean *Tololotlan* is the moſt celebrated, called by the Spaniards *Guadalaxara*, or *great river*: It takes its riſe in the mountains of the valley of Toloccan, croſſes the kingdom of Michuacan and the lake of Chapallan, from thence it waters the country of *Tonollan*, where at preſent the city of Guadalaxara, the capital of New Gallicia, ſtands; and after running a courſe of more than ſix hundred miles, diſcharges itſelf into the ocean, in the latitude of 22° degrees. The river Tecuantepec ſprings in the mountains of the Mixes, and after a ſhort courſe empties itſelf into the ocean in the latitude of 15½ degrees.

BOOK I. The river of the Jopi waters the country of that nation, and flows out fifteen miles to the eaſtward of the port of Acapulco; forming in that quarter the dividing line between the dioceſes of Mexico and Angelopoli.

There were beſides, and ſtill are, ſeveral lakes, which did not leſs embelliſh the country than give convenience to the commerce of thoſe people. The lake of Nicaragua, of Chapallan, and Pazquaro, which were the moſt conſiderable, did not belong to the Mexican empire. Amongſt the others, the moſt important to our hiſtory, are thoſe two in the vale of Mexico, which we have already ſpoken of. The lake of Chalco extended twelve miles from eaſt to weſt, as far as the city of Xochimilco, and from thence taking, for as many miles, a northerly direction, incorporated itſelf by means of a canal, with the lake of Tetzcuco; but its breadth did not exceed ſix miles.

The lake of Tetzcuco extended fifteen miles, or rather ſeventeen from eaſt to weſt, and ſomething more from ſouth to north; but at preſent its extent is much leſs, for the Spaniards have diverted into new channels many rivers which formerly ran into it. All the water which aſſembles there is at firſt ſweet, and becomes ſalt afterwards, from the nitrous bed of the lake where it is received *(b)*. Beſides theſe two great lakes, there were in the ſame vale of Mexico, and to the north of the coaſt, two ſmaller ones, named after the cities of Tzompanco, and Xaltoccan. The lake of Tochtlan, in the province of Coatzacualco, makes a ſweet proſpect, and its banks a moſt delightful dwelling. With reſpect to fountains, there are ſo many in that land, and ſo different in quality, they would deſerve a ſeparate hiſtory, eſpecially if we had to enumerate thoſe of the kingdom of Michuacan. There are an infinity of nitrous, ſulphureous, vitriolic, and alluminous mineral waters, ſome of which

(*b*) M. de Bomare ſays, in his Dictionary of Natural Hiſtory, that the ſalt of the Mexican lake may proceed from the waters of the ocean in the north being filtered through the earth; and to corroborate his opinion he quotes *Le Journal des Sçavans*, of the year 1676. But this is truly a groſs error, becauſe that lake is one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from the ocean; beſides, the bed of this lake is ſo elevated, that it has at leaſt one mile of perpendicular height above the level of the ſea. The anonymous author of the work intitled, *Obſervations curieuſes ſur le Lac de Mexique*, (the work expreſsly from which the journaliſts of Paris have made their extracts,) is very far from adopting the error of M. de Bomare.

ſpring

ſpring out ſo hot, that in a few moments any kind of fruit or animal food is boiled in them. There are alſo petrifying waters, namely thoſe of Tehuacan, a city about one hundred and twenty miles diſtant from Mexico towards the ſouth-eaſt, thoſe of the ſpring of Pucuaro in the ſtates of the Conte di Miravalles, in the kingdom of Michuacan, and that of a river in the province of the Queleni. With the water of Pucuaro they make little white ſmooth ſtones, not diſpleaſing to the taſte; ſcrapings from which taken in broth, or in Atolli *(i)* are moſt powerful diaphoretics, and are uſed with remarkable ſucceſs in various kinds of fevers *(k)*. The citizens of Mexico during the time of their kings, ſupplied themſelves with water from the great ſpring of Chapoltepec, which was conveyed to the city by an aqueduct, of which, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. In mentioning the waters of that kingdom, if the plan of our hiſtory would permit, we might deſcribe the ſtupendous falls or caſcades of ſeveral rivers *(l)*, and the bridges which nature has formed over others, particularly the *Ponte di Dio:* thus they call in that country a vaſt volume of earth thrown acroſs the deep river Atoyaque, cloſe to the village of Molcaxac, about one hundred miles to the ſouth-eaſt from Mexico, along which, coaches and carriages conveniently paſs. It is probable, it has been a fragment of a neighbouring mountain, thrown from it by ſome former earthquake.

SECT. IV. Climate of Anahuac.

The climate of the countries of Anahuac varies according to their ſituation. The maritime countries are hot, and for the moſt part moiſt and unhealthy. Their heat, which occaſions ſweat even in January, is owing to the perfect flatneſs of the coaſts compared with the inland country; or from the mountains of ſand that gather upon the ſhore, which is the caſe with Vera Cruz my native country. The moiſture proceeds not leſs from the ſea than from the abundance of waters deſcending from the mountains which

(*i*) Atolli is the name given by the Mexicans, to a gruel made of maiz or Indian corn; of which we ſhall ſpeak in another place.

(*k*) The little ſtones of Pucuaro have been known but a ſhort time. I have myſelf been an eye witneſs of their wonderful effect, in the epidemic of 1762. The doſe preſcribed for one who is eaſily brought to ſweat is one drachm of the ſcrapings.

(*l*) Amongſt the caſcades there is one famous, made by the great river Guadalaxara, in a place called Tempizque, fifteen miles to the ſouthward of that city.

command the coaſt. In hot countries there is never any white froſt, and moſt inhabitants of ſuch regions have no other idea of ſnow than that which they receive from the reading of books, or the accounts of ſtrangers. Lands which are very high, or very near to very high mountains which are perpetually covered with ſnow, are cold; and I have been upon a mountain not more than twenty-five miles, removed from the capital, where there has been white froſt and ice even in the dog-days. All the other inland countries, where the greateſt population prevailed, enjoy a climate ſo mild and benign, they neither feel the rigour of winter, nor the heats of ſummer. It is true, in many of theſe countries there is frequently white froſt in the three months of December, January, and February, and ſometimes even it ſnows; but the ſmall inconvenience which ſuch cold occaſions, continues only till the riſing ſun: no other fire than his rays, is neceſſary to give warmth in winter; no other relief is wanted in the ſeaſon of heat, but the ſhade; the ſame clothing which covers men in the dog-days, defends them in January; and the animals ſleep all the year under the open ſky.

This mildneſs and agreeableneſs of climate under the torrid zone, is the effect of ſeveral natural cauſes, entirely unknown to the ancients, who believed it uninhabitable; and not well underſtood by ſome moderns, by whom it is eſteemed unfavourable to thoſe who live in it. The purity of the atmoſphere, the ſmaller obliquity of the ſolar rays, and the longer ſtay of this luminary upon the horizon in winter, in compariſon of other regions farther removed from the equator, concur to leſſen the cold, and to prevent all that horror which diſfigures the face of nature in other climes. During that ſeaſon, a ſerene ſky and the natural delights of the country, are enjoyed; whereas under the frigid, and even for the moſt part under the temperate zones, the clouds rob man of the proſpect of heaven, and the ſnow buries the beautiful productions of the earth. No leſs cauſes, combine to temper the heat of ſummer. The plentiful ſhowers which frequently water the earth after mid-day, from April or May, to September or October; the high mountains continually loaded with ſnow, ſcattered here and there through the country of Anahuac; the cool winds which breathe from them in that ſeaſon; and

and the ſhorter ſtay of the ſun upon the horizon, compared with the circumſtances of the temperate zone, transform the ſummer of thoſe happy countries into a cool and chearful ſpring.

But the agreeableneſs of the climate is counterbalanced by thunder ſtorms, which are frequent in ſummer, particularly in the vicinity of Matlalcueje or the mountain of Tlaſclala, and by earthquakes which at all times are felt, although with leſs danger than terror. Theſe firſt and laſt effects are occaſioned by the ſulphur and other combuſtible materials, depoſited in great abundance in the bowels of the earth. Storms of hail are neither more frequent nor more ſevere than in Europe.

SECT. V. Mountains, Stones, and Minerals.

The fire kindled in the bowels of the earth by the ſulphureous and bituminous materials, has made vents for itſelf in ſome of the mountains or volcanos, from whence flames are often ſeen to iſſue, and aſhes and ſmoke. There are five mountains in the diſtrict of the Mexican empire, where at different times this dreadful phænomenon has been obſerved. *Pojauhtecatl*, called by the Spaniard, *Volcan d'Orizaba*, began to ſend forth ſmoke, in the year 1545, and continued to do ſo for twenty years: but after that, for the ſpace of more than two centuries, there has not been obſerved the ſmalleſt ſign of burning. This celebrated mountain, which is of a conical figure, is indiſputably the higheſt land of all Anahuac; and on account of its height, is the firſt land deſcried by ſeamen who are ſteering that way, at the diſtance of fifty leagues *(m)*. Its top is always covered with ſnow, and its border adorned with large cedar, pine, and other trees of valuable wood, which make the proſpect of it every way beautiful. It is diſtant from the capital upwards of ninety miles to the eaſtward.

The *Popocatepec* and *Iztaccihuatl*, which lay near each other, but thirty-three miles diſtant from Mexico towards the ſouth-eaſt, are alſo of a ſurpriſing height. Popocatepec, for which they have ſubſtituted

(*m*) *Pojauhtecatl* is higher than Taide or the Peak of Teneriffe, according to P. Tallandier the jeſuit, who made obſervations on them both: *vide Lettres Edifiantes*, &c. Thomas Gage ſays of the Popocatepec, it is as high as the higheſt Alps: he might have added, ſomething higher, if he had calculated the elevated ſtation on which this celebrated mountain riſes.

the

BOOK I.

the name *Volcan*, has a mouth or vent more than half a mile wide, from which, in the time of the Mexican kings, it frequently emitted flames; and in the laſt century many times threw out great quantities of aſhes upon the places adjacent; but in this century, hardly any ſmoak has been obſerved. *Iztaccihuatl*, known by the Spaniards under the name of Sierra Nevada, threw out alſo at ſometimes ſmoke and aſhes. Both mountains have their tops always covered with ſnow in ſo great quantities, as to ſupply with what precipitates on the neighbouring rocks, the cities of Mexico, Gelopoli, Cholula, and other adjoining places, to the diſtance of forty miles from theſe mountains, where an incredible quantity is yearly conſumed in cooling and congealing liquors *(n)*.

The mountains of Coliman and Tochtlan, conſiderably diſtant from the capital, and ſtill more ſo from each other, have emitted fire at different periods, in our time *(o)*.

Beſides theſe mountains there are likewiſe others, which, though not burning mountains, are yet of great celebrity for their height; namely, Matlalcueye, or the mountain of Tlaſcala; *Nappateuctli*, called by the Spaniards, from its figure, *Cofre* or trunk; *Tentzon*,

(*n*) The impoſt or duty upon ice or congealed ſnow conſumed in the capital, amounted in 1746, to 15,522 Mexican crowns; ſome years after, it roſe to 20,000, and at preſent we may believe it is a great deal more.

(*o*) A few years ago an account was publiſhed in Italy, concerning the mountains of Tochtlan or Tuſtla, full of curious, but too ridiculous lies; in which there was a deſcription of rivers of fire, of frightful elephants, &c. We do not mention among the burning mountains, neither *Juruyo*, nor *Mamotombo*, of Nicaragua; nor that of *Guatemala*; becauſe neither of theſe three was comprehended under the Mexican dominions. That of Guatemala, laid in ruins with earthquakes, that great and beautiful city, the 29th of July, 1773. With reſpect to Juruyo, ſituated in the valley of Urecho, in the kingdom of Michuacan, before the year 1760, there was nothing of it but a ſmall hill where there was a ſugar plantation. But on the 29th of September, 1760, it burſt with furious ſhocks, and entirely ruined the ſugar work, and the neighbouring village of *Guacana*; and from that time has continued to emit fire and burning rocks, which have formed themſelves into three high mountains, whoſe circumference was nearly ſix miles, in 1766, according to the account communicated to me, by Don Emmanuelle di Buſtamante, governor of that province, and an eye-witneſs of the fact. The aſhes at the eruption, were forced as far as the city of Queretaro, one hundred and fifty miles diſtant from Juruyo, a matter almoſt incredible, but public and notorious in that city; where a gentleman ſhewed me, in a paper, the aſhes which he had gathered. In the city of Valadolid, ſixty miles diſtant, it rained aſhes in ſuch abundance they were obliged to ſweep the yards of the houſes two or three times during the day.

near

near to the village of Moacaxac, Toloccan, and others, which, being of no importance to the ſubject, I intentionally omit. Every one knows that the famous chain of the Andes, or Alps of South America, are continued through the iſthmus of Panama, and through all New Spain till they loſe themſelves in the unknown countries of the North. The moſt conſiderable part of this chain is known in that kingdom under the name of *Sierra Madre*, particularly in Cinaloa, and Tarahumara, provinces twelve hundred miles diſtant from the capital.

The mountains of Anahuac abound in ores of every kind of metal, and an infinite variety of other foſſils. The Mexicans found gold in the countries of the Cohuixcas, the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, and in ſeveral others. They gathered this precious metal chiefly in grains amongſt the ſand of the rivers, and the above mentioned people paid a certain quantity in tribute to the crown of Mexico. Silver was dug out of the mines of Tlachco, Tzompanco, and others; but it was not ſo much prized by them as it is by other nations. Since the conqueſt, ſo many ſilver mines have been diſcovered in that country, eſpecially in the provinces which are to the north-weſt of the capital, it is quite impoſſible to enumerate them. Of copper they had two ſorts, one hard, which they uſed inſtead of iron to make axes, hatchets, mattocks, and other inſtruments of war and agriculture; the other flexible, for making of baſons, pots, and other veſſels. This metal abounded formerly more than elſewhere in the provinces of Zacatollan, and the Cohuixchas; at preſent it abounds in the kingdom of Michuacan.

They dug tin from the mines of Tlachco, and lead from the mines of *Izmiquilpan*, a place in the country of the Otomies. Of tin they made money, as we ſhall obſerve in its place, and we know of lead that it was ſold at market, but we are entirely ignorant of the uſe it was put to; there were likewiſe mines of iron in Tlaſcala, in Tlachco, and other places; but they either did not find out theſe mines, or at leaſt did not know how to benefit themſelves by the diſcovery. There were alſo in Chilapan mines of quickſilver, and in many places mines of ſulphur, alum, vitriol, cinnabar, ochre, and a white earth ſtrongly reſembling white lead. Of quickſilver and vitriol we do not know the uſe which they made; the other minerals were employed in painting and dying. Of amber and aſphaltum, or bitumen of Judea, there

was

was and ſtill is great abundance on both coaſts, and they were both paid in tribute to the king of Mexico from many places of the empire. Amber they uſed to ſet in gold for ornament; aſphaltum was employed in certain incenſe offerings, as we ſhall find hereafter.

With reſpect to precious ſtones there were, and ſtill are, diamonds, though few in number; amethyſts, cats-eyes, turquoiſes, cornelians, and ſome green ſtones reſembling emeralds, and not much inferior to them; and of all theſe ſtones, the Mixtecas, the Zapotecas, and Cohuixcas, in whoſe mountains they were found, paid a tribute to the king. Of their plenty and eſtimation with the Mexicans, and the manner in which they wrought them, we ſhall ſpeak more properly in another place. The mountains which lay on the coaſt of the gulf of Mexico, between the port of Vera Cruz and the river Coatzacualco, namely, thoſe of Chinantla, and the province of Mixtecas, furniſhed them with cryſtal; and the cities of Tochtepec, Cuetlachtlan, Cozamaloapan, and others, were obliged to contribute annually to the luxury of the court.

Theſe mountains did not leſs abound in various kinds of ſtone, valuable in architecture, ſculpture, and other arts. There are quarries of jaſper, and marble of different colours in the mountains of Calpolalpan to the eaſt of Mexico; in thoſe which ſeparate the two vallies of Mexico and Toloccan, now called *Monte de los Cruzes*, and in thoſe of the Zapotecas: of alabaſter in Tecalco (at preſent *Tecale*), a place in the neighbourhood of the province of Tepeyacac, and in the country of the Mixtecas: of Tezontli, in the vale itſelf of Mexico, and in many other places of the empire. The ſtone Tetzontli is generally of a dark red colour, pretty hard, porous, and light, unites moſt firmly with lime and ſand, and is therefore more in demand than any other for the buildings of the capital, where the foundation is marſhy and unſolid. There are beſides entire mountains of loadſtone, and among others one very conſiderable between Teoitztlan and Chilapan, in the country of the Cohuixcas. Of *Quetzalitztli* commonly known by the name of the nephritic ſtone, the Mexicans formed various and curious figures, ſome of which are preſerved in different muſeums of Europe. *Chimaltizatl*, which is a kind of talc, is a tranſparent white ſtone, dividing eaſily into thin leaves; on

on calcination gives a fine plaiſter, which the ancient Mexicans uſed to whiten their paintings. There are beſides infinite quantities of plaiſter and talc; but reſpecting this laſt we do not know what uſe it was put to. The *Mezcuitlatl*, that is, moon's-dung, belongs to that claſs of ſtones which, on account of their reſiſtance to the action of fire, are called by chemiſts *lapides refractarii*. It is tranſparent and of a reddiſh gold colour. But no ſtone was more common with the Mexicans than the itztli, of which there is great abundance in many places of Mexico. It is ſemitranſparent, of a glaſſy ſubſtance, and generally black, but it is found alſo white and blue; they made looking-glaſſes of this ſtone, knives, lancets, razors, and ſpears, as we ſhall mention when we treat of their militia; and after the introduction of the goſpel they made ſacred ſtones of it which were much valued *(p)*.

Sect. VI. Plants eſteemed for their flowers.

However plentiful and rich the mineral kingdom of Mexico may be, the vegetable kingdom is ſtill more various and abundant. The celebrated Dr. Hernandez, the Pliny of New Spain, deſcribes in his Natural Hiſtory, about twelve hundred plants, natives of that country; but his deſcription, although large, being confined to medicinal plants, has hardly compriſed one part of what provident nature has produced there for the benefit of mortals. Of the medicinal plants we ſhould give but an imperfect account if we applied to the medicine of the Mexicans. With regard to the other claſſes of vegetables, ſome are eſteemed for their flowers, ſome for their fruit, ſome for their leaves, ſome for their root, ſome for their trunk or their wood, and others for their gum, reſin, oil, or juice *(q)*. Among the many flowers which embelliſh the meads and adorn the gardens of the Mexicans, there are ſome worthy to be mentioned, either from the ſingular beauty of their colours, the exquiſite fragrance which they exhale, or the extraordinarineſs of their form.

The *Floripundio* which, on account of its ſize, merits the firſt mention, is a beautiful white odoriferous flower, monopetalous, or conſiſt-

(*p*) Itztli is known in South America by the name of the Pietra del Galinazzo. The celebrated Mr. Caylus proves, in a manuſcript Diſſertation, which Mr. Bomare has cited, that the *obſidiona*, of which the ancients made their *vaſi murini*, which were ſo much eſteemed, was entirely ſimilar to this ſtone.

(*q*) We have adopted this though imperfect diviſion of plants, as it appears the moſt ſuitable and adapted to the plan of our hiſtory.

ing of one leaf, but ſo large, in length it is full more than eight inches, and its diameter in the upper part three or four. Many hang together from the branches like bells, but not entirely round as their corolla *(r)*, has five or ſix angles equidiſtant from each other. Theſe flowers are produced by a pretty little tree, the branches of which form a round top like a dome. Its trunk is tender, its leaves large, angular, and of a pale green colour. The flowers are followed by round fruit as large as oranges, which contain an almond.

The Jollocxochitl *(s)*, or flower of the heart, is alſo large, and not leſs eſtimable for its beauty than for its odour, which is ſo powerful, that a ſingle flower is ſufficient to fill a whole houſe with the moſt pleaſing fragrance. It has many petals, which are glutinous, externally white, internally reddiſh or yellowiſh, and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that when the flower is open and its petals expanded, it has the appearance of a ſtar, but when ſhut it reſembles in ſome meaſure a heart, from whence its name aroſe. The tree which bears it is tolerably large, and its leaves long and rough.

The Coatzontecoxochitl, or flower with the viper's head, is of incomparable beauty *(t)*. It is compoſed of five petals or leaves, purple in the innermoſt part, white in the middle, the reſt red but elegantly ſtained with yellow and white ſpots. The plant which bears it has leaves reſembling thoſe of the iris, but longer and larger, its trunk is ſmall and ſlim; this flower was one of the moſt eſteemed amongſt the Mexicans.

The Oceloxochitl, or tyger-flower, is large, compoſed of three pointed petals, and red, but towards the middle of a mixed white and yellow, repreſenting in ſome degree the ſpots of that wild animal from which it takes its name. The plant has leaves alſo reſembling thoſe of the iris, and a bulbous root.

(*r*) The coloured leaves of which the flower is compoſed are called *petals* by Fabio Colonna, and *corolla* by Linnæus, to diſtinguiſh them from the real leaves.

(*s*) There is another Jolloxochitl alſo exceedingly fragrant, but different in form.

(*t*) Flos forma ſpectabilis, et quam vix quiſpiam poſſit verbis exprimere, aut penecillo pro dignitate imitari, a principibus Indorum ut naturæ miraculum valde expetitus, et in magno habitus pretio. Hernandez Hiſtor. Nat. N. Hiſpaniæ, lib. viii. c. 8. The Lincean Academicians of Rome, who commented on and publiſhed this Hiſtory of Hernandez in 1651, and ſaw the paintings of this flower, with its colours, executed in Mexico, conceived ſuch an idea of its beauty that they adopted it as the emblem of their very learned academy, denominating it *Flor di Lince*.

Iolloxochitl

Coatzontecoxochitl

Xiloxochitl

Occloxochitl

Macpalxochitl

The *Cacaloxochitl*, or raven-flower is ſmall, but very fragrant, and coloured white, red, and yellow. The tree which produces theſe flowers appears covered all over with them, forming at the end of the branches natural bunches not leſs pleaſing to the ſight than grateful to the ſenſe. In hot countries there is nothing more common than theſe flowers; the Indians adorn their altars with them; and the Spaniards make excellent conſerves of them *(u)*.

The *Izquixochitl* is a ſmall white flower, reſembling in figure the cynorrhodo, or wood-roſe, and in flavour the garden-roſe, but much ſuperior to it in fragrance. It grows to a great tree.

The *Chempoalochitl*, or *Chempaſcubil*, as the Spaniards ſay, is that flower tranſplanted to Europe which the French call Oeillet d'Inde, or Indian carnation. It is exceedingly common in Mexico, where they call it alſo Flower of the Dead; and there are ſeveral kinds differing in ſize, in figure, and in the number of petals of which they are compoſed.

The flower which the Mexicans call *Xiloxochitl*, and the Miztecas *Tiata*, is entirely compoſed of thin, equal, and ſtrait threads, but pliant and about ſix inches long, ſpringing from a round cup ſomething reſembling an acorn, but different in ſize, in colour, and ſubſtance. Some of theſe beautiful flowers are entirely red, others all white, and the tree which bears them is moſt beautiful.

The *Macphalxochitl*, or flower of the hand, is like a tulip, but its piſtillum repreſents the form of a bird's foot, or rather that of an ape, with ſix fingers terminated with as many nails. The vulgar Spaniards of that kingdom call the tree which bears theſe curious flowers *Arbol de Manitas*.

Beſides theſe and innumerable other flowers, natives of that country, which the Mexicans delighted to cultivate, the land of Mexico has been enriched with all thoſe which could be tranſported from Aſia and Europe, ſuch as lilies, jeſſamines, carnations of different kinds, and others in great numbers, which at preſent in the gardens of Mexico rival the flowers of America.

SECT. VII. Plants valued for their fruit.

With regard to fruits, the country of Anahuac is partly indebted to the Canary Iſlands, partly to Spain, for water melons, apples, peaches,

(*u*) It is probable that this tree is the ſame which Bomare deſcribes under the name of *Frangipanier*.

BOOK I.

quinces, apricots, pears, pomegranates, figs, black-cherries, walnuts, almonds, olives, cheſnuts, and grapes; although theſe laſt were not altogether wanting in the country (x). In Mizteca there are two kinds of wild vine original in the country: the one in the ſhoots and figure of the leaves ſimilar to the common vine, produces red grapes, large, and covered with a hard ſkin, but of a ſweet and grateful taſte, which would certainly improve from culture. The grape of the other vine is hard, large, and of a very harſh taſte, but they make an excellent conſerve of it.

With reſpect to the cocoa-tree, the plaintain, the citron, orange, and lemon, I am perſuaded, from the teſtimony of Oviedo, Hernandez, and Bernal Dias, that they had the cocoa from the Philippine Iſlands, and the reſt from the Canaries (y); but as I know there are many of another opinion, I decline engaging myſelf in any diſpute; becauſe, beſides its being a matter of no importance to me, it would force me to deviate from the line of my hiſtory. It is certain, that theſe trees, and all others which have been imported there from elſewhere, have ſucceſsfully taken root, and multiplied as much as in their native ſoil. All the maritime countries abound with cocoa-nut trees. Of oranges, there are ſeven different kinds, and of lemons only four. There are as many of the plaintain, or *platano*, as the Spaniards call it (z). The largeſt, which is the zapalot, is from fifteen

(x) The places named *Parras* and *Parral* in the dioceſe of New Biſcaglia, had theſe names from the abundance of vines which were found there, of which they made many vineyards, which at this day produce good wine.

(y) Oviedo, in his Natural Hiſtory, atteſts, that F. J. Bulangas, a Dominican, was the firſt who brought the Muſa from the Canaries to Hiſpaniola, in 1516; and from thence it was tranſplanted to the continent of America. Hernandez, in the iiid book, chap. 40. of his Natural Hiſtory, ſpeaks thus of the cocoa: *Naſcitur paſſim apud* Orientales et jam quoque apud Occidentales Indos. B. Dias in his Hiſtory of the Conqueſt, chap. 17. ſays, he ſowed in the country of Coatzacualco, ſeven or eight orange ſeeds; and theſe, he adds, were the firſt oranges ever planted in New Spain. With regard to the muſa, of the four ſpecies which there are of it, it is probable, one of them only is foreign, which is called *Guineo*.

(z) The muſa was not altogether unknown to the ancients. Pliny, in citing the account which the ſoldiers of Alexander the Great gave of all that they ſaw in India, gives this deſcription of it: *Major et alia (arbos) pomo et ſuavitate præcellentior, quo ſapientes Indorum vivunt. Folium avium alas imitatur, longitudine cubitorum trium, latitudine duum. Fructum cortice emittit admirabilem ſucci dulcedine, ut uno quartenos ſatiet. Arbori nomen palæ, pomo arienæ.* Hiſt. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 6. Beſides theſe ſpecific characters of the muſa he ſubjoins further, that the name *Palan*, which was given to the muſa in thoſe remote times, is ſtill preſerved in Malabar, as Garzia dell' Orto, a learned Portugueſe phyſician, bears witneſs, who reſided there many years. It is to be ſuſpected whether *Platano* or plantain has been derived from the word *Palan*

fifteen to twenty inches in length, and about three in diameter. It is hard and little eſteemed, and is only eat when roaſted or boiled. The *Platano largo*, that is *long*, is eight inches at the moſt in length, and one and a half in diameter. The ſkin at firſt is green, then yellow, and when perfectly ripe, black or blackiſh. It is a reliſhing and wholeſome fruit, whether boiled or raw. The *Guinco* is ſmaller than the other, but richer, ſofter, more delicious, and leſs wholeſome. The fibres which cover the pulp are flatulent. This ſpecies of plantain has been cultivated in the public garden of Bologna, and we have taſted it, but found it ſo unripe and unpalatable on account of the climate, that it might have been ſuppoſed to be a quite different ſpecies. The *Dominico* is the ſmalleſt and likewiſe the moſt delicate. The tree alſo is ſmaller than the others. In that country there are whole woods of large extent not only of the plantain, but alſo of oranges and lemons; and in Michuacan there is a conſiderable commerce with the dried plantains, which are preferable to raiſins or figs.

The fruits which are unqueſtionably original in that country are the pine-apple, which from being at firſt view like to the pine-tree, was called by the Spaniards *Piña*. The Mamei, Chirimoya *(a)*, Anona, Cabeza di Negro, black Zapote, Chicozapote, white Zapote, yellow Zapote, Zapote di S. Dominico, Ahuacate, Guayaba, Capulino, Guava, or Cuaxinicuil, Pitahaya, Papaya, Guanabana, Noce Encarcelado, Plums, Dates, Chajoti, Tilapo, Obo or Hobo, Nance, Cacahuate, and many others unimportant to be known by the reader. Moſt of theſe fruits are deſcribed in the works of Oviedo, Acoſta, Hernandez, Laet, Nieremberg, Marcgrave, Piſon, Barrere; Sloane,

Palen. The name Bananas, which the French give it, is the ſame as it bears in Guinea, and the name Muſa, which the Italians give it, is taken from the Arabic. By ſome it has been called the Fruit of Paradiſe, and even ſome are perſuaded it is the very fruit which made our firſt parents tranſgreſs.

(*a*) Several European writers on the affairs of America, confound the Chirimoya with the Arcona and Guanabana: but they are three diſtinct ſpecies of fruits; although the two firſt are ſomewhat reſembling each other. It is neceſſary alſo to guard againſt confounding the pine-apple with the Anona, which are more different from each other than the cucumber and melon. Bomare, however, makes two diſtinct fruits of the Chirimoya and Cherimolia, whereas Cherimolia is only the corruption of the firſt and original name of the fruit. The Ate likewiſe, which ſome judge a fruit different from the Cherimoya, is only a variety of the ſame ſpecies.

BOOK I. Ximenes, Ulloa, and many other naturaliſts; we ſhall therefore only take notice of thoſe which are the leaſt known in Europe.

All the fruits comprehended by the Mexicans under the generic name of Tzapotl, are round or approach to roundneſs; and all have a hard ſtone *(b)*. The black Zapote, has a green, light, ſmooth, tender bark; a black, ſoft, and moſt exceeding ſavoury pulp, which at firſt ſight looks like the Caſſia *(c)*. Within the pulp, it has flat, blackiſh ſtones, not longer than a finger. It is perfectly round, and its diameter from one and a half, to four or five inches. The tree is of a moderate ſize and thickneſs, with ſmall leaves. Ice of the pulp of this fruit, ſeaſoned with ſugar and cinnamon, is of a moſt delicate taſte.

The white Zapote, which from its narcotic virtue, was called by the Mexicans Cochitzapotl, is ſomething ſimilar to the black, in ſize, figure, and colour of the bark; although in the white the green is more clear; but in other reſpects they are greatly different. Its ſtone, which is believed to be poiſonous, is large, round, hard, and white. The tree is thick, and larger than the black; and its leaves alſo are larger. Beſides, the black is peculiar to a warm climate; but the white, on the contrary, belongs to the cold and temperate climates.

The Chicozapote, (in Mexican, *Chictzapotl*) is of a ſpherical ſhape, or approaching thereto; and is one and a half, or two inches in diameter. Its ſkin is grey, the pulp white, and the ſtones black, hard, and pointed. Fron this fruit, when it is ſtill green, they draw a glutinous milk, which eaſily condenſes, called by the Mexicans, *Chictli*; and by the Spaniards, *Chicle*: the boys and girls chew it; and in Colima they form it into ſmall ſtatues, and other fanciful little figures *(d)*.

(*b*) The fruits comprehended by the Mexicans under the name of Tzapotl, are the Mammei *Tetzontzapotl*, the Chirimoya *Matzapotl*, the Anona *Quanhtzapotl*, the black Zapotl Tliltzapotl, &c.

(*c*) Gemelli ſays, the black Zapotl has alſo the taſte of the Caſſia: but this is very far from being true, which all who have taſted it muſt know. He ſays alſo, that this fruit when crude, is poiſon to fiſh, but it is wonderful that ſuch a fact ſhould be known only to Gemelli, who was not more than ten months in Mexico.

(*d*) Gemelli is perſuaded that chicle was a compoſition made on purpoſe; but he is deceived, for it is nothing elſe than the mere milk of the unripe fruit condenſed by the air.—— Tom. 6. lib. ii. cap. 10.

The

The Chicozapote, fully ripe, is one of the moſt delicious fruits; and by many Europeans reckoned ſuperior to any fruit in Europe. The tree is moderately large, its wood fit for being wrought, and its leaves are round, in colour and conſiſtence like thoſe of the orange. It ſprings without culture in hot countries; and in Mixteca, Huaxteca, and Michuacan, there are woods of ſuch trees twelve and fifteen miles long *(e)*.

The Capollino or Capulin, as the Spaniards call it, is the cherry of Mexico. The tree is little different from the cherry tree of Europe; and the fruit is like it in ſize, colour, and ſtone, but not in taſte.

The Nance is a ſmall, round fruit; yellow, aromatic, and ſavoury, with extremely ſmall ſeeds, which grow into trees peculiar to warm climates.

The Chayoti is a round fruit, ſimilar in the huſk, with which it is covered, to the cheſnut, but four or five times larger, and of a much deeper green colour. Its kernel is of a greeniſh white, and has a large ſtone in the middle, which is white, and like it in ſubſtance. It is boiled, and the ſtone eat with it. This fruit is produced by a twining perennial plant, the root of which is alſo good to eat.

The impriſoned nut, commonly ſo called, becauſe its kernel is cloſely ſhut up within an exceeding hard ſtone. It is ſmaller than the common nut; and its figure reſembles the nutmeg. Its ſtone is ſmooth, and its kernel leſs, and not ſo well taſted as the common one. This *(f)* tranſported from Europe, has multiplied and become as common as in Europe itſelf.

The *Tlalcacahuatl*, or Cacahuate as the Spaniards call it, is one of the moſt ſcarce plants which grow there. It is an herb, but very thick, and ſtrongly ſupplied with roots. Its leaves are ſomething

(e) Amongſt the ridiculous lies told by Thomas Gage, is the following, that in the garden of S. Giacinto, (the hoſpital of the Dominicans of the Miſſion from the Philippine iſles, in the ſuburbs of Mexico where he lodged ſeveral months,) there were Chicozapoti. This fruit could never be raiſed either in the vale of Mexico or any other country ſubject to white froſt.

(f) We only ſpeak of the impriſoned nut of the Mexican empire, as the one of New Mexico is larger and better taſted than the common one of Europe, as I have been informed from reſpectable authority. Probably this of New Mexico is the ſame with that of Louiſiana, called *Pacana*, or *Pacaria*.

like

like purſlain, but not ſo groſs. Its flowerets are white, which bring no fruit. Its fruit are not borne on the branches or ſtem as in other plants, but attached to the junction of the roots, within a white, greyiſh, long, roundiſh, wrinkled ſheath, and as rough as we have repreſented it in our third figure of fruits and flowers. Every ſheath has two or three Cacahuati, which are in figure like pine-ſeeds, but larger and groſſer; and each is compoſed, like other ſeeds, of two *lobi*; and has its germinating point. It is fit for eating, and well taſted when not raw but only a little toaſted. If they are much toaſted, they acquire a ſmell and taſte ſo like coffee, any one may be deceived by it. Oil is made from the Cacahuati, which is not ill taſted; but it is believed to be unwholeſome becauſe it is very hot. It makes a beautiful light, but is eaſily extinguiſhed. This plant would thrive, with certainty, in Italy. It is ſown in March or April, and the fruit is gathered in October or November.

Among many other fruits, which I paſs over to ſhorten my account, I cannot diſpenſe with the mention of the cocoa, the cocoa nut, vainilla, chia, chilli or great pepper, Tomati, the pepper of Tabaſco, coton, grain, and leguminous plants which are moſt common with the Mexicans.

Of the Cocoa nuts, (a name taken from the Mexican word Cacahuatli,) Hernandez enumerates four ſpecies; but the Tlalcacahuatl, the ſmalleſt of the whole, was the one moſt uſed by the Mexicans in their chocolate and other daily drink; the other ſpecies ſerved more as money to traffic with in the market, than aliment. The Cocoa nut was one of the plants moſt cultivated in the warm countries of that empire; and many provinces paid it in tribute to the crown of Mexico; and amongſt others the province of Xoconocho, whoſe Cocoa-nut is excellent and better than that of Maddalena. The deſcription of this celebrated plant, and its culture, is to be found in many authors of every poliſhed nation in Europe.

The Vainilla or Vainiglia, ſo well known and much uſed in Europe, grows without culture, in warm countries. The ancient Mexicans made uſe of it in their chocolate and other drinks which they made of the cocoa.

The

The Chia is the ſmall ſeed of a beautiful plant, whoſe ſtem is ſtrait and quadrangular; the branches extended in four directions, and ſymmetrically placed oppoſite each other, with blue flowerets. There are two ſpecies of it, the one black and ſmall, from which there is an oil drawn admirable for painting; the other white and larger, of which they make a cooling beverage. Both were uſed by the Mexicans for theſe and other purpoſes, which we ſhall mention hereafter.

Of Chilli or great Pepper *(g)*, which was as much in uſe with the Mexicans as ſalt in Europe, there are at leaſt eleven ſpecies, different in their ſize, figure and ſharpneſs. The Quauhchilli, which is the fruit of a ſhrub, and Chiltecpin are the ſmalleſt, but alſo the moſt ſharp. Of the Tomate there are ſix ſpecies, diſtinguiſhed by their ſize, colour, and taſte. The largeſt, which is the Xictomatl or Xitomate; as the Spaniards of Mexico call it, is now very common in Europe, in Spain, and France, under the name of *Tomate*; and in Italy, under the name of Pomo-d'oro. The Miltomatl is ſmaller, green, and perfectly round. How much both were uſed by the Mexicans at their meals, ſhall be mentioned when we treat of their diet.

The Xocoxochitl, vulgarly known by the name of Pepe di Tabaſco, from its abounding in that province, is larger than the pepper of Malabar. It grows on a large tree, whoſe leaves have the colour and luſtre of thoſe of the orange; and the flowers are of a beautiful red, and ſimilar in figure to thoſe of the pomegranate, and of a moſt penetrating and pleaſing ſcent, of which the branches alſo partake. The fruit is round and borne in cluſters which at firſt are green, afterwards become almoſt black. This pepper, uſed formerly by the ancient Mexicans, may ſupply the want of that of Malabar.

Cotton, from its utility, was one of the moſt valuable productions of that country, as it ſerved inſtead of flax (although this plant was not wanting to them), and the inhabitants of Anahuac were generally clothed in it *(h)*. There is white and tawny-coloured cotton, vulgarly

(g) In other countries of America the Chilli is called Axi; in Spain, Pimiento; in France, Poivre de Guinée, and by other names.

(h) Michuacan, New Mexico, and Quivira produced flax in great abundance and of the beſt quality; but we are ignorant if theſe nations cultivated or made uſe of it. The Court of

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vulgarly called *Coyote*. It is a plant common in warm countries, but more cultivated by the ancients, than the moderns.

The *Achiote*, called by the French *Rocou*, ſerved the Mexicans in dying, as it now does the Europeans. Of the bark they made cordage, and the wood was uſed to produce fire by friction, after the mode of the ancient ſhepherds of Europe. This tree is well deſcribed in the dictionary of Bomare.

With regard to corn and leguminous plants, that country had from Europe, wheat, barley, rice, peaſe, beans, lentils, and others; all of which rooted themſelves ſucceſsfully in ſoils ſuited to their nature, and multiplied accordingly as we ſhall ſhew in our diſſertations (*i*).

Of grain, the chief, the moſt uſeful, and moſt common was the maize, called by the Mexicans, *Tluolli*; of which there are ſeveral ſpecies, differing in ſize, colour, weight, and taſte. There is the large and the ſmall ſort, the white, the yellow, the blue, the purple, the red, and the black. The Mexicans made bread of maize, and other meats, of which we ſhall treat hereafter. Maize was carried from America to Spain, and from Spain into the other countries of Europe, to the great advantage of the poor; though an author of the preſent day, would make America indebted to Europe for it; an opinion the moſt extravagant and improbable which ever entered a human brain (*k*).

Spain, being made acquainted of the lands of Mexico being fit for the culture of flax and hemp, ſent, in the year 1778, twelve country families from Vega di Granata, to be employed in that kind of agriculture.

(*i*) Dr. Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory of Mexico, deſcribes the ſpecies of wheat found in Michuacan, and boaſts its prodigious fecundity: but the ancients either did not know, or did not incline to uſe it, but gave preference then, as they ſtill do, to their own maize. The firſt perſon who ſowed European wheat in that country was, a Mooriſh ſlave belonging to Cortez, having diſcovered a few grains of it in a bag of rice, which he carried for proviſion, to the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

(*k*) Here follow the words of Bomare, in his Dictionary of Nat. Hiſt. *vide Blè de Turquie.*— *On donnoit à cette plante curieuſe & utile, le nom de Blè d'Inde; parce qu'elle tiré ſon origine des Indes, d'ou elle fût apporté en Turquie, & de la dans toutes les autres parties de l'Europe, de l'Afrique, & de l'Amerique.* The name of Grano di Turchia, by which it is at preſent known in Italy, muſt certainly have been the only reaſon of Bomare's adopting an error, ſo contrary to the teſtimony of all writers on America, and the univerſal belief of nations. The wheat is called by the Spaniards of Europe and America, *Maize*, taken from the Haitina language, which was ſpoken in the iſland now called Hiſpaniola, or St. Domingo.

The chief pulſe of the Mexicans, was the French bean, of which the ſpecies are more numerous and more varied than thoſe of maize. The largeſt ſpecies is the *Ayacotli*, which is the ſize of a common bean, and comes from a beautiful red flower; but the moſt eſteemed is the ſmall black heavy French bean. This pulſe, which in Italy is of no value, becauſe it is not good there, is ſo excellent in Mexico, that it not only ſerves as ſuſtenance to the poor claſs of people, but is alſo eſteemed a luxury by the Spaniſh nobility.

SECT. VIII. Plants valuable for their root, for their leaves, for their trunk, or for their wood.

Of plants which were valuable for their root, their leaves, their trunk, or their wood, the Mexicans had many which ſerved them for food, namely, the Xicama, Camote, Huacamote, Cacomite, and others; or which furniſhed them with thread for their cloaths, or cordage, namely the Iczotl, and ſeveral ſpecies of Maguei; or gave them wood for buildings and other works, as the cedar, pine, cypreſs, fir, and ebony, &c.

The *Xicama*, called by the Mexicans *Catzotl*, is a root the figure and ſize of an onion; quite white, ſolid, freſh, juicy, and reliſhing, and always eat raw.

The *Camote* is another root, extremely common in that country, of which there are three ſpecies, one white, one yellow, and another purple. When boiled they taſte well, eſpecially thoſe of Queretaro, which are juſtly prized over all the kingdom (*l*).

The *Cacomite* is the eſculent root of the plant which bears the beautiful tyger-flower, already deſcribed.

The Huacamote is the ſweet root of a ſpecies of Jucca (*m*), which is alſo eat boiled. The papa which is a root tranſplanted into Europe, and greatly valued in Ireland, was alſo brought from South America, its native country, into Mexico, as many other roots and ſalads were from Spain and the Canaries, namely, turnips, radiſhes, carrots, garlic, lettuces, and aſparagus, cabbages, &c. Onions were ſold in the markets of Mexico, as Cortez mentions in his letters to Charles Vth. ſo that there was no neceſſity for importing

(*l*) Many call the Camoti, *Batate* or Patate; but I have avoided this name becauſe it is equivocal, and indifferently uſed by authors to ſignify Camoti and Pape which are totally different roots.

(*m*) The Jucca is that plant of whoſe root they make *Caſſava* bread, in ſeveral countries of America.

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them from Europe. Beſides the name Xonacatl which is given to the onion, and that of Xonocapetec, by which name a certain place has been known ſince the time of the Mexican kings; they let us underſtand that this plant was very ancient in that country, and never tranſplanted there from Europe.

The Maguei called by the Mexicans, *Metl*; by the Spaniards, *Pita*; and by many authors, the American aloe, from its being very ſimilar to the real aloe, is one of the moſt common and moſt uſeful plants of Mexico. Hernandez deſcribes nineteen ſpecies, ſtill more different in their interior ſubſtance than in their external form and colour of leaves. In the ſeventh book of our hiſtory we ſhall have occaſion to explain the great advantages the Mexicans derived from theſe plants, and the incredible profit the Spaniards now make of them.

The Iczotl is a ſpecies of mountain palm, pretty lofty, and generally with a double trunk. Its branches form the figure of a fan, and its leaves a ſpear. Its flowers are white and odorous, which the Spaniards preſerve; and its fruit, at firſt ſight, reſembles the muſa, but is altogether uſeleſs. Of its leaves they did formerly and ſtill make fine mats; and the Mexicans got thread from it for their manufactures.

This is not the only palm of that country. Beſides the *Royal Palm*, ſuperior to all others in the beauty of its branches, the cocoa-palm, and the date-palms (*n*), there are other ſpecies worthy to be mentioned.

The Quauhcojolli, is a palm of middle ſize, whoſe trunk is inacceſſible to quadrupeds, from being armed round with long, hard, and very ſharp thorns. Its branches have the figure of an elegant feather, between which its fruit hangs in cluſters, being round, large as the common walnut, and like it conſiſting of four parts, that is a ſkin at firſt green and afterwards blackiſh, a yellow pulp ſtrongly adhering to the ſtone, a round and very hard ſtone, and within the ſtone a kernel or white ſubſtance.

The Ixhuatl is ſmaller and has not more than ſix or ſeven branches, for as ſoon as a new one buds, one of the old one's withers. Of

(*n*) Beſides the Date palm proper to that country, there is alſo the Barbary date-palm. Dates are ſold in the month of June, in the markets of Mexico, Angelopoli, and other cities; but notwithſtanding their ſweetneſs they are little in demand.

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its leaves they made baſkets and mats, and at preſent they make hats, and other conveniences of them. The bark to the depth of three fingers, is nothing but a maſs of membranes, about a foot long, thin and flexible, but alſo ſtrong; of a number of which joined together, the poor people make matraſſes.

The palm Teoiczotl is alſo ſmall. The ſubſtance of the trunk which is ſoft, is ſurrounded with leaves of a particular ſubſtance, round, groſs, white, ſmooth, and ſhining, which appears like ſo many ſhells heaped upon each other, with which, formerly the Indians, as they do now, adorned the arches of leaves which they made for their feſtivals.

There is another palm, which bears cocoas or nuts of oil, ſo called, (termed by the Spaniards *Cocos de Aceite*;) becauſe they obtain a good oil from it. The cocoa of oil, is a nut in figure and in ſize like the nutmeg; within which there is a white, oily, eatable kernel, covered by a thin purple pellicle. The oil has a ſweet ſcent, but is too eaſily condenſed, and then becomes a white maſs, ſoft, and white as ſnow.

For the excellence, variety, and plenty of its timber, that country is equal to any in the world; as there is no ſort of climate wanting in it, every one produces its peculiar wood. Beſides oaks, firs, pines, cypreſſes, beeches, aſhes, hazels, poplars, and many others common in Europe, there are entire woods of cedars and ebonies, the two ſpecies moſt valued by the ancients: there is an abundance of Agalloco or wood of aloe, in Mixteca; of Tapinzecan, in Michuacan; Caoba, in Chiapan *Palo Gateado*; which we might call *creeping wood*, in Zoncoliuhcan, (now *Zongolica*); *Camote* in the mountains of Tezcoco; Granadillo or red ebony, in Mixteca and elſewhere; Mizquitl or real Acacia, Tepehuaxin, Copti, Jabin, Guayacan or holy wood, Ayaquahuitl, Oyametl, the wood of Zopilote, and innumerable other woods valuable for their durability, their hardneſs, and weight (*o*), their pliableneſs or eaſineſs of being cut, the elegance of

(*o*) Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, lib. xvi. cap. 4. mentions no other woods of great ſpecific weight, in water, than theſe four, ebony, box, larch, and barked cork; but in Mexico there are many trees, whoſe wood does not float in water, as the Guayacan, Tapinzeran, Jabin, Quilbrahacha, &c. The Quilbrahacha, which means break-axe, is ſo called becauſe in cutting it the axe is frequently broke by the hardneſs of the wood.

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their colours, or the agreeableneſs of their odour. The Camote is of a moſt beautiful purple; and the Granadillo, a dark-red colour; but the *Palo gateado*, Caoba, and Tzopiloquahuitl or wood of Zopilot, are ſtill more admirable. The hardneſs of the Guayacan is well known in Europe; the Jabin has the ſame property in no leſs a degree. The aloe-wood of Mixteca, although different from the true Agalloco of the Eaſt, according to the deſcription given of it by Garzia dell'Orto (*p*) and other authors, is however, not leſs to be eſteemed for its delightful odour, eſpecially when it is freſh cut. There is alſo in that country, a tree whoſe wood is precious, but its nature is ſo malignant as to occaſion a ſwelling in the ſcrotum of any one who manages it indiſcreetly when freſh cut. The name which the Michuacans give it (which I do not at preſent remember) expreſſes diſtinctly that noxious effect. I have never been a witneſs of this fact, nor have I ſeen the tree; but I learnt it when I was in Michuacan, from reſpectable authority.

Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory, deſcribes about one hundred ſpecies of trees; but having, as we before mentioned, conſecrated his ſtudy to the medicinal plants, he omits the greater part of thoſe which that fertile ſoil produces, and in particular thoſe which are moſt conſiderable for their ſize, and valued for their wood. There are alſo trees, in height and largeneſs ſo prodigious, they are not at all inferior to thoſe which Pliny boaſts to be the miracles of nature.

Acoſta makes mention of a cedar, which was in Atlacuechahuayan, a place nine miles diſtant from Antequera or Oaxaca, the circumference of whoſe trunk was ſixteen fathoms, that is more than eighty-two feet of Paris; and I have ſeen in a houſe in the country a beam, one hundred and twenty Caſtilian feet, or one hundred and ſeven Pariſian feet long. In the capital, and other cities there are very large tables of cedar to be ſeen, conſiſting of one ſingle piece. In the valley of Atlixo there is ſtill exiſting a very ancient fir-tree (*q*), ſo large, that into a cavity of its trunk which was occaſioned by

(*p*) Storia dei Semplici, Aromati, &c. della India Orientale.

(*q*) The Mexican name of this tree is, Ahuehuetl; and the common Spaniard of that country calls it, Ahuehuete; but thoſe who would ſpeak in Caſtilian call it Sabino, that is Savin, in which they are deceived; for the Ahuehuetl, though very like to Savin, is not one, but a fir, as Hernandez demonſtrates, in lib. iii. cap. 66, of his Nat. Hiſt. I ſaw the fir of Atlixco in my way through that city, in 1756, but not near enough to form a juſt idea of its bigneſs.

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lightning, fourteen men on horſeback could conveniently enter. We are given a ſtill ſtronger idea of its capacity from a teſtimony even ſo reſpectable as his Excellency D. F. Lorenzana, formerly Archbiſhop of Mexico, now of Toledo. This Prelate, in the annotations which he made on the letters of Cortez, to Charles Vth. and printed in Mexico, in 1770, atteſts that having gone himſelf, in company with the Archbiſhop of Guatemala and the Biſhop of Angelopoli, to view that celebrated tree, he made one hundred young lads enter its trunk.

The Ceibas, which I ſaw in the maritime province of Xicayan, may be compared with this famous fir. The largeneſs of theſe trees is proportioned to their prodigious elevation, and they afford a moſt delightful proſpect at the time they are adorned with new leaves and loaded with fruit, in which there is incloſed a particular ſpecies of white, fine, and moſt delicate cotton. This might be, and actually has been made into webs as ſoft and delicate, and perhaps more ſo, than ſilk (*r*); but it is toileſome to ſpin, on account of the ſmallneſs of the threads, and the profit does not requite the labour, the web not being laſting. Some uſe it for pillows and mattraſſes which have the ſingular property of ſwelling enormouſly when expoſed to the ſun.

Amongſt the great many trees worthy of notice for their peculiarities, which I am however obliged to look over, I cannot omit a certain ſpecies of wood-fig, which grows in the country of the Cohuixcas and in other places of the kingdom. It is a lofty, groſs, thick tree, ſimilar in leaves and fruit to the common fig. From its branches, which extend horizontally, ſpring certain filaments which taking their direction towards the earth, increaſe and grow till they reach it; ſtrike root and form ſo many new trunks, that from one ſingle fig, a whole wood may be generated. The fruit of this tree is altogether uſeleſs, but its timber is good (*s*).

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(*r*) De Bomare ſays, that the Africans make of the thread of the Ceiba, the vegetable taffety, which is ſo ſcarce, and ſo much eſteemed in Europe. I do not wonder at the ſcarcity of ſuch cloth, conſidering the difficulty of making it. The name Ceiba is taken, like many others, from the language which was ſpoke in the iſland Haiti, or San Domingo. The Mexicans call it, Pochotl; and many Spaniards Pochote. In Africa it has the name of Benten. The Ceiba, ſays the above author, is higher than all the trees hitherto known.

(*s*) A. Perez de Ribas makes mention of this ſingular fig, in his Hiſtory of the Miſſions, from Cinaloa; and Bomare in his Dictionary, under the names of Figuier des Indes, Grande Figuier,

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SECT. IX. Plants, of uſe for their reſins, gums, oils, and juices.

With reſpect laſtly to plants which yield profitable reſins, gums, oils, or juices, the country of Anahuac is moſt ſingularly fertile, as Acoſta in his Natural Hiſtory acknowledges.

The Huitziloxitl, from which a balſam diſtils, is a tree of moderate height. Its leaves are ſomething ſimilar to thoſe of the almond tree, but larger; its wood is reddiſh and odorous, and its bark grey, but covered with a reddiſh pellicle. Its flowers, which are pale, ſpring from the extremity of the branches. Its ſeed is ſmall, white, and crooked; and likewiſe comes from the extremity of a thin ſhell about a finger long. In whatever part an inciſion is made, eſpecially after rains, that excellent reſin diſtils which is ſo much valued in Europe, and nowiſe inferior to the celebrated balſam of Meccha (*t*). Our balſam is of a reddiſh black, or a yellowiſh white, as from an inciſion it runs of both colours, of a ſharp and bitter taſte, and an intenſe but moſt grateful odour. The balſam tree is common in the provinces of Panuco and Chiapan, and in other warm countries. The kings of Mexico cauſed it to be tranſplanted into the celebrated garden of Huaxtepec, where it rooted ſucceſsfully, and multiplied conſiderably in all thoſe mountains. Some of the Indians, to extract a greater quantity of balſam, after making an inciſion in the tree, have burnt the branches. The abundance of theſe valuable trees make them regardleſs of the loſs of numbers; by which means they are not obliged to wait the ſlowneſs of the diſtillation. The ancient Mexicans not only collected the opobalſam, or drop diſtilled from the trunk, but alſo extracted the xylobalſam from the branches by means of decoction (*u*). From the Huaconex and Maripenda (*x*), they extracted an oil equivalent to the balſam. The Huaconex is a tree of moderate height, and

Figuier, & Figuier admirable. The hiſtorians of Eaſt India deſcribe another tree, ſimilar to this, which is found there.

(*t*) The firſt balſam brought from Mexico to Rome was ſold at one hundred ducats, by the ounce, as Monardes atteſts in his Hiſtory of the medicinal Simples of America, and was declared by the Apoſtolic See, matter fit for chriſm, although it is different from that of Meccha, as Acoſta and other writers on America obſerve.

(*u*) There is an oil alſo drawn from the fruit of the Huitziloxitl, ſimilar in ſmell and taſte to that of the bitter almond, but more acrimonious and intenſe, which is found highly uſeful in medicine.

(*x*) The names Huaconex and Maripenda are not Mexican, but adopted by the authors who write of theſe trees.

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of an aromatic and hard wood which keeps freſh for years though buried under the earth. Its leaves are ſmall and yellow, its flowers likewiſe ſmall and white, and its fruit ſimilar to that of the laurel. They diſtilled oil from the bark of the tree; after breaking it, keeping it three days in ſpring water, and then drying it in the ſun. They likewiſe extracted an oil from the leaves, of a pleaſing odour. The Maripenda is a ſhrub, whoſe leaves are like the iron of a lance; and the fruit is ſimilar to the grape, and grows in cluſters which are firſt green, afterwards red. They extracted the oil, by a decoction of the branches, with a mixture of ſome of the fruit.

The Xochiocotzotl, commonly liquid amber, is the liquid Storax of the Mexicans. It is a great tree (not a ſhrub, as Pluche makes it); its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the maple tree indented, white in one part, and dark in the other; and diſpoſed in threes. The fruit is thorny and round but polygonous, with the ſurface and the angles yellow. The bark of the tree is in part green, part tawny. By inciſion in the trunk, they extract that precious reſin called by the Spaniards, *liquidambar*; and the oil of the ſame name, which is ſtill more odorous and eſtimable. They alſo obtain liquid amber from a decoction of the branches, but it is inferior to that which diſtils from the trunk.

The Mexican name Copalli, is generic,, and common to all the reſins; but eſpecially ſignifies thoſe which were made uſe of for incenſe. There are ten ſpecies of trees which yield theſe ſorts of reſin, and differ not only in their name, but in foliage and fruit, and in the quality of the reſin. That ſimply called Copal, as being the principal, is a white tranſparent reſin, which diſtils from a large tree, whoſe leaves reſemble thoſe of the oak, but are larger, and the fruit is round and reddiſh. This reſin is well known in Europe by the name of gum *Copal*, and alſo the uſe which is made of it in medicine and varniſhes. The ancient Mexicans uſed it chiefly in burnt offerings which they made for the worſhip of their idols; or to pay reſpect to ambaſſadors, and other perſons of the firſt rank. At preſent they conſume a great quantity in the worſhip of the true God, and his ſaints. The *Tecopalli* or *Tepecopalli*, is a reſin ſimilar in colour, odour, and taſte to the incenſe of

Arabia; which diſtils from a tree of moderate ſize that grows in mountains, the fruit of which is like an acorn, containing the nut enveloped in a mucilage, within which there is a ſmall kernel, that is uſeful in medicine. Not only theſe two trees but all the others of this claſs, which we cannot here deſcribe, are peculiar to warm climates.

The *Caragna*, and the *Tecamaca*, reſins well known in the apothecaries ſhops of Europe, diſtil from two Mexican trees of rather large ſize. The trunk of the Caragna (*y*), is tawny, ſmooth, ſhining, and odorous; and its leaves, though round, not diſſimilar to thoſe of the olive. The tree of the Tecamaca has large indented leaves, and red, round, and ſmall fruit, hanging from the end of the branches.

The *Mizquitl* or Mezquite, as the Spaniards call it, is a ſpecies of true Acacia; and the gum which diſtils from it is the true gum arabic, as Hernandez and other learned naturaliſts teſtify. The Mezquite is a thorny ſhrub, whoſe branches are moſt irregularly diſpoſed; and its leaves ſmall, thin, and pinnated. Its flowers are like thoſe of the birch tree. Its fruits are ſweet, eatable ſhells, containing a ſeed, of which anciently the barbarous Cicimecas made a paſte, which ſerved them for bread. Its wood is exceedingly hard and heavy. Theſe trees are as common in Mexico as oaks in Europe, particularly on hills in temperate countries (*z*).

Lac, or Gomma Laca (as it is called by the Spaniards), runs in ſuch abundance from a tree like the Mezquite, the branches are covered with it (*a*). This tree, which is of moderate ſize, has a red-

(*y*) The Mexicans gave the Caragna tree, the name of *Trahuelilocaquahuitl*, that is, tree of malignity, not Haheliloca, as De Bomare writes it; becauſe they ſuperſtitiouſly believed it to be feared by evil ſpirits, and a powerful preſervative againſt ſorcery. The name Tecamaca is taken from the Tecomac Ihiyac of the Mexicans.

(*z*) There is in Michuacan a ſpecies of Mezquite or Acacia, without the leaſt thorn, and with finer leaves; but in every thing elſe like the other.

(*a*) Garzia dell'Orto, in his hiſtory of the ſimples of India, maintains, from the accounts of ſome perſons experienced in theſe countries, that Lac is produced by ants. This opinion has been adopted by many authors; and Bomare does him the honour to believe the fact fully demonſtrated; but let us examine how far this is from truth. Firſt, Theſe boaſted demonſtrations are but equivocal proofs and fallacious conjectures, which any one will be convinced of, who reads the above authors. Second, Of all the naturaliſts who write of Lac, no one has ever ſeen it on the tree, but Hernandez; and this learned and ſincere author affirms, without the ſmalleſt diffidence, that the Lac is a gum diſtilled from the tree

red-coloured trunk, and is very common in the provinces of the Cohuixcas and Tlahuica.

Dragon's blood runs from a large tree whoſe leaves are broad and angular. It grows in the mountains of Quauhchinanco, and in thoſe of the Cohuixca's (*b*).

The *Elaſtic Gum*, called by the Mexicans *Olin* or *Olli*, and by the Spaniards of that kingdom, *Ule*, diſtils from the Olquahuitl, which is a tree of moderate ſize; the trunk of which is ſmooth and yellowiſh, the leaves pretty large, the flowers white, and the fruit yellow and rather round, but angular; within which there are kernels as large as filberds, and white, but covered with a yellowiſh pellicle. The kernel has a bitter taſte, and the fruit always grows attached to the bark of the tree. When the trunk is cut, the Ule which diſtils from it is white, liquid, and viſcous; then it becomes yellow, and laſtly of a leaden colour though rather blacker, which it always retains. Thoſe who gather it can model it to any form according to the uſe they put it to.

The Mexicans made their foot-balls of this gum, which, though heavy, rebound more than thoſe filled with air. At preſent, beſides other uſes to which they apply it, they varniſh their hats, their boots, cloaks, and great coats with it, in the ſame way as wax is uſed in Europe, which makes them all water proof: from Ule, when rendered liquid by fire, they extract a medicinal oil. This tree grows in hot countries ſuch as Ihualapan and Mecatlan, and is common in the kingdom of Guatemala (*c*). The Quauhxiotl, is a

tree which the Mexicans call, Tzinacancuitla-quahuitl, and confutes the other opinion. Thirdly, The country where Lac abounds, is the fertile province of the Tlahuixchas, where all the fruits proſper ſurpriſingly; and are thence carried in great quantities to the capital. But ſuch a quantity of fruit could not be gathered if there were ſo many millions of ants in that land as would be neceſſary to produce ſuch an exceſſive quantity of Lac, the trees being very numerous, and almoſt all of them full of it. Fourthly, If the Lac is the labour of ants, why do they produce it only in theſe trees, and not in any other ſpecies? &c. Lac was called by the Mexicans, Bat's Dung, from ſome analogy which they diſcovered between them.

(*b*) The Mexicans call dragon's blood *Ezpàtli*, which ſignifies blood-coloured medicament; and the tree *Ezquahuitl*, that is blood-coloured tree. There is another tree of the ſame name in the mountains of Quauhnahuac, which is ſomething ſimilar, but its leaves are round and rough, its bark thick, and its root odorous.

(*c*) In Michuacan there is a tree, called by the Taraſcas *Tarantaqua*, of the ſame ſpecies as the Olquahuitl; but its leaves are different.

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midling tree, the leaves of which are round, and the bark reddiſh. There are two inferior ſpecies of it, the one yields a white gum, which, when put in water, gives it a milk colour. The other drops a reddiſh gum; they are both very ſerviceable in dyſenteries.

In this claſs of plants we ought to give a place to the fir, the *Higuerilla* (which reſembles the fig), and the Ocote, a certain ſpecies of pine that is very aromatic, on account of the oils which they yield; and Braſil wood, logwood, indigo, and many others, on account of their juices; but ſeveral of theſe plants are already known in Europe, and the others we ſhall have occaſion to treat of elſewhere.

The ſmall part of the vegetable kingdom of Anahuac which we have here communicated, revives our regret that the accurate knowledge, which the ancient Mexicans acquired of natural hiſtory, has almoſt totally diſappeared. We know its woods, mountains, and vallies are ſcattered with innumerable plants, valuable and uſeful, yet hardly one naturaliſt has ever fixed his attention on them. Who can help lamenting, that of the immenſe treaſures which the period of two centuries and a half has diſcovered in its rich mines, no part ſhould have been deſtined to the foundation of an academy of Naturaliſts, who might have purſued the ſteps of the celebrated Hernandez, and imparted to ſociety the knowledge of theſe precious gifts which the Creator has there ſo liberally diſpenſed!

SECT. X. Quadrupeds of the kingdom of Anahuac.

The animal kingdom of Anahuac is not better known, although it was attended to with equal diligence by Doctor Hernandez. The difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the ſpecies, and the impropriety of appellations taken from analogy, have rendered the hiſtory of animals perplexed and indiſtinct. The firſt Spaniards who gave them names, were more ſkilful in the art of war than in the ſtudy of nature. Inſtead of retaining the terms which the Mexicans uſed, which would have been the moſt proper, they denominated many animals, tygers, wolves, bears, dogs, ſquirrels, &c. although they were very different in kind, merely from ſome reſemblance in the colour of their ſkin, or figure, or ſome ſimilarity in their habits and diſpoſition. I do not pretend to correct their errors, and ſtill leſs to illuſtrate the natural hiſtory of that vaſt kingdom; but only to give my readers ſome ſlight idea of the quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, fiſhes, and inſects, which inhabit the land and waters of Anahuac.

Of

Of the quadrupeds ſome are ancient, ſome modern. We call thoſe modern which were tranſported from the Canaries and Europe into that country in the ſixteenth century. Such are horſes, aſſes, bulls, ſheep, goats, hogs, dogs, and cats, which have all ſucceſsfully multiplied. In our fourth diſſertation we ſhall evince this truth in confutation of ſome philoſophers of the age, who have endeavoured to perſuade us that all quadrupeds degenerate in the new world.

Of the ancient quadrupeds, by which we mean thoſe that have from time immemorial been in that country, ſome were common to both the continents of Europe and America, ſome peculiar to the new world, in common however to Mexico and other countries of North or South America, others were natives only of the kingdom of Mexico.

The ancient quadrupeds common to Mexico and the old continent are, lions, tygers, wild cats, bears, wolves, foxes, the common ſtags, and white ſtags *(d)*, bucks, wild goats, badgers, polecats, weazles, martens, ſquirrels, *Polatucas*, rabbits, hares, otters, and rats. I am well aware that Mr. Buffon will not allow a native lion, tyger, or rabbit, to America: but as in our diſſertations we have combated this opinion, which reſts chiefly on the ſlight foundation of the imagined impoſſibility of animals, which are peculiar to warm countries of the old world, finding a paſſage to the new continent; it is not neceſſary here to interrupt the courſe of our hiſtory with confuting it.

The *Miztli* of the Mexicans, is certainly no other than the lion without hair mentioned by Pliny *(e)*, and totally diſtinct from the African lion; and the *Ocelotl* is no way different from the African tyger, according to the teſtimony of Hernandez, who knew both the latter and the former. The *Tochtli* of Mexico is exactly the rabbit of the old continent, and at leaſt as ancient as the Mexican calendar, in which the figure of the rabbit was the firſt ſymbolical cha-

(*d*) The white ſtag, whether it is of the ſame or a different ſpecies from the other ſtag, is unqueſtionably common to both continents. It was known to the Greeks and Romans. The Mexicans called it king of the Stags. Mr. Buffon is deſirous of perſuading us that the white colour of ſtags is the effect of their being in captivity; but as in the mountains of New Spain, the white ſtag is found, which was never made captive by man, ſuch an idea can no longer be entertained.

(*e*) Pliny, in lib. viii. cap. 16. diſtinguiſhes the two ſpecies of lions, with and without hair, and aſcertains the number of each ſpecies which Pompey preſented at the Roman ſpectacles.

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BOOK I.

racter of their years. The wild cats, in ſize much larger than the domeſtic cats, are fierce and dangerous. The bears are all black, and more corpulent than thoſe which are brought from the Alps into Italy. The hares are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of Europe by their longer ears, and the wolves by a groſſer head. Both ſpecies are plentiful in that country. According to M. Buffon, we give the name *Polatuca* to the *Quimickpatlan*, or flying rat of the Mexicans. We call it rat, becauſe it reſembles it in the head, though it is much larger; and *flying*, becauſe in its natural ſtate the ſkin of its ſides is looſe and wrinkled, which it diſtends and expands together with its feet like wings when it makes any conſiderable leap from tree to tree. The vulgar Spaniard confounds this quadruped with the common ſquirrel from their likeneſs, but they are undoubtedly different. Mice were brought to Mexico in European ſhips; the rat was not ſo, but always known in Mexico by the name of *Quimichin*, which term they uſed metaphorically to their ſpies.

The quadrupeds which are common to Mexico and other regions of the new world, are the *Cojametl*, *Epatl*, ſeveral ſpecies of apes, comprehended by the Spaniards under the generic name of *Monos*, the *Ajotochtli*, *Aztacojotl*, *Tlacuatzin*, *Techichi*, *Telalmototli*, *Techallotl*, *Amiztli*, *Mapach*, and the *Danta* (*f*).

The *Cojametl*, to which, from its reſemblance to the wild boar, the Spaniards gave the name of Javali, or wild hog, is called in other countries of America *Pecar*, *Saino*, and *Tayaſſu*. The gland it has in the cavity of its back from which a plentiful wheyiſh ſtinking liquid diſtils, led the firſt hiſtorians of the country, and ſince them many others into the miſtaken belief that it produced hogs with their navels on their backs; and many ſtill credit the abſurdity, although upwards of two centuries are elapſed ſince anatomiſts have evinced the

(*f*) Many authors include the *Paco*, or Peruvian ram, the *Huanaco*, the Vicogna, taruga, and the ſloth, amongſt the animals of Mexico; but all theſe quadrupeds are peculiar to South and none of them to North America. It is true, Hernandez makes mention of the *Paco* amongſt the quadrupeds of New Spain, gives a drawing of it, and makes uſe of the Mexican name *Pelonichcatl*; but it was on account of a few individuals which were brought there from Peru, which the Mexicans called by that name; in the ſame manner as he deſcribes ſeveral animals of the Philippine Iſles, not that therefore they had ever been bred in Mexico, or found in any country of North America, unleſs it was ſome individual carried there as a curioſity as they are carried into Europe.

error

error by diſſection of the animal. Such is the difficulty of rooting out popular prejudices! The fleſh of the *Cojametl* is agreeable to eat, provided it is quickly killed, the gland cut out, and all the ſtinking liquid cleaned from it; otherwiſe the whole meat becomes infected.

The *Epatl*, by the Spaniards called *Zorrillo*, ſmall fox, is leſs known in Europe by the beauty of its ſkin than the intolerable ſtink it leaves behind when huntſmen are in cloſe purſuit of it *(g)*.

The *Tlacuatzin*, which in other countries bears the names of *Chincha*, *Sarigua*, and *Opoſſum*, has been deſcribed by many writers, and is much celebrated on account of the double ſkin to the belly in the female, which reaches from the beginning of the ſtomach to the oriſice of the womb, covering its teats, has an opening in the middle to admit its young, where they are guarded and ſuckled. In creeping, or climbing over the walls of houſes, it keeps the ſkin diſtended, with the entrance ſhut, ſo that its young cannot drop out; but when it wiſhes to ſend them abroad to begin to provide food for themſelves, or to let them re-enter either to be ſuckled or ſecured from danger, it opens the entrance by relaxing the ſkin, diſguiſing her burden while ſhe carries them, and her delivery every time ſhe lets them out. This curious quadruped is the deſtroyer of all poultry.

The *Ajotochtli*, called by the Spaniards *Armadillo*, or *Encobertado*, and by others *Tatu*, is well known to Europeans by the bony ſcales which cover its back, reſembling the ancient armour of horſes. The Mexicans gave it the name of *Ajotochtli*, from an imperfect likeneſs it has to the rabbit, when it puts out its head and throws it back upon its neck, while it ſhrinks under its ſcales or ſhell *(h)*.

(*g*) Mr. Buffon enumerates four ſpecies of the Epatl under the generic name of *Mouffetes*. He obſerves afterwards, that the two firſt which he names *Coaſo* and *Conipata*, are from North America, and the *Chincho* and Zorrillo, which are the two others, are from South America. We find no grounds to believe theſe four different ſpecies, but only four varieties of the ſame ſpecies. The name *Coaſo*, or ſquaſ taken from Dampier the navigator, who affirms the term to be common in New Spain, was never heard of in all that country. The Indians of Yucatam, where that navigator was, call that quadruped *Pai*.

(*h*) Ajotochtli is a word compounded of *Ajotli*, the back part of the head, and *Tochtli*, rabbit. Buffon numbers eight ſpecies of them under the name of *Tatous*, eſtimating their difference from the number of ſcales and moveable ſubſtances which cover them. I cannot exactly ſay how many ſpecies there may be in Mexico, having but a few individuals; as I did not think at the time of writing on this ſubject, I was not curious to count their ſcales, nor do I know of any body who ever attended to ſuch a ſtrange kind of diſtinction.

But

But it reſembles no animal more than the turtle, although many parts of its form are totally diſſimilar. We might give it the name of the teſtaceous quadruped. When this animal happens to be chaced on level ground, it has no means of eſcaping from the hands of its purſuers; but as it chiefly inhabits the mountains, when it meets with any declivity it coils itſelf up in the form of a globe, and by rolling itſelf down the deſcent fools the hunter.

The *Techichi*, which had elſewhere the name of *Alco*, was a quadruped of Mexico, and other countries of America, which from its reſemblance to a little dog was called by the Spaniards *Perro*, which ſignifies *dog*. It was of a melancholy aſpect and perfectly dumb, from whence the fabulous account propagated by many authors ſtill living aroſe, of dogs becoming mute when tranſported from the old to the new world. The fleſh of the *Techichi* was eat by the Mexicans, and if we may credit the Spaniards who eat it, was agreeable and nouriſhing food. After the conqueſt of Mexico, the Spaniards having neither large cattle, nor ſheep, provided their markets with this quadruped; by which means the ſpecies was ſoon extinct, although it had been very numerous.

The *Tlalmototli*, or land-ſquirrel, called by Buffon *Suizzero*, is like the real ſquirrel in the eyes, in the tail, in ſwiftneſs, and in all its movements; but very different in colour, in ſize, in its habitation, and ſome of its qualities. The hair of its belly is quite white, and the reſt of it is white mixed with grey. Its ſize is double that of the ſquirrel, and it does not dwell in trees, but in ſmall holes which it digs in the earth, or amongſt the ſtones of ramparts which encloſe fields, where it does conſiderable damage by the grain which it carries off. It bites moſt furiouſly any one who approaches it, and cannot be tamed, but has great elegance of form, and is graceful in its movement. This ſpecies is a very numerous one, particularly in the kingdom of Michuacan. The *Techallotl* is no way different from the preceding animal, except in having a ſmaller and leſs hairy tail.

The *Amyztli*, or ſea-lion, is an amphibious quadruped which inhabits the ſhores of the Pacific Ocean, and ſome rivers of that kingdom. Its body is three feet in length, its tail two. Its ſnout is long

long, its legs ſhort, the nails crooked. Its ſkin is valuable on account of the length and ſoftneſs of its hair *(i)*.

The Mapach of the Mexicans is, agreeable to the opinion of Buffon, the ſame quadruped which is known in Jamaica by the name of *Ratton*, rattoon, or Weſt-Indian fox. The Mexican one is of the ſize of a badger, with a black head, a long ſharp ſnout like a greyhound, ſmall ears, round body, hair mixed with black and white, a long and hairy tail, and five toes to every foot. It has a white ſtreak over each eye, and like the ſquirrel makes uſe of its paws to convey any thing to its mouth which it is going to eat. It feeds indifferently on grain, fruits, inſects, lizards, and pullet's blood. It is eaſily tamed, and entertaining with its play, but perfidious like the ſquirrel, and apt to bite its maſter.

The *Danta*, or *Anta*, or *Beori*, or *Tapir*, as it is differently named in different countries, is the largeſt quadruped of the kingdom of Mexico (*k*), and approaches moſt to the ſea-horſe, not however in ſize, but in ſome of its ſhapes and qualities. The danta is about the ſize of a middling mule. Its body is a little arched like that of a hog, its head groſs and long with an appendage to the ſkin of the upper lip, which it extends or contracts at pleaſure; its eyes are ſmall, its ears little and round, its legs ſhort, its fore feet have four nails, the hind feet three, its tail ſhort and pyramidical, its ſkin pretty thick and covered with thick hair, which at an advanced age is brown; its ſet of teeth, which are compoſed of twenty maxillary, and as many inciſors, is ſo ſtrong and ſharp, and it makes ſuch terrible bites with them that it has been ſeen, according to the teſtimony of Oviedo the hiſtorian, and an eye-witneſs, to tear off at one bite two or three handbreadths of ſkin from a hound, and at another a whole leg and thigh. Its fleſh is eatable (*l*), and its ſkin valuable, from its being ſo ſtout as to reſiſt not only arrows, but even muſket-balls.

(*i*) We reckon the *Amiztli* among the quadrupeds which are common to other countries of America, as it appears to be the ſame animal which Buffon deſcribes under the name of Saricovienne.

(*k*) The Danta is much leſs than the Tlacaxolotl deſcribed by Hernandez; but we do not know of this great quadruped ever having been in the kingdom of Mexico. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſtags of New Mexico, and of the Cibolle, or Biſonte, which are alſo larger than the Danta. See our IVth Diſſertation.

(*l*) Oviedo ſays, that the legs of the Danta are pretty good and reliſhing food, provided they remain twenty-four hours continually at the fire.

BOOK I.

This quadruped inhabits the ſolitary woods of warm countries near to ſome river or lake, as it lives not leſs in the water than on the land.

All the ſpecies of monkies in that kingdom, are known by the Mexicans under the general name of *Ozomatli*, and by the Spaniards under that of *Monos*. They are of different ſizes and figure, ſome ſmall and uncommonly diverting; ſome middling, of the ſize of a badger; and others large, ſtout, fierce, and bearded, which are called by ſome *Zambos*. Theſe when they ſtand upright, which they do upon two legs, often equal the ſtature of a man. Amongſt the middling kind there are thoſe which from having a dogs-head, belong to the claſs of the cynocephali, although they are all furniſhed with a tail (*m*).

With reſpect to the ant-killers, that is, thoſe quadrupeds which are ſo ſingular for the enormous length of their ſnout, the narrowneſs of their throat, and immoderate tongue, with which they draw the ants out of their ant-hills, and from whence they have got their name; I have never ſeen any in that kingdom, nor do I know that there are any there; but I believe it is no other than the aztacojotl, that is, cojote, ant-killer, mentioned, but not deſcribed by Hernandez (*n*).

The quadrupeds which peculiarly belong to the land of Anahuac, whoſe ſpecies I do not know to have been found in South America, or in other countries of North America, exempt from the dominion of Spain, are the *Cojotl*, the *Tlalcojotl*, *Xoloitzcuintli*, *Tepeitzcuintli*, *Itzcuintepotzotli*, *Ocotochtli*, *Cojopollin*, *Tuza*, *Ahuitzotl*, *Huitztlacuatzin*, and perhaps others which we have not known.

The *Cojotl*, or Coyoto, as the Spaniards call it, is a wild beaſt voracious like the wolf, cunning like the fox, in form like a dog, and in ſome qualities like the *Adive* and the *Chacal*: from whence ſeveral

(*m*) The Cynocephalos of the ancient continent has no tail as every one knows. Their having been monkies found in the New World, which have the head of a dog, and are furniſhed with tails, Briſſon, in his claſs of apes, juſtly applies to them of this claſs the name of Cinocephali Cercopitechi, and divides them into two ſpecies. Buffon, amongſt the many ſpecies of monkies which he deſcribes, omits this one.

(*n*) We call thoſe quadrupeds, ant-killers, which the Spaniards term *Hormigueros*, and the French *Fourmillier*; but the bear, ant-killers, deſcribed by Oviedo, are certainly different from the Fourmilliers of Buffon; for although they agree in the eating of ants, and in their enormous tongue and ſnout, they are nevertheleſs remarkably diſtinguiſhed from each other as to tail, for thoſe of Buffon have an immenſe tail, but Oviedo's none at all. The deſcription which Oviedo gives of their way of hunting the ants is moſt ſingular and curious.

hiſtorians

hiſtorians have at one time judged it of one ſpecies, at another time of another ſpecies; but it is unqueſtionably different from all thoſe, as we ſhall demonſtrate in our Diſſertations. It is leſs than the wolf, and about the ſize of a maſtiff, but ſlenderer. It has yellow ſparkling eyes, ſmall ears pointed and erect, a blackiſh ſnout, ſtrong limbs, and its feet armed with large crooked nails. Its tail thick and hairy, and its ſkin a mixture of black, brown, and white. Its voice hath both the howl of the wolf and the bark of the dog. The Coyoto is one of the moſt common quadrupeds of Mexico *(o)*, and the moſt deſtructive to the flocks. It invades a ſheepfold, and when it cannot find a lamb to carry off, it ſeizes a ſheep by the neck with its teeth, and coupling with it, and beating it on the rump with its tail, conducts it where it pleaſes. It purſues the deer, and ſometimes attacks even men. In flight it does nothing in general but trot; but its trot is ſo lively and ſwift, that a horſe at the gallop can hardly overtake it. The *Cuetlachcojotl* appears to us to be a quadruped of the ſame ſpecies with the Coyoto, as it differs in nothing from it but being thicker in the neck, and having hair like the wolf.

The Tlalcojotl, or Tlalcoyoto, is of the ſize of a middling dog, but groſſer in make, and, in our opinion, the largeſt quadruped of thoſe which live under the earth. In the head it is ſomething like the cat, and in colour and length of hair like the lion. It has a long thick tail, and feeds on poultry, and other little animals, which it hunts after in the obſcurity of the night.

The *Itzcuintepotzotli*, and *Tepuitzcuintli*, and *Xoloitzcuintli*, are three ſpecies of quadrupeds ſimilar to dogs. The *Itzcuintapolzotli*, or hunch-backed dog, is as large as a Malteſan dog, the ſkin of which is varied with white, tawny, and black. Its head is ſmall in proportion to its body, and appears to be joined directly to it on account of the ſhortneſs and greatneſs of its neck; its eyes are pleaſing, its ears looſe, its noſe has a conſiderable prominence in the middle, and its tail ſo ſmall, that it hardly reaches half way down its leg; but the characteriſtic of it is a great hunch which it bears from its neck to its

(*o*) Neither Buffon nor Bomare make mention of the Coyoto, although the ſpecies is one of the moſt common and moſt numerous of Mexico, and amply deſcribed by Hernandez, whoſe Natural Hiſtory they frequently quote.

rump. The place where this quadruped moſt abounds is the kingdom of Michuacan, where it is called *Ahora*. The *Tepeitzcuintli*, that is, the mountain-dog, is a wild beaſt ſo ſmall, that it appears a little dog, but it is ſo daring that it attacks deer, and ſometimes kills them. Its hair and tail are long, its body black, but its head, neck, and breaſt are white *(p)*. The *Xoloitzcuintli* is larger than the two preceding; there being ſome of them, whoſe bodies are even four feet long. Its face is like a dog, but its tuſks like the wolf, its ears erect, its neck groſs, and tail long. The greateſt ſingularity about this animal is its being totally deſtitute of hair, except upon its ſnout, where it has ſome thick crooked briſtles. Its whole body is covered with a ſmooth, ſoft, aſh-coloured ſkin, but ſpotted in part with black and tawny. Theſe three ſpecies are almoſt totally extinct, or at leaſt very few of them remain *(q)*.

The *Ocotochtli* appears agreeable to the deſcription given of it by Hernandez, to belong to the claſs of wild cats; but the author adds ſome circumſtances to it which have much the air of a fable; not that he has been deſirous of deceiving, but that he has truſted too much to the informations of others *(r)*.

The Cojopollin is a quadruped of the ſize of a common mouſe; but the tail is groſſer which it uſes as a hand. Its ſnout and ears are ſimilar to thoſe of a pig: its ears are tranſparent, its legs and feet are white, and its belly is of a whitiſh yellow. It lives and brings up its young in trees. When its young fear any thing, they cling cloſely to their mother.

(p) Buffon believes the Tepeitzcuintli to be the glutton; but we contradict this opinion in our Diſſertations.

(q) Giovanni Fabri, a Lincean academician, publiſhed at Rome a long and learned diſſertation, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the xoloitzcuintli is the ſame with the wolf of Mexico; having without doubt been deceived by the original drawing of the xoloitzcuintli which was ſent to Rome with other pictures of Hernandez; but if he had read the deſcription which this eminent naturaliſt gives of that animal in the book of the Quadrupeds of New Spain, he would have ſpared himſelf the labour of writing that Diſſertation and the expences of publiſhing it.

(r) Dr. Hernandez ſays, that when the Ocotochtli makes any prey it covers it with leaves, and mounting after on ſome neighbouring tree, it begins howling to invite other animals to eat its prey; and itſelf is always the laſt to eat; becauſe the poiſon of its tongue is ſo ſtrong, that if it eat firſt the prey would be infected, and other animals who eat of it would die. This fable is ſtill in the mouths of the vulgar.

The

The *Tozan*, or Tuza, is a quadruped of the bigneſs of an European mole, but very different otherwiſe. Its body which is well made is ſeven or eight inches long. Its ſnout is like that of a mouſe, its ears ſmall and round, and tail ſhort. Its mouth is armed with very ſtrong teeth, and its paws are furniſhed with ſtrong crooked nails, with which it digs into the earth and makes little holes, where it inhabits. The Tuza is moſt deſtructive to the fields by ſtealing the corn, and to the highways by the number of holes and hollows which it makes in them; for when it cannot, on account of its little ſight, find its firſt hole, it makes another, multiplying by ſuch means the inconveniences and dangers to thoſe who travel on horſeback. It digs the earth with its claws, and with two dogs-teeth which it has in the upper jaw, larger than its others; in digging it puts the earth into two membranes like purſes which are under its ear, which are furniſhed with muſcles neceſſary for contraction or diſtenſion. When the membranes are full, it empties them by ſtriking the bottom of the membranes with its paws, and then goes on to dig again in the ſame manner, uſing its dogs-teeth and claws as a mattock, and its two membranes as a little ſack or baſket. The ſpecies of the Tuza is very numerous; but we do not recollect to have ever ſeen them in the places where the land-ſquirrels inhabit.

The *Ahuitzotl* is an amphibious quadruped, which for the moſt part dwells in the rivers of warm countries. Its body is a foot long, its ſnout long and ſharp, and its tail large. Its ſkin is of a mixed black and brown colour.

The *Huitztlacuatzin* is the hedge-hog or porcupine of Mexico. It is as large as a midling dog, which it reſembles in the face, although its muzzle is flat; its feet and legs are rather groſs, and its tail in proportion with its body. The whole of its body, except the belly, the hinder part of the tail, and inſide of the legs, is armed with quills or ſpines, which are empty, ſharp, and a ſpan long. On its ſnout and forehead it has long ſtrait briſtles, which riſe upon its head like a plume. All its ſkin, even between the ſpines is covered with a ſoft black hair. It feeds only on the fruits of the earth (s).

(s) Buffon would make the Huitztlacuatzin the Coendù of Guiana, but the Coendù is carnivorous, whereas the Huitztlacuatzin feeds on fruits.

The

BOOK I.

The *Cacomiztle* is a quadruped, exceedingly like the martin in its way of life. It is of the ſize and form of a common cat; but its body is larger, its hair longer, its legs ſhorter, and its aſpect more wild and fierce. Its voice is a ſharp cry, and its food is poultry and other little animals. It inhabits, and brings up its young in places leſs frequented than houſes. By day it ſees little, and does not come out of its hiding-place but at night, to ſearch for food. The *Tlacuatzin*, as well as the *Cacomiztle*, are to be ſeen in ſome of the houſes of the capital (*t*).

Beſides theſe quadrupeds, there were others in the Mexican empire, which I know not whether to conſider as peculiar to that country, or as common to other parts of America; ſuch as the *Itzcuincuani* or dog-eater; the *Tlalocelotl* or little lion; and the *Tlalmiztli* or little tiger. Of thoſe, which although not belonging to the kingdom of Mexico are to be found in other parts of North America ſubject to the Spaniards, we ſhall take notice in our Diſſertations.

Sect. XI. Birds of Mexico.

We ſhould find the birds a more difficult taſk than the quadrupeds, if we ſhould attempt to give an enumeration of their different ſpecies, with a deſcription of their forms and manners. Their prodigious numbers, their variety, and many valuable qualities, have occaſioned ſome authors to obſerve that, as Africa is the country of beaſts, ſo Mexico is the country of birds. Hernandez, in his Natural Hiſtory, deſcribes above two hundred ſpecies peculiar to that kingdom, and yet paſſes over many that deſerve notice, ſuch as the *Cuitlacochi*, the *Zacua*, and the *Madrugador*. We ſhall content ourſelves with running over ſome claſſes of them, and point out any peculiarities, here and there, as they occur. Among the birds of prey there are keſtrels, goſhawks, and ſeveral ſpecies of eagles, falcons, and ſparrow-hawks. The naturaliſt already mentioned, allows the birds of this claſs a ſuperiority over thoſe of Europe; and the excellence of the Mexican falcons was ſo remarkable, that

(*t*) I do not know the true Mexican name of the Cacomiztle, and have therefore uſed the name which the Spaniards in that kingdom, gave it. Hernandez does not mention this quadruped. It is true he deſcribes one, under the name of Cacamiztli, but this is evidently an error of the preſs.

by

by the deſire of Philip the Second, a hundred were every year ſent to Spain. The largeſt, the moſt beautiful, and the moſt valuable among the eagles is that named by the Mexicans, *Itzquauhtli*, which not only purſues the larger birds and hares, but will even attack men and beaſts. There are two kinds of keſtrel; the one called *Cenotzqui* is particularly beautiful.

The Ravens of Mexico, called by the Mexicans *Cacalotl*, do not, as in other countries, clear the fields of carrion, but are only employed in ſtealing the ears of corn. The buſineſs of clearing the fields there, is reſerved principally for the *Zopilots*, known in South America by the name of *Gallinazzi*; in other places, by that of *Aure*; and in ſome places, though very improperly, by that of ravens (*u*). There are two very different ſpecies of theſe birds; the one, the Zopilote properly ſo called, the other called the *Cozcaquauhtli*: they are both bigger than the raven. Theſe two ſpecies reſemble each other in their hooked bill and crooked claws, and by having upon their head inſtead of feathers, a wrinkled membrane with ſome curling hairs. They fly ſo high, that although they are pretty large, they are loſt to the ſight; and eſpecially before a hail ſtorm they will be ſeen wheeling, in vaſt numbers, under the loftieſt clouds, till they entirely diſappear. They feed upon carrion, which they diſcover by the acuteneſs of their ſight and ſmell, from the greateſt height, and deſcend upon it with a majeſtic flight, in a great ſpiral courſe. They are both almoſt mute. The two ſpecies are diſtinguiſhable, however, by their ſize, their colour, their numbers, and ſome other peculiarities. The Zopilots, properly ſo called, have black feathers, with a brown head, bill, and feet; they go often in flocks, and rooſt together upon trees (*x*). This ſpecies is very numerous, and is to be found in all the different climates; while on

(*u*) Hernandez has, without any heſitation, made the Zopilote a ſpecies of raven; but they are, certainly, very different birds, not only in their ſize, but in the ſhape of the head; in their flight, and in their voice. Bomare ſays, that the *Aura* is the *Coſquauth* of New Spain, and the *Tropilot* of the Indians; ſo that the *Cozcaquauhtli*, as well as the *Tzopilotl*, are Mexican names uſed by the Indians, to denote not one bird only, but two different kinds. Some give the one ſpecies the name of *Aura*, and the other that of *Zopilote*, or *Gallinazzo*.

(*x*) The Zopilots contradict the general rule, laid down by Pliny, lib. ix. cap. 19. *Uncos ungues habentia omnino non congregantur, & ſibi quæque prædantur.* The rule can only apply ſtrictly to real birds of prey, ſuch as eagles, vultures, falcons, ſparrow-hawks, &c.

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the contrary, the Cozcaquauhtli is far from numerous, and is peculiar to the warmer climates alone. The latter bird is larger than the Zopilot, has a red head and feet with a beak of a deep red colour, except towards its extremity which is white. Its feathers are brown except upon the neck and parts about the breaſt, which are of a reddiſh black. The wings are of an aſh colour upon the inſide, and upon the outſide are variegated with black and tawny.

The *Cozcaquauhtli* is called by the Mexicans, *king of the Zopilots (y)*; and they ſay, that when theſe two ſpecies happen to meet together about the ſame carrion, the Zopilot never begins to eat till the *Cozcaquauhtli* has taſted it. The Zopilot is a moſt uſeful bird to that country, for they not only clear the fields, but attend the crocodiles and deſtroy the eggs which the females of thoſe dreadful amphibious animals leave in the ſand to be hatched by the heat of the ſun. The deſtruction of ſuch a bird ought to be prohibited under ſevere penalties.

Among the night birds, are ſeveral kinds of owls, to which we may add the bats, although they do not properly belong to the claſs of birds. There are great numbers of bats in the warm and woody countries; ſome of them will draw blood, with dreadful bites, from horſes and other animals. In ſome of the very hot countries bats are found of a prodigious ſize, but not ſo large as thoſe of the Philippine Iſles, and other parts of the Eaſt.

Under the title of aquatic birds I ſhall comprehend, not only the *Palmipedes* which ſwim and live generally in the water, but the *Himantopodes* alſo; with other fiſhing birds which live chiefly upon the ſea ſhore, upon the ſides of lakes and rivers, and ſeek their food

(*y*) The bird which now goes by the name of *King of the Zopilots*, in New Spain, ſeems different from the one we are now deſcribing. This modern king of the Zopilots is a ſtrong bird, of the ſize of a common eagle; with a ſtately air; ſtrong claws; fine, piercing eyes; and a beautiful black, white, and tawny plumage. It is remarkable, particularly, for a certain ſcarlet coloured, fleſhy ſubſtance, which ſurrounds its neck like a collar, and comes over its head in the form of a little crown. I have had this deſcription of it from a perſon of knowledge and veracity, who aſſures me that he has ſeen three different individuals of this ſpecies, and particularly that one which was ſent from Mexico, in 1750, to the catholic king, Ferdinand VI. He farther informs me, that there was a genuine drawing of this bird, publiſhed in a work called, the American Gazetteer. The Mexican name *Cozcaquauhtli*, which means Ring Eagle, is certainly more applicable to this bird than to the other. The figure exhibited in our plate, is copied ftom that of the American Gazetteer.

in the water. Of birds of this kind there is a prodigious number of geeſe, at leaſt twenty ſpecies of ducks, ſeveral kinds of herons and egrets, with vaſt numbers of ſwans, gulls, water-rails, divers, king's fiſhers, pelicans, and others. The multitude of ducks is ſometimes ſo great as quite to cover the fields, and to appear, at a diſtance, like flocks of ſheep. Among the herons and egrets, ſome are aſh-coloured, ſome perfectly white; and others of which the plumage of the body is white, while the neck, with the tips and upper part of the wings, and a part of the tail, are enlivened with a bright ſcarlet, or a beautiful blue. The Pellican, or Onocrontalus, known to the Spaniards of Mexico by the name of *Alcatraz*, is ſufficiently known by that great pouch or *venter*, as Pliny calls it, which is under its bill. There are two ſpecies of this bird in Mexico; the one having a ſmooth bill, the other a notched one. Although the Europeans are acquainted with this bird, I do not know whether they are equally well acquainted with the ſingular circumſtance of its aſſiſting the ſick or hurt of its own ſpecies; a circumſtance which the Americans ſometimes take advantage of, to procure fiſh without trouble. They take a live pelican, break its wing, and after tying it to a tree, conceal themſelves in the neighbourhood; there they watch the coming of the other pelicans with their proviſions, and as ſoon as they ſee theſe throw up the fiſh from their pouch, run in, and after leaving a little for the captive bird, they carry off the reſt.

But if the Pelican is admirable for its attention to the others of its ſpecies, the *Tcalquachilli*, is no leſs wonderful on account of the arms with which the Creator has provided it for its defence. This is a ſmall aquatic bird; with a long, narrow neck, a ſmall head; a long, yellow bill, long legs, feet, and claws, and a ſhort tail. The legs and feet are aſh-coloured; the body is black, with ſome yellow feathers about the belly. Upon its head is a little circle or coronet, of a horny ſubſtance, which is divided into three very ſharp points; and it has two others upon the forepart of the wings (z).

In the other claſſes of birds ſome are valuable upon account of their fleſh, ſome for their plumage, and ſome for their ſong;

(z) In Braſil, alſo, there is an aquatic bird with weapons of this kind; but which, in other reſpects, is a very different bird.

BOOK I.

while others engage our attention by their extraordinary inſtinct, or ſome other remarkable quality.

Of the birds which afford a wholeſome and agreeable food, I have counted more than ſeventy ſpecies. Beſides the common fowls, which were brought from the Canary Iſles to the Antilles, and from theſe to Mexico, there were, and ſtill are fowls peculiar to that country; which as they partly reſemble the common fowl, and partly the peacock, were called *Gallipavos* * by the Spaniards, and *Huexolotl* and *Totolin* by the Mexicans. Theſe birds being carried to Europe in return for the common fowls, have multiplied very faſt; and eſpecially in Italy, where, on account of their manners and their ſize, they gave them the name of *Gallinacci* (*a*); but the European fowl has increaſed greatly more in Mexico. There are likewiſe wild fowls in great plenty, exactly like the tame, but larger, and in many places of a much ſweeter fleſh. There are partridges, quails, pheaſants, cranes, turtle-doves, pigeons, and a great variety of others, that are eſteemed in Europe. The reader will form ſome idea of the immenſe number of quails when we ſhall come to ſpeak of the ancient ſacrifices. The pheaſants are different from the pheaſants of Europe, and are of three kinds (*b*). The *Coxolitli* and *Tepetototl*, which are both the ſize of a gooſe, with a creſt upon their heads, which they can raiſe and depreſs at pleaſure, are diſtinguiſhable by their colour, and ſome particular qualities. The *Coxolitli*, called by the Spaniards, Royal Pheaſant, has a tawney-coloured plumage; and its fleſh is more delicate than that of the other. The *Tepetototl* will ſometimes be ſo tame as to pick from its maſter's hand; to run to meet him, with ſigns of joy, when he comes home; to learn to ſhut the door with its bill; and in every thing ſhow greater docility than could be expected in a bird which is properly an inhabitant of the woods. I have ſeen one of theſe pheaſants which, after being ſome time in a poultry yard, had learnt to fight in the manner of cocks, and would fight with them, erecting

(*a*) In Bologna, they are called *Tocchi* and *Tocchini*, and in other places, *Galli d'India*. The French call them *Dindes*, *Dindons*, and *Coqs d'Inde*.

(*b*) Bomare reckons the *Huatzin* among the pheaſants; but for what reaſon, I do not know, as the *Huatzin* belongs with crows, zopilots and others, to the ſecond claſs; the birds of prey.

* In Engliſh, the Turkey.

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the feathers of his creſt, as the cocks do thoſe of the neck. Its feathers are of a ſhining black, and its legs and feet aſh-coloured. The pheaſants of the third ſpecies, called by the Spaniards, *Gritones*, that is, ſcreamers, are ſmaller than the other two; with a brown body, and a black tail and wings. The *Chachalaca*, the fleſh of which is very good eating, is about the ſize of the common fowl. The upper part of the body is of a brown colour, the under part whitiſh, and the bill and feet blueiſh. It is inconceivable what a noiſe theſe birds make in the woods, with their cries; which, although they ſomewhat reſemble the cackling of fowls, are much louder, more conſtant, and more diſagreeable. There are ſeveral ſpecies of turtle-doves, and pigeons, ſome common to Europe, others peculiar to thoſe countries.

The birds valuable for their plumage are ſo many and ſo beautiful, that we ſhould afford a greater pleaſure to our readers, if we could bring them before their eyes, with all the colours which adorn them. I have reckoned five and thirty ſpecies of Mexican birds, that are ſuperlatively beautiful; of ſome of which I muſt take particular notice.

The *Huitzitzilin* is that wonderful little bird ſo often celebrated by the hiſtorians of America, for its ſmallneſs, its activity, the ſingular beauty of its plumage, the thinneſs of its food, and the length of its ſleep in the winter. That ſleep, or rather ſtate of immobility, occaſioned by the numbneſs or torpor of its limbs, has been often required to be proved in legal form, in order to convince ſome incredulous Europeans; an incredulity ariſing from ignorance alone, as the ſame kind of torpor takes place in many parts of Europe, in dormice, hedge-hogs, ſwallows, bats, and other animals whoſe blood is of the ſame temperature; although perhaps it does not continue ſo long in any of them as in the *Huitzitzilin*, which in ſome countries remains without motion from October to April. There are nine ſpecies of *Huitzitzilin*, differing in ſize and colour (*c*).

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(*c*) The Spaniards of Mexico call this bird *Chupamirto*, becauſe it ſucks chiefly the flowers of a plant known there, though very improperly, by the name of a Myrtle. In

 other

The *Tlauhquechol* is an aquatic bird of ſome ſize, with feathers of a beautiful ſcarlet colour, or a reddiſh-white, except thoſe of the neck, which are black. It lives upon the ſea-ſhores, and by the ſides of rivers; and lives only upon live fiſh, never touching any thing that is dead.

The *Nepapantototl*, is a wild duck which frequents the lake of Mexico, and ſeems to have all the colours together aſſembled in its plumage.

The *Tlacuiloltototl*, or painted bird, juſtly deſerves its name; for its beautiful feathers are variegated with red, blue, purple, green, and black. Its eyes are black, with a yellow iris; and the feet aſh-coloured.

The *Tzinizcan* is of the ſize of a pigeon, with a ſmall, crooked, yellow bill. The head and neck are like thoſe of a pigeon, but adorned with ſhining green feathers; the breaſt and belly are white except near the tail, which is variegated with white and blue; the tail is green upon the upper ſide, and black underneath; the wings are partly black, and partly white; and the eyes are black, with reddiſh yellow irides. This bird lives upon the ſea-coaſts.

The *Mezcanauhtli*, is a wild duck, about as large as a domeſtic fowl, but of ſingular beauty. Its bill is pretty long and broad, azure above, and black upon the underſide; the feathers of the body are white, and marked with numerous black ſpots. The wings are white and brown on the under-ſide, and upon the upper-ſide variegated with black, white, blue, green, and tawny-colour. Its feet are of a yellowiſh red; its head brown, and tawny-coloured, and partly purple, with a beautiful white ſpot betwixt the eyes and bill: the eyes are black; and the tail is blue above, brown below, and white at its extremity.

The *Tlauhtototl* is extremely like the *Tlacuiloltototl* in its colours, but is ſmaller. The Huacamaye and the Cardinals, ſo much prized by the Europeans, upon account of their fine colours, are very common in this country.

All theſe beautiful birds and others peculiar to Mexico, beſides ſome which have been brought thither from the countries adjacent,

other parts of America, it is called *Chupaflor*, *Picaflor*, *Tominejo*, *Colibre*, &c. Among the numerous authors who deſcribe this precious little bird, no one gives a better idea of the beauty of its plumage than Acoſta.

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are of great value to the Mexicans, in their ſingular works of Moſaic, which we ſhall mention in another place. Peacocks have been carried there from the old continent, but they have not been attended to; and have, therefore, propagated very ſlowly.

Many authors, who allow to the birds of Mexico a ſuperiority in the beauty of their plumage, have denied them that of ſong: but we can with perfect confidence affirm, that that opinion has not been formed upon real obſervation, but has proceeded from ignorance, as it is more difficult for Europeans to hear the Mexican birds than to ſee them.

There are in Mexico, as well as in Europe, gold-finches and nightingales, and at leaſt two-and-twenty ſpecies beſides, of ſinging birds, which are little or nothing inferior to theſe; but all that we are acquainted with are ſurpaſſed by the very famous *Centzontli*, ſo named by the Mexicans to expreſs the wonderful variety of its notes (*d*). It is impoſſible to give any idea of the ſweetneſs and mellowneſs of its ſong, of the harmony and variety of its tones, or of the facility with which it learns to imitate whatever it hears. It counterfeits naturally, not only the notes of other birds, but even the different noiſes of quadrupeds. It is of the ſize of a common thruſh. Its body is white upon the under-ſide, and grey above; with ſome white feathers, eſpecially about the head and tail. It eats any thing, but delights chiefly in flies, which it will pick from one's finger with ſigns of pleaſure. The Centzontli is to be found every where in great numbers; yet they are ſo much eſteemed, that I have ſeen five-and-twenty crowns paid for one. Attempts have often been made to bring it to Europe, but I do not know if they ever ſucceeded: and I am perſuaded that, although it could be brought to Europe alive, yet it could not be, without injuring its voice and other qualifications, by a change of climate and the hardſhips of a voyage.

(*d*) *Centzontlatotle*, (for that is the real name, and *Centzontli* is but an abbreviation) means the many-voiced. The Mexicans uſe the word *Centzontli* (four hundred) as the Latins did *mille & ſexcenti*, to expreſs an indefinite and innumerable multitude. The Greek name of *Polyglotta*, which ſome modern Ornithologiſts apply to it, correſponds to the Mexican name. See further what we ſay of *Centzontli*, in our diſſertations.

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The birds called Cardinals, are not leſs delightful to the ear, from the ſweetneſs of their ſong, than to the ſight, by the beauty of their ſcarlet plumage, and creſt. The Mexican Calandra ſings very ſweetly alſo, and its ſong reſembles that of the nightingale. Its feathers are varied with white, yellow, and grey. It weaves its neſt in a wonderful manner, with hairs paſted together with ſome kind of viſcid ſubſtance, and ſuſpending like a little bag, from the bough of a tree. The *Tigrillo*, or little Tiger, which is likewiſe of ſome value upon account of its muſic, is ſo named from its feathers being ſpotted like the ſkin of a tiger. The *Cuitlaccochi* reſembles the Centzontli, in the excellence of its ſong, as well as in ſize and colour, as the *Coztototl* exactly does the Canary bird, brought thither from the Canaries. The Mexican Sparrows, called *Gorriones* by the Spaniards, are nothing like the real ſparrows, except in their ſize, their manner of hopping, and in making their neſts in the holes of walls. Their body is white upon the under-ſide, and grey upon the upper; but at a certain age, the heads of ſome become red, and others yellow (*e*). Their flight is laborious, from the ſmallneſs of their wings, or the weakneſs of their feathers. Their ſong is moſt delightful and various. There are great numbers of theſe ſinging birds in the capital, and the other cities and villages of Mexico.

The talking birds too, or thoſe which imitate the human voice, are to be found in equal abundance, in the country of Anahuac. Even among the ſinging birds there are ſome which learn a few words; ſuch as the celebrated Centzontli, and the *Acolchichi*, or bird with the red back, which from that mark the Spaniards have called the *Commendador*. The *Cehuan*, which is bigger than a common thruſh, counterfeits the human voice, but in a tone that appears burleſqued; and will follow travellers a great way. The *Tzanahuei* reſembles the magpie in ſize, but is of a different colour. It learns to ſpeak, ſteals cunningly whatever it can get, and in every reſpect ſhows a kind of inſtinct ſuperior to what we generally obſerve in other birds. But of all the ſpeaking birds, the parrots hold the firſt place; of which they reckon, in Mexico, four principal

(*e*) I have heard it ſaid, that the *Gorriones* with red heads are the males; and thoſe with yellow heads, the females.

ſpecies, namely, the *Huacamaya*, the *Toznenetl*, the *Cochotl*, and the *Quiltototl* (*f*).

The Huacamaya, the largeſt of all the parrots, is more valuable for its beautiful feathers than for its ſpeaking. It articulates words indiſtinctly, and its voice is harſh and diſagreeable. The Toznenetl, which is the beſt of them all, is about the ſize of a pigeon; its feathers are of a green colour, except upon the head, and fore-part of the wings, which in ſome of them are red, and in others yellow. It learns any words or tune, and imitates them faithfully. It naturally imitates the laugh of a man, or other ridiculous ſound, the cries of children, and the various noiſes of different animals. There are three ſpecies of the Cochotl differing from each other in ſize and plumage, which in them all is beautiful; and the prevailing colour is green. The largeſt of the *Cochotls* is nearly as large as the Toznenetl: the two other ſpecies, called by the Spaniards, *Caterine*, are ſmaller. They all learn to talk, though not ſo perfectly as the Toznenetl. The *Quiltototl*, is the ſmalleſt kind of parrot, and the leaſt valuable for ſpeaking. Theſe ſmall parrots whoſe plumage is of the moſt beautiful green, fly always in large flocks, ſometimes making a great noiſe in the air; and at other times committing havoc among the grain. When perched upon the trees they can hardly be diſtinguiſhed, by their colour from the leaves. All the other parrots go generally in pairs, a male and female.

The *Madrugadores* (*g*), which we ſhall call the *Awakeners*, or *Twilight* birds, and which are called by the Mexicans *Tzacua*, although they are not ſo remarkable for beauty or ſong, deſerve particular notice for ſome other qualities. Theſe birds are the laſt among the day birds to go to rooſt at night, and the firſt to leave it in the morning, and to announce the return of the ſun. They never ceaſe to ſing and frolic, till an hour after ſun-ſet; begin again long before the dawn, and never ſeem ſo happy as during the morning

(*f*) The Toznenetl and Cochotl, are called by the Mexican Spaniards, *Pericos* and *Loros*. The word *Huacamaya* is from the Haitinian language which was ſpoken in Hiſpaniola. *Loro*, is from the Quichoan or Incan, and *Toznenetl*, *Cochotl*, and *Quiltototl* from the Mexican.

(*g*) *Madrugador*, in Spaniſh means *early riſer*; but as there is no word in Italian that anſwers to it; the Author has employed that of *Deſtatore* or *Awakener*. He ſeems to think, however, that the name of *Uccello crepuſcolare* or *Twilight* bird, would be more applicable.

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and evening twilight. About an hour before the break of day, one of them begins from the bough of a tree where he has paſſed the night along with many others of his ſpecies, to call them, with a ſhrill, clear note, which he continually repeats with a tone of gladneſs, till ſome of his companions hear and anſwer him. When they are all awake, they make a very chearful noiſe, which may be heard at a great diſtance. In the journies I have made through the kingdom of Michuacan, where they abound, they were of ſome uſe to me, as they always rouſed me in time, to allow me to ſet out by the break of day. Theſe birds are about as large as ſparrows.

The Tzacua, a bird which reſembles the above mentioned Calandra in ſize, in colour, and in the form of its neſt is ſtill more ſurpriſing. Theſe birds live in ſociety; and every tree is to them a village, compoſed of a great number of neſts, all hanging from the boughs. One of them which does the office of the head or the guard of the village, reſides in the middle of the tree; from which it flies about from one neſt to another, viſiting them all, and after ſinging a little while, returns to its place; while the reſt remain perfectly ſilent. If any bird of a different ſpecies approaches the tree, he flies to it, and endeavours, with his bill and wings, to drive it off; but if a man, or any other large animal comes near, he flies ſcreaming to another tree, and if at that time any *Tzacuas* belonging to the ſame village happen to be returning from the fields, he meets them, and changing his note, obliges them to retire again: as ſoon as he perceives the danger over, he returns happy to his wonted round of viſiting the neſts. Theſe obſervations upon the Tzacua, made by a man of penetration, learning, and veracity (*h*), ſhould make us expect to find ſome things ſtill more extraordinary in theſe birds, if the obſervations were repeated; but we muſt now leave theſe pleaſant objects, and turn our eyes upon ſome that are of the moſt diſagreeable kind.

SECT. XII. Reptiles of Mexico.

The reptiles of Mexico may be reduced to two orders or claſſes; namely, the four-footed, and the *apodes* or thoſe without feet (*i*). In

(*h*) The Abbé D. Giuſeppe Rafaelle Campoi.

(*i*) I am perfectly aware of the variety of opinions entertained by different authors, with reſpect to the animals which ought to be claſſed among the reptiles: but as I do not undertake to give an exact arrangement, but merely to preſent them in ſome order to the reader, I take the term of *Reptile*, in the ſame ſenſe in which it was commonly underſtood of old.

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the firſt claſs are crocodiles, lizards, frogs and toads: in the ſecond all kinds of ſerpents.

The Mexican crocodiles reſemble the African in ſize, form, voracity, way of living, and in all the other peculiarities of their character. They abound in many of the lakes and rivers in the hot countries, and deſtroy men and other animals. It would be altogether ſuperfluous to give any deſcription of theſe terrible animals, when ſo much has been written about them in other books.

Among the greater lizards we reckon the *Acaltetepon*, and the *Iguana*. The *Acaltetapon*, known to the Spaniards by the very improper name of *Scorpions*, are two lizards which reſemble each other in colour and in form, but very different in their ſize and tails. The ſmalleſt is about fifteen inches, with a long tail, ſhort legs, a red, broad, cloven tongue, a grey rough ſkin covered with white warts like pearls, a ſluggiſh pace, and a fierce aſpect. From the muſcles of the hind-legs to the extremity of the tail, its ſkin is croſſed with yellow lines in the form of rings. The bite of this animal is painful, but not mortal as ſome have imagined. It is peculiar to the warmer climates. The other lizard is an inhabitant of the ſame climate, but twice as large, being, according to the report of ſome who have ſeen it, about two feet and a half long, and more than a foot thick round the back and belly. It has a ſhort tail, with a thick head and legs. This lizard is the ſcourge of rabbits.

The Iguana is a harmleſs lizard, ſufficiently known in Europe from the accounts of American hiſtorians. They abound in the warm countries, and are of two kinds, the one a land animal, and the other amphibious. Some of them have been found as long as three feet. They run with great ſpeed, and are very nimble in climbing trees. Their eggs and fleſh are eatable, and praiſed by ſome authors, but their fleſh is hurtful to thoſe labouring under the French diſeaſe.

Of the ſmaller lizards there are a great many ſpecies, differing in ſize, colour, and other circumſtances; of which ſome are poiſonous, and others harmleſs. Among the latter the firſt place is due to the cameleon, called by the Mexicans *Quatapalcatl*. This reſembles the common cameleon almoſt in every reſpect, but differs in having no creſt, and in having large, round, open ears. Among the other lizards

of the harmleſs kind, there is none worth notice but the *Tapayaxin* (*k*), which is remarkable for its ſhape and ſome other peculiarities. It is perfectly round, cartilaginous, and feels very cold to the touch: the diameter of its body is ſix inches. Its head is very hard, and ſpotted with various colours. It is ſo lazy and ſluggiſh, that it does not move even although it is ſhaken. When its head is ſtruck, or its eyes preſſed, it darts out from them, to about two or three paces diſtance, a few drops of blood; but is in every thing elſe an inoffenſive animal, and ſeems to take pleaſure in being handled. It would ſeem as if, being of ſo cold a conſtitution, it received ſome comfort from the heat of the hand.

Among the poiſonous lizards, the worſt ſeems to be that one which, from its being uncommon, got the name of *Tetzauhqui* with the Mexicans. It is very ſmall, of a grey colour, which is of a yellowiſh hue upon the body, and blueiſh upon the tail. There are ſome others reckoned venomous, and known by the Spaniards by the name of *Salamanqueſas*, or that of *Scorpions* (for this name is applied to many reptiles by the vulgar): but I am certain, from many obſervations, that thoſe lizards are either entirely void of poiſon, or at leaſt, if they have any, it is not ſo active as is generally imagined. We may make the ſame remark with reſpect to toads, as we have never ſeen or heard of any bad effects occaſioned by their venom, although in many warm and humid places the earth is entirely covered with them. In thoſe places there are ſome toads of eight inches diameter.

In the lake of Chalco there are three very numerous ſpecies of frogs, of three very different ſizes and colours, and very common at the tables in the capital. Thoſe of Huaxteca are excellent, and will ſometimes weigh a Spaniſh pound: but I never ſaw or heard in that country the tree frogs, which are ſo common in Italy and other parts of Europe.

The ſerpents are of much greater variety than the reptiles already mentioned, there being many of different ſizes and colours, ſome poiſonous and others innocent.

The moſt conſiderable in point of ſize ſeems to have been one called *Canauhcoatl* by the Mexicans. It was about three Pariſian perches

(*k*) See this lizard in our plate.

long,

long, and of the thickneſs of a middle ſized man. One of the *Tlil-coas*, or black ſerpents, which Hernandez ſaw in the mountains of Tepoztlan, was not quite ſo large; which, although it was not equal in thickneſs, yet was ten Spaniſh cubits, or more than ſixteen Pariſian feet long. Such monſtrous ſerpents are ſeldom to be found now adays, unleſs in ſome ſolitary wood, at a diſtance from the capital.

The moſt remarkable of the poiſonous ſerpents are the *Ahueyactli*, the *Cuicuilcoatl*, the *Teixminani*, the *Cencoatl*, and the *Teotlacozauhqui*.

The *Teotlacozauhqui*, of which there are ſeveral ſpecies, is the famous rattle-ſnake. Its colour and ſize are various, but it is commonly three or four feet long. The rattle may be conſidered as an appendix to the vertebræ, and conſiſts of rings of a horny ſubſtance, moveable, and connected with each other by means of articulations or joints, every one being compoſed of three ſmall bones *(l)*. The rattle ſounds whenever the ſnakes moves, and particularly when he is in motion to bite. This ſnake moves with great rapidity, and upon that account it likewiſe obtained among the Mexicans the name of *Ehecacoatl*, or aerial ſerpent. Its bite is attended with certain death, unleſs remedies are ſpeedily applied, among which the moſt effectual is thought to be the holding of the wounded part ſome time in the earth. It bites with two teeth placed in the upper jaw, which as in the viper and other ſpecies of ſerpents, are moveable, hollow, and pierced at the extremity. The poiſon, which is a yellowiſh cryſtallizable liquor, is contained in ſome glands which lie over the roots of thoſe two teeth. Theſe glands being compreſſed in the action of biting, dart through the hollow of the teeth the fatal liquid, and pour it by the apertures into the wound and the maſs of blood. We ſhould have been glad to communicate to the public ſeveral other obſervations which we have made upon this ſubject, if the nature of this hiſtory ſhould have permitted it *(m)*.

The *Ahueyactli* is not very different from the ſnake juſt deſcribed, except in having no rattle. This ſnake, as we are told by Hernandez,

(*l*) Hernandez ſays, that a new ring is added every year, and that the number of the rings correſpond with the years of the ſnake's age: but we do not know whether this is founded upon his own obſervations or the reports of others.

(*m*) Father Inamma, a jeſuit miſſionary of California, has made many experiments upon ſnakes, which ſerve to confirm thoſe made by Mead upon vipers.

communicates that kind of poiſon called by the ancients *Hemorrhoas*, which occaſions the blood to burſt from the mouth, noſe, and eyes of the perſon who has received it. There are certain antidotes, however, which prevent theſe virulent effects.

The *Cuicuilcoatl*, ſo named from the variety of its colours, is not quite eight inches long, and of the thickneſs of the little finger; but its poiſon is as active as that of the Teotlacozauhqui.

The *Teixminani* is that kind of ſerpent which Pliny calls *Jaculum*. It is of a long ſlender form, with a grey-coloured back and a purple belly. It moves always in a ſtraight line, and never coils, but ſprings from the trees upon paſſengers, and has thence derived its name *(n)*. Theſe ſnakes are to be found in the mountains of Quauhnahuac, and in other hot countries; but I never knew any inſtance of ſuch a thing happening to any traveller, although I lived ſo many years in that kingdom; and I can ſay the ſame thing of the terrible effects aſcribed to the Ahueyactli.

The *Cencoatl (o)*, which is alſo a poiſonous ſnake, is about five feet long, and eight inches round at the thickeſt part. The moſt remarkable quality of this ſnake is its ſhining in the dark. Thus does the provident Author of nature, by various impreſſions on our ſenſes, at one time upon our ears by the noiſe of a rattle, at another time upon our eyes by the impreſſions of light, awake our attention to guard againſt approaching danger.

Among the harmleſs ſnakes, of which there are ſeveral kinds, we cannot paſs over the *Tzicatlinan*, and the *Maquizcoatl*. The *Tzicatlinan* is very beautiful, about a foot in length, and of the thickneſs of the little finger. It lives always in ant-hills; and it takes ſo much pleaſure in being among ants, that it will accompany theſe inſects upon their expeditions, and return with them to their uſual neſt. The Mexican name *Tzicatlinan*, ſignifies *mother of ants*, and that is the name given it by the Spaniards; but I ſuſpect that all the attachment which this little ſnake ſhews to ant-hills, proceeds only from its living upon the ants themſelves.

(*n*) The Mexicans give this ſnake the name alſo of *Micoatl*; the Spaniards that of *Sætilla*, both ſignifying the ſame thing with the *Jaculum* of the Latins.

(*o*) There are ſome other ſpecies of ſnakes which having the ſame colours with the *Cencoatl*, go by the ſame name, but they are all of a harmleſs nature.

The

The *Maquizcoatl* is about the ſame ſize but of a ſhining ſilvery hue. The tail is thicker than the head, and this ſnake can move progreſſively with either extremity at pleaſure. It is called by the Greeks *Amphiſbeæna* (*p*); it is a very rare ſpecies, and has never been ſeen as far as I know, in any other place than the valley of Toluca.

Of all the variety of ſnakes which are found in the unfrequented woods of that kingdom, I believe that no viviparous ſpecies has been diſcovered, except the acoatl or water-ſnake, which too is only ſuppoſed, but not certainly known, to be viviparous. That ſnake is about twenty inches long and one thick: its teeth are exceeding ſmall, the upper part of the head is black, the ſides of it are blue, and the under part yellow. The back is ſtriped with blue and black, the belly is entirely blue.

The ancient Mexicans who took delight in rearing all kinds of animals, and who by long familiarity loſt that horror which ſuch animals naturally inſpire, uſed to catch in the fields a little green harmleſs ſnake, which being brought up at home, and well fed, would ſometimes grow to the ſize of a man. It was generally kept in a tub, which it never left but to receive its food from its maſter's hand; which it would take, either mounted upon his ſhoulder or coiled about his legs.

If from the land we now turn our eyes to the rivers, lakes, and ſeas of Anahuac, we ſhall find in them a much greater variety of creatures. Even the known ſpecies of their fiſh are innumerable; for of thoſe only which ſerve for the nouriſhment of man, I have counted upwards of a hundred ſpecies, without reckoning the turtle, crab, lobſter, or any other teſtaceous or cruſtaceous animal. Of the fiſh, ſome are common to both the ſeas; ſome are peculiar to the Mexican gulf alone, others to the Pacific Ocean; and ſome are to be found only in the lakes and rivers.

SECT. XIII. The fiſh of the ſeas, rivers, and lakes of Anahuac.

The fiſh common to both the ſeas are whales, dolphins, ſword-fiſh, ſaw-fiſh, tiburones, manatis, mantas, porpoiſes, bonitas, cod, mullets,

(*p*) Pliny, in lib. viii. cap. 23, gives the *Amphiſbeæna* two heads; but the Greek name means nothing more than the double motion. The two-headed ſerpent of Pliny has been ſeen in Europe, and ſome have aſſerted that it is to be met with in Mexico, but I do not know that that any one has ſeen it. If it has been found in that country, it cannot be conſidered as a natural ſpecies, but rather as a monſter, like the two-headed eagle found a few years ſince in Oaaca, and ſent to the Catholic king.

thornbacks,

thornbacks, barbels, flying-fiſh, ſhad, lobſters, ſoles, and a great many others, together with ſeveral ſpecies of tortoiſes, polypus, crabs, ſpunges, &c.

The Mexican gulf, beſides thoſe already mentioned, affords ſturgeons, pike, congers, turbot, lampreys, cuttle-fiſh, anchovies, carp, eels, nautiluſes, &c.

In the Pacific Ocean, beſides thoſe common to the two ſeas, there are ſalmons, tunnies, ſea ſcorpions, herrings, and others.

In the lakes and rivers, are three or four kinds of white fiſh, carp, mullet, trout, barbels, eels, and many others.

As the particular deſcription of theſe fiſh would be foreign to the object of our hiſtory, and of little uſe to the European reader, we ſhall only take notice of a few of the more remarkable circumſtances with reſpect to them.

The *Tiburon* belongs to that claſs of ſea-animals called by the ancients *Caniculæ*. Its great voracity, its ſize, ſtrength, and ſwiftneſs, are well known. It has two, three, and ſometimes more rows of ſharp ſtrong teeth, and ſwallows whatever is thrown to it whether eatable or not. A whole ſheep's ſkin, and even a large butcher's knife, has been found in its belly. This fiſh frequently accompanies veſſels, and by Oviedo's account there have been Tiburones, which have kept up with a veſſel in full ſail with a fair wind, for five hundred miles, and often ſwimming round the ſhip to catch any filth that was thrown from it.

The *Manati* or *Lamentin*, as it is called by ſome, is a larger fiſh than the *Tiburon*, and of a very different diſpoſition. Oviedo ſays, that *Manatis* have been catched of ſuch a ſize as to require a cart, with two pair of oxen to draw them. It is like the *Tiburon* viviparous, but the female brings only one young one at a time, which, however, is of a great ſize *(r)*. The fleſh of this animal is delicate, and ſomething like

(*r*) Buffon agrees with Hernandez in ſaying that the Manati brings but one young one at a time; but other perſons affirm that ſhe brings two. Perhaps the ſame thing takes place with the Manati as with the human ſpecies; which is commonly to have only one, but ſometimes to have two or more. Hernandez deſcribes the copulation of theſe animals in theſe words; *Humano more coit, fœmina ſupina fere tota in littore procumbente, et celeritate quadam ſuperveniente mare.* We do not with ſome modern naturaliſts rank the Manati among quadrupeds,

like veal. Some authors place the Manati in the claſs of amphibious animals, but improperly, as it is never upon land; but only raiſes its head, and a part of its body, out of the water, to brouſe upon the herbage which grows along the banks of the rivers *(s)*.

The *Manta* is that flat fiſh mentioned by Ulloa and others, which is ſo hurtful to the pearl-fiſhers, and which I have no doubt is the ſame with that which Pliny has deſcribed, though he ſeems not to have been very well acquainted with it, under the name of *Nubes* or *Nebula (t)*. It is not improbable, that this fiſh has made its way into theſe ſeas from thoſe of the old world in the ſame manner as ſome others appear to have done. The ſtrength of this fiſh is ſo great that it will not only ſtrangle a man whom it embraces or winds itſelf about, but it has even been ſeen to take the cable of an anchor and move it from the place where it had been caſt. It has been called *Manta*, becauſe when it lies ſtretched upon the ſea, as it frequently does, it ſeems like a fleece of wool floating upon the water.

The ſword-fiſh of theſe ſeas is quite different from that of Greenland. The ſword is larger, and in its figure more nearly reſembling a real ſword; and is not placed in the ſame manner with that of the Greenland fiſh upon the hinder part, but upon the fore part of the

peds, although it is viviparous; becauſe every one by the name of quadruped underſtands an animal with four feet, but the Manati has only two, and theſe imperfectly formed.

(*s*) Mr. de la Condamine confirms our obſervation with reſpect to the Manati's living conſtantly in water, and the ſame thing had been ſaid two centuries before by two eye-witneſſes Oviedo and Hernandez. It is true, that Hernandez does ſeem to ſay the contrary; but this is owing merely to a typographical error, which is obvious to every reader. I ſhould mention likewiſe, that the Manati, although properly a ſea-animal, is frequently to be found in rivers.

(*t*) *Ipſi ferunt* (Urinatores) *et nubem quandam craſſeſcere ſuper capita, planorum piſcium ſimilem, prementem eos, arcentemque a reciprocando et ob id ſtilos præacutos lineis annexos habere ſeſe; quia in ſi perfoſſæ ita, non recedant, caliginis et pavoris, ut arbitror, opere. Nubem enim ſive nebulam (cujus nomine id malum appellant) inter animalia haud ullam reperit quiſquam.* Plin. Hiſtor. Nat. lib. ix. cap. 46. The account given of this *cloud* by thoſe divers is much the ſame with that which the divers in the American ſeas give of themanta, and the name of the *cloud* is perfectly applicable to it, as it really ſeems to be a cloud to thoſe who are in the water below it; our ſwimmers likewiſe carry long knives, or ſharp ſticks, for the purpoſe of diſperſing this animal. This obſervation which has eſcaped all the interpreters of Pliny, was made by my countryman and friend the Abbé D. Joſ. Raf. Campoi, a man not leſs diſtinguiſhed by his manners and integrity, than by his eloquence and erudition, particularly in the Latin language, in Hiſtory, in Criticiſm, and in Geography. His death upon the 29th of December, 1777, prevented his finiſhing ſeveral very uſeful works which he had begun.

body,

BOOK I.

body, like the ſaw-fiſh. It moves this ſword at pleaſure, with great force, and employs it as an offenſive weapon.

