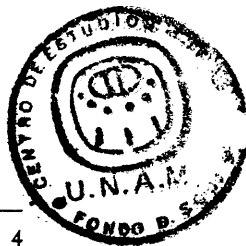


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THE CODEX OF CHOLULA: A PRELIMINARY STUDY

PART II

BENTE BITTMANN SIMONS

macaly Visorey Cos tic teocoytlaxamicalli

Don Marcelino Acapixohuatzin ca nican quittazque, in onicmacac in Virrey costic teocuitla xamicalli.

Here they will see how I, Don Marcelino Acapixohuatzin, gave the Viceroy golden bars.

As in the former legend, neither Don Marcelino nor the Viceroy can be identified. *Xamicalli* means "brick," but here it must refer to either golden bars or other golden objects of a similar shape.

III-A3.

CaníCan tiquinCeli que totatzin co . tic namicque Viçorey D Anto
DemenDos
Do Marçe
lino

Ca nican tiquincelique. Totahtzin . c oticnamicque Virrey Don Antonio de Mendoza. Don Marcelino.

We received them here . . . Our father, the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza we met. Don Marcelino.

This may refer to the Viceroy's stay in Cholula just before leaving Mexico. It was there he met the new viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco.⁶¹

III-A4.

yniquincahualtiqui yn maxtlatl y nicquahuatl yn Chimali y quach hualmo huiCac Viçorey Do loyç De Velaç co Ano 1564

In oquincahualtique in maxtlatl, in itzcuahuatl, in chimalli, icuac hualmohuicac Virrey Don Luis de Velasco año 1564.

They . . . breech-clouts, obsidian swords, and shields, when the Viceroy Don Luis de Velazco came in the year 1564.

At least two different interpretations can be given to the above. *Cahuaktia* may mean "prohibit," in which case the use of the mentioned objects was forbidden the Indians. However, *cahua* means "remain," and *tlacahua* can be "pay tribute," "leave with," "abandon," or "wear," and the natives could have brought the Viceroy these things, or perhaps worn them at dances in his honour. From the above it would appear that Don Luis de Velazco actually came to Cholula during his last year in office.⁶² Cholula must still have been an important town in these days, since for instance Mendoza had arranged to meet his successor there, rather than in the Spanish town of Puebla. (See III-A3.)

III-A5.

ynoquinmaca Co qua Comalli yxa cahueextli han y niCuac huamohuicac Visorey Do martin Viques 1568

In oquinmacaco . . . , in icuac hualmohuicac Virrey Don Martin Enriquez 1568.

They came to give them . . . , when the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez came in 1568.

There is no indication as to who gave these objects to whom, only that it happened in 1568, when the Viceroy came, perhaps to Mexico, perhaps to Cholula. The year for the arrival of Don Martin Enriquez de Almansa in New Spain is correct.⁶³ *Cuauhcomalli* are "comales of wood," but in this case the word must refer to some other objects, perhaps shields. It may possibly be another word for *cuauhcomitl*: pulpit. *Xacahueextli* (xacalli—huelyexcantli?) may be another word for *xacalquauiztli*: the upper part of a roof. In that case the legend might refer to the construction or repair of a church, but the above interpretation is very doubtful. It is also possible that the word should read *tlacahualiztli*, i.e. tribute.

III-A6.

S fraco teopixque y naçico.

San Francisco teopixque in acico.

The Franciscan priests arrived.

The text is placed immediately above a picture of two monks in front of whom is a kneeling figure, presumably an Indian. We do not know when the Franciscans first came to Cholula, but only that they had a convent there by 1529, and that it was later than those at Huexotzinco and Tlaxcala.

III-A7.

atoyac.

Atoyac.

Río Atoyac. This river runs across the entire eastern part of the codex, and forms the border between the adjoining territories of the Cities of Puebla and Cholula.

III-A8.

Coaqualocan.

Cuacualoyan.

Santiago Cuacualoyan or Guacualoyan is the name of an hacienda, situated on the River Atoyac, about three kilometers northeast of Ocotlán. It is shown on present-day maps, and the name also occurs in an eighteenth century lawsuit.⁶⁴

III-A9.

Colo nanCo

Coronango.

Santa María Coronango is the chief town of the municipality of the same name. It is situated about two and a half kilometers northeast of Ocotlán, on a small hill, at the foot of which runs a river.

III-A10.

Cuitlitzcotecpan

Cuitlizco tecpan.

The *tecpan* or government building of Cuitlizco.

In this and the following five sections are pictured and named some of the ancient *cabeceras* and wards of Cholula. Few of these names are used today. The people of Cholula usually refer to the various divisions of their city by their saints' names only. According to Torquemada pre-Hispanic Cholula was divided into six great wards,⁶⁵ and this division continued into colonial times as indicated by Gabriel Rojas⁶⁶ and other sixteenth century writers. In this connection it is interesting to note that many of the names of the wards correspond to those of the *calpulli* established in Cholula by the Tolteca-Chichimeca and others.⁶⁷

In "Suma de visitas" Cuytlisco (*sic*) is mentioned as a ward in the *cabecera* of Santiago of Cholula.⁶⁸

III-A11.

Coquitla.

Zoquitla.

Zoquitla means "place of mud." The legend refers to a spring from which flows a small river, a tributary of the Atoyac. It may be in the vicinity of the village of San Martín Zoquiapan, in the municipio of Coronango.

III-A12.

metlapanapan

Metlapanapan.

Río Metlapanapan is a tributary of the Atoyac, and runs east and north of Cholula.

III-A13.

mihuacan

Mihuacan.

San Antonio Mihuacan, in the municipio of Coronango. (See Section I-A7.)

III-A14.

oCotlan

Ocotlan.

San Francisco Ocotlan, in the municipio of Coronango in the former district of Cholula.

III-A15.

otlitlaxcallan

Otlí Tlaxcallan.

Road to Tlaxcala.

The text refers to a road, leading from Cholula towards the north to Tlaxcala. This road is also shown on the map attached to the "Descripción" by Rojas.⁶⁹

III-A-16.

qua hui ten Co

Quahuitenco.

. . . An unidentified settlement south of Coronango. "Place at the edge of the wood"?

III-A17.

t̄c̄cauhyocan

Tzauhyocan.

Zauhyocan.

"Place where they have glue." A small hill situated north of Río Metlapanapan.

III-A18.

teCpan quicVaC

Tecpan Tenanquiahuc?

The government building of Tenanquiahuc?

The legend is placed close to the picture of the building on which the name is also written. The *barrio* of Tenanquiahuc was the "royal home" of the Marcelino family, whose members were the governors, judges, and *fiscales* of Cholula. It was for this family that the Codex of Cholula was made by Fray Gabriel de Santa María in the time of Don Gabriel Marcelino. (See II-B4.) Tenanquiahuc means "place of the suburb" or "place of the gate or entrance of the wall." The etymology indicates that the ward was outside the actual city. The name is not known in Cholula today, but "Suma de visitas" has a ward of San Andrés called Aquiaquaque which still exists under the name of San Juan Aquiahuac.⁷⁰ It may possibly be that Aquiahuac was at one time known as Tenanquiahuc. The ward, however, in the municipality of San Andrés is situated east of the large pyramid near some springs known as "the springs of Aquiahuac." If Tenanquiahuc were Aquiahuac, it should have been placed somewhere in the neighbourhood of the spring and reeds behind the pyramid in Section III-B

III-A19.

tenanqui auac

Tenanquiahuac.

Tenanquiahuac. The legend is written on the *tecpan* of this ward. (See above.)

III-A20.

tollan

tlacpac.

Tollan tlacpac.

"Above Tollan, upon Tollan," "above the metropolis," or "above the place of the rushes" (see III-B4, IV-C1)? Tlacpac may also possibly be the ward of Tlaquipaue, in the *cabecera* of Tequepa (*sic*), presumably Tecpan in Cholula.⁷¹

III-A21.

yçquen tla

Izquentla.

Izquentla refers to a building, probably the *tecpan* of this ward. It is mentioned in "Suma de visitas" as belonging to the *cabecera* of Santiago Cholula.⁷² Two pre-Hispanic buildings called Izquentla are shown on a map made by Luis Cuautle Gómez.⁷³ It is interesting to note how each "tecpan" of the codex is depicted in a different manner. Some are obviously larger than others, some have towers, and on some the windows are shown. Some are clearly made of stone or brick, where as others seem to be of wood or painted.

Section III-B.

III-B1.

De 1521 Ilamateuhltli descubrió la traición a 3 de agosto.

De 1521 Ilamateuhltli descubrió la traición a 3 de agosto.

In 1521 Ilamateuhltli discovered the treason on the third of August.

