

THE CODEX OF CHOLULA: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

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Introduction.

The purpose of the present work is to make available the results of a study of a Colonial document, known as the Codex of Cholula¹. It has so far remained unpublished and largely uninvestigated.

My original intentions were to make a complete study of the codex, which I first believed to be the document investigated in this paper. A little research, however, revealed that there were three documents called The Codex of Cholula². First, a codex made of *amate* paper, which I assume is the original version. It is known as "Códice de Cholula, No. 56". Second, a copy of one side of the latter, which is known as "Códice de Cholula, No. 10". Third, "Códice de Cholula, No. 57" (fig. 1), which is the one examined in the following study. It is preserved in the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City³. As I had only a few months to spend on my project, I decided to limit the scope of this work to that codex which first attracted my attention. I have called this a preliminary study, as it could not possibly be considered exhaustive or final without an investigation of the uncopied side of the original codex and comparison of the paleographies of all three documents. Furthermore, I feel that the data contained in the texts could be compared with and checked against information in archives or other historical sources in a more thorough manner than I have attempted.

I believe the document here studied may be of some value to those interested in early post-Hispanic historiography and documentation done in Mexican villages and towns—in spite of its obvious errors—and that it may in a small way contribute to our further understanding of the Indian and *mestizo* cultures of Mexico. In agreement with Barlow and Smisor, citing García Icazbalceta, I think that:

mas se sirve a nuestra historia . . . con publicar documentos inéditos o muy raros, que con escribir obras originales, casi nunca exentas de deficiencia y de errores.⁴

The Codex of Cholula, No. 57 (fig. 1).

This—like No. 10—is a copy of one face of the original codex (No. 56). It is made on European-type paper, the pictures and legends of

which appear to be nearly identical with those of No. 10, and also with one side of the original codex. These latter were done in colours with legends in black ink, whereas No. 57 was executed in black ink only. It measures 0.92 m. x 1.31 m. The codex is basically a map of a territory in the State of Puebla. The area shown is approximately within the following limits; in the north from Tlaltenango, along the River Atoyac to the point where it turns south, and further across to the Malinche or Matlalcueye in the northeast; in the east, from the Malinche in the north, along the borders of the territory included in Amozoc, and further from Cerro Tepuxuchil to Totimehuacan in the southeast; in the south from the borders of Totimehuacan to the southern limits of the towns of Ocoyucan, Chalchihuapan, and Acozautla to the adjoining lands of Atlixco in the southwest. Features represented include mountains, rivers, roads, as well as villages, churches and pyramids. Also shown are persons and various historical scenes, such as baptisms and battles. I have included a modern map of the area covered by the codex (fig. 2). Some of the buildings which represent wards or villages, and some of the geographical features are not named, and I have not been able to place them. Several of those which are named are not on maps known to me, and the nomenclature may have gone out of use, or the places may have disappeared. The legends of the codex are in Nahuatl with occasional Spanish words. The writing is in two different hands. It is legible in most parts. To judge from the handwriting, the codex may be from the late 16th or early 17th century. The orthography and use of capital letters are inconsistent. There may be some attempt to express a dialect form of Nahuatl. There is no punctuation, apart from an occasional sign () which probably indicates a pause. Often several words are written together, or single words divided.

Paleography, Reconstruction, Translation and Comments.

For the purposes indicated by this heading, the reader will find the codex divided into fifteen sections. Each section is identified by a Roman numeral and a letter. The texts within the sections are identified by Arabic numerals. (fig. 1).

I have paleographed the text as it appears on the codex. In the reconstruction I have attempted to give a more or less orthodox Nahuatl orthography. However, as a consequence of the difficulties mentioned above, the punctuation is in many cases completely arbitrary, and other students may of course choose differently. I have preferred to keep the English in the translations as close as possible to the Nahuatl text. It

should also be noted that I have in several places left blank spaces in the reconstructions or the translations, as I believe this preferable to guessing at possible meanings. The translations are followed by comments on the texts.

Section I-A.

I-A1.

tiquitepanohua nican tlaxcalteca quahtotoaque ycxitlan matlalCueye
Tiquitepanohua nican tlaxcalteca cuauhtotoaque icxitlan Matlalcueye.
Here we pass to the Tlaxcalans . . . at the foot of Matlalcueye.

The word "tepanoa" or "tepanohua" occurs in this and many of the texts which follow. "Panohua" means "cross over," but here it is preceded by "te-" (tetl:stone or te-:people?). It is also possible that "tepanohua" may come from the noun "tepanitli," which can be translated as "border": here we place the border with the Tlaxcalans . . . Whichever translation may be correct, the text refers to the northeastern borders of the area covered by the codex. These boundaries may have been settled in connection with the grant of land which Fray Gabriel de Santa María claimed that Cholula received in 1586. (See Section III-C3.). Today the border-line between the states of Tlaxcala and Puebla is "at the foot of the Matlalcueye" or Cerro Malinche, and such was also the case at the time of the conquest.⁵ An early colonial map shows the borders between Puebla and Tlaxcala to be along a ravine called Xalac.⁶ Slightly west of this there is a town called San Pablo Gautotoatlan, and the "quauhtotoaque" may possibly be the people of that place. It is also at the foot of the Malinche.

I-A2.

quaxochtli tic tlalia
Quaxochtli tictlalia.
We place the boundaries.

The text refers to one of the several settlements of borderlines between Cholula and Tlaxcala related in the codex. It may of course be the one referred to above. It is also possible that this legend is connected with the picture in Section II-B, which shows a monk, a woman, and a Spaniard. The two latter personages are standing on each side of a tree, and each of them has an unidentified object in one hand. The woman may be Doña María Iamateuhtli, the man Cortés, and the borders be those of the land which Cortés granted Doña María. (See Section II-C2.)

I-A3.

yni quachualaque totatzintzin San Sa franco nican motas in niqua
quincitlatetoc ticto yntechli acapixoatzin yhuan occequitim pipiltin
In icuac huallaque totahtzitzin San Francisco. Nican mottaz in icuac

quinquitlateotictico in teuhkli Acapixohuatzin ihuan occequintin pipiltin.