Of the two ſpecies of ſaw-fiſh to be found in thoſe ſeas, the one is that common one known to Pliny, and deſcribed by ſo many naturaliſts. The other, which is about a foot in length, has a row of teeth or prickles like a ſaw, upon its back, which has obtained it the name of *Tlateconi*, from the Mexicans, and from the Spaniards that of *Sierra*.

The Roballo is one of the moſt numerous ſpecies, and affords the moſt delicate food, eſpecially the kind peculiar to rivers. Hernandez took this fiſh to be the ſame with the *Lupus* of the ancients, and Campoi imagined it to be the *Aſellus Minor*; but this muſt have been altogether conjecture, for the deſcriptions of thoſe fiſh left us by the ancients are ſo imperfect, that it is impoſſible to aſcertain their identity.

The Gobbo (called by the Spaniards *Corcoboda*), was ſo called from a riſing or prominence reaching from the neck to the mouth, which latter part is exceedingly ſmall. The Sfirena had likewiſe the name of *Picuda* (which we might tranſlate long-ſnout), from the lower jaw being longer than the upper.

The Roſpo is a very diſagreeable fiſh to look at; of a perfectly round ſhape, three or four inches in diameter, and without ſcales. It affords a pleaſant wholeſome food.

Among the eels there is one called *Huitzitzilmichin* by the Mexicans, which is about three feet long and very ſlender. Its body is covered with a ſort of ſmall plates, inſtead of ſcales. The ſnout is about eight inches in length, with the upper jaw longer than the lower, in which it differs from all other eels, which this ſpecies likewiſe ſurpaſſes, as well in the delicacy of its fleſh as in the ſize of its body.

The Bobo, is a very fine fiſh, about two feet long, and four or ſix inches broad at the broadeſt part; and is in high eſteem as an excellent food. The river Barbel, known by the name of Bagre, is of the ſame ſize with the Bobo, and of exquiſite flavour, but unwholeſome till it is cleanſed with lemon juice, or ſome other acid, from a certain kind of froth or viſcid liquor which adheres to it.

The

The Bobos, I believe are got only in the rivers which fall into the Mexican gulf, and the Barbels in thoſe which diſcharge themſelves into lakes, or into the Pacific Ocean. The fleſh of theſe two kinds, although very delicate, does not equal that of the Pampano, and the Colombella, which are deſervedly eſteemed ſuperior to all others.

The Curvina is about a foot and a half long, of a ſlender, round ſhape, and of a blackiſh purple colour. In the head of this fiſh are found, two ſmall, white ſtones like alabaſter, each an inch and a half long, and about four lines broad, of which three grains taken in water, are thought to be uſeful in a ſtoppage of urine.

The Botetto is a ſmall fiſh, not more than eight inches in length, but exceſſively thick. This fiſh, while it lies alive upon the beach, immediately ſwells, whenever it is touched, to an enormous ſize; and boys often take pleaſure in making it burſt with a kick. The liver is ſo poiſonous as to kill with ſtrong convulſions in half an hour after it is eaten.

The Occhione *(u)*, is a flat, round fiſh of eight or ten inches diameter. The underpart of the body is perfectly flat, but the upper is convex; and in the center, which is the higheſt part, it has a ſingle eye as large as that of an ox, and furniſhed with its neceſſary eye-lids. The eye remains open even after it is dead, which ſometimes creates a degree of horror to a ſpectator *(x)*.

The *Iztacmichin*, or white fiſh, has always been in great repute in Mexico, and is now as common at the Spaniſh tables as it uſed to be anciently at thoſe of the Mexicans. There are three or four ſpecies. The *Amilotl*, which is the largeſt and the moſt eſteemed, is more than a foot in length, and has two fins upon the back, two at the ſides, and one under the belly. The *Xalmichin* ſeems to be of the ſame kind with the former, but not quite ſo large. The *Jacapitzahuac*, which is the ſmalleſt kind, is not more than eight

(*u*) This fiſh, which is only found in California, either has no name, or we, at leaſt, are not acquainted with it; for which reaſon we have given it one, we think, ſufficiently applicable, namely, that of Occhione.

(*x*) Campoi was perſuaded that the Occhione is the *Uranoſcopos*, or *Callionymos* of Pliny: but Pliny has not left any deſcription of that fiſh. The name of *Uranoſcopos*, which was the only foundation of Campoi's opinion, is equally applicable to all thoſe fiſh which, having eyes upon the head, look upwards to the ſky, ſuch as ſkates, and other flat fiſh.

inches long, and one inch and a half broad. All theſe kinds have ſcales, are a very delicate and wholeſome food, and are to be found in great plenty in the lakes of Chalco, Pazcuaro, and Chapalla. The fourth kind is the *Xalmichin* of Quauhnahuac, which has no ſcales, but is covered with a tender white ſkin.

The *Axolotl* or Axolote (*y*), is a great water-lizard of the Mexican lake. Its figure and appearance are ridiculous and diſagreeable. It is commonly about eight inches long, but is ſometimes to be found of twice that length. The ſkin is ſoft and black, the head and tail long, the mouth large, and the tongue broad, thin, and cartilaginous. The body gradually diminiſhes in ſize, from the middle to the extremity of the tail. It ſwims with its four feet which reſemble thoſe of a frog. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance with reſpect to this animal, which has been eſtabliſhed by many obſervations, and confirmed by the opinion of Hernandez, is the uterus, and a periodical evacuation of blood to which it is ſubject; in both which it is ſaid to reſemble the human ſpecies (*z*). The Axolotl is wholeſome to eat, and is of much the ſame taſte with an eel. It is thought to be particularly uſeful in caſes of conſumption.

There are many other kinds of ſmall fiſh, in the lake of Mexico, but they ſcarcely deſerve our notice.

As to ſhells, they are found in prodigious numbers, and of great variety; and ſome of them of extraordinary beauty, eſpecially thoſe of the Pacific Ocean. Pearls alſo have been fiſhed, at different times, along all the coaſts of that ſea. The Mexicans got them upon the coaſts of Tototepec, and of the Cuitlatecans, where we now get the tortoiſe-ſhell. Among the Sea-ſtars is one which has five rays, and

(*y*) Mr. Bomare could not light upon the name of this fiſh. He calls it *Axalotl, Axolotl, Azoloti, and Axoloti*; and ſays that the Spaniards call it *Juguete del' agua*: yet the Mexicans call it *Axolotl*, and the Spaniards give it no other name but the *Axolote*.

(*z*) Bomare has ſome heſitation in believing what is ſaid of the *Axolote*; but while we may reſt ſecure upon the teſtimony of thoſe perſons, who have had theſe animals actually under their own inſpection, we need not pay much regard to the doubts of a Frenchman, who, however verſed in Natural Hiſtory, never ſaw the Axolotis, and is even ignorant of their name: more eſpecially, when we reflect that the periodical evacuation of blood is not confined to women alone, but has been obſerved, likewiſe, in apes; for, as Mr. Bomare ſays, *Les femelles des ſinges ont pour la plupart des menſtrues comme les femmes.*

one

Pl. IV.

King of the Zopilots

Tepajaxin

Vol. I. Page 66.

Amphisbœna

Axolotl

Occhione

Temolin

one eye in each. Of Spunges, and Lithophyts, there are many rare and ſingular ſpecies. Hernandez gives us a print of a ſpunge, ſent to him from the Pacific Ocean, which was of the ſhape of a man's hand, but with ten or more fingers; of a clay colour, with black points and red ſtreaks, and was harder than the common ſpunges.

Deſcending, at length, to the ſmaller creatures, in which the power and wiſdom of the Creator eſpecially appear; we ſhall divide the innumerable multitude of Mexican inſects into three claſſes, the flying, the terreſtrial, and the aquatic; although there are land and water inſects which afterwards become flying inſects, and might be conſidered as belonging to different claſſes, at different times.

Among the flying inſects are, beetles, bees, waſps, flies, gnats, butterflies, and graſshoppers. The beetles are of ſeveral kinds, and moſtly harmleſs. Some of them are of a green colour, and called by the Mexicans, *Majatl*; which, by the great noiſe they make in flying, afford amuſement to children. There are others black, of a diſagreeable ſmell and irregular form, which are called *Pinacatl*.

The *Cucujo* or ſhining beetle, which beſt deſerves our notice, has been mentioned by many authors, but not hitherto, as far as I know, deſcribed by any one. It is more than an inch in length; and, like other flying beetles, is furniſhed with double wings. Upon the head, is a ſmall, moveable horn, which is of great uſe to it; for if at any time it happens to be turned over and laid upon its back, it is by means of this horn, by thruſting and preſſing it into a membrane ſomewhat like a bag, which it has upon the belly, that this inſect recovers its natural poſition. Near the eyes are two ſmall membranes, and upon the belly one ſomewhat larger, of a thin, tranſparent ſubſtance, which are full of luminous matter, affording a light ſtrong enough to read by, and to ſhew the way to thoſe who travel at night. It ſhews moſt light when it flies; but none at all while it ſleeps, as it is then covered with the other opaque membranes. The luminous matter is a white, mealy, viſcid ſubſtance, which preſerves its luminous quality after it has been taken from the body of the Cucujo, and one may draw ſhining characters with it, upon a hat. There are great numbers of theſe flying phoſphori upon the ſea-coaſts, and which form upon the neighbouring

bouring hills, at night, a very beautiful and brilliant ſpectacle. The boys eaſily catch them by waving a light in the evening, and the beetles, drawn by the light, come into their hands. Some authors have confounded this wonderful inſect with the glow-worm, but the latter is much ſmaller, and much leſs luminous; is pretty frequent in Europe, and perfectly common in Mexico.

The appearance of the ſhining beetle is not more pleaſing than that of the *Temolin* is diſagreeable. This is a large beetle of a reddiſh cheſnut colour, with ſix hairy feet, and four toes upon each. There are two ſpecies of the *Temolin*: the one having one horn, in the forepart of the head; and the other, two.

There are, at leaſt, ſix different kinds of bees. The firſt is the ſame with the common bee of Europe, with which it agrees, not only in ſize, ſhape, and colour, but alſo in its diſpoſition and manners, and in the qualities of its honey and wax. The ſecond ſpecies, which differs from the firſt only in having no ſting, is the bee of Yucatan and Chiapa, which makes the fine, clear honey of *Eſtabentùn*, of an aromatic flavour, ſuperior to that of all the other kinds of honey with which we are acquainted. The honey is taken from them ſix times a year, that is, once in every other month; but the beſt is that which is got in November, being made from a fragrant white flower like Jeſſamine, which blows in September, called in that country *Eſtabentùn*, from which the honey has derived its name (z). The third ſpecies reſembles in its form, the winged ants, but is ſmaller than the common bee, and without a ſting. This inſect, which is peculiar to warm and temperate climates, forms neſts, in ſize and ſhape reſembling ſugar-loaves, and even ſometimes greatly exceeding theſe in ſize, which are ſuſpended from rocks, or from trees, and particularly from the oak. The populouſneſs of theſe hives are much greater than of thoſe of the common bee. The nymphs of this bee, which are eatable, are white and round, like a pearl. The honey is of a greyiſh colour, but of a fine flavour. The fourth ſpecies is a yellow bee, ſmaller than the common one, but,

(z) The honey of Eſtabentùn, is in high eſtimation with the Engliſh and French, who touch at the ports of Yucatan; and I have known the French of Guarico buy it ſometimes for the purpoſe of ſending it as a preſent to the king.

like

like it, furniſhed with a ſting. Its honey is not equal to thoſe already mentioned. The fifth, is a ſmall bee without a ſting, which conſtructs hives of an orbicular form, in ſubterraneous cavities; and the honey is ſour, and ſomewhat bitter. The *Tlalpipiolli*, which is the ſixth ſpecies, is black and yellow, of the ſize of the common bee, but has no ſting.

Of waſps there are at leaſt four kinds. The *Quetzalmiahuatl* is the common waſp of Europe. The *Tetlatoca* or wandering waſp, is ſo called from its frequent change of habitation; and is always found employed in collecting materials to build it. This waſp has a ſting, but makes no honey or wax. The *Xicotli* or Xicote, is a thick, black waſp, with a yellow belly; which makes a very ſweet honey, in holes made by it in walls. It is provided with a ſtrong ſting, which gives a very painful wound. The *Cuicalmiahuatl*, has likewiſe a ſting; but whether it makes honey or not, we do not know.

The *Quauhxicotli*, is a black hornet, with a red tail, whoſe ſting is ſo large and ſtrong, as not only to go through a ſugar cane, but even to pierce into the trunk of a tree.

Among the flies, beſides the common fly which is neither ſo troubleſome, nor in ſuch numbers as in Italy during ſummer (*a*), there are ſome luminous as the glow-worm. The *Axayacatl* is a marſh-fly, of the Mexican lake, the eggs of which being depoſited in immenſe quantities, upon the ruſhes and corn-flags of the lake, form large maſſes, which are taken up by fiſhermen and carried to market for ſale. This caviare called *Ahuauhtli*, which has much the ſame taſte with the caviare of fiſh, uſed to be eat by the Mexicans, and is now a common diſh among the Spaniards. The Mexicans eat not only the eggs, but the flies themſelves made up together into a maſs, and prepared with ſaltpetre.

Gnats, which are ſo common in Europe, and eſpecially in Italy, abound in the maritime parts of Mexico, and in all places where heat,

(*a*) The ſame obſervation has been made before by Oviedo; "In the iſlands," ſaid he, "and in terra firma, there are very few flies; and in compariſon of their numbers in Europe, "one might almoſt ſay there are none." Nat. Hiſt. Ind. cap. 81. In Mexico, certainly there are not ſo few as Oviedo ſays, but, generally ſpeaking, they are neither ſo numerous nor ſo troubleſome as in Europe.

ſtanding

ſtanding water, and ſhrubs, encourage their propagation. They are in immenſe numbers in the lake of Chalco; but the capital, although near to that lake, is entirely free of that nuiſance.

In the hot countries there is likewiſe a kind of ſmall flies, which make no buz in flying, but raiſe a violent itching by their puncture, and an open wound is very ready to be made, if the part is ſcratced.

In thoſe hot countries alſo, but particularly in thoſe next the ſea, *Cucarachas* are found in great numbers. This is a large winged, filthy, pernicious inſect, which ſpoils all eatables, particularly any thing ſweet; but in ſome other reſpects is of great uſe in clearing houſes of bugs. It has been remarked, that the ſhips which come from Europe full of bugs, return from New Spain quite freed of theſe ſtinking inſects, by means of the *Cucarachas* (*b*).

The Butterflies of Mexico, are much more numerous, and of greater variety, than in Europe. It is impoſſible to give any idea of their variety and beauty, and the fineſt pencil is unable to imitate the exquiſite colouring and deſign, which the Author of Nature has diſplayed in the embelliſhment of their wings. Many reſpectable Authors have celebrated them in their writings; and Hernandez has made ſome be drawn, in order to give Europeans an idea of their beauty.

But the butterflies although numerous, are not to be compared in that reſpect, with the locuſts, which, ſometimes darkening the air like thick clouds, fall upon the ſea coaſts, and lay waſte all the vegetation of the country; as I have myſelf witneſſed, in the year 1738, or 1739, upon the coaſts of Xicayan. From this cauſe a great famine was lately occaſioned in the Peninſula of Yucatan: but no country has been viſited by this dreadful ſcourge ſo often as the wretched Caliſornia (*c*). Among the land-inſects, beſides the common ones, about which nothing occurs to me worthy to be mentioned, there

(*b*) This inſect is likewiſe an enemy of the ſtudious, preying upon the ink, in the night-time, unleſs it is carefully covered up. The Spaniards call it *Cucaracha*, others call it *Kakerlaques*, and others *Dermeſtes*, &c.

(*c*) In the hiſtory of California, which will be publiſhed in a few months, will be found a great many obſervations with reſpect to locuſts, made by the Abbé D. Mich. del Barco, who lived upwards of thirty years in that country, a country not more famous than undeſerving of the fame it has acquired.

are

are worms of ſeveral kinds, ſcolopendræ, ſcorpions, ſpiders, ants, nigua chegoes or jiggers, and the cochineal.

Of the worms, ſome are uſeful, and others pernicious; ſome ſerved as food to the ancient Mexicans, and others in the way of medicine, as the *Axin* and the *Pollin*, which we ſhall ſpeak of in another place. The *Tleocuilin* or burning worm, has the ſame qualities with the Cantharides: its head is red, the breaſt green, and the reſt of the body is of a tawny-colour. The *Temahuani*, is a worm covered with yellow, venemous prickles. The *Temiẽtli* reſembles the ſilk-worm, both in its operations and its metamorphoſes. The ſik-worm was brought from Europe, and was propagated with ſucceſs. Great plenty of good ſilk was made, eſpecially in Mizteca *(d)*, where it became a great article of trade; but the Miztecans being afterwards, from political cauſes, forced to abandon it, the rearing of the worms was likewiſe neglected; and at this time very few are employed in that buſineſs. Beſides that common ſilk, there is another excellent kind, very white, ſoft, and ſtrong, which is often to be found upon trees, in ſeveral woods upon the ſea coaſts, particularly in thoſe years when there is little rain. But, unleſs by ſome poor people, this ſilk is not turned to any uſe, partly from inattention, to their intereſts, but chiefly from the obſtructions which would be certainly thrown in the way of any one who ſhould attempt a trade of that kind. We know from Cortes's letters to Charles Vth, that ſilk uſed to be ſold in the markets of Mexico; and ſome pictures are ſtill preſerved, done by the ancient Mexicans upon a paper made of ſilk.

The Scolopendras are ſometimes ſeen in the temperate parts, but more frequently in the warm and moiſt. Hernandez ſays, that he has ſeen ſome of them of the length of two feet, and two inches thick: but ſuch monſtrous inſects can only have been ſeen in the wetteſt and moſt uncultivated place; for we who have been in a great many places, through every variety of climate, never met with any one of ſuch extraordinary ſize.

Scorpions are common throughout the whole kingdom, but in the cold and temperate countries they are not numerous, nor very hurtful.

(*d*) Some places in Mizteca ſtill preſerve the name which they obtained formerly, upon account of that trade; as *ſilk St. Francis*, *ſilk Tepexe*.

They

They abound in the hot parts, or where the air is very dry although the heat is but moderate; and their poiſon is ſo active as to kill children, and occaſion terrible pain to adults. It has been remarked, that the poiſon of the ſmall, yellowiſh ſcorpion is more powerful than that of the large brown one, and that their ſting is the moſt dangerous during thoſe hours of the day when the ſun gives moſt heat.

Among the great variety of ſpiders, we cannot paſs over the Tarantola and Caſampulga (*e*). The name of Tarantola is given very improperly, in that country, to a very large ſpider, the back and legs of which are covered with a fine, ſoft, blackiſh down, like that upon young chickens. This ſpider is peculiar to the hot countries, and is found in houſes as well as in the fields. It is ſuppoſed to be poiſonous, and it is generally believed that if a horſe tramples upon one, he very ſoon looſes his hoof; but I have never known a ſingle inſtance of this happening, although I was for five years in a very hot country where thoſe ſpiders were in great numbers. The Caſampulga is a ſmall ſpider of the ſize of a chick pea, with ſhort legs, and a red belly. This ſpider is venemous, and common in the dioceſs of Chiapa, and elſewhere. It ſeems to anſwer to the deſcription of what is called the Ragno capullino in other countries, but I do not know whether it is the ſame.

The moſt common ants of that country are of three kinds: firſt, the ſmall black ants the ſame with thoſe of Europe; next, the large red ants called by the Spaniards *bravas*, or fierce, which give very painful wounds with their ſtings: and laſtly, the large brown ants, called by the Spaniards *harrieras*, or carriers, becauſe they are continually employed in carrying grain for their proviſion, and for that reaſon they are much more hurtful to the country than the common ants. Theſe carrier ants have been ſuffered by the careleſſneſs of the inhabitants in ſome places to multiply to exceſs; and in the province of Xicayan black lines are ſeen upon the earth for ſeveral miles, which conſiſt of nothing but of thoſe ants going and coming.

(*e*) I ſuſpect that the original name of this ſpider has been *Cazapulga* or flea-killer, corrupted in a manner common to the vulgar, into Caſampulga.

Beſides

Beſides the three ſpecies already mentioned, there is a ſingular kind of ant in Michuacan which, perhaps, is to be met with in other provinces. It is larger than the common ant, with a greyiſh-coloured body and a black head. Upon its hinder parts it carries a little bag, full of a very ſweet liquor, which the children are very fond of, and imagine it is a honey made by the ant like that made by the bee, but I rather take it to be eggs. Mr. de la Barrere, in his Natural Hiſtory of Equinoctial France, takes notice of ſuch ants being found in Cayenne; but thoſe are winged ants, and ours are without wings.

The Nigua or Chegoe, called in other countries *Pique*, is an exceeding ſmall inſect, not very unlike a flea, which, in ſome hot countries is bred in the duſt. It fixes upon the feet, and breaking inſenſibly the cuticle, it neſtles betwixt that and the true ſkin, which alſo, unleſs it is immediately taken out, it breaks, and pierces at laſt to the fleſh, multiplying with a rapidity almoſt incredible. It is ſeldom diſcovered until it pierces the true ſkin, when it cauſes an intolerable itching. Theſe inſects with their aſtoniſhing multiplication would ſoon diſpeople thoſe countries, were it leſs eaſy to avoid them, or were the inhabitants leſs dextrous in getting them out before they begin to ſpread. On the other hand, nature, in order to leſſen the evil, has not only denied them wings, but even that conformation of the legs, and thoſe ſtrong muſcles which he has given to the flea for leaping. The poor however, who are in ſome meaſure doomed to live in the duſt, and to a habitual neglect of their perſons, ſuffer theſe inſects ſometimes to multiply ſo far as to make large holes in their fleſh, and even to occaſion dangerous wounds.

What the Niguas or Chegoes do in houſes, is done in the fields by the ticks, of which there are two ſpecies or rather claſſes. The firſt are common in the new, as well as the old world, which fix in the ſkins of ſheep, horſes, and other quadrupeds, and get into their ears, and ſometimes into thoſe of men.

The other abounds in the graſs of the hot countries, from which it readily gets upon the cloaths, and from theſe to the ſkin, upon which it fixes with ſuch force from the particular ſhape of its feet, that it is very difficult to detach it, and if it is not ſpeedily removed makes a wound like that made by the Nigua or Chegoe. At firſt it ſeems

nothing more than a ſmall black ſpeck: but afterwards enlarges ſo quickly, and to ſuch a degree from the blood which it ſucks, that in a very ſhort time it becomes as large as a bean, and then takes the colour of lead (*f*).

The celebrated cochineal of Mexico, ſo well known and ſo highly eſteemed over all the world, for the beauty of the colour which it affords, is an inſect peculiar to that country, and the moſt uſeful of all that the land of Anahuac produces. There particular pains have always been taken to rear it from the times of the Mexican kings (*g*); but the country in which it thrives the beſt is that of Mizteca, where it is the principal branch of commerce of that place (*h*). In the ſixteenth century they uſed to rear it alſo in Tlaſcala, Huexotzinco, and other places, and it was a conſiderable article of trade; but the Indians (who have always been the perſons employed in that buſineſs), oppreſſed by the avaricious tyranny of ſome Spaniſh governors, were forced to abandon that employment which, of its own nature beſides, was always very troubleſome and tedious. The cochineal at its utmoſt growth, in ſize and figure reſembles a bug. The female is ill proportioned and ſluggiſh. The eyes, mouth, antennæ, and feet, are ſo concealed among the wrinkles of its ſkin, that they cannot be diſcovered without the aſſiſtance of a microſcope: and it is owing to that circumſtance, that ſome Europeans have been ſo poſitive in affirming it to be a kind of ſeed and not an animal, in oppoſition to the teſtimony of the Indians who reared it, and of Hernandez who examined it as a

(*f*) Oviedo ſays, that the beſt and ſafeſt method of ſeparating it ſpeedily, is to anoint the part with oil, and then to ſcrape it with a knife.

(*g*) The hiſtorian Herrera, in the Dec. IV. lib. viii. cap. 8. ſays, that although the Indians had the cochineal, yet they knew nothing of its virtues till they were inſtructed by the Spaniards. But what did the Spaniards teach them? To rear the cochineal? How were they fitted to teach what they were ignorant of themſelves, while they took that to be a ſeed which is in reality an inſect. They taught the Indians perhaps, to uſe it as a dye; but unleſs the Indians uſed it as a dye, to what purpoſe did they take ſo much pains in rearing it? Why were Huaxyacac, Coyolopan, and ſeveral other places obliged to pay twenty bags of cochineal yearly to the king of Mexico, as appears by the regiſter of taxes? Is it poſſible to imagine, that a people ſo given to painting even as they were, and who were beſides well acquainted with the uſe of the Achiote, the indigo, and of a great many mineral earths and ſtones, ſhould be ignorant of the uſe of the cochineal?

(*h*) Several authors have reckoned that more than 2,500 bags of cochineal are ſent every year from Mizteca to Spain. The trade in that article carried on by the city of Oaxaca, brings in 200,000 crowns a-year. Bomare ſays, there is a kind of cochineal called *Meſtecan*, becauſe it is got in Meteque, in the province of Honduras: but this is a miſtake, for it comes from Miſteca, a province farther from Honduras than Rome is from Paris.

naturaliſt.

naturaliſt. The males are not ſo numerous, and one ſerves for three hundred females: they are likewiſe ſmaller and thinner than the females, but more briſk and active. Upon the heads of this inſect are two articulated antennæ, in each articulation of which are four ſmall briſtles regularly diſpoſed. It has ſix feet, each conſiſting of three parts. From the hinder part of the body grow out two hairs, which are two or three times as large as the whole inſect. The male has two large wings, which are wanting in the female. Theſe wings are ſtrengthened by two muſcles; one external, extending along the circumference of the wing; the other internal, which runs parallel to the former. The internal colour of this inſect is a deep red, but darker in the female; and the external colour a pale red. In the wild cochineal the internal colour is ſtill darker, and the external whitiſh or aſh-coloured. The cochineal is reared upon a ſpecies of Nopal, or Opuntia, or Indian fig, which grows to the height of about eight feet, and bears a fruit like the figs of other Opuntias, but not eatable. It feeds upon the leaves of that tree, by ſucking the juice with a trunk ſituated in the thorax betwixt the two fore feet: there it paſſes through all the ſtages of its growth, and at length produces a numerous offſpring. The manner of multiplying peculiar to theſe valuable inſects, the management of the Indians in rearing them, together with the means employed to defend them from rain, which is ſo hurtful to them, and from many enemies which perſecute them, ſhall be explained when we come to ſpeak of the agriculture of the Mexicans *(i)*.

Among the water inſects, the *Atetepitz* is a marſh beetle reſembling in ſhape and ſize the beetles that fly. It has four feet, and is covered with a hard ſhell. The *Atopinan* is a marſh graſhopper, of a dark colour, about ſix inches long and two broad. The *Ahuihuitla* is a worm of the Mexican lake, four inches long, and of the thickneſs

(*i*) D. Ant. Ulloa ſays, that the *Nopal*, upon which the cochineal is reared, has no prickles; but in Miſteca, where I was for five years, I always ſaw it upon prickly nopals. Mr. de Raynal imagines, that the colour of the cochineal is to be aſcribed to the red fig upon which it lives; but that author has been miſinformed; for neither does the cochineal feed upon the fruit, but only upon the leaf, which is perfectly green; nor does that nopal bear red but white figs. It is true, it may be reared upon the ſpecies with a red fig, but that is not the proper plant of the cochineal.

of a goose-quill; of a tawny colour upon the upper part of the body, and white upon the under part. It ſtings with its tail, which is hard and poiſonous. The *Ocuiliztac* is a black marſh-worm, which becomes white on being roaſted. All theſe inſects were eaten by the ancient Mexicans.

Laſtly, to omit other inſects the very names of which would fill an immenſe catalogue, I ſhall conclude this account with a kind of zoophytes, or animal plants, which I ſaw in the year 1751, in a houſe in the country, about ten miles from Angelopoli, towards the ſouth-eaſt. Theſe were three or four inches long, and had four very ſlender feet, and two antennæ; but their body was nothing more than the fibres of the leaves, of the ſame ſhape, ſize, and colour with thoſe of the other leaves of the trees upon which theſe inſects were found. Hernandez mentions them by the name of Quauhmecatl; and Gemelli deſcribes another ſomewhat ſimilar which was found in the neighbourhood of Manila *(k)*.

The ſlight account we have already given of the natural hiſtory of Anahuac, may ſerve to ſhew the differences that take place in the hot, the cold, and the temperate countries, of which that vaſt kingdom is compoſed. Nature in the hot countries is more profuſe, and in the cold and temperate, more mild. In the former, the hills abound more in minerals and ſprings, the valleys are more delightful, and the woods are thicker. There we meet with plants more uſeful for the ſupport of life *(l)*. Trees of larger growth, more valuable woods, more beautiful flowers, more delicious fruits, and more aromatic gums. There too the animals are more numerous and of greater variety, and the individuals of the different ſpecies of greater beauty and ſize; the birds have a finer plumage and a ſweeter ſong: but all theſe advan-

(*k*) I am aware that modern naturaliſts ſeldom apply the name of *zoophytes*, unleſs to certain marine bodies, which, with the appearance of vegetables, are really of the nature of animals; but I give it to thoſe terreſtrial inſects, becauſe it ſeems with as much, if not more propriety applicable to them than to the marine bodies. In my Natural Philoſophy, I think I have given a very probable explanation of the operation of nature in the production of ſuch inſects.

(*l*) It is true, that generally neither corn grows there, nor many of the European fruits, ſuch as apples, peaches, pears, &c. yet what ſignifies the want of a few of thoſe vegetables, compared with the unſpeakable profuſion and variety of plants ſerving both for food and medicine, which are to be found in thoſe countries?

tages

tages are counterbalanced by equal inconveniencies; for there the beaſts of prey are more terrible, the reptiles more poiſonous, and the inſects more pernicious. The earth there never feels the effects of winter, nor is the atmoſphere ſubjected to a hurtful viciſſitude of ſeaſons. A perpetual ſpring reigns upon the earth, and a perpetual ſummer in the air. The inhabitants are uſed to that exceſſive heat, but from the conſtant ſweating which it occaſions, together with the uſe of thoſe exquiſite fruits which the bountiful earth preſents to them in ſuch abundance, they are often affected with diſorders unknown in other climates. The cold countries are neither ſo fruitful nor ſo beautiful, but on the other hand they are more favourable to health, and the animals are leſs hurtful to man. In the temperate countries (at leaſt in many of them, and particularly in the vale of Mexico), are enjoyed the advantages of the cold, and many of the pleaſures of the hot climates without the inconveniencies of either. The moſt common diſeaſes of the hot countries are intermittent fevers, ſpaſms, and conſumptions; and in the port of Vera Cruz, within theſe few years, the black vomiting *(m)*: in other parts, catarrhs, fluxes, pleuriſies, and acute fevers; and in the capital, the diarrhœa. Beſides theſe more frequent diſeaſes, certain epidemical diſorders ariſe at times, which ſeem in ſome degree periodical, although not with much exactneſs or regularity, ſuch as thoſe which appeared in 1546, 1576, 1736, and 1762. The ſmall-pox brought thither by the Spaniſh conquerors, is not ſeen ſo frequently in that country as in Europe; but generally appears after an interval of a certain number of years, and then attacking all thoſe who had not been affected by it before, it makes as much havoc at one time as it does ſucceſſively in Europe.

SECT. XV. Characters of the Mexicans and other nations of Anahuac.

The nations which poſſeſſed thoſe countries before the Spaniards, although differing in language, and partly alſo in manners, were yet nearly of the ſame character. The moral and phyſical qualities of the Mexicans, their tempers and diſpoſitions were the ſame with thoſe of the Acolhuicans, the Tepanceans, the Tlaſcallans, and other nations, with no other difference than what aroſe from their different mode of education; ſo that what we ſhall ſay of the one, we ſhould wiſh to

(*m*) Ulloa, and other hiſtorians of America, deſcribe the ſpaſms and the black vomiting. The latter diſeaſe was not known in that country before the year 1726.

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be underſtood as equally applicable to the reſt. Several authors, ancient as well as modern, have undertaken a deſcription of theſe people, but I have not met with any one which is, in every reſpect, faithful and correct. The paſſions and prejudices of ſome, and the imperfect information, or the weak underſtandings of others, have prevented their repreſenting them in their genuine colours. What we ſhall ſay upon the ſubject, is derived from a ſerious and long ſtudy of the hiſtory of theſe nations, from a familiar intercourſe for many years with the natives, and from the moſt minute obſervations with reſpect to their preſent ſtate, made both by ourſelves and by other impartial perſons. I certainly have no bias upon my own mind which ſhould make me lean to one ſide more than to the other; as neither the feelings of a fellow-countryman can ſway my opinion in their favour, nor can I be intereſted to condemn them from a love of my nation, or zeal for the honour of my countrymen: ſo that I ſhall ſpeak frankly and plainly the good and the bad, which I have diſcovered in them.

The Mexicans are of a good ſtature, generally rather exceeding than falling ſhort of the middle ſize, and well proportioned in all their limbs: they have good complexions, narrow foreheads, black eyes, clean, firm, regular white teeth, thick, black, coarſe, gloſſy hair, thin beards, and generally no hair upon their legs, thighs, and arms. Their ſkin is of an olive colour.

There is ſcarcely a nation, perhaps, upon earth in which there are fewer perſons deformed, and it would be more difficult to find a ſingle hump-backed, lame, or ſquint-eyed man amongſt a thouſand Mexicans, than among any hundred of any other nation. The unpleaſantneſs of their colour, the ſmallneſs of their forehead, the thinneſs of their beard, and the coarſeneſs of their hair, are ſo far compenſated by the regularity and fine proportions of their limbs, that they can neither be called very beautiful, nor the contrary, but ſeem to hold a middle-place between the extremes. Their appearance neither engages nor diſguſts; but among the young women of Mexico, there are many very beautiful and fair; whoſe beauty is at the ſame time rendered more winning by the ſweetneſs of their manner of ſpeaking, and by the pleaſantneſs and natural modeſty of their whole behaviour.

Their ſenſes are very acute, eſpecially that of ſight, which they enjoy unimpaired to the greateſt age. Their conſtitutions are ſound, and their health robuſt. They are entirely free of many diſorders which are common among the Spaniards, but of the epidemical diſeaſes to which their country is occaſionally ſubject, they are the principal victims; with them theſe diſeaſes begin, and with them they end. One never perceives in a Mexican that ſtinking breath which is occaſioned in other people by the corruption of the humours or indigeſtion. Their conſtitutions are phlegmatic; but the pituitous evacuations from their heads are very ſcanty, and they ſeldom ſpit. They become grey-headed and bald earlier than the Spaniards, and although moſt of them die of acute diſeaſes, it is not very uncommon among them to attain the age of a hundred.

They are now, and have ever been very moderate in eating, but their paſſion for ſtrong liquors is carried to the greateſt exceſs. Formerly they were kept within bounds by the ſeverity of the laws; but now that theſe liquors are grown ſo common, and drunkenneſs is unpuniſhed, one half of the people ſeem to have loſt their ſenſes; and this, together with the poor manner in which they live, expoſed to all the baneful impreſſions of diſeaſe, and deſtitute of the means of correcting them, is undoubtedly the principal cauſe of the havoc which is made among them by epidemical diſorders.

Their minds are at bottom in every reſpect like thoſe of the other children of Adam, and endued with the ſame powers; nor did the Europeans ever do leſs credit to their own reaſon than when they doubted of the rationality of the Americans. The ſtate of civilization among the Mexicans, when they were firſt known to the Spaniards, which was much ſuperior to that of the Spaniards themſelves, when they were firſt known to the Phœnicians, that of the Gauls when firſt known to the Greeks, or that of the Germans and Britons when firſt known to the Romans (*n*), ſhould of itſelf have been fully ſufficient to

(*n*) D. Bernardo Aldrete, in his book upon the Origin of the Spaniſh Tongue, would have us to believe that the Spaniards were leſs rude at the arrival of the Phœnicians, than the Mexicans were at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards; but this paradox has been ſufficiently refuted by the learned authors of the Literary Hiſtory of Spain. It is true, that the Spaniards in thoſe remote ages were not ſo barbarous as the Chichimecans, the Californians, and ſome other ſavage nations of America; but neither their government was ſo regular, nor their arts

to correct ſuch an error of man's mind, if it had not been the intereſt of the inhuman avarice of ſome ruffians to encourage it (*o*). Their underſtandings are fitted for every kind of ſcience, as experience has actually ſhewn (*p*). Of the Mexicans who have had an opportunity of engaging in the purſuits of learning, which is but a ſmall number, as the greateſt part of the people are always employed in the public or private works, we have known ſome good mathematicians, excellent architects, and learned divines.

Many perſons allow the Mexicans to poſſeſs a great talent of imitation, but deny them the praiſe of invention: a vulgar error, which is contradicted by the ancient hiſtory of that people.

Their minds are affected by the ſame variety of paſſions with thoſe of other nations, but not to an equal degree. The Mexicans ſeldom exhibit thoſe tranſports of anger, or thoſe frenzies of love which are ſo common in other countries.

They are ſlow in their motions, and ſhew a wonderful tenacity and ſteadineſs in thoſe works which require time and long continued attention. They are moſt patient of injury and hardſhip; and where they ſuſpect no evil intention, are moſt grateful for any kindneſs ſhewn; but ſome Spaniards, who cannot diſtinguiſh patience from inſenſibility, nor diſtruſt from ingratitude, ſay proverbially, that the Indians are alike inſenſible to injuries and to benefits (*q*). That habitual diſtruſt which they entertain of all who are not of their own nation, prompts them often to lie and betray; ſo that good faith certainly has not been ſo much reſpected among them as it deſerves.

arts ſo much improved, nor, as far as we can judge, had they made ſo much progreſs in the knowledge of nature, as the Mexicans at the beginning of the ſixteenth century.

(*o*) Upon this ſubject I muſt refer the reader to the bitter complaints made by the biſhop Garcès, in his letter to pope Paul III. and by the biſhop of las Caſas, in his Memorials to the Catholic kings Charles V. and Philip II. but eſpecially to the very humane laws made by thoſe moſt Chriſtian monarchs, in favour of the Indians.

(*p*) We ſhall, in the Diſſertations, produce the opinions of D. Giulian Garcès, firſt biſhop of Tlaſcalla; of D. John di Zumarraga, firſt biſhop of Mexico, and of D. Bartholomew de las Caſas, firſt biſhop of Chiapa, with reſpect to the capacities, underſtandings, and other good qualities of the Mexicans. The teſtimony of thoſe virtuous and learned prelates, who had ſo much intercourſe with the Indians, weighs much more than that of any hiſtorian whatever.

(*q*) Experience has proved the grateful diſpoſitions of the Mexicans, wherever they were aſſured of the good-will and ſincerity of their benefactors. Their gratitude has been often manifeſted by open and loud demonſtrations of joy, which publicly declare the falſhood of the Spaniſh proverb,

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They are by nature taciturn, ſerious, and auſtere, and ſhew more anxiety to puniſh crimes than to reward virtues.

Generoſity and perfect diſintereſtedneſs are the principal features of their character. Gold with the Mexicans has not that value which it enjoys elſewhere (*r*). They ſeem to give without reluctance what has coſt them the utmoſt labour to acquire. The neglect of ſelfiſh intereſts, together with the diſlike which they bear to their rulers, and conſequently their averſion to the taſks impoſed by them, ſeem to have been the only grounds of that much exaggerated indolence with which the Americans have been charged (*s*); and after all, there is no ſet of people in that country who labour more, nor whoſe labours are more uſeful or more neceſſary (*t*).

The reſpect paid by children to their parents, and by the young to the old, among thoſe people, ſeem to be feelings that are born with them. Parents are very fond of their children; but the affection which huſbands bear to their wives, is certainly leſs than that borne by the wives to their huſbands; and it is very common for the men to love their neighbours wives better than their own.

Courage and cowardice ſeem alternately ſo to affect their minds, that it is often difficult to determine whether the one or the other predominates. They meet dangers with intrepidity when they proceed from natural cauſes, but they are eaſily terrified by the ſtern look of a Spaniard. That ſtupid indifference about death and eternity, which many authors have thought inherent in the character of every American, is peculiar only to thoſe who are yet ſo rude and uninformed as to have no idea of a future ſtate.

Their ſingular attachment to the external ceremonies of religion is very apt to degenerate into ſuperſtition, as happens with the ignorant of all nations of the world; but their proneneſs to idolatry is nothing

(*r*) I do not ſpeak of thoſe Mexicans, who, by a conſtant intercourſe with covetous nations, have been infected by their avarice; although, at the ſame time, even thoſe appear to be leſs ſelfiſh than the generality of perſons of that diſpoſition.

(*s*) What we obſerve upon the ſubject of American indolence is not meant to apply to the ſavage nations in other parts of the new world.

(*t*) In our Diſſertations we ſhall give an account of the works in which the Mexicans are employed. Monſign. Palafox uſed to ſay, that if ever the Indians failed them, the Spaniards would find the Indies fail alſo.

more than a chimera formed in the abſurd imaginations of miſinformed perſons. The inſtances of a few mountaineers are not ſufficient to juſtify a general aſperſion upon the whole people *(u)*.

To conclude, the character of the Mexicans, like that of every other nation, is a mixture of good and bad; but the bad is eaſy to be corrected by a proper education, as has been frequently demonſtrated by experience *(x)*. It would be difficult to find, any where, a youth more docile than the preſent, or a body of people more ready than their anceſtors were to receive the lights of religion.

I muſt add, that the modern Mexicans are not in all reſpects ſimilar to the ancient; as the Greeks of theſe days have little reſemblance of thoſe who lived in the times of Plato and of Pericles. The ancient Mexicans ſhewed more fire, and were more ſenſible to the impreſſions of honour. They were more intrepid, more nimble, more active, more induſtrious; but they were, at the ſame time, more ſuperſtitious and cruel.

(*u*) The few examples that are to be found of idolatry are not altogether inexcuſable, when we conſider how naturally rude and unenlightened men may confound the idolatrous worſhip of ſome unſhapely figure of ſtone or wood, with that which is due to the ſacred images alone. And our own prejudices againſt them have often been the cauſe of our treating as idols what were really the images, though rude ones, of the ſaints. In the year 1754, I ſaw ſome little images which had been found in a cave in a mountain, and were conſidered as idols, but which I had no doubt were actually images repreſenting the myſtery of the ſacred nativity.

(*x*) To be ſenſible of the influence of education upon the Mexicans, we need only to be made acquainted with the wonderful life led by the Mexican women of the Royal College of Guadaloupe in Mexico, and thoſe of the monaſteries of Capuchins in the ſame capital, and Valladolid in Michuacan.

BOOK II.

Of the Toltecas, Chechemecas, Acolhuas, Olmecas, and other Nations that inhabited the Country of Anahuac before the Mexicans. The Expedition of the Aztecas, or Mexicans, from their Native Country of Aztlan. The Events of their Journey into the Country of Anahuac; and their Settlements in Chapoltepec and Colhuacan. The Foundation of Mexico and Tlaltelolco. Inhuman Sacrifice of a Colhuan Girl.

THE hiſtory of the firſt peopling of Anahuac is ſo involved in fable, like that of other nations, that it is not merely difficult but altogether impoſſible to diſcover the truth. It is certain, however, both from the teſtimony of the ſacred writings, and from the conſtant and univerſal tradition of thoſe nations, that the inhabitants of Anahuac are deſcended of thoſe few mortals whom the Divine Providence ſaved from the waters of the deluge, in order to preſerve the race of man, upon earth. At the ſame time there cannot be a doubt, that the men who firſt peopled that country, came originally from the more northern parts of America, where their anceſtors had been ſettled for many ages. All the hiſtorians, Toltecan, Chechemecan, Acolhuan, Mexican, and Tlaſcalan, are agreed upon theſe two points: but who thoſe firſt inhabitants were, the time of their emigration, the events of their journey, and their firſt eſtabliſhments, are entirely unknown. Several authors have endeavoured to pierce that chaos; but truſting to ſlight conjectures, fanciful combinations, and certain pictures of very ambiguous authenticity; and having recourſe in their difficulties, to puerile and romantic narrations, have utterly loſt themſelves in the thick darkneſs of antiquity.

SECT. I. Of the Toltecas.

There have been writers, who, building upon the tradition of the natives, and upon the diſcovery of bones, ſculls, and entire ſkeletons of prodigious ſize, which have been dug up, at different times,

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in many parts of New Spain (*a*), have imagined that the firſt inhabitants of that country were Giants. I, for my own part, have no doubt of their exiſtence there, as well as in other parts of the New World (*b*); but we can neither form any conjecture as to the time in which they lived, although we have reaſon to believe they muſt be very ancient; nor can we be perſuaded that there has ever been, as thoſe writers imagined, a whole nation of Giants, but only ſingle individuals of the nations which we now know, or of ſome others more ancient and unknown (*c*).

The Toltecas are the oldeſt nation of which we have any knowledge, and that is very imperfect. Being baniſhed, as they tell us, from their own country *Huehuetapallan*, which we take to have been in the kingdom of *Tollan (d)*, from which they derived their name, and ſituated to the north-weſt of Mexico, they began their journey in the year 1. *Tecpatl*, that is in the 596 of our era. In every place to which they came, they remained no longer than they liked

(*a*) The places where gigantic ſkeletons have been found, are *Atlancatepec*, a village in the province of Tlaſcala, *Tezcuco*, *Toluca*, *Quauhximalpan*; and in our days, upon a hill in California, not far from Kada-Kaaman.

(*b*) I am well aware that many European philoſophers, who laugh at the belief of giants, will be ready to ridicule me, or at leaſt to pity my credulity; but I will not betray the truth to avoid cenſure. I know that among the civilized nations of America, it was a current tradition, that a race of men had exiſted, in former times, of extraordinary height and bulk; but I cannot remember an inſtance among any American nation, of there having ever been any elephants, hippopotamuſes, or other quadrupeds of uncommon ſize. I know from the teſtimony of innumerable writers, and particularly of two eye-witneſſes, of unqueſtionable credit, Hernandez, and D' Acoſta, who were men of learning, correctneſs, and veracity, that human ſkulls have been found, and even whole ſkeletons, of aſtoniſhing ſize; but I do not know, that in any of the vaſt number of openings which have been made in the earth in New Spain, any ſkeleton of a hippopotamus has been found, or even a ſingle tooth of an elephant. I know, laſtly, that ſome of the great bones above mentioned, have been found in tombs, which appear evidently to have been made on purpoſe; but I am yet to learn of tombs ever having been conſtructed for ſea-horſes and elephants. All this and more ought to be weighed, before we preſume to determine with ſome authors who have aſſerted it, without the leaſt heſitation, that all the large bones diſcovered in America, belonged to thoſe, or ſome other ſuch great animals.

(*c*) Many hiſtorians of Mexico ſay, that the giants were betrayed, and put to death by the Tlaſcalans; but this idea, which has no foundation but in ſome poems of the Tlaſcalans, is inconſiſtent with the chronology adopted by thoſe hiſtorians themſelves; making the giants much too ancient, and the Tlaſcalans too modern, in the country of Anahuac.

(*d*) *Toltecotl*, in Mexican ſignifies a native of Tollan, as *Tlazcaltecatl* does a native of Tlaſcala, &c.

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it, or were eaſily accommodated with proviſions. When they determined to make a longer ſtay, they erected houſes, and ſowed the land with corn, cotton, and other plants, the ſeeds of which they had carried along with them to ſupply their neceſſities. In this wandering manner did they travel, always ſouthward, for the ſpace of one hundred and four years, till they arrived at a place, to which they gave the name of *Tollantzinco*, about fifty miles to the eaſt of that ſpot where, ſome centuries after, was founded the famous city of Mexico. They were led and commanded, upon the whole journey, by certain captains or lords, who were reduced to ſeven, by the time they arrived at Tollantzinco *(e)*. They did not chuſe, however, to ſettle in that country, although the climate is mild, and the ſoil fruitful; but in leſs than twenty years after, they went about forty miles towards the weſt, where, along the banks of a river, they founded the city of Tollan or Tula, after the name of their native country. That city, the oldeſt, as far as we know, in Anahuac, is one of the moſt celebrated in the hiſtory of Mexico, and was the capital of the Toltecan kingdom, and the court of their kings. Their monarchy began in the year 8. *Acatl*, that is in the year 607 of the Chriſtian era, and laſted three hundred and eighty-four years. I have ſubjoined the ſeries of their kings with the year of the Chriſtian era in which they began to reign *(f)*.

Chalchiutlanetzin,	in the	667
Ixtlilcuechahuac,	in the	719
Huetzin,	in the	771
Totepeub,	in the	823
Nacaxoc,	in the	875
Mitl,	in the	927
Xiutzaltzin, Queen,	in the	979
Topiltzin,	in the	1031.

It might appear extraordinary that juſt eight monarchs ſhould reign in the courſe of four centuries, if it were not explained by a ſingular

(*e*) The ſeven Toltecan leaders were, *Zacatl*, *Chalcatzin*, *Ehecatzin*, *Cohuatzon*, *Tzihuacoatl*, *Metzotzin*, and *Tlapalmetzotzin*.

(*f*) We have pointed out the year in which the Toltecan monarchs began their reigns, by taking for granted the epoch of their leaving Huehuetlapallan, which however, is very uncertain.

law

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law of that people, according to which, no king was ſuffered to reign either longer or ſhorter than a Toltecan age; which, as we ſhall mention in another place, conſiſted of fifty-two years. If a king completed the age, upon the throne, he immediately reſigned the government, and another was put in his place: and if the king happened to die before the age was expired, the nobles aſſumed the adminiſtration, and, in the name of the deceaſed king, governed the kingdom for the remaining years of the age. This was the caſe with the Queen Xiutzaltzin, after whoſe death in the fifth year of her reign, the nobles held the government for the forty-eight years which ſucceeded.

SECT. II. The great civilization of the Toltecas.

The Toltecas were the moſt celebrated people of Anahuac, for their ſuperior civilization, and ſkill in the arts; whence, in after ages, it has been common to diſtinguiſh the moſt remarkable artiſts, in an honourable manner, by the appellation of Toltecas. They always lived in ſociety, collected into cities, under the government of kings, and regular laws. They were not very warlike, and leſs turned to the exerciſe of arms than to the cultivation of the arts. The nations that have ſucceeded them, have acknowledged themſelves indebted to the Toltecas for their knowledge of the culture of grain, cotton, pepper, and other moſt uſeful fruits. Nor did they only practiſe thoſe arts which are dictated by neceſſity, but thoſe alſo which miniſter to luxury. They had the art of caſting gold and ſilver, and melting them in whatever forms they pleaſed, and acquired the greateſt reputation from the cutting of all kinds of gems: but nothing, to us, raiſes their character ſo high as their having been the inventors, or at leaſt the reformers of that ſyſtem of the arrangement of time, which was adopted by all the civilized nations of Anahuac; and which, as we ſhall ſee afterwards, implies numerous obſervations, and a wonderfully correct aſtronomy.

Cav. Boturini *(g)*, upon the faith of the ancient hiſtories of the Toltecas, ſays, that obſerving in their own country of *Huehuetlapallan*, how the ſolar year exceeded the civil one by which they

(g) In a work of his, printed at Madrid, in 1746, under the title of, *Sketch of a general Hiſtory of New Spain, founded upon a great Number of Figures, Symbols, Characters, Hieroglyphics, Hymns, and Manuſcripts of Indian Authors, lately diſcovered.*

reckoned,

reckoned, about ſix hours, they regulated it by interpoſing the intercalary day once in the four years; which they did, more than one hundred years before the Chriſtian era. He ſays beſides, that in the year 660, under the reign of *Ixtlalcuechahuac*, in Tula, a celebrated aſtronomer called *Huematzin*, aſſembled, by the king's conſent, all the wiſe men of the nation; and with them painted that famous book called *Teoamoxtli* or Divine Book, in which were repreſented, in very plain figures, the origin of the Indians, their diſperſion after the confuſion of tongues at Babel, their journey in Aſia, their firſt ſettlements upon the Continent of America, the founding of the kingdom of Tula, and their progreſs till that time. There were deſcribed the heavens, the planets, the conſtellations, the Toltecan calendar with its cycles, the mythological transformations, in which were included their moral philoſophy, and the myſteries of their deities concealed by hieroglyphics from common underſtandings, together with all that appertained to their religion and manners. The above mentioned author adds, that that eclipſe of the ſun which happened at the death of our Saviour, was marked in their paintings, in the year 7. *Tochtli* (*b*); and that ſome learned Spaniards, well acquainted with the hiſtory and the paintings of the Toltecas, having compared their chronology with ours, found that they reckoned from the creation of the world to the birth of Chriſt, five thouſand one hundred and ninety-nine years, which is exactly the computation of the Roman calendar.

Whatever may be in theſe things mentioned by Boturini, upon which I leave the prudent reader to form his own judgment, there cannot be a doubt, with thoſe who have ſtudied the hiſtory of that people, that the Toltecas had a clear and diſtinct knowledge of the univerſal deluge, of the confuſion of tongues, and of the diſperſion of the people; and even pretended to give the names of their firſt anceſtors who were divided from the reſt of the families upon that

(*b*) All thoſe who have ſtudied carefully the hiſtory of the nations of Anahuac, know very well that thoſe people were accuſtomed to mark eclipſes, comets, and other phænomena of the heavens, in their paintings. Upon reading Boturini I ſet about comparing the Toltecan years with ours, and I found the 34th year of Chriſt, or 30th of our era, to be the 7. *Tochtli*: but I did this merely to ſatisfy my own curioſity, and I do not mean either to confirm or give credit to the things told us by that author.

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univsrſal diſperſion. It is equally certain, as we ſhall ſhew in another place, however incredible it may appear to the critics of Europe, who are accuſtomed to look upon the Americans as all equally barbarous, that the Mexicans and all the other civilized nations of Anahuac regulated their civil year according to the ſolar, by means of the intercalary days, in the ſame manner as the Romans did after the Julian arrangement; and that this accuracy was owing to the ſkill of the Toltecas. Their religion was idolatrous, and they appear by their hiſtory to have been the inventors of the greateſt part of the mythology of the Mexicans, but we do not know that they practiſed thoſe barbarous and bloody ſacrifices which became afterwards ſo common among the other nations.

The Tezcucan hiſtorians believed the Toltecas the authors of that famous idol, repreſenting the god of water, placed on mount *Tlaloc*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. It is certain that they built in honour of their beloved god *Quetzalcoatl*, the higheſt pyramid of Cholula, and probably alſo theſe famous ones of Teotihuacan in honour of the ſun and moon, which are ſtill in exiſtence, though much diſfigured (*i*). Boturini believed the Toltecas built the pyramid of Cholula, to counterfeit the tower of Babel; but the painting on which his error is ſupported (ſufficiently common with the vulgar of New Spain), is the work of a modern and ignorant Cholulan, the whole of it being a heap of abſurdities (*k*).

(*i*) Betancourt ſays theſe pyramids were built by the Mexicans; this is certainly falſe, and contrary to the opinion of all other authors, American as well as Spaniſh. Dr. Seguenza appears to think they were the work of the Olmecas; but as we have no other remains of the architecture of that nation, by which we might judge; and beſides, theſe pyramids being made after the model of that of Cholula, we are therefore induced to think that the Toltecas were the architects of them all, as Torquemada and other authors relate.

(*k*) The painting alluded to by Boturini, repreſented the pyramid of Cholula, with this Mexican inſcription, *Toltecatl Chalchihuatl onazia Ehecatepetl*; which he thus interprets: *A monument, or precious ſtone of the Tolteca nation, whoſe neck ſearches into the region of the air*: but independent of the incorrectneſs of the writing, and the barbariſm Chalchihuatl, whoever is in the leaſt inſtructed in the Mexican language, will immediately perceive there could not be a more whimſical interpretation. At the foot of the picture, ſays Boturini, the author put a note, in which, addreſſing himſelf to his countrymen, he admoniſhed them as follows: Nobles, and gentlemen, behold your ſcriptures, the image of your antiquity, and the hiſtory of your anceſtors; who, moved by fear from the deluge, built this aſylum, for a ready retreat, in caſe of being again viſited by ſuch a calamity. But to ſpeak the truth, the Toltecas muſt have been utterly deprived of underſtanding, if from the fear of the

During the four centuries which the monarchy of the Toltecas laſted, they multiplied conſiderably, extending their population every way in numerous and large cities; but the direful calamities which happened to them in the firſt years of the reign of Topiltzin, gave a fatal ſhock to their proſperity and power. For ſeveral years heaven denied them the neceſſary ſhowers to their fields, and the earth the fruits which ſupported them. The air, infected with mortal contagion, filled daily the graves with the dead, and the minds of thoſe ſurviving with conſternation, at the deſtruction of their countrymen. A great part of the nation died by famine and ſickneſs. Topiltzin departed life in the ſecond year *Tecpatl*, the twentieth of his reign, which was probably the year 1052 of the vulgar era, and with him the Toltecan monarchy concluded. The wretched remains of the nation, willing to ſave themſelves from the common calamity, ſought timely relief to their misfortunes, in other countries. Some directed their courſe to Onohualco or Yucatan, ſome to Guatemala, while ſome families ſtopped in the kingdom of Tula, and ſcattered themſelves in the great vale where Mexico was afterwards founded; ſome in Cholula, Tlaximoloyan, and other places; and amongſt theſe were the two princes ſons of king Topiltzin, whoſe deſcendants, in courſe of time, intermarried with the royal families of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Colhuacan.

Theſe imperfect accounts of the Toltecas are all that we think proper to be told here, omitting many fabulous relations introduced

deluge they had undertaken, at ſo much expence and labour, the building of that ominous pyramid, while in the higheſt mountains, a little diſtant from Cholula, they had a much more ſecure aſylum from inundations, with leſs danger of periſhing by want. In the ſame work, Boturini ſays, was repreſented the baptiſm of Ilamateuctli, Queen of Cholula, conferred upon her by Deacon Aguilar, the 2d of Auguſt, 1521, together with the apparition of the Virgin to a certain religious Franciſcan, who was living at Rome, ordering him to depart for Mexico; where he was to place on a mountain built by art (that is, the pyramid of Cholula), her image. But this is no more than a ſtring of dreams and lies; for in Cholula there never were either kings, nor could ſuch baptiſm, of which no author ſays a word, have been celebrated on the 6th of Auguſt, 1521; as at that time Aguilar, with the other Spaniards, was in the heat of the ſiege of the capital, which was to render itſelf up, ſeven days after, to the conquerors. Of the pretended apparition of the mother of God, there is no memory among the Franciſcan hiſtorians, who never omitted any thing of this kind in their chronicles. We have demonſtrated the falſity of this relation, to caution thoſe, with regard to modern pictures, who may in future undertake the hiſtory of Mexico.

by other hiſtorians *(l)*. We would require to have the *Divine Book*, cited by Boturini, and by Sig. D. Ferdinand d'Alba Ixtlilxohitl in his moſt valuable manuſcripts to throw greater light on the hiſtory of this celebrated nation.

After the deſtruction of the Toltecas, for the ſpace of one century, the land of Anahuac remained ſolitary, and almoſt entirely depopulated, until the arrival of the Chechemecas (*m*).

The Chechemecas, like the Toltecas who preceded them, and other nations which came after them, were originally from the northern countries, as we may call the North of America, like the North of Europe, the ſeminary of the human race. From both, in ſwarms, have iſſued numerous nations to people the countries in the South. their native country, of the ſituation of which we are ignorant, was called *Amaquemecan*, where, according to their account, different monarchs ruled their nation for many years (*n*). The character of the Chechemecas, as is ſhewn by their hiſtory, was very ſingular, as a certain degree of civilization was blended with many traits of barbariſm. They lived under the command of a ſovereign, and the chiefs and governors deputed by him, with as much ſubmiſſion as is uſual among the moſt cultivated nations. There were diſtinctions between the nobility and commonalty, and the plebeians were accuſtomed to reverence thoſe whoſe birth, merit, or favour with the

(l) Torquemada ſays, that at a certain feſtival-ball made by the Toltecas, the ſad-looking devil appeared to them in a gigantic ſize, with immenſe arms, and in the midſt of the entertainment he embraced and ſuffocated them; that then he appeared in the figure of a child with a putrid head, and brought the plague; and finally, at the perſuaſion of the ſame devil they abandoned the country of Tula. But this good author underſtood theſe ſymbolical figures literally; whereas they were meant only to repreſent the famine and peſtilence which had befallen them, at the time when they were in the height of their proſperity.

(m) In our ſecond diſſertation, we differ from Torquemada, who does not allow more than eleven years of interval between the deſtruction of the Toltecas and the arrival of the Chechemecas.

(n) Torquemada names theſe Chechemecan kings of Amaquemecan, and to the firſt he gives one hundred and eighty years of reign; to the ſecond, one hundred and fifty-ſix; and to the third, one hundred and thirty-three. See our ſecond diſſertation on the abſurd chronology of this author. He alſo confidently affirms, that Amaquemecan was ſix hundred miles diſtant from the ſpot where the city of Guadalaxara is at preſent, but in more than one thouſand two hundred miles of inhabited country beyond that city, there is not the leaſt trace or memory of the kingdom of Amaquemecan; from whence we believe it to be a country ſtill undiſcovered, and greatly farther to the northward than Torquemada imagined.

prince raiſed them above the other ranks. They dwelt in communities together, in places compoſed, as we may imagine, of poor huts (*o*); but they neither practiſed agriculture, nor thoſe arts which accompany civil life. They lived only on game, and fruits, and roots which the earth ſpontaneouſly produced. Their clothing was the rough ſkins of the wild beaſts they took in prey, and their arms no other than the bow and arrow. Their religion was reduced to the ſimple worſhip of the ſun, to which pretended divinity they offered herbs and flowers which they found ſpringing in the fields. With reſpect to their cuſtoms, they were certainly leſs diſpleaſing and leſs rude than thoſe to which the genius of a nation of hunters gives birth.

SECT. IV. Xolotl, firſt king of the Chechemecas, in Anahuac.

Their motive for leaving their native country, is uncertain; as likewiſe the etymology of the word *Chechemecatl* (*o*). The laſt king whom they had in Amaquemecan, left his government divided between his two ſons Achcauhtli and Xolotl; the latter either not brooking, as frequently happens, the diviſion of regal authority, was willing to prove whether fortune deſtined him other territories, where he could govern without a rival; or perceiving that the mountains of his kingdom were not ſufficient to provide ſupport for the then probably increaſed number of inhabitants, determined to eaſe neceſſity by a timely departure. Having taken, therefore, ſuch reſolution from the one or other motive, and having firſt got intelligence, by his emiſſaries of a good ſituation in the ſouthern countries, he ſet out from his native land, with a large army of his ſubjects, who were diſpoſed, from affection or intereſt, to accompany him. In their travels they encountered with the ruins of the Toltecan ſettlements, and in particular of the great city of Tula, where they arrived at the end of eighteen months. From this they proceeded towards Chem-

(*o*) Torquemada ſays, that the Chechemecas had no houſes, but dwelt in the caverns of mountains; but in the ſame chapter where he ſays this, he affirms that *the capital city* of their kingdom was called Amaquemecan.

(*o*) Several authors have laboured to gueſs at the etymology of the word *Chechemecatl*. Torquemada ſays, that this name is derived from *Techichinani*, which ſignifies *ſucking*, becauſe the Chechemecas ſucked the blood of the animals which they hunted. But this is a forced etymology, particularly among thoſe nations, who did not alter derivative names in ſuch a manner. Betancourt believed it to be derived from *Chichimi*, that is, dogs beans. They were ſo called by other nations, in contempt; but had this been the caſe, they would not have boaſted, as they did, of the name Chechemecatl.

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poalla and Tepepolco, forty miles diſtant, towards the north, from the ſite of Mexico. From thence Xolotl ſent the prince Nopaltzin, his ſon, to ſurvey the country. The prince croſſed the borders of the lakes, the mountains which ſurround the delightful vale of Mexico, and having marked the whole country, from the top of a lofty mountain, he ſhot four arrows to the four winds in token of taking poſſeſſion, in the name of his father, of all that country. Xolotl being made acquainted with the quality of the country, reſolved to eſtabliſh himſelf in Tenayuca, a place ſix miles diſtant from the ſite of Mexico towards the north, and diſtributed his people among the neighbouring lands: but the greater population being towards the north, and north-weſt, that tract of land had ſince the name of Chechemecatlalli, that is, the land of the Chechemecas. Hiſtorians relate, that in Tenayuca there was a review of the people taken, and therefore it was likewiſe given the name of *Nepohualco*, which means, the place of enumeration; but what Torquemada adds, is entirely incredible, that there were more than a million of Chechemecas found at this review, and there remained even until his time, twelve piles of the ſtones which they continued to throw during the review. Beſides, neither is it probable that ſo large an army ſhould ſet out on ſo long an expedition; or does it appear poſſible that ſo ſmall a diſtrict could ſupport a million of hunters.

The king being ſettled in Tenayuca, which he deſtined for the place of his court, and having given proper orders for the forming of other towns and villages, he commanded one of his captains, named Achitomatl, to go and trace the ſource of certain rivers which the prince had obſerved in his expedition. Achitomatl found in Chapoltepec, in Cojohuacan, and in other places, ſeveral Toltecan families, from whom he learned the cauſe and time of their deſolation. The Chechemecas, not only avoided to diſturb thoſe miſerable relics of that celebrated nation, but formed alliances with them, many of the nobles marrying with the women of Tolteca; and among others, prince Nopaltzin married Azcaxochitl, a virgin deſcended from Pochotl, one of the two princes of the royal family of Tolteca, who ſurvived the deſtruction of their nation. This humanity brought its recompence to the Chechemecas; for from their commerce with

that

that induſtrious nation, they began to taſte corn, and other fruits of induſtry; were taught agriculture, the manner of digging metals, and the art of caſting them; alſo to cut ſtones, to ſpin and weave cotton, and other things, by which they improved their means of living, their clothing, their habitations, and manners.

Nor did the arrival of other civilized nations contribute leſs to the refinement of the Checehmecas. Eight years were ſcarcely elapſed from the time that Xolotl had eſtabliſhed himſelf in Tenayuca, when there arrived in that country ſix reſpectable perſons, with a conſiderable retinue of people. They were from a northern country, neighbouring to the kingdom of Amaquemecan, or a little diſtant from it, the name of which is not mentioned by hiſtorians; but we have reaſon to believe that it was the country of *Aztlan*, the native country of the Mexicans, and that theſe new colonies were the ſix famous tribes of Nahuatlachi, of which all the hiſtorians of Mexico make mention, and we ſhall ſhortly treat of. It is probable that Xolotl ſent advice to his native country, of the advantages of the ſituation where he was eſtabliſhed; and that ſuch information, ſpread among the adjoining nations, incited many families to follow his ſteps, and partake his good fortune. It is alſo to be imagined, that ſome famine or ſcarcity having happened to the northern countries, ſo many people were obliged to ſeek relief in lands to the ſouthward. However it was, the ſix perſons arrived in Tenayuca from the North, were graciouſly received by the Chechemecan king; and when he learned the purpoſe of their travel, and their deſire to ſtay in that country, he aſſigned them a diſtrict which they might inhabit with their people.

A few years after, there arrived three other princes, with a great army of the Acolhuan nation, natives of Teoacolhuacan, a country neighbouring to, and not far diſtant from the kingdom of Amaquemecan. Theſe princes were named *Acolhuatzin*, *Chiconquauhtli*, and *Tzontecomatl*, and were of the moſt noble houſe of *Citin*. It was the moſt cultivated and moſt civilized of all the nations which were in that country ſince the Toltecas. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, how great a rumour was occaſioned by ſuch a novelty, in that kingdom, and what diſquiet ſo great a multitude of unknown people raiſed

among the Chechemecas; nor does it ſeem probable, that they would have been permitted to enter the kingdom, without having previouſly given information of their condition, and the motives of their viſit. The king was at this time in Tezcuco, where he had removed his court, either being tired of Tenayuca, or allured by the advantageous ſituation of that new place. Here the three princes arrived, and being preſented to the king, after a profound bow, and that ceremony of reſpect ſo familiar to theſe nations of kiſſing the hand after having touched the earth with it, they addreſſed him in words to this purpoſe. "We are come, mighty king, from the kingdom of Teoacol-"huacan, a little diſtance only from your native country: we are all "three brothers, and ſons of a great lord; but being acquainted with "the happineſs which the Chechemecas enjoy under the rule of a "prince ſo humane, we have preferred to the advantages which we "had in our native country, the honour of becoming your ſubjects. "We pray you, therefore, to give us place in your happy land, where "we may live dependent on your authority and ſubject to your com-"mand." The Chechemecan ſovereign was pleaſed with the lordly air and courtly manners of theſe noble youths, but ſtill more with the flattering vanity of ſeeing humbled, in his preſence, three princes allured from ſuch diſtant countries by the fame of his clemency and his power. He replied with complaiſance to their addreſs, and offered to comply with their deſires; but while he was deliberating in what manner he ſhould do it, he ordered his ſon to lodge them, and take care of their entertainment.

The king had two daughters who were marriageable, whom, from the firſt he had thought of marrying with the two eldeſt princes; but he was unwilling to diſcover this intention, until he ſhould be acquainted with their diſpoſition, and ſhould be ſure of the conſent of his ſubjects. When he was ſatisfied in mind of both theſe points, he called the princes to him, who remained anxious about their fate, and opened his reſolution to them, not only to grant them eſtabliſhments in his kingdom, but alſo to marry two of them with his daughters, lamenting that he had no other, to avoid leaving any one excluded from the new alliance. The princes thanked him with warm expreſſions of gratitude, and proffered to ſerve him with the utmoſt fidelity.

When

When the day appointed for the nuptials arrived, ſuch a concourſe of people flocked to Tenayuca, the place deſtined for the ſolemnization, the city being unable to receive them, many remained in the country. Acolhuatzin married the eldeſt of the princeſſes, named Cuetlaxochitl, and Chiconquautli the other. The third prince had *Coatetl*, a virgin born in Chalco of moſt noble parents, in whom the Toltecan and Chechemecan blood were both mixed. The public rejoicings laſted ſixty days, and the entertainments conſiſted of wreſtling, running, and combats with wild beaſts, exerciſes which were agreeable to the genius of the Chechemecas, and in all of them the prince Nopaltzin diſtinguiſhed himſelf. After the example of theſe royal perſonages, the two nations continued to increaſe their alliance by inter-marriages until they became one, which taking its name from the moſt noble party, was called Acolhua, and the kingdom Acolhuacan; the name of Chechemecas being left to thoſe who, preferring the exerciſe of the chace to the toil of agriculture, or grown impatient of ſubordination, went off to the mountains, which are towards the north and the north-weſt of the vale of Mexico, where yielding themſelves up to the impulſe of their barbarous liberty, without a chief, without laws, without a fixed dwelling, or the other advantages of ſociety, they employed the day in purſuit of animals for prey, and when fatigued ſunk down to ſleep wherever night overtook them. Theſe barbarians mingled with the Otomies, a nation which was attached to the ſame courſe of life, occupied a tract of more than three hundred miles of country, and the Spaniards were harraſſed by their deſcendants for many years after the conqueſt of Mexico.

SECT. VII. Diviſion of the ſtates, and rebellions.

When the nuptial feſtivities were at an end, Xolotl divided his kingdom into ſeveral diſtinct ſtates, and aſſigned the poſſeſſion of them to his ſons in law, and the other nobles of each nation. He granted to prince Acolhuatzin the ſtate of Azcapozalco, eighteen miles to the weſt of Tezcuco, and from him deſcended the kings under whoſe government the Mexicans continued more than fifty years. On Chiconquauhtli he conferred the ſtate of Xaltocan; and on Tzontecomatl, that of Coatlichan.

The population daily encreaſed, and with it the civilization of the people; but at the ſame time ambition and other paſſions which had lain

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lain dormant from the want of ideas, in times of a ſavage life, began to awaken in their minds. Xolotl, who, during the greateſt period of his reign, had exerciſed great clemency in his government, had found himſelf, in the laſt years of his life, conſtrained to uſe ſevere meaſures to check the reſtleſs diſpoſition of ſome rebels, occaſionally depriving them of their offices, or puniſhing the moſt criminal with death. Theſe juſt chaſtiſements, inſtead of intimidating, exaſperated them ſo much, that they formed the atrocious deſign of taking the king's life, for the execution of which an occaſion ſpeedily preſented itſelf. A little time previous to this the king had expreſſed a wiſh to increaſe the waters of his gardens where he was accuſtomed to take recreation, and frequently alſo relieved his burden of years with ſleep, to which he was invited by the coolneſs and charms of the place. Being acquainted with this, the rebels dammed up the little river which croſſed the city, and opened a ditch to conduct the waters to the gardens; waited the time at which the king was accuſtomed to go to ſleep, then raiſing the dam let all the water at once into the gardens, and ſuddenly overflowed them. They flattered themſelves that their vicious aim would never be detected; as the diſaſter of the king might be imputed to an accident, or to ill conducted meaſures by his ſubjects, who ſincerely deſired to ſerve their ſovereign: but they deceived themſelves, and their attempt proved abortive; as the king had ſecret intelligence of their conſpiracy; but diſſembling his knowledge of it, he retired at his uſual time into the garden, and went to ſleep on an elevated ſpot, where he was expoſed to no danger. When he afterwards ſaw the water enter, although the treaſon was now apparent, he continued his diſſimulation to ridicule his enemies: "I," he then ſaid, "was perſuaded that my ſubjects loved me, but now I ſee they love "me ſtill more than I believed. I was deſirous of increaſing the water "of my garden, and behold my ſubjects have done it without any "expence: it is proper therefore to rejoice at my happineſs." He then ordered there ſhould be rejoicings in the court, and when they were concluded, he departed full of anguiſh and diſdain for Tenayuca, reſolved to inflict exemplary puniſhment on the conſpirators; but there he was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper which moderated his paſſion.

Being

SECT. VIII. Death and funeral of Xolotl.

Being now ſenſible of an approaching death, he called prince Nopaltzin to him, his daughters, and Acolhuatzin his ſon-in-law, the other princes being now dead, and recommended to them concord among themſelves, the care of the people committed to their charge, the protection of the nobility, and clemency to all their ſubjects; after which, a few hours, in the midſt of the tears and plaints of his children, he ended his life in a very advanced age, having reigned in that country, as appears, more than forty years. He was a robuſt and courageous man, but of a moſt affectionate heart to his children, and mild to his people. His reign would have been more happy had its duration been more ſhort (q).

The news of the death of the king immediately ſpread over the whole kingdom, and ſpeedy advice of it was given to the principal lords, that they might attend at the funeral. They adorned the royal corpſe with various little figures of gold and ſilver, which the Chechemecas, having been inſtructed by the Toltecas, had begun now to work, and placed it in a chair made of gum copal and other aromatic ſubſtances; and thus it remained five days, while the lords ſummoned to the funeral arrived. After they were all aſſembled, the corpſe was burnt, according to the cuſtom of the Chechemecas, and the aſhes gathered in an urn of the hardeſt ſtone. This urn was kept expoſed for forty days in a hall of the royal manſion, where daily the nobility thronged to pay their homage of tears to their deceaſed ſovereign, and the urn was afterwards carried to a cave in the neighbourhood of the city with ſimilar demonſtrations of grief.

SECT. IX. Nopaltzin II. king of the Chechemecas.

As ſoon as the funeral of Xolotl was concluded, they celebrated the aſcenſion of prince Nopaltzin to the throne with acclamations and rejoicings for other forty days. When the lords took leave of their new king to return to their reſpective ſtates, one of them made this ſhort harangue: "Great king and lord, as your ſubjects and ſervants, "we go in obedience to your commands, to govern the people you "have committed to our charge, bearing in our hearts the pleaſure of "having ſeen you on the throne, not leſs due to your virtue than your "birth. We acknowlege the good fortune unequalled which we

(q) Torquemada gives Xolotl one hundred and thirteen years of reign, and more than two hundred years of life. On this ſee our Diſſertation.

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" have in ſerving ſo illuſtrious and powerful a lord; and we requeſt " you to regard us with the eyes of a real father, and to protect us " with your might, that we may reſt ſecure under your ſhade. You " are as well the water which reſtores, as the fire which deſtroys, and " in your hands hold equally our life and our death."

The lords having taken leave, the king remained in Tenayuca, with his ſiſter the widow of the prince Chiconquauhtli. He was then, as far as we can conjecture, about ſixty years of age, and had ſons and grandſons. His lawful children by the Toltecan queen were Tlotzin, Quauhtequihua, and Apopozoc. On Tlotzin, who was the firſt born, he conferred the government of Tezcuco, that he might begin to learn the difficult art of governing men; and the other two were placed over the ſtates of Zacatlan and Tenamitic *(r)*.

The king paſſed one year in the court of Tenayuca, arranging the affairs of the ſtate, which were not ſo ſettled as they had been at firſt. From thence he went to Tezcuco, to treat with his ſon about the moſt convenient meaſures to be taken to reſtore the former tranquillity of his kingdom. While he was there he went one day into the royal gardens with his ſon, and ſome other lords of the court, and as they were in converſation, he burſt ſuddenly into a flood of tears; being requeſted to explain the cauſe, " Two cauſes," ſaid he, " produce " my tears, the one the memory of my late father, which is revived " by the ſight of this place where he uſed to take recreation; the " other is the compariſon which I make of theſe happy days with the " preſent bitter moments. When my father planted theſe gardens, " he had quiet ſubjects, who ſerved him with ſincerity, and received " the offices which he conferred upon them, with humility and " gratitude; but at preſent ambition and diſcord are every where pre- " vailing. It troubles me to be obliged to uſe the ſubjects as ene- " mies, whom I once in this place treated as friends and brothers. " Do you, my ſon," addreſſing Tlotzin, " keep conſtantly in your

(*r*) If we are to adopt the chronology of Torquemada, we muſt give Nopaltzin when he mounted the throne one hundred and thirty years of age; as when he arrived with his father in the country of Anahuac, he was at leaſt eighteen or twenty years, which added to the one hundred and thirteen years, which, according to Torquemada, Xolotl reigned in that country, make one hundred and thirty-one, or one hundred and thirty-three. On this ſee our Second Diſſertation.

" eyes

" eyes the image of your grandfather, and ſtrive to imitate the exam-
" ples of prudence and juſtice which he left us. Strengthen your
" heart with every virtue which you will have occaſion for, to govern
" your ſubjects." After condoling ſome time with his ſon, the king departed for his court of Tenayuca.

The prince Acolhuatzin, who was ſtill living, thinking the boundaries of his ſtate of Azcapozalco too narrow, reſolved to take poſſeſſion of Tepotzotlan, and in fact took it by force, in ſpite of the reſiſtance made by Chalchiuhcua, lord of that ſtate. It is to be believed, that Acolhuatzin would not have done ſo violent an act without the expreſs conſent of the king, who was, probably, willing to revenge himſelf in that manner of ſome offence he had received from Chalchiuhcua.

The conteſt was a good deal more bloody which aroſe a little after from intereſts of a very different nature. Huetzin, lord of Coatlichan, ſon of the late prince Tzontecomatl (*s*), was deſirous of marrying Atotoztli, a noble and beautiful virgin, and grand-daughter of the queen. Jacazozolotl, lord of Tepetlaoztoc, made ſimilar pretenſions; but either being more ſtrongly enamoured, or more violent in temper, not content with having demanded her of her father, he was willing to render himſelf maſter of his beauty by arms; and for this purpoſe collected a ſmall army of his ſubjects, which was joined by Tochinteuctli, who had been lord of Quahuacan, but was diſpoſſeſſed on account of his miſdeeds, and baniſhed to Tepetlaoztoc. Huetzin, apprized of this intent, went to meet him with a greater number of troops, and gave him battle in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, in which ſome of Jacazozolotl's people were ſlain along with himſelf, and the reſt of the army routed. Tochinteuctli ſaved himſelf by flight, ſheltering himſelf in the city of Huexotzinco, on the other ſide of the mountains. Huetzin, having got rid of his rival, with the con-

(*s*) Torquemada makes Huetzin, ſon of Itzmitl, and him ſon of Tzontecomatl in the thirteenth chapter of book the firſt; but in chapter 40, he ſays, that Itzmitl was one of thoſe who came with Xolotl from Amaquemican, ſo that he makes him born before his father Tzontecomatl, as he was a young man only when he came to Anahuac; and he did not come before the 47th year of the reign of Xolotl, as the ſame author affirms. Beſides in one place, he makes Itzmitl a pure Chichemecan; and in another place the ſon of an Acolhuan. But who is capble of marking all the contradictions and anachroniſms of Torquemada?

BOOK II.

ſent of the king took poſſeſſion of the maid and the ſtate of Tepetlaoztoc.

After theſe ſmall wars of the feudatory princes, one more conſiderable aroſe between the crown and the province of Tollantzinco, which was in rebellion. The king himſelf took the field in perſon with a large army; but as the rebels were numerous in force and well diſciplined, the royal army was worſted during nineteen days which the war laſted, until being reinforced by new troops, under the command of Tlotzin, he defeated the rebels, and puniſhed the heads of the rebellion in the moſt rigorous manner. Their evil example, when imitated by other lords, met with the ſame fate.

Nopaltzin had juſt reſtored tranquillity to his kingdom, when the famous prince Acolhuatzin, firſt lord of Azcapozalco, died, leaving the ſtate to his ſon Tezozomoc. His funeral was celebrated with great magnificence, the king and the nobility of both the nations of Acolhua and Chechemeca attending.

SECT. X. Tlotzin III. king of the Chechemecas.

The king himſelf did not long ſurvive, having reigned thirty-two years, and declared Tlotzin, his firſt born, ſucceſſor to his crown. The funeral rites were performed at the ſame court, and with the ſame form and ceremonies as that of Xolotl, to whom he was ſimilar not leſs in diſpoſition than in robuſtneſs and courage.

Among the lords who were preſent at the acceſſion of the new king to the throne, were his two brothers Quauhtiquchua and Apopozoc, whom he entertained for one year in his palace. Tlotzin was of ſo benevolent and affectionate a diſpoſition, he was the whole delight of his vaſſals. All the nobles ſought pretences to viſit him, and enjoy the pleaſure and charms of his converſation. Notwithſtanding his natural diſpoſition to peace, he took great care of the affairs of war, making his ſubjects frequently exerciſe in arms, and he himſelf was fond of the chace; but we know no particular acts or events of his reign, during thirty-ſix years which he occupied the throne of Acolhuacan. He died afflicted with the moſt ſevere pains in Tenayuca. His aſhes were depoſited in an urn of coſtly ſtone, which was for forty days expoſed to the ſight of the people under a pavilion.

SECT. XI. Quinaltzin IV. king of

Tlotzin was ſucceeded in the kingdom by his ſon Quinatzin, had by Quauhcihuatzin, daughter of the lord of Huexotla. His exaltation

to

to the throne was celebrated with greater ſolemnity than that of his predeceſſors; not at Tenayuca, but at Tezcuco, where he eſtabliſhed his court, and from that time until the conqueſt of the Spaniards, that city continued the capital of the kingdom of Acolhuacan. In his paſſage from the new to the old court, he made himſelf be tranſported in a portable chair or open litter, borne on the ſhoulders of four principal lords, and under an umbrella which was carried by four others. Until that time all the ſovereigns had uſed to walk on foot. This king was the firſt to whom vanity ſuggeſted ſuch a kind of pomp, and his example was imitated by all the kings and nobles of that country, who ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in oſtentatious grandeur. An emulation not leſs pernicious to ſtates than to princes themſelves.

the Chechemecas.

The commencement of his government was very tranquil; but the ſtates of Meztitlan and Tototepec, which are ſituated in the mountains lying to the north of that capital, ſoon roſe in rebellion. The moment the king received the advice, he marched with a great army, and ſent to tell the heads of the rebellion, that if their courage was equal to their perfidy, they ſhould deſcend within two days to the plain of Tlaximalco, where their fate would be decided by battle; if not, he was reſolved to put flames to their city, without pardon to women or children. The rebels, as they were already well prepared, came down before the time appointed to the plain, to ſhew their courage. The ſignal for battle being given, the attack became furious and obſtinate on both ſides until night ſeparated the armies, leaving the victory undecided. They continued for forty days frequently engaging, the rebels being no way diſcouraged by the advantages which the royal troops daily gained; but perceiving at length, by the ſlaughter and diminution of their forces, that their ruin was inevitable, they ſurrendered to their ſovereign, who, after rigorous puniſhment of the ringleaders of the rebellion, pardoned the crime of the people. The ſame conduct was obſerved with Tepepolco, which had alſo rebelled.

This ſpirit of rebellion ſpread like contagion over all the kingdom; and Tepepolco was ſcarcely ſubdued when Huchuitoca, Mizquic, Totolapa, and four other cities, declared a revolt. The king choſe to go in perſon with a ſtrong body of troops againſt Totolapa, and ſent againſt the other ſix cities as many detachments under command of brave and faithful generals; his ſucceſs was ſuch, that in a very ſhort ſpace of

of time, and without any conſiderable loſs, he brought all the ſeven cities again under his obedience. Theſe victories were celebrated with great rejoicings during eight days in the court, and rewards given to the officers and ſoldiers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. As the evil example of ſome ſtates had excited others to rebellion, ſo did the unſucceſsful iſſue ſerve in future as a caution not to form new conſpiracies againſt the loyalty due to their ſovereign; from whence, during the reſt of his government, which, according to hiſtorians, laſted ſixty years, Quinatzin enjoyed the utmoſt tranquillity.

When he died they obſerved ceremonies to him which had never been practiſed with his anceſtors; they opened his body, took out his bowels, and prepared it with different aromatic ſubſtances, to keep it ſome time free from corruption. They afterwards placed it in a great chair, clothed in royal habits, and armed with a bow and arrow, and put at his feet a wooden eagle, and behind him a tyger, to ſignify his bravery and intrepidity. In this ſtate it was expoſed for forty days; and after the uſual mourning, burnt, and the aſhes buried in a cave of the mountains neighbouring to Tezcuco.

Quinatzin was ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon Techotlalla; but the events of this and the following Chechemecan kings reigns being connected with thoſe of the Mexicans, who had at this period (in the fourteenth century of the vulgar era), founded their famous capital, we reſerve the relation of them to another place, judging it ſufficient at preſent to lay before the reader the ſeries of all the kings, annexing, as far as is known, the year of the vulgar era in which they began their reigns, that we may afterwards make ſome mention of the nations which arrived before the Mexicans in that country.

Chechemecan Kings.

Xolotl,	began to reign	in the 12th century.
Nopaltzin,		in the 13th century.
Tlotzin,		in the 14th century.
Quinatzin,		in the 14th century.
Techotlalla,		in the 14th century.
Ixtlilxochitl (t),		in the 1406.

Be-

(t) We do not reckon Ixtlilxochitl among the Chechemecan kings, becauſe he was only created governor of Tezcuco by the Spaniards. It is therefore to be doubted, if Cuicuilzcatzin

Between this and the following kings reign, the tyrants Tezozomoc and Maxtla occupied the throne of Acolhuacan.

Nezahualcoyotl,	in the year 1426.
Nezahualpilli,	in the year 1470.
Cacamatzin,	in the year 1516.
Cuicuitzcatzin,	in the year 1520.
Coanacotzin,	in the year 1520.

We cannot fix the year in which the five firſt kings began to reign, becauſe we do not know how long Xolotl and Techotlalla reigned; we, however, think it probable, that the Chechemecan monarchy had a beginning in Anahuac about the end of the twelfth century, and laſted 330 years, until about 1521, at which time it ceaſed with the kingdom of Mexico. At leaſt eleven lawful kings, and two tyrants occupied the throne.

The Acolhui arrived in the country of Anahuac after the beginning of the 13th century. With regard to other nations, there is an incredible difference of opinion and confuſion in hiſtorians reſpecting their origin, their number, and the time in which they ſettled in Anahuac. The great ſtudy which I have made to trace truth has ſerved only to increaſe my uncertainty, and to make me deſpair of ever knowing hereafter what is hitherto unknown. Leaving aſide, therefore, all fables, we ſhall adhere to what is certain, or at leaſt probable.

SECT. XII. The Olmecas and the Otomies.

The Olmecas and the Xicallancas, whether one nation, or two diſtinct nations, but conſtantly allied and connected together, were ſo ancient in the country of Anahuac, that many authors account them prior to the Toltecas *(u)*. Of their origin we know nothing, nor do the ancient pictures tell us more than that they inhabited the country circumjacent to the great mountain Matlalcueje, and that being driven

catzin is to be numbered among theſe kings; as in ſpite of, and contrary to the right of Coanacotzin, he was intruded on the kingdom of Acolhuacan by Montezuma, through the intrigues of Cortes.

(*u*) Some authors, and among them the celebrated D. Siguenza, have wrote that the Olmicas paſſed from the Atlantic iſles, and that they alone came to Anahuac from the quarter of the Eaſt, all the other nations having come from the region of the North: but we know no foundation for this opinion.

BOOK I.

from thence by the Teochechemecas, or Tlaſcalans, they tranſported themſelves to the coaſt of the gulf of Mexico (*x*).

The Otomies, who formed one of the moſt numerous nations, were probably one of the moſt ancient in that country; but they continued for many ages in barbariſm, living ſcattered in the caverns of the mountains, and ſupporting themſelves by the chace, in which they were moſt dextrous. They occupied a tract of more than three hundred miles of land, from the mountains of Izmiquilpan towards the north-weſt, bordering in the eaſt and weſt on other nations equally ſavage. In the fifteenth century, either being compelled by force, or ſtimulated by the example of other nations, they began to live in ſociety, under ſubjection to the crown of Acolhuacan. In the country of Anahuac, and likewiſe in the vale of Mexico, they ſettled an infinite number of places; the greater, and eſpecially the moſt conſiderable of them, ſuch as thoſe of Xilotepec and Huitzapan, were in the vicinage of the country which they occupied before; the others were ſcattered among the Matlatzincas and Tlaſcalans, and in other provinces of the kingdom, preſerving even down to our times, their primitive language in the inſular colonies, though ſurrounded by other nations. We are not, however, to conclude, that the whole nation was then brought to a ſtate of civil life, as a great part, and poſſibly the moſt numerous, were ſtill left together with the Chechemecas in the condition of ſavages. The barbarians of both nations, which were confounded together by the Spaniards, under the name of Chechemecas, made themſelves famous by their invaſions, and were not finally ſubdued by the Spaniards until the ſeventeenth century. The Otomies have always been reputed the moſt rude nation of Anahuac, not more from the difficulty every body finds in underſtanding their language than their ſervile ſtate of life; as even in the time of the Mexican kings they were treated as ſlaves. Their language is very difficult and full of aſpirations, which they make partly in the throat, partly in the noſe; but otherwiſe it is ſufficiently copious and expreſſive. Anciently they were renowned for their dexterity in the chace; at preſent they traffick in coarſe cloths for the dreſs of the other Indians.

(*x*) Boturini conjectures, that the Olmecas, when driven from their country, went to the Antilles, or Caribbee Iſlands, and South America. This is no more than conjecture.

The

SECT. XIII. The Taraſcas.

The nation of the Taraſcas occupied the vaſt, rich, and pleaſant country of Michuacan, where they multiplied conſiderably, and ſettled many cities and an infinite number of villages. Their kings were rivals of the Mexicans, and had frequent wars with them. Their artiſts excelled, or vied with thoſe of other nations; at leaſt after the conqueſt of Mexico: the beſt Moſaic works were made in Michuacan, and there only this valuable art was preſerved unto our time. The Taraſcas were idolatrous, but not ſo cruel as the Mexicans in their worſhip. Their language is copious, ſweet, and ſonorous. They make frequent uſe of the ſoft R; their ſyllables, for the moſt part, conſiſt of a ſingle conſonant, and a ſingle vowel. Beſides the natural advantage of their country, the Taraſcas had the good fortune to have D. Vaſca di Quiroga for their firſt biſhop, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed prelates Spain has produced, worthy of being compared with the ancient fathers of the church, and whoſe memory was preſerved freſh unto our time, and will laſt perpetually among theſe people. The country of Michuacan, which is one of the fineſt of the New World, was annexed to the crown of Spain by the free and ſpontaneous act of its lawful ſovereign, without coſting the Spaniards a drop of blood, although it is probable that the recent example of the ruin of the Mexican empire, intimidated and impelled that monarch to ſuch a conceſſion *(y)*.

SECT. XIV. The Mazahuas, Matlatzincas, and other nations.

The Mazahuas were once a part of the nation of the Otomies, as the languages of both nations are but different dialects of the ſame tongue; but this diverſity between two nations ſo jealous of preſerving their idioms uncorrupted, is a clear argument of the great anti-

(*y*) Boturini ſays, that the Mexicans finding themſelves beſieged by the Spaniards, ſent an embaſſy to the king of Michuacan, to procure his alliance; that he aſſembled an hundred thouſand Taraſcas, and as many Teochechemecas, in the province of Avalos; but that, being intimidated by certain viſions which his ſiſter had, who was once dead but returned to life again, he diſcharged the army, and abandoned the undertaking of ſuccouring the Mexicans, as he had intended. But all this account is a ſtring of fables. As far as we know, no author of that age makes mention of ſuch an event. Whence came theſe hundred thouſand Teochechemecas, who were ſo quickly aſſembled? Why was the army collected in the province moſt diſtant from Mexico? Who has ever ſeen the king of France order his troops to be aſſembled in Flanders, to ſuccour ſome city of Spain? The reſurrection of the princeſs is a fable founded on the memorable occurrence, reſpecting the ſiſter of Monteçuma, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

BOOK II.

quity of their ſeparation. The principal places which they inhabited were on the weſtern mountains of the vale of Mexico, and formed the province of Mazahuacan, belonging to the crown of Tacuba.

The Matlatzincas made a conſiderable ſtate in the fertile vale of Toluca; and, however great, anciently, their reputation was for bravery, they were, notwithſtanding, ſubjected to the crown of Mexico, by king Axayacatl.

The Miztecas and Zapotecas peopled the vaſt countries of their name, to the ſouth-eaſt of Tezcuco. The numerous ſtates into which theſe two countries were divided, continued a long time under ſeveral lords or rulers of the ſame nations, until they were ſubdued by the Mexicans. Thoſe nations were civilized and induſtrious; they had their laws, exerciſed the arts of the Mexicans, and made uſe of the ſame method to compute time, and the ſame paintings to perpetuate the memory of events, in which they repreſented the creation of the world, the univerſal deluge, the confuſion of tongues; although the whole was intermixed with various fables (z). Since the conqueſt, the Miztecas and Zapotecas have been the moſt induſtrious people of New Spain. While the commerce of ſilk laſted, they were the feeders of the worms; and to their labours is owing all the cochineal, which for many years, until the preſent time, has been imported from Mexico into Europe.

The Chiapaneſe have been the firſt peoplers of the New World, if we give credit to their traditions. They ſay that Votan, the grandſon of that reſpectable old man who built the great ark to ſave himſelf and family from the deluge, and one of thoſe who undertook the building of that lofty edifice which was to reach heaven, went, by expreſs command of the Lord, to people that land. They ſay alſo that the firſt peoplers came from the quarter of the North, and that when they arrived at Soconuſco, they ſeparated, ſome going to inhabit the country of Nicaragua, and others remaining in Chiapan. This country, as hiſtorians ſay, was not governed by a king, but by two military chiefs, elected by prieſts. Thus they remained until they were ſubjected by

(z) See the work of Fra Gregorio Garzia Dominicano, entitled, the *Origin of the Indians*, in book v. chap. 4. concerning the mythology of the Miztecas.

the

the laſt kings of Mexico to that crown. They made the ſame uſe of paintings as the Mexicans, and had the ſame method of computing time; but the figures with which they repreſented days, years, and months, were totally different.

Of the Cohuixcas, the Cuitlatecas, the Jopas, the Mazatecas, the Popolocas, the Chinantecas, and the Totonacas, we know nothing of the origin, nor the time when they arrived in Anahuac. We ſhall ſay ſomething of their particular cuſtoms when ever it will illuſtrate the hiſtory of the Mexicans.

SECT. XV. The Nahuatlacas.

But of all the nations which peopled the region of Anahuac, the moſt renowned and the moſt ſignalized in the hiſtory of Mexico, were thoſe vulgarly called the Nahuatlacas. This name, the etymology of which we have explained, in the beginning of this hiſtory, was principally given to thoſe ſeven nations, or rather thoſe ſeven tribes of the ſame nation, who arrived in that country after the Chechemecas, and peopled the little iſlands, banks, and boundaries of the Mexican lakes. Theſe tribes were the Sochimilcas, the Chalcheſe, the Tapanecas, the Colhuas, the Tlahuicas, the Tlaſcalans, and the Mexicans. The origin of all theſe tribes was the province of Aztlan, from whence came the Mexicans, or from ſome other contiguous to it, and peopled with the ſame nation. All hiſtorians repreſent them as originally of one and the ſame country: all of them ſpoke the ſame language. The different names by which they have been known, were taken from the places which they ſettled, or from thoſe in which they eſtabliſhed themſelves.

The Sochimilcas derived their name from the great city *Xochimilco* which they founded on the ſouthern ſhore of the lake of ſweet water or Chalco; the Chalcheſe, from the city of Chalco, upon the eaſtern ſhore of the ſame lake; the Colhuas, from Colhuacan; the Mexicans, from Mexico; the Tlaſcalans, from Tlaſcala; and the Tlahuicas, from the land where they eſtabliſhed themſelves; which, from its abounding in cinnabar, was called *Tlahuican (a)*. The Tepanecas poſſibly had

(g) *Tlahuitl*, is the Mexican name of cinnabar; and *Tlahuican* means the place or country of Cinnabar. Some authors call them *Tlalhuicas*, and derive the name from a place of that land called *Tlalhuic*; but beſides that we never heard of ſuch a place, the name does not appear conforming with the language.

BOOK II.

their name from a place called Tepan *(b)*, where they had been before they ſettled their famous city Azcapozalco.

It is beyond a doubt that theſe tribes did not arive together in that country, but at different times, and in the order we have mentioned; but there is a great difference among hiſtorians reſpecting the preciſe time of their arrival in Anahuac. We are perſuaded, for the reaſons ſet forth in our diſſertations, that the firſt ſix tribes arrived under conduct of the ſix lords who made their appearance immediately after the Chechemecas, and there was not ſo great an interval as Acoſta ſuppoſes, between their arrival and that of the Mexicans.

The Colhuas, whom in general the Spaniſh hiſtorians confound with the Acolhuas, from the affinity of their names, founded the ſmall monarchy of Colhuacan, which was annexed afterwards to the crown of Mexico, by the marriage of a princeſs, heireſs of that ſtate, with a king of Mexico.

The Tepanecas had alſo their petty kings, among whom the firſt was prince Acolhuatzin, after having married the daughter of Xolotl. His deſcendants uſurped, as we ſhall relate, the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and governed all that country, until the arms of the Mexicans, joined with thoſe of the true heir of Acolhuacan, deſtroyed both the tyrant and monarchy of Tepaneca.

SECT. XVI. The Tlaſcalans.

The Tlaſcalans, whom Torquemada and other authors call Teochechemecas, and conſider as a tribe of the *(n)* Chechemecan nation, eſtabliſhed

(e) Several authors call them *Tecpanecas*; both are Mexican. *Tecpanecatl* means *the inhabitant of the palace*; *Tepanecatl*, *inhabitant of a ſtony place*. Others give it a very violent etymology.

(c) Torquemada, not only ſays that the Tlaſcalans were Teochechemecas, but likewiſe affirms, in lib. iii. cap. 10. that theſe *Teochechemecas, were Otomies*. If the Tlaſcalans were Otomies, why did they not ſpeak the language of the Otomies? And if they ever did ſpeak it, why did they give it up for the Mexican! Where is there an inſtance of a free nation abandoning its own native language, to adopt that of its enemies? Nor is it leſs incredible that the Chechemecas were Otomies, as the above author ſuppoſes, although in lib. i. cap. 2. he affirms the contrary. Who forced the Chechemecas to give up their primitive language? He only who was unacquainted with the character of theſe nations, and knew not how conſtant they were in retaining their national language, could be capable of perſuading us that the Chechemecas, by their communication and alliance with the Acolhuas, abandoned the language of the Otomies for the Mexican. If the true Otomies have not, during ſo many ages, altered their idiom, neither under the dominion of the Mexicans, nor under that of the Spaniards, how is it credible that the Chechemecas ſhould entirely change their

eſtabliſhed themſelves, originally, in *Poyauhtlan*, a place ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the lake of Tezcuco, between the court and the village of Chemalhuacan. There they lived for ſome time in great miſery, ſupporting themſelves ſolely by the chace, on account of the want of arable ſoil; but being multiplied in their numbers, and deſirous of extending the boundaries of their territory, they drew upon themſelves the hatred of the ſurrounding nations. The Sochimilcas, the Colhuas, the Tepanecas, and probably alſo the Chalcheſe, who, by being borderers on them, were moſt expoſed to injury, made a league together, and equipped a conſiderable army to drive ſuch dangerous ſettlers from the vale of Mexico. The Tlaſcalans, whom the conſciouſneſs of their uſurpations, kept always vigilant, came well arrayed for an encounter. The battle was one of the moſt bloody and memorable which appears in the hiſtory of Mexico. The Tlaſcalans, though inferior in number, made ſuch a ſlaughter of the enemy, that they left the field covered with carcaſes, and a part of the lake on the border of which they had engaged, tinged with blood. Notwithſtanding they came off ſo glorioufly in this battle, they determined to abandon that quarter, being well perſuaded that while they remained there they would be daily harraſſed by their neighbours; for which reaſon having reviewed the whole country by means of their emiſſaries, and finding no ſituation where they could jointly eſtabliſh themſelves, they agreed to ſeparate, one part of them going towards the South, the other to the North. The latter, after a ſhort journey, ſettled themſelves, with the permiſſion of the Chechemecan king, in Tollantzinco, and in Quauh-

their language, being maſters of that country, and occupying the throne of Acolhuacan from the time of Xolotl the founder of that kingdom, until the conqueſt of Mexico. I do not doubt, however, that the proper language of the ancient Chechemecas was the ſame with that of the Acolhuas and Nahuatlacas, that is, the Mexican. I am of the ſame opinion reſpecting the Toltecas, whatever other authors may ſay; nor can I, after the moſt diligent ſtudy of hiſtory, alter my ſentiments. We know that the names of the places from whence the Toltecas and Chechemecas came, and of thoſe which they ſettled in Anahuac, of the perſons of both nations, and of the years which they uſed, were Mexican. We know that the Toltecas and Chechemecas, the Chechemecas and Acolhuas, from the firſt had communication with each other, and underſtood each other reciprocally without an interpreter. The Mexican language having ſpread as far as Nicaragua, is not to be aſcribed to any thing elſe than the diſperſion of the Toltecas who ſpoke it; as it is known that the Nahuatlacas ever went beyond Chiapan. In ſhort, we find nothing to ſupport the contrary opinion, although it is ſo common among our hiſtorians.

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chinanco. The former travelling round the great volcano Popocatepec, through Tetella and Tochimilco, founded the city of Quauhquechollan, in the neighbourhood of Atriſco; and ſome, proceeding ſtill farther, founded Amaliuhcan, and other villages; and thus extended themſelves as far as *Poyauhtecatl* or the mountain Orizaba, to which they probably gave ſuch a name in memory of the place in the vale of Mexico which they had quitted.

But the moſt numerous and reſpectable part of the tribe, directed their way by Cholula to the borders of the great mountain Matlalcueye, from whence they drove the Olmecas and Xicallancas, the ancient inhabitants of that country, and ſlew their king Colopechtli. Here they eſtabliſhed themſelves under a chief, named *Colhuatateuctli*, contriving to fortify themſelves alſo, to be the more able to reſiſt the neighbouring people if they ſhould incline to attack them. In fact it was not long before the Huexozincas and other people, who knew of the bravery and number of their new neighbours, fearing they would, in time, become troubleſome, levied a great army to expel them wholly from the country. The attack was ſo ſudden, that the Tlaſcalans were forced to retreat to the top of that great mountain: finding themſelves there in the greateſt perplexity, they ſent ambaſſadors to implore the protection of the Chechemecan king, and obtained from him a large body of troops. The Huexozincas not having forces ſufficient to contend with the royal army, applied for aſſiſtance to the Tepanecas, who they believed would not let paſs ſo fair an opportunity of revenging themſelves; but the tragic event of Poſauhtlan was ſtill in their memories, and although they ſent troops, theſe were enjoined not to do hurt to the Tlaſcalans; and the Tlaſcalans themſelves were adviſed not to eſteem them as enemies, but to reſt confident that that nation was not ſent for any other purpoſe than to deceive the Huexozincas, and not to diſturb the harmony which ſubſiſted between them and the Tepanecas. By the aid of the Tezcucans, and the perfidious inaction of the Tepanecas, the Huexozincas were defeated, and obliged to return to their ſtate in diſgrace. The Tlaſcalans being freed from ſo great a danger, and having made peace with their neighbours, returned to their firſt eſtabliſhment, to continue their ſettlement and population.

Such

Such was the origin of the famous city and republic of Tlaſcala, the perpetual rival of the Mexicans, and occaſion of their ruin. At firſt they all obeyed one chief; but afterwards when their population was conſiderably advanced, the city was parted into four diviſions, called *Tepeticpac*, *Ocotelolco*, *Quiahuiztlan*, and *Tizatlan*. Every diviſion had its lord, to whom all the places dependent on ſuch diviſion were likewiſe ſubject; ſo that the whole ſtate was compoſed of four ſmall monarchies; but theſe four lords, together with other nobles of the firſt rank, formed a kind of ariſtocracy for the general ſtate. This diet or ſenate was the umpire of war and peace. It preſcribed the number of troops which were to be raiſed, and the generals who were to command them. In the ſtate, although it was circumſcribed, there were many cities and large villages, in which, in 1520, there were more than one hundred and fifty thouſand houſes, and more than five hundred thouſand inhabitants. The diſtrict of the republic was fortified on the weſtern quarter with ditches and entrenchments, and on the eaſt with a wall ſix miles in length; towards the ſouth it was, by nature, defended by the mountain Matlalcueye, and by other mountains, on the north.

The Tlaſcalans were warlike, courageous, and jealous of their honour and their liberty. They preſerved, for a long time, the ſplendor of their republic, in ſpite of the oppoſition they ſuffered from their enemies; until at length, being in confederacy with the Spaniards againſt their ancient rivals the Mexicans, they were involved in the common ruin. They were idolatrous, and as ſuperſtitious and cruel in their form of worſhip as the Mexicans. Their favourite deity was *Camaxtle*, the ſame which was worſhipped by the Mexicans, under the name of *Huitzilopochtli*. Their arts were the ſame as thoſe of other neighbouring nations. Their commerce conſiſted principally in maize and cochineal. From the abundance of maize the name of *Tlaſcallan* was given to the capital, which means the place of bread. Their cochineal was eſteemed above any other, and, after the conqueſt, brought yearly to the capital a revenue of two hundred thouſand crowns; but they entirely abandoned this commerce, for reaſons we ſhall mention elſewhere.

The

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SECT. XVII. Migration of the Mexicans to the country of Anahuac.

The Aztecas or Mexicans, who were the laſt people who ſettled in Anahuac, and are the chief ſubject of our hiſtory, lived until about the year 1160 of the vulgar era, in Aztlan, a country ſituated to the north of the gulf of California, according to what appears from the route they purſued in their migration, and the concluſions made by the Spaniards in their travels towards theſe countries *(d)*. The cauſe of abandoning their native country may have been the ſame which other nations had. But whatever it was, it will not be altogether uſeleſs to leave to the free judgment of the reader that which the Mexican hiſtorians themſelves relate of the birth of ſuch a reſolution.

There was, ſay they, among the Aztecas, a perſon of great authority called *Huitziton*, to whoſe opinion all paid great deference. This perſon exerted himſelf, though it is not known for what reaſon, to perſuade his countrymen to change their country, and while he was meditating on his purpoſe, he heard once, by accident, a little bird ſinging on the branches of a tree, whoſe notes imitated the Mexican word *Tihui*, which means, *let us go*. This appeared a favourable opportunity to obtain his wiſh of his countrymen. Taking, therefore, another reſpectable perſon with him, he conducted him to that tree where the little bird uſed to ſing, and thus addreſſed him: "Do you "not attend, my friend Tecpaltzin, to what this little bird ſays, "Tihui Tihui, which it repeats every moment to us; what can it "mean, but that we muſt leave this country and find ourſelves an- "other? Without doubt, it is the warning of ſome ſecret divinity who "watches over our welfare: let us obey, therefore, his voice, and "not draw his anger upon us by a refuſal." Tecpaltzin gave full aſſent to this interpretation, either from his opinion of the wiſdom of Huitziton, or becauſe he was likewiſe prepoſſeſſed with the ſame de-

(d) In our diſſertations we ſpeak of theſe travels from New Mexico towards the North. Betancourt makes mention of them in part ii. tratt. 1. cap. 10. of his *Teatro Meſſicano*. This author makes Aztlan two thouſand ſeven hundred miles diſtant from Mexico. Boturini ſays, Aztlan was a province of Aſia. But I do not know what reaſons he had for ſo ſingular an opinion. In ſeveral charts, publiſhed in the ſixteenth century, this province appears ſituated to the north of the gulf of California, and I do not doubt that it is to be found in that quarter, though at a diſtance from the gulf, as the diſtance mentioned by Betancourt ſeems very probable.

ſire.

ſire. Two perſons, ſo reſpectable having agreed in ſentiment, they were not long in drawing the body of the nation over to their party.

Although we do not give credit to ſuch an account, it does not, however, appear altogether improbable; as it is not difficult for a perſon who is reputed wiſe, to perſuade an ignorant and a ſuperſtitious people, through motives of religion, to whatever he pleaſes. It would be a much harder taſk to perſuade us of what the Spaniſh hiſtorians generally report, that the Mexicans ſet out on their migration, by expreſs command of the demon. The good hiſtorians of the ſixteenth century, and thoſe who have copied them, ſuppoſe it altogether unqueſtionable that the demon had continual and familiar commerce with all the idolatrous nations of the New World; and ſcarcely recount an event of hiſtory, of which they do not make him the author. *But however certain they may be, that the malignity of thoſe ſpirits impell them to do all the hurt they can to man, and that they have ſhewn themſelves ſometimes in viſible forms to ſeduce them, eſpecially to thoſe who have not, by regeneration, entered into the boſom of the church*; it is not, however, to be imagined that ſuch apparitions were ſo very frequent, or that their intercourſe was ſo familiar with the above mentioned nations as theſe hiſtorians believe; the Supreme Power who watches, with benign providence, over all his creatures, commits to any ſuch enemies of the human race no powers to hurt it. Our readers, therefore, who may have read of like events in other authors, ought not to wonder if they do not find us equally credulous. We are not diſpoſed to aſcribe any effect to the demon, on the bare teſtimony of ſome Mexican hiſtorians, as they may eaſily have fallen into errors, from the ſuperſtitious ideas with which their minds were darkened, or the impoſitions of prieſts that are common among idolatrous nations.

The migration of the Aztecas, however, which is certain, whatever might have been their motive for undertaking it, happened, as near as we can conjecture, about the year 1160 of the vulgar era. Torquemada ſays he has obſerved an arm of the ſea (*e*), or a great river, repreſented

(*e*) I believe this pretended arm of the ſea is no other than the repreſentation of the univerſal deluge, painted in the Mexican pictures before the beginning of their migration, as appears from the copy, publiſhed by Gemelli, of a picture ſhewn to him by the celebrated Dott. Siguenza.

ſented in all the ancient paintings of this migration. If any river was ever repreſented in ſuch paintings, it muſt have been the *Colorado* or Red River, which diſcharges itſelf into the gulf of California, in latitude $32\frac{1}{2}$, as this is the moſt conſiderable river of thoſe which lie in the route they travelled. Having paſſed, therefore, the Red River from beyond the latitude of 35, they proceeded towards the ſouth-eaſt, as far as the river *Gila*, where they ſtopped for ſome time; for at preſent there are ſtill remains to be ſeen of the great edifices built by them on the borders of that river. From thence having reſumed their courſe towards the S. S. E. they ſtopped in about 29 degrees of latitude, at a place which is more than two hundred and fifty miles diſtant from the city of Chihuahua, towards the N. N. W. This place is known by the name of *Caſe grandi*, on account of an immenſe edifice ſtill exiſting, which, agreeable to the univerſal tradition of theſe people, was built by the Mexicans in their peregrination. This edifice is conſtructed on the plan of thoſe of New Mexico, that is, conſiſting of three floors with a terrace above them, and without any entrance to the under floor. The door for entrance to the building is on the ſecond floor, ſo that a ſcaling ladder is neceſſary; and the inhabitants of New Mexico build in this manner, in order to be leſs expoſed to the attack of their enemies; putting out the ſcaling ladder only for thoſe to whom they give admiſſion into their houſe. No doubt the Aztecas had the ſame motive for raiſing their edifice on this plan, as every mark of a fortreſs is to be obſerved about it, being defended on one ſide by a lofty mountain, and the reſt of it being ſurrounded by a wall about ſeven feet thick, the foundations of which are ſtill exiſting. In this fortreſs there are ſtones as large as mill-ſtones to be ſeen; the beams of the roof are of pine, and well finiſhed. In the centre of this vaſt fabric is a little mount made on purpoſe, by what appears, to keep guard on, and obſerve the enemy. There have been ſome ditches formed in this place, and ſeveral kitchen utenſils have been found,

Siguenza. Boturini alleges this arm of the ſea to be the gulf of California, as he is perſuaded that the Mexicans paſſed from Aztlan to California, and from thence croſſing the gulf tranſported themſelves to Culiacan: but there being remains found of the buildings conſtructed by the Mexicans in their migration, on the river Gila, and in Pimeria, and not in California, there is no reaſon to believe that they croſſed the ſea, but came by land to Culiacan.

ſuch

ſuch as earthen pots, diſhes, and jars, and little looking-glaſſes of the ſtone Itztli *(f)*.

From hence, traverſing the ſteep mountains of Tarahumara, and directing their courſe towards the ſouth, they reached Huiecolhuacan, at preſent called Culiacan, a place ſituated on the gulf of California, in 24½ deg. of latitude, where they ſtopped three years *(g)*. Here it is probable, that they built houſes and cottages to dwell in, and ſowed ſuch ſeeds for their food as they carried with them, and uſually did in every place where they ſtayed any conſiderable time. There they formed a ſtatue of wood repreſenting Huitzilopochtli the tutelar deity of the nation, that he might accompany them in their travel, and made a chair of reeds and ruſhes to tranſport it which they called *Teoicpalli*, or chair of God. They choſe prieſts who were to carry him on their ſhoulders, four at a time, to whom they gave the name of *Teotlamacazque*, or ſervants of God, and the act itſelf of carrying him was called *Teomama*, that is to carry God on one's back.

From Huiecolhuacan journeying for many days towards the eaſt, they came to Chicomoztoc, where they ſtopped. Hitherto all the ſeven tribes had travelled in a body together: but here they ſeparated, and the Xochimilcas, the Tepanecas, the Chalcheſe, the Tlahuicas, and the Tlaſcalans proceeding onwards, left the Mexicans there with their idol. Thoſe nations ſay the ſeparation was made by expreſs command of their God. There is little doubt that ſome diſagreement among themſelves was the occaſion of it. The ſituation of Chicomoztoc, where the Mexicans ſojourned nine years, is not known; but it appears to be that place twenty miles diſtant from the city of Zacatecas towards the ſouth where there are ſtill ſome remains of an immenſe edifice, which, according to the tradition of the Zacatecas, the ancient inhabitants of that country, was the work of the Aztecas in their

(*f*) Theſe are the reports I received from two perſons who had ſeen the Caſe grandi. We ſhould wiſh to have a plan of their form and dimenſions; but now it would be very difficult to be obtained, the whole of that country being depopulated by the furious incurſions of the Apachas and other barbarous nations.

(*g*) The ſtay of the Aztecas in Huicolhuacan, is agreeable to the teſtimony of all hiſtorians, as well as their ſeparation at Chicomoztoc. There is a tradition among the northern people of their paſſage through Tarahumara. Near to Naiarit there are trenches found which were made by the Cori, to defend themſelves from the Mexicans in their route from Hueicolhuacan to Chicomoztoc.

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migration; and it certainly cannot be aſcribed to any other people; the Zapatecas themſelves being ſo barbarous as neither to live in houſes nor to know how to build them. Their being reduced to a ſmaller number by the diſmemberment of the other tribes, may probably have been the reaſon that the Mexicans undertook no other buildings of that kind in their peregrination. Proceeding from the country of the Zacatecas towards the ſouth, through Amica, Cocula, and Zayula, they deſcended into the maritime province of Colima, and from thence to Zacatula; where turning to the eaſtward, they aſcended to Malinalco, a place ſituated in the mountains which ſurround the valley of Toluca (*h*), and afterwards taking their courſe towards the north, in the year 1196 they arrived at the celebrated city of Tula (*i*).

In their journey from Chicomoztoc to Tula, they ſtopped a while in Coatlicomac, where the tribe was divided into two factions, which became perpetual rivals, and alternately perſecuted each other. This diſcord was occaſioned, as they ſay, by two bundles which miraculouſly appeared in the midſt of their camp. Some of them advancing to the firſt bundle to examine it, found in it a precious ſtone, on which a great conteſt aroſe, each claiming to poſſeſs it as a preſent from their god. Going afterwards to open the other bundle they found nothing but two pieces of wood. At firſt ſight they undervalued them as things which were uſeleſs, but being made acquainted, by the wiſe Huitziton, of the ſervice they could be of in producing fire, they prized them more than the precious ſtone. They who appropriated to themſelves the gem were thoſe, who, after the foundation of Mexico called themſelves Tlatelolcas, from the place which they ſettled near to that city; they who took the pieces of wood were thoſe who in future bore the name of Mexicans, or *Tenochcas*. This account however cannot be conſidered in any other light than as a moral fable, to

(*h*) It is evident from the manuſcripts of P. Giovanni Tobar, a Jeſuit exceedingly verſed in the antiquities of thoſe nations, that the Mexicans paſſed through Michuacan, and this could only be by Colima and Zacatula, which probably then belonged to the kingdom, as they now belong to the eccleſiaſtical dioceſs of Michuacan; becauſe if they had performed their journey any other way to Tula, they would not have touched at Malinalco.

(*i*) The epoch of the arrival of the Mexicans at Tula in 1196, is confirmed by a manuſcript hiſtory in Mexican, cited by Boturini, and in this point of chronology other authors agree.

teach

teach that in all things the uſeful is preferable to the beautiful. Notwithſtanding this diſſention both parties travelled always together for their imaginary intereſt in the protection of their god *(k)*.

It ought not to exeite wonder that the Aztecas made ſo great a circuit, and journeyed upwards of a thouſand miles more than was neceſſary, to reach Anahuac: as they had no limits preſcribed to their travel, and were in queſt of a country where they might enjoy all the conveniences of life: neither is it ſurpriſing that in ſome places they erected large fabrics, as it is probable, they conſidered every place where they ſtopped the boundary of their peregrination. Several ſituations appeared to them at firſt, proper for their eſtabliſhment, which they afterwards abandoned, from experience of inconveniences they had not foreſeen. Wherever they ſtopped they raiſed an altar to their God, and at their departure left all their ſick behind; and, probably, ſome others, who were to take care of them, and perhaps alſo, ſome who might be tired of ſuch long pilgrimages, and unwilling to encounter freſh fatigues.

In Tula they ſtopped nine years, and afterwards eleven years in other places not far diſtant, until, in 1216, they arrived at Zumpanco, a conſiderable city in the vale of Mexico. Tochpanecatl, lord of this city, received them with ſingular humanity, and not contenting himſelf with granting them commodious dwellings, and regaling them plentifully; but becoming attached to them from long and familiar intercourſe, he demanded from the chiefs of the nation, ſome noble virgin for a wife to his ſon Ilhuitcatl. The Mexicans obliged by ſuch proofs of regard preſented Tlacapantzin to him, who was ſoon after married to that illuſtrious youth; and from them, as will appear, the Mexican kings deſcended.

After remaining ſeven years in Zampanco, they went together with the youth Ilhuicatl to Tizayocan, a city a little diſtant from it, where Tlacapantzin bore a ſon, named after *Huitzilihuitl*, and at the ſame time they gave away another virgin to *Xochiatzin*, lord of Quauhtitlan. From Tizayecan they paſſed to Tolpetlac and Tepeyacac, where, at preſent,

(*k*) It is not to be doubted that the ſtory of the packets is merely a fable; as the Aztecas knew, ſome centuries before, how to produce fire from two pieces of wood, by friction.

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lies the village and renowned ſanctuary of the Holy Virgin of Guadaloupe, places all ſituated on the borders of the lake of Tezcuco, and near the ſite of Mexico, in which they continued for twenty-two years.

As ſoon as the Mexicans appeared in that country, they were reviewed by order of Xolotl then reigning; who, having nothing to fear, permitted them to eſtabliſh themſelves wherever they could: but thoſe in Tepeyacac finding themſelves harraſſed by *Tenancacaltzin*, a Chechemecan lord, they were forced, in 1245, to retire to Chapoltepec, a mountain ſituated on the weſtern border of the lake, hardly two miles diſtant from the ſite of Mexico, in the reign of Nopaltzin, and not of Quinatzin, as Torquemada and Boturini imagine (*l*).

The perſecutions which they ſuffered in this place from ſome lords, and particularly from the lord of Xaltocan, made them, at the end of ſeventeen years, abandon it, to ſeek a more ſecure aſylum in *Acocolco*, which conſiſts of a number of ſmall iſlands at the ſouthern extremity of the lake. There for the ſpace of fifty-two years they led the moſt miſerable life; they ſubſiſted on fiſh, and all ſorts of inſects, and the roots of the marſhes, and covered themſelves with the leaves of the amoxtli which grows plentifully in that lake, having wore out all their garments, and finding no means there of ſupplying themſelves with others. Their habitations were wretched huts, made of the reeds and ruſhes which the lake produced. It would be totally incredible that for ſo many years they were able to keep in exiſtence in a place ſo diſadvantageous, where they were ſo ſtinted in the neceſſaries of life, was it not verified by their hiſtorians and ſucceeding events.

SECT. XVIII. Slavery of the Mexicans in Colhuacan.

But in the midſt of their miſeries they were free, and liberty alleviated in ſome degree their diſtreſſes. In 1314, however, ſlavery was added to their other diſtreſſes. Hiſtorians differ in opinion concerning this event. Some ſay, that the petty king of Colhuacan, a city not far diſtant from Acocolco, not willing to ſuffer the Mexicans to maintain themſelves in his territories without paying him tribute, made open war upon them, and having ſubdued, enſlaved them.

(*l*) Quinatzin ſuppoſing to have been reigning at that time, the reign of him and his ſucceſſor muſt have comprehended a ſpace of an hundred and ſixty-one years and upwards; if the chronology of Torquemada is adopted, who ſuppoſes Quinatzin reigning until the time at which the Mexicans entered the vale of Mexico. See our Diſſertations.

Others

Others affirm, that this petty king ſent an embaſſy to them, to inform them that having compaſſion for the miſerable life which they led in thoſe iſlands, he was willing to grant them a better place where they might live more comfortably; and that the Mexicans, who wiſhed for nothing more ardently, accepted inſtantly the favour, and gladly quitted their diſagreeable ſituation; but they had ſcarcely ſet out when they were attacked by the Colhuas and taken priſoners. Which ever way it was, it is certain, that the Mexicans were carried ſlaves to Tizapan, a place belonging to the ſtate of Colhuacan.

After ſome years ſlavery, a war aroſe between the Colhuas and Xochimilcas their neighbours, with ſuch diſadvantage to the former, that they were worſted in every engagement. The Colhuas, being afflicted with theſe repeated loſſes, were forced to employ their priſoners whom they ordered to prepare for war; but they did not provide them with the neceſſary arms, either becauſe theſe had been exhauſted in preceding battles, or becauſe they left them at liberty to accoutre themſelves as they choſe. The Mexicans being perſuaded that this was a favourable occaſion to win the favour of their lord, reſolved to exert every effort of their bravery. They armed themſelves with long ſtout ſtaves, the points of which they hardened in the fire, not only to be uſed againſt the enemy, but to aſſiſt them in leaping from one buſh to another if it ſhould prove neceſſary, as, in fact, they had to combat in the water. They made themſelves knives of itzli, and targets or ſhields of reeds wove together. It was agreed among them, that they were not to employ themſelves as it was uſual in making priſoners, but to content themſelves with cutting off an ear, and leaving the enemy without further hurt. With this diſpoſition they went out to battle, and while the Colhuas and Xochimilcas were engaged, either by land on the borders of the lake, or by water in their ſhips, the Mexicans ruſhed furiouſly on the enemy, aſſiſted by their ſtaves in the water; cut off the ears of thoſe whom they encountered, and put them in a baſket which they carried for that purpoſe; but when they could not effect this from the ſtruggles of the enemy, they killed them. By the aſſiſtance of the Mexicans, the Colhuas obtained ſo complete a victory that the Xochimilcas not only abandoned the field,

but

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but afraid even to remain in their city, they took refuge in the mountains.

This action having ended with ſo much glory, according to the cuſtom of thoſe nations, the ſoldiers of the Colhuas preſented themſelves with their priſoners before their general; as the bravery of the ſoldiers was not eſtimated by the number of enemies which were left dead on the field, but of thoſe who were made priſoners alive, and ſhewn to the general. It cannot be doubted, that this was a rational ſentiment, and a practice conformable to humanity. If the prince can vindicate his rights, and repel force without killing his enemies, humanity demands that life ſhould be preſerved. If we are to take utility into our conſideration, a ſlain enemy cannot hurt, neither can he ſerve us, but from a priſoner we may derive much advantage without receiving any harm. If we conſider glory, it requires a greater effort to deprive an enemy ſolely of his liberty, than to wreſt his life from him in the heat of conteſt. The Mexicans were likewiſe called upon to make the ſhew of their priſoners; but not having a ſingle one to preſent, as the only four which they had taken were kept concealed for a particular purpoſe; they were reproached as a cowardly race by the general and the ſoldiers of the Colhuas. Then the Mexicans holding out their baſkets full of ears, ſaid, "Behold from the number of ears which we preſent, you may judge of the number of priſoners we might have brought if we had inclined; but we were unwilling to loſe time in binding them that we might accelerate your victory." The Colhuas remained awed and abaſhed, and began to conceive apprehenſions from the prudence as well as from the courage of their ſlaves.

The Mexicans having returned to the place of their reſidence which, as appears, was at that time Huitzolopochco, they erected an altar to their tutelary god; but being deſirous at the dedication of it to make an offering of ſomething precious they demanded ſomething of their lord for that purpoſe. He ſent them in diſdain, in a dirty rag of coarſe cloth, a vile dead bird, with certain filth about it, which was carried by the prieſts of the Colhuas, who having laid it upon the altar without any ſalutation, retired. Whatever indignation the Mexicans felt from ſo unworthy an inſult, reſerving their revenge for another occaſion, inſtead of ſuch filth they placed

placed upon the altar a knife of itzli, and an odoriferous herb. The day of conſecration being arrived, the petty king of Colhua, and his nobility, failed not to be preſent, not to do honour to the feſtival, but to make a mockery of his ſlaves. The Mexicans began this function with a ſolemn dance, in which they appeared in their beſt garments, and while the byſtanders were moſt fixed in attention, they brought out the four Xochimilca priſoners, whom they had till then kept concealed, and after having made them dance a little, they ſacrificed them upon a ſtone, breaking their breaſt with the knife of itzli, and tearing out their heart, which, whilſt yet warm and beating, they offered to their god.