The above text is written entirely in Spanish, and again the question of the identity of the writer of the document is posed. Was he an Indian who had learnt some Spanish and the use of European letters? Or perhaps a Spaniard who knew Nahuatl? However, there are mistakes in the Spanish as well as the Nahuatl, but they might, of course, have been made by the copyist.

Ilamateuhltli means "old queen" or "old principal." It was also the name of a goddess, but in this document I believe it was used as a personal name or perhaps a title given to the wife of the principal ruler of Cholula, or to those of the six nobles. Gabriel Rojas relates that the city was governed by two High Priests, whereas Torquemada states that the priests were members of the council of nobles.

The author of the document appears to be wrong about his dates. This is of course perfectly understandable, especially if he was trying to correlate dates from the indigenous calendar with those of the European system. His hypothetical sources might also have been mistaken. The event referred to is presumably

that which took place when the Spaniards first arrived in Cholula from Tlaxcala in October, 1519. The so-called massacre or punishment of the Cholultecas happened a few days later, as punishment for their supposed treason.⁷⁴ Apart from Boturini, who based his information on the Codex of Cholula, the name of the "old woman, wife of a cacique" who told Malinche about the plans made against the lives of the Spaniards has not been given in any of the historical documents referring to the event.⁷⁵

Immediately below the text, there is a picture of Malinche or Marina, holding hands with Cortés on one side and Doña María Ilamateuhtli on the other. Cortés seems to be carrying a banner in his left hand. On three sides they are surrounded by scenes from the massacre, very realistically painted: Indians, scantily dressed, with their obsidian swords, shields, or bows and arrows, and the Spaniards, one of which is on horseback, with their characteristic arms of war. As noted by de la Maza, these paintings bear a striking similarity to those in the Lienzo of Tlaxcala.⁷⁶ Apart from the general scenes of battle, which are very similar in the two codices, Marina is wearing an almost identical checkered huipil, and the two horses and their riders are very much alike. I think we can safely assume that the maker of the Codex of Cholula had seen the Lienzo of Tlaxcala. Frans Blom has described another document which also seems to have been inspired by the "Lienzo of Tlaxcala." It is the "Lienzo of Analco, Oaxaca," a colonial map, painted on cloth.⁷⁷ Apart from geographical features, it also shows a massacre with all its cruelties which takes place in a large city with a pyramid, fighting Indians and Spaniards, and a picture of Malinche and Cortés. All the figures are in miniature, and some of the Spaniards are on horseback. From the description and a few drawings given by Blom this *lienzo* also appears to be very similar to the Codex of Cholula. Blom thinks that it may actually show the massacre in Cholula, or possibly the conquest in Oaxaca by the troops of Gaspar Pacheco. As he was only able to consult the document for a short while, and as it bears no glyphs or text, he could not determine which.⁷⁸

III-B2.

ytectecal calcala quico S faco teo pix que 1549

Itech teocalcallaquico San Francisco teopixque 1549.

The Franciscan priests came to enter the church in 1549.

The Franciscans were in Cholula long before 1549. (See III-A6.) The text possibly refers to the foundation of San Gabriel Cholula in 1549, and that may be the building represented immediately below.

III-B3.

la reyna testa cuiDd Da maria llama teuhtli marçerino

La reina de esta ciudad Dona María Ilamateuhtli. Marcelino.

Queen of this city was Doña María Ilamateuhtli. Marcelino.

Here, as in many others of the texts, one wonders why the writer used Spanish words when perfectly adequate ones existed in Nahuatl. Was Ilamateuhtli really the wife of the supreme ruler of Cholula, or was she merely married to one of the principals of the ward of Tenanquiahuaac and later glorified as "queen"

by her descendants, the "Marcelino" family. The text is signed by Marcelino, but there is no way of knowing which of the many mentioned by this name in the codex.

III-B4.

tlolan chololan tla chihual te pec

Tollan Cholollan Tlachihualtepec.

The artificial hill of Tula-Cholula.

The text may also be translated "the metropolis of Cholula in the place of the artificial hill." "Tollan" with the meaning of "metropolis" has been used for Tenochtitlan, as well as for three other great cities in Mesoamerica; Teotihuacán, Cholula, and Tula, Hgo.⁷⁹ Tollan Cholollan or Cholula had close connections, as indicated by both documents and archeological studies with Teotihuacán and Tula (see IV-C1), and the three cities were probably inhabited by peoples with common cultural roots, the "Toltecs," the great artists and masterbuilders. "Tollan" appears several times in this codex, and although it can perhaps not be considered a very authentic historical source, it does once more bring to mind the question of the "Tollan" of the historical sources. Does it perhaps not after all primarily refer to Teotihuacán and/ or Cholula rather than Tula in Hidalgo? Or a city even earlier than Teotihuacán? The most likely explanation of this whole question is probably that the historical sources had their "Tollans" confused. Tollan may of course simply mean "place of rushes," and "donde están los tules blancos" is one of the ancient names for Cholula.⁸⁰

Tlachihualtepec or Tlachihualtepetl have also been used in the historical sources to designate that ancient city, as for example in the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca,"⁸¹ and in the "Descripción de Cholula" by Gabriel Rojas.⁸²

The large pyramid of Cholula is placed approximately in the center of the codex. A road leads up to the top of the mound, the upper part of which is shown to be constructed of adobe bricks or stone. There is, however, nothing on top of the pyramid: no hermitage as suggested by the comments on the codex by Boturini,⁸³ and not even a cross.⁸⁴ The first hermitage to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios was built in 1594,⁸⁵ but as it does not appear here, and as the translations given by Boturini of the Nahuatl text on the original codex may be wrong, there is no definite evidence for dating the codex to 1594 or later as suggested by Bandelier.⁸⁶

III-B5.

yn nixquixtin ne cocatlatlaca camochiy yaohuan in Cortes çan ixquich

In ixquichtin necoc atlahcatlaca. Ca mochi yaohuan in Cortes, zan ixquich.

All were on both sides of the ravine. . . . All were the enemies of Cortés, just all of them.

The text refers to the event which became known as the "treason of the Cholutecas," and which was revealed to Malinche by Doña María Ilamateuhli.

This in turn led to the slaughter of the supposed traitors. Cortés, for example, relates how many of Moctezuma's warriors were waiting outside Cholula, probably near or in the ravines, and how they had arranged with the people of Cholula to attack and kill the Spaniards.⁸⁷ Perhaps they were waiting in the "atlaçtli" pictured in Section II-A.

III-B6.

yacuican hualaque ynican mitohua in tocatzín y teupixque S franCo
fray miguel dese. Ila fray jacobó Re ribiz fray anDres metosa

Yancuican ohuallaque in nican, mitohua, intocatzín teopixque San Francisco: fray Miguel de Se . Ila, fray Jacobo de Ribiz, fray Andres Mendoza.

For the first time came here, it is said, the priests of San Francisco. They were called Fray Miguel de Se . Ila, Fray Jacobo de Ribiz, and Fray Andrés Mendoza.

The text may refer to the arrival of the first Franciscans in Cholula. As already mentioned, they had a monastery there at least as early as 1529. The above mentioned names do not appear in any of the historical sources known to me. It should also be kept in mind that *yancuican* may not only mean "for the first time," but also "recently" or "again." This part of the codex is badly torn, and *intocatzín* may possibly belong to the end of the third line.

III-B7.

tlaxcalla ynyaCuican in yacuican ohual mohuicac obispo temoqua
ipilico ynnican Cholula yhuan quimoteuchiuhilico sa franco teupan
Do fray Zuo

Tlaxcallan in yancuican ohuالمohuicac obispo. Temoquaipilico in nican Cholullan, ihuan quimoteochiuhilico San Francisco teopan, Don Fray Juan.

From Tlaxcala recently came the bishop. He, Don Fray Juan, came to marry people here in Cholula, and he came to bless the Franciscan church.

No date is given, so we cannot know which bishop the writer referred to. Perhaps it was Fray Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico,⁸⁸ or perhaps Fray Julián Garcés, the first bishop of Tlaxcala.⁸⁹ The translation might also be: to Tlaxcala came for the first time . . . *Ipilia* really means to "tie a band around" or to "join," perhaps it is "marry" here.

III-B8.

cocoyo

Cocoyo.

Cocoyo.

The legend refers to a building, perhaps a pyramid. It is at least in part built of brick. In the middle are drawn two circles, which may be openings of some kind. This construction may be the so called Cerro de la Cruz, an artificial

mound in the City of Cholula, situated a little more than a hundred meters west of the large pyramid. According to Bandelier⁹⁰ and tradition current in Cholula today, the first mass was said there after the arrival of Cortés in 1519. (See Section IV-B1.)