This is when our fathers of Saint Francis came. Here it will be seen how the Lord Acapixohuatzin and other nobles went to worship.

There is no picture connected with this text, which probably refers to the first arrival of the Franciscans in Cholula. The year is not known, but it must have been some time between 1524 and 1529, as there were a superior and monks in Cholula in the latter year.⁷

Acapixohuatzin, who went to worship, may be Don Marcelino Acapixohuatzin, who was one of the survivors of the massacre in 1519. (See Section IV-B2.) With a few exceptions, however, there seems to be no way of placing in time or in relation to each other the indigenous personages named in this codex. They were "señores" of Tenanquiachuc and occupied high positions in Cholula as governors, judges, and *fiscales*. As the pre-Hispanic cabecera dynasties usually continued into colonial times, we can be fairly certain that such was the case also before 1519.⁸ Cortés did elect a new *cacique* in Cholula, but the Indians saw to it that his choice was restricted to persons with the required qualifications.⁹

As mentioned by Gibson, the hereditary relations of the various local principal Indians became obscure after the Conquest. At baptism the Indians usually took on a Christian name, which they would add to their indigenous name, but often sons took the same names as their fathers, and at times they completely dropped their indigenous names.¹⁰ There may be a considerable amount of confusion of names in this codex, or at least inconsistencies. It seems as if most of the male members of the ruling family of Tenanquiahuc took on the name Marcelino, almost as a family name, sometimes in addition to another Christian name and an indigenous name, which was often Acapixohuatzin. The latter was perhaps the name of a lineage, or perhaps a title like Chichimecatl Teuhkli which they also used. Consequently, in most cases, it is impossible to relate the various Don Marcelinos or Acapixohuatzins to any of the persons who are more specifically identified, and with whom they may be identical. Many of these rulers are mentioned in connection with land grants and settlement of boundaries. The codex was probably made when Don Gabriel Marcelino received a gift of land in 1586, or perhaps rather when the city of Cholula received a grant, but the codex was undoubtedly intended to be more than a mere title of land. I believe that the maker or makers of the codex not only wanted to show the contemporary borders of Cholula, but also the whole territory which in pre-Conquest times had belonged to the city. Furthermore it shows the land which the people of Cholula "gave" to the Spaniards, and finally it mentions the grants of land made to the lords of Tenanquiahuc, the rulers of Cholula from the time of Doña María Ilamateuhti to 1586.

The exact boundaries of the territory of Cholula at the time of the Conquest are not known. Several historical sources, however, supply information which can be put together and enable us to make certain deductions. In the north Cholula was bordered by the "Republic of Tlaxcala."¹¹ The western

part of the northern boundary was probably formed by the River Atoyac, while the eastern border would go from the point where the river turns south to the Matlalcueye, perhaps following one of the affluents of the Atoyac. At the Matlalcueye, the territorial limits of Cholula, Tlaxcala, and the province of Tepeaca met.¹² In the east, Cholula was bordered by the province of Tepeaca, from the Matlalcueye to the western limits of the territory of Tepeacac. The southern frontier of Cholula must have been along part of the line formed by the northern limits of the towns of Tecalco, Cuauhtinchan, Huehuetla, Teopantlan, Tenochtitla, and Huaquechula, which were all included in the province of Tepeaca.¹³ There are also papers in the Archivo General de la Nación which indicate that the territory of Cholula in pre-Hispanic times included land in the Valley of Atlixco. The western neighbour of Cholula was Huexotzinco, whose territory included Calpan,¹⁴ and whose frontiers went further south into the Valley of Atlixco where the borders of Cholula, Huexotzinco, and the province of Tepeaca met. In the middle of the 16th century Acapetlahuacan was mentioned as being subject to the city of Huexotzinco.¹⁵

I think that the area within the limits outlined above may be that which the maker of the codex intended to show in the first place: the area which had belonged to Cholula in 1519, and which had included Cuetlaxcohuapan, where Puebla de los Angeles was later founded. As no scale was used, we can of course not be certain.

After the Conquest, Cholula had been given to Andrés de Tapia by Cortés, who, however, later took it away from him.¹⁶ Then the *encomienda* was abolished by the second *Audiencia*, and Cholula made into a *corregimiento* under the Crown.¹⁷ In 1535, Cholula was made a City and granted a territory of one league along the cardinal points taking the church as center. (See II-A2.) By then Puebla had been founded in Cuetlaxcohuapan, on former Cholultecan soil. A "Relación" from 1544 says that Puebla at that time did not border on Cholula and in the south on Totimehuacan, which may mean that the land east of the Atoyac and south of the Tlaxcalan border still belonged to Cholula.¹⁸ According to the codex and other historical sources, the territory of the *corregimiento* of Cholula had been considerably enlarged by 1586 by successive grants of land. It included a large part of the area which had belonged to it before 1519, and which was later to become the District of Cholula. In the north it bordered on Tlaxcala; in the west on the *corregimiento* of the city of Huexotzinco;¹⁹ on Calpan, which was in *encomienda*;²⁰ and in the south on the area included in the *Alcaldía Mayor* of Atlixco. In the southeast was the *encomienda* of Totimehuacan,²¹ and in the west the River of Atoyac formed a natural border with the City of Puebla de los Angeles.

From the middle of the 16th century we have the following description of Cholula:

El termino deste pueblo es casi redondo y tiene de trauesia cinco leguas poco más o menos . . . Parte terminos con la cibdad de los Angeles questa a dos leguas y a la parte del norte con la prouinçia de Tascala y con Guaxoçingo y Calpa.²²

I-A4.

yainyancancui teopantli capilla quichihque totatzin chololan

Ye in yancuican teopantli capilla quichiuhqui totahtzin Cholollan.

Now, for the first time our father of Cholula built the church called the capilla.

"Our father of Cholula" may be the superior of the convent, or perhaps the governor of the City. The "church called the capilla" probably refers to the Capilla Real of Cholula. The dates for its construction are not known. One source says 1568,²³ another that it was before 1540.²⁴ By the time of Gabriel Rojas it was already in ruins.

I-A5.

Do Juan marcelino tequahuehue tzin fiscal Sa gbiel Chololan nixpan moquetzaco teupan yancuican

Don Juan Marcelino Tequahuehuetzin, fiscal San Gabriel Chololan, nixpan moquetzaco teopan yancuican.

I, Don Juan Marcelino Tequahuehuetzin, fiscal of San Gabriel Cholula, say that in my presence came to be built the church for the first time.

The church built in the time of Don Juan may be that of San Salvador, as the legend is placed nearby and the town claimed to be under the jurisdiction of Cholula. (See III-C3.) However, since Don Juan calls himself "fiscal of San Gabriel Cholula," the text might perhaps rather refer to that church, which was founded in 1549 and consecrated in 1552.²⁵ Don Juan may be identical with Don Juan Marcelino and Don Juan Chichimecatl, (See IV-A2, IV-B2.), and perhaps a descendant of Don Antonio Tequahuetzin, Lord of Tenanquiahuc and the chief authority of Cholula in 1519. (See IV-B2.)

The office of fiscal was in early colonial times occupied by the native lords, who usually cooperated closely with the Spanish authorities of church and convent:

The native aristocracy preserved this office by election, and often an Indian noble passed immediately from the position of governor in the Indian *Cabildo* to that of fiscal in the church or from the fiscal's position to the governorship.²⁶

I-A6.

San SalBa dor Anio 1549

San Salvador, año 1549.

San Salvador, in the year 1549.

The Church of San Salvador Achichipicayan, which was probably founded or consecrated in 1549. (See I-A7.) It is of course also possible that the dates shown on the churches may refer to foundation of villages or perhaps *haciendas*.

I-A7.

Achichipicayan

Achichipicayan.

San Salvador Achichipicayan or Achichipico. (See II-B12.) There is no village of that name today, but northeast of Xochimihuacan there is a ranch called Atzitzipicayotl shown on a map from 1908, and that might be the Achichipicayan of the codex.²⁷

I-A8.

tenanco .ocao tlaza Can

Tenanco .ocaotlazacan.

"The place of walls . . . ," situated on the codex at the edge of a tributary of the Atoyac, close to a spring.

I-A9.

matlalCueye

Matlalcueye.

Cerro Matlalcueye or Malinche. (See I-A1.)

Section I-B.

I-B1.

tiquintapanohua Amozoc

Tiquintapanohua Amozoc.

Here we pass to Amozoc. (See I-A1.)

This post-Conquest town could hardly have belonged to Cholula in 1586. It is located directly east of Puebla de los Angeles, in the area where must have been the borders of Cholula and the Province of Tepeaca in 1519. It is more likely that Amozoc in 1586 was under the jurisdiction of Puebla, which was bordered on the east by the Alcaldía Mayor of Tepeaca.²⁸

I-B2.

tepoxxchatla chiyecan ypanto tepan chololan ytech quimitaçque

. . . ipan totepan Cholollan. Itech quimittazque.

. . . on our land of Cholula. They will see it nearby.

The writing in this text is different from the remainder. "Tepoxxchatla" may refer to the spring named "Telpochatl" in Section IV-C, to the two springs inside the *traza* of Puebla, or perhaps just to one or several of those shown on the codex. The etymology of the word may be *tepuztli* - *atl* - *tilan* or *tepuxactlitan*. "Chiyecan" is possibly *chi* (chia?) - *yecatl* (soft water) - *n* (place), *yecan* (a good place), or *yexcan* (in three places). *Tepan* - really means "border" or "wall."

I-B3.

Amalih Can

Amalucan.

Cerro Amalucan, northeast of the city of Puebla. Near this hill there is also a *hacienda* called Amalucan.

I-B4.

Analco

Analco.

Analco was one of the sixteenth century indigenous wards of Puebla de los Angeles. It was originally situated outside the Spanish *traza*, on the eastern bank of the river San Francisco or Almoloya, which there formed a natural border between the Spanish and indigenous settlements. Today Analco is part of the urban area of Puebla.²⁹

I-B5.

Cuetlax Coapc

Cuitlaxcohuapan.

Cuetlaxcohuapan or Cuitlaxcohuapan are pre-Hispanic names for the area in which the Spaniards founded Puebla de los Angeles in 1531. (See Section II-B3, II-B5.)

I-B6.

hueycan tenexac

Hueycan tenexac.

"The large place of lime- or ash-water" or "the large place of slaked lime."³⁰

The text refers to the larger of the two springs depicted inside the *traza* of the City of Puebla. Puebla and its surrounding area are known for the many springs of drinking or sulphurous water, which are also mentioned in some historical sources.³¹

I-B7.

otliamococ

Otli Amozoc.

Otli Amozoc refer to a "road to Amozoc." That town is situated east of the city of Puebla, in the former district of Tecali.

I-B8.

co Sfra

San Francisco.

The convent of Saint Francis.

The Franciscan convent of Puebla was built outside the colonial *traza*, on the bank of the river San Francisco or Almoloya, on that side of the river

which was called Analco.³² It was in that area that the city was originally meant to stand, but then it was decided to move it further west off the swampy ground.³³

I-B9.

tenexac

Tenexac.

The place of lime- or ash-water. (See I-B6.)

This is the second and smaller spring depicted in the City of Puebla. Both are connected by small streams with the River Atoyac. They may be those mentioned by Carrión.³⁴

I-B10.

tepch xochio

Tepoxuchil.

Cerro Tepoxuchil, situated southeast of the city of Puebla, in the former district of Tecali.

I-B11.

XonaCatepec

Xonacatepec.

Santa María Xonacatepec is today a suburb in the municipal district of Puebla. In the sixteenth century, it was an indigenous settlement. It is situated near a low mountain, and the legend may refer to that.³⁵

I-B12.

yaotlalpan

Yaotlalpan.

"In the land of the enemy" or "in the land of war."

This may mean that the area was a former battleground, perhaps in pre-Hispanic times, or at the Conquest. There is also a possibility that the writer of the codex wanted to refer to Yancuitlalpan, an indigenous settlement in the ward of Analco.³⁶ (See I-B4.)

I-B13.

yaotlalpan

Yaotlalpan.

"In the land of the enemy" or "in the land of war". (See I-B12.)

Apart from the features and legends mentioned above, Section I-B shows a river which may be Alseseca, as well as other features which are either rivers or roads. As the codex has no colours, it is impossible to decide which. There is also a building, probably representing a village which is not identified by name. A number of persons are depicted who from their clothing appear to be Spaniards. The section also shows such natural features as trees and bushes.

Section I-C.

I-C1.

ynnehuatl Do Mar çelino acabixcatzi go inxpan motatamachihua
in quaxotli notlatocachante naquiyavac nictlatlatocaana

In nehuatl Don Marcelino Acapixcatzin . . . , motatamachihua in
quaxochtli notlacocachan Tenanquiahuac. Nictlatocana.

I, Don Marcelino Acapixcatzin . . . say that before me were
measured the borders of my royal home of Tenanquiahuac. I take it
over as ruler.

We cannot know when the events described above took place, nor can
we identify Don Marcelino except as a ruler of Tenanquiahuac, in whose time
the question of the borders of this ward were settled.

I-C2.

niCan tiqui tenoah ti mihoque

Nican tiquitemoah, timihoque.

Here we search, we . . .

The legend is difficult to read. Maybe the last word should rather be
titomique: we kill ourselves, we die? I might also read: nican tiquitemoa
Totimihuaque, i.e. "here we search for . . ." or perhaps better "here we
descend to the people of Totimehuacan." The legend is placed in the area of
Totimehuacan, which, however, is not shown on the codex.

I-C3.

totimihuacan atlixco calpan intla neltin quauhtinchan amoçoc acaxic
nopalocan tlacalaquaa nican tohuan tolan cholo lan

Totimihuacan, Atlixco, Calpan, intla neltin Quauhtinchan, Amozoc,
Acaxic, Nopalocan tlacalaquia nican tohuan Tollan Cholollan.

Totimehuacan, Atlixco, Calpan, . . . Quauhtinchan, Amozoc,
Acaxic, Nopalocan pay tribute together with us in Tollan Cholula.

Intla neltin if literally translated means "if true," but here it may read
"truly." According to Molina *tlacalaquia* means "to pay tribute," and the writer
probably wants to say that these towns as well as Cholula pay tribute or tax
to the Spaniards. Totimehuacan, Atlixco, and Calpan were towns which bordered
on the territory of Cholula in the southeast, south, and west respectively. Amozoc
is located east of Puebla, Acaxic or Acajete on the southern slope of the
Malinche, and Nopalucan de la Granja is a town in the northeastern part of
the former District of Tepeaca. Cuauhtinchan is situated east of Totimehuacan,
in the former District of Tecali.

I-C4.

quahtepe

Coatepec.

Cerro Coatepec, in the former District of Tecali or Cuauhtepec?

I-C5.

tlalqualte quitlan alte petl

Tlalqualtequitlan altepetl.

The town of Tlalqualtequitlan.

The name of this town is placed in the southeastern corner of the map, close to a hill. It may be somewhere in the area of Totimehuacan, but as the maker of the codex did not use a scale, it could be much farther south or east. In this corner there is also a picture of an Indian warrior, dressed in a breechclout. In one hand he carries a shield, and in the other an obsidian sword or *itzcuauhuitl*.³⁷ The hand-writing in the above text is different from that of the majority of the legends, but similar to that of Sections I-C1, I-C2, and I-C3.

Section II-A.

II-A1.

niCan mottas ynypan xihuitl ynoqui chi huaco teopatli ynico tiquin tepanoco tlax Callan tlaca y tlana caçcocen tlapal } tenanymolnamiquez y niquach Visorey Do Antonio Demen Doza Di 1549 Do Anio mar çelino tlaljuez sayeyexihuitl

Nican mottaz in ipan xihuitl, in oquichihuaco teopantli, inic tiquintepanoco tlaxcallan tlaca, itlanacazco centlapal. Tenan ic molnamiquez. In icuac Virrey Don Antonio de Mendoza de 1549. Don Antonio Marcelino, tlaljuez. Zan yeyi xihuitl.

Here will be seen the year when they came to build the church, when we settled the borders with the people of Tlaxcala, in the corner, on one side. The borders will be remembered. It was in the year of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. Don Antonio Marcelino, judge of the land. Just three years.

As already mentioned (I-A1), *tepanchua* is usually translated as "cross over, or pass to." In this case, however, I believe that it is more likely to be a verb formed from the noun *tepanitli* which means "wall or border." *Tenan* should possibly read *tepan*, or it might be connected with the noun *tenamitl*. It should be noted that the translation given above is very arbitrary.

"In the corner, on one side" may refer to the northeastern part of the area shown on the codex, where Cholula borders with Tlaxcala. The church may be that of San Lorenzo Almecatlan, which was founded or consecrated in 1549. (See Section II-A7.) The "three years" do not refer to the Viceroy,

who was in New Spain from 1535 to 1550,³⁸ but it may be the number of years it took to construct the church, or perhaps the period during which Don Antonio Marcelino was in office.

Don Antonio Marcelino was a judge, governor of Cholula, and Lord of Tenanquiahuc. (See V-C1.) In the above, he gives his signature to a text pertaining to the time of the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, but he does not actually state that he was present. In other texts, he signs statements about borders, but no dates are given for his activities.

There was a court called the *audiencia* in sixteenth century Tlaxcala whose judges were the Indian governor and the *alcaldes*.³⁹ Such was apparently also the case in Cholula. Some of the persons mentioned on the codex are called judge, and on the map attached to Rojas' "Description" there is a building called "audiencia."⁴⁰

Some of the sixteenth century governors and other principal men of Cholula are mentioned by name in various documents, but unfortunately I have found no reference to those of the codex, except in one case. (See IV-B2.) Another document, also from Cholula, was composed by a cacique called Capixhuatzin (Acapixohuatzin?), but after baptism his name became Geronimo de Mendoza, so he could hardly be identical with any of the personages in this codex.⁴¹

II-A2.

san chriçtopal Sal Salbadra san geronimo Sa Barteçal San Juan amatl San gbile choltecapan chaneque çaquiniticque cuitlaxcohuapan inlaca caquiC cholola quihuicaç que oncan mottaçque maniopa

San Cristobal, San Salvador, San Baltasar, San Juan amatl, San Gabriel Chololtecapan chaneque zan quinititizque Cuitlaxcohuapan inlaca. Ca ic Cholollan quihuicazque. Oncan mottazque; mani ompa.

This paper of San Cristobal, San Salvador, San Baltasar, and San Juan, the inhabitants of San Gabriel Cholula will show only to the people of Cuitlaxcohuapan. They will take it to Cholula. There it will be seen; it is there.

The "paper" is the codex where scenes from the Conquest are depicted and some of the events which took place at that time described. Of the towns cited, only San Christobal Toltzinco and San Salvador Achichipico appear on the codex. San Baltasar may be various towns or settlements in the area, and San Juan could perhaps be San Juan Cuauhtlantzinco, the *cabecera* of San Juan Cholula, or San Juan Aquiauac (see III-A17). San Gabriel Chololtecapan is undoubtedly the City of Cholula, but Chololtecapan was also the name given by the people of Cholula to a ward which they established in the City of Puebla de los Angeles.⁴²

It should be noted that there is no way of deciding from the grammatical construction of the sentence whether the people of Cuitlaxcohuapan would show the "paper" to the people of Cholula or vice versa. I think the latter

version is more probable, as the territory of Cuixtlan had in pre-Hispanic times belonged to Cholula. It was there that the Spaniards in 1531 founded Puebla, and the writer of the codex may have wished to remind them of the fact that the site of their city had been "given" to them by Cholula. (See II-B 3 and 5.)

In return for the aid of the people and caciques of Cholula in the pacification of their town and for their aid in spreading the Catholic faith, Cholula was in 1535 declared a City, with the title of San Pedro Cholula. At the same time, it was granted "una legua de las tierras por cada viento desde su iglesia" and use of the waters which descent from Istatepetle (*sic*), and right to enter the mountain of "the said Sierra Nevada."⁴³ It is of course possible that one of the legends refers to this grant, which was of a much smaller area than that covered by the codex.

In 1537, the caciques asked to have the name changed to San Gabriel Cholula, and the City of San Pedro Cholula was declared "con el título y advocación de San Gabriel," which became the name of the Franciscan church, founded in 1549.⁴⁴ Cholula is today officially known as Cholula de Rivadavia.⁴⁵

II-A3.

aquiCnexas

... nexac

... place of lye, i.e. alcalized water or perhaps ash-water. It refers to a spring. "Acuic" may be *atlacuic*: water-carrier or bucket.

II-A4.

atlacahtli

Atlacahtli.

Atlacahtli.

Name of a ravine or river, which runs from the Malinche into the Atoyac. (See III-B5.)

II-A5.

atlauhtli

Atlauhtli.

Large ravine.

A ravine which runs from the Malinche to the Atoyac. In the middle of this there is a spring which seems to connect with one of the rivers which run through Puebla.

II-A6.

Cuictla

Cuiztla.

Perhaps *huiztla*, "place of thorns"? It is located directly south of Toltzinco, on the opposite side of the river.

II-A7.

san loren so D 1549

San Lorenzo de 1549.

San Lorenzo, in 1549.

The church of San Lorenzo Almecatlan, which was founded or perhaps consecrated in 1549. On modern maps this town, in the municipal district of Cuauhtlancingo, is located on the western bank of the Atoyac, but is shown in the codex on the eastern bank. (See II-A1.)

II-A8.

tepopolo

Tepopolo.

Tepopolo.

This is a small hill, situated east of Xochimehuacan.

II-A9.

teneztetla amolonyan

Tenextetla amolonyan.

Place, of lime, where the spring comes forth.

The above is the name of a place west of the hill of Xochimehuacan, at the foot of a mountain, close to which there is a spring. (See Section I-A7.)

II-A10.

toltzinco

Toltzinco.

Toltzinco.

This place is situated north of Cuiztla, on the opposite side of the river or ravine. The place is apparently one of rushes and springs. This town or settlement was also called San Christobal Toltzinco (see II-B3). On a map of 1908, there is a ranch called Toltzinco situated north of Xochimehuacan and west of the Tlaxcalan border. (See Section I-A7.)

II-A11.

xochimehacan

Xochimehuacan.

San Pablo Xochimehuacan is a village in the *municipio* of Puebla. It is situated on the southeastern slope of the Malinche. On the codex this place is located at the foot of a hill, at the edge of which runs a large ravine (see II-A5.)
Section II-B

II-B1.

Do Andres Marcelino gve^o niquimaca nopilhuan noxhuihuan
quipiaçque nonemac

Don Andres Marcelino gobernador niquinmaca nopilhuan, noxhui-
huan. Quipiaçque nonemac.

I, governor Don Andrés Marcelino, give to my children and to my grandchildren. They shall have my gift.

The gift referred to in this text may be land granted to Don Andrés Marcelino as private property. It could also possibly be the codex, which he as a relative of Don Gabriel also hands down to his descendants, or perhaps to all the people of Cholula as a proof of their rights to the territory.

We know that Don Andrés was governor of Cholula in 1580, and his name appears prominently in one corner of the document (see IV-A3 and V-A1). He also gives his signature to a text about land which was granted to Doña María Ilamateuhtli by Cortés. It was apparently given to Doña María, "Queen of Cholula" as private property, and was enlarged through successive grants to her descendants in Tenanquiahuc (see II-C2). It does, however, seem as if the author or authors of the document were very confused on the question of which land belonged to Tenanquiahuc, and which was under the jurisdiction of the city as a whole. Perhaps, as they claimed to be the rulers of Cholula, the members of the Marcelino family considered it all to be theirs in any case.

The content of the codex indicates that the important positions in Cholula were for about a century occupied by persons of the ruling house of the ward of Tenanquiahuc. The historical sources do not agree on the form of government which existed in Cholula in pre-Hispanic times. Some, for instance, say that the town was governed by two High Priests, others that there was one secular and one priestly ruler, and there are those who state that there were no supreme rulers. Perhaps they refer to different epochs in the history of the city.

According to Torquemada, Cholula was governed by a "captain general" and a council of six nobles elected by the "Republic."⁴⁶ The city was divided into six great wards,⁴⁷ and had more than 40,00 inhabitants: 20,000 in the town, and 20,000 outside in the surrounding villages.⁴⁸

The pre-Hispanic *tecuhli* of a *calpulli* or ward was elected for life, and the office was not inherited by his descendants,⁴⁹ but it seems as if there was a growing tendency for an important position to continue in the same families. The governor, or highest authority of a tribe, which consisted of a confederation of wards, was also elected, but always from the same *calpulli*.⁵⁰

The indigenous rulers were in most cases recognized by Cortés, and later by the viceroys. They were allowed to use the Spanish "don," and were granted land as private property. In a *cédula* from 1538, it was decided that the native rulers should be called governors, and that their jurisdiction should include a village or town and its wards. They were of course always subject to a higher Spanish authority. The governors were to be elected for a term of one year, but reelection was possible, always subject to the approval of the viceroy.⁵¹ According to ancient custom, the governors continued to be elected from among the *principales* within the chief settlement, and not from the other wards.⁵²

If the above applied to Cholula, the information given in the codex would suggest that Tenanquiahuac had been the chief *calpulli* also in pre-Hispanic times. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the codex names a Don Antonio Tequahuehuetzin as Lord of Tenanquiahuac (see IV-B2). According to Gómara, the chief authority of Cholula at the time of the Conquest was called Tequahuehuetzin.⁵³ He was killed during the massacre, and Cortés elected another "captain general" called Don Tequahuehuetzin.⁵⁴

II-B2.

tolan chololan tiquinitlanelia caxtilteca centzon jenta cati macaçque cen cen xihuitl matlacpohuali carnicería ma . a . aro into nemac tiquintlanelmaca

Tollan Cholollan tiquinitlanelia caxtilteca centzon gente. Ca timacazque cecen xihuitl mahtlacpohualli . . . In tonemac tiquintlanelmaca.

Here in Tollan Cholollan we provide the Spaniards with four hundred men. We will give, each year, two hundred . . . Our gift we truly give them.

The text may refer to the people which Cholula among other towns had to supply for the construction of Puebla de los Angeles and other Spanish enterprises.

The "two hundred *carnicería* . . ." could be certain measures or weights of meat from the slaughterhouse, which was established in Cholula in 1583 for the purpose of providing meat for the Spaniards.⁵⁵

That the tribute is expressed as "gifts" is not unusual. There are many documents bearing reference to the tribute or taxes leveled on the City of Cholula as well as complaints from the people about it being excessive. It was paid in kind, money, or workers.

II-B3.

nican quipohuazque in tepihuan yniquacomo tlalito San fraco teupix que cuitlaxcolatacan quixelohua yntotlati lanalhuan Chololan in ce 1 san geronimo 2 san chtic topal toltzinco 3 s Salvador achichipico xonacatepec amatlan Sa gbiel chololteaapan

Nican quipohuazque in tepihuan in icuac omotlalito San Francisco teopixque Cuitlaxcohuapan. Quixelohua in totlatlilanhuan Cholollan: in ce. 1. San Geronimo, 2. San Cristobal Toltzinco, 3. San Salvador Achichipico, 4. Xonacatepec, 5. Amatlan, 6. San Gabriel Choloteapan.

Here the descendants of the people will read about how Cuitlaxcohuapan went to be founded by the Franciscan priests. They divide our land of Cholula as follows: first San Gerónimo, second San Cristóbal

Toltzinco, third San Salvador Achichipico, fourth Xonacatepec, fifth Amatlan, sixth San Gabriel Cholulteapan.

Other translations of the above are possible: *Cuitlaxcolatacan* might be *Cuitlaxcolapa acan* (*axcan?*), and the latter word belong to the following sentence which would read "Now they divide . . ."; *tlalilanaliztli* really means "drawing in ink," but in this case I have preferred to translate it as "land"; *xelohua* can also mean "distinguish" or "extend," and the sentence be translated "now they extend over land . . ."; *axcan* could be *acan*, and the translation "nowhere they distinguish our land . . . San Gabriel Cholulteapan should perhaps not be preceded by a numeral, that is to say that the preceding towns might be (formerly?) "of" Cholula.

The towns listed, except Cholula, are all east of the Atoyac, which probably then as today formed the border between Puebla and Cholula. *Cholulteapan* means "at the stony river of Cholula" or "at the river of the people of Cholula" (see II·A2). San Gerónimo is San Gerónimo Tecuanipan, shown in Section V·C6. Perhaps these towns were made into separate entities, or perhaps the writer wished to say that the Spaniards extended over this area.

The text is placed on the codex near the location of Cuitlaxcohuapan, and refers to the foundation of Puebla de los Angeles by the Spaniards, on soil which is claimed to have belonged to Cholula (see II·B5).

Cuetlaxcoapan⁵⁶ or Cuitlaxcohuapan are pre-Hispanic names for the area where the construction of the Spanish city of Puebla de los Angeles "thanks to the efforts of the friars" was begun on April 16, in the year 1530,⁵⁷ Motolinía may be wrong about the date, which was probably in 1531.⁵⁸ There was apparently no Indian settlement, at least of any importance, in Cuitlaxcohuapan at the time of the foundation of Puebla.⁵⁹

II·B4.

ynehuatl fra gbiel te Santa maria onictrasaro ynitlatilan ni Cuidada chollan aun noniquitac inucin mani inican inicoquista mapaccani cahuilija Do gbile marcelino çanin celqui piaçque inipi lhuanihuihuan ixquamolhuan inaicquitlaniliz que

In nehuatl Fray Gabriel de Santa Maria onictrazaro inin tlatlillan in ciudad de Cholollan, auh in onicquittac in quenin mani nican inin conquista. Mapacca nichuilia Don Gabriel Marcelino. Xan inel quipiaçque in ipilhuan, ixhuihuan, ixquamolhuan. In aic quitlanilizque.

I, Fray Gabriel de Santa María, drew this plan of the City of Cholula, and I saw how this conquest is here. Let me gladly hand it over to Don Gabriel Marcelino. Only his children, grandchildren, and descendants shall have it. They shall never get it away from them.

auh in might read *ca in* and the translation: because I saw . . . *Tlatillan* was probably meant to be *tlatlilanilli* which means "drawing in ink."

The text does not necessarily mean that Fray Gabriel was an eye-witness to the Conquest, but only that he came to Cholula and found out what had happened there. On the other hand, if the codex was made in the 1580's he could have been alive in 1519. The two last words of the first sentence may belong to the following, in which case the translation would be: . . . I saw how it is here. This Conquest Map I leave . . . (see III-C3).

Don Gabriel Marcelino was governor of Cholula in 1586, and in this same year Cholula received a grant of land from the Viceroy Alvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, Marqués of Villa Manrique. (See III-C3.) The codex was made for him by Fray Gabriel de Santa María. It was meant to be a title of land and a testament which would serve the descendants of Don Gabriel as proof of their rights to the land and perhaps high office. It is, however, impossible that the entire area covered by the codex could have belonged to Don Gabriel, or even to Cholula, in 1586. Most of the land east of the Atoyac probably belonged to Puebla. The remainder may of course have fallen within the jurisdiction of Cholula, and various documents from this period give some indication of this. I think, however, that the most probable answer to this whole question is that the maker of the codex wanted to show the territory which in pre-Hispanic times had belonged to Cholula, and next the events which took place there, at the Conquest and later.

This raises another interesting problem; how did the writer of the codex get his information? From Don Gabriel, Don Andrés, or others of the personages who gave their signatures to the texts? Were they all alive in 1586, or was the information perhaps taken from older documents which bore those signatures? Did Fray Gabriel supply some of the information? In that case, where did he get it from? Perhaps from documents, or oral traditions? There is of course no proof that the codex was made in 1586; it could have been made later, but it was probably intended to be a title of the land granted to Cholula in 1586, when Don Gabriel was governor.

It is not possible to answer the above questions and many of the others which have come up in the course of this study. It must be kept in mind that this codex is only a copy of one side of the original document, and also that the copyist may have made mistakes.

II-B5.

nican quitaçque inotimacaque in Caxtilteca in nican motlalizque
 cuitlaxcohupan tenexatzinco tiquimaca yntotlal yxtlahuatl noyehuantin
 señores quiseli ain nica motonahuac yeçque ynichueyac tonatih yquiçaya
 onaciaco quipiya celehua icpac onaci intepetl ynnitoca tepoçochiyo toaxca
 totepan chololan intonatiuh incalaçia can cytech onaci in tepetl yCui-
 tlapan inoocen tlapal onaci xoch imihuacan atlahtenco auhniç, SalBador
 quintilanoç çan yepa Cholan ynoç centlapal amatlan onaci Dogiel
 marçe lino Chichimecatlteuhtli gor chololan

Nican quittazque in otimacaque in Castilteca. In nican motlalizque Cuitlaxcohuapan-Tenexatzinco. Tiquimaca in total ixtlahuatl, no yehuantin seniores quiselia. In nican motonahuac yezque in ic hueyac. Tonatiuh iquizayan onaciaco. Quipia ce legua icpac, onaci in tepetl in itoca Tepoxochiyo, toxca, totepan Cholollan. In tonatiuh icalaquian, zan oytech onaci in tepetl in cuitlapan. In occecen tlapal, onaci Xochimihuacan atlahtenco. Auhniz Salvador quintilalaz. Zan yeppa Cholollan in occecen centlapal Amatlan onaci. Don Gabriel Marcelino Chichimecatl teuhtli, gobernador Cholollan.

Here they shall see what we gave the Spaniards. They shall settle down at Cuitlaxcohuapan-Tenexatzinco. We give them our land of the plain; they, the lords, also receive it. They shall be near us here at the river. Towards the east it arrives. At a league's distance there is a mountain called Tepoxuchil, it is our property, our land of Cholula. Towards the west, just nearby is the edge of the hill. On the other side is Xochimehuacan, at the edge of the ravine. And here Salvador will stretch out. Just before Cholula, on the other side, is Amatlan. Don Gabriel Marcelino Chichimecatl Teuhtli, governor of Cholula.

Hueyac means "sea," big water," or "length." I believe that the word here is most likely to refer to the River Atoyac, "the big water" east of Cholula. There is, however, a possibility that "hueyac" belong to the following sentence, which would then translate: from the sea in the east they came to arrive (the Spaniards).

Onaci could refer to the river meaning "it arrives," but I have preferred to translate it "there is" as I believe the text describes the territory which Cholula gave to the Spaniards. The literal translation would be "one arrives at." *Totepan* really means "our border, our wall." The second name given to Cuitlaxcohuapan is Tenexatzinco, and describes it as "the small or old place of lime water," which refers to the springs in the area (see I-B6, 1-B9).

The places cited are all east of the Atoyac, and they are probably the limits of Puebla at the time: Cerro Tepoxuchil in the southeast, Centepec west of the city, Xochimihuacan and San Salvador in the north, and Amatlan, a sixteenth century village in the area where Río Francisco runs into the Atoyac.

II-B6.

centepec

Centepec.

Cerro Centepec or San Juan, situated west of the city of Puebla. Today it is part of the residential district of the city.

II-B7.

otlitepeyecac

Otli Tepeyecac.

Road to Tepeyecac.

The legend probably refers to a road leading from Cholula towards the east through Puebla to the town of Tepeaca in the former District of Tecali. The town was called Segura de la Frontera by the Spaniards. Northwest of Cholula there is also a village of San Francisco Tepeyecac in the municipio of Texmelucan.

II-B8.

xmichapan yotzinco

. michapan yaotzinco.

. the river of fish, the small place of the enemy.

The above is the name of a place or a river located east of Xonacatepec. "The small or old place of the enemy" might refer to the fact that fighting took place here, or that the enemy camped here, perhaps at the time of the Conquest (see I-B12). Close to this place there is a figure of a Spaniard with an object in his hand which may be a sword. These references to "places of war" are probably connected with the fact that this is a "map of the Conquest."

II-B9.

yxtlahuacate quixquitlan

Ixtlahuaca tequixquitlan.

The plain in the place of *tequixquites*.

The legend probably refers to a tract of uncultivated and deserted land. *Ixtlahuaca* means "plan" or "deserted land." It may, however, also mean "battlefield" and refer to fighting having occurred here, at the Conquest or earlier. (See II-B8.)

Section II-C.

II-C1.

ynnem actli cecen xihuitl matlacpoalli ynmacuilpohuali San franco
teupixque Comaçque ynocmaCuil pohualiComaçque ynipilhua inpilli
Do giel macelino govero anos 1586

In nematicli cecen xihuitl mahtlacpohualli: in macuilpohualli San
Francisco teupixque comacazque, inoc macuilpohualli comacazque in
ipilhuan in pilli Don Gabriel Marcelino, gobernador años 1586.

The gifts each year are two hundred: a hundred they will give to the Franciscan priests, and yet another hundred they will give to the children of the Lord Don Gabriel Marcelino, governor in the year 1586.

The "gifts" are not specified. They may have consisted of money, goods, or perhaps workers.

A heavy burden of tribute rested on the Indians in early colonial times. Not only did they have to pay to the Spanish authorities, but they also supported the church and clergy as well as their own indigenous rulers.

According to Fray Gabriel de Santa María, this codex was made for Don Gabriel and his descendants. However, the tribute referred to above is not for him, but for his children. Was this clause included in the "testament" as a promise by the people of Cholula to support the descendants of Don Gabriel, or does it refer to a date later than 1586? (See II-B4.)

II-C2.

ynin amatl conquista ynnemac toxhuihuan tenanquiyaVac amocana
oc cecan tonemaccan y Cel totzitzin ylamateuhtli quimo sehli Cortes
Do An dres marçelino acapixohuatzin

Inin amatl conquista in nemac toxhuihuan Tenanquiahuac. Amocan,
aoc, cecan. Tonemacan icel tocihtzin Ilamateuhtli quimocehli Cortes.
Don Andres Marcelino Acapixohuatzin.

This paper of the conquest is a gift to the future inhabitants of Tenanquiahuac. It is for those who are now nowhere, to those not yet born, who will be somewhere. Our gift, solely our grandmother Ilamateuhtli received from Cortés. Don Andrés Marcelino Acapixohuatzin.

"This paper of the Conquest" is the codex, which is to be handed down to the future inhabitants of Tenanquiahuac. "Our gift" may refer to the land which Cortés granted to Doña María Ilamateuhtli, the "Queen" of Tenanquiahuac, perhaps in return for her services in revealing the "treason" to the Spaniards. The lords, governors, judges, and fiscals of this codex were her descendants. However, as already discussed, the territory covered by the document could not possibly have belonged to Tenanquiahuac, which presumably was a ward of Cholula, and the land which it might have owned is not indicated. Don Andrés, who signed, was governor in 1580 and probably a predecessor of Don Gabriel.

II-C3.

Do Ato^o marçelino Juez totlalpan niqumittitiaco intotatzin quaxuchtli
Don Antonio Marcelino, juez totlalpan, niqumittitiaco in to-
tahtzintzin cuaxochtli.

I, Don Antonio Marcelino, judge of our land, came to show the boundaries to our fathers.

We do not know when Don Antonio was judge. The text may refer to a settlement of boundaries, perhaps that in 1586, or perhaps an earlier one. It may also simply mean that Don Antonio showed the Franciscan fathers the

territory which belonged to Cholula. It may have been to those who came first, or it may have been at a later period, possibly when the codex was going to be painted by Fray Gabriel.

II-C4.

Callocan quahtla

Callocan Cuauhtla.

The houses or streets of Cuauhtla?

The text refers to a rectangular building, which probably represents a settlement situated east of Ocoyucan. It may also mean "the place of the houses or streets in the wood."

II-C5.

Malacatepec

Malacatepec.

Santa María Malacatepec in the municipality of Ocoyucan in the former District of Cholula. The village is situated west of the River Atoyac, but considerably farther south than is indicated on the codex. Gabriel Rojas mentions a place called Malacatepec "en termino desta ciudad . . . junto al Rio Atoyac";⁶⁰ perhaps he refers to a place situated farther north.

II-C6.

D 1549 SM^a

De 1549 Santa María.

In 1549 Santa María.

This may be the church of Santa María Malacatepec, here claimed to be founded (or perhaps consecrated) in 1549. In that case, however, it has been placed on the wrong side of the Atoyac.

Section III-A.

III-A1.

auh yntotatzin ynoquinmacac teoCuitla Cactli . y nto tlacalaquil
ta . h yo

Auh in totahtzin in oquimacac teocuitla cactli. In totlacalaquil . . .

And our father gave them . . . It was our tribute . . .

Teocuitla cactli are "metal sandals." It is perhaps more likely that the writer meant horseshoes, which in Nahuatl is *tepuzcactli*. As there is no reference to the epoch of this gift, it is impossible to decide which. "Our father" is probably in this case the ruler of governor of Cholula who donated these things to the Spaniards.

III-A2.

Do marselino acapixo atzin CaniCanan quittaçque ynoniC

(The remaining text of the *Codex of Cholula* will appear in Tlalocan V: 4).