This human ſacrifice, the firſt of the kind which we know to have been made in that country, excited ſuch horror in the Colhuas, that having returned inſtantly to Colhuacan, they determined to diſmiſs ſlaves who were ſo cruel, and might in future become deſtructive to the ſtate; on which *Coxcox*, ſo was the petty king named, ſent orders to them to depart immediately out of that diſtrict, and go wherever they might be moſt inclined. The Mexicans willingly accepted their diſcharge from ſlavery, and directing their courſe towards the north, came to *Acatzitzintlan*, a place ſituated between two lakes, named afterwards *Mexicaltzinco*, which name is almoſt the ſame with that of *Mexico*, and was given to it without doubt from the ſame motive, as we ſhall ſee ſhortly, which made them give it to their capital; but not finding in that ſituation the conveniencies they deſired, or being inclined to remove farther from the Colhuas, they proceeded to *Iztacalco*, approaching ſtill nearer to the ſite of Mexico. In Iztacalco they made a little mountain of paper, by which they probably repreſented Colhuacan (*m*), and ſpent a whole night in dancing around it, ſinging their victory over the Xochimilcas, and returning thanks to their god for having freed them from the yoke of the Colhuas.

After having ſojourned two years in Iztacalco, they came at laſt to that ſituation on the lake where they were to found their city. There they found a nopal, or opuntia, growing in a ſtone, and over it

(*m*) The Mexicans repreſented Colhuacan in their pictures by the figure of a hunchbacked mountain, and the name has exactly that ſignification.

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the foot of an eagle. On this account, they gave to the place, and afterwards to their city, the name of Tenochtitlan (*n*). All, or at leaſt all the hiſtorians of Mexico, ſay, this was the preciſe mark given them by their oracle for the foundation of their city, and relate various events concerning it, which as they appear out of the courſe of nature, we have omitted as being fabulous, or at leaſt uncertain.

SECT. XIX. Foundation of Mexico.

As ſoon as the Mexicans took poſſeſſion of that place, they erected a temple for their god Huitzilopochtli. The conſecration of that ſanctuary, although miſerable, was not made without the effuſion of human blood; for a daring Mexican having gone out in queſt of ſome animal for a ſacrifice, he encountered with a Colhuan named Xomimitl; after a few words, the feelings of national enmity, excited them to blows; the Mexican was victor, and having bound his enemy carried him to his countrymen, who ſacrificed him immediately, and with great jubilee preſented his heart torn from his breaſt on the altar, exerciſing ſuch cruelty not more for the bloody worſhip of that falſe divinity, than the gratification of their revenge upon the Colhuas. Around the ſanctuary they began to build their wretched huts of reeds and ruſhes, being deſtitute at that time of other materials. Such was the beginning of the city of Tenochtitlan, which in future times was to become the court of a great empire, and the largeſt and moſt beautiful city of the new world. It was likewiſe called Mexico, the name that afterwards prevailed, which denomination being taken from the name of its tutelar god, ſignifies place of *Mexitli*, or *Huitzilopochtli*, as he had both theſe names (*o*).

The

(*n*) Several authors, both Spaniſh and of other nations, from ignorance of the Mexican language have altered this name; and in their books it is read Tenoxtitlan, Temiſtitan, Temihtitlan, &c.

(*o*) There is a great difference of opinion among authors reſpecting the etymology of the word Mexico. Some derive it from *Metzli*, *Moon*; becauſe they ſaw the moon repreſented in that lake as the oracle had predicted. Other ſay, that *Mexico* means *upon the fountain*, from having found one of good water in that ſpot; but theſe two etymologies are too violent, and the firſt beſides is ridiculous. I was once of opinion, that the name was *Mexicco*, which means *in the center* of *Maguei*, or trees of the Mexican aloe; but from the ſtudy of the hiſtory I have been undeceived, and am now poſitive that *Mexico* ſignifies the place of Mexitli, or Huitzilopochtli, that is, the Mars of the Mexicans, on account of the ſanctuary there erected to him; ſo that *Mexico* with the Mexicans is entirely equivalent to *Fanum Martis* of the Romans; the Mexicans take away the final ſyllable *tli*, in the compounding of words of this kind. The *co* added

The foundation of Mexico happened in the year 2. *Calli*, corresponding with the year 1325 of the vulgar era, when Quinatzin, the Chechemeca, was reigning in that country: but by changing their ſituation, the Mexicans did not ſuddenly better their fortune; for being inſulated in the middle of a lake, without lands to cultivate, or garments to cover them, and living in conſtant diſtruſt of their neighbours, they led a life as miſerable as it was in other places, where they had ſupported themſelves ſolely on the animal and vegetable produce of the lake. But when urged by neceſſity, of what is not human induſtry capable? The greateſt want which the Mexicans experienced was that of ground for their habitations, as the little iſland of Tenochtitlan was not ſufficient for all its inhabitants. This they remedied a little by making paliſades in thoſe places where the water was ſhalloweſt, which they terraced with ſtones and turf, uniting to their principal iſland ſeveral other ſmaller ones at a little diſtance. To procure to themſelves afterwards ſtone, wood, bread, and every thing neceſſary for their habitations, their clothing, and food, they applied themſelves with the utmoſt aſſiduity to fiſhing, not only of white fiſh, of which we have already ſpoken, but alſo of other little fiſh and inſects of the marſhes which they made eatable, and to the catching of innumerable kinds of birds which flocked there to feed in the water. By inſtituting a traffick with this game in the other places ſituated on the borders of the lake, they obtained all they wanted.

But the gardens floating on the water which they made of the buſhes and mud of the lake, the ſtructure and form of which we ſhall elſewhere explain, diſcovered the greateſt exertion of their induſtry; on theſe they ſowed maize, pepper, chia, French beans, and gourds.

Thus the Mexicans paſſed the firſt thirteen years, giving as much order and form to their ſettlement as poſſible, and relieving their diſtreſſes by dint of induſtry: until this period, the whole tribe had continued united, notwithſtanding the diſagreement of the two factions which had formed themſelves during their migration. This diſcord, which was tranſmitted from father to ſon, at laſt burſt violently out in

added to it is the prepoſition *in*. The word *Mexicaltzinco*, means the place of the houſe or temple of the god *Mexitli*; ſo that Huitzilopochco, *Mexicaltzinco* and *Mexico*, the names of the three places ſucceſſively inhabited by the Mexicans, mean the ſame thing in ſubſtance.

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1338. One of the factions not being longer able to endure the other, resolved to separate themselves; but not having it in their power to remove so far as their rage suggested, they went towards the North to reside on a little island at a small distance, which they named *Xaltilolco*, from finding a great heap of sand there, and afterwards, from a terrace which they made, *Tlatelolco*, a name which it still preserves (*p*). Those who established themselves on that small island, which was afterwards united to that of *Tenochtitlan*, had, at that time, the name of Tlatelolcas, and those who remained in the first situation called themselves Tenochcas; but we shall call them Mexicans, as all historians do.

A little before, or a little after this event, the Mexicans divided their miserable city into four quarters, assigning to each its tutelar god, besides the protecting god of the whole nation. This division subsists at present under the names of St. Paul, St. Sebastian, St. John, and St. Mary (*q*). In the centre of these quarters was the sanctuary of Huitzilopochtli, to whom they daily performed acts of adoration.

SECT. XXI. Another human sacrifice.

In honour of that false divinity at this period they made an abominable sacrifice which is not to be thought of without horror. They sent an embassy to the petty king of Colhuacan, requesting him to give them one of his daughters, that she might be consecrated mother of their protecting god, signifying that it was an express command of a god to exalt her to so high a dignity. The petty king enticed and infatuated by the glory which he would receive from the deification of his daughter, or intimidated by the disasters which might await him, if he refused the demand of a god, granted quickly all that was requested, especially as he could not well suspect what was to happen. The Mexicans conducted the noble damsel with great triumph to their city; but were scarcely arrived, as historians relate, when the demon commanded that she should be made a sacrifice, and after her death to be flayed; and that one of the bravest youths of the nation

(*p*) The ancients represented Tlatelolco in their pictures by the figure of a heap of sand. If this had been known by those who undertook the interpretation of the Mexican pictures, which were published with the letters of Cortes at Mexico, in 1770, they would not have called this place *Tlatilolco*, which name they have interpreted *oven*.

(*q*) The quarter of St. Paul was called by the Mexicans *Teopan* and *Xochimilca*; that of Sebastian, Atzacualco; that of St. John, Moyotla; and that of St. Mary, *Cuepopan* and *Tlaquichiuchcan*.

should

ſhould be cloathed with her ſkin. Whether it was an order of the demon, or, what is more probable, a cruel pretence of the barbarous prieſts, all was punctally executed. The petty king, invited by the Mexicans to be preſent at the apotheoſis of his daughter, went to be a ſpectator of that ſolemnity, and one of the worſhippers of the new divinity. He was led into the ſanctuary, where the youth ſtood upright by the ſide of the idol, clothed in the bloody ſkin of the victim; but the obſcurity of the place did not permit him to diſcern what was before him. They gave him a cenſer in his hand, and a little copal to begin his worſhip; but having diſcovered, by the light of the flame which the copal made, the horrible ſpectacle, his anguiſh affected his whole frame, and being tranſported with the violent effects of it, he ran out crying with diſtraction, and ordered his people to take revenge of ſo barbarous a deed; but they dared not to undertake it, as they muſt inſtantly have been oppreſſed by the multitude; upon which the father returned inconſolable to his reſidence to bewail his diſaſter the remainder of his life. His unfortunate daughter was created goddeſs and honorary mother, not only of Huitzilopochtli, but of all their gods; which is the exact meaning of *Teteoinan*, by which name ſhe was afterwards known and worſhipped. Such were the ſpecimens in this new city of that barbarous ſyſtem of religion, which we ſhall hereafter explain.

BOOK III.

Foundation of the Mexican Monarchy: Events of the Mexicans under their four firſt Kings, until the Defeat of the Tepanecas and the Conqueſt of Azcapozalco. The Bravery and illuſtrious Actions of Montezuma Ilhuicamina. The Government and Death of Techotlalla, the fifth Chechemecan King. Revolutions in the Kingdom of Acolhuacan. Death of King Ixtlilxochitl, and the Tyrants Tezozomoc and Maxtlaton.

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SECT. I. Acamapitzin, firſt king of Mexico.

UNTIL the year 1352, the Mexican government was ariſtocratical, the whole nation paying obedience to a certain body, compoſed of perſons the moſt reſpectable for their nobility and wiſdom. The number of thoſe who governed at the foundation of Mexico was twenty *(r)*; among whom the chief in authority was *Tenoch*, as appears from their paintings. The very humble ſtate in which they felt themſelves, the inconveniencies they ſuffered from their neighbours, and the example of the Chechemecas, the Tepanecas, and the Colhuas, incited them to erect their little ſtate into a monarchy, not doubing, that the royal authority would throw ſome ſplendor on the whole body of the nation; and flattering themſelves that in their new chief they would have a father who would watch over the ſtate, and a good general who would defend them from the inſults of their enemies. The election fell, by common conſent, on *Acamapitzin*, either from the acclamations of the people, or the votes of ſome electors, to whoſe judgment all were ſubmiſſive; as was their mode afterwards.

Acamapitzin was one of the moſt famous and prudent perſons then living amongſt them. He was the ſon of *Opochtli*, a very noble Az-

(*r*) The twenty lords who then governed the nation were named *Tenoch*, *Atzin*, *Acacitli*, *Ahuexotl* or *Ahueiotl*, *Ocelopan*, *Xomimitl*, *Xiuhcac*, *Axolohua*, *Nanacatzin*, *Quentzin*, *Tlalala*, *Tzontliyayauh*, *Cozcatl*, *Tezcatl Tochpan*, *Mimich*, *Tetepan*, *Tezacatl*, *Acohatl*, and *Achitomecatl*.

teca,

teca (*s*), and Atozoztli, a princeſs of the royal family of Colhuacan (*t*). On the father's ſide, he took his deſcent from Tochpanecatl, that lord of Zumpanco, who ſo kindly received the Mexicans when they arrived at that city. He was yet unmarried; on which account they ſoon determined to demand a virgin of one of the firſt families of Anahuac, and for that purpoſe ſent ſucceſſive embaſſies to the lord of Tacuba, and the king of Azcapozalco; but by both their pretenſions were rejected with diſdain. Without deſpairing from ſo diſgraceful a refuſal, they made the ſame demand from *Acolmiztli*, lord of *Coatlichan*, and a deſcendant of one of the three Acolhuan princes, requeſting him to give them one of his daughters for their queen. Acolmiztli complied with their requeſt, and gave them his daughter Ilancueitl, whom the Mexicans conducted triumphantly away and celebrated the nuptials with the utmoſt rejoicings.

SECT. II. Quaquauhpitzahuac I. king of Tlatelolco.

The Tlatelolcos who, from being neighbours and rivals, were conſtantly obſerving what was done in Tenochtitlan, that they might vie with it in glory, and prevent their being in future oppreſſed by that power, alſo created themſelves a king: but not eſteeming it advantageous that he ſhould be one of their own nation, they demanded of Azcapozalco, king of the Tepaneca nation, to which lord the ſite of Tlatelolco, as well as Mexico was ſubject, one of his ſons, that he might rule over them as their monarch, and that they might obey him as vaſſals. The king gave them his ſon *Quaquauhpitzahuac*, who was immediately crowned firſt king of Tlatelolco in 1353.

It is to be ſuſpected that the Tlatelolcos, when they made ſuch a demand from that king, had, with a view to flatter and incenſe him againſt their rivals, exaggerated the inſolence of the Mexicans in creating a king without his permiſſion; as in a few days after Azcapozalco aſſem-

(*s*) Some hiſtorians report, that Acamapitzin whom they ſuppoſe to have been born while in ſlavery at Colhuacan, was the ſon of old Huitzilihuitl; but this is not probable, as Huitzilihuitl, born while the Mexicans were in Tizayuca, was not leſs than ninety years of age when the Mexicans were made ſlaves; wherefore, Huitzilihuitl was not father, but certainly grandfather of Acamapitzin. Torquemada makes this king ſon of Cohuatzontli; but we adhere to the opinion of Siguenza, who has inveſtigated the genealogy of the Mexican kings with more criticiſm and diligence than Torquemada.

(*t*) It is much to be wondered at that Opochtli ſhould marry a virgin ſo illuſtrious, at a time when his nation was ſo reduced and degraded by ſlavery; but this marriage is aſcertained by the pictures of the Mexicans and Colhuas, ſeen by the learned Siguenza.

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bled his counſellors, and ſpoke to them in the following words: "What is your judgment, nobles of Tepaneca, of this act of the "Mexicans? They have introduced themſelves into our dominions, "and continue to increaſe very conſiderably their city and their com- "merce, and what is worſe have had the audacity to create one of their "own nation a king, without waiting for our conſent. If they pro- "ceed thus in the beginning of their eſtabliſhment, what is to be ima- "gined they will do hereafter when they have increaſed their numbers "and added to their ſtrength? Is it not to be apprehended that in fu- "ture, inſtead of paying us the tribute which we have impoſed on "them, they will pretend that we ſhould pay it to them, and that the "petty king of the Mexicans will aim alſo at being monarch of the "Tepanecas? I therefore conſider it neceſſary to multiply their bur- "dens ſo much, that in labouring to diſcharge them they may be "worn out, or on failure of paying us, that we harraſs them with other "evils, and at laſt conſtrain them to abandon their ſtate."

SECT. III. Taxes impoſed on the Mexicans.

All applauded the reſolution; nor was it otherwiſe to be expected; as the prince who in council diſcovers his wiſh, rather looks for pane- gyriſts to ſecond his inclination, than counſellors to enlighten his un- derſtanding: the king then ſent to inform the Mexicans, that the tri- bute which they had paid hitherto being too ſmall, it was his pleaſure that they ſhould double it in future; that they were beſides to carry ſo many thouſands of willow and fir-plants to be ſet in the roads and gardens of Azcapozalco, and to tranſport to the court a great kitchen garden, where all the vegetables known in Anahuac were ſown and growing.

The Mexicans, who, until that time had paid no other tribute than a certain quantity of fiſh, and a certain number of water-birds, were greatly diſtreſſed with theſe new grievances, fearing that they might conſtantly be increaſing: but they performed all that was enjoined them, carrying at the appointed time along with their fiſh and fowl, the willows and floating garden. Whoever has not ſeen theſe moſt beautiful gardens, which in our time were cultivated in the middle of the water, and tranſported with eaſe wherever they deſired, will not with- out difficulty be perſuaded of the truth of ſuch an event: but whoever has ſeen them as we have, and all who have ſailed upon that lake, where

the ſenſes receive the moſt delightful recreation, will have no reaſon to doubt of the authenticity of this hiſtory. Having obtained this tribute from them, the king ordered them to bring him the next year another garden, with a duck and a ſwan in it, both ſitting on their eggs; but ſo, as that on their arrival at Azcapozalco, the brood might be ready to hatch. The Mexicans obeyed, and took their meaſures ſo well, that the fooliſh prince had the pleaſure of ſeeing the chickens come out of the eggs. They were ordered the ſucceeding year to bring, beſides a garden of this kind, a live ſtag: this new order was the more difficult to execute, as it was neceſſary to go to the mountains on the continent to hunt the ſtag, where they were in danger of engaging with their enemies; it was, however, accompliſhed, that they might eſcape from wrongs more oppreſſive. This hard ſubjection of the Mexicans laſted not leſs than fifty years. The hiſtorians of Mexico affirm, that the Mexicans in all their afflictions implored the protection of their god, who rendered the execution of ſuch orders eaſy to them: but we are of a different opinion.

The poor king Acamapitzin, in addition to theſe diſguſts, experienced the ſterility of his queen Ilancueitl, and therefore married *Tezcatlamiahuatl*, daughter of the lord of Tetepanci, by whom he had ſeveral ſons, and among others Huitzilihuitl and Chimalpopoca, ſucceſſors to him in the crown. He took this ſecond wife without abandoning the firſt; they both lived in ſuch harmony together that Ilancueitl charged herſelf with the education of Huitzilihuitl. He had other wives, although not honoured with the rank of queens; and among the reſt, a ſlave, who bore *Itzcoatl*, one of the beſt and moſt renowned among the kings of Anahuac. Acamapitzin governed his city in peace, for thirty-ſeven years; his city, at that time, comprehending the whole of his kingdom. In his time population increaſed, buildings of ſtone were erected, and thoſe canals which ſerved as well for the ornament of the city as for the convenience of the citizens, were begun. The interpreter of Mendoza's collection aſcribes to this king, the conqueſt of Mizquic, Cintlahuac, Quauhnahuac, and Xochimilco: but is it poſſible to believe that the Mexicans would undertake the conqueſt of four ſuch great cities, at a time when they had difficulty to preſerve their own territory. The picture, therefore, in that collection,

 repreſenting

repreſenting thoſe four cities ſubdued by the Mexicans, muſt be underſtood to apply to the Mexicans, only as they were auxiliaries to other ſtates, in the ſame manner, as a ſhort time afterwards they ſerved the king of Tezcuco againſt the Xaltocaneſe.

A little before his death, Acamapitzin called together the great men of the city; when after exhorting them to maintain their zeal for the public good, recommending to them the care of his wives and children; and declaring the pain it gave him at his death, to think of leaving his people tributary to the Tepanecas, he ſaid, that, having received the crown from their hands, he put it into their hands again, in order that they might beſtow it upon him who they thought would do the ſtate moſt ſervice. His death, which happened in the year 1389, was greatly lamented by the Mexicans, and his funeral was celebrated with as much magnificence as the poverty of the nation would admit.

From the death of Acamapitzin, until the election of a new king, as we are informed by Siguenza, an interregnum took place, of four months; a circumſtance which never happened again, as from that time forward the new king was always choſen a very few days after the death of the preceding. Perhaps the election, at this time, might be retarded, by the nobles being employed in regulating the number of the electors, and in ſettling the ceremony of the coronation which was then beginning to be obſerved.

The electors then, choſen by the nobles, being aſſembled together, the oldeſt man among them addreſſed them in this manner. "My age "emboldens me to ſpeak firſt. The misfortune, O Mexican nobles, "which we have ſuffered by the death of our king, is very great; and "none ought to feel it more than we who were the feathers of his "wings, and the eye-lids of his eyes. Such a misfortune is ſtill in-"creaſed, by the unhappy condition of dependence upon the power of "the Tepanecas, under which we live, to the reproach of the Mexi-"can name. Do you, then, whom it ſo much concerns to find a re-"medy for our preſent diſtreſſes, do you reſolve to chooſe a king who "ſhall be zealous for the honour of our mighty god Huitzilopochtli, "who ſhall avenge, with his arm, the injuries done to our nation; "and who ſhall take the aged, the widow, and the orphan under the

"ſhade

"ſhade of his clemency." At the concluſion of this ſpeech the electors gave their votes, and their choice fell upon Huitzilihuitl, ſon of the deceaſed king Acamapitzin. Then they proceeded, in regular order, to the houſe of the elected perſon, whom they placed in the middle of them, and conducted to the *Tlatocaicpalli*, that is the royal ſeat or throne; upon which they ſeated him; and after anointing him in the manner we ſhall deſcribe in another place, they then placed upon his head the *Copilli* or crown, and made him their ſubmiſſions one by one. Then one of the moſt conſiderable perſons raiſed his voice, and thus addreſſed the king. "Be not diſcouraged, excellent youth, at receiving that new employment, to which you are called, of reigning over "a nation which is incloſed among the reeds and ruſhes of this lake. "It is, indeed, unfortunate to poſſeſs ſo ſmall a kingdom within another's territory, and to be the chief of a people, who, originally free, "have now become tributary to the Tepanecas; but be comforted, "and remember that we are under the protection of the great god "Huitzilopochtli, whoſe image you are, and whoſe place you fill. "The dignity to which you have been raiſed by him, ſhould ſerve, "not as an excuſe for indolence and effeminacy, but as a ſpur to exertion. Have ever before your eyes the illuſtrious example of your "great father, who ſpared no labour in the ſervice of the public. We "ſhould wiſh, ſir, to make you preſents worthy of your ſtation; but "ſince our ſituation will not admit of it, be pleaſed to accept our promiſes of the moſt inviolable attachment and fidelity."

Huitzilihuitl was not yet married when he aſcended the throne: but it was thought proper that he ſhould take a wife, and the nobles wiſhed for a daughter of the king of Azcapozalco. To avoid, however, ſo ignominious a denial as they met with in the time of Acamapitzin, they reſolved to make the requeſt, upon this occaſion, with the greateſt demonſtrations of humility and reſpect. Some of the nobles, therefore, went to Azcapozalco, and falling on their knees, when they were preſented to the king, they declared their wiſhes, in the following words, "Behold, great lord, the poor Mexicans at your feet, humbly "expecting from your goodneſs, a favour which is greatly beyond "their merit; but to whom ought we to have recourſe, except to you, "who are our father and our lord. Behold us hanging upon your

BOOK III.

"lips, and waiting only your ſignals to obey. We beſeech you, with "the moſt profound reſpect, to take compaſſion upon our maſter and "your ſervant Huitzilihuitl, confined among the thick ruſhes of the "lake. He is without a wife, and we without a queen. Vouchſafe, "ſir, to part with one of your jewels, or moſt precious feathers. "Give us one of your daughters, who may come to reign over us in "a country which belongs to you."

Theſe expreſſions, which are peculiarly elegant in the Mexican language, ſo ſoftened the mind of *Tezozomoc* (for that was the king's name), that he inſtantly granted his daughter *Ajauhcihuatl*, to the great joy of the Mexicans, who conducted her in triumph to Mexico, where the much wiſhed-for marriage was celebrated, with the uſual ceremony of tying together the ſkirts of the garments of the huſband and wife. By this princeſs the king had a ſon the firſt year, who was named *Acolnahuacatl*; but being deſirous to ſtrengthen his kingdom by new alliances, he ſought and obtained from the prince of Quauhnahuac, one of his daughters called *Miahuaxochitl*, by whom he had Motezuma *Ilhuicamina*, the moſt celebrated of the Mexican kings.

SECT. V. Techotlala, king of Acolhuacan.

At that time, in Acolhuacan, reigned *Techotlala*, ſon of king Quimatzin. The firſt thirty years of his reign were peaceful; but afterwards *Tzompan*, prince of Xaltocan, revolted, and finding his own force inſufficient to oppoſe his ſovereign, he called to his aſſiſtance the ſtates of Otompan, Meztitlan, Quahuacan, Tecomic, Quauhtitlan, and Tepozotlan. The king promiſed him pardon, provided he would lay down his arms and ſubmit; which clemency probably proceeded from reſpect to the noble extraction of the rebel, who was the laſt deſcendant of Chiconquauhtli, one of the three Acolhuan princes. But Tzompan confiding in the number of his troops, rejected the offer with contempt; when the king ſent an army againſt him, which was joined by the Mexicans and Tepanecas, whoſe ſervice he had demanded. The war was obſtinate, and laſted for two months: but at length, victory declaring for the king, Tzompan, with all the chiefs of the revolted cities, was put to death, and in him was extinguiſhed the illuſtrious race of Chiconquauhtli. This war, in which the Mexicans ſerved as auxiliaries to the king of Acolhuacan againſt Xaltocan and the other confederated ſtates, is repreſented in the third picture of Mendoza's collection:

tion: but the interpreter of those pictures was mistaken when he imagined that those cities were subjected to the Mexican crown.

After the end of the war the Mexicans returned to their city with glory; and Techotlala, in order to prevent other rebellions in future, divided his kingdom into seventy-five states, giving each a chief to govern them in subordination to the crown. In each of them he likewise placed a certain number of the inhabitants of some other state; expecting that the natives would be more easily kept in subjection by means of strangers who depended upon a foreign power; a policy which might, indeed, be useful in preventing rebellion, but which was very oppressive to the innocent subjects, and created much trouble to the chiefs who were entrusted with the government. At the same time, he conferred honourable offices upon many of the nobles. He made *Tetlato* general of his armies, *Tolqui* entertainer and introducer of ambassadors, *Tlami* major-domo of the royal palace, *Amechichi* overseer of the cleaning of the royal houses, and *Cohuatl* director of the gold workers of Ocolco. No person worked in gold or silver, for the use of the king, except the directors own children, who had learnt the art for that purpose. The entertainer of ambassadors had many Colhuan officers under him; the major-domo had a certain number of Chechemecas; and the superintendant of the cleaning of the houses, an equal number of Tepanecas. By such regulations he increased the splendor of his court, and strengthened the throne of Acolhuacan; although he could not hinder those revolutions which we shall soon have occasion to mention. These and other such instances of wise policy, which will appear in the sequel of this history, evidently shew the injustice done to the Americans by those who have considered them as animals of a different species, or as incapable of civilization or improvement.

The new alliance formed by the king of Mexico with the king of Azcapozalco, and the glory acquired by his subjects in the war of Xaltocan, served both to strengthen their little state and to make themselves more respectable in the eyes of their neighbours. Being enabled, therefore, to extend their trade and carry it on with greater freedom, they began, now, to wear cloaths made of cotton, which they had been entirely without, in their former state of indigence, when they had nothing but coarse stuffs made of the threads of the wild palm. But they

SECT. VI. Enmity of Maxtlaton to the Mexicans.

they had ſcarcely time to breathe, when a new enemy and bloody perſecutor ſtarted up, in the ſame royal family of Azcapazalco.

Maxtlaton prince of Coyoacan, and ſon of the king of Azcapozalco, a cruel, turbulent, ambitious man, and who was feared even by his father upon that account, had been diſpleaſed at the marriage of his ſiſter Ayauhcihuatl with the king of Mexico. He concealed his diſpleaſure, for ſome time, out of reſpect to his father; but in the tenth year of the reign of Huitzilihuitl, he went to Azcapozalco, and aſſembled the nobility, in order to lay before them his complaints againſt the Mexicans and their king. He repreſented the increaſe of the population of Mexico; enlarged upon the pride and arrogance of that people, and upon the fatal effects which were to be feared from their preſent diſpoſitions; and eſpecially complained of the great affront done to him by the Mexican king, in depriving him of his wife. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that Maxtlaton and Ayauchcihuatl, although both children of Tezozomoc, were yet born of different mothers; and perhaps ſuch marriages were in thoſe times, permitted among the Tepanecas. Whether he ever actually intended to marry his ſiſter, or only made that a pretext to cover his cruel deſigns, is uncertain; but, in the aſſembly of the nobles, it was determined to ſummon Huitzilihuitl, to anſwer to the pretended charge. The Mexican king went to Azcapozalco; nor will this appear extraordinary, when we conſider that it was no uncommon thing, at that time, for princes to viſit one another; and that, beſides, it was the duty of Huitzilihuitl, as a feudatory of that crown; for, although from the birth of Acolnahuacatl, the queen of Mexico had prevailed upon her father Tezozomac to relieve the Mexicans from the oppreſſions to which they had been ſubjected for ſo many years before, yet Mexico ſtill continued in the nature of a fief of Azcapozalco, and the Mexicans owed the Tepanecan king an annual preſent of a couple of ducks by way of acknowledgement of his ſuperiority.

Maxtlaton received Huitzilihuitl in a hall of the palace, and after having dined with him in the preſence of the courtiers who flattered all his ſchemes, he charged Huitzilihuitl in the ſevereſt terms, with the pretended outrage done to him by the marriage of Ayauhcihuatl. The Mexican king with the greateſt reſpect aſſerted his innocence, and ſaid, that he certainly would never have ſolicited the princeſs, nor her father

father have given her away to him, if ſhe had been bethrothed to another. But in ſpite of the truth of his juſtification and the weight of his reaſons, Maxtlaton angrily replied, "I might now, without hearing more, put you to inſtant death, and ſo puniſh your boldneſs and avenge my own honour; but I would not have it ſaid that a Tepanecan prince killed his enemy in a treacherous manner. Depart in peace; and time will give me an opportunity of taking a more honourable revenge."

The Mexican went from him, filled with rage and vexation, and was not long without feeling the effects of his cruel kinſman's diſpleaſure. The true cauſe of Maxtlaton's enmity aroſe from his fear of the crown of the Tepanecas one day coming to his nephew Acolnahuacatl, by which event his nation would become ſubject to the Mexicans. To remove the cauſe of his fear, he formed the barbarous reſolution of putting his nephew to death, who was accordingly murdered a ſhort time after by ſome perſons who hoped, by that act of cruelty, to gain the favour of their maſter; no prince ever wanting, about him, mercenary men, who are ready to ſerve his paſſions (*s*). Tezozomoc gave no conſent to the perpetration of this crime, but we do not know that he ſhewed any diſapprobation of it. In the ſequel of this hiſtory we ſhall ſee that the haughtineſs, the ambition, and the cruelty of Maxtlaton rather encouraged than connived at by his indulgent father, brought ruin upon himſelf and his kingdom. Huitzilihuitl could ill brook ſuch a barbarous injury; but he yet wanted ſufficient power to take revenge.

SECT. VII. Tlacatcotl, ſecond king of Tlatelolco.

In the ſame year with this tragical event (1399) died at Tlatelolco, the firſt king, Quaquauhpitzahuac, leaving his ſubjects much more civilized, and the city greatly enlarged by handſome buildings and gardens. He was ſucceeded by *Tlacatcotl*, of whoſe origin hiſtorians differ widely in their relations; ſome imagining he was a Tepanecan as well as his predeceſſor, while others take him to have been an Acol-

(*s*) There is no author who gives any account of the circumſtances of this murder; and it is hardly to be conceived how the Tepanecas ſhould be able to execute ſuch a deed in Mexico; but we cannot doubt of the fact, as it is confirmed by all the national hiſtorians; but father Acoſta has committed a miſtake in confounding the murder of this young prince Acolnahuacatl, with the death of Chimalpopoca the third king of Mexico.

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huan, appointed by the king of Acolhuacan. The rivalſhip which ſubſiſted between the Mexicans and Tlatelolcas contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of their reſpective cities. The Mexicans had formed ſo many alliances, by marriage, with the neighbouring nations; had ſo greatly improved their agriculture, and increaſed the number of their floating gardens upon the lake; and had built ſo many more veſſels to ſupply their extended commerce and fiſhing, that they were enabled to celebrate their ſecular year 1. *Tochtli*, which anſwers to the year 1402 of our era, with greater magnificence than any of the four which had elapſed ſince their firſt leaving of the country of Aztlan.

At this time Techotlala, far advanced in years, ſtill reigned in Acolhuacan; who perceiving his end approach, called to him his ſon and ſucceſſor Ixtlilxochitl, and, among many inſtructions, particularly recommended to him the conciliating of the minds of his feudatory lords; leſt the crafty and ambitious Tezozomoc, who, till that time, had only been reſtrained by the uncertainty of ſucceſs, ſhould attempt any thing againſt the empire. Nor were the fears of Techotlala without foundation, as will appear from the ſequel. He died, at laſt, in the year 1406, after a very long reign, though not quite ſo long as ſome authors have imagined (*t*).

SECT. VIII. Ixtlilxochitl, king of Acolhuacan.

After the funeral rites were performed with the uſual ſolemnity, and the attendance of the princes and lords, the feudatories of the crown, they proceeded to celebrate the acceſſion of Ixtlilxochitl. Among the princes was the king of Azcapozalco; who, by his conduct, ſoon juſtified the ſuſpicions entertained of him by the deceaſed Techotlala; as, without making the uſual ſubmiſſions to the new king, he ſet out for his own ſtate with an intention to ſtir up the other feudatories to rebellion againſt the empire. He called together the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, and told them, that Techotlala, who had ſo long tyrannized over that country, being dead, his purpoſe was to procure freedom to the princes, ſo that each might rule his own ſtate with entire independence upon the king of Acolhuacan: but in order to ob-

(*t*) Torquemada and Betancourt give one hundred and four years to the reign of Techotlala; and although it is not impoſſible that a prince ſhould reign ſo long, yet it is extremely improbable, and would require the ſtrongeſt evidence to authenticate it; eſpecially if we conſider the general abſurdity of their chronology. But ſee our Diſſertations.

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tain ſo glorious an object, he needed their aſſiſtance; and, upon their ſpirit, ſo well known among all the nations, he relied for their taking part with him in the great enterpriſe. He added, that in order to ſtrike their blow with the greater ſecurity, he would undertake to unite in their confederacy ſome other princes whom he knew to be animated with the ſame deſigns. The two kings, either through fear of the great power of Tezozomoc, or to increaſe the reputation of their arms, engaged to aſſiſt him with their troops, as did alſo the other chiefs whom he ſolicited.

In the mean time Ixtlixochitl was employed in putting the affairs of his court into order, and in gaining the minds of his ſubjects; but he ſoon diſcovered, to his great diſappointment, that already many had withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to him, in order to place themſelves under the command of the perfidious Tezozomoc. To oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy, he commanded the princes of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and ſome other neighbouring ſtates, to arm all the troops they could without delay. The king himſelf wiſhed to lead his army in perſon, but he was diſſuaded from it by ſome of his courtiers, who repreſented the neceſſity of his preſence at the court, leſt in the diſtraction of affairs, ſome concealed enemy, or friend of wavering fidelity ſhould be tempted, by the opportunity of his abſence, to make himſelf maſter of the capital, and drive the king from his throne. *Tochinteuctli*, ſon of the prince of Coatlichan, was made general of the army, and in caſe of his death, or any other accident, *Quauhxilotl*, prince of Iztapallocan was appointed to ſucceed him. The plain of Quauhtitlan, fifteen miles north of Azcapozalco, was choſen for the theatre of the war. The troops of the rebels were more numerous, but thoſe of the king better diſciplined. The royal army, before it ſet out for Quauhtitlan, ravaged ſix of the revolted ſtates, in order both to weaken the enemy, and to leave behind them none who ſhould be able to do them much injury. The war was ſupported with great obſtinacy; the ſuperior diſcipline of the Tezcucans being counteracted by the ſuperiority of numbers on the ſide of the Tepanecas, who would certainly have been quickly overcome if they had not been conſtantly ſupplied with freſh troops. The allies of the rebels frequently ſent out large bodies to make incurſions in the loyal ſtates, where they met with little

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reſiſtance as the greateſt part of the Tezcucan force was collected at Quauhtitlan. Among the various diſaſters which they occaſioned, the lord of Iztapallocan Quauhxilotl was ſlain, who died with glory in defence of his city after his return from the field of Quauhtitlan. The king of Acolhuacan ſaw himſelf obliged, now, to divide his forces, and appointed a conſiderable part of the people, who came from many diſtant places to his aſſiſtance, for the garriſon of the cities. Tezozomoc perceiving in place of the advantages which he had promiſed himſelf, that his troops daily diminiſhed, and that his people were become impatient of the fatigues and dangers of war after three years of continued action, demanded peace, deſigning to finiſh, by ſecret treachery, what he had begun by open violence. The king of Acolhuacan, although he could not rely on the faith of the Tepanecan prince, nevertheleſs, conſented without inſiſting on any conditions which might give him ſecurity for the future, as his troops were as much broken with fatigue as thoſe of his enemy.

SECT. IX. Chimalpopoca third king of Mexico.

Juſt as the war was concluded, or a little before its termination, after a reign of twenty years, in 1409, Huitzilihuitl died, having publiſhed ſome laws uſeful to the ſtate, and leaving the nobility in poſſeſſion of their right to chuſe a ſucceſſor. Chimalpopoca, who was his brother, was accordingly choſen, and by what appears, from thence it became the eſtabliſhed law to make the election of one of the brothers of the deceaſed king, and on failure of brothers, of one of his grandſons. This law was conſtantly obſerved until the fall of the Mexican empire.

While Chimalpopoca found means to fix himſelf ſecurely on the throne of Mexico, Ixtlixochitl begun to totter on that of Acolhuacan. The peace which Tezozomoc had demanded was a mere artifice to lull ſuſpicion while he was more effectually purſuing his negociations. The number of his party was daily obſerved to increaſe, while that of the Tezcucan diminiſhed. This unfortunate king found himſelf reduced to ſuch extremity, that thinking himſelf inſecure in his own court, he went wandering through the neighbouring mountains eſcorted by a ſmall army, and accompanied by the lords of Huexotla and Coatlichan, who were always faithful to him. The Tepanecas, that they might diſtreſs him to the utmoſt, intercepted the proviſions which were carrying to his camp; by which his neceſſities became ſo great that he was compelled

compelled at laſt to beg proviſions of his enemies. So eaſy is it to fall from the height of human felicity to the loweſt ſtate of miſery.

He ſent one of his grandſons named *Cehuacuecuenotzin*, to Otompan, one of the rebel ſtates, to requeſt the citizens of it to ſupply their king with the proviſions he ſtood in need of, and to admoniſh them to abandon the party of the rebels, and to call to their minds the loyalty they had ſworn. Cehuacuecuenotzin, well knew the danger of the undertaking; but fear being overcome by the generoſity of his ſentiments, his fortitude of mind, and fidelity to his ſovereign, he ſhewed himſelf ready to obey: "I go my lord," he ſaid, "to execute your "commands, and to ſacrifice my life to the obedience which I owe "you. You cannot be inſenſible how much the Otompaneſe are alien-"ated from you by eſpouſing the part of your enemy. The whole "country is occupied by the Tepanecas, and every where dangerous; "my return is uncertain. But ſhould I periſh in your ſervice, and if "the ſacrifice which I make you of my life is worthy of any recom-"pence, I pray you to protect the two young children I leave behind." Theſe words, which were accompanied with ſtrong marks of feeling, touched the king's heart, who, in taking leave of him, ſaid, "May "our God accompany and return you ſafe. Alas! perhaps at your re-"turn, you may find what you fear for yourſelf, will have happened to "me, the enemies being ſo numerous who conſpire againſt my life." Cihuacuecuenotzin proceeded without delay to Otompan, but before he entered he knew that there were, at that time, Tepanecas in the city, who were ſent by Tezozomoc, to publiſh a proclamation; he was not, however, diſcouraged, but went intrepidly to the public place where the Tepanecas had aſſembled the people to hear the proclamation, and after having ſaluted them all graciouſly, he freely communicated his embaſſy.

The Otompaneſe made a jeſt of him and his demand, but none of them dared to proceed farther, until a mean perſon among them threw a ſtone at him, exciting others at the ſame time to put him to death. The Tepanecas, who continued ſtill and ſilent, to obſerve what reſolution the Otompaneſe would take, perceiving now that they openly declared againſt the king of Acolhuacan, and his ambaſſador, cried out, Kill, kill, the traitor! accompanying their cries with throwing of ſtones.

BOOK III.

Tezcuco was given in fief to Chimalpopoca, king of Mexico, and that of Huexotla to Tlacatcotl, king of Tlatelolco, as a reward for the ſervices which they had rendered during the war. He placed faithful governors in other places, and proclaimed Azcapozalco the royal reſidence and capital of all the kingdom of Acolhuacan.

At this ſolemnity were preſent, though in diſguiſe, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, enemies of the tyrant, and amongſt theſe the prince Nezahualcojotl. The grief and rage which filled him aided by the ardour of youth, was like to have urged him to a raſh action againſt his enemies, if a confidential friend, who accompanied him, had not withheld him, by repreſenting the fatal conſequences of ſuch temerity, and making him ſenſible how much more prudent it would be to wait till time preſented him a fitter opportunity for the recovery of his crown, and revenge of his enemies; that the tyrant was already worn out with age, and that his death, which could not be very diſtant, would entirely change the ſtate of affairs; that the people themſelves would come willingly to ſubmit themſelves to their lawful ſovereign, from a ſenſe of the injuſtice and cruelty of the uſurper. Upon this ſame occaſion, a Mexican officer of reſpect, (probably Itzcoatl, the brother of the king, and general of the Mexican forces), either of his own accord, or by order of the king Chimalpopoca, aſcended the temple, which the Toltecas had at that court, and addreſſed the multitude around him, "Hear, Chechemecas, hear Acolhuas, and all ye who are "preſent. Let no one dare to offer any hurt to our ſon Nezahuaco-"jotl, nor permit others to hurt him, if he is not willing to ſubject him-"ſelf to ſevere chaſtiſement." This proclamation contributed much to the prince's ſecurity, no body wiſhing to draw upon himſelf the anger of a nation which began now to make itſelf reſpected.

A little time after, many of thoſe nobles who had taken refuge in Huexotzinco and Tlaſcala, to avoid the fury of the Tepanecan troops, aſſembled at *Papalotla*, a place near to Tezcuco, to deliberate on the conduct they ſhould purſue in the preſent circumſtances; and they all agreed to ſubmit themſelves to the new lords whom the uſurper had appointed to their cities, that they might be free from farther hoſtilities, and attend in peace to the care of their families and habitations.

After

After having ſatisfied his ambition with the uſurpation of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and his cruelty with the ſlaughter he had committed, the tyrant was deſirous of gratifying his avarice by laying new taxes on his ſubjects. Beſides the tribute which they had hitherto paid their king of proviſions, and a robe to array him, he enjoined them to pay him another tribute of gold and precious ſtones, without adverting how much ſuch burdens would tend to exaſperate the minds of his ſubjects, which he ſhould rather have endeavoured to gain by moderation and lenity, to give himſelf more ſecurity in the poſſeſſion of a throne founded on cruelty and injuſtice. The Toltecan and Chechemecan nobles anſwered the proclamation by deſiring to preſent themſelves in perſon before the king, to be heard on the ſubject. The arrogance of the tyrant appeared to them unbounded, and his conduct widely different from the moderation of the ancient kings of whom he was deſcended. They agreed to ſend to him two eloquent deputies the moſt learned among them, one a Tolteca, the other a Chechemeca, that each in the name of his nation might remonſtrate with energy and force. They both went to Azcapozalco, when being admitted to an audience of the tyrant, the Toltecan orator in reſpect to the greater antiquity of his nation in that country began firſt, and repreſented to him the humble beginning of the Toltecas, the neceſſities they endured before they roſe to that ſplendour and glory which they had for ſome time enjoyed, and the miſery to which they were reduced ſince their revolution; he deſcribed the deplorable diſperſion in which they were found by Xolotl, when he firſt arrived in that country, and taking a review of the two laſt centuries, he made a pathetic enumeration of the hardſhips they had ſuffered, to move the tyrant to compaſſion, and get his nation exempted from the new grievances.

The Tolteca had hardly finiſhed his harangue when the Chechemeca began his: "I, my lord, may ſpeak to you with greater confidence "and liberty; as I am a Chechemeca, and addreſs myſelf to a prince "of my own nation, who is a deſcendant of the great kings Xolotl, "Nopaltzin, and Tlotzin. You are not ignorant that thoſe divine "Chechemecas, your anceſtors, ſet no value on gold or precious ſtones. "They wore no other crown on their heads than a garland of herbs "and flowers of the field, nor adorned themſelves with any other brace-

"lets

"lets than the ſtiff leather againſt which beat the ſtring of their bow "in ſhooting. Their food at firſt was confined to raw fleſh, and plain "herbs, and their dreſs was the ſkin of the ſtags and wild beaſts which "they themſelves hunted. When they were taught agriculture by the "Toltecas, their kings themſelves cultivated the land to encourage by "their example their ſubjects to fatigue. The wealth and glory to "which fortune afterwards raiſed them, did not make them more "proud. As kings they certainly made uſe of their ſubjects, but as "fathers they loved them, and were contented to be requited by them "with the ſimple gifts of the earth. I do not call to your memory "theſe illuſtrious examples of your anceſtors, for any other reaſon than "that I may moſt humbly entreat you not to demand more from us "now than they did from our predeceſſors." The tyrant liſtened to each harangue, and although the compariſon drawn between him and the ancient kings was odious, he diſſembled his diſguſt, and contented himſelf with giving licence to the orators to confirm the order publiſhed reſpecting the new tax.

In the mean time, Nezahualcojotl went anxiouſly through many cities, to gain their affection, that he might replace himſelf on the throne. But although his ſubjects loved him, and were deſirous of ſeeing him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, they durſt not openly favour his party from their fear of the tyrant. Among the ſubjects who were the neareſt related to him, and had abandoned him, were the lord of *Chimalpan* his uncle, and *Tecpanecatl* the brother of his ſecond wife *Nezahualxochitl*, of the royal line of Mexico. Perſevering in ſuch negotiations, he arrived one evening at a village of the province of Chalco, belonging to a lady and widow named *Tziltomiauh*. He obſerved that there was a plantation of aloes, from which the widow extracted wine, not only for the uſe of her family, but alſo for ſale, which was ſtrictly forbid by the Chechemecan code. He was ſo fired with zeal for the laws of his fathers, that he felt no reſtraint from the adverſity of his fortune, nor any other conſideration, but with his own hand put the delinquent to death. An action moſt inconſiderate and reprehenſible, in which prudence had a far leſs ſhare than the intemperate ardour of youth. This deed raiſed a great rumour in that province, and the lord of Chalco, who was his enemy, and had been an accomplice in the death

death of his father, uſed the utmoſt diligence to have him in his power; but the prince, who foreſaw the conſequences of his act, had already placed himſelf in ſecurity.

SECT. XIII. Death of the tyrant Tezozomoc.

Eight years were now elapſed, during which Tezozomoc had poſſeſſed in peace the kingdom of Acolhuacan, claimed in vain by Nezahualcojotl, when fatal dreams threw the tyrant into extreme perturbation. He dreamed that Nezahualcojotl transformed into an eagle, opened his breaſt and eat his heart; and at another time, changed into a lion, licked his body, and ſucked his blood. He was ſo intimidated with theſe ominous viſions, which were formed by the conſciouſneſs of his own injuſtice and tyranny, that he called together his three ſons *Tajatzin*, *Teuctzintli*, and *Maxlaton*, imparted to them his dreams, and charged them to put Nezahualcojotl to death as ſpeedily as poſſible, provided they could do it ſo ſecretly that no perſon ſhould ſuſpect the author of it. He hardly ſurvived his dreams a year. He was now become ſo old, he was no more able to keep himſelf in neceſſary warmth, nor erect in a chair, but was obliged to be wholly covered up in cotton, in a great baſket made of willows in the form of a cradle; but from this cradle, or rather ſepulchre, he tyranniſed over the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and delivered oracles of injuſtice. A little before his death, he declared his ſon Tajatzin his ſucceſſor in the kingdom, and repeated his command reſpecting the death of Nezahualcojotl, preſerving to his expiring moments his malicious deſigns. In 1422, this monſter of ambition, treachery, and injuſtice, ended his life, after having tyranniſed over the kingdom of Acolhuacan for nine years, and poſſeſſed for a conſiderable period the ſtate of Azcapozalco *(u)*.

Although the giving proper orders for the funeral of his father belonged to Tajatzin, as ſucceſſor to the crown, nevertheleſs his brother

(*u*) Torquemada makes Tezozomoc an immediate deſcendant of the firſt Acolhuan prince; by which he makes his reign one hundred and ſixty, or one hundred and eighty years: but from the harangue made by the Chechemecan orator, it is evident, that Tezozomoc was deſcended of Xolotl Nopaltzin and Tlotzin. The ſiſter of Nopaltzin married the prince Acolhuatzin, whence their children were couſins of Tlotzin, the ſon of Nopaltzin. In all this Torquemada agrees with us. Whoever then could be called the deſcendant of his couſin? Whoever reads the genealogy of the Chechemecan kings in the works of Torquemada, will inſtantly perceive the miſtakes made by this author. There may have been two or three lords of Azcapozalco named *Tezozomoc*, but the tyrant of Acolhuacan was at moſt great-grandſon of prince Acolhuatzin.

BOOK III. Maxtlaton, being more forward and active, arrogated the right to himſelf, and began to command with as much authority as if he had been already in poſſeſſion of the kingdom at which he aſpired, imagining it would be eaſy to oppreſs his brother, who was a man of no abilities, and unſkilled in the art of government. He ſent information to the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, and other lords, that they might honour with their preſence and their tears the funeral of their common lord. Nezahuacojotl, though not ſummoned, was willing to be preſent, as may eaſily be imagined, to obſerve with his own eyes the diſpoſition of the court. He was accompanied by a confidential friend and a ſmall retinue; having entered the hall of the royal palace where the corpſe lay expoſed, he found the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, the three princes, ſons of the late tyrant, and ſome other lords. He ſaluted them all one after another, according to the order in which they ſat, beginning with the king of Mexico, and preſented them bunches of flowers, according to the cuſtom of that country. Having paid his compliments he ſat down by the ſide of king Chimalpopoca, his brother-in-law, to accompany him in condolence. Teuctzintli, one of the ſons of Tezozomoc, who inherited his cruelty, conceiving this a good occaſion to execute the iniquitous charge of his father on Nezahualcojotl, propoſed it to his brother Maxtlaton. He, however, though of no leſs inhuman a heart, had more underſtanding and judgment. "Baniſh," he replied, "baniſh from your mind ſuch a thought. "What would men ſay of us if they ſhould ſee us plotting againſt the "life of another while we ought to be employed in mourning for our "father? They would ſay, that the grief was not deep which gave "way to ambition and revenge. Time will preſent us with an occa-"ſion more favourable for the accompliſhment of our father's purpoſe, "without incurring the odium of our ſubjects. Nezahualcojotl is not "inviſible; unleſs he hides himſelf in fire, in water, or in the bowels "of the earth, he will inevitably fall into our hands." This happened on the fourth day after the death of the tyrant, when the corpſe was burnt, and his aſhes buried with unuſual pomp and ſolemnity.

The next day the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco returned to their cities, and Maxtlaton began ſoon by leſs diſſimulation to diſcover his ambi-

ambitious deſign of making himſelf maſter of the kingdom, ſhewing by his arrogance and daring temper, that where his arts would not be ſufficient, he would employ force. Tajatzin had not courage to oppoſe him, knowing the bold and violent diſpoſition of his brother, and the advantage he had in having ſubjects accuſtomed to obey him. On ſo difficult a point, he took therefore the reſolution of reſorting to Mexico to conſult with king Chimalpopoca, to whom he had been chiefly recommended by his father. This king received him with particular marks of eſteem, and, after the uſual compliments, Chimalpopoca addreſſed him. "What are you doing, prince. Is not the kingdom "yours? Did not your father leave it to you? Why do you not exert "yourſelf to recover it, if you are unjuſtly robbed of it?" "Becauſe "my rights avail but little, if my ſubjects do not aſſiſt me. My bro- "ther has made himſelf maſter of the kingdom, and no perſon ſeems "to give him oppoſition: it would be raſhneſs to oppoſe him with no "other power or forces than my deſires, and the juſtice of my cauſe." "What is not to be done by force may be ſupplied by induſtry," replied Chimalpopoca, "I will point out to you a method to get rid of "your brother, and reſtore yourſelf without danger to the poſſeſſion "of the throne. Excuſe yourſelf for not inhabiting the palace of your "deceaſed father, under pretence that your grief is revived by the re- "membrance of his actions, and the love which he bore you, and "that therefore you are willing to build yourſelf another palace for your "reſidence. When it is finiſhed, make a ſplendid entertainment, and "invite your brother to it, and there, in the midſt of the rejoicings, it "will be eaſy to free your kingdom of a tyrant, and yourſelf of a rival "ſo dangerous and unjuſt; and that you may more certainly ſucceed, "I ſhall attend to aſſiſt you in perſon, with all the forces of my na- "tion." To ſuch counſel Tajatzin made no reply, but looks of dark melancholy, occaſioned by the love he had to blood, or the baſeneſs of the act ſuggeſted to him.

To all this diſcourſe a ſervant of Tajatzin was privy, who had concealed himſelf where he could eaſily overhear them, and hoping to make his fortune by betraying them, he departed ſecretly at night for Azcapozalco, went directly to the palace, where having obtained an audience, he revealed to Maxtlaton all he had heard. His mind was ſuddenly

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denly ſeized with anger, fear, and vexation, which the relation had excited; but being politic, and practiſed in diſſembling his ſentiments, he affected to deſpiſe the whole, and ſeverely reprimanded the reporter for his hardineſs and temerity in calumniating ſuch reſpectable perſonages, called him drunkard, and diſmiſſed him to digeſt his wine at home. The remainder of the night he paſſed in deliberation what meaſure he ſhould purſue, and determined at laſt to anticipate his brother, and catch him in his own ſnare.

SECT. XIV. Maxtlaton, tyrant of Acolhuacan.

The morning of the enſuing day he aſſembled the people of Azcapozalco, and told them, that having no right to remain any longer in his father's palace, as it belonged to prince Tajatzin, and having beſides occaſion for a houſe at that court where he might be lodged when ever any buſineſs required him to come from his ſtate of Cojohuacan, he deſired they would ſhew the love they bore him by the moſt ſpeedy conſtruction of ſuch a reſidence. Such was the diligence of the Azcapozalcheſe, and ſo great the multitude of workmen who were collected, that Tajatzin, who only continued three days in Mexico, found on his return the edifice already begun. He was ſtruck with wonder at this novelty, and enquiring the cauſe at Maxtlaton, was anſwered by him, that finding it his duty to leave the royal manſion, in juſtice to Tajatzin's rights, he was erecting another where he might reſide when he ſhould come to court. The good Tajatzin remained ſatisfied with this anſwer, and eaſily perſuaded himſelf that Maxtlaton thought no more of uſurping the crown. A little time after the building being finiſhed, Maxtlaton invited his brothers the kings of Mexico and Tlatelolco, and other lords to an entertainment. Tajatzin being totally ignorant of the treachery of his ſervant, did not ſuſpect the ſnare which was laid for him: but Chimalpopoca, who was more diſcerning and cautious, certainly was ſuſpicious of ſome treachery, and politely excuſed himſelf from attendance. The day appointed for the feſtival being arrived, the gueſts reſorted to the new manſion, and at the time they were moſt engaged in jollity and mirth, and probably alſo heated with wine, which is the moſt favourable time for deeds of this nature, ſuddenly people in arms entered, and poured with ſuch violence on the unfortunate Tajatzin, that he had ſcarcely liſted his eyes to behold his murderers, when they were cloſed in death. So unexpected

pected a tragedy disturbed, and shocked the whole meeting; but Maxtlaton quieted them by explaining the treason which was designed against him; and protesting, that what he had done, was only to prevent the blow which threatened himself. By these and similar discourses, he so far altered their minds, that in place of revenging the death of their lawful lord, they proclaimed the treacherous tyrant, king; but, although injustice raised him to the throne, it was only to precipitate him from a greater height.

His indignation against the king of Mexico was still greater; but it did not appear prudent to make any attempt against his life until he should feel himself firmly seated on the throne. In the mean while he vented his rage by doing injuries to his person, and offering outrages to his dignity. A little time after his intrusion on the kingdom, the present which it was usual to make, as a mark of acknowledgement of the high power of the king of Azcapozalco, was sent to him by the king of Mexico. This present, which consisted of three baskets of white-fish, craw-fish, frogs, and some pulse, was carried by respectable persons from the court of Chimalpopoca, with a polite address, and particular expressions of submission and respect. Maxtlaton shewed himself pleased; but as it was proper, according to the custom of those nations, to return some gift, and being desirous, at the same time, of gratifying his pique, after consulting with his confidents, he caused to be delivered to the Mexican ambassadors for their king a *Cueitl*, that is a woman's gown, and a *Huepilli*, which is a woman's shift, intimating by these that he esteemed their king an effeminate coward: an insult the most gross to those nations, as nothing was so much in estimation with them as the boast of being courageous. Chimalpopoca felt sufficiently on the occasion, and would have revenged the outrage; but he was unable.

SECT. XV. Maxtlaton, tyrant of Acolhuacan.

This disdainful act was soon succeeded by a most heinous offence to his honour. The tyrant knew that among the wives of the king of Mexico, there was one singularly beautiful: being inflamed by this occasion with wicked desires, he determined to sacrifice both honour and justice to his passion. To obtain his purpose he employed some ladies of Tepaneca, and enjoined them when they visited, as they were accustomed to do, that Mexican lady, to invite her to spend some days

of

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of pleaſure with them at Azcapozalco. Such viſits being frequent among perſons of the firſt rank, of different nations, it was not difficult for the abandoned prince to gain the opportunity he ſo much longed for, to ſatisfy his criminal paſſion; neither the tears nor efforts made by that virtuous Mexican in defence of her honour, were ſufficient to reſtrain him: ſhe returned to Mexico with ignominy, and pierced with the moſt affecting anguiſh to mourn with her huſband. The unfortunate king, either that he might not ſurvive his diſhonour, or that he might not die in the hands of the tyrant, reſolved to put an end to his wretched life, by dying a ſacrifice in honour of his God, Huitzilopochtli, as many pretended heroes of his nation had done, believing ſuch a death would cancel his diſhonour, at leaſt ſave him from ſome ignominious exit, which he dreaded from his enemy. He communicated this reſolution to his courtiers, who applauded it, from the extravagant ideas they entertained in matters of religion, and ſome of them even were willing to partake of the glory of ſo barbarous a ſacrifice.

SECT. XVI. Impriſonment and death of king Chimalpopoca.

The day appointed for this religious tragic ſcene being come, the king appeared dreſſed in the manner they uſually repreſented their God Huitzilopochtli, and all thoſe who were to accompany him were dreſſed alſo in their beſt habits. This religious ceremony began with a ſolemn ball; and while it laſted the prieſts ſacrificed the unhappy victims one after another, reſerving the king to the laſt. It was hardly poſſible ſuch a tranſaction could remain unknown to the tyrant; he knew it by anticipation, and that he might prevent his enemy eſcaping from his revenge by voluntary death, he ſent a body of troops to take him before he was ſacrificed. They arrived when there hardly remained two victims, after whom the king himſelf was to follow. This unhappy prince was ſeized by the Tepanecas, and conducted inſtantly to Azcapozalco, where he was put into a ſtrong cage of wood, which was the priſon uſed by theſe nations, as we ſhall mention hereafter, under cuſtody of ſtrong guards. In this event many circumſtances appear difficult to be credited: but we relate it as we find it told by the hiſtorians of Mexico. It is certainly much to be wondered at, that the Tepanecas ſhould have dared to enter into that city and attempt ſo dangerous an act; and that the Mexicans ſhould not have armed themſelves

ſelves in defence of their king; but the power of the tyrant may have, of itſelf, been ſufficient to encourage the Tepanecas and intimidate the Mexicans.

The taking of Chimalpopoca priſoner, excited freſh deſire in the mind of Maxtlaton to get the prince Nezahualcojotl alſo into his power; to effect this more eaſily he ſent for him under pretence of being willing to come to an agreement with him, reſpecting the crown of Acolhuacan. The diſcerning prince immediately penetrated the malevolent intention of the tyrant; but the ardour of youth, the courage and confidence of his ſoul, made him preſent himſelf intrepidly before the ſterneſt dangers. In paſſing through Tlatelolco, he payed a viſit to one of his confidents, named *Chichincatl*, by whom he was informed, that the tyrant was not only plotting againſt his life and the king of Tlatelolco, but, were it poſſible, deſired to annihilate the whole Acolhuan nation. Notwithſtanding this, in the evening the prince ſet out fearleſs for Azcapozalco, and went directly to the houſe of one of his friends. Early in the morning he waited on *Chachaton*, a great favourite of the tyrant, and by whom the prince himſelf was beloved, and recommended to him to diſſuade Maxtlaton from any deſign againſt his perſon. They went together to the palace; when Chachaton preceded to acquaint his lord of the arrival of the prince, and to ſpeak in his favour. The prince entered after, and when he had paid his obeiſance, thus ſpoke: "I know, my lord, that you have impriſoned the king of "Mexico, but I am ignorant whether you have made him ſuffer death, "or if he ſtill lives in priſon. I have heard, alſo, that it is your wiſh "to take away my life. If this is true, behold me before you; kill me "with your own hands, and gratify the malice which you bear to a "prince not leſs innocent than unfortunate." While he ſpoke theſe words, the memory of his misfortunes forced tears from his eyes. "What is your opinion?" ſaid Maxtlaton, then to his favourite, "Is it "not ſtrange that a youth, who has hardly begun to enjoy life, ſhould "ſeek death ſo daringly?" Turning to the prince, he aſſured him, that he was forming no deſign againſt his life, that the king of Mexico was not dead, nor would be put to death by him; and endeavoured to juſtify the impriſonment of that unfortunate king. He then gave orders that the prince ſhould be properly entertained.

Chimalpopoca being acquainted of the arrival of the prince who was his couſin, at court, ſent to requeſt a viſit from him in priſon. The prince having firſt obtained the permiſſion of Maxtlaton, went to him, and upon his entering the priſon, embraced him, and both of them ſhewed much tenderneſs in their looks and expreſſions. Chimalpopoca related to him the ſeries of inſults and wrongs which he had ſuffered, and convinced him of the malevolent deſigns of the tyrant againſt them both, and entreated him not to return again to the court; as their cruel enemy would infallibly contrive his death, and the Acolhuan nation would be utterly abandoned. At laſt he ſaid, "As my death is inevitable, I beſeech you moſt earneſtly take care of my poor Mexicans, be "to them a true friend and father. In token of the love which I bear "you, accept of this pendant which I had from my brother Huitzili-"huitl;" upon which he took a pendant of gold from his lip, and preſented it with ear-rings and ſome other jewels which he had preſerved in priſon; and to a ſervant of the prince he gave a few other things. They then affectionately took leave of each other, that they might not excite ſuſpicion by a longer conference. Nezahualcojotl, uſing the advice which was given him, left the court without delay, and never after preſented himſelf before the tyrant. He went to Tlatelolco, where he took a veſſel with good rowers, and got ſpeedily to Tezcuco.

Chimalpopoca remained in comfortleſs ſolitude brooding over his misfortunes. Impriſonment became daily more inſupportable to him; he had not the ſmalleſt hope of recovering his liberty, nor of being of any ſervice to his nation during the little time he had to live. "If at "laſt," he ſaid, "I am to die here, will it not be preferable, and more "glorious to die by my own than by the hands of a cruel and perfidious "tyrant? If I can have no other revenge, I ſhall at leaſt deprive him of "the pleaſure which he would take in appointing the time and mode "of death which muſt finiſh my unhappy days. I ſhall be the diſpoſer "of my own life, chuſe the time and manner of my death, as it will "be attended with ſo much the leſs ignominy, the leſs the will of my "enemy ſhall influence and direct it (x)." In this reſolution, which was entirely conformable to the ideas of thoſe nations, he hanged himſelf

(x) Theſe laſt words of Chimalpopoca, handed down by the hiſtorians of Mexico, were known from the depoſitions of the guards who ſurrounded the cage or priſon.

ſelf upon a ſmall beam of the cage or priſon, making uſe, moſt probably, of his girdle for that purpoſe.

Thus tragic an end had the unfortunate life of the third king of Mexico. We have no more particular accounts of his character, or the progreſs the nation made during his reign, which laſted about thirteen years, being concluded in 1423, about a year after the death of Tezozomoc. We know only that in the eleventh year of his reign, he ordered a great ſtone to be brought to Mexico, to ſerve as an altar for the ordinary ſacrifice of priſoners, and a larger round one, for gladiatorian ſacrifices, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. In the fourth painting of Mendoza's collection, are repreſented the different victories which the Mexicans obtained during the reign of Chimalpopoca, the cities of Chalco, and Tequizquiac, and the naval engagement which they had with the Chalcheſe, with the loſs of their people, and the veſſels overſet by the enemy. The interpreter of that collection adds, that Chimalpopoca left many children whom he had by his concubines.

SECT. XVI. Impriſonment and death of Chimalpopoca.

As ſoon as Maxtlaton knew of the death of his noble priſoner, he roſe in wrath at the diſappointment of his projects; and leſt that Nezahualcojotl might alſo elude his revenge, he determined to anticipate death to him by whatever means he could, which he would have done before, could he have accompliſhed it in the manner enjoined by his father, or had he not been intimidated, as ſome hiſtorians affirm, by certain auguries of the prieſts; but his paſſion now ſurmounted all reſtraints of religion; he ordered four of his moſt able captains to go in queſt of the prince, and take his life, without remiſſion, wherever they ſhould find him. The Tepanecan captains ſet out with a ſmall party only, that rumour might not prevent their coming up with their ſpoil, and proceeded directly to Tezcuco, where, as they arrived, Nezahualcojotl was diverting himſelf at foot-ball with one of his familiars, named Ocelotl. Wherever the prince went to gain adherents to his party, he ſpent great part of his time at balls, games, and other amuſements, that the governors of thoſe places, who watched his conduct by order of the tyrant, and obſerved all his ſteps, ſeeing him taken up with paſtimes, might be perſuaded that he had dropt all thoughts of the crown, and gradually neglect to attend to him. By theſe means he carried on his negociations without creating the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. On this

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this occaſion, before the captains entered his houſe, he knew that they were Tepanecas, and that they came armed: this made him apprehend what they might intend, upon which he left off play, and retired to his innermoſt apartment. Being informed, afterwards, by his porter, that the Tepanecas enquired for him, he ordered Ocelotl to receive them, and to acquaint them that he would attend them as ſoon as they had repoſed and refreſhed themſelves. The Tepanecas did not imagine that by delaying they would loſe the opportunity of ſtriking their blow, and poſſibly alſo durſt not execute their commiſſion, as they were uncertain whether there were not attendants in the houſe ſufficient to oppoſe them; after ſome repoſe, therefore, they ſat down to table, and while they were refreſhing, the prince fled by a ſecret door, and travelled ſomething more than a mile to Coatitlan, a ſmall ſettlement of weavers, the people of which were all faithful and affectionate to him, and there concealed himſelf *(y)*. The Tepanecas having waited a conſiderable time without the prince or his domeſtic making their appearance, they ſearched over the whole houſe, but no perſon could give any account of him. At length being perſuaded of his flight, they ſet out inſtantly in ſearch of him, and being informed by a countryman, in the road to Coatitlan, that he had taken refuge in that place, they entered there with their arms in their hands, threatening the inhabitants with death if they did not diſcover the fugitive prince; but no perſon was found who would make this diſcovery; and ſo uncommon was their example of fidelity, ſome were put to death for the refuſal. Amongſt thoſe who made ſacrifices of their lives to preſerve their prince, were *Tochmantzin* the ſuperintendant of all the looms of Coatitlan, and *Matlalintzin*, a woman of noble rank. The Tepanecas not being able, notwithſtanding the utmoſt diligence in their ſearch, and the cruelty they exerciſed againſt the inhabitants, to find out the prince, went in queſt of him through the country. Nezahualcojotl ſet out alſo another way, and took a directly contrary route to his adverſaries; but as they ſought

(*y*) Torquemada ſays the prince went out of his houſe by a kind of labyrinth, through which no perſon unacquainted with it could find his way. The prince and ſome of his moſt particular confidants only knew the ſecret of it. It is not at all incredible that he ſhould have deſigned ſuch a maze, as his genius was ſuperior and himſelf diſtinguiſhed above all his countrymen, in talents and penetration.

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for him every where, he was in great hazard of falling into their hands, had he not been hid by ſome countrymen, under a heap of the herb chia, which was lying upon a threſhing floor.

The prince finding himſelf ſafe from this danger, went to paſs the night at Tezcotzinco, a pleaſant villa formed by his anceſtors for recreation. There he was waited for by ſix lords, who had left their ſtates, and were traverſing through the different cities of the kingdom. There they held a ſecret counſel that night, and reſolved to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Chalcheſe, although they had been accomplices in the death of king Ixtlilixochitl. The next morning early, he proceeded to Matlallan and other places, intimating to thoſe of his party to be prepared with arms by the time of his return. Two days were employed in theſe negociations, and on the evening of the ſecond he was met at Apan by the ambaſſadors of the Cholulans, who offered to aſſiſt him in war againſt the tyrant. Here he was joined alſo by two lords of his party, who communicated to him the unfortunate intelligence of the death of his favourite Huitzilihuitl, who was put to the torture by the tyrant, that he might reveal ſome ſecrets; but being too loyal to his maſter to diſcover them, he died a martyr to his fidelity. Full of this diſguſt he paſſed from Apan to Huexotzinco, the lord of which was his relation, and received him with infinite affection and kindneſs, and promiſed to aſſiſt him alſo with all his forces. From thence he went to Tlaſcala, where he was moſt nobly treated, and in that city the time and place was agreed upon at which the troops of Cholula, Huexotzinco, and Tlaſcala were to be aſſembled. When he departed from this laſt city to go to Capollalpan, a place ſituated about half way between Tlaſcala and Tezcuco, ſo many nobles accompanied him, he appeared more like a king who was going to take pleaſure with his court, than a fugitive prince who was endeavouring to render himſelf maſter of the crown which was uſurped from him. In Capollalpan, he received the anſwer of the Chalcheſe, in which they declared themſelves ready to aſſiſt and ſerve their lawful lord againſt the iniquitous uſurper. It is probable the cruelty and inſolence of the tyrant alienated many from him; the Chalcheſe, beſides, were very inconſtant and apt to attach themſelves ſometimes to the one, and ſometimes to the other party; as will appear in the courſe of our hiſtory.

SECT. XVII. Negociations of Nezahualcojotl to obtain the crown.

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SECT. XVIII Itzcoatl fourth king of Mexico.

While Nezahualcojotl continued rouſing the nations to war, the Mexicans finding themſelves without a king, and harraſſed by the Tepanecas, reſolved to appoint a chief to their nation, who would be capable of checking the inſolence of the tyrant, and revenging the many wrongs they had ſuffered. Having aſſembled, therefore, to elect a new king, a reſpectable veteran thus addreſſed the other electors. "By the death "of your laſt king, O noble Mexicans, the light of your eyes has failed "you; but you have ſtill thoſe of reaſon left to chuſe a fit ſucceſſor. "The nobility of Mexico is not extinct with Chimalpopoca; his bro- "thers are ſtill remaining, who are moſt excellent princes, among "whom you may chuſe a lord to govern you, and a father to protect "you. Imagine that for a little time the ſun is eclipſed, and that the "earth is darkened, but that light will return again with the new king. "It is of the greateſt importance that, without long conferences, we "elect a prince who may re-eſtabliſh the honour of our nation, may "vindicate the wrongs done to it, and reſtore to it its ancient liberty." They proceeded quickly to the election, and choſe by unanimous conſent prince Itzcoatl, brother, by the father's ſide, to the two preceding kings, and natural ſon of Acamapitzin by a ſlave. Whatever the low condition of his mother took from his claim, the nobility and reputation of his father, and, ſtill more, his own virtues, ſupplied; of theſe he gave many proofs in the poſt of general of the Mexican armies, which he had filled for more than thirty years. He was allowed to be the moſt prudent, juſt, and brave perſon of all the Mexican nation. Being placed on the *Tlatocaicpalli*, or royal ſeat, he was ſaluted as king by all the nobles, with loud acclamations. One of their orators then held a diſcourſe on the duties of a ſovereign, in which, among other things, he ſaid, "All, O great king and lord, all now feel themſelves dependent "on you. On your ſhoulders muſt the orphans, the widows, and the "aged be ſupported. Will you be capable of laying down and aban- "doning this burden? Will you permit the infants who are yet walking "on their four feet, to periſh by the hands of our enemies? Courage, "great lord, begin and ſpread your mantle that you may carry the poor "Mexicans on your back, who flatter themſelves they will live ſecure "under the freſh ſhade of your benignity." The ceremony being concluded, they celebrated the acceſſion of the new monarch, with balls and

and public diverſions. Nezahualcojotl and all his party did not give leſs applauſe, as no one doubted of the new king being the faithful ally of the prince his relation; and hoped to reap great advantages from his ſuperior military ſkill and bravery; but the election was not a little diſpleaſing to the Tepanecas and their allies, and eſpecially to the tyrant.

Itzcoatl, who was zealouſly bent on relieving the diſtreſſes which his nation ſuffered from the oppreſſive dominion of the Tepanecas, ſent an ambaſſador to the prince Nezahualcojotl, to acquaint him of his exaltation to the throne, and to give him aſſurances of his determination to unite all his forces with the prince againſt the tyrant Maxtlaton. This embaſſy, which was carried by a grandſon of the king, was received by Nezahualcojotl, after he had departed from Capollalpan; upon which he returned congratulations to his couſin, and gratefully accepted the aid which he promiſed.

The whole time which the prince remained in Capollalpan was employed in preparations for war. When it appeared to him to be time to put all his deſigns in execution, he ſet out with his people and the auxiliary troops of Tlaſcala and Huexotzinco, having reſolved to take the city of Tezcuco by aſſault, and puniſh its inhabitants for their infidelity to him during his adverſity. He made a halt with his whole army in ſight of the city, at a place called Oztopolco. There he paſſed the night ordering his troops, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the attack, and in the morning marched towards the city; but before he reached it, the inhabitants, from apprehenſions of the ſevere chaſtiſement which threatened them, came ſubmiſſively to meet him; to ſoften his reſentment they preſented their aged ſick, their pregnant women, and mothers with infants in their arms, who, in the midſt of tears and other tokens of diſtreſs, thus addreſſed him: "Have pity, O moſt merciful prince, "on theſe your afflicted ſervants, who tremble for their fate. In what "have they offended, who are feeble with age, or theſe poor women "and theſe helpleſs children? Do not mix in ruin with the guilty "thoſe who had no part in the offences which you would revenge." The prince, who was moved at the ſight of ſo many objects of compaſſion, immediately granted a pardon to the city; but at the ſame time detached a party of troops, and commanded their officers to enter it and put the governor and other ſervants who had been eſtabliſhed there

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by the tyrant, and every Tepaneca they ſhould meet with, to death. Whilſt this ſevere puniſhment was paſſing at Tezcuco, the troops of the Tlaſcalans and Huexotzincas, which had been detached from the main army, made a furious attack on the city of Acolman; they made a general ſlaughter of all whom they met, until they advanced to the houſe of the lord of that city, who was a brother of the tyrant; he having no forces ſufficient to defend himſelf, was ſlain among the reſt of their enemies. On the ſame day the Chalcheſe, who were alſo auxiliaries of the prince, fell upon the city of Coatlichan, took it without oppoſition, and put its governor to death, who had taken refuge in the greater temple; thus, in one ſingle day, the capital and two other conſiderable cities of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, were reduced under obedience to the prince.

SECT. XIX. Occurrences to Montezuma Ilhuicamina.

The king of Mexico being acquainted with the ſucceſſes of his couſin, ſent another embaſſy to congratulate him and confirm their alliance. He entruſted this embaſſy to one of his grandſons, a ſon of king Huitzilihuitl, called *Monteuczoma*, or *Montezuma*, a youth of great ſtrength of body and invincible courage, whoſe immortal actions obtained him the name of *Tlacaele*, or Man of great Heart, and that of *Ilhuicamina*, or Archer of Heaven; and to diſtinguiſh him in the ancient paintings, they repreſented over his head, the heavens pierced with an arrow, as appears in the ſeventh and eighth pictures of Mendoza's Collection, and as we ſhall ſhew among the figures of the kings of Mexico. This is the ſame hero of Mexico, whom Acoſta has ſo much celebrated under the name of *Tlacaellel*, or rather Tobar, from whom the other took his character, although miſtaken in many actions which he attributes to him (z). The king as well as his grandſon, ſaw the danger of the enterprize; as the tyrant, to obſtruct the progreſs of his rival, and his communication with the Mexicans, had made himſelf maſter of the roads; but the king for this neither delayed to ſend the embaſſy, nor did Montezuma diſcover the leaſt cowardly

(z) Acoſta, or Tobar rather, is not only miſtaken in many actions which he attributes to this hero, but alſo in regard to his identity; as he conſiders Tlacaelell to be a different perſon from Montezuma, who was called by two, and even three different names. He alſo makes Tlacaellel grandſon of Itzcoatl, and at the ſame time uncle of Montezuma; which is evidently abſurd; as it is known that Montezuma was ſon of Huitzilihuitl, brother of Itzcoatl; of courſe he could not be the grandſon of the grandſon of Itzcoatl.

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apprehenſions; on the contrary, that he might execute the orders of his ſovereign more ſpeedily, when he left the king he avoided returning to his houſe to equip himſelf with neceſſaries for his journey, but ſet out immediately on his way, giving in charge to another noble, who was to accompany him, the carrying of ſuch cloaths as were neceſſary to preſent himſelf before the prince.

Having ſafely delivered his embaſſy, he took leave of the prince to return to Mexico, but in the way fell into an ambuſcade laid by his enemies, was taken priſoner with all his attendants, conducted to Chalco, and preſented to *Toteotzin*, lord of that city, and an inveterate enemy of the Mexicans. Here he was immediately ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, under the care of *Quateotzin*, a very reſpectable perſon, who was ordered to provide no ſuſtenance for the priſoners but what his lord preſcribed, until the mode of death was determined, by which their days were to be concluded. Quateotzin revolting at the inhumanity of ſuch orders, ſupplied them liberally at his own expence. But the cruel Toteotzin, thinking to pay a piece of flattering homage to the Huexotzincas, ſent his priſoners to them, that, if they judged proper, they might be ſacrificed in Huexotzinco with the aſſiſtance of the Chalcheſe, or in Chalco with the aſſiſtance of the Huexotzincas. The Huexotzincas, who were always more humane than the Chalcheſe, rejected the propoſal with diſdain. "Why ſhould we deprive men of their lives "who have committed no crime, unleſs that of acting as faithful meſ-"ſengers to their lord; and if they merited to die, we can derive no "honour from putting priſoners to death which do not belong to us. "Return in peace, and inform your lord that the nobility of Huexot-"zinco will not render themſelves infamous by acts ſo unworthy of "them."

The Chalcheſe returned with the priſoners and this anſwer to Toteotzin, who being determined to procure himſelf friends by means of his priſoners, gave information of them to Maxtlaton; leaving it to him to decide their fate, and truſting, by this reſpectful adulation, to calm the anger and indignation which his treachery and inconſtancy in abandoning the party of the Tepanecas, for the prince Nezahualcojotl, muſt have excited in the tyrant. While he waited the anſwer of Maxtlaton, he ordered the priſoners to be ſhut up again in the ſame priſon,

and under cuſtody of the ſame Quateotzin. He compaſſionating the deſtiny of a youth ſo illuſtrious and brave, in the evening preceding the day on which the anſwer from Azcapozalco was expected, called one of his ſervants to him, whoſe fidelity he could truſt, and ordered him to ſet the priſoners at liberty that evening, and to acquaint Montezuma from him, that he had come to the reſolution of ſaving his life, although at the viſible riſk of loſing his own; that if he ſhould die for it, which he had reaſon to fear would be his fate, Montezuma, he hoped, would not fail to ſhew his gratitude, by protecting the children whom he left behind him; laſtly, he adviſed him not to return by land to Mexico, otherwiſe he would again be taken by the guards which were poſted in the way, but to go through Iztapallocan to Chimalhuacan, and from thence to embark for his own city.

The faithful ſervant executed the order, and Montezuma followed the advice of Quateotzin. They went out of priſon that night, and cautiouſly took the road to Chimalhuacan, where they remained concealed all the next day, living on raw vegetables for want of other food; at night they embarked, and tranſported themſelves ſwiftly to Mexico, where, as it was ſuppoſed, they had already met with death from the enemy, they were received with ſingular welcome and joy.

As ſoon as the barbarous Toteotzin was informed that the priſoners were eſcaped, he was tranſported with paſſion, and as he did not in the leaſt doubt that Quateotzin had been the author of their liberty, he ordered inſtant death to him, and his body to be quartered; ſparing neither his wife nor even his children; only one ſon and one daughter were ſaved. She took ſhelter in Mexico, where ſhe was greatly reſpected on account of her father, who, by the generous forfeiture of his life, had rendered ſo important a ſervice to the Mexican nation.

Toteotzin experienced another galling diſappointment from the anſwer of Maxtlaton. He being enraged againſt the Chalcheſe for the aſſiſtance they gave to Nezahualcojotl, and the ſlaughter they committed in Coatlichan, ſent a ſevere reprimand to Toteotzin, calling him a double-minded traitor, and ordering him to ſet the priſoners at liberty without delay. Such returns muſt perfidious flatterers expect. Maxtlaton did not adopt this reſolution with intent to favour the Mexicans whom

whom he hated in the utmoſt degree, but ſolely to ſhew his contempt for the homage of Toteotzin, and to thwart his inclination. So far was he from a wiſh to favour the Mexican nation, that he was never ſo much bent on effecting their ruin as at this time, and had already collected troops to pour a deciſive blow on Mexico, that from thence he might proceed to regain all that Nezahualcojotl had taken from him. This prince knowing ſuch deſigns of Maxtlaton, went to Mexico to conſult with its prudent king on the conduct of the war, and the meaſures that ſhould be taken to baffle the intentions of the tyrant, and agreed to unite the Tezcucan troops, with thoſe of Mexico, in defence of that city, on the fortune of which the ſucceſs of the war ſeemed to depend.

The rumour of the approaching war ſpread infinite conſternation among the Mexican populace; conceiving themſelves incapable of reſiſting the power of the Tepanecas, whom they had till now acknowledged their ſuperiors, they went in crouds to the king, diſſuading him with tears and intreaties from undertaking ſo dangerous a war, which would infallibly occaſion the downfal of their city and nation. "What "can be done then," ſaid the king, "to free us from theſe impending "calamities." "Demand peace," replied the populace, "from the "king of Azcapozalco, and make offers of ſervice to him; and to "move him to clemency, let our god be borne on the ſhoulders of the "prieſts into his preſence." So great was their clamour, accompanied with threats, that the prudent king who feared a ſedition amongſt the people which might prove more fatal in its conſequences than the war with the enemy, was obliged, contrary to his wiſhes, to yield to their requeſt. Montezuma who was preſent, and could not bear that a nation, which boaſted ſo much of its honour, ſhould purſue ſo ignoble a courſe, ſpoke thus to the people. "O ye Mexicans, what "would ye do? Have ye loſt all judgment? How has ſuch cowardice "ſtole into your hearts? Have you forgot poſſibly that you are Mexicans, "and deſcendants of thoſe heroes who founded this city, and of thoſe "brave men who have protected it in ſpite of all our enemies? Change "your opinions then, or renounce the glory you inherit from your an-"ceſtors." Turning afterwards to the king; "How, ſir, will you per-"mit ſuch ignominy to ſtain the character of your people? Speak to "them

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" them again, and tell them, that there is another ſtep to be taken " before we ſo weakly and diſhonourably put ourſelves into the hands " of our enemies."

The king, who wiſhed for nothing more ardently, addreſſed the populace, recommending the counſel of Montezuma, which was at laſt favourably received. The king, then addreſſing the nobility, ſaid, " Which of ye, who are the flower of the nation, will be fearleſs " enough to carry an embaſſy to the lord of the Tepanecas?" They all looked at each other, but no one durſt offer to encounter the danger; until Montezuma, whom youthful intrepidity inſpired, preſented himſelf, ſaying, " I will carry the embaſſy; as death muſt one time " or other be met with, it is of little moment whether to-day or to- " morrow; no better opportunity can preſent itſelf of dying with ho- " nour than the ſacrificing my life for the welfare of my nation? Be- " hold me, ſir, ready to execute your commands: order, and I obey." The king, much pleaſed with his courage, ordered him to go and propoſe peace to the tyrant, but to accept of no diſhonourable conditions. The valiant youth ſet out inſtantly, and meeting with the Tepanecan guards, perſuaded them to let him paſs with an embaſſy of the utmoſt importance to their lord. Having preſented himſelf before the tyrant, in the name of his king and his nation, he demanded peace on honourable terms. The tyrant anſwered, that it was neceſſary to deliberate with his counſellors, but on the day following he would return a deciſive anſwer. Montezuma having aſked him for protection and ſecurity during his ſtay, could obtain no other than his own caution might procure him; upon which he went back immediately to Mexico, promiſing to return the day after. The little confidence he had in that court, and the ſhortneſs of the journey, which did not exceed four miles, muſt unqueſtionably have been his motive for not ſtaying for the final anſwer of the tyrant. He returned, therefore, to Azcapozalco the next day as he had promiſed, and having heard from the mouth of Maxtlaton his reſolution for war, he performed the ceremonies commonly practiſed by two lords who challenge each other, namely, preſenting certain defenſive arms to him, anointing his head, and fixing feathers upon it in the ſame manner as is done with dead perſons; and laſtly, proteſting in the name of his king, that as he would

would not accept the peace which was offered to him, he, and all the Tepanecas would inevitably be ruined. The tyrant, without manifeſting any diſpleaſure at ſuch ceremonies, or at the threats uſed to him, gave Montezuma alſo arms to preſent to the king of Mexico, and directed him, for the ſecurity of his perſon, to return in diſguiſe through a ſmall outlet from his palace. He would not have obſerved ſo ſtrictly at this time the rights of nations, if he could have foreſeen that this ambaſſador, of whoſe life he was ſo careful, was to prove the chief inſtrument of his downfal. Montezuma profited by his advice; but as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf out of danger he began to inſult the guards, reproaching them for their negligence, and threatening them with their ſpeedy deſtruction. The guards ruſhed violently upon him to kill him; but he ſo bravely defended himſelf, that he killed one or two of them, and on the approach of others he retreated precipitately to Mexico, bearing the news that war was declared, and that the chiefs of the two nations had challenged each other.

SECT. XXI. War againſt the tyrant.

With this intelligence the populace were again thrown into conſternation, and repaired to the king to requeſt his permiſſion to abandon their city; believing their ruin was certain. The king comforted and encouraged them with hopes of victory. "But if we are conquered," ſaid the populace, "what will become of us?" "If that happens," anſwered the king, "we are that moment bound to deliver ourſelves "into your hands to be made ſacrifices at your pleaſure." "So be it," replied the populace, "if we are conquered: but if we obtain the vic-"tory, we, and our deſcendants are bound to be tributary to you, to "cultivate your lands, and thoſe of the nobles, to build your houſes, "and to carry for you, when you go to war, your arms and your bag-"gage." This contract being made between the nobles and the people, and the command of the Mexican troops being given to the brave Montezuma, the king conveyed ſpeedy advice to Nezahualcojotl, to repair with his army immediately to Mexico, which he did a day before the battle.

It cannot be doubted, that the Mexicans had before this time conſtructed the roads which ſerved for a more eaſy communication to the city with the continent; as otherwiſe the movement and ſkirmiſhes of the two armies are not to be comprehended: we know from hiſtory,

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that ſuch roads were interſected by ditches, with drawbridges over them, but no hiſtorian mentions the time of their conſtruction *(a)*. It is not a little wonderful, that the Mexicans, during a life of ſo many hardſhips, ſhould have had the ſpirit to undertake and conſtancy to execute a work of ſuch magnitude and difficulty.

The following day, upon the arrival of the prince Nezahualcojotl at Mexico, the Tepanecan army appeared in the field in great numbers and brilliancy, being adorned with plates of gold, and wearing beautiful plumes of feathers on their heads, to add to the appearance of their ſtature. As they marched they made frequent ſhouts, in boaſtful anticipation of victory. Their army was commanded by a famous general called *Mazatl*. The tyrant Maxtlaton, although he had accepted the challenge, did not think proper to leave his palace, either becauſe he believed he would degrade himſelf by going to combat with the king of Mexico, or, which is more probable, becauſe he dreaded the event of the war. As ſoon as the Mexicans were informed of the motions of the Tepanecas, they went out well ordered to meet them, and the ſignal for engagement being given by king Itzcoatl, by the ſound of a little drum which he carried on his ſhoulder, the armies attacked each other with incredible fury, each being firmly perſuaded that the iſſue of the battle would determine their fate. During the greateſt part of the day it was not to be diſcerned to which ſide victory inclined, the Tepanecas loſing in one place what they gained in another. But a little before the ſetting ſun, the Mexican populace obſerving the enemy continually increaſed by new reinforcements, began to be diſmayed, and to complain of their chiefs, ſaying to each other, "What are "we about, O Mexicans, ſhall we do well in ſacrificing our lives to "the ambition of our king and our general? How much more prudent "will it be to ſurrender ourſelves, humbly acknowledging our raſhneſs, "that we may obtain pardon and the favour of our lives?"

The king, who heard theſe words with much vexation, and perceived his troops ſtill more diſcouraged by them, called a council of the prince and general, to take their advice what ſhould be done to diſſipate the

(*a*) I believe the Mexicans had before this time conſtructed the roads of Tacuba and Tepeyacac, but not that of Iztapallapan, which is larger than thoſe, and where the lake is deeper.

fears

fears of the people. "What?" anſwered Montezuma; "To fight till "death. If we die with our arms in our hands, defending our liberty, "we will do our duty. If we ſurvive our defeat, we will remain covered "with eternal confuſion. Let us go then, let us fight till we die." The cries of the Mexicans began already to prevail as if they had been conquered, ſome of them being even ſo mean-ſpirited as to call out to their enemies, "O ye brave Tepanecas, lords of the continent, calm your "indignation; for now we ſurrender. Here before your eyes we will ſa-"crifice our chiefs, to gain your pardon to our raſhneſs which their am-"bition has occaſioned." The king, the prince, the general, and nobles, were ſo enraged at theſe ſpeeches, that they would inſtantly have puniſhed the cowards with death, had not the fear of giving victory to the enemy reſtrained them. Diſſembling their diſpleaſure, they exclaimed with one voice, "Let us die with glory," and ruſhed with ſuch vigour upon the enemy, that they repulſed them from a ditch which they had gained, and made them retreat. Seeing this advantage, the king began to encourage his people, and the prince and general continued to perform ſignal acts of bravery. In the utmoſt heat of the engagement Montezuma encountered with the Tepanecan general, as he was advancing full of pride from the terror his troops ſtruck to the Mexicans, and gave him ſo furious a blow on the head, that he fell down lifeleſs at his feet. The report of the victory ſpread immediately through the whole field, and inſpired the Mexicans with freſh courage: but the Tepanecas were ſo diſconcerted by the death of their brave general Mazatl, that they ſoon went into confuſion. Night coming on prevented the Mexicans from purſuing their ſucceſs: upon which both the armies withdrew to their cities, the Mexicans full of courage, and impatient at not being able, from the darkneſs of the night, to complete their victory; the Tepanecas downcaſt and dejected, though not altogether void of hope to be revenged the following day.

Maxtlaton, afflicted at the death of his general, and the defeat of his troops, paſſed that night the laſt of his life, in encouraging his captains, and repreſenting to them on the one hand the glory of triumphing over their enemies, and on the other the misfortunes which muſt enſue if they were vanquiſhed; as the Mexicans, who had hitherto

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SECT. XXII. Conqueſt of Azcapozalco, and death of the tyrant Maxtlaton.

been tributary to the Tepanecas, if they remained victors, would compel the Tepanecas to pay a tribute to them (*b*).

The day at length arrived which was to decide the fate of three kings. Both armies took the field, and began battle with uncommon fury, which continued with much fierceneſs and heat till mid-day. The Mexicans being emboldened from the advantages obtained the preceding day, as well as from a firm belief which poſſeſſed them of coming off victorious, made ſuch havock of the enemy, that they ſtrewed the field with dead bodies, defeated them, put them to flight, and purſued them into the city of Azcapozalco, ſpreading death and terror in every quarter. The Tepanecas, perceiving that even in their houſes they could not eſcape from the fury of the victors, fled to the mountains, which lie from ten to twelve miles diſtance from Azcapozalco. The proud Maxtlaton, who, until that day, had looked with contempt upon his enemies, and conceived himſelf ſuperior to all ſtrokes of fortune, ſeeing the Mexicans had entered his court, and hearing the cries of the vanquiſhed, unable to make any reſiſtance, and fearing to be overtaken if he attempted to fly, hid himſelf in a *temaz-calli*, or ciſtus; but as the conquerors ſought for him every where, they at laſt found him: no prayers nor tears with which he implored their mercy could prevail; they beat him to death with ſticks and ſtones, and threw his body out into the fields to feed the birds of prey. Such was the tragic end of Maxtlaton before he had completed three years of his tyranny. Thus did they put a ſtop to his injuſtice, his cruelty, his ambition, and treachery, and the heavy wrongs done by him to the lawful heir of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, to his brother Tajatzin, and to the kings of Mexico. His memory is odious and execrable among the annals of thoſe nations.

This memorable event which totally altered the ſyſtem of thoſe kingdoms, ſignalized the year 1425, of the vulgar era, preciſely one century after the foundation of Mexico.

(*b*) From theſe expreſſions of the tyrant it is to be inferred, that when he made himſelf maſter of the crown of Azcapozalco, by the aſſaſſination of his brother Tajatzin, he reſumed the impoſition of that tribute on the Mexicans, which had been remitted them by his father Tezozomoc.

The

The next night the victors were employed in ſacking the city, in deſtroying the houſes, and burning the temples, leaving that once ſo celebrated court in a ſtate of deſolation not to be repaired in many years. While the Mexicans and Acolhuas were gathering the fruits of their victory, the detachment of Tlaſcalans and Huexotzencas took the ancient court of Tenajuca by aſſault, and the day after joined the army to take the city of *Cuetlachtepec*.

The fugitive Tepanecas, finding themſelves reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs in the mountains, and afraid of being perſecuted even there by the victors, at laſt thought of ſurrendering themſelves and imploring mercy; and that they might be more certain of obtaining it, ſent off an illuſtrious perſonage, in company with other nobles of the Tepanecan nation, to the king of Mexico. This ambaſſador humbly demanded pardon of the king in the name of his countrymen, offered obedience to him, and promiſed that all the Tepanecas would acknowledge him as their lawful lord, and would ſerve him as vaſſals. He congratulated them on their good fortune in the midſt of the terrible ſhock which their nation had ſuffered of being ſubjected to ſo amiable a prince, who was endued with ſo many excellent qualities, and at laſt concluded his addreſs with an earneſt prayer, that they might be granted the favour of life, and liberty to return to their habitations. Itzcoatl received them with the utmoſt complacency, granted them all they aſked, profeſſed himſelf ready to receive them, not only as his ſubjects but as his children, and to diſcharge all the offices of a true father to them; but at the ſame time threatened them with total extirpation if they violated the fidelity which they ſwore to him. Their demand being granted, the fugitives returned to rebuild their habitations and attend to their families; and from that time continued always ſubject to the king of Mexico, affording in their diſaſter another example of thoſe changes and viciſſitudes common to all human affairs. But the whole of the Tepanecan nation was not reduced under obedience to the conqueror: Cojohuacan, a conſiderable ſtate and city of that people, continued for ſome time refractory in their conduct as will afterwards appear.

The king Itzcoatl, after this famous conqueſt, ordered a ratification of the compact entered into between the nobility and the populace; by which the laſt were bound to perpetual ſervices, which they rendered

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dered regularly in future; but thoſe who by their clamours and complaints had been the cauſe of diſcouraging others during battle, were diſmembered from the body of the nation and the ſtate of Mexico, and baniſhed for their meanneſs and cowardice for ever. To Montezuma, and others, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war, he gave a part of the conquered lands, and aſſigned a portion alſo to the prieſts for their ſupport; and after having given proper orders for the ſecurity and eſtabliſhment of his dominion, he returned with his army to Mexico, to celebrate the ſucceſs of his arms with public rejoicings, and to offer thanks to the gods for their ſuppoſed protection.

THE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

BOOK IV.

Re-eſtabliſhment of the Royal Family of the Chechemecas upon the Throne of Acolhuacan. Foundation of the Monarchy of Tacuba. The Triple Alliance of the Kings of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tacuba. Conqueſts and Death of King Itzcoatl. Conqueſts and Events of the Mexicans under their Kings Montezuma I. and Axajacatl. War between the Mexicans and Tlatelolcas. Conqueſt of Tlatelolco, and Death of the King Moquihuix. Government, Death, and Eulogium of Nezahualcojotl, and Acceſſion of his Son Nezahualpilli.

BOOK IV.

SECT. I. Re-eſtabliſhment of the royal family of the Chechemecas on the throne of Acolhuacan.

AS ſoon as Itzcoatl found himſelf firm upon his throne, and in quiet poſſeſſion of Azcapozalco, that he might make a return to the prince Nezahualcojotl for the aſſiſtance he gave in the defence of Mexico, and the conqueſt of the Tepanecas, he determined to aid him in perſon in the recovery of the kingdom of Acolhuacan. If the king of Mexico had been willing to liſten to ambition rather than the calls of honour and juſtice, he would not have failed to find pretences to make himſelf maſter alſo of that kingdom. Chimalpopoca had been put in poſſeſſion of Tezcuco, by the tyrant Tezozomoc, and had commanded as lord of that court. Itzcoatl, who had entered into all the rights of his predeceſſor, might well have conſidered that ſtate to have been incorporated for ſome years paſt with the crown of Mexico. On the other hand he had lawfully acquired Azcapozalco, and ſubjected the Tepanecas, and appeared to have a title to all the rights of the conquered; which were thought to have been ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by twelve years poſſeſſion, and the general acquieſcence of the people. But availing himſelf of no ſuch pretences, he ſincerely deſired to place Nezahualcojotl on the throne which by lawful ſucceſſion was due to him, and which he had been deprived of for ſo many years by the uſurpation of the Tepanecas.

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After the defeat of the Tepanecas there were ſeveral cities in the kingdom which were unwilling to ſubmit to the prince, from apprehenſions of the chaſtiſement they merited. Huexotla was one of this number, in the neighbourhood of Tezcuco, the lord of which, *Huetznahuatl* (*a*), continued obſtinately rebellious. The confederate troops left Mexico, and directing their courſe through the plains, which at preſent go by the name of *Santa Marta*, made a halt in Chimalhuacan, from whence the king and prince ſent an offer of pardon to thoſe citizens if they would ſurrender, and threatening to ſet fire to their city if they perſiſted in rebellion; but the rebels, inſtead of accepting the terms offered them, went out in order of battle againſt the royal army. The conflict was not laſting; the lord of that city being taken by the invincible Montezuma, the rebel force was put to flight, and afterwards came humbly to aſk pardon, preſenting according to cuſtom, their pregnant women, their children, and old people to the conqueror, to move him to mercy. At length the way to the throne of Acolhuacan being laid open, and the prince being placed there, the auxiliary troops of Huexotzinco and Tlaſcala were diſmiſſed with many marks of gratitude and a conſiderable ſhare of the plunder of Axcapozalco.

SECT. II. Conqueſt of Cojohuacan and other places.

From thence the army of the Mexicans and Acolhuas moved againſt the rebels of Cojohuacan, Atlacuihuajan, and Huitzilipochco. The Cojoacaneſe had endeavoured to excite all the other Tepanecas to ſhake off the Mexican yoke. The above mentioned cities, and ſome neighbouring places, had complied with their ſolicitations; but others, intimidated by the deſtruction of Azcapozalco, were afraid of expoſing themſelves to new dangers. Before they declared their rebellion they began to ill-treat the Mexican women who went to their market, and alſo any of the men who happened occaſionally to call at that city. Upon this Itzcoatl ordered that no Mexican ſhould go to Cojohuacan until the inſolence of theſe rebels was properly puniſhed. Having finiſhed the expedition to Huexotla, he went againſt them. In the three firſt battles which were fought, he gained ſcarcely any other advantage than making them retreat a little; but in the fourth whilſt the two armies were fiercely engaged, Montezuma with a ſet of brave troops which

(*a*) The city of Huexotla had been given by Tezozomoc to the king of Tlatelolco, from whom it is probable, therefore, Maxtlaton took it to give to Huitznahuatl.

he

he had placed in ambuſcade, fell with ſuch fury on the rear-guard of the rebels that he ſoon diſordered and forced them to abandon the field and fly to the city. He purſued them, and obſerving their intention to fortify themſelves in the greater temple, he prevented them by taking poſſeſſion of it, and burnt the turret of that ſanctuary. This blow threw the rebels into ſuch conſternation, that, quitting their city, they fled to the mountains which lie to the ſouth of Cojohuacan; but even there they were overtaken by the royal troops, and chaſed for more than thirty miles, until they reached a mountain to the ſouthward of Quauhnahuac, where the fugitives exhauſted with fatigue, and, without any hopes of eſcape, threw down their arms in token of ſurrender, and delivered themſelves up to the mercy of the conquerors.

This victory made Itzcoatl maſter of all the ſtates of the Tepanecas, and crowned Montezuma with glory. It is not a little wonderful, ſay hiſtorians, that the greater part of the priſoners taken in that war with Cojohuacan belonged to Montezuma and three brave Acolhuan officers; for all the four, in imitation of the ancient Mexicans in the war againſt the Xochimilcas, had agreed to cut off a lock of hair from every one they took, and moſt of the priſoners were found with this mark upon them. Having thus happily cloſed this expedition, and regulated the affairs of Cojohuacan, and the other ſubject cities, both the kings returned to Mexico. It was judged proper by the king Itzcoatl to place one of the family of their ancient lords over the Tepanecas, that they might live more peaceably and with leſs reluctance under the Mexican yoke. This dignity he conferred on *Totoquihuatzin*, ſon of a ſon of the tyrant Tezozomoc. It had not appeared that this prince had taken any part in the war againſt the Mexicans, owing either to ſome ſecret attachment which he had to them, or his averſion to his uncle Maxtlaton. Itzcoatl ſent for him to Mexico, and created him king of Tlacopan, or rather Tacuba, a conſiderable city of the Tepanecas, and of all the places to the weſtward, including alſo the country of Mazahuacan; but Cojohuacan, Azcapozalco, Mixcoac, and other cities of the Tepanecas, remained immediately ſubject to the king of Mexico. That crown was given to Totoquihuatzin, on condition of his ſerving the king of Mexico with all his troops whenever required, for which he was to receive a fifth part of the ſpoils which they ſhould take from the enemy. Nezahualcojotl

SECT. III. Monarchy of Tacuba, and alliance of the three kings.

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zahualcojotl likewiſe was put in poſſeſſion of the throne of Acolhuacan, on condition of his giving aſſiſtance to the Mexicans in war, for which he was aſſigned a third part of the plunder, after deducting the ſhare of the king of Tacuba, the other two thirds to be reſerved for the king of Mexico. (*b*) Beſides this, both the kings were created honorary electors of the kings of Mexico; which honour was ſimply confined to the ratifying the election made by four Mexican nobles, who were the real electors. The king of Mexico was reciprocally bound to afford ſuccour to each of the two kings wherever occaſion demanded. This alliance of the three kings which remained firm and inviolate for the ſpace of a century, was the cauſe of the rapid conqueſts which the Mexicans made hereafter. But this was not the only maſterly ſtroke in politics of the king Itzcoatl; he munificently rewarded all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the wars, not paying ſo much regard to their birth or the ſtations which they occupied, as to the courage which they ſhewed and the ſervices they performed. Thus it was the hope of reward animated them to the moſt heroic enterpriſes, being convinced, that the glory and the advantages to be derived from them would not depend on any accidents of fortune, but on the merit of their actions themſelves. By ſucceeding kings the ſame policy was practiſed with infinite ſervice to the ſtate. Having formed this important alliance Itzcoatl ſet out with the king Nezahualcojotl for Tezcuco, to crown him with his own hand. This ceremony was performed with all poſſible ſolemnity in 1426. From thence the king of Mexico returned to his reſidence, while the other began with the utmoſt diligence to make reformations in the court of Tezcuco.

SECT IV. Judicious regulations of king Nezahualcojotl.

The kingdom of Acolhuacan was not then in ſuch good order and regulation as Techotlala had left it. The dominion of the Tepanecas, and the revolutions which had happened in the laſt twenty years had changed the government of the people, weakened the force of the laws, and cauſed a number of their cuſtoms to fall into diſuſe. Nezahualcojotl, who, beſides the attachment which he had to his nation was gifted with uncommon prudence, made ſuch regulations and changes

(*b*) Several Hiſtorians have believed that the kings of Tezcuco and Tacuba were real electors, but the contrary appears evident from hiſtory; no occaſion ever occurred where they interfered or were preſent at an election, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

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in the ſtate, that in a little time it became more flouriſhing than it had ever been under any of his predeceſſors. He gave a new form to the councils which had been eſtabliſhed by his grandfather. He conferred offices on perſons the fitteſt for them. One council determined cauſes purely civil, in which, among others, five lords who had proved conſtantly faithful to him in his adverſity, aſſiſted. Another council judged of criminal cauſes, at which the two princes his brothers, men of high integrity, preſided. The council of war was compoſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed military characters, among whom Icotihuacan, ſon-in-law to the king and alſo one of the thirteen nobles of the kingdom, had the firſt rank. The treaſury-board conſiſted of the king's major-domos, and the firſt merchants of the court. The principal major-domos who took charge of the tributes and other parts of the royal income, were three in number. Societies ſimilar to academies were inſtituted for poetry, aſtronomy, muſic, painting, hiſtory, and the art of divination, and he invited the moſt celebrated profeſſors of his kingdom to his court, who met on certain days to communicate their diſcoveries and inventions; and for each of theſe arts and ſciences, although little advanced, ſchools were appropriated. To accommodate the mechanic branches, he divided the city of Tezcuco into thirty odd diviſions, and to every branch aſſigned a diſtrict; ſo that the goldſmiths inhabited one diviſion, the ſculptors another, the weavers another, &c. To cheriſh religion he raiſed new temples, created miniſters for the worſhip of their gods, gave them houſes, and appointed them revenues for their ſupport, and the expences which were neceſſary at feſtivals and ſacrifices. To augment the ſplendor of his court he conſtructed noble edifices both within and without the city, and planted new gardens and woods, which were in preſervation many years after the conqueſt, and ſhew ſtill ſome traces of former magnificence.

SECT. V. Conqueſt of Xochimilco, of Cuitlahuac, and other cities.

While the king of Acolhuacan was occupied in new regulations of his court, the Xochimilcas, afraid leſt the Mexicans in future might be deſirous of making themſelves alſo maſters of their ſtate, as well as of the Tepanecas, aſſembled a council to deliberate on the meaſures they ſhould take to prevent ſuch a diſgrace. Some were of opinion they ſhould voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to the dominion of the Mexicans, as at all events in time they would be obliged to ſuccumb to that power: the

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the judgment of others however prevailed, who thought it would be better to declare war againſt them before new conqueſts rendered them more formidable. The king of Mexico no ſooner heard of their reſolution than he ſet out a large army, under command of the celebrated Montezuma, and ſent advice to the king of Tacuba to join with his troops. The battle was fought on the confines of Xochimilco. Although the number of the Xochimilcas was great, they did not however engage with ſuch good order as the Mexicans, by which means they were quickly defeated, and retreated to their city. The Mexicans having purſued them, entered it, and ſet fire to the turrets of the temples and other edifices. The citizens not being able to reſiſt their attack, fled to the mountains; but being even there beſieged by the Mexicans, they at laſt ſurrendered. Montezuma was received by the Xochimilchan prieſts with the muſic of flutes and drums; and the whole expedition completed in about eleven days. The king of Mexico went immediately to take poſſeſſion of that city, which, as we have before mentioned, next to the royal reſidence, was the moſt conſiderable in the vale of Mexico, where he was acknowledged and proclaimed king, received the obedience of theſe new ſubjects, and promiſed to love them as a father, and watch in future over their welfare.

The bad ſucceſs of the Xochimilcas was not ſufficient to intimidate thoſe of Cuitlahuac; on the contrary, the advantageous ſituation of their city, which was built on a little iſland in the lake of Chalco, encouraged them to provoke the Mexicans to war. Itzcoatl was for pouring upon them with all the forces of Mexico; but Montezuma undertook to humble their pride with a ſmaller body; for which purpoſe he raiſed ſome companies of youths, particularly thoſe who had been bred in the ſeminaries of Mexico; and after having exerciſed them in arms, and inſtructed them in the order and mode which they were to follow in that war, he prepared a ſuitable number of veſſels, and ſet out with this armament againſt the Cuitlahuacheſe. We are totally ignorant of the particulars of this expedition; but we know that in ſeven days the city was taken and reduced under the obedience of the king of Mexico, and that the youths returned loaded with ſpoils, and brought with them a number of priſoners to be ſacrificed to the god of war. We do not know the year either in which this war happened,

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nor the time of that of Quauhnahuac, but it appears to have been towards the end of the reign of Itzcoatl.

The lord of Xiuhtepec, a city of the country of the Tlahuicas, more than thirty miles to the ſouthward of Mexico, had requeſted of his neighbour, the lord of Quauhnahuac, one of his daughters to wife, which demand was granted. The lord of Tlaltexcal made afterwards the ſame pretenſions, to whom ſhe was immediately given, notwithſtanding the promiſes made to the firſt, either on account of ſome offence which he had done to the father, or ſome other reaſon of which we are ignorant. The lord of Xiuhtepec being highly offended at ſuch an inſult, deſired to be revenged; but being unable for this himſelf, on account of his inferiority in forces, he implored the aſſiſtance of the king of Mexico, promiſing to be his conſtant friend and ally, and to ſerve him whenever he ſhould require it with his perſon and his people. Itzcoatl eſteeming the war juſt, and the occaſion fit for the extenſion of his dominions, armed his ſubjects, and called upon thoſe of Acolhuacan and Tacuba. So great an army was certainly neceſſary, the lord of Quauhnahuac being very powerful, and his city very ſtrong, as the Spaniards afterwards experienced when they beſieged it. Itzcoatl commanded that the whole army ſhould attack the city at once, the Mexicans by Ocuilla on the weſt ſide, the Tepanecas by Tlatzacapulco on the north, and the Tezcucans together with the Xiuhtepecheſe by Tlalquitenanco on the eaſt and ſouth. The Quauhnahuacheſe truſting to the natural ſtrength of the city, were willing to ſtand the attack. The firſt who began it were the Tepanecas, who were vigorouſly repulſed; but all the other troops immediately advancing, the citizens were forced to ſurrender and ſubject themſelves to the king of Mexico, to whom they paid annually, from that time forward, a tribute in cotton, pepper, and other commodities, which we ſhall mention hereafter. By the conqueſt of that large, pleaſant, and ſtrong city, which was the capital of the Tlahuicas, a great part of that country fell under the dominion of the Mexican king; a little after to theſe conqueſts were added Quantititlan and Toltitlan, conſiderable cities fifteen miles to the northward of Mexico; but any other particulars we know not.

In this manner a city, which ſome ſhort time before was tributary to the Tepanecas, and not much eſteemed by other nations, in leſs than

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twelve years found itſelf enabled to command thoſe who had ruled over it and the people who thought themſelves greatly ſuperior. Of ſuch importance to the proſperity of a nation is the wiſdom and bravery of its chief. At length in the year 1436 of the vulgar era, in a very advanced age, after a reign full of glory, the great Itzcoatl died: a king juſtly celebrated by the Mexicans for his ſingular endowments, and the unequalled ſervices he rendered them. He ſerved the nation upwards of thirty years as general, and governed thirteen as their ſovereign. Beſides reſcuing them from the ſubjection of the Tepanecas, extending their dominions, replacing the royal family of the Chechemecas on the throne of Acolhuacan, enriching his court with the plunder of conquered nations, and having laid, in the triple alliance which he formed, the foundation of their future greatneſs, he added to the nobleneſs and ſplendor of the nation by many new edifices. After the conqueſt of Cuitlahuac he built, among others, a temple to the goddeſs *Cihuacoatl*, and ſome time afterwards another to *Huitzilopochtli*. His funeral was attended with unuſual pomp and the greateſt demonſtrations of grief, and his aſhes repoſed in the ſame ſepulchre with his anceſtors.

SECT. VI. Montezuma I. fifth king of Mexico.

The four electors did not long deliberate on the choice of a new king; there being no ſurviving brother of the late ſovereign, the election conſequently fell on one of his grandſons; and no one appeared more deſerving than Montezuma Ilhuicamina, ſon of Huitzilihuitl, not leſs on account of his perſonal virtues than the important ſervices he had done the nation. He was elected with general applauſe, advice of which being given to the two allied kings, they not only confirmed the election, but paſſed many praiſes on the elected, and ſent him preſents worthy of his rank and their eſteem. After the uſual ceremonies and the congratulary ſpeeches of the prieſts, the nobles, and the military, much rejoicing took place, with entertainments, balls, and illuminations. Before his coronation, either from an eſtabliſhed law of the country, or his own particular deſire, he went to war with his enemies to make priſoners for a ſacrifice on the occaſion. He reſolved that theſe ſhould be of the Chalcheſe nation, to revenge the inſults and the injurious treatment he had received from them when returning from Tezcuco, in the character of ambaſſador, he had been taken and carried to the priſon

priſon of Chalco. He went againſt them therefore in perſon, defeated them, and made many priſoners; but did not then ſubject the whole of that ſtate to the crown of Mexico, that he might not retard his coronation. On the day appointed for that ſolemnity the tributes and preſents which were ſent to him from conquered places, were brought into Mexico. The king's major-domos and the receivers of the royal revenues preceded, after whom came thoſe who carried the preſents, who were divided into as many companies as there were people who ſent them, and ſo regular and orderly in their proceſſion as to afford infinite pleaſure to the ſpectators. They brought gold, ſilver, beautiful feathers, wearing apparel, great variety of game, and a vaſt quantity of proviſions. It is more than probable, although hiſtorians do not mention it, that the other two allied kings and many other ſtrangers of diſtinction were preſent, beſides a great concourſe of people from all the places in the vale of Mexico.

As ſoon as Montezuma found himſelf on the throne, his firſt care was to erect a great temple in that part of the city which they called *Huitznabuac*. The allied kings, whom he requeſted to aſſiſt him, furniſhed him with ſuch plenty of materials and workmen, that in a ſhort time the building was finiſhed and conſecrated. During the time of its conſtruction the new war againſt Chalco appears to have happened. The Chalcheſe beſides the injuries which they had already done to Montezuma, provoked his indignation afreſh by a cruel and barbarous act, deſerving the execration of all poſterity. Two of the royal princes of Tezcuco having gone a hunting on the mountains which overlook the plains of Chalco, while employed in the chace and ſeparated from their retinue with only three Mexican lords, fell in with a troop of Chalcheſe ſoldiers, who thinking they would pleaſe the cruel paſſions of their maſter, made them priſoners and carried them to Chalco. The ſavage lord of that city, who was probably the ſame Toteotzin by whom Montezuma had been ſo ill treated, paying no regard to the noble rank of the priſoners, nor dreading the fatal conſequences of his inhuman reſolution, put all the five inſtantly to death; and that he might always be able to gratify his ſight with a ſpectacle in which his cruelty delighted, he cauſed their bodies to be ſalted and dried; and when they were thus ſufficiently prepared, he placed them in a hall of his houſe,

SECT. VII. Atrocious act of the Chalcheſe.

to ſerve as ſupporters of the pine torches which were burned to give light in the evening.

The report of ſo horrid an act ſpread immediately over all the country. The king of Tezcuco, whoſe heart was pierced with the intelligence, demanded the aid of the allied kings to revenge the death of his ſons. Montezuma determined that the Tezcucan army ſhould attack the city of Chalco by land, whilſt he and the king of Tacuba with their troops made an attack on it by water; for which purpoſe he collected an infinite number of veſſels to tranſport his people, and commanded the armament in perſon. The Chalcheſe notwithſtanding the number of the enemy, made a vigorous reſiſtance; for beſides being themſelves warriors, on this occaſion deſperation heightened their courage. The lord of that ſtate himſelf, although ſo old that he could not walk, cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter to animate his ſubjects with his preſence and voice. They were however totally defeated, the city was ſacked, and the lord of it puniſhed in a moſt exemplary manner for his many atrocious crimes. The ſpoils, according to the agreement made in the time of king Itzcoatl, were divided among the three kings, but the city and the whole of the ſtate remained from that time ſubject to the king of Mexico. This victory, as hiſtorians relate, was owing chiefly to the bravery of the youth Axoquentzin, a ſon of Nezahualcojotl.

This famous king, although he had in early life ſeveral wives and many children by them, had not yet conferred on any of them the dignity of queen, as they had been all ſlaves or daughters of his ſubjects (*c*). Judging it now neceſſary to take a wife worthy of being raiſed to this high rank, and who might bear a ſucceſſor to him in the crown of Acolhuacan, he married Matlalcihuatzin daughter of the king of Tacuba, a beautiful and modeſt virgin, who was conducted to Tezcuco by her father and the king of Mexico. On occaſion of the nuptials there were rejoicings for eighty days, and a year after a ſon was born of this marriage, who was named Nezahualpilli, and ſucceeded, as will appear hereafter, to that crown. A little time after, equally great

SECT. VIII. Marriage of Nezahualcojotl with a princeſs of Tacuba.

(*c*) Nezahualcojotl married in his youth Nezahualxochitl, as we have already mentioned, who, being of the royal family of Mexico, was entitled to the honour of being queen; but ſhe died before the prince recovered his crown from the uſurper.

rejoicings

rejoicings took place, on occaſion of the building of the *Hueitecpan* or great palace being completed, of whoſe magnificence the Spaniards were witneſſes. Theſe feſtivals, at which the two allied kings were preſent, were concluded with a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to which the nobility of the three courts were invited. At this entertainment Nezahualcojotl made his muſicians ſing to the accompaniment of inſtruments, an ode which he had compoſed himſelf, which began thus; "*Xochitl mamani in ahuehuetitlan*," the ſubject of which was a compariſon of the ſhortneſs of life and of its pleaſures, with the fleeting bloom of a flower. The pathetic touches of the ſong drew tears from the audience; in whom, according to their love of life, the anticipation of death made proportionate ideas of melancholy ſpring in the mind.

SECT. IX. Death of Quauhtlatoa king of Tlatelolco.

Montezuma having returned to his court, found himſelf obliged to cruſh an enemy, whoſe neighbourhood and almoſt domeſtic ſituation might make him prove the more dangerous to the ſtate. *Quauhtlatoa*, the third king of Tlatelolco, inſtigated by ambition to extend his dominions, or from envy of the happineſs of his neighbour and rival, had formerly been deſirous of taking away the life of king Itzcoatl, and that he might prove ſucceſsful, having no ſufficient forces of his own, had entered into a confederacy with other neighbouring lords; but all his attempts were vain, as Itzcoatl was appriſed of his intentions, prepared in time for defence, and damped his courage. From that time, ſuch a diſtruſt and enmity ſprung up between the Mexicans and Tlatelolcos, that they continued for years without any intercourſe, except among ſome of the common people, who ſtole off occaſionally to the markets. Under the reign of Montezuma, Quauhtlatoa reſumed his hoſtile intentions; but they were not again left unpuniſhed; Montezuma having got advice of them, prevented the blow by a vigorous attack on Tlatelolco, in which the petty king was killed, although the city was not then made ſubject to the government of Mexico. The Tlatelolcos elected the brave *Moquihuix* king, in the choice of whom the king of Mexico himſelf muſt have had conſiderable influence.

SECT. X. Conqueſts of Montezuma.

Montezuma having rid himſelf of this dangerous neighbour, ſet out for the province of the Cohuixcas, which lies to the ſouthward of Mexi-

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co, in order to revenge the loſs of ſome Mexicans who had been put to death by that people. This glorious expedition added to his crown the ſtates of Huaxtepec, Jauhtepec, Tepoztlan, Jacapichtla, Totolapan, Tlalcozauhtitlan, Chilapan, which were more than a hundred and fifty miles diſtant from the court, Coixco, Oztomantla, Tlachmallac, and many others; then turning to the weſt, he conquered Tzompahuacan, bringing under ſubjection to the crown of Mexico both the great country of the Cohuixcas, who had been the authors of the deaths above-mentioned, and many other neighbouring ſtates which had provoked his reſentment probably by ſimilar inſults. Upon his return to his court he enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli, and adorned it with the ſpoils of thoſe nations. Theſe conqueſts were made in the nine firſt years of his reign.

SECT. XI. The inundation of Mexico.

In the tenth year, which was the 1446 of the vulgar era, a great inundation happened in Mexico, occaſioned by exceſſive rains, which ſwelled the waters of the lake till they overflowed and laid the city ſo much under water as to deſtroy many houſes; and the ſtreets becoming impaſſable, boats were made uſe of in every quarter. Montezuma much diſtreſſed by the accident, had recourſe to the king of Tezcuco, hoping his penetration might ſuggeſt ſome remedy to this calamity. That diſcerning king adviſed a great dyke to be made to keep out the water, and laid down a plan of it, and pointed out the place where it ſhould be made. His counſel was approved by Montezuma, who commanded it to be followed with inſtant execution. He ordered the ſubjects of Azcapozalco, Cojohuacan, and Xochimilco, to provide ſo many thouſand large ſtakes, and the people of other parts to furniſh the neceſſary ſtones. He ſummoned alſo to this work the inhabitants of Tacuba, Iztapalapan, Colhuacan, and Tenajuca, and the lords and the kings themſelves, engaged themſelves firſt in the fatigue; from their example, their ſubjects were animated to ſuch activity, that in a ſhort time the work was perfectly completed which muſt otherwiſe have been many years in accompliſhing. The dyke was nine miles in length, and eleven cubits in breadth, and was compoſed of two parallel paliſades, the ſpace between which was entirely filled up with ſtone and ſand. The greateſt difficulty which occurred, was in being obliged occaſionally to work within the lake, eſpecially in ſome places where it was of a conſiderable

ſiderable depth; but this was overcome by the ſkill of the conductor, and the perſeverance of the labourers. This dyke was certainly of great uſe to the city, although it did not entirely protect it from inundations; that, however, is not wonderful, as the Spaniards, although they employed European engineers, were not able to effect its ſecurity from them, after labouring two centuries and a half upon it, and expending many millions of ſequins. Whilſt this work was going on, the Chalcheſe rebelled, but were quickly brought under obedience again, although not without the loſs of ſome Mexican officers.

SECT. XII. Famine in Mexico.

The accident of the inundation was ſoon followed by a famine; which aroſe from the harveſt of maize, in the years 1448 and 1449, being exceedingly ſtinted; the froſt having attacked the ears while they were young and tender. In the year 1450, the crop was totally loſt from the want of water. In 1451, beſides having unfavourable ſeaſons, there was a ſcarcity of grain for ſeed, ſo much of it being conſumed on account of the ſcarcity of preceding harveſts; from which in 1452, the neceſſities of the people became ſo great, that as the liberality of their king and the nobles was not ſufficient to relieve them, although they opened their granaries to aſſiſt them, they were obliged to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, with the price of their liberty. Montezuma being unable to relieve his ſubjects from their diſtreſs, permitted them to go to other countries to procure their ſupport; but knowing that ſome of them made ſlaves of themſelves for two or three days ſuſtenance only, he publiſhed a proclamation, in which he commanded that no woman ſhould ſell herſelf for leſs than four hundred ears of maize, and no man for leſs than five hundred. But nothing could ſtop the deſtructive conſequences of famine. Of thoſe who went to ſeek relief in other countries ſome died of hunger on their way. Others who ſold themſelves for food, never returned to their native country. The greater part of the Mexican populace ſupported themſelves like their anceſtors, on the water-fowl, the herbs growing in the marſhes, and the inſects and ſmall fiſh which they caught in the lake. The following year was not ſo unfavourable, and at length, in 1454, which was a ſecular year, there was a moſt plentiful harveſt of maize, and likewiſe of pulſe, and every ſort of fruit.

But

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SECT. XIII. New conquests and death of Montezuma.

But the Mexicans were not permitted to enjoy the season of plenty in quietness, being obliged to go to war against Atonaltzin, lord of the city and state of Coaixtlahuacan, in the country of the Mixtecas. This was a powerful lord, who, for some reasons unknown, would not allow to any Mexican a passage through his lands, and whenever they happened to come there shewed them the worst treatment he could. Montezuma being highly offended with such hostility, sent an embassy to him, to know the motive of his conduct, and threatened him with war if he did not make a proper apology. Atonaltzin received the embassy with scorn, and ordering some of his riches to be set before the ambassadors, "Bear," said he, "this present to your king, and tell "him, from it he may know how much my subjects give me, and "how great the love is which they have for me; that I willingly ac- "cept of war, by which it shall be decided whether my subjects are "to pay tribute to the king of Mexico, or the Mexicans to me." Montezuma immediately informed the two allied kings of this insolent answer, and sent a considerable army against that lord, who was well prepared, and met them on the frontiers of his state. As soon as the armies came in sight of each other, they engaged; but the Mixtecas rushed with such fury on the Mexicans, that they were thrown into disorder, and forced to abandon their enterprize.

The pride of Atonaltzin increased with the victory, but foreseeing that the Mexicans would return with a more numerous force, he demanded assistance from the Huexotzincas and the Tlascalans, who readily, granted it, rejoicing in having an opportunity of interrupting the success of the Mexican arms. Montezuma, who was much troubled at the unhappy issue of the war, medicated the re-establishment of the honour of his crown, for which purpose he speedily collected a numerous and formidable army, resolving to command it himself, together with his two royal allies; but before they set out on their march, he received intelligence that the Tlascalans and Huexotzincas had attacked Tlachquiauhco, a place in Mixteca, had killed all the Mexican garrison there, and deprived some of the citizens of their lives, and others of their liberty. Montezuma, now warm with indignation, marched towards Mixteca. Neither his own power, nor the assistance which he received from his friends, were of any avail to Atonaltzin.

In the very firſt conflict his army was totally defeated, many of his ſoldiers were killed, and almoſt all his confederates; the few who eſcaped the fury of the Mexicans fell by the hands of the Mixtecas, in revenge for the unfortunate iſſue of the battle. Atonaltzin ſurrendered to Montezuma, who not only remained in poſſeſſion of the city, and the ſtate of Coaixtlahuacan, but proceeding farther made himſelf maſter of Tochtepec, Tzapotlan, Tototlan, and Chinantla, and in the two following years of Cozamaloapan, and Quauhtochto. The cauſe of theſe laſt wars was the ſame with many others, namely, the inhabitants of theſe places having in time of peace put ſome merchants and couriers of Mexico to death.

The expedition undertaken in 1457 againſt *Cuetlachtlan*, or Cotaſta, proved far more difficult, and more celebrated. This province ſituated as we mentioned before on the coaſt of the Mexican gulf, and founded, or at leaſt inhabited, by the Olmecas, who were driven out by the Tlaſcalans, was extremely populous. We are ignorant of the occaſion of the war; we know, however, that the Cotaſteſe foreſeeing the ſtorm which threatened them, called the Huexotzincas and Tlaſcalans to their aſſiſtance. The two laſt feeling high reſentment for the loſs of Coaixtlahuacan, and thirſting for revenge, not only agreed to aſſiſt the other, but perſuaded the Cholulans alſo to enter into the confederacy. Theſe three republics ſent numerous forces to Cotaſta to wait for the enemy. Montezuma, on his part, raiſed a great and brilliant army, in which the flower of the nobility of Mexico, Acolhua, Tlatelolco, and Tepaneca enliſted. Among other perſons of diſtinction in this army were *Axajacatl*, the general, *Tizoc*, and *Ahuitzotl*, all three brothers, and of the royal family of Mexico, who ſucceſſively filled the throne after Montezuma their couſin. There were alſo the lords of Colhuacan and Tenaycuca; but the moſt reſpectable character was Moquihuix, king of Tlatelolco, ſucceſſor to the unfortunate Quauhtlatoa. When the army left Mexico, intelligence had not arrived of the confederacy of the three republics with the Cotaſteſe; as ſoon as Montezuma knew it, he ſent meſſengers to his generals not to proceed, but to return inſtantly to his court. The generals entered into a conſultation: ſome were of opinion that they ought to obey the order of their ſovereign without heſitation; others thought they were not

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not under obligation to ſubmit to an order, which would throw ſuch reflection on their honour, as the nobles muſt be diſgraced and degraded if they ſhunned engaging upon an occaſion which was ſo fit to ſhew their bravery. The firſt opinion prevailed, as being the moſt ſafe; but in ſetting out on their march to return to Mexico, Moquihuix the king, addreſſed them: "Let thoſe return, whoſe ſpirit can ſuffer them "to turn their backs upon the enemy, whilſt I with my people of "Tlatelolco alone bear off the honour of the victory." This reſolute determination of Moquihuix, ſo rouſed and fired the other generals, that they all reſolved to meet the danger. At length they joined battle with the enemy, in which the Cotaſteſe although they fought courageouſly, were nevertheleſs vanquiſhed, with all their allies: of theſe laſt, the greater part were left on the field; of both, ſix thouſand two hundred were made priſoners, who were ſoon after ſacrificed at the feſtival of the conſecration of the *Quaxicalco*, or the religious edifice appropriated for the preſervation of the ſkulls of the victims. The whole of that province remained ſubject to the king of Mexico, who eſtabliſhed a garriſon there, to keep that people in obedience to the crown. This great victory was principally owing to the bravery of Moquihuix; and even until our day, a Mexican ſong or ode has been preſerved, which was at that time compoſed in his praiſe (*e*). Montezuma more pleaſed with the happy fortune of the war, than offended at the diſobedience to his orders, rewarded the king of Tlatelolco by giving him one of his couſins to wife, who was the ſiſter of the above mentioned princes, Axayacatl, Tizoc, and Ahuitzotl.