III-B9.

Cortes

Cortes.

Hernando Cortés, conqueror of Mexico. The legend refers to the picture described in III-B1.

III-B10.

cortes

Cortes.

Hernando Cortés. (see IV-A6.)

III-B11.

ec

eztli.

Blood. The scribble to which the legend refers represents blood flowing in the streets of Cholula after the massacre. The slaughter of the Cholultecas and the destruction of their city by the Spaniards and their Tlaxcalan allies were depicted in the Lienzo de Tlaxcala⁹¹ and have been described by the informants of Sahagún⁹² as well as by some of those who were present, as for example Cortés,⁹³ Tapia,⁹⁴ and Bernal Díaz.⁹⁵

III-B12.

ectli

Eztli.

Blood represented by the lines below the legend. (See above.)

III-B13.

maquictlan

Maquiztlan.

Maquiztlan

The legend refers to a spring, situated near the large pyramid. It gives rise to a small stream, which flows into the Atoyac. The etymology of the word may be *maquiztli*: ring.

III-B15.

quezoco

Quezoco.

... The text is placed immediately south of the road leading to Tepeacac, close to the large pyramid.

III-B16.

Tepeotli

Tepeyecac otli.

Road to Tepeaca, a continuation of the one described in II-B7.

III-B17.

tetepetzin

Tetepetzin.

"The small hill of stone."

The legend refers to a hill, situated east of the large pyramid in Cholula.

III-B18.

tezCa Coac

Tezcacoac.

"The place of the shining snake."

This is the name of a spring, located on the codex north of the large pyramid in Cholula.

III-B19.

tianquic nahac

Tianquiznahuac.

Tianquiznahuac or Tianqueznauaque is mentioned in a sixteenth century source as one of the wards of the *cabecera* of Tequepa.⁹⁷ Rojas also refers to the ward of Tianquiznahuac "which today is called San Miguel,"⁹⁸ that is to say San Miguel Tecpan.

III-B20.

tlaco . octle

Tlaco . . .

Half . . . ?

The legend appears to refer to a curiously shaped construction, situated immediately below the picture of Malinche, Ilamateuhtli, and Cortés. It is also possible that it is connected with the Indian warrior close by.

III-B21.

tolCue Cuexac

Tolcucuexac.

"place of reeds." Name given to the area west of the large pyramid where on the codex are painted groups of reeds or rushes.

III-B22.

tollan

Tollan

Tula, metropolis, or "place of rushes." The name may have been put in this place to designate a particular part or ward of Cholula, or may be the whole city, the metropolis. (See III-A20, III-B4.)

III-B23.

ustoma

Ostuma.

Ostuma was a sixteenth century ward in the *cabecera* of Tequepa or San Miguel Tecpan of Cholula,⁹⁹ which corresponds to the present day ward of San Miguel.

III-B24.

xoloman atenco
 Xoloman Atenco.
 Xoloman at the edge of the water.

This legend is placed on the road which leads to Tepeaca. The water may be the River Metlapanapan.

Section III-C.

III-C1.

ynaquiquequi pehqe intlato caamatl amo yntequih yez yntla calaquili maquimitavcan y naquiquequipo huazque

In aquique quepeuhque intlatoca amatl, amo in tequih yez tlalauili. Maquimittacan in quipohuazque.

Those who began the royal paper will not have the responsibility of paying tribute. Let them see whom they will count.

The "royal paper" is the codex, and it would appear that the ruling family of Tenanquiahua, the "Marcelinos" did not have to pay tribute to the Spaniards, who would have to get it from other sources. Was this perhaps a promise from Cortés to Doña María Ilamateuhli?

III-C2.

yaquisayan	tonaliquipia
ycaquiya	tonalli 2 lehuayec
cacopa	3 yhuan tlaco
yopochcopa 4	nixpan Do Ato ^o marcelino
acapixaoteitli tenaquiahua	

In aquizayan tonalli quipia. . . Icalaquian tonalli 2 legua, yeccacopa 3 ihuan tlaco, yopochcopa 4. Nixpan Don Antonio Marcelino Acapixohuateuhli Tenanquiahua.

It has to the east . . . To the west two leagues, to the right three and a half, and to the left four. Before me: Don Antonio Marcelino Acapixahuatuehli of Tenanquiahua.

The text refers to the territory which was owned by Cholula, probably at the time the Codex was made. The ancient Mexicans took their bearings from the west, so the right would be to the north, and the left to the south.¹⁰⁰ The Spaniards used different leagues, which in length ranged from a little under four kilometers to just under seven and a half kilometers, and there is no way of knowing to which the writer here referred.¹⁰¹ If we use leagues of five kilometers, the territory of Cholula would be within the following limits: to the west about two and a half kilometers west of Papaxtla, to the north Atoyatenco, and to the south about five kilometers south of Malacatepec. These

are approximately the borders shown on the codex, so the league used must have been a little under or a little over five kilometers. The distance to the east has been left out, but we know that Cholula bordered on the City of Puebla, probably at the Atoyac, and furthermore that San Salvador Achichipicayan in the northeast fell under the jurisdiction of Cholula. (See III-C1.)

III-C3.

fray gabriel desantamaria niquitohua ynin coquista mapacaneltocos y nix pan Visorey in nanoso sala Real yn tlay tla tlalli ytlacahuiz ynin tlatl mecatl tlalmatl 1 in malacatepec 2 tecuanipan 3 zacatepec 4 tlaltenanco 5 Xochtlan 6. michapan 7 achichipican ym tlatoca tla li quimomaqui liya Visorey manquez Villa Marique D 1586

Fray Gabriel de Santa María niquitohua inin conquista mapacaneltocaz in ixpan Virrey in anozo Sala Real, intla itlatlalli itlacahuiz. Inin tlamecatl tlalmatl: 1. Malacatepec, 2. Tecuanipan, 3. Zacatepec, 4. Tlaltenanco, 5. Xochtlan, 6. Michapan, 7. Achichipican. Inin tlatoca tlalli quimomaquila Virrey Marquez de Villa Manrique de 1586.

I, Fray Gabriel de Santa María, say that this map of the conquest shall be believed before the Viceroy or in the *audiencia*, if the imperial law is corrupted. This book of land measurements includes: first malacatepec, second Tecuanipan, third, Zacatepec, fourth Tlaltenango, fifth Xochtlan, sixth Michapan, and seventh Achichipican. These royal lands are given by the viceroy, the Marquis of Villa Manrique in 1586.

Other translations of the above are possible: the first sentence may read "... inin conquista mapacca neltocas", i.e. may this Conquest be calmly believed; the following sentence could be reconstructed "... intla itla tlalli ... cahuiz, inin tlalmecatli tlamaitl. . .", i.e. if some land is missing (Cholula's ownership is questioned?), then (we have proof that) these measures of land, these "varas" . . . are given . . .

According to this text, the codex is obviously a title of land given to Cholula by Alvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, Marqués de Villa Manrique, who was viceroy from 1585 to 1590.¹⁰² All the places listed, except Zacatepec, which may be Santa María Zacatepec, situated southwest of Coronango, are shown on the codex. The area included in the grant is within the following limits: from Malacatepec in the southeast to Tecuanipan, including Acozautla and Tlamapa in the southwest; from Tecuanipan to Zacatepec and Tlaltenango in the northwest, and from Tlaltenango to Xoxtla and San Salvador Achichipicayan in the northeast. In this case the writer excluded the area which must have belonged to Puebla. (See Section II-B5 and III-C2.)

This paper was to serve as a guarantee before the Audiencia in Mexico, if the rights of the City of Cholula to these lands were doubted, and if the laws of the country were ignored or "corrupted". I have chosen this last interpretation, as Motolinia translates *itlacau* as "corromperse, dañarse" and *itlatlalli* as "empe-rador, ley imperial".¹⁰³

III-C4.

guaxuentli
Quaxochtli.
Border.

The legend refers to a borderline south of Santa Clara Ocoyucan, which on the codex is placed southwest of Malacatepec. In reality, however, Malacatepec is directly south of Ocoyucan, but perhaps it is another Malacatepec, situated further north. (See Section II-C5.)

III-C5.

S ta Clara D 1549
Santa Clara de 1549.
Santa Clara in 1549.

The text refers to the church of Santa Clara Ocoyucan, which presumably was founded in 1549.

III-C6.

aCatepec
Acatepec.

San Francisco Acatepec is a village about six kilometers south of the city of Cholula in the municipio of San Andrés Cholula: It is situated at the foot of a hill, and the legend may refer to that.

III-C7.

Collomach Co tecpan
Collomachco tecpan.

