

THE FALSE TECHIALOYAN RESURRECTED

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Although long-believed by modern researchers to have been destroyed by the Audiencia in the early eighteenth century, the original Nahuatl version of the "Códice de San Cristóbal y Santa María" from Tezcalucan and Chichicaspa in the State of Mexico has recently been purchased by the Kislak Foundation in Miami Lakes, Florida. This codex (number 744 in Donald and Martha Barton Robertson's catalog of Techialoyan manuscripts identified as of 1975) first came to the writer's attention shortly after it was shown by a private owner to scholars in Los Angeles, California, late in 1985.¹ Unfortunately, the bibliographic history of the codex prior to this time is still obscure.

Not only was the Tezcalucan/Chichicaspa codex thought to have been incinerated for being a spurious record of Indian land holding in those colonial Mexican communities, but its inclusion in the Techialoyan genre has also been questioned. H.R. Harvey has written of it as a "false Techialoyan" because he found so many discrepancies between it (in its Spanish translation) and the Codex Hemenway, or Techialoyan 724, from the neighboring community of Huixquilucan. Harvey suggests that someone trying to copy the Techialoyan form made the Codex of San Cristóbal and Santa María.² The differences between Techialoyans 724 and 744 may now have to be reconsidered—seen perhaps as the result of community rivalries, haste and inaccuracy in the manuscripts' composition, differing authors/artists, or truly distinct early colonial histories. At any rate, there is compelling evidence that the manuscript recently surfaced is not only of the Techialoyan group but was made for Tezcalucan and Chichicaspa in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

A transcription of the newly-surfaced codex is presented in an appendix with a partial, parallel nineteenth-century transcription by J.M.A. Aubin found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BNP).³ In both Aubin's and my own transcription,

¹ Many thanks go to Wayne Ruwet and Professor H.B. Nicholson for sharing slides of this manuscript with me. Dr. Roland Folter of H.P. Kraus Rare Books and Manuscripts in New York has generously provided me excellent photographic reproductions.

² Harvey, 1966, 1979, and 1986.

³ Mexicain Ms. 245-2 (pp.27-8). Joaquín Galarza identifies Aubin's transcription as pertaining to the Tezcalucan Techialoyan in his catalog of Mexican codices of the BNP (1981:57).

letters and words from the original are omitted where they are faded, obliterated, torn, or cut away—often in exactly the same spots.⁴ The BNP transcription, however, having the advantage of one hundred year's less erosion and trimming, is more complete at the margins. This fact, incidentally, would argue against a modern forger having reconstructed the codex now on the market from the record in Paris. Besides, the BNP transcription is incomplete. A large portion of text on folio 3 was inadvertently skipped, and a conscious jump was made from folio 7 to 9 where, after presenting the gloss on this illustration, the transcription ends.⁵

Two paleographic interpretations of any colonial Nahuatl manuscript will usually produce slight variations. Word breaks are not always clear, and when there is deterioration in the manuscript, there is even more cause for uncertainty. Spanish loanwords can often stymie the reader, and in the Techialoyans this is especially true. Hence, "clixtopal" (the typical Techialoyan spelling for Cristóbal) appears once as "cliztopal" and thereafter as "chxtopal" in the BNP transcription. Some transcribers will also standardize spellings, as is seen in the way Aubin substitutes 'i' for 'y' and provides upper case letters at the start of proper names and placenames. Allowing for such variations, we still have a striking degree of consonance between the two transcriptions of Techialoyan 744. The same can be said of the Spanish translation.

It was in the summer of 1703 that don Carlos Mancio, interpreter for the Audiencia in Mexico City, translated the unusual titles brought forth by the people of Tezcalucan.⁶ Three and a half years later, after determining that Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza's involvement in the supposed land grant described within the manuscript and the purported date of 1555 were suspect, the court ordered the original burned "for being false".⁷ Somehow it escaped that fate.

When the Spanish and Nahuatl are compared folio by folio, all but two surfaces in this newly-discovered original Techialoyan are accounted for in Mancio's translation. These two surfaces are folios 14 *verso* (back) and 15 *recto* (front). The brief hiatus may be the simple result of an oversight; when turning the leaves of the bound, book-

⁴ I have broken the BNP transcription into lines the same length as in the original to facilitate the comparison. Hyphens are my own.

⁵ While only going this far, the transcriber notes that the whole manuscript is sixteen folios. BNP Mexicain Ms. 245-2, p.27.

⁶ Archivo General de la Nación, México, (hereafter, AGN) Tierras 1798, exp. 1.

⁷ The order came on February 14, 1707. *Ibidem*, f 20 recto.

like manuscript, Mancio may have mistakenly turned over two at once.⁸ Careful scrutiny of the translation against the original also reveals how Mancio occasionally took liberties when he did not fully grasp the meaning of difficult phrase or when he wanted to elaborate on a phrase for the sake of clarity.

Allowing for translator's license, the precision of the match between the original text and its translation is obvious right from the start. Part way down in the opening statement of the text, for example, the Nahuatl reads "ypan ynin altepetl motenehua Texcalocan motlapieli totlazotatzin xan clixtopal". The translation gives at about the same place: "En este Pueblo nombrado tezcaluca donde esta colocado nro. Padre Sor. Sn. Xptoval." The people of Tezcalucan are said in the translation to be "Sujetos a la Cavezera de tacuba, y Escapusalco." Similarly, the original asserts roughly the same thing at the same point, "tipouhque ypan yn huealtepetl tlacopan yhuan azcapotzalco". An assembly for the designation of the wards and the corporate landholdings is said to have been called "ante la presencia de el gran Sor. Dn. Antto. de Mendoza" or "ypantzinco yn huey tlacatlatoani to antonio te mendoxa".⁹

Folio for folio the match continues. The same pre-Hispanic rulers—with slight orthographic variations—appear in both manuscripts at the same point in the narrative: Tezozomoczin, Chimalpopocatzin, Totoquahuatzin, and Acomiztlaui in the translation, and Teçoçomotzin, Chimalpopo[ca]tzin, Toquiahuatzin, and Acolmiztli in the newly-surfaced manuscript. The first and subsequent references to the subordinate community of Santa María appear simultaneously, as do reference to San Antonio Huixquilucan, the head town of the parish. On the face of the third folio of the Nahuatl original and in the corresponding place in the Spanish translation surfaces an Indian noble from Tacuba named don Miguel de Santa María who was apparently sent by the colonial administration to see to barrio division and land allotments. He also speaks in the first person in both cases. One wonders if he was one of the *jueces* (literally, "judges") who helped administer in the formation of central Mexican *congregaciones* and settled disputes in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰

⁸ There may be more to it, however. Both the translation and the BNP transcription describe the original manuscript as being sixteen folios, whereas the newly-surfaced manuscript has seventeen. Could it have gained a leaf—say at the end—sometime in the past century?

⁹ Quotes are verbatim. See lines 3a-5a, 7a-8a, and 10a-12a of the transcription, and folio 20r (the first folio) of the translation.

¹⁰ For more on Indian judges, see Wood 1984:384.

A date of August 28, 1555 is found in both documents shortly afterwards, in conjunction with yet another Indian noble speaking in the first person who claimed to have written this section: "nehuatl to Ximon te sa maltin chimalpopocatzin onitlacuylo yntencopa pipil [...] nican tlatzontecoyan" (and in the Hispanized translation with the same intended meaning: "Y a mi Dn. Simon de Sn. Martin Chimalpopocatzin me mando lo Ecriviesse como Ecrivano nombrado").¹¹

The illustrated pages that follow the four-folio text are also an easy match. Mancio numbered them in his translation, described the figures and landscapes, and provided translations of the glosses. Content and sequence, with the minor omission of the missing two surfaces mentioned above, are uniform between the translation and the original. A sample leaf from the original is reproduced below. Mancio's description of this ninth folio reads, "haze demonstrasion de dos figuras El uno con una rodela Y un baston Y el otro Con una macana Con un Escrito arriba, que dize Estos dos retratos Son de los dos Grandes sres. Chimalpopocatzin Rey de tacuba, y Acolnahuacatzin Rey de Escapuscalco."¹² The figures match his description exactly. The Nahuatl glosses, though somewhat more abbreviated than his version, are: "pipilti totecuyohuan chimalpopocatzin yhuan acolnahuacatzin, totecuyohuan tlapoca" (the nobles, our lords chimalpopocatzin and Acolnahuacatzin, our lords at Tacuba). Because the leaf has been trimmed at the bottom, we cannot tell but there may have once been a last line mentioning Azcapotzalco.¹³ Mancio's clarification of which lord was associated with which city is an example of his occasional elaboration.

Besides serving to substantiate the consonance of the translation, the sample leaf also gives evidence that the manuscript is indeed of the Techialoyan corpus. It is no wonder that, lacking access to the distinctive paper, illustrative style, and large scrawling hand of the original, Harvey had his doubts about its inclusion in this extraordinary set. There are various types of Nahuatl primordial titles which the translation might have fit in addition to the Techialoyan group.¹⁴ But now we can see that this manuscript—or at least this copy—from Tezcalucan and Chichicaspa has all

¹¹ For quotes, see lines 97a-99a of the Nahuatl transcription and folio 21 verso of the translation.

¹² See folio 9 recto.

¹³ The BNP transcription also lacks the last line on folio 9 recto. What it does contain are a few sketches made from the illustrations in the original, which further help us identify it today.

¹⁴ For some of the latest work on primordial titles, see Wood 1991, chapter 8, and Lockhart 1992.

the usual hallmarks. It was composed on thick native paper of a typical size (about 26.5 by 22 centimeters) and trimmed, as is often the case. The paint and iconographic style seem standard. The handwriting is large and the ink is faded.

Since the handwriting from one Techialoyan manuscript to the next often varies slightly, it is really not surprising that the hand of this newly-surfaced manuscript is not quite the same as that of Techialoyan 724 from neighboring Huixquilucan.¹⁵ Apparently composed by different authors/artists, this may partially account for the discrepancies in the land allotments they describe, as discerned by Harvey. Still, their physical similarities and orthography are enough alike to suggest their producers had similar training and possibly one of them copied some things from the other. They both give the rare and deviant (but common to the Techialoyans) form "Clixtopal" mentioned above.¹⁶ They also both give "Huytzquilocan" most often as their spelling for Huixquilucan.¹⁷ For Santa María Magdalena, the Tezcalucan codex usually gives "Xante Malie Mateltzin" while the Hemenway Codex gives "Xata Malia Mateltzin" and "Xante Malia Mateltzin".¹⁸ The variations are slight and the similarities most compelling in the bizarre orthography limited primarily to the Techialoyan set.¹⁹

Harvey recognized the potential importance this manuscript could hold, because of its historical context, for illuminating the origin of the larger Techialoyan group. Now that the original is available, his assessment has new strength. The driving need of the leaders of San Cristóbal and Santa María for documentation of corporate land claims is underscored by this discovery. The date of translation, 1703, also provides a now more trustworthy temporal anchor. In fact, that date coincides with the translation of another recently-surfaced Techialoyan manuscript from San Pedro

¹⁵ I consulted the original version of Techialoyan 724 in the Tozzer Library of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.

¹⁶ See, for example, folio 9 recto and 16 verso of the Hemenway Codex and line 5a of my transcription of the newly-discovered Tezcalucan manuscript.

¹⁷ This is found on line 139a of my transcription of the Tezcalucan manuscript and folios 1 verso and 8 recto, for example, of the Hemenway Codex.

¹⁸ Tezcalucan codex: lines 31a, 39a, 159a, 170a-171a. Hemenway Codex: folios 11 recto and 16 verso.

¹⁹ The same orthography was recently discovered in some of the *Cantares Mexicanos*, the subject of a forthcoming study. See Wood, "Comparing Notes," and Bierhorst 1985(a) and (b).

Totoltepec, a number of miles west of Tezcalucan but in the same general region.²⁰ The original version of that manuscript, has been associated with the activities of don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma. Apparently a trilingual cacique, Mendoza Moctezuma was living in Azcapotzalco in 1705 when he was arrested and jailed for producing or distributing this and other titles on native paper supposedly made to look a hundred years old.²¹ Perhaps he will prove to be one of the creative forces behind the Tezcalucan Techialoyan. Regardless, the manuscript's resurrection alone provides us with a greater volume of evidence for tackling some of these more basic questions regarding authorship and timing, not to mention purpose, for the larger set of Techialoyan codices as a whole.

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²⁰ The original was recently discovered in the pueblo. The 1703 traslation is in AGN Tierras 1795, exp 4.

²¹ AGN Tierras 1783, exp 1. See Wood 1989.

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APPENDIX: PARALLEL TRANSCRIPTIONS OF TECHIALOYAN 744

[The upper line of each pair is taken from the amatl manuscript. The lower line is taken from the transcription in the BNP. Mexicain Ms. 245-2, pp27-8.]

[F. 1 VERSO]

- 1a)yn toxiuh m.....
- 1b) ..can ipan y.in toxiuh molpia ..tztli

- 2a)cotl huetzi tlapohua
- 2b) xocotl huetzi tlapohua caxtol

- 3a) .lhuytl nican ypan ynin altepetl mo-
- 3b) ilhuitl nican ypan inin altepetl mo-

- 4a) .enehua texcalocan motlapielit.....
- 4b) tenehua texcalocan motlapielitia yn

- 5a) totlazotatzin xan clixtopal texca..
- 5b) totlazotatzin xan cliztopal texcal-

- 6a) .eticpac tepetlytzintlan atlahuy..
- 6b) teticpac tepetlitzintlan atlahuyh-

7a) .a tipouhque ypan yn huealtepetl [sic] tla-

7b) catipouhque ipan in hue.altepetl tla-

8a) copan yhuan azcapotzalco auh

8b) copan ihuan Azcapotzalco auh

9a) ... axcan iz omaxitico yn totecuyo...

9b) in axcan izomaxitico in totecuyo ti..

10a) yxpantia yxpantzinco yn hu..

10b) ixpantia ixpantzinco in hue-

11a) y tlatcatlatoani to antonio te men-

11b) [y?] tlatcatlatoani to antonio te men-

12a) toxa ynic on...macoque omote-

12b) toxa inic on...macoque omote-

13a) neuhque al.....xilacalm..

13b) neuhque alte.....alacatm..

[F. 2 RECTO]

14a) ..yqu

14b)

15a) ..yteuhque yn totecuyohuan ...

15b) iliteuhque in totech yehuantin

16a) tlatocatilique tlacopan azcapot..

16b) tlatocatilique tlacopan azcapotz-

17a) ...co teçoçomocztin chimalpopo...

17b) alco Tezozomocztin, Chimalpopoca,

18a) totoquiahuatzin acolmiztli au..

18b) Totoquiahuatzin, Acolmiztli auh

19a) yn axcan ye niz topan oazico yn...

19b) in axcan yeniz topan acico in to-

20a) neltoquiliztli otitlaocoliloque ..

20b) neltoquiliztli on tlaocoliloque o(?)

21a) teoyotica teopan calacque auh o.

21b) teoyotica teopan calacque auh

22a) h momactilique yn totlazotatzin

22b) momactilique in totlazotatzin

23a) niz ticmotequipanilhuytoque mo(?)..

23b) niz ticmotequipanit hueytoque me...

24a) apielitoc auh ypampa zemicac mah..

24b) apielitoc auh ipampa cemicac mah-

25a) titoz yn ipeuymanca ynin

25b) titoz in ipeuh .. imanca inin toal-

26a) tepeuh niz.....m yteh y.....

26b) tepeuh nizmeyteh inin y....

27a) =====

27b)

[F. 2 VERSO]

28a) ..matica niz tic.....

28b) ..matica niz tictecpan ica

29a) ..tle yn yaxca ynín yaltepetzín tot...

29b) ntle in iaxca inín ialtepetzín totla-

30a) ..otatzín xan clixtopal yhuan yn xan

30b) zotatzín in xan chxtopan ihuan in xan

31a) ..malie mateltzín ca titozepantlalie ...

31b) ..malie mateltzín ca titozepantlalie nen

32a) ..matlahuytec tepetlytzintlan auh

32b) ..matlahuytec tepetlitzintlan auh

33a) ..n teoyotica titlatilanalme tipouh-

33b) teoyotica titlatilanalme tipouh-

34a) ..ue yn ip.....petzín totlaçota-

34b) que in ipan ialtepetzínco tlazota-

35a) ...n xan antonio motenehua huy....

35b) tzín xa antonio motenehua huy....

36a) ..ocon.....a ytec auh ypanpa....

36b)

37a)matozque....

37b)

38a) ..yn altephuaque yn tepilhuan ...

38b)

39a) ..pehuaque xante malie mateltzín axca

39b)

40a) ypan ynín cahuytl nican ytec ynín t.

40b)

41a) tecpanchan o.....laliq ue oti..

41b)

[F. 3 RECTO]

42a) ...nechicoque ..h y

42b) ..

43a) ..laquique ca yn axcan niz motecpana..

43b)

44a) altepeamatl auh yn nehuapol to m.....

44b)

45a) .l te xante malia chimalpopoca yn ipa.

45b) ..te chante malia chimalpopoca in ipan

46a) ..tepetl tlacopan nictequipanotoc teq..

46b) altepetl tlacopan nictequipanotoc teq..

47a) ycatzinco tohueytlatocatzin axca.

47b) icatzinco tohueytlatocatzin axcan

48a) ypan ynin cahuytl niz onazico y..

48b) ipan inin cahuitl niz on acico in

49a) ynin yaltepetzin totlaçotatzin x..

49b) inin altepetzin [sic] totlazotatzin [xan?]

50a) clixtopal texcalocan nixpan omo-

50b) Chxtopal texcalocan inpan omo-

51a) nechicoque yn altepehuaque tep...

51b) nechicoque in altepehuaque tepe-

52a) huan yhuan yn tequihuaque tlay..

52b) huan ihuan in tequihuaque tlay..

53a) que omotlaytlanique yn ica yn tley..

53b) que omotlailtlanique in ica in tley..

54a) ymaxca altepehuaque altepetlatqu..

54b) imaxca altepehuaque altepetlatqu..

55a) canin nenemihtli ca nican

55b) canin nenemi

[F. 3 VERSO]

56a) ..que.....y...xan antoniotzin h...

56b)xan Antoniotzin Hui-

57a) zquilocan tlayecanque tequihuaque

57b) zquilocan tlayecanque tequihuaque

58a) nel niz zepan onoque tlaxilacalme a

58b) nel niz cepan onoque tlaxilacalme o (?)

59a) ypanpa amo momozihuyzque paca

59b) ipampa amo momozihuizque paca

60a) ocoxca quitequipanozque yn zezen

60b) ocoxca quitequipanozque in cecen

61a)xilacali yn altepetlali quename y

61b) tlaxilacali in altepetlali quename y

62a) ..neztoc yn altepeamatl yaxcatzin

62b) ..neztoc in altepeamatl iaxcatzin

- 63a) ...tlazotatzin xan antoniotzin niz n.
 63b) intlazotatzin xan antoniotzin nizno

- 64a) cuauhnhuatia ytec ynin tecpan-
 64b) quauhnhuatia itec inin tecpan-

- 65a) ..li ynnahuac ynzemixpan moh y...
 65b) ..li in nahuac in cemixpan moh y...

- 66a) ..tlayecanque tequihuaque tepix...
 66b) ntlayecanque tequihuaque tepix...

- 67a) ..e niquitohua ma motecpana ma..
 67b) ..e niquitohua ma motecpan ama..

- 68a) ..otilmachioti yn altepetlali quite-
 68b) ..otilmachioti in altepetlali quite-

- 69a) quipanozque ynin mazehualti texcalo-
 69b) quipanozque inin n..xehualti texcalo-

- 70a) ...ntlaca =====
 70b) cantlaca

[F. 4 RECTO]

- 71a)uan xante malie mateltz.....
 71b) ..ihuan xante malie matelitz .t niz ce

- 72a)oque auh yn ica yn teoyotica ne.
 72b) ..onoque auh inica in teoyotica nel-

- 73a) tiliztli ca zemicac onyazque xan ant..
 73b) tiliztli ca cemicac onyazque xan anto.

74a) ..tzin can onpa nepoalco ca cemicac mo...

74b) ..tzin ca ompa Nepoalco ca cemicac mo-

75a) .. ynin tlatlalili amo acquipanhuyz

75b) pa inin tlatlalili amo acquipanhuyz

76a) .oacquitlacoq quipiezque quitepotzt..

76b) .oacquitlacoq quipiezque quitepotzte..

77a) zque yn hualmozcaltizque yn quihihua..

77b) zque in hualmozcaltizque in quihthuc..

78a) que quitequipanozque tequitlah ynic

78b) que quitequipanozque tequitlah inic

79a) ..itcatlali moh niz tecpantimani nezt..

79b) ..itcatlalli moh niz tecpanti mani nezti

80a) ...n canin mopalehuizque quitequipan-

80b) ..yncanin mopalehuizque quitequipan-

81a) ...que mazehualti auh ypanpa zemicac

81b) ozque mazehualti. auh ipampa cemicac

82a) ...y oquimachiztitoz nican yca yn itoca-

82b) ...yoquimachiztitoz nican ica in itoca-

83a) tzin tohueytlatocatzin ley nehuap..

83b) tzin to huey tlatocatzin ley (Rey) nehuap..

84a) nicopelnatol niquinmaca huelitili.....

84b) nicopelnatol niquinmaca huelitilizt..

85a) ynin tinaltepeh..... ynic omotl.....

85b) ynin tin altepetl.....

[F. 4 VERSO]

86a) ..que.....omozenechicoque auh ypa...

86b)omocenechicoque auh ipan..

87a) ..amo ytlacahuyz nohyntin y zemix..

87b) .lamo itlacahuiz nohintin i cemix..

88a) ..n omotilmachioti omotepan ynin...

88b) ..momotilmachioti omotepan inin

89a) ..alama axcan ypan ynin cahuytl to..

89b) ..alama axcan ipan inin cahuite..

90a) uh molpia metztli xocoilhuetztl..

90b) uh molpia metztli xocothuitzitle-

91a) hua zenpuali yhuan chicue ylhui..

91b) hua cempualli ihuan chicuey ilhuitl

92a) ynic omozencauh ynin altepeam..

92b) inic omocencauh inin altepeam-

93a) .tl xihuytl ytlapohual zentzont..

93b) atl xihuitl itlapohual centzontli

94a) .pan macuylpuali yhuan onpua.

94b) ipan macuilpuali ihuan onpual

95a)caxtol xihuytl ypan yn itlazo.....

95b) oncaxtol xihuitl ipan in itlazote..

96a) .totecuyo to loyx te pelaxco =====

96b) .totecuyo to lo yxte pelaxco =====

97a) .ehuatl to ximon te xa maltin chimalp-

97b) yehuatl to ximon te xa maltin chimalp-

98a) ocatzin onitlacuylo yntencopa pipil-

98b) ocatzin onitlacuilo intencopa pipil..

99a) ...n nican tlazontecoyan S S S S S S

99b) ...inican tlazontecoyan S S S S S S

[F. 5 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of a mountainous landscape. A crude sketch of the same is also found at this point in the BNP transcription.]

100a) niz motenehua texcalteticpac

100b) niz motenehua texcalteticpac

101a) mani zentzontli mecatl tlali huy

101b) mani centzontli mecatl tlalitiuy

102a) tlaztoc nenemi coaxohtli X X X X X

101b) tlaztoc nenemico axohtli X X X X X

[F. 5 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a plain with a river crossing it. The scene runs onto folio 6 recto. A crude sketch of the same is also found at this point in the BNP transcription.]

103a) niz motenehua atlan mani on-

103b) Niz motenehua atlan mani

104a) tzontli mecatl tlali ymaxca al-

104a) tzontli mecatl tlali imaxca al-

105a) tepehuaque neztoc nenemi coa-

105b) tepehuaque neztoc nenemi coa-

106a) xohtli X X X X X X

106b) xohtli X X X X X

[F. 6 RECTO]

107a) niz motenehua ytzatlan mani

107b) niz motenehua itzatlanmani

108a) caxtolpualmecal tequitcatla-

108b) caxtolpohual mecatl tequitcatla-

109a) li nenemi coaxohtli neztima-

109b) li nenemi coaxochtlí neztima-

110a) ni moh quizehuyca atentli XXXXX

110b) ni moh quizehuyca atentli XXXXX

[F. 6 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a seeded field with a male figure dressed in white cloth holding a staff. A crude sketch of the name is also found at this point in the BNP transcription.]

111a) niz motenehua toto-

111b) Niz motenehua toto-

112a) mochio mani Yetzon

112b) mohco mani ontzon-

113a) tli mecatl tlali yax-

113b) tli mecatl tlalli iyax-

114a) catzin totlaçotatzí.

114b) catzin totlazotatzin

[F. 7 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of a hill with two birds toward the peak. A crude sketch of the same is also found at this point in the BNP transcription.]

115a) niz motenehua cacalotepec ma-

115b)cacalotepec ma-

116a) ni yetzontli mecatl tequitcatl-

116b) ni yetzontli mecatl tequitcatl-

117a) ..li nenemi coaxohtli neztiman-

117b) ali nenemi coaxohtli neztimantinenemi coaxohtli neztiman- [sic]

118a) . niz motenehua tepetlytzintlan m..

118b) i niztepetlitzintlan

119a) quizehuyca tetitlan tepetlapan

119b)

[The BNP transcription here skips forward to folio 9 recto.]

[F. 7 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a field with a river crossing it and ducks swimming in the water.]

120a) nica motenehua ytzatlan totomo..

121a) ..o mani zentzontli ypan macuyl

122a) ..tzontli mecatl tlali moh quizehuyc..

123a) ..epehpan tomayzquintlan popo...

124a) lan atzoyatla..===== X X X X

[F. 8 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of a lion and a man dressed in white cloth sitting on a plain.]

125a) nican motenehua tecua.....

126a) quizehuyca ytzatlan mani yn

127a) altepehuaque nenemi coaxohtli

128a) tlalxoxouhca

[F. 8 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of three people dressed in white cloth seeding a field.]

- 129a)hua tlilzoquipan mani..
 130a) ...tolpualmecal tequitcatlali nene..
 131a) i coaxohtli XXX

[F. 9 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of two men dressed in skins, the one on the left with a shield in his right hand and a staff in his left hand, and the one on the right with a *macana* (club studded with obsidian blades) in his left hand. The BNP transcription has a crude sketch of this, too, and a marginal note about the macana.]

- 132a) pipilti totecuyohuan chimalpopo-
 132b) Pipiltin totecuyohuan Chimalpopo-

- 133a) catzin yhuan acolnahuacatzin
 133b) catzin ihuan Acolnahuacatzin

- 134a) totecuyohuan tlacopa
 134b) totecuyohuan tlacopa

- 135a)
 135b)

[The BNP transcription ends here.]

[F. 9 VERSO]

- [Here is a painting of a seeded field.]
 136a) ye niz motlapielitoc totlazotatzi..
 137a) xan clixtopal texcalteticpac
 138a)

[F. 10 RECTO]

[Here the painting of the seeded field continues, with the addition at the lower right of a two-story building with a thatched roof.]

- 139a) texcalocan huytzquilocan tlatilana..
 140a) ...qui zeh.....

[F. 10 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of two men dressed in white cloth standing and an animal lying on the ground at their feet.]

141a) pipilti niz altepepixtoque ton aloxo

142a) yhuan to maltin chimalpopocatzitzi

143a) niz motlatequipanilhuyque y..

144a) quin canin 0 0

0 0 0

[F. 11 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of three men dressed in white cloth sitting under a tree.]

145a) pipilti to mano-

146a) huel to xalpatol

147a) to miquel toto-

148a) quiahuatitzin

149a) altepemanque

150a) huytzquilocane-

151a) ca

152a) niz ohuالمopanoltique texcalocan

153a)

[F. 11 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a man dressed in white cloth standing on the right and a woman in the same type of clothing seated on the left.]

154a) pili ton locax chimalpopoca yhua toy.

155a) malie tezozomochtzin

156a) yzihutcatzin [sic] niz oqui

157a) motzintili tla-

158a) xilacali xante

159a) malie mateltzin

160a) totecyoahuan [sic] altepemanque

[F. 12 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of two magueys at the base of a hill with a slope and a bush or tree at the top of the hill.]

161a) nican memetan mani ontzontli me-

162a) catl tlali nenemi coaxohtli altepehu-

163a) aque ymaxca neztimani 0 0 0 0

XXXXX

[F. 12 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a man dressed in white cloth sitting by a river, fishing with a pole.]

164a) nican motenehua tlamayan mani

165a) caxtolpualmecatl tequitcatlali

166a) ymaxca altepehuaque huytlat-

167a) toc

[F. 13 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of a church with six smaller buildings around it].

168a) niz altepepan ytec moh yzehuy-

169a) cal huytzquilocan tlacopaneca

170a) ye niz mani yn itlazocaltzin xante ma-

171a) lie mateltzin nican motlapielitoc

[F. 13 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of another field crossed by a river, with ducks and reeds in the water.]

172a) nican atlynechicoayan altepetl..

173a) .quitl atzitzicuyico 0 0 0

[F. 14 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of a ravine with a river running through it.]

174a) mican motenehua ...yh..tz..

175a) man chicuepualmecatl tlali

176a) mazehualti ymax-

177a) ca 0 0 0

178a) tlalchichilco

179a) atlahuytec

[F. 14 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a hilly region with four animals (deer and/or goats). This leaf and 15 recto were overlooked by the Spanish translator.]

180a) quizehuyca tlayxa...

181a) nican motenehua mazatlan mani

182a) zentzontli mecatl tlali huytla.....

[F. 15 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of two hills, each with a bird spread-eagle at the top.]

183a) nican motenehua.....

184a) co coauhtli ynemian mani caxtol-

185a) pualmecatl altepetlali nenemi coa-

186a) xohtli

[F. 15 VERSO]

[Here is a painting of a wooded region with large round stones or bushes among the trees.]

187a) niz motenehua ahuacuauhtitlan mani

188a) zentzontli mecatl tlali yaxca altep.....

[F. 16 RECTO]

[Here is a painting of a hillside with two deer.]

189a) nenemi coaxohtli ma-

190a) ni nican tetzmulti-

191a) tlan caxtolpualme-

192a) catl tlali quizequy-

193a) ca mazatlan 0 0

0

[F. 16 VERSO]

[Here is a painting possibly of a field. It is nearly obliterated.]

194a) niz motenehua tepetlapan tlahue-

195a) tzca tehephan huytlatzotc ze-

196a) ntzontli mecatl tlali altepehua-

197a) que ymaxca otli ypan nezto x.

[F. 17 RECTO]

[Much of this leaf is torn away. What remains is a tree with birds roosting on it and flying around it.]

198a) nican mote.....

[F. 17 VERSO]

[This side is in worse condition, as it has served as the back cover of the manuscript. Approximately five lines of text are barely apparent at the top, and in the lower right can be seen a leg draped in white cloth and a foot wearing a sandal. The person (to whom these belong) may be sitting on the ground.]

199a)tz.....

200a)tlali ymaxca ma(?)..

201a)ilacal.....

202a)que.....

203a)

[END]

Resumen

La autora presenta su transcripción y estudio de un manuscrito que ha aparecido de nuevo y que identifica como el Códice de San Cristóbal y Santa María de Tezcalucan y Chichicaspa. Compara su transcripción con la de la Bibliothèque Nationale en París hecha por J.M.A. Aubin en el siglo XIX. Aunque se había reportado que el manuscrito original se había destruido, su análisis lleva a la doctora Wood a concluir que el manuscrito examinado por ella debe ser el original porque incluye secciones que no se transcriben en la versión de Aubin. Pone énfasis en la importancia del descubrimiento del manuscrito porque permite entender mejor el origen del grupo mayor de Techialoyan.