In the mean while the Chalcheſe were daily rendering themſelves more deſerving of chaſtiſement, not ſolely by rebellion, but alſo by the commiſſion of other new offences. At this time they had the audacity to take the brother of the king Montezuma himſelf, who was, according to what we can learn, lord of Ehecatepec, with ſome other Mexicans, priſoners. A crime of this nature committed on a perſon ſo nearly related in blood to their ſovereign, appears to have been a meaſure contrived by them to get rid of the power of the Mexicans, and make the city of Chalco the rival of Mexico; as they were deſirous of making that

(*e*) Boturini makes mention of this ode, which he had, among other manuſcripts and paintings, in his very valuable muſeum.

lord,

lord, king of Chalco; and frequently, though in vain, propoſed it to him. He perceiving them fixed in their reſolution, told them he would accept the crown they offered; but, that the act of his exaltation might be the more ſolemn, he deſired they would plant in the market-place, one of the higheſt trees, and place a ſcaffold upon it, from which he might be viewed by all. Every thing was done as he requeſted: having aſſembled the Mexicans around the tree, he aſcended the ſcaffold with a bunch of flowers in his hand; then from the height, in the view of an immenſe concourſe of people, he thus addreſſed his own people: "Ye know well, my brave Mexicans, that the Chalcheſe wiſh "to make me their king; but it is not agreeable to our God that I "ſhould betray our native country, I chuſe rather to teach you by my "example, to place higher value on fidelity to it, than upon life itſelf." Having ſpoke thus, he threw himſelf headlong from the ſcaffold. This act, though barbarous, was agreeable to the ideas which the ancients entertained of magnanimity, and was ſo much leſs cenſurable than that of Cato and others, celebrated by antiquity, as the motive was nobler and the courage of the Mexican greater. The Chalcheſe were ſo enraged at the deed, that they fell inſtantly on the other Mexicans and killed them with their darts. The next evening they heard by chance the melancholy ſcreaming of an owl, which, as they were extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, was interpreted, a fatal omen of their approaching ruin. They were not deceived in the anticipation of their diſaſters; for Montezuma, highly provoked by their rebellion and their enormous offences, immediately declared war, and cauſed fires to be kindled on the tops of the mountains, as a ſignal of the puniſhment to which he condemned the rebels. He then marched with his army againſt that province, and made ſuch havock of the enemy as to leave it almoſt depopulated. Immenſe numbers were ſlaughtered, and thoſe who eſcaped with life, fled into the caves of the mountains which riſe above the plains of Chalco; ſome, to remove themſelves ſtill further from danger, paſſing to the other ſide of the mountains, took refuge in Huexotzinco and Atlixco. The city of Chalco was ſacked and plundered. The fury of revenge was ſucceeded in Montezuma, as is uſual to noble minds, by feelings of compaſſion for the unfortunate. He proclaimed a general pardon to all the fugitives, particularly for the relief of the aged,

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aged, the women, and the children, inviting them to return without fear to their native country; nor content with that only, he ordered his troops to traverſe the mountains, to call back the wanderers who had fled from man to find ſhelter among the wild beaſts, and woods. Many returned, who were diſtributed in Amaquemecan, Tlalmanalco, and other places; but many reſigned themſelves to their fate in the mountains, from diſtruſt of the pardon, or the exceſs of their deſpair. One part of the country of Chalco was divided by Montezuma among the officers who had the moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war.

After this expedition the Mexicans conquered Tamazollan, Piaztlan, Xilotepec, Acatlan, and other places. By ſuch rapid conqueſts Montezuma ſo enlarged his dominions, that in the eaſt he extended them as far as the gulf of Mexico; in the ſouth-eaſt, to the centre of the country of the Mixtecas; in the ſouth, as far as Chilapan and ſomething beyond it; in the weſt, to the valley of Toluca; in the north-weſt, to the centre of the country of the Otomies; and in the north, as far as the termination of the vale of Mexico.

But while ſo attentive to war, this famous king neglected not what concerned internal polity and religion. He publiſhed new laws, added to the ſplendor of his court, and introduced there many ceremonials not known to his predeceſſors. He erected a large temple to the god of war, ordained many new religious rites, and increaſed the number of the prieſts. The interpreter of Mendoza's collection adds, that Montezuma was himſelf ſober, and remarkably rigorous in puniſhing drunkenneſs; and that by his juſtice and prudence, and the propriety of his actions, he made his ſubjects fear and love him. At laſt, after a very glorious reign of twenty-eight years and ſome months, in 1464 he died, univerſally regretted. His funeral was celebrated with more than ordinary ſolemnity, in proportion to the increaſed magnificence of the court, and the power of the nation.

SECT. XIV. Axajacatl, ſixth king of Mexico.

Before his death he aſſembled the chief nobility of his court, and exhorted them to agree among themſelves, and prayed of the electors that they would, after his death, chuſe Axayacatl, whom he thought the fitteſt perſon to promote the glory of the Mexicans. Whether it was from deference to the opinion of a king who had gained ſo much deſert from his nation, or becauſe they knew the merit of Axayacatl, the

the electors choſe him in preference to his elder brother. He was the ſon of Tezozomoc, who had been the brother of the three kings who preceded Montezuma, and a ſon, as well as they, of king Acamapitzin.

After the feſtival of the election, the new king, after the example of his predeceſſors, went to war, to collect victims for a ſacrifice at his coronation. He made his expedition againſt the province of Tecuantepec, ſituated on the coaſt of the Pacific Ocean, four hundred miles to the ſouth-eaſt, from Mexico. The people of Tecuantepec were well prepared, and in confederacy with their neighbours, to oppoſe the attempts of the Mexicans. In the keen battle which took place, Axayacatl, who commanded as general, pretended flight, to lead the enemy into an ambuſcade. They purſued the Mexicans, triumphing in their victory, when ſuddenly they found themſelves attacked behind by one part of the Mexican army which came from their ambuſh, and attacked in front by thoſe who were flying and had now faced about upon them; harraſſed thus on both ſides, they were ſoon totally defeated. The enemy, who were able to ſave themſelves by flight, were purſued by the Mexicans as far as the city of Tecuantepec, to which they ſet fire, and taking advantage of the confuſion and conſternation of the people, they extended their conqueſts as far as Coatulco, a maritime place, the port of which was much frequented by the veſſels of the Spaniards, in the next century. From this expedition Axayacatl returned enriched with ſpoils, and was crowned with the greateſt pomp, there being a proceſſion of the tribute-bearers, and a ſacrifice made of the priſoners. In the firſt years of his reign, following the ſteps of his predeceſſor, he applied himſelf to the extenſion of his conqueſts. In 1467 he re-conquered Cotaſta and Tochtepec. In 1468, he obtained a complete victory over the Huexotzincas and Atlixcas; and on his return to Mexico, he undertook the building of a temple, which he called *Coatlan*. The Tlatelolcos erected another in rivalſhip, which they called *Coaxolotl*; by which the diſcord between theſe two kings was revived, which turned out, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, fatal to the Tlatelolcos. In 1469, Totoquihuatzin, the firſt king of Tacuba, died, who, for upwards of forty years, while he held that ſmall kingdom, was conſtantly faithful to the king of Mexico, and ſerved him in almoſt all the wars which he undertook againſt the enemies of the ſtate. He was ſucceed-

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SECT. XV. Death, and eulogium of king Nezahualcojotl.

ed in the throne by his ſon Chimalpopoca, who reſembled him no leſs in his bravery than his fidelity.

The loſs which the Mexicans ſuffered, in 1470, by the death of the great Nezahualcojotl king of Acolhuacan, was far more afflicting. This king was one of the moſt renowned heroes of ancient America. His courage, which in his youth was rather fool-hardineſs, however great it appeared, was ſtill one of the leſs noble faculties of his ſoul. His fortitude and conſtancy during the thirteen years which he continued deprived of the crown and perſecuted by the uſurper, were truly wonderful. His integrity in the adminiſtration of juſtice was inflexible. To make his nation more civilized, and to correct the diſorders introduced into the kingdom in the time of the tyrant, he publiſhed eighty laws, which were afterwards compiled by his celebrated deſcendant D. Ferdinando D'Alba *Ixtlilxochitl* in his manuſcript, entitled, *Storia de' Signori Cicimechi.* He ordained that no ſuit, civil or criminal, ſhould be prolonged more than eighty days, or four Mexican months. Every eighty days there was a great aſſembly in the royal palace, at which the judges and delinquents attended. Whatever cauſes had been left undecided in the four preceding months, were infallibly determined on that day; and thoſe who were convicted of any crime, immediately and without any remiſſion, received puniſhment proportioned to their offence, in preſence of the whole aſſembly. To different crimes, different puniſhments belonged; ſome were puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour, particularly adultery, ſodomy, theft, homicide, drunkenneſs, and treaſon to the ſtate. If we are to credit the Tezcucan hiſtorians, he put four of his own ſons to death, for committing inceſt with their mother-in-law.

His clemency to the unfortunate was alſo remarkable. It was forbid, under pain of death, throughout the kingdom, to take any thing from another's field; and ſo ſtrict was this law, that the ſtealing of ſeven ears of maize was ſufficient to incur the penalty. In order to provide, in ſome meaſure, for neceſſitous travellers, without breach of this law, Nezahualcojotl commanded that both ſides of the principal highways ſhould be ſown with maize and other ſeeds, with the fruits of which thoſe who were in want might ſupply themſelves. A great part of his revenue was ſpent in relief of the poor, particularly thoſe who

who were aged, ſick, and in widowhood. To prevent the conſumption of the woods, he preſcribed limits to thoſe who cut wood, and forbid treſpaſſes on them, under ſevere penalties. Being deſirous of knowing if this prohibition was ſtrictly obſerved, he went out one day in diſguiſe, with one of his brothers, and took the way to the foot of the neighbouring mountains, where the boundaries preſcribed, commenced. There he found a youth employed in gathering the ſmall chips which remained of ſome wood that had been cut, and aſked him why he did not go into the woods to cut fuel. Becauſe the king, ſaid the lad, has forbid the treſpaſſing on theſe limits, and if we do not obey him he will puniſh us ſeverely. Neither importunity nor promiſes which the king made, were ſufficient to make him willing to tranſgreſs. The compaſſion excited in him by this poor youth, moved him to enlarge the former limits he had fixed.

He was particularly zealous in his attention to the faithful adminiſtration of juſtice, and that none from their neceſſities might plead an excuſe for being corrupted by any of the contending parties, he ordered the ſupport of all his miniſters and judges, their clothing, and every neceſſary according to the rank and quality of the perſon, to be ſupplied out of the royal treaſury. So much was expended annually in his houſhold, in the ſupport of his miniſters and magiſtrates, and in relief of the poor, it would be totally incredible, nor ſhould we be bold enough to write it, were it not certified by the original paintings, ſeen and examined by the firſt religious miſſionaries, who were employed in the converſion of theſe people, and confirmed by the teſtimony of a third grandſon of this ſame king, who being converted to chriſtianity was baptized by the name of Don Antonio Pimentel *(f)*. The annual expenditure made by Nezahualcojotl reduced to Caſtilian meaſure, was therefore as follows:

Of Maize, - - -	4,900,300 Fanegas *(g)*.
Of Cocoa nuts, - - -	2,744,000 Fan.
Of Chili or common pepper and Tomate,	3,200 Fan.
Of Chiltecpin, or ſmall pepper,	- 240 Fan.

(f) Torquemada the hiſtorian, had theſe paintings in his hands, by his own teſtimony.

(g) The Fanega is a Spaniſh meaſure for dry goods, containing about a hundred Spaniſh pounds, or one hundred and thirty Roman pounds.

Of

Of ſalt, - - - - 1,300 large baſkets.
Of Turkeys, - - - 8,000.

The quantity conſumed of Chia, French beans, and other leguminous plants; of deer alſo, and ducks, quails, and other birds, was infinite and numberleſs. Every perſon will eaſily comprehend how great the extent of population muſt have been to amaſs ſuch a vaſt quantity of maize and cocoas; particularly as it was neceſſary to procure this laſt by commerce with warm countries, there being no ſoil in all the kingdom of Acolhuacan fit for the culture of this plant. During one half of the year or nine Mexican months, fourteen cities furniſhed ſuch proviſions, and fifteen other cities ſupplied them during the other half year. Young men were employed to carry on their backs the fuel which was conſumed in the royal palace, in amazing quantities (*g*).

The progreſs made by this celebrated king, in the arts and ſciences, was ſuch as is to be expected from a great genius who is without books to ſtudy, or maſters to inſtruct him. He excelled in the poetry of theſe nations, and produced many compoſitions which met with univerſal applauſe. In the ſixteenth century, his ſixty hymns, compoſed in honour of the Creator of Heaven, were celebrated even among the Spaniards. Two of his odes or ſongs, tranſlated into Spaniſh verſe by his deſcendant Don Ferdinando d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, have been preſerved unto our time (*b*). One of theſe was wrote ſome time after the ruin of Azcapozalco. The ſubject of it was ſimilar to the other which we already mentioned; it lamented the inconſtancy of human greatneſs, in the perſon of the tyrant Tezozomoc, whom he compared to a large and ſtately tree which had extended its roots through many countries, and ſpread the ſhade of its green branches over all the lands of the empire; but at laſt, worm-eaten and waſted, fell to the earth, never to reſume its youthful verdure.

(*g*) The fourteen cities charged with furniſhing proviſions for the firſt half year were Tezcuco, Huexotla, Coatlichan, Atenco, Chiauhtla, Tezonjocan, Papalotla, Tepetlaoztoc, Acolman, Tepechpan, Xaltocan, Chimalhuacan, Iztapalocan, and Coatepec. The other fifteen were Otompan, Aztaquemecan, Teotihuacan, Cempoallan, Axapochco, Tlalanapan, Tepepolco, Tizajocan, Ahuatepec, Oztoticpac, Quauhtlatzinco, Cojoac, Oztotlatlauhcan, Achichillacachocan, and Tetliztacac.

(*b*) Cav. Boturini had two odes compoſed by Nezahualcojotl; we wiſhed much for them to publiſh them in this hiſtory.

Nothing

Nothing, however, gave ſo much delight to Nezahualcojotl, as the ſtudy of nature. He acquired ſome ideas of aſtronomy, by the frequent obſervations which he made of the courſe of the ſtars. He applied himſelf beſides, to the knowledge of plants and animals; but finding he could not keep the natives of other climes alive at his court, he cauſed paintings to be made from the life, of all the plants and animals of the country of Anahuac; to which paintings the celebrated Hernandez bears teſtimony, who ſaw and made uſe of them: paintings more uſeful and more worthy of a royal palace than thoſe which repreſent the dark mythology of the Grecians. He was a curious enquirer into the cauſes of the effects by which nature excited his admiration, and frequent obſervation in that way, led him to diſcover the weakneſs of idolatry. To his ſons, he ſaid privately, that although in conformity with the people they paid external adoration to the idols, they ſhould, yet, in their hearts deteſt the worſhip which was ſo deſerving of mockery, as it was directed to lifeleſs forms; that he acknowledged no other God than the Creator of Heaven, and he did not forbid idolatry in his kingdom, though inclined to do ſo, that he might not be blamed for contradicting the doctrines of his anceſtors. He prohibited the ſacrifice of human victims; but perceiving afterwards how difficult it was to make a nation change its ancient and long-rooted ideas in matters of religion, he again permitted them, but commanded, under ſevere penalties, that theſe ſhould be none but priſoners of war. He erected in honour of the Creator of Heaven, a high tower, conſiſting of nine floors. The laſt floor was dark and vaulted, painted within of a blue colour, and ornamented with cornices of gold. In this tower reſided conſtantly ſome men whoſe office was to ſtrike, at certain hours of the day, plates of the fineſt metal, at which ſignal the king kneeled down to pray to the Creator of Heaven. In honour likewiſe of this God, at a certain time of the year he always obſerved a faſt (*k*).

The elevated genius of this king, actuated by the great love he had to his people, produced ſo enlightened his capital, that in future times it was conſidered as the nurſery of the arts and the centre of

(*k*) All the above mentioned anecdotes are extracted from the valuable manuſcripts of Don Ferdinando d'Alba; he being fourth grandſon of that king, received, probably, many traditions from his fathers and grand-fathers.

cultivation.

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cultivation. Tezcuco was the city where the Mexican language was ſpoken in the greateſt purity and perfection, where the beſt artiſts were found, and where poets, orators, and hiſtorians moſt abounded (*l*). The Mexicans and other nations adopted many of their laws; and if we may be allowed the application, Tezcuco was the Athens, and Nezahualcojotl the Solon of Anahuac.

In his laſt illneſs, having called all his ſons into his preſence, he declared Nezahualpilli his heir and ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Acolhuacan, who, though the youngeſt of them all, was preferred to the reſt, on account of his having been born of the queen Matlalcihuatzin, as well as of his ſingular rectitude and great talents. He enjoined his firſt born ſon Acapipioltzin to aſſiſt the new king with his counſel, until he ſhould learn the difficult art of government. He warmly recommended to Nezahualpilli the love of his brothers, the care of his ſubjects, and a zeal for juſtice. At laſt, to prevent any diſorder which the news of his death might occaſion, he commanded them to conceal it as much as poſſible from the people until Nezahualpilli ſhould be fixed in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown. The princes received with tears the laſt advice of their father, and having left him; and come into the hall of audience where the nobility expected them, Nezahualpilli was proclaimed king of Acolhuacan, Acapipioltzin declaring it to be the laſt will of their father, who having a long journey to make, choſe firſt to nominate his ſucceſſor. All paid obedience to the new king, and in the morning after, Nezahualcojotl died, in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and about the eightieth year of his age. His ſons concealed his death, and hid his body, burning it ſecretly, as is probable; and inſtead of rendering funeral honours to it, they celebrated the coronation of the new king with uncommon feſtivity and rejoicing. But in ſpite of their cautious ſecrecy the news of his death ſpread ſuddenly through all the land, and many lords came to the court to condole with the princes. Nevertheleſs the vulgar remained perſuaded that their great king was tranſlated to the company of the gods in reward of his virtues.

SECT. XVI. Conqueſt of Tlatelolco, and death of king Moquihuix.

Some little time after the exaltation of Nezahualpilli to the throne, the memorable war happened between the Mexicans and their neigh-

(*l*) In the liſt which we have given of the hiſtorians of that kingdom, it appears many were of the royal family of Tezcuco.

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bours and rivals, the Tlatelolcos. Moquihuix king of Tlatelolco, being unable to endure the dazzling glory of the Mexican monarch, uſed all his arts to darken it. He had married, as we have already mentioned, a ſiſter of king Axayacatl, given him by Montezuma in reward for the famous victory he obtained over the Cotaſteſe. On this unfortunate queen he frequently vented his malice againſt his couſin; nor contented with that he clandeſtinely formed leagues with other ſtates, which like himſelf bore unwillingly the Mexican yoke. Theſe were Chalco, Xilotepec, Toltitlan, Tenajucan, Mexicaltzinco, Huitzilopochco, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, and Mizquic, which agreed to attack the Mexicans in their rear, after the Tlatelolcos ſhould begin battle with them. The Quaupancheſe alſo, the Huexotzincas, and Matlatzincas, whoſe aid had been requeſted, were to join their troops with thoſe of Tlatelolco in defence of the city. The queen knew of theſe negociations, and either from the hatred ſhe bore to her huſband, or from her love to her brother and her native country, ſhe revealed them to Axayacatl, that he might ward off a blow which would have ſkaken his throne.

Moquihuix being aſſured of the aid of his confederates aſſembled the nobles of his court to encourage them to the undertaking. An old and venerable prieſt raiſed his voice in the aſſembly, and in the name of them all declared himſelf willing to fight to the laſt againſt the enemies of his country; then to animate them ſtill more he waſhed the altar of the ſacrifices, and preſented the water purple with human blood to the king to drink, and afterwards to all his officers; by which they imagined their courage would be increaſed, and doubtleſs it hardened them to the exerciſe of cruelty upon their foes. In the mean while the queen grew impatient of the ill treatment ſhe ſuffered, and being alarmed at the dangers of war, forſook her huſband and came to Mexico with four ſons, to throw herſelf under the protection of her brother. This it was eaſy for her to do from the very cloſe neighbourhood of the two cities. An incident of this uncommon nature increaſed the mutual enmity and diſguſt of the Mexicans and Tlatelolcos to ſuch a degree, that whenever they met, they abuſed, fought, and murdered each other.

The time of commencing the war drawing near, Moquihuix with his officers and many of his confederates, made a ſolemn ſacrifice on the mountain which was the neareſt to the city, to obtain the protection

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of their gods; and there they fixed the day on which they were to declare war againſt the Mexicans. A few days after, he ſent notice to his allies, to be well prepared to ſuccour him whenever he ſhould begin the attack. Xiloman lord of Colhuacan, was to make the firſt onſet, and afterwards to pretend flight, to induce the Mexicans to purſue him, when the Tlatelolcos were to fall upon their rear. The day after theſe embaſſies were ſent, Moquihuix performed the ceremony of arming his troops, and then went to the temple of Huitzilopochtli to implore the aid of that god, where the ſame horrible draft was again taken which Pojahuitl had given them at the firſt congreſs, and all the ſoldiers paſſed before the idol, with a ſalutation of profound reverence. This ceremony was hardly finiſhed when a troop of daring Mexicans entered the market-place, killing every one they met; but the troops of the Tlatelolcos coming ſuddenly up, repulſed them and took ſome of them priſoners, who were ſacrificed without reſpite, in a temple called Tlillan. That ſame day, about ſun-ſet, ſome women of Tlatelolco had the boldneſs to advance into the ſtreets of Mexico, and to ſet fire to the birch trees at the doors of the houſes, caſting, at the ſame time, impudent reproaches upon the Mexicans, and threatning them with approaching ruin; but they met with the contempt they deſerved.

That night the Tlatelolcos armed themſelves, and in the morning at break of day they began the attack on Mexico. They were in the heat of the battle when Xiloman arrived with the Colhuas; but perceiving that the king of Tlatelolco had commenced the engagement without waiting for his aid or caring for his counſel, that lord retired in diſguſt; but deſirous of doing ſome miſchief to the Mexicans, he cauſed ſeveral canals to be ſhut up, to prevent their receiving any aſſiſtance by water; theſe however were ſoon opened again by order of Axayacatl. The whole of the day the combat laſted with the utmoſt fury on both ſides, until night forced the Tlatelolcos to retire. The Mexicans burnt the houſes of the city which were the neareſt to Tlatelolco, perhaps on account of their ſtanding too much in the way in the time of engagement; but in ſetting fire to them, twenty were made priſoners and inſtantly ſacrificed.

Axayacatl that night diſtributed his army in all the roads which led to Tlatelolco, and at the dawn of day began to march from every quarter towards

towards the market-place, which was to be the point where they were to meet. The Tlatelolcos finding themſelves attacked on all ſides, retreated to the public market-place to collect there all their force, and make the better reſiſtance; but when they reached it, they found themſelves ſtill more incommoded and embarraſſed by their numbers. The words and cries with which Moquihuix endeavoured, from the top of the great temple, to encourage his troops, were of no avail. The Tlatelolcos were beat down and killed, while thoſe who fell, vented their rage in reproaches againſt the king: "Deſcend from thence, you "coward," they ſaid, "and take arms; it is not the part of a brave "man, to ſtand calmly looking at thoſe who are fighting and falling in "the defence of their country." But theſe complaints, occaſioned by the ſmarting of their wounds and the agonies of death, were altogether unjuſt, as Moquihuix neither failed in the duties of a general nor of a king. It was proper for him not to expoſe his life ſo much as the ſoldiers did themſelves, as he could be more uſeful to them by his counſel, and could encourage them by his preſence. In the mean time the Mexicans advanced to the ſteps of the temple, aſcended them, and came to the upper balcony where Moquihuix was calling out to his people, and made a deſperate defence of himſelf; but a Mexican captain, named Quetzalhua, with a thruſt puſhed him backwards down the ſteps (*m*), when ſome ſoldiers took up his body in their arms, and preſented it to Axayacatl, who opened his breaſt, and tore out his heart. An act certainly horrid, but done without the feelings of horror, from its being ſo frequent at their ſacrifices!

Thus fell the brave Moquihuix, and thus was the petty monarchy of the Tlatelolcos, which had been governed by four kings in the ſpace of about one hundred and eighteen years, diſſolved. The Tlatelolcos, after the death of their king, ſoon fell into diſorder, and attempted to ſave themſelves by flight, by paſſing acroſs their enemies; but four hundred and ſixty remained dead on the market-place, among whom were ſome officers of diſtinction. After this defeat the city of Tlatelolco was united with the city of Mexico, and was no longer conſidered as a diſtinct

(*m*) The interpreter of Mendoza's collection ſays, that after the loſs of the battle, Moquihuix fled to the top of the temple, and threw himſelf head-long from it, being unable to endure the reproaches of one of the prieſts; but the account of other hiſtorians appears to us more conſiſtent with the character of this king.

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city, but as a part, or rather as the ſuburbs of Mexico, which it is at preſent. The king of Mexico conſtantly maintained a governor there, and the Tlatelolcos, beſides the tribute which they annually paid of maize, robes, arms, and armour, were obliged to repair the temple of Huitznahuac as often as it became neceſſary.

We are ignorant whether the Quauhpancheſe, the Huexotzincas, and the Matlatzincas, who were the confederates of the Tlatelolcos, did actually aſſiſt in this war. Of their other allies, hiſtorians ſay, that having come to the ſuccour of the Tlatelolcos, after the king Moquihuix was killed and the conflict over, they returned without action. The moment that Axayacatl found himſelf victorious, he condemned Pojahuitl, and Ehecatzitzimitl, both of them Tlatelolcos, to the laſt puniſhment, for having been the perſons who moſt keenly excited the citizens againſt the Mexicans, and alſo put the lords of Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Colhuacan, Huitzilopochco and others, to death, for entering into a confederacy with his enemies.

SECT. XVII. New conqueſts and death of Axayacatl.

To take revenge of the Matlatzincas, a numerous and powerful nation, eſtabliſhed in the valley of Toluca, and ſtill unſubjected to the Mexicans, Axayacatl declared war againſt them, and marching with the two allied kings he took in his paſſage, Atlapolco, and Xalatlauhco; and afterwards he conquered in the ſame valley, Toluca, Tetenanco, Metepec, Tzinacantepec, Calimaja, and other places in the ſouth diviſion of the valley, which continued, from that time forward, tributary to the crown of Mexico. Some time after, he returned into the ſame province, to ſubdue, likewiſe, the north part of the valley, at preſent called *Valle d'Ixtlahuacan*, and in particular Xiquipilco, a conſiderable city and ſtate of the Otomies, whoſe lord, called Tlilcuezpalin was famous for his bravery. Axayacatl, who likewiſe boaſted of his courage, was anxious to engage him in ſingle combat during the battle, which took place; but the event proved diſaſtrous to Axayacatl himſelf; he received a violent wound on the thigh, and two captains of the Otomies advancing, brought him, with a few ſtrokes more, to the ground, and would have made him priſoner, if ſome young Mexicans had not, when they ſaw their king in ſuch danger, reſolutely defended his liberty and his life. Notwithſtanding this misfortune and diſgrace, the Mexicans obtained a complete victory, and, according to what hiſtorians ſay, made eleven thouſand and ſixty priſoners, among whom were Tlilcuezpalin and the two captains who had

had attacked the king. By this glorious victory Axayacatl added Xiquipilco, Xocotitlan, Atlacomalco, and all the other places comprehended in the valley which were not before ſubdued, to the crown of Mexico.

As ſoon as Axayacatl had recovered of his wound, which made him halt in one leg during the reſt of his life, he gave a great entertainment to the allied kings, at which he put Tlilcuezpalin and the two other captains to death. The execution of ſuch a puniſhment did not appear to thoſe people unſeaſonable, amidſt the feſtivity of an entertainment; from being uſed to ſhed human blood, the horror naturally ariſing from it, changed into recreation. So ſtrong is the force of cuſtom, and ſo eaſy is it to familiarize our minds to the moſt horrible objects.

In the laſt years of his reign, the bounds of his empire appearing rather too confined towards the weſt, he again took the field; and paſſing through the valley of Toluca, and croſſing the mountains, he conquered Tochpan and Tlaximalojan, which was afterwards the frontier of the kingdom of Michuacan. From thence returning towards the eaſt he made himſelf maſter of Ocuilla and Malacatepec. The progreſs of his conqueſts and victories were now interrupted by his death, which happened in the thirteenth year of his reign, or the 1477 of the vulgar era. He had a genius for war, and was rigorous in puniſhing the tranſgreſſors of the laws which his predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed. He left a numerous offspring by his different wives, among which was the celebrated Montezuma of whom we ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to ſpeak.

SECT. XVIII. Tizoc, ſeventh king of Mexico.

In the room of Axayacatl, Tizoc was elected, who was his elder brother and had ſerved in the poſt of general of the army (*n*). We do not find where he made his firſt expedition to procure the victims neceſſary at the ceremony of his coronation. His reign was ſhort and obſcure. In the tenth painting, however, of Mendoza's collection there is a repreſentation of fourteen cities ſubdued by him, among which are Toluca and Tecaxic, which having rebelled againſt the crown, occaſioned the neceſſity of re-conquering them; alſo Chillan, Jancuitlan, in the coun-

(*n*) Acoſta makes Tizoc ſon of Montezuma I. and the interpreter of Mendoza's collection, makes him ſon of Axayacatl; but both are demonſtrated to be wrong, by other hiſtorians. Acoſta was wrong alſo in the order of the kings, as he placed Tizoc's reign before Axayacatl. See our Diſſertations on this head.

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try of the Mixtecas, Mazatlan, Tlapan, and Tamapachco. Torquemada makes mention of a victory which he obtained over Tlacotepec.

SECT. XIX. War between the Tezcucans and the Huexotzincas.

It was in the time of this king, that the war between the Tezcucan nation and the Huexotzincas happened. This war took its rise from the ambition of the princes the brothers of king Nezahualpilli. Although they shewed no discontent, in the beginning, at the exaltation of their younger brother, yet as the memory of their late father began to die away, they felt themselves unable to endure the controul of one whom, in point of age, they had a right to command; and formed a secret conspiracy against him. To help them in their wicked designs they applied first to the Chalchese, who were always the fittest and readiest for such undertakings; but failing in all the means employed by them, they made solicitations to the Huexotzincas for the same purpose. Nezahualpilli being appriſed of their conspiracy, raised speedily a strong army, and marched against the Huexotzincas. The general of that state had procured intelligence of the marks of Nezahualpilli's person, that he might direct all his blows against him, and had promised rewards to any person who should produce the king to him alive, or dead. There were not wanting others, who intimated all this to the king; upon which, before he entered into battle he changed garments with one of his captains. This unfortunate officer, being taken for the king, was quickly set upon by the multitude, and killed. As the enemy were giving to vent their fury on him, Nezahualpilli made his attack on the Huexotzincan general, and killed him, though not without the greatest risk of being cut to pieces by the soldiers who flew to the defence of their general. The Tezcucan people, who fell into the same mistake with those of Huexotzinco, by not knowing the exchange of dress which had been made, began to be dispirited; but suddenly again recognizing the king, they ran up eagerly to rescue him; and after defeating the enemy, they sacked the city of Huexotzinco, and returned triumphant with spoils to Tezcuco. Historians are silent respecting the fate of the princes who were the authors of this conspiracy. It is probable they were either slain in the battle, or escaped by flight from the chastisement they deserved. Nezahualpilli, who, a little before had built himself a new palace, desirous of leaving a perpetual monument of this victory, ordered likewise the construction of a wall, which should

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incloſe exactly ſo much ſpace of ground as was occupied by the Huexotzincas when they came up to the defence of their general, and gave the place the name of that day on which he had obtained the victory. Thus did thoſe, who are thought by many to have no views of futurity, ſeek to immortalize their name and the glory of their actions.

SECT. XX. Marriage of king Nezahualpilli with two noble ladies of Mexico.

The king of Tezcuco had already ſeveral wives, who were deſcended of noble houſes; but he had not declared any of them his queen, having reſerved that honour for one whom he was to take of the royal family of Mexico. He demanded her of king Tizoc, who gave him one of his grand-daughters, and daughter of *Tzotzocatzin*. The nuptials were ſolemnized in Tezcuco, a great concourſe of the nobility of both courts being preſent. This lady had a ſiſter poſſeſſed of ſingular beauty, who was named *Xocotzin*. They loved each other ſo much, that not being able to endure a ſeparation, the new queen obtained permiſſion from her father, to take her ſiſter along with her to Tezcuco. By frequently viewing and converſing with his beautiful couſin, the king became ſo enamoured, that he reſolved to wed her alſo, and raiſe her to the dignity of queen. Theſe ſecond nuptials, according to the account given by hiſtorians, were the moſt ſolemn and magnificent which were ever celebrated in that country. A ſhort time after, the king had by his firſt queen, a ſon named *Cacamatzin*, who ſucceeded him in the crown, and being afterwards made priſoner by the Spaniards, died unhappily. By the ſecond he had *Huexotzincatzin* (*o*), of whom we ſhall ſpeak preſently, *Coanacotzin*, who was alſo king of Acolhuacan, and, ſome time after the conqueſt by the Spaniards, ordered to be hanged by the conqueror Cortes, and *Ixtlilxochitl*, who became a confederate of the Spaniards againſt the Mexicans, and was converted to chriſtianity, and baptized by the name and ſurname of that conqueror.

SECT. XXI. Tragic death of king Tizoc.

Whilſt Nezahualpilli continued to multiply his deſcendants, enjoying great peace and tranquillity in his kingdom, the death of the king of Mexico was plotted by ſome of his feudatory ſubjects. Techotlalla, lord of Iztapalapan, either in reſentment of ſome affront he had received, or grown impatient of ſubordination to Tizoc, conceived the guilty purpoſe of attempting the king's life, but diſcovered it to thoſe only whom

(*o*) The name Huexotzincatl given to that prince, was certainly on account of his victory over the Huexotzincas.

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SECT. XXIV. Conquests of king Ahuitzotl.

Ahuitzotl, whose warlike genius did not permit him to enjoy peace, went again to war against Cozcaquauhtenanco, and obtained a complete victory; but having met with an obstinate resistance, he treated them with great severity. Afterwards he subdued Quapilollan, and passed from thence to make war on Quetzalcuitlapillan, a large province peopled with a warlike nation *(s)*; and lastly turned his arms against *Quauhtla*, a place situate on the coast of the gulf of Mexico, in which war Montezuma, the son of Axayacatl, and the successor of Ahuitzotl in the kingdom distinguished himself. A little time after, the Mexicans together with the Tezcucans, went against the Huexotzincas, in which war Tezcatzin, the brother of the above mentioned Montezuma, and Tliltototl, a noble Mexican officer, who afterwards became general of the army, gained great renown. We do not find in historians either the cause or particulars of this war. The expedition against the Huexotzincas being concluded, Ahuitzotl celebrated the dedication of a new temple called *Tlacatecco*, at which the prisoners made in the preceeding wars were sacrificed; but the rejoicings of this festival were disturbed by the burning of the temple of *Tlillan*.

Thus this king continued in constant wars until 1496, in which the war of Atlixco happened. The entry of the Mexican army into this valley was so unexpected, that the first intimation which the Atlixchese nation had of it was the sight of them when they entered. They took up arms immediately in their defence; but finding they had not forces sufficient to resist any length of time, they applied to the Huexotzincas, their neighbours, for assistance. When the Atlixchese ambassadors arrived at Heuxotzinco, they found a famous captain named *Toltecatl* playing at football, whose great courage was still less remarkable than the extraordinary strength of his arm. As soon as he was informed concerning the Mexican army, he quitted play to repair with auxiliary troops to Atlixco, and entering into the battle unarmed to shew his bravery, and the contempt he entertained of his enemies, he knocked down the first Mexican he met with his fist, and took his arms from him, with which he began to make great slaughter. The Mexicans being

(s) Torquemada says, that Ahuitzotl having frequently attempted the conquest of Quetzalcuitlanpillan, did never yet succeed; but among the conquests of this king in the eleventh painting of Mendoza's Collection, this province is represented.

unable to overcome the reſiſtance of their enemies, abandoned the field and returned to Mexico covered with ignominy. The Huexotzincas, in reward of the ſingular bravery of Toltecatl, made him the chief of their republic. This ſtate however was afterwards ſubjected to the dominion of the Mexicans whom they again provoked by freſh inſults; but as the conquered nations only bore the yoke while they could not ſhake it off, whenever the Huexotzincas found themſelves able to reſiſt, they rebelled; and the greater part of the provinces ſubdued by the Mexican arms did the ſame, which forced the Mexican army to keep in continual motion, to regain what their king occaſionally loſt in this way. Toltecatl accepted the dignity and poſt conferred upon him; but a year had hardly elapſed when he was conſtrained to abandon not only his charge but his country. The prieſts and other miniſters of the temples making an abuſe of their authority, entered into private houſes and took away the maize and turkeys which they found in them, and committed other exceſſes unbecoming their dignity. Toltecatl endeavoured to put a ſtop to ſuch injuſtice; but the prieſts roſe in arms. The populace ſupported them; another party oppoſed their violence, and a war kindled between the two factions, which, like all other civil wars, brought on the greateſt evils. Toltecatl weary of governing a people ſo untractable, or afraid of periſhing in the ſtorm, removed from the city with ſome other nobles, and paſſing the mountains arrived at Tlalmanalco. The governor of that city gave ſpeedy advice of them to the king of Mexico, who inſtantly put all the fugitives to death in puniſhment of their rebellion, and ſent their dead bodies to Huexotzinco to intimidate the rebels.

SECT. XXV. New inundation of Mexico.

In the year 1498, it appearing to the king of Mexico, that the navigation of the lake was become difficult from the ſcarcity of water, he was deſirous of increaſing it from the fountain of Huitzilopochco which ſupplied the Cojoacaneſe, and called on Tzotzomatzin, lord of Cojoacan, to give his orders for that purpoſe. Tzotzomatzin repreſented to him that that ſpring was not conſtant; that ſometimes it was dry, and at other times ran in ſuch abundance, that it might cauſe ſome diſaſter to his court. Ahuitzotl imagining that theſe reaſons were mere pretences to be excuſed from doing what he was commanded, repeated his firſt order, but hearing the difficulty firſt mentioned inſiſted on, diſmiſſed

him in anger, and made him be put to death. Such is too often the recompence of good counſel when princes are obſtinate in their caprices, and neglect to attend to the ſincere remonſtrances of their faithful ſubjects. Ahuitzotl being unwilling on any account to abandon his projects, cauſed a large and ſpacious aqueduct to be formed (*t*) from Cojoacan to Mexico, by which the water was conveyed with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies; ſome of the prieſts offering incenſe, others ſacrificing quails, and anointing the lip or border of the aqueduct with the blood; others ſounding muſical inſtruments, and otherwiſe ſolemnizing the arrival of the water. The high-prieſt wore the ſame habit with which they repreſented *Chalchihuitlicue*, goddeſs of the water (*u*).

With ſuch congratulations the water was received at Mexico; but the prevailing joy was not long of being changed into lamentations: as the rains of that year were ſo plentiful, the waters of the lake roſe and overflowed the city; the ſtreets were filled with ſailing veſſels, and ſome houſes waſhed away. The king happening to be one day in the lower chambers of his palace, the water entered ſuddenly in ſuch abundance, that as he haſtened to get out at the door, which was low, he received a violent contuſion on his head, which ſome time after occaſioned his death. Diſtreſſed equally with the accident of the inundation, and the clamours of his people, he called the king of Acolhuacan to his aſſiſtance, who, without delay, ordered the dyke to be repaired, which had been built by the advice of his father in the reign of Montezuma.

The Mexicans were ſcarcely delivered from the calamity of the inundation, when a year after, the ſuperabundance of water having rotted all their maize, they were afflicted with a ſcarcity of corn; but in this year they had the fortune to diſcover a quarry of tetzontli in the vale of Mexico, which proved ſo uſeful for the buildings of that city. The king immediately made uſe of this kind of ſtone for temples; and after his example, private individuals built their houſes of it. He or-

(*t*) This aqueduct was entirely deſtroyed by Ahuitzotl himſelf, or his ſucceſſor, for on the arrival of the Spaniards nothing remained of it.

(*u*) Acoſta teſtifies that the conveyance of the water of Huitzilopochco to Mexico, and the ceremonies performed by the prieſts were repreſented in a Mexican painting, which in his time was, and may be ſtill, in the library of the Vatican.

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dered all ruinous edifices to be pulled down and rebuilt in a better form; adding much to the beauty and magnificence of his court.

SECT. XXVI. New conquests and death of Ahuitzotl.

He passed the last years of his life in constant wars, namely, those of Izquixochitlan, Amatlan, Tlacuilollan, Xaltepec, Tecuantepec, and Huexotla in Huaxteca. Tliltototl, the Mexican general, having finished the war of Izquixochitlan, carried his victorious arms as far as Quahtemallan, or Guatemala, more than nine hundred miles to the south-east from the court, in which campaigns, according to the historians, he performed prodigies of valour, but none of them relate the particular actions of this renowned general; nor do we know whether that great tract of country remained subject to the crown of Mexico.

At length in the year 1502, after a reign of about twenty years, Ahuitzotl died of an illness occasioned by the abovementioned contusion on his head. He was a very warlike king, and one of those who extended most considerably the dominions of the crown. At the time of his death, the Mexicans were in possession of all which they had at the arrival of the Spaniards. Besides courage, he had two other royal virtues, which made him celebrated among his countrymen; these were magnificence and liberality. He embellished Mexico with so many new and magnificent buildings, that it was already become the first city of the new world. When he received the provincial tributes he assembled the people in a certain square of the city, and personally distributed provisions and cloathing to the necessitous. He rewarded his captains and soldiers who distinguished themselves in war, and the ministers and officers of the crown who served him with fidelity, with gold, silver, jewels, and precious feathers. These virtues were put to the foil by some vices, as he was capricious, vindictive, and sometimes cruel, and so inclined to war, that he appeared to hate peace; from which the name Ahuitzotl was used proverbially by the Spaniards of that kingdom to signify a man whose troublesome vexatious temper would not permit another to live (x). But he was in other respects good humoured, and delighted so much in music, that he never wanted, neither by night nor day this amusement in his palace; but it must have been prejudicial to the public good, as it robbed him of a great part of that time which should

(x) The Spaniards say, N. ès mio Ahuitzote; Questi ès l'Ahuitzote di N. a niuno manca il suo Ahuitzote, &c.

have

have been dedicated to the important concerns of his kingdom. He was not leſs attached to the company of women. His predeceſſors had many wives, from an opinion that their authority and grandeur would be heightened in proportion to the number of perſons who contributed to their pleaſures. Ahuitzotl having ſo much extended his dominions, and encreaſed the power of the crown, was deſirous alſo of ſhewing the ſuperiority of his grandeur over that of his anceſtors, in the exceſſive number of his wives. In this ſtate was the court of Mexico at the beginning of the ſixteenth century; of that century ſo fruitful in great events, during which that kingdom was to put on a quite different aſpect, and the whole order and ſyſtem of the new world was to be reverſed.

BOOK V.

Events under Montezuma II. the ninth King of Mexico, until the Year 1519. Particulars of his Life, his Government, and the Magnificence of his Palaces, Gardens, and Woods. The War of Tlaſcala, and ſome Account of Tlahuicole, a Tlaſcalan Captain. Death and Eulogium of Nezahualpilli, King of Acolhuacan, and new Revolutions in that Kingdom. Preſages of the Arrival of the Spaniards.

BOOK V.

SECT. I. Montezuma, the ninth king of Mexico.

AHuitzotl being dead, and his funeral celebrated with extraordinary magnificence, they proceeded to the election of a new ſovereign. No brother of the preceding kings ſurvived; on which account, according to the law of the kingdom, one of the grandſons of the laſt king, who were ſons of his predeceſſors, had the right of ſucceſſion; of theſe there were many; for of the ſons of Axayacatl, Montezuma, Cuitlahuac, Matlatzincatl, Pinahuitzin, Cecepacticatzin, were ſtill living, and of thoſe of king Tizoc, Imactlacuijatzin, Tepehuatzin, and others, whoſe names we do not know. Montezuma, who was called by the name of *Xocojotzin*, to diſtinguiſh him from the other king of that name, was elected in preference to all the others *(a)*.

(z) Beſides the bravery which he had diſplayed in ſeveral battles, in which he held the poſt of general, he was likewiſe a prieſt, and much revered for his gravity, his circumſpection, and religion. He was a man of a taciturn temper, extremely deliberate, not only in words, but alſo in his actions; and whenever he ſpoke in the royal council, of which he was a member, he was liſtened to with reſpect.

(*a*) The author of the Annotations to Cortes's Letters, printed in Mexico in the year 1770 ſays, that Montezuma II. was ſon of Montezuma I. This is a groſs miſtake, as we know from all the hiſtorians, both Mexican and Spaniſh, that he was the ſon of Axayacatl. See Torquemada, Bernal Diaz, the interpreter of Mendoza's Collection, &c.

The firſt Montezuma was called by the Mexicans *Huehue Motuzoma*, and the ſecond *Motezoma Xocojotzin*, names which are equivalent to the *ſenior* and *junior* of the Latins.

Notice

BOOK V.

Notice of the election being ſent to the two allied kings, they repaired inſtantly to the court to pay their compliments. Montezuma, being apprized of it, alſo retired to the temple, appearing to think himſelf unworthy of ſo much honour. The nobility went there to acquaint him with his being elected, and found him ſweeping the pavement of the temple. He was conducted by a numerous attendance to the palace, where the electors, with due ſolemnity, intimated the election had fallen on him as the fitteſt perſon to fill the throne of Mexico. From thence he returned to the temple to perform the uſual ceremonies, and as ſoon as they were finiſhed he received on the throne the homage of the nobility, and heard the congratulatory harangues of the orators. The firſt ſpeech was made by Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan, which we preſent to our readers ſuch as it is preſerved to us by the Mexicans.

"The great good fortune," he ſaid, "of the Mexican monarchy is "made manifeſt from the unanimity in your election, and the uncommon "applauſe with which it is celebrated by all. All have in truth rea- "ſon to celebrate it, for the kingdom of Mexico is arrived at ſuch "greatneſs, no leſs fortitude than your invincible heart poſſeſſes, no "leſs wiſdom than that which in you we admire, would be ſuffi- "cient to ſupport ſo great a load. It is moſt evident, how ſtrong "the love is which the omnipotent God bears to this nation; as "he has enlightened it, that it may diſcern and chuſe that which can "be moſt beneficial to it. Who is able to perſuade himſelf that he, "who, as a private individual, has ſearched into the myſteries of hea- "ven *(a)*, will not now, when king, know the things of this earth, "which will preſerve the happineſs of his ſubjects? That he who on ſo "many occaſions has diſplayed the greatneſs of his ſoul, will not now re- "tain it when it is become moſt neceſſary to him? Who can believe, "that where there is ſo much courage, and ſo much wiſdom, the widow "or the orphan will ever apply without relief? The Mexican empire "has unqueſtionably attained the height of its power, as the Creator of "heaven has inveſted you with ſo much authority as to inſpire all thoſe "who behold you with awe and reſpect. Rejoice, therefore, O happy

(*a*) This ſaying of Nezahualpilli appears to imply that Montezuma was engaged in the ſtudy of aſtronomy.

"land,

" land, that you are deſtined to have a prince who will not only be thy
" ſupport, but will by his clemency prove a father and brother to his ſub-
" jects. Thou haſt, indeed, a king who will not ſeize the occaſion of his
" exaltation to give himſelf up to luxury, and lie ſluggiſhly in bed, aban-
" doned to paſtimes and effeminate pleaſures; his anxiety for thee rather
" will wake and agitate his boſom in the ſofteſt hour of repoſe, nor
" will he be able to taſte food, or reliſh the moſt delicious morſel, while
" thy intereſts are oppreſſed or neglected. And do you, noble prince and
" moſt powerful lord, be confident, and truſt that the Creator of hea-
" ven, who has raiſed you to ſo high a dignity, will give you ſtrength
" to diſcharge all the obligations which are annexed to it. He who
" has hitherto been ſo liberal to you, will not now be niggardly of his
" precious gifts, having himſelf raiſed you to the throne on which I
" wiſh you many years of happineſs."

Montezuma heard this harangue with much attention, and was ſo greatly affected by it, that he attempted three times to anſwer it, but could not, from the interruption of the tears, which the ſecret pleaſure he felt produced, and gave him the appearance of much humility; but, at laſt after checking his emotions, he replied in few words, declaring himſelf unworthy of the ſtation to which he was exalted, and returning thanks to that king for the praiſes which he beſtowed on him; and after hearing the other addreſſes on this occaſion, he returned to the temple to keep faſt for four days, at the end of which he was re-conducted with great ſtate to the royal palace.

He thought now of going to war to procure victims to be ſacrificed at his coronation. This diſaſter fell upon the Atlixcheſe, who ſome time before had rebelled againſt the crown. The king, accordingly, ſet out from the court, with the flower of the nobility, his brothers and couſins being amongſt the number. In this war the Mexicans loſt ſome brave officers; but, notwithſtanding, they reduced the rebels under their former yoke, and Montezuma returned victorious, bringing along with him the priſoners which he required at his coronation. On this occaſion was diſplayed ſo much pomp of games, dances, theatrical repreſentations and illuminations, and with ſuch variety and richneſs of tributes ſent from the different provinces of the kingdom, that foreigners never known before in Mexico, came to ſee

it, and even the enemies of the Mexicans, namely, the Tlaſcalans and Michuacaneſe were preſent in diſguiſe at the ſpectacle; but Montezuma having intelligence of this, with a generoſity becoming a king, ordered them to be properly lodged and entertained, and cauſed ſeveral ſcaffolds to be erected where they might with eaſe and conveniency view the whole of the ſolemnity.

SECT. II. Deportment and ceremonials of king Montezuma.

The firſt act of this king was to reward a renowned captain, named *Tlilxochitl*, with the ſtate of Tlachaucho, for the great ſervices he had rendered his anceſtors during ſeveral wars: a truly happy commencement of a reign, had his ſucceeding conduct been correſpondent to it. But he had ſcarce begun to exerciſe his authority when he diſcovered the pride which had hitherto lain concealed under an exterior of ſeeming humility. All his predeceſſors had been accuſtomed to confer offices on perſons of merit, and thoſe who appeared the moſt able to diſcharge them, honouring, without partiality, the nobility or thoſe of the claſs of plebeians occaſionally, notwithſtanding the ſolemn agreement entered into by the nobility and plebeians in the reign of Itzcoatl. Montezuma as ſoon as he ſeized the reins of government ſhewed quite different ſentiments, and diſapproved of the conduct of his predeceſſors, under pretence that the plebeians ſhould be employed according to their rank, for that in all their actions the baſeneſs of their birth, and the meanneſs of their education were apparent. Being biaſſed by this maxim, he ſtripped the plebeians of thoſe offices which they held either in his royal manſion, or about the court, and declared them incapable of holding any ſuch in future. A prudent old man, who had been his tutor, repreſented to him that this reſolution would alienate the minds of the people from him; but no remonſtrances were ſufficient to divert him from his purpoſe.

All the ſervants of his palace conſiſted of perſons of rank. Beſides thoſe who conſtantly lived in it, every morning ſix hundred feudatory lords and nobles came to pay court to him. They paſſed the whole day in the anti-chamber, where none of their ſervants were permitted to enter, converſing in a low voice, and waiting the orders of their ſovereign. The ſervants who accompanied thoſe lords, were ſo numerous as to occupy three ſmall courts of the palace, and many waited in the ſtreets. The women about the court were not leſs in number, including thoſe of rank,

ſervants, and ſlaves. All this numerous female tribe, lived ſhut up in a kind of ſeraglio, under the care of ſome noble matrons, who watched over their conduct; as theſe kings were extremely jealous, and every piece of miſconduct which happened in the palace, however ſlight, was ſeverely puniſhed. Of theſe women the king retained thoſe who pleaſed him (*d*); the others he gave away, as a recompence for the ſervices of his vaſſals. All the feudatories of the crown were obliged to reſide for ſome months of the year, at the court; and at their return to their ſtates, to leave their ſons or brothers behind them, as hoſtages, which the king demanded as a ſecurity for their fidelity; on which account they required to keep houſes in Mexico.

The forms and ceremonials introduced at court, were another effect of the deſpotiſm of Montezuma. No one could enter the palace, either to ſerve the king, or to confer with him on any buſineſs, without pulling off his ſhoes and ſtockings at the gate. No perſon was allowed to appear before the king in any pompous dreſs, as it was deemed a want of reſpect to majeſty; conſequently the greateſt lords, excepting the neareſt relations of the king, ſtripped themſelves of the rich dreſs which they wore, or at leaſt covered it with one more ordinary, to ſhew their humility before him. All perſons on entering the hall of audience, and before ſpeaking to the king, made three bows, ſaying at the firſt, lord; at the ſecond, my lord; and at the third, great lord (*e*). They ſpoke low, and with the head inclined, and received the anſwer which the king gave them by means of his ſecretaries, as attentively and humbly as if it had been the voice of an oracle. In taking leave, no perſon ever turned his back upon the throne.

The audience hall ſerved alſo for his dining room. The table was a large pillow, and his ſeat a low chair. The table cloth, napkins, and towels were of cotton, but very fine, white, and always perfectly clean. The kitchen utenſils were of the earthen ware of Cholula; but none of theſe things ever ſerved him more than once, as immediately after he gave them to one of his nobles. The cups in which they prepared his

(*d*) Some hiſtorians affirm that Montezuma had a hundred and fifty of his wives pregnant at once; but it is certainly not very credible.

(*e*) The Mexican words are, *Tlatoani*, lord; *Notlatocatxin*, my lord; and *Huitlatoani*, great lord.

chocolate, and other drinks of the cocoa, were of gold, or ſome beautiful ſea-ſhell, or naturally formed veſſels curiouſly varniſhed, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. He had gold plate, but it was uſed only on certain feſtivals, in the temple. The number, and variety of diſhes at his table amazed the Spaniards who ſaw them. The conqueror Cortez, ſays, that they covered the floor of a great hall, and that there were diſhes of every kind of game, fiſh, fruit, and herbs of that country. Three or four hundred noble youths carried this dinner in form; preſented it as ſoon as the king ſat down to table, and immediately retired; and that it might not grow cold, every diſh was accompanied with its chafing-diſh. The king marked with a rod, which he had in his hand, the meats which he choſe, and the reſt were diſtributed among the nobles who were in the anti-chamber. Before he ſat down, four of the moſt beautiful women of his ſeraglio, preſented water to him to waſh his hands, and continued ſtanding all the time of his dinner, together with ſix of his principal miniſters, and his carver.

As ſoon as the king ſat down to table, the carver ſhut the door of the hall, that none of the other nobles might ſee him eat. The miniſters ſtood at a diſtance, and kept a profound ſilence, unleſs when they made anſwer to what the king ſaid. The carver and the four women ſerved the diſhes to him, beſides two others who brought him bread made of maize baked with eggs. He frequently heard muſic, during the time of his meal, and was entertained with the humorous ſayings of ſome deformed men whom he kept out of mere ſtate. He ſhewed much ſatisfaction in hearing them, and obſerved that amongſt their jeſts, they frequently pronounced ſome important truth. When his dinner was over he took tobacco mixed with liquid amber, in a pipe, or reed beautifully varniſhed, and with the ſmoke of it put himſelf to ſleep.

After having ſlept a little, upon the ſame low chair he gave audience, and liſtened attentively to all that was communicated to him; encouraged thoſe who, from embarraſſment, were unable to ſpeak to him, and anſwered every one by his miniſters or ſecretaries. After giving audience, he was entertained with muſic, being much delighted with hearing the glorious actions of his anceſtors ſung. At other times he amuſed himſelf with ſeeing various games played, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. When he went abroad, he was carried on the

ſhoulders

ſhoulders of the nobles in a litter covered with a rich canopy, attended by a numerous retinue of courtiers; and wherever he paſſed, every perſon ſtopped with their eyes ſhut, as if they feared to be dazzled with the ſplendor of majeſty. When he alighted from the litter to walk on foot, they ſpread carpets, that he might not touch the earth with his feet.

SECT. III. Magnificence of the palaces and royal houſes.

The grandeur and magnificence of his palaces, houſes of pleaſure, woods, and gardens, were correſpondent to this majeſty. The palace of his uſual reſidence was a vaſt edifice of ſtone and lime, which had twenty doors to the public ſquare and ſtreets; three great courts, in one of which was a beautiful fountain, ſeveral halls, and more than a hundred chambers. Some of the apartments had walls of marble and other valuable kinds of ſtone. The beams were of cedar, cypreſs, and other excellent woods, well finiſhed and carved. Among the halls there was one ſo large, that, according to the teſtimony of an eye-witneſs of veracity (*f*), it could contain three thouſand people. Beſides this palace, he had others, both within and without the capital. In Mexico, beſides the ſeraglio for his wives, there was lodging for all his miniſters and counſellors, and all the officers of his houſhold and court; and alſo accommodation for foreign lords who arrived there, and particularly for the two allied kings.

Two houſes in Mexico he appropriated to animals; the one for birds, which did not live by prey; the other for thoſe of prey, quadrupeds, and reptiles. There were ſeveral chambers belonging to the firſt, and galleries ſupported on pillars of marble, all of one piece. Theſe galleries looked towards a garden, where, in the midſt of ſome ſhrubbery, ten fiſh-ponds were formed, ſome of them of freſh water for the aquatic birds of rivers, and others of ſalt-water for thoſe of the ſea. In other parts of the houſe were all ſorts of birds, in ſuch number and variety, as to ſtrike the Spaniards with wonder, who could not believe there was any ſpecies in the world wanting to the collection. They were ſupplied with the ſame food which they fed upon while they enjoyed their liberty, whether ſeeds, fruits, or inſects. For thoſe birds

(*f*) The anonymous conqueror, in his valuable relation or narrative. He ſays alſo, that he went four different times into that great palace, and ranged over it till he was fatigued, but could not ſee it all.

which

who lived on fiſh only, the daily conſumption was ten Caſtilian *peſos* of fiſh, (according to the teſtimony of the conqueror Cortez, in his letters to Charles V.) which is more than three hundred Roman pounds. Three hundred men, ſays Cortez, were employed to take care of thoſe birds, beſides their phyſicians, who obſerved their diſtempers, and applied timely remedies to them. Of thoſe three hundred men, ſome procured them their food, others diſtributed it, others took care of their eggs at the time of their incubation, and others picked their plumage at certain ſeaſons of the year; for, beſides the pleaſure which the king took in ſeeing ſo great a multitude of animals collected together, he was principally careful of their feathers, not leſs for the ſake of the famous Moſaic images, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, than of the other works which were made of them. The halls and chambers of thoſe houſes, were ſo many in number, as the conqueror above mentioned atteſts, that they could have accommodated two great princes with all their retinue. This celebrated houſe was ſituated in the place where, at preſent, the great convent of St. Francis ſtands.

The other houſe appropriated to the wild animals, had a large and handſome court, with a chequered pavement, and was divided into various apartments. One of them contained all the birds of prey, from the royal eagle to the keſtrel, and many individuals of every ſpecies. Theſe birds were diſtributed, according to their ſpecies, in various ſubterraneous chambers, which were more than ſeven feet deep, and upwards of ſeventeen in length and breadth. The half of every chamber was covered with flat ſtones: and ſtakes were fixed in the wall, on which they might ſleep, and be defended from rain. The other half of the chamber was only covered with a lattice, through which they enjoyed the light of the ſun. For the ſupport of theſe birds, were killed, daily, near five hundred turkeys. In the ſame houſe were many low halls filled with a great number of ſtrong wooden cages, in which, lions, tygers, wolves, coyotoo, and wild cats were confined, and all other kinds of wild beaſts, which were fed upon deer, rabbits, hares, techichis, and other animals, and the inteſtines of human ſacrifices.

The king of Mexico not only kept all the ſpecies of animals, which other princes do for ſtate, but likewiſe ſuch as by nature ſeemed exempted

empted from ſlavery, namely, crocodiles, and ſerpents. The ſerpents were kept in large caſks or veſſels; the crocodiles in ponds, which were walled round. There were alſo, various ponds for fiſh, two of which, that are remaining and ſtill beautiful, we have ſeen in the palace of Chapoltepec, two miles from Mexico.

Montezuma, who was not ſatisfied with having every ſort of animal in his palace, alſo collected there all irregularly formed men, who either from the colour of their hair, or of their ſkin, or ſome other deformity in their perſons, were oddities of their ſpecies. A humour this, however, not unattended with beneficial conſequences, as it gave maintenance to a number of miſerable objects, and delivered them from the inhuman inſults of their other fellow-creatures.

All his palaces were ſurrounded with beautiful gardens, where there was every kind of beautiful flower, odoriferous herb, and medicinal plant. He had, likewiſe, woods incloſed with walls, and furniſhed with variety of game, in which he frequently ſported. One of thoſe woods was upon an iſland in the lake, known at preſent, among the Spaniards, by the name of *Piñon*.

Of all theſe palaces, gardens, and woods, there is now remaining the wood of Chapoltepec only, which the Spaniſh viceroys have preſerved for their pleaſure. All the others were deſtroyed by the conquerors. They laid in ruins the moſt magnificent buildings of antiquity, ſometimes from an indiſcreet zeal for religion, ſometimes in revenge, or to make uſe of the materials. They neglected the cultivation of the royal gardens, cut down the woods, and reduced that country to ſuch a ſtate, the magnificence of its former kings could not now find belief, were it not confirmed by the teſtimony of thoſe who were the cauſes of its annihilation.

Not only the palaces, but all the other places of pleaſure, were kept in exquiſite order and neatneſs, even thoſe which were ſeldom or never viſited; as there was nothing in which he took more pride than the cleanlineſs of his own perſon, and of every thing elſe which was his. He bathed regularly every day, and had baths, therefore, in all his palaces. Every day he wore four dreſſes; and that which he once put off, he never after uſed again: theſe were reſerved as largeſſes for the nobles who ſerved him, and the ſoldiers who behaved gallantly in war. Every morning,

SECT. IV. The good and bad of Montezuma.

morning, according to the accounts given by ſome hiſtorians, upwards of a thouſand men were employed by him in ſweeping and watering the ſtreets of the city.

In one of the royal buildings was an armory filled with all kind of offenſive and defenſive arms, which were made uſe of by thoſe nations, with military ornaments, and enſigns. He kept a ſurpriſing number of artificers at work, in manufacturing theſe and other things. He had numerous artiſts conſtantly buſied likewiſe, namely, goldſmiths, Moſaic work-men, ſculptors, painters, and others. One whole diſtrict conſiſted ſolely of dancing-maſters, who were trained up to entertain him.

His zeal for religion was not leſs conſpicuous than his magnificence. He built ſeveral temples to his gods, and made frequent ſacrifices to them, obſerving with great punctuality the eſtabliſhed rites and ceremonies. He was extremely careful that all the temples, and in particular the greater temple of Mexico, ſhould be well kept, and exquiſitely clean; but his vain fear of the auguries and pretended oracles of thoſe falſe divinities totally debaſed his mind.

He was anxiouſly attentive to the execution of his orders, and the laws of the kingdom, and was inexorable in puniſhing tranſgreſſors. He tried, frequently, by ſecret preſents, the integrity of his magiſtrates, and whenever he found any of them guilty, he puniſhed them without remiſſion, even if they were of the firſt rank of the nobility.

He was an implacable enemy to idleneſs, and, in order to baniſh it as much as poſſible from his dominions, he kept his ſubjects perpetually employed; the military, in conſtant warlike exerciſes; the others, in the culture of the fields, and in the conſtruction of new edifices, and other public works; and even beggars, that they might not be totally idle, were enjoined to contribute a certain quantity of thoſe filthy inſects which are the breed of naſtineſs and adherents of wretchedneſs.

The oppreſſion which he made his vaſſals feel, the heavy burdens he impoſed on them, his own arrogance and pride, and exceſſive ſeverity in puniſhments, diſguſted his people; but, on the other hand, he gained their love by his liberality in ſupplying the neceſſities of individuals, as well as rewarding his generals and miniſters. Amongſt other things worthy to be recorded with the higheſt praiſes, and to be imitated by all princes,

princes, he allotted the city of Colhuacan as an hoſpital for all invalids, who, after having done faithful ſervice to the crown, either in military or civil employments, required a proviſion for their age or infirmities. They were there maintained, and attended to at the expence of the king. Such were the good and bad qualities of the celebrated Montezuma; which we have thought proper to lay before the reader here, before we go on to detail the events of his reign. BOOK V.

In the beginning of his government, he put to death Malinalli, lord of Tlachquiauhco, for rebellion againſt the crown of Mexico; he reduced the ſtate again under his obedience, and conquered, alſo, that of *Achiotlan*. A little time after, another war broke out more ſerious and dangerous, in which he was not ſo ſucceſsful.

SECT. V. War of Tlaſcala.

Amongſt the many provinces which either voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to the Mexicans from fear of their power, or were conquered by force of arms, the republic of Tlaſcala remained always unſubdued, having never bowed to the Mexican yoke, although ſo little diſtant from the capital of that empire. The Huexotzincas, Cholulans, and other neighbouring ſtates, who were formerly allied with the republic, growing jealous afterwards of its proſperity, exaſperated the Mexicans againſt it, by inſinuating that the Tlaſcalans were deſirous of making themſelves maſters of the maritime provinces on the Mexican gulf, and that by their commerce with thoſe provinces, they were daily increaſing their power and their wealth, and were gaining the minds of the people with whom they had traffick. The commerce of the Tlaſcalans, of which the Huexotzincas complained, was both juſtifiable and neceſſary; becauſe, beſides that the greater part of the people of theſe coaſts were originally of Tlaſcala, and conſidered each other as kindred and relations; the Tlaſcalans were under the neceſſity of providing themſelves from thence with what cocoas, cotton, and ſalt they wanted. Nevertheleſs the repreſentations of the Huexotzincas had ſuch influence on the Mexicans, that ſince the time of Montezuma I. all the kings of Mexico had treated the Tlaſcalans as the greateſt enemies of the empire, and had always maintained ſtrong garriſons on the frontiers of Tlaſcala, to obſtruct their commerce with the maritime parts.

The Tlaſcalans finding themſelves deprived of their freedom of commerce, and conſequently of the means of obtaining ſome of the neceſſaries

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of life, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to the Mexican nobility, (probably in the time of king Axayacatl) complaining of the wrong done them through the falſe inſinuations of their rivals. The Mexicans who were become inſolent from proſperity, replied, that the king of Mexico was lord of all the world, and all mortals were his vaſſals; and that as ſuch, the Tlaſcalans ſhould render him due obedience, and acknowledge him by tribute, after the example of other nations; but if they refuſed ſubjection, they muſt periſh without remedy, their city would be ſacked, and their country given to be inhabited by another race of people. To ſo arrogant and weak an anſwer, the ambaſſador returned thoſe ſpirited words: "Moſt powerful lords, Tlaſcala owes you no ſubſcription, nor "have the Tlaſcalans ever acknowledged any prince with tributes ſince "their anceſtors left the countries in the North, to inhabit this land. "They have always preſerved their liberty, and being unaccuſtomed to "the ſlavery to which you pretend to ſubject them, rather than ſub-"mit to your power, they will ſhed more blood than their fathers "ſhed in the famous battle of Pojauhtlan."

The Tlaſcalans alarmed at the arrogant and ambitious pretenſions of the Mexicans, and deſpairing of being able to bring them to any amicable agreement, reſolved at laſt to fortify their frontiers to prevent an invaſion. They had already incloſed the lands of the republic with intrenchments, and eſtabliſhed good garriſons on their frontiers: the threats of the Mexicans made them increaſe their fortifications, and ſtrengthen their garriſons, and conſtruct that famous wall ſix miles in length, which prevented the enemy from entering in the quarter of the weſt, where danger was chiefly to be apprehended. They were frequently attacked by the Huexotzincas, the Cholulans, the Itzocaneſe, the Tecamachalcheſe, and other ſtates which were neighbouring, or but little diſtant from Mexico; but they never could wreſt a foot of land from the republic, owing to the watchful attention of the Tlaſcalans, and the bravery with which they reſiſted their invaders.

A great many ſubjects of the crown of Mexico had taken refuge in the country of Tlaſcala, particularly ſome of the Chalcheſe nation, and the Otomies of Xaltocan who fled from the ruin of their native countries, in the wars above-mentioned. They bore an inveterate hatred to the Mexicans, from the evils which they had ſuffered, and appeared, there-

therefore, to the Tlaſcalans, to be the fitteſt people to give vigorous oppoſition to their enemies; in this they were not deceived; for the Mexicans found no reſiſtance more powerful than that which they met with from theſe exiles, eſpecially the Otomies compoſing the frontier garriſons, who ſerved the republic with great fidelity, and were rewarded with the higheſt honours and employments.

All the time that Axayacatl and his ſucceſſors reigned, the Tlaſcalans continued to be obſtructed in their commerce with the maritime provinces, by which means the common people were ſo much in want of ſalt, that they grew accuſtomed to eat their food without that ſeaſoning, and did not return to the uſe of it for many years after the conqueſt; but the nobles, or at leaſt ſome of them, had ſecret correſpondence with ſome Mexican lords, and got a ſupply of what was neceſſary, without the populace of either country having any knowledge of it. Every perſon knows that in all general calamities, the poor are thoſe who ſuffer the greateſt hardſhips, while thoſe of better circumſtances eſcape, or at leaſt find means by their wealth to ſoften and relieve them.

Montezuma being unable to endure a refuſal of obedience and homage from the little republic of Tlaſcala, while ſo many nations, even the moſt diſtant, were tributary to him, ordered in the beginning of his reign, the ſtates in its neighbourhood to muſter their troops, and attack the republic on every ſide. The Huexotzincas, in confederacy with the Cholulans, quickly raiſed their forces, under command of Tecajahuatzin, the chief of the ſtate of Huexotzinco; but confiding more in their arts than their ſtrength, they tried to draw over to their party, by bribes and promiſes, the inhabitants of Huejotlipan, a city of the republic, ſituated on the frontiers of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and the Otomies, who guarded the other frontiers; but neither would be prevailed upon: on the contrary, they declared they were reſolved to die in defence of the republic. Upon which the Huexotzincas, being obliged to make uſe of their ſtrength, entered with ſuch fury into the boundaries of Tlaſcala, that the frontier garriſon was not able to withſtand them: they committed great ſlaughter, and advanced as far as *Xiloxochitla*, which was only three miles diſtant from the capital. There they met with a ſtout reſiſtance from *Tezatlacatzin*, a celebrated Tlaſcalan captain, who fell at laſt however, being over-

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overcome by the multitude of his enemies. Finding themſelves ſo near the capital, they conceived ſuch a dread of the vengeance of the Tlaſcalans, that they retreated precipitately to their own territories. Such was the commencement of the continual battles and the hoſtilities which ſubſiſted between the two ſtates until the arrival of the Spaniards. We are uninformed by hiſtory whether the other ſtates in the neighbourhood of Tlaſcala were engaged in the war: perhaps, the Huexotzincas and and Cholulans were unwilling to let any other have a ſhare in their glory.

The Tlaſcalans were now ſo enraged againſt the Huexotzincas, that they did not confine themſelves any longer to the defence of their ſtate, but frequently ſallied out upon the enemy. At one time they attacked them at the foot of the mountains, which lie to the weſt of Huexotzinco, and reduced them to ſuch difficulties, that finding themſelves unable for reſiſtance, they demanded aſſiſtance from Montezuma, who immediately ordered an army under the command of his firſt-born ſon to their relief. This army marched acroſs the ſouthern border of the mountain and volcano Popocatepec, where it was increaſed with the troops of Chietlan and Itzocan, and from thence it entered by Quauhquechollan into the valley of Atlixco. The Tlaſcalans having intelligence of this route, poſted themſelves in the way to fall upon the Mexicans before they could join the Huexotzincas. The attack was ſo ſudden and unexpected on the Mexicans that they were defeated, and the Tlaſcalans taking advantage of their diſorder, made a conſiderable havoc of them. Amongſt others who were ſlain, the prince the general was one, on whom ſo important a poſt had been conferred probably more from an intention to add this honour to the nobleneſs of his birth than from reſpect to his ſkill in the art of war. The reſt of the army was put to flight, and the conquerors returned to Tlaſcala loaded with ſpoils. It is much to be wondered at that they did not pour immediately upon the city of Huexotzinco, as they might have expected it would have eaſily ſurrendered; but, perhaps, the victory was not ſo complete, but that many of their people fell in the battle, and that they thought it more prudent to enjoy the immediate fruits of victory, and return afterwards with more forces to the war. They quickly returned, but they were repulſed by the Huexotzincas, who

were

were now fortified, ſo that they retreated to Tlaſcala without any other advantage than laying waſte the fields of the Huexotzincas and Cholulans; by which theſe people were ſo reduced as to be forced to ſeek proviſion in Mexico and other places.

Montezuma was deeply affected with the death of his firſt-born ſon, and the defeat of his army: upon which he commanded another army to be raiſed in the provinces ſurrounding Tlaſcala, to block up the whole republic; but the Tlaſcalans foreſeeing the hoſtility of the Mexicans, had made extraordinary fortifications, and ſtrengthened all their garriſons. The conteſt became vigorous on both ſides; but at laſt the royal troops were repulſed, leaving no ſmall ſhare of riches in the hands of their enemies. The Tlaſcalans celebrated this victory with great rejoicings, and rewarded the Otomies, to whom it was chiefly owing, by advancing the moſt reſpectable among them to the dignity of *Texetli*, which was in the greateſt eſteem among them, and giving daughters of the moſt noble Tlaſcalans in marriage to the heads of that nation.

It is not to be doubted that if the king of Mexico had been ſeriouſly bent on the reduction of the Tlaſcalans, he would in the end have ſubjected them to his crown; becauſe although the ſtrength of the republic was conſiderable, its troops warlike, and its places ſtrong, they were ſtill inferior to the Mexicans in reſources and power. From which it appears probable, as hiſtorians affirm, that the kings of Mexico, although they had conquered the moſt diſtant provinces, deſignedly let the republic of Tlaſcala exiſt, which is ſcarcely ſixty miles diſtant from that capital; not only that they might have an enemy at hand againſt whom they might exerciſe their troops; but likewiſe that they might always be able to procure with eaſe victims for their ſacrifices. The frequent attacks which they made on the different places of Tlaſcala, ſerved for both theſe purpoſes.

SECT. VI. Tlahuicol, a celebrated general of the Tlaſcalans.

Among the Tlaſcalan victims in the hiſtory of Mexico, a very famous general, named *Tlahuicol*, is extremely worhy of memory (*g*). His courage, and the uncommon ſtrength of his arms, were unequalled and wonderful. The *maquahuitl*, or Mexican ſword, with which he

(*g*) The event reſpecting this officer happened in the laſt years of Montezuma's reign; but on account of its connection with the war of Tlaſcala we have thought proper to introduce it here.

fought

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fought, was ſo weighty, that a man of ordinary ſtrength could hardly raiſe it from the ground. His name was a terror to the enemies of the republic, and wherever he appeared in arms, they fled before him. In an aſſault which the Huexotzincas made upon a garriſon of the Ottomies, he got inadvertently, during the heat of the engagement, into a marſh, where not being able to move with ſufficient agility, he was made priſoner, confined in a ſtrong cage, carried to Mexico, and preſented to Montezuma. The king, who could eſteem merit even in his enemies, inſtead of putting him to death, graciouſly granted him liberty to return to his native country; but the proud Tlaſcalan would not accept the favour, pretending that as he had been made priſoner, he had not confidence to preſent himſelf after ſuch diſhonour before his countrymen. He ſaid he deſired to die like the other priſoners, in honour of their god. Montezuma obſerving his averſion to return to his country, and at the ſame time being unwilling to deprive the world of a man who was ſo renowned, continued to entertain him at his court, in hopes of making him a friend to the Mexicans, and gaining his ſervices to the crown. In the mean time a war broke out with the Michuacaneſe, the reaſons and particulars of which we know not, when Montezuma committed the command of the army which he ſent to Tlaximalojan, the frontier as we have already mentioned of Michuacan, to Tlahuicol. Tlahuicol correſponded faithfully with the truſt repoſed in him; for although he could not diſlodge the enemy from the place where they were fortified, yet he made many priſoners, and brought off a great quantity of gold and ſilver. Montezuma was ſenſible of his ſervices, and again made him offers of liberty; but this being refuſed as formerly, he was offered the honourable poſt of *Tlacatecatl*, general of the Mexican arms. To this the Tlaſcalan nobly anſwered, that he would never be a traitor to his country, that he deſired poſitively to die, provided it might be in the gladiatorian ſacrifice, which as it was reſerved for the moſt reſpectable priſoners, would therefore be more honourable to him. This celebrated general paſſed three years in Mexico with one of his wives, who came there from Tlaſcala to live with him. It is probable, that the Mexicans brought her to him that he might leave them ſome poſterity, to ennoble with his virtues the court and kingdom of Mexico. The king perceiving at laſt the obſtinacy with which he refuſed

fuſed every offer which was made him, yielded to his barbarous inclination, and appointed the day of the ſacrifice. Eight days before the arrival of that day, they began to celebrate the occaſion with entertainments of dancing; after which, they, in preſence of the king, the nobility, and an immenſe croud of people, put the Tlaſcalan priſoner, tied by one foot, upon the *Temalacatl*, or the large round ſtone on which ſuch ſacrifices were made. Several brave men came on, one at a time, to fight with him, of whom, according to report, he killed eight and wounded twenty, until at laſt falling almoſt dead from a ſevere blow which he received on the head, they carried him before the idol of Huitzilopochtli, where the prieſts opened his breaſt and took out his heart, and threw the body down the ſtair of the temple according to the eſtabliſhed rites. Thus fell this famous general, whoſe courage and fidelity to his country, had he lived in more enlightened times, would have raiſed him high in the rank of heroes.

SECT. VII. Famine in the provinces of the empire, and public works in the capital.

During the time in which war was carrying on againſt the Tlaſcalans, ſome provinces of the empire were diſtreſſed with a famine, occaſioned by two years of dry weather. All the grain which individuals poſſeſſed being conſumed, the king had an opportunity of ſhewing his liberality; he opened all his granaries, and diſtributed among his ſubjects all the maize which was in them; but this not being ſufficient to relieve their neceſſities, in imitation of Montezuma I. he permitted them to go to other countries to procure their ſubſiſtence. The following year, 1505, having had an abundant harveſt, the Mexicans went to war againſt Guatemala, a province upwards of nine hundred miles diſtant from Mexico in the ſouth-eaſt. During the continuance of this war, occaſioned probably by ſome hoſtilities offered to ſome of the ſubjects of the crown, the building of a temple, erected in honour of the goddeſs *Centiotl*, was finiſhed at Mexico, the conſecration of which was celebrated with the ſacrifice of the priſoners made in that war.

They had, during this ſeaſon alſo, enlarged the road upon the lake from Chapoltepec to Mexico, and repaired the aqueduct which was upon that road, but the rejoicings which the concluſion of ſuch a labour excited were interrupted by the turret of another temple, called *Zomolli*, being ſet on fire by lightning. The inhabitants of that part of

of the city which was moſt diſtant from the temple, and eſpecially the Tlatelolcos, having perceived no lightning, were perſuaded that the burning was cauſed by enemies come unexpectedly into the city, upon which they immediately roſe in arms to defend it, and ran in troops towards the temple. Montezuma being ſuſpicious that it was a mere pretence of the Tlatelolcos to raiſe a ſedition, as he was always diffident of them, was ſo provoked at their diſturbance, that he deprived them of all the public offices which they held, and even forbade their appearance at court, neither proteſtations of their innocence, nor prayers with which they implored the royal mercy, having ſufficient weight to make him alter his reſolution; but as ſoon as the firſt heat of his paſſion was over, they were reinſtated in their employments and his favour.

SECT. VIII. Rebellion of the Mixtecas and Zapotecas.

In the mean while the Mixtecas and Zapotecas rebelled againſt the crown. The principal leaders of the rebellion, in which all the lords of each nation had engaged, were *Cetecpatl*, lord of Coaixtlahuacan, and *Mochuixochitl*, lord of Tzotzollan. Firſt of all they treacherouſly murdered all the Mexicans in the garriſons of Huayjacac and other places. As ſoon as Montezuma had information of the rebellion, he ſent a large army againſt them, compoſed of Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tepanecas, under the command of prince Cuitlahuac, his brother and ſucceſſor in the crown. The rebels were totally defeated, a great many of them taken priſoners with their chiefs, and their cities ſacked. The army returned to Mexico loaded with ſpoils, the priſoners were ſacrificed, and the ſtate of Tzotzollan was given to *Cozcaquauhtli*, the brother of Nahuixochitl, for his fidelity to the crown, preferring the duties of a ſubject to the ties of blood; but *Cetecpatl* was not ſacrificed, as he had not yet diſcovered all his accomplices in the rebellion, and the deſigns of the rebels.

SECT. IX. Conteſt between the Huexotzincas and Cholulans.

Some little time after this expedition, a diſpute and quarrel aroſe between the Huexotzincas and the Cholulans their friends and neighbours, which as it was left to be decided by arms, occaſioned a pitched battle to be fought. The Cholulans being more verſed in the forms of religion, in commerce, and the arts than ſkilled in the ſcience of war, were ſoon defeated, and forced to retreat to their city, where their enemies purſued them, killed ſome of their people, and burned ſome of their houſes. The Huexotzincas had hardly gained the victory when they found cauſe to repent

repent it, on account of the chaſtiſement which they apprehended would follow it; that they might prevent this, they ſent two reſpectable perſons to king Montezuma, whoſe names were *Tolimpanecatl*, and *Tzoncoztli*, who were to juſtify them, and lay the blame on the Cholulans. Theſe ambaſſadors, either with a deſign to magnify the courage of their citizens, or from ſome other motive, exaggerated the ſlaughter made of the Cholulans to ſuch a degree, that the king believed they were all cut to pieces, or that the few whoſe lives had been ſaved had abandoned the city. On hearing this account Montezuma was extremely afflicted, and dreaded the revenge of the god Quelzalcoatl, whoſe ſanctuary, which was one of the moſt celebrated and moſt honoured of all that land, he conceived to have been profaned by the Huexzotzincas. Having conſulted, therefore, with the two allied kings, he ſent ſome perſons from his court to Cholula, to gain juſt information of this tranſaction; and having found it very different from the repreſentation given by the Huexotzincas, he was ſo enraged at their deceit to him, that he ſuddenly diſpatched an army, with orders to his general, to puniſh them ſeverely if they did not make a ſuitable apology and ſubmiſſion. The Huexotzincas, foreſeeing the ſtorm which was likely to pour upon them, went out in order of battle to meet the Mexicans; but the Mexican general advanced towards them to explain his commiſſion in the following words: "Our lord "Montezuma, who has his court in the middle of the water, Neza-"hualpilli, who commands upon the borders of the lake, and Toto-"quihuatzi who reigns at the foot of the mountains, have ordered us "to tell you, that having learned from your ambaſſadors that you have "ruined Cholula and killed its inhabitants, they feel the utmoſt af-"fliction, and are under an obligation to revenge the violent outrage "which has been offered to the venerable ſanctuary of Quelzalcoatl." The Huexotzincas proteſted that the account given by their ambaſſadors was extravagant and falſe, and that a body of men ſo reſpectable as the citizens of Huexotzinco, could not be the authors of it, and declared themſelves ready to ſatisfy all the three kings by puniſhment of the guilty. Upon which having ſummoned their ambaſſadors, and cut off their ears and noſes, that being the puniſhment deſtined for thoſe who told falſehoods pernicious to the ſtate, they delivered them up to the general. Thus they eſcaped the evils of war, which otherwiſe would have been inevitable.

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SECT. X. Expedition againſt Atlixco and other places.

The Atlixcheſe, who had rebelled againſt the crown, met with a very different fate; they were defeated by the Mexicans, and many of them made priſoners. This happened preciſely in the month of February, 1506, when, on account of the termination of the century, the great feſtival of the renewal of the fire was celebrated with ſtill greater pomp and ſolemnity than under the reign of Montezuma I. or in other ſecular years. This, which was the moſt ſolemn, was alſo the laſt feſtival of the kind celebrated by the Mexicans. A great number of priſoners were ſacrificed at it; a great many alſo were reſerved for the feſtival of the dedication of *Tzompantli*, which, as we have obſerved above, was an edifice cloſe to the greater temple, where the ſkulls of the victims were ſtrung together and preſerved.

SECT. XI. Preſages of the war with the Spaniards.

This ſecular year appears to have paſt without war; but in 1507, the Mexicans made an expedition againſt Tzollan and Mictlan, two ſtates of the Mixtecas, whoſe inhabitants fled to the mountains, and left the Mexicans no other advantage than that of making a few priſoners of thoſe who remained in their houſes. From thence they proceeded to ſubdue Quauhquechollan which was in rebellion, in which war the prince Cuitlahuac the general of the army, made a diſplay of his courage. Some brave Mexican officers fell in this expedition; but the rebels were reduced under the yoke, and three thouſand two hundred taken priſoners, who were ſacrificed, one part of them at the feſtival *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, which took place in the ſecond Mexican month; and another part of them at the dedication of the ſanctuary Zomolli, which was rebuilt after the burning of it before mentioned, with greater magnificence than it was at firſt.

In the year following the royal army of the Mexicans, Tezcucans, and Tepanecas, ſet out againſt the diſtant province of Amatla. On their march, which lay over a very lofty mountain, they were attacked by a furious north wind, accompanied with ſnow, which made great havoc in the army, as ſome of them who were accuſtomed to a mild climate, and travelling almoſt without cloathing, periſhed with cold, and others were beat down by the trees which were rooted up by the wind. Of the remainder of the army which continued their journey but feebly, to Amatla, the greater part died in battle.

Theſe and other calamities together with the appearance of a comet at that time, threw all the princes of Anahuac into the utmoſt conſternation.

tion. Montezuma, who was too ſuperſtitious to look with indifference on ſo uncommon a phenomenon, conſulted his aſtrologers upon it; but they being unable to divine its meaning, applied to the king of Acolhuacan, who was reputed able in aſtrology, and in the art of divination. Theſe kings, although they were related to, and perpetual allies of, each other, did not live in much harmony together, the king of Acolhuacan having put to death his ſon *Huexotzincatzin*, as we ſhall ſee preſently, paying no regard to the prayers of Montezuma, who, as the uncle of that prince, had interfered in his behalf. For a long time paſt they had neither met with their uſual frequency, nor confidence; but on this occaſion the myſterious dread which ſeized the mind of Montezuma incited him to profit by the knowledge of the king Nezahualpilli, for which reaſon he intreated him to come to Mexico to conſult with him upon an event which appeared equally to concern them both. Nezahualpilli went, and after having conferred, at length, with Montezuma, was of opinion, according to the account of hiſtorians, that the comet predicted the future diſaſters of thoſe kingdoms, by the arrival of a new people. This interpretation, however, being unſatisfactory to Montezuma, Nezahualpilli challenged him at the game of foot-ball, which was frequently played at even by thoſe kings themſelves; and it was agreed between them that if the king of Mexico gained the party, the king of Acolhuacan ſhould renounce his interpretation, adjudging it to be falſe; but if Nezahualpilli came off victor, Montezuma ſhould acknowledge and admit it to be true: a folly though truly ridiculous in thoſe men, to believe the truth of a prediction could depend on the dexterity of the player, or the fortune of the game; but leſs pernicious, however than that of the ancient Europeans, who decided on truth, innocence, and honour, by a barbarous duel and the fortune of arms. Nezahualpilli remained victor in the game, and Montezuma diſconſolate at the loſs and the confirmation of ſo fatal a prognoſtic: he was willing, however, to try other methods, hoping to find ſome more favourable interpretation which might counterbalance that of the king of Acolhuacan, and the diſgrace he had ſuffered at play: he conſulted therefore a very famous aſtrologer who was much verſed in the ſuperſtitious art of divination, by which he had rendered his name ſo celebrated in that land, and acquired ſo great a reſpect, that without ever ſtirring abroad from his houſe he was conſidered and conſulted by the kings

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themſelves as an oracle. He knowing, without doubt, what had happened between the two kings, inſtead of returning a propitious anſwer to his ſovereign, or at leaſt one which was equivocal, as ſuch prognoſticators generally do, confirmed the fatal prophecy of the Tezcucan. Montezuma was ſo enraged at the anſwer, that in return he made his houſe be pulled to pieces, leaving the unhappy diviner buried amidſt the ruins of his ſanctuary.

Theſe and other ſimilar preſages of the fall of that empire appear repreſented in the paintings of the Americans, and are related in the hiſtories of the Spaniards. We are far from thinking that all that which has been wrote on this ſubject is deſerving of credit; but neither can we doubt of the tradition which prevailed among the Americans, that a new people totally different from the native inhabitants, were to arrive at that kingdom and make themſelves maſters of that country. There has not been in the country of Anahuac any nation more or leſs poliſhed which has not confirmed this tradition either by verbal teſtimony or their own hiſtories.

It is impoſſible to gueſs at the origin of a tradition ſo univerſal as this; but the event which I am going to relate, is ſaid to have been public, and to have made a conſiderable noiſe; to have happened alſo in the preſence of the two kings and the Mexican nobility. It is repreſented in ſome of the paintings of thoſe nations, and a legal atteſtation of it even was ſent to the court of Madrid (*b*). Though in compliance with the duty of a hiſtorian, we give a place to many of the memorable traditions of thoſe nations; on theſe, however, we leave our readers to form their own judgment and comments.

SECT. XII. Memorable event of a Mexican princeſs.

Papantzin, a Mexican princeſs, and ſiſter of Montezuma, was married to the governor of Tlatelolco, and after his death lived in his palace until the year 1509, when ſhe likewiſe died of old age. Her funeral was celebrated with magnificence ſuitable to her exalted birth, the king her brother, and all the nobility of Mexico and Tlatelolco being preſent. Her body was buried in a ſubterraneous cavern, in the garden of the ſame palace, near to a fountain where ſhe had uſed to bathe, and the mouth of the cave was ſhut with a ſtone. The day following, a child of five or ſix years of age happened to paſs from her mother's apartment to that of the major-domo of the deceaſed princeſs, which

(*b*) See Torquemada, lib. ii. cap. 91, and Betencourt, Part iii. Trat. i. cap. 8.

was

was on the other ſide of the garden; and in paſſing ſaw the princeſs ſitting upon the ſteps of the fountain, and heard herſelf called by her by the word *Cocoton* (*i*), which is a word of tenderneſs uſed to children. The little child not being capable, on account of its age, of reflecting on the death of the princeſs, and thinking that ſhe was going to bathe as uſual, approached without fear, upon which ſhe ſent the child to call the wife of her major-domo; the child went to call her, but the woman ſmiling and careſſing her, told her, "My little girl, Papantzin is dead, "and was buried yeſterday;" but as the child inſiſted, and pulled her by her gown, ſhe, more to pleaſe, than from belief of what was told her, followed her; but was hardly come in ſight of the princeſs, when ſhe was ſeized with ſuch horror that ſhe fell fainting to the earth. The little girl ran to acquaint her mother, who, with two other companions came out to give aſſiſtance; but on ſeeing the princeſs they were ſo affected with fear, that they would have ſwooned away if the princeſs herſelf had not endeavoured to comfort them, aſſuring them ſhe was ſtill alive. She made them call her major-domo, and charged him to go and bear the news to the king her brother; but he durſt not undertake it, as he dreaded that the king would conſider the account as a fable, and would puniſh him with his uſual ſeverity for being a liar, without examining into the matter. Go then to Tezcuco, ſaid the princeſs, and intreat the king Nezahualpilli, in my name, to come here and ſee me. The major-domo obeyed, and the king having received the information, ſet out immediately for Tlatelolco. When he arrived there, the princeſs was in a chamber of the palace; though full of aſtoniſhment, the king ſaluted her, when ſhe requeſted him to go to Mexico, to tell the king her brother that ſhe was alive, and had occaſion to ſee him, to communicate ſome things to him of the utmoſt importance. The king ſet out for Mexico to execute her commiſſion; but Montezuma would hardly give credit to what was told him. However, that he might not do injuſtice to ſo reſpectable an ambaſſador, he went along with him, and many of the Mexican nobility to Tlatelolco, and having entered the hall where the princeſs was, he demanded of her if ſhe was his ſiſter. "I am, indeed, ſir," anſwered the princeſs, "your ſiſter Papantzin, whom you buried yeſterday; I am truly alive,

(*i*) *Cocoton* means little girl, only that it is an expreſſion of more tenderneſs.

"and

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" and wiſh to relate to you what I have ſeen, as it deeply concerns you." Upon this the two kings ſat down, while all the other nobles continued ſtanding full of admiration at what they ſaw.

The princeſs then began to ſpeak as follows: " After I was dead, " or if you will not believe that I have been dead, after I remained be- " reft of motion and of ſenſe, I found myſelf ſuddenly placed upon " an extenſive plain, to which there appeared no boundaries. In the " middle of it I obſerved a road which I afterwards ſaw was divided " into a variety of paths, and on one ſide ran a great river whoſe wa- " ters made a frightful noiſe. As I was going to throw myſelf into the " river to ſwim to the oppoſite bank, I ſaw before me a beautiful youth " of handſome ſtature, clothed in a long habit, white as ſnow, and " dazzling like the ſun; he had wings of beautiful feathers, and upon " his forehead, this mark," (in ſaying this the princeſs made the ſign of the croſs with her two fore fingers, " and laying hold of my hand, " ſaid to me, *Stop, for it is not yet time to paſs this river. God loves thee,* " *though thou knoweſt it not.* He then led me along by the river-ſide, " upon the borders of which I ſaw a great number of human ſkulls " and bones, and heard moſt lamentable groans that waked my utmoſt " pity. Turning my eyes afterwards upon the river, I ſaw ſome large " veſſels upon it filled with men of a complexion and dreſs quite dif- " ferent from ours. They were fair and bearded, and carried ſtand- " ards in their hands, and helmets on their heads. The youth then " ſaid to me, *It is the will of God that thou ſhalt live to be a witneſs* " *of the revolutions which are to happen to theſe kingdoms. The groans* " *which thou haſt heard among theſe bones, are from the ſouls of your* " *anceſtors, which are ever and will be tormented for their crimes.* " *The men whom you ſee coming in theſe veſſels, are thoſe who who by* " *their arms will make themſelves maſters of all theſe kingdoms, and* " *with them will be introduced the knowlege of the true God, the creator* " *of heaven and earth. As ſoon as the war ſhall be at an end, and the* " *bath publiſhed and made known which will waſh away ſin, be thou the* " *firſt to receive it, and guide by thy example the natives of thy country.* " Having ſpoke this the youth diſappeared, and I found myſelf re- " called to life; I roſe from the place where I lay, raiſed up the ſtone

" of

" of my ſepulchre, and came out to the garden where I was found by " my domeſtics."

Montezuma was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the recital of ſo ſtrange an adventure, and feeling his mind diſtracted with a variety of apprehenſions, roſe and retired to one of his palaces which was deſtined for occaſions of grief, without taking leave of his ſiſter, the king of Tacuba, or any one of thoſe who accompanied him, although ſome of his flatterers, in order to conſole him, endeavoured to perſuade him that the illneſs which the princeſs had ſuffered, had turned her brain. He avoided for ever after returning to ſee her, that he might not again hear the melancholy preſages of the ruin of his empire. The princeſs, it is ſaid, lived many years in great retirement and abſtinence. She was the firſt who, in the year 1524, received the ſacred baptiſm in Tlatelolco, and was called from that time, *Donna Maria Papantzin*.

SECT. XII. Uncommon occurrences.

Among the memorable events, in 1510, there happened without any apparent cauſe, a ſudden and furious burning of the turrets of the greater temple of Mexico, in a calm, ſerene night; and in the ſucceeding year, ſo violent and extraordinary an agitation of the waters of the lake, that many houſes of the city were deſtroyed, there being at the ſame time no wind, earthquake, nor any other natural cauſe to which the accident could be aſcribed. It is ſaid alſo, that in 1511, the figures of armed men appeared in the air, who fought and ſlew each other. Theſe and other ſimilar phenomena, recounted by Acoſta, Torquemada and others, are found very exactly deſcribed in the Mexican and Acolhuan hiſtories.

SECT. XIII. Erection of a new altar for the ſacrifices, and new expeditions of the Mexicans.

The conſternation which theſe ſad omens raiſed in the mind of Montezuma did not, however, turn aſide his thoughts from war. His armies made numerous expeditions in 1508, particularly againſt the Tlaſcalans and Huexotzincas, the Atlixcheſe, Icpatepec, and Malinaltepec, in which they made five thouſand priſoners, which were afterwards ſacrificed. In 1509, the war againſt Xochitepec happened, that ſtate having rebelled. In the year following, Montezuma thinking the altar for the ſacrifices too ſmall, and unproportioned to the magnificence of the temple, he cauſed a proper ſtone of exceſſive ſize, to be ſought for, which was found near to Cojoacan. After ordering it to be poliſhed and cut, he commanded it to be brought in due form to Mexico. A

vaſt

vaſt number of people went to drag it along, but in paſſing a wooden bridge over a canal, in the entry to the city, the ſtone by its enormous weight, broke through the bridge and fell into the canal, drawing ſome men after it, and among the reſt, the high prieſt, who was accompanying it, and ſcattering incenſe. The king and the people were a good deal diſconcerted by this misfortune; but without giving up the undertaking, they drew the ſtone, with prodigious labour and fatigue, out of the water, and brought it to the temple, where it was conſecrated with the ſacrifice of all the priſoners that had been reſerved for this great feſtival, which was one of the moſt ſolemn ever celebrated by the Mexicans. The king invited the principal nobility of all his kingdom to it, and expended a great deal of his treaſure in preſents which he made to the nobles and populace. In this ſame year the conſecration of the temple *Tlamatzinco* was celebrated, and alſo that of Quaxicalco, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere. The victims ſacrificed at the conſecration of theſe two edifices, and the altar of the ſacrifices, were, according to the account of hiſtorians, twelve thouſand two hundred and ten, in number.

To have been able to furniſh ſuch a number of victims, they muſt have been continually at war. In 1511, the Jopas rebelled, and deſigned to kill all the Mexican garriſon in Tlacotepec; but their intentions being ſeaſonably diſcovered, they were puniſhed accordingly, and two hundred of them carried priſoners to Mexico. In 1512, an army of the Mexicans marched towards the north, againſt the Quitzalapaneſe, and with the loſs only of ninety-five men, they made one thouſand and three hundred priſoners, which were alſo carried to Mexico. By theſe and other conqueſts made in the three following years, the Mexican empire was extended to its utmoſt limits, five or ſix years previous to its fall, to which the very great rapidity of its conqueſts contributed. Every province, and place which was conquered, created a new enemy to the conquerors, who became impatient of the yoke to which they were not accuſtomed, and irritated by injuries, only waited for an opportunity of being revenged, and reſtoring themſelves to their wonted liberty. It would appear that the happineſs of a kingdom conſiſts not in the extenſion of its dominions, nor in the number of its vaſſals; but on the contrary, that it approaches at no time nearer to its final period, than when

when on account of its vaſt and unbounded extent, it can no longer maintain the neceſſary union among its parts, nor that vigour which is requiſite to withſtand the multitude of its enemies.

SECT. XIV. Death and eulogium of king Nezahualpilli.

The revolutions which happened at this time, in the kingdom of Acolhuacan, occaſioned by the death of king Nezahualpilli, did not leſs contribute to the ruin of the Mexican empire. This celebrated king after having poſſeſſed the throne for forty-five years, either wearied of governing, or troubled with melancholy, from the fatal phenomena he had witneſſed, left the reins of government in the hands of two of the royal princes, and retired to his palace of pleaſure in Tezcotzinco, carrying with him his favourite Xocotzin and a few ſervants, leaving orders to his ſons not to leave the court, but to wait there for his farther commands. During the ſix months of his retirement, he amuſed himſelf frequently with the exerciſe of the chace, and at night uſed to employ himſelf in obſerving the heavens; and for that purpoſe had conſtructed, on the terrace of his palace, a little obſervatory, which was preſerved for a century after, and was ſeen by ſome Spaniſh hiſtorians who mention it. He there not only ſtudied the motion and courſe of the ſtars, but converſed with thoſe who were intelligent in aſtronomy: that ſcience having always been in eſteem among them, they applied ſtill more to it when excited by the examples of the great Nezahualcojotl, and his ſon and ſucceſſor.

After living ſix months in this private manner, he returned to his court, ordered his beloved Xocotzin to retire with her children into the palace of *Tecpilpan*, and ſhut himſelf up in the palace of his uſual reſidence, without letting himſelf be ſeen by any perſon but one of his confidents, deſigning to conceal his death in imitation of his father. Accordingly, neither the time nor the circumſtances of his death have ever been known. All that is certain is, that he died in 1516, and that before his death he commanded his confidents who were about him to burn his body ſecretly. From hence it happened that many of the vulgar, and even ſeveral of the nobles, were perſuaded that he was not dead, but had returned to the kingdom of Amaquemecan where his anceſtors ſprung, as he had frequently reſolved to do.

In matters of religion he was of the ſame opinion with his great father Nezahualcojotl. He ſecretly deſpiſed the worſhip of the idols, although he appeared to conform to it with the people. He reſembled his father alſo in his great zeal for the laws, and in the rigorous adminiſtration of juſtice, of which he afforded a ſtriking example in the laſt years of his reign. There was a law which forbid, on pain of death, the ſpeaking of indecent words in the royal palace. One of the princes his ſons, who was named Huexotzincalzon, to whom he bore more affection than to any of the reſt, not leſs on account of his diſpoſition, and the virtues which ſhone out even in his youth, than of his having been the firſt born of his ſons by his favourite Xocotzin, violated this law; but the words made uſe of by the prince were rather the effect of youthful indiſcretion than of any culpable intention. The king was informed of it by one of his miſtreſſes to whom the words had been addreſſed. He enquired of her if they had been ſpoke before any other perſons, and finding that the prince's tutors had been preſent, he retired to an apartment of his palace, deſtined for occaſions of mourning and grief. There he ſent for the tutors to examine them. They being afraid of meeting with ſevere puniſhment if they concealed the truth, confeſſed it openly, but at the ſame time endeavoured to exculpate the prince, by ſaying, that he neither knew the perſon to whom he ſpoke, nor that the words were obſcene. But notwithſtanding their repreſentations, he ordered the prince to be immediately arreſted, and the ſame day pronounced ſentence of death upon him. The whole court was aſtoniſhed at ſo rigorous a judgment, the nobles pleaded with prayers and tears in his behalf, and the mother of the prince herſelf, relying on the king's particular affection for her, preſented herſelf as a plaintiff before him, and in order to move him to compaſſion, led all her children along with her. But neither reaſoning, prayers, nor tears, could bend the king. "My ſon," he ſaid, "has violated the law. If I pardon him, it will be ſaid, the laws are "not binding upon every one. I will let my ſubjects know that no "one will be pardoned a tranſgreſſion, as I do not even pardon the ſon "whom I dearly love." The queen pierced with the moſt lively grief, and deſpairing of being able to ſhake the conſtancy of the king, told him, "Since you have baniſhed from your heart all the affections of a "father

" father and a huſband for ſo ſlight a cauſe, why do you heſitate to put me " to death and theſe young princes whom I have borne to you?" The king then with a grave aſpect commanded her to retire, as the caſe was without a remedy. The diſappointed queen retreated to her apartment, and there, in company with ſome of her attendants who went to conſole her, abandoned herſelf to grief. In the mean while, thoſe who were charged with the puniſhment of the prince, continued to delay it, that time might ſoften the rigour of juſtice, and give opportunity for the return of parental affection and mercy; but the king perceiving their intention, commanded that they ſhould immediately do their duty, which accordingly followed, to the general diſpleaſure of the kingdom, and the utmoſt diſguſt to Montezuma, not only on account of the relation between himſelf and the prince, but likewiſe of the interference which he made in the prince's favour, having been unſucceſsful in procuring a repeal of the ſentence. After the puniſhment was executed, the king ſhut himſelf up for forty days in a hall, without letting himſelf be ſeen by any one, while he ſecretly vented his grief, and made the door of his ſon's apartment be cloſed up with a wall, to hide from his ſight any remembrancer of his ſorrows.

His ſeverity in puniſhing tranſgreſſors was compenſated by the compaſſion which he ſhewed for the accidental diſtreſſes of any of his ſubjects. There was a window in his palace which looked towards the market-place, covered with blinds, from which he uſed to obſerve, without being ſeen, the people that aſſembled there; and whenever he ſaw any ill clothed woman he made her be called, and after informing himſelf of her life and condition, he ſupplied her with what was neceſſary for herſelf and family if ſhe had any. Every day at his palace alms were given to the ſick and to orphans. There was an hoſpital at Tezcuco for all thoſe who had loſt their eyeſight in war, or had become from any other cauſe unfit for ſervice, where they were ſupported at the royal expence, according to their ſtations, and frequently viſited by the king himſelf. In ſuch beneficent acts a great part of his revenues was expended.

The genius and talents of this king have been highly extolled by the hiſtorians of that kingdom. He endeavoured to imitate, both in his ſtudies and in the conduct of his life, the example of his father, and

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his reſemblance to him was remarkable. The glory of the Chechemecan kings may be ſaid to have ended with him, as the diſcord which took place among his children, diminiſhed the ſplendour of the court, weakened the force of the ſtate, and tended to bring on its final ruin. Nezahualpilli did not declare who was to be his ſucceſſor in the crown, which all his anceſtors had done. We are ignorant, however, of the motive that cauſed this omiſſion, and which proved ſo prejudicial to the kingdom of Acolhuacan.

SECT. XV. Revolutions in the kingdom of Acolhuacan.

As ſoon as the ſupreme council of the deceaſed king were certain of his death, they conſidered it neceſſary to elect a ſucceſſor to him in imitation of the Mexicans. They aſſembled therefore in order to deliberate on a point of ſuch importance, and the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable perſon among them taking the lead in the aſſembly, repreſented the great diſaſters which might accrue to the ſtate of Acolhuacan, if the election was retarded: he was of opinion, that the crown fell to the prince Cacamatzin; ſince, beſides his prudence and his courage, he was the firſt-born of the firſt Mexican princeſs whom the late king married. All the other counſellors concurred in this opinion, which was in itſelf ſo juſt and came from a perſon of ſuch authority. The princes who waited in a hall adjoining for the reſolution of the counſel, were deſired to enter there to hear it. When they were all introduced, the principal ſeat was given to Cacamatzin, who was a youth of twenty-two years, and his brothers Coanocotzin, who was twenty, and Ixthilxochitl who was eighteen, were placed on each ſide of him. The ſame aged counſellor, who had firſt addreſſed the aſſembly, then roſe, and declared that the reſolution of the council, which included alſo that of the kingdom, was to give the crown to Cacamatzin, on account of the right of primogeniture. Ixtlilxochitl, who was an ambitious and enterpriſing youth, oppoſed it, by ſaying, that if the king was really dead, he would certainly have named his ſucceſſor; that his not having done it was a clear evidence of his life, and while the lawful ſovereign was living it was criminal in his ſubjects to name a ſucceſſor. The council who knew the diſpoſition of Ixtlilxochitl, durſt not openly contradict him, but deſired Coanocotzin to deliver his opinion. This prince approved and confirmed the determination of the council, and pointed out the inconveniencies which would enſue if the execution of

it was delayed. He was contradicted, and taxed with being light and inconſiderate by Ixtlilxochitl, and that he could not perceive while he embraced ſuch an opinion that he was favouring the deſigns of Montezuma, who was much inclined to Cacamatzin, and uſed his endeavours to put him on the throne, becauſe he truſted he would find in him a king of wax, to whom he might give what form he pleaſed. "It is by no "means reaſonable, dear brother," replied Coanocotzin, "to oppoſe "a reſolution which is ſo prudent and ſo juſt; are you not aware that "if Cacamatzin was not to be king, the crown would belong not to "you but to me." "It is true," ſaid Ixtlilxochitl, "if the right of "ſucceſſion is to be determined by age only, the crown is due to Ca-"camatzin, and in failure of him to you; but if regard is paid, as it "ought to be, to courage, to me it belongs." The counſellors perceiving that the princes were growing gradually more vehement and warm in their altercation, impoſed ſilence on them both, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

The two princes went to their mother the queen Xocotzin to continue their cavil, while Cacamatzin accompanied by many of the nobility, ſet out immediately for Mexico to inform Montezuma of what had happened, and to demand his aſſiſtance. Montezuma, who, beſides the attachment he had to the prince, ſaw the juſtice of his claim, and the conſent of the nation to it, adviſed him in the firſt place to ſecure the royal treaſures, and promiſed to ſettle the diſpute with his brother, and to employ the Mexican arms in his behalf if negociations for that purpoſe ſhould not prove ſufficient.

Ixtlilxochitl, as ſoon as he knew of the departure of Cacamatzin, and foreſaw the conſequences of his application to Montezuma, ſet out from court with all his partizans, and went to the ſtates which belonged to his tutors in the mountains of Meztitlan. Coanocotzin ſent immediate advice to Cacamatzin to return without delay to Tezcuco, and make uſe of that favourable opportunity for being crowned. Cacamatzin availed himſelf of this wiſe counſel, and came to the court accompanied by Cuitlahuazin the brother of Montezuma, and lord of Iztapalapan, and many of the Mexican nobility. Cuitlahuazin, without loſing any time, aſſembled the Tezcucan nobility in the *Hueiſtecpan*, or the great palace of the king of Acolhuacan, and preſented prince Caca-

Cacamatzin to be acknowledged by them as their lawful ſovereign. He was received as ſuch by them all, and the day for the ceremony of the coronation was fixed; but this was interrupted by intelligence arriving at court, that the prince Ixtlilzochitl was deſcending from the mountains of Meztitlan at the head of a great army.

This turbulent youth as ſoon as he arrived at Meztitlan, aſſembled all the lords of the places ſituated in thoſe great mountains, and made them acquainted with his deſign of oppoſing his brother Cacamatzin, pretending that it was his zeal for the honour and liberty of the Chechemecan and Acolhuan nations which moved him; that it would be diſgraceful, and even dangerous, to pay obedience to a king, ſo pliant to the will of the monarch of Mexico; that the Mexicans had forgot what they owed to the Acolhuan nation, and were deſirous of increaſing their unjuſt uſurpations with the kingdom of Acolhuacan; that he for his part was reſolved to exert all the courage which God had given him, to defend and ſave his country from the tyranny of Montezuma. With theſe arguments, which were probably ſuggeſted to him by his tutors, he ſo fired the minds of thoſe lords, that they all profeſſed themſelves willing to ſerve him with all their forces, and raiſed ſo many troops that when the prince deſcended from the mountains his army it is ſaid amounted to upwards of one hundred thouſand men; whether it was from the dread of his power, or from an inclination to favour his pretenſions, he was well received in all the places through which he paſſed. He ſent an embaſſy from Tepepolco to the Otompaneſe, commanding them to do obedience to him as their proper king; but they replied, that as Nezahualpilli was dead, they would acknowledge no other ſovereign than Cacamatzin, who had been peaceably accepted at court, and was already in poſſeſſion of the throne of Acolhuacan. This anſwer ſo exaſperated the prince, that he went in great wrath againſt their city. The Otompaneſe met him in order of battle; but although they for ſome time reſiſted the army of their enemy, they were at laſt vanquiſhed, and their city was taken by the prince. The lord himſelf of Otompan fell among the ſlain, which accident ſoon accelerated the victory.

This event threw Cacamatzin and all his court into the utmoſt uneaſineſs, fearing the enemy might even beſiege the capital; he prepared fortifi-

fortifications againſt them; but the prince being contented with ſeeing himſelf reſpected and feared, did not move from Otompan; but placed guards on the roads, with orders, however, to hurt no perſon, to hinder no individuals from paſſing from the court to any other place, and to ſhew reſpect and civility to all paſſengers of rank. Cacamatzin, knowing the forces, and the reſolutions of his brother, and conſidering it would be better for him to ſacrifice even a great part of his kingdom than to loſe it altogether, with the conſent of his brother Coanacotzin, diſpatched an embaſſy to treat of an accommodation with him. He ſent to tell him, that he might, if he choſe, retain all the dominions in the mountains, as he was contented with the court and the territory of the plain; that he was willing alſo to ſhare the revenues of his kingdom with his brother Coanacotzin; but at the ſame time he requeſted him to drop every other pretenſion, and not to diſturb the public tranquillity. The prince anſwered, that his brothers might act as they thought proper; that he was pleaſed that Cacamatzin was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Acolhuacan, that he had no deſigns againſt him nor againſt the ſtate; that he had no other view in maintaining his army than to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of the Mexicans, who had given grounds for the greateſt diſguſt and ſuſpicions to his father Nezahualpilli; that if at that time the kingdom was divided for the common intereſt of the nation, he hoped to ſee it again united; that above all things it was neceſſary to guard againſt falling into the ſnares of the crafty Montezuma. Ixtlilxochitl was not deceived in his diffidence of Montezuma, as this king was the very perſon who, as we ſhall find hereafter, gave the unfortunate Cacamatzin into the hands of the Spaniards, in ſpite of the attachment he pretended to him.

This agreement being made with his brother, Cacamatzin remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown of Acolhuacan; but with greatly diminiſhed dominions, as he had ceded a very conſiderable part of the kingdom. Ixtlilocxhitl kept his troops conſtantly in motion, and frequently appeared with his army in the environs of Mexico, daring Montezuma to a ſingle combat with him. But this king was no longer in a ſtate fit to accept ſuch a challenge. The fire which he had in his youth had already began to die away with age, and domeſtic luxury had enervated his mind; nor would it have been prudent to have

expoſed

expoſed himſelf to a rencounter of this kind with ſo adventurous a youth who had already, by ſecret negociations, drawn over a great part of the Mexican provinces to his intereſt. The Mexicans, however, frequently engaged with that army, being ſometimes vanquiſhed, and at other times victorious. In one of thoſe battles a relation of the king of Mexico was taken priſoner, who had gone out to the war with an expreſs reſolution to make a priſoner of the prince, and to carry him bound to Mexico according to a promiſe which he had made to Montezuma. Ixtlilxochitl knew of this boaſtful promiſe, and in order to be fully revenged, commanded him to be bound and covered with dry reeds, and burned alive in the ſight of the whole army.

In the courſe of our hiſtory it will appear how much this turbulent prince contributed to the ſucceſs of the Spaniards, who began about this time to make their appearance on the coaſt of the Gulf of Mexico: but before we undertake the relation of a war which totally reverſed the order of thoſe kingdoms, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the religion, the government, the arts, and manners of the Mexicans.

THE TAJORE MAHARAJA CERTIFICATE SARASWATI MAHAL

GENEALOGY of the MEXICAN KINGS.

Deduced from the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century.

Ilhuicatl=Tlacapantzin.
about A. D. 1220.
Huitzilihuitl, the Elder.
Opochtli=Atozoztli.
Acamapitzin, First King of Mexico.

Huitzilihuitl, Second K. of Mexico.
Chimalpopoca, Third K. of Mexico.
Tezozomoctli=Matlalatzin, his niece.
Itzcoatl, Fourth K. of Mexico.
Matlalatxin=Tezozomoctli.

Matlalchihuatzin, mother of Nezahualcojotl, K. of Acolhuacan.
Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina, Fifth King of Mexico.

Tzotzocatzin.
Axajacatl, Sixth K. of Mexico.
Tizoc, Seventh K. of Mexico.
Ahuitzotl, Eighth K. of Mexico.

N. wife of Nezahualpilli K. of Acolhuacan.
Xocotzin, wife of Nezahualpilli.

Ixtlalcuechahuac, Lord of Tollan.
Moteuczoma Xocojotzin, Ninth K. of Mexico.=Miahuaxochitl.
Cuitlahuatzin, Tenth K. of Mexico.
Ahuitzotl.

Miahuaxochitl, wife to her uncle king Moteuczoma.
Quauhtemotzin, Eleventh K. of Mexico.

Tlacahuepan Johualicahuatzin; or, Don Pedro Motezuma.

Don Diego Luis Ihuitemoctzin Motezuma. Married in Spain with Donna Francisca de la Cueva; of whom the counts of Motezuma and Tula, the Viscounts of Iluca, &c. are descended.

Tecuichpotzin; or, Donna Elizabeta Motezuma, wife of King Cuitlahuatzin, her uncle; and King Quauhtemotzin, her cousin; and afterwards successively of three noble Spaniards, of whom the two celebrated houses of Cano Motezuma and Andrea Motezuma are descended.

(To face Page 249, Vol. I.)

BOOK VI.

The Religion of the Mexicans: namely, their Gods, Temples, Prieſts, Sacrifices, and Offerings: their Faſts and Auſterities, their Chronology, Calendar, and Feſtivals; their Ceremonies upon the Birth of Children, at Marriages, and Funerals.

BOOK VI.

THE religion, government, and œconomy of a ſtate are the three things which chiefly form the character of a nation, and without being acquainted with theſe, it is impoſſible to have a perfect idea of the genius, diſpoſitions, and knowledge of any people whatever. The religion of the Mexicans, of which we are to give an account in this book, was a heap of errors, of ſuperſtitions, and cruel rites. Such weakneſſes of the human mind, of which we have had but too many examples even in the moſt enlightened nations of antiquity, are inſeparable from every religion that takes its ſource in the fantaſtical imaginations and fears of mankind. If we compare, as we ſhall do in another place, the religion of the Greeks and Romans with that of the Mexicans, we ſhall find the former more ſuperſtitious and ridiculous, the latter more cruel. Theſe celebrated nations of ancient Europe, from the unfavourable opinion which they entertained of the power of their gods, multiplied their number to exceſs, confined their influence within narrow bounds, imputed to them the moſt atrocious crimes, and ſtained their worſhip with the moſt ſcandalous impurities; for which they have been juſtly reproached by the advocates of Chriſtianity. The Mexicans imagined their gods more perfect, and in their worſhip, however ſuperſtitious it might be, there was nothing repugnant to decency.

SECT. I. Principles of their religion.

The Mexicans had ſome idea, though a very imperfect one, of a ſupreme, abſolute, and independent Being, to whom they acknowledged to owe fear and adoration. They repreſented him in no external

form, becauſe they believed him to be inviſible; and named him only by the common appellation of God, in their language *Teotl*, a word reſembling ſtill more in its meaning than in its pronunciation the *Theos* of the Greeks: but they applied to him certain epithets which were highly expreſſive of the grandeur and power which they conceived him to poſſeſs. They called him *Ipalnemoani*, that is, He by whom we live; and *Tlòque Nahuàque*, He who has all in himſelf. But their knowledge and worſhip of this ſupreme Being was obſcured and in a manner loſt in the crowd of deities invented by their ſuperſtition.

They believed in an evil ſpirit, the enemy of mankind, which they called *Tlacatecolototl*, or Rational Owl, and ſaid that he often appeared to men for the purpoſe of terrifying or doing them an injury.

With reſpect to the ſoul, the barbarous *Otomies*, as they tell us, believed that it died together with the body: while the Mexicans, with all the other poliſhed nations of Anahuac, conſidered it as immortal; allowing, at the ſame time, that bleſſing of immortality to the ſouls of brutes, and not reſtraining it to rational beings alone (*a*).

They diſtinguiſhed three places for the ſouls when ſeparated from the body. Thoſe of ſoldiers who died in battle or in captivity among their enemies, and thoſe of women who died in labour, went to the houſe of the ſun, whom they conſidered as the Prince of Glory, where they led a life of endleſs delight; where, every day, at the firſt appearance of the ſun's rays they hailed his birth with rejoicings; and with dancing, and the muſic of inſtruments and of voices, attended him to his meridian; there they met the ſouls of the women, and with the ſame feſtivity accompanied him to his ſetting. If religion is intended only to ſerve the purpoſes of government, as has been imagined by moſt of the free-thinkers of our times, ſurely thoſe nations could not forge a ſyſtem of belief better calculated to inſpire their ſoldiers with courage than one which promiſed ſo high a reward after their death. They next ſuppoſed that theſe ſpirits after four years of that glorious life, went to animate clouds, and birds of beautiful feathers and of ſweet ſong; but always at liberty to riſe again to heaven,

(*a*) The ideas here aſcribed to the Mexicans, with reſpect to the ſouls of brutes, will appear more fully when we ſhall come to ſpeak of their funeral rites.

or to deſcend upon the earth to warble and ſuck the flowers. The people of Tlaſcala believed that the ſouls of perſons of rank went, after their death, to inhabit the bodies of beautiful and ſweet ſinging birds, and thoſe of the nobler quadrupeds; while the ſouls of inferior perſons were ſuppoſed to paſs into weazles, beetles, and ſuch other meaner animals. Whence we ſee that the abſurd ſyſtem of the Pythagorean tranſmigration, which has been ſo firmly ſettled, and ſo widely propagated throughout the countries of the Eaſt, has not wanted its advocates in thoſe of the Weſt (*b*). The ſouls of thoſe that were drowned, or ſtruck by lightning, of thoſe who died by dropſy, tumors, wounds, and other ſuch diſeaſes, went, as the Mexicans believed, along with the ſouls of children, at leaſt of thoſe which were ſacrificed to *Tlaloc* the god of water, to a cool and delightful place, called *Tlalocan*, where that god reſided, and where they were to enjoy the moſt delicious repaſts, with every other kind of pleaſure. In the inner part of the greater temple of Mexico there was a particular place where they ſuppoſed that on a certain day of the year all the children which had been ſacrificed to *Tlaloc*, came, and inviſibly aſſiſted at the ceremony. The *Miztecas* had a perſuaſion, that a great cavern in a lofty mountain, in their province, was the entrance into paradiſe; and their nobles and great men, therefore, always took care to be buried near the cavern, in order to be nearer that place of delight. Laſtly, the third place allotted for the ſouls of thoſe who ſuffered any other kind of death, was the *Mictlan*, or hell, which they conceived to be a place of utter darkneſs, in which reigned a god, called *Mictlantecutli* (lord of hell), and a goddeſs named *Mictlancihuatl*. I am of opinion that they believed hell to be a place in the centre of the earth (*c*); but they did not imagine that the ſouls underwent any other puniſhment there than what they ſuffered from the darkneſs of their abode.

(*b*) Who would believe that a ſyſtem ſo prepoſterous and improbable as that of the Pythagorean tranſmigration, ſhould be ſupported by a philoſopher of the enlightened eighteenth century. Yet it has been ſeriouſly maintained, lately, by a Frenchman, in a book printed at Paris, under the title of "The Year Two thouſand four hundred and forty."

(*c*) Dr. Siguenza was of opinion, that the Mexicans placed hell in the northern part of the earth; as the ſame word *Mictlampa*, ſignified *towards the North*, and *towards Hell*. But, I rather think they placed it in the center, for that is the meaning of the name of *Tlalxicco*, which they gave to the temple of the god of hell. After all it is poſſible that the Mexicans themſelves might hold different opinions upon the ſubject.

BOOK VI.

The Mexicans, with all other civilized nations, had a clear tradition, though ſomewhat corrupted by fable, of the creation of the world, of the univerſal deluge, of the confuſion of tongues, and of the diſperſion of the people; and had actually all theſe events repreſented in their pictures (*d*). They ſaid, that when mankind were overwhelmed with the deluge, none were preſerved but a man called *Coxcox* (to whom others give the name of *Teocipactli*), and a woman called *Xochiquetzal*, who ſaved themſelves in a little bark, and having afterwards got to land upon a mountain called by them *Colhuacan*, had there a great many children: that theſe children were all born dumb, until a dove from a lofty tree imparted to them languages, but differing ſo much that they could not underſtand one another. The Tlaſcalans pretended that the men who ſurvived the deluge were transformed into apes, but recovered ſpeech and reaſon by degrees (*e*).

SECT. II. The gods of Providence and of Heaven.

Among all the deities worſhipped by the Mexicans, and which were very numerous, although not near ſo much ſo as thoſe of the Romans, there were *thirteen* principal and greater gods, in honour of whom they conſecrated that number. We ſhall give an account of what we have found in the Mexican mythology with reſpect to theſe and the other gods, without regard to the pompous conjectures and abſurd ſyſtem of Cav. Boturini.

Tezcatlipoca. This was the greateſt god adored in theſe countries, after the inviſible God, or ſupreme Being, whom we have already mentioned. His name means *Shining Mirror*, from one that was affixed to his image. He was the god of providence, the ſoul of the world, the creator of heaven and earth, and maſter of all things. They repreſented him always young, to denote that no length of years ever diminiſhed his power; they believed that he rewarded with various benefits the juſt, and puniſhed the wicked with diſeaſes and other afflictions. They placed ſtone ſeats in the corners of the ſtreets, for that god to reſt upon when he choſe it, and upon which no perſon was ever allowed to ſit down. Some ſaid, that he had deſcended from

(*d*) Their idea of the deluge appears from the repreſentation in the plate annexed, which is copied from an original painting of the Mexicans.

(*e*) For an account of the opinions of the Miztecas and other nations of America, with reſpect to the creation of the world, I muſt refer the reader to Father Gregorio Garcia, a Dominican, in his work entitled, *The Origin of the Indians*.

heaven

heaven by a rope made of ſpiders webs, and had perſecuted and driven from theſe countries, the grand prieſt of Tula *Quetzalcoatl*, who was afterwards conſecrated as a god.

His principal image was of *teotetl* (divine ſtone) which is a black ſhining ſtone like black marble, and was richly dreſſed. It had golden ear-rings, and from the under lip hung a cryſtal tube, within which was a green feather, or a turquoiſe ſtone, which at firſt ſight appeared to be a gem. His hair was tied with a golden ſtring, from the end of which hung an ear of the ſame metal, with the appearance of aſcending ſmoke painted on it, by which they intended to repreſent the prayers of the diſtreſſed. The whole breaſt was covered with maſſy gold. He had bracelets of gold upon both his arms, an emerald in the navel, and in his left hand a golden fan, ſet round with beautiful feathers, and poliſhed like a mirror, in which they imagined he ſaw every thing that happened in the world. At other times to denote his juſtice, they repreſented him ſitting on a bench covered with a red cloth, upon which were drawn the figures of ſkulls, and other bones of the dead: upon his left arm a ſhield with four arrows, and his right lifted in the attitude of throwing a ſpear: his body dyed black, and his head crowned with quail-feathers.

Ometeuctli and *Omecihuatl* (*f*). The former was a god, and the latter a goddeſs, who they pretended dwelt in a magnificent city in heaven, abounding with delights, and there watched over the world, and gave to mortals their wiſhes: *Ometeuctli* to men, and *Omecihuatl* to women. They had a tradition that this goddeſs having had many children in heaven, was delivered of a knife of flint; upon which her children in a rage threw it to the earth, from which when it fell, ſprung ſixteen hundred heroes, who, knowing their high origin, and having no ſervants, all mankind having periſhed in a general calamity, (*g*) agreed to ſend an embaſſy to their mother, to intreat her to grant them power to create men to ſerve them. The mother anſwered, that if they had had more exalted ſentiments, they would have made themſelves

(*f*) They likewiſe gave theſe gods the names of *Citlallatonac*, and *Citlalicue*, upon account of the ſtars.

(*g*) Theſe people, as we ſhall mention in another place, believed that the earth had ſuffered three great univerſal calamities by which all mankind had been deſtroyed.

BOOK VI.

ſelves worthy to live with her eternally in heaven: but ſince they choſe to abide upon the earth, ſhe deſired them to go to *Mictlanteuctli*, god of hell, and aſk of him one of the bones of the men that had died; to ſprinkle this with their own blood, and from it they would have a man and a woman who would afterwards multiply. At the ſame time ſhe warned them to be upon their guard againſt *Mictlanteuctli*, who after giving the bone might ſuddenly repent. With theſe inſtructions from his mother, *Xolotl*, one of the heroes, went to hell, and after obtaining what he ſought, began to run towards the upper ſurface of the earth: upon which *Mictlanteuctli* enraged purſued him, but being unable to come up with him, returned to hell. *Xolotl* in his precipitate flight ſtumbled, and falling broke the bone into unequal pieces. Gathering them up again, he continued his courſe till he arrived at the place where his brothers awaited him; when they put the fragments into a veſſel, and ſprinkled them with their blood which they drew from different parts of their bodies. Upon the fourth day they beheld a boy, and continuing to ſprinkle with blood for three days more, a girl was likewiſe formed. They were both conſigned to the care of Xolotl to be brought up, who fed them with the milk of the thiſtle. In that way, they believed the recovery of mankind was effected at that time. Thence took its riſe, as they affirmed, the practice of drawing blood from different parts of the body, which as we ſhall ſee was ſo common among theſe nations: and they believed the differences in the ſtature of men to have been occaſioned by the inequality of the pieces of the bone.

Cihuacohuatl (woman ſerpent) called likewiſe *Quilaztli*. This they believed to have been the firſt woman that had children in the world; and ſhe had always twins. She was eſteemed a great goddeſs, and they ſaid that ſhe would frequently ſhew herſelf, carrying a child in a cradle upon her back.

SECT. III. Deification of the ſun and moon.

Tonatrieli and *Meztli*, names of the ſun and moon, both deified by theſe nations. They ſaid, that after the recovery and multiplication of mankind, each of the above mentioned heroes or demigods, had among the men, his ſervants and adherents: and that there being no ſun, the one that had been, having come to an end, the heroes aſſembled in *Teotihuacan* around a great fire, and ſaid to the men that the firſt

firſt of them that ſhould throw himſelf into the fire would have the glory to become a ſun. Forthwith one of the men, more intrepid than the reſt, called *Nanahuaztin*, threw himſelf into the flames, and deſcended to hell. In the interval while they all remained expecting the event, the heroes made wagers with the quails, locuſts, and other animals, about the place of the ſky where the ſun would firſt appear; and the animals being miſtaken in their conjectures were immediately ſacrificed. At length the ſun aroſe in that quarter which from that time forward has been called the *Levant*; but he had ſcarcely riſen above the horizon when he ſtopped; which the heroes perceiving, ſent to deſire him to continue his courſe. The ſun replied, that he would not, until he ſhould ſee them all put to death. The heroes were no leſs enraged than terrified by that anſwer: upon which one of them named *Citli*, taking his bow and three arrows, ſhot one at the ſun; but the ſun ſaved himſelf by ſtooping. Citli aimed two other arrows, but in vain. The ſun enraged turned back the laſt arrow, and fixed it in the forehead of *Citli*, who inſtantly expired. The reſt intimidated by the fate of their brother, and unable to cope with the ſun, reſolved to die by the hands of *Xolotl*, who after killing all his brothers, put an end to his own life. The heroes before they died left their cloaths to their ſervants; and ſince the conqueſt of theſe countries by the Spaniards, certain ancient garments have been found, which were preſerved by the Indians with extraordinary veneration, under a belief that they had them by inheritance from thoſe ancient heroes. The men were affected with great melancholy upon loſing their maſters; but *Tezcatlipoca* commanded one of them to go to the houſe of the ſun, and from thence to bring muſic to celebrate his feſtival: he told him that for his journey which was to be by ſea, he would prepare a bridge of whales and tortoiſes, and deſired him to ſing always as he went, a ſong which he gave him. This the Mexicans ſaid, was the origin of the muſic and dancing with which they celebrated the feſtivals of their gods. They aſcribed the daily ſacrifice which they made of quails to the ſun, to that which the heroes made of thoſe birds; and the barbarous ſacrifices of human victims, ſo common afterwards in theſe countries, they aſcribed to the example of *Xolotl* with his brethren.

They

BOOK VI.

They told a ſimilar fable of the origin of the moon. *Tezcoiztecal*, another of thoſe men who aſſembled in *Teotihuacan*, following the example of *Nanahuatzin*, threw himſelf into the fire: but the flames being ſomewhat leſs fierce, he turned out leſs bright, and was tranſformed into the moon. To theſe two deities they conſecrated thoſe two famous temples erected in the plain of *Teotihuacan*, of which we ſhall give an account in another place.

SECT. IV. The god of air.

Quetzalcoatl. (Feathered ſerpent.) This was among the Mexicans, and all the other nations of *Anahuac*, the god of the air. He was ſaid to have once been high-prieſt of *Tula*. They figured him tall, big, and of a fair complexion, with an open forehead, large eyes, long black hair, and a thick beard. From a love of decency, he wore always a long robe; he was ſo rich that he had palaces of ſilver and precious ſtones; he was thought to poſſeſs the greateſt induſtry, and to have invented the art of melting metals and cutting gems. He was ſuppoſed to have had the moſt profound wiſdom, which he diſplayed in the laws which he left to mankind; and above all to have had the moſt rigid and exemplary manners. Whenever he intended to promulgate a law in his kingdom, he ordered a crier to the top of the mountain *Tzatzitepec* (the hill of ſhouting) near the city of Tula, whoſe voice was heard at the diſtance of three hundred miles. In his time, the corn grew ſo ſtrong that a ſingle ear was a load for a man: gourds were as long as a man's body: it was unneceſſary to dye cotton, for it grew naturally of all colours: and all other fruits and ſeeds were in the ſame abundance and of extraordinary ſize. Then too there was an incredible number of beautiful and ſweet ſinging birds. All his ſubjects were rich, and to ſum up all in one word, the Mexicans imagined as much happineſs under the prieſthood of *Quetzalcoatl*, as the Greeks did under the reign of Saturn, whom this Mexican god likewiſe reſembled in the exile which he ſuffered. Amidſt all this proſperity, *Tezcatlipoca*, I know not for what reaſon, wiſhing to drive him from that country, appeared to him in the form of an old man, and told him that it was the will of the gods that he ſhould be taken to the kingdom of *Tlapalla*. At the ſame time he offered him a beverage, which *Quetzalcoatl* readily accepted, in hopes of obtaining that immortality after which he aſpired. He had no ſooner drank it than he felt himſelf

ſelf ſo ſtrongly inclined to go to *Tlapalla*, that he ſet out immediately, accompanied by many of his ſubjects, who, on the way, entertained him with muſic. Near the city of *Quauhtitlan* he felled a tree with ſtones, which remained fixed in the trunk: and near *Tlalnepantla* he laid his hand upon a ſtone and left an impreſſion, which the Mexicans ſhewed the Spaniards after the conqueſt. Upon his arrival at *Cholula*, the citizens detained him, and made him take upon him the government of their city. Beſides the decency and ſweetneſs of his manners, the averſion he ſhewed to all kinds of cruelty, inſomuch that he could not bear to hear the very mention of war, added much to the affection entertained for him by the inhabitants of Cholula. To him they ſaid they owed their knowledge of melting metals, their laws by which they were ever afterwards governed, the rites and ceremonies of their religion, and even, as ſome affirmed, the arrangement of their ſeaſons and calendar.

After being twenty years in *Cholula*, he reſolved to purſue his journey to the imaginary kingdom of *Tlapalla*, carrying along with him four noble and virtuous youths. In the maritime province of *Coatzacoalco*, he diſmiſſed them, and deſired them to aſſure the *Cholulans* that he would return to comfort and direct them. The *Cholulans* out of reſpect to their beloved *Quetzalcoatl*, put the reins of government into the hands of thoſe young men. Some people ſaid that he ſuddenly diſappeared, others that he died upon that coaſt; but, however it might be, *Quetzalcoatl* was conſecrated as a god by the *Toltecas* of *Cholulan*, and made chief guardian of their city, in the center of which, in honour of him, they raiſed a great eminence and built a ſanctuary upon it. Another eminence with a temple, was afterwards erected to him in *Tula*. From Cholula his worſhip was propagated over all that country, where he was adored as the god of the air. He had temples in Mexico, and elſewhere; and ſome nations, even enemies of the *Cholulans*, had, in the city of Cholula, temples and prieſts dedicated to his worſhip; and people came from all countries thither, to pay their devotions and to fulfil their vows. The Cholulans preſerved with the higheſt veneration ſome ſmall green ſtones, very well cut, which they ſaid had belonged to him. The people of Yucatan boaſted that their nobles were deſcended from him.

BOOK IV. Barren women offered up their prayers to him in order to become fruitful. His feſtivals were great and extraordinary, eſpecially in Cholula, in the *Teoxihuitl*, or divine year; and were preceded by a ſevere faſt of eighty days, and by dreadful auſterities practiſed by the prieſts conſecrated to his worſhip. Quetzalcoatl, they ſaid, cleared the way for the god of water; becauſe in theſe countries rain is generally preceded by wind.

Dr. Siguenza imagined that the *Quetzalcoatl*, deified by thoſe people, was no other than the apoſtle St. Thomas, who announced to them the Goſpel. He ſupported that opinion with great learning, in a work (*h*), which, with many other of his ineſtimable writings, has been unfortunately loſt by the neglect of his heirs. In that work he inſtituted a compariſon betwixt the names of *Didymos* and *Quetzalcoatl* (*i*), their dreſs, their doctrine, and their prophecies; and examined the places through which they went, the traces which they left, and the miracles which their reſpective diſciples related. As we have never ſeen the manuſcript above mentioned, we ſhall avoid criticiſing an opinion to which we cannot ſubſcribe, notwithſtanding the reſpect which we bear for the great genius and extenſive learning of the author.

Some Mexican writers are perſuaded that the Goſpel had been preached in America ſome centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards. The grounds of that opinion are ſome croſſes (*k*) which have been found

(*h*) This work of Siguenza is mentioned by Betancourt, in his *Mexican Theatre*; and by Dr. Eguiera, in his Mexican Bibliotheca.

(*i*) Betancourt obſerves, when he is comparing together the names of *Didymos* and *Quetzalcoatl*, that the latter is compoſed of *Coatl* a twin, and *Quetzalli* a gem; and that it ſignifies a Precious Twin. But Torquemada, who perfectly underſtood the Mexican language, and had thoſe names interpreted to him by the ancient people, ſays that Quetzalcoatl means, ſerpent furniſhed with feathers. In fact, *Coatl* does perfectly ſignify *ſerpent*, and *Quetzalli*, *green-feather*, and have been applied to *twin* and *gem*, only metaphorically.

(*k*) The croſſes the moſt celebrated are thoſe of Yucatan, of Mizteca, Queretaro, Tepique, and Tianquiztepec. Thoſe of Yucatan are mentioned by Father Cogolludo, a Franciſcan, in his Hiſtory, book ii. chap 12. The croſs of Mizteca is taken notice of by Boturini in his work, and in the chronicle of Father Burgoa, a Dominican. There is an account of the croſs of Queretaro, written by a Franciſcan of the college of *Propaganda* in that city; and of that of Tepique by the learned Jeſuit Sigiſmund Tarabal, whoſe manuſcripts are preſerved in the Jeſuit college of Guadalajora. That of Tianquiztepec was diſcovered by Boturini, and is mentioned in his work. The croſſes of Yucatan were worſhipped by the Yucataneſe, in obedience, as they ſaid, to the inſtructions of their great prophet *Chilam-Cambal*, who deſired that when a certain race of men with beards ſhould arrive in that country from the Eaſt, and ſhould

found at different times, which ſeem to have been made before the arrival of the Spaniards: the faſt of forty days obſerved by the people of the new world *(l)*, the tradition of the future arrival of a ſtrange people, with beards, and the prints of human feet impreſſed upon ſome ſtones, which are ſuppoſed to be the footſteps of the apoſtle St. Thomas *(n)*. We never could reconcile ourſelves to this opinion; but the examination of ſuch monuments and remains, would require a work of a very different kind from that which we have undertaken.

Tlaloc, otherwiſe *Tlalocateuctli* (maſter of paradiſe), was the god of water. They called him fertilizer of the earth, and protector of their temporal goods. They believed he reſided upon the higheſt mountains, where the clouds are generally formed, ſuch as thoſe of Tlaloc, Tlaſcala, and Toluca; whither they often went to implore his protection.

SECT. V. The gods of mountains, water, fire, earth, night, and hell.

The native hiſtorians relate, that the *Acolhuas* having arrived in that country in the time of Xolotl, the firſt Chechemecan king, found at the top of the mountain of Tlaloc, an image of that god, made of a white and very light ſtone, in the ſhape of a man ſitting upon a ſquare ſtone, with a veſſel before him, in which was ſome elaſtic gum, and a variety of ſeeds. This was their yearly offering, by way of rendering up their thanks after having had a favourable harveſt. That image was reckoned the oldeſt in that country; for it had been placed upon that hill by the ancient Toltecas, and remained till the end of the XVth or beginning of the XVIth century, when Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan, in order to gain the favour of his ſubjects, carried it away, and placed another in its ſtead, of a very hard black ſtone. The new image, however, being defaced by lightning, and the prieſts declaring it to be a puniſhment from heaven, the ancient ſtatue was reſtored, and there

ſhould be ſeen to adore that ſign, they ſhould embrace the doctrine of thoſe ſtrangers. We ſhall have an opportunity of ſpeaking more particularly concerning theſe monuments, in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Mexico*, if Heaven vouchſafe to favour our deſign.

(*l*) The faſt of forty days proves nothing, as thoſe nations likewiſe obſerved faſts of three, four, five, twenty, eighty, a hundred and ſixty days, and even of four years; nor was that of forty days, by any means the moſt common.

(*n*) Not only the marks of human feet have been found printed or rather cut out in ſtones, but thoſe likewiſe of animals have been found, without our being able to form any conjecture of the purpoſe had in view by thoſe who have taken the trouble to cut them.

continued to be preſerved and worſhipped, until the promulgation of the Goſpel, when it was thrown down and broken by the order of the firſt biſhop of Mexico.

The ancients alſo believed that in all the high mountains there reſided other gods, ſubaltern to Tlaloc. They all went under the ſame name, and were revered, not only as gods of water, but alſo as the gods of mountains. The image of *Tlaloc* was painted blue and green, to expreſs the different colours that are obſerved in water. He held in his hand a rod of gold, of an undulated and pointed form, by which they intended to denote the lightning. He had a temple in Mexico, within the incloſure of the greater temple, and the Mexicans celebrated ſeveral feſtivals in honour to him every year.

Chalchiuhcueje, otherwiſe *Chalchihuitlicue*, the goddeſs of water, and companion of Tlaloc. She was known by ſome other very expreſſive names *(o)*, which either ſignify the effects which water produces, or the different appearances and colours which it aſſumes in motion. The Tlaſcalans called her *Matlalcueje*, that is, clothed in a green robe; and they gave the ſame name to the higheſt mountain of Tlaſcala, on whoſe ſummit are formed thoſe ſtormy clouds which generally burſt over the city of Angelopoli. To that ſummit the Tlaſcalans aſcended to perform their ſacrifices, and offer up their prayers. This is the very ſame goddeſs of water, to which Torquemada gives the name of *Xochiquetzal*, and the Cav. Boturini that of *Macuilxochiquetzalli*.

Xiuhteuctli (maſter of the year and of the graſs), was among theſe nations the god of fire, to whom they likewiſe gave the name of *Ixcozauhqui*, which expreſſes the colour of fire. This god was greatly revered in the Mexican empire. At their dinner they made an offering to him of the firſt morſel of their food, and the firſt draught of their beverage, by throwing both into the fire; and burned incenſe to him at certain times of the day. In honour of him they held two fixed feſtivals of the moſt ſolemn kind, one in the tenth, and another in the eighteenth month; and one moveable feaſt at which they created the

(o) *Apozonallotl* and *Acuecuejotl* expreſs the ſwelling and fluctuation of water: *Atlacamani*, ſtorms excited on it: *Ahuic* and *Aiauh*, its motions ſometimes to one ſide and ſometimes to another: *Xixiquipilihui*, the alternate riſing and falling of the waves, &c.

uſual

uſual magiſtrates, and renewed the ceremony of the inveſtiture of the fiefs of the kingdom. He had a temple in Mexico, and ſome other palaces.

Centeotl, goddeſs of the earth and of corn, called likewiſe, *Tonacajohua (p)*, that is, ſhe who ſupports us. She had five temples in Mexico, and three feſtivals were held on her account, in the third, eighth, and eleventh months: ſhe was particularly revered and honoured by the Totonacas, who eſteemed her to be their chief protectreſs; and erected to her, upon the top of a high mountain, a temple, where ſhe was ſerved by a great number of prieſts ſolely devoted to her worſhip, and adored by the whole nation. They had an extraordinary love for her, being perſuaded that ſhe did not require human victims, but was contented with the ſacrifice of doves, quails, leverets, and ſuch animals, which they offered up to her in great numbers. They expected ſhe was at laſt to deliver them from the cruel ſlavery they were under to the other gods, who conſtrained them to ſacrifice ſo many human creatures. The Mexicans entertained very different ſentiments of her ſhedding a great deal of human blood at her feſtivals. In the above mentioned temple of the Totonacas, was one of the moſt renowned oracles of the country.

Mictlanteuctli, the god of hell, and *Mictlancihuatl* his female companion, were much honoured by the Mexicans. Theſe deities were imagined to dwell in a place of great darkneſs in the bowels of the earth. They had a temple in Mexico, in which they held a feſtival in the eighteenth month. Sacrifices and offerings were made to them by night, and the chief miniſter of their worſhip was a prieſt called *Tlillantlenamacac*, who was always died of a black colour, in order to perform the functions of his prieſthood.

Joalteuctli, the god of night, who ſeems to us to have been the ſame with *Meztli* or the moon. Some think him the ſame with *Tonatiuh*, or the ſun, while others imagine him to have been quite a diſtinct deity. They recommended their children to this god, to give them ſleep.

(p) They gave her likewiſe the names of *Tzinteotl* (original goddeſs), *Xilonen*, *Iztacacenteotl* and *Tlatlauhquicenteotl*, changing her name according to the different ſtates of the grain in the progreſs of its growth.

Joalticitl

BOOK VI.

Joalticitl (nightly phyſician), goddeſs of cradles; to whom they likewiſe recommended their children to be taken care of, particularly in the night time.

SECT. VI. The gods of war.

Huitzilopochtli, or Mexitli, was the god of war; the deity the moſt honoured by the Mexicans, and their chief protector *(q)*. Of this god ſome ſaid he was a pure ſpirit, others that he was born of a woman, but without the aſſiſtance of a man, and deſcribed his birth in the following manner. There lived, ſaid they, in Coatepec, a place near to the ancient city of Tula, a woman called *Coatlicue*, mother of the *Ceutzonhuiznahuis*, who was extremely devoted to the worſhip of the gods. One day as ſhe was employed, according to her uſual cuſtom, in walking in the temple, ſhe beheld deſcending in the air, a ball made of various feathers. She ſeized it and kept it in her boſom, intending afterwards to employ the feathers in decoration of the altar; but when ſhe wanted it after her walk was at an end, ſhe could not find it, at which ſhe was extremely ſurpriſed, and her wonder was very greatly increaſed when ſhe began to perceive from that moment that ſhe was pregnant. Her pregnancy advanced till it was diſcovered by her children, who, although they could not themſelves ſuſpect their mother's virtue, yet fearing the diſgrace ſhe would ſuffer upon her delivery, determined to prevent it by putting her to death. They could not take their reſolution ſo ſecretly as to conceal it from their mother, who while ſhe was in deep affliction at the thoughts of dying by the hands of her own children, heard an unexpected voice iſſue from her womb, ſaying, "Be not afraid mother, for I ſhall ſave you with the greateſt honour to yourſelf, and glory to me." Her hard-hearted ſons, guided and encouraged by their ſiſter *Cojolxauhqui*, who had been the moſt keenly bent upon the deed, were now juſt upon the point of executing their purpoſe, when Huitzilopochtli was born, with a ſhield in his

(q) Huitzilopochtli is a compound of two words, viz. *Huitzilin*, the humming bird, and *Opochtli*, left. It was ſo called from his image having the feathers of the little bird upon its left foot. Boturini knowing little of the Mexican language, derives the name from *Huitziton* the leader of the Mexicans in their pilgrimage, and takes this leader and the god to have been the ſame perſon. Beſides that ſuch an etymology is over-ſtrained, that pretended identity is quite unknown to the Mexicans themſelves, who when they began their pilgrimage under the conduct of Huitziton, had long before, from time immemorial, worſhipped the god of war: the Spaniards being unable to pronounce the word, called him *Huichilobos*.

left

left hand, a ſpear in his right, and a creſt of green feathers on his head; his left leg adorned with feathers, and his face, arms, and thighs ſtreaked with blue lines. As ſoon as he came into the world he diſplayed a twiſted pine, and commanded one of his ſoldiers called *Tochancalqui*, to fell with it Cojolxauhqui, as the one who had been the moſt guilty; and he himſelf attacked the reſt with ſo much fury that, in ſpite of their efforts, their arms, or their intreaties, he killed them all, plundered their houſes, and preſented the ſpoils to his mother. Mankind were ſo terrified by this event, that from that time they called him *Tetzahuitl*, terror, and *Tetzauhteotl*, terrible god.

This was the god who, as they ſaid, becoming the protector of the Mexicans, conducted them for ſo many years in their pilgrimage, and at length ſettled them where they afterwards founded the great city of Mexico. There they raiſed to him that ſuperb temple ſo much celebrated even by the Spaniards, in which were annually holden three ſolemn feſtivals in the fifth, ninth, and fifteenth months; beſides thoſe kept every four years, every thirteen years, and at the beginning of every century. His ſtatue was of gigantic ſize, in the poſture of a man ſeated on a blue-coloured bench, from the four corners of which iſſued four huge ſnakes. His forehead was blue, but his face was covered with a golden maſk, while another of the ſame kind covered the back of his head. Upon his head he carried a beautiful creſt, ſhaped like the beak of a bird; upon his neck a collar conſiſting of ten figures of the human heart; in his right hand, a large, blue, twiſted club; in his left, a ſhield, on which appeared five balls of feathers diſpoſed in the form of a croſs, and from the upper part of the ſhield roſe a golden flag with four arrows, which the Mexicans pretended to have been ſent to them from heaven to perform thoſe glorious actions which we have ſeen in their hiſtory. His body was girt with a large golden ſnake, and adorned with various leſſer figures of animals made of gold and precious ſtones, which ornaments and inſignia had each their peculiar meaning. They never deliberated upon making war without imploring the protection of this god, with prayers and ſacrifices; and offered up a greater number of human victims to him than to any other of the gods.

Tlaca-

BOOK VI.

Tlacahuepancuexcotzin, likewiſe a god of war, the younger brother and companion of Huitzilopochtli. His image was worſhipped along with his brother's, in the chief ſanctuary of Mexico; but no where with greater devotion than at the court of Tezcuco.

Painalton (ſwift or hurried), a god of war, and lieutenant of Huitzilopochtli. As they invoked the latter in thoſe wars which were undertaken after ſerious deliberation, ſo they called upon Painalton upon ſudden occaſions, ſuch as an unexpected attack of the enemy. Then the prieſts ran about the city with the image of the god, which was worſhipped together with thoſe of the other gods of war, calling upon him with loud cries, and making ſacrifices to him of quails, and other animals. All the men of war were then obliged to run to arms.

SECT. VII. The gods of commerce, hunting, fiſhing, &c.

Jacateuctli (the lord who guides), the god of commerce *(r)*, for whom the merchants celebrated two great annual feſtivals in his temple at Mexico; one in the ninth, and another in the ſeventeenth month, with many ſacrifices of human victims, and ſuperb repaſts.

Mixcoatl, the goddeſs of hunting, and the principal deity of the Otomies, who, living among the mountains, were for the moſt part hunters. The Matlatzincas likewiſe worſhipped her with peculiar reverence. She had two temples in Mexico, and in one of them called *Teotlalpan*, was held a great feſtival with numerous ſacrifices of the wild animals, in the fourteenth month.

Opochtli, the god of fiſhing. He was believed to be the inventor of nets and other inſtruments of fiſhing, whence he was particularly revered by fiſhermen, as their protector. In Cuitlahuac, a city upon a little iſland in the lake of Chalco, there was a god of fiſhing highly honoured, named *Amimitl*, who probably differed from Opochtli no otherwiſe than in name.

Huixtocihuatl, the goddeſs of ſalt, was worſhipped by the Mexicans upon account of the ſalt works which they had at a little diſtance from the capital. A feaſt was celebrated to her in the ſeventh month.

Tzapotlatenan, the goddeſs of phyſic. She was ſuppoſed to have been the inventreſs of the oil called *Oxitl*, and other moſt uſeful drugs. She was yearly honoured with the ſacrifice of human victims, and with particular hymns compoſed in her praiſe.

(r) Jacateuctli was alſo called *Xiacateuctli* and *Jacacoluhqui*.

Tezcat-

Texcatzoncatl, the god of wine; known likewiſe by other names (*s*), from the effects produced by wine. He had a temple in Mexico, in which four hundred prieſts were conſecrated to his worſhip, and where for him, and the other gods his companions, a yearly feaſt was held in the thirteenth month.

Ixtlilton (the black-faced) ſeems to have been a god of phyſic; for they uſed to bring ſick children to his temple, to be cured. Their fathers brought them, and dictating to them the prayers with which they were to aſk for health, made them dance before the image; and then gave them a water to drink which had been bleſſed by the prieſts conſecrated to the god.

Coatlicue, or *Coatlantona*, was the goddeſs of flowers. She had a temple in Mexico called *Yopico*, where a feſtival was celebrated to her by the *Xochimanqui*, or compoſers of noſegays of flowers, in the third month which falls in ſpring. They preſented her among other things with beautiful braids of flowers. We do not know whether this goddeſs was the ſame with the mother of Huitzilopochtli.

Tlazolteotl was the god whom the Mexicans invoked to obtain pardon of their ſins, and to be freed from the diſgrace to which the guilty are expoſed. The principal devotees of this falſe deity were luſtful men, who courted his protection with ſacrifices and with offerings (*t*).

Xipe is the name given by hiſtorians to the god of the goldſmiths, (*u*) who was greatly revered among the Mexicans. They were perſuaded that all thoſe who neglected his worſhip, would be puniſhed with diſeaſes, particularly with the itch, boils, and ſevere pains in the eyes and the head. They took care, therefore, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the cruelty of their ſacrifices, which were made at a feſtival uſually celebrated in the ſecond month.

Nappateuctli (four times lord) was the god of the mat-weavers. He was ſaid to be a benign god, eaſy to pardon injuries, and generous

(*s*) Such as *Tequechmecaniani* the ſtrangler, and *Teatlahuiani* the drowner.

(*t*) Boturini aſſerts, that Tlazolteotl was the immodeſt and Hebeian goddeſs; and *Macuilxochiquetzalli*, the Venus *Pronuba*. But the Mexicans never attributed to their gods thoſe ſhameful irregularities, which the Greeks and Romans imputed to theirs.

(*u*) *Xipe* has no meaning; ſo that I imagine the Spaniſh writers not knowing the Mexican name of this god, applied to him the two firſt ſyllables of the name of his feaſt *Xipehualiztli*.

BOOK VI. towards all. He had two temples in Mexico, where a feſtival was held in the thirteenth month.

Omacatl was the god of mirth. Upon occaſion of any public rejoicing, or any great feaſt of the Mexican lords, they imagined they would certainly meet with ſome diſaſter if they neglected to bring the image of this god from the temple and ſet it up at the feaſt.

Tonantzin (our mother) I take to be the ſame with the goddeſs Centeotl, whom we have mentioned before. She had a temple upon a mountain, about three miles from Mexico towards the north, whither the nations came in crowds to worſhip her, with a wonderful number of ſacrifices. At the foot of that hill is now the moſt famous ſanctuary in the new world, dedicated to the true God; where people from the moſt remote countries aſſemble to worſhip the celebrated and truly miraculous image of the moſt Holy Lady of *Guadaloupe*; thus converting a place of abomination into a mercy-ſeat, where religion has diſtributed its favours, for the benefit of thoſe nations, in the place that has been ſtained with the blood of ſo many of their anceſtors.

Teteoinan was the mother of the gods, which the word itſelf ſignifies. As the Mexicans called themſelves the children of the gods, they gave to this goddeſs the name likewiſe of *Tocitzin*, that is, our grand-mother. I have already ſpoken of the origin and deification of this pretended mother of the gods in the ſecond book, where I gave an account of the tragical death of the princeſs of Colhuacan. This goddeſs had a temple in Mexico, where a moſt ſolemn feaſt was held in the eleventh month. She was particularly adored by the Tlaſcalans; and midwives worſhipped her as their protectreſs. Almoſt all the Spaniſh writers confound her with Tonantzin, but they are certainly different.

Ilamateuctli, for whom the Mexicans had a feaſt upon the third day of the ſeventeenth month, ſeems to have been the goddeſs of age. Her name means nothing more than Old Lady.

Tepitoton (little ones), was the name given by the Mexicans to their penates, or houſhold gods, and the images that repreſented them. Of theſe little images, the kings and great lords had always ſix in their houſes, the nobles four, and the lower people two. They were to be ſeen every where in the public ſtreets.

Beſides

Beſides theſe gods which were the moſt conſiderable, and ſome others which we omit, that we may not tire the reader, there were two hundred and ſixty, to which as many days were conſecrated. Thoſe days take their names from them, and are thoſe we find in the firſt thirteen months of their calendar.

The Mexican gods were generally the ſame with thoſe of the other nations of Anahuac; differing only in their greater or leſs celebrity, in ſome of their rites, and ſometimes in their names. The god the moſt celebrated in Mexico was *Huitzilopochtli*; in Cholula and Huexotzinco, *Quetzalcoatl*; among the Totonacas, *Centeotl*; and among the Otomies, *Mixcoatl*. The Tlaſcalans, although the conſtant enemies of the Mexicans, adored the ſame gods; and even their moſt favoured deity was the very Huitilopochtli of the Mexicans, but under the name of *Camaxtle*. The people of Tezcuco, as allies, friends, and neighbours, conformed almoſt entirely with the Mexicans.

SECT. VIII. Their idols and the manner of worſhipping their gods.

The number of the images by which thoſe falſe gods were repreſented, and worſhipped in the temples, the houſes, the ſtreets, and the woods, were infinite. Zumarraga, firſt biſhop of Mexico, affirms, that the Franciſcans had, in the courſe of eight years, broken more than twenty thouſand idols; but that number is trifling compared to thoſe of the capital only. They were generally made of clay, and certain kinds of ſtone and wood; but ſometimes too of gold and other metals: and there were ſome of gems. In a high mountain of Achiauhtla, in Mizteca, Benedict Fernandez, a celebrated Dominican miſſionary, found a little idol called by the Miztecas the *heart of the people*. It was a very precious emerald, four inches long and two inches broad, upon which was engraved the figure of a bird, and round it that of a little ſnake. The Spaniards offered fifteen hundred ſequins for it; but the zealous miſſionary before all the people, and with great ſolemnity reduced it to powder. The moſt extraordinary idol of the Mexicans was that of Huitzilopochtli, which was made of certain ſeeds paſted together with human blood. Almoſt all their idols were coarſe and hideous from the fantaſtical parts of which they were compoſed in order to repreſent their attributes and employments.

The divinity of thoſe falſe gods were acknowledged by prayers, kneeling and proſtrations, with vows, faſts, and other auſterities,

BOOK VI.

with ſacrifices and offerings, and various rites, ſome common to other nations, and others peculiar to the Mexican religion alone. They prayed generally upon their knees, with their faces turned towards the eaſt, and therefore made their ſanctuaries with the door to the weſt. They made vows for their children as well as for themſelves, and frequently dedicated them to the ſervice of their gods in ſome temple or monaſtery. Thoſe who happened to be in danger from ſtumbling or ſlipping, upon a journey, made vows to viſit the temple of the god Omacatl, and to offer up incenſe and paper. They made frequent uſe of the name of God to confirm the truth; and their oaths were in this form; *Cuix à mo nechitta in Toteotzin?* Does not our god ſee me now? Then naming the principal god, or any other they particularly reverenced, they kiſſed their hand, after having touched the earth with it. Great faith was put in oaths of this kind by way of purgation when any one was accuſed of a crime; for they thought no man could be ſo raſh as to venture to abuſe the name of God, at the evident riſk of being moſt ſeverely puniſhed by heaven.

SECT. IX. Their tranſformations.

Metamorphoſes, or transformations, were not wanting to the mythology of the Mexicans. Among others they related one of a man named *Jappan*, who having undertaken to do penance upon a mountain, yielded to the temptations of a woman, and fell into the ſin of adultery. He was immediately beheaded by *Jaotl*, to whom the gods had given the charge of watching over his conduct, and by the gods themſelves was transformed into a black ſcorpion. Jaotl, not ſatisfied with that puniſhment, executed it likewiſe upon *Tlahuitzin*, the wife of Jappan, who was transformed into a white ſcorpion, while Jaotl himſelf, for having exceeded the bounds of his commiſſion, was turned into a locuſt. They ſaid it was from the ſhame of that crime that ſcorpions ſhun the light, and hide themſelves under ſtones.

SECT. X. The greater temple of Mexico.

The Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, like all civilized nations, had temples or places allotted for the purpoſes of religion, where the people aſſembled to worſhip their gods, and implore their protection. They called the temple *Teocalli*, that is, the houſe of god, and *Teopan*, the place of God; which names they applied with greater propriety to the temples erected in honour of the true God, after they embraced Chriſtianity.

The

The city and kingdom of Mexico began with the building of the ſanctuary of Huitzilopochtli or *Mexitli*, whence it has derived its name. That edifice was then a miſerable hut. Itzcoatl, the firſt king and conqueror of that nation, after the taking of Azcapozalco, enlarged it. Montezuma I. his ſucceſſor, built a new temple, which had ſome ſhew of magnificence; and, at length Ahuitzotl raiſed and dedicated that immenſe temple which his predeceſſor Tizoc had planned. This was the temple which the Spaniards celebrated ſo highly after they had deſtroyed it. It were to be wiſhed that their accuracy in deſcribing its dimenſions had been but equal to their zeal in deſtroying that ſuperb monument of ſuperſtition: but ſuch is the variety of their accounts, that, after having laboured to reconcile them, I have found it impoſſible to aſcertain its proportions; nor ſhould I ever have been able to form an idea of the architecture of that temple without the figure preſented to us by the Anonymous Conqueror; a copy of which I have here ſubjoined, although I have paid leſs regard in it to his delineation than his deſcription. I ſhall mention therefore all that I think may be depended upon, after a very tedious compariſon of the deſcriptions given by four eye-witneſſes, and neglect what I have been unable to extricate from the confuſion of different authors (*x*).

(*x*) The four eye-witneſſes whoſe deſcriptions we have connected together are the conqueror Cortes, Bernal Diaz, the Anonymous Conqueror, and Sahagun. The three firſt lived for ſeveral months in the palace of king Axajacatl, near the temple, and therefore ſaw it every day. Sahagun, although he never ſaw it entire, yet ſaw ſome part of it, and could diſcover what ground it had occupied. Gomara, who did not himſelf ſee the temple, nor ever was in Mexico, received the different accounts of it from the conquerors themſelves who ſaw it. Acoſta, whoſe deſcription has been copied by Herrera and Solis, inſtead of the great temple deſcribes one perfectly different. This author, although in other reſpects deſerving of credit, was not in Mexico till ſixty years after the conqueſt, when there were no remains of the temple.

In a Dutch edition of Solis, was given an incorrect print of the great temple, which was afterwards given by the authors of the *General Hiſtory of Voyages*, and is ſtill to be met with in an edition of the conqueror Cortes's Letters, publiſhed at Mexico in 1770: but the careleſſneſs of the editors of that edition will appear from comparing the print in it with Cortes's own deſcription. He ſays, in his firſt letter, though ſomewhat hyperbolically, that the great temple of Mexico was higher than the tower of the cathedral church of Seville, while in the print mentioned it ſcarcely appears to be ſeven or eight perches or toiſes. Cortes declares that five hundred Mexican nobles fortified themſelves in the upper area, whereas that ſpace as repreſented in the print could not contain more than ſeventy or eighty men. Laſtly, omitting many other contradictions, Cortes ſays, that the temple conſiſted of three or four bodies, and that each body had, as he deſcribes it, its corridores or balconies; yet in the print it is repreſented as conſiſting of one body only, without any of thoſe corridores at all.

This

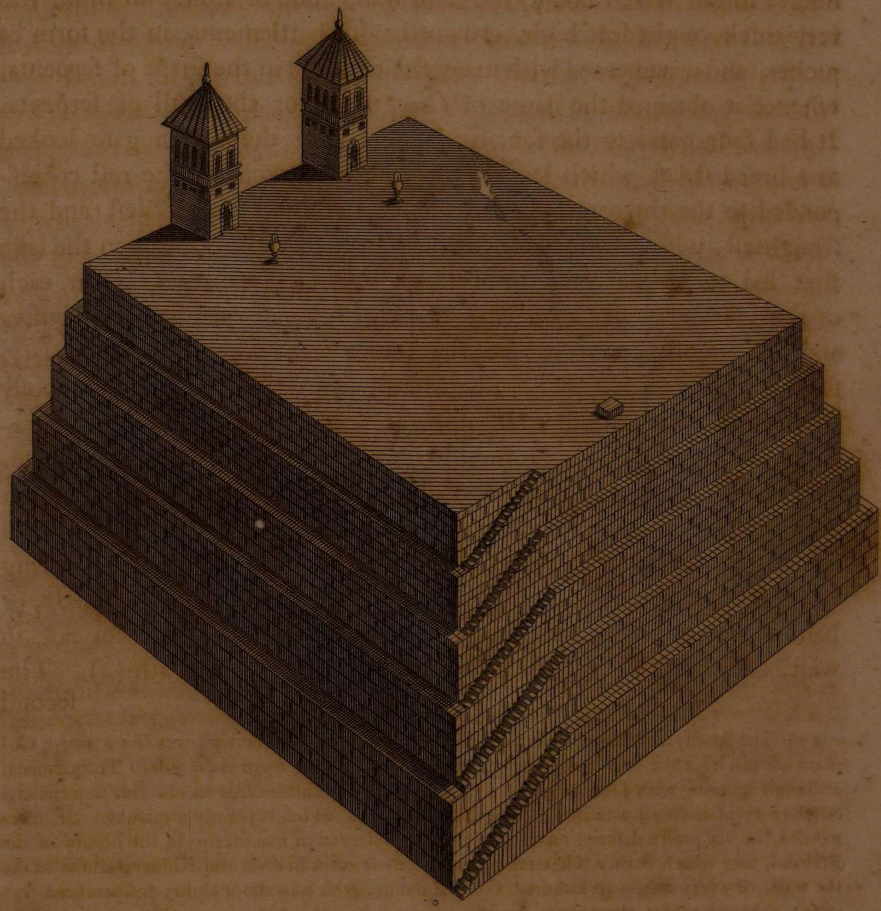
This great temple occupied the centre of the city, and, together with the other temples and buildings annexed to it, comprehended all that ſpace upon which the great cathedral church now ſtands, part of the greater market-place, and part likewiſe of the ſtreets and buildings around. Within the incloſure of the wall which encompaſſed it in a ſquare form, the conqueror Cortes affirms that a town of five hundred houſes might have ſtood (*y*). The wall, built of ſtone and lime, was very thick, eight feet high, crowned with battlements, in the form of niches, and ornamented with many ſtone figures in the ſhape of ſerpents, whence it obtained the name of *Coatepantli*, or the wall of ſerpents. It had four gates to the four cardinal points: the eaſtern gate looked to a broad ſtreet which led to the lake of Tezcuco: the reſt correſponded to the three principal ſtreets of the city, the broadeſt and the ſtraighteſt, which formed a continuation with thoſe built upon the lake that led to Iztapalapan, to Tacuba, and to Tepejacac. Over each of the four gates was an arſenal filled with a vaſt quantity of offenſive and defenſive weapons, where the troops went when it was neceſſary, to be ſupplied with arms. The ſpace within the walls was curiouſly paved with ſuch ſmooth and poliſhed ſtones that the horſes of the Spaniards could not move upon them without ſlipping and tumbling down. In the middle was raiſed an immenſe ſolid building of greater length than breadth (*z*), covered with ſquare equal pieces of pavement. The building conſiſted of five bodies nearly equal in height, but differing in length and breadth; the higheſt being narroweſt. The firſt body, or baſis of the building, was more than fifty perches long from eaſt to weſt, and about forty-three in breadth, from north to ſouth (*a*). The ſecond

(*y*) The Anonymous Conqueror ſays, that what was within the wall was like a city. Gomara affirms, that the wall was a very long bowſhot in length upon every ſide. Torquemada, although agreeing with Gomara in book viii. chap. 2. ſays afterwards in ch. xix. that the circumference of the wall was above three thouſand paces, which is plainly a miſtake. Dr. Hernandez, in his prolix deſcription of the temple, preſerved in manuſcript in the library of the Eſcurial, and which Father Nieremberg has made uſe of in his Natural Hiſtory, allows to the the wall, of every ſide, two hundred Toledan cubits, which is about eighty-ſix perches.

(*z*) Sahagun makes the temple perfectly ſquare, but the Anonymous Conqueror, both in the deſcription and in the figure which he has left us, repreſents it to have been of greater length than breadth, like thoſe of Teotihuacan which ſerved as models for all the reſt.

(*a*) Sahagun gives to the firſt body upon every ſide three hundred and ſixty Toledan feet, and that is the meaſure of its length. Gomara gives it fifty *brazas*, which is the meaſure of its breadth. Three hundred and ſixty Toledan feet make three hundred and eight Pariſian, or a lit-

The greater Temple of Mexico.



ſecond body was about a perch leſs in length and breadth than the firſt; the third as much leſs than the ſecond; and the reſt in proportion, ſo that upon each body there remained a free ſpace or plain which would allow three, or even four men abreaſt to walk round the next body.

The ſtairs, which were upon the ſouth-ſide, were made of large well formed ſtones, and conſiſted of a hundred and fourteen ſteps, each a foot high. They were not, however, one ſingle ſtair-caſe continued all the way, as they have been repreſented by the authors of the Geneneral Hiſtory of Travels, and the Publiſhers of Cortes's Letters, in Mexico; but were divided into as many ſeparate ſtair-caſes as there were bodies of the building in the manner ſhewn in our plate; ſo that after getting to the top of the firſt ſtair-caſe, one could not mount the ſecond, without going along the firſt plain round the ſecond; nor the third, without going along the ſecond plain, and ſo of the reſt. This will be better underſtood by conſulting the plate, which is copied from that of the Anonymous Conqueror (*b*), but corrected as to the dimenſions, from that author's own deſcription, and other hiſtorians.

Upon the fifth body was a plain, which we ſhall call the upper area, which was about forty three perches long (*c*), and thirty-four broad, and was as well paved as the great area below. At the eaſtern extremity of this plain were raiſed two towers to the height of fifty-ſix feet, or nearly nine perches. Each was divided into three bodies, of which the lower was of ſtone and lime, and the other two of wood very well wrought and painted. The inferior body or baſis of each were properly the ſanctuaries, where, upon an altar of ſtone, five feet high, were placed their tutelary idols. One of theſe two ſanctuaries was conſe-

a little more than fifty perches. Fifty *brazas*, or *eſtados* make two hundred and fifty-ſeven Pariſian feet, or about forty-two perches.

(*b*) A copy of the drawing of the temple made by the Anonymous Conqueror, is to be found in the collection of Jo. Ramuſio; and another in Father Kircher's work, entitled, *Oedipus Ægyptiacus*.

(*c*) Sahagun, whoſe meaſures have been adopted by Torquemada, allows no more than ſeventy Toledan feet ſquare, which is about ten perches, to the upper area; but it is impoſſible that five hundred Mexican nobles, as Cortes aſſerts, could have ſtood to fight againſt the Spaniards, in ſuch a narrow ſpace; eſpecially if we believe Bernard Diaz, who ſays, that four thouſand Mexicans fortified themſelves in that temple, and that numbers had got up before the nobles aſcended.

crated

BOOK IV.

crated to Huitzilopochtli, and the gods of war; and the other to Tezcatlipoca. The other bodies were deſtined to the keeping of ſome things belonging to the worſhip, and the aſhes of ſome kings and lords who, through particular devotion, deſired that to be done. The doors of both ſanctuaries were towards the weſt, and both the towers terminated in a very beautiful wooden cupola. There is no author who has deſcribed the internal diſpoſition and ornaments of the ſanctuaries; nor indeed the ſize of the towers; ſo that what is repreſented in our plate is only delineated from conjecture. I believe, however, we may venture to ſay without danger of miſtake, that the height of the building without the towers, was not leſs than nineteen perches, and with the towers exceeded twenty-eight. From that height one might ſee the lake, the cities around, and a great part of the valley; and it has been affirmed by eye-witneſſes to be the fineſt proſpect in the world.

In the upper area was the altar for the common ſacrifices, and in the lower that for the gladiatorial. Before the two ſanctuaries were two ſtone ſtoves of the height of a man, and of the ſhape of our holy pyx, in which they preſerved a conſtant fire, night and day, with the utmoſt care; fearing that if ever it went out, they ſhould ſuffer the moſt dreadful puniſhment from heaven. In the other temples and religious buildings compriſed within the incloſure of the great wall, there were ſix hundred ſtoves, of the ſame ſize and figure, which in the night time, when they uſed all to be burning, preſented a very pleaſing ſight.

SECT. XI. Buildings annexed to the great temple.

In the ſpace betwixt the wall and the great temple, there were, beſides a place for their religious dances, upwards of forty leſſer temples, conſecrated to the other gods, ſeveral colleges of prieſts, ſome ſeminaries for youth and children of both ſexes, and many other buildings ſcattered about, of which, for their ſingularity, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account.

The moſt remarkable were the temples of Tezcatlipoca, Tlaloc, and Quetzalcoatl. They all reſembled one another in form, but were of different ſizes, and all fronted the great temple; while the other temples without this area were built with the front towards the weſt. The temple of Quetzalcoatl alone differed from the reſt in form; it being round, the others all quadrangular. The door of

this

this ſanctuary was the mouth of an enormous ſerpent of ſtone, armed with fangs. Some Spaniards tempted by curioſity to go into that diabolical temple, afterwards confeſſed the horror which they felt upon entering it. Among other temples there was one called *Ilhuicatitlan*, dedicated to the planet Venus, in which was a great pillar with the figure of that ſtar painted or engraved upon it; near which, at the time of her appearance, they ſacrificed priſoners.

The colleges of prieſts, and the ſeminaries were various; but we particularly know only of five colleges or monaſteries of prieſts, and three ſeminaries of youth, although there muſt certainly have been more, from the prodigious number of perſons that were found there conſecrated to the worſhip of the gods.

Among the remarkable buildings within this area, beſides the four arſenals over the four gates, there was another near the temple *Tezcacalli* (houſe of mirrors), ſo called from its walls being covered with mirrors on the inſide. There was another ſmall temple called *Tecciz-calli*, all adorned with ſhells which had a houſe annexed to it, into which, at certain times, the king of Mexico retired for the purpoſes of faſting and prayer. The high-prieſt had likewiſe a houſe of retirement called *Pojauhtlan*, and there were ſeveral others for other perſons. There was alſo a great houſe of entertainment to accommodate ſtrangers of diſtinction who came upon a devout viſit to the temple, or from curioſity to ſee the grandeurs of the court. There were ponds in which the prieſts bathed; and fountains, the water of which they drank. In the pond called *Tezcapan*, many bathed in obedience to a particular vow made to the gods. The water of one of the fountains called *Toxpalatl* was eſteemed holy: it was drank only at the moſt ſolemn feaſts, and no perſon was allowed to taſte it at any other time (*d*). There were places allotted to the bringing up of birds for the ſacrifices, gardens in which flowers and odoriferous herbs were raiſed for the decoration of the altars; and even a little wood in which were artificially

(*d*) The fountain *Toxpalatl*, the water of which was excellent, was ſtopped up, at the time when the Spaniards deſtroyed the temple; it was opened again in 1582, in the little ſquare of the Marquis (which at preſent is called *el Empedradillo*), near to the cathedral; but for ſome reaſon or other, of which we are ignorant, it was a ſecond time ſtopped up.

BOOK VI.

repreſented hills, rocks, and precipices, and from which they iſſued to that general chace which we ſhall deſcribe in another part of this work.

Particular apartments were deſtined for the keeping of the idols, the ornaments, and all the furniture of their temples; and among them were three halls ſo large, that the Spaniards were aſtoniſhed upon ſeeing them. Among the buildings moſt ſtriking from their ſingularity, was a great priſon like a cage, in which they kept the idols of the conquered nations as if impriſoned. In ſome other buildings of this kind they preſerved the heads of thoſe who had been ſacrificed, ſome of which were nothing but heaps of bones piled upon one another. In others the heads were arranged in regular order upon poles, or fixed againſt the walls, forming, by the variety of their diſpoſition, a ſpectacle not leſs curious than horrid. The greateſt of theſe buildings called *Huitzompan*, although not within the great wall, was but a little way from it, over againſt the principal gate. This was a prodigious rampart of earth, longer than it was broad, in the form of a half pyramid. In the loweſt part it was one hundred and fifty-four feet long. The aſcent to the plain upon the top of it was by a ſtair-caſe of thirty ſteps. Upon that plain were erected about four feet aſunder, more than ſeventy very long beams, bored from top to bottom. By theſe holes, ſticks were paſſed acroſs from one beam to another, and upon each of them a certain number of heads were ſtrung by the temples. Upon the ſteps alſo of the ſtair-caſe there was a head betwixt every ſtone; and at each end of the ſame edifice was a tower which appeared to have been made only of ſkulls and lime. As ſoon as a head began to crumble with age, the prieſts ſupplied its place with a freſh one from the bone-heaps in order to preſerve the due number and arrangement. The ſkulls of ordinary victims were ſtripped of the ſcalp; but thoſe of men of rank, and great warriors, they endeavoured to preſerve with the ſkin and beard and hair entire, which ſerved only to render more frightful thoſe trophies of their barbarous ſuperſtition. The number of heads preſerved in this and ſuch other buildings is ſo great, that ſome of the Spaniſh conquerors took the trouble of reckoning up thoſe upon

upon the ſteps of this building, and upon the files betwixt the beams, and found them amount to one hundred thirty-ſix thouſand (*e*). They who wiſh for a more minute detail of the buildings within the wall of the great temple, may read the relation of Sahagun in Torquemada, and the deſcription of the ſeventy-eight edifices there by Dr. Hernandez, in the Natural Hiſtory of Nieremberg.

SECT. XII. Other temples.

Beſides theſe temples there were others ſcattered in different quarters of the city. Some authors make the number of temples in that capital (comprehending, as may be imagined, even the ſmalleſt) amount to two thouſand; and that of the towers to three hundred and ſixty, but we do not know that any one ever actually counted them. There can be no doubt, however, that they were very numerous, and among them ſeven or eight diſtinguiſhable for their ſize; but that of Tlatelolco, conſecrated likewiſe to Huitzilopochtli, roſe above them all.

Out of the capital, the moſt celebrated were thoſe of Tezcuco, Cholula, and Teotihuacan. Bernal Diaz, who had the curioſity to number the ſteps of their ſtairs, ſays, that the temple of Tezcuco had one hundred and ſeventeen, and that of Cholula one hundred and twenty. We do not know whether that famous temple of Tezcuco was the ſame with Tezcutzinco, ſo celebrated by Valadès in his *Chriſtian Rhetoric*, or the ſame with that renowned tower of nine bodies, erected by the king Nezahualcojotl, to the Creator of heaven. The great temple of Cholula, like many others of that city, was dedicated to their protector Quetzalcoatl. All the old hiſtorians ſpeak with wonder of the number of the temples in Cholula. Cortes wrote to the emperor Charles V. that from the top of one temple he had counted more than four hunded towers of others (*f*). The lofty pyramid raiſed by the Toltecas remains to this day, in that place where there was

(*e*) Andrea de Tapia, an officer belonging to Cortes, and one of them who counted the ſkulls, gave this information to Gomara the hiſtorian, according to his own teſtimony in cap. lxxxii. of his Hiſtory of Mexico.

(*f*) "Certifico a vueſtra Alteza que yo contè deſder una mezquita quatro cientas y tantas "torres en la dicha ciudad (de Cholula) y todas ſon de mezquitas." Letter to Charles V. Oct. 30, 1520. The anonymous conqueror affirms, that he counted one hundred and ninety towers of the temples and palaces. Bernal Diaz ſays, that they exceeded a hundred; but it is probable, that the two authors counted thoſe only which were remarkable for their height. Some later authors have ſaid that theſe towers were as many in number as the days of the year.

BOOK VI. formerly a temple conſecrated to that falſe deity, and now a holy ſanctuary of the mother of the true God; but the pyramid from its great antiquity is ſo covered with earth and buſhes, that it ſeems more like a natural eminence than an edifice. We are ignorant, indeed, of its dimenſions, but its circumference in the lower part is not leſs than half a mile (*g*.) One may aſcend to the top by a path made in a ſpiral direction round the pyramid, and I went up on horſeback in 1744. This is that famous hill about which ſo many fables have been feigned, and which Boturini believed to have been raiſed by the Toltecas as a place of refuge in the event of another deluge like Noah's.

The famous edifices of Teotihuacan, about three miles ſouth from that place, and more than twenty from Mexico, towards Greco, ſtill ſubſtiſt: thoſe immenſe buildings which ſerved as a model for the temples of that country, were two temples conſecrated the one to the ſun and the other to the moon, repreſented by two idols of monſtrous bulk, made of ſtone and covered with gold. That of the ſun had a great concavity in the breaſt, and an image of that planet of the pureſt gold fixed in it. The conquerors poſſeſſed themſelves of the gold, the idols were broken by order of the firſt biſhop of Mexico, and the fragments remained in that place till the end of the laſt century, and may, perhaps be there ſtill. The baſe, or inferior body of the temple of the ſun, is twenty-eight perches long, and eighty-ſix broad, and the height of the whole building is in proportion (*b*). That of the moon is eighty-ſix perches long in the baſe, and ſixty-three broad. Each of theſe temples is divided into four bodies, and as many ſtair-caſes, which are arranged in the ſame manner with thoſe of the great temple of Mexico; but cannot now be traced, partly from their ruinous condition, and partly from the great quantity of earth with which they are every where covered. Round theſe edifices are ſcattered ſeveral little hills, which are ſuppoſed to have been as many leſſer temples, dedicated to the other

(*g*) Betancourt ſays, that the height of the pyramid of Cholula was upwards of forty *eſtados*, that is, more than two hundred and five Pariſian feet; but this author has been too ſparing in his meaſure, as that height unqueſtionable exceeds five hundred feet.

(*b*) Gemelli meaſured the length and breadth of thoſe temples, but had no inſtrument to meaſure their height. Cav. Boturini meaſured their height, but when he wrote his work he had not the meaſure by him, yet he thinks he found the temple of the ſun to have been two hundred Caſtilian cubits high, that is, eighty-ſix perches.

planets

planets and ſtars; and from this place being ſo full of religious buildings, antiquity gave it the name of *Teotihuacan*.

The number of temples throughout the whole Mexican empire was very great. Torquemada thought there might be above forty thouſand; but I am perſuaded they would far exceed that number, if we ſhould take the leſſer ones into the account; for there is not an inhabited place without one temple, nor any place of any extent without a conſiderable number.

The architecture of the great temples was for the moſt part the ſame with that of the great temple of Mexico; but there were many likewiſe of a different ſtructure. Many conſiſted of a ſingle body in the form of a pyramid, with a ſtair-caſe; others of ordinary bodies, with ſimilar ſtair-caſes, as appears in the ſubjoined plate, which is copied from one publiſhed by Didaco Valadès in his *Chriſtian Rhetoric* (*i*).

The ſuperſtition of thoſe people not contented with ſuch a great number of temples in their cities, villages, and hamlets, erected many altars upon the tops of the hills, in the woods, and in the ſtreets, not only for the purpoſe of encouraging the idolatrous worſhip of travellers, but for the celebration of certain ſacrifices to the gods of mountains and other ruſtic deities.

The revenues of the great temple of Mexico, like thoſe of the other temples of the court and the empire, were very large. Each temple had its own lands and poſſeſſions, and even its own peaſants to cultivate them. Thence was drawn all that was neceſſary for the maintenance of the prieſts, together with the wood which was conſumed in great quantities in the temples.

SECT. XIII. Revenues of the temples.

The prieſts that were the ſtewards of the temples frequently viſited their poſſeſſions, and thoſe who cultivated them, thought themſelves happy in contributing by their labour to the worſhip of the gods and the ſupport of their miniſters. In the kingdom of Acolhuacan, thoſe nine and twenty cities which provided neceſſaries for the royal palace,

(*i*) Didaco Valadès Franciſcano, after having been employed many years in the converſion of the Mexicans, came to Rome, where he was made procurator-general of his order. A little time after he publiſhed his learned and valuable work in Latin, intitled, *Rhetorica Chriſtiana*, dedicated to pope Gregory the XIIIth, adorned with many repreſentations of Mexican antiquities.

were

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were likewiſe obliged to provide for the temples. There is reaſon to believe that that tract of country, which went under the name of *Teotlalpan* (land of the gods), was ſo named from being among the poſſeſſions of the temples. There were beſides great numbers daily of free-offerings, from the devout of every kind, of proviſions and firſt fruits, which were preſented in returning thanks for ſeaſonable rains and other bleſſings of heaven. Near the temples were the granaries where all the grain and other proviſions, neceſſary for the maintenance of the prieſts, were kept; and the overplus was annually diſtributed to the poor, for whom alſo there were hoſpitals in the larger towns.

SECT. XIV. Number and different ranks of the prieſts.

The number of the prieſts among the Mexicans correſponded with the multitude of gods and temples; nor was the homage which they paid to the deities themſelves much greater than the veneration in which they held their miniſters. We may form ſome conjecture of the immenſe number of prieſts in the Mexican empire, from the number within the area of the great temple, which ſome ancient hiſtorians tell us, amounted to five thouſand. Nor will that calculation appear ſurpriſing, when we conſider that in that place there were four hundred prieſts conſecrated to the ſervice of the god Tezcatzoncatl alone. Every temple, indeed, had a conſiderable number, ſo that I ſhould not think it raſh to affirm, that there could not be leſs than a million of prieſts throughout the empire. Their number could not fail to be increaſed from the great reſpect paid to the prieſthood, and the high opinion they conceived of the office of ſerving in the worſhip of the gods. The great men even vied with one another in conſecrating their children for ſome time to the ſervice of the temples; while the inferior nobility employed theirs in works without, ſuch as carrying wood, feeding and keeping up the fire of the ſtoves, and other things of that kind; all conſidering the honour of ſerving in the worſhip of the gods as the greateſt to which they could aſpire.

There were ſeveral different orders and degrees among the prieſts. The chief of all were the two high prieſts, to whom they gave the names of *Teoteuctli* (divine lord), and *Hueiteopixqui* (great prieſt). That eminent dignity was never conferred but upon ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed for their birth, their probity, and their great knowledge of every thing connected with the ceremonies of their religion. The high-

high-prieſts were the oracles whom the kings conſulted in all the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, and no war was ever undertaken without their approbation. It belonged to them to anoint the king after his election, and to open the breaſt, and tear out the hearts of the human victims, at the moſt ſolemn ſacrifices. The high-prieſt in the kingdom of Acolhuacan was, according to ſome hiſtorians, always the ſecond ſon of the king. Among the Totonacas he was anointed with the elaſtic gum mixed with children's blood, and this they called the *divine unction (i)*. Some authors ſay the ſame of the high-prieſt of Mexico.

From what is ſaid it appears, that the high-prieſts of Mexico were the heads of their religion only among the Mexicans, and not with reſpect to the other conquered nations: theſe, even after being ſubjected to the crown of Mexico, ſtill maintaining their prieſthood independent.

The high-prieſthood was conferred by election; but we are ignorant whether the electors were of the prieſtly order, or the ſame with thoſe who choſe the political head of the empire. The high-prieſts of Mexico were diſtinguiſhed by a tuft of cotton which hung from their breaſt; and at the principal feaſts they were dreſſed in ſplendid habits, upon which were repreſented the inſignia of the god whoſe feaſt they celebrated. On ſolemn feſtivals, the high-prieſt of the Mixtecas was clothed in a ſhort coat, on which the principal events of their mythology was repreſented; above that he had a ſurplice, and over all a large capuchin; on his head he wore plumes of green feathers, curiouſly interwoven with ſmall figures of their gods; at his ſhoulder hung one taſſel of cotton, and another hung at his arm.

Next to this ſupreme dignity of the prieſthood, the moſt reſpectable charge was that of the *Mexicoteohuatzin*, which was conferred by the high-prieſts. The employment of this officer was to attend to the due obſervance of the rites and ceremonies, and to watch over the conduct of thoſe prieſts who had the charge of ſeminaries, and to puniſh them when guilty of a miſdemeanor. In order to enable him to diſcharge all the

(*k*) Acoſta confounds the divine unction of the high-prieſt with that of the king; but it was totally different; the king did not anoint himſelf with elaſtic gum, but with a particular ſort of ink.

duties

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duties of ſo extenſive an appointment, he was allowed two curates or deputies, the one named the *Huitznahuateohuatzin*, the other the *Tepaneohuatzin*. The *Mexicoteohuatzin* was the ſuperior-general of all the ſeminaries; his chief badge of diſtinction was a little bag of copal, which he always carried along with him.

The *Tlatquimilolteuctli* managed the œconomy of the ſanctuaries, the *Ometochtli* was the chief compoſer of the hymns which were ſung at feſtivals; the *Epcoacuiltzin* (*l*), the maſter of the ceremonies; the *Tlapixcatzin* the maſter of the chapel, who not only appointed the muſic, but ſuperintended the ſinging and corrected the ſingers. Others, whoſe names we omit, to avoid growing tedious to our readers, were the immediate ſuperiors of the colleges of the prieſts which were conſecrated to different gods (*m*). The name *Teopixqui* was alſo given to the prieſts, which means the guard or miniſter of God.

To every diviſion of the capital, and probably, of every other great city, belonged a prieſt of ſuperior rank, who acted in the quality of rector to that diſtrict, and appointed every act of religion which was to be performed within the bounds of his juriſdiction. All theſe rectors were ſubject to the authority of the *Mexicoteohuatzin*.

SECT. XV. The employments, dreſs, and life of the prieſts.

All the offices of religion were divided among the prieſts. Some were the ſacrificers, others the diviners; ſome were the compoſers of hymns, others thoſe who ſung. Amongſt the ſingers ſome ſung at certain hours of the day, others ſung at certain hours of the night. Some prieſts had the charge of keeping the temple clean, ſome took care of the ornaments of the altars; to others belonged the inſtructing of youth, the correcting of the calendar, the ordering of feſtivals, and the care of the mythological paintings.

Four times a day they offered incenſe to the idols, namely, at day-break, at mid-day, at ſun-ſet, and at mid-night. The laſt offering was made by the prieſt whoſe turn it was to do ſo, and the moſt reſpectable officers of the temple attended at it. To the ſun they made daily new offerings, four times during the day, and five times during

(*l*) Torquemada calls this prieſt *Epqualiztli*, and Hernandez *Epoaquacuiliztli*; but both of them are miſtaken.

(*m*) Whoever is deſirous of knowing the other offices and names of the prieſts, may conſult the 8th book of Torquemada, and the account given by Hernandez, which Nieremberg inſerted in his Natural Hiſtory.

the

Mexican Priest.

Mexican Warrior.

the night. For incenſe they generally made uſe of copal, or ſome other aromatic gum; but on certain feſtivals they employed *Chapopotli*, or bitumen of Judea. The cenſers were commonly made of clay; but they had alſo cenſers of gold. Every day the prieſts, or at leaſt ſome of them, dyed their whole bodies with ink made of the ſoot of the *Ocotl*, which is a ſpecies of pine very aromatic, and over the ink they painted themſelves with ochre or cinnabar, and every evening they bathed in ponds which were within the incloſure of the temple.

The dreſs of the Mexican prieſts was no way different from the dreſs of the common people, except a black cotton mantle, which they wore in the manner of a veil upon their heads; but thoſe who in their monaſteries profeſſed a greater auſterity of life, went always clothed in black, like the common prieſts of other nations of the empire. They never ſhaved, by which means the hair of many of them grew ſo long as to reach to their legs. It was twiſted with thick cotton cords, and bedaubed with ink, forming a weighty maſs not leſs inconvenient to be carried about with them than diſguſting and even horrid to view.

Beſides the uſual unction with ink, another extraordinary and more abominable one was practiſed every time they went to make ſacrifices on the tops of the mountains, or in the dark caverns of the earth. They took a large quantity of poiſonous inſects, ſuch as ſcorpions, ſpiders, and worms, and ſometimes even ſmall ſerpents, burned them over ſome ſtove of the temple, and beat their aſhes in a mortar together with the ſoot of the *Ocotl*, tobacco, the herb *Ololiuhqui*, and ſome live inſects. They preſented this diabolical mixture in ſmall veſſels to their gods, and afterwards rubbed their bodies with it. When thus anointed, they became fearleſs to every danger, being perſuaded they were rendered incapable of receiving any hurt from the moſt noxious reptiles of the earth, or the wildeſt beaſts of the woods. They called it *Teopatli*, or divine medicament, and imagined it to be a powerful remedy for ſeveral diſorders; on which account thoſe who were ſick, and the young children, went frequently to the prieſts to be anointed with it. The young lads who were trained up in the ſeminaries were charged with the collecting of ſuch kind of little animals; and by being accuſtomed at an early age to that kind of employment, they ſoon loſt

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the horror which attends the firſt familiarity with ſuch reptiles. The prieſts not only made uſe of this unction, but had likewiſe a ridiculous ſuperſtitious practice of blowing with their breath over the ſick, and made them drink water which they had bleſſed after their manner. The prieſts of the god *Ixtlilton*, were remarkable for this cuſtom.

The prieſts obſerved many faſts and great auſterity of life; they never were intoxicated with drinking; and ſeldom even taſted wine. The prieſts of Tezcatzoncatl as ſoon as the daily ſinging in praiſe of their god was over, laid a heap of three hundred and three canes on the ground, correſponding to the number of fingers, of which heap only one was bored; every perſon lifted one, and he who happened to take up the cane which was bored, was the only perſon who taſted the wine. All the time that they were employed in the ſervice of the temple, they abſtained from all other women but their wives; they even affected ſo much modeſty and reſerve, that when they met a woman, they fixed their eyes on the ground that they might not ſee her. Any incontinence amongſt the prieſts was ſeverely puniſhed. The prieſt who, at Teohuacan, was convicted of having violated his chaſtity, was delivered up by the prieſts to the people, who at night killed him by the baſtinado. In Ichcatlan, the high-prieſt was obliged to live conſtantly within the temple, and to abſtain from commerce with any woman whatſoever; and if he unluckily failed in any of his duties, he was certain of being torn in pieces, and his bloody limbs were preſented as an example to his ſucceſſor. They poured boiling water on the head of thoſe who, from lazineſs, did not riſe to the nocturnal duties of the temple, or bored their lips and ears, and if they did not correct that, or any other ſuch fault, they were ducked in the lake and baniſhed from the temple during the feſtival, which was made to the god of water in the ſixth month. The prieſts in general lived together in communities, ſubject to ſuperiors who watched over their conduct.

SECT. XVI. The prieſteſſes.

The office and character of a prieſt among the Mexicans was not in its nature perpetual. There were certainly ſome who dedicated their whole lives to the ſervice of the altars; but others engaged in it only for a certain time, to fulfil ſome vow made by their fathers, or as a particular act of devotion. Nor was the prieſthood confined to the male ſex, ſome women being employed in the immediate ſervice of the temples. They offered

offered incenſe to the idols, tended the ſacred fire, ſwept the area, prepared the daily offering of proviſions, and preſented it with their hands to the idols; but they were entirely excluded from the office of ſacrificing, and the higher dignities of the prieſthood. Among the prieſteſſes, ſome were deſtined by their parents from their infancy to the ſervice of the temples; others on account of ſome particular vow which they had made during ſickneſs, or that they might enſure from their gods a good marriage, or the proſperity of their families, entered upon ſuch offices for one or two years. BOOK VI.

The conſecration of the firſt was made in the following manner. As ſoon as the girl was born, the parents offered her to ſome god, and informed the rector of that diſtrict of it; he gave notice to the Tepanteohuatzin, who, as we have already mentioned, was the ſuperior general of the ſeminaries. Two months after they carried her to the temple, and put a ſmall broom, and a ſmall cenſer of clay in her little hands, with a little copal in it, to ſhew her deſtination. Every month they repeated the viſit to the temple and the offering, together with the bark of ſome trees for the ſacred fire. When the child attained her fifth year, the parents conſigned her to the Tepanteohuatzin, who lodged her in a female ſeminary, where children were inſtructed in religion, and the proper duties and employments of their ſex. The firſt thing done to thoſe who entered into the ſervice on account of ſome private vow, was the cutting off their hair. Both the latter and the former lived in great purity of manners, ſilence, and retirement, under their ſuperiors, without having any communication with men. Some of them roſe about two hours before midnight, others at midnight, and others at day-break, to ſtir up and keep the fire burning, and to offer incenſe to the idols; and although in this function they aſſembled with the prieſts, they were ſeparated from each other, the men forming one wing and the women another, both under the view of their ſuperiors, who prevented any diſorder from happening. Every morning they prepared the offering of proviſions which was preſented to the idols, and ſwept the lower area of the temple, and the time which was not occupied in theſe, or other religious duties, was employed in ſpinning and weaving beautiful cloths for the dreſs of the idols, and the decoration of the ſanctuaries. Nothing was more

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zealouſly attended to than the chaſtity of theſe virgins. Any treſpaſs of this nature was unpardonable; if it remained an entire ſecret, the female culprit endeavoured to appeaſe the anger of the gods by faſting and auſterity of life; for ſhe dreaded that in puniſhment of her crime her fleſh would rot. When a virgin, deſtined from her infancy to the worſhip of the gods, arrived at the age of ſixteen or eighteen, at which years they were uſually married, her parents ſought for a huſband to her, and after they found one, preſented to the Tepanteohuatzin a certain number of quails in plates curiouſly varniſhed, and a certain quantity of copal, of flowers and proviſions, accompanied with a ſtudied addreſs, in which they thanked him for the care and attention he had ſhewn in the education of their daughter, and demanded his permiſſion to ſettle her in marriage. The Tepanteohuatzin granted the requeſt, in a reply to the addreſs, exhorting his pupil to a perſeverance in virtue, and the fulfillment of all the duties of the married ſtate.

SECT. XVII. Different religious orders.

Amongſt the different orders or congregations both of men and women, who dedicated themſelves to the worſhip of ſome particular gods, that of Quetzalcoatl is worthy to be mentioned. The life led in the colleges or monaſteries of either ſex, which were devoted to this imaginary god, was uncommonly rigid and auſtere. The dreſs of the order was extremely decent; they bathed regularly at midnight, and watched until about two hours before day, ſinging hymns to their god, and obſerving many rules of an auſtere life. They were at liberty to go to the mountains at any hour of the day or night, to ſpill their blood; this was permitted them from a reſpect to the virtue which they were all thought to poſſeſs. The ſuperiors of the monaſteries bore alſo the name of Quetzalcoatl, and were perſons of ſuch high authority, that they viſited none but the king when it was neceſſary. The members of this religious order were deſtined to it from their infancy. The parents of the child invited the ſuperior to an entertainment, who uſually deputed one of his ſubjects. The deputy brought the child to him, upon which he took the boy in his arms, and offered him with a prayer to Quetzalcoatl, and put a collar about his neck, which was to be worn until he was ſeven years old. When the boy completed his ſecond year, the ſuperior made a ſmall inciſion in his breaſt, which, like the collar, was another mark of his deſtination. As

ſoon

ſoon as the boy attained his ſeventh year, he entered into the monaſtery, having firſt heard a long diſcourſe from his parents, in which they adverti ſed him of the vow which they had made to Quetzalcoatl, and exhorted him to fulfil it, to behave well, to ſubmit himſelf to his prelate, and to pray to the gods for his parents and the whole nation. This order was called *Tlamacazcajotl*, and the members of it *Tlamacazque*.

Another order which was called *Telpochtliztli*, or the youths, on account of its being compoſed of youths and boys, was conſecrated to Tezcatlipoca. This was alſo a deſtination from infancy, attended with almoſt the ſame ceremonies as that of Quetzalcoatl; however, they did not live together in one community, but each individual had his own home. In every diſtrict of the city they had a ſuperior, who governed them, and a houſe where they aſſembled at ſun-ſet to dance and ſing the praiſes of their god. Both ſexes met at this dance, but without committing the ſmalleſt diſorder, owing to the vigilance of the ſuperiors, and the rigour with which all miſdemeanors were puniſhed.

Among the Totonacas was an order of monks devoted to their goddeſs Centeotl. They lived in great retirement and auſterity, and their life, excepting their ſuperſtition and vanity, was perfectly unimpeachable. None but men above ſixty years of age who were widowers, eſtranged from all commerce with women, and of virtuous life, were admitted into this monaſtery. Their number was fixed, and when any one died another was received in his ſtead. Theſe monks were ſo much eſteemed, that they were not only conſulted by the common people, but likewiſe by the firſt nobility and the high-prieſt. They liſtened to conſultations ſitting upon their heels, with their eyes fixed upon the ground, and their anſwers were received like oracles even by the kings of Mexico. They were employed in making hiſtorical paintings, which they gave to the high-prieſt that he might exhibit them to the people.

SECT. XVIII. Common ſacrifice of human victims.

But the moſt important duty of the prieſthood, and the chief ceremony of the religion of the Mexicans, conſiſted in the ſacrifices which they made occaſionally to obtain any favour from heaven, or in gratitude for thoſe favours which they had already received. This is a ſubject which we would willingly paſs over, if the laws of hiſtory permitted,

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mitted, to prevent the diſguſt which the deſcription of ſuch abominable acts of cruelty muſt cauſe to our readers; for although there has hardly been a nation which has not practiſed ſimilar ſacrifices, it would be difficult to find one which has carried them to ſo great an exceſs as the Mexicans appear to have done.

We are ignorant what ſort of ſacrifices may have been practiſed by the ancient Toltecas. The Chechemecas continued long without uſing them, having at firſt neither idols, temples, nor prieſts, nor offering any thing to their gods, the Sun and Moon, but herbs, flowers, fruits, and copal. Thoſe nations never thought of ſacrificing human victims, until the example of the Mexicans baniſhed the firſt impreſſions of nature from their minds. What they report touching the origin of ſuch barbarous ſacrifices we have already explained; namely, that which appears in their hiſtory concerning the firſt ſacrifice of the four Xochimilcan priſoners which they made when in Colhuacan. It is probable, that at the time when the Mexicans were inſulated in the lake, and particularly while they remained ſubject to the dominion of the Tepanecas, the ſacrifice of human victims muſt have happened very ſeldom, as they neither had priſoners, nor could purchaſe ſlaves for ſacrifices. But when they had enlarged their dominions, and multiplied their victories, ſacrifices became frequent and on ſome feſtivals the victims were numerous.

The ſacrifices varied with reſpect to the number, place, and mode, according to the circumſtances of the feſtival. In general the victims ſuffered death by having their breaſts opened; but others were drowned in the lake, others died of hunger ſhut up in caverns of the mountains, and laſtly, ſome fell in the gladiatorian ſacrifice. The cuſtomary place was the temple, in the upper area of which ſtood the altar deſtined for ordinary ſacrifices. The altar of the greater temple of Mexico was a green ſtone (probably jaſper) convex above, and about three feet high, and as many broad, and more than five feet long. The uſual miniſters of the ſacrifice were ſix prieſts, the chief of whom was the *Topiltzin*, whoſe dignity was pre-eminent and hereditary; but at every ſacrifice he aſſumed the name of that god to whom it was made. For the performance of this function, he was clothed in a red habit, ſimilar in make to the ſcapulary of the moderns, fringed with

A common Sacrifice.

with cotton; on his head he wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, at his ears hung golden ear-rings and green jewels, (perhaps emeralds), and at his under-lip a pendant of turquoiſe. The other five miniſters were dreſſed in white habits of the ſame make, but embroidered with black; their hair was wrapped up, their heads were bound with leathern thongs, their foreheads armed with little ſhields of paper painted of various colours, and their bodies dyed all over black. Theſe barbarous miniſters carried the victim entirely naked to the upper area of the temple, and after having pointed out to the byſtanders the idol to whom the ſacrifice was made, that they might pay their adoration to it, extended him upon the altar; four prieſts held his legs and arms, and another kept his head firm with a wooden inſtrument made in form of a coiled ſerpent, which was put about his neck; and on account of the altar being convex, the body of the victim lay arched, the breaſt and belly being raiſed up and totally prevented from the leaſt movement. The inhuman Topiltzin then approached, and with a cutting knife made of flint, dexterouſly opened his breaſt and tore out his heart, which, while yet palpitating, he offered to the ſun, and afterwards threw it at the feet of the idol; then taking it up again he offered it to the idol itſelf, and afterwards burned it, preſerving the aſhes with the utmoſt veneration. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was uſual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden ſpoon. It was cuſtomary alſo to anoint the lips of the idol and the cornices of the door of the ſanctuary with the victim's blood. If he was a priſoner of war, as ſoon as he was ſacrificed they cut off his head to preſerve the ſkull, and threw the body down the ſtairs to the lower area, where it was taken up by the officer or ſoldier to whom the priſoner had belonged, and carried to his houſe to be boiled and dreſſed as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a priſoner of war, but a ſlave purchaſed for a ſacrifice, the proprietor carried off the carcaſe from the altar for the ſame purpoſe. They eat only the legs, thighs, and arms, and burned the reſt, or preſerved it for food to the wild beaſts or birds of prey which were kept in the royal palaces. The Otomies, after having killed the victim, tore the body in pieces, which they ſold at market. The Zapotecas ſacrificed men to

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their gods, women to their goddeſſes, and children to ſome other diminutive deities.

This was the moſt common mode of ſacrifice, but often attended with ſome circumſtances of ſtill greater cruelty, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; other kinds of ſacrifices which they uſed were much leſs frequent. At the feſtival of *Teteoinan*, the woman who repreſented this goddeſs was beheaded on the ſhoulders of another woman. At the feſtival of the arrival of the gods, they put the victims to death by fire. At one of the feſtivals made in honour of Tlaloc, they ſacrificed two children of both ſexes by drowning them in a certain place of the lake. At another feſtival of the ſame god, they purchaſed three little boys of ſix or ſeven years of age, ſhut them up inhumanly in a cavern, and left them to die of fear and hunger.

SECT. XIX. The gladiatorian ſacrifice.

The moſt celebrated ſacrifice among the Mexicans was that called by the Spaniards with much propriety *the gladiatorian*. This was a very honourable death, and only priſoners who were renowned for their bravery were permitted to die by it. Near to the greater temple of large cities, in an open ſpace of ground ſufficient to contain an immenſe croud of people, was a round terrace, eight feet high, upon which was placed a large round ſtone, reſembling a mill-ſtone in figure, but greatly larger, and almoſt three feet high, well poliſhed, with figures cut upon it (*n*). On this ſtone, which was called the *Temalacatl*, the priſoner was placed, armed with a ſhield and a ſhort ſword, and tied by one foot. A Mexican officer or ſoldier, better accoutred in arms, mounted to combat with him. Every one will be able to imagine the efforts made by the deſperate victim to defend his life, and alſo thoſe of the Mexican to ſave his honour and reputation, before the multitude of people that aſſembled at ſuch a ſpectacle. If the priſoner remained vanquiſhed, immediately a prieſt named *Chalchiuhtepehua*, carried him dead or alive to the altar of the common ſacrifices, opened his breaſt, and took out his heart, while the victor was applauded by the aſſembly, and rewarded by the king with ſome military honour. But if the priſoner

(*n*) The form of the edifices repreſented in the plate of the gladiatorian ſacrifice is a mere caprice of the deſigner; there never was any thing elſe than the terrace and the battlements.

conquered ſix different combatants, who came ſucceſſively to fight with him, agreeable to the account given by the conqueror Cortes, he was granted his life, his liberty, and all that had been taken from him, and returned with glory to his native country (*o*). The ſame author relates, that in a battle between the Cholulans and Huexotzincas, the principal lord of Cholula grew ſo warm in the conteſt, that having inadvertently removed to a great diſtance from his own people he was made priſoner in ſpite of his bravery, and conducted to Huexotzinco, where being put upon the gladiatorian ſtone, he conquered ſeven combatants which were oppoſed to him, and gained his liberty; but the Huexotzincas foreſeeing, that on account of his ſingular courage he would become the cauſe of many diſaſters to them if they granted him his liberty, put him to death contrary to univerſal cuſtom; by which act they rendered themſelves eternally infamous among thoſe nations.

SECT. XX. The number of ſacrifices uncertain.

With reſpect to the number of the victims which were annually ſacrificed we can affirm nothing; the opinions of hiſtorians on that head being extremely different (*p*). The number of twenty thouſand, which is conjectured to approach the neareſt to truth, does not appear to us improbable, if we include in it all the victims which were ſacrificed throughout the whole empire; but if that number comprehends, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert, the infants only, or the victims which were ſacrificed on the mountain Tepeyacac, or in the capital, we think it altogether incredible. It is certain, that the number of ſacrifices was

(*o*) Several hiſtorians ſay, that when the firſt combatant was overcome the priſoner became free; but we are rather inclined to credit the Conqueror; for it is not probable, that they would liberate a priſoner for ſo ſmall a riſk who might ſtill prove deſtructive to them, or that they would deprive their gods of a victim ſo acceptable to their cruelty.

(*p*) Zumarraga, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, ſays, in a letter of the 12th of June, 1531, addreſſed to the general chapter of his order, that in that capital alone twenty thouſand human victims were annually ſacrificed. Some authors, quoted by Gomara, affirm, that the number of the ſacrificed amounted to fifty thouſand. Acoſta writes, that there was a certain day of the year on which five thouſand were ſacrificed in different places of the empire; and another day on which they ſacrificed twenty thouſand. Some authors believe, that on the mountain Tepeyacac alone, twenty thouſand were ſacrificed to the goddeſs Tonantzin. Torquemada, in quoting, though unfaithfully, the letter of Zumarraga, ſays, that there were twenty thouſand infants annually ſacrificed. But on the contrary, Las Caſas, in his refutation of the bloody book, wrote by Dr. Sepulveda, reduces the ſacrifices to ſo ſmall a number, that we are left to believe, they amounted not to fifty, or at moſt not to a hundred. We are ſtrongly of opinion, that all theſe authors have erred in the number, Las Caſas by diminution, the reſt by exaggeration of the truth.

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not limited, but always proportioned either to the number of priſoners which were made in war, to the neceſſities of the ſtate, or the nature of the feſtivals, as appears from the dedication of the greater temple of Mexico, on which occaſion the cruelty of the Mexicans exceeded all bounds of belief. It is not, however, to be doubted, that the ſacrifices were very numerous; the conqueſts of the Mexicans having been extremely rapid, and as their aim in war was not ſo much to kill as to make priſoners of the enemy for this purpoſe. If to theſe victims we add the ſlaves which were purchaſed for the ſame end, and many criminals who were condemned to expiate their crimes by the ſacrifice of their lives, we ſhall find the number greatly exceed that computed by Las Caſas, who was too anxious to exculpate the Americans of all the exceſſes of which they were accuſed by the Spaniards (*q*). The ſacrifices multiplied in *Divine* years, and ſtill more in *Secular* years.

The Mexicans were accuſtomed at their feſtivals to clothe the victim in the ſame dreſs and badges in which they dreſſed that god to whom the ſacrifice was made; thus habited, the victim went round the city demanding alms for the temple, accompanied with a guard of ſoldiers. If any one accidentally made his eſcape, the corporal of the guard was ſubſtituted in his ſtead as a puniſhment for his careleſſneſs. They uſed alſo to feed and fatten the victims, as they did ſeveral animals for the table.

The religion of the Mexicans was not confined to theſe ſacrifices; offerings were made of various kinds of animals. They ſacrificed quails and falcons to their god Huitzilopochtli, and hares, rabbits, deer, and coyotos to their god Mixcoatl. They daily made an offering of quails to the ſun. Every day as the ſun was about to riſe, ſeveral prieſts, ſtanding on the upper area of the temple, with their faces towards the eaſt, each with a quail in his hand, ſaluted that luminary's appearance with muſic, and made an offering of the quails after cutting off their heads. This ſacrifice was ſucceeded by the burning of incenſe, with a loud accompaniment of muſical inſtruments.

(*q*) We cannot account why Las Caſas, who, in his writings makes uſe of the teſtimony of Zumarraga, and other churchmen, againſt the conquerors, ſhould afterwards ſo openly contradict them reſpecting the number of the ſacrifices.

In

In acknowledgment of the power of their gods, they alſo made offerings of various kinds of plants, flowers, jewels, gums, and other inanimate ſubſtances. To their gods Tlaloc and Coatlicue they offered the firſt-blown flowers; and to Centeotl, the firſt maize of every year. They made oblations of bread, various paſtes, and ready dreſſed victuals in ſuch abundance, as to be ſufficient to ſupply all the miniſters of the temple. Every morning were ſeen at the foot of the altars innumerable diſhes and porringers of boiling food, that the ſteams ariſing from them might reach the noſtrils of the idols, and nouriſh their immortal gods.

The moſt frequent oblation, however, was that of copal. All daily burned incenſe to their idols; no houſe was without cenſers. The prieſts in the temple, fathers of families in their houſes, and judges in their tribunals, whenever they pronounced ſentence in an important cauſe, whether civil or criminal, offered incenſe to the four principal winds. But incenſe-offering among the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, was not only an act of religion towards their gods, but alſo a piece of civil courteſy to lords and ambaſſadors.

The ſuperſtition and cruelties of the Mexicans were imitated by all the nations which they conquered, or that were contiguous to the empire, without any difference, except that the number of ſacrifices amongſt thoſe nations was leſs, and that particular circumſtances ſometimes attended them. The Tlaſcalans, at one of their feſtivals, fixed a priſoner to a high croſs, and ſhot arrows at him; and upon another occaſion, they tied a priſoner to a low croſs, and killed him by the baſtinado.

SECT. XXI. Inhuman ſacrifices in Quauhtitlan.

The ſacrifices celebrated every fourth year by the Quauhtitlans in honour of the god of fire, were inhuman and dreadful. A day before the feſtival, they planted ſix very lofty trees in the under area of the temple, ſacrificed two ſlaves, ſtripped their ſkins off, and took out the bones of their thighs. The next day two eminent prieſts, clothed themſelves in the bloody ſkins, took the bones in their hands, and deſcended with ſolemn ſteps and diſmal howlings, down the ſtairs of the temple. The people who were aſſembled in crouds below, called out in a loud voice, "Behold there come our gods." As ſoon as they reached the lower area, they began a dance to the ſound of muſical inſtruments, which laſted the greateſt part of the day. In the meanwhile, the people ſacrificed an incredible quantity of quails, the number

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ber of them being never leſs than eight thouſand. When theſe ſacrifices were over, the prieſts carried ſix priſoners to the tops of the trees, and after tying them there, deſcended; but they had hardly time to reach the ground, before the unhappy victims were pierced with a multitude of arrows. The prieſts mounted again to cut down the dead bodies, and let them drop from the height; immediately their breaſts were opened, and their hearts torn out, according to the cuſtom of thoſe people. The victims as well as the quails were ſhared among the prieſts and nobles of that city, for the banquets which crowned their barbarous and deteſtable feſtival.

SECT. XXII. Auſterities and faſting of the Mexicans.

While they were thus cruel to others, it is not wonderful that they likewiſe practiſed inhumanity towards themſelves. Being accuſtomed to bloody ſacrifices of their priſoners, they alſo failed not to ſhed abundance of their own blood, conceiving the ſtreams which flowed from their victims inſufficient to quench the diabolical thirſt of their gods. It makes one ſhudder to read the auſterities which they exerciſed upon themſelves, either in atonement of their tranſgreſſions, or in preparation for their feſtivals. They mangled their fleſh as if it had been inſenſible, and let their blood run in ſuch profuſion, that it appeared to be a ſuperfluous fluid of the body.

The effuſion of blood was frequent and daily with ſome of the prieſts, to which practice they gave the name of *Tlamacazqui*. They pierced themſelves with the ſharpeſt ſpines of the aloe, and bored ſeveral parts of their bodies, particularly their ears, lips, tongue, and the fat of their arms and legs. Through the holes which they made with theſe ſpines, they introduced pieces of cane, the firſt of which were ſmall pieces, but every time this penitential ſuffering was repeated, a thicker piece was uſed. The blood which flowed from them was carefully collected in leaves of the plant acxojatl (*r*). They fixed the bloody ſpines in little balls of hay, which they expoſed upon the battlements of the walls of the temple, to teſtify the penance which they did for the people. Thoſe who exerciſed ſuch ſeverities upon themſelves within the incloſure of the greater temple of Mexico,

(*r*) Acxojatl is a tree of ſeveral upright ſtems, with long leaves, which are ſtrong and ſymmetrically diſpoſed. They made formerly and ſtill make excellent brooms of this plant.

bathed

bathed themſelves in a pond that was formed there, which from being always tinged with blood was called *Ezapan*. There was a certain fixed number of canes to be made uſe of on this occaſion, which, after being once uſed were preſerved as atteſtations of their penitence. Beſides thoſe and other auſtere practices of which we ſhall treat ſhortly, watching and faſting was very frequent amongſt the Mexicans. A feſtival hardly occurred for which they did not prepare themſelves with faſting for ſome days, more or leſs, according to the preſcriptions of their ritual. From all that is to be inferred from their hiſtory, their faſting conſiſted in abſtaining from fleſh and wine, and in eating but once a day; this ſome did at mid-day, others after that time, and ſome taſted nothing till evening. Faſting was generally accompanied with watching and the effuſion of blood, and then no perſon was permitted to have commerce with any woman, not even with his own wife.

Some faſts were general and obſerved by the whole people; namely, the faſt of five days before the feſtival of Mixcoatl, which was obſerved even by children; the faſt of four days before the feſtival of Tezcatlipoca, and alſo, as we ſuſpect, that which was made previous to the feſtival of the ſun (*s*). During this faſt the king retired into a certain place of the temple, where he watched and ſhed blood, according to the cuſtom of his nation. Any other faſts bound only particular individuals, ſuch as that which was obſerved by the proprietors of victims the day before a ſacrifice. The proprietors of priſoners which were ſacrificed to the god Xipe, faſted twenty days. The nobles as well as the king had a houſe within the precincts of the temple, containing numerous chambers, where they occaſionally retired to do penance. On one of the feſtivals, all thoſe perſons who exerciſed public offices, after their daily duty was over, retired there at evening for this purpoſe. In the third month the Tlamacazqui, or penance-doers watched every night; and in the fourth month they were attended in their duty by the nobility.

In Mixteca, where there were many monaſteries, the firſt-born ſons of lords, before they took poſſeſſion of their eſtates, were ſubjected to a

(*s*) The faſt which was held in honour of the ſun was called *Netonatiuhzahualo*, or *Netonatiuhzahualitzli*. Dr. Hernandez ſays, it was held every two hundred, or three hundred days. We ſuſpect that it was kept on the day I *Olin*, which occurred every two hundred and ſixty days.

rigorous

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rigorous penance during a whole year. They conducted the heir with a numerous attendance to a monaſtery, where they ſtripped off his garments, and clothed him in rags daubed over with *olli*, or elaſtic gum, rubbed his face, belly, and back, with ſtinking herbs, and delivered a ſmall lance of *itztli* to him, that he might draw his own blood. They reſtricted him to a very abſtemious diet, ſubjected him to the hardeſt labours, and puniſhed him ſeverely for any failure in duty. At the end of the year, after being waſhed and cleanſed by four girls, with ſweet ſcented water, he was reconducted to his houſe with great pomp and muſic.

In the principal temple of Teohuacan, four prieſts conſtantly reſided, who were famous for the auſterity of their lives. Their dreſs was the ſame with that of the common people; their diet was limited to a loaf of maize of about two ounces in weight, and a cup of *atolli*, or gruel, made of the ſame grain. Every night two of them kept watch, employing their time in ſinging hymns to their gods, in offering incenſe, which they did four times during the night, and in ſhedding their blood upon the ſtones of the temple. Their faſting was continual during the four years which they perſevered in that life, except upon days of feſtival, one of which happened every month, when they were at liberty to eat as much as they pleaſed; but in preparation for every feſtival, they practiſed the uſual auſtere rules, boring their ears with the ſpines of the aloe, and paſſing little pieces of cane through the holes to the number of ſixty, all of which differed in thickneſs in the manner above mentioned. At the end of four years, other four prieſts were introduced to lead the ſame kind of life; and if before the completion of that term any one of them happened to die, another was ſubſtituted in his place, that the number might never be incomplete. Theſe prieſts were ſo high in reſpect and eſteem as to be held in veneration even by the kings of Mexico: but woe unto him who violated his chaſtity; for, if after a ſtrict examination the crime was proved, he was killed by baſtinados, his body was burned, and his aſhes ſcattered to the winds.

Upon occaſion of any public calamity, the Mexican high-prieſt always obſerved a moſt extraordinary faſt. For this purpoſe he retired to a wood, where he conſtructed a hut for himſelf, covered with branches,

branches, which were always freſh and green; as whenever the firſt became dry, new ones were ſpread in their place. Shut up in this hut he paſſed nine or ten months in conſtant prayer and frequent effuſions of blood, deprived of all communication with men, and without any other food than raw maize and water. This faſt was not indiſpenſible, nor did all the high-prieſts obſerve it; nor did thoſe who attempted it ever do it more than once in their lives; and certainly it is not probable, that thoſe who ſurvived ſo rigorous and long an abſtinence, were ever able to repeat it.

SECT. XXIII. Remarkable acts of penitence of the Tlaſcalans.

The faſt obſerved by the Tlaſcalans every divine year, at which period they made a moſt ſolemn feſtival in honour of their god *Camaxtle*, was likewiſe very ſingular. When the time of commencing it was arrived, all the *Tlamacazquis* were aſſembled by their chief *Archcauhtli*, who made them a ſerious and grave exhortation to penitence, and forewarned them if any one of them ſhould find that he was incapable of performing it, that he ſhould declare ſo within five days; for that if, after that ſpace of time was elapſed, and the faſt was once begun, he ſhould happen to fail and renounce the attempt, he would be deemed unworthy of the company of the gods, his prieſthood would be taken from him, and his eſtate ſequeſtered. At the expiration of the five days, which was allowed for the purpoſe of deliberation, the chief, attended by all thoſe who had courage to attempt this penitential duty, the number of whom uſed to exceed two hundred, aſcended the very lofty mountain Matlalcueje, on the top of which was a ſanctuary, conſecrated to the goddeſs of water. The *Archcauhtli* mounted to the top to make his oblation of gems, precious feathers, and copal, while the others waited in the middle of the aſcent, praying their goddeſs to give them ſtrength and courage to go through their penance. They afterwards deſcended from the mountain, and cauſed a number of little knives of itzli, and a great quantity of ſmall rods of different thickneſſes to be made. The labourers upon thoſe inſtruments faſted five days before they began their work, and if any little knife or rod happened to break, it was accounted a bad omen, and the workman was conſidered to have broke the faſt. The Tlamacazqui then began their faſt, which did not laſt leſs than one hundred and ſixty days. The firſt day they bored holes in their tongues, through which they drew the little rods, and notwithſtanding

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ſtanding the exceſſive pain and loſs of blood which they ſuffered, they were obliged all the while to ſing aloud ſongs to their god, and every twenty days this cruel operation was repeated. When the firſt eighty days of the faſt of the prieſts were elapſed, a general faſt, from which even the heads of the republic were not exempted, began with the people, and continued an equally long time. During this period, no perſon was allowed to bathe, nor to eat pepper, which was the uſual ſeaſoning of all their diſhes. To ſuch exceſſes and cruelty did fanaticiſm carry thoſe nations.

SECT. XXIV. The age, century and year of the Mexicans.

All that we have hitherto related does not ſo much make known the religion of the Mexicans, and the extravagance of their horrible ſuperſtition, as the number of their feſtivals, and the rites which were obſerved at them; but before we enter more deeply into this ſubject, it is neceſſary to give ſome account of their mode of dividing time, and the method which they adopted to meaſure days, months, years, and centuries. What we have to communicate on this head has been carefully inveſtigated and certified by intelligent men, who are worthy of the utmoſt credit, who have applied with the utmoſt aſſiduity to this ſtudy, and who have diligently examined the ancient paintings, and obtained information from the beſt inſtructed perſons among the Mexicans and Acolhuans. We are particularly indebted to the religious miſſionaries Motolinia and Sahagun, from whoſe writings Torquemada has taken all that is valuable in his work, and to the very learned Mexican D. Carlo Seguenza, whoſe opinions we have found to be juſt and accurate by the examination which we have made of ſeveral Mexican paintings, in which months, years, and centuries, are diſtinctly repreſented by their proper figures.

The Mexicans, the Acolhuans, and all the other nations of Anahuac, diſtinguiſhed four ages of time by as many ſuns. The firſt named *Atonatiuh*, that is the ſun, or the age of water, commenced with the creation of the world, and continued until the time at which all mankind almoſt periſhed in a general inundation, along with the firſt ſun. The ſecond *Tlaltonatiuh*, the age of earth, laſted from the time of the general inundation until the ruin of the giants, and the great earthquakes, which concluded in like manner the ſecond ſun. The third, *Ehècatonatiuh*, the age of air, laſted from the deſtruction of

of the giants until the great whirlwinds, in which all mankind periſhed along with the third ſun. The fourth *Tletonatiuh*, the age of fire, began at the laſt reſtoration of the human race, and was to continue as we have already mentioned in their mythology, until the fourth ſun, and the earth were deſtroyed by fire. This age it was ſuppoſed would end at the concluſion of one of their centuries; and thus we may account for theſe noiſy feſtivals in honour of the god of fire, which were celebrated at the beginning of every century, as a thankſgiving for his reſtraining his voracity, and deferring the termination of the world.

The Mexicans, and the other poliſhed nations of Anahuac, uſed the ſame method to compute centuries, years, and months, as the ancient Tolteças. Their century conſiſted of fifty-two years, which were ſubdivided into four periods of thirteen years each, and two centuries formed an age, which was called by them *Huehuetiliztli*, that is, old age, of a hundred and four years (*t*). They gave to the end of the century the name of *Toxiuhmolpia*, which ſignifies, the tying of our years; becauſe by it the two centuries were joined together to form an age. Their years had four names, which were *Tochtli*, rabbet; *Acatl*, cane or reed; *Tecpatl*, flint; and *Calli*, houſe; and of theſe with different numbers their century was compoſed. The firſt year of the century was 1. *Tochtli*, the ſecond, 2. *Acatl*, the third, 3. *Tecpatl*, the fourth, 4. *Calli*, the fifth, 5. *Tochtli*, and ſo on to the thirteenth year, which was 13. *Tochtli*, and terminated the firſt period. They began the ſecond period with 1. *Acatl*, which was ſucceeded by 2. *Tecpatl*, 3. *Calli*, 4. *Tochtli*, until it was completed by 13. *Acatl*. In like manner the third period began with 1. *Tecpatl*, and finiſhed with 13. *Tecpatl*; and the fourth commenced with 1. *Calli*, and terminated together with the century in 13. *Calli*; ſo that there being four names and thirteen numbers, no one year could be confounded with another (*u*). All

(*t*) Though ſome authors have given the name of century to their age, and that of half century to their century, it is of little conſequence, as their matter of computing years and diſtributing time is not in the leaſt altered by it.

(*u*) Boturini affirms, in contradiction to the general opinion of authors, that they did not begin all their centuries with 1. *Tochtli*, but ſometimes with 1. *Acatl*; 1. *Tecpatl*, or 1. *Calli*. He is miſtaken, however, for it appears both from the beſt informed ancient authors, and the paintings examined by ourſelves, that the Mexican century began always with 1. *Tochtli*. This author ſays alſo, that in the courſe of four centuries the ſame name or character was never

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All this will be more clearly underſtood in the table of the century, which we ſhall afterwards ſubjoin.

The Mexican year conſiſted like ours, of three hundred and ſixty-five days; for although it was compoſed of eighteen months, each of which contained twenty days, which make up only three hundred and ſixty, they added after the laſt month five days, which they called *Nemontemi*, or uſeleſs; becauſe in theſe days they did nothing but receive and return viſits. The year 1 Tochtli, the firſt of their century, began upon the twenty-ſixth day of February (*x*); but every four years the Mexican century anticipated one day, on account of the odd day of our biſſextile, or leap-year; from whence in the laſt years of the Mexican century, the year began on the fourteenth of February, on account of the thirteen days which intervene in the courſe of fifty-two years. But at the expiration of the century, the commencement of the year returned to the twenty-ſixth of February.

The names which they gave their months were taken both from the employments and feſtivals which occurred in them, and alſo from the accidents of the ſeaſon which attended them. Theſe names appear differently arranged among authors; becauſe, in fact their arrangement was not only different among different nations, but even among the the Mexicans themſelves it varied. The following was the moſt common:

1. *Atlacahualco (y).*
2. *Tlacaxipehualiztli.*
3. *Tozoztontli.*
4. *Hueitozoztli.*
5. *Toxcatl.*
6. *Etzalcualiztli.*

ver repeated with the ſame number; but how is it poſſible, that this could happen in the period of two hundred and eight years, while the characters were only four and the numbers uſed but thirteen, as he himſelf allows.

(*x*) Authors differ in opinion reſpecting the day on which the Mexican year commenced. The reaſon of this was unqueſtionably the difference which is occaſioned by our leap years, to which probably thoſe authors did not advert. It may alſo have been the caſe, that ſome of them ſpoke of the aſtronomical year of the Mexicans, and not of the religious, of which we treat.

(*y*) Gomara, Valadès, and other authors make *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, the firſt month of the Mexican year, which in our table is the ſecond. The authors of the edition of the Letters of Cortes, publiſhed at Mexico in 1780, make *Atemoztli* the firſt, which is the 16th in our table. But Motolinia, whoſe authority has moſt weight, has put, as we do, *Atlahualco* for the firſt month; and Torquemada, Betancourt, and Martino di Leon, a Dominican, thinks as he does. To avoid troubling our readers, we omit the ſtrong reaſons which have induced us to adopt our preſent opinion.

7. *Tecuil-*

7. *Tecuilhuitontli.*
8. *Hueitecuilhuitl.*
9. *Tlaxochimaco.*
10. *Xocohuetzi.*
11. *Ochpaniztli.*
12. *Teotleco.*
13. *Tepeilhuitl.*
14. *Quecholli.*
15. *Panquetzalitzli.*
16. *Atemoztli.*
17. *Tititl.*
18. *Izcalli.*

SECT. XXV. The Mexican month.

Their month conſiſted as we have already mentioned of twenty days, the names of which are theſe:

1. *Cipactli.*
2. *Ehècatl.*
3. *Calli.*
4. *Cuetzpalin.*
5. *Coatl.*
6. *Miquitzli.*
7. *Mazatl.*
8. *Tochtli.*
9. *Atl.*
10. *Itzcuintli.*
11. *Ozomatli.*
12. *Malinalli.*
13. *Acatl.*
14. *Ocelotl.*
15. *Quauhtli.*
16. *Cozcaquahtli (z).*
17. *Olin tonatiuh.*
18. *Tecpatl.*
19. *Quiahutli.*
20. *Xochitl.*

Although the ſigns or characters, which are ſignified by theſe names, ſhould be diſtributed among the twenty days, according to the order above, nevertheleſs in their mode of reckoning, no regard was paid to the diviſion of months, nor that of years, but to periods of thirteen days (ſimilar to thoſe of thirteen years in the century), which run on without interruption from the end of a month or year. The firſt day of the century was 1. *Cipactli*; the ſecond, 2. *Ehècatl*, or wind; the third; 3. *Calli*, or houſe; and ſo on to thirteen, which was 13. *Acatl*, or reed. The 14th day began another period, reckoning 1. *Ocelotl* (tyger), 2. *Quauhtli* (eagle), &c. until the completion of the month 7. *Xochitl* (flower), and in the next month they continued to count 8. *Cipactli*, 9. *Ehècatl*, &c. Twenty of theſe periods made in thirteen months a cycle of two hundred and ſixty days, and during the whole of this time, the ſame ſign or character was not repeated

(z) Cozcaquauhtli is the name of a bird which we deſcribed in our firſt book. Cav. Boturini puts inſtead of it *Temetlatl*, or the ſtone uſed to grind maize or cocoas.

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with the ſame number, as will appear from the calendar which we ſhall give hereafter. On the firſt day of the fourteenth month, another cycle commenced in the ſame order of the characters, and of the ſame number of periods, as the firſt. If the year had not, beſides the eighteen months, had the five days called *Nemontemi*, or if the periods had not been continued in theſe days, the firſt day of the ſecond year of the century would have been the ſame with that of the preceding, 1. Cipactli; and in like manner, the laſt day of every year would always have been *Xochitl*; but as the period of thirteen days was continued through the days called Nemontemi, on that account the ſigns or characters changed place, and the ſign *Miquiztli*, which occupied in all the months of the firſt year the ſixth place, occupies the firſt in the ſecond year; and on the other hand, the ſign *Cipactli*, which in the firſt year had occupied the firſt place, has the ſixteenth in the ſecond year. To know what ought to be the ſign of the firſt day of any year, there is the following general rule. Every year *Tochtli* begins with *Cipactli*, every year *Acatl* with *Miqueztli*, every year *Tecpatl* with *Ozomatli*, and every year *Calli* with *Cozcaquauhtli*, adding always the number of the year to the ſign of the day; as for example, the year 1. *Tochtli* has for the firſt day 1. *Cipactli*; ſo the 2. *Acatl* has 2. *Miquiztli*; The 3 *Tepactl* has 3. *Ozomatli*, and 4. *Calli* has 4. *Cozcaquauhtli*, &c. *(a)*.

From what we have already ſaid it will appear, that the number thirteen was held in high eſtimation by the Mexicans. The four periods of which the century conſiſted, were each of thirteen years; thirteen months formed their cycle of two hundred and ſixty days; and thirteen days their ſmaller periods, which we have already mentioned. The origin of their eſteem for this number was, according to what Siguenza has ſaid, that thirteen was the number of their greater gods. The number four ſeems to have been no leſs eſteemed amongſt them. As they reckoned four periods of thirteen years each to their century, they alſo reckoned thirteen periods, of four years each, at the expiration of

(a) Cav. Boturini ſays, that the year of the Rabbet began uniformly with the day of the Rabbet, the year of the Cane with the day of the Cane, &c. and never with the days which we have mentioned; but we ought to give more faith to Siguenza, who was certainly better informed in Mexican antiquity. The ſyſtem of this gentleman is fantaſtical and full of contradictions.

each

each of which they made extraordinary feſtivals. We have already mentioned both the faſt of four months, and the Nappapohuallatolli, or general audience which was given every four months.

In reſpect to civil government, they divided the month into four periods of five days, and on a certain fixed day of each period their fair or great market was held; but being governed even in political matters by principles of religion in the capital, this fair was kept on the days of the Rabbet, the Cane, the Flint, and the Houſe, which were their favourite ſigns.

The Mexican year conſiſted of ſeventy-three periods of thirteen days, and the century of ſeventy-three periods of thirteen months, or cycles of two hundred and ſixty days.

SECT. XXVI. Intercalary days.

It is certainly not to be doubted, that the Mexican, or Toltecan ſyſtem of the diſtribution of time was extremely well digeſted, though at firſt view it appears rather intricate and perplexed; hence we may infer with confidence, it was not the work of a rude or unpoliſhed people. That however which is moſt ſurpriſing in their mode of computing time, and which will certainly appear improbable to readers who are but little informed with reſpect to Mexican antiquity, is, that having diſcovered the exceſs of a few hours in the ſolar above the civil year, they made uſe of intercalary days to bring them to an equality; but with this difference in regard to the method eſtabliſhed by Julius Cæſar in the Roman calendar, that they did not interpoſe a day every four years, but thirteen days, (making uſe here even of this favourite number) every fifty-two years; which produces the ſame regulation of time. At the expiration of the century they broke, as we ſhall mention hereafter, all their kitchen utenſils, fearing that then alſo the fourth age, the ſun and all the world were to be ended, and the laſt night they performed the famous ceremony of the new fire. As ſoon as they were aſſured by the new fire, that a new century, according to their belief, was granted to them by the gods, they employed the thirteen following days, in ſupplying their kitchen utenſils, in furniſhing new garments, in repairing their temples and houſes, and in making every preparation for the grand feſtivals of the new century. Theſe thirteen days were the intercalary days repreſented in their paintings by blue points; they were not included in the century juſt expired, nor in

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Boturini affirms, that a hundred and more years before the Chriſtian era, the Toltecas adjuſted their calendar, by adding one day every four years, and that they continued to do ſo for ſeveral centuries, until the Mexicans eſtabliſhed the method we have mentioned: that the cauſe of the new method was, that two feſtivals concurred upon the ſame day; the one the moveable feſtival of Tezcatlipoca, the other that of Huitzilopochtli, which was fixed; and that the Colhuan nation had celebrated the latter, and paſſed over the former; upon which Tezcatlipoca in anger predicted, that the monarchy of Colhuacan would ſoon be diſſolved; that the worſhip of the ancient gods of the nation would ceaſe, and that it would remain confined to the worſhip of one ſole divinity, which was never ſeen nor underſtood, and ſubjected to the power of certain ſtrangers who would arrive from diſtant countries; that the kings of Mexico being made acquainted with this prediction, ordered, that whenever two feſtivals concurred upon the ſame day, the principal feſtival was to be celebrated on ſuch day, and the other on the day after; and that the day which was uſually added every four years, ſhould be omitted; and that at the end of the century, the thirteen days ſhould be added inſtead of them. But we are not willing to give credit to this account.

Two things muſt appear truly ſtrange in the Mexican ſyſtem, the one is, that they did not regulate their months by the changes of the moon; the other that they uſed no particular character to diſtinguiſh one century from another. But with reſpect to the firſt, we do not mean that their aſtronomical months did not accord with the lunar periods;

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periods; becauſe we know that their year was juſtly regulated by the ſun, and becauſe they uſed the ſame name, which was *Metztli*, indifferently for month or moon. The month now mentioned by us is their religious month, according to which they obſerved the celebration of feſtivals, and practiſed divination; not their aſtronomical month, of which we know nothing unleſs that it was divided into two periods, that is, into the period of the *watching*, and into that of the *ſleep* of the moon. We are however perſuaded, that they muſt have made uſe of ſome characters to diſtinguiſh one century from another, as this diſtinction was ſo very eaſy and neceſſary; but we have not been able to aſcertain this upon the authority of any hiſtorian.

SECT. XXVII. Divination.

The diſtribution of the ſigns or characters, both of days and years, ſerved the Mexicans as ſuperſtitious prognoſtics, according to which they predicted the good or bad fortune of infants from the ſign under which they were born; and the happineſs or misfortune of marriages, the ſucceſs of wars, and of every other thing from the day on which they were undertaken or put in execution; and on this account alſo they conſidered not only the peculiar character of every day and year, but likewiſe the ruling character of every period of days or years; for the firſt ſign or character of every period, was the ruling ſign through the whole of it. Of merchants we find, that whenever they wiſhed to undertake any journey, they endeavoured to begin it on ſome day of that period, during which the ſign Coatl (ſerpent) ruled, and then they promiſed themſelves much ſucceſs in their commerce. Thoſe perſons who were born under the ſign *Quauhtli* (eagle), were ſuſpected to prove mockers and ſlanderers, if they were males; if females, loquacious and impudent. The concurrence of the year with the day of the Rabbet was eſteemed the moſt fortunate ſeaſon.

SECT. XXVIII. Figures of the century, the year, and month.

To repreſent a month they painted a circle or wheel, divided into twenty figures ſignifying twenty days, as appears in the plate we have given, which is a copy from one publiſhed by Valadès, in his *Rettorica Criſtiana*, and the only one hitherto publiſhed. To repreſent the year they painted another, which they divided into eighteen figures of the eighteen months, and frequently painted within the wheel the image of the moon. The repreſentation which we have given of this image, was taken from that publiſhed by Gemelli, which was a copy from an ancient

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ancient painting in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Siguenza (*b*). The century was repreſented by a wheel divided into fifty-two figures, or rather by four figures which were thirteen times deſigned. They uſed to paint a ſerpent twiſted about the wheel, which pointed out by four twiſts of its body the four principal winds, and the beginnings of the four periods of thirteen years. The wheel which we here preſent, is a copy of two others, one of which was publiſhed by Valadès, and the other by Gemelli, within which we have repreſented the ſun, as was generally done by the Mexicans. In another place we ſhall explain the figures of theſe wheels in order to ſatisfy our curious readers.

SECT. XXIX. Years and months of the Chiapaneſe.

The method adopted by the Mexicans to compute months, years, and centuries, was, as we have already mentioned, common to all the poliſhed nations of Anahuac, without any variation among them except in the names and figures (*c*). The Chiapaneſe, who, among the tributaries to the crown of Mexico, were the moſt diſtant from the capital; inſtead of the names and the figures of the Rabbet, the Cane, Flint, and Houſe, made uſe of the names *Votan*, *Lambat*, *Been*, and *Chinan*, and inſtead of the names of the Mexican days, they adopted the names of twenty illuſtrious men among their anceſtors, among which the four names above mentioned, occupied the ſame place that the names Rabbet, Cane, Flint, and Houſe, held amongſt the Mexican days. The Chiapaneſe names of the twenty days of the month were the following:

1. *Mox.*
2. *Igh.*
3. *VOTAN.*
4. *Ghanan.*
5. *Abagh.*
6. *Tox.*
7. *Moxic.*
8. *LAMBAT.*
9. *Molo, or Mulu.*
10. *Elah.*
11. *Batz.*
12. *Enoh.*

(*b*) Three copies of the Mexican year have been publiſhed. The firſt that of Valadès, the ſecond that of Siguenza, publiſhed by Gemelli, and the third that of Boturini, publiſhed at Mexico, in 1770. In that of Siguenza, within the wheel of the century, appears that of the year; and in that of Valadès, within both wheels, that of the month is repreſented. We have ſeparated them to make them more intelligible.

(*c*) Boturini ſays, that the Indians of the dioceſe of Guaxaca made their year conſiſt of thirteen months; but it muſt have been their aſtronomical or civil year, and not their religious year.

13. *BEEN.*

13. *BEEN.*
14. *Hix.*
15. *Tziquin.*
16. *Chabin*
17. *Chix.*
18. *CHINAX.*
19. *Cabogh.*
20. *Aghual.*

There was no month in which the Mexicans did not celebrate ſome feſtival or other, which was either fixed and eſtabliſhed to be held on a certain day of the month, or moveable, from being annexed to ſome ſigns which did not correſpond with the ſame days in every year. The principal moveable feſtivals, according to Boturini, were ſixteen in number, among which the fourth was that of the god of wine, and the thirteenth, that of the god of fire. With reſpect to thoſe feſtivals which were fixed, we ſhall mention as conciſely as poſſible, as much as we judge will be ſufficient to convey a competent idea of the religion and the ſuperſtitious diſpoſition of the Mexicans.

SECT. XXX. Feſtivals of the four firſt months.

On the ſecond day of the firſt month, they made a great feſtival to Tlaloc, accompanied with ſacrifices of children, which were purchaſed for that purpoſe, and a gladiatorian ſacrifice; theſe children, which were purchaſed, were not ſacrificed all at once, but ſucceſſively ſo, in the courſe of three months, which correſponded to thoſe of March and April, to obtain from this god the rains which were neceſſary for their maize.

On the firſt day of the ſecond month, which, in the firſt year of their century, correſponded to the 18th of March (*d*), they made a moſt ſolemn feſtival to the god Xipe, the ſacrifices offered at which were extremely cruel. They dragged the victims by their hair to the upper area of the temple, where, after they were ſacrificed in the uſual manner, they ſkinned them, and the prieſts clothed themſelves in their ſkins, and appeared for ſome days in theſe bloody coverings. The owners of priſoners that were ſacrificed, were bound to faſt for twenty days, after which they made great banquets, at which they dreſſed the fleſh of the victims. The ſtealers of gold or ſilver were ſacrificed along with priſoners, the law of the kingdom having ordained that puniſhment for them. The circumſtance of ſkinning the

(*d*) Whenever we mention the correſpondence of the Mexican months with ours, it is to be underſtood of thoſe of the firſt year of their century.

BOOK VI. victims, obtained to this month the name of *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, or the ſkinning of men. At this feſtival, the military went through ſeveral exerciſes of arms and practices of war, and the nobles celebrated with ſongs the glorious actions of their anceſtors. In Tlaſcala, the nobles, as well as the plebeians had dances, at which they were all dreſſed in ſkins of animals, and embroidery of gold and ſilver. On account of theſe dances, which were common to all ranks of people, they gave the feſtival as well as the month the name of *Coailhuitl*, or the general feſtival.

In the third month, which began on the 7th of April, the ſecond feſtival of Tlaloc was celebrated with the ſacrifice of ſome children. The ſkins of the victims, which were ſacrificed to the god Xipe, in the preceding month, were carried in proceſſion to a temple called *Jopico*, which was within the incloſure of the greater temple, and there depoſited in a cave. In this ſame month the *Xochimanqui*, or thoſe who traded in flowers, celebrated the feſtival of their goddeſs Coatlicue, and preſented her garlands of flowers curiouſly woven. But before this offering was made, no perſon was allowed to ſmell theſe flowers. The miniſters of the temples watched every night of this month, and on that account made great fires; hence the month took the name of *Tozoztonli*, or little watch.

The fourth month was called *Hueitozoztli*, or great watch; becauſe, during this month, not only the prieſts, but alſo the nobility and populace, kept watch. They drew blood from their ears, eyebrows, noſe, tongue, arms, and thighs, to expiate the faults committed by their ſenſes, and expoſed at their doors leaves of the ſword-graſs, coloured with blood, but with no other intention, probably, than to make oſtentation of their penance. In this manner they prepared themſelves for the feſtival of the goddeſs Centeotl, which was celebrated with ſacrifices of human victims and animals, particularly of quails, and with many warlike exerciſes, which they performed before the temple of this goddeſs. Little girls carried ears of maize to the temple, and after offering them to that falſe divinity, carried them to granaries, in order that theſe ears, thus hallowed, might preſerve all the reſt of the grain from any deſtructive inſect. This month commenced on the 27th of April.

The

Grand feſtival of the god Tezcatlipoca.

The fifth month, which began upon the 17th of May, was almoſt wholly feſtival. The firſt, which was one of the four principal feſtivals of the Mexicans, was that which they made in honour of their great god Tezcatlipoca. Ten days before it a prieſt dreſſed himſelf in the ſame habit and badges which diſtinguiſhed that god, and went out of the temple with a bunch of flowers in his hands, and a little flute of clay which made a very ſhrill ſound. Turning his face firſt towards the eaſt, and afterwards to the other three principal winds, he ſounded the flute loudly, and then taking up a little duſt from the earth with his finger, he put it to his mouth and ſwallowed it. Upon hearing the ſound of the flute, all kneeled down; criminals were thrown into the utmoſt terror and conſternation, and with tears implored that god to grant a pardon to their tranſgreſſions, and hinder them from being diſcovered and detected; warriors prayed to him for courage and ſtrength againſt the enemies of the nation, ſucceſsful victories, and a multitude of priſoners for ſacrifices; and all the reſt of the people, uſing the ſame ceremony of taking up and eating the duſt, ſupplicated with fervour the clemency of the gods. The ſound of the little flute was repeated every day until the feſtival. One day before it, the lords carried a new habit to the idol, which the prieſts immediately put upon it, and kept the old one as a relique in ſome repoſitory of the temple; they adorned the idol with particular enſigns of gold and beautiful feathers, and raiſed up the tapeſtry, which always covered the entrance of the ſanctuary, that the image of their god might be ſeen and adored by the multitude. When the day of the feſtival arrived, the people flocked to the lower area of the temple. Some prieſts painted black, and dreſſed in a ſimilar habit with the idol, carried it aloft upon a litter, which the youths and virgins of the temple, bound with thick cords of wreaths of criſp maize, and put one of theſe wreaths round the neck, and a garland on the head of the idol. This cord, the emblem of drought, which they deſired to prevent, was called *Toxcatl*, which name was likewiſe given to the month on account of this ceremony. All the youths and virgins of the temple, as well as the nobles of the court, carried ſimilar wreaths about their necks and in their hands. Then followed a proceſſion through the lower area of the temple, where flowers and odoriferous herbs were ſcattered;

BOOK IV. ſcattered; two prieſts offered incenſe to the idol, which two others carried upon their ſhoulders. In the mean while the people kept kneeling, ſtriking their backs with thick knotted cords. When the proceſſion finiſhed, and alſo their diſcipline, they carried back the idol to the altar, and made abundant offerings to it of gold, gems, flowers, feathers, animals, and proviſions, which were prepared by the virgins and other women, who, on account of ſome particular vow, aſſiſted for that day in the ſervice of the temple. Theſe proviſions were carried in proceſſion by the ſame virgins, who were led by a reſpectable prieſt, dreſſed in a ſtrange fantaſtical habit, and laſtly the youths carried them to the habitations of the prieſts for whom they had been prepared.

Afterwards they made the ſacrifice of the victim repreſenting the god Tezcatlipoca. This victim was the handſomeſt and beſt ſhaped youth of all the priſoners. They ſelected him a year before the feſtival, and during that whole time he was always dreſſed in a ſimilar habit with the idol; he was permitted to go round the city, but always accompanied by a ſtrong guard, and was adored every where, as the living image of that ſupreme divinity. Twenty days before the feſtival, this youth married four beautiful girls, and on the five days preceding the feſtival, they gave him ſumptuous entertainments, and allowed him all the pleaſures of life. On the day of the feſtival, they led him with a numerous attendance to the temple of Tezcatlipoca, but before they came there they diſmiſſed his wives. He accompanied the idol in the proceſſion, and when the hour of ſacrifice was come, they ſtretched him upon the altar, and the high prieſt with great reverence opened his breaſt and pulled out his heart. His body was not, like the bodies of other victims, thrown down the ſtairs, but carried in the arms of the prieſts and beheaded at the bottom of the temple. His head was ſtrung up in the *Tzompantli*, among the reſt of the ſkulls of the victims which were ſacrificed to Tezcatlipoca, and his legs and arms were dreſſed and prepared for the tables of the lords. After the ſacrifice, a grand dance took place of the collegiate youths and nobles who were preſent at the feſtival. At ſun-ſet, the virgins of the temple made a new offering of bread baked with honey. This bread, with ſome other things unknown to us, was put before the altar of Tezcatlipoca,

and

and was deſtined to be the reward of the youths who ſhould be the victors in the race which they made down the ſtairs of the temple; they were alſo rewarded with a garment, and received the praiſe and applauſe of the prieſts as well as the people who were ſpectators. The feſtival was concluded by diſmiſſing from the ſeminaries all the youths and virgins who were arrived at an age fit for marriage. The youths who remained, mocked the others with ſatirical and humorous raillery, and threw at them handfuls of ruſhes and other things, upbraiding them with leaving the ſervice of god for the pleaſures of matrimony; the prieſts always granting them indulgence in this emanation of youthful vivacity.

SECT. XXXII. The grand feſtival of Huitzilopochtli.

In this ſame fifth month, the firſt feſtival of Huitzilopochtli was celebrated. The prieſts made a ſtatue of this god of the regular ſtature of a man; they made the fleſh of a heap of *Tzohualli*, which is a certain eatable plant, and the bones of the wood *Mizquitl*. They dreſſed it in cotton with a mantle of feathers; put on its head a ſmall paraſol of paper, adorned with beautiful feathers, and above that a bloody little knife of flint-ſtone, upon its breaſt a plate of gold, and on its garment were ſeveral figures repreſenting bones of the dead, and the image of a man torn in pieces; by which they intended to ſignify either the power of this god in battle, or the terrible revenge, which, according to their mythology, he took againſt thoſe who conſpired againſt the honour and life of his mother. They put this ſtatue in a litter made on four wooden ſerpents, which four principal officers of the Mexican army bore from the place where the ſtatue was formed, into the altar where it was placed. Several youths forming a circle, and joining themſelves together by means of arrows, which they laid hold of with their hands, the one by the head, the other by the point, carried before the litter a piece of paper more than fifteen perches long, on which, probably, the glorious actions of that falſe divinity were repreſented, and which they ſung to the ſound of muſical inſtruments.

When the day of the feſtival was arrived, in the morning they made a great ſacrifice of quails, which after their heads were twiſted off, they threw at the foot of the altar. The firſt who made this ſacrifice was the king, after him the prieſts, and laſtly, the people. Of this great profuſion

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fuſion of quails, one part was dreſſed for the king's table, and thoſe of the prieſts, and the remainder was reſerved for another occaſion. Every perſon who was preſent at the feſtival, carried a clay cenſer, and a quantity of bitumen of Judea, to burn in offering to their god, and all the coal which was made uſe of was afterwards collected in a large ſtove called *Tlexictli*. On account of this ceremony they called this feſtival the *incenſing of Huitzilopochtli*. Immediately after followed the dance of the virgins and prieſts. The virgins dyed their faces, their arms were adorned with red feathers, on their heads they wore garlands of criſp leaves of maize, and in their hands they bore canes which were cleft, with little flags of cotton or paper in them. The faces of the prieſts were dyed black, their foreheads bound with little ſhields of paper, and their lips daubed with honey, they covered their natural parts with paper, and each held a ſceptre, at the extremity of which was a flower made of feathers, and above that another tuft of feathers. Upon the edge of the ſtove two men danced, bearing on their backs certain cages of pine. The prieſts in the courſe of their dancing, from time to time, touched the earth with the extremity of their ſceptres, as if they reſted themſelves upon them. All theſe ceremonies had their particular ſignification, and the dance on account of the feſtival at which it took place was called *Toxcachocholla*. In another ſeparate place, the court and military people danced. The muſical inſtruments, which in ſome dances were placed in the centre, on this occaſion were kept without and hid, ſo that the ſound of them was heard but the muſicians were unſeen.

One year before this feſtival, the priſoner who was to be ſacrificed to Huitzilopochli, to which priſoner they gave the name of *Ixteocale*, which ſignifies, *Wiſe Lord of Heaven*, was ſelected along with the victim for Tezcatlipoca. Both of them rambled about the whole year; with this difference however, that the victim of Tezcatlipoca was adored, but not that of Huitzilopochtli. When the day of the feſtival was arrived, they dreſſed the priſoner in a curious habit of painted paper, and put on his head a mitre made of the feathers of an eagle, with a plume upon the top of it. He carried upon his back a ſmall net, and over it a little bag, and in this dreſs he mingled himſelf in the dance of the courtiers. The moſt ſingular thing reſpecting this priſoner was,

was, that although he was doomed to die on that day, yet he had the liberty of fixing the hour of the ſacrifice himſelf. Whenever he choſe he preſented himſelf to the prieſts, in whoſe arms, and not upon the altar, the ſacrificer broke his breaſt, and pulled out his heart. When the ſacrifice was ended, the prieſts began a great dance, which continued all the remainder of the day, excepting ſome intervals, which they employed to repeat the incenſe-offerings. At this ſame feſtival, the prieſts made a ſlight cut on the breaſt and on the belly of all the children of both ſexes which were born within one preceding year. This was the ſign or character, by which the Mexican nation ſpecially acknowledged itſelf conſecrated to the worſhip of its protecting god; and this is alſo the reaſon why ſeveral authors have believed, that the rite of circumciſion was eſtabliſhed among the Mexicans (*e*). But if poſſibly the people of Yucatan and the Totonacas

(*e*) F. Acoſta ſays, that "i Meſſicani *ſacrificavano* ne' lor fanciulli e l' orechie e il membro genitale nel che in qualche maniera contra ffacevano la circonciſione de' Giudei." But if this author ſpeaks of the true Mexicans, that is, the deſcendants of the ancient Aztecas who founded the city of Mexico, whoſe hiſtory we write, his aſſertion is abſolutely falſe; for after the moſt diligent ſearch and enquiry, there is not the ſmalleſt veſtige of ſuch a rite to be found among them. If he ſpeaks of the Totonacas, who, by having been ſubjects of the king of Mexico, are, by ſeveral authors, called Mexicans, it is true, that they made ſuch an inciſion on children.

The indecent and lying author of the work, entitled, "*Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains*," adopts the account given by Acoſta, and makes a long diſcourſe on the origin of circumciſion, which he believes to have been invented by the Egyptians, or the Ethiopians, to preſerve themſelves, as he ſays, from worms, which trouble inhabitants of the torrid zone who are not circumciſed. He affirms, that the Hebrews learned it from the Egyptians, and that at firſt it was a mere phyſical remedy, but was afterwards by fanaticiſm conſtituted a religious ceremony: that the heat of the torrid zone is the cauſe of this diſorder, and that the Mexicans, and other nations of America, in order to free themſelves from it, adopted circumciſion. But leaving aſide the falſeneſs of his principles, and his fondneſs to diſcuſs minutely every ſubject which has any connexion with obſcene pleaſures, that we may attend to that only which concerns our hiſtory, we aſſert that no traces of the practice of circumciſion have ever been found among the Mexicans, or among the nations ſubjected by them, except the Totonacas; nor did we ever hear of any ſuch diſtemper of worms in theſe countries, though they are all ſituated under the torrid zone, and we viſited for thirteen years all kinds of ſick perſons. Beſides, if heat is the cauſe of ſuch a diſtemper, it ought to have been more frequent in the native country of that author than in the inland provinces of Mexico, where the climate is more temperate. M. Maller, who is quoted by the ſame author, made no leſs a miſtake; in his Diſcourſe on Circumciſion, inſerted in the Encyclopedia, he, from not having underſtood the expreſſions of Acoſta, believed that they cut the ears and the parts of generation, of all the Mexican children entirely off; in wonder at which he aſks, if it was poſſible that many of them could remain alive after ſo cruel an operation? But if we had believed what M. Maller believed, we would rather have aſked how there came to be any Mexicans

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nacas uſed this rite, it was never practiſed by the Mexicans, or any other nation of the empire.

SECT. XXXIII. The feſtivals of the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth months.

In the ſixth month, which began upon the ſixth of June, the third feſtival of the god Tlaloc was celebrated. They ſtrewed the temple in a curious manner with ruſhes from the lake of Citlaltepec. The prieſts who went to fetch them, committed various hoſtilities upon all paſſengers whom they met in their way, plundering them of every thing they had about them, and ſometimes even ſtripping them quite naked, and beating them if they made any reſiſtance. With ſuch impunity were theſe prieſts, turned aſſaſſins, favoured, that they not only robbed the common people, but even carried off the royal tributes from the collectors of them, if they chanced to meet with them, no private perſons being allowed to make complaint againſt them, nor the king to puniſh them for ſuch enormities. On the day of the feſtival, they all eat a certain kind of gruel which they called *Etzalli*, from which the month took the name of *Etzalqualiztli*. They carried to the temple a vaſt quantity of painted paper and elaſtic gum, with which they beſmeared the paper and the cheeks of the idol. After this ridiculous ceremony, they ſacrificed ſeveral priſoners who were clothed in habits the ſame with that of the god Tlaloc, and his companions, and in order to complete the ſcene of their cruelty, the prieſts, attended by a great croud of people, went in veſſels to a certain place of the lake, where in former times there was a whirlpool, and there ſacrificed two children of both ſexes, by drowning them, along with the hearts of the priſoners who had been ſacrificed at this feſtival, in order to obtain from their gods the neceſſary rains for their fields. Upon this occaſion, thoſe miniſters of the temple, who, in the courſe of that year, had either been negligent in office, or convicted of ſome high miſdemeanor which was not, however, deſerving of capital puniſhment, were ſtripped of their prieſthood, and received a chaſtiſement ſimilar to the trick which is practiſed on ſeamen the firſt time they paſs the

cans at all in the world? That no future miſtakes may be committed by thoſe who read the ancient Spaniſh hiſtorians of America, it is neceſſary to be obſerved, that when theſe hiſtorians ſay that the Mexicans, or other nations *ſacrificed* the tongue, the ears, or any other member of the body, all they mean by it is, that they made ſome ſlight inciſion in theſe members, and drew ſome blood from them.

line, but more ſevere, as by being repeatedly ducked in the water they were at laſt ſo exhauſted, it became neceſſary to carry them home to their houſes to be recovered.

In the ſeventh month, which began upon the 26th of June, the feſtival of Huixtocihuatl, the goddeſs of ſalt, was celebrated. A day before the feſtival there was a great dance of women, who danced in a circle, joined to each other by ſtrings or cords of different flowers, and wearing garlands of wormwood on their heads. A female priſoner, clothed in the habit of the idol of that goddeſs, was placed in the centre of the circle. The dancing was accompanied with ſinging, in both of which two old reſpectable prieſts took the lead. This dance continued the whole night, and in the morning after, the dance of the prieſts began, and laſted the whole day, without any other interruption than the ſacrifice of priſoners. The prieſts wore decent garments, and held in their hands thoſe beautiful yellow flowers which the Mexicans called *Cempoalxochitl*, and many Europeans *Indian Carnations*; at ſun-ſet they made the ſacrifice of the female priſoner, and concluded the feſtival with ſumptuous banquets.

During the whole of this month the Mexicans made great rejoicings. They wore their beſt dreſſes; dances and amuſements in their gardens were frequent; the poems which they ſang were all on love, or ſome other equally pleaſing ſubject. The populace went a hunting in the mountains, and the nobles uſed warlike exerciſes in the field, and ſometimes in veſſels upon the lake. Theſe rejoicings of the nobility procured to this month the name of *Tecuilhuitl*, the feſtival of the lords, or of *Tecuilhuitontli*, the ſmall feſtival of the lords, as it was truly ſo, in compariſon of the feſtival of the following month.

In the eighth month, which began upon the 16th day of July, they made a ſolemn feſtival to the goddeſs *Centeotl*, under the name of *Xilonen*; for as we have already mentioned, they changed the name according to the ſtate of the maize. On this feſtival they called her *Xilonen*; becauſe the ear of maize, while the grain was ſtill tender, was called *Xilotl*. The feſtival continued eight days, during which there was conſtant dancing in the temple of that goddeſs. On ſuch days, the king and the nobles gave away meat and drink to the populace, both of which were placed in rows in the under area of the temple, and there the

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the *Chiampinolli*, which was one of their moſt common drinks, was given, and alſo the *Tamalli*, which was paſte of maize, made into ſmall rolls, and alſo other proviſions, of which we ſhall treat hereafter. Preſents were made to the prieſts, and the nobles invited each other reciprocally to entertainments, and preſented each other with gold, ſilver, beautiful feathers, and curious animals. They ſung the glorious actions of their anceſtors, and boaſted of the nobleneſs and antiquity of their families. At ſun-ſet, when the feaſting of the populace was ended, the prieſts had their dance which continued four hours, and on that account there was a ſplendid illumination in the temple. The laſt day was celebrated with the dance of the nobility and the military, among whom danced alſo a female priſoner, who repreſented that goddeſs, and was ſacrificed after the dance along with the other priſoners. Thus the feſtival, as well as the month, had the name of *Hueitecuilhuitl*, that is, the great feſtival of the lords.

In the ninth month, which began on the 5th of Auguſt, the ſecond feſtival of Huitzilopochtli was kept; on which, beſides the uſual ceremonies, they adorned all the idols with flowers; not only thoſe which were worſhipped in the temples, but likewiſe thoſe which they had for private devotion in their houſes; from whence the month was called *Tlaxochimaco*. The night preceding the feſtival was employed in preparing the meats which they eat next day with the greateſt jubilee. The nobles of both ſexes danced together, the arms of the one reſting on the ſhoulders of the other. This dance, which laſted until the evening, finiſhed with the ſacrifice of ſome priſoners. In this month alſo the feſtival of Jacateuctli, the god of commerce, was held, accompanied with ſacrifices.

SECT. XXXIV. Feſtivals of the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth months.

In the tenth month, the beginning of which was on the 25th of Auguſt, they kept the feſtival of *Xiuhteuctli*, god of fire. In the preceding months, the prieſts brought out of the woods a large tree, which they fixed in the under area of the temple. The day before the feſtival they ſtript off its branches and bark, and adorned it with painted paper, and from that time it was reverenced as the image of Xiuhteuctli. The owners of the priſoners which were to be ſacrificed on this occaſion, dyed their bodies with red ochre, to reſemble in ſome meaſure the colour of fire, and were dreſſed in their beſt garments.

They

They went to the temple, accompanied by their priſoners, and paſſed the whole night in ſinging and dancing with them. The day of the feſtival being arrived, and alſo the hour of the ſacrifice, they tied the hands and feet of the victims, and ſprinkled the powder of *Jauhtli (f)* in their faces, in order to deaden their ſenſes, that their torments might be leſs painful. Then they began the dance, each with his victim upon his back, and one after the other threw them into a large fire kindled in the area, from which they ſoon after drew them with hooks of wood, to complete the ſacrifice upon the altar in the ordinary way. The Mexicans gave to this month the name of *Xocohuetzi*, which ſignifies the maturity of the fruits. The Tlaſcalans called the ninth month *Miccailheuitl*, or the feſtival of the dead; becauſe in it they made oblations for the ſouls of the deceaſed; and the tenth month *Hueimiccailhuitl*, or the grand feſtival of the dead; becauſe in that they wore mourning, and made lamentation for the death of their anceſtors.

Five days before the commencement of the eleventh month, which began on the 14th of September, all feſtivals ceaſed. During the firſt eight days of the month, was a dance, but without muſic or ſinging; every one directing his movements according to his own pleaſure. After this period was elapſed, they clothed a female priſoner in the habit of Teteoinan, or the mother of the gods, whoſe feſtival was celebrating; the priſoner was attended by many women, and particularly by the midwives, who for four whole days employed themſelves to amuſe and comfort her. When the principal day of the feſtival was arrived, they led this woman to the upper area of the temple of that goddeſs, where they ſacrificed her; but this was not performed in the uſual mode, nor upon the common altar where other victims were ſacrificed, for they beheaded her upon the ſhoulders of another woman, and ſtripped her ſkin of, which a youth, with a numerous attendance, carried to preſent to the idol of Huitzilopochtli, in memory of the inhuman ſacrifice which their anceſtors had made of the princeſs

(*f*) The *Jauhtli* is a plant whoſe ſtem is about a cubit long, its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the willow, but indented, its flowers are yellow and the roots thin. The flowers, as well as the other parts of the plant, have the ſame ſmell and taſte as thoſe of the aniſe. It is very uſeful in medicine, and the Mexican phyſicians applied it in different diſtempers; it was alſo made uſe of for many ſuperſtitious ends.

of Colhuacan; but before it was preſented, they ſacrificed in the uſual mode four priſoners, in memory, as is probable, of the four Xochimilcan priſoners which they had ſacrificed during their captivity in Colhuacan. In this month they made a review of their troops, and enliſted thoſe youths who were deſtined to the profeſſion of arms, and who, in future were to ſerve in war when there ſhould be occaſion. All the nobles and the populace ſwept the temples, on which account this month took the name of *Ochpaniztli*, which ſignifies, *a ſweeping*. They cleaned and mended the ſtreets, and repaired the aqueducts and their houſes, all which labours were attended with many ſuperſtitious rites.

In the twelfth month, which began upon the 4th of October, they cebrated the feſtival of the arrival of the gods, which they expreſſed by the word *Teotleco*, which name alſo they gave to both the month and the feſtival. On the 16th day of this month, they covered all the temples, and the corner ſtones of the ſtreets of the city with green branches. On the 18th, the gods, acording to their accounts, began to arrive, the firſt of whom was the great god Tezcatlipoca. They ſpread before the door of the ſanctuary of this god a mat made of the palm-tree, and ſprinkled upon it ſome powder of maize. The high-prieſt ſtood in watch all the preceding night, and went frequently to look at the mat, and as ſoon as he diſcovered any footſteps upon the powder, which had been trod upon, no doubt, by ſome other deceitful prieſt, he began to cry out, "*Our great god is now arrived.*" All the other prieſts, with a great croud of people, repaired there to adore him, and celebrate his arrival with hymns and dances, which were repeated all the reſt of the night. On the two days following, other gods ſucceſſively arrived, and on the twentieth and laſt day, when they believed that all their gods were come, a number of youths dreſſed in the form of various monſters, danced around a large fire, into which, from time to time, they threw priſoners, who were there conſumed as burnt ſacrifices. At ſun-ſet they made great entertainments, at which they drank more than uſual, imagining, that the wine with which they filled their bellies, would ſerve to waſh the feet of their gods. To ſuch exceſſes did the barbarous ſuperſtition of thoſe people lead! Nor was the ceremony which they practiſed, in order to preſerve their children

children from the evil which they dreaded from one of their gods, leſs extravagant: this was the cuſtom of ſticking a number of feathers on their ſhoulders, their arms, and legs, by means of turpentine.

In the thirteenth month, which began on the 24th of October, the feſtival of the gods of water and the mountains, was celebrated. The name *Tepeilhuitl*, which was given to this month, ſignified only the feſtival of the mountains. They made little mountains of paper, on which they placed ſome little ſerpents made of wood, or of roots of trees, and certain ſmall idols called *Ehecatotontin*, covered with a particular paſte. They put both upon the altars and worſhipped them, as the images of the gods of the mountains, ſung hymns to them, and preſented copal and meats to them. The priſoners who were ſacrificed at this feſtival were five in number, one man and four women; to each of which a particular name was given, alluding, probably, to ſome myſtery of which we are ignorant. They clothed them in painted paper, which was beſmeared with elaſtic gum, and carried them in proceſſion in litters, after which they ſacrificed them in the uſual manner.

SECT. XXXV. The feſtivals of the five laſt months.

In the fourteenth month, which commenced on the 13th of November, was the feſtival of Mixcoatl, goddeſs of the chace. It was preceded by four days of rigid and general faſting, accompanied with the effuſion of blood, during which time they made arrows and darts for the ſupply of their arſenals, and alſo certain ſmall arrows which they placed together with pieces of pine, and ſome meats, upon the tombs of their relations, and after one day burned them. When the faſt was over, the inhabitants of Mexico and Tlatelolco went out to a general chace in one of the neighbouring mountains, and all the animals which they caught were brought, with great rejoicings to Mexico, where they were ſacrificed to Mixcoatl; the king himſelf was preſent not only at the ſacrifice, but likewiſe at the chace. They gave to this month the name of *Quecholli*, becauſe at this ſeaſon the beautiful bird which went amongſt them by that name, and by many called *flammingo*, made its appearance on the banks of the Mexican lake.

In the fifteenth month, the beginning of which was on the 3d day of December, the third and principal feſtival of Huitzilopochtli and his brother, was celebrated. On the firſt day of the month, the prieſts formed two ſtatues of thoſe two gods, of different ſeeds paſted together,

ther, with the blood of children that had been ſacrificed, in which in the place of bones they ſubſtituted pieces of the wood of acacia. They placed theſe ſtatues upon the principal altar of the temple, and during the whole of that night the prieſts kept watch. The day following, they gave their benediction to the ſtatues, and alſo to a ſmall quantity of water which was preſerved in the temple for the purpoſe of being ſprinkled on the face of any new king of Mexico, and of the general of their armies after their election; but the general, beſides being beſprinkled, was required to drink it. As ſoon as the ſtatues were conſecrated by this benediction, the dance of both ſexes began, and continued all the month for three or four hours every day. During the whole of the month a great deal of blood was ſhed; and four days before the feſtival, the maſters of the priſoners which were to be ſacrificed, and which were ſelected for the occaſion, obſerved a faſt, and had their bodies painted of various colours. In the morning of the twentieth day, on which the feſtival was held, a grand and ſolemn proceſſion was made. A prieſt bearing a ſerpent of wood, which he raiſed high up in his hands, called *Ezpamitl*, and which was the badge of the gods of war, went firſt, with another prieſt bearing a ſtandard, ſuch as they uſed in their armies. After them came a third prieſt, who carried the ſtatue of the god Painalton, the vicar of Huitzilopochtli. Then came the victims after the other prieſts, and laſtly, the people. The proceſſion ſet out from the greater temple, towards the diſtrict of *Teotlachco*, where it ſtopped, while two priſoners of war, and ſome purchaſed ſlaves, were ſacrificed; they proceeded next to Tlatelolco, Popotla, and Chapoltepec, from whence they returned to the city, and after having paſſed through other diſtricts, re-entered the temple.

This circuit of nine or ten miles, which they performed, conſumed the greateſt part of the day, and at all the places where they ſtopped, they ſacrificed quails, and, probably, ſome priſoners alſo. When they arrived at the temple, they placed the ſtatue of Painalton, and the ſtandard, upon the altar of Huitzilopochtli; the king offered incenſe to the two ſtatues of ſeeds, and then ordered another proceſſion to be made round the temple, at the concluſion of which they ſacrificed the reſt of the priſoners and ſlaves. Theſe ſacrifices were made at the cloſe of day. That night the prieſts kept watch, and the next morning they carried

carried the ſtatue in paſte of Huitzilopochtli to a great hall, which was within the precincts of the temple, and there in the preſence only of the king, four principal prieſts, and four ſuperiors of the ſeminaries, the prieſt Quetzalcoatl, who was the chief of the Tlamacazqui, or penance-doers, threw a dart at the ſtatue, which pierced it through and through. They then ſaid, that their god was dead. One of the principal prieſts cut out the heart of the ſtatue, and gave it to the king to eat. The body was divided in two parts; one of which was given to the people of Tlatelolco, and the other to the Mexicans. The ſhare was again divided into four parts, for the four quarters of the city, and each of theſe four parts into as many minute particles as there were men in each quarter. This ceremony they expreſſed by the word *Teocualo*, which ſignifies, the god to be eat. The women never taſted this ſacred paſte, probably, becauſe they had no concern with the profeſſion of arms. We are ignorant, whether or not they made the ſame uſe of the ſtatue of Tlacahuepan. The Mexicans gave to this month the name of *Panquetzaliztli*, which ſignifies, the raiſing of the ſtandard, alluding to the one which they carried in the above proceſſion. In this month they employed themſelves in renewing the boundaries, and repairing the incloſures of their fields.

In the ſixteenth month, which began upon the 23d of December, the fifth and laſt feſtival of the gods of water, and the mountains, took place. They prepared for it with the uſual auſterities, by making oblations of copal and other aromatic gums. They formed little figures of the mountains, which they conſecrated to thoſe gods, and certain little idols made of the paſte of various eatable ſeeds, of which when they had worſhipped them, they opened the breaſts, and cut out the hearts, with a weaver's ſhuttle, and afterwards cut off their heads, in imitation of the rites of the ſacrifices. The body was divided by the heads of families amongſt their domeſtics, in order that by eating them they might be preſerved from certain diſtempers, to which thoſe perſons who were negligent of worſhip to thoſe deities conceived themſelves to be ſubject. They burned the habits in which they had dreſſed the ſmall idols, and preſerved the aſhes with the utmoſt care in their oratories, and alſo the veſſels in which the images had been formed. Beſides theſe rites, which were uſually obſerved in private houſes, they made

made ſome ſacrifices of human victims in the temple. For four days preceding the feſtival, a ſtrict faſt was obſerved, accompanied with the effuſion of blood. This month was called *Atemoztli*, which ſignifies the deſcent of the water, for a reaſon which we will immediately mention (*g*).

In the ſeventeenth month, which began upon the 12th of January, they celebrated the feſtival of the goddeſs Ilamateuctli. A female priſoner was ſelected to repreſent her, and was clothed in the habit of her idol. They made her dance alone to a tune which ſome old prieſts ſung to her, and ſhe was permitted to expreſs her affliction at her approaching death, which, however, was eſteemed a bad omen from other victims. At ſun-ſet, on the day of the feſtival, the prieſts adorned with the enſigns of various gods, ſacrificed her in the uſual manner, and afterwards cut off her head, when one of the prieſts, taking it in his hand, began a dance, in which he was joined by the reſt. The prieſts, during this feſtival, made a race down the ſtairs of the temple; and the following day the populace entertained themſelves with a game ſimilar to the Lupercalia of the Romans; for running through the ſtreets, they beat all the women they met with little bags of hay. In this ſame month they kept the feſtival of Mictlanteuctli, god of hell, on which they made a nocturnal ſacrifice of a priſoner, and alſo the ſecond feſtival of Jacateuctli, god of the merchants. The name *Tititl*, which they gave to this month, ſignifies the conſtringent power of the ſeaſon which the cold occaſions (*h*).

In the eighteenth and laſt month, which began on the firſt of February, the ſecond feſtival of the god of fire was held. On the 10th day of this month, the whole of the Mexican youth went out to the chace, not only of wild beaſts in the woods, but alſo to catch the birds of the lake. On the ſixteenth, the fire of the temple and private houſes was extinguiſhed, and they kindled it anew before the idol of that

(*g*) Martino di Leone, a Dominican, makes *Atemoztli* ſignify, the altar of the gods; but the name of the altar is *Teomomoztli*, not *Atemoztli*. Boturini pretends that the name is a contraction of *Ateomomoztli*, but ſuch contractions obtained not among the Mexicans; beſides the figure of this month which repreſents water falling obliquely upon the ſteps of an edifice, expreſſes exactly the deſcent of water ſignified by the word *Atemoztli*.

(*h*) The above author ſays, that *Tititl* ſignifies our belly; but all thoſe who underſtand the Mexican language know that ſuch a name would be a ſoleciſm.

god, which they adorned on the occaſion, with gems and beautiful feathers. The hunters preſented all their ſpoils to the prieſts, one part of which was conſumed in burnt-offerings to their gods, and the other was ſacrificed, and afterwards dreſſed for the tables of the nobility and prieſts. The women made oblations of *Tamalli*, which they afterwards diſtributed among the hunters. One of the ceremonies obſerved upon this occaſion was that of boring the ears of all the children of each ſex, and putting ear-rings in them. But the greateſt ſingularity attending this feſtival was that not a ſingle human victim was ſacrificed at it.

They celebrated likewiſe in this month the ſecond feſtival of the mother of the gods, reſpecting which, however, we know nothing except the ridiculous cuſtom of lifting up the children by the ears into the air, from a belief that they would thereby become higher in ſtature. With regard to the name *Izcalli*, which they gave to this month, we are unable to give any explanation (*i*).

After the eighteen months of the Mexican year were completed on the 20th of February, upon the 21ſt the five days called *Nemontemi* commenced, during which days no feſtival was celebrated, nor any enterpriſe undertaken, becauſe they were reckoned *dies infauſti*, or unlucky days. The child that happened to be born on any of theſe days, if it was a boy, got the name of *Nemoquichtli*, uſeleſs man; if ſhe was a girl, received the name of *Nencihuatl*, uſeleſs woman.

Among the feſtivals annually celebrated, the moſt ſolemn were thoſe of *Teoxihuitl*, or divine years, of which kind were all thoſe years which had the rabbit for their denominative character. The ſacrifices were on ſuch occaſions more numerous, the oblations more abundant, and the dances more ſolemn, eſpecially in Tlaſcala, in Huexotzinco, and Cholula. In like manner, the feſtivals at the beginning of every period of thirteen years, were attended with more pomp and gravity; that is, in the years 1 *Tochtli*, 1 *Acatl*, 1 *Tecpatl*, and 1 *Calli*.

SECT. XXXVI. Secular feſtival.

But the feſtival which was celebrated every fifty-two years, was by far the moſt ſplendid and moſt ſolemn, not only among the Mexicans, but

(*i*) *Izcalli* ſignifies, Behold the houſe. The interpretations given by Torquemada and Leone are too violent.

BOOK VI. likewiſe among all the nations of that empire, or who were neighbouring to it. On the laſt night of their century, they extinguiſhed the fire of all the temples and houſes, and broke their veſſels, earthen pots, and all other kitchen utenſils, preparing themſelves in this manner for the end of the world, which at the termination of each century they expected with terror. The prieſts, clothed in various dreſſes and enſigns of their gods, and accompanied by a vaſt croud of people, iſſued from the temple out of the city, directing their way towards the mountain *Huixachtla*, near to the city of Iztapalapan, upwards of ſix miles diſtant from the capital. They regulated their journey in ſome meaſure by obſervation of the ſtars, in order that they might arrive at the mountain a little before midnight, on the top of which the new fire was to be kindled. In the mean while, the people remained in the utmoſt ſuſpence and ſolicitude, hoping on the one hand to find from the new fire a new century granted to mankind, and fearing on the other hand, the total deſtruction of mankind, if the fire, by divine interference, ſhould not be permitted to kindle. Huſbands covered the faces of their pregnant wives with the leaves of the aloe, and ſhut them up in granaries; becauſe they were afraid that they would be converted into wild beaſts and would devour them. They alſo covered the faces of children in that way, and did not allow them to ſleep, to prevent their being transformed into mice. All thoſe who did not go out with the prieſts, mounted upon terraces, to obſerve from thence the event of the ceremony. The office of kindling the fire on this occaſion belonged excluſively to a prieſt of *Copolco*, one of the diſtricts of the city. The inſtruments for this purpoſe were, as we have already mentioned, two pieces of wood, and the place on which the fire was produced from them, was the breaſt of ſome brave priſoner whom they ſacrificed. As ſoon as the fire was kindled, they all at once exclaimed with joy; and a great fire was made on the mountain that it might be ſeen from afar, in which they afterwards burned the victim whom they had ſacrificed. Immediately they took up portions of the ſacred fire, and ſtrove with each other who ſhould carry it moſt ſpeedily to their houſes. The prieſts carried it to the greater temple of Mexico, from whence all the inhabitants of that capital were ſupplied with it. During the thirteen days which followed the renewal of the fire, which

which were the intercalary days, interpoſed between the paſt and enſuing century to adjuſt the year with the courſe of the ſun, they employed themſelves in repairing and whitening the public and private buildings, and in furniſhing themſelves with new dreſſes and domeſtic utenſils, in order that every thing might be new, or at leaſt appear to be ſo, upon the commencement of the new century. On the firſt day of that year, and of that century, which as we have already mentioned, correſponded to the 26th of February, for no perſon was it lawful to taſte water before mid-day. At that hour the ſacrifices began, the number of which was ſuited to the grandeur of the feſtival. Every place reſounded with the voice of gladneſs and mutual congratulations on account of the new century which heaven had granted to them. The illuminations made during the firſt nights were extremely magnificent; their ornaments of dreſs, their entertainments, dances, and public games, were ſuperiorly ſolemn. Amongſt the laſt, amidſt an immenſe concourſe of people, and the moſt lively demonſtrations of joy, the game of the flyers, which we ſhall deſcribe in another place, was exhibited; in which the number of flyers were four, and the number of turns which each made in his flight, thirteen, which ſignified the four periods of thirteen years, of which the century was compoſed.

What we have hitherto related concerning the feſtivals of the Mexicans, clearly evinces their ſuperſtitious character; but it will appear ſtill more evident from the account we are now to give of the rites which they obſerved upon the birth of children, at their marriages, and at funerals.

SEC XXXVII. Rites obſerved upon the birth of children.

As ſoon as a child was born, the midwife, after cutting the navel-ſtring, and burying the ſecundine, bathed it, ſaying theſe words; *Receive the water*; *for the goddeſs* Chalchiuhcueje *is thy mother. May this bath cleanſe the ſpots which thou beareſt from the womb of thy mother, purify thy heart and give thee a good and perfect life.* Then addreſſing her prayer to that goddeſs, ſhe demanded in ſimilar words the ſame favour from her; and taking up the water again with her right hand, ſhe blew upon it, and wet the mouth, head, and breaſt of the child with it, and after bathing the whole of its body, ſhe ſaid: *May the inviſible God deſcend upon this water, and cleanſe thee of every ſin*

BOOK VI.

and impurity, and free thee from evil fortune: and then turning to the child, ſhe ſpoke to it thus: *Lovely child, the gods* Ometeuctli *and* Omecihuatl *have created thee in the higheſt place of heaven, in order to ſend thee into the world; but know that the life on which thou art entering is ſad, painful, and full of uneaſineſs and miſeries: nor will thou be able to eat thy bread without labour: May God aſſiſt thee in the many adverſities which await thee.* This ceremony was concluded with congratulations to the parents and relations of the child. If it was the ſon of the king, or of any great lord, the chief of his ſubjects came to congratulate the father, and to wiſh the higheſt proſperity to his child (*k*).

When the firſt bathing was done, the diviners were conſulted concerning the fortune of the child, for which purpoſe they were informed of the day and hour of its birth. They conſidered the nature of the ſign of that day, and the ruling ſign of that period of thirteen days to which it belonged, and if it was born at midnight, two ſigns concurred, that is, the ſign of the day which was juſt concluding, and that of the day which was juſt beginning. After having made their obſervations, they pronounced the good or bad fortune of the child. If it was bad, and if the fifth day after its birth-day, on which the ſecond bathing was uſually performed, was one of the *dies infauſti*, the ceremony was poſtponed until a more favourable occaſion. To the ſecond bathing, which was a more ſolemn rite, all the relations and friends, and ſome young boys were invited; and if the parents were in good circumſtances, they gave great entertainments, and made preſents of apparel to all the gueſts. If the father of the child was a military perſon, he prepared for this ceremony a little bow, four arrows, and a little habit, reſembling in make that which the child, when grown up, would wear. If he was a countryman, or an artiſt,

(*k*) In Guatemala, and other ſurrounding provinces, the births of male children were celebrated with much ſolemnity and ſuperſtition. As ſoon as the ſon was born a turkey was ſacrificed. The bathing was performed in ſome fountain, or river, where they made oblations of copal, and ſacrifices of parrots. The navel ſtring was cut upon an ear of maize, and with a new knife, which was immediately after caſt into the river. They ſowed the ſeeds of that ear, and attended to its growth with the utmoſt care, as if it had been a ſacred thing. What was reaped from this ſeed was divided into three parts; one of which was given to the diviner; of another part they made pap for the child, and the reſt was preſerved until the ſame child ſhould be old enough to be able to ſow it.

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he prepared ſome inſtruments belonging to his art, proportioned in ſize to the infancy of the child. If the child was a girl, they furniſhed a little habit, ſuitable to her ſex, a ſmall ſpindle, and ſome other little inſtruments for weaving. They lighted a great number of torches, and the midwife taking up the child, carried it through all the yard of the houſe, and placed it upon a heap of the leaves of ſword graſs, cloſe by a baſon of water, which was prepared in the middle of the yard, and then undreſſing it, ſaid: *My child, the gods* Omemeteuctli *and* Omecihuatl, *lords of heaven, have ſent thee to this diſmal and calamitous world. Receive this water which is to give thee life.* And after wetting its mouth, head, and breaſt, with forms ſimilar to thoſe of the firſt bathing, ſhe bathed its whole body, and rubbing every one of its limbs, ſaid, *Where art thou ill Fortune? In what limb art thou hid? Go far from this child.* Having ſpoke this, ſhe raiſed up the child to offer it to the gods, praying them to adorn it with every virtue. The firſt prayer was offered to the two gods before named, the ſecond to the goddeſs of water, the third to all the gods together, and the fourth to the ſun and the earth. *You ſun*, ſhe ſaid, *father of all things that live upon the earth, our mother, receive this child, and protect him as your own ſon; and ſince he is born for war* (if his father belonged to the army), *may he die in it, defending the honour of the gods; ſo may he enjoy in heaven the delights which are prepared for all thoſe who ſacrifice their lives in ſo good a cauſe.* She then put in his little hands the inſtruments of that art which he was to exerciſe, with a prayer addreſſed to the protecting god of the ſame. The inſtruments of the military art were buried in ſome fields, where, in future, it was imagined the boy would fight in battle, and the female inſtruments were buried in the houſe itſelf, under the ſtone for grinding maize. On this ſame occaſion, if we are to credit Boturini, they obſerved the ceremony of paſſing the boy four times through the fire.

Before they put the inſtruments of any art into the hands of the child, the midwife requeſted the young boys who had been invited, to give him a name, which was generally ſuch a name as had been ſuggeſted to them by the father. The midwife then clothed him, and laid him in the *cozolli*, or cradle, praying Joalticitl, the goddeſs of cradles, to warm

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warm him and guard him in her boſom, and Joalteuctli, god of the night, to make him ſleep.

The name which was given to boys, was generally taken from the ſign of the day on which they were born (a rule particularly practiſed among the Mixtecas), as *Nahuixochitl*, or IV Flower, *Macuilcoatl*, or V Serpent, and *Omecalli*, or II Houſe. At other times the name was taken from circumſtances attending the birth; as for inſtance, one of the four chiefs who governed the republic of Tlaſcala, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, received the name of *Citlalpopoca*, ſmoking ſtar; becauſe he was born at the time of a comet's appearance in the heavens. The child born on the day of the renewal of the fire, had the name of *Molpilli*, if it was a male; if a female ſhe was called *Xiuhnenetl*, alluding in both names to circumſtances attending the feſtival. Men had in general the names of animals; women thoſe of flowers; in giving which, it is probable, they paid regard both to the dream of the parents, and the counſel of diviners. For the moſt part they gave but one name to boys; afterwards it was uſual for them to acquire a ſurname from their actions, as Montezuma I. on account of his bravery was given the ſurnames of *Ilhuacamina* and *Tlacaeli*.

When the religious ceremony of bathing was over, an entertainment was given, the quality and honours of which correſponded with the rank of the giver. At ſuch ſeaſons of rejoicing, a little exceſs in drinking was permitted, as the diſorderlineſs of drunken perſons extended not beyond private houſes. The torches were kept burning till they were totally conſumed, and particular care was taken to keep up the fire all the four days, which intervened between the firſt and ſecond ceremony of bathing, as they were perſuaded that an omiſſion of ſuch a nature would ruin the fortune of the child. Theſe rejoicings were repeated when they weaned the child, which they commonly did at three years of age *(l)*.

SECT. XXXVIII. Nuptial rites.

With reſpect to the marriages of the Mexicans, although in them, as well as in all their cuſtoms, ſuperſtition had a great ſhare, nothing, however, attended them which was repugnant to decency or honour. Any marriage between perſons related in the firſt degree of conſan-

(l) In Guatemala it was uſual to make rejoicings as ſoon as the child began to walk, and for ſeven years they continued to celebrate the anniverſary of its birth.

guinity

guinity or alliance, was ſtrictly forbid, not only by the laws of Mexico, but alſo by the laws of Michuacan, unleſs it was between couſins (*m*). The parents were the perſons who ſettled all marriages, and none were ever executed without their conſent. When a ſon arrived at an age capable of bearing the charges of that ſtate, which in men was from the age of twenty to twenty-two years, and in women from ſixteen to eighteen, a ſuitable and proper wife was ſingled out for him; but before the union was concluded on, the diviners were conſulted, who, after having conſidered the birth-day of the youth, and of the young girl intended for his bride, decided on the happineſs or unhappineſs of the match. If from the combination of ſigns attending their births, they pronounced the alliance unpropitious, that young maid was abandoned, and another ſought. If, on the contrary, they predicted happineſs to the couple, the young girl was demanded of her parents by certain women amongſt them called *Cihuatlanque*, or ſolicitors, who were the moſt elderly and reſpectable amongſt the kindred of the youth. Theſe women went the firſt time at midnight to the houſe of the damſel, carried a preſent to her parents, and demanded her of them in a humble and reſpectful ſtyle. The firſt demand, was, according to the cuſtom of that nation, infallibly refuſed, however advantageous and eligible the marriage might appear to the parents, who gave ſome plauſible reaſons for their refuſal. After a few days were paſt, thoſe women returned to repeat their demand, uſing prayers and arguments alſo, in order to obtain their requeſt, giving an account of the rank and fortune of the youth, and of what he would make the dowry of his wife, and alſo gaining information of that which ſhe could bring to the match on her part. The parents replied to this ſecond requeſt,

(*m*) In the ivth book, tit. 2. of the third provincial council of Mexico, it is ſuppoſed that the Gentiles of that new world married with their ſiſters; but it ought to be underſtood, that the zeal of thoſe fathers was not confined in its exertions to the nations of the Mexican empire, amongſt whom ſuch marriages were not ſuffered, but extended to the barbarous Chechemecas, the Panucheſe, and to other nations, which were extremely uncivilized in their cuſtoms. There is not a doubt, that the council alluded to thoſe barbarians, who were then (in 1585), in the progreſs of their converſion to Chriſtianity, and not to the Mexicans and the nations under ſubjection to them, who many years before the council were already converted. Beſides, in the interval of four years, between the conqueſt of the Spaniards and the promulgation of the goſpel, many abuſive practices had been introduced among thoſe nations never before tolerated under their kings, as the religious miſſionaries employed in their converſion atteſt.

that

that it was neceſſary to conſult their relations and connections, and to find out the inclinations of their daughter, before they could come to any reſolution. Theſe female ſolicitors returned no more; as the parents themſelves conveyed, by means of other women of their kindred, a deciſive anſwer to the party.

A favourable anſwer being at laſt obtained, and a day appointed for the nuptials, the parents, after exhorting their daughter to fidelity and obedience to her huſband, and to ſuch a conduct in life as would do honour to her family, conducted her with a numerous company and muſic, to the houſe of her father-in-law; if noble, ſhe was carried in a litter. The bridegroom, and the father and mother-in-law, received her at the gate of the houſe, with four torches borne by four women. At meeting, the bride and bridegroom reciprocally offered incenſe to each other; then the bridegroom taking the bride by the hand, led her into the hall, or chamber which was prepared for the nuptials. They both ſate down upon a new and curiouſly wrought mat, which was ſpread in the middle of the chamber, and cloſe to the fire which was kept lighted. Then a prieſt tied a point of the *huepilli*, or gown of the bride, with the *tilmatli*, or mantle of the bridegroom, and in this ceremony the matrimonial contract chiefly conſiſted. The wife now made ſome turns round the fire, and then returning to her mat, ſhe, along with her huſband, offered copal to their gods, and exchanged preſents with each other. The repaſt followed next. The married pair eat upon the mat, giving mouthfuls to each other alternately and to the gueſts in their places. When thoſe who had been invited were become exhilarated with wine, which was freely drank on ſuch occaſions, they went out to dance in the yard of the houſe, while the married pair remained in the chamber, from which, during four days, they never ſtirred, except to obey the calls of nature, or to go to the oratory at midnight to burn incenſe to the idols, and to make oblations of eatables. They paſſed theſe four days in prayer and faſting, dreſſed in new habits, and adorned with certain enſigns of the gods of their devotion, without proceeding to any act of leſs decency, fearing that otherwiſe the puniſhment of heaven would fall upon them. Their beds on theſe nights were two mats of ruſhes, covered with ſmall ſheets, with certain feathers, and a gem of *Chalchihuitl* in the middle of

of them. At the four corners of the bed green canes and ſpines of the aloe were laid, with which they were to draw blood from their tongues and their ears in honour of their gods. The prieſts were the perſons who adjuſted the bed to ſanctify the marriage; but we know nothing of the myſtery of the canes, the feathers, and the gem. Until the fourth night the marriage was not conſummated; they believed it would have proved unlucky, if they had anticipated the period of conſummation. The morning after they bathed themſelves and put on new dreſſes, and thoſe who had been invited, adorned their heads with white, and their hands and feet with red feathers. The ceremony was concluded by making preſents of dreſſes to the gueſts, which were proportioned to the circumſtances of the married pair; and on that ſame day they carried to the temple the mats, ſheets, canes, and the eatables which had been preſented to the idols.

The forms which we have deſcribed, in the marriages of the Mexicans were not ſo univerſal through the empire, but that ſome provinces obſerved other peculiarities. In Ichcatlan, whoever was deſirous of marrying preſented himſelf to the prieſts, by whom he was conducted to the temple, where they cut off a part of his hair before the idol which was worſhipped there, and then pointing him out to the people, they began to exclaim, ſaying, *this man wiſhes to take a wife*. Then they made him deſcend, and take the firſt free woman he met, as the one whom heaven deſtined to him. Any woman who did not like to have him for a huſband, avoided coming near to the temple at that time, that ſhe might not ſubject herſelf to the neceſſity of marrying him: this marriage was only ſingular therefore in the mode of ſeeking for a wife.

Among the Otomies, it was lawful to uſe any free woman before they married her. When any perſon was about to take a wife, if on the firſt night he found any thing about his wife which was diſagreeable to him, he was permitted to divorce her the next day; but if he ſhewed himſelf all that day content with having her, he could not afterwards abandon her. The contract being thus ratified, the pair retired to do penance for paſt offences twenty or thirty days, during which period they abſtained from moſt of the pleaſures of the ſenſes, drew blood from themſelves, and frequently bathed.

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Among the Miztecas, beſides the ceremony of tying the married pair together by the end of their garments, they cut off a part of their hair, and the huſband carried his wife for a little time upon his back.

They permitted polygamy in the Mexican empire. The kings and lords had numerous wives; but it is probable, that they obſerved all the ceremonies with their principal wives only, and that with the reſt the eſſential rite of tying their garments together was ſufficient.

The Spaniſh theologiſts and canoniſts, who went to Mexico immediately after the conqueſt, being unacquainted with the cuſtoms of thoſe people, raiſed doubts about their marriages; but when they had learnt the language, and properly examined that and other points of importance, they acknowledged ſuch marriages to be juſt and lawful. Pope Paul III. and the provincial council of Mexico, ordered, in conformity to the ſacred canons, and the uſage of the church, that all thoſe who were willing to embrace Chriſtianity, ſhould keep no other wife but the one whom they had firſt married.

SECT. XXXIX. Funeral rites.

However ſuperſtitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they obſerved at funerals they exceeded themſelves. As ſoon as any perſon died, certain maſters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper, with which they dreſſed the dead body, and took a glaſs of water with which they ſprinkled the head, ſaying, that that was the water uſed in the time of their life. They then dreſſed it in a habit ſuitable to the rank, the wealth, and the circumſtances attending the death of the party. If the deceaſed had been a warrior, they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Jacatuetli; if an artiſt, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade: one who had been drowned was dreſſed in the habit of Tlaloc; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteotl; and a drunkard in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl, god of wine. In ſhort, as Gomara has well obſerved, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living.

With the habit they gave the dead a jug of water, which was to ſerve on the journey to the other world, and alſo at ſucceſſive different times, different pieces of paper, mentioning the uſe of each. On conſigning the firſt piece to the dead, they ſaid: *By means of this you will paſs*

paſs without danger between the two mountains which fight againſt each other. With the ſecond they ſaid: *By means of this you will walk without obſtruction along the road which is defended by the great ſerpent.* With the third: *By this you will go ſecurely through the place, where there is the crocodile* Xochitonal. The fourth was a ſafe paſſport through the eight deſerts; the fifth through the eight hills; and the ſixth was given in order to paſs without hurt through the ſharp wind; for they pretended that it was neceſſary to paſs a place called *Itzehecajan*, where a wind blew ſo violently as to tear up rocks, and ſo ſharp that it cut like a knife; on which account they burned all the habits which the deceaſed had worn during life, their arms, and ſome houſhold goods, in order that the heat of this fire might defend them from the cold of that terrible wind.

One of the chief and moſt ridiculous ceremonies at funerals was the killing a *techichi*, a domeſtic quadruped, which we have already mentioned, reſembling a little dog, to accompany the deceaſed in their journey to the other world. They fixed a ſtring about its neck, believing that neceſſary to enable it to paſs the deep river of *Chiuhnahuapan*, or New Waters. They buried the techichi, or burned it along with the body of its maſter, according to the kind of death of which he died. While the maſters of the ceremonies were lighting up the fire in which the body was to be burned, the other prieſts kept ſinging in a melancholy ſtrain. After burning the body, they gathered the aſhes in an earthen pot, amongſt which, according to the circumſtances of the deceaſed, they put a gem of more or leſs value; which they ſaid would ſerve him in place of a heart in the other world. They buried this earthen pot in a deep ditch, and fourſcore days after made oblations of bread and wine over it.

Such were the funeral rites of the common people; but at the death of kings, and that of lords, or perſons of high rank, ſome peculiar forms were obſerved that are worthy to be mentioned. When the king fell ſick, ſays Gomara, they put a maſk on the idol of Huitzilopochtli, and alſo one on the idol of Tezcatlipoca, which they never took off until the king was either dead or recovered; but it is certain, that the idol of Huitzilopochtli had always two maſks, not one. As ſoon as a king of Mexico happened to die, his death was publiſhed in great

form, and all the lords who reſided at court, and alſo thoſe who were but a little diſtant from it were informed of the event, in order that they might be preſent at the funeral. In the mean time they laid the royal corpſe upon beautiful curiouſly wrought mats, which was attended and watched by his domeſtics. Upon the fourth or fifth day after, when the lords were arrived, who brought with them rich dreſſes, beautiful feathers, and ſlaves to be preſented, to add to the pomp of the funeral, they clothed the corpſe in fifteen, or more, very fine habits of cotton of various colours, ornamented it with gold, ſilver, and gems, hung an emerald at the under lip, which was to ſerve in place of a heart, covered the face with a maſk, and over the habits were placed the enſigns of that god, in whoſe temple or area the aſhes were to be buried. They cut off ſome of the hair, which, together with ſome more which had been cut off in the infancy of the king, they preſerved in a little box, in order to perpetuate, as they ſaid, the memory of the deceaſed. Upon the box they laid an image of the deceaſed, made of wood, or of ſtone. Then they killed the ſlave who was his chaplain, who had had the care of his oratory, and all that belonged to the private worſhip of his gods, in order that he might ſerve him in the ſame office in the other world.

The funeral proceſſion came next, accompanied by all the relations of the deceaſed, the whole of the nobility, and the wives of the late king, who teſtified their ſorrow by tears and other demonſtrations of grief. The nobles carried a great ſtandard of paper, and the royal arms and enſigns. The prieſts continued ſinging, but without any muſical inſtrument. Upon their arrival at the lower area of the temple, the high-prieſt, together with their ſervants, came out to meet the royal corpſe, which, without delay, they placed upon the funeral pile, which was prepared there for that purpoſe of odoriferous reſinous woods, together with a large quantity of copal, and other aromatic ſubſtances. While the royal corpſe, and all its habits, the arms and enſigns were burning, they ſacrificed at the bottom of the ſtairs of the temple a great number of ſlaves of thoſe which belonged to the deceaſed, and alſo of thoſe which had been preſented by the lords. Along with the ſlaves, they likewiſe ſacrificed ſome of the irregularly formed men, whom the king had collected in his palaces for his entertainment, in order that

that they might give him the ſame pleaſure in the other world; and for the ſame reaſon they uſed alſo to ſacrifice ſome of his wives (*n*). The number of the victims was proportioned to the grandeur of the funeral, and amounted ſometimes, as ſeveral hiſtorians affirm, to two hundred. Among the other ſacrifices the techichi was not omitted; they were firmly perſuaded, that without ſuch a guide it would be impoſſible to get through ſome dangerous ways which led to the other world.

The day following the aſhes were gathered, and the teeth which remained entire; they ſought carefully for the emerald which had been hung to the under lip, and the whole were put into the box with the hair, and they depoſited the box in the place deſtined for his ſepulchre. The four following days they made oblations of eatables over the ſepulchre; on the fifth, they ſacrificed ſome ſlaves, and alſo ſome others on the twentieth, fortieth, ſixtieth, and eightieth day after. From that time forward, they ſacrificed no more human victims; but every year they celebrated the day of the funeral with ſacrifices of rabbits, butterflies, quails, and other birds, and with oblations of bread, wine, copal flowers, and certain little reeds filled with aromatic ſubſtances, which they called *acajetl*. This anniverſary was held for four years.

The bodies of the dead were in general burned; they buried the bodies entire of thoſe only who had been drowned, or had died of dropſy, and ſome other diſeaſes; but what was the reaſon of theſe exceptions we know not.

SECT. XL. Their ſepulchres.

There was no fixed place for burials. Many ordered their aſhes to be buried near to ſome temple or altar, ſome in the fields, and others in thoſe ſacred places of the mountains where ſacrifices uſed to be made. The aſhes of the kings and lords, were, for the moſt part, depoſited in the towers of the temples (*o*), eſpecially in thoſe of the

(*n*) Acoſta ſays (lib. v. cap. 8.) that at the funerals of lords, all the members of his family were ſacrificed. But this is groſly falſe and in itſelf incredible; for had this been the caſe, the nobles of Mexico would have ſoon been exterminated. There is no record in the Hiſtory of Mexico, that at the death of the king of Mexico, any of his brothers were ſacrificed, as this author would intimate. How is it poſſible they could practiſe ſuch cruelty when the new king was uſually elected from among the brothers of the deceaſed.

(*o*) Solis, in his Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico, affirms, that the aſhes of the kings were depoſited in Chapoltepec; but this is falſe, and contradicts the report of the conqueror Cortes, whoſe panegyric he wrote, of Bernal Dias, and other eye-witneſſes of the contrary.

greater

BOOK VI.

greater temple. Close to Teotihuacan, where there were many temples, there were also innumerable sepulchres. The tombs of those whose bodies had been buried entire, agreeable to the testimony of the anonymous conqueror who saw them, were deep ditches, formed with stone and lime, within which they placed the bodies in a sitting posture upon *icpalli*, or low seats, together with the instruments of their art or profession. If it was the sepulchre of any military person, they laid a shield and sword by him; if of a woman, a spindle, a weaver's shuttle, and a *xicalli*, which was a certain naturally formed vessel, of which we shall say more hereafter. In the tombs of the rich they put gold and jewels, but all were provided with eatables for the long journey which they had to make. The Spanish conquerors, knowing of the gold which was buried with the Mexican lords in their tombs, dug up several, and found considerable quantities of that precious metal. Cortes say in his letters, that at one entry which he made into the capital, when it was besieged by his army, his soldiers found fifteen hundred *Castellanos (p)*, that is, two hundred and forty ounces of gold, in one sepulchre, which was in the tower of a temple. The anonymous conqueror says also, that he was present at the digging up of another sepulchre, from which they took about three thousand Castellanos.

The caves of the mountains were the sepulchres of the ancient Chechemecas; but, as they grew more civilized, they adopted in this and other rites, the customs of the Acolhuan nation, which were nearly the same with those of the Mexicans.

The Miztecas retained in part the ancient usage of the Chechemecas, but in some things they were singular in their customs. When any of their lords fell sick, they offered prayers, vows, and sacrifices for the recovery of his health. If it was restored, they made great rejoicings. If he died, they continued to speak of him as if he was still alive, and conducted one of his slaves to the corpse, dressed him in the habits of his master, put a mask upon his face, and for one whole day, paid him all the honours which they had used to render to

(*p*) The Spanish goldsmiths divide the pound weight of gold into two *Marchi*, or into sixteen ounces, or a hundred *Castellanos*; consequently, an ounce contains 6¼ *Castellanos*.

the

the deceaſed. At midnight, four prieſts carried the corpſe to be buried in a wood, or in ſome cavern, particularly in that one where they believed the gate of paradiſe was, and at their return they ſacrificed the ſlave, and laid him, with all the ornaments of his tranſitory dignity, in a ditch; but without covering him with earth.

Every year they held a feſtival in honour of their laſt lord, on which they celebrated his birth, not his death, for of it they never ſpoke.

The Zapotecas, their neighbours embalmed the body of the principal lord of their nation. Even from the time of the firſt Chechemecan kings aromatic preparations were in uſe among thoſe nations to preſerve dead bodies from ſpeedy corruption; but we do not know that theſe were very frequent.

We have now communicated all that we know concerning the religion of the Mexicans. The weakneſs of their worſhip, the ſuperſtition of their rites, the cruelty of their ſacrifices, and the rigour of their auſterities, will the more forcibly manifeſt to their deſcendants, the advantages which are derived from a mild, chaſte, and pure religion, and will diſpoſe them to thank eternally the Providence which has enlightened them, while their anceſtors were leſt to periſh in darkneſs and error.

BOOK VII.

The political and military Government of the Mexicans, that is, the Kings, Lords, Electors, Ambaſſadors, Dignities, and Magiſtrates; the Judges, Laws, and Puniſhments; the Military Force; Agriculture, Chace, Fiſhing, and Commerce; the Games; the Dreſs, Food, and Houſhold Furniture; the Language, Poetry, Muſic, and Dancing; Medicine, Hiſtory, and Painting; Sculpture, Moſaic Works, and Caſting of Metals; Architecture, and other Arts of that Nation.

BOOK VII.

IN the public as well as private œconomy of the Mexicans, the traces which remain of their political diſcernment, of their zeal for juſtice, and love of the public good, would meet with little credit, were they not confirmed both by the evidence of their paintings, and the atteſtations of many faithful and impartial authors, who were eye-witneſſes of a great part of that which they have written. Thoſe who are weak enough to imagine they can know the ancient Mexicans in their deſcendants, or from the nations of Canada and Louiſiana, will be apt to conſider the account we are to give of their refinement, their laws, and their arts, as fables invented by the Spaniards. But that we may not violate the laws of hiſtory, nor the fidelity due to the public, we ſhall candidly ſet forth all that which we have found to be authentic, without any apprehenſion of cenſure.

The education of youth, which is the chief ſupport of a ſtate, and which beſt unfolds the character of every nation, was amongſt the Mexicans of ſo judicious a nature as to be of itſelf ſufficient to retort the ſupercilious contempt of certain critics upon themſelves, who believe the empire of reaſon to be circumſcribed to the boundaries of Europe. In whatever we ſay on this ſubject we ſhall be guided by the paintings of thoſe nations, and their beſt informed hiſtorians.

SECT. I. Education of the Mexican youth.

Nothing, ſays F. Acoſta, has ſurpriſed me more, or appeared more worthy of memory and praiſe, than the care and method which the Mexicans

Mexicans obſerved in the tuition of youth. It would be difficult, indeed, to find a nation that has beſtowed more attention on a point ſo important to every ſtate. It is true, they mixed ſuperſtition with their precepts; but the zeal they manifeſted for the education of their children, upbraids the negligence of our modern fathers of families; and many of the leſſons which they taught to their youth might ſerve as inſtruction to ours. All the Mexican children, even thoſe of the royal family, were ſuckled by their own parents. If the mother was prevented from doing this by ſickneſs, ſhe did not employ a nurſe till ſhe was well informed both of her condition in life, and the quality of her milk. They were accuſtomed from infancy to endure hunger, heat, and cold. When they attained five years of age, they were either conſigned to the prieſts, in order that they might be brought up in the ſeminaries, which was the general practice with the children of nobles, and even with thoſe of the kings themſelves; or if they were to be educated at home, their parents began at that period to inſtruct them in the worſhip of their gods, and to teach them the forms by which they were to pray and implore their protection. They were led frequently to the temple, that they might become attached to religion. An abhorrence of vice, a modeſty of behaviour, reſpect to ſuperiors, and love of fatigue, were ſtrongly inculcated. They were even made to ſleep upon a mat; and were given no more food than the neceſſities of life required, nor any other clothing than that which decency demanded. When they arrived at a certain age, they were inſtructed in the uſe of arms, and if their parents belonged to the army, they were led to the wars along with them, that they might learn the military art, and to baniſh fear from their minds, by habituating themſelves to danger. If their parents were huſbandmen, or artiſts, they taught their children their own profeſſion. Girls were learned to ſpin and weave, and obliged to bathe frequently, that they might be always healthy and cleanly, and the univerſal maxim was to keep the young of both ſexes conſtantly employed.

One of the precepts moſt warmly inculcated to youth was, truth in their words; and whenever a lie was detected, the lip of the delinquent was pricked with the thorns of the aloe. They tied the feet of girls who were too fond of walking abroad. The ſon, who

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was diſobedient or quarrelſome, was beat with nettles, or received puniſhment in ſome other manner proportioned, according to their judgment, with the fault he had committed.

SECT. II. Explanation of the ſeven Mexican paintings on education.

The ſyſtem of education agreeable to which the Mexicans trained up their children, and the conſtant attention with which they watched their actions, may be traced in the ſeven paintings of the collection of Mendoza, included between the numbers forty-nine and fifty-ſeven. In theſe are expreſſed the quantity and quality of the food, which was allowed them, the employments in which they were occupied, and the puniſhments by which their vices were corrected. In the fiftieth painting is repreſented a boy of four years, who is employed by his parents in ſome things that are eaſy to do, in order to inure him to fatigue; another of five years, who accompanies his father to market, carrying a little bundle on his back; a girl of the ſame age who begins to learn to ſpin; and another boy of ſix years whoſe father employs him to pick up the ears of maize, which happen to lie on the ground in the market-place.

In the fifty-firſt painting are drawn a father who teaches his ſon of ſeven years of age to fiſh; and a mother, who teaches her daughter of the ſame age to ſpin; ſome boys of eight years, who are threatened with puniſhment if they do not do their duty; a lad of nine years, whoſe father pricks ſeveral parts of his body, in order to correct his indocility of temper; and a girl of the ſame age, whoſe mother only pricks her hands; a lad and a girl of ten years, whoſe parents beat them with a rod, becauſe they refuſe to do that which they are ordered.

The fifty-ſecond painting repreſents two lads of eleven years, who, not being amended by other puniſhments, are made by their fathers to receive the ſmoke of Chilli, or great pepper up their noſe; a lad of twelve years, whoſe father, in order to puniſh him for his faults, keeps him a whole day tied upon a dunghill, and a wench of the ſame age whoſe mother makes her walk, during the night, all over the houſe and part of the ſtreets; a lad of thirteen years, whoſe father makes him guide a little veſſel laden with ruſhes; and a wench of the ſame age grinding maize by order of her mother; a youth of fourteen years employed by his father in fiſhing, and a young woman ſet to weave by her mother.

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In the fifty-third painting, are repreſented two youths of fifteen years, the one conſigned by his father to a prieſt, to be inſtructed in the rites of religion; the other to the *Achcauhtli*, or officer of the militia, to be inſtructed in the military art. The fifty-fourth, ſhews the youth of the ſeminaries employed by their ſuperiors in ſweeping the temple, and in carrying branches of trees and herbs to adorn the ſanctuaries, wood for the ſtoves, ruſhes to make ſeats, and ſtones and lime to repair the temple. In this ſame painting, and in the fifty-fifth, the different puniſhments inflicted on youth, who have committed treſpaſſes, by their ſuperiors, are alſo repreſented. One of them pricks a youth with the ſpines of the aloe for having neglected his duty: two prieſts throw burning firebrands on the head of another youth, for having been caught in familiar diſcourſe with a young woman. They prick the body of another with ſharp pine ſtakes, and another for diſobedience is puniſhed by having his hair burned. Laſtly, is exhibited a youth carrying the baggage of a prieſt, who goes along with the army to encourage the ſoldiers in war, and to perform certain ſuperſtitious ceremonies.

Their children were bred to ſtand ſo much in awe of their parents, that even when grown up and married, they hardly durſt ſpeak before them. In ſhort, the inſtructions and advice which they received were of ſuch a nature, that I cannot diſpenſe with tranſcribing ſome of the exhortations employed by them, the knowledge of which was obtained from the Mexicans themſelves by the firſt religious miſſionaries who were employed in their converſion, particularly Motolinia, Olmos, and Sahagun, who acquired a perfect knowledge of the Mexican language, and made the moſt diligent inquiry into their manners and cuſtoms.

SECT. III. The exhortations of a Mexican to his ſon.

"My ſon," ſaid the Mexican father, "who art come into the light "from the womb of thy mother like the chicken from the egg, and "like it art preparing to fly through the world, we know not how "long heaven will grant to us the enjoyment of that precious gem "which we poſſeſs in thee; but, however ſhort the period, endeavour "to live exactly, praying God continually to aſſiſt thee. He created "thee; thou art his property. He is thy Father, and loves thee ſtill "more than I do; repoſe in him thy thoughts, and day and night di-

" rect thy ſighs to him. Reverence and ſalute thy elders, and hold " no one in contempt. To the poor and the diſtreſſed be not dumb, " but rather uſe words of comfort. Honour all perſons, particularly " thy parents, to whom thou oweſt obedience, reſpect, and ſervice. " Guard againſt imitating the example of thoſe wicked ſons, who, like " brutes that are deprived of reaſon, neither reverence their parents, liſ- " ten to their inſtruction, nor ſubmit to their correction; becauſe, who- " ever follows their ſteps will have an unhappy end, will die in a deſperate " or ſudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beaſts.

" Mock not, my ſon, the aged or the imperfect. Scorn not him " whom you ſee fall into ſome folly or tranſgreſſion, nor make him re- " proaches; but reſtrain thyſelf, and beware leſt thou fall into the " ſame error which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art " not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. En- " deavour to manifeſt thy good breeding in all thy words and actions. " In converſation do not lay thy hands upon another, nor ſpeak too " much, nor interrupt or diſturb another's diſcourſe. If thou heareſt " any one talking fooliſhly, and it is not thy buſineſs to correct him, " keep ſilence; but if it does concern thee, conſider firſt what thou art " to ſay, and do not ſpeak arrogantly, that thy correction may be well " received.

" When any one diſcourſes with thee, hear him attentively, and " hold thyſelf in an eaſy attitude; neither playing with thy feet, nor " putting thy mantle to thy mouth, nor ſpitting too often, nor look- " ing about you here and there, nor riſing up frequently if thou art " ſitting; for ſuch actions are indications of levity and low-breeding.

" When thou art at table do not eat voraciouſly, nor ſhew thy diſ- " pleaſure if any thing diſpleaſes thee. If any one comes unexpectedly " to dinner with thee, ſhare with him what thou haſt; and when any " perſon is entertained by thee, do not fix thy looks upon him.

" In walking, look where thou goeſt, that thou mayſt not puſh a- " gainſt any one. If thou ſeeſt another coming thy way, go a little " aſide to give him room to paſs. Never ſtep before thy elders, un- " leſs it be neceſſary, or that they order thee to do ſo. When thou " ſitteſt at table with them, do not eat or drink before them, but attend " to them in a becoming manner, that thou mayſt merit their favour.

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" When they give thee any thing, accept it with tokens of gratitude: if the preſent is great, do not become vain or fond of it. If " the gift is ſmall do not deſpiſe it, nor be provoked, nor occaſion diſ- " pleaſure to them who favour thee. If thou becomeſt rich, do not " grow inſolent, nor ſcorn the poor; for thoſe very gods who deny " riches to others in order to give them to thee, offended by thy pride, " will take them from thee again to give to others. Support thy- " ſelf by thy own labours; for then thy food will be ſweeter. I, my " ſon, have ſupported thee hitherto with my ſweat, and have omitted " no duty of a father; I have provided thee with every thing neceſ- " ſary, without taking it from others. Do thou ſo likewiſe.

" Never tell a falſehood; becauſe a lie is a heinous ſin. When it " is neceſſary to communicate to another what has been imparted to " thee, tell the ſimple truth without any addition. Speak ill of no- " body. Do not take notice of the failings which thou obſerveſt in " others, if thou art not called upon to correct them. Be not a news- " carrier, nor a ſower of diſcord. When thou beareſt any embaſſy, and " he to whom it is borne is enraged, and ſpeaks contemptuouſly of thoſe " who ſent thee, do not report ſuch an anſwer, but endeavour to ſof- " ten him, and diſſemble as much as poſſible that which thou heardſt, " that thou mayeſt not raiſe diſcord and ſpread calumny of which " thou mayeſt afterwards repent.

" Stay no longer than is neceſſary in the market-place; for in ſuch " places there is the greateſt danger of contracting vices.

" When thou art offered an employment, imagine that the propoſal " is made to try thee; then accept it not haſtily, although thou knoweſt " thyſelf more fit than others to exerciſe it; but excuſe thyſelf until " thou art obliged to accept it; thus thou wilt be more eſteemed.

" Be not diſſolute; becauſe thou wilt thereby incenſe the gods, and " they will cover thee with infamy. Reſtrain thyſelf, my ſon, as thou " art yet young, and wait until the girl, whom the gods deſtine for " thy wife, arrive at a ſuitable age: leave that to their care, as they " know how to order every thing properly. When the time for thy " marriage is come, dare not to make it without the conſent of thy " parents, otherwiſe it will have an unhappy iſſue.

" Steal not, nor give thyſelf up to gaming; otherwiſe thou wilt be " a diſgrace to thy parents, whom thou ought rather to honour for " the

" the education they have given thee. If thou wilt be virtuous, thy " example will put the wicked to ſhame. No more, my ſon; enough " has been ſaid in diſcharge of the duties of a father. With theſe " counſels I wiſh to fortify thy mind. Refuſe them not, nor act in " contradiction to them; for on them thy life, and all thy happineſs, " depend."

SECT. IV. Exhortation of a Mexican mother to her daughter.

Such were the inſtructions which the Mexicans frequently inculcated to their ſons. Huſbandmen and merchants gave their ſons other advice regarding their particular profeſſion, which we, however, omit, not to prove tedious to our readers; but I cannot diſpenſe with tranſcribing one of the exhortations made uſe of by mothers to their daughters, as it illuſtrates their mode of education and manners.

" My daughter," ſaid the mother, " born of my ſubſtance, brought " forth with my pains, and nouriſhed with my milk, I have endea- " voured to bring thee up with the greateſt poſſible care, and thy " father has wrought and poliſhed thee like an emerald, that thou " mayeſt appear in the eyes of men a jewel of virtue. Strive al- " ways to be good; for otherwiſe who will have thee for a wife? thou " wilt be rejected by every one. Life is a thorny laborious path, and " it is neceſſary to exert all our powers to obtain the goods which the " gods are willing to yield to us; we muſt not therefore be lazy or " negligent, but diligent in every thing. Be orderly and take pains " to manage the œconomy of thy houſe. Give water to thy huſband " for his hands, and make bread for thy family. Wherever thou goeſt, " go with modeſty and compoſure, without hurrying thy ſteps, or " laughing with thoſe whom thou meeteſt, neither fixing thy looks " upon them, nor caſting thy eyes thoughtleſly, firſt to one ſide, " and then to another, that thy reputation may not be ſullied; but " give a courteous anſwer to thoſe who ſalute and put any queſtion " to thee.

" Employ thyſelf diligently in ſpinning and weaving, in ſewing and " embroidering; for by theſe arts thou wilt gain eſteem, and all " the neceſſaries of food and clothing. Do not give thyſelf too " much to ſleep, nor ſeek the ſhade, but go in the open air and there " repoſe thyſelf; for effeminacy brings along with it idleneſs and " other vices.

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" In whatever thou doeſt, encourage not evil thoughts; but attend ſolely to the ſervice of the gods; and the giving comfort to thy parents. If thy father or thy mother calls thee, do not ſtay to be called twice; but go inſtantly to know their pleaſure, that thou mayſt not diſoblige them by ſlowneſs. Return no inſolent anſwers, nor ſhew any want of compliance; but if thou canſt not do what they command, make a modeſt excuſe. If another is called and does not come quickly; come thou, hear what is ordered, and do it well. Never offer thyſelf to do that which thou canſt not do. Deceive no perſon, for the gods ſee all thy actions. Live in peace with every body, and love every one ſincerely and honeſtly, that thou mayeſt be beloved by them in return.

" Be not greedy of the goods which thou haſt. If thou ſeeſt any thing preſented to another, give way to no mean ſuſpicions; for the gods, to whom every good belongs, diſtribute every thing as they pleaſe. If thou wouldſt avoid the diſpleaſure of others, let none meet with it from thee.

" Guard againſt improper familiarities with men; nor yield to the guilty wiſhes of thy heart; or thou wilt be the reproach of thy family, and will pollute thy mind as mud does water. Keep not company with diſſolute, lying, or idle women; otherwiſe they will infallibly infect thee by their example. Attend upon thy family, and do not go on ſlight occaſions out of thy houſe, nor be ſeen wandering through the ſtreets, or in the market-place; for in ſuch places thou wilt meet thy ruin. Remember that vice, like a poiſonous herb, brings death to thoſe who taſte it; and when it once harbours in the mind it is difficult to expel it. If in paſſing through the ſtreets thou meeteſt with a forward youth who appears agreeable to thee, give him no correſpondence, but diſſemble and paſs on. If he ſays any thing to thee, take no heed of him nor his words; and if he follows thee, turn not your face about to look at him, leſt that might inflame his paſſion more. If thou behaveſt ſo, he will ſoon turn and let thee proceed in peace.

" Enter not, without ſome urgent motive, into another's houſe, that nothing may be either ſaid or thought injurious to thy honour; but if thou entereſt into the houſe of thy relations, ſalute them with

" reſpect

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" reſpect and do not remain idle, but immediately take up a ſpindle to " ſpin, or do any other thing that occurs.

" When thou art married, reſpect thy huſband, obey him, and dili- " gently do what he commands thee. Avoid incurring his diſpleaſure, " nor ſhew thyſelf paſſionate or ill-natured; but receive him fondly " to thy arms, even if he is poor and lives at thy expence. If thy " huſband occaſions thee any diſguſt, let him not know thy diſpleaſure " when he commands thee to do any thing; but diſſemble it at that " time, and afterwards tell him with gentleneſs what vexed thee, " that he may be won by thy mildneſs and offend thee no farther. " Diſhonour him not before others; for thou alſo wouldſt be diſho- " noured. If any one comes to viſit thy huſband, accept the viſit " kindly, and ſhew all the civility thou canſt. If thy huſband is " fooliſh, be thou diſcreet. If he fails in the management of wealth, " admoniſh him of his failings; but if he is totally incapable of tak- " ing care of his eſtate, take that charge upon thyſelf, attend carefully " to his poſſeſſions, and never omit to pay the workmen punctually. " Take care not to loſe any thing through negligence.

" Embrace, my daughter, the counſel which I give thee; I am al- " ready advanced in life, and have had ſufficient dealings with the " world. I am thy mother, I wiſh that thou mayeſt live well. Fix " my precepts in thy heart and *bowels*, for then thou wilt live happy. " If, by not liſtening to me, or by neglecting my inſtructions any miſ- " fortunes befall thee, the fault will be thine, and the evil alſo. Enough, " my child. May the gods proſper thee."

SECT. V. Public ſchools and ſeminaries.

Not contented with ſuch inſtructions and domeſtic education, the Mexicans ſent their children to public ſchools, which were cloſe to the temples, where they were inſtructed for three years in religion and good cuſtoms. Beſides this, almoſt all the inhabitants, particularly the nobles, took care to have their children brought up in the ſemi- naries belonging to the temples, of which there were many in the cities of the Mexican empire, for boys, youths, and young women. Thoſe of the boys and young men were governed by prieſts, who were ſolely devoted to their education; thoſe for young women were under the direction of matrons equally reſpectable for their age and for their manners. No communication between the youth of both ſexes was

permitted; on the contrary, any tranſgreſſion of that nature was ſeverely puniſhed. There were diſtinct ſeminaries for the nobles and plebeians. The young nobles were employed in offices which were rather internal, and more immediately about the ſanctuary, as in ſweeping the upper area of the temple, and in ſtirring up and attending to the fires of the ſtoves which were before the ſanctuary. The others were employed in carrying the wood which was required for the ſtoves, and the ſtone and lime uſed in repairing of ſacred edifices, and in other ſimilar taſks: both were under the direction of ſuperiors and maſters, who inſtructed them in religion, hiſtory, painting, muſic, and other arts agreeable to their rank and circumſtances.

The girls ſwept the lower area of the temple, roſe three times in the night to burn copal in the ſtoves, prepared the meats which were daily offered to the idols, and wove different kinds of cloth. They were taught every female duty; by which, beſides baniſhing idleneſs from them which is ſo dangerous to the age of youth, they were habituated to domeſtic labours. They ſlept in large halls in the ſight of the matrons, who governed them, and who attended to nothing more zealouſly than the modeſty and decency of their actions. When any male or female pupil went to pay their reſpects to their parents, and which caſe happened very ſeldom, they were not allowed to go by themſelves, but were always accompanied by other pupils and their ſuperior. After liſtening for a few moments with ſilence and attention to the inſtructions and advices which their parents gave them, they returned back to the ſeminary. There they were detained until the time of marriage, which, as we have already mentioned, was with young men from the age of twenty to twenty-two, and with girls at eighteen or ſixteen years. When this period arrived, either the young man himſelf requeſted leave of the ſuperior to go and get himſelf a wife, or, what was more common, his parents demanded him for the ſame purpoſe, returning thanks firſt to the ſuperior for the care he had taken of his inſtruction. The ſuperior, upon the diſmiſſion which he gave at the grand feſtival of Tezcatlipoca, to all the young men and women who were arrived at that age, made them a diſcourſe, exhorting them to a perſeverance in virtue, and the diſcharge of all the duties of the new ſtate. The virgins educated in theſe ſeminaries were particularly ſought after for wives, not only on account of their principles, but likewiſe of the

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skill which they acquired there in the arts belonging to their sex. The youth who when arrived at the age of twenty-two, did not marry was esteemed to have devoted himself for ever to the service of the temples, and if after such consecration of himself he repented of celibacy, and desired to marry, he became infamous for ever, and no woman would accept him for a husband. In Tlascala, those who, at the age fit for marriage, refused taking a wife were shaven, a mark of the highest dishonour with that nation.

The sons in general learned the trades of their fathers, and embraced their professions. Thus they perpetuated the arts in families to the advantage of the state. The young men who were destined to the magistracy, were conducted by their fathers to tribunals, where they heard the laws of the kingdom explained, and observed the practice and forms of judicature. In the sixtieth picture of Mendoza's collection, are represented four judges examining a cause, and behind them four young *Teteuctin*, or *Gentlemen*, who are listening to their decision. The sons of the king, and principal lords, were appointed tutors who attended to their conduct, and long before they could enter into possession of the crown, or their state, they were entrusted with the government of some city, or smaller state, that they might learn by degrees the arduous task of governing men. This was the custom as early as the time of the first Chechemecan kings; for Nopaltzin, from the time that he was crowned king of Acolhuacan, put his first-born son Tlotzin in possession of the city of Tezcuco. Cuitlahuac, the last king of Mexico, obtained the state of Ixtapalapan, and the brother of Montezuma that of Ehecatepec, before they ascended the throne of Mexico. Upon this base of education the Mexicans supported the fabric of their political system which we are now to unfold.

SECT. VI. The election of their kings.

From the time that the Mexicans, after the example of other neighbouring states, placed Acamapitzin at the head of their nation, investing him with the name, the honours, and authority of royalty, the crown of their kingdom was made elective; for which purpose they created some time after four electors, in whose judgment and decision all the suffrages of the nation were comprehended. These were four lords of the first rank of nobility, and generally of the royal blood, possessed likewise of prudence and probity adequate to the discharge of so important a function. Their office was not perpetual; their electoral power

power terminated with the firſt election, and new electors were immediately nominated, or the firſt were re-choſen by the votes of the nobility. If a deficiency happened in their number before the king died, it was ſupplied by a new appointment. In the time of king Itzcoatl, two other electors were added, which were the kings of Acolhuacan and Tacuba; but their title was merely honorary. They uſually ratified the choice which was made by the four real electors; but we do not know that they ever interfered otherwiſe with the election.

That the electors might not be left too much at liberty, and in order to prevent the inconveniencies ariſing from parties and factions, they fixed the crown in the family of Acamapitzin; and afterwards eſtabliſhed a law, that when the king died he ſhould be ſucceeded by one of his brothers, and on failure of brothers by one of his nephews; or on failure of them by one of his couſins, leaving it in the option of the electors to chuſe among the brothers, or nephews of the deceaſed king, the perſon whom they ſhould think beſt qualified to govern; by means of which law, they avoided numerous inconveniencies that we have already mentioned. This law was obſerved from the time of their ſecond, until the time of their laſt king. Huitzilihuitl, the ſon of Acamapitzin, was ſucceeded by his two brothers Chimalpopoca and Itzcoatl; Itzcoatl by his nephew Montezuma Ilhuicamina; Montezuma by his couſin Axajacatl; Axajacatl by his two brothers Tizoc and Ahuitzotl; Ahuitzotl by his nephew Montezuma II; Montezuma II. by his brother Cuitlahuatzin, to whom laſtly his nephew Quauhtemotzin ſucceeded. This ſeries of kings will appear more diſtinctly in the table of genealogy which we have ſubjoined.

In the election of a king no regard was paid to the right of primogeniture. At the death of Montezuma I. Axajacatl was elected in preference to his elder brothers Tizoc and Ahuitzotl.

SECT. VII. The pomp and ceremonials at the proclamation and unction of the king.

No new king was elected until the funeral of his predeceſſor was celebrated with due pomp and magnificence. As ſoon as the election was made, advice was ſent to the kings of Acolhuacan and Tacuba, in order that they might confirm it, and alſo to the feudatory lords who had been preſent at the funeral. Theſe two kings led the new choſen ſovereign to the greater temple. The feudatory lords went firſt, with the enſigns of their ſtates; then the nobles of the court with the badges of

BOOK VII. of their dignity and offices; the two allied kings followed next, and behind them the king elect, ſtript naked, without any covering except the *maxtlatl*, the girdle, or large bandage, about his middle. He aſcended the temple, reſting on the arms of two nobles of the court, where one of the high-prieſts, accompanied by the moſt reſpectable officers of the temple, received him. He worſhipped the idol of Huitzilopochtli, touching the earth with his hand, and then carrying it to his mouth. The high-prieſt dyed his body with a certain kind of ink, and ſprinkled him four times with water which had been bleſſed, according to their rite, at the grand feſtival of Huitzilopochtli, making uſe for this purpoſe of branches of cedar and willow, and the leaves of maize. He was clothed in a mantle, on which were painted ſkulls and bones of the dead, and his head was covered with two other cloaks, one black, and the other blue, on which ſimilar figures were repreſented. They tied a ſmall gourd to his neck, containing a certain powder, which they eſteemed a ſtrong preſervative againſt diſeaſes, ſorcery, and treaſon. Happy would that people be whoſe king could carry about him ſuch a preſervative. They put afterwards a cenſer, and a bag of copal in his hands, that he might give incenſe to the idol with them. When this act of religion was performed, during which the king remained on his knees, the high-prieſt ſat down and delivered a diſcourſe to him, in which after congratulating him on his advancement, he informed him of the obligation he owed his ſubjects for having raiſed him to the throne, and warmly recommended to him zeal for religion and juſtice, the protection of the poor, and the defence of his native country and kingdom. The allied kings and the nobles next addreſſed him to the ſame purpoſe; to which the king anſwered with thanks and promiſes to exert himſelf to the utmoſt of his power for the happineſs of the ſtate. Gomara, and other authors who have copied him, affirm, that the high-prieſt made him ſwear to maintain their ancient religion, to obſerve the laws of his anceſtors, and to make the ſun go his courſe, to make the clouds pour down rain, to make the rivers run, and all fruits to ripen. If it is true, that they made the king take ſo extravagant an oath, it is probable, that they only meant to oblige him to maintain a conduct worthy of theſe favours from heaven.

After hearing theſe addreſſes, the king deſcended with all his attendants to the lower area, where the reſt of the nobility waited to make their obedience, and pay him homage in jewels and apparel. He was thence conducted to a chamber within the incloſure of the temple called *Tlacatecco*, where he was left by himſelf four days, during which time he was allowed to eat but once a day; but he might eat fleſh or any other kind of food. He bathed twice every day, and after bathing he drew blood from his ears, which he offered together with ſome burnt copal to Huitzilopochtli, making all the while conſtant and earneſt prayers to obtain that enlightenment of underſtanding which was requiſite in order to govern his monarchy with prudence. On the fifth day, the nobility returned to the temple, conducting the new king to his palace, where the feudatory lords came to renew the inveſtiture of their fiefs. Then followed the rejoicings of the people, entertainments, dances, and illuminations.

SECT. VIII. The coronation, crown, dreſs; and inſignia of royalty.

To prepare for the coronation it was neceſſary, according to the law of the kingdom, or the cuſtom introduced by Montezuma I. that the new elected king ſhould go out to war, to procure the victims which were neceſſary for the ſacrifices on ſuch an occaſion. They never were without enemies on whom war might be made; either from ſome province of the kingdom having rebelled, or from ſome Mexican merchants having been unjuſtly put to death, or on account of ſome inſult having been offered to the royal ambaſſadors, of which caſes hiſtory ſhews many examples. The arms and enſigns which the king wore upon going to war, the parade with which his priſoners were conducted to the court, and the circumſtances which attended the ſacrifice of them, ſhall be explained when we come to treat of the military eſtabliſhment of the Mexicans; but we are entirely ignorant of the particular ceremonies which were uſed at his coronation. The king of Acolhuacan was the perſon who put the crown upon his head. The crown which was called by the Mexicans *copilli*, was a ſort of ſmall mitre, the fore-part of which was raiſed up, and terminated in a point, and the part behind was lowered down, and hung over the neck in the ſame manner as is repreſented in the figures of the kings given in this hiſtory. It was compoſed of different materials, according to the pleaſure of the kings; ſometimes made of thin plates

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plates of gold, ſometimes wove with golden thread, and figured with beautiful feathers. The dreſs which he uſually wore in the palace was the *xiuhtilmatli*, which was a mantle of a blue and white mixture. When he went to the temple he put on a white habit. That which he wore to aſſiſt at councils, and other public functions, varied according to the nature and circumſtances of the occaſion; one was appropriated for civil cauſes, and another for criminal cauſes; one for acts of juſtice, and another for times of rejoicing: upon all theſe occaſions he regularly wore his crown. Every time he went abroad, he was attended by a great retinue of nobility, and preceded by a noble, who held up three rods made of gold and odorous wood, by which he intimated to the people the preſence of their ſovereign.

SECT. IX. Rights of the king.

The power and authority of the kings of Mexico was different at different periods. In the beginning of the monarchy their power was much circumſcribed, and their authority truly paternal, their conduct more humane, and the prerogatives which they claimed from their ſubjects extremely moderate. With the enlargement of their territory they gradually increaſed their riches, their magnificence, and pomp, and in proportion to their wealth were likewiſe multiplied, as generally happens, the burthens on their ſubjects. Their pride occaſioned them to treſpaſs upon the limits, which the conſent of the nation had allowed to their authority, until they arrived at that pitch of odious deſpotiſm which appears to have marked the reign of Montezuma II. but notwithſtanding their tyranny, the Mexicans always preſerved the reſpect which was due to the royal character, except that in the laſt year but one of the monarchy, as will be related hereafter, when they were no longer able to endure the meanneſs of their king Montezuma, his exceſſive cowardice, and low ſubmiſſion to his enemies, they treated him with contempt, and wounded him with arrows and ſtones. The pageantry and oſtentatious grandeur of the laſt Mexican kings may be conceived from what we have ſaid of the reign of Montezuma, and what we ſhall farther ſay in our account of the conqueſt.

The kings of Mexico were rivalled in magnificence by the kings of Acolhuacan, as the latter were by the former in politics. The government of the Acolhuan nation was almoſt the ſame with that of the Mexicans; but with reſpect to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown they

they were totally different; for in the kingdom of Acolhuacan, and the ſame is to be underſtood of Tacuba, the ſons ſucceeded to their fathers, not according to their birth, but according to their rank; the ſons which were born of the queen, or principal wife, having been always preferred to the reſt. This rule was obſerved from the time of Xolotl, the firſt Chechemecan king, until the time of Cacamatzin, who was ſucceeded by his brother Cuicuitzcatzin, through the intrigues of Montezuma and the conqueror Cortes.

SECT. X. The royal council and officers of the court.

The king of Mexico, as well as the king of Acolhuacan, had three ſupreme councils, compoſed of perſons of the firſt nobility, in which they deliberated upon affairs relating to the government of the provinces, the revenues of the king, and to war, and in general the king reſolved upon no meaſure of importance without having firſt heard the opinion of his counſellors. In the hiſtory of the conqueſt we ſhall find Montezuma in frequent deliberation with his council on the pretenſions of the Spaniards. We do not know the number of members of each council, nor do hiſtorians furniſh us with the lights neceſſary to illuſtrate ſuch a ſubject. They have only preſerved to us the names of ſome counſellors, particularly thoſe of Montezuma II. In the ſixty-firſt painting of the collection of Mendoza, are repreſented the council-halls, and ſome of the lords who compoſed them.

Amongſt the different miniſters and officers of the court there was a treaſurer-general, whom they called *Hueicalpixqui*, or great major-domo, who received all the tributes which were collected by the officers of the revenue in the provinces, and kept an account of his receipts and diſburſements in paintings, agreeable to the teſtimony of Bernal Diaz, who ſaw them. There was another treaſurer for the gems and articles of gold, who was, at the ſame time, director of the artiſts who wrought them; and another for the works which were made of feathers, the artiſts of which laſt employment had their work-ſhops in the royal palace of birds. There was beſides a provider-general of animals, whom they called *Huejaminqui*; he had the charge of the royal woods, and took care that game was never wanting there; and that the royal palaces were never unprovided with every ſort of animal. Concerning the other royal miniſters and officers, we have mentioned enough when we treated of the magnificence of Montezuma.

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zuma II. and of the government of the kings of Acolhuacan, Techotlala, and Nezahualcojotl.

For the office of ambaſſadors, they always employed perſons who were both noble and eloquent. Three, four, or more perſons were uſually joined in this office, and, to procure reſpect, they wore certain badges by which they were every where known, particularly a green habit made like the ſcapulary, or little cloak, which ſome religious people wear, from which hung ſome locks of cotton. Their hair was twiſted with beautiful feathers, from which alſo hung ſimilar locks of different colours. In their right hands they carried an arrow with the point downwards; in the left a ſhield, and hanging at the ſame arm a net, in which they carried their proviſion. In all the places through which they paſſed, they were well received, and treated with that diſtinction which their character demanded, provided they did not leave the great road which led to the place of their deſtination; but if they ever deviated from it, they loſt their rights and privileges as ambaſſadors. When they arrived at the place where they were to deliver their embaſſy, they ſtopped before they made entrance, and waited until the nobility of the city came out to meet them, and conduct them to the Houſe of the Public, where they were lodged and well entertained. The nobles burnt incenſe to them, and preſented noſegays of flowers, and after they had repoſed, led them to the palace of the lord of that ſtate, and introduced them into the hall of audience, where they were received by the lord himſelf, and his counſellors, who were all ſeated in their places. After having made a profound reverence to the lord, they ſat down upon their heels in the middle of the hall, and without ſaying a word, or lifting up their eyes, they waited until a ſign was made for them to ſpeak. When the ſignal was given, the moſt reſpectable amongſt the ambaſſadors, after having made another bow to the lord, delivered his embaſſy with a low voice, in a ſtudied addreſs, which was attentively heard by the lord and his counſellors, who kept their heads ſo much inclined, that they appeared almoſt to touch their knees. When the ambaſſadors had finiſhed their interview, they returned to the houſe where they were lodged. In the mean while, the lord entered into conſultation with his counſellors, and communicated his anſwer to the ambaſſadors by means of his miniſters; provided them abundantly with proviſions for their

their journey, made them alſo ſome preſents, and cauſed them to be eſcorted out of the city by the ſame perſons who had received them upon their arrival. If the lord, to whom the embaſſy was ſent, was a friend to the Mexicans, it was conſidered as a great diſhonour not to accept his preſents; but if he was an enemy, the ambaſſadors could not receive them without the expreſs order of their maſter. All theſe ceremonies were not invariably obſerved in embaſſies, nor were all embaſſies ſent to the lords of cities or ſtates; for ſome of them, as we ſhall mention hereafter, were ſent to the body of the nobility, or to the people.

SECT. XII. Couriers and poſts.

The couriers whom the Mexicans frequently employed, made uſe of different enſigns according to the nature of the intelligence, or affair with which they were charged. If it was the news of the Mexicans having loſt a battle, the courier wore his hair looſe and diſordered, and, without ſpeaking a word to any perſon, went ſtraight to the palace, where, kneeling before the king, he related what had happened. If it was the news of a victory which had been obtained by the arms of Mexico, he had his hair tied with a coloured ſtring, and his body girt with a white cotton cloth; in his left hand a ſhield, and in his right a ſword, which he brandiſhed as if he had been in the act of engagement; expreſſing by ſuch geſtures his glad tidings, and ſinging the glorious actions of the ancient Mexicans, while the people, overjoyed at ſeeing him, led him with many congratulations to the royal palace.

In order that news might be more ſpeedily conveyed, there were upon all the highways of the kingdom certain little towers, about ſix miles diſtant from each other, where couriers were always waiting in readineſs to ſet out with diſpatches. As ſoon as the firſt courier was ſent off, he ran as ſwiftly as he could to the firſt ſtage, or little tower, where he communicated to another his intelligence, and delivered to him the paintings which repreſented the news, or the affair which was the ſubject of his embaſſy. The ſecond courier poſted without delay to the next ſtage, or little tower; and thus by a continued and uninterrupted ſpeed of conveyance, intelligence was carried ſo rapidly from place to place, that ſometimes, according to the affirmations made by ſeveral authors, it reached the diſtance of three hundred miles in one day. It was by this means that freſh fiſh were daily brought to Monte-

zuma II. from the gulf of Mexico, which is at leaſt upwards of two hundred miles diſtant from the capital. Thoſe couriers were exerciſed in running from their childhood; and in order to encourage them in this exerciſe, the prieſts, under whoſe diſcipline they were trained, frequently beſtowed rewards on thoſe who were victors in a race.

SECT. XIII. The nobility and right of ſucceſſion.

With reſpect to the nobility of Mexico and of the whole empire, it was divided into ſeveral claſſes, which were confounded together by the Spaniards under the general name of *caziques* (*q*). Each claſs had its particular privileges and wore its own badges, by which means, although their dreſs was extremely ſimple, the character of every perſon was immediately underſtood. The nobles alone were allowed to wear ornaments of gold and gems upon their cloaths, and to them excluſively belonged, from the reign of Montezuma II. all the high offices at court, in the magiſtracy, and the moſt conſiderable in the army.

The higheſt rank of nobility in Tlaſcala, in Huexotzinco, and in Cholula, was that of *Teuctli*. To obtain this rank it was neceſſary to be of noble birth, to have given proofs in ſeveral battles of the utmoſt courage, to be arrived at a certain age, and to command great riches for the enormous expences which were neceſſary to be ſupported by the poſſeſſor of ſuch a dignity. The candidate was obliged beſides to undergo a year of regular penance, conſiſting in perpetual faſting and frequent effuſions of blood, and an abſtinence from all commerce whatſoever with women, and patiently enduring the inſults, the reproaches, and ill-treatment, by which fortitude and conſtancy are put to the teſt. They bored the cartilage of his noſe, in order to ſuſpend from it certain grains of gold, which were the principal badge of this dignity. On the day on which he came to the poſſeſſion of it, they ſtripped him of the diſmal habit which he had worn during the time of his penance, and dreſſed him in moſt magnificent attire: they tied his hair with a leathern ribband, died of a red colour, at which hung beautiful feathers, and fixed alſo the grains of gold at his noſe. This ceremony was performed, in the upper area of the greater temple, by a

(*q*) The name *cazique*, which ſignifies *lord* or *prince*, is derived from the Haitin tongue, which was ſpoke in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. The Mexicans called a lord *Tlatoani*, and a noble *Pilli* and *Teuctli*.

prieſt,

prieſt, who, after having conferred the dignity, made him a congratulatory harangue. From thence he deſcended to the lower area, where he joined with the nobility in a grand dance that was made there, and which was ſucceeded by a magnificent entertainment, which was given at his expence to all the lords of the ſtate, for whom beſides the innumerable dreſſes which were made in preſents to them, ſuch an abundance of meats were prepared, there were conſumed upon the occaſion, agreeable to the accounts of ſome authors, from one thouſand to ſixteen hundred turkies, a vaſt number of rabbits, deer, and other animals, and an incredible quantity, of cocoas in different ſorts of beveridge, and of the moſt choice and delicate fruits of that country. The title *Teuctli* was added in the manner of a ſurname to the proper name of perſons advanced to this dignity, as *Chechemeca-teuctli*, *Pil-teuctli*, and others. The *Teuctli* took precedency of all others in the ſenate, both in the order of ſitting and voting, and were permitted to have a ſervant behind them with a ſeat, which was eſteemed a privilege of the higheſt honour.

The titles of nobility amongſt the Mexicans were for the moſt part hereditary. Even until the downfal of the empire many families that were deſcended of thoſe illuſtrious Aztecas who founded Mexico, preſerved themſelves in great ſplendour, and ſeveral branches of thoſe moſt ancient houſes are ſtill exiſting, though reduced by misfortunes, and obſcured and confuſed amongſt the vulgar (*r*). It is not to be doubted that it would have been more wiſe policy in the Spaniards, if, inſtead of conducting women from Europe, and ſlaves from Africa, to Mexico, they had endeavoured to form by marriages, between the Mexicans and themſelves, one ſingle individual nation. If the nature of this hiſtory would permit, we could here give a demonſtration of the advantages which would have been derived to both nations from ſuch an

(*r*) It is impoſſible to behold without regret, the ſtate of degradation to which ſome illuſtrious families of that kingdom have been reduced. Not very long ago was executed a lockſmith, who was a deſcendant of the ancient kings of Michuacan: we knew a poor taylor in Mexico, who was deſcended of a very noble houſe of Coyoacan, but had been deprived of the poſſeſſions which he inherited from his illuſtrious anceſtors. Examples of this kind are not infrequent even among the royal families of Mexico, Acolhuacan, and Tacuba; the repeated orders, which the juſtice and clemency of the Catholic kings cauſed to be made in their favour, have not been ſufficient to protect them from the general calamity of their nation.

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union, and the misfortunes which were occaſioned by the oppoſite conduct.

In Mexico, and through the whole empire almoſt, excepting in the royal family as we have already mentioned, the ſons ſucceeded to all the rights of their fathers; and on failure of ſons the rights fell to brothers, and if theſe were wanting, to nephews.

SECT. XIV. Diviſion of the lands, and titles of poſſeſſion and property.

The lands of the Mexican empire were divided between the crown, the nobility, the communities, and the Temples, and there were paintings in which the property of each was diſtinctly repreſented. The lands of the crown were painted of a purple, thoſe of the nobility of a ſcarlet, and thoſe of the communities of a yellow colour. In theſe, at firſt ſight, the extent and boundaries of the different eſtates were diſtinguiſhed. After the conqueſt, the Spaniſh magiſtrates made uſe of theſe inſtruments to decide all diſputes among the Indians concerning the property or poſſeſſion of lands.

Of the lands of the crown, which were called by the Mexicans *Tecpantlalli*, although the property was always veſted in the king, certain lords called *Tecpanpouhque*, or *Tecpantlaca*, that is, *people of the palace*, enjoyed the temporary uſe and profits. Theſe lords did not pay any tribute, nor gave any thing elſe to the king than noſegays of flowers and different kinds of birds, which they preſented to him in token of their vaſſalage every time that they made him a viſit; but they were obliged to repair and rebuild the royal palaces whenever it was neceſſary, and to cultivate the gardens of the king, by aſſiſting with their directions the populace of their diſtrict in that labour. They were obliged beſides to pay court to the king, and to attend upon him every time that he appeared in public, and were therefore highly eſteemed by all. When any of thoſe lords died, his firſt-born ſon entered into poſſeſſion of the lands, and into all the obligations of his father; but if he went to eſtabliſh himſelf in another place, he loſt theſe rights, and the king then granted them to another uſufructuary; or left the choice of one to the judgment of the community in whoſe diſtrict the lands were ſituated.

The lands which they called *pillalli*, that is, lands of the nobles, were the ancient poſſeſſions of the nobles, tranſmitted by inheritance from father to ſon, or were rewards obtained from the king in recompenſe

penſe of ſervices done to the crown. The firſt and the laſt could for the moſt part alienate their poſſeſſions, but they were not allowed to give away or ſell them to plebeians; we ſay for the moſt part, becauſe amongſt theſe lands there were ſome granted by the king under a condition not to alienate them, but to leave them in inheritance to their ſons.

Reſpecting the inheritance of ſtates, regard was paid to priority of birth; but if the firſt-born ſon was incapable of managing the poſſeſſions, the father was entirely at liberty to appoint any other ſon his heir, provided that he ſecured a proviſion for the reſt. The daughters, at leaſt in Tlaſcala, were not allowed to inherit, that the ſtate might never fall under the government of a ſtranger. Even after the conqueſt of the Spaniards, the Tlaſcalans were ſo jealous of preſerving the ſtates in their families, that they refuſed to give the inveſtiture of one of the four principalities of the republic to D. Franciſco Pimentel, nephew of Coanacatzin, king of Acolhuacan (*s*), married with donna *Maria Maxicatzin*, niece to prince *Maxicatzin*, who, as we ſhall afterwards find, was the chief of the four lords that governed that republic at the arrival of the Spaniards. The fiefs commenced in that kingdom at the time that king Xolotl divided the lands of Anahuac among the Chechemecan and Acolhuan lords, under the feudal conditions, that they would preſerve inviolable fidelity, acknowledge his ſupreme authority, and their obligation to aſſiſt their ſovereign whenever it ſhould be neceſſary with their perſons, with their property, and their vaſſals. In the Mexican empire, as far as we can find, real fiefs were few in number; and if we are to ſpeak in the ſtrict ſenſe of the civil law, there were none at all; for they were neither perpetual in their nature, as every year it was neceſſary to repeat the form of inveſtiture, nor were the vaſſals of feudatories exempted from the tributes which were paid to the king by the other vaſſals of the crown.

The lands which were called *Altepetlalli*, that is, thoſe of the communities of cities and villages, were divided into as many parts as there

(*s*) Coanacotzin, king of Acolhuacan, was the father of don Ferdinando Pimentel, who had don Franceſco born to him by a Tlaſcalan lady. It is to be obſerved, that many of the Mexicans, particularly the nobles, upon being baptiſed, added to their Chriſtian name a Spaniſh ſurname.

were

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were diſtricts in a city, and every diſtrict poſſeſſed its own part entirely diſtinct from, and independent of the others. Theſe lands could not be alienated by any means whatever. Some of them were allotted to furniſh proviſions for the army in time of war; thoſe were called *Melchimalli*, or *Cacalomilli*, according to the kind of proviſions which they ſupplied. The catholic kings have aſſigned lands to the ſettlements of the Mexicans (*t*), and made proper laws to ſecure to them the perpetuity of ſuch poſſeſſions; but at preſent many villages have been deprived of them by the great power of ſome individuals, aſſiſted by the iniquity of ſome judges.

SECT. XV. The tributes and taxes laid on the ſubjects of the crown.

All the provinces that were conquered by the Mexicans were tributary to the crown, and contributed fruits, animals, and the minerals of the country, according to the rate preſcribed them; and all merchants beſides paid a part of their merchandizes, and all artiſts a certain portion of their labours. In the capital of every province was a houſe allotted for a magazine to contain the corn, garments, and all the other effects, which the revenue officers collected in the circle of each diſtrict. Theſe officers were univerſally odious on account of the diſtreſſes which they brought on the tributary places. Their badges of diſtinction were a little rod which they carried in one hand, and a fan of feathers in the other. The treaſurers of the king had paintings, in which were deſcribed all the tributary places, and the quantity and quality of the tributes. In the collection made by Mendoza, there are thirty-ſix paintings of this kind (*u*), and in each of theſe are repreſented the principal places of one, or of many provinces of the empire. Beſides an exceſſive number of cotton garments, and a certain quantity of corn and feathers, which were the uſual taxes laid on almoſt all tributary places, many other different things were paid in tribute according to the produce of different countries. In order to give

(*t*) The royal laws grant to every Indian village, or ſettlement, the territory which ſurrounds them to the extent of ſix hundred Caſtilian cubits, which are equal to two hundred and fifty ſeven Pariſian perches.

(*u*) The thirty-ſix paintings begin with the 13th, and end with the 48th. In the copy of them publiſhed by Thevenot, the 21ſt and 22d are wanting, and for the moſt part the figures of the tributary cities. The copy publiſhed in Mexico in 1770, is ſtill leſs perfect, for it wants the 21ſt, 22d, 38th, 39th, and 40th of Mendoza's Collection, beſides a number of errors in the interpretations; but it has the advantage over Thevenot's of having the figures of the cities, and of being all executed on plates.

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our readers ſome idea of them, we ſhall mention ſome of the taxes which are repreſented in theſe paintings.

The cities of *Xoconocho*, *Huehuetlan*, *Mazatlan*, and others upon the coaſt, paid annually to the crown, beſides the dreſſes made of cotton, four thouſand handfuls of beautiful feathers of different colours, two hundred bags of cocoas, forty tygers ſkins, and a hundred and ſixty birds of certain particular colours. *Huaxjacac*, *Cojolapan*. *Atlacuechahuajan*, and other places belonging to the Zapotecas, paid in tribute forty plates of gold of a certain ſize and thickneſs, and twenty bags of cochineal. *Tlachquiaucho*, *Azotlan*, twenty vaſes of a certain meaſure full of gold in powder. *Tochtepec*, *Otlatitlan*, *Cozamalloapan*, *Michapan*, and other places upon the coaſt of the Mexican gulf, beſides the garments of cotton, gold, and cocoas, were obliged to contribute ſeventy-four thouſand handfuls of feathers, of different colours and qualities, ſix necklaces, two of the fineſt emeralds, and four of thoſe which were ordinary; twenty ear-rings of amber, adorned with gold, and as many of cryſtal; a hundred ſmall cups or jugs of liquid amber, and ſixteen thouſand balls of *ule*, or elaſtic gum. *Tepejacac*, *Quecholac*, *Tecamachalco*, *Acatzinco*, and other places of thoſe regions, furniſhed four thouſand ſacks of lime, four thouſand loads of *atatli*, or ſolid canes, fit to be uſed in buildings, and as many loads of the ſame canes of a ſmaller ſize, fit for making darts, and eight thouſand loads of *acajetl*, or little reeds, full of aromatic ſubſtances. *Malinaltepec*, *Tlalcozauhtitlan*, *Olinallan*, *Ichcatlan*, *Qualac*, and other places of ſouthern hot countries, ſix hundred cups of honey, forty large baſons of *tecozahuitl*, or yellow ochre, fit for painting, a hundred and ſixty axes of copper, forty round plates of gold, of a certain diameter and thickneſs, ten ſmall meaſures of fine turquoiſes, and one load of ordinary turquoiſes. *Quauhnahuac*, *Panchimalco*, *Atlacholoajan*, *Xiuhtepec*, *Huitzilac*, and other places belonging to the Tlahuicas, ſixteen thouſand pieces, or large ſheets of paper, and four thouſand *xicalli* (natural vaſes, of which we ſhall treat hereafter), of different ſizes. *Quauhtitlan*, *Tehuillojocan*, and other places which were neighbouring to them, eight thouſand mats, and as many ſeats or chairs. Other places contributed fuel, ſtone, a certain number of beams and planks fit for buildings, and a certain quantity of copal, &c.

Some

BOOK VII. Some tributary people were obliged to ſend to the royal palaces and woods a certain number of birds and quadrupeds, namely, the people of *Xilotepec*, *Michmalajan*, and other places in the country of the Otomies, which laſt were obliged to ſend the king every year forty live eagles. Concerning the Matlatzincas we know that when they were brought under ſubjection to the crown of Mexico by king Axajacatl, beſides the tribute which they are repreſented to have paid, in the twenty-ſeventh painting of the collection of Mendoza, the further burthen was impoſed on them of cultivating a field about ſeven hundred perches long and half as broad, for the purpoſe of furniſhing the royal army with proviſions. To conclude, a part of every thing uſeful, which was found in the kingdom, either amongſt the productions of nature or art, was paid in tribute to the king of Mexico.

Theſe large contributions, the great preſents which the governors of provinces, and the feudatory lords made to the king, together with the ſpoils of war, formed the great riches of his court which excited ſo much admiration in the Spaniſh conquerors, and occaſioned ſo much miſery to his unfortunate ſubjects. The tributes which were at firſt moderate and eaſy, became at laſt exceſſive and enormous; for the pride and pomp of the kings kept pace with their conqueſts. It is true, that a great part, and perhaps the greateſt part of theſe revenues was expended for the benefit of the ſame ſubjects in the ſupport of a great number of miniſters and magiſtrates for the adminiſtration of juſtice, in the reward of thoſe who had done ſervices to the ſtate, in the relief of the indigent, particularly widows and orphans, and men grown feeble with age, which were the three claſſes of people moſt compaſſionated by the Mexicans, and alſo by opening the royal granaries in times of great ſcarcity to the nation; but how many of thoſe unhappy people who were unable to pay the tributes demanded from them muſt have ſunk under the weight of their miſery, while the royal beneficence did not reach them? To oppreſſive taxes were added the greateſt rigour in collecting them. Whoever did not pay the tribute preſcribed was ſold for a ſlave, in order to purchaſe with his liberty what he could not gain by his induſtry.

For the adminiſtration of juſtice, the Mexicans had various tribunals and judges. At court, and in the more conſiderable places of the king-

kingdom, there was a ſupreme magiſtrate named *Cihuacoatl*, whoſe authority was ſo great that from the ſentences pronounced by him, either in civil or criminal cauſes, no appeal could be made to any other tribunal, not even to majeſty. He had the appointment of the inferior judges, and the receivers of the royal revenues within his diſtrict, rendered in their accounts to him. Any one who either made uſe of his enſigns, or uſurped his authority, was puniſhed with death.

The tribunal of the *Tlacatecatl*, though inferior to the firſt, was extremely reſpectable, and compoſed of three judges, namely of the *Tlacatecatl*, who was the chief, and from whom the tribunal took its name, and of two others who were called *Quauhnochtli* and *Tlanotlac*. They took cognizance of civil and criminal cauſes in the firſt and ſecond inſtance, although ſentence was pronounced in the name only of the Tlacatecatl. They met daily in a hall of the houſe of the public, which was called *Tlatzontecojan*, that is, the place where judgment is given, to which belonged porters and other officers of juſtice. There they liſtened with the utmoſt attention to litigations, diligently examined into cauſes, and pronounced ſentence according to the laws. If a cauſe was purely civil, there was no appeal from that court; but if the cauſe was of a criminal nature, an appeal lay to the Cihuatcoatl. The ſentence was publiſhed by the *Tepojotl*, or public cryer, and was executed by the Quauhochtli, who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the three judges. The public cryer, as well as the executive miniſter of juſtice, was held in high eſteem amongſt the Mexicans, becauſe they were conſidered to be the repreſentatives of the king.

In every diſtrict of the city reſided a *Teuctli*, who was deputy of the tribunal of Tlacatecatl, and was elected annually by the commons of that diſtrict. He took cognizance, in the firſt inſtance, of the cauſes within his diſtrict, and daily waited upon the Cihuacoatl, or the Tlacatecatl, to report to him every thing which occurred, and to receive his orders. Beſides theſe Teuctli, there were in every diſtrict certain commiſſaries, elected in the ſame manner by the commons of the diſtrict, and named *Centectlapixque*; but they, from what appears to us, were not judges, but only guardians, charged to obſerve the conduct of a certain number of families committed to their care, and to acquaint the magiſtrates with every thing that paſſed. Next to the Teuctli were the

the *Taquitlatoque*, or the runners, who carried the notifications of the magiſtrates, and ſummoned guilty perſons, and the *Topilli* or the officers who apprehended and made priſoners.

In the kingdom of Acolhuacan, the judicial power was divided amongſt ſeven principal cities. The judges remained in their tribunals from ſun-riſe until evening. Their meals were brought to them in the tribunal-hall, and that they might not be taken off from their employment, by giving attendance upon their families, nor have any excuſe for being corrupted, they were, agreeable to the uſage in the kingdom of Mexico, aſſigned poſſeſſions and labourers, who cultivated their fields. Thoſe poſſeſſions, as they belonged to the office, not to the officer, did not paſs to his heirs but to his ſucceſſors in that appointment. In cauſes of importance they durſt not pronounce ſentence, at leaſt not in the capital, without giving information to the king. Every Mexican month, or every twenty days, an aſſembly of all the judges was held before the king, in order to determine all cauſes then undecided. If from their being much perplexed and intricate, they were not finiſhed at that time, they were reſerved for another general aſſembly of a more ſolemn nature, which was held every eighty days, and was therefore called *Nappapſallatolli*, that is, the Conference of Eighty, at which all cauſes were finally decided, and in the preſence of that whole aſſembly, puniſhment was inflicted on the guilty. The king pronounced ſentence by drawing a line with the point of an arrow upon the head of the guilty perſon, which was painted on the proceſs.

In the tribunals of the Mexicans the contending parties made their own allegations: at leaſt we do not know that they employed any other advocates. In criminal cauſes the accuſer was not allowed any other proof than that of his witneſſes; but an accuſed perſon could clear himſelf from guilt by his oath. In diſputes about the boundaries of poſſeſſions, the paintings of the land were conſulted as authentic writings.

All the magiſtrates were obliged to give judgment according to the laws of the kingdom which were repreſented by paintings. Of theſe we have ſeen many, and have extracted from them a part of that which we ſhall lay before our readers on the ſubject. The power of making laws in Tezcuco belonged always to the kings, who made thoſe which they

they publiſhed, be rigorouſly obſerved. Amongſt the Mexicans, the firſt laws were made, from what we can diſcover, by the body of the nobility; but afterwards the kings became the legiſlators of the nation, and while their authority was confined within moderate limits, they were zealous in the obſervance of thoſe laws which they or their anceſtors had promulgated. In the laſt years of the monarchy deſpotiſm altered, and changed them at caprice. We ſhall here enumerate thoſe which were in force at the time the Spaniards entered into Mexico. In ſome of them much prudence and humanity and a ſtrong attachment to good cuſtoms will be diſcovered; but in others an exceſs of rigour which degenerated into cruelty.

SECT. XVII. Penal laws.

A traitor to the king or the ſtate was torn in pieces, and his relations who were privy to the treaſon, and did not diſcover it, were deprived of their liberty.

Whoever dared in war, or at any time of public rejoicing, to make uſe of the badges of the kings of Mexico, of Acolhuacan, or Tacuba, or of thoſe of the Cihuacoatl, was puniſhed with death, and his goods confiſcated.

Whoever maltreated an ambaſſador, miniſter, or courier belonging to the king, ſuffered death; but ambaſſadors and couriers were forbid on their part to leave the high road, under pain of loſing their privileges.

The puniſhment of death was inflicted alſo on thoſe perſons who occaſioned any ſedition amongſt the people; on thoſe who carried off, or changed the boundaries placed in the fields by public authority; and likewiſe on judges who gave a ſentence that was unjuſt, or contrary to the laws, or made an unfaithful report of any cauſe to the king, or a ſuperior magiſtrate, or allowed themſelves to be corrupted by bribes.

He who in war committed any hoſtility upon the enemy without the order of his chief, or attacked them before the ſignal for battle was given, or abandoned the colours, or violated any proclamation publiſhed to the army, was infallibly beheaded.

He who at market altered the meaſures eſtabliſhed by the magiſtrates, was guilty of felony, and was put to death without delay in the ſame place.

A murderer forfeited his own life for his crime, even although the perſon murdered was but a ſlave.

He who killed his wife, although he caught her in adultery, ſuffered death; becauſe, according to them, he uſurped the authority of the magiſtrates, whoſe province it was to take cognizance of miſdeeds, and puniſh evil-doers.

Adultery was inevitably puniſhed with death. Adulterers were ſtoned to death, or their heads were bruiſed between two ſtones. This law which preſcribed that adulterers ſhould be ſtoned to death, is one of thoſe which we have ſeen repreſented in the ancient paintings which were preſerved in the library of the ſupreme college of Jeſuits at Mexico. It is alſo repreſented in the laſt painting of the collection made by Mendoza, and is taken notice of by Gomara, Torquemada, and other authors. But they did not conſider, nor did they puniſh as adultery, the treſpaſs of a huſband with any woman who was free, or not joined in matrimony: wherefore the huſband was not bound to ſo much fidelity as was exacted from the wife. In all places of the empire this crime was puniſhed, but in ſome places with greater ſeverity than in others. In Ichoatlan, a woman who was accuſed of adultery was ſummoned before the judges, and if the proofs of her crime were ſatisfactory, ſhe received puniſhment there immediately; ſhe was torn in pieces, and her limbs divided amongſt the witneſſes. In Itztepec infidelity in a woman was puniſhed according to the ſentence of the magiſtrates by her huſband, who cut off her noſe and her ears. In ſome parts of the empire the puniſhment of death was inflicted on the huſband, who cohabited with his wife, after it was proved that ſhe had violated her fidelity.

No divorce was lawful without the permiſſion of the judges. He who deſired to divorce his wife, preſented himſelf before the tribunal and explained his reaſons for it. The judges exhorted him to concord, and endeavoured to diſſuade him from a ſeparation; but if he perſiſted in his claim, and his reaſons appeared juſt, they told him that he might do that which he ſhould judge moſt proper, without giving their authority for a divorce by a formal ſentence. If after all he divorced her, he never could recover her nor be united to her again.

Thoſe

Thoſe who were guilty of inceſt with their neareſt of blood, or relations, were hanged, and all marriages between perſons ſo nearly connected were ſtrictly forbid by law, excepting marriages between brothers and ſiſters-in-law; for amongſt the Mexicans, as well as amongſt the Hebrews, it was the cuſtom that the brothers of the deceaſed huſband might marry with their widowed ſiſters-in-law; but there was great difference in this practice of theſe two nations; for amongſt the Hebrews ſuch a marriage could only happen in one caſe, that was where the huſband died without iſſue; amongſt the Mexicans on the contrary, it was neceſſary that the deceaſed ſhould leave children, of whoſe education the brother was to take charge, entering into all the rights of a father. In ſome places which were diſtant from the capital, the nobles were accuſtomed to marry their widowed mothers-in-law, provided their fathers had not had children by them; but in the capitals of Mexico and Tezcuco, and the places neighbouring to them, ſuch marriages were deemed inceſtuous, and puniſhed with ſeverity.

Any perſon guilty of a deteſtable crime was hanged; if a prieſt, he was burnt alive. Amongſt all the nations of Anahuac, excepting the Panucheſe, this crime was held in abomination, and was puniſhed by them all with rigour. Nevertheleſs, vicious men, in order to juſtify their own exceſſes, have defamed all the nations of America with this horrid vice; but this calumny, which ſeveral Europeans authors have too readily admitted to be juſt, is proved to be falſe by the teſtimony of many other authors, who are more impartial and better informed (*x*).

The prieſt, who, during the time that he was dedicated to the ſervice of the temple, abuſed any free woman, was deprived of the prieſthood and baniſhed.

If any of the young men, or young women, who were educating in the ſeminaries, were guilty of incontinence, they were liable to a ſevere puniſhment, and even to ſuffer death, according to the report of ſome authors. But, on the other hand, there was no puniſhment whatever preſcribed for ſimple fornication, although the evil tendency of an exceſs of this kind was not unknown to them; and fathers frequently

(*x*) See what we have ſaid in our Diſſertations reſpecting the author who has revived this atrocious calumny upon the Americans.

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admoniſhed their children to beware of it: they burned the hair of a bawd in the market-place with pine torches, and ſmeared her head with the reſin of the ſame wood. The more reſpectable the perſons were to whom ſhe ſerved in this capacity, ſo much the greater was the puniſhment.

According to the laws, the man who dreſſed himſelf like a woman, or the woman who dreſſed herſelf like a man, was hanged.

The thief of things of ſmall value met with no puniſhment, excepting that of being obliged to reſtore what he had ſtolen; if the things were of great value, he was made the ſlave of the perſon whom he had robbed. If the thing ſtolen did no longer exiſt, nor the robber had any goods by which he could repay his robbery, he was ſtoned to death. If he had ſtolen gold or gems, after being conducted through all the ſtreets of the city, he was ſacrificed at the feſtival which the goldſmiths held in honour of their god Xipe. He who ſtole a certain number of ears of maize, or pulled up from another's field a certain number of uſeful trees, was made a ſlave of the owner of that field *(y)*; but every poor traveller was permitted to take of the maize, or the fruit-bearing trees, which were planted by the ſide of the highway, as much as was ſufficient to ſatisfy immediate hunger.

He who robbed in the market, was immediately put to death by the baſtinado, in the market-place.

He alſo was condemned to death, who in the army robbed another of his arms or badges.

Whoever upon finding a ſtrayed child, made it a ſlave, and ſold it to another, as if it were his own, forfeited by that crime his liberty and his goods, one half of which was appropriated to the ſupport of the child, and the other half was paid to the purchaſer that he might ſet the child at liberty. Whatever number of perſons were concerned in the crime, all of them were liable to the ſame puniſhment.

To the ſame puniſhment of ſervitude, and to the loſs of his goods, was every perſon liable who ſold the poſſeſſions of another, which he only had in farm.

(*x*) The anonymous conqueror ſays, that ſtealing of three or four ears of maize was ſufficient to incur the penalty. Torquemada adds, that the penalty was death: but this was the law in the kingdom of Acolhuacan only, not in the realm of Mexico.

Tutors who did not give a good account of the eſtates of their pupils, were hanged without pardon.

The ſame puniſhment was inflicted on ſons who ſquandered their patrimony in vices; for they ſaid it was a great crime not to ſet a higher value on the labours of their fathers.

He who practiſed ſorcery was ſacrificed to the gods.

Drunkenneſs in youth was a capital offence; young men were put to death by the baſtinado in priſon, and young women were ſtoned to death. In men advanced in years, although it was not made capital, it was puniſhed with ſeverity. If he was a nobleman, he was ſtripped of his office and his rank, and rendered infamous; if a plebeian, they ſhaved him (a puniſhment very ſenſibly felt by them), and demoliſhed his houſe, ſaying, that he who could voluntarily bereave himſelf of his ſenſes, was not worthy of a habitation amongſt men. This law did not forbid conviviality at nuptials, or at any other times of feſtivity: on ſuch occaſions it being lawful, in private houſes, to drink more than uſual; nor did the law affect old men of ſeventy years, who, on account of their age, were allowed to drink as much as they pleaſed; which appears repreſented in the forty-third painting of the collection made by Mendoza.

He who told a lie to the particular prejudice of another, had a part of his lip cut off, and ſometimes his ears.

SECT. XVIII. Laws concerning ſlaves.

Of the Mexican laws concerning ſlaves it is to be obſerved, that there were three ſorts of ſlaves among them. The firſt were priſoners of war; the ſecond were thoſe whom they purchaſed for a valuable conſideration; and the third were malefactors, who were deprived of their liberty in puniſhment of their crimes.

The priſoners of war were generally ſacrificed to their gods. He who in war took another's priſoner from him, or ſet him at liberty, was puniſhed with death.

The ſale of a ſlave was not valid, unleſs it was made in the preſence of four lawful witneſſes. In general, they aſſembled in greater numbers, and celebrated contracts of that nature with great ſolemnity.

Among the Mexicans a ſlave was allowed to have cattle, to acquire property, and even to purchaſe ſlaves who ſerved him; nor could his owner hinder him, nor have ſervice from ſuch ſlaves; for ſlavery was only

only an obligation of perſonal ſervice, and even that was under certain reſtrictions.

Nor was ſlavery entailed upon the deſcendants of ſlaves. All Mexicans were born free, although their mothers were ſlaves. If a free man impregnated another perſon's ſlave, and ſhe died during her pregnancy, he became the ſlave of the owner of the female ſlave; but if ſhe was happily delivered, the child as well as the father remained both free.

Neceſſitous parents were allowed to diſpoſe of any one of their children, in order to relieve their poverty; and any free man might ſell himſelf for the ſame purpoſe; but owners could not ſell their ſlaves without their conſent, unleſs they were ſlaves with a collar. Runaway, rebellious, or vicious ſlaves, had two or three warnings given them by their owners, which warnings they gave for their better juſtification in preſence of ſome witneſſes. If, in ſpite of theſe admonitions the ſlaves did not mend their behaviour, a wooden collar was put about their necks, and then it was lawful to ſell them at market. If, after having been owned by two or three maſters, they ſtill continued intractable, they were ſold for the ſacrifices; but that happened very rarely. If a ſlave, who was collared in this manner, happened to eſcape from the priſon where his owner confined him, and took refuge in the royal palace, he remained free; and the perſon who attempted to prevent his gaining this aſylum, forfeited his liberty for the attempt, except it it was the owner, or one of his children, who had a right to ſeize him.

The perſons who ſold themſelves were generally gameſters, who did ſo in order to game with the price of their liberty; or thoſe who by lazineſs, or ſome misfortune, found themſelves reduced to miſery, and proſtitutes, who wanted cloaths to make their appearance in public; for women of that claſs among the Mexicans had no intereſt in general in their profeſſion, but the gratification of their paſſions. Slavery amongſt the Mexicans was not ſo hard to be borne, as it was among other people; for the condition of a ſlave among them was by no means oppreſſive. Their labour was moderate, and their treatment humane; when their maſters died, they generally became free. The common price of a ſlave was a load of cotton garments.

There

There was among the Mexicans another kind of ſlavery, which they called *Huehuetatlacolli*, which was, where one or two families, on account of their poverty, bound themſelves to furniſh ſome lord perpetually with a ſlave. They delivered up one of their ſons for this purpoſe, and after he had ſerved for ſome years they recalled him, in order to let him marry, or for ſome other motive, and ſubſtituted another in his place. The change was made without giving any offence to the patron; on the contrary, he generally gave ſome conſideration for a new ſlave. In the year 1506, on account of a great ſcarcity which happened then, many families were obliged to this kind of ſervitude; but they were all freed from it by the king of Acolhuacan, Nezahualpilli, owing to the hardſhips they ſuffered from it; and, after his example, the ſame thing was done by Montezuma II. in his dominions.

The conquerors, who imagined they entered into all the rights of the ancient Mexican lords, had, at firſt, many ſlaves of thoſe nations; but when the Catholic kings were informed of it by perſons of credit who were zealous for the public good, and well acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe people, they declared all thoſe ſlaves free, and forbid, under ſevere penalties, any attempt againſt their liberty. A law infinitely juſt, and worthy the humanity of thoſe monarchs; for the firſt religious miſſionaries who were employed in the converſion of the Mexicans, amongſt whom were men of much learning, declared, after diligent examination, that they had not been able to find one amongſt the ſlaves who had been juſtly deprived of his natural liberty.

We have now ſaid all that we know of the Mexican legiſlature. More complete information on this head, and in particular concerning their civil contracts, their tribunals, and ſupreme councils, might have proved extremely valuable; but the unfortunate loſs of the greater part of their paintings, and of ſome manuſcripts of the firſt Spaniards, has deprived us of the only lights which could have illuſtrated this ſubject.

SECT. XIX. Laws of other countries of Anahuac.

Although the laws of the capital were generally received throughout the whole empire, yet in ſome of the provinces many variations from them took place; for as the Mexicans did not oblige the conquered nations to ſpeak the language of their court, neither did they compel them

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them to adopt all their laws. The legiſlature of Acolhuacan was the moſt ſimilar to that of Mexico; but ſtill they differed in many particulars, and the former was far more ſevere than the latter.

The laws publiſhed by the celebrated king Nezahualcojotl ordained, that a thief ſhould be dragged through the ſtreets, and afterwards hanged. Murderers were beheaded. The agent in the crime of ſodomy was ſuffocated in a heap of aſhes; the patient had his bowels torn out, after which his belly was filled with aſhes, and then he was burned. He who maliciouſly contrived to ſow diſcord between two ſtates, was tied to a tree and burned alive. He who drank till he loſt his ſenſes, if a nobleman, was immediately hanged, and his body was thrown into the lake, or into ſome river; if a plebeian, for the firſt offence, he loſt his liberty, and for the ſecond his life. And when the legiſlator was aſked, why the law was more ſevere upon nobles, he anſwered, that the crime of drunkenneſs was leſs pardonable in them, as they were more bound in duty to ſet a good example.

The ſame king preſcribed the puniſhment of death to hiſtorians who publiſhed any falſhood in their paintings *(y)*. He condemned robbers of the fields to the ſame puniſhment, and declared that the ſtealing ſeven ears of maize was ſufficient to incur the penalty.

The Tlaſcalans adopted the greater part of the laws of Acolhuacan. Among them, ſons, who were wanting in reſpect and duty to their parents, were put to death by order of the ſenate. Thoſe perſons who were authors of any public misfortune, and yet did not deſerve to be puniſhed with death, were baniſhed. Generally ſpeaking, among all the poliſhed nations of Anahuac, murder, theft, lying, adultery, and other ſimilar crimes of incontinence, were rigorouſly puniſhed, and that which we have already obſerved, when ſpeaking of their character, appears to be verified in every thing, namely, that they were (as they ſtill are) naturally inclined to ſeverity and rigour, and more vigilant to puniſh vice than to reward virtue.

(*y*) This law againſt falſe hiſtorians is atteſted by D. Ferdinando d' Alba Ixtlilxochitl (who was a deſcendant of that legiſlator), in his valuable manuſcripts.

Among

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SECT. XX. Puniſhments and priſons.

Among the puniſhments preſcribed by the legiſlators of Mexico againſt malefactors, that of the fork or gallows was reckoned the moſt ignominious. That of baniſhment was alſo thought infamous, as it ſuppoſed the guilty perſon poſſeſſed of an infectious vice. That of whipping is not found among their laws; nor do we know that it was ever made uſe of except by parents to their children, or maſters to their pupils.

They had two ſorts of priſons; one ſimilar to modern priſons, called *Teilpilojan*, which was appropriated for debtors who refuſed to pay their debts, and for ſuch perſons as were guilty of crimes not deſerving death; the other called *Quauhcalli*, reſembling a cage, was uſed to confine priſoners who were to be ſacrificed, and perſons guilty of capital offences. Both of them were well watched and ſtrongly guarded. Thoſe who were to be capitally puniſhed were fed very ſparingly, in order that they might taſte by anticipation the bitterneſs of death. The priſoners on the contrary were well nouriſhed, in order that they might appear in good fleſh at the ſacrifice. If through the negligence of the guard, any priſoner eſcaped from the cage, the community of the diſtrict, whoſe duty it was to ſupply the priſons with guards, was obliged to pay to the owner of the fugitive, a female ſlave, a load of cotton garments, and a ſhield.

SECT. XXI. Officers of war and military orders.

Having treated thus far of the civil, it is now become neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the military government of the Mexicans. No profeſſion was held in more eſteem amongſt them than the profeſſion of arms. The deity of war was the moſt revered by them, and regarded as the chief protector of the nation. No prince was elected king, until he had, in ſeveral battles, diſplayed proofs of his courage and military ſkill, and merited the ſplendid poſt of general of the army; and no king was crowned, until he had taken, with his own hands, the victims which were to be ſacrificed at the feſtival of his coronation.

All the Mexican kings, from Itzcoatl the firſt, down to Quautemotzin, who was their laſt, roſe from the command of the army to the government of the kingdom. Thoſe who died for the ſake of their country, with their arms in their hands, were imagined to be the happieſt ſouls in another life. From the great eſteem in which the profeſſion of arms was held amongſt them, they were at much pains to make their children courageous, and to enure them from the earlieſt infancy to the hardſhips of

of war. It was this elevated notion of the glory of arms, which formed thoſe heroes, whoſe illuſtrious actions we have already related: which made them ſhake off the yoke of the Tepanecas, and erect on ſo humble a foundation, ſo famous and celebrated a monarchy: and laſtly, which produced the extenſion of their dominions from the banks of the lake to the ſhores of the two oppoſite ſeas.

The higheſt military dignity was that of general of the army; but there were four different ranks of generals, of which the moſt reſpectable was that of *Tlacochcalcatl* (z), and each rank had its particular badges of diſtinction. We are uncertain in what degree the other three ranks were ſubordinate to the firſt; nor can we even tell their names, on account of the different opinions of authors on this head (*a*). Next to the generals were the captains, each of whom commanded a certain number of ſoldiers.

In order to reward the ſervices of warriors, and give them every kind of encouragement, the Mexicans deviſed three military orders, called *Achcauhtin*, *Quauhtin*, and *Oocelo*, or Princes, Eagles, and Tygers. The perſons belonging to the order of princes, who were called *Quachictin*, were the moſt honoured. They wore their hair tied on the top of their heads with a red ſtring, from which hung as many locks of cotton as they had performed meritorious actions. This honour was ſo much eſteemed among them, that the kings themſelves, as well as the generals, were proud of having it conferred upon them. Montezuma II. belonged to this order, as Acoſta affirms, and alſo king Tizoc, as appears in the paintings of him. The Tygers were diſtinguiſhed by a particular armour which they wore, it being ſpotted like the ſkins of theſe wild animals; but ſuch inſignia were only made uſe of in war: at court all the officers of the army wore a dreſs of mixed colours, which was called *Tlachquauhjo*. No perſons on the firſt time of their going to war, were allowed to wear any badge of diſ-

(z) Some authors ſay that *Tlacochcalcatl*, ſignifies prince of the darts; but unqueſtionably it means only, inhabitant of the arſenal, or houſe of the darts.

(*a*) The interpreter of Mendoza's Collection ſays, that the names of the four ranks of generals, were *Tlacochcalcatl*, *Atempanecatl*, *Ezhuacatecatl*, and *Tlillancalqui*. Acoſta, inſtead of *Atempanecatl*, ſays *Tlacatecatl*, and inſtead of *Ezhuacatecatl*, *Ezhuahuacatl*; and adds, that theſe were the names of the four electors. Torquemada adopts the name of *Tlacatecatl*, but ſometimes he makes his rank inferior to the Tlacochcalcatl, and at other times he confounds them together.

tinction;

tinction; they were dreſſed in a coarſe white habit, of cloth made from the aloe; and this rule was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that it was even neceſſary for the princes of the royal blood to give ſome proofs of their courage before they could be entitled to change that plain dreſs for another more coſtly, called *Teucaliuhqui*. The members of thoſe military orders, beſides the exterior marks of diſtinction which they wore, were allotted particular apartments in the royal palace, whenever they waited upon the king as guards. They were allowed to have furniture in their houſes made of gold, to wear the fineſt cotton dreſs, and finer ſhoes than thoſe of the common people; but no ſoldier had permiſſion to do this until he had gained, by his bravery, ſome advancement in the army. A particular dreſs called *Tlacatziuhqui* was given as a reward to the ſoldier, who, by his example, encouraged a diſpirited army to renew battle with vigour.

SECT. XXII. The military dreſs of the king.

When the king went to war, he wore beſides his armour, particular badges of diſtinction; on his legs, half boots made of thin plates of gold; on his arms, plates of the ſame metal, and bracelets of gems; at his under lip hung an emerald ſet in gold; at his ears, ear-rings of the ſame ſtone; about his neck a necklace, or chain of gold and gems, and a plume of beautiful feathers on his head; but the badge moſt expreſſive of majeſty, was a work of great labour made of beautiful feathers, which reached from the head all down the back (*b*). The Mexicans were very attentive to diſtinguiſh perſons, particularly in war, by different badges.

SECT. XXIII. The arms of the Mexicans.

The defenſive and offenſive arms which were made uſe of by the Mexicans, and the other nations of Anahuac, were of various ſorts. The defenſive arms common to the nobles and plebeians, to the officers and ſoldiers, were ſhields, which they called *Chimalli* (*c*), and were made of different forms and materials. Some of them were perfectly round, and others were rounded only in the under part. Some

(*b*) All theſe royal inſignia had their particular names. The boots were called *cozehuatl*, the brachials *matermcatl*, the bracelets *matzopeztli*, the emerald at the lip *tentetl*, the ear-rings *nacochtli*, the necklace *cozcapetlatl*, and the principal badge of feathers *quachictli*.

(*c*) Solis pretends, that the ſhield was uſed only by lords; but the anonymous conqueror, who frequently ſaw the Mexicans in arms, and was engaged in many battles againſt them, aſſerts expreſly, that this armour was common to all ranks. No author has informed us more accurately than he of the Mexican armour.

were

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were made of *ǫtatli*, or ſolid elaſtic canes, interwoven with thick cotton threads, and covered with feathers; thoſe of the nobles with thin plates of gold; others were made of large tortoiſe-ſhells, adorned with copper, ſilver, and gold, according to the wealth of the owner, or his rank in the army. Theſe were of a moderate ſize; but others were ſo exceſſively large, that they could occaſionally cover the whole body; but when it was not neceſſary to uſe them, they could compreſs them, and carry them under their arms like the paraſols of the moderns; it is probable, they were made of the ſkins of animals, or cloth waxed with *ule*, or elaſtic gum *(d)*. On the other hand, many of their ſhields were very ſmall, more beautiful than ſtrong, and adorned with fine feathers; theſe were not employed in war, but only at the entertainments which they made in imitation of a battle.

The defenſive arms peculiar to the officers were breaſt-plates of cotton, one and ſometimes two fingers thick, which were arrow-proof; and on this account the Spaniards themſelves made uſe of them in the war againſt the Mexicans. The name *Ichcahuepilli*, which the Mexicans gave to this ſort of breaſt-plate, was changed by the Spaniards into the word *Eſcaupil*. Over this ſort of cuiraſs, which only covered part of the breaſt, they put on another piece of armour, which, beſides the cheſt, covered the thighs, and the half of the arms, figures of which appear in the plate repreſenting the Mexican armour. The lords were accuſtomed to wear a thick upper coat of feathers, over a cuiraſs made of ſeveral plates of gold, or ſilver gilt, which rendered them invulnerable, not only by arrows, but even by darts or ſwords, as the anonymous conqueror affirms. Beſides the armour which they wore for the defence of their cheſts, their arms, their thighs, and even their legs; their heads were uſually caſed in the heads of tygers, or ſerpents, made of wood, or ſome other ſubſtance, with the mouth open, and furniſhed with large teeth that they might inſpire terror, and ſo animated in appearance, that the above mentioned author ſays, they ſeemed to be vomiting up the ſoldiers. All the officers and nobles wore a beautiful plume of feathers on their heads, in order to add to the appearance of their ſtature. The common ſoldiers went entirely naked,

(*d*) Theſe large ſhields are mentioned by the anonymous conqueror, Didaco Godoi, and Bernal Dias, who were all preſent at the conqueſt.

except

Shields

Sword

except the *maxtlatl*, or girdle, which covered the private parts; but they counterfeited the dreſs which they wanted by different colours, with which they painted their bodies. The European hiſtorians, who expreſs ſo much wonder at this, have not obſerved how common the ſame practice was among the ancient nations of Europe itſelf. BOOK VII.

The offenſive arms of the Mexicans were arrows, ſlings, clubs, ſpears, pikes, ſwords, and darts. Their bows were made of a wood, which was elaſtic and difficult to break, and the ſtring of the ſinews of animals, or the hair of the ſtag. Some of their bows were ſo large (as they are at preſent among ſome nations of that continent), that they required more than five feet length of ſtring. Their arrows were made of hard rods, pointed with the ſharp bone of a fiſh, or other animal, or a piece of flint, or *itzli*. They were extremely expert at drawing the bow, and very dextrous markſmen, being exerciſed in it from childhood, and encouraged by rewards from their maſters and parents. The Tehuacaneſe nation was particularly famous for their ſkill in ſhooting two or three arrows together. The ſurpriſing feats of dexterity, which have been exhibited even in our time by the Taraumareſe, the Hiaqueſe, and other people of thoſe regions, who ſtill uſe the bow and arrow, enable us to judge of the expertneſs and excellence of the ancient Mexicans in that way (*e*). No people of the country of Anahuac ever made uſe of poiſoned arrows; this was probably owing to their deſire of taking their enemies alive for the purpoſe of ſacrificing them.

The *Maquahuitl*, called by the Spaniards *Spada*, or ſword, as it was the weapon among the Mexicans, which was equivalent to the ſword of the old continent, was a ſtout ſtick three feet and a half long, and about four inches broad, armed on each ſide with a ſort of razors of the ſtone *itzli*, extraordinarily ſharp, fixed and firmly faſtened to the ſtick with gum lack (*f*), which were about three inches long, one or two inches broad,

(*e*) The dexterity of thoſe people in ſhooting arrows would not be credible, were it not well aſcertained by the depoſitions of a variety of eye-witneſſes. It was uſual for a number of archers to aſſemble together, and throw up an ear of maize into the air, at which they immediately ſhot with ſuch quickneſs and dexterity, that before it could reach the ground it was ſtripped of every grain.

(*f*) Hernandez ſays, that one ſtroke of the maquahuitl was ſufficient to cut a man through the middle; and the anonymous conqueror atteſts, that he ſaw in an engagement a Mexican, with

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broad, and as thick as the blade of our ancient ſwords. This weapon was ſo keen, that once it entirely beheaded a horſe at one ſtroke, according to the affirmation of Acoſta; but the firſt ſtroke only was to be feared; for the razors became ſoon blunt. They tied this weapon by a ſtring to their arm, leſt they might loſe it in any violent conflict. The form of the maquahuitl is deſcribed by ſeveral hiſtorians, and is repreſented in one of the plates of this hiſtory.

The pikes of the Mexicans, inſtead of iron, were pointed with a large flint, but ſome of them alſo with copper. The Chinantecas, and ſome people of Chiapan, made uſe of pikes ſo monſtrous, that they exceeded three perches, or eighteen feet in length, and the conqueror Cortes employed them againſt the cavalry of his rival Panfilo Navaez.

The *Tlacochtli*, or Mexican dart, was a ſmall lance of *otatli*, or ſome other ſtrong wood, the point of which was hardened by fire, or ſhod with copper, or *itzli*, or bone, and many of them had three points, in order to make a triple wound at every ſtroke.

They fixed a ſtring to their darts (*g*), in order to pull them back again, after they had launched them at the enemy. This was the weapon which was the moſt dreaded by the Spaniſh conquerors; for they were ſo expert at throwing them, that they pierced the body of an enemy through and through. The ſoldiers were armed in general with a ſword, a bow and arrows, a dart, and a ſling. We do not know, whether in war, they ever made uſe of their axes, of which we ſhall ſhortly ſpeak.

SECT. XXIV. Standards and martial muſic.

They had alſo ſtandards and muſical inſtruments proper for war. Their ſtandards, which were more like the *Signum* of the Romans than our colours, were ſtaves from eight to ten feet long, on which they carried the arms or enſigns of the ſtate, made of gold, or feathers, or ſome other valuable materials. The armorial enſign of the Mexican empire, was an eagle in the act of darting upon a tyger; that of the republic of Tlaſcala, an eagle with its wings ſpread (*h*); but each of

with one ſtroke which he gave a horſe in the belly, make his inteſtines drop out; and another, who with one ſtroke which he gave a horſe upon the head, laid him dead at his feet.

(*g*) The Mexican dart was of that kind of darts which the Romans uſed to call *Haſtile*, *Jaculum*, or *Telum amentatum*, and the Spaniſh name *Amento* or *Ameinto*, which the hiſtorians of Mexico have adopted, means the ſame thing as the Amentum of the Romans.

(*h*) Gomara ſays, that the armorial enſign of the republic of Tlaſcala was a crane; but other hiſtorians, better informed than he was, affirm that it was an eagle.

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the four lordſhips which compoſed the republic, had its proper enſign. That of Ocotelolco, was a green bird upon a rock; that of Tizatlan, a heron upon a rock alſo; that of Tepeticpac, a fierce wolf, holding ſome arrows in his paws; and that of Quiahuiztlan, a paraſol of green feathers. The ſtandard which the conqueror Cortes took in the famous battle of Otompan, was a net of gold, which, in all probability, was the ſtandard of ſome city ſituated on the lake. Beſides the common and principal ſtandard of the army, every company, conſiſting of two or three hundred ſoldiers, carried its particular ſtandard, and was not only diſtinguiſhed from others by it, but likewiſe by the colour of the feathers, which the officers and nobles bore upon their armour. The ſtandard-bearer of the army, at leaſt in the laſt years of the empire, was the general, and thoſe of the companies, moſt probably, were borne by their commanding officers. Thoſe ſtandards were ſo firmly tied upon the backs of the officers, that it was almoſt impoſſible to detach them without cutting the ſtandard-bearers to pieces. The Mexicans always placed their ſtandard in the centre of their army. The Tlaſcalans, when they marched their troops in time of peace placed it in the van, but in the time of war, in the rear of their army.

Their martial muſic, in which there was more noiſe than harmony, conſiſted of drums, horns, and certain ſea-ſhells which made an extremely ſhrill ſound.

SECT. XXV. The mode of declaring and carrying on war.

Previous to a declaration of war, the ſupreme council examined into the cauſe which induced them to undertake it, which was for the moſt part the rebellion of ſome city or province, the putting to death unlawfully ſome Mexican, Acolhuan, or Tepanecan couriers, or merchants, or ſome groſs inſult offered to their ambaſſadors. If the rebellion originated in ſome of the chiefs, and not among the people, the guilty perſons were conducted to the capital and puniſhed. But if the people were alſo in fault, ſatisfaction was demanded from them in the name of the king. If they ſubmitted, and manifeſted a ſincere repentance, their crime was pardoned, and they were adviſed to better conduct; but if, inſtead of ſubmiſſion, they anſwered with arrogance, and perſiſted in denying the ſatisfaction demanded, or offered any new inſult to the meſſengers which were ſent to them, the affair was diſcuſſed in the council, and if war was reſolved upon, proper orders were given

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given to the generals. Sometimes the kings, in order to juſtify their conduct more fully before they made war upon any ſtate or place, ſent three different embaſſies; the firſt to the lord of the ſtate which had given offence, requiring from him a ſuitable ſatisfaction, and alſo preſcribing a time for the ſame, on pain of being treated as an enemy; the ſecond, to the nobles, that they might perſuade their lord to make a ſubmiſſion, and eſcape the puniſhment which threatened him; and the third to the people, in order to make them acquainted with the occaſion of the war; and very often, as a certain hiſtorian aſſerts, the arguments made uſe of by the ambaſſadors were ſo powerful, and the advantages of peace, and the diſtreſſes of war, were ſo forcibly repreſented, that an accommodation took place between the parties. They uſed alſo to ſend along with ambaſſadors the idol of Huitzilopochtli, enjoining the people who were ſtirring up a war to give it a place among their gods. If they on the one hand found themſelves ſtrong enough to reſiſt, they rejected the propoſition, and diſmiſſed the ſtrange god; but if they thought themſelves unable to ſuſtain a war, they received the idol, and placed it among their provincial gods, and anſwered to the embaſſy with a large preſent of gold, gems, or beautiful feathers, acknowledging their ſubjection to the ſovereign.

If war was to be commenced, previous to every thing elſe they ſent advice of it to the enemy, that they might prepare for defence, conſidering nothing more mean and unworthy of brave people than to attack the unguarded: for this purpoſe therefore, they ſent before them ſeveral ſhields, which were the ſignals of a challenge, and likewiſe ſome cotton dreſſes. When one king was challenged by another, they uſed alſo the ceremony of anointing, and fixing feathers upon his head, which was done by the ambaſſador, as happened at the challenge given by king Itzcoatl to the tyrant Maxtlaton; they next diſpatched ſpies, who were called *Quimichtin*, or ſorcerers, and were to go in diſguiſe into the country of the enemy, to obſerve their number and motions, and the quality of the troops which they muſtered. If they were ſucceſsful in this commiſſion they were amply rewarded. Laſtly, after having made ſome ſacrifices to the god of war, and to the tutelar deities of the ſtate or city on which the war was made, in order to merit their protection, the army marched, but not formed into wings, or ranked.

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in files, but divided into companies, each of which had its leader, and its ſtandard. When the army was numerous it was reckoned by *Xiquipilli*; and each *xiquipilli* conſiſted of eight thouſand men. It is extremely probable, that each of theſe bodies was commanded by a Tlacatecatl, or other general. The place where the firſt battle was uſually fought was a field appointed for that purpoſe in ſome province, and called *Jaotlalli*, or land or field of battle. They began battle (as was uſual in ancient Europe, and among the Romans), with a moſt terrible noiſe of warlike inſtruments, ſhouting and whiſtling, which ſtruck terror to thoſe who were not accuſtomed to hear it, as the anonymous conqueror declares from his own experience. Amongſt the people of Tezcuco, and likewiſe, moſt probably, amongſt thoſe of other ſtates, the king, or the general, gave the ſignal for battle, by the beat of a little drum which hung at his ſhoulder. Their firſt onſet was furious; but they did not all engage at once, as ſome authors have reported; for they were accuſtomed, as is manifeſt from their hiſtory, to keep troops in reſerve, for preſſing emergencies. Sometimes they began battle with ſhooting arrows, and ſometimes with darts and ſlinging of ſtones; and when their arrows were exhauſted, they made uſe of their pikes, clubs, and ſwords. They were extremely attentive to keep their troops united and firmly together, to defend the ſtandard, and to carry off the dead and the wounded from the ſight of the enemy. There were certain men of the army who had no other employment than to remove from the eyes of the enemy every object which could heighten their courage and inflame their pride. They made frequent uſe of ambuſcades, concealing themſelves in buſhy places or ditches made on purpoſe, of which the Spaniards had often experience; and frequently alſo they pretended flight, in order to lead the enemy in purſuit of them into ſome dangerous ſituation, or to charge them behind with freſh troops. Their great aim in battle was not to kill, but to make priſoners of their enemies for ſacrifices; nor was the bravery of a ſoldier eſtimated by the number of dead bodies which he left on the field, but by the number of priſoners which he preſented to the general after the battle, and this was unqueſtionably the principal cauſe of the preſervation of the Spaniards, in the midſt of the dangers to which they were expoſed, and

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particularly on that memorable night when they were defeated, and obliged to retreat from the capital. When an enemy, whom they had once conquered, attempted to ſave himſelf by flight, they hamſtring him to prevent his eſcape. When the ſtandard of the army was taken by the enemy, or their general fell, they all fled, nor was it poſſible then by any human art to rally or recall them.

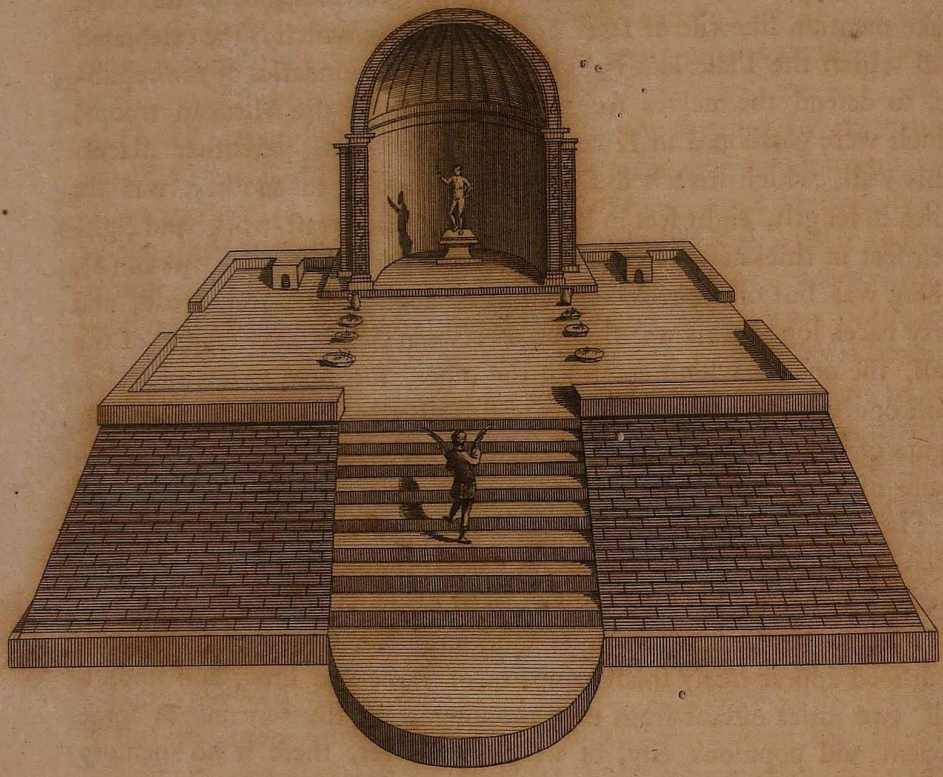
When the battle was over, the victors celebrated the victory with great rejoicings, and rewarded the officers and ſoldiers who had made ſome priſoners. When the king of Mexico in perſon, took an enemy priſoner, embaſſies came from all the provinces of the kingdom to congratulate him upon the occaſion, and to offer him ſome preſent. This priſoner was clothed with the fineſt habits, adorned with jewels, and carried in a litter to the capital, where the citizens came out to meet him, with muſic and loud acclamations. When the day of the ſacrifice arrived, the king having faſted the day before, according to the cuſtom of owners of priſoners, they carried the royal priſoner, adorned with the enſigns of the ſun, to the altar for common ſacrifices, where he was ſacrificed by the high-prieſt. The prieſt ſprinkled his blood towards the four principal winds, and ſent a veſſel full of the ſame to the king, who ordered it to be ſprinkled on all the idols within the incloſure of the greater temple, as a token of thanks for the victory obtained over the enemies of the ſtate. They hung up the head in ſome very lofty place, and after the ſkin of the body was dried, they filled it with cotton, and hung it up in the royal palace, in memory of the glorious deed; in which circumſtance however, their adulation to him was conſpicuous.

When any city was to be beſieged, the greateſt anxiety of the citizens was to ſecure their children, their women, and ſick perſons; for which purpoſe they ſent them off, at an early opportunity, to another city, or to the mountains. Thus they ſaved thoſe defenceleſs individuals from the fury of the enemy, and obviated an unneceſſary conſumption of proviſions.

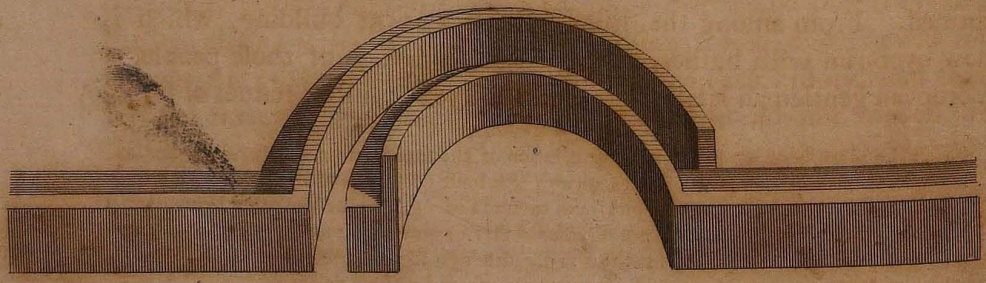
SECT. XXVI. Fortifications.

For the defence of places they made uſe of various kinds of fortifications, ſuch as walls, and ramparts, with their breaſt-works, paliſadoes, ditches, and intrenchments. Concerning the city of Quauhquechollan,

Another form of Temple.



Entrance of the Tlascalan Territories.



chollan, we know that it was fortified by a ſtrong ſtone wall, about twenty-feet high, and twelve feet in thickneſs *(i)*.

The conquerors, who deſcribe to us the fortifications of this city, make mention likewiſe of ſeveral others, among which is the celebrated wall which the Tlaſcalans built on the eaſtern boundaries of the republic, to defend themſelves from the invaſion of the Mexican troops, which were garriſoned in Iztacmaxtitlan, Xocotlan, and other places. This wall, which ſtretched from one mountain to another, was ſix miles in length, eight feet in height, beſides the breaſt-work, and eighteen feet in thickneſs. It was made of ſtone, and ſtrong fine mortar (*k*). There was but one narrow entrance of about eight feet broad, and forty paces long; this was the ſpace between the two extremities of the wall, the one of which encircled the other, forming two ſemicircles, with one common centre. This will be better underſtood from the figure of it which we preſent to our readers. There are ſtill ſome remains of this wall to be ſeen.

There are alſo to be ſeen ſtill the remains of an ancient fortreſs built upon the top of a mountain, at a little diſtance from the village of Molcaxac, ſurrounded by four walls, placed at ſome diſtance from each other, from the baſe of the mountain unto the top. In the neighbourhood appear many ſmall ramparts of ſtone and lime, and upon a hill, two miles diſtant from that mountain, are the remains of ſome ancient and populous city, of which, however, there is no memory among hiſtorians. About twenty-five miles from Cordova, towards the north, is likewiſe the ancient fortreſs of *Quauhtocho*, (now *Guatuſco*), ſurrounded by high walls of extremely hard ſtone, to which there is no entrance but by aſcending a number of very high and narrow ſteps; for in this manner the entrance to their fortreſſes was formed. From among the ruins of this ancient building, which is now over-run with buſhes, through the negligence of thoſe people, a Cordovan gentleman lately dug out ſeveral well-finiſhed ſtatues of ſtone,

(*i*) In the ninth book we ſhall give a deſcription of the fortifications of Quauhquechollan.

(*k*) Bernal Dias ſays, that the Tlaſcalan wall was built of ſtone and lime, and with a bitumen ſo ſtrong it was neceſſary to uſe pick-axes to undo it. Cortes, on the other hand affirms, that it was built of dry ſtones. We are diſpoſed rather to give credit to Bernal Dias; becauſe he aſſerts, he had attentively examined this wall, although like an illiterate perſon, he gives the name of bitumen to the mortar or cement made uſe of by thoſe nations.

for

for the ornament of his houſe. Near to the ancient court of Tezcuco, a part of the wall which ſurrounded the city of Coatlichan, is ſtill preſerved. We wiſh that our countrymen would attend to the preſervation of thoſe few remains of the military architecture of the Mexicans, particularly as they have ſuffered ſo many other valuable remains of their antiquity to go to ruin *(l)*.

The capital of Mexico, though ſufficiently fortified by its natural ſituation for thoſe times, was rendered impregnable to its enemies by the induſtry of its inhabitants. There was no acceſs to the city but by the roads formed upon the lake; and to make it ſtill more difficult in time of war, they built many ramparts upon theſe roads, which were interſected with ſeveral deep ditches, over which they had draw-bridges, and thoſe ditches were defended by good entrenchments. Thoſe ditches were the graves of many Spaniards and Tlaſcalans, on the memorable night of the firſt of July, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; and the cauſe which retarded the taking of that great city, by ſo numerous and well equipped an army, as that which Cortes employed to beſiege it; and which, had he not been aſſiſted by the brigantines, would have delayed it much longer, and occaſioned the loſs of a great deal more blood. For the defence of the city by water, they had many thouſand ſmall veſſels, and frequently exerciſed themſelves in naval engagements.

But the moſt ſingular fortifications of Mexico were the temples themſelves, and eſpecially the greater temple, which reſembled a citadel. The wall which ſurrounded the whole of the temple, the five arſenals there which were filled with every ſort of offenſive and defenſive arms, and the architecture of the temple itſelf which rendered the aſcent to it ſo difficult, gives us clearly to underſtand, that in ſuch buildings, policy, as well as religion, had a ſhare; and that they conſtructed them, not only from motives of ſuperſtition, but likewiſe for the purpoſe of defence. It is well known from their hiſtory, that they fortified themſelves in their temples when they could not hinder the

(*l*) Theſe imperfect accounts of thoſe remains of Mexican antiquities, obtained from eye-witneſſes worthy of the utmoſt credit, perſuade us, that there are ſtill many more of which we have no knowledge, owing to the indolence and neglect of our countrymen. See what is ſaid in our diſſertations reſpecting thoſe antiquities againſt Sig. de P. and Dr. Robertſon.

enemy,

enemy from entering into the city, and from thence harraſſed them with arrows, darts, and ſtones. In the laſt book of this hiſtory, will appear how long the Spaniards were in taking the greater temple, where five hundred Mexican nobles had fortified themſelves.

The high eſteem in which the Mexicans held every thing relating to war, did not divert their attention from the arts of peace. Firſt, agriculture, which is one of the chief occupations of civil life, was, from time immemorial, exerciſed by the Mexicans, and almoſt all the people of Anahuac. The Toltecan nation employed themſelves diligently in it, and taught it to the Chechemecan hunters. With reſpect to the Mexicans, we know that during the whole of their peregrination, from their native country Aztlan, unto the lake where they founded Mexico, they cultivated the earth in all thoſe places where they made any conſiderable ſtop, and lived upon the produce of their labour. When they were brought under ſubjection to the Colhuan and Tepanecan nations, and confined to the miſerable little iſlands on the lake, they ceaſed for ſome years to cultivate the land, becauſe they had none, until neceſſity, and induſtry together, taught them to form moveable fields and gardens, which floated on the waters of the lake. The method which they purſued to make thoſe, and which they ſtill practiſe, is extremely ſimple.

SECT. XXVII. Floating fields and gardens of the Mexican lake.

They plait and twiſt willows, and roots of marſh plants, or other materials together, which are light, but capable of ſupporting the earth of the garden firmly united. Upon this foundation they lay the light buſhes which float on the lake, and over all, the mud and dirt which they draw up from the bottom of the ſame lake. Their regular figure is quadrangular; their length and breadth various; but as far as we can judge, they are about eight perches long, and not more than three in breadth, and have leſs than a foot of elevation above the ſurface of the water. Theſe were the firſt fields which the Mexicans owned after the foundation of Mexico; there they firſt cultivated the maize, great pepper, and other plants, neceſſary for their ſupport. In progreſs of time as thoſe fields grew numerous from the induſtry of thoſe people there were among them gardens of flowers and odoriferous plants, which were employed in the worſhip of their gods, and ſerved for the recreation of the nobles. At preſent they cultivate flowers, and every ſort of garden

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den herbs upon them. Every day of the year, at ſun-riſe, innumerable veſſels loaded with various kinds of flowers and herbs, which are cultivated in thoſe gardens are ſeen arriving by the canal, at the great market-place of that capital. All plants thrive there ſurpriſingly; the mud of the lake is an extremely fertile ſoil, and requires no water from the clouds. In the largeſt gardens there is commonly a little tree, and even a little hut to ſhelter the cultivator, and defend him from rain, or the ſun. When the owner of a garden, or the *Chinampa*, as he is uſually called, wiſhes to change his ſituation, to remove from a diſagreeable neighbour, or to come nearer to his own family, he gets into his little veſſel, and by his own ſtrength alone, if the garden is ſmall, or with the aſſiſtance of others, if it is large, he tows it after him, and conducts it wherever he pleaſes with the little tree and hut upon it. That part of the lake where thoſe floating gardens are, is a place of infinite recreation where the ſenſes receive the higheſt poſſible gratification.

SECT. XXVIII. Manner of cultivating the earth.

As ſoon as the Mexicans had ſhaken of the Tepanecan yoke, and had gained by their conqueſts lands fit for cultivation, they applied themſelves with great diligence to agriculture. Having neither ploughs, nor oxen, nor any other animals proper to be employed in the culture of the earth, they ſupplied the want of them by labour, and other more ſimple inſtruments. To hoe and dig the ground they made uſe of the *Coatl* (or *Coa*), which is an inſtrument made of copper, with a wooden handle, but different from a ſpade or mattock. They made uſe of an axe to cut trees, which was alſo made of copper, and was of the ſame form with thoſe of modern times, except that we put the handle in the eye of the axe, whereas they put the axe into an eye of the handle. They had ſeveral other inſtruments of agriculture; but the negligence of ancient writers on this ſubject has not left it in our power to attempt their deſcription.

For the refreſhment of their fields they made uſe of the water of rivers and ſmall torrents which came from the mountains, raiſing dams to collect them, and forming canals to conduct them. Lands which were high, or on the declivity of mountains, were not ſown every year, but allowed to lie fallow until they were over-run with buſhes, which they burned, to repair by their aſhes, the ſalt which rains had waſhed away. They ſurrounded their fields with ſtone incloſures, or hedges made of the *metl*, or aloe, which make an excellent fence; and in the month

month Panquetzaliztli, which began, as we have already mentioned, on the third of December, they were repaired if neceſſary (*m*).

The method they obſerved in ſowing of maize, and which they ſtill practiſe in ſome places, is this. The ſower makes a ſmall hole in the earth, with a ſtick or drill probably, the point of which is hardened by fire; into this hole he drops one or two grains of maize from a baſket which hangs from his ſhoulder, and covers them with a little earth by means of his foot; he then paſſes forward to a certain diſtance, which is greater or leſs according to the quality of the ſoil, opens another hole, and continues ſo in a ſtrait line unto the end of the field; from thence he returns, forming another line parallel to the firſt. The rows of plants by theſe means are as ſtrait as if a line was made uſe of, and at as equal diſtances from each other as if the ſpaces between were meaſured. This method of ſowing, which is now uſed by a few of the Indians only, though more ſlow (*n*), is, however of ſome advantage, as they can more exactly proportion the quantity of ſeed to the ſtrength of the ſoil; beſides, that there is almoſt none of the ſeed loſt which is ſown. In conſequence of this, the crops of the fields which are cultivated in that manner are uſually more plentiful. When the maize ſprings up to a certain height, they cover the foot of the plant round with earth, that it may be better nouriſhed, and more able to withſtand ſudden guſts of wind.

In the labours of the field the men were aſſiſted by the women. It was the buſineſs of the men to dig and hoe the ground, to ſow, to heap the earth about the plants, and to reap; to the women it belonged to ſtrip off the leaves from the ears, and to clear the grain; to weed and to ſhell it was the employment of both.

SECT. XXIX. Threſhing-floors and granaries.

They had places like farm yards, where they ſtripped off the leaves from the ears, and ſhelled them, and granaries to preſerve the grain. Their granaries were built in a ſquare form, and generally of wood. They made uſe of the *ojametl* for this purpoſe, which is a very lofty tree, with but a few ſlender branches, and a thin ſmooth bark; the wood of it is extremely pliant, and difficult to break or rot. Theſe

(*m*) This is called a *penguin fence* in Jamaica, and the windward iſlands.

(*n*) This manner of ſowing is not ſo ſlow as might be imagined, as the country people uſed to this method do it with wonderful quickneſs.

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granaries were formed by placing the round and equal trunks of the *ojametl* in a ſquare, one upon the other, without any labour except that of a ſmall nitch towards their extremities, to adjuſt and unite them ſo perfectly as not to ſuffer any paſſage to the light. When the ſtructure was raiſed to a ſufficient height, they covered it with another ſet of croſs-beams, and over theſe the roof was laid to defend the grain from rains. Thoſe granaries had no other door or outlet than two windows, one below which was ſmall, and another ſomewhat wider above. Some of them were ſo large as to contain five or ſix thouſand, or ſometimes more *fanegas* (*o*) of maize. There are ſome of this ſort of granaries to be met with in a few places at a diſtance from the capital, and amongſt them ſome ſo very ancient, that they appear to have been built before the conqueſt; and, according to the information we have had from perſons of intelligence, they preſerve the grain better than thoſe which are conſtructed by the Europeans.

Cloſe to fields which were ſown they commonly erected a little tower of wood, branches and mats, in which a man defended from the ſun and rain kept watch, and drove away the birds which came in flocks to conſume the young grain. Thoſe little towers are ſtill made uſe of even in the fields of the Spaniards on account of the exceſſive number of birds.

SECT. XXX. Kitchen and other gardens and woods.

The Mexicans were alſo extremely well ſkilled in the cultivation of kitchen and other gardens, in which they planted with great regularity and taſte, fruit-trees, and medicinal plants and flowers. The laſt of thoſe were much in demand, not leſs on account of the particular pleaſure taken in them, than of the cuſtom which prevailed of preſenting bunches of flowers to their kings, lords, ambaſſadors, and other perſons of rank, beſides the exceſſive quantity which were made uſe of in the temples and private oratories. Amongſt the ancient gardens, of which an account has been handed down to us, the royal gardens of Mexico and Tezcuco, which we have already mentioned, and thoſe of the lords of Iztapalapan and Huaxtepec, have been much celebrated. Among the gardens of the great palace of the lord of Iztapalapan, there was one, the extent, diſpoſition, and beauty of which excited the

(*o*) A Caſtilian meaſure of dry goods, formerly mentioned by us.

admi-

admiration of the Spaniſh conquerors. It was laid out in four ſquares, and planted with every variety of trees, the ſight and ſcent of which gave infinite pleaſure to the ſenſes; through thoſe ſquares a number of roads and paths led, ſome formed by fruit-bearing trees, and others by eſpaliers of flowering ſhrubs and aromatic herbs. Several canals from the lake watered it, by one of which their barges could enter. In the centre of of the garden was a fiſh-pond, the circumference of which meaſured ſixteen hundred paces, or four hundred from ſide to ſide, where innumerable water-fowl reſorted, and there were ſteps on every ſide to deſcend to the bottom. This garden, agreeable to the teſtimony of Cortes and Diaz, who ſaw it, was planted, or rather extended and improved by Cuitlahuatzin, the brother and ſucceſſor in the kingdom to Montezuma II. He cauſed many foreign trees to be tranſplanted there, according to the account of Hernandez, who ſaw them.

The garden of Huaxtepec was ſtill more extenſive and celebrated than the laſt. It was ſix miles in circumference, and watered by a beautiful river which croſſed it. Innumerable ſpecies of trees and plants were reared there and beautifully diſpoſed, and at proper diſtances from each other different pleaſure houſes were erected. A great number of ſtrange plants imported from foreign countries were collected in it. The Spaniards for many years preſerved this garden, where they cultivated every kind of medicinal herb belonging to that clime, for the uſe of the hoſpital which they founded there, in which the remarkable hermit, Gregorio Lopez, ſerved a number of years *(p)*.

They paid no leſs attention to the preſervation of the woods which ſupplied them with fuel to burn, timber to build, and game for the diverſion of the king. We have formerly mentioned the woods of

(*p*) Cortes, in his letter to Charles V. of the 15th of May, 1522, told him, that the garden of Huaxtepec was the moſt extenſive, the moſt beautiful, and moſt delightful which had ever been beheld. Bernal Dias, in chap. cxlii. of his hiſtory ſays, that the garden was moſt wonderful, and truly worthy of a great prince. Hernandez frequently makes mention of it in his Natural Hiſtory, and names ſeveral plants which were tranſplanted there, and amongſt others the balſam-tree. Cortes alſo, in his letter to Charles V. of the 30th of October, 1520, relates, that having requeſted king Montezuma to cauſe a villa to be made in Malinaltepec for that emperor, two months were hardly elapſed when there were erected at that place four good houſes; ſixty fanegas of maize ſown, ten of French beans, two thouſand feet of ground planted with cacao, and a vaſt pond, where five hundred ducks were breeding, and fifteen hundred turkies were rearing in houſes.

king

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king Montezuma, and the laws of king Nezahualcojotl concerning the cutting of them. It would be of advantage to that kingdom, that thoſe laws were ſtill in force, or at leaſt that there was not ſo much liberty granted in cutting without an obligation to plant a certain number of trees; as many people preferring their private intereſt and convenience to the public welfare, deſtroy the wood in order to enlarge their poſſeſſions (*q*).

SECT. XXXI. Plants moſt cultivated by the Mexicans.

Among the plants moſt cultivated by the Mexicans next to maize, the principal were thoſe of cotton, the cacao, the *metl*, or aloe, the chia, and great pepper, on account of the various uſes which they made of them. The aloe, or maguei alone, yielded almoſt every thing neceſſary to the life of the poor. Beſides making excellent hedges for their fields, its trunk ſerved in place of beams for the roofs of their houſes, and its leaves inſtead of tiles. From thoſe leaves they obtained paper, thread, needles, clothing, ſhoes, and ſtockings, and cordage; and from its copious juice they made wine, honey, ſugar, and vinegar. Of the trunk, and thickeſt part of the leaves, when well baked, they made a very tolerable diſh of food. Laſtly, it was a powerful medicine in ſeveral diſorders, and particularly in thoſe of the urine. It is alſo at preſent one of the plants the moſt valued and moſt profitable to the Spaniards, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

SECT. XXXII. Animals bred by the Mexicans.

With reſpect to the breeding of animals, which is an employment aſſociated with agriculture, although among the Mexicans there were no ſhepherds, they having been entirely deſtitute of ſheep, they bred up innumerable ſpecies of animals unknown in Europe. Private perſons brought up *techichis*, quadrupeds, as we have already mentioned, ſimilar to little dogs; turkeys, quails, geeſe, ducks, and other kinds of fowl. In the houſes of lords were bred fiſh, deer, rabbits, and a variery of birds; and in the royal palaces, almoſt all the ſpecies of quadrupeds, and winged animals of thoſe countries, and a prodigious number of water animals and reptiles. We may ſay, that in this kind of magnificence Montezuma II. ſurpaſſed all the kings of the world, and that there never has been a nation equal in ſkill to the Mexicans in the

(*q*) Many places ſtill feel the pernicious effects of the liberty to cut the woods. The city Queretaro was formerly provided with timber for building from the wood which was upon the neighbouring mountain *Cimatario*. At preſent it is obliged to be brought from a great diſtance, as the mountain is entirely ſtript of its wood.

care

care of ſo many different ſpecies of animals, which had ſo much knowledge of their diſpoſitions, of the food which was moſt proper for each, and of all the means neceſſary for their preſervation and increaſe.

Among the animals reared by the Mexicans, no one is more worthy of mention than the *nochiztli*, or Mexican cochineal, deſcribed by us in our firſt book. This inſect, ſo greatly valued in Europe on account of its dyes, and eſpecially thoſe of ſcarlet and crimſon, being not only extremely delicate, but alſo perſecuted by ſeveral enemies, demands a great deal more care from the breeders than is neceſſary for the ſilk-worm. Rain, cold, and ſtrong winds deſtroy it. Birds, mice, and worms, perſecute it furiouſly and devour it; hence it is neceſſary to keep the rows of opuntia, or nopal, where thoſe inſects are bred always clean; to attend conſtantly to drive away the birds which are deſtructive to them, to make neſts of hay for them in the leaves of the opuntia, by the juice of which they are nouriſhed, and when the ſeaſon of rain approaches, to raiſe them from the plants together with the leaves, and guard them in houſes. Before the females are delivered they caſt their ſkin, to obtain which ſpoil the breeders make uſe of the tail of the rabbit, bruſhing moſt gently with it that they may not detach the inſects from the leaves, or do them any hurt. On every leaf they make three neſts, and in every neſt they lay about fifteen cochineals. Every year they make three gatherings, reſerving however each time a certain number for the future generation; but the laſt gathering is leaſt valued, the cochineals being ſmaller then, and mixed with the ſhavings of the opuntia. They kill the cochineal moſt commonly with hot water. On the manner of drying it afterwards the quality of the colour which is obtained from it chiefly depends. The beſt is that which is dried in the ſun. Some dry it in the *comalli*, or pan, in which they bake their bread of maize, and others in the *temazcalli*, a ſort of oven, of which we ſhall ſpeak elſewhere.

SECT. XXXII. Chace of the Mexicans.

The Mexicans would not have been able to aſſemble ſo many ſorts of animals, if they had not had great dexterity in the exerciſe of the chace. They made uſe of the bow and arrow, darts, nets, ſnares, and *Cerbottane**. The cerbottane which the kings and principal lords made

* *Cerbottane*, are long tubes, or pipes, through which they ſhoot, by blowing with the mouth little balls at birds, &c.

uſe

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uſe of were curiouſly carved and painted, and likewiſe adorned with gold and ſilver. Beſides the exerciſe of the chace which private individuals took either for amuſement, or to provide food for themſelves, there were general chaces, which were either thoſe eſtabliſhed by cuſtom to procure a plenty of victims for ſacrifices, or others occaſionally appointed by the king. For this general chace they fixed on a large wood, which was generally that of Zacatepec, not far diſtant from the capital; there they choſe the place moſt adapted for ſetting a great number of ſnares and nets. With ſome thouſands of hunters they formed a circle round the wood of ſix, ſeven, eight, or more miles, according to the number of animals they intended to take: they ſet fire every where to the dry graſs and herbs, and made a terrible noiſe with drums, horns, ſhouting, and whiſtling. The animals, alarmed by the noiſe and the fire, fled to the centre of the wood, which was the very place where the ſnares were ſet. The hunters approached towards the ſame ſpot, and ſtill continuing their noiſe, gradually contracted their circle, until they left but a very ſmall ſpace to the game, which they all then attacked with their arms. Some of the animals were killed, and ſome were taken alive in the ſnares, or in the hands of the hunters. The number and variety of game which they took was ſo great, that the firſt viceroy of Mexico, when he was told of it, thought it ſo incredible, that he deſired to make experience of the method himſelf. For the field of the chace, he made choice of a great plain which lies in the country of the Otomies, between the villages of Xilotepec and *S. Giovanni del Rio*, and ordered the Indians to proceed in the ſame manner as they had been uſed to do in the time of their paganiſm. The viceroy, with a great retinue of Spaniards repaired to the plain, where accommodations were prepared for them in houſes built of wood, erected there on purpoſe. Eleven thouſand Otomies formed a circle of more than fifteen miles, and after practiſing all the means above mentioned, aſſembled ſuch a quantity of game on the plain, that the viceroy, who was quite aſtoniſhed at the ſight, commanded that the greater part of them ſhould be ſet at liberty, which was accordingly done; notwithſtanding the number of animals taken would be altogether incredible, if the circumſtance had not been publicly known and atteſted by many, and among others by a witneſs worthy of the higheſt credit.

credit *(r)*. They killed more than ſix hundred deer and wild goats, upwards of a hundred cojotés, and a ſurpriſing number of hares, rabbits, and other quadrupeds. The plain ſtill retains the Spaniſh name *Cazadero*, or place of the chace, which was then given it.

Beſides the uſual method of practiſing the chace, they had other particular devices for catching particular kinds of animals. In order to catch young apes, they made a ſmall fire in the woods, and put among the burning coals a particular kind of ſtone which they called *Cacalotetl*, (raven, or black ſtone), which burſts with a loud noiſe when it is well heated. They covered the fire with earth, and ſprinkled around it a little maize. The apes, allured by the grain, aſſembled about it with their young, and while they were peaceably eating, the ſtone burſt; the old apes fled away in terror leaving their young behind them; the hunters, who were on the watch, then ſeized them before their dams could return to carry them off.

The method alſo which they had, and ſtill uſe, to catch ducks, is artful and curious. The lakes of the Mexican vale, as well as others of the kingdom, are frequented by a prodigious multitude of ducks, geeſe, and other aquatic birds. The Mexicans left ſome empty gourds to float upon the water, where thoſe birds reſorted, that they might be accuſtomed to ſee and approach them without fear. The bird-catcher went into the water ſo deep as to hide his body, and covered his head with a gourd; the ducks came to peck at it, and then he pulled them by the feet under water, and in this manner ſecured as many as he pleaſed.

They took ſerpents alive either by twiſting them with great dexterity, or approaching them intrepidly, they ſeized them with one hand by the neck, and ſewed up their mouths with the other. They ſtill take them in this way, and every day in the apothecary's ſhops of the capital, and other cities, may be ſeen live ſerpents which have been taken in this manner.

But nothing is more wonderful than their quickneſs in tracing the ſteps of wild beaſts. Although there is not the ſmalleſt print of them to be ſeen from the earth being covered with herbs or dry leaves which

(r) P. Toribio di Benaventi, or Motolinia.

fall

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fall from the trees, they ſtill track them, particularly if they are wounded, by obſerving moſt attentively ſometimes the drops of blood which fall upon the leaves as they paſs, ſometimes the herbs which are broken or beat down by their feet (s).

SECT. XXXIV. Fiſhing.

From the ſituation of their capital, and its vicinity to the lake of Chalco, which abounded with fiſh, the Mexicans were ſtill more invited to fiſhing than the chace. They employed themſelves in it from the time of their arrival in that country, and their art in fiſhing procured them all other neceſſaries. The inſtruments which they moſt commonly made uſe of in fiſhing were nets, but they alſo employed hooks, harpoons, and weals.

The fiſhers not only caught fiſh, but even took crocodiles in two different methods. One was by tying them by the neck, which, as Hernandez aſſerts, was very common; but this author does not explain the manner in which they performed an act ſo daring againſt ſo terrible a creature. The other method, which is ſtill uſed by ſome, was that which the Egyptians formerly practiſed on the famous crocodiles of the Nile. The fiſher preſented himſelf before the crocodile, carrying in his hand a ſtrong ſtick, well ſharpened at both ends, and when the animal opened its mouth to devour him, he thruſt his armed hand into its jaws, and as the crocodile ſhut its mouth again, it was transfixed by the two points of the ſtick. The fiſher waited until it grew feeble from the loſs of blood, and then he killed it.

SECT. XXXV. Commerce.

Fiſhing, hunting, agriculture, and the arts, furniſhed the Mexicans ſeveral branches of commerce. Their commerce in the country of Anahuac began as ſoon as they were ſettled upon the little iſlands in the Tezcucan lake. The fiſh which they caught, and the mats which they wove of ruſhes which the ſame lake produces, was exchanged for maize, cotton, ſtones, lime, and the wood, which they required for their ſupport, for their clothing, and their buildings. In proportion to the power which their arms acquired, their commerce increaſed; ſo that from having been at firſt confined to the environs of their own

(s) The account which we have of the Taraumareſe, the Opates, and other nations beyond the Tropic, when purſued by their enemies the Apacci, is ſtill more wonderful; for by the touch and obſervations of the footſteps of their enemies, they can tell the time at which they paſſed there. The ſame thing we underſtand is reported of the people of Yucatan.

city, it extended at laſt to the moſt diſtant provinces. There were innumerable Mexican merchants, who inceſſantly travelled from one city to another to exchange their goods to advantage. In every place of the Mexican empire, and of all the extenſive country of Anahuac, a market was opened every day; but every five days they held one which was more conſiderable and general. Cities which were near together had this market on different days, that they might not prejudice each other; but in the capital it was kept on the days of the Houſe, the Rabbet, the Reed, and the Flint, which, in the firſt year of the century, were the third, the eighth, the thirteenth, and eighteenth of every month.

In order to convey ſome idea of thoſe markets, or rather fairs, which have been ſo much celebrated by the hiſtorians of Mexico, it will be ſufficient to deſcribe that held in the capital. Until the time of king Axajacatl, it was kept in a ſpace of ground before the royal palace; but after the conqueſt of Tlatelolco, it was removed to that quarter. The public place of Tlatelolco was, according to the account of the conqueror Cortes, twice as large as that of Salamanca, one of the moſt famous in Spain (*t*), and ſurrounded by porticos for the convenience of the merchants. Every ſort of merchandize had a particular place allotted to it by the judges of commerce. In one ſtation were goods of gold, and ſilver, and jewels; in another, manufactures of cotton; in another, thoſe of feathers, and ſo forth; and no change of ſituation was allowed to any of them; but although the ſquare was very large, as all the merchandizes could not be lodged in it without interrupting the tranſaction of buſineſs, it was ordered that all large goods, ſuch as beams, ſtones, &c. ſhould be left in the roads and canals near to the market-place. The number of merchants who daily aſſembled there, according to the affirmation of Cortes himſelf, exceeded fifty thouſand (*u*). The things which were ſold or exchanged there, were ſo

(*t*) In three editions of the letters of Cortes which we have ſeen, we have read, that the ſquare of Tlatelolco *was twice as large as the* city of Salamanca, whereas it ought to read, *as that* of the city of Salamanca.

(*u*) Although Cortes affirmed that there aſſembled daily in the market-place of Tlatelolco fifty thouſand people, it appears that it ought to be underſtood of the great market which was held every five days; for the anonymous conqueror, who ſpeaks more diſtinctly of it, ſays, that at the markets there were from twenty to twenty-five thouſand, but at the great markets from forty to fifty thouſand.

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numerous and ſo various, that hiſtorians who ſaw them, after making a long and tedious enumeration, conclude with ſaying, it is impoſſible to expreſs them all. Without contradicting their aſſertion, and to avoid prolixity, we will endeavour to comprehend them in a few words. To that ſquare were carried to be ſold or exchanged all the productions of the Mexican empire, or adjacent countries, which could ſerve for the neceſſaries of life, the convenience, the luxuries, the vanity, or curioſity of man (*x*); innumerable ſpecies of animals, both dead and alive, every ſort of eatable which was in uſe amongſt them, all the metals and gems which were known to them, all the medicinal drugs and ſimples, herbs, gum, reſins, and mineral earths, as well as the medicines prepared by their phyſicians, ſuch as beveridges, electaries, oils, plaſters, ointments, &c. and every ſort of manufacture and work of the thread of the metl, maguei, or aloe, of the mountain palm, of cotton, of feathers, of the hair of animals, of wood, of ſtone, of gold, ſilver, and copper. They ſold there alſo ſlaves, and even whole veſſels, laden with human dung, for dreſſing the ſkins of animals. In ſhort, they ſold in that ſquare every thing which could be ſold in all that city; for they had no mart elſewhere, nor was any thing ſold out of the market-place except eatables. The potters and jewellers of Cholula, the goldſmiths of Azcapozalco, the painters of Tezcuco, the ſtone-cutters of Tenajocan, the hunters of Xilotepec, the fiſhers of Cuitlahuac, the fruiterers of hot countries, the mat-weavers and chair-makers of Quauhtitlan, and floriſts of Xochimilco, all aſſembled there.

SECT. XXXVI. Money.

Their commerce was not only carried on by way of exchange, as many authors report, but likewiſe by means of real purchaſe and ſale. They had five kinds of real money, though it was not coined, which ſerved them as a price to purchaſe whatever they wanted. The firſt was a certain ſpecies of cacao, different from that which they uſed in their daily drink, which was in conſtant circulation through the hands of traders, as our money is amongſt us. They counted the cacao by *Xiquepilli*, (this as we have before obſerved, was equal to eight thouſand),

(*x*) Whoever will take the trouble to read the deſcription which Cortes, Bernal Diaz, and the anonymous conqueror have given of their market, will be convinced there is no exaggeration made here of the variety of their merchandizes.

and

and to ſave the trouble of counting them when the merchandize was of great value, they reckoned them by ſacks, every ſack having been reckoned to contain three *xiquipilli*, or twenty-four thouſand nuts. The ſecond kind of money was certain ſmall cloths of cotton, which they called *patolquachtli*, as being ſolely deſtined for the purchaſe of merchandizes which were immediately neceſſary. The third ſpecies of money was gold in duſt, contained in gooſe-quills, which, by being tranſparent, ſhewed the precious metal which filled them, and in proportion to their ſize were of greater or leſs value. The fourth, which moſt reſembled coined money, was made of pieces of copper in the form of a T, and was employed in purchaſes of little value. The fifth, of which mention is made by Cortes, in his laſt letter to the emperor Charles the Vth, conſiſted of thin pieces of tin.

They ſold and exchanged merchandizes by number and meaſure; but we do know that they made uſe of weights, either becauſe they thought them liable to frauds, as ſome authors have ſaid, or becauſe they did not find them neceſſary, as others have affirmed, or becauſe if they did uſe them the Spaniards never knew it *(y)*.

SECT. XXXVII. Regulations of the market.

To prevent fraudulent contracts and diſorder amongſt the traders, there were certain commiſſioners who were continually traverſing the market to obſerve what happened, and a tribunal of commerce, compoſed of twelve judges, reſiding in a houſe of the ſquare, was appointed to decide all diſputes between traders, and take cognizance of all treſpaſſes committed in the market-place. Of all the goods which were brought into the market, a certain portion was paid in tribute to the king, who was on his part obliged to do juſtice to the merchants, and to protect their property and their perſons. A theft ſeldom happened in the market, on account of the vigilance of the king's officers, and the ſeverity with which it was inſtantly puniſhed. But it is not the leaſt ſurpriſing, that theft was ſo rigorouſly puniſhed, where the ſmalleſt diſorders were never pardoned. The laborious and moſt

(y) Gomara believed, that the Mexicans made no uſe of ſcales or weights; becauſe they were ignorant of ſuch a contrivance; but it is very improbable, that a nation ſo induſtrious and commercial ſhould not have known the manner of aſcertaining the weight of goods, when among other nations of America, leſs acute than the Mexicans, ſteelyards were made uſe of, according to the report of the ſame author, to weigh gold. Of how many circumſtances relative to American antiquity are we ſtill ignorant, owing to the want of proper examination and enquiry!

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ſincere F. Motolinia relates, that a quarrel having ariſen once between two women in the market of Tezcuco, and one of them having gone ſo far as to beat the other with her hands, and occaſion the loſs of ſome blood, to the amazement of the people, who were not accuſtomed to ſee ſuch an outrage committed there, ſhe was immediately condemned to death for the offence. All the Spaniards who ſaw thoſe markets extolled them with the higheſt praiſes, and were unable to expreſs in words the admirable diſpoſition, and the wonderful order which was maintained among ſo great a multitude of merchants and merchandizes.

The markets of Tezcuco, Tlaſcala, Cholula, Huexotzinco, and other large places, were ordered in the ſame manner as that of Mexico. At the market of Tlaſcala, Cortes affirms, more than thirty thouſand merchants and others aſſembled (z). At that of Tepeyacac, which was not one of the largeſt cities, Motolinia above mentioned ſays, he has known twenty-four years after the conqueſt, when the commerce of thoſe people was greatly declined, that at the market held every five days, there were not leſs than eight thouſand European hens ſold, and that as many were ſold at the market of Acapitlayocan.

SECT. XXXVIII. Cuſtom of the merchants in their journies.

When young merchants were deſirous of undertaking a long journey, they gave an entertainment to the old merchants, who were no longer able on account of their age to travel, and alſo to their own relations, and informed them of their deſign, and the motive which induced them to travel into diſtant countries.

Thoſe who were invited praiſed their reſolution, encouraged them to follow the ſteps of their anceſtors, particularly if it was their firſt journey which they were going to perform, and gave ſeveral advices to them how they were to conduct themſelves. In general, many of them travelled together for greater ſafety. Each of them carried in his hand a ſmooth black ſtick, which, as they ſaid, was the image of their god Jacateuctli, with which they imagined themſelves ſecure againſt all the dangers of the journey. As ſoon as they arrived at any houſe where they made a halt, they aſſembled and tied all the ſticks together and worſhipped them; and twice or thrice, during the night, they drew

(z) That which Cortes has ſaid reſpecting the number of merchants and dealers which aſſembled at the market of Tlaſcala, ought moſt probably to be underſtood of the market of every five days, in the ſame manner as we have obſerved above reſpecting that of Mexico.

blood

blood from themſelves in honour of that god. All the time that a merchant was abſent from home, his wife and children did not waſh their heads, although they bathed, excepting once every eighty days, not only to teſtify their regret of his abſence, but alſo by that ſpecies of mortification to procure the protection of their gods. When any of the merchants died on their journey, advice of his death was immediately ſent to the oldeſt merchants of his native country, and they communicated it to his relations and kindred, who immediately formed an imperfect ſtatue of wood to repreſent the deceaſed, to which they paid all the funeral honours which they would have done to the real dead body.

SECT. XXXIX. Roads, houſes for the reception of travellers, veſſels, and bridges.

For the convenience of merchants, and other travellers, there were public roads, which were repaired every year after the rainy ſeaſon. They had likewiſe in the mountains and uninhabited places, houſes erected for the reception of travellers, and bridges, and other veſſels for paſſing rivers. Their veſſels were oblong and flat-bottomed, without keel, maſts, or ſails, or any other thing to guide them but oars. They were of various ſizes. The ſmalleſt could hardly hold two or three people, the largeſt could carry upwards of thirty. Many of them were made of one ſingle trunk of a tree. The number of thoſe which were continually traverſing the Mexican lake, exceeded, according to the account of ancient hiſtorians fifty thouſand. Beſides the veſſels, or flats, they made uſe of a particular machine to paſs rivers, which was called *valſa*, by the Spaniards of America. This is a ſquare platform, of about five feet, compoſed of *otatli*, or ſolid canes, tied firmly upon large, hard, empty gourds. Four, or ſix paſſengers ſeated themſelves upon this machine, and were conducted from one ſide of a river to the other by two or four ſwimmers, who laid hold of one corner of the machine with one of their hands, and ſwam with the other. This ſort of machine is ſtill uſed on ſome rivers diſtant from the capital, and we ourſelves paſſed a large river on one of them in 1739. It is perfectly ſafe where the current of the water is equal and ſmooth, but dangerous in rapid and impetuous rivers.

Their bridges were built either of ſtone or wood, but thoſe of ſtone we are of opinion were extremely few in number. The moſt ſingular kind of bridge was that to which the Spaniards gave the name of *Hamaca*. This was a number of the ropes, or natural ligatures of a tree,

more

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more pliant than the willow, but thicker and ſtronger, called in America *Bejucos*, twiſted and wove together, the extremities of which were tied to the trees on each ſide of rivers, the treſs or net formed by them remaining ſuſpended in the air in the manner of a ſwing (*a*). There are ſome rivers with ſuch bridges ſtill. The Spaniards durſt not paſs them, but the Indians paſs them with as much confidence and intrepidity as if they were croſſing by a ſtone bridge, perfectly regardleſs of the undulatory motion of the hamaca, or the depth of the river. But it is to be obſerved, that the ancient Mexicans having been excellent ſwimmers, had no need of bridges, unleſs where from the rapidity of the current, or the weight of ſome burden, they could not ſwim acroſs.

The Mexican hiſtorians tell us nothing of the maritime commerce of the Mexicans. It is probable that it was very trifling, and that their veſſels, which were ſeen coaſting on both ſeas, were chiefly thoſe of fiſhermen. Their greateſt traffick by water was carried on in the lake of Mexico. All the ſtone and wood for building, and for fire, the fiſh, the greater part of the maize, the pulſe, fruit, flowers, &c. was brought by water. The commerce of the capital with Tezcuco, Xochimilco, Chalco, Cuitlahuac, and other cities ſituated upon the lake, was carried on by water, and occaſioned that wonderful number of veſſels to be employed which we have already mentioned.

SECT. XL. Men who carried burdens.

Whatever was not tranſported by water was carried upon men's backs, and on that account there were numbers of men who carried burdens, called *Tlamama* or *Tlameme*. They were brought up from childhood to this buſineſs, which they continued all their lives. A regular load was about ſixty pounds, and the length of way they daily walked was fifteen miles; but they made alſo journeys of two hundred and three hundred miles, travelling frequently over rocky and ſteep mountains. They were ſubjected to this intolerable fatigue from the want of beaſts of burden; and even at preſent, although thoſe countries abound in animals of this ſort, the Mexicans are ſtill often ſeen making long journeys with burdens upon their backs. They carried cotton, maize, and other things in *petlacalli*, which were baſ-

(*a*) Some bridges are ſo tight drawn that they have no undulatory motion, and all of them have their ſide ſupport made of the ſame parts of the tree.

kets made of a particular kind of cane, and covered with leather, which were light and defended their goods ſufficiently from the rain or the ſun. Theſe baſkets are ſtill a good deal uſed for journeys by the Spaniards, who corrupt their name into *petacas*.

SECT. XLI. Mexican language.

The commerce of the Mexicans was by no means embarraſſed, either by the multitude or variety of languages which were ſpoken in thoſe countries; for the Mexican tongue which was the moſt prevailing, was underſtood and ſpoken every where. It was the proper and natural language of the Acolhuas and the Aztecas (*b*), and as we have obſerved elſewhere, likewiſe of the Chechemecan and Toltecan nations.

The Mexican language, of which we wiſh to give our readers ſome idea, is entirely deſtitute of the conſonants B, D, F, G, R, and S, and abounds with L, X, T, Z, Tl, Tz; but although the letter L is ſo familiar to this language, there is not a ſingle word in it beginning with that conſonant. Nor is there a word of an acute termination, except ſome vocatives. Almoſt all the words have the penult ſyllable long. Its aſpirates are moderate and ſoft, and there never is occaſion to make the leaſt naſal ſound in pronunciation.

Notwithſtanding the want of thoſe ſix conſonants it is a moſt copious language; tolerably poliſhed, and remarkably expreſſive; on which account it has been highly valued and praiſed by all Europeans who have learned it, ſo as to be eſteemed by many ſuperior to the Latin, and even to the Greek (*c*); but although we know the particular excellencies of the Mexican language, we can never dare to compare it with the laſt.

Of the copiouſneſs of this language we have an exceeding good demonſtration in the Natural Hiſtory of Hernandez; for in deſcribing twelve hundred plants of the country of Anahuac, two hundred and more ſpecies of birds, and a large number of quadrupeds, reptiles, inſects, and minerals, he hardly found a ſingle animal, herb, or ſub-

(*b*) Boturini ſays, that the excellence of the language which we call the *Mexican*, was the reaſon of its being adopted by the Chechemecan, the Mexican, and Teochechemecan nations, and of their relinquiſhing their native tongue; but beſides this opinion being different from that of all other writers, and of the Indians themſelves, there are no traces in hiſtory of the event of ſuch a change. Where has there ever been a nation known to abandon its native idiom to adopt a better, and particularly a nation ſo tenacious as the Mexicans, and all the other nations of thoſe countries of their particular language?

(*c*) Among the admirers of the Mexican language there have been ſome Frenchmen and Flemings, and many Germans, Italians, and Spaniards.

ſtance,

ſtance, without its diſtinct and proper appellation. But it is not the leaſt ſurpriſing, that it abounds in words which ſignify material objects, when there are hardly any wanting of thoſe which are neceſſary to expreſs ſpiritual ideas. The higheſt myſteries of our religion can be well expreſſed in Mexican, without any neceſſity of introducing foreign terms. Acoſta wonders, that the Mexicans who had an idea of a ſupreme Being, creator of heaven and earth, had not alſo in their language a word to expreſs it equivalent to *Dios* of the Spaniards, *Deus* of the Romans, *Theos* of the Grecians, *El* of the Hebrews, and *Ala* of the Arabs: on which account their preachers were obliged to make uſe of the Spaniſh term *Dios*. But if this author had had any knowledge of the Mexican language, he would have known that the *Teotl* of the Mexicans ſignifies the ſame thing as the *Theos* of the Greeks, and that there was no other reaſon for introducing the Spaniſh word *Dios*, but the exceſſive ſcruples of the firſt miſſionaries, who, as they burned the hiſtorical paintings of the Mexicans, becauſe they ſuſpected them to be full of ſuperſtitious meanings, (of which alſo Acoſta himſelf juſtly complains), likewiſe rejected the Mexican word *Teotl*, becauſe it had been uſed to expreſs the falſe gods whom they worſhipped. But it would have been better to have imitated the example of St. Paul, who, when he found that in Greece the name *Theos* was uſed to ſignify certain falſe deities, more abominable ſtill than thoſe of the Mexicans, did not compel the Greeks to adopt the *El*, or *Adonai*, of the Hebrews, but retained the uſe of the Greek term, making it be underſtood from that time, to ſignify a ſupreme, eternal, and infinitely perfect Being. However, many diſcerning men who have wrote in the Mexican language, have not ſcrupled to make uſe of the name *Teotl*, in the ſame manner as they all make uſe of the *Ipalnemoani*, of the *Tloque Nahuaque*, and other names ſignificative of the Supreme Being, which the Mexicans applied to their inviſible God. In one of our Diſſertations we ſhall give a liſt of the authors who have wrote in the Mexican language on the Chriſtian religion and morality, and alſo a liſt of terms, ſignifying metaphyſical and moral ideas, in order to expoſe the ignorance and weakneſs of an author *(d)* who has had abſurdity enough to publiſh

(*d*) The author of the work entitled, Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains.

that

that the Mexicans had no words to count above the number three, or to expreſs any metaphyſical or moral ideas, and that on account of its harſhneſs no Spaniard had ever learned to pronounce it. We could here give the numeral words of this language, by which the Mexicans could count up to forty-eight millions at leaſt, and could ſhew how common this language was among the Spaniards, and how well thoſe who have written in it have underſtood it.

The Mexican language, like the Hebrew and French, wants the ſuperlative term, and like the Hebrew, and moſt of the living languages of Europe, the comparative term, which are ſupplied by certain particles equivalent to thoſe which are uſed in other ſuch languages. It abounds more than the Tuſcan in diminutives and augmentatives, and more than the Engliſh or any other language we know in verbal and abſtract terms; for there is hardly a verb from which there are not many verbals formed, and ſcarcely a ſubſtantive or adjective from which there are not ſome abſtracts formed. It is not leſs copious in verbs than in nouns; as from every ſingle verb others are derived of different ſignifications. *Chihua*, is *to do*, *Chichihua*, *to do with diligence*, or *often*; *Chihuilia*, *to do to another*; *Chihualtia*, *to cauſe to be done*; *Chihuatiuh*, *to go to do*; *Chihuaco*, *to come to do*; *Chiuhtiuh*, *to be doing*, &c. We could ſay a great deal more on the ſubject, if it was permitted in the rules of hiſtory.

The ſtyle of addreſs in Mexican varies according to the rank of the perſons, with whom, or about whom, converſation is held, adding to the nouns, verbs, prepoſitions, and adverbs, certain particles expreſſive of reſpect: *Tatli*, means *father*; *Amota*, *your father*; *Amotatzin*, *your worthy father*. *Tleco*, is *to aſcend*; if a perſon commands his ſervant to aſcend a certain place, he ſays ſimply *Xitleco*; but if he aſks ſome reſpectable perſon to do ſo, he will ſay *Ximotlicahui*; and if he wiſhes to uſe ſtill more ceremony and reſpect *Maximotlicahuitzino*. This variety, which gives ſo much civilization to the language, does not, however, make it difficult to be ſpoken; becauſe it is ſubjected to rules which are fixed and eaſy; nor do we know any language that is more regular and methodical.

The Mexicans, like the Greeks and other nations, have the advantage of making compounds of two, three, or four ſimple words; but they

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they do it with more œconomy than the Greeks did; for the Greeks made uſe of the entire words in compoſition, whereas the Mexicans cut off ſyllables, or at leaſt ſome letters from them. *Tlazotli*, ſignifies *valued* or *loved*; *Mahuitztic*, *honoured* or *revered*; *Teſpixqui*, *prieſt*; a word itſelf too compoſed of *Teotl*, *god*; and the verb *Pia*, which ſignifies *to hold*, *guard*, or *keep*; *Tatli* is *father*, as we have already ſaid. To unite thoſe five words in one, they take away eight conſonants and four vowels, and ſay for inſtance *Notlazomahuitzteopixcatalzin*, that is, *my very worthy father*, or *revered prieſt*; prefixing the *no*, which correſponds to the pronoun *my*, and adding *tzin*, which is a particle expreſſive of *reverence*. A word of this kind is extremely common with the Indians when they addreſs, and particularly when they confeſs themſelves, which although it is complex, is not, however one of the longeſt; for there are ſome compounded of ſo many terms as to have fifteen or ſixteen ſyllables.

Such compounds were made uſe of in order to give the definition, or deſcription, of a thing, whatever it was, in one word. This may be diſcovered in the names of animals and plants, which are to be found in the Natural Hiſtory of Hernandez, and in the names of places which occur frequently in this hiſtory. Almoſt all the names which they gave to places of the Mexican empire are compounds, and ſignify the ſituation or properties of the places, and that ſome memorable action happened there. Many of their expreſſions are ſo ſtrong, that the ideas of them cannot be heightened, particularly on the ſubject of love. In ſhort, all thoſe who have learned this language, and can judge of its copiouſneſs, regularity, and beautiful modes of ſpeech, are of opinion, that ſuch a language cannot have been ſpoken by a barbarous people.

SECT. XLII. Eloquence and Poetry.

A nation poſſeſſed of ſo powerful a language, could not want poets and orators. Thoſe two arts were much exerciſed by the Mexicans, although they were very far from knowing all their excellencies. Thoſe who were deſtined to be orators, were inſtructed from their infancy in ſpeaking properly, and learned to repeat by memory the moſt celebrated orations of their anceſtors that had been handed down from father to ſon. Their eloquence was employed principally in delivering embaſſies, in councils, and congratulatory addreſſes, which they made to new kings.

kings. Although their moſt celebrated ſpeakers are not to be compared with the orators of the poliſhed nations of Europe, it is not to be denied that their diſcourſes were ſound, judicious, and elegant, as may be perceived from thoſe ſpecimens of their eloquence which are ſtill extant. Even at preſent, when they are reduced to a ſtate of great humiliation, and retain not their ancient inſtitutions, they make harangues in their aſſemblies, which are ſo full of good ſenſe and propriety, as to excite the admiration of all thoſe who hear them.

The number of their public ſpeakers was exceeded by that of their poets. In their verſes they were attentive to the cadence and meaſure. Among the remains which we have of their poetry, are ſome verſes in which between words that are ſignificative, interjections, or ſyllables, are interpoſed, devoid of any meaning, and only made uſe of by what appears to adjuſt the meaſure; but this practice was, probably, only a vice of their bad poets. The language of their poetry was brilliant, pure, and agreeable, figurative, and embelliſhed with frequent compariſons to the moſt pleaſing objects in nature, ſuch as flowers, trees, rivers, &c. It was in poetry chiefly where they made uſe of words in compoſition, which became often ſo very long, that a ſingle one made a verſe of the longeſt meaſure.

The ſubject of their poetical compoſitions was various. They compoſed hymns in praiſe of their gods, to obtain from them thoſe favours they ſtood in need of, which were ſung in the temples and at their ſacred dances. Some were hiſtorical poems, reciting the events of the nation and the glorious action of their heroes, which were ſung at profane dances. Some were odes, containing ſome moral or leſſon uſeful in the conduct of life. Laſtly, ſome were poems on love, or ſome other pleaſing ſubject, ſuch as the chace, which were ſung at the public rejoicings of the ſeventh month. The prieſts were the chief compoſers of thoſe pieces, and taught them to young boys, that they might ſing them when they were grown up. We have already mentioned the celebrated compoſitions of king Nezahualcojotl. The eſteem in which poetry was held by that king, excited his ſubjects to cultivate that art, and multiplied the number of poets of his court. It is related of one of thoſe poets, that having been condemned to die for ſome crime, he made a compoſition in priſon, in which he took

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took leave of the world in ſo tender and pathetic a manner, that the muſicians of the palace, who were his friends, adviſed him to ſing it to the king; the king heard it, and was ſo much affected, that he granted the culprit a pardon. This was a ſingular event in the hiſtory of Acolhuacan, in which we read in general, examples of the greateſt ſeverity of government. We ſhould be happy, if it were in our power, to produce here ſome fragments which we have ſeen of the poetry of thoſe nations, to ſatisfy the curious among our readers (*e*).

SECT. XLIII. Mexican theatre.

Dramatic, as well as lyric poetry, was greatly in repute among the Mexicans. Their theatre, on which thoſe kind of compoſitions were repreſented, was a ſquare terras uncovered, raiſed in the market-place, or the lower area of ſome temple, and ſuitably high, that the actors might be ſeen and heard by all. That which was conſtructed in the market-place of Tlatelolco, was made of ſtone and lime, and, agreeable to what Cortes affirms, thirteen feet high, and thirty paces in length every way.

Cav. Boturini ſays, that the Mexican comedies were excellent, and that among the antiques which he had in his curious muſeum, were two dramatic compoſitions on the celebrated apparitions of the mother of God to the Mexican Neophyte Gio. Didaco, in which a particular delicacy and harmony in the expreſſions was diſcernible. We have never ſeen any compoſition of this nature, and although we do not doubt of the delicacies of the language of them, we cannot readily believe that their comedies were much according to the rules of the drama, or deſerving of the exceſſive praiſe of that annaliſt. The deſcription which Acoſta has left us of their theatre and repreſentations, in which he mentions thoſe which were made at Cholula at the great feſtival of the god *Quetzalcoatl*, is much more worthy of credit, and more conſiſtent with the character of thoſe nations: "There was," he ſays, "in the "area of the temple of this god a ſmall theatre, thirty feet ſquare, "curiouſly whitened, which they adorned with boughs, and fitted up "with the utmoſt neatneſs, ſurrounding it with arches made of flowers "and feathers, from which were ſuſpended many birds, rabbits, and

(*e*) P. Orazio Carocci, a learned Milaneſe jeſuit, publiſhed ſome elegant verſes of the ancient Mexicans, in his admirable grammar of the Mexican language, printed in Mexico about the middle of the laſt century.

" other pleaſing objects; where, after having dined, the whole of the " people aſſembled, the actors appeared, and exhibited burleſque cha- " racters, feigning themſelves deaf, ſick with colds, lame, blind, crip- " led, and addreſſing the idol for a return of health: the deaf people " anſwering at croſs purpoſes, thoſe who had colds, coughing, and " ſpitting, and the lame halting; all recited their complaints and miſ- " fortunes, which produced infinite mirth among the audience. Others " appeared under the names of different little animals, ſome in the diſ- " guiſe of beetles, ſome like toads, ſome like lizards, and upon en- " countering each other, reciprocally explained their employments, " which was highly ſatisfactory to the people, as they performed " their parts with infinite ingenuity. Several little boys alſo belong- " ing to the temple, appeared in the diſguiſe of butterflies, and birds " of various colours, and mounting upon the trees which were fixed " there on purpoſe; the prieſts threw little balls of earth at them with " ſlings, occaſioning incidents of much humour and entertainment to " the ſpectators. All the ſpectators then made a grand dance which termi- " nated the feſtival. This took place at their principal feſtivals only *(f)*."

The deſcription which Acoſta here gives, calls to our recollection the firſt ſcenes among the Greeks, and we doubt not, that if the Mexican empire had endured a century or two longer, their theatre would have been reduced to a better form, as the Grecian theatre improved itſelf but ſlowly and by degrees.

The firſt religious miſſionaries who announced the goſpel to thoſe nations, obſerving their attachment to muſic and poetry, and the ſuperſtitious notions which characteriſed all their native compoſitions as pagans, compoſed many ſongs and odes in the Mexican language in praiſe of the true God. The laborious Franciſcan, Bernardino Sahagun, compoſed in pure and elegant Mexican, and printed at Mexico, three hundred and ſixty-five hymns, one for each day of the year *(g)*, and the Indians themſelves compoſed many others in praiſe of the true God.

(*f*) Acoſta Stor. Nat. a Mor. delle Indie, lib. v. cap. 29.

(*g*) Sahagun's work was printed, according to the beſt of our knowledge, in 1540. Dr. Eguiara complains in his *Biblioteca Meſſicana*, that he was never able to find one copy of it. We ſaw one in a library of the college of St. Franceſco Saverio of the Jeſuits of Angelopoli.

Botu-

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Boturini makes mention of the compoſitions of D. Franciſco Placido, governor of Azcapozalco, ſung by him at the ſacred dances, which he, along with other Mexican nobles, made before the famous image of the Virgin of Guadaloupe. Thoſe zealous Franciſcans wrote alſo ſeveral dramatic pieces in Mexican, relative to the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion. Amongſt others was celebrated that of the univerſal judgment, compoſed by the indefatigable miſſionary Andrea d' Olmos, which was repreſented in the church of Tlatelolco, in the preſence of the firſt governor, and the firſt archbiſhop of Mexico, and a great aſſembly of the Mexican nobility and people.

SECT. XLIV. Muſic.

Their muſic was ſtill more imperfect than their poetry. They had no ſtringed inſtruments. All their muſic conſiſted in the *Huehuetl*, the *Teponaztli*, horns, ſea-ſhells, and little flutes or pipes, which made a ſhrill ſound. The *Huehuetl*, or Mexican drum, was a cylinder of wood, more than three feet high, curiouſly carved and painted on the outſide, covered above with the ſkin of a deer, well dreſſed and ſtretched, which they tightened or ſlackened occaſionally, to make the ſound more ſharp or deep. They ſtruck it only with their fingers, but it required infinite dexterity in the ſtriker. The *Teponaztli*, which is uſed to this day among the Indians, is alſo cylindrical and hollow, but all of wood, having no ſkin about it, nor any opening but two ſlits lengthways in the middle, parallel to, and at a little diſtance from each other. It is ſounded by beating the ſpace between thoſe two ſlits with two little ſticks, ſimilar to thoſe which are made uſe of for modern drums, only that their points are covered with ule, or elaſtic gum, to ſoften the ſound. The ſize of this inſtrument is various; ſome are ſo ſmall as to be hung about the neck; ſome of a middling ſize, and others ſo large as to be upwards of five feet long. The ſound which they yield is melancholy, and that of the largeſt is ſo loud, that it may be heard at the diſtance of two or three miles. To the accompanyment of thoſe inſtruments, the figure of which we here preſent to our readers, the Mexicans ſung their hymns and ſacred muſic. Their ſinging was harſh and offenſive to European ears; but they took ſo much pleaſure in it themſelves, that on feſtivals, they continued ſinging the whole

Pl. XV. The Huehuetl.

The Ajacaxtli.

Vol. I. Page 398.

The Teponaztli.

whole day. This was unqueſtionably the art in which the Mexicans were leaſt ſucceſsful. BOOK VII.

SECT. XLV. Dances.

However imperfect they were in muſic, their dances in which they exerciſed themſelves from childhood, under the direction of the prieſts, were moſt graceful. They were of various kinds, and were differently named, according to the nature of the dance, or the circumſtances of the feſtival on which they were made. They danced ſometimes in a circle, and ſometimes in ranks. At ſome dances only men, and at others, only women danced. On ſuch occaſions, the nobles put on their moſt pompous dreſſes, adorned themſelves with bracelets, earrings, and various pendants of gold, jewels, and fine feathers, and carried in one hand a ſhield covered with the moſt beautiful plumes, or a fan made of feathers; and in the other an *Ajacaxtli*, which is a certain little veſſel, which we ſhall mention hereafter, reſembling a helmet, round or oval in ſhape, having many little holes, and containing a number of little ſtones which they ſhook together, accompanying the ſound, which is not diſagreeable, with their muſical inſtruments. The populace diſguiſed themſelves, under various figures of animals, in dreſſes made of paper, of feathers, or ſkins.

The little dance, which was made in the palaces for the amuſement of the lords, or in the temples, as a particular act of devotion, or in private houſes, when they celebrated nuptials, or made any other domeſtic rejoicing, conſiſted of but a few dancers, who formed themſelves in two parallel lines, dancing ſometimes with their faces turned to the one, ſometimes towards the other extremity of their lines; ſometimes the perſon of one line faced thoſe correſpondent to them in the other, each line occaſionally croſſing and intermingling with the other, and ſometimes one of each line detaching themſelves from the reſt, danced in the ſpace between both, while the others ſtood ſtill.

The great dance, which was made in large open ſpaces of ground, or in the area of the greater temple, differed from the other in the order, form, and number of the dancers. This dance was ſo numerous that ſome hundreds of people uſed to join in it. The muſic was placed in the middle of the area or ſpace; near to it the lords danced, forming two, three, or more circles, according to the number of them which was preſent. At a little diſtance from them were formed other circles of dancers

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dancers of leſs rank; and, at a ſmall interval from them, other circles proportionably larger were formed, which were compoſed of youths. All theſe circles had for their centre the *Huehuetl* and the *Teponaztli*. The deſign which we have given of the order and diſpoſition of this dance, repreſents it in the form of a wheel, in which the points denote the dancers, and the circles ſhew the figure which they deſcribed in their dance. The radii of the wheel are as many in number as there were dancers in the ſmalleſt circle neareſt to the muſic. All the dancers deſcribed a circle in their dancing, and no perſon departed from the radius or line to which he belonged. Thoſe who danced cloſe to the muſic, moved with ſlowneſs and gravity, as the circle which they had to make was ſmaller, and on that account it was the place of the lords and nobles moſt advanced in age; but thoſe who occupied the ſtation moſt diſtant from the muſic, moved with the utmoſt velocity, that they might neither loſe the direction of the line to which they belonged, nor the meaſure in which the lords danced.

Their dances were almoſt always accompanied with ſinging; but the ſinging was like all the movements of the dancers, adjuſted by the beating of the inſtruments. Two perſons ſung a verſe, to which all the reſt anſwered. In general the muſic began with a grave tone, and the ſingers in a low voice. The longer the dance continued, the more chearful tone was ſounded by the muſic, the ſingers raiſed their voices, their movements became ſwifter, and the ſubject of their ſong more joyful. In the ſpace between the different lines of dancers, ſome buffoons danced, who counterfeited the dreſs of other nations, or diſguiſed themſelves like wild beaſts and other animals, exciting the mirth of the people with their buffooneries. When one ſet of dancers was wearied, another was introduced, and thus they continued the dance for ſix, and ſometimes eight hours.

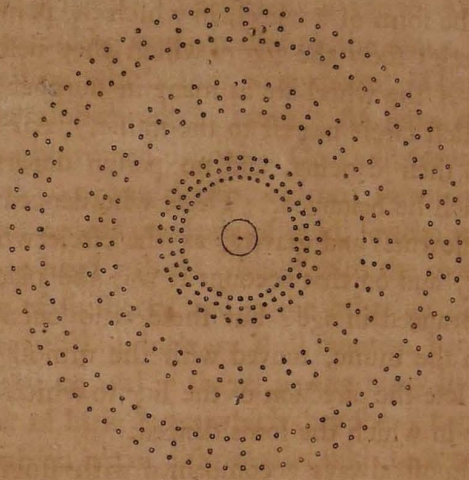
This was the form of their ordinary dance; but they had others that were very different, in which they repreſented either ſome myſtery of their religion, ſome event of hiſtory or war, the chace, or agriculture.

Not only the lords, the prieſts, and the youth of the colleges danced but likewiſe the kings in the temple in performance of their devotion, or for their amuſement in the palaces, but on ſuch occaſions they had always a diſtinct place for themſelves in reſpect to their character.

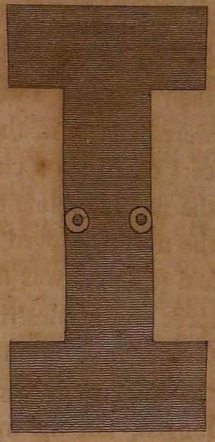
Among

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

Figure of the great Dance.



Plan of the Ground for the Game of Football.



Mexican feats of Activity.

Among others there was one extremely curious dance which is ſtill kept up by the people of Yucatan. They fixed in the earth a tree, or ſtrong poſt, fifteen or twenty feet high, from the top of which, according to the number of dancers, they ſuſpended twenty or more ſmall cords, all long and of different colours. When each dancer had taken hold of the end of his cord, they all began to dance to the ſound of muſical inſtruments, croſſing each other with great dexterity until they formed a beautiful net-work of the cords round the tree, on which the colours appeared chequered in admirable order. Whenever the cords, on account of the twiſting, became ſo ſhort, that the dancers could hardly keep hold of them with their arms raiſed up, by croſſing each other again, they undid and unwound them from the tree. There is likewiſe practiſed by all the Indians of Mexico an ancient dance commonly called *Tocotin*, which is ſo graceful, decent, and ſolemn, that it has become one of the ſacred dances performed on certain feſtivals in our time.

SECT. XLVI. Games.

The amuſements of the Mexicans were not confined to the theatre and dancing. They had various games, not only for certain fixed ſeaſons and public occaſions, but alſo for the diverſion and relaxation of private individuals. Amongſt the public games, the race was one in which they exerciſed themſelves from childhood. In the ſecond month, and poſſibly alſo at other times, there were military games, among which the warriors repreſented to the people a pitched battle. All thoſe ſports were moſt uſeful to the ſtate, for beſides the innocent paſtime which they afforded to the people, they gave agility to their limbs, and accuſtomed them to the fatigues of war.

The exhibition of the flyers which was made on certain great feſtivals, and particularly in ſecular years, was, though of leſs public benefit, more celebrated than all others. They ſought in the woods for an extremely lofty tree, which, after ſtripping it of its branches and bark, they brought to the city, and fixed in the centre of ſome large ſquare. They caſed the point of the tree in a wooden cylinder, which, on account of ſome reſemblance in its ſhape, the Spaniards called a mortar. From this cylinder hung four ſtrong ropes, which ſerved to ſupport a ſquare frame. In the ſpace between the cylinder and the frame, they fixed four other thick ropes, which they twiſted as many times round the

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the tree as there were revolutions to be made by the fliers. Theſe ropes were drawn through four holes, made in the middle of the four planks of which the frame conſiſted. The four principal flyers diſguiſed like eagles, herons, and other birds, mounted the tree with great agility, by means of a rope which was laced about it from the ground up to the frame; from the frame they mounted one at a time ſucceſſively upon the cylinder, and after having danced there a little, they tied themſelves round with the ends of the ropes, which were drawn through the holes of the frame, and launching with a ſpring from it, began their flight with their wings expanded. The action of their bodies put the frame and the cylinder in motion; the frame by its revolutions gradually untwiſted the cords by which the flyers ſwung; ſo that as the ropes lengthened, they made ſo much the greater circles in their flight. Whilſt theſe four were flying, a fifth danced upon the cylinder, beating a little drum, or waving a flag, without the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of the danger he was in of being precipitated from ſuch a height. The others who were upon the frame (there having been ten or twelve perſons generally who mounted) as ſoon as they ſaw the flyers in their laſt revolution, precipitated themſelves by the ſame ropes, in order to reach the ground at the ſame time amidſt the acclamations of the populace. Thoſe who precipitated themſelves in this manner by the ropes, that they might make a ſtill greater diſplay of their agility, frequently paſſed from one rope to another, at that part where, on account of the little diſtance between them, it was poſſible for them to do ſo.

The moſt eſſential point of this performance conſiſted in proportioning ſo juſtly the height of the tree with the length of the ropes, that the flyers ſhould reach the ground with thirteen revolutions, to repreſent by ſuch number their century of fifty-two years, compoſed in the manner we have already mentioned. This celebrated diverſion is ſtill in uſe in that kingdom; but no particular attention is paid to the number of the revolutions, or the flyers; as the frame is commonly ſexagonal, or octagonal, and the flyers ſix or eight in number. In ſome places they put a rail round the frame, to prevent accidents which were frequent after the conqueſt; as the Indians became much given to drinking, and uſed to mount the tree when intoxicated with wine or brandy, and were unable to keep their ſtation on ſo great a height, which was uſually ſixty feet.

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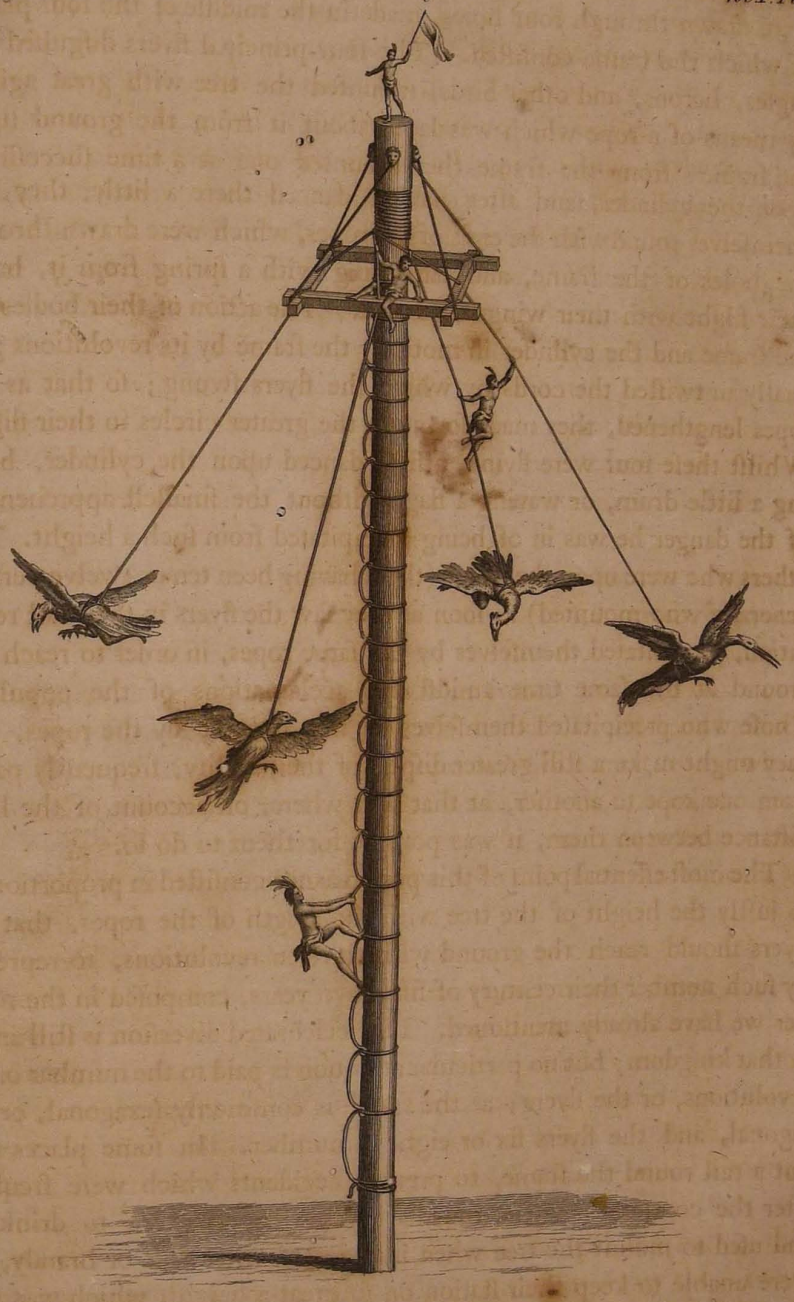
Pl. XVII. *The Flyers.* Vol I. Page 402.



Amongſt the private games of the Mexicans, the moſt common and moſt eſteemed was one reſembling football. The place where they played at it, which they called *Tlachco*, was, according to the deſcription given us by Torquemada, a plain ſquare ſpace of ground, about eighteen perches in length, and proportionably broad, encloſed within four walls, which were thicker below than above, and the ſide walls were built higher than the others, and well whitened and poliſhed. They were crowned all round with battlements, and on the lower wall ſtood two idols, which they placed there at midnight with different ſuperſtitious ceremonies, and before they ever played in it the place was bleſſed by the prieſts, with other forms of the ſame nature.

Thus Torquemada deſcribes it; but in four or more paintings which we have ſeen, the draught of this game repreſents it ſuch as we have given it in our figures, which is totally different from the deſcription of Torquemada. It is probable, that there were varieties of the ſame game. The idols placed upon the walls were thoſe of the gods of game, of whoſe names we are ignorant; but ſuſpect the name of one of them to have been *Omacatl, the God of Rejoicings*. The ball was made of ule, or elaſtic gum, three or four inches in diameter, which, although heavier, rebounds more than thoſe made of air. They played in parties, two againſt two, or three againſt three. The players were entirely naked except the *maxtlatl*, or large bandage, about their middle. It was an eſſential condition of the game not to touch the ball, unleſs it was with the joint of the thigh, or the arm, or elbow, and whoever touched it with his hand or foot, or any other part of the body, loſt one of the game. The player who made the ball reach the oppoſite wall, or made it rebound from it, gained a point. Poor people played for ears of maize, or if they had nothing elſe they played for the price of their liberty; others ſtaked a certain number of dreſſes of cotton; and rich perſons played for articles of gold, precious feathers, and jewels. There were in the ſpace between the players two large ſtones, reſembling in figure our mill-ſtones, each of which had a hole in the middle, a little larger than the ball. Whoever ſtruck the ball through this hole, which was extremely uncommon, was not only victor in the game, but according to the eſtabliſhed law, became the

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proprietor of the dreſſes of all thoſe who were preſent, and ſuch a feat was celebrated as an immortal deed.

This game was in high eſtimation with the Mexicans, and the other nations of that kingdom, and much practiſed, as is to be concluded from the ſurpriſing number of balls which the cities of Tochtepec, Otatitlan, and other places, paid in tribute to the crown of Mexico, the number of which, as we have already mentioned, was not leſs than ſixteen thouſand. The kings themſelves played and challenged each other at this game; as Montezuma II. did *Nezahualpilli*. At preſent it is not in uſe among the nations of the Mexican empire; but it is ſtill kept up among the Najarites, the Opates, the Taraumareſe, and other nations of the North. All the Spaniards who have ſeen this game were ſurpriſed with the uncommon agility of the players.

The Mexicans took great delight alſo in another game, which ſome writers have called *patolli* (*b*). They deſcribed upon a fine mat made of the palm-tree, a ſquare, within which they drew two diagonal and two croſs lines. Inſtead of dice they threw large beans, marked with ſmall points. According to the points which their dice turned up, they put down, or took up, certain little ſtones from the junction of the lines, and whoever had three little ſtones firſt in a ſeries, was victor.

Bernal Diaz makes mention of another game at which king Montezuma uſed to amuſe himſelf with the conqueror Cortes, during the time of his impriſonment, which he informs us was called *Totoloque*. That king, he ſays, threw from a diſtance certain little balls of gold, at certain pieces of the ſame metal, which were placed as marks, and whoever made the firſt five hits won the jewels for which they played.

Among the Mexicans there were perſons extremely dexterous at games with the hands and feet. One man laid himſelf upon his back on the ground, and raiſing up his feet, took a beam upon them, or a piece of wood, which was thick, round, and about eight feet in length. He toſſed it up to a certain height, and as it fell he received and toſſed it up again with his feet; taking it afterwards between his feet, he turned it rapidly round, and what is more, he did ſo with two

(*b*) Patolli is a generic term ſignifying every ſort of game.

men

men ſitting aſtride upon it, one upon each extremity of the beam. This feat was performed at Rome before pope Clement VII. and many Roman princes, by two Mexicans ſent over there by Cortes from Mexico, to the ſingular ſatisfaction of the ſpectators. The exerciſes alſo which, in ſome countries are called the powers of Hercules, were extremely common amongſt them. One man began to dance; another, placed upright on his ſhoulders, accompanied him in his movements; while a third, ſtanding upright upon the head of the ſecond, danced and diſplayed other inſtances of agility. They placed alſo a beam upon the ſhoulders of two dancers, while a third danced upon the end of it. The firſt Spaniards, who were witneſſes of thoſe and other exhibitions of the Mexicans, were ſo much aſtoniſhed at their agility, that they ſuſpected ſome ſupernatural power aſſiſted them, forgetting to make a due allowance for the progreſs of the human genius when aſſiſted by application and labour. BOOK VII.

Though games, dances, and muſic, conduced leſs to utility than pleaſure, this was not the caſe with Hiſtory and Painting; two arts, which ought not to be ſeparated in the hiſtory of Mexico, as they had no other hiſtorians than their painters, nor any other writings than their paintings to commemorate the events of the nation. SECT. XLVII. Different kinds of Mexican paintings.

The Toltecas were the firſt people of the new world who employed the art of painting for the ends of hiſtory; at leaſt we know of no other nation which did ſo before them. The ſame practice prevailed, from time immemorial, among the Acolhuas, the ſeven Aztecan tribes, and among all the poliſhed nations of Anahuac. The Chechemecas and the Otomies were taught it by the Acolhuas and the Toltecas, when they deſerted their ſavage life.

Among the paintings of the Mexicans, and all thoſe nations, there were many which were mere portraits or images of their gods, their kings, their heroes, their animals, and their plants. With theſe the royal palaces of Mexico and Tezcuco both abounded. Others were hiſtorical, containing an account of particular events, ſuch as are the firſt thirteen paintings of the collection of Mendoza, and that of the journey of the Aztecas, which appears in the work of the traveller Gemelli. Others were mythological, containing the myſteries of their religion. Of this kind is the volume which is preſerved in the great library

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library of the order of Bologna. Others were codes, in which were compiled their laws, their rites, their cuſtoms, their taxes, or tributes; and ſuch are all thoſe of the above mentioned collection of Mendoza, from the fourteenth to the ſixty-third. Others were chronological, aſtronomical, or aſtrological, in which was repreſented their calendar, the poſition of the ſtars, the changes of the moon, eclipſes, and prognoſtications of the variations of the weather. This kind of painting was called by them *Tonalamatl.* Siguenza makes mention (*i*) of a painting repreſenting ſuch like prognoſtications which he inſerted in his Ciclographia Mexicana. Acoſta relates "that in the province of Yucatan, there were certain volumes, bound up according to their "manner, in which the wiſe Indians had marked the diſtribution of "their ſeaſons, the knowledge of the planets, of animals, and other "natural productions, and alſo their antiquity; things all highly curious and minutely deſcribed:" which, as the ſame author ſays, were loſt by the indiſcreet zeal of an eccleſiaſtic, who, imagining them to be full of ſuperſtitious meanings, burned them, to the great grief of the Indians, and the utmoſt regret of the curious amongſt the Spaniards. Other paintings were topographical, or chorographical, which ſerved not only to ſhew the extent and boundaries of poſſeſſions, but likewiſe the ſituation of places, the direction of the coaſts, and the courſe of rivers. Cortes ſays, in his firſt letter to Charles V. that having made enquiries to know if there was any ſecure harbour for veſſels in the Mexican gulf, Montezuma preſented him a painting of the whole coaſt, from the port of *Chalchiuhcuecan*, where at preſent Vera Cruz lies, to the river Coatzacualco. Bernal Diaz relates, that Cortes alſo, in a long and difficult voyage which he made to the Bay of Honduras, made uſe of a chart which was preſented to him by the lords of Coatzacualco, in which all the places and rivers were marked from the coaſt of Coatzacualco to Huejacallan.

The Mexican empire abounded with all thoſe kinds of paintings; for their painters were innumerable, and there was hardly any thing left unpainted. If thoſe had been preſerved, there would have been nothing wanting to the hiſtory of Mexico; but the firſt preachers of

(*i*) In his work entitled, *Libra Aſtronomica*, printed in Mexico.

the

the goſpel, ſuſpicious that ſuperſtition was mixed with all their paintings, made a furious deſtruction of them. Of all thoſe which were to be found in Tezcuco, where the chief ſchool of painting was, they collected ſuch a maſs, in the ſquare of the market, it appeared like a little mountain; to this they ſet fire and buried in the aſhes the memory of many moſt intereſting and curious events. The loſs of thoſe monuments of antiquity was inexpreſſibly afflicting to the Indians, and regretted ſufficiently afterwards by the authors of it, when they became ſenſible of their error; for they were compelled to endeavour to remedy the evil, in the firſt place by obtaining information from the mouths of the Indians; ſecondly, by collecting all the paintings which had eſcaped their fury, to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the nation; but although they recovered many, theſe were not ſufficient; for from that time forward, the poſſeſſors of paintings became ſo jealous of their preſervation and concealment from the Spaniards, it has proved difficult, if not impoſſible to make them part with one of them.

SECT. XLVIII. Cloths and colours.

The cloth on which they painted was made of the thread of the maguei, or aloe, or the palm *Icxotl (k)*, dreſſed ſkins, or paper. They made paper of the leaves of a certain ſpecies of aloe, ſteeped together like hemp, and afterwards waſhed, ſtretched, and ſmoothed. They made alſo of the palm *Icxotl*, and the thin barks of other trees, when united and prepared with a certain gum, both ſilk and cotton; but we are unable to explain any particulars of this manufacture. We have had in our hands ſeveral ſheets of Mexican paper: it is ſimilar in the thickneſs to the paſteboard of Europe, but ſofter, ſmoother, and eaſy for writing.

In general they made their paper in very long ſheets, which they preſerved rolled up like the ancient membranes of Europe, or folded up like bed-ſkreens. The volume of Mexican paintings, which is preſerved in the library of Bologna, is a thick ſkin ill-dreſſed, compoſed of different pieces, painted all over, and folded up in that manner.

The beautiful colours which they employed both in their paintings and in their dyes, were obtained from wood, from leaves, and the

(*k*) The coarſe cloth on which the famous image of the Virgin of Guadaloup is painted, is of the palm *Icxotl*.

flowers

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flowers of different plants, and various animals. White they obtained from the ſtone *Chimaltizatl*, which, on calcination, becomes like a fine plaiſter, or from the *Tizatlalli*, another mineral, which after being made into a paſte, worked like clay, and formed into ſmall balls, takes in the fire a white colour reſembling Spaniſh white. Black they got from another mineral, which, on account of its ſtinking ſmell, was called *Tlalihijac*, or from the ſoot of the *Ocotl*, which is a certain aromatic ſpecies of pine, collected in little earthen veſſels. Blue and azure colours were obtained from the flower of the *Matlalxihuitl*, and the *Xiuhquilipitzahuac*, which is indigo *(l)*, although their mode of making them was very different from the way of the moderns. They put the branches of this plant into hot, or rather lukewarm water; and after having ſtirred them about for a ſufficient time with a ſtick or ladle, they paſſed the water when impregnated with the dye into certain pots or cups, in which they let it remain until the ſolid part of the dye was depoſited, and then they poured off the water. This lee or ſediment was dried in the ſun, and afterwards it was placed between two plates near a fire, until it grew hard. The Mexicans had another plant of the ſame name, from which they likewiſe obtained an azure colour, but of an inferior quality. Red they got from the ſeeds of the *Achiot* or *Ruocou*, boiled in water; and purple from the *Nochiztli*, or cochineal. Yellow from the Tecozahuitl, or ochre; and likewiſe from the Xochipalli, a plant, the leaves of which reſemble thoſe of the Artemiſia. The beautiful flowers of this plant, boiled in water with nitre, furniſhed them a fine orange-colour. In the ſame manner as they made uſe of nitre to obtain this colour, they employed alum to obtain others. After grinding and diſſolving the aluminous earth in water, which they called *Tlalxocotl*, they boiled it in earthen veſſels;

(*l*) The deſcription of the indigo plant is found in many authors, particularly in Hernandez, lib. iv. cap. 12. which is totally different from that deſcribed by Raynal, in the ſixth book of his Philoſophical and Political Hiſtory. This author affirms, that indigo was tranſplanted from the Eaſt-Indies to America, and that experiments having been made of it in ſeveral countries, the culture of it was eſtabliſhed in Carolina, Hiſpaniola, and Mexico. This however is one of the many miſtakes of that philoſopher. It is certain, from the teſtimony of Ferdinand Columbus, in cap. lxi. of the Life of his famous parent Chriſtopher Columbus, that one of the plants, native to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, was the indigo. We know alſo from the hiſtorians of Mexico, and particularly Hernandez, that the ancient Mexicans made uſe of indigo.

then

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then by diſtillation, they extracted the allum pure, white, and tranſparent, and before they hardened it entirely, they parted it in pieces to ſell it in the market. To make their colours hold better together, they made uſe of the glutinous juice of the Tzauhtli (*m*), or the fine oil of Chian (*n*).

SECT. XLIX. The character of their paintings, and mode of repreſenting objects.

The figures of mountains, rivers, buildings, trees, and minerals, and, above all, thoſe of men, which appear in the paintings ſtill extant of the ancient Mexicans, are for the moſt part unproportioned and deformed; this, however, we think is not to be aſcribed ſo much to their ignorance of the proportions of objects, or their want of abilities, as to their haſte in painting, of which the Spaniſh conquerors were witneſſes: for as they ſolely paid attention to make a faithful repreſentation of things, they neglected making their images perfect, and on that account frequently contented themſelves with mere ſketches or outlines. However, we have ſeen among the ancient paintings, many portraits of the kings of Mexico, in which beſides the ſingular beauty of the colours, the proportions were moſt accurately obſerved; but we will, notwithſtanding, confeſs, that the Mexican painters were by no means arrived at much perfection of deſign, or in mixing ſhade and light.

The Mexicans uſed in painting not only to repreſent the ſimple images of objects, as ſome writers have reported, but alſo employed hieroglyphics and characters (*o*). They repreſented material things by their proper figures, but in order to abridge and ſave labour, paper, and colours, they contented themſelves with repreſenting a part of an object which was ſufficient to make it be underſtood by the intelligent; and as we cannot underſtand the writings of others, until we have learnt to read them, in like manner thoſe American authors required to have been firſt inſtructed in the Mexican manner of repreſenting objects, in order to have been able to underſtand the paintings which

(*m*) The *Tzauhtli* is a plant very common in that country. Its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the leek, its ſtem is ſtrait and knotty, its flowers tinged with a yelloviſh green, its root white and fibrous. To extract its juice they broke it and dried it in the ſun.

(*n*) Thinking to render a ſervice to the Italian painters, we cultivated with great attention three plants of the Chian ſprung from ſeed ſent from Mexico; they took root ſucceſsfully, and we had the pleaſure of ſeeing them loaded with flowers in September 1777; but the froſt of that year coming more early than uſual, nipped them entirely.

(*o*) Such authors are effectually refuted by Dr. Eguiara, in the learned preface to his Bibliotheca Meſſicana, and by us in our Diſſertations.

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ſerved them in place of writings. For things which are even by nature totally devoid of figure, or were difficult of repreſentation, they ſubſtituted certain characters; but theſe were not verbal, or deſtined to form words like our letters, but real characters immediately ſignificative of the things, ſuch as the characters of aſtronomers and algebraiſts. That our readers may form ſome idea of them, we have ſubjoined the Numeral characters of the Mexicans, alſo thoſe of Time, the Heavens, the Earth, Water, and Air *(p)*.

When they would repreſent any perſon, they painted a man, or a human head, and over it a figure expreſſing the meaning of his name, as appears in the figures of the Mexican kings. To expreſs a city, or a village, they painted in the ſame manner a figure, which ſignified the ſame thing with its name. To form their hiſtories or annals, they painted on the margin of the cloth or paper, the figures of the years in ſo many ſquares, and at the ſide of each ſquare the event or events which occurred in that year; and if, on account of the number of years the hiſtory of which they meant to relate, they could not all be contained in one canvas, they were continued in another. With reſpect to the order of repreſenting the years and events, it was at the liberty of the hiſtorian to begin at which ever angle of the piece he pleaſed; but at the ſame time conſtantly obſerving, that if the painting began at the upper angle on the right hand, he proceeded towards the left. If it began, which was moſt common, at the upper angle on the left hand, he proceeded ſtrait downwards. If he painted the firſt year at the lower angle on the left, he continued towards the right; but if he began at the lower angle on the right, he proceeded ſtrait upwards; ſo that on the upper part of his canvas he never painted from left to right, nor ever on the lower part from right to left; never advanced upwards from the left, nor downwards by the right. When this method of the Mexicans is underſtood, it is eaſy to diſcover at firſt

(*p*) Reſpecting the numeral characters, it is to be obſerved, they painted as many points as there were units unto twenty. This number has its proper character. Then they doubled it for 20 times, that is 400. This character was doubled in like manner, that is to 8000. Then they began to double the character of 8000. With thoſe three characters, and the points, they expreſſed whatever number they choſe, at leaſt to twenty times 8000, or 160,000. But it is probable this number had its characters alſo.

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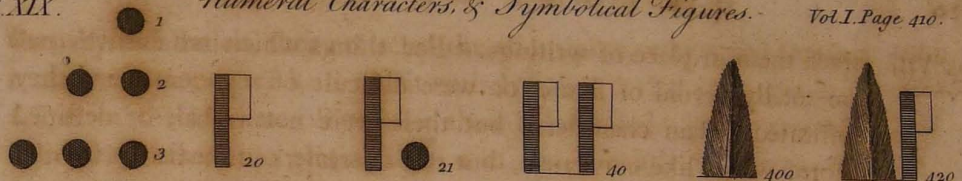
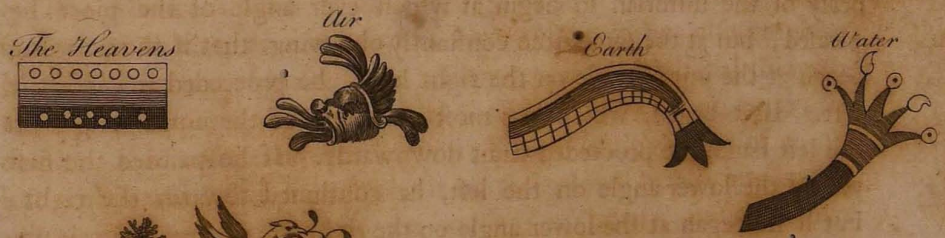
Numeral Characters, & Symbolical Figures.





ſight, which is the beginning and which is the end of any hiſtorical painting. BOOK VII.

It cannot be denied that this method of expreſſing things was imperfect, perplexed, and equivocal; but praiſe is due to the attempt of thoſe people to perpetuate the memory of events, and to their induſtry in ſupplying, though imperfectly, the want of letters, which it is probable they would have invented, in their progreſs to refinement, had their empire been of longer duration; at leaſt they would have abridged and improved their paintings by the multiplication of characters.

Their paintings ought not to be conſidered as a regular full hiſtory, but only as monuments and aids of tradition. We cannot expreſs too ſtrongly the care which parents and maſters took to inſtruct their children and pupils in the hiſtory of the nation. They made them learn ſpeeches and diſcourſes, which they could not expreſs by the pencil; they put the events of their anceſtors into verſe, and taught them to ſing them. This tradition diſpelled the doubts, and undid the ambiguity which paintings alone might have occaſioned, and by the aſſiſtance of thoſe monuments perpetuated the memory of their heroes, and of virtuous examples, their mythology, their rites, their laws, and their cuſtoms.

Nor did that people make uſe only of tradition, of paintings, and ſongs, to preſerve the memory of events, but alſo of threads of different colours, and differently knotted, called by the Peruvians *Quipu*, and by the Mexicans *Nepohualtzitzin*. This curious method of the repreſentation of things, however much uſed in Peru, does not appear to have been employed in the province of Anahuac, if not in the moſt early ages; for no traces of ſuch monuments are now to be found. Boturini ſays, that after the moſt diligent ſearch, he, with difficulty, found one in a place of Tlaſcala, the threads of which were already waſted and conſumed by time. If thoſe who peopled South America ever paſſed the country of Anahuac, they poſſibly might have left there this art, which was afterwards abandoned for that of painting, introduced by the Toltecas, or ſome other nation ſtill more ancient.

After the Spaniards communicated the uſe of letters to them, ſeveral able natives of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlaſcala, wrote their hiſtories partly in Spaniſh, and partly in an elegant Mexican ſtyle, which hiſtories

BOOK VII. hiſtories are ſtill preſerved in ſome libraries of Mexico, as we have already mentioned.

SECT. L. Sculpture.

The Mexicans were more ſucceſsful in ſculpture, in the art of caſting metals and moſaic works, than in painting. They expreſſed the images of their heroes, and of the works of nature in ſtone, wood, gold, ſilver, and feathers, better than on paper, either becauſe the greater difficulty of thoſe labours ſtimulated greater diligence and exertions, or becauſe the high eſteem in which they were held among that people, excited genius and encouraged induſtry.

Sculpture was one of the arts exerciſed by the ancient Toltecas. Until the time of the conqueſt ſeveral ſtatues of ſtone were preſerved which had been cut by the artiſts of that nation; in particular the idol of Tlaloc, placed upon the mountain of the ſame name, which was ſo much revered and worſhipped by the Chechemecas and Acolhuas, and the gigantic ſtatues erected in the celebrated temples of Teotihuacan. The Mexicans had ſculptors among them when they left their native country Aztlan, for we know that they had at that time formed the idol of Huitzilopochtli, which they carried along with them in their long peregrination.

The uſual materials of their ſtatues were ſtone and wood. They wrought the ſtone without iron, ſteel, or any other inſtrument than a chiſſel made of flint ſtone. Their unparalleled phlegmatic nature and conſtancy in labour, were both neceſſary to overcome the difficulty, and endure the tediouſneſs of ſuch labours; and they ſucceeded in ſpite of the unfitneſs of their inſtruments. They learned to expreſs in their ſtatues all the attitudes and poſtures of which the human body is capable; they obſerved the proportions exactly, and could, when neceſſary, execute the moſt delicate and minute ſtrokes with the chiſſel. They not only made entire ſtatues, but likewiſe cut out in ſtone, figures in baſſo relievo, of which kind are thoſe of Montezuma II. and one of his ſons, recorded with praiſes by Acoſta. They alſo made ſtatues of clay and wood, employing for theſe a chiſſel of copper. The ſurpriſing number of their ſtatues may be imagined from that of their idols, which we mentioned in the preceding book. In this reſpect we have alſo to lament the furious zeal of the firſt biſhop of Mexico, and the firſt preachers of the goſpel; who, in order to remove from the ſight

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of their converts all incentives to idolatry, have deprived us of many valuable monuments of the ſculpture of the Mexicans. The foundation of the firſt church, which was built in Mexico, was laid with idols, and ſo many thouſand ſtatues were then broke in pieces and deſtroyed, that although the kingdom was moſt abounding in works of that kind, at preſent the moſt diligent ſearch can hardly find any of them remaining. The conduct of thoſe miſſionaries was no doubt laudable both in cauſe and effect, but they ſhould have diſtinguiſhed between the innocent ſtatues of thoſe people, and their ſuperſtitious images, that ſome of the former might have been kept entire in ſome place where no evil conſequence would have attended their preſervation.

SECT. LI. Caſting of metals.

The works which they executed by caſting of metals were in more eſteem with the Mexicans than the works of ſculpture, both on account of the greater value of the materials, and the excellence of the art itſelf. The miracles they produced of this kind would not be credible, if beſides the teſtimony of thoſe who ſaw them, curioſities in numbers of this nature had not been ſent from Mexico to Europe. The works of gold and ſilver ſent in preſents from the conqueror Cortes to Charles V. filled the goldſmiths of Europe with aſtoniſhment; who, as ſeveral authors of that period atteſt, declared (*q*) that they were altogether inimitable. The Mexican founders made both of gold and ſilver the moſt perfect images of natural bodies. They made a fiſh in this manner, which had its ſcales alternately one of ſilver and the other of gold; a parrot with a moveable head, tongue, and wings, and an ape with a moveable head and feet, having a ſpindle in its hand in the attitude of ſpinning. They ſet gems in gold and ſilver, and made moſt curious jewellery of great value. In ſhort, theſe ſort of works were ſo admirably finiſhed, that even the Spaniſh ſoldiers, all ſtung with the ſame wretched thirſt for gold, valued the workmanſhip above the materials. This wonderful art, formerly practiſed by the Toltecas, the invention of which they aſcribed to the god Quetzalcoatl, has been entirely loſt by the debaſement of the Indians, and the indolent neg-

(*q*) See in particular what is ſaid of thoſe works by the hiſtorian Gomara, who had them in his hands, and heard what the goldſmiths of Seville ſaid upon ſeeing them.

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lect of the Spaniards. We are doubtful if there are any remains of thoſe curious works; at leaſt we apprehend, it would be more eaſy to find ſome in the cabinets of Europe than in all New Spain. Covetouſneſs to profit by the materials muſt unqueſtionably have conquered all deſire to preſerve them as curioſities.

The Mexicans alſo wrought with the hammer, but in an inferior manner, and not at all to be compared with the goldſmiths of Europe; for they had no other inſtruments to beat metals than ſtones. However, it is well known that they wrought copper well, and that the Spaniards were much pleaſed with their axes and pikes. The Mexican founders and goldſmiths formed a reſpectable body of people. They rendered particular worſhip to their protecting god *Xipe*, and in honour of him held a great feſtival in the ſecond month, at which human victims were ſacrificed.

SECT. LII. Moſaic works.

Nothing, however, was more highly valued by the Mexicans than their moſaic works, which were made of the moſt delicate and beautiful feathers of birds. They raiſed for this purpoſe various ſpecies of birds of fine plumage with which that country abounds, not only in the palaces of the king, where, as we have already obſerved, there were all ſorts of animals, but likewiſe in private houſes, and at certain ſeaſons they carried off their feathers to make uſe of them on this kind of work, or to ſell them at market. They ſet a high value on the feathers of thoſe wonderful little birds which they call *Huitzitzilin*, and the Spaniards *Picaflores*, on account of the ſmallneſs, the fineneſs, and the various colours of them. In theſe and other beautiful birds, nature ſupplied them with all the colours which art can produce, and alſo ſome which art cannot imitate. At the undertaking of every moſaic work ſeveral artiſts aſſembled; after having agreed upon a deſign, and taken their meaſures and proportions, each artiſt charged himſelf with the execution of a certain part of the image, and exerted himſelf ſo diligently in it with ſuch patience and application, that he frequently ſpent a whole day in adjuſting a feather; firſt trying one, then another, viewing it ſometimes one way, then another, until he found one which gave his part that ideal perfection propoſed to be attained. When the part which each artiſt undertook was done, they aſſembled again to form the entire image from them. If any part was accidentally the

leaſt deranged, it was wrought again until it was perfectly finiſhed. They laid hold of the feathers with ſmall pincers, that they might not do them the leaſt injury, and paſted them on the cloth with *Tzauhtli*, or ſome other glutinous matter; then they united all the parts upon a a little table, or a plate of copper, and flattened them ſoftly until they left the ſurface of the image ſo equal and ſmooth it appeared to be the work of a pencil.

Theſe were the images ſo much celebrated by the Spaniards and other European nations. Whoever beheld them was at a loſs whether he ought to have praiſed moſt the life and beauty of the natural colours, or the dexterity of the artiſt, and the ingenious diſpoſition of art. "Theſe images," ſays Acoſta, "are deſervedly admired; for it is wonderful how it was poſſible, with the feathers of birds, to execute "works ſo fine and ſo equal, that they appear the performance of the "pencil; and what neither the pencil nor the colours in painting can "effect, they have, when viewed from a ſide, an appearance ſo beautiful, ſo lively, and animated, they give delight to the ſight. Some Indians, who are able artiſts, copy whatever is painted with a pencil "ſo perfectly with plumage, that they rival the beſt painters of Spain." Theſe works of feathers were even ſo highly eſteemed by the Mexicans as to be valued more than gold. Cortes, Bernal Diaz, Gomara, Torquemada, and all the other hiſtorians who ſaw them, were at a loſs for expreſſions ſufficient to praiſe their perfection (*r*). A little time ago was living in Pazcuaro, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Michuacan, where this art chiefly flouriſhed ſince the conqueſt, the laſt ſurviving artiſt of Moſaic works, and with him poſſibly is now, or will be, finiſhed this admirable art, although for thoſe two, laſt centuries paſt, it has fallen much ſhort of its ancient perfection. Several works of this kind are ſtill preſerved in the muſeums of Europe, and many in Mexico, but few we apprehend belong to the ſix-

(*r*) Stor. Nat. e Mor. lib. iv. c. 37.

(*s*) Gio. Lorenzo d'Anagnia, a learned Italian of the ſixteenth century, treating of thoſe images of the Mexicans, obſerves: "Amongſt others I was greatly aſtoniſhed at a San Gi-"rolamo with a crucifix and a lion, which La Sig. Diana Loffreda ſhewed me, diſcovering "ſo much beauty from the livelineſs of the natural colours, ſo well and ſo juſtly placed, that "I imagined I could never ſee an equal to it, far leſs a better, among the ancient or even the "moſt eminent modern painters."

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teenth century, and none of thoſe which we know of, were made before the conqueſt. The moſaic works alſo which they made of broken ſhells was extremely curious; this art is ſtill practiſed in Guatemala.

In imitation of thoſe ſkilful artiſts there were others, who formed with flowers and leaves upon mats many beautiful works made uſe of at feſtivals. After the introduction of Chriſtianity they made theſe works for ornament, they were ſought after moſt eagerly by the Spaniſh nobility, on account of the ſingular beauty of the artifice. At preſent there are many artiſts in that kingdom, who employ themſelves in counterfeiting with ſilk the images of feathers; but their performances are by no means comparable with thoſe of the ancients.

SECT. LIII. Domeſtic or civil architecture of the Mexicans.

A nation ſo induſtrious in thoſe arts which could only ſerve for curioſity and luxury, could not be wanting in thoſe which were neceſſary to life. Architecture, one of thoſe arts which the neceſſity of man firſt invents, was exerciſed by the inhabitants of the country of Anahuac, at leaſt from the time of the Toltecas. Their ſucceſſors the Chechemecas, the Acolhuas, and all the other nations of the kingdoms of Acolhuacan, of Mexico, and Michuacan, of the republic of Tlaſcala, and other provinces, except the Otomies, built houſes and formed cities from time immemorial. When the Mexicans arrived in that country, they found it full of large and beautiful cities. They who before they left their native country were ſkilled in architecture, and uſed to a ſocial life, conſtructed in their pilgrimage many edifices in thoſe places where they ſtopped for ſome years; ſome remains of which are ſtill exiſting as we have already mentioned upon the banks of the river Gila, in Pimeria, and near to the city of Zacatecas. Reduced afterwards to greater hardſhips upon the little iſlands of the Tezcucan lake, they built humble huts with reeds and mud, until by the commerce of their fiſh they were able to purchaſe better materials. In proportion as their power and riches increaſed, they enlarged and improved their habitations; ſo that when the conquerors arrived, they found no leſs to be admired with their eyes than to be deſtroyed with their hands.

The houſes of the poor were built of reeds, or unburned bricks, or ſtone and mud, and the roofs made of a long kind of hay which grows

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grows thick, and is common in the fields, particularly in hot countries, or of the leaves of the maguei, or aloe, placed in the manner of tiles, to which they bear ſome reſemblance both in thickneſs and ſhape. One of the columns or ſupports of theſe houſes was generally a tree of a regular growth, by means of which, beſides the pleaſure they took in its foliage and ſhade, they ſaved themſelves ſome labour and expence. Theſe houſes had for the moſt part but one chamber, where the family and all the animals belonging to it, the fire-place, and furniture, were lodged. If the family was not very poor, there were more chambers, an *ajauhcalli*, or oratory; a *temazcalli*, or bath, and a little granary.

The houſes of lords, and people of circumſtances, were built of ſtone and lime; they conſiſted of two floors, having halls, large court-yards, and the chambers fitly diſpoſed; the roofs were flat and terraced; the walls were ſo well whitened, poliſhed, and ſhining, that they appeared to the Spaniards when at a diſtance to have been ſilver. The pavement or floor was plaiſter, perfectly level, plain, and ſmooth.

Many of theſe houſes were crowned with battlements and turrets; and their gardens had fiſh-ponds, and the walks of them ſymmetrically laid out. The large houſes of the capital had in general two entrances, the principal one to the ſtreet, the other to the canal: they had no wooden doors to their houſes, perhaps, becauſe they thought their habitations ſufficiently ſecure without them from the ſeverity of the laws againſt robbers; but to prevent the inſpection of paſſengers, they covered the entrance with little reeds, from which they ſuſpended a ſtring of cocoas, or pieces of broken kitchen utenſils, or ſome other thing fit to awake by its noiſe the attention of the family, when any perſon lifted up the reeds to enter the houſe. No perſon was permitted to enter without the conſent of the owner. When neceſſity, or civility, or family connections did not juſtify the entrance of any perſon who came to the houſe, he was liſtened to without and immediately diſmiſſed.

The Mexicans underſtood the building of arches and vaults (*t*), as appears from their baths, from the remains of the royal palaces of Tez-

(*t*) Torquemada ſays, that when the Spaniards took away the roof from an arch built in the firſt church of Mexico, the Mexicans from terror durſt not enter the church, expecting every

Tezcuco, and other buildings which eſcaped the fury of the conquerors, and alſo from ſeveral paintings. Cornices, and other ornaments of architecture, were likewiſe in uſe among them. They took great delight in making ornaments of ſtone, which had the appearances of ſnares about their doors and windows, and in ſome buildings there was a large ſerpent made of ſtone in the act of biting his tail, after having twiſted his body through all the windows of the houſe. The walls of their buildings were upright and perpendicular; they muſt have made uſe of the plummit, or ſome other inſtrument of its nature, although owing to the negligence of hiſtorians, we are ignorant of the tools which they employed in building, as well as many other things belonging to this and other arts. Some are of opinion, that the Mexican maſons in building walls, filled them up with earth on both ſides, and that as the wall was raiſed, they raiſed likewiſe the heaps of earth ſo high, that, until the building was completed, the walls remained entirely buried and unſeen; on which account the maſons had no occaſion for planks or ſcaffolding. But although this mode of building may appear to have been in practice among the Miztecas, and other nations of the Mexican empire, we do not believe that the Mexicans ever adopted it, from the great expedition with which they finiſhed their buildings. Their columns were cylindrical, or ſquare; but we cannot ſay whether they had either baſes or capitals. They endeavoured at nothing more anxiouſly than to make them of one ſingle piece, adorning them frequently with figures in baſſo relievo. The foundations of the large houſes of the capital were laid upon a floor of large beams of cedar fixed in the earth, on account of the want of ſolidity in the ſoil, which example the Spaniards have imitated. The roofs of ſuch houſes were made of cedar, of fir, of cypreſs, of pine, or of ojametl; the columns were of common ſtone; but in the royal palaces they were of marble, and ſome even of alabaſter, which many Spaniards miſtook for jaſper. Before the reign of Ahuitzotl, the walls of houſes were built of common ſtone; but as they diſcovered in the

every moment to ſee the arch fall. But if they were ſeized with any ſuch apprehenſion, it was certainly not occaſioned by ſeeing the arch, which was in uſe among themſelves, but poſſibly from ſeeing the ſcaffolding taken away quickly, or ſome other circumſtance which excited their admiration.

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time of that king the quarries of the ſtone Tetzontli, upon the banks of the Mexican lake, it was afterwards preferred as the moſt fit for the buildings of the capital, it being hard, light, and porous like a ſponge: on which account lime adheres very firmly to it. For theſe properties and its colour, which is a blood red, it is at preſent valued above any other ſtone for buildings. The pavements of their courts and temples were in general of the ſtone of Tenajoccan; but ſome alſo were chequered with marble and other precious ſtones.

Although the Mexicans are not to be compared with the Europeans in regard to taſte in architecture, yet the Spaniards were ſo ſtruck with admiration and ſurprize on ſeeing the royal palaces of Mexico, that Cortes, in his firſt letter to Charles V. unable to find words to deſcribe them, ſpeaks thus: "He had," he ſays, ſpeaking of Montezuma, "beſides thoſe in the city of Mexico, other ſuch admirable houſes "for his habitation, that I do not believe I ſhall ever be able to expreſs "their excellence and grandeur; therefore I ſhall only ſay that there are "no equals to them in Spain." Such expreſſions are made uſe of by Cortes in other parts of his letters; by the anonymous conqueror in his valuable relation, and by Bernal Diaz in his moſt faithful hiſtory, who were all three preſent at the conqueſt.

SECT. LIV. Aqueducts and ways upon the lake.

The Mexicans alſo conſtructed, for the convenience of inhabited places, ſeveral excellent aqueducts. Thoſe of the capital for conducting the water from Chapoltepec, which was two miles diſtant, were two in number, made of ſtone and cement five feet high, and two paces broad upon a road raiſed for that purpoſe upon the lake, by which the water was brought to the entrance of the city, and from thence it branched out through ſmaller channels to ſupply ſeveral fountains, and particularly thoſe of the royal palaces. Although there were two aqueducts, the water was only brought by one at a time, as in the interval they cleared the other that they might always have the water pure. At Tezcutzinco, formerly a palace of pleaſure of the kings of Tezcuco, may ſtill be ſeen an aqueduct by which water was conveyed to the royal gardens.

The above mentioned road of Chapoltepec, as well as others made upon the lake, and frequently taken notice of in this hiſtory, are inconteſtible proofs of the induſtry of the Mexicans; but it is ſtill more

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more manifeſted in the foundation of their city; for whereas other architects have no more to do than to lay a foundation upon ſolid earth, to raiſe an edifice, the Mexicans were obliged to make the ſoil on which they built, uniting by terraces ſeveral little iſlands together. Beſides this prodigious fatigue, they had to raiſe banks and palliſadoes to render their habitations ſecure. But if in theſe works their induſtry is conſpicuous, in many others the Mexicans ſhew their taſte for magnificence. Amongſt the monuments of ancient architecture which are extant in the Mexican empire, the edifices of Mictlan, in Mizteca, are very celebrated; there are many things about them worthy of admiration, particularly a large hall, the roof of which is ſupported by various cylindrical columns of ſtone, eighty feet high, and about twenty in circumference, each of them conſiſting of one ſingle piece.

SECT. LV. Remains of ancient edifices.

But this, or any other fabric of Mexican antiquity now remaining, cannot be compared with the famous aqueduct of Chempoallan. This large work, worthy of being ranked with the greateſt in Europe, was done about the middle of the ſixteenth century. The Franciſcan miſſionary Franciſco Tembleque, directed, and the Chempoalleſe executed it with wonderful perfection. Moved with compaſſion for the diſtreſs which his proſelytes ſuffered from a ſcarcity of water, as all that could be gathered in trenches and ditches was conſumed by the cattle of the Spaniards, that pious father undertook to relieve the neceſſities of his people at all events. The water was at a great diſtance, and the country through which it was neceſſary to conduct it, was mountainous and rocky; but every difficulty was overcome by his zeal and activity, aided by the induſtry and toil of his converts. They conſtructed an aqueduct of ſtone and lime, which, on account of the frequent turnings they were obliged to make in the mountains, was upwards of thirty miles long. The greateſt difficulty conſiſted in croſſing three great precipices which intercepted their progreſs; but this was got over by three bridges, the firſt conſiſting of forty-ſeven, the ſecond of thirteen, and the third, which is the largeſt and moſt wonderful of all, having ſixty-ſeven arches. The largeſt arch, which was in the middle, ſituated in the greateſt depth of the precipice is one hundred and ten geometrical feet in height, and ſixty-one in breadth, ſo that a large veſſel could paſs under it. The other ſixty-ſix arches,

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ſituated on each ſide of the largeſt, diminiſhed gradually on each ſide unto the edge or top of the precipice, ſo as to leave the ground level with the courſe of the aqueduct. This large bridge is 3,178 geometrical feet, or upwards of half a mile in length. The work of it occupied the ſpace of five years, and the whole aqueduct ſeventeen. We have deemed it not improper to inſert the deſcription of this ſuperb fabrick; as although it was the undertaking of a Spaniard, after the conqueſt, it was executed by the Chempoalleſe, who ſurvived the downfal of their empire.

The ignorant Mr. de P. denies that the Mexicans had either the knowledge, or made uſe of lime; but it is evident from the teſtimony of all the hiſtorians of Mexico, by tribute rolls, and above all from the ancient buildings ſtill remaining, that all thoſe nations made the ſame uſe of lime as the Europeans do. The vulgar of that kingdom believe, that the Mexicans mixed eggs with lime to render it more tenacious; but this is an error, occaſioned by ſeeing the ancient walls of a yellowiſh caſt. It is manifeſt alſo, from the teſtimony of the firſt hiſtorians, that burnt tiles or bricks were uſed by the Mexicans, and that they ſold them like all other things in the market-place.

SECT. LVI. Stone-cutters, engravers, jewellers, and potters.

The ſtone-cutters, who cut and wrought ſtones for building, did not make uſe of pickaxes, nor iron chiſſels, but only of certain inſtruments of flint-ſtone; with theſe, however, they executed beautiful works and engravings. But thoſe ſort of labours without iron do not raiſe ſo much wonder as the ſtones of ſtupendous ſize and weight which were found in the capital and other places, tranſported from great diſtances, and placed in high ſituations without the aid of machines which mechaniſm has invented. Beſides common ſtone they wrought marble, alſo jaſper, alabaſter, itztli, and other valuable ſtones. Of itztli, they made beautiful looking-glaſſes ſet with gold, and thoſe extremely ſharp razors which they fixed in their ſwords, and which their barbers made uſe of. They made thoſe razors with ſuch expedition, that in the ſpace of one hour an artificer could finiſh more than a hundred (*u*).

The Mexican jewellers not only had ſkill in gems, but likewiſe underſtood how to poliſh work and cut them, and formed them into

(*u*) Hernandez Torquemada and Betancourt, deſcribe the manner in which thoſe artiſts made their razors of the ſtone itztli.

whatever figures they choſe. Hiſtorians affirm, that theſe works were done with a particular ſand; but it is moſt certain, they could not do them without ſome inſtrument of flint, or hard copper, which is found in that country. The gems moſt common among the Mexicans were emeralds, amethyſts, cornelians, turquoiſes, and ſome others not known in Europe. Emeralds were ſo common, that no lord or noble wanted them, and none of them died without having one fixed to his lip, that it might ſerve him as they imagined inſtead of a heart. An infinite number of them were ſent to the court of Spain in the firſt years after the conqueſt. When Cortes returned the firſt time to Spain, he brought along with him, amongſt other ineſtimable jewels, five emeralds, which, as Gomara, who was then living, bears teſtimony, were valued at a hundred thouſand ducats, and for one of them ſome Genoeſe merchants offered him forty thouſand, in order to ſell it again to the grand ſignor (*x*); and alſo two emerald vaſes, valued, as the celebrated P. Mariana (*y*) ſays, at three hundred thouſand ducats, which vaſes Cortes loſt by the ſhipwreck which he ſuffered in the unfortunate expedition of Charles V. againſt Algiers. At preſent no more ſuch gems are wrought, nor is even the place of the mines known where they were formerly dug: but there are ſtill ſome enormous pieces of emerald remaining, namely, a ſacred ſtone in the cathedral church of Angelopoli, and another in the parochial church of Quechula (unleſs this is the ſame tranſported from thence to Angelopoli), which the prieſts keep ſecured with chains of iron, as Betancourt ſays, that no one may carry it off.

The potters not only made the neceſſary family utenſils of clay, but alſo other things of mere curioſity, which they embelliſhed with

(*x*) With regard to Cortes's emeralds, the firſt was made in form of a roſe, the ſecond like a horn, the third like a fiſh, with eyes of gold; the fourth was a little bell, with a fine pearl for a clapper, and upon the lip this inſcription in Spaniſh, *Bèndito quien te criò*, that is, *Bleſſed be, who created thee*. The fifth, which was the moſt valuable, and for which the Genoeſe merchants would have given forty thouſand ducats, was a ſmall cup with a foot of gold, and four little chains alſo of gold, which united in a pearl in the form of a button. The lip of the cup was girt with a ring of gold, on which was engraved this Latin ſentence, *Inter natos mulierum non ſurrexit major*. Theſe five emeralds, wrought by the Mexicans at the order of Cortes, were preſented by him to his ſecond wife, the daughter of the count of Aguilar; jewels, ſays Gomara, who ſaw them, better than any other woman whatſoever had in all Spain.

(*y*) Mariana in the Summary, or Supplement of the Hiſtory of Spain.

various

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various colours; but they did not underſtand, by what we can diſcover, the art of making glaſs. The moſt famous potters formerly were the Choluleſe, whoſe veſſels were much priſed by the Spaniards; at preſent the moſt reputed are the potters of Quauhtitlan.

SECT. LVII. Carpenters, weavers, &c.

Their carpenters wrought ſeveral kinds of wood with inſtruments made of copper, of which there are ſtill ſome remains of tolerable workmanſhip.

Manufactures of various kinds of cloth were common every where; it was one of thoſe arts which almoſt every perſon learned. They had no wool, nor common ſilk, nor lint, nor hemp, but they ſupplied the want of wool with cotton, that of ſilk with feathers, with the hair of the rabbit and hare, and that of lint and hemp with *icxotl*, or mountain-palm, with the *quetzalichtli*, the *pati*, and other ſpecies of the maguei. Of cotton they made large webs, and as delicate and fine as thoſe of Holland, which were with much reaſon highly eſteemed in Europe. A few years after the conqueſt, a ſacerdotal habit of the Mexicans was brought to Rome, which, as Boturini affirms, was uncommonly admired on account of its fineneſs and beauty. They wove theſe cloths with different figures and colours, repreſenting different animals and flowers. Of feathers, interwoven with cotton, they made mantles and bed curtains, carpets, gowns, and other things not leſs ſoft than beautiful. We have ſeen ſome beautiful mantles of this kind which are preſerved ſtill by ſome lords; they wear them upon extraordinary feſtivals, as at thoſe of the coronation of the Spaniſh kings. With cotton alſo they interwove the fineſt hair of the belly of rabbits and hares, after having dyed and ſpun it into thread; of theſe they made moſt beautiful cloths, and in particular winter waiſtcoats for the lords. From the leaves of the *Pati* and *Quetzalichtli* two ſpecies of the maguei, they obtained a fine thread, with which they made cloths equal to thoſe made of lint; and from the leaves of other kinds of the maguei, namely, thoſe of the mountain-palm, they drew a coarſer thread, ſimilar to hemp. The method they uſed to prepare thoſe materials was the ſame which is practiſed by the Europeans for lint and hemp. They ſoaked the leaves in water, then cleaned them, put them in the ſun, and beat them until they were fit to ſpin.

Of

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Of the ſame leaves of the mountain-palm, and alſo of thoſe of the *izhuatl*, another ſpecies of palm, they made extremely fine mats of different colours. They made others more coarſe of the ruſhes which grew in abundance in the lake.

Of the thread of the maguei they made alſo ropes, ſhoes, and other things.

They dreſſed the ſkins of animals tolerably well, both of quadrupeds and birds, leaving upon ſome of them the hair or plumage, according to the uſe which they propoſed to make of them.

Laſtly, to convey ſome idea of the taſte of the Mexicans in arts, we have thought proper to tranſcribe here the liſt of the firſt things which Cortes ſent from Mexico to Charles V. a few days after he arrived in that country (z).

SECT. LVIII. Liſt of the rareties ſent by Cortes to Charles V.

Two wheels, ten hands in diameter, one of gold with the image of the ſun, and the other of ſilver with the image of the moon upon it; both formed of plates of thoſe metals, with different figures of animals and other things in baſſo relievo, finiſhed with great ingenuity and art (a).

A gold necklace, compoſed of ſeven pieces, with a hundred and eighty-three ſmall emeralds ſet in it, and two hundred and thirty-two gems ſimilar to ſmall rubies, from which hung twenty-ſeven little bells of gold, and ſome pearls.

Another necklace of four pieces of gold, with one hundred and two red gems like ſmall rubies, one hundred and ſeventy-two emeralds, and ten fine pearls ſet in it, with twenty-ſix little bells of gold.

A headpiece of wood covered with gold, and adorned with gems, from which hung twenty-five little bells of gold; inſtead of a plume it had a green bird with eyes, beak, and feet of gold.

A bracelet of gold. A little rod like a ſceptre, with two rings of gold at its extremities, ſet with pearls.

Four tridents, adorned with feathers of various colours, with pearl points tied with gold thread.

(z) This liſt is taken from the hiſtory of Gomara, then living in Spain, ſome things only omitted which were of little importance to be mentioned.

(a) The wheel of gold was unqueſtionably the figure of their century, and that of ſilver the figure of their year, according to what Gomara ſays, but he did not know it with certainty.

Several

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Several ſhoes of the ſkin of the deer, ſewed with gold thread, the ſoles of which were made of blue and white ſtone of Itztli, extremely thin (*b*).

A ſhield of wood and leather, with little bells hanging to it, and covered with plates of gold in the middle, on which was cut the image of the god of war between four heads of a lion, a tyger, an eagle, and an owl, repreſented alive with their hair and feathers.

Several dreſſed ſkins of quadrupeds and birds with their plumage and hair.

Twenty-four curious and beautiful ſhields of gold, of feathers, and very ſmall pearls, and other four of feathers and ſilver only.

Four fiſhes, two ducks, and ſome other birds of caſt gold.

Two ſea-ſhells of gold, and a large crocodile girt with threads of gold.

A large mirror adorned with gold, and many ſmall mirrors. Several mitres and crowns of feathers and gold, ornamented with pearls and gems.

Several large plumes of beautiful feathers of various colours, fretted with gold and ſmall pearls.

Several fans of gold and feathers mixed together; others of feathers only, of different forms and ſizes, but all moſt rich and elegant.

A variety of cotton mantles, ſome all white, others chequered with white and black, or red, green, yellow, and blue; on the outſide rough like a ſhaggy cloth, and within without colour or nap.

A number of under waiſtcoats, handkerchiefs, counterpanes, tapeſtries, and carpets of cotton.

All thoſe articles were, according to Gomara, more valuable for the workmanſhip than the materials. *The colours*, he ſays, *of the cotton, were extremely fine, and thoſe of the feathers natural. Their works of caſt metal, are not to be comprehended by our goldſmiths.* This preſent, which was a part of that which Montezuma made to Cortes, a few days after he had diſembarked at *Chalchiuhcuecan*, was ſent by Cortes to Charles V. in July 1519, and this was the firſt gold and the firſt

(*b*) Gomara does not expreſs that the ſoles were made of the ſtone Itztli, but it is to be underſtood from his account.

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ſilver which was ſent from New to Old Spain; a ſmall preſage of the immenſe treaſures it was to ſend in future.

Amongſt other arts exerciſed by the Mexicans, that of medicine has been entirely overlooked by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, although it is certainly not the leaſt eſſential part of their hiſtory. They have contented themſelves with ſaying, that the Mexican phyſicians had a great knowledge of herbs, and that by means of theſe they performed miraculous cures; but do not mark the progreſs which they made in an art ſo beneficial to the human race. It is not to be doubted, that the ſame neceſſities which ſtimulated the Greeks to make a collection of experiments and obſervations on the nature of diſeaſes, and the virtue of ſimples, would alſo have in time led the Mexicans to the knowledge of thoſe two moſt important parts of medicine.

SECT. LIX. Knowledge of nature and uſe of medicinal ſimples.

We do not know whether they intended by their paintings, like the Greeks by their writings, to communicate their lights to poſterity. Thoſe who followed the profeſſion of medicine inſtructed their ſons in the nature and differences of the diſeaſes to which the human frame is ſubject, and of the herbs which Providence has created for their remedy, the virtues of which had been experienced by their anceſtors. They taught them the art of diſcerning the ſymptoms and progreſs of different diſtempers, and to prepare medicines and apply them. We have ample proofs of this in the natural hiſtory of Mexico, written by Dr. Hernandez (*c*). This learned and laborious writer had always the Mexican phyſicians for his guides in the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, which

(*c*) Hernandez who was phyſician to Philip II. king of Spain, and much renowned for the works he publiſhed concerning the Natural Hiſtory of Pliny, was ſent by that monarch to Mexico, to ſtudy the natural hiſtory of that kingdom. He employed himſelf there with other able learned naturaliſts for ſeveral years, aſſiſted by the Mexican phyſicians. His work, worthy of the expence which it coſt of ſixty thouſand ducats, conſiſted of twenty-four books of hiſtory, and eleven volumes of excellent figures of plants and animals; but the king thinking it too voluminous, gave orders to his phyſician Nardo Antonio Ricchi, a Neapolitan, to abridge it. This abridgement was publiſhed in Spaniſh by Franciſco Ximenes, a Dominican, in 1615, and afterwards in Latin, at Rome, in 1651, by the Lincean academicians, with notes and learned diſſertations, though rather long and unintereſting. The manuſcripts of Hernandez were preſerved in the library of the Eſcurial, from which Nuremberg extracted, according to his own confeſſion, a great part of what he has written in his Natural Hiſtory. F. Claude Clement, a French Jeſuit, diſcourſing of the manuſcript of Hernandez, ſays thus: "Qui "omnes libri, & commentarii, ſi prout affecti ſunt, ita forent perfecti, & abſoluti, Philippus "II. & Franciſcus Hernandius haud quaquam Alexandro, & Ariſtoteli hac in parte conce-"derent."

he profecuted in that empire. They communicated to him the knowledge of twelve hundred plants, with their proper Mexican names; more than two hundred ſpecies of birds; and a large number of quadrupeds, reptiles, fiſhes, inſects, and minerals. From this moſt valuable, though imperfect hiſtory, a ſyſtem of practical medicine may be formed for that kingdom; as has in part been done by Dr. Farfan, in his Book of *Cures*, by Gregorio Lopez, and other eminent phyſicians. And if ſince that time the ſtudy of natural hiſtory had not been neglected, nor ſuch a prepoſſeſſion prevailed in favour of every thing which came from beyond the ſeas, the inhabitants of New Spain would have ſaved a great part of the expences they have been at in purchaſing the drugs of Europe and of Aſia, and reaped greater advantages from the productions of their own country. Europe has been obliged to the phyſicians of Mexico for tobacco, American balſam, gum copal, liquid amber, ſarſaparilla, tecamaca, jalap, barley, and the purgative pine-ſeeds, and other ſimples, which have been much uſed in medicine: but the number of thoſe of which ſhe has been deprived the benefit by the ignorance and negligence of the Spaniards, is infinite.

Among the purgatives employed by the phyſicans of Mexico, beſides jalap, pine-ſeed, and the ſmall bean, the Mechoacan, ſo well known in Europe *(d)*, was extremely common, alſo the *Izticpatli*, much celebrated by Hernandez, and the *Amamaxtla*, vulgarly called the *Rhubarb of the Brothers*.

Amongſt other emetics the Mexicans made uſe of the *Mexochitl*, and the *Neixcotlapatli*; and among diuretics the *Axixpatli*, and the *Axixtlacotl*, which is ſo highly praiſed by Hernandez. Amongſt their antidotes the famous *Contrahierba* was deſervedly valued, called by them on account of its figure, *Coanenepilli*, *Tongue of Serpent*, and on account of its effects *Coapatli*, or *remedy againſt ſerpents*. Amongſt their errhines was the *Zozojatic*, a plant ſo efficacious, that it was

(*d*) The celebrated root of Mechoacan is called *Tacuache* by the Taraſcas, and Tlalantlacuitlapilli by the Mexicans. The knowledge of it was communicated by a phyſican of the king of Michuacan to the firſt religious miſſionaries who went there to preach the goſpel; he cured them with it of certain fevers of a putrid nature. By them it was made known to the Spaniards, and from the Spaniards to all Europe.

ſufficient to hold the root to the noſe to produce ſneezing. For intermittent fevers they generally employed the *Chatalhuic*, and in other kind of fevers the *Chiautzolli*, the *Iztacxalli*, the *Huehuetzonticomatl*, and above all the Izticpatli. To prevent the illneſs which frequently followed too much exerciſe at the game of the ball, they uſed to eat the bark of the *Apitzalpatli* ſoaked in water. We ſhould never finiſh if we were to mention all the plants, gums, minerals, and other medicines, both ſimple and compound, which they employed againſt all the diſtempers which were known to them. Whoever deſires to be more amply informed on this ſubject may conſult the above mentioned work of Hernandez, and the two treatiſes publiſhed by Dr. Monardes, a Sevillian phyſician, on the medicinal articles, which uſed to be brought from America to Europe.

SECT. LX. Oils, ointments, and infuſions, &c.

The Mexican phyſicians made uſe of infuſions, decoctions, ointments, and oils, and all thoſe things were ſold at market, as Cortes and Bernal Diaz, both eye-witneſſes, affirm. The moſt common oils were thoſe of uſe, or elaſtic gum, *Thapatl*, a tree ſimilar to the fig, *Chilli*, or great pepper, Chian, and *Ocotl*, a ſpecies of pine. The laſt they obtained by diſtillation, the others by decoction. That of Chian was more uſed by painters than phyſicians.

They extracted from the Huitziloxitl, as we have already mentioned, thoſe two ſorts of balſam deſcribed by Pliny and other ancient naturaliſts, that is, the *opobalſam*, or balſam diſtilled from the tree, and the *xylobalſam* obtained by decoction of the branches. From the bark of the *Huaconex*, ſoaked four days continually in water, they extracted another liquor equal to balſam. From the plant called by the Spaniards *maripenda*, (a name taken it appears from the language of the Taraſcas, they obtained alſo a liquor equal to balſam, as much in its odour as wonderful effects, by putting the tender ſtones of the plant, together with the fruit, to boil in water, until the water became as thick as muſt. In the ſame manner they obtained many other valuable oils and liquors, namely, that of liquid amber, and that of the fir.

SECT. LXI. Bloodletting and baths.

Blood-letting, an operation which their phyſicians performed with great dexterity and ſafety with lancets of *Itztli*, was extremely common among the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac. The country people uſed to let themſelves blood as they ſtill do with the prickles of the maguci,

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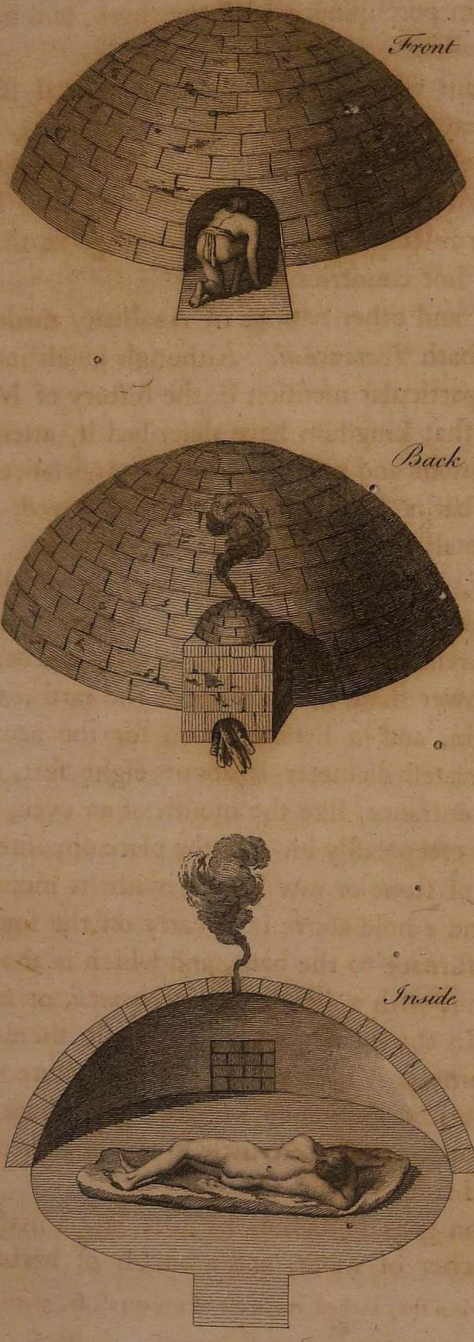

guei, without employing another perſon, or interrupting the labour in which they were occupied. They alſo uſed the quills of the *Huitztlacuatzin*, or Mexican porcupine, which are thick, and have a ſmall hole at their points.

Among the means which the Mexicans employed for the preſervation of health, that of the bath was very frequent. They bathed themſelves extremely often, even many times in the ſame day in the natural water of rivers, lakes, ditches, and ponds. Experience has taught the Spaniards the advantages of bathing, in that climate, and particularly in the hot countries.

SECT. LXII. Temazcalli, or vapour-baths of the Mexicans.

The Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, made little leſs frequent uſe of the bath *Temazcalli*. Although in all its circumſtances it is deſerving of particular mention in the hiſtory of Mexico, none of the hiſtorians of that kingdom have deſcribed it, attending more frequently to deſcriptions and accounts of leſs importance, ſo much that if ſome of thoſe baths had not been ſtill preſerved, the memory of them muſt have totally periſhed.

The *Temazcalli*, or Mexican vapour-bath, is uſually built of raw bricks. The form of it is ſimilar to that of ovens for baking bread; but with this difference, that the pavement of the Temazcalli is a little convex, and lower than the ſurface of the earth, whereas that of moſt ovens is plain, and a little elevated for the accommodation of the baker. Its greateſt diameter is about eight feet, and its greateſt height ſix. The entrance, like the mouth of an oven, is wide enough to allow a man to creep eaſily in. In the place oppoſite to the entrance there is a furnace of ſtone or raw bricks, with its mouth outwards to receive the fire, and a hole above it to carry off the ſmoke. The part which unites the furnace to the bath, and which is about two feet and a half ſquare, is ſhut with a dry ſtone of *Tetzontli*, or ſome other ſtone porous like it. In the upper part of the vault there is an air hole, like that to the furnace. This is the uſual ſtructure of the Temazcalli, of which we have ſubjoined a figure; but there are others that are without vault or furnace, mere little ſquare chambers, yet well covered and defended from the air.

When any perſon goes to bathe, he firſt lays a mat (*e*) within the Temazcalli, a pitcher of water, and a bunch of herbs, or leaves of

(*e*) The Spaniards, when they bathed, made uſe of a mattraſs for more convenience.

maize.

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maize. He then cauſes a fire to be made in the furnace, which is kept burning, until the ſtones which join the *Temazcalli* and furnace are quite hot. The perſon who is to uſe the bath enters commonly naked, and generally accompanied for the ſake of convenience, or on account of infirmity, by one of his domeſtics. As ſoon as he enters, he ſhuts the entrance cloſe, but leaves the air-hole at top for a little time open, to let out any ſmoke which may have been introduced through the chinks of the ſtone; when it is all out he likewiſe ſtops up the air-hole. He then throws water upon the hot ſtones, from which immediately ariſes a thick ſteam to the top of the Temazcalli. While the ſick perſon lies upon the mat, the domeſtic drives the vapour downwards, and gently beats the ſick perſon, particularly on the ailing part, with the bunch of herbs, which are dipped for a little while in the water of the pitcher, which has then become a little warm. The ſick perſon falls immediately into a ſoft and copious ſweat, which is encreaſed or diminiſhed at pleaſure, according as the caſe requires. When the evacuation deſired is obtained, the vapour is let off, the entrance is cleared, and the ſick perſon clothes himſelf, or is tranſported on the mat to his chamber; as the entrance to the bath is uſually within ſome chamber of his habitation.

The Temazcalli has been regularly uſed in ſeveral diſorders, particularly in fevers occaſioned by coſtiveneſs. The Indian women uſe it commonly after child-birth, and alſo thoſe perſons who have been ſtung or wounded by any poiſonous animal. It is, undoubtedly, a powerful remedy for all thoſe who have occaſion to carry off groſs humours, and certainly it would be moſt uſeful in Italy where the rheumatiſm is ſo frequent and afflicting. When a very copious ſweat is deſired, the ſick perſon is raiſed up and held in the vapour; as he ſweats the more, the nearer he is to it. The Temazcalli is ſo common, that in every place inhabited by the Indians there are many of them.

SECT. XLIII. Surgery.

With reſpect to the ſurgery of the Mexicans, the Spaniſh conquerors atteſt their expedition and ſucceſs in dreſſing and curing wounds (*f*). Beſides the balſam and maripenda, they employed the milk of the

(*f*) Cortes himſelf being in great danger of his life from a wound he received on his head in the famous battle of Otompan, was greatly relieved, and at laſt perfectly cured by the Tlaſcalan art of ſurgery.

Itzon-

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Itzonteepatli (ſpecies of thiſtle), tobacco, and other herbs. For ulcers they uſed the *Nanahuapatli*, the *Zacatlipatli*, and the *Itzcuinpatli*; for abſceſſes and ſeveral ſwellings, the *Tlalamatl*, and the milk of the *Chilpatli*; and for fractures the *Nacazol*, or *Toloatzin*. After drying, and reducing the ſeed of this plant to powder, they mixed it with a certain gum, and applied it to the affected part, covered the part with feathers, and over it laid little boards to ſet the bones.

The phyſicians were in general the perſons who prepared and applied medicines; but they accompanied their cures with ſeveral ſuperſtitious ceremonies, with invocations to their gods, and imprecations againſt diſtempers, in order to render their art more myſterious and eſtimable. The phyſicians held the goddeſs *Tzapotlatenan* in veneration, as the protectreſs of their art, and believed her to have been the diſcoverer of many medicinal ſecrets, and amongſt others of the oil which they extracted by diſtillation from the *Ocotl*.

SECT. LXIV. Aliment of the Mexicans.

It is wonderful that the Mexicans, and eſpecially the poor among them, were not ſubject to numberleſs diſeaſes, conſidering the quality of their food. This is an article in which ſingular circumſtances attended them; for having been, for many years after the foundation of Mexico ſubjected to the moſt miſerable kind of life upon the little iſlands of the lake, they were conſtrained by neceſſity to feed upon whatever they could find in the waters. During that diſaſtrous time, they learned to eat, not only the roots of the marſh plants, water ſerpents, which abounded there, the *Axolotl*, *Atetepiz*, *Atopinan*, and other ſuch little animals, inhabitants of the water; but even ants, marſh flies, and the very eggs of the ſame flies. They fiſhed ſuch quantities of thoſe flies, called by them *Axajatl*, that they eat them, fed ſeveral kinds of birds with them, and carried them to market. They pounded them together, and made little balls of them, which they rolled up in leaves of maize, and boiled in water with nitre. Some hiſtorians who have taſted this food, pronounce it not diſagreeable. From the eggs, which thoſe flies depoſit in great abundance on the ruſhes in the lake, they extracted that ſingular ſpecies of caviare, which they called *Ahuauhtli*.

Not contented with feeding upon living things, they eat alſo a certain muddy ſubſtance that floats upon the waters of the lake, which they

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they dried in the ſun, and preſerved to make uſe of it as cheeſe, which it reſembled in flavour and taſte. They gave this ſubſtance the name of *Tecuitlatl*, or excrement of ſtones. Accuſtomed thus to thoſe vile articles of food, they were unable to abandon them in the ſeaſon of their greateſt plenty; on which account the market was always ſeen full of innumerable ſpecies of raw, boiled, fried, and roaſted little animals, which were ſold there particularly to the poor. However, as ſoon as by their commerce with fiſh they were able to purchaſe better aliment, and to cultivate by the exertions of their induſtry the floating gardens of the lake, they entertained themſelves with better proviſions, and at their meals there was nothing wanting, as the conqueror ſays, either in reſpect to the plenty, variety, or nicety of their diſhes *(g)*.

Among the eatables, the firſt place is due to maize, which they called *Tlaolli*, a grain granted by Providence to that part of the world, inſtead of the corn of Europe, the rice of Aſia, the millet of Africa, over all which it poſſeſſes ſome advantages; as beſides its being wholeſome, reliſhing, and more nutritive, it multiplies more, thrives equally in different climes, does not require ſo much culture, is not ſo delicate as corn, ſtands not in need, like rice, of a moiſt ſoil, nor is it hurtful to the health of the cultivator. They had ſeveral ſpecies of maize, differing in ſize, colour, and quality from each other. Of maize they made their bread, which is totally different from that of Europe in taſte and appearance, and in the manner of making it, which they formerly had, and ſtill continue to uſe. They put the grain to boil in water with a little lime; when it becomes ſoft, they rub it in their hands to ſtrip off the ſkin; then pound it in the *Metlatl* *(h)*, take out a little of the paſte, and ſtretching it by beating it with both hands, they form the bread, after which they give it the laſt preparation in the *Comalli*. The form of the bread is round and flat, about eight inches in diameter, and one line or more in thickneſs; but they make their loaves or cakes ſtill ſmaller and thinner, and for the nobles they make them as thin as our thickeſt paper. It was cuſtomary alſo to mix ſomething

(*g*) See the firſt letter of Cortes, the hiſtory of Bernal Diaz, and the relation of the anonymous conqueror.

(*h*) The Spaniards call the Metlatl *metate*, the Comalli *comal*, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak, and the Atolli *atole*.

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elſe with the bread to make it ſtill more wholeſome and reliſhing. For perſons of rank and circumſtances, they uſed to make bread of red maize, mixing with it the beautiful flower *coatzontecoxochitl*, and ſeveral medicinal herbs, to diminiſh its heat to the ſtomach. This is the ſort of bread which the Mexicans, and all the other nations of thoſe extenſive regions, have uſed until our time, preferring it to the beſt bread of wheat. Their example has been imitated by many Spaniards; but to ſpeak impartially, this bread, although it is extremely wholeſome and ſubſtantial, and when freſh made of a good taſte, becomes rather diſagreeable when ſtale. The making of bread, as well as the preparing and dreſſing of every kind of meat, has always among thoſe nations been the peculiar occupation of their women. They were the perſons who made it for their families, and who ſold it in the market.

Beſides bread, they made many other meats and drinks of maize, with different ingredients and preparations. The *atolli* is a gruel of maize, after it has been boiled, well-ground, diſſolved in water, and ſtrained. They put the ſtrained liquor over a fire, and give it another boiling until it becomes of a certain thickneſs. The Spaniards think it inſipid to the taſte, but they give it commonly to ſick perſons, as a moſt ſalutary food, ſweetening it with a little ſugar, inſtead of honey, which is uſed by the Indians. To them it is ſo grateful they cannot live without it. It was formerly and ſtill is their breakfaſt, and with it they bear the fatigues of agriculture, and other ſervile offices in which they are employed. Hernandez deſcribes eighteen ſpecies of *atolli*, which differ both with regard to the ſeaſoning ingredients, and the manner of preparing them.

Next to maize, the vegetables moſt in uſe were the cacao, the chia, and the French bean. Of the cacao they made ſeveral common drinks, and among others that which they called *Chocolatl*. They ground equal quantities of the cacao and the ſeeds of *Pochotl*, put them both with a proportionable quantity of water into a little pot, in which they ſtirred and turned them with that little indented inſtrument of wood, which the Italians call *frullo*, the Spaniards *molinillo*, and the Engliſh *milling-ſtick*; then they poured off the floating oily part into another veſſel.

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Into the remainder they put a handful of paſte of boiled maize, and boiled it for a certain time, after which they mixed it with the oily part, and took it when it was cool. This is the origin of the famous chocolate, which the cultivated nations of Europe have uſed in imitation of them, as well as the name and inſtruments for making it; although the name is a little corrupted, and the drink altered according to the language and taſte of each nation. The Mexicans uſed to put in their chocolate, and other drinks which they made of the cacao, the *Tlilxochitl*, or vaniglia, the flower of the *Xochinacaztli* (*k*), and the fruit of the *Mecaxochitl* (*l*), and ſometimes alſo honey, as the Europeans put ſugar, both to render it palatable and more wholeſome.

Of the ſeed of the chia they made a moſt refreſhing drink, which is ſtill very common in that kingdom; and of this ſeed alſo, with maize, they made the chianzotzoolatelli, which was an exquiſite drink much uſed by the ancients, particularly in time of war. The ſoldier, who carried with him a little bag of flour of maize and chia, thought himſelf amply provided. When neceſſary, he boiled the quantity he wiſhed for, mixing a little honey of the maguei with it; and by means of this delicious and nouriſhing beverage (as Hernandez calls it), endured the ardour of the ſun and the fatigues of war.

The Mexicans did not eat ſo much fleſh as the Europeans; nevertheleſs, upon occaſion of any banquet, and daily at the tables of the lords, different kinds of animals were ſerved up; ſuch as deer, rabbets, Mexican boars, *Tuze*, *Techichi*, which they fattened as the Europeans do hogs, and other animals of the land, the water, and the air, but the moſt common were turkeys and quails.

The fruits moſt uſed by them were the mamei, the *tlilzapotl*, the *cochitzapotl*, the *chietzapotl*, the ananas, the chirionoja, the *ahuacatl*, a anona, the pitahaja, the *capolin*, or Mexican cherry, and different

(*k*) The tree of the *Xochinacaztli* has long, ſtrait, narrow leaves, of a dark green colour. Its flower conſiſts of ſix petals, which are purple within, green without, and pleaſingly odorous. From the reſemblance of their figure to an ear, they were called by this name among the Mexicans, and by the Spaniards *orejuela*, or *little ear*. The fruit is angular, and of a bloody colour, and grows within a pod of ſix inches in length, and about one inch thick. It is peculiar to hot countries. The flower was greatly valued, and never wanting in the markets.

(*l*) The *Mecaxochitl* is a ſmall flexible plant, whoſe leaves are large and thick, and the fruit reſembles long pepper.

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ſpecies of *Tune*, or Indian figs, which fruits well ſupplied the want of pears, apples, and peaches. BOOK VII.

Amongſt all their plenty of foods the Mexicans were deſtitute of milk, and fat, as they had neither cows, ſheep, goats, nor hogs. With reſpect to eggs, we do not know that they eat any, except thoſe of turkeys and iguanas, the fleſh of which they likewiſe did and ſtill eat.

The uſual ſeaſoning to their food, beſides ſalt, was great pepper and tomate, which have become equally common among the Spaniards of that country.

They drank alſo ſeveral ſorts of wine, or beverages ſimilar to them, of the maguei, the palm, of the ſtems of maize, and of the grain alſo, of which laſt, called *chicha*, almoſt all the hiſtorians of America make mention, as it is the kind moſt generally uſed in that new world. The moſt common with the Mexicans, and alſo the beſt was that of the maguei, called *octli* by them, and by the Spaniards *pulque* (*m*). The method of making it is this. When the maguei, or Mexican aloe, arrives at a certain height and maturity, they cut the ſtem, or rather the leaves while tender, of which the ſtem is formed, ſituated in the centre of the plant, after which there remains a certain cavity. They ſhave the internal ſurface of the large leaves which ſurround the cavity, and collect the ſweet juice which diſtils from them in ſuch abundance, that one ſingle plant generally yields, in the ſpace of ſix months, ſix hundred, and in the whole time of its fruitfulneſs more than two thouſand pounds of juice (*n*). SECT. LXV. Wine.

They gather the juice from the cavity with a long narrow gourd, which ſerves inſtead of a more artificial contrivance, and pour it into a veſſel until it ferments; which it uſually does in leſs than twenty-

(*m*) *Pulque* is not a Spaniſh nor Mexican word, but is taken from the *Araucan* language which is ſpoke in Chili, in which the *Pulcu* is the general name for the beverages theſe Indians uſe to intoxicate themſelves; it is difficult to ſay how the term has paſſed to Mexico.

(*n*) Betancourt ſays, that a maguei makes in ſix months twenty *arrobas* of pulque, which are more than ſix hundred Italian pounds. He might know this well, having been for many years a rector among the Indians. Hernandez affirms, that from one ſingle plant are extracted fifty *anfore*. The Caſtilian *anfora*, which is ſmaller than the Roman, contains, according to the calculation of Mariana, five hundred and twelve ounces of wine, or common water. Supposing that the pulque does not weigh more than water, fifty *anfore* will be more than two thouſand pounds.

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four hours. To aſſiſt the fermentation, and make the beverage ſtronger, they infuſe a certain herb which they name *Ocpatli*, or remedy of wine. The colour of this wine is white, the taſte a little rough, and its ſtrength ſufficient to intoxicate, though not ſo much as that of the grape. In other reſpects it is a wholſome liquor, and valuable on many accounts as it is an excellent diuretic, and a powerful remedy againſt the diarrhœa. The conſumption made of this liquor is ſurpriſing as it is uſeful, for the Spaniards become rich by it. The revenue produced by that alone which is conſumed in the capital amounts annually to three hundred thouſand crowns; one Mexican rial only being paid for every twenty-five Caſtilian pounds. The quantity of pulque, which was conſumed in the capital in 1774, was two millions two hundred and fourteen thouſand, two hundred ninety-four and half *arrobas*, or upwards of ſixty-three millions eight hundred thouſand Roman pounds, excluſive of that which was ſmuggled in there, and that which the privileged Indians ſell in the great market-place.

SECT. LXVI. Dreſs.

The Mexicans were leſs ſingular in their dreſs than in their food. Their uſual habit was quite ſimple, conſiſting ſolely of the *maxtlatl* and *tilmatli* in the men, and of the *cueitl*, and the *huepilli*, in the women. The maxtlatl was a large belt or girdle, the two ends of which hung down before and behind to cover the parts of ſhame. The *tilmatli* was a ſquare mantle, about four feet long; the two ends were tied upon the breaſt, or upon one ſhoulder, as appears in our figures. The *cueitl*, or Mexican gown, was alſo a piece of ſquare cloth, in which the women wrapped themſelves from their waiſts down to the middle of the leg. The *huepilli* was a little under veſt, or waiſtcoat, without ſleeves.

The dreſs of the poor people was made of the thread of the maguei, or mountain palm, or at beſt the cloth of coarſe cotton; but thoſe of better ſtation wore the fineſt cotton, embelliſhed with various colours, and figures of animals, or flowers, or wove with feathers, or the fine hair of the rabbit, and adorned with various little figures of gold and looſe locks of cotton hanging about the girdle or *maxtlatl*. The men uſed to wear two or three mantles, and the women three or four veſts, and as many gowns, putting the longeſt undermoſt, ſo as that a part of each of them might be ſeen. The lords wore in winter waiſt-

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coats of cotton, interwoven with ſoft feathers, or the hair of the rabbit. Women of rank wore, beſides the huepilli, an upper veſt, ſomething like the ſurplice or gown of our eccleſiaſtics, but larger and with longer ſleeves (o).

Their ſhoes were nothing but ſoles of leather, or coarſe cloth of the maguei, tied with ſtrings, and only covered the under part of the foot. The kings and lords adorned the ſtrings with rich ribbands of gold and jewels.

SECT. LXVII. Ornaments.

All the Mexicans wore their hair long, and were diſhonoured by being ſhaved, or having it clipped, except the virgins conſecrated to the ſervice of the temples. The women wore it looſe, the men tied in different forms, and adorned their heads with fine plumes, both when they danced and when they went to war.

It would be difficult to find a nation which accompanied ſo much ſimplicity of dreſs, with ſo much vanity and luxury in other ornaments of their perſons. Beſides feathers and jewels, with which they uſed to adorn their cloaths, they wore ear-rings, pendants at the under-lip, and many likewiſe at their noſes, necklaces, bracelets for the hands and arms, and alſo certain rings like collars about their legs. The ear-rings and pendants of the poor were ſhells, pieces of cryſtal, amber, or ſome other ſhining little ſtone; but the rich wore pearls, emeralds, amethyſts, or other gems, ſet in gold.

SECT. LXVIII. Domeſtic furniture and employments.

Their houſhold furniture was by no means correſpondent to this paſſion for perſonal finery. Their beds were nothing elſe than one or two coarſe mats of ruſhes, to which the rich added fine palm mats, and ſheets of cotton; and the lords, linen wove with feathers. The pillow of the poor was a ſtone or piece of wood; that of the rich, probably of cotton. The common people did not cover themſelves in bed with any thing elſe than the tilmatli, or mantle, but the higher ranks and nobles made uſe of counterpanes of cotton and feathers. At dinner, inſtead of a table, they ſpread a mat upon the ground; and they uſed napkins, plates, porringers, earthen pots, jugs, and other veſſels of fine clay, but not, as we can diſcover, either knives or forks. Their chairs were low ſeats of wood and ruſhes, or palm, or a kind

(o) We have ſpoken elſewhere of the habits of the kings, prieſts, and military perſons.

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of reed called *icpalli (p)*. No houſe wanted the *metlatl*, or *comalli*. The metlatl was the ſtone in which they ground their maize, and the cacao, as is repreſented in our figure of their mode of making bread. This inſtrument is ſtill extremely common in all New Spain, and over the greateſt part of America. The Europeans have alſo adopted it, and in Italy and elſewhere the chocolate-makers uſe it to grind the cacao. The comalli was, and ſtill is, being as much uſed as the *metlatl*, a round and rather hollow pan, which is about an inch, thick and about fifteen in diameter.

The drinking veſſels of the Mexicans were made of a fruit ſimilar to gourds, which grow, in hot countries, on trees of a middling ſize. Some of them are large and perfectly round, which they call *Xicalli (q)*, and others ſmaller and cylindrical, which they give the name of *Tecomatl*. Both theſe fruits are ſolid and heavy: their rind is hard, woody, and of a dark green colour, and the ſeeds are like thoſe of gourds. The xicalli is about eight inches in diameter; the tecomatl is not ſo long, and about four fingers in thickneſs. Each fruit when divided in the middle made two equal veſſels; they cut out all the ſeed, and gave them a varniſh with a particular mineral earth, of a pleaſing ſmell, and of different colours, particularly a fine red. At preſent they are frequently gilt with ſilver and gold.

The Mexicans made uſe of no candleſticks, nor wax, nor tallow candles, nor of oil to make light; for although they had many kinds of oil, they never employed it otherwiſe than in medicine, in painting, and in varniſhes; and although they extracted a great quantity of wax from the honey-combs, they either did not know, or were not at the pains to make lights with it. In maritime countries they made uſe of ſhining beetles for that purpoſe; but in general they employed torches of *ocotl*, which, although they made a fine light, and yielded

(*p*) The Spaniards corrupt the word into *Equipales*.

(*q*) The Spaniards of Mexico called the Xicalli *Xicara*. The Spaniards of Europe adopted this word to ſignify the little cup for taking chocolate, and thence came the Italian *Chicchera*. Bomare makes mention of the tree Xicalli, under the name of Calebaſſier d' Amerique, and ſays, that in New Spain, it is known under the names of Choyne, Cujete, and *Hyguero*; but this is a miſtake. The name *Hibuero* (not *Hyguero*) was that which the Indians of the Iſland of Hiſpaniola gave to this tree; the Spaniſh conquerors made uſe of it formerly, but no uſe was made of it afterwards in New Spain. None of the other trees were ever heard of by us in thoſe countries.

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an agreeable odour, ſmoked and ſoiled their habitations with ſoot. One of the European cuſtoms which they chiefly prized upon the arrival of the Spaniards, was that of candles; but thoſe people had certainly little occaſion for candles, as they devoted all the hours of the night to repoſe, after employing all thoſe of the day in buſineſs and toil. The men laboured at their different profeſſions, and the women baked, wove, embroidered, prepared victuals, and cleaned their houſes. All daily made oriſons to their gods, and burned copal in honour of them, and therefore no houſe, however poor the poſſeſſor, wanted idols or cenſers.

The method which the Mexicans and other nations practiſed to kindle fire, was the ſame which the ancient ſhepherds of Europe employed (*r*), by the friction of two pieces of wood. The Mexicans generally uſed the achiote, which is the *roucou* of the French. Boturini affirms, that they ſtruck fire alſo from flint.

After a few hours of labour in the morning they took their breakfaſt, which was moſt commonly *atolli*, or gruel of maize, and their dinner after mid-day; but among all the hiſtorians of Mexico, we have found no mention of their ſupper. They ate little, but they drank frequently, either of the wine of the maguei, or maize, or of chia, or ſome other drink of the cacao, and ſometimes plain water.

SECT. LXIX. The uſe of tobacco.

After dining, the lords uſed to compoſe themſelves to ſleep with the ſmoke of tobacco (*s*). This plant was greatly in uſe among the Mexicans. They make various plaſters with it, and took it not only in ſmoke at the mouth, but alſo in ſnuff at the noſe. In order to ſmoke it, they put the leaves with the gum of liquid amber, and other hot, warm, and odorous herbs, into a little pipe of wood, or reed, or ſome

(*r*) *Calidæ morus, laurus; hederæ, & omnes ex quibus igniaria fiunt. Exploratorum hoc uſus in caſtris Paſtorumque reperit; quoniam ad excutiendum ignem non ſemper lapidis eſt occaſio. Territur ergo lignum ligno, ignemque concipit attritu, excipiente materia aridi fomitis, fungi, vel foliorum ſimilimè conceptum.* Plinius Hiſt. Nat. lib. xvi. c. 40. The ſame thing is obſerved in the ſecond book of the Queſtiones Naturales of Seneca, and alſo in other ancient writers.

(*s*) *Tabaco* is a name taken from the *Haitine* language. The Mexicans had two ſpecies of tobacco, very different in the ſize of the plant and the leaves, in the figure of the flower and the colour of the ſeed. The ſmalleſt, which is the common one, was called by them *Picietl*, and the largeſt *Quaujetl*. This laſt becomes as high as a moderate tree. Its flower is not divided into five parts like that of the *Picietl*, but only cut into ſix or ſeven angles. Theſe plants vary much according to clime, not only in the quality of the tobacco, but alſo in the ſize of the leaves and other circumſtances, on which account ſeveral authors have multiplied the ſpecies.

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other more valuable ſubſtance. They received the ſmoke by ſucking the pipe and ſhutting the noſtrils with their fingers, ſo that it might paſs by the breath more eaſily towards the lungs. Who would have believed that the uſe of tobacco, which neceſſity made thoſe phlegmatic nations invent, would have become the vice or cuſtom of almoſt all the nations of the world; and that ſo humble a plant, of which the Europeans wrote and ſpoke ſo unfavourably, would have made one of the greateſt revenues of the kingdoms of Europe? But what ought to excite ſtill greater wonder, is, that although the uſe of tobacco is now ſo common among thoſe nations who formerly deſpiſed it, it is now ſo rare among its inventors, that there are extremely few of the Indians of New Spain who take it in ſmoke, and none at all who uſe it in ſnuff.

SECT. LXX. Plants uſed inſtead of ſoap.

As the Mexicans wanted candles to make light, they alſo were without ſoap to waſh with, although there were animals from which they might have obtained it (*t*); but they ſupplied that deficiency by a fruit and a root. The fruit was that of the *copalxocotl*, a tree of moderate ſize, which is found in Michuacan, Yucatan, Mizteca, and elſewhere (*u*). The pulp, that is under the rind of the fruit, which is white, viſcous, and very bitter, makes water white, raiſes a froth, and ſerves like ſoap to waſh and clean linen. The root is that of the *amolli*, a ſmall plant, but very common in that country, for which *Saponaria Americana* ſeems to be a more proper name, as it is not very diſſimilar to the Saponaria of the old continent; but the amolli is more uſed to waſh the body now, and more particularly the head, than for cloaths (*x*).

We have now given all that we think worthy of credit and public relation concerning the political œconomy of the Mexicans. Such was their government, their laws, their cuſtoms, and their arts, when the Spaniards arrived in the country of Anahuac, the war and memorable events of which make the ſubject of the following books.

(*t*) We have heard that an excellent ſoap is obtained from the *epatl*, or *Zorriglio*.

(*u*) Hernandez makes mention of it under the name of *Copalxocotl*, but ſays nothing of its detergent quality; Betancourt ſpeaks of it under the name of the *ſoap-tree*, by which it is known among the Spaniards; and Valmont deſcribes it under the name of *Savonier*, and *Saponaria Americana*. The root of this tree alſo is uſed inſtead of ſoap, but it is not ſo good as the fruit.

(*x*) There is a ſpecies of *amolli*, the root of which dyes hair the colour of gold. We ſaw this ſingular effect produced upon the hair of an old man.

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MOTEZUMA IX. king of Mexico, married with *Miahuaxochitl* his niece.

Don Pedro *Johualicahuatzin* Motezuma, married Donna Caterina *Quauxochitl* his niece.

D. Diego Luis *Ihuitemotzin* Motezuma, married in Spain Donna Franciſca de Cueva.

D. Pedro Teſifon Motezuma de Cueva I. Count of Motezuma, and Tula, and viſcount Iluca, married Donna Jeroma Porras.

D. Diego Luis Motezuma and Porras II. Count of Motezuma, &c. married Donna Luiſa Jofre Loaiſa and Carilla, daughter of the count of Arco.

Donna Maria Jeroma Motezuma Jofre de Loaiſa III. counteſs of Motezuma, &c. married to D. Joſeph Sarmiento de Valladares, who was viceroy of Mexico, and I. duke of Atriſco.

Donna Fauſta Dominica Sarmiento, Motezuma IV. counteſs of Motezuma, died a child in Mexico in 1697.

Donna Melchiorra Sarmiento Motezuma, V. counteſs of Motezuma, died without iſſue, in 1717, by which the eſtates of Motezuma reverted to Donna Tereſa Nieto de Sylva, daughter of the I. marquis of Tenebron.

Donna Tereſa Franciſca Motezuma and Porras, married to D. Diego Ciſneros de Guzman.

Donna Jeroma de Ciſneros Motezuma, married to D. Felix Nieto de Silva, I. marquis of Tenebron.

Donna Tereſa Nieto de Sylva and Motezuma, II. marchioneſs of Tenebron, and VI. counteſs of Motezuma, married to D. Gaſpar d'Oca Sarmiento and Zuniga.

D. Jerom d'Oca Motezuma, &c. III. marquis of Tenebron, and VII. count of Motezuma, married Donna Maria Joſepha de Mendoza.

D. Jerom d'Oca Motezuma and Mendoza, VIII. count of Motezuma, IV. marquis of Tenebron, and grandee of Spain, now living.

There are other branches of this moſt noble line in Spain as well as Mexico.

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DESCENDANTS OF FERDINAND CORTES.

D. Fernando Cortez, conqueror, governor, and captain-general of Mexico, I. marquis of the valley of Oaxaca, had, in ſecond marriage, Donna Jeroma Ramirez d' Arrellano and Zuniga, daughter of D. Carlos Ramirez d' Arrellano, II. count of Aguilar, and Donna Jeroma de Zuniga, daughter of the count of Benares, eldeſt ſon of D. Alvaro de Zuniga, I. duke of Bejar. Their ſon was

I.

D. Martinez Cortez Ramirez d'Arrellano, II. marquis of the Valley, married his niece, Donna Anna Ramirez d' Arrellano. Their iſſue were

II.

D. Fernando Cortez Ramirez d'Arellano, III. marquis of the Valley, married Donna Mencia Fernandez de Cabrera and Mendoza, daughter of D. Pedro Fernandez Cabrera and Bobadilla. II. count of Chinchon, and Donna Maria de Mendoza and Cerda, ſiſter of the prince of Melito. D. Ferdinand had but one ſon, who died in childhood; and was ſucceeded by his brother.

2. D. Pedro Cortez Ramirez d'Arrellano, IV. marquis of the Valley, married Donna Anna Pacheco de la Cerda, ſiſter of the II. count of Montalban. Died without iſſue, and was therefore ſucceeded by his ſiſter,

3. Donna Jeroma Cortez Ramirez d'Arrellano, V. marchioneſs of the Valley, married to D. Pedro Carillo de Mendoza, IX. count of Priego, aſſiſtant, and captain-general of Seville, and great major domo to queen Margaret of Auſtria. Their daughter was

III.

Donna Stephania Carillo de Mendoza and Cortez. VI. marchioneſs of the Valley, was the wife of D. Diego of Arragon. IV. duke of Terranova, prince of Caſtel Vetrano, and of S. R. J. marquis of Avola and Favora, conſtable and admiral of Sicily, commander of Villafranca, viceroy of Sardinia, knight of the illuſtrious order of Toſon d'Oro. Their only daughter was

IV. Donna

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IV.

Donna Juana d'Arragon Carilla de Mendoza and Cortez, V. Ducheſs of Terranova, and VII. marchioneſs of the Valley, great chambermaid to queen Luiſa of Orleans, and afterwards to queen Mariana of Auſtria, married to D. Hector Pignatelli, V. duke of Montelione, prince of Noja, marquis of Cerchiara, count of Borello, Catalonia, and Santangelo, viceroy of Catalonia, grandee of Spain, &c. Their only ſon was

V.

D. Andrea Fabrizio Pignatelli d'Arragon Carillo de Mendoza and Cortez IV. duke of Montelione. VI. duke of Terranova. VIII. marquis of the Valley, grandee of Spain, great chamberlain of the kingdom of Naples, knight of the order of Toſon d'Oro, married Donna Tereſa Pimentel and Benavides, daughter of D. Antonio Alfonſo de Quinones, XI. count of Benavente, of Luna, and Majorca, grandee of Spain, &c. and Donna Eliſabetta Franciſca de Benavides, III. marchioneſs of Javalquinto, and Villareal. Their daughter was

VI.

Donna J Pignatelli d'Arragon Pimentel, Carillo de Mendoza and Cortez, VII. ducheſs of Montelione, VII. ducheſs of Terranova, IX. marchioneſs of the Valley, grandee of Spain, &c. wife of D. Nicolas Pignatelli, of the princes of Noja and Cerchiara, prince of S. R. I. knight of Toſon d'Oro, &c. viceroy of Sardinia and Sicily, &c. Their ſon was

VII.

D. Diego Pignatelli d'Arragon, &c. VIII. duke of Montelione, VIII. duke of Terranova, X. marquis of the Valley, great admiral and conſtable of Sicily, knight of Toſon d'Oro, grandee of Spain, and prince of S. R. I. &c. married Donna Margarita Pignatelli, of the Dukes of Belloſguardo. Their ſon was

VIII.

D. Fabrizio Pignatelli d'Arragon, &c. IX. duke of Montelione, IX. duke of Terranova, XI. marquis of the Valley, grandee of Spain, prince of S. R. I. &c. married Donna Coſtanza Medici, of the princes of Otajano. Their ſon was

IX. D. Hec-

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IX.

D. Hector Pignatelli d'Arragon, &c. X. duke of Montelione, X. duke of Terranova, XII. marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, grandee of Spain, prince of S. R. I. living at preſent in Naples, and married with Donna N. Piccolomini, of the dukes of Amalfi.

Of that noble couple whom we have placed under Number VI. were born four ſons, Diego, Fernando, Antonio, and Fabrizio; and as many daughters, Roſa, Maria Tereſa, Stephania, and Caterina. 1. Don Diego was heir of the marquiſate of the Valley, and the dukedoms of Montelione and Terranova. 2. Don Ferdinand married Donna Lucretia Pignatelli, princeſs of Strongoli, whoſe ſon D. Salvatore took to wife donna Julia Maſtrigli, of the dukes of Marigliano. 3. D. Antonio, married in Spain, an only daughter of the count of Fuentes. Of this marriage was born D. Jerom Pignatelli d'Arragon, Moncayo, &c. count of Fuentes, marquis of Goſcojuela, grandee of Spain, prince of S. R. I. knight of Toſon d'Oro, of St. Jago, &c. ambaſſador from the court of Spain to the courts of England and France, and preſident of the royal council of military orders; whoſe ſon, now living, has married the only daughter and heireſs of Caſimiro Pignatelli, count of Egmont, duke of Biſaccia, &c. knight of Toſon d'Oro, and lieutenant-general of the armies of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. 4. D. Fabrizio took to wife Virginia Pignatelli, ſiſter to the princeſs of Strongoli, whoſe ſon, D. Michael, is marquis of Salice and Guagnano. 5. Roſa was given in marriage to the prince of Scalea. 6. Maria Tereſa, to the marquis of Weſterlo, Señor Boemo. 7. Stephania, to the prince of Biſignano. 8. Caterina, to the count of Acetra.

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APPENDIX.

THE MEXICAN CENTURY.

Years.	Years.
I. TOCHTLI.	I. TECPATL.
II. Acatl.	II. Calli.
III. Tecpatl.	III. Tochtli.
IV. Calli.	IV. Acatl.
V. Tochtli.	V. Tecpatl.
VI. Acatl.	VI. Calli.
VII. Tecpatl.	VII. Tochtli.
VIII. Calli.	VIII. Acatl.
IX. Tochtli.	IX. Tecpatl.
X. Acatl.	X. Calli.
XI. Tecpatl.	XI. Tochtli.
XII. Calli.	XII. Acatl.
XIII. Tochtli.	XIII. Tecpatl.
I. ACATL.	I. CALLI.
II. Tecpatl.	II. Tochtli.
III. Calli.	III. Acatl.
IV. Tochtli.	IV. Tecpatl.
V. Acatl.	V. Calli.
VI. Tecpatl.	VI. Tochtli.
VII. Calli.	VII. Acatl.
VIII. Tochtli.	VIII. Tecpatl.
IX. Acatl.	IX. Calli.
X. Tecpatl.	X. Tochtli.
XI. Calli.	XI. Acatl.
XII. Tochtli.	XII. Tecpatl.
XIII. Acatl.	XIII. Calli.

The years wrote with large characters are thoſe from which the four ſmall periods of thirteen years, of which their century was compoſed, began.

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MEXICAN YEARS

From the Foundation to the Conqueſt of MEXICO, compared with Chriſtian Years.

Thoſe printed with large Characters are the firſt of every Period.
Thoſe marked with an Aſteriſk are ſecular Years.

Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.	Mexican Years.	Chriſtian Years.
II. Calli	1325 (a)	III. Tecpatl	1352 (c)
III. Tochtli	1326	IV. Calli	1353 (d)
IV. Acatl	1327	V. Tochtli	1354
V. Tecpatl	1328	VI. Acatl	1355
VI. Calli	1329	VII. Tecpatl	1356
VII. Tochtli	1330	VIII. Calli	1357
VIII. Acatl	1331	IX. Tochtli	1358
IX. Tecpatl	1332	X. Acatl	1359
X. Calli	1333	XI. Tecpatl	1360
XI. Tochtli	1334	XII. Calli	1361
XII. Acatl	1335	XIII. Tochtli	1362
XIII. Tecpatl	1336	I. ACATL	1363
I. CALLI	1337	II. Tecpatl	1364
II. Tochtli	1338 (b)	III. Calli	1365
III. Acatl	1339	IV. Tochtli	1366
IV. Tecpatl	1340	V. Acatl	1367
V. Calli	1341	VI. Tecpatl	1368
VI. Tochtli	1342	VII. Calli	1369
VII. Acatl	1343	VIII. Tochtli	1370
VIII. Tecpatl	1344	IX. Acatl	1371
IX. Calli	1345	X. Tecpatl	1372
X. Tochtli	1347	XI. Calli	1373
XI. Acatl	1347	XII. Tochtli	1374
XII. Tecpatl	1348	XIII. Acatl	1375
XIII. Calli	1349	I. TECPATL	1376
*I. TOCHTLI	1350	II. Calli	1377
II. Acatl	1351	III. Tochtli	1378

(a) Foundation of Mexico. (b) Diviſion of thoſe of Tenochcho and Tlatelolco.
(c) Acamapitzin, firſt king of Mexico. (d) Quaquauhpitzahuac, firſt king of Tlatelolco.

IV. Acatl

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Mexican Years.	Christian Years.
IV. Acatl	1379
V. Tecpatl	1380
VI. Calli	1381
VII. Tochtli	1382
VIII. Acatl	1383
IX. Tecpatl	1384
X. Calli	1385
XI. Tochtli	1386
XII. Acatl	1387
XIII. Tecpatl	1388
I. CALLI	1389 (e)
II. Tochtli	1390
III. Acatl	1391
IV. Tecpatl	1392
V. Calli	1393
VI. Tochtl	1394
VII. Acatl	1395
VIII. Tecpatl	1396
IX. Calli	1397
X. Tochtli	1398
XI. Acatl	1399 (f)
XII. Tecpatl	1400
XIII. Calli	1401
*I. TOCHTLI	1402
II. Acatl	1403
III. Tecpatl	1404
IV. Calli	1405
V. Tochtli	1406 (g)
VI. Acatl	1407
VII. Tecpatl	1408
VIII. Calli	1409
IX. Tochtli	1410 (h)
X. Acatl	1411
XI. Tecpatl	1412
XII. Calli	1413 (i)
XIII. Tochtli	1414
I. ACATL	1415
II. Tecpatl	1416
III. Calli	1417
IV. Tochtli	1418
V. Acatl	1419
VI. Tecpatl	1420
VII. Calli	1421
VIII. Tochtli	1422 (k)
IX. Acatl	1423 (l)
X. Tecpatl	1424
XI. Calli	1425 (m)
XII. Tochtli	1426 (n)
XIII. Acatl	1427
I. TECPATL	1428
II. Calli	1425
III. Tochtli	1430
IV. Acatl	1431
V. Tecpatl	1432
VI. Calli	1433
VII. Tochtli	1434
VIII. Acatl	1435
IX. Tecpatl	1436 (o)
X. Calli	1437
XI. Tochtli	1438
XII. Acatl	1439
XIII. Tecpatl	1440
I. CALLI	1441 (p)
II. Tochtli	1442
III. Acatl	1443
IV. Tecpatl	1444
V. Calli	1445
VI. Tochtli	1446 (q)

(e) Huitzilihuitl, fecond king of Mexico. (f) Tlacateotl, fecond king of Tlatelolco.
(g) Ixtlilxochitl, king of Acolhuacan. (h) Chimalpopoca, third king of Mexico.
(i) Tezozomoc, the tyrant. (k) Maxtlaton, the tyrant.
(l) Itzcoatl, fourth king of Mexico. (m) Conqueft of Azcapozalco.
(n) Nezahualcojotl, king of Acolhuacan, and Totoquihuatzin king of Tacuba.
(o) Montezuma Ilhuicamina, fifth king of Mexico. (p) Moquihuix, fourth king of Tlatelolco. (q) Inundation of Mexico.

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Mexican Years.	Christian Years.
VII. Acatl	1447
VIII. Tecpatl	1448
IX. Calli	1449
X. Tochtli	1450
XI. Acatl	1451
XII. Tecpatl	1452
XIII. Calli	1453
*I. TOCHTLI	1454
II. Acatl	1455
III. Tecpatl	1456
IV. Calli	1457 (*r*)
V. Tochtli	1458
VI. Acatl	1459
VII. Tecpatl	1460
VIII. Calli	1461
IX. Tochtli	1462
X. Acatl	1463
XI. Tecpatl	1464 (*s*)
XII. Calli	1465
XIII. Tochtli	1466
I. ACATL	1467
II. Tecpatl	1468
III. Calli	1469 (*t*)
IV. Tochtli	1470 (*u*)
V. Acatl	1471
VI. Tecpatl	1472
VII. Calli	1473
VIII. Tochtli	1474
IX. Acatl	1475
X. Tecpatl	1476
XI. Calli	1477 (*x*)
XII. Tochtli	1478
XIII. Acatl	1479
I. TECPATL	1480
II. Calli	1481
III. Tochtli	1482 (*y*)
IV. Acatl	1483
V. Tecpatl	1484
VI. Calli	1485
VII. Tochtli	1486 (*z*)
VIII. Acatl	1487 (*A*)
IX. Tecpatl	1488
X. Calli	1489
XI. Tochtli	1490
XII. Acatl	1491
XIII. Tecpatl	1492
I. CALLI	1493
II. Tochtli	1494
III. Acatl	1495
IV. Tecpatl	1496
V. Calli	1497
VI. Tochtli	1498 (*B*)
VII. Acatl	1499
VIII. Tecpatl	1500
IX. Calli	1501
X. Tochtli	1502 (*C*)
XI. Acatl	1503
XII. Tecpatl	1504
XIII. Calli	1505
I. TOCHTLI	1506
II. Acatl	1507
III. Tecpatl	1508
IV. Calli	1509 (*D*)
V. Tochtli	1510
VI. Acatl	1511
VII. Tecpatl	1512
VIII. Calli	1513
IX. Tochtli	1514

(*r*) Famous war of Cuetlachtlan.
(*s*) Axajacatl, fixth king of Mexico.
(*t*) Chimalpopoca, king of Tacuba
(*u*) Nezahualpilli, king of Acolhuacan.
(*x*) Tizoc, feventh king of Mexico.
(*y*) Ahuitzotl, eighth king of Mexico.
(*z*) Dedication of the greater temple.
(*A*) Totoquihuatzin, fecond king of Tacuba.
(*B*) New inundation of Mexico.
(*C*) Montezuma Xocojotzin, ninth king of Mexico.
(*D*) Memorable event of the princefs Papantzin.

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X. Acatl	1515	I. ACATL	1519 (*F*)
XI. Tecpatl	1516 (*E*)	II. Tecpatl	1520 (*G*)
XII. Calli	1517	III. Calli	1521 (*H*)
XIII. Tochtli	1518		

The exactneſs of this Table will appear from our Second Diſſertation.

(*E*) Cacamatzin, king of Acolhuacan.

(*F*) Entry of the Spaniards into Mexico.

(*G*) Cuitlahuatzin, tenth king, and Quauhtemotzin, eleventh king of Mexico, death of Montezuma, and defeat of the Spaniards.

(*H*) The taking of Mexico, and fall of the empire.

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MEXICAN CALENDAR,

From the Year I Tochtli, the firſt of the Century.

ATLACAHUALCO Firſt Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
February 26	I. CIPACTLI	The great ſecular feſtival.
27	II. Ehècatl	Feſtival of *Tlalocateuctli*, and the other gods of water, with the ſacrifice of infants, and the gladiatorian ſacrifice.
28	III. Calli	
March 1	IV. Cuetzpalin	
2	V. Coatl	
3	VI. Miquiztli	
4	VII. Mazatl	
5	VIII. Tochtli	
6	IX. Atl	
7	X. Itzcuintli	
8	XI. Ozomatli	Nocturnal ſacrifice of fattened priſoners.
9	XII. Malinalli	
10	XIII. Acatl	
11	I. OCELOTL	
12	II. Quauhtli	
13	III. Cozcaquauhtli	
14	IV. Olin	
15	V. Tecpatl	
16	VI. Quiahuitl	
17	VII. Xochitl	

TLACAXIPEHUALIZTLI Second Month.

18	VIII. Cipactli	The great feſtival of Xipe, god of the goldſmiths, with ſacrifices of priſoners and military exerciſes.
19	IX. Ehècatl	
20	X. Calli	
21	XI. Cuetzpalin	
22	XII. Coatl	Faſt of the owners of priſoners for twenty days.
23	XIII. Miquiztli	
24	I. MAZATL.	

The days marked in large characters are thoſe which began the ſmall periods of thirteen days.

March

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Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
March 25	II. Tochtli	
26	III. Atl	
27	IV. Itzcuintli	
28	V. Ozomàtli	
29	VI. Malinaſli	
30	VII. Acatl	Feſtival of the god *Chicomacatl.*
31	VIII. Ocelòtl	
April 1	IX. Quauhtli	Feſtival of the god *Tequiztlimatehuatl.*
2	X. Cozcaquauhtli	
3	XI. Olin	
4	XII. Tecpatl	
5	XIII. Quiahuitl	Feſtival of the god *Chancoti*,
6	I. XOCHITL.	with nocturnal ſacrifices.

TOZOZTONTLI Third Month.

7	II. Cipactli	Watch kept by the miniſters of
8	III. Ehècatl	the temples every night of
9	IV. Calli	this month.
10	V. Cuetzpalin	
11	VI. Coatl	The ſecond feſtival of the gods
12	VII. Miquitzli	of water, with ſacrifices of
13	VIII. Mazatl	children, and oblations of
14	IX. Tochtli	flowers.
15	X. Atl	
16	XI. Itzcuintli	
17	XII. Ozomatli	
18	XIII. Malinalli	
19	I. ACATL	Feſtival of the goddeſs *Coatlicue*, with oblations of flow-
20	II. Ocelotl	ers, and a proceſſion.
21	III. Quauhtli	
22	IV. Cozcaquauhtli	
23	V. Olin	
24	VI. Tecpatl	
25	VII. Quiahuitl	
26	VIII. Xochitl.	

HUEITOZOZTLI Fourth Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
April 27	IX. Cipactli	Watch kept in the temples, and a general faſt.
28	X. Ehècatl	
29	XI. Calli	
30	XII. Cuetzpalin	Feſtival of *Centeotl*, with ſacrifices of human victims and quails.
May 1	XIII. Coatl	
2	I. MIQUIZTLI	
3	II. Mazatl	
4	III. Tochtli	
5	IV. Atl	
6	V. Itzcuintli	Solemn convocation for the grand feſtival of the following month.
7	VI. Ozomatli	
8	VII. Malinalli	
9	VIII. Acatl	
10	IX. Ocelotl	
11	X. Quauhtli	
12	XI. Cozcaquauhtli	Faſt in preparation of the following feſtival.
13	XII. Olin	
14	XIII. Tecpatl	
15	I. QUIAHUITL	
16	II. Xochitl	

TOXCATL Fifth Month.

17	III. Cipactli	The grand feſtival of *Tezcatlipoca*, with a ſolemn penitential proceſſion, the ſacrifice of a priſoner, and diſmiſſion of all the marriageable youth from the temple.
18	IV. Ehècatl	
19	V. Calli	
20	VI. Cuetzpalin	
21	VII. Coatl	
22	VIII. Miquiztli	
23	IX. Mazatl	
24	X. Tochtli	
25	XI. Atl.	The firſt feſtival of *Huitzilopochtli*. Sacrifices of human victims and quails. Solemn incenſe-offering of Chapopotli, or bitumen of Judea. Solemn dance of the king, the prieſts, and the people.
26	XII. Itzcuintli	
27	XIII. Ozomatli	
28	I. MALINALLI.	
29	II. Acatl	
30	III. Ocelotl	
31	IV. Quauhtli	

June

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
June 1	V. Cozcaquauhtli	
2	VI. Olin	
3	VII. Tecpatl	
4	VIII. Quiahuitl	
5	IX. Xochitl	

ETZALCUALIZTLI Sixth Month.

6	X. Cipactli	
7	XI. Ehècatl	
8	XII. Calli	The third feſtival of the gods
9	XIII. Cuetzpalin	of water, with ſacrifices and
10	I. COATL	a dance.
11	II. Miquiztli	
12	III. Mazatl	
13	IV. Tochtli	
14	V. Atl	
15	VI. Itzcuintli	
16	VII. Ozomàtli	
17	VIII. Malinalli	Puniſhments of prieſts negli-
18	IX. Acatl	gent in the ſervice of the
19	X. Ocelotl	temple.
20	XI. Quauhtli	
21	XII. Cozcaquauhtli	
22	XIII. Olin	
23	I. TECPATL	
24	II. Quiahuitl	
25	III. Xochitl	

TECUILHUITONTLI Seventh Month.

26	IV. Cipactli	
27	V. Ehècatl	
28	VI. Calli	
29	VII. Cuetzpalin	
30	VIII. Coatl	
July 1	IX. Miquiztli	Feſtival of Huixtocihuatl, with
2	X. Mazatl	ſacrifices of priſoners, and a
3	XI. Tochtli	dance of the prieſts.
4	XII. Atl	
5	XIII. Itzcuintli	

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
July 6	I. OZOMATLI	
7	II. Malinalli	
8	III. Acatl	
9	IV. Ocelotl	
10	V. Quauhtli	
11	VI. Cozcaquauhtli	
12	VII. Olin	
13	VIII. Tecpatl	
14	IX. Quiahuitl	
15	X. Xochitl	

HUEITEÇUILHUITL Eighth Month.

16	XI. Cipactli	The ſecond feſtival of *Centeotl*, with the ſacrifice of a female ſlave; illumination of the temple, dance, and alms-giving.
17	XII. Ehècatl	
18	XIII. Calli	
19	I. CUETZPALIN	
20	II. Coatl	
21	III. Miquiztli	
22	IV. Mazatl	
23	V. Tochtli	Feſtival of *Maculitochtli*.
24	VI. Atl	
25	VII. Itzcuintli	
26	VIII. Ozomatli	
27	IX. Malinalli	
28	X. Acatl	
29	XI. Ocelotl	
30	XII. Quauhtli	
31	XIII. Cozcaquauhtli	
Auguſt 1	I. OLIN	
2	II. Tecpatl	
3	III. Quiahuitl	
4	IV. Xochitl	

TLAXOCHIMACO Ninth Month.

5	V. Cipactli	Feſtival of *Maculcipactli*.
6	VI. Ehècatl	
7	VII. Calli	
8	VIII. Cuetzpalin	
9	IX. Coatl	

Modern Style.		Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
Auguſt	10	X. Miquiztli	The ſecond feſtival of *Huitzilopochtli*, with ſacrifices of priſoners, oblations of flowers, general dance, and ſolemn banquet.
	11	XI. Mazatl	
	12	XII. Tochtli	
	13	XIII. Atl	
	14	I. ITZCUINTLI	
	15	II. Ozomàtli	
	16	III. Malinallì	
	17	IV. Acatl	Feſtival of *Yacateuctli*, god of the merchants, with ſacrifices and entertainments.
	18	V. Ocelotl	
	19	VI. Quauhtli	
	20	VII. Cozcaquauhtli	
	21	VIII. Olin	
	22	IX. Tecpatl	
	23	X. Quiahuitl.	
	24	XI. Xochitl	

XOCOHUETZI Tenth Month.

	25	XII. Cipactli	The feſtival of *Xiuhteuctli*, god of fire, with a ſolemn dance, and ſacrifice of priſoners.
	26	XIII. Ehècatl	
	27	I. CALLI	
	28	II. Cuetzpalin	
	29	III. Coatl	
	30	IV. Miquiztli	
	31	V. Mazatl	
September	1	VI. Tochtli	
	2	VII. Atl	
	3	VIII. Itzcuintli	
	4	IX. Ozomatli	
	5	X. Malinalli	
	6	XI. Acatl	
	7	XII. Ocelotl	
	8	XIII. Quauhtli	
	9	I. COZCAQUAUTLI	All feſtivals ceaſe during thoſe five days.
	10	II. Olin	
	11	III. Tecpatl	
	12	IV. Quiahuitl	
	13	V. Xochitl	

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OCHPANIZTLI Eleventh Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
September 14	VI. Cipactli	Dance preparatory to the following feſtival.
15	VII. Ehècatl	
16	VIII. Calli	
17	IX. Cuetzpalin	
18	X. Coatl	
19	XI. Miquiztli	
20	XII. Mazatl	
21	XIII. Tochtli	
22	I. ATL	Feſtival of *Teteoinan*, mother of the gods, with the ſacrifice of a female ſlave.
23	II. Itzcuintli	
24	III. Ozomatli	
25	IV. Malinalli	
26	V. Acatl	
27	VI. Ocelotl	The third feaſt of the goddeſs *Centeotl* in the temple Xiuhcalco, with a proceſſion and ſacrifices.
28	VII. Quauhtli	
29	VIII. Cozcaquauhtli	
30	IX. Olin	
October 1	X. Tecpatl	
2	XI. Quiahuitl	
3	XII. Tochtli	

TEOTLECO Twelfth Month.

4	XIII. Cipactli	
5	I. EHECATL	
6	II. Calli	
7	III. Cuetzpalin	
8	IV. Coatl	
9	V. Miquiztli	
10	VI. Mazatl	
11	VII. Tochtli	
12	VIII. Atl	
13	IX. Itzcuintli	Feſtival of *Chiucnahuitzcuintli*, *Nahualpilli*, and *Centeotl*, gods of the lapidaries.
14	X. Ozomatli	
15	XI. Malinalli	
16	XII. Acatl	
17	XIII. Ocelotl	
18	I. QUAUHTLI	

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Modern Style.		Mexican Days.	Festivals.
October	19	II. Cozcaquauhtli	
	20	III. Olin	Watch kept for the following festival.
	21	IV. Tecpatl	Festival of the arrival of the gods,
	22	V. Quiahuitl	with a great supper and sacri-
	23	VI. Xochitl	fices of prisoners.

TEPEILHUITL Thirteenth Month.

	24	VII. Cipactli	Festival of the gods of the moun-
	25	VIII. Ehècatl	tains, with the sacrifices of four
	26	IX. Calli	female slaves and a prisoner.
	27	X. Cuetzpalin	Festival of the god *Tochinco*,
	28	XI. Coatl	with the sacrifice of a pri-
	29	XII. Miquiztli	soner.
	30	XIII. Mazatl	Festival of *Nappateuctli*, with
	31	I. TOCHTLI.	the sacrifice of a prisoner.
November	1	II. Atl	
	2	III. Itzcuintli	
	3	IV. Ozomatli	
	4	V. Malinalli	Festival of *Centzontotochtin*, god
	5	VI. Acatl	of wine, with the sacrifice
	6	VII. Ocelotl	of three slaves of three differ-
	7	VIII. Quauhtli	ent places.
	8	IX. Cozcaquauhtli	
	9	X. Olin	
	10	XI. Tecpatl	
	11	XII. Quiahuitl	
	12	XIII. Xochitl *	

QUECHOLLI Fourteenth Month.

	13	I. CIPACTLI.	The fast of four days, in prepa-
	14	II. Ehècatl	ration for the following fes-
	15	III. Calli	tival.
	16	IV. Cuetzpalin	Festival of *Mixcoatl*, god of the
	17	V. Coatl	chace; a general chace; pro-
	18	VI. Miquiztli	cession and sacrifice of ani-
	19	VII. Mazatl	mals.

* Here ends the first cycle of two hundred and sixty days, or twenty periods of thirteen days.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
November 20	VIII. Tochtli	
21	IX. Atl.	
22	X. Itzcuintli	
23	XI. Ozomatli	
24	XII. Malinalli	
25	XIII. Acatl	
26	I. OCELOTL	
27	II. Quauhtli	
28	III. Cozcaquauhtli	
29	IV. Olin	Feſtival of *Tlamatzincatl*, with ſacrifices of priſoners.
30	V. Tecpatl	
December 1	VI. Quiahuitl	
2	VII. Xochitl	

PANQUETZALIZTLI Fifteenth Month.

3	VIII. Cipactli	
4	IX. Ehècatl	The third and principal feſtival of *Huitzilopochtli* and his companions. Severe faſt, ſolemn proceſſion. Sacrifices of priſoners and quails, and the eating of the ſtatue of paſte of that god.
5	X. Calli	
6	XI. Cuetzpalin	
7	XII. Coatl	
8	XIII. Miquiztli	
9	I. MAZATL	
10	II. Tochtli	
11	III. Atl	
12	IV. Itzcuintli	
13	V. Ozomatli	
14	VI. Malinalli	
15	VII. Acatl.	
16	VIII. Ocelotl	
17	IX. Quauhtli	
18	X. Cozcaquauhtli	
19	XI. Olin	
20	XII. Tecpatl	
21	XIII. Quiahuitl	
22	I. XOCHITL	

ATE-

ATEMOZTLI Sixteenth Month.

Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals.
December 23	II. Cipactli	
24	III. Ehècatl	
25	IV. Calli	
26	V. Cuetzpalin	
27	VI. Coatl	
28	VII. Miquiztli	
29	VIII. Mazatl	
30	IX. Tochtli	
31	X. Atl	
January 1	XI. Itzcuintli	
2	XII. Ozomatli	
3	XIII. Malinalli	
4	I. ACATL	
5	II. Ocelotl	
6	III. Quauhtli	
7	IV. Cozcaquauhtli	Faſt of four days in preparation
8	V. Olin	of the following feſtival.
9	VI. Tecpatl	
10	VII. Quiahuitl	The fourth feſtival of the gods
11	VIII. Xochitl	of water, with a proceſſion and ſacrifices.

TITITL Seventeenth Month.

12	IX. Cipactli	
13	X. Ehècatl	
14	XI. Calli	Feſtival of the goddeſs *Ilamateuctli*,
15	XII. Cuetzpalin	with a dance and ſa-
16	XIII. Coatl	ſacrifice of a female ſlave.
17	I. MIQUIZTLI	Feſtival of *Mictlanteuctli*, god
18	II. Mazatl	of hell, with the nocturnal
19	III. Tochtli	ſacrifice of a priſoner.
20	IV. Atl	
21	V. Itzcuintli	
22	VI. Ozomatli	The ſecond feſtival of *Jacateuctli*, god of the merchants,
23	VII. Malinalli	with the ſacrifice of a priſoner.
24	VIII. Acatl.	

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Modern Style.	Mexican Days.	Feſtivals
January 25	IX. Ocelotl	
26	X. Quauhtli	
27	XI. Cozcaquauhtli	
28	XII. Olin	
29	XIII. Tecpatl	
30	I. QUIAHUITL.	
31	II. Xochitl	

IZCALLI Eighteenth Month.

February 1	III. Cipactli	
2	IV. Ehècatl	
3	V. Calli	
4	VI. Cuetzpalin	
5	VII. Coatl	
6	VIII. Miquiztli	
7	IX. Mazatl	
8	X. Tochtli	
9	XI. Atl	
10	XII. Itzcuintli	General chace for the ſacrifices
11	XIII. Ozomatli	of the next feſtival.
12	I. MALINALLI	
13	II. Acatl	
14	III. Ocelotl	
15	IV. Quauhtli	
16	V. Cozcaquauhtli	
17	VI. Olin	The ſecond feſtival of *Xiuh-*
18	VII. Tecpatl	*teuctli*, god of fire, with ſa-
19	VIII. Quiahuitl	crifices of animals.
20	IX. Xochitl.	Renewal of fire in the houſes.

NEMONTEMI, or uſeleſs Days.

21	X. Cipactli	During theſe days there was no
22	XI. Ehècatl	feſtival.
23	XII. Calli	
24	XIII. Cuetpalin	
25	I. COATL	

The following year II. Acatl, begins with II. *Miquiztli*, and continues in the ſame order.

EXPLA-

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EXPLANATION of the Obſcure FIGURES.

I. *Of the figures of the Mexican Century.*

IN the wheel of the Mexican century are four figures, thirteen times repeated, to ſignify, as we have already mentioned, the four periods (by ſome authors called *indictions*), of thirteen years, of which their century conſiſted. The four figures are, firſt, the head of a rabbet, expreſſive of that quadruped; ſecondly, a reed; thirdly, a knife or the point of a lance, repreſenting a flint ſtone; fourthly, a part of a building, ſignifying a houſe. The years of the century are counted by beginning at the upper twiſt of the ſerpent, and deſcending towards the left. The I. figure, with a ſmall point, denotes I. rabbet; the ſecond, with two points, ſignifies II. reed; the third, with three points, ſignifies III. flint; the fourth, with four points, IV. houſe; the fifth, with five points, V. rabbet; and ſo it continues until the twiſt upon the left, where the ſecond period begins with the figure of the reed, and terminates in the lower twiſt; and then the third period commences.

II. *Of the figures of the year.*

The firſt figure is that of water, ſpread upon a building to denote the firſt month, whoſe name *Acahualco*, or *Atlacahualco*, ſignifies, the ceaſing of water; becauſe, in the month of March the winter rains ceaſe in northern countries, where the Mexican or Toltecan calendar took its origin. They called it alſo *Quahuitlehua*, which ſignifies the budding of trees, which happens at this time in hot countries. The Tlaſcalans called this month *Xilomaniliztli*, or the oblation of ears of maize; becauſe in it they offered to their gods thoſe of the paſt year, to obtain proſperity to the ſeed, which about this time began to be ſown in high grounds.

The figure of the ſecond month, appears at firſt ſight to be a pavilion, but we believe it is rather a human ſkin ill deſigned, to expreſs that which is meant by the name *Tlacaxipehualitzli*, which they gave to this month, or ſkinning of men, on account of the barbarous rite

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of ſkinning human victims, at the feſtival of the god of the goldſmiths. The Tlaſcalans called this month *Coailhuitl*, or general feſtival, and repreſented it by the figure of a ſerpent wound about a fan, and an *Ajacaxtli*. The fan and the Ajacaxtli denote the dances which were then made, and the coiled ſerpent ſignifies their generality.

The figure of the third month is that of a bird upon a lancet. The lancet ſignifies the ſpilling of blood, which was made during the nights of this month; but we do not know what bird it is, nor what it means.

The fourth month is repreſented by the figure of a ſmall building, upon which appear ſome leaves of ruſhes, ſignifying the ceremony which they performed in this month of putting ruſhes, ſword-graſs, and other herbs, dipped in blood, which they ſhed in honour of their gods, over the doors of their houſes.

The Tlaſcalans repreſented the third month by a lancet, to ſignify the ſame kind of penance; and the fourth month by a large lancet, to denote that during it they did ſtill greater penance.

The figure of the fifth month is that of a human head, with a neck-lace under it, repreſenting thoſe chaplets or wreaths of criſp maize which they wore about their necks, and with which they adorned alſo the idol of Tezcatlipoca, from whence the month took the name of *Toxcatl*, as we have ſaid above.

The ſixth month is repreſented by an earthen pot or jug, ſignifying a certain gruel, which they took then called *Etzalli*, from which the month took the name of *Etzalqualiztli*.

The two figures of the ſeventh and eighth months, appear deſigned to ſignify the dances which they made then, and becauſe the dances of the eighth month were the greateſt, the figure alſo which repreſents it is greater. Near to theſe figures appear lancets, denoting the auſteri-rities practiſed preparatory to theſe feſtivals. The Tlaſcalans repre-ſented thoſe two months by the heads of two lords, that of the month *Tecuilhuitontli*, or little feſtival of the lords, appears a young man, and that of the month *Hueitecuilhuitl*, or grand feſtival of the lords, ſeems an old man.

The figures of the ninth and tenth months, are evidently expreſſive of the mourning which they put on, and the lamentation which they made

made for their dead, which obtained the ninth month the name of *Miccailhuitl*, or feſtival of the dead, and the tenth *Hueimiccailhuitl*, or great feſtival of the dead; and becauſe the mourning of the tenth month was the greater, the figure of it alſo is larger. The Tlaſcalans painted for each of theſe two months a ſkull with two bones, but the ſkull of the tenth was the larger.

The figure of the eleventh month is a broom, by which is ſignified the ceremony of ſweeping the pavement of the temples, which was in this month performed by all; from whence the name *Ochpaniztli*. The Tlaſcalans painted a hand graſping a broom.

The figure of the twelfth and thirteenth months is that of a *paraſite* plant, called by the Mexicans *pachtli*, which in this ſeaſon twines about oaks, and from them the twelfth month took its name; becauſe in the next month this plant is grown up, the figure of it is larger, and the month takes the name of *Hueipachtli*. Theſe names, although more uſed by the Tlaſcalans, were alſo employed by the Mexicans; we have, however, adopted the names *Teotleco* and *Tepeilhuitl* in this hiſtory, as being more commonly uſed by the Mexicans.

The figure of the fourteenth month is very ſimilar to that of the ſecond; but we know nothing of its meaning.

The Tlaſcalans uſed to repreſent this month by the figure of that bird which ſome have called *Fiammingo*, and the Mexicans *Quecholli*, which name the Mexicans gave alſo to the month; becauſe, at this time, theſe birds reſorted to the Mexican lake.

The figure of the fifteenth month is a piece of a Mexican ſtandard, ſignifying the one which was carried at the ſolemn proceſſion of Huitzilopochtli, made in this month. The name *Panquetzalitztli*, by which it was called, ſignifies no more, as we have already ſaid, than the mounting the ſtandard.

The figure of the ſixteenth is that of water upon a ſtair, ſignifying the deſcent of water, expreſſed by the name *Atemoztli*, which was given to this month, either becauſe this is the ſeaſon of rain in northern countries, or becauſe at this time they held the feſtival of the gods of the mountains and water, to obtain the neceſſary ſhowers.

The figure of the ſeventeenth month, is two or three pieces of wood tied with a cord, and a hand, which, pulling the cord forcibly, binds

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the wood, denoting the conſtriction occaſioned by the cold of this ſeaſon, which is the meaning of the name *Tititl*. The Tlaſcalans painted two ſticks caſed, and firmly fixed in a plank.

The figure of the eighteenth month is the head of a quadruped upon an altar, ſignifying the ſacrifices of animals which were made during this month to the god of fire. The Tlaſcalans repreſented it by the figure of a man holding up a child by the head; this makes an interpretation which ſome authors give of the name *Izcalli*, very probably, as they ſay that word means, *riſen from the dead*, or *new creation*.

The figure of the moon, which is in the centre of the wheel, or circle of the year has been copied from a Mexican painting, from which it appears, that thoſe ancient Indians knew well that the moon has her light from the ſun.

In ſome wheels of the Mexican year which we have ſeen, after the figures of the eighteen months, there followed five large points or dots denoting the five days called Nemontemi.

III. *Of the figures of the month.*

Authors differ greatly in opinion concerning the ſignification of *Cipactli*, the name of the firſt day. According to Boturini, it ſignifies a ſerpent; with Torquemada, the ſword-fiſh; and with Betancourt, the tiburon. In the only wheel yet publiſhed of the Mexican month, which is that by Valades, the figure repreſenting the firſt day, is almoſt totally ſimilar to that of a lizard, which appears in the fourth day. As we do not know the truth, we have put the head of a tiburon, according to Betancourt.

The ſecond day is called *Ehècatl*, or wind, and is repreſented by a human head blowing with the mouth.

The third day is called *Calli*, or houſe, repreſented by a ſmall building.

The name of the fourth day is *Cuetzpalin*, or lizard, and the figure is that animal.

The name of the fifth day is *Coatl*, or ſerpent, and the figure is that animal.

The

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Pl. XXIII.

Symbols of Cities.

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Mexico

Chalco

Tollantzinco

Xochitzinco

Huaxjacac

Atotonilco

Ahuilizapan

Atenco

Tehuillojocan

Nepohualco

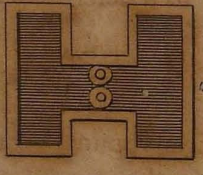
Michmalojan

2uauhtinchan

Tlacotepec

Macuilxochitl

Tlachco



Tecozauhtla

The name of the ſixth month is *Miquiztli*, that is, death, repreſented by a ſkull.

The ſeventh day is called *Mazatl*, or ſtag, repreſented by the head of that quadruped, as the eighth day is by that of the rabbet *Tochtli*, and ſo it is called.

The name of the ninth day is *Atl*, or water, and is repreſented by the figure of that element.

The tenth day is named *Itzcuintli*, that is, a certain Mexican quadruped, ſimilar to a little dog, and the figure of it is that little animal.

The eleventh day was called *Ozomatli*, or ape, repreſented alſo by the figure of that animal.

The twelfth day was called *Malinalli*, the name of a certain plant of which they made brooms, and is repreſented by the figure of the ſame plant.

The thirteenth day is named *Acatl*, or reed, and is repreſented by a reed.

The fourteenth day is named *Ocelotl*, tyger; and the fifteenth *Quauhtli*, eagle, repreſented by the heads of theſe animals.

The ſixteenth day is *Cozcaquauhtli*, the name of a Mexican bird, deſcribed in the firſt book of this hiſtory, and repreſented by the figure of it, though it is very imperfect.

The ſeventeenth day is *Olin tonatiuh*, or motion of the ſun, repreſented by the figure of the ſame luminary.

The eighteenth day is *Tecpatl*, or flint, and the figure of it is the point of a lance, which uſed to be made of flint.

The nineteenth day is *Quiahuitl*, rain, and is repreſented by a cloud raining.

The twentieth day is *Xochitl*, flower, and the figure that of a flower.

In the centre of this wheel we have put the figure of the fifteenth month, in order to reduce it to a determined month.

IV. *Of the figures of cities.*

The firſt figure is that of an opuntia, or nopal upon a ſtone, the ſymbol of the city of *Tenochtitlan*, or Mexico. *Tenochtitlan* means the

the place where the opuntia is in the ſtone, alluding to what we have already ſaid reſpecting the foundation of this great city.

The ſecond figure is that by which they expreſſed a gem. The name *Chalco* means in or upon the gem *(y)*.

The third figure is the hinder part of a man cloſe to a ruſh plant, and the fourth is the ſame cloſe to a flower, ſignifying the cities of *Tollantzinco* and *Xochitzincho*, the names of which ſignify, at the end of the place full of ruſhes, and at the end of the flowers, or flowery field: and almoſt all the names of places which have the termination in *tzinco*, and which are numerous, have a ſimilar ſignification, and are repreſented by ſimilar figures.

The fifth figure is a little branch of the tree *Huaxin* upon a noſe, in order to repreſent the city of *Huaxjacac*, a name compoſed of *Huaxin* and *jacatl*, and means upon the point or extremity of the little tree *Huaxin*; becauſe although *jacatl*, ſignifies properly the noſe, it alſo is uſed to ſignify any other point. As *Tepejacac*, the name of two places means, upon the point of the mountain.

In the ſixth figure appears an earthen pot upon three ſtones, as the Indians uſed to place it, and ſtill do ſo, in order to keep it over fire, and in the mouth of the pot is the figure of water, to repreſent the city of *Atotonilco* (*z*), which name ſignifies, in hot water, or the place of the baths.

The ſeventh figure is that of water, in which appears a man with his arms opened, in token of rejoicing, repreſenting the city of *Ahuilizapan*, called by the Spaniards Orizaba, the name of which means, in the water of pleaſure, or in the chearful river.

The eighth figure is alſo that of water in a mouth, repreſenting the city of *Atenco* (*a*). This name is compounded of *Atl*, water, of *Tentli*, lip, or metaphorically bank, ſhore, edge, &c. &c. and the prepoſition, or article *co*, which means *in*, ſo that *Atenco* means upon

(*y*) Acoſta ſays, that *Chalco* means, in the mouths, but the Mexican name ſignifying the mouth is *Camatl*, and when they would ſay, in the mouths, they expreſs it *Camac*.

(*z*) There were, and are many places, called Atenco, but the moſt conſiderable was that which appears cloſe to Tezcuco, in our chart of the lakes of Mexico.

(*a*) On the 26th day of February of the above mentioned year, the year according to the meridian of Alexandria, which was built three centuries after, properly began. Q. Curt. lib. iv. c. 21. See La Lande Aſtronomie, n. 1597.

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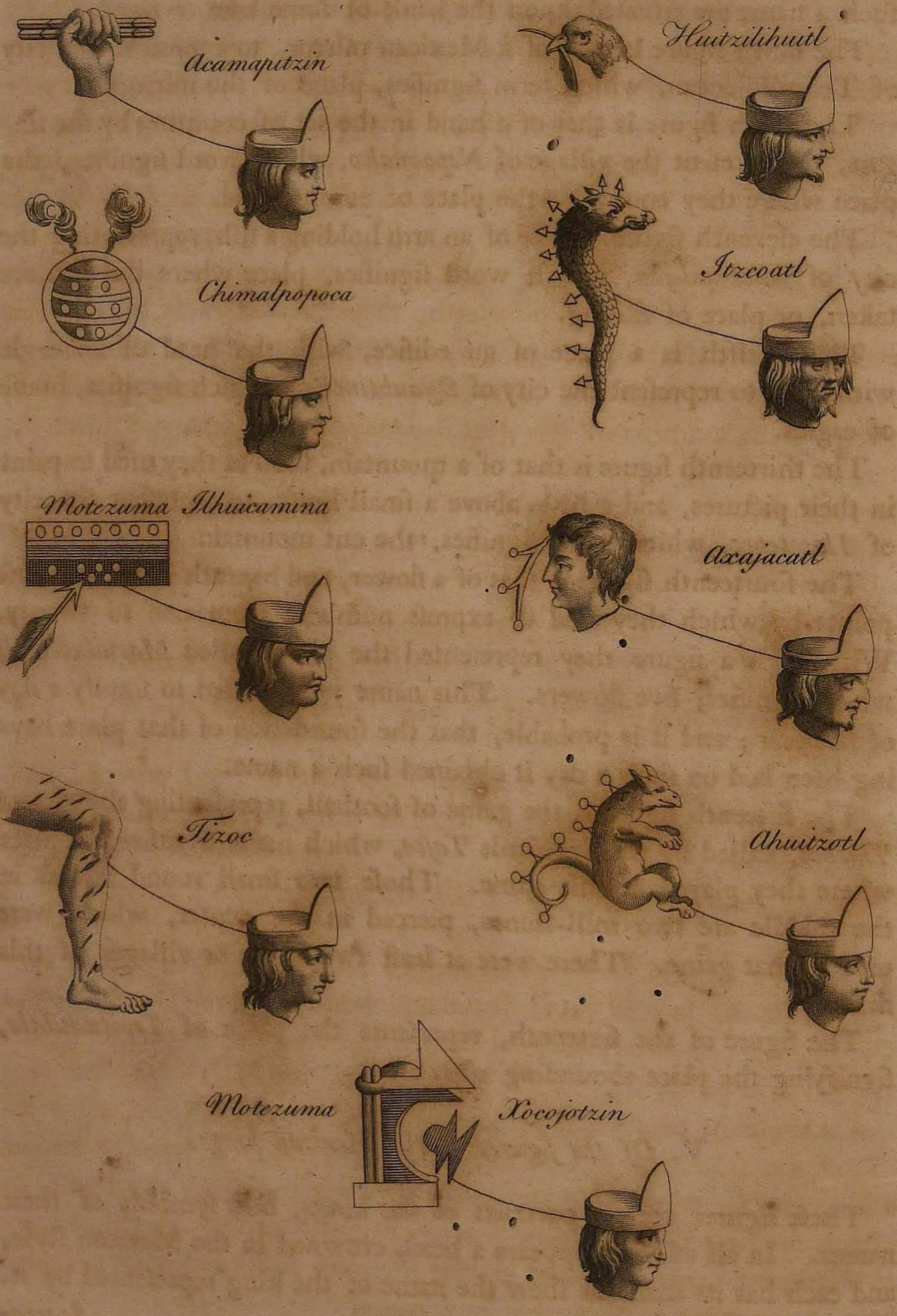
Acamapitzin
Huitzilihuitl
Chimalpopoca
Itzcoatl
Motezuma Ilhuicamina
Axajacatl
Tizoc
Ahuitzotl
Motezuma Xocojotzin

the bank, ſhore, or edge of the water; and all the places which have ſuch a name are ſituated upon the bank of ſome lake or river.

The ninth figure is that of a Mexican mirror, to repreſent the city of Tehuillojoccan, which term ſignifies, place of the mirrors.

The tenth figure is that of a hand in the act of counting by the fingers, to repreſent the village of *Nepohualco*, which word ſignifies, the place where they count, or the place of enumeration.

The eleventh figure is that of an arm holding a fiſh, repreſenting the city of *Michmalojan*, which word ſignifies, place where the fiſh are taken, or place of fiſhing.

The twelfth is a piece of an edifice, with the head of an eagle within it, to repreſent the city of *Quauhtinchan*, which ſignifies, houſe of eagles.

The thirteenth figure is that of a mountain, ſuch as they uſed to paint in their pictures, and a little above a ſmall knife, to repreſent the city of *Tlacotepec*, which name ſignifies, the cut mountain.

The fourteenth figure is that of a flower, and beneath it five of thoſe points by which they uſed to expreſs numbers from one to twenty. With ſuch a figure they repreſented the place called *Macuilxochitl*, which ſignifies, five flowers. This name is ſtill uſed to ſignify a day of the year; and it is probable, that the foundation of that place having been laid on ſuch a day it obtained ſuch a name.

The fifteenth figure is the game of football, repreſenting the city of *Tlachco*, called by the Spaniards *Taſco*, which name ſignifies the place where they played at this game. Thoſe two ſmall round figures in the middle are two mill-ſtones, pierced in the center, which were uſed in that game. There were at leaſt two cities or villages of this name.

The figure of the ſixteenth, repreſents the place of *Tecotzauhtla*, ſignifying the place abounding with ochre.

V. *Of the figures of the Mexican kings.*

Theſe figures are not portraits of the kings, but ſymbols of their names. In all of them appears a head, crowned in the Mexican ſtyle, and each has its mark to ſhew the name of the king repreſented by it.

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Acamapitzin, the name of the firſt king of Mexico, ſignifies, he who has reeds in his fiſt, which alſo appears in the figure.

Huitzilihuitl, the name of the ſecond king ſignifies, feather of the little flower-ſucking bird; and therefore the head of that little bird is repreſented, though imperfectly, with a feather in its mouth.

Chimalpopoca, name of the third king, means, ſmoaking ſhield, which is repreſented in his figure.

Itzcoatl, name of the fourth king, means, ſerpent of itzli, or armed with lancets, or razors of the ſtone itzli, which is repreſented by the fourth figure.

Ilhuicamina, the ſurname of Montezuma I. the fifth king of Mexico, means, he who ſhoots into the ſky, and therefore an arrow is repreſented ſhot at that figure, by which the Mexicans uſed to ſignify the ſky.

Axajacatl, the name of the ſixth king, means alſo a marſh-fly, and ſignifies the face or aſpect of water, and therefore a face is repreſented, above which is the figure of water.

Tizoc, the name of the ſeventh king, ſignifies, pierced, and therefore he is repreſented by a perforated leg.

Ahuitzotl, the name of the eighth king, is alſo that of an amphibious quadruped, mentioned in our firſt book, and is therefore repreſented by the figure of that quadruped; and to ſhew that this animal lives in the water, the figure of that element appears on its back and tail.

Moteuczoma, the name of the ninth king, means, angry lord; but we do not underſtand the figure of it.

The figures of the two laſt kings *Cuitlahuatzin* and *Quauhtemotzin*, are wanting; but we do not doubt but that that of *Quauhtemotzin*, ſignifies, a dropping eagle, as the name has that meaning.

VI. *Of the figure of the deluge, and the confuſion of tongues.*

The water ſignifies the deluge; the human head, and the bird in the water, ſignify the drowning of men and animals. The ſhip, with a man in it, denotes the veſſel in which, according to their tradition, one

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one man, and one woman, were ſaved to preſerve the human race. The figure in one corner is that of the mountain Colhuacan, near to which, according to their account, the man and the woman who were ſaved diſembarked from the deluge. In all the Mexican paintings, in which mention is made of that mountain, it is repreſented by the ſame figure. The bird upon the tree repreſents the pigeon, which, as they ſay, communicated ſpeech to men, as they were all born dumb after the deluge. Thoſe rods which iſſue from the mouth of the pigeon towards men, are the ſymbols of languages. Wherever the Mexican paintings allude either to languages or words, they employ theſe rods. The multitude of them in one figure, ſignifies the multitude of thoſe which were thus communicated. Thoſe fifteen men, who receive the languages from the pigeon, repreſent ſo many families ſeparated from the reſt of mankind, from whom, as they account, deſcended the nations of Anahuac.

LETTER from Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas, to the Author, upon the Mexican Calendar.

Ab. Hervas, author of the work entitled, Idea of the Univerſe, *having read this work in manuſcript, and made ſome curious and learned obſervations on the Mexican Calendar, communicated them in the following letter, which we truſt will prove acceptable to our readers.*

FROM the work of your Reverence I learn with infinite pain, how much the loſs of thoſe documents which aſſiſted the celebrated Dr. Siguenza to form his *Ciclography*; and the Cav. Boturini to publiſh his *Idea of the General Hiſtory of New Spain*, is to be regretted; and at the ſame time I am farther confirmed in my opinion, that the uſe of the ſolar year was contemporary, or, perhaps, anterior to the Deluge, as I attempt to prove in the eleventh volume of my work, in which is inſerted The Extatic Journey to the Planetary World, wherein I propoſe ſome reflexions on the Mexican Calendar, which I ſhall here anticipate and ſubmit to your cenſure.

The year and century have, from time immemorial, been regulated by the Mexicans with a degree of intelligence which does not at all correſpond with their arts and ſciences. In them they were certainly extremely inferior to the Greeks or Romans; but the diſcernment which appears in their Calendar, equals them to the moſt cultivated nations. Hence we ought to imagine, that this Calendar has not been the diſcovery of the Mexicans, but a communication from ſome more enlightened people; and as the laſt are not to be found in America, we muſt ſeek for them elſewhere, in Aſia, or in Egypt. This ſuppoſition is confirmed by your affirmation; that the Mexicans had their Calendar from the Toltecas (originating from Aſia), whoſe year, according to Boturini, was exactly adjuſted by the courſe of the ſun, more than a hundred years before the Chriſtian era; and alſo from obſerving that other nations, namely, the Chiapaneſe, made uſe of the ſame Calendar with the Mexicans, without any difference but that of their ſymbols.

The Mexican year began upon the 26th of February, a day celebrated in the era of Nabonaſſar, which was fixed by the Egyptians 747 years before the Chriſtian era; for the beginning of their month *Toth*, correſponded with the meridian of the ſame day. If thoſe prieſts fixed alſo upon this day as an epoch, becauſe it was celebrated in Egypt (*a*), we have there the Mexican Calendar agreeing with the Egyptian. But independent of this, it is certain, that the Mexican Calendar conformed greatly with the Egyptian.

On this ſubject Herodotus ſays (*b*), that the year was firſt regulated by the Egyptians, who gave to it twelve months, of thirty days, and added five days to every year, that the circle of the year might revolve regularly: that the principal gods of the Egyptians were twelve in number, and that each month was under the tutelage and protection of one of theſe gods. The Mexicans alſo added to every year, five days, which they called Nemontemi, or uſeleſs; becauſe during theſe they did nothing. Plutarch ſays (*c*), that on ſuch days the Egyptians celebrated the feſtival of the birth of their gods.

(*a*) On the 26th day of February, of the above mentioned year, the year according to the meridian of Alexandria, which was built three centuries after, properly began. Q. Curt. lib. iv. c. 21. See La Lande Aſtronomie, n. 1597.

(*b*) Herod. lib. ii. cap. 1. and 6. (*c*) Plut. de Iſide & Oſiride.

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It is certainly true, that the Mexicans divided their year into eighteen months, not into twelve like the Egyptians; but as they called the month *miztli*, or moon, as you have obſerved, it ſeems undeniable, that their ancient month had been lunar, as well as that of the Egyptians and Chineſe, the Mexican month verifying that which the ſcriptures tell, that the month is obliged for its name to the moon. The Mexicans, it is probable, received the lunar month from their anceſtors, but for certain purpoſes afterwards inſtituted another. You have affirmed in your hiſtory, upon the faith of Boturini, that the Miztecas formed their year into thirteen months, which number was ſacred in the Calendar of the Mexicans, on account of their thirteen principal gods, in the ſame manner as the Egyptians conſecrated the number twelve, on account of their twelve greater gods.

The ſymbols and periods of years, months, and days in the Mexican Calendar, are truly admirable. With reſpect to the periods it appears to me, that the period of five days might not improperly be termed their civil week, and that of thirteen their religious week. In the ſame manner, the period of twenty days might be called their civil month; that of twenty-ſix their religious month; and that of thirty, their lunar and aſtronomical month. In their century, it is probable, that the period of four years was civil, and that of thirteen religious. From the multiplication of theſe two periods they had their century, and from the duplication of their century, their age of one hundred and four years. In all thoſe periods an art is diſcovered not leſs admirable than that of our indictions, cycles, &c. The period of civil weeks was contained exactly in their civil and aſtronomical month; the latter had ſix, the former four, and the year contained ſeventy-three complete weeks; in which particular our method is excelled by the Mexican; for our weeks are not contained exactly in the month, nor in the year. The period of religious weeks was contained twice in their religious month, and twenty-eight times in the year; but in the latter there remained a day over, as there is in our weeks. From the periods of thirteen days, multiplied by the twenty characters of the month, the cycle of two hundred and ſixty days was produced, of which you have made mention; but as there remained a day over the twenty-eight religious weeks of the ſolar year, there aroſe another cycle of

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two hundred and ſixty days, in ſuch a manner, that the Mexicans could, from the firſt day of every year, diſtinguiſh what year it was. The period of civil months, multiplied by the number of days, (that is eighteen by twenty), and the period of lunar months, multiplied by the number of days, (that is, twelve by thirty), give the ſame product, or the number three hundred and ſixty; a number certainly not leſs memorable, and in uſe among the Mexicans than among the moſt ancient nations; and a number, which from time immemorial, has ruled in geometry and aſtronomy, and is of the utmoſt particularity on account of its relation to the circle, which is divided into three hundred and ſixty parts, or degrees. In no nation of the world do we meet with any thing ſimilar to this clear and diſtinct method of Calendar. From the ſmall period of four years, multiplied by the above mentioned cycle of two hundred and ſixty years, aroſe another admirable cycle of one thouſand and forty years. The Mexicans combined the ſmall period of four years with the period above named *week* of thirteen years; thence reſulted their noted cycle or century of fifty-two years; and thus with the four figures, indicating the period of four years, they had, as we have from the dominical letters, a period, which, to ſay the truth, exceeded ours; as it is of twenty-eight years, and the Mexican of fifty-two; this was perpetual, and ours in Gregorian years is not ſo. So much variety and ſimplicity of periods of weeks, months, years, and cycles, cannot be unadmired; and the more ſo, as there is immediately diſcovered that particular relation which theſe periods have to many different ends, which Boturini points out by ſaying: "The Mexi-"can Calendar was of four ſpecies; that is, natural, for agriculture; "chronological, for hiſtory; ritual, for feſtivals; and aſtronomical, "for the courſe of the ſtars; and the year was luniſolar." This year, if we do not put it at the end of three Mexican ages, after ſeveral calculations I am not able to find it.

Boturini determines by the Mexican paintings the year of the confuſion of tongues, and the years of the creation of the world; which determination appears not to be difficult, becauſe as the eclipſes are noted in the Mexican paintings, there is not a doubt but the true epoch

(*d*) A luna ſignum dici feſti . . . Menſis ſecundum nomen ejus eſt. Eccl. xliii.

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of chronology may be obtained from them, as P. Souciet obtains the Chineſe from the ſolar eclipſe which he fixed in the year 2155, before the Chriſtian era. An eclipſe well circumſtantiated, as P. Briga (e) Romagnoli proves at length, may aſſiſt us to fix the epoch of chronology in the ſpace of twenty thouſand years, and although in the Mexican paintings, all the circumſtances of eclipſes are not deſcribed, yet the defect of them is remedied by many eclipſes which are marked there. The Mexican lords therefore, who ſtill preſerve great number of paintings, might by ſtudy of them adduce many lights to chronology.

Reſpecting the ſymbols of the Mexican months and year, they diſcover ideas entirely conformable with thoſe of the ancient Egyptians. The latter diſtinguiſhed, as appears from their monuments, each month or part of the zodiac, where the ſun ſtood, with characteriſtical figures of that which happened in every ſeaſon of the year. Therefore we ſee the ſigns of Aries, Taurus, and the two young Goats (which now are Gemini), uſed to mark the months of the birth of thoſe animals; the ſigns of Cancer, Leo, and Virgo, with the ear of corn, for thoſe months, in which the ſun goes backward like a crab; in which there is greater heat, and in which the harveſts are reaped. The ſign of the Scorpion (which in the Egyptian ſphere occupied the ſpace which at preſent is occupied by the ſign of Libra), and that of Sagittarius, in the months of virulent, or contagious diſtempers, and the chace; and laſtly, the ſigns of Capricorn, Aquarius, and Piſcis, in thoſe months in which the ſun begins to aſcend towards others; in which it rains much, and in which there is abundant fiſhing. Theſe ideas at leaſt are ſimilar to thoſe which the Mexicans aſſociated with their clime. They called their firſt month *Acahualco*, that is, the ceſſation of the waters, which began on the 26th of February, and they ſymbolize this month by a houſe, with the figure of water above it; they gave alſo to the ſame month the name of *Quahuitlehua*, that is, the moving or budding of trees. The Mexicans afterwards diſtinguiſhed their firſt month by two names, of which the firſt Acahualco, or the ceſſation of the waters, did not correſpond with their climate where the

(e) Scientia Eclipſium ex Europa in Sinas, Pars iii. c. 2. ſect. 20.

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rains came in October: but it agrees with the fields of Sennaar, and the northern climes of America, from whence their anceſtors came; and from that the origin of this name appears evidently to be very ancient. The ſecond name, that is, Quahuitlehua, or budding of the trees, agrees much with the word *Kimath*, uſed by Job to ſignify the Pleiades *(f)*, which, in his time announced the ſpring, when the trees begin to move. The ſymbol of the ſecond Mexican month was a pavilion, which indicated the great heat prevalent in Mexico in April, before the rains of May come on. The ſymbol of the third month was a bird which appeared at that time. The twelfth and thirteenth month had for their ſymbol the plant *pactli*, which ſprings up and matures in theſe months. The ſymbol of the fourteenth month was expreſſed by a cord, and a hand which pulled it, expreſſive of the binding power of the cold in that month, which is January; and to this ſame circumſtance the name Tititl, which they gave it alludes. The conſtellation *Keſil*, of which Job ſpeaks to ſignify winter, ſignifies in the Arabic root (which is *Keſal*) *to be cold and aſleep*, and in the text of Job it is read, "Couldſt thou break the cords or ties of Keſil?"

Leaving a-part the evident conformity which the ſymbols and expreſſions of ſpring and winter have with thoſe of Job, who, in my opinion, flouriſhed a ſhort time after the Deluge (as I ſay in my eleventh volume), it ought to be noted, that theſe ſymbols, which are excellent for preſerving the year invariable, demonſtrate the uſe of the intercalary days of the Mexicans; otherwiſe it would happen that in two centuries, the ſymbol of the month of cold would fall in the month of heat. Thus it is found, from the Mexican paintings, that in them the conqueſt of Mexico was marked in the ninth month called *Tlaxochimaco*; from thence it ought to be concluded, that the intercalary days were in uſe. The ſame deduction might be made from ſeeing that the Mexicans, at the entry of the Spaniards, preſerved that order of months, which, according to the ſignification of their names, agreed with the ſeaſons of the year, and the productions of the earth. Farther, to aſcertain how the Mexicans regulated their leap years, and if their year was juſt, an exact examination and compariſon ought to

(*f*) Job, chap. ix. v. 9. and chap. xxxviii. v. 31.

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be made of ſome event known to us, which has been marked by them. You have, for example, fixed the death of Montezuma on the 29th of June, 1520: if in the Mexican paintings this is found in the ſeventh day, *Cuetzpalin*, of the ſeventh month, we muſt infer their year to be juſt, and that the leap years were interpoſed every four years; if it correſponds to the fourth day *Cipactli*, it would be a ſign that their year was juſt, and that the leap years were added after the century; if it ſhould correſpond with the ſeventh, *Ozomatli*, then it muſt be concluded that their leap years were put after the century, and their year was as eroneous as ours was at that time. The propoſed example is grounded upon the Calendar, at the end of your ſecond volume; this I did for the ſake of perſpicuity: but to make an exact calculation, it would be neceſſary to ſee that your Calendar correſponds with the firſt year of the Mexican century, and that the year 1520, was the fourteenth year of the century; whence the name of days would have taken a very different order from that which is propoſed for more clearneſs.

Laſtly, the ſymbol which you have put for the Mexican century, convinces me, that it is the ſame which the ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans had. In the Mexican ſymbol, we ſee the ſun as it were eclipſed by the moon, and ſurrounded with a ſerpent, which makes four twiſts, and embraces the four periods of thirteen years. This very idea of the ſerpent with the ſun has, from time immemorial in the world, ſignified the periodical or annual courſe of the ſun. We know that in aſtronomy, the points where eclipſes happen have, from time immemorial been called, (as P. Briga *(g)* Romagnoli has noted), the head and tail of a dragon. The Chineſe, from falſe ideas, though conformable to this immemorial alluſion, believe that at eclipſes a dragon is in the act of devouring the ſun. The Egyptians more particularly agree with the Mexicans; for to ſymbolize the ſun they employed a circle, with one or two ſerpents; but ſtill more the ancient Perſians, among whom their *Mitras* (which was certainly the ſun), was ſymbolized by a ſun *(h)* and a ſerpent; and from P. Montfaucon *(i)*, we are

(*g*) Vol. cited, p. 4. Inv. iii. c. 2.

(*h*) See Banier Mythylogie, vol. ii. book iv. cap. iv. vol. iii. book vii. c. xii. Pluche, Hiſtory of the Heavens, vol. i. c. ii. ſect. 1. Goguet, Origin of Sciences, &c. vol. i. Differt. 2.

(*i*) Tom. i. p. 378.

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given, in his Antiquities, a monument of a ſerpent which ſurrounding the ſigns of the Zodiac, cuts them, by rolling itſelf in various modes about them. In addition to theſe inconteſtible examples, the following reflexion is moſt convincing. There is not a doubt that the ſymbol of the ſerpent is a thing totally arbitrary to ſignify the ſun, with which it has no phyſical relation; wherefore then I aſk, have ſo many nations diſperſed over the globe, and of which ſome have had no reciprocal intercourſe, unleſs in the firſt ages after the deluge, agreed in uſing one ſame ſymbol ſo arbitrary, and choſe to expreſs by it the ſame object? When we find the word *ſacco* in the Hebrew, Greek, Teutonic, Latin languages, &c. it obliges us to believe that it belongs to the primitive language of men after the deluge, and when we ſee one ſame arbitrary ſymbol, ſignifying the ſun and his courſe, uſed by the Mexicans, the Chineſe, the ancient Egyptians, and Perſians, does it not prompt us to believe the real origin of it was in the time of Noah, or the firſt men after the deluge? this fair concluſion is ſtrongly confirmed by the Chiapaneſe Calendar (which is totally Mexican), in which the Chiapaneſe, according to Monſig. Nugnez de la Vega, biſhop of Chiapa, in his Preface to his Synodal Conſtitutions, put for the firſt ſymbol or name of the firſt year of the century a *Votan*, nephew of him who built a wall up to heaven, and gave to men the languages which they now ſpeak. Here is a fact connected with the Mexican Calendar, relative to the building of the tower of Babel and the confuſion of tongues. Many ſimilar reflexions are ſuggeſted by the obſervations and remarks which occur in your hiſtory, &c. Ceſena, July 31, 1780. So far the letter of Sig. Ab. Hervas. Whatever may have been the truth reſpecting the uſe of the ſolar year among theſe firſt men, in which diſpute I do not mean to engage, I cannot be perſuaded that the Mexicans, or the Toltecas, have been indebted to any nation of the old continent for their Calendar, and their method of computing time. From whom did the Toltecas learn their age of one hundred and four years, their century of fifty-two, their year of eighteen months, their months of twenty days, their periods of thirteen years and thirteen days, their cycle of two hundred and ſixty days, and in particular their thirteen intercalary days, at the end of the century, to adjuſt the year with the courſe of the ſun? The Egyptians

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were the greateſt aſtronomers of thoſe remote times, but they adopted no intercalary ſpace to adjuſt the year with the annual retardation of the ſolar courſe. If the Toltecas of themſelves diſcovered that retardation, it is not to be wondered at if they diſcovered other things which did not require ſuch minute and prolix aſtronomical obſervations. Boturini, of whoſe teſtimony Ab. Hervas avails himſelf, ſays expreſly upon the faith of the annals of the Toltecas, which he ſaw, that the ancient aſtronomers of that nation having obſerved in their native country Huehuetlapallan, (a northern country of America), the exceſs of about ſix hours of the ſolar, over the civil year which was obſerved among them, corrected it by the uſe of intercalary days, more than one hundred years before the Chriſtian era. With reſpect to the conformity between the Mexicans and Egyptians, we ſhall treat of it in our Diſſertations.

Animadverſions of the Author on the Work entitled, LETTERE AMERICANE, *or American Letters.*

Some of the obſervations made by Ab. Hervas have alſo been made by the learned author of the *American Letters*, a work full of erudition, recently publiſhed in the Literary Magazine of Florence, and come to us at the time the laſt ſheets of this volume were printing. The author, in oppoſing the abſurd opinions of M. de Paw, from a juſt though imperfect idea of the culture of the Mexicans, diſcourſes in general very intelligently of their cuſtoms, their arts, and, above all, their aſtronomical knowledge, explains their calendar and their cycles, and in theſe points compares them with the ancient Egyptians, as was done in the laſt century by the learned Mexican, Siguenza, to prove their conformity and the antiquity of the population of America. In the peruſal of theſe letters, I have had the pleaſure of ſeeing ſome of my own ſentiments ſupported and explained; although the author has committed many miſtakes, and ſhewn more acrimony againſt the Spaniſh nation than is conſiſtent with candour and impartiality. The alteration of the Mexican names in his work, is a treſpaſs upon all the rules of literary propriety and accuracy with reſpect to etymology.

In the ninth letter of the ſecond part, where he ſpeaks of the Mexican year, he cites Gemelli, and accuſes him, though falſely, of an error. Gemelli ſays, that the Mexican year at the commencement of their century, began upon the 10th of April; and that every four years it anticipated one day on account of our biſſextile; ſo that at the end of four years it began upon the 9th of that month; at the end of eight years it began upon the 8th, and ſo it went on anticipating every four years, one day, unto the end of the Mexican century, where by the interpoſition of the thirteen intercalary days, omitted in the progreſs of the century, the year returned to begin upon the 10th of April. This, adds the author of the Letters, is a contradiction of fact, as the year at the end of the four years ſhould have begun upon the 11th, and not the ninth, and thus every four years it ought to have increaſed a day; and in ſuch caſe, the correction of thirteen days after the end of fifty-two years became ſuperfluous, or without the retroceſſion of a day every four years, the difference of the ſolar year, at the end of the cycle ſhould have been double, that is twenty-ſix days.

We wonder much that an author, who appears to be a good calculator, ſhould err in a calculation ſo ſimple and clear. The year 1506, was a ſecular year among the Mexicans. Let us ſuppoſe for the ſake of perſpicuity, that their year began as ours on the firſt day of January. This firſt year of the Mexican century, compoſed like ours of 365 days, ended as ours on the 31ſt of December, and in like manner the ſecond year correſponding to 1507; but in 1508, the Mexican year ought to finiſh a day before ours; becauſe ours being biſſextile, or leap year, had 366 days, whereas the Mexican had only 365; therefore the fourth year of the Mexican century correſponding to 1509, ought to commence a day before ours, that is on the 31ſt of December 1508. In the ſame manner, the eighth year, correſponding to 1513, ought to commence on the 30th of December, 1512, for the ſame reaſon of that year having been biſſextile. The twelfth year, correſponding to 1517, ought to begin on the 29th of December 1516, and ſo forth, unto the year 1557, the laſt of the Mexican century, in which the Mexican year ought to anticipate ours as many days as there were biſſextile years. Thus in the 52 years of the Mexican century, there

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there are thirteen biſſextile; the laſt year of the century, therefore, ought to anticipate ours by thirteen days, and not twenty-ſix. Conſequently, the interpoſition of the thirteen days to adjuſt the year at the end of the century with the courſe of the ſun was not ſuperfluous. So that Gemelli ſaid properly as to the anticipation of the day, although he erred in ſaying that the Mexicans began the year upon the 10th of April, as it began as we have often repeated on the 26th of February. The author of the Letters believes, that the Mexicans began their year at the vernal equinox. We are of the ſame opinion as to their aſtronomical year; but we have not ventured to affirm it as we do not know it. The ancient Spaniſh hiſtorians of Mexico were not aſtronomers, and were leſs attentive to explain in their hiſtories the progreſs of the Mexicans in ſciences than their ſuperſtitious rites. The *Mexican Cyclography*, compoſed by the great aſtronomer Siguenza, after a diligent ſtudy of the Mexican paintings, and various calculations of the eclipſes and comets marked in their paintings, has not reached us.

We cannot pardon the Author of the Letters the injuſtice he does this great Mexican in his third Letter of the ſecond volume, where he ſpeaks, on the faith of Gemelli, of the pyramids of Teotihuacan. *Carlos Siguenza*, ſays that author, *imagines theſe pyramids anterior to the deluge*. This is not true; how could Siguenza imagine theſe pyramids anterior to the deluge, if he believed the population of America poſterior to the confuſion of tongues, and the firſt ſettlers deſcendants of Nephtuim, grand nephew of Noah, as Boturini atteſts, who ſaw ſome of the works of Siguenza? Gemelli alſo, on whoſe teſtimony the author of the Letters reſts, gives expreſs contradiction to this particular in his ſixth volume, ſecond book, and eighth chapter. "*No Indian hiſtorian*, ſays this traveller, "*has been able to inveſtigate the time of the erection* "*of the pyramids of America; but D. Carlos Siguenza imagined them* "*very ancient, and built a little time after the Deluge.*" Nor has Gemelli properly explained the opinion of Siguenza; for Dr. Eguiara, treating in the *Biblioteca Mexicana*, of the works of Siguenza, and amongſt others of that which he wrote upon the peopling of America, ſays, that in that work he fixed the firſt peopling of the new world

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paulo poſt Babyloniam confuſionem, that is, a little after the time which Gemelli has mentioned.

With reſpect to ſome other more important points treated of in thoſe Letters, we ſhall ſpeak of them in our Diſſertations, in which we ſhall ſometimes concur, and at other times differ in opinion with the author.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.