The *tecpan* or government building of Collomachco.

One of the six wards of Cholula listed in a sixteenth century source is San Andrés Collomachco.¹⁰⁴ It is also mentioned among the wards of Cholula in "Suma de visitas".¹⁰⁵ Today there are a church and a ward known as San Pedro Colomoxco in the municipality of San Andrés Cholula.

III-C8.

nepalualtopel
Nepallualtepetl.

. . . The legend refers to a small hill, situated on the codex west of Ocoyucan.

III-C9.

oCoyoCan
Ocoyocan.

Santa Clara Ocoyucan is the chief town in the municipality of Ocoyucan. It is situated directly south of Cholula.

III-C10.

tematla quahuil
Tematlacuahuil.
Woden sling.

This is apparently not a place name, but refers to the drawing immediately below. The etymology of the word is *tematlatl* (sling) and *cuahuatl* (wood).¹⁰⁶ The drawing does not look like a sling. The writer might have wished to refer to an *atlatl*, or may be an *itzcuahuatl*.

III-C11.

yaticpac

Actipac.

Actipac. A few kilometers south of Cholula, at the foot of a hill, there is a spring from which flows a small river. The spring, the river, and a ranch situated on top of the hill are called Actipac. Perhaps this spring is the "round fountain" mentioned by Motolinia in his "History".¹⁰⁷

III-C12.

yohualtian quico tepan

Yohualtianquizco tecpan.

The government building of Yohualtianquizco.

The legend refers to an unidentified ward of Cholula, where the market or *tianguiz* probably was held. *Tianquisco* is shown on the map by Rojas, and it may of course on the codex simply refer to the market-place. *Yohual* should perhaps be *yual*: round, or circular. *Yohual* means "of the night", and if that is the etymology of the word, it might refer to a pre-Hispanic sanctuary.

III-C13.

yztenenetlatlacao

Iztenenetlatlacao.

Iztenenetlatlacao.

The legend refers to a building. It may be the artificial mound of adobe, today known as Cerro Acozac. It is situated southwest of the large pyramid of San Pedro Cholula, and it is probably one of the two *cerillos* mentioned by Gabriel Rojas.¹⁰⁸ Humboldt¹⁰⁹ and Bandelier¹¹⁰ also call this mound *Isteneñetl* or *Ixenextl*. Hernández refers to a pre-Hispanic building of Cholula named *Itztenenetitla*,¹¹¹ and this name also appears on the map made by Cuautle Gómez.¹¹²

III-C14.

salechCo

Xalixco.

"Place in front of the sand." It may be an isolated place name, or it may be connected with the text in IV-C1.

The scenes of battle described in section III-B are continued here. There are shown a variety of severed limbs and heads; dead bodies; flowing blood, and Spanish and Indian warriors.

Section IV-A.

IV-A1.

tiquin tepa noa yancuitlalpan

Tiquintepanohua Yancuitlalpan.

Here we cross over to Yancuitlalpan. (See Section I-A1.)

The text refers to the northwestern borders of the area covered by the map. I believe it may be the lands owned by Santa María Nativitas, in the state of Tlaxcala, situated north of the river Atoyac. It was formerly known as Yancuitlalpan.¹¹³ There is also a village by the name of San Pedro Yancuitlalpan in the municipality of San Nicolás de los Ranchos, but that is located due west of Cholula.

IV-A2.

Do Ju mar seli no niCan ma ni no nemac notlal mac ni Can

Don Juan Marcelino nican mani nonemac, notlal. Ma nican.

I, Don Juan Marcelino, say that here is my gift, my land. Let it be here.

Don Juan may be identical with the fiscal, who lived around 1549. (See I-A5.) The land in question may be in the area where the inscription is placed, or perhaps the text refers to the boundaries which were arranged in 1586, and Don Juan may have been an actual co-signer of the codex.

IV-A3.

ynicoachualmohuicac Cun Visorey De Coruna yanCui Can oqui-
chihqui gobierna Dor Do Antres marcelino acapixoatzin D 1580

In icoac hualmohuicac Conde Virrey de Coruna, yancuican oqui-
chihqui gobernador Don Andres Marcelino Acapixohuatzin de 1580.

When the viceroy, the Count of Coruña, came he made Don Andrés Marcelino governor for the first time in 1580.

This refers to the arrival of Lorenzo Suárez de Mendoza, the Count of Coruña, in Mexico, or perhaps in Cholula. He was the fifth viceroy of New Spain. At that time Don Andrés Marcelino was elected governor. Yancuican may also mean "recently" and refer to the coming of the viceroy. The date given is correct.¹¹⁴

IV-A4.

yniCuaco oçequintin teopan tzin moquequecque yhuan Calotin
yniCua motlatoh Catilia yliçt . . çimo D peo moyacant . . . caç D 1585

Yn icuac occequintin teopantzin moquetzquez que ihuan calotin,
in ocuac motlatocatilia ilustrisimo Don Pedro Moya de Contreras de
1584.

And then other churches and streets were constructed, when the Most Illustratious Don Pedro Moya de Contreras was placed as ruler in 1584.

Calotin should possibly be translated as "houses" rather than "streets." The text refers to Pedro Moya de Contreras, archbishop of Mexico, and later viceroy from 1584 to 1585. There are no churches bearing the year 1584 on the codex, but we know that his reign was a period of considerable activity in church affairs as a result of the Council he had summoned in order to

introduce reforms and to help the Indians: the clergy was increased, convents were built, and new parishes established.¹¹⁵

IV-A5.

losquesequetaroyñ Dias noque se baxtisa Das Doy santia yeues De Cortes

Los que se quedaron Juan Díaz, noique Sebastian Díaz, Don Y. Santiago, juez de Cortes.

Those who stayed were Juan Díaz, also Sebastián Díaz and Don . . . Santiago, who was Cortés's judge.

The text gives no date, so we cannot know when these people stayed, presumably in Cholula. There are no historical references to Juan Díaz's having remained in Cholula after the departure of the Spaniards in 1519. On the contrary, according to Bernal Díaz, he was in Tenochtitlan with Cortés and left with the other Spaniards on the *Noche Triste* in 1520.¹¹⁶ He was also present at the siege and conquest of Tenochtitlan in August, 1521.¹¹⁷ Juan Díaz is mentioned in connection with the events which took place in Cholula in August, 1521 according to the codex. As these seem to have happened at the time of the "treason" and massacre, the correct dates should have been during the second half of October, 1519.

On the other hand, Cortés did leave some Spaniards, or at least a captain, in Cholula after his departure,¹¹⁸ and in May 1520 he sent a *religioso* and two other Spaniards to Veracruz with messages, and they would probably have passed through Cholula.¹¹⁹ The names of Sebastián Díaz and Santiago, Cortés' judge, do not appear in the historical sources. The latter may have been one of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, who acted as judges;¹²⁰ or perhaps the text refers to one of the judges of Cortés? There were also Spaniards in the area of Cholula in the period between the *Noche Triste* and the conquest of Tenochtitlan, and of course later. The author of the codex may have confused the various events, placed them at the wrong dates, made mistakes in names, and so on. The copyist is probably also responsible for some of the errors in the document.

IV-A6.

Do g rmo Deaquilal pri primero eVangelica Do ynyancuica oquimo-
quatequi lique totzitzin Da maria ylamateuhtli A 6 De agosto anio 1521

Don Geronimo de Aquilar primero evangelica . . . In yancuican
oquimoquatequilique tocihtzin Doña María Ilamateuhtli a 6 de agosto
ano 1521.

Don Gerónimo de Aguilar introduced the gospel . . . For the first time they baptized our grandmother Doña María Ilamateuhtli, on the sixth of August in the year 1521.

Gerónimo Aguilar had been ordained. He arrived in the Americas, joined Valdivia, who was going to Santo Domingo, was shipwrecked somewhere on the coast of Yucatán, and taken prisoner by Maya Indians. Eventually he escaped, and joined Cortés in Cozumel.¹²¹ Together with Malinche he acted as interpreter for the Spaniards, and he probably also played an active role in their

proselytizing activities. Here he is claimed to have been the first evangelist in Cholula.

The question of the date given for the discovery of the "treason" has been discussed above. The same comments apply to those of this text; if Doña María was baptized immediately after the massacre in Cholula, it must have been in October, 1519. There is, however, another document from Cholula, which also claims that the caciques were baptized in 1521,¹²² and we know that the Spaniards were in the area at that time. The date given here is August 6. In Section IV·C1, the baptism is said to have taken place on August 3, which is also the date given for the discovery of the "treason." (See III·B1.)

The baptismal scene shown just above this text is very similar to the one described by Bernal Díaz¹²³ for Tlaxcala and depicted in the Lienzo de Tlaxcala.¹²⁴ On one side is standing the cleric Juan Díaz, in the middle Ilamateuhli is kneeling down in front of him, and on the right is Cortés with a crucifix in his hand. The latter probably acted as godfather. (See IV·A7.)

IV·A7.

atoyatenCo

Atoyatenco.

Atoyatenco means "at the bank of the Atoyac" and the legend refers to lands of that name which in the north border on Cholula, and which in the sixteenth century were perhaps under the jurisdiction of Cholula. On the south bank of the Atoyac, in the state of Tlaxcala, a few kilometers northwest of San Miguel Xoxtla there is an hacienda called Atoyatengo. (See Fig. 4.)

IV·A8.

miçquitla tecpan

Mizquitla tecpan.

The *tecpan* or government building of Mizquitla.

In the sixteenth century San Diego Izquitlan was of the wards of Cholula.¹²⁵ Another source mentions it as Yzquitlan, a ward in the *cabecera* of Santiago in Cholula.¹²⁶ Also today there is a ward in the city known as Santiago Mixquitla.

IV·A9.

ometochtla

Ometochtla.

Ometoxtla.

San Gabriel Ometoxtla is the main town in the municipio of Juan Crisóstomo Bonilla. It was probably not *cabecera* in the 16th century, as it is not represented by a church. As is the case with many of the other place-names on the codex, Ometoxtla may not actually have been a village in the sixteenth century, but the name used to designate a tract of land or a few houses.

IV·A10.

S miguel xoxtla D 1549

San Miguel Xoxtla de 1549.

San Miguel Xoxtla, in the year 1549.

The text refers to the church of San Miguel Xoxtla, which was presumably founded in 1549.

IV-A11.

teyoCan

Teyocan.

Teyucan: "the place where they have stone." It is the name of a hill, or perhaps a rock, situated north of the River Metlapanapan on the codex.

IV-A12.

tlaltepec AtenCo

Tlaltepēc atenco.

"The hill of earth, at the edge of the water." The legend refers to a place situated near the spring from where flows Metlapanapan.

IV-A13.

xoxch tlan

Xoxtlan.

San Miguel Xoxtla, cabecera in the municipal district of Xoxtla.

IV-A14.

yztzocan

Itzocan.

Itzocan is the name of a small hill, which on the codex is located east of Cerro Zapotecas. The word means: place where they have obsidian.

Section IV-B.

IV-B1.

yn^{no}mocauhquepipiltin yaopan innihuayolque Da maria ylamatec y no qui mo qua te quililiceVin Jua Dias gero nimo De aguillaMonçe canches CoCayo Clericos

In omocauhque pipiltin yaopan, in ihuan yolque Dona Maria Ilamatecuhtli in oquimoquatequilili . . . Juan Díaz. Geronimo de Aguilar monje, Sanchez Cocoyo clericos.

The lords stayed in the place of war, and the survivors and Doña María Ilamatecuhtli were baptized by . . . Juan Díaz. Gerónimo de Aguilar the monk and Sánchez were clerics on Cocoyo.

This legend refers to the massacre of the people of Cholula by the Spaniards and Tlaxcalan warriors. It has been described by Bernal Díaz, Tapia, and Cortés. Many of the lords or principal men of Cholula were killed. When peace was reestablished, the remaining *papas*, captains, and principals were instructed in the True Faith,¹²⁷ and many probably baptized, as they were in Tlaxcala. A cross was also put up, but we do not know where. Cocoyo may be the mound which today is known as "Cerro de la Cruz." It was there that the first mass was said in 1519, according to local tradition current at the time of Bandelier¹²⁸ and today. The word preceding the name of Juan Díaz may be

sereno, "serene." It is not really possible to know whether *monje* belongs to Aguilar or Sánchez. Olmedo, Juan Díaz, and Aguilar were as far as we know the only "clerics" or "monks" present at Cholula in 1519,¹²⁹ so that leaves Sánchez unidentified. If the events really took place in August 1521 as claimed by the writer of the codex, Sánchez may of course have been somebody who came over with Alvarez. In that case, however, the baptisms would not have occurred immediately after the massacre.

IV-B2.

Casa matlactin macuili so apipiltin cano maCuili pipiltin Da Catalinan oseta y 2 ytoca Da felipa motoulanatzin 3 ytoca Da ana noneç Catzin Do Jo chichimeca Do marçelino Acapixxoatzin Do Antoo tequahuehuetzin ycnihua . . . tesquin quic tequique yancan ytetehtin tenan quia hua

Ca zan mahtlactin: macuilli cihuapipiltin, ca no macuilli pipiltin. Doña Catalina Oseta, in 2 itoca Doña Felipa Motulanatzin, 3 itoca Doña Nonezcatzin. Don Juan Chichimecatl, Don Marcelino Acapixohuatzin, Don Antonio Tequahuehuetzin, ic nihuan . . . Tesquinquic, tequitque yancuican. In teteuhtin Tenanquiahuac.

There were just ten: five noblewomen, and also five noblemen. The women were: Doña Catalina Oseta, and a second one called Doña Felipa Motulanatzin, and a third one called Doña Ana Nonezcatzin. The men were: Don Juan Chichimecatl, Don Marcelino Acapixohuatzin, Don Antonio Tequahuehuetzin, and then the brothers . . . Tesquinquic, who recently paid tribute. They were lords of Tenanquiahuac.

There is no indication of when these ten nobles lived, but it is possible that they were survivors of the massacre who were later baptized. Five noblewomen are mentioned, but only three are named. At baptism, they had been given a Spanish Christian name while they kept their indigenous names as surnames in the European manner. The Indian *señores* were allowed to use the Spanish *Don* and *Doña*, and many were later admitted into the nobility. Chichimecatl was a personal name as well as an honorary title. Don Marcelino Acapixohuatzin is presumably the first by that name, and he and his descendants are the people connected with most of the events described in the codex. Gómara says that the highest authority in Cholula at the time of the conquest was Tequahuehuetzin. He was killed during the massacre, and a new "captain general" called Don Tequahuehuetzin was elected by Cortés.¹³⁰ Perhaps it was Don Antonio. The brothers Tesquinquic were recent tributaries, but we do not know to whom they paid: to the ward of Tenanquiahuac, to the indigenous ruler of Cholula, or to the Spaniards. "Tequitque" may also possibly have been a title.

IV-B3.

Coac tecpan

Coac tecpan.

The *tecpan* or government house of Coac.

In the sixteenth century there was a ward called Cuaque in the *cabecera* of San Joan (sic) which also included the ward of Papalutla.¹³¹ In the *cabecera* of San Andrés there was a ward called Cuaco,¹³² which today is known as Santa María Cuaco. Finally the *cabecera* of Santa María, which included Ocotlán and Acahuicha, also had a Tlaxcoaque,¹³³ so it is difficult to decide to which division the "Coac" of the codex belonged. On the map by Cuautle Gómez there is a pre-Hispanic building called Cuahco.¹³⁴

IV-B4.

Cortes

Cortes.

Cortés. The legend is placed below a picture which may have represented Cortés.

IV-B5.

Echtli

Eztli.

Blood, flowing in the streets of Cholula. (See III-B11 and 12.)

IV-B6.

papalutlan tecpan

Papalutlan tecpan.

The government house of Papalutla.

Papalutla was a sixteenth century ward of the *cabecera* of San Joan, Cholula.¹³⁵

IV-B7.

papa lotla

Papalotla.

Papalotla is a building made of brick, situated between Coac and Ocotlan. The etymology of the word is either *papalotl* (butterfly) plus *-tlan* (place of, among) or *papallotl* (loquacity, gossip) plus *-tlan*.

IV-B8.

teno chan

Tenochan.

Tenochan refers to a building placed across a road which runs from Cholula towards the northwest. Close to this there is another building, presumably a *tecpan*, which is not identified. The etymology of *tenochan* may be *tenoch-tli* (hard prickly pear) plus *chan-tli*.

IV-B9.

tzaquate

Tzaquate.

Tzaquate or perhaps *tzaquatlan* is the name of a building of stone or brick. The etymology of the word may be *tzaqua* (close, enclose, or pay the punishment imposed by the law), that is to say that it may be a prison. On

the map by Cuautle Gómez there is a pre-Hispanic building called *Tzahuatla*, which is translated as "granary."¹³⁶ *Tzahua* may, however, also mean "spin" and *tzahuatlan* would mean a "place where they spin."

IV-B10.

xitla niam

Xitla nican (?).

Here (?) is Xitla.

Xitla . . . refers to a curiously shaped building, apparently in two parts. It may possibly have been destroyed or burnt during the massacre. Hernández mentions a pre-Hispanic building called *Xihxihtla* which he translates as "library."¹³⁷ This building is also shown on the map by Cuautle Gómez.¹³⁸ Today there is a ward in San Pedro Cholula known as *Axixitla* or *Xixitla*. The scenes of battle are continued in this section, which shows more dead bodies, severed heads and limbs, blood, and fighting warriors.

Section IV-C

IV-C1.

ynatlahtocati ayohua yan tlaCapipiltin teteuhtin 1. gigante 2 tolltecatl : 3 chichimeCa xolotl 4 eCaCoatzin tlanquiCemana Vac tlapachiqu — — — eCactemoc 1. no eVoDomondoNoeV yno quichihque tolteCa tepetl onacia yne eCaticgac 2 ACamapich 3 ViçCoatl Rey no xxiiD 1424 } { quetzalCoatl Reyno iv D 1438 (sic) 6 moteohçomo Reno xxix } 7 CosCaquahtli Reno D 1471 . 9 eCesehuastzin Reyo iix D 1492 quetzaCoatzin quibamictique Cuah quiy ninamictzin ilamateutli ynima cacico y mo qui qua tequi quey huan ypil huan D 1521 A 3 Dea gsto

Reyno {

1384

8 moyoCaya

Reno xi D 1481 ÇalechCo

In otlahtocatia yohuayan tlapapiltin: 1 gigante, 2 toltecatl, 3 chichimeca Xolotl, 4 Ecacoatzin. Tlanqui cemanahuac tlapachique. Ecactemoc 1. Nuevo Mundo in oquichihque tolteca tepetl. Onacia in Ecaticpac 2 Acamapich, xxxx, reino 1384. 3 Itzcoatl, reino xxii, de 1424. Quetzalcoatl reino iv, de 1438. 6 Moctezuma reino xxix. 7 Cozcaquahtli reino de 1471. 8 Moyocaya reino xi, de 1481. 9 Ecezehuastzin reino iix de 1492; Quetzalcoatzin. Quihuamictique Cuahqui, in inamictzin Ilamateuhtli, in imacacico. In moquiquatequique ihuan ipilhuan de 1521, a 3 de agosto.

There ruled in the darkness these noble lords: first the Giant; second the Toltec, third Xolotl, the Chichimec, and fourth Ecacoatzin.

They the rulers of the world ended. First came Ecactemoc. In the New World they made the Toltec Hill. Then arrived at Ecaticpac: second Acamapichtli, who ruled forty years, and he ruled in 1384; third Itzcoatl, who ruled twelve years, in 1424; Quetzalcoatl ruled four years, in 1438; sixth came Moctezuma, who ruled twenty-eight years; eight Moyocaya, who ruled eleven years, in 1481; ninth Ecezehuatzin, who ruled eight years, in 1492, and then came Quetzalcoatzin. They killed Cuahqui, the spouse of Ilamateuhli, who fell into their hands. She was baptized together with her children in 1521, on August 3.

This is the most interesting of the inscriptions on the codex, but perhaps also the most difficult to understand. It covers a very long period of time: from "pre-Toltec" times (the epoch of giants) to 1521.

According to mythology, the "Fourth Sun," called *nahui atl*, ended with a terrible flood, and most of humanity perished. There were, however, two survivors. They decided to kindle a fire, but the smoke made the sky black, and the gods could not see the earth. The world was in darkness.¹³⁹ Perhaps "these noble lords, who ruled in the darkness" lived before the creation of the Sun and the Moon at Teotihuacán,¹⁴⁰ before the Deluge. However, the creation of the "fifth Sun" in 13 *acatl* is believed to correspond in time to the arrival of the Toltecs under the leadership of Mixcoatl at Teotihuacán, perhaps about 900 A.D.¹⁴¹

There is little reference to the *Teotihuacanos* in the historical sources, and the Aztecs considered the large pyramids there and at Cholula to have been the work of gods or giants. Giants are for example mentioned in "Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas,"¹⁴² and with particular reference to Cholula by Sahagún,¹⁴³ Durán,¹⁴⁴ and Ixtlilxochitl.¹⁴⁵ Ixtlilxochitl, for instance, states that there were giants in the neighbourhood of Cholula, who had escaped from the second destruction of the world. They were exterminated by the Olmecs and Xicalancas, who built the large pyramid of Cholula.¹⁴⁶

The arrival of the Toltecs after the giants in Cholula is in perfect accordance with Torquemada: they came from Tollan "y asi por esta causa, llaman el dia de oi, a la Ciudad de Cholullan, Tollan Cholullan."¹⁴⁷ Then, also following Torquemada, arrived the Chichimecs led by Xolotl, and they took possession of the lands formerly ruled by the Toltecs.¹⁴⁸ These events are also depicted in the "Codex Xolotl."¹⁴⁹

"Fourth came Ecacoatzin." He was a ruler after Xolotl, but is not mentioned in any of the historical sources. He may represent a new people, he may be another Chichimec, or perhaps he is a representative of a more ancient line in Cholula which returned to power. The name Ecacoatzin might be connected with Quetzalcoatl in his aspect of Ehecatl.

In modern historiography the "giants" of ancient Mesoamerica are usually identified with the people of Teotihuacán,¹⁵⁰ who also constructed the interior edifices of the large pyramid of Cholula.¹⁵¹ Then about 800 A. D., it is said, the "Teotihuacanos" in Cholula were expelled by the so-called historical Olmeca, who superimposed the last body of the pyramid.¹⁵² The "Teotihuacanos" and

the Olmecs may, however, have been closely related people, and in that case the Olmecs who according to the historical sources arrived in Cholula might have been a group of Teotihuacanos who left their city after its destruction to settle down in the other great capital of the "giants."¹⁵³ The Olmecs remained in Cholula for about five hundred years, and produced the pottery known as Cholulteca I and Azteca I. In the thirteenth century, the Olmecs were in turn expelled by a group of the people known as the Toltecs from Tula Xicocotitlan,¹⁵⁴ (i.e. Tula, Hidalgo, which is near the Cerro Xicocotepetl), and a period of change in the manufacture of pottery set in, that is to say the transformation to Cholulteca II and Azteca II.¹⁵⁵ Finally followed a period of artistic decadence, which lasted to the Conquest.¹⁵⁶

The Chichimecs of Xolotl began to arrive in the Valley of Puebla probably during the latter half of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁷ We do not know whether they actually conquered Cholula, but as indicated by Torquemada¹⁵⁸ and in the "Codex Xolotl,"¹⁵⁹ they may have had some authority in that city too.

If all the above mentioned people "ended," then we should presumably have reached the time of the Spanish Conquest. However, as a long list of indigenous rulers follows, the text may refer to some other event, perhaps the end of the "Fourth Sun." As already stated above, one modern historian believes that the myth of the creation of the "Fifth Sun" refers to the arrival of the Toltecs of Mixcoatl at Teotihuacán, where they might have encountered descendants of the "giants" who built the pyramids. Logically then the "end of the world rulers" should have been placed between the "Giant" and the Toltec." However, the writer did not do this, so several interpretations of the "New World" which follows are possible: (1) it refers to the arrival of the Toltecs, who built the "Toltec Hill"; (2) it refers to the arrival of the Toltecs, who were eventually followed by the Aztecs, three of whose rulers are mentioned; (3) it refers to the arrival of the Aztecs; (4) it refers to the arrival of some other (not Tula) people who built such a large pyramid that they were referred to as Toltecs; (5) Ecactemoc was not a personage, but the legend refers to a destruction of the "New World" by wind, when they made the pyramid of Cholula; (6) the "New World" is simply America, in this particular case Cholula, where the following events took place.

The first to arrive in this "New World" was Ecactemoc. He might have been a "Toltec," and it was perhaps during his reign that the last pyramid was built in Cholula. Ecaticpac is perhaps another name for Tlachihualtepetl: Ehecatipac "above or on top of the wind"; or it may be the name of a person.

The list of the rulers which follows is confusing. Did the person who wrote or dictated the codex believe that they were all Cholultecas, or Aztecs, or did he confuse them? May some of the names mentioned refer to Aztec rulers whom we know under different names? It is of course also possible that the writer relied on oral tradition or written documents which stated that the Aztecs were in authority in Cholula during the said periods, and that the other names refer to local rulers of the city. The historical sources are vague on this question, but Ixtlilxochitl does say that the high priest of Cholula, Iztamantzin, gave obedience to Acamapichtli,¹⁶⁰ and Muñoz Camargo states that Axayacatl became "señor of Cholollan."¹⁶¹ Cholula was not listed among the tribute

paying towns of the "Codex Mendocino,"¹⁶² and we know from other historical sources that Cholula at the time of the Conquest was independent territory, which took part in the "flower wars" with the Aztecs.

If the codex was written towards the end of the sixteenth century, the author should certainly have had facilities for acquiring accurate information, if he so wished, as proved by the works of other historians of that epoch.

The text which refers to the reigns of the rulers may be interpreted as below. The dates given for the Aztec rulers correspond to those generally accepted,¹⁶³ and the slight discrepancy in the counting of years may easily be accounted for by the difficulties of correlating the Christian and Indian calendars or perhaps deficient arithmetic.

1. Ecactemoc? The "Toltec Hill" was constructed.
2. Acamapichtli of Tenochtitlan, who ruled forty years, from 1384 to 1424.
3. Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan, who ruled twelve years, from 1424 to 1436 (or 1438?).
4. Quetzalcoatl, perhaps a High Priest of Cholula, who ruled four years, from 1438 to 1442.
5. ?
6. Moctezuma of Tenochtitlan, who ruled twenty-eight or thirty-two years, from 1442 to 1471 (?).
7. Cozcaquauhli, of Cholula (?), who ruled ten (?) years, from 1471 to 1481. The dates correspond to those of Axayacatl.
8. Moyocaya of Cholula (?), who ruled eleven (?) years, from 1481 to 1492. He might of course have been of Xalixco, but more likely that name refers to a place on the codex. (See III-C14.)
9. Ecezehuatzin of Cholula (?) ruled eight or twelve (?) years, from 1492 to 1500 or 1504.
10. Quetzalcoatzin, perhaps a High Priest of Cholula, who ruled from about the turn of the century.

It is not impossible that the author or the copyist put a plural instead of a singular after the name of Quetzalcoatzin, who in that case might have killed Cuahuqui. Furthermore it is impossible to tell from the Nahuatl whether he killed Cuahuqui or vice versa. "Cuahuqui's spouse" Ilamateuhtli might also eventually have been killed. The latter is of course plausible, as she had betrayed her own people to the Spaniards. The date of her baptism, which is depicted in Section IV-A, has already been discussed above. The date given here is identical with that of the discovery of the "treason," whereas the baptism is said to have taken place on August 6 in Section IV-A6.

The above account, which covers more than a thousand years of history in a very condensed form, is obviously not a product of the imagination of the author of the codex. From the historical sources, which in turn are supported by the results of archeological research, we know that there were "giants," Toltecs, and Chichimecs in that order in the Cholula-Puebla area, but of course we do not know to what extent they may have driven other peoples out of that area. As far as the remainder of the events are concerned, I have suggested different interpretations, none of which is necessarily correct. It seems fairly certain, however, that the author of the codex must have had some of his data confused.

IV-C2.

ACahuicho . tepan

Acahuichco tecpan.

The government house of Acahuichco. Acach'uyusco is mentioned in "Suma de visitas" as one of the five wards of the *cabecera* of Santa María in Cholula.¹⁶⁵

IV-C3.

Acosatlan

Acozautlan.

Santa Ana Acozautla, in the *municipio* of Santa Isabel Cholula. The village is situated east of the River Nexapa.

IV-C4.

aCulComon tepetl

Aculcomon tepetl.

The hill of Aculcomon.

The legend may refer to a hill near the present-day village of Santa María Acuescomac in the *municipio* of Tecuanipan. It is situated near a spring of soft water from which there flows a brook. This spring may be Telpochatl. (See below.)

IV-C5.

AhuatenCo

Ahuatenco.

San Pablo Ahuatempan in the *municipio* of Santa Isabel Cholula. It is situated a few kilometers northwest of Chalchihuapan.

IV-C6.

azon pan

Atzompan.

San Gregorio Atzompa, chief town of a *municipio*. It is north of Ahuatempa, near a spring which gives rise to a stream.

IV-C7.

chalchi Apan

Chalchihuapan.

San Bernardino Chalchihuapan, southeast of Ahuatempa, in the *municipio* of Santa Clara Ocoyucan.

IV-C8.

çaCapehpan

Zacapechpan.

San Gregorio Zacapechpan, in the municipal district of San Pedro Cholula. The village is located south of Cerro Zapotecas, and it is of course possible that

the town depicted south of that hill may be Zacapecpan or Papaxtla rather than Zacatepec.

IV-C9.

oCotlantecpan

Ocotlan tecpan.

Government house of Ocotlan, a ward which in the sixteenth century belonged to the *cabecera* of Santa María Cholula.¹⁶⁶ Close to this building there is a picture of two persons fencing. Each of them is carrying a sword in each hand.

IV-C10.

otli atlixCo aCapetlahuacan

Otli Atlixco Acapetlahuacan.

Road to Atlixco and Acapetlahuacan.

Atlixco is the present-day town of that name founded by the Spaniards.

It was formerly known as Villa de Carrión, but "the Indians called it Atrisco or Acapetlahuacan."¹⁶⁷ Acapetlahuacan, where the Franciscans built a convent in the sixteenth century, was two leagues from "the site belonging to the Spaniards."¹⁶⁸ The road is also indicated on the map of Cholula attached to Rojas' "Descripción."¹⁶⁹

IV-C11.

quauhtlan tecpan

Quauhtlan tecpan.

The government house of Quauhtlan, which was a ward of Cholula, known as Santa María Quauhtlan in the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁰

IV-C12.

quetzalocotlan

Quetzalocotlan.

Quetzalocotlan or "precious Ocotlan." It may be another name for the ward of Ocotlan mentioned above.

IV-C13.

Ss Bernar Di no D 15 . 2 D . . 42

San Bernardino de 1542.

San Bernardino in the year 1542.

The church of San Bernardino Chalchihuapan, presumably founded in 1542.

IV-C14.

teCaman tecpan

Tecaman tecpan.

The government house of Tecaman. There was a ward called Ticoman in the *cabecera* of Santa María ¹⁷¹ and one called Tecaman in Santiago Cholula.¹⁷²

Cuautle. Gómez shows a pre-Hispanic building called Tacacamatlita,¹⁷³ and there is a present-day ward in Cholula called San Pablo Tecama.

IV-C15.

telpochatl

Telpochatl.

"Water of youth?" The legend refers to a spring from which flows a small stream. It may be the one described near Acuescomac, and possibly the one mentioned in Section I-B.

IV-C16.

tepanchi te pec

Tepanchitepec.

Tepanchitepec is the name of a hill or perhaps a settlement on the River Nexapa, situated on the codex west of Acozautla.

Section V-A.

V-A1.

D ADres mar celino Acapixuatzin

Don Andres Marcelino Acapixohuatzin.

Don Andrés Marcelino Acapixohuatzin.

Don Andrés was made governor of Cholula in 1580. (See IV-A3.) We do not know whether he was still alive when the codex was made for Don Gabriel. It is of course possible that the names and accounts of events pertaining to the times of previous governors were taken from older documents.

V-A2.

niCan Callaqui a . yatl tlalpan

Here enters the land of . . .

The text is placed in the northwest corner of the codex. A. *yatl tlalpan* should perhaps be *yaotl tlalpan*, "the land of the enemy" or "the land of war." The codex has been called a Conquest map (see Section III-C3), and the author possibly wanted to indicate that "here begins the land where fighting took place."

V-A3.

tiquin te pa nohuehuexotzinCo

Tiquitepanohua Huexotzinco.

Here we cross over to Huexotzingo. (See I-A1.)

The text refers to the northwestern border of the area of Cholula. In pre-Hispanic times Huexotzingo and Cholula were also separate entities.

V-A4.

S Peo D 1549

San Pedro de 1549.

San Pedro in 1549.

The text refers to the church of San Pedro Tlaltenango, which is shown on the codex. It was presumably founded in 1549.

V-A5.

aCol co

Acolco.

Acolco, on the codex, is the name of a place, perhaps a spring or a river, east of Tlaltenango.

V-A6.

pinahuiç ac

Pinahuizac.

According to Torquemada *pinahuizatl* means "water of shame."¹⁷⁴ Here it appears to refer to a river, which runs from Cerro Zapotecas towards the west.

V-A7.

quanal la

Quanallan.

San Mateo Cuanala, chief town of the municipality of Juan C. Bonilla. South of the town runs the river Metlapanapan.

V-A8.

tlal tenanco

Tlaltenanco.

San Pedro Tlaltenango, principal town in the municipality of the same name in the former district of Cholula.

V-A9.

Xaxco . . .

Xaxco . . .

. . . This is the name of an unidentified church, which perhaps represents a village. On the codex it is located southeast of Tlaltenango.

Section V-B.

V-B1.

tlacaxitl tiuintepa noa Calpan neCa Altican

Tecaxitl tiuintepanohua Calpan neCa Altincan.

There at Tecajete we cross over to Calpan and Nealtican. (See

I-A1.)

The text refers to the western borders of Cholula: San Andrés Calpan in the former district of Cholula, and San Buenaventura Nealtican in the former district of Atlixco. *Calpan neCa* may possibly be "the people of Calpan," that is to say that *neca* is "people" rather than "there."

V-B2.

çaCa tepeC

Çacatepec.

Santa María Zacatepec, in the municipio of Juan C. Bonilla in the former district of Cholula. The town which is shown close to Cerro Zapotecas may be Zacatepec. At one edge of the plan are depicted a seated woman, a circle, and a small figure holding in its hands an obsidian sword, or possibly a bow and arrow. The picture may refer to some legend connected with the town or some other place in the neighborhood. This section also shows a large church which bears no name but only the date 1549. It may be the church of Zacatepec.

V-B3.

tla

tla

tla is probably part of a text which the writer did not finish.

V-B4.

tlacoa quita

Tlacoaquita.

The legend may refer to Tlacuaquilco which is the name of a ranch, situated a few kilometers northwest of Cerro Zapotecas.

V-B5.

tzapoteCa

Tzapoteca

Cerro Zapotecas, situated northwest of the City of Cholula.¹⁷⁵

V-B6.

1549

1549.

1549. This date is placed close to a picture of a large church, which on the codex is placed west of Cerro Zapotecas. It refers to one of the several village churches in that area, but I have been unable to determine which. (See V-B2.)

Section V-C.

V-C1.

tequintepanoa tianquizmanalco atlixco calpan neca Do Atoo marcelino
Acapixo atzin JoeC goV

Tiquintepanohua Tianquizmanalco, Atlixco, Calpan neca. Don Antonio Marcelino Acapixohuatzin, juez ihuan gobernador.

There we cross over to Tianquizmanalco, Atlixco, and Calpan. Don Antonio Marcelino Acapixohuatzin, judge and governor. (See I-A1 and V-B1.)

The text refers to the southwestern borders of Cholula: San Andrés Calpan in the former district of Cholula, San Juan Tianquizmanalco in the former district of Atlixco, and the town of Atlixco, which in the sixteenth century

was known as Villa de Atrisco or Carrión. (See IV-C10.) Don Antonio also signed in connection with other grants of land and settlements of boundaries. (See II-A1; II-C3, and III-C2.) Some of these inscriptions seem to refer to the grant in 1586, whereas others are earlier.

V-C2.

s geronimo D 1549

San Geronimo de 1549.

San Gerónimo in 1549.

The text probably refers to the foundation of the church of San Gerónimo Tecuanipan in the former district of Cholula.

V-C3.

nexac

Nexac.

Rio Nexac or Nexapa, an affluent of Rio Atoyac which runs through the western part of the former district of Cholula.

V-C4.

papach tla

Papachtla.

Village of Papachtla, situated on the eastern slope of Cerro Tecajete in the municipio of Tecuanipan.

V-C5.

tecaxic

Tecaxic.

The legend refers to Cerro Tecajete, which is shown on the codex.

V-C6.

tlequa nipan

Tequanipan.

San Gerónimo Tecuanipan, situated on the western bank of Rio Nexapa.

V-C7.

tlamapan

Tlamapan.

San Martin Tlamapa, situated west of Rio Nexapa, in the municipio of Santa Isabel Cholula.

Conclusions.

The ancient Mexican historians were rarely concerned with writing general history. Their interests, as a rule, focused on the events pertaining to the history of a particular tribe or city, and the lives and genealogies of its rulers and their families. This tendency continued into post-Hispanic times, when such

local records were still being made by the now Christianized Indians. The Codex of Cholula belongs to this class of documents. It covers an unusually long period in the history of the city. The legends are not placed in chronological order on the codex, but in many cases they are attached to the pictures to which they refer. It is, however, possible to arrange much of the content of the codex in chronological order, either because the legends refer to known historical events, or because they are actually dated.

FIGURE 3

HISTORICAL DATA OF THE CODEX OF CHOLULA¹⁷⁶

Section	Year	Event
IV-C1	?	Darkness (before the creation of the Fifth Sun?)
IV-C1	?	Giants (Teotihuacanos?) at Cholula
IV-C1	?	The "New World" (the Fifth Sun?)
IV-C1	(13th century)	"Toltecs" in Cholula
IV-C1	?	Ecacoatzin ruled
IV-C1	?	The "Toltec Hill" constructed
IV-C1	(13th century)	Xolotl, the Chichimec in Cholula
IV-C1	1384	Acamapichtli ruled
IV-C1	1424	Itzcoatl ruled
IV-C1	1438	Quetzalcoatl ruled
IV-C1	?	Moctezuma ruled
IV-C1	1471	Coscaquauhtli ruled
IV-C1	1481	Moyocaya ruled
IV-C1	1492	Ezahuatzin ruled
IV-C1	?	Quetzalcoatzin ruled
III-B1	1521	Dofia Maria Ilamateuhtli revealed the "treason" planned against the Spaniards
IV-A6, IV-B1, IV-C1	1521	Dofia Maria Ilamateuhtli baptized
I-A3, III-B6	?	The Franciscans arrived in Cholula
II-B3, II-B5	(1531)	The foundation of Puebla de los Angeles
I-A4	?	The Capilla Real of Cholula constructed
IV-C13	1542	The Church of San Bernardino Chalhchihua-pan founded or consecrated
I-A5, I-A6	1549	The Church of San Salvador Achichipicayan founded or consecrated
II-A1	1549	The Church of San Gabriel Cholula (or San Lorenzo Almecatlan) founded or consecrated. Border settled between Cholula and Tlaxcala (?)
II-A7	1549	The Church of San Lorenzo Almecatlan founded or consecrated
II-C6	1549	The Church of Santa Maria Malacatepec (?) founded or consecrated
III-A3	1549	Don Antonio de Mendoza in Cholula
III-B2	1549	The Franciscan began to worship in the Church of San Gabriel of Cholula
III-C5	1549	The Church of Santa Clara Ocoyucan founded or consecrated

IV-A10	1549	The Church of San Miguel Xoxtla founded or consecrated
V-A4	1549	The Church of San Pedro Tlaltenango founded or consecrated
V-B6	1549	Church founded or consecrated
V-C2	1549	The Church of San Gerónimo Tecuanipan founded or consecrated
III-A4	1564	Tribute (?) paid by the people of Cholula, when Luis de Velasco came
III-A5	1568	Tribute from (or gifts to?) the people of Cholula, when Martín Enríquez de Almansa came
IV-A3	1580	Don Andrés Marcelino made governor of Cholula
IV-A4	1584	Pedro Moya de Contreras elected Viceroy and more churches built
II-C1	1586	Don Gabriel Marcelino is governor of Cholula
III-C3	1586	Land granted to Cholula by the Viceroy Alvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, Marqués de Villa Manrique

Arranged as above, these texts, although of course far less detailed, might be compared to some of the "Anales", for instance those of Tecamachalco¹⁷⁷ or Cuauhtinchan.¹⁷⁸ Several of the happenings referred to in the codex have been left out in the above, as it is impossible to place them chronologically.

There exist two documents from the immediate area of Cholula which are similar in contents to the codex: one is "Memorias de los viejos caciques de Cholula",¹⁷⁹ also known as "Testamento de Capixohuatzin"¹⁸⁰ the other is the "Código Campos" or "Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco".¹⁸¹ The former only exists in a Spanish translation, but the original was written in Nahuatl. It is really a testament intended to serve the descendants of Don Gerónimo de Mendoza, formerly Capixohuatzin, as a proof of their rights to the land and privileges granted them by Cortés. Furthermore, it relates that the caciques were baptized in 1521, that the Franciscans came, that a church was to be constructed, and that the Viceroy Luis de Velasco arrived. It is signed by Fray Martín de Valencia, one of the twelve Franciscans who came to Mexico in 1524. It is possible, however, that this curious document is considerably later than it claims to be.¹⁸²

The second document from the Cholula area, which is the "Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco" was executed in oil colours, on European paper. It consists of forty-four pictures with Nahuatl inscriptions. They are historico-geographical in character, and refer to meetings with Cortés and aid given to him by the inhabitants of Cuauhtlantzinco, whose town was founded by people from Cholula who had aided the Spaniards. It also tells of land granted by Cortés, conversions, baptism of the rulers, and the Virgen de los Remedios. It has been believed to be from 1536, but is probably later.¹⁸³

Boturini described a map, presumably from Cholula, as follows:

