



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

MEX. 3.

N 96

MEX.3. N 96

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



LIBRARY
OF THE
PEABODY MUSEUM
GIFT OF
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER
(Class of 1900)
HUDSON PROFESSOR OF
ARCHAEOLOGY EMERITUS

Received June, 13, 1978.

FROM THE LIBRARY OF
Cyril W. Doane



Dr. Alfred M. Tuzza
with cordial greetings
& best wishes from
Zelia Nuttall

THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

116

Running
Title

91-D-1-1

By ZELIA NUTTALL

corr 00
15

Reprinted from the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST (N. S.), Vol. XII, No. 2,
April-June, 1910

Lancaster Pa., U. S. A.
The New Era Printing Company
1910

MEX. 3. N96

June 13, 1978

Gift of Alfred M Tozzer

RECEIVED

JUN 13 1978

TOZZER LIBRARY
PEABODY MUSEUM

THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

By ZELIA NUTTALL

I. HISTORY OF THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

THE low, sandy coral island, named "of Sacrifices," situated in latitude $19^{\circ} 10'$ north, longitude $96^{\circ} 6'$ west of Greenwich, lies at a distance of three miles to the southeast of the port of Vera Cruz. It is a mile and a half long, and its utmost width is three quarters of a mile, but it and the adjoining reefs afford absolute safety and protection from the much-dreaded "northers."

In the course of centuries innumerable vessels from all parts of the world have taken refuge and found safety at anchor off the south coast of this insignificant but most useful little islet, which can boast, moreover, of a strange and interesting history.

The account of its discovery written by Juan Diaz, the chaplain of the fleet of Juan de Grijalva, the precursor of Cortés, is so graphic and minute that it should be read in as literal a translation as I can offer, which is as follows :

" . . . Arriving near the hills, we found ourselves at the extremity of a small island, which lay about three miles distant from said hills. We cast anchor and all landed on this islet which we named Island of the Sacrifices. It is a small island and has a circumference of about six miles. We found thereon some very large buildings made of mortar and sand¹ and a detached building of the same material, the structure of which resembled that of an ancient arch that is in Merida. We also found other buildings, on foundations, which were as high as two men, were ten feet wide and very long. There was another edifice made like a round tower, fifteen paces in diameter. On top of this there was a column like those of Castile, surmounted by an animal resembling a lion, also made of marble. It had a hole in its head in which they put perfume, and its tongue was stretched out of its mouth. Near it there was a stone vase containing blood, which appeared to have been there for eight days. There were also two posts as high as a man, between which were stretched

¹As will be shown later on, the chaplain evidently referred to the kind of cement, made of mortar and coarse sand, with which the walls of the buildings were finished.

some cloths, embroidered in silk, which resembled the shawls worn by Moorish priests, and named 'almaizares.'

"On the other side there was an idol, with a feather in its head, whose face was turned towards the aforesaid stone vase. Behind this idol there was a heap of large stones. Between the posts and close to the idol were the bodies of two Indians of tender age, wrapped in a painted blanket. Behind the stretched cloths there were the bodies of two other Indians. These seemed to have been dead for about three days while the first mentioned appeared to have been dead for twenty days. Close to these dead bodies and the idol there were many skulls and bones; also a quantity of bundles of pine wood and some wide stones, on which they had killed said Indians.

"There were also an 'higuera' tree and a tree which they call 'zua' and which yields fruit.

"After the captain and his men had seen all this, the former wished to be informed whether it had been done as a sacrifice, and sent to his ships for an Indian who was a native of this province. On his way to where the Captain awaited him he suddenly swooned and fell, thinking that he was being brought to be killed. When he reached said tower the Captain asked him why such deeds were committed there and the Indian answered that it was done as a kind of sacrifice and gave to understand that the victims were beheaded on the wide stone; that the blood was poured into the vase and that the heart was taken out of the breast and burnt and offered to the said idol. The fleshy parts of the arms and legs were cut off and eaten. This was done to the enemies with whom they were at war.

"While the captain was thus speaking a Christian disinterred two jars of alabaster, worthy of being presented to the Emperor and filled with many kinds of stones. Here we found much fruit, all of which was edible.

"On the following day we saw, on the main land, many persons with banners and the General sent the Captain Francisco de Montejo in a boat, with an Indian from that province, to ascertain what they wanted.

"When Francisco de Montejo arrived, the Indians gave him a number of very beautiful blankets, of many kinds and colors. He asked them whether they had any gold and offered barter or exchange. They answered that they would bring him some in the afternoon. He then returned to his ships. In the afternoon three Indians came in a canoe, bringing blankets like the others. They said they would bring gold on the following day and left. On the following morning they appeared on the shore with white flags and began calling the Captain. He landed with a certain

number of men and the Indians carried many green boughs for him to sit on and he and all of them seated themselves.¹ They presented him with some reeds filled with certain perfumes, resembling the gum-storax and benzoin and, immediately afterwards gave him, to eat, much ground maize (which is the root of which they make bread), also cakes and very well prepared pies with chicken. Being Friday they did not partake of the latter. The Indians then brought them many cotton blankets very well painted in a variety of colors. We remained thus for ten days and every morning before dawn, the Indians were on the beach making arbours so that we could be in the shade. They became angry if we did not go to shore early for they bore us very good will, and they embraced and feasted us.

“We appointed as cacique, one of them, named Ovando, giving him authority over the others and he showed us such affection that it was marvellous. The Captain told them that we wanted only gold, and they answered they would bring some, and, on the following day, brought gold cast into bars. The Captain told them to bring more of them. The next day they came with a very beautiful mask of gold; a small figure of a man wearing a gold mask; a crown made of gold beads and other jewels and stones of various colors. Our men asked them for native gold and the Indians showed them some and told them that it came from the foot of the coast range, because it was found in the rivers which had their source in the mountains. An Indian could leave here and reach the source by midday and have time, before dark, to fill a reed as thick as a finger. In order to get the gold they had to go to the bottom of the water and fill their hands with sand in which they searched for the grains which they kept in their mouths.

“From the foregoing it is believed that there is much gold in this country.

“These Indians melted gold in a pot, in whatever place they found it, making use of cane reeds as bellows to light the fire. We saw them do this in our presence. The said cacique brought a boy aged about twenty-two years as a present to our Captain, but he would not accept him. . . .”²

Next in value to the preceding description by the eye-witness Chaplain Juan Díaz, is the account given by Gonzalo Fernando de

¹This distinct statement at first hand and the context of this and Ovieda's version, which will be referred to further on, establish the fact that the Indians appeared again with banners on the shore of the mainland and not “on the shore of the island” as Ovieda wrote, making use of Grijalva's diary.

²Itinerary of Grijalva in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. Icazbalceta, vol. I, pp. 281-308.

Oviedo, Chronicler of the Indies, who states that it was based on the certified copy of the diary or official report made by Juan de Grijalva, as chief of the expedition, to Diego Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba.

The latter entrusted Oviedo with the report which he conveyed to Spain "to communicate the news of the discovery to the king of Spain" and to incorporate in his History.¹

While Oviedo's version usually agrees with Chaplain Diaz's account it shows some evidences of having been compiled at second hand. It furnishes us, however, with the fresh and important detail, that "after the Captain General, Juan de Grijalva, had landed on the island, he went by a road lined with trees, some of which appeared to be fruit trees, and perceived some ancient stone buildings, like walls, which time had caused to fall, in some parts, into ruins. And, at about the center of the island there was an edifice that was rather high, to which he mounted by stone steps."²

Oviedo also furnishes us with the record that it was on the little island that Grijalva, addressing the Chief Pilot, Antonio de Alaminos and surrounded by the other captains, Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso Davila, and Francisco de Montejo, and the chief members of his fleet, held a consultation with them as to the probability that "the great country before them was terra-firma, and not an island," and that, this being the case, it was his wish and intention to land there on the very next day and, in the name of Diego Velasquez, the Governor of Cuba, take possession of it for their Majesties and Spain—which he did. The fact that this epoch-making and picturesque episode took place on the island invests it forever with a particular and romantic interest.

Thirty years after the episode related above and when his memory was somewhat dimmed the doughty old soldier Bernal Diaz described his first view and recollection of the island as follows:

"And, sailing on along the coast, we saw, at what appeared to be about three leagues from the mainland, a small island swept by the waves, whose sandy beach appeared white. We gave it the name of Isla de Blanca (White island) and it figures thus in the sea charts.

¹ *Historia General de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1535, lib. XVII, cap. XVIII.

² The buildings on the island and their descriptions by the different authorities will be minutely discussed further on.

“ Not very far from the white islet, we saw another, about four leagues distant from the coast, on which there were many green trees, and we gave it the name of Isla Verde (Green island), and sailing further on we saw an island somewhat larger than the others, at about a league and a half from the mainland. In front of it there was a good anchoring and the General gave orders to cast anchor. The boats were lowered and Juan de Grijalva and many of us soldiers went to see the island, because we saw smoke thereon. ¹

“ We saw two houses built of mortar and well cut stone and in each house some stairs by which one ascended to what were like altars and on these altars they had some idols of evil shape which were their gods, and there we found five Indians who had been sacrificed during the preceding night. Their breasts were open; the flesh had been cut from their arms and thighs and the walls of the houses were covered with blood. This filled us with great wonder and we named this islet the Island of Sacrifices and it appears thus in the navigation charts. Opposite to the said island we all landed and made a settlement, building huts with branches and the sails of the ships. Many Indians came and collected around us on the coast bringing gold, made into the form of small fishes. . . .”²

The island and the bay of Sacrificios, as Grijalva named his place of anchorage between the island and point Mocambo on the mainland, was undoubtedly pointed out to Cortés by the members of the previous expedition when he first saw the land he was to conquer, on Holy Thursday, in April, 1519.

Although it is recorded that he and his fleet cast anchor under the small island of San Juan de Ulua, it may safely be assumed that he and his companions, with Doña Marina and Aguilar, trod the island of Sacrificios and visited its temples during the following months.

We have positive knowledge that on Cortés' return from Honduras, on May 24, 1526, “ he reached the port of Medellin [named after his native town], situated in front of the island of Sacrificios, and ordered the fleet to anchor there that night.”³

¹ Neither Chaplain Diaz who wrote down his descriptions at once nor Oviedo who copied Grijalva's diary mention smoke having been seen, nor was any living person found on the island.

² *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, translated from ed. G. Garcia, 1904, Cap. XIII, p. 40.

³ *Bernal Diaz del Castillo*, Chap. CXC; cf. *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortés*, ed. Gayangos, p. 370.

The foregoing accounts of the discovery of the island of Sacrificios with which I have long been familiar led me not only to take a particular interest in the islet but also to make a special note of any scattered data concerning it that I came across in the course of my readings.

By combining these I have been able to make what is, of course, a very incomplete reconstruction of its varied history, but may be found of interest and use for purposes of reference.

The island is in a way associated with the most stirring episode that has probably ever been enacted in the Gulf of Mexico, namely the desperate sea-fight between the future naval heroes of England, Hawkins and Drake, and the Spaniards.

With unparalleled treachery, after an exchange of hostages and a written, signed, and sealed pact of peace, the Viceroy Martin Enriquez and his forces attacked the English ships anchored off the island of San Juan de Ulua, only two of which escaped and reached England. It was on the evening of the 23d of September, 1568, after a hard day's fight, that John Hawkins made his escape on the *Minion*, followed by Drake in the *Judith*, and passed out into the open sea between the reefs that make this coast so dangerous. Hawkins relates how, "the next morning we recovered an island a mile from the Spaniards, where there took us a north wind and, being left only with two anchors and two cables, we thought always upon death which was ever present . . . the weather waxed reasonable and the Saturday (25th) we set sail."¹

Job Hortop, a gunner and one of Hawkins' men, more clearly states that they "anchored with two anchors under an island, the wind being northerly, which was wonderfully dangerous and we feared every hour to be driven with the lee shore."²

There can be no doubt that it was under the lee of the island of Sacrificios that the *Minion* and its unhappy crew spent nearly forty-eight hours in the depths of misery, the ever-present danger being that, if the anchors broke loose, the vessel would be wrecked against the rocks of Punta Mocambo or the adjacent mainland.

¹ Depositions in the English Admiralty Court.

² See for the Hawkins' Depositions and Hortop's Travels an English Garner, *Voyages & Travels*, vol. I, edited by C. Raymond Beazley, New York, Dutton & Co.

It is interesting to reflect that the first of the many British vessels which found hospitable shelter and safety under Sacrificios was none other than the *Minion* an old war-ship which had belonged to the navy of Henry VIII,¹ whose heart-broken captain was destined to be, a few years later, one of the conquerors of the Invincible Armada.

Through Henry Hawks, the English gentleman and merchant, who had the courage to venture into Mexico three years after the Hawkins' episode (and had serious cause to rue his temerity), we learn that, for some time previously, the Spaniards had made use of the island as a convenient place of lading, but that in 1572, when he wrote, it was being avoided as it was believed to be haunted by "spirits of devils."²

It seems probable that these evil spirits were no other than fanatical priests of the old religion who continued to frequent the temples on the island, perhaps performing, as of old, their religious rites and sacrifices.

The island was of course too valuable a convenience to be long abandoned, especially as the Spaniards could employ effective means to exorcise evil spirits—the easiest being the destruction of the images and of the temples. By a lucky chance I came across an old document which establishes the date when the structures on the island were destroyed. Like the whole town of Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulua they must have been built of coral, the *Madripora meandritis*, of which the lime, locally used for mortar, is also manufactured.

On March 15th of the year 1590 the engineer Juan Bautista Antonelli who, in consequence of the John Hawkins' episode, had been sent by the king of Spain to repair and defend the port of

¹ During a recent visit to Cambridge, England, in the famous Pepys Library preserved at Magdalene College, I enjoyed seeing a water-color painting of the *Minion*, in the contemporary illustrated list of Henry the VIIIth's navy contained in "Anthony's First Roll."

² "There is another Island there by, called the Island of Sacrifices, whereas the Spaniards did in times past unlade their goods: and for that, they sayd, there are upon it spirits of the devils, it is not frequented as it hath bene." A Relation of the Commodities of Nova Hispania, etc., by Henry Hawks, merchant, 1572, in *Hakluyt's Collection of Early Voyages*, London, 1810, vol. III, p. 549.

San Juan de Ulua, reports his estimate that at least one thousand fanegas¹ of lime could be obtained from the island of Sacrificios.²

This doubtless meant that between 1590 and 1599, when Antonelli returned to Spain, the great walls and the structures described by Juan Diaz, Bernal Diaz, and Oviedo were almost entirely destroyed to obtain lime and for the banishment of inconvenient and malignant "spirits."

During the next two centuries the island undoubtedly played an important part in many a piratical venture and buccaneering expedition, was trodden by travellers from many lands, extended the hospitable shelter of its lee to many a vessel which had barely escaped the dangers of its much-dreaded reefs, and was the theater of many an untold romance and tragedy.

In 1806 it was the scene of one of the most cruel deeds in the history of piracy in Mexico. The Spanish corsair, Nicolás de Agramonte, after sacking the town of Vera Cruz, carried off more than seven millions of pesos, and three hundred men and women whom he landed and abandoned on the desert island of Sacrificios. I have not been able to find any record establishing whether all died of starvation or whether some, at least, were rescued.

On the 2d of March, 1823, after being nearly lost on the reefs, the vessel which conveyed the English traveler and writer, W. Bullock, F.L.A., (who describes himself as "Proprietor of the late London Museum"), "anchored between the Isle of Sacrificios and the mainland. This little island, not more than half a mile in length, is now," he says, "a mere heap of sand, with only one wretched Indian family living upon it. . . ."

"There are still vestiges of ruins. . . . The island is strewed with the bones of British subjects who have perished in this unhealthy climate and whose remains are not allowed to be buried in consecrated ground.

"Yet 'one frail memorial still erected nigh' indicates the spot where a recent interment had taken place (only a few months since)."³

¹ A fanegas is about 110 lbs. weight.

² *Documentos Inéditos*, ed. Mendoza, tomo 13, p. 549.

³ *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico*, London, 1824, p. 10.

Two years later, in a letter dated May 25, 1825, the Italian traveler, J. C. Beltrami, gives an equally dismal but different account of what he describes as "a little island, or rather a sandbank, situated one mile from the mainland whither its garrison were obliged to go to obtain its supply of bad water." From Beltrami we learn that a military camp had been established on the Sacrificios by the Republican Mexicans, with a small fleet, the aim of which was to blockade the fortress of San Juan de Ulua, which was held again in that year by the Spaniards, who were kept supplied with ammunition and provisions by English and Anglo-American ships. Beltrami adds "that the Spanish garrison of Ulua ridiculed the camp on Sacrificios and took satisfaction in observing how the climate and the burning sun, which converted the sandbank into a glowing furnace, played greater havoc amongst the Mexican soldiers than they could ever accomplish with their cannon, the ammunition for which they therefore saved."¹

In Madame Calderon de la Barca's delightful book, "Life in Mexico" (London, 1843, p. 423), she also records that in 1824 the "Mexican fleet was stationed off the island of Sacrificios and other points, to attack any squadron that might come from Spain."

In 1827 the Mexicans began to construct a small fort on the island and in laying its foundations, at a depth of six feet, vases of white alabaster were found² — this being an interesting repetition of the finding of similar vases by one of Grijalva's men.

According to Isidro R. Gondra it was also in 1827 that Señor Luna, a citizen of Atlixco, made an excavation in the island and discovered a number of vases of different sizes and bizarre shapes, amongst which was one of tecali or Mexican onyx. This vase, which is remarkable because it has a tube carved in its interior, is minutely described by Gondra and will be discussed further on. The same writer relates that, "after Señor Luna, the Minister of Finances, Sr. Dn. Ignacio Esteva and others," made successful excavations on the island. He expresses his surprise that so many objects should be found "in such a limited space which shows no indications of the existence of large ruins such as would reveal that

¹J. C. Beltrami, *Le Mexique*, Paris, 1830, vol. II, p. 251.

²See Note of M. de Baradère in Dupaix, *Antiquités Méxicaines*, Paris, 1834, tome I, p. 35.

some great temple had been there,"¹ a remark showing how much the ancient buildings had been destroyed in Antonelli's manufacture of lime for San Juan de Ulua. The two clay vases, drawn and published by Count de Waldeck,² doubtless came from the Luna excavation, as did "the many vases of tecal" seen by Madame Calderon de la Barca at the Museum in 1830.³

A traveler named Ottavio mentions in 1883, from hearsay, that "remains of the ancient temple are visible on the island of Sacrificios."⁴ In Paris, in 1834, Dupaix published M. de Baradère's note on the island, which has already been quoted above.

Next in chronological order are the following interesting accounts of the island, and its exploration by Captain Dumanoir in 1841, given by Brantz Mayer in his "Mexico as it Was" (published in 1853, pp. 93-97) and in "Mexico, Aztec, Republican, etc." (vol. II, p. 272).

"It is well known to all who have read the history of Mexico that at the period of the Conquest by Cortés this island was a spot sacred to sepulture and sacrifice. Owing to the inertness of the Mexican Government, no thorough exploration has as yet been made, but it has been left to the enterprise of Commanders of vessels of war who, taking advantage of their detention at anchor under the lee of the island, have rummaged the sands in search of Indian remains, which have been carried to other lands and are thus forever lost to Mexico.

"In 1841, Mr. Dumanoir who commanded the French corvette Ceres, undertook to explore the island. Previous to this time it had been trodden by thousands of idle sailors and landsmen who raked its surface for the Indian relics of pottery and obsidian which lay scattered in every direction; and, consequently, there was little of value to be discovered above ground. In the centre of it, Dumanoir discovered sepulchres, the bones of which were in admirable preservation, vases of clay adorned with paintings and engraved; arms; idols; collars; bracelets; teeth of dogs and tigers, and a variety of architectural designs. In one place he found a vase of white marble and, in the Museum at Mexico, there is now preserved another, also found at Sacrificios, of which the following is the classic shape and adornment."

¹ Notes by Isidro R. Gondra in Ignacio Cumplido's edition of W. H. Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Mexico, 1846, vol. II, pp. 82-87.

² *Monuments Anciens du Mexique, Palenque*, etc., pl. XLIX, Paris, 1866.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁴ *Nouvelles Annales de Voyage*, vol. IX., p. 64.

The drawings of this and other vases of tecalli and of clay from Sacrificios, which were published by Brantz Mayer, will be discussed further on and are produced in plates VII-IX.

Following close upon Captain Dumanoir's exploration was that of Captain Evan Nepean, the commander of an English man-of-war, from whom, in 1844, the British Museum purchased a large collection of antiquities from Sacrificios, which are described in *Archæologia*, vol. XXX, pp. 138-339. I am indebted to Colonel F. H. Ward for having kindly made a selection of twenty-two of the most interesting specimens of the Nepean collection, as well as of two tecali vases purchased in 1851 from Lieutenant T. Forrest, and for having had them photographed for me, for publication in this paper.

To conclude the sketch of the history of Sacrificios it should be stated that its center is now occupied by a lighthouse which, with two tall palm trees, constitute the only salient features of the low sandy stretch which has been experimentally planted with the native cane and a few shrubs. A bungalow and outhouse were erected on the eastern shore of the island to serve as an isolation ward connected with the hospital in Vera Cruz for patients suffering from contagious diseases. It could not, however, be used on account of the distance from Vera Cruz, because in rough weather the island is practically cut off from all communication with the mainland. Its inhabitants now consist of the lighthouse keepers and their families. An obelisk marks the spot where, at the south of the island near the landing place, are buried the remains of a great number of Frenchmen who died of yellow fever at Vera Cruz and on the island during the French occupation. The bones of the "heretical" Englishmen rest, I am told, in the northern part of the island and, I regret to say, not even a cross marks the place of their burial. It is strange how, during the course of centuries, the history of the island seems always to have been tragic and associated with some form or other of human suffering and death.

2. THE ANCIENT TEMPLES ON THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

Thanks to the detailed descriptions we owe to Juan Diaz, Grijalva, Oviedo, and Bernal Diaz, we can form some idea of the buildings that once existed on the island, although some points concerning them must necessarily remain obscure.

The position they occupied seems evident enough. Grijalva and his companions doubtless disembarked at the south point of the island under the lee of which their vessels lay at anchor, which seems to have always been the most accessible and convenient landing-place and is still used as such.

Walking necessarily due north "through a road with trees on either side," they came to what Grijalva in his official report, transmitted by Oviedo, described as "ancient stone buildings, like walls (*ardaves*), ruined by Time and partly fallen in." Now, the Hispano-Moorish word *ardave* is the synonym of *muro entero*, and ordinarily designated a rampart or massive embattled wall surrounding a city or fort for defensive purposes.

The late Mexican Minister at Brussels, Nuñez Ortega, a distinguished scholar, took it for granted that the walls like "ardaves" on Sacrificios must have had battlements, and points out in this connection that the ancient walls surrounding the temple at Cozumel, and also a wall depicted in the Codex Aubin, were also embattled.¹

Grijalva's record, therefore, that the ruins were like "ardaves," unquestionably implies that they were large and massive, like city walls.

Chaplain Diaz, like Grijalva, describes first in order, "very large buildings," and "the fragment of a structure, similar in construction to an ancient arch that is in Merida."² The Merida referred to is in Spain, in the Province of Badajoz, Lower Estremadura, and is the ancient Roman town, Emerita Augusta.

Amongst other remarkable Roman ruins, it still boasts of the "Arch of Santiago," dating from the reign of Trajan. This arch is 44 feet high and has long been stripped of its marble casing.³

¹ *Varios Papeles sobre cosas de Mexico, El Sitio de Vera Cruz*, Bruselas, 1885. This article was written for the purpose of proving that it was the mainland opposite to the island of Sacrificios and not the site of the present Vera Cruz that was known as Chalchicuecan. While I think that he established this interesting fact, I cannot accept his view that the temples on Sacrificios were principally dedicated to the water goddess, Chalchihuitlcueitl, because, in the first case, all testimony agrees that the idol on the temple represented a male divinity, and that the only other sculptured figure seen was that of a tiger. If the image of a goddess had been there, it would, undoubtedly, have been observed and mentioned.

² The Spanish word employed, *trozo*, means a detached part of something, a remnant, fragment, also remains.

³ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, article Merida.





MAYA ARCHED GATEWAYS

1. Arch at Labna. 2. Arch in the Casa de Monjas, Uxmal.

Chaplain Diaz, who evidently had an antiquarian's eye, and not only closely observed but also measured the structures on Sacrificios, was probably familiar with the Roman ruins at Merida. If not, there was Pedro de Alvarado, a native of Badajoz, who may have been the one to make the comparison. The foregoing trustworthy records establish the existence on the island, in 1518, of ancient, very large and massive walls, and of a broken or fallen-in arch comparable to a Roman arch 44 feet high.

It is an interesting fact that, in order to match in size and form the ruins described, we must go to Yucatan's ruined cities, via the island of Cozumel, and not to the mainland adjoining the island.¹ A glance at plate IV will show that, a few years hence, when the great arched gateways of the temple-courts of Uxmal and Labna² will have fallen in, nothing being done now to preserve them, and the stone carvings on the walls have dropped to the ground, their dismantled masonry may also be aptly compared by some travelers to the mediæval rampart and gateway of some Spanish town, by others to a ruined Roman arch of noble proportions.

After having respectively described, as above, the first structures, ancient and ruined, that met their gaze as they walked toward the center of the island, Grijalva and Chaplain Diaz mentioned the buildings in actual use.

One was evidently a raised terrace or pyramid, described as "very long," its "foundation," base, or lower terrace being about 11 feet (two men) high and 10 feet wide. A flight of stone steps led to its summit. The second was a circular structure "like a tower," the diameter of which measured 15 paces. It is obvious that a flight of stone steps must have also led to the top of this circular platform on which stood the stone "lion" and idol, the victims, etc.

¹ See the archway in quadrangular ruin in the village of Cedral, Cozumel island, which is 10 feet high to the cap stones, 6 feet wide, and 8 feet 10 inches through from outer to inner face, pictured and described by Prof. Wm. H. Holmes in *Ancient Cities of Mexico*, vol. I, pp. 67-69.

² According to Stephens, who does not give their exact height, which appears to be about 20 feet, the width of the Uxmal gateway is 10 feet 8 inches and that of Labna 10 feet. See *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, London, 1843. Special attention is called to the drawing of a gateway at Labna in vol. II, p. 54, which appears to answer somewhat to the description of the Sacrificios ruins.

Bernal Diaz, who not unreasonably used the word "altar" to describe the place where the victims were offered, speaks of two such altars. This statement can be reconciled with Chaplain Diaz's account if we assume that the skulls and bones, the bundles of wood, and the sacrificial stones, which the latter describes separately, were placed on the platform of the square pyramid, probably near the high circular place of offering. It seems but rational to assume that the victims must have been sacrificed on the more spacious square terrace and that their remains were then carried and offered to the idol on the high circular platform. That the idol represented Quetzalcoatl there can be no doubt, for the circular form was that characteristic of the temples of this divinity. Moreover, the frescoed wall I recently discovered on the island, with a representation of a feathered serpent, which I believe to be a part of the round temple, furnishes a convincing proof that at all events one temple on the island was dedicated to the cult of Quetzalcoatl, either as "god of the winds," as "the personification of the planet Venus," or as "culture hero." The only other image mentioned was that of a kind of lion, *i. e.* an ocelot. This stood on a column "at the head of the stairway," and like the idol faced the stone basin containing the offering of human blood. It would therefore seem as though the effigy of the ocelot shared equally the worship accorded to Quetzalcoatl.

The Codex Fuenleal records the tradition that Tezcatlipoca, the brother of Quetzalcoatl, had assumed the form of an ocelot, and that the memory of a fight between the brothers is recorded "in the heavens, as a constellation of Ursa Major . . . is Tezcatlipoca."¹

The same codex relates also that "the two gods, Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl, converted themselves into two great trees — the first into a tree named Tezcaquahuitl; the second, into a tree named Quetzalhuesuch." It would seem as though the two trees described by Chaplain Diaz as being "also there" where he saw the sacrificial stones, skulls and bones, etc., may have had some connection with this ancient tradition. Some botanist would help to solve this question by identifying the "zura" fruit-tree, mentioned by the chaplain

¹ Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas, *Nueva Coleccion de Documentos*, J. G. Icazbalceta, vol. III, p. 233, Mexico, 1891.

and ascertaining the native name of the "fig-tree" (of the Indies) that he mentions.

Reviewing the testimony of the three eye-witnesses, it seems quite certain that they found on the island two groups of buildings, the first described as ancient, in ruins, and of impressive size, suggesting to one witness a massive city wall, to another the remains of a great arch, which in its construction resembled a Roman arch 44 feet high.

The second structures in actual use consisted of a very long and "rather high" terraced pyramid, with stone steps leading to the top, and a circular, massive structure like a tower, which served as an altar, as on it lay the bodies of the victims in front of the idol; the ocelot, on a column standing close by. It is a remarkable fact that the Spaniards did not meet a living being on the island; nor did the observant chaplain mention even traces of human habitation, which he certainly would have done if such had existed.

On the other hand the existence of trees, which yielded a plentiful supply of fruit, appear to indicate that at some previous time the island had been inhabited and its soil cultivated.

In 1518 the island was still unquestionably a place of great sanctity whither, in boats, the dead and those destined to die were conveyed for burial or sacrifice.

3. RESULTS OF A BRIEF PERSONAL INVESTIGATION OF A PORTION OF THE ISLAND

Accompanied by my friend, Mrs H. P. Hamilton, I went to Vera Cruz, on December 23, 1909, expecting to take the steamer for Tampico on the 25th. A heavy norther had, however, been blowing and our steamer was consequently delayed at a southern port and could not reach Vera Cruz at the appointed time. As soon as I found that we were obliged to spend some days in Vera Cruz, I took steps to realize the wish I had long had to visit the island of Sacrificios. As soon as the weather permitted, Señor Nicolau, the Director General of Light-houses, with his usual courtesy placed the government launch at my disposal, and, with the Sub-director, Señor Meneses, and a small party of friends, amongst whom was Señora Miramon de Duret and her family, escorted us

to the little island on December 27th. The keen interest with which I approached this will be understood by those who have become acquainted with its history through the preceding pages.

The first object of interest that attracted my attention after landing at the southernmost point of the island was, opposite to the pier and close to the sandy beach, the remnant of an old wall built of the *Madrepora*. An examination of this convinced me that it belonged to the fort constructed in 1827 by the Republican Mexicans.

A pathway running directly north with a slight ascent and bordered by rows of recently planted shrubs and trees led us to the center of the island which is about 15 feet above the sea-level.¹ Seated on the verandah of the small lazareto, the former isolation station, I questioned Director General Nicolau, Director Meneses, as well as the resident guard and light house keepers, as to the existence of vestiges of ancient buildings on the island. Señor Nicolau assured me that, although he had been constantly obliged to visit the island for fifteen years past he had never seen or heard of prehistoric remains thereon. On the other hand all informed me that fragments of pottery abounded and they very kindly presented me with some that had recently come to light.

Returning to the southern shore I walked for a short distance eastward on the sands, which were strewn with water-worn fragments of *Madrepora* such as had been used in building the fort. Carefully examining the bank of sandy soil which rises from 6 to about 11 feet above the shore, I noticed, almost at sea-level, numerous fragments of ancient pottery, and also found such on the sands. On re-embarking, after the necessarily short stay on the islet, I expressed the wish to return and more thoroughly explore the bank on the eastern shore. The western shore, being low, did not appear to me as promising.

Two days after, our steamer being still delayed, Mrs Hamilton

¹ Beltrami (op. et loc. cit.) remarked that, if ordinary Atlantic tide conditions prevailed in this region, the island would be under water twice in twenty-four hours and soon disappear altogether. As it is "the tide once in twenty-four hours usually rises from 1½ to 2 feet. In October and at the equinoxes and solstices it rises from 2½ to 3 feet only. The succession of the tides is curiously irregular; during the summer the flow is in the morning and the ebb in the afternoon, whereas, in the winter, the opposite takes place." Antonio G. Cubas, *Diccionario Geograf. Hist. y Biogr. Mexico*, 1891.





ANCIENT RUINS, ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

1. Exposure of wall showing plaster covering upon which is painted three sections of the body of the Feathered Serpent, Quetzalcoatl.
2. Relative position of lower and upper cement floors (latter just below cross).
3. A fresco which has been partially covered by the upper cement floor. (From photographs by Z. Nuttall.)

and I returned to the island for the day, accompanied by Señor Meneses, two government engineers employed in the coast survey, and the Misses Fortuño y Miramon. In order to be able to make any clearance that I might find necessary, I had brought two peons, armed with spades and pick-axes, from Vera Cruz.

This time I again went eastward then northward along the eastern shore, carefully inspecting the high bank, overgrown with the *otate* or native bamboo. The first interesting find was made by Mrs Hamilton, who excavated from the bank a small fragment of a clay vessel decorated with a human face. The next was mine, of a partly imbedded thick layer of burnt lime — possibly marking one of the spots where, in former times, lime was manufactured. Further on I perceived, slightly above sea-level, where the bank had partly fallen in, fragments of cement floors and the base-line of a wall of irregular shape, indicated by the low ridge of the plaster with which it had once been coated.

At a short distance to the north, barely distinguishable from the the soil, I noticed some artificially superposed pieces of *Madrepora* and on examining these realized that they constituted the end of a massive wall running from west to east, the eastern side of which was covered with a smooth layer, several inches thick, of hard plaster, mixed with a remarkably coarse grained sand.

While the peons were being summoned at my request, I began to remove the soil and the long roots and tubers of the native cane or *otate* from the smooth surface of the wall, on which, to my joy and surprise, I soon perceived some lines painted in red ochre.

When the men and the rest of the scattered party arrived we set them to work and gradually cleared 4 m. and 70 cm. of the same wall from under soil varying from 6 to 8 feet in depth. I reserved for myself the delicate task of clearing the surface of the wall, perceiving as I did so that the red lines formed a fragmentary conventional representation of the feathered serpent, Quetzalcoatl.

Owing to the extreme care I took in performing my task I was able to keep in place and, on the following morning, photograph a rather loose, large fragment of the plaster on which three of the peculiar sections of the serpent's body were painted. In the photograph, plate v, fig. 1, this can be seen under an overhanging mass of tangled roots and tubers.

The distance from the base of the wall to the top of this fragment measured 85 cm.

The first portion of the wall that I discovered is visible at the left of the photograph (by the crack).

The construction of the wall, of large water-worn fragments of *Madrepora*, laid on each other with earth between, can be seen to the right where the plaster had become detached. I carefully collected all the loose fragments of frescoed plaster that I found near the wall, with the hope of being able to reconstruct the entire figure of the serpent, which I did not, however, succeed in doing. Amongst the most interesting fragments I found were two which displayed a narrow, 4 cm. wide, painted band of a beautiful shade of blue, which evidently once occupied a position above the feathered serpent. The most remarkable fragment I found, reproduced in plate VI, shows some of the appendages to the serpent's body and a small "Maltese" cross in a circle, all painted in red. This detail naturally recalls the tradition that the white garments of the culture-hero, Quetzalcoatl, were decorated with red crosses.

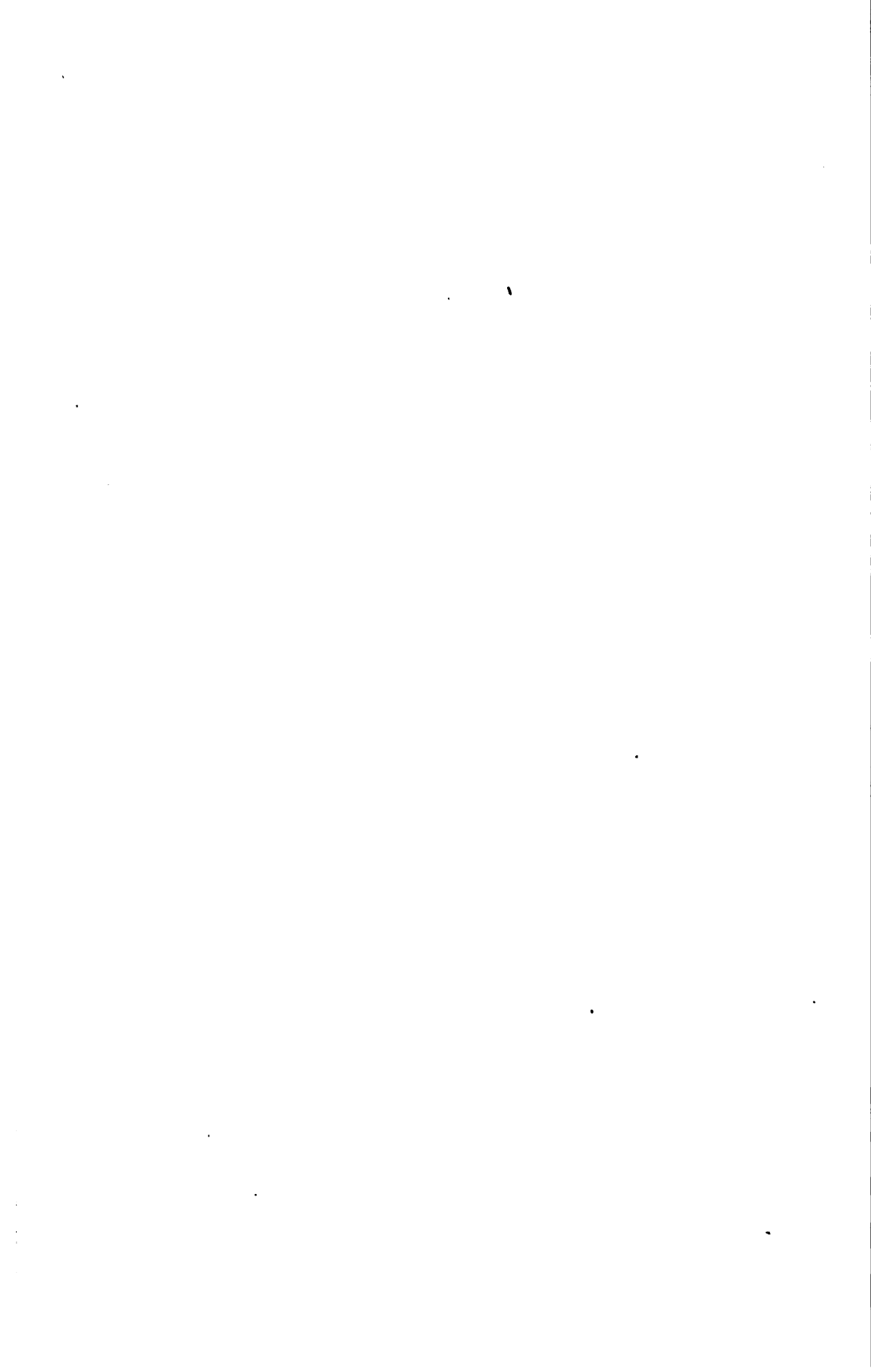
The same photograph also shows the remarkably coarse sand (or very fine gravel) which was mixed with the mortar. One can readily understand from this why Chaplain Diaz, seeing the walls of the ruined building and of the pyramid coated with such plaster, wrote that they were made of "mortar and sand."

Plate v, fig. 2, shows the continuation of the wall, the base line of which still preserved its plaster to heights varying from 27 cm. to 50 cm. Below the mark (a cross made on the photograph), the layer of cement-flooring can be seen which covers a space 1 m. 65 cm. wide terminating in a step 27 cm. deep, with rounded edge where begins the lower cement floor, of which only 1 m. 74 cm. are preserved, but in which there is a deep square basin (34 cm. deep and 88 cm. \times 76 cm. in the two other dimensions). In this we found many fragments of broken pottery, with evidence of previous disturbance.¹

¹In the earth removed during our excavation and scattered on the shore, or imbedded in the bank, we found a great number of fragments of pottery of many different kinds. The most remarkable piece was that found actually under water by Miss Dolores Fortuño y Miramon, on the sea-shore. It is decorated with a design in white and brown,



FRAGMENTARY RED PAINTING OF THE FEATHERED SERPENT, QUETZALCOATL, FROM PLASTERED WALL, ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS



The lower cement floor is on a level with the sandy sea-shore, and the base of the frescoed wall is slightly below this. The most interesting fact I observed was that the upper cement floor, which is 27 cm. higher than the other, was unquestionably of later construction than the frescoed wall — for it covered the lower portion of the painting. On removing a piece of the cement floor and the fragments of *Madrepora* which supported it, the recurved upper jaw of the serpent — strikingly like that carved on the famous Calendar Stone of the City of Mexico, and with identical star-symbols attached to it — was revealed, the colors red and black with which it was painted being remarkably vivid.

The difference between the level of the base line of the wall and that of the cement floor can be seen under the mark in plate v, fig. 2, while plate v, fig. 3 is the best close view I could get of this important proof that the painted wall belonged to an older period than the also undoubtedly pre-Columbian cement floor. At some period, after the temple wall had been built, and while its decoration — which may or may not have been contemporaneous — was still in good condition, the priesthood had found it necessary to raise the level of the floor by 27 cm. although, in so doing, the head of the painted serpent, the sacred emblem of the god, had to be partly concealed.

The imperative reason that dictated so undesirable an alteration appears to have been an encroachment of the sea due to a subsidence and a consequent decrease of the island in size. For it is unthinkable that the ancient builders should have chosen for a temple the present unsuitable site of the ruined wall and of the pyramid, of which I found vestiges further north in close proximity to the beach.

That such natural changes should gradually take place on the leeward shore of a coral island is in accord with the accepted theories about the growth and decay of coral reefs. The coral-polyps flourish on the windward side and outer edge of the reef and its growth is principally carried on at those points. On the leeward side — which is precisely the south and southeastern shore of Sacri-

which is identical with that on two specimens now preserved at the National Museum and wrongly labelled and of some of the British Museum specimens, in the descriptions of which it is again referred to.

ficios — the breakers detach masses of dead coral and gradually denude the reef.

From the place where the ruined wall stands I observed that a ledge of coral rock extended quite far into the sea, a line of breakers marking its outer edge. The water on this ledge was very shallow even at high water. It appeared to me probable that, at one time, the island must have extended over this ledge which may, indeed, have been much larger. The bank of earth shows signs of recent encroachment of the sea and the ledge is strewn with fragments of ancient pottery which can be seen under the clear water. The fact that the lowest cement floor is at sea-level would seem to indicate that the temple was at one time far inland, or that the whole of the island has sunk. That the wall and floor I uncovered belonged to a temple dedicated to Quetzalcoatl there could be no doubt. This being the case, the question was whether it formed a part of the circular structure described by the Spaniards or whether it belonged to the ruined group of buildings they first encountered. For it was not, of course, impossible, and it was even probable, that a Quetzalcoatl temple had existed in the older group and that, owing to the natural causes mentioned, this had been abandoned and left to destruction by the gradual action of the sea, after attempts had been made, by raising the level of the floors or terraces, to counteract the subsidence that had taken place.

When was the cement floor I discovered raised to a higher level? Was it before or after the structures in use at the time of the conquest were erected? It seemed to me that a careful exploration of the island might enable one, not only to locate the sites of the two groups of buildings, but also to detect the extent of the undoubted decrease in the size of the south and southeastern shore of the island—a decrease that may have been hastened by the removal of great masses of dead coral for the manufacture of lime for mortar.

It was with this fresh interest and plan of investigation in my mind that I returned to Vera Cruz, with the more enthusiastic than wise resolve to report my discovery to the Mexican government on my return to Mexico and to ask for permission to continue my researches on the island, offering, in return, my time and services

gratis, with my written pledge that all objects that I might find would be faithfully and unconditionally delivered to the government officials appointed to receive them.¹

Unattractive and uncomfortable though a stay in two empty rooms of the abandoned lazareto was bound to be, I felt that the absorbing interest of the problems involved would make even this bearable and I therefore was willing to spend some weeks in isolation on the sandy island.

It seemed to me moreover that it was my scientific duty to return thither, as soon as possible, so as to take immediate steps to protect the fresco with a glass covering and the whole excavation by a fence to keep off visitors, and a low sea-wall to prevent the waves from reaching it in stormy weather.²

Immediately after my return to Mexico City I carried out my resolution and reported my discovery to the Inspector of Monuments, to whom, in the presence of the Director of the National Museum, I submitted fragments of the fresco and of pottery as well as my photographs of the excavation I had made. On the same day I showed the same to the Minister and Sub-secretary of Public Instruction, volunteering my services to carry out the exploration and prepare a report on it for the forthcoming Congress of Ameri-

¹ I take much pleasure in acknowledging here the kindness and courtesy of the Director General of Light-houses, Señor Nicolau; of the Director, Señor Meneses, and of other members of their department, without whose authorization and efficient aid I could not have visited the island or made the small excavation upon it.

² When, during my subsequent week's stay in Vera Cruz in February, I made a last hasty visit to the island, after the severe northers which had raged along the coast I found my worst fears realized. The large loose fragment of plaster on which three sections of the serpent's body were painted, and which can be seen in my photograph, had disappeared. As I could find no vestige of it, I had to conclude that it had been carried away by one of the many excursionists who visit the island. What I most deplored was the fact that some person had also broken away a large piece of the upper cement floor, which covered and protected the serpent's head I had hoped to carefully uncover and copy. This had been so much damaged that no hope remained of being able to distinguish it.

Although I had dreaded the possible effect of a storm upon the ruined wall and floors, I was surprised to find, not only that the beach was strewn with driftwood and rubbish, some of which had been washed and blown over the lower cement floor, but that the waves had actually washed away the evidences of our freshly made excavation, the heap of debris and earth which I had ordered to be thrown towards the beach with the hope that it might serve as a breakwater.

canists. It was then agreed that I was to give my time and services gratis to the government and that the Department of Public Instruction would grant me the sum of 500 pesos (\$250 U. S. currency) for the necessary expenses of camping outfit, travelling expenses, workmen, and maintenance. I was then encouraged and authorized to make all necessary preparations and purchases of outfit, photographic material, etc., and, after three weeks of waiting, to go to Vera Cruz where, after another delay of three weeks, three official documents were sent me.

The first informed me that the Minister of Public Instruction would grant only 200 pesos (\$100 U. S. currency) for the exploration of the island of Sacrificios.¹

The second informed me that my explorations would be limited to a part of the island.

The third deserves to be translated in full for the benefit of archeologists who might like to learn the conditions under which the Ministry of Public Instruction in Mexico graciously and considerately accepts volunteer scientific work.

“This General Inspection has had the honor of receiving the communications in which the Ministry of Public Instruction informs him that it has granted to Mrs Zelia Nuttall the permission to explore the island of Sacrificios and that it has appointed the Citizen Salvador Batres,² Assistant of the Inspection of Archæological Monuments, so that he should supervise her. This Office believes it to be indispensable that he should supervise everything relating to this exploration so that thus the scientific interests of Mexico remain safeguarded and also the formalities of the law be fulfilled.

“It is therefore indispensable that the Ministry give orders to the Assistant of Inspection, to act in every way in conformity with the instructions that the General Inspector of Archæological Monuments will give him. He is to inform the latter of all that occurs during the discharge of his undertaking. Mrs Nuttall is to be told that the explora-

¹ Having accepted the ministry's first grant of 500 pesos for the exploration as *bona fide* I had, at the time when I received the above, already spent more than 200 pesos for camping outfit, photographic material, travel, and maintenance, all of which expense I personally incurred. For this and my loss of time, to say nothing of the annoyance and fatigue incurred, I have never received the slightest expression of interest, inquiry, regret, or apology from the ministry.

² The young son of inspector Batres.

tions for which permission has been granted her, are to be carried out, in every detail, according to the laws, regulations, and dispositions of the subject. (Feb. 19, 1910.)”

The above documents made me realize that their purpose was to discourage me, for reasons which soon became apparent.

After returning to Mexico and under the advice of influential friends, I made vain attempts not only to ascertain exactly what “the laws, regulations, and dispositions” are which inspector Batres enforces, but also to obtain for archeologists in general, some recognition of mutual obligations and the rights of accredited scientific workers to some consideration and independence of action, such as are so generously accorded by the Mexican government to scientific workers in other fields. President Diaz and his son, Colonel Porfirio Diaz, who takes a true interest in archeology, kindly endeavored to adjust matters, but their plans were cleverly circumvented. Further delays occurred and the next development was that, during Holy Week, in March, Señor Batres went quietly down to Vera Cruz and explored the island himself.

A few weeks afterwards, the government newspaper, *El Imparcial*, published an official notice, sent in by the Ministry of Public Instruction, in which inspector Batres—perhaps exploiting the fact that the stormy waves had washed away the earth thrown from our excavation,—*claimed the priority of discovery of the ruins on the island of Sacrificios!*

On May 11th, the following article appeared in the leading American paper published in Mexico, the *Mexican Herald*:

PRIORITY OF DISCOVERY OF SACRIFICIOS RUINS CLAIMED FOR L. BATRES

A Mexican newspaper last Sunday published an account of the exploration of the island of Sacrificios made by Leopoldo Batres during Holy Week, in the course of which it says he “found certain ancient walls covered with paintings which had been ‘discovered by the sea a few months previously.’”

Instead of the sea, however, the real discoverer happened to be Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, who, December 26, 1909, with the aid of two peons with picks and shovels, excavated nearly three meters of the wall, a small portion of which she had found sticking out of the bank by the sea shore. The excavation was witnessed by the sub-director of light-houses and four of his subordinates, Mrs. H. P. Hamilton and the Misses Fortuño y Miramon.

On her return to Mexico in January, Mrs. Nuttall officially reported her discovery of the frescoed walls and submitted photographs taken by her and Mrs. Hamilton, of the

excavation, to the department of public instruction, to Mr Batres as inspector of monuments, and to the director of the National museum.

The claim set forth in the article published has met with strong objection on the part of many, who resent the injustice of attributing to the action of the waves, a discovery which deserved the recognition of all interested in the archæology of Mexico.

The incident was "closed" by my handing in my resignation as Honorary Member of the Organizing Committee for the Congress of Americanists of which the Minister of Public Instruction and inspector Batres are the leading members. I also renounced my title as Honorary Professor of the National Museum, as a protest against the treatment that I—and, indirectly, all American archeologists—had received from the Inspector of Monuments and the ministry that supports him and shares the responsibility of his doings, as well as against the Batres work of classification in the Archæological Department. As I look back upon this, the only discouraging experience I have had in a long scientific career, I realize that I was somewhat to blame in the matter. Knowing of the trying experiences that other archeologists, foreign and Mexican, had undergone, I should have rigidly abstained, as heretofore, from having any dealings whatever with the Batres-Sierra coalition which has so successfully discouraged all scientific archeological research and actually driven from the Mexican field such foreign patrons and scientific workers as the Duc de Loubat and Alfred P. Maudslay; and, among their own countrymen, Señor del Paso y Troncoso and Señor Francisco Rodriguez (both quondam directors of the National Museum), Dr Nicolas Leon, Señores Manuel Gamio and Ramon Mena, and many others equally deserving of every consideration and encouragement. I should moreover have listened to the warnings I received from those who predicted exactly what happened, namely, that, as in other cases, inspector Batres would so "arrange matters" as to hinder me from making the exploration; that he, sooner or later, would carry it out himself and claim the priority of discovery.¹

¹ The following translation of extracts from an article that appeared on June 2, 1910, in *El Tiempo*, the eminently respectable, conservative, and patriotic Catholic newspaper of Mexico, will not only convey an idea of the opinion in which inspector Batres is held by his own countrymen, but will also reveal to what depths archeological research has sunk in Mexico under the men to whom a well-meaning government blindly entrusted the welfare of Mexican archeology.

I have been informed that, while he uncovered more of the wall I discovered, at the island of Sacrificios, he took no precautions to preserve the fresco, which is now almost entirely destroyed. Driven,

“Our Government . . . appointed an Inspector and Conservator of Monuments whose duties, as the title indicates, are to take care of our ruins, to endeavor to preserve them and to prevent their suffering alterations under the pretext of making repairs. We will say nothing about the individual who has been favored with the said appointment, for it is known well enough as are also the damage he has done to the science of archeology by means of his proceedings, his ignorance, and his audacity which is that of an improvised savant (*un sabio improvisado*).

“We are therefore only going to refer to a fact which has aroused our attention and which was made public by *El Imparcial* [the official organ of the government] a few days ago, May 22; in the following paragraph:

“‘A NEW SEPULCHRE IN THE RUINS OF MITLA.

“‘Felix Quero, the custodian of the notable ruins of Mitla, in Oaxaca, has just addressed a letter to Leopoldo Batres, inspector general of archeological monuments of the republic, reporting to him that a great crevice has opened in the pavement, and that this is close to a tomb in which, a few years ago, an interesting discovery was made, namely, of a number of gold bells. The above mentioned custodian therefore supposes that the new discovery may be of a new tomb of similar value. With all activity Señor Batres, after giving notice to the department of public instruction, appointed Antonio Sanchez to go to Mitla to make a complete exploration of the place where the crevice was found.’

“As will be seen, the fact in question is of a certain importance, particularly from the archeological point of view. If, as the custodian suspects, a new sepulchre has been found, it would be well worth while to have it studied and investigated in accordance with all the rules prescribed by archeological science. Measurements of distances and depths, should be taken, the material found should be separated and examined, photographs should be taken—in fact, everything should be done in order to discover what science is always hungry to learn. But, as is evident, naught has been done, of what should always be done in similar cases.

“The Inspector of Monuments limited himself and this ‘with all activity,’ to sending one of his domestic servants (for such is Antonio Sanchez) to make the exploration.

“What kind of an exploration can an ignorant and dull servant make, especially of such a discovery as that of a hitherto unknown grave in Mitla, the ruins which have awakened the utmost interest of foreign scientists?

“It is probable that all the commission given to Sanchez was to gather in the objects found—this being the sole preoccupation of the Inspector of Monuments. . . . In the present case this is not only a question of scientific interest, but one which involves Mexico’s good name. We therefore hope that with all activity and energy steps will be taken to avoid the ridicule that threatens us and the loss of the data which may be obtainable from said discovery.”

To the foregoing translation I will but add that since the above article appeared in *El Tiempo* no further announcement concerning the interesting and important discovery at Mitla has appeared. It must therefore be inferred that the grave, which is surely that of a Zapotec high-priest and ruler, and may be that of the builder of Mitla, has simply

as I also have been, from the Mexican field, I may be allowed to express the parting hope that the day is not distant when the Mexican government will entirely reorganize its Department of Archæology and instead of its "one-man system," which has led to such unheard of abuses,¹ appoint a staff of competent and honorable engineers and architects, whose duty it will be to preserve the many important and widespread ruins of Mexico and Yucatan, and to inspect the excavations made by accredited archeologists.

4. ANTIQUITIES FROM THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS PRESERVED AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, MEXICO.

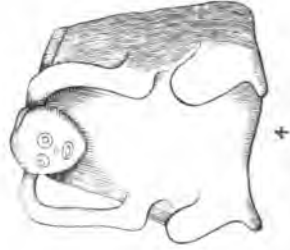
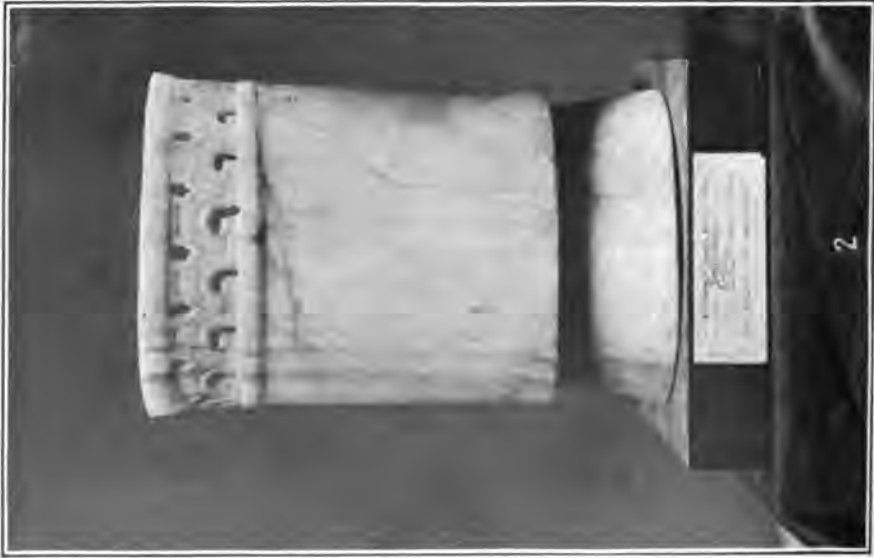
In a note-book I used during my visit to Mexico in 1884 there is an entry to the effect that "the most beautiful ancient stone objects I had seen at the National Museum were: an obsidian vase from Texcoco and a number of tecali vases from the island of Sacrificios. Amongst these I noticed a soap-stone teapot which was, however, undoubtedly Chinese and must have got into the case by some mistake." I referred to the fact that all of these specimens were kept in Case No. 6, and were described on page 476 in the Catalogue of Historical and Archæological Collections of the National Museum, by Gumesindo Mendoza and Jesus Sanchez, published in 1882 in vol. II of the Annals of the same institution.

I was particularly interested in a vase which is specially men-

been plundered by order of the Conservator of Public Monuments, with the sanction of the Ministry of Public Instruction, by a domestic who, when not entrusted with such archeological work, serves at the table of the Batres family.

All archeologists will unite with me in deploring the annihilation of the priceless data that constituted, in our eyes, the real treasure of the tomb, for we know that it is only from such that we can ever hope to obtain light on the history and age of the ruins of Mitla.

¹The present "Inspector and Conservator of Archæological Monuments" is also Director of the Government Explorations at San Juan Teotihuacan besides being a Contractor and Museum Classifier. Although he draws salaries for all of these monopolies, this government official has for years, as many tourists and scientists are willing to testify, openly dealt in antiquities from different parts of Mexico, as well as from Teotihuacan, and received payment for "affording facilities" for taking said purchases out of the country, although its laws forbid their exportation. It will be remembered that it was he who had the violent altercation with the Duc de Loubat at the New York meeting of the International Congress of Americanists, where the latter justly reproached him for his "methods."



TECALI VASES FROM THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

1. Vase in the Mexican National Museum, from a drawing by Isidro R. Grondra. 2 and 3. The same in two different positions, from photographs of Z. Nuttall. 4. Vase in form of a monkey, as figured by Brantz Meyer.

tioned in the aforesaid catalogue, and is described as follows by Isidro R. Gondra, with a drawing which is reproduced (pl. VII, fig. 1):

“The first object figured is a vessel of tecali . . . whose base is worked into the semblance of a pedestal. It exhibits, at two thirds of its height, a beautiful Grecian fret ornament, executed in open-work — a difficult achievement. It is obvious that, on employing this vase, any liquid it contained would spurt out through the openings in the border. It was probably in order to obviate this inconvenience that a tube was made inside of the vase extending from its bottom to its rim, thus providing a means of emptying its contents without soiling its exterior. This beautiful specimen was obtained by the Museum as early as the year 1827 with others of the same material but of different sizes and more whimsical shapes.¹ These were all purchased from Señor Luna, a citizen of Atlixco, who extracted them from an excavation he made in the island of Sacrificios opposite to Vera Cruz.

I have not been able to ascertain in what way they were found nor under what circumstances, which details would throw light upon a find so valuable and abundant. . . .”

At intervals, since I have resided in Mexico, I have seen the above vase at the museum as well as the other one figured by Brantz Mayer, and remember once pointing them out to a friend and saying that “Grijalva's statement that the two tecali vases found by one of his men on the island of Sacrificios were ‘fit to be presented to the Emperor’ would seem to me to apply equally as well to these two beautiful specimens.”

I had lost sight and thought of these vases for some years, but, after my visit to the island and return to the City of Mexico, I went to the museum with freshly awakened interest to see them again, and to carefully examine everything from Sacrificios that was preserved there.

At the entrance door I met Señor Leopoldo Batres, to whom the Minister of Public Instruction had recently handed over the entire reclassification of the Archæological Department of the Museum, which meant the undoing of the task for which Prof. Edward Seler had been called to Mexico two years ago and to which he devoted several months of hard work.

¹Gondra alludes, further on, to these vases as being “decorated with lizards, monkeys, birds and plants. . . .” Cumplido's ed. of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. III, 1846.

On mentioning to Señor Batres the object of my visit to the museum he astonished me by stating, categorically, that "there was nothing from Sacrificios in the whole museum."

Although quite non-plused, I carried out my intention to visit the exhibition rooms, filled with wonder at what had become of my old friends and with deep solicitude as to their fate. It was therefore a real joy that I experienced when I recognised, in strange company, for it was in a case labelled "Toltec Civilisation," my old favorite vase with the tube, which had been figured and described by Gondra. Asking the assistant to open the case I took it out and examined it and its new numbers, the first of which corresponded to Prof. Seler's catalogue in which the vase was registered as from "Totonacapan." The second number, 818, corresponding to the Batres classification, is repeated on the new label which is visible in the photographs I subsequently took of the vase, on its stand, in two positions (see pl. VII, figs. 2 and 3.) The amazement with which I read, on the Batres label, the gratuitous statement that the vase was "from Teotihuacan" and the product of "Toltec civilisation," can readily be imagined by my colleagues. It was destined to be increased, however, when in another case on a lower shelf, surrounded by pottery, I recognised my second old favorite vase, the one found by Señor Luna on Sacrificios in 1827 and described and figured by Brantz Mayer¹ (in 1853); H. H. Bancroft² (in 1883); Antonio Garcia Cubas³ (in 1889) and Alfredo Chavero⁴ (in 1884.) (See pl. VIII, figs. 1 and 2). I could scarcely believe my eyes when I read, on the new Batres label, that this familiar and historical vase was "from the village of Tilantonzo, district of Nochistlan, State of Oaxaca," and was the product of "Mixtecan civilisation"⁵ (see pl.

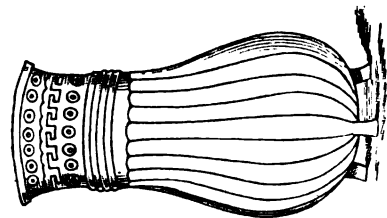
¹Op. et loc. cit.

²*Native Races*, vol. IV, Antiquities, p. 427.

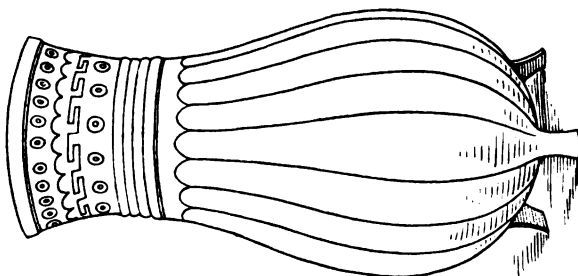
³Antonio Garcia Cubas, *Tableau Géographique, Statistique et Historique du Mexique* (traduction); México, 1889 (Envoyé à l'Exposition de Paris), p. 297; Chap. XII. Archæologie. Planche, Objet No. 1. Vase de tecalli (onix) parfaitement poli et, comme tous ses pareils, il était dédié au culte. Il a 34 cs. de hauteur par 0.004 de grosseur du côté de la gorge.

⁴*Mexico à travers des siècles*, vol. I, p. 165.

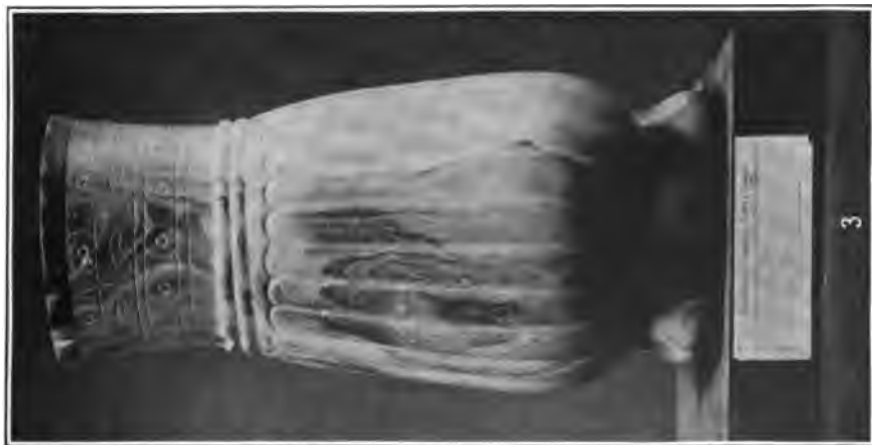
⁵The photograph of this label reveals that, beside the purely imaginary and absolutely false information it gives museum visitors concerning the origin of this vase, it only supplies them with the illuminating knowledge that it is "a vase with three legs." In the Seler catalogue no place of origin is assigned to this specimen.



1



2



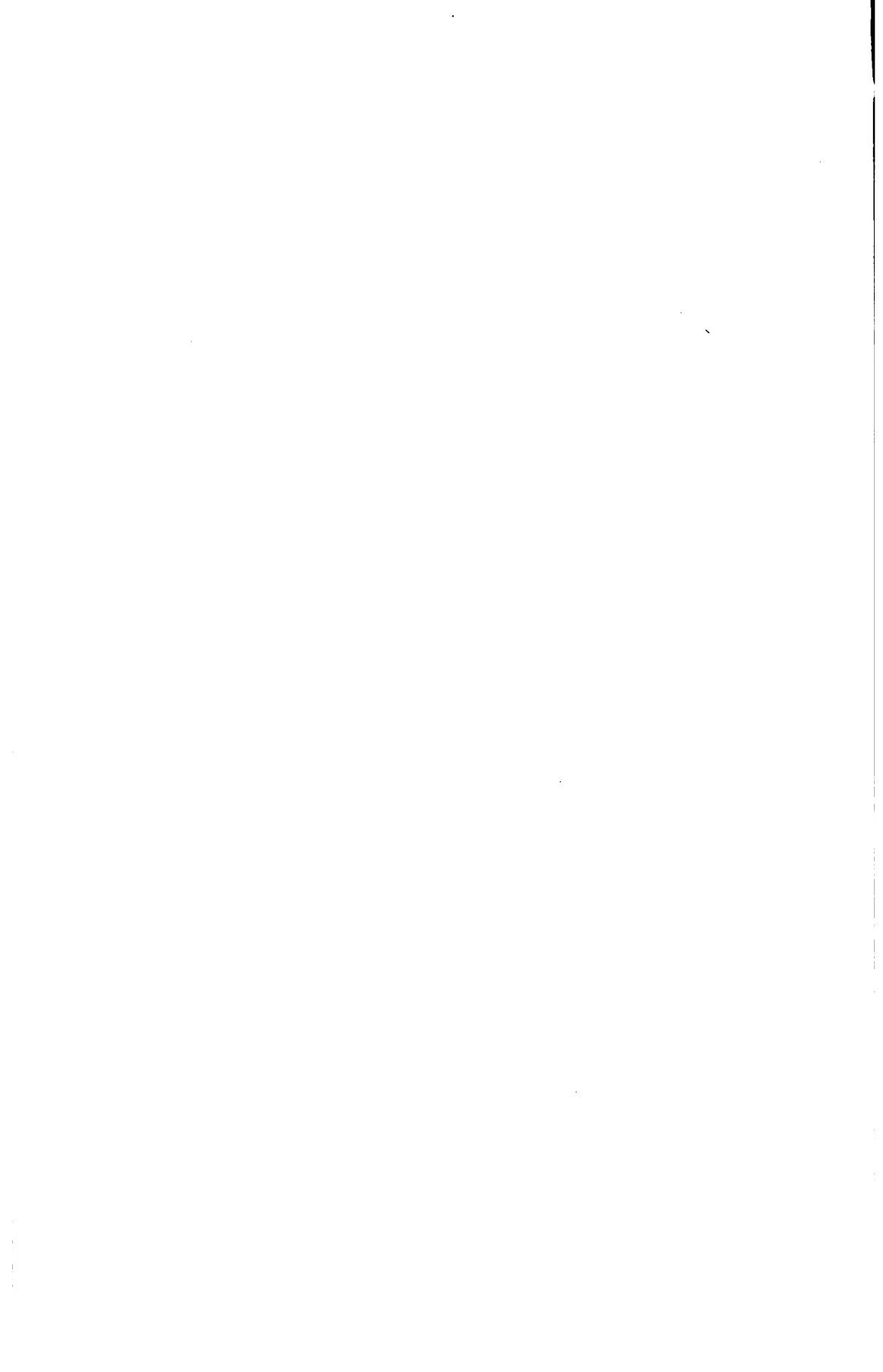
3



4

TECALI VASES FROM THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

1 and 2. Vase found by Señor Luna in 1827, from early cuts. 3. The same, as relabelled, from a photograph. 4. Vase decorated with a lizard, as relabelled, from a photograph.



VIII, fig. 3.) A third tecali vase which I remember, and which moreover corresponds to Señor Gondra's statement that one of the vases found by Señor Luna on Sacrificios was "decorated with a lizard," is also gratuitously classified by Señor Batres as "a Toltec cinerary urn, from Teotihuacan" (see photograph of this, pl. VIII, fig. 4).

Scattered in other cases I dejectedly counted four tecali vases in the form of a monkey, respectively labelled from Teotihuacan, Cholula, and other places. One of these is undoubtedly the original specimen from Sacrificios which was figured by Dupaix and is described and pictured by Brantz Mayer (*op. et loc. cit.*) (see pl. VII, fig. 4).¹

The next objects of my search in the National Museum were the terra-cotta vases from Sacrificios, the best known of which is that which was published by Waldeck in 1828 (pl. IX, fig. 1). Waldeck's remarkably faithful drawing has been reproduced in a series of works including H. H. Bancroft's *Native Races* (vol. IV, p. 427) where it is designated as "Earthen vase from Isle of Sacrificios."

The drawing which Brantz Mayer published is unfortunately most inaccurate and conveys the false impression that the man modelled in clay wore a mustache (pl. IX, fig. 2). This mistaken impression naturally caused Professor E. B. Tylor² to entertain doubts as to the authenticity of the specimen and to state: "It is true the pure Mexico race occasionally have mustaches, but they are very slight, but not like this, which falls in a curve on both sides of the mouth, and no Mexican of pure Indian race ever had such a nose and chin, which must have been modelled from the face of some toothless old Spaniard." If Professor Tylor had but seen Waldeck's excellent drawing, or had had my opportunity of examining the

¹ I searched in vain, in the museum, for the steatite teapot, which I remembered, and which has been figured by Señor Garcia Cubas (*op. et loc. cit.*). Gondra rightly suspected it to be of Chinese origin, and it gave rise to much speculation, especially as similar ones were found by respectable authorities at Tepeaca (on the ancient high road to Puebla) and in the Huasteca. The well vouched for fact that the teapot was actually found on the island of Sacrificios can doubtless be explained by the employment of the island by the Spaniards, during centuries, as a lading place for merchandise from the Philippines and China, after it had been brought overland on mule-back from Acapulco to Vera Cruz, to be shipped from thence to Spain.

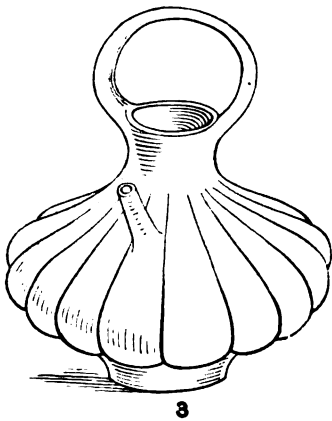
² *Anahuac*, 1861, p. 231.

original, I am sure he would have admitted its authenticity and assigned it to pre-Columbian times. An examination of the photograph I took of the famous vase will suffice to show that the lines around the mouth represent wrinkles and not a mustache, and that it has somewhat suffered from ill-usage since Waldeck drew it in 1827.

I found this remarkable specimen in a case containing pottery from Manzanillo, state of Michoacan, the area of the Tarascan culture, and it is to the Tarasco that Señor Batres assigns it (see pl. x). The number corresponding to that in the Seler catalogue had been removed from this specimen. Other vases of minor interest, but which undoubtedly are of those found on Sacrificios, also figure now as Tarascan, or, as in the case of the original of Brantz Mayer's drawing (pl. ix, fig. 3), as Huastecan.

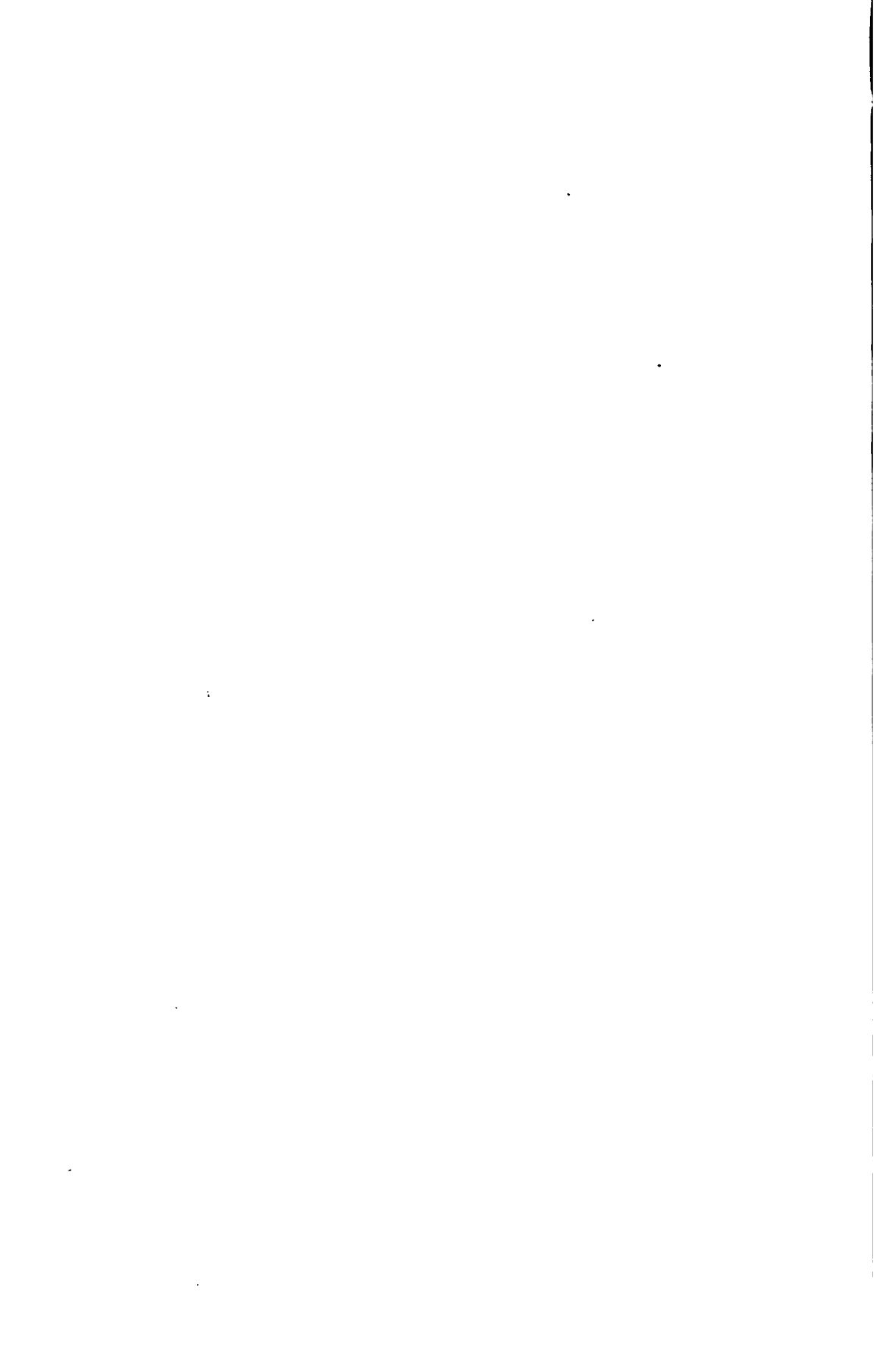
Their fate, I grieve to have to state, is not exceptional. On the contrary it is that of many specimens in the National Museum, and of the majority of those which constituted the valuable collection of antiquities made by the Rev. Don Francisco Plancarte, the present Bishop of Cuernavaca and the most scholarly and distinguished of living Mexican archeologists.¹ It was my privilege to accompany Bishop Plancarte when he visited the museum some months ago, for the purpose of showing me certain specimens in his collection of a type that we had both been studying and discussing. To our profound regret we found that the numbers on the specimens, which enabled the student to make use of the instructive catalogue of the Plancarte collection, had entirely disappeared. Obligated, for the purpose of comparative study, to refer to three objects which Bishop Plancarte had discovered together in a single tomb we ascertained, after a prolonged search, that Señor Batres had assigned each of these objects to a different locality and to a different civilization!

¹ Visitors to the memorable American-Historical Exposition which was held in Madrid in 1892, will remember that the most interesting feature in the Mexican archeological section was the admirably arranged "Plancarte Collection," the study of which was facilitated by a scholarly catalogue of 87 pages quarto, issued by the Mexican government. This catalogue, the joint production of the learned Director of the National Museum, Señor Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, and of the Rev. Don Francisco Plancarte, minutely described 2762 objects and recorded every detail concerning their discovery, etc. The Plancarte collection was subsequently acquired by the National Museum.



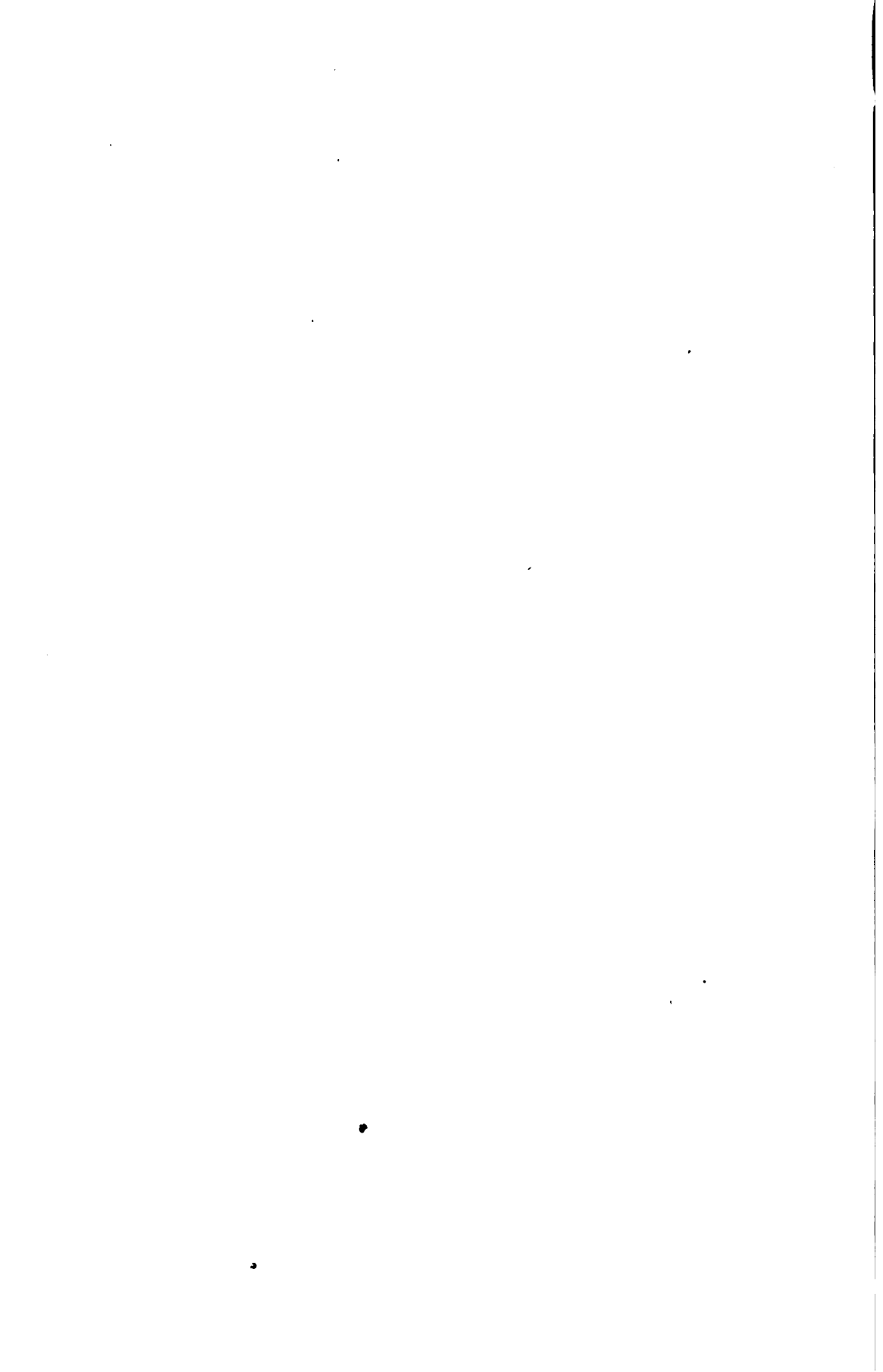
VESSELS FROM THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS

1. Vase with human figure, from a drawing by Waldeck. 2. From drawing of same published by Brantz Mayer. 3. Corrugated jar, from a drawing by Brantz Mayer.





VASE FIGURED IN PLATE IX, SHOWING NEW LABEL



It is my hope that the foregoing data will serve at least to establish the identity and preserve the memory of the precious historical vases from Sacrificios, which otherwise would be lost in the chaos into which the unexampled Batres classification has transformed the Archæological Department of the National Museum.¹

5. ANTIQUITIES FROM THE ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS PRESERVED AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

It is an interesting fact that it is the British Museum that now possesses the finest collection of antiquities from the island of Sacrificios. This was purchased in 1844 from Captain Evan Nepean, other specimens from the same island being bought in 1851 from Lieutenant Forrest.

It is a relief to be able to refer to these specimens, the reliable records of which have been and will ever be faithfully preserved. For in the British Museum and, for that matter, all known museums of the world, the possibility of labels being filled in with "fake" data is as unthinkable as the possibility of a Ministry of Public Instruction imposing an unfit person upon a public institution entrusted to its care and protection.

Through the obligingness of Colonel F. H. Ward who kindly visited the British Museum at my request, made a selection of twenty-four of the most remarkable specimens of the collection from Sacrificios, and had them photographed for me, I am able to afford my readers the opportunity of judging for themselves of their variety and value (plates XI-XIV). It is my hope that some day, after making a careful comparison of the Sacrificios specimens with reliable collections from Yucatan and Mexico, it may be possible to make an exact list of the different districts along the coast or in the interior whence

¹In justice to the distinguished gentleman and scholar, Señor Genaro Garcia, the present Director of the National Museum, it should be mentioned here that he is in no way responsible for the Batres classification. Disregarding widespread public opinion concerning Señor Batres, the Ministry of Public Instruction arbitrarily appointed him to reorganize the archeological department, exempting him, as usual, from all inspection or control. In this particular instance, the result of the unique privileges, license, and generous pecuniary support regularly accorded to Señor Batres by his superiors, is that the Archæological Department of the National Museum is invalidated for purposes of serious study and that thereby Mexican archeology has received a blow, from the harmful, wide reaching consequences of which it can never fully recover.

they were taken to the island. An idea could thus be obtained of the area influenced by devotion to this particular shrine, and the distance whence people came to it.

The two tecali vases (nos. 51891 and 51892), one of which represents a chieftain wearing an ocelot helmet, the mark of high military rank, and the other figuring a man, wearing the Huastekan head dress, kneeling on one knee, an attitude of subjection, are interesting, but not as artistic and as well executed as the historical vases unearthed by Señor Luna.

Among the twenty-two specimens of clay vessels figured, different techniques are represented as follows:

No. 999, plain.

No. 1094, incised with "the jewel of the wind," the symbol of Quetzalcoatl; see also 1078 for painted, different form of same symbol.

No. 957, incised with slight indications of relief work (note the Maya analogies in this specimen).

No. 926, design in low relief—note the resemblance in form of design of its border to what Gondra describes as the "beautiful fret ornament executed in open-work" on the tecali vase, pl. VII; also its archaic form and the Quetzal feather ornaments on the lower band.

Nos. 930, 931, 971, and 973, specimens of modelling. The human face in the serpent's open jaw represented on specimen 971 exhibits the transverse nose-ornament, which was worn by chieftains only and by the Huastecans particularly, although the Mexican rulers also adopted it.

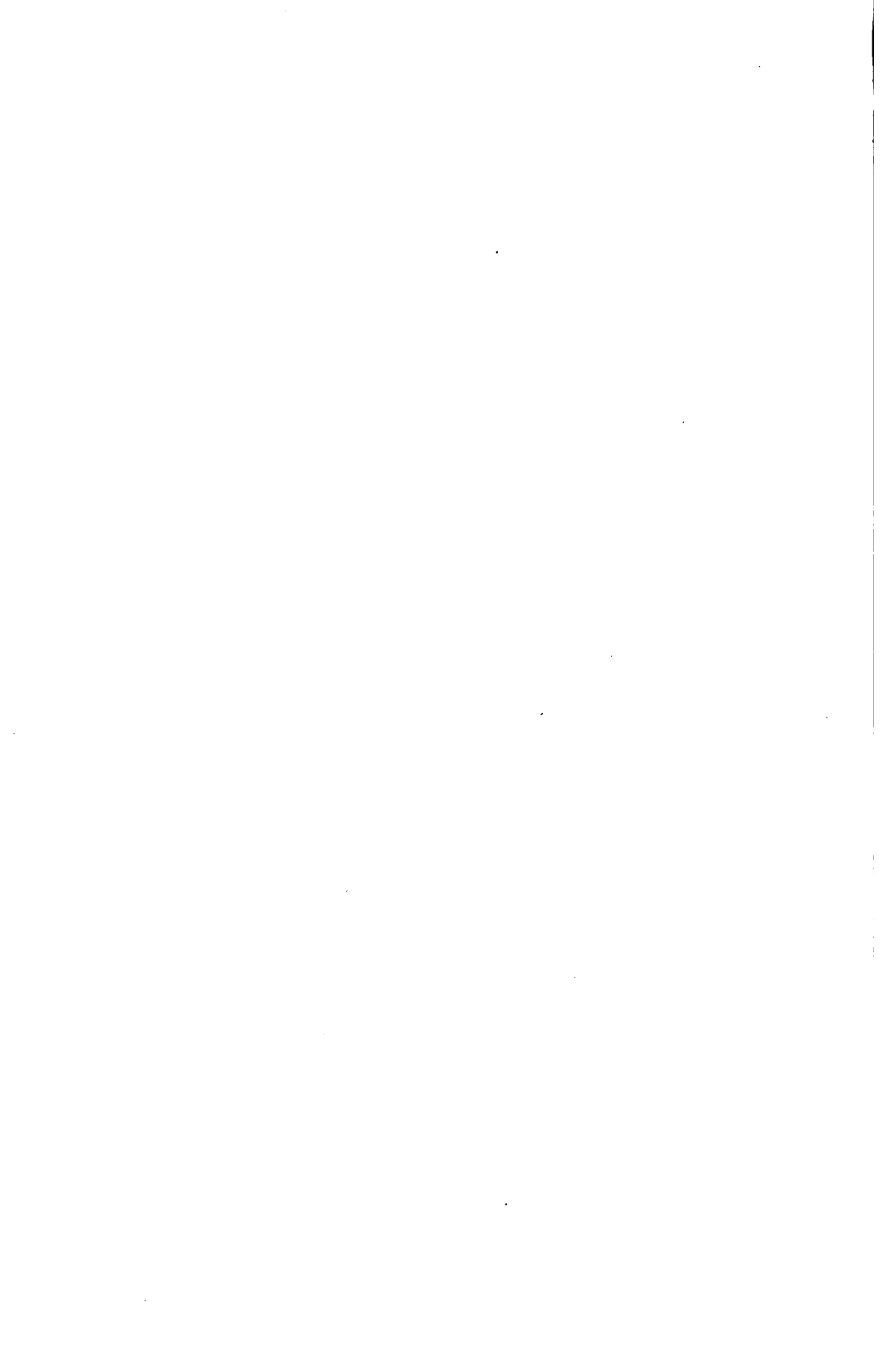
Nos. 975 and 976, fine modelling and painting combined. These vessels and 950, 1104, and 1105 are decorated with what resembles a fine white enamel of remarkable durability, for the similarly decorated fragment found by Miss Fortuño y Miraman, which seemed to have lain in the sea water for some time, was in perfect condition.

Nos. 1027 and 917 exhibit cross-bones and skulls, or a skull, and were surely destined for use in the human sacrifices.

No. 1209 displays a very strange conventionalized representation of a serpent's head with appendages resembling a beard to

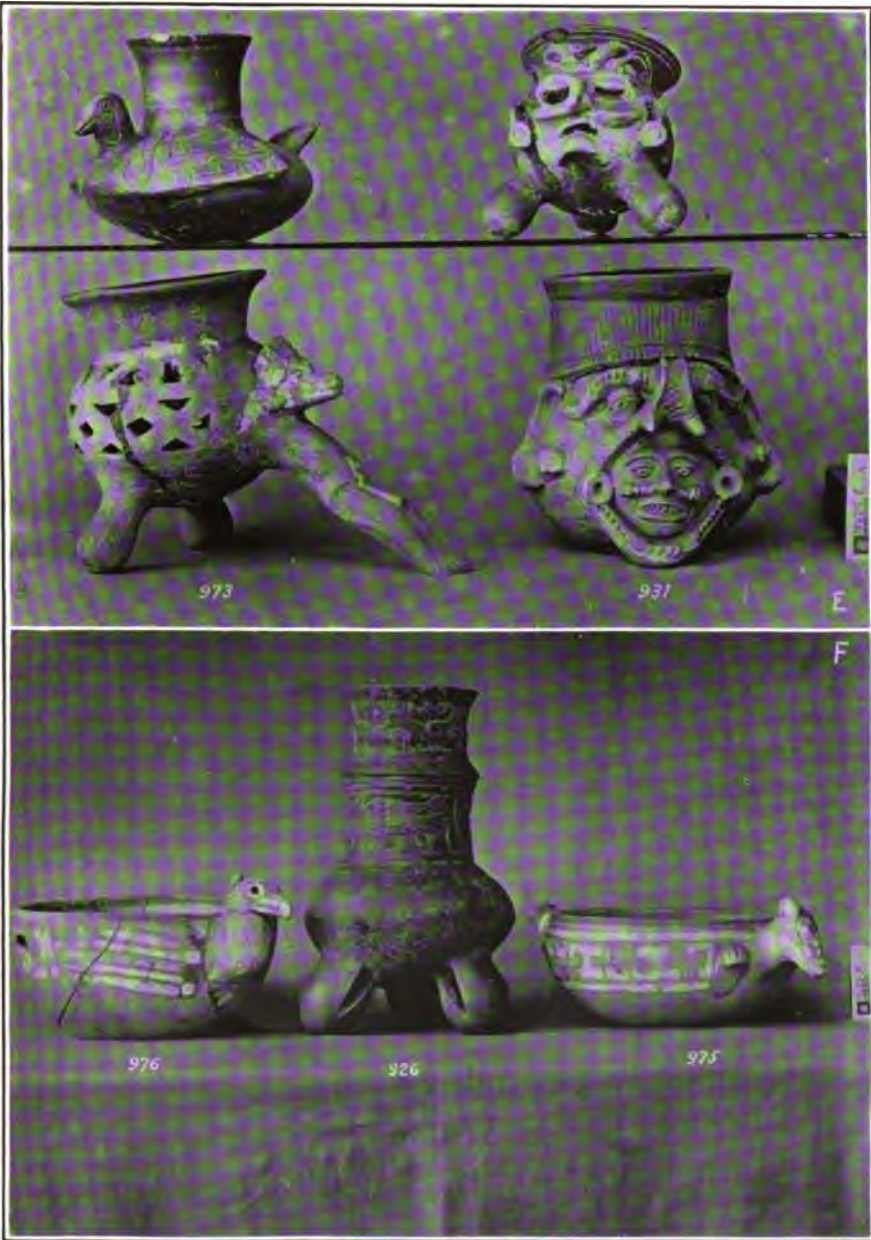


VASES FROM ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS, BRITISH MUSEUM

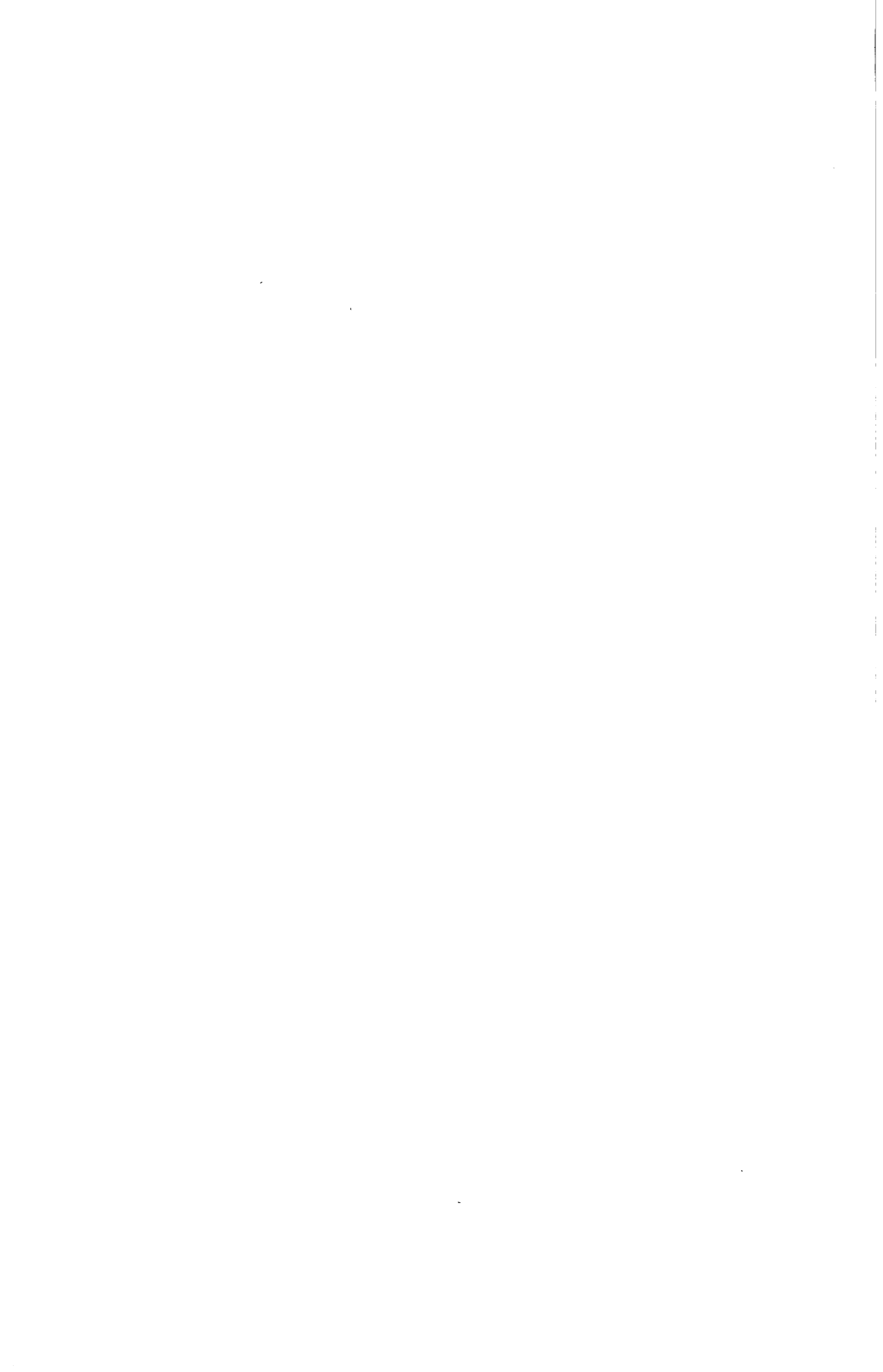




VESSELS FROM ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS, BRITISH MUSEUM



VESSELS FROM ISLAND OF SACRIFICIOS, BRITISH MUSEUM



which I draw the attention of my colleagues who have been making a special study of animal forms in Mexican and Mayan art.

Nos. 947, 922 and its companion, with three hollow, modelled, and painted feet, and 1218 are interesting in form, but show inferior decoration.

For the benefit of students desiring further information about the specimens I append the following descriptions of them, which were obtained from the British Museum and sent me by Colonel F. H. Ward:

Description of twenty-four vases in Cases 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9, from the Island of Sacrifices, Mexico.

A 51. 8-9. 2. Albaster barrel-shaped vase, carved to represent a seated human figure wearing a lion mask on the head, hands resting on knees; at the back of the vase is engraved a conventional tail. H. 8½ in. Purchased from Lieut. T. Forrest, 1851.

A 51. 8-9. 1. Albaster vase, representing a kneeling human figure, with projecting head ornamented with flat head-dress; large circular ear-ornaments; right hand on knee, left hand on stomach. H. 8½ in. Purchased from Lieut. T. Forrest, 1851.

B 44. 7-20. 957. Cylindrical vase of red ware; on one side a compartment with engraved figure of a divinity. H. 7½ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

B 44. 7-20. 947. Vase of red ware, entirely covered with ornament in white, brown and cream; spreading foot where the ornament is divided into 3 compartments: the foot is closed to form a rattle. H. 10 in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

B 44. 7-20. 1203. Vase with cylindric body slightly expanding at the mouth, and spreading foot; buff orange ware; round the lip conventional pattern and dots; below, groups of 3 vertical lines; all in red, white and brown. H. 10½ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

B 44 7-20. 950. Cylindrical vase slightly expanding at the top; buff ware painted in red, white and brown; round the neck and down one side a band of conventional pattern. H. 8¾ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

C 44. 7-20. 1105. Deep bowl of buff ware, ornamented round the lip in black and white. Diameter, 6½ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

C 44. 7-20. 1027. Ovoid bowl, warm buff ware, ornamented in white, brown and crimson; a skull and a cross twice repeated. H. 4½ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

C 44. 7-20. 1104. Ovoid bowl of buff ware, ornamented in white, brown and crimson. Diameter, $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

D 44. 7-20. ? [This has no number; it is the second specimen in the Nepean collection]. Bowl on spreading foot; buff ware, partly colored a brilliant red; round the side ornament in dark brown, red, and white. Diameter $8\frac{3}{10}$ in. H. $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

D 44. 7-20. 922. Tripod bowl of red ware, cascabel feet in the form of monkeys' heads; inside and out a border in white, red and brown. Diameter, $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. H. $4\frac{1}{10}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

44. 7-20. 931. Pierced tripod vase of pale brown ware colored crimson: the long handle which should form the third foot missing: the edge and sides carefully pierced, the latter with triangular openings; on one side a grotesque human face colored blue. Inside are remains of apparently burnt matter. H. $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

E 44. 7-20. 930. Tripod vase of red ware: globular body pierced in a lozenge pattern, etc.: two cascabel feet: the third being formed of a human figure with animal's head. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

E 44. 7-20. 971. Vase of red ware; the lower part at one side modelled in the form of a monstrous gaping mask, through which appears a human face. H. 5 in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

F 44. 7-20. 975. Bowl with border in white and crimson; from opposite sides project the head and paws of an animal (armadillo); buff ware. H. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

F 44. 7-20. 976. Bowl of buff ware, with border in white and crimson; on one side a movable eagle's head; the wings painted. H. 4 in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

F 44. 7-20. 926. Vase of black ware, rounded body and cylindrical neck in two stages, with engraved ornament: cascabel feet. H. $8\frac{5}{8}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

G 44. 7-20. 999. Vase of dull reddish-brown ware: with a projecting loop-handle at one side. Diameter, $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. H. $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

G 44. 7-20. 1078. Saucer dish, with flat base, red colored ornament on buff body; in the centre a spiral with radiating lines beyond a zig-zag border. Diameter, $6\frac{7}{10}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

G 44. 7-20. 1094. Shallow dish of pale red ware, with incised ornament in brown: a crook-like object under a sort of canopy; incised border. Diameter $6\frac{3}{8}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

H 44. 7-20. 1209. Portion of a saucer dish, buff ware; painted in red and black on orange: inside a monster snake; outside ornament of a conventional character. Diameter, $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

H 44. 7-20. 917. Portion of a tripod bowl, one cascabel foot remaining:

ornamented in brown and white: in the centre a conventional skull. D. $8\frac{1}{8}$ in. across unbroken part. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

H 44. 7-20. 1218. Bell-shaped vase of red ware: with band of vandyke pattern in brown, etc. outlined in white: two small ears with vertically pierced holes. Diameter, $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. H. 6 in. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

E 44. 7-20. 973. Vase of red ware covered with a dark gray glaze; it represents a bird, the head, wings and tail of which project. H. $3\frac{3}{4}$. Purchased from Capt. Evan Nepean, 1844.

In his "Prehistoric America"¹ the late Marquis de Nadaillac published the illustration of a "vase found in the island of Sacrificios" which is here reproduced (fig. 32).

As several other specimens figured in the same work are preserved at the Trocadéro Museum, Paris, I inquired from Professor Dr Verneau, the present Director of the Ethnographical Museum, whether the original of the above illustration and, possibly, some of the vases, etc., found by Captain Dumanoir, existed in his or any other museum in France. In a communication kindly sent me Professor Verneau informs me that no specimens from Sacrificios are preserved at the Trocadéro Museum and that, thus far, he has been unable to ascertain the fate of the Dumanoir find.



FIG. 32. — Vase figured by the Marquis de Nadaillac.

6. CONCLUSIONS.

The small island of Sacrificios has proven itself to be, in proportion to its size, one of the richest archeological areas in America, and one of the most interesting.

The testimony of its Spanish discoverers establishes the fact that in 1518 it was a sanctuary and furnishes indications that at some remote period the island itself must have been much larger and of greater importance than it was at the time of the conquest. This inference

¹ Ed. W. H. Dall, London, 1885, p. 296.

is corroborated by the fact that, of the two groups of buildings described in 1518, the largest and most imposing were so ancient that they had fallen into ruin.

An investigation of the present condition of the island furnishes proof that it is undoubtedly decreasing in size and has possibly subsided on its leeward coast and that the same changes are affecting the neighboring Isla Verde which was thus named because it was covered with verdure and trees, while it is now a barren sand bank.

The ancient, ruined structures described by eye-witnesses appear to have been designed by builders more familiar with the style of architecture prevalent on the peninsula of Yucatan than with that employed by the inhabitants of the neighboring coast or the central plateau of Mexico.

The remarkably beautiful and precious tecali vases and the terra-cotta vessels which have been found in such quantities on the island offer a great variety of style and decoration and appear to have been brought thither at different times and from distant and widely sundered art-centers. The localization of the latter should be a subject for future careful investigation which would undoubtedly shed new light on the distribution of native races; their evolution of different styles of decorative art; their migrations and intercourse in pre-Columbian times.

While analogies to Maya architecture appear to have existed in the ancient buildings on the island it is obvious that the fragmentary representation of the serpent, which I discovered on the ruined and buried wall, is executed in a highly conventionalized style offering close resemblances to that employed by the artist who designed the famous so-called "calender stone." This painting of the feathered serpent and the Spanish testimony concerning the existence and use of a circular structure prove beyond a doubt that the cult of Quetzalcoatl was permanently established on the island. It would be difficult to imagine any coast region more favorable for the development of a fervent devotion to Quetzalcoatl as wind-god or a locality more suitable for the performance of the gruesome rites calculated to propitiate the deity who controlled the much dreaded and destructive northers.

On the other hand circumstantial evidence — especially the small, equilateral red cross in a circle on the white ground of the fresco— seems to point to the possibility and probability of an undefined but close association of the island with the historical or traditional culture hero Quetzalcoatl, who was known as Kukulcan in Yucatan, both Nahuatl and Maya names having the same meaning, “ Feathered Serpent.”

It is remarkable what a new light and fresh understanding of familiar data are gained if we assume, as a “ working hypothesis ” only, the possibility that native tradition designated the island as having been visited or lived upon by Quetzalcoatl and his followers.

Assuming this to have been the case, we can see why the accidental but strikingly suggestive appearance of Grijalva and his companions at this particular island would naturally have given rise to the native inference that the mysterious stranger and leader was the deified hero who had promised to return. We know that the native watchers stationed on the mainland must have first seen the Spaniards in close proximity to the island, either going to or coming from it in boats, or when actually in or near Quetzalcoatl's circular temple.

I offer the suggestion that the identification of the mysterious new-comers with Quetzalcoatl and his followers by the natives may have owed its origin to Grijalva's unconsciously suggestive appearance at the island sanctuary— in which connection it is interesting to note that the Spanish leader was identified, not with the wind-god, but with the historical culture hero. It was after their visit to the sacred island that the Spaniards were hailed from the shore of the mainland where they were to receive homage and demonstrations of affection.

During the year that elapsed between the departure of Grijalva — who, like Quetzalcoatl, promised to return — and the arrival of the Cortés expedition the erroneous identification, to which Montezuma, the native priesthood, and the people were to sacrifice liberty and life, had time to strike root and grow. Could the error ever have spread and gained strength as it did if some extraordinary and undeniable coincidence such as described, had not overcome all doubt ?

How does the foregoing “ working hypothesis ” about the island

accord with the Montezuma and Sahagun versions of the Quetzalcoatl tradition?

If we assume that the island, which is in sight of the great extinct volcano of Orizaba, was once inhabited and an important center of culture and underwent a gradual or a sudden reduction of size due to volcanic disturbance, we obtain a reasonable explanation of the traditional arrival at Panuco in boats of the high-priest and his followers whom Montezuma designated as the ancestors of his race, and who went inland and founded a colony — then, in course of time, came to the Valley of Mexico. According to Sahagun's Nahuatl version the leader or high-priest, and the wise men who accompanied him and carried the sacred books, reembarked later and departed eastward promising to return. After a lapse of years he fulfilled his promise but, as the colonists denied him their former allegiance, he departed again. Ixtlilxochitl records that some said that, when driven from Tollan, Quetzalcoatl returned to Huey Xalac, "the great or ancient place of sand," also called Huey Tlapallan, where he ruled over his vassals for many years in peace.¹

On the other hand the four well-known native documents which have been preserved² and which depict the wanderings of Montezuma's people, the Aztecs, from their original home to the valley of Mexico, agree in representing their point of departure as an island named Aztlan. Friar Duran translates this name as "Place of Whiteness" which can be rendered as "White land." In three of the MSS. the high-priest or leader is pictured as departing from the island in a boat. When it is considered that the Grijalva expedition, struck by the dazzling whiteness of its sandy beach named the islet close to Sacrificios "White island," it must be admitted that the name Aztlan, "White land," would have been an eminently appropriate name for our coral island.

¹ It is a striking fact that, by a mere transposition of letters, such as philologists frequently have to deal with, the name Huey Tlapallan becomes huey apan tlalli or huey apan ca tlalli, the Nahuatl word for "island."

² These documents are the Codex Boturini reproduced in Kingsborough, vol. I; the Aubin Codex, dated 1576, lithographed at Paris by Desportes and also edited by Goupil in 1893; the "Histoire Mexicaine" belonging to the Aubin-Goupil Collection (*Atlas*, Goupil-Boban, p. 59); and the small painting which successively belonged to Siguenza y Gongara, Leon y Gama, and Gemeli Carreri, and is reproduced in vol. III of the Spanish Cumplido edition of Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*.

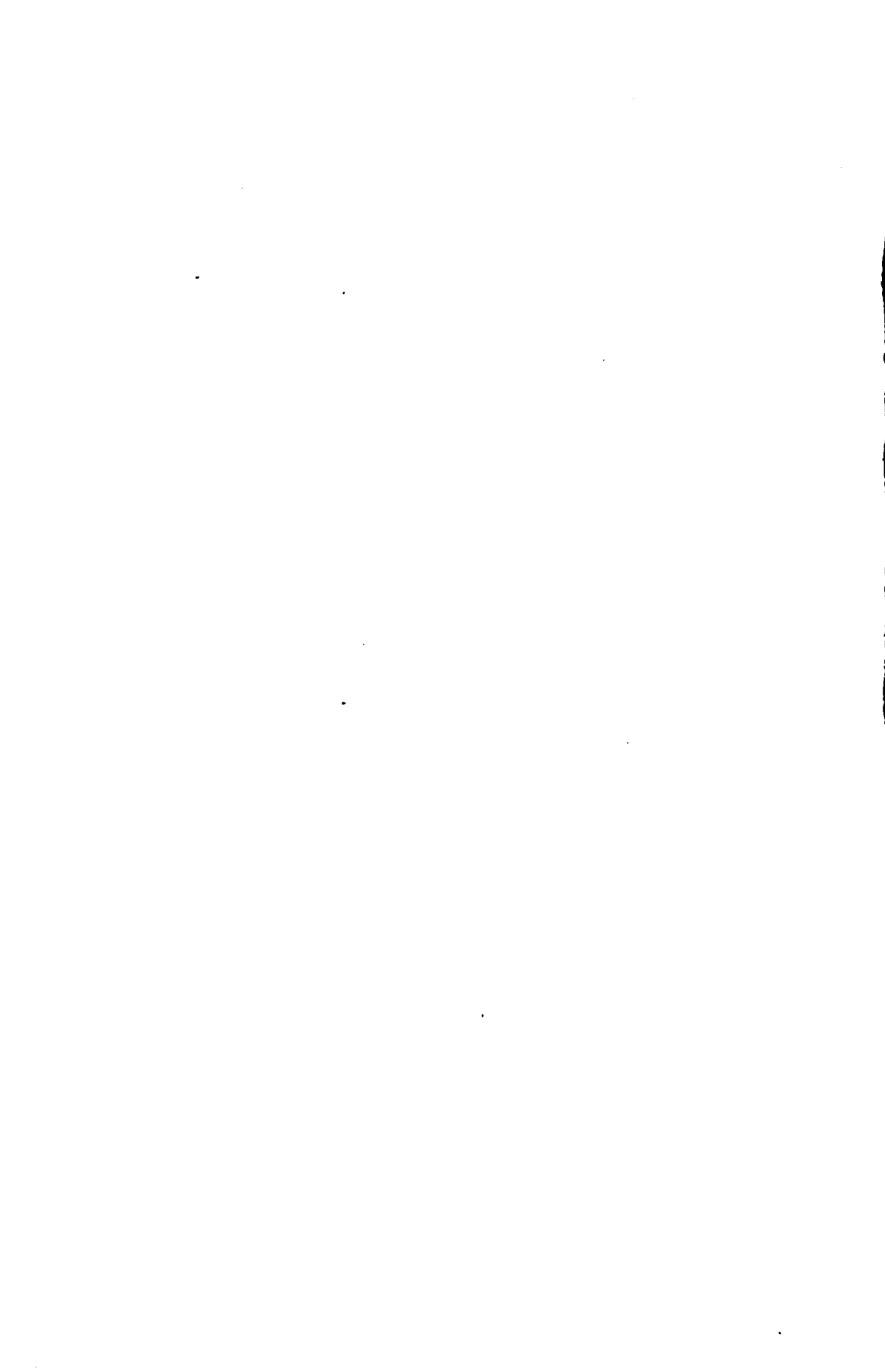
It would be going too far for the present to even suggest the possibility that the White land, represented as an islet in the native pictographs referred to, was a real island consisting of the present Isla de Sacrificios, since, perhaps, united to Isla Verde, and to Isla Blanca, so named on account of its dazzlingly white sands.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that such an island, large enough to have supported life and to have become the seat of a colony of men of superior culture, would have been situated within an equally easy distance of Tabasco, Campeche, Yucatan, and also Panuco, where, in all regions alike, the Kukulcan-Quetzalcoatl tradition, the same calendar, the same mode of government are traceable.

If we dismiss the "working hypothesis" altogether with all the light it seems to shed on the ancient native traditions, there remain quite enough realities to invest the little island with great archeological, historical, and geological interest.

The foregoing will establish the fact that, in view of the important and deeply interesting problems involved, the island is deserving of the most minute and careful exploration. All Americanists will, I know, share my regret that the only vestiges of archeological remains that still exist and have hitherto been spared by time, the sea, and unskilled exploration, are doomed to destruction by careless and ignorant hands. With these last vestiges, which might furnish so much fresh light, all hope of obtaining knowledge of the island's rôle in ancient Mexican history will pass away forever

CASA ALVARADO,
COYOACAN, D. F.,
MEXICO.









TOPIC LIBRARY
 3 2044 042 144 840

DATE DUE

MAY	10	2003	

DEMCO 38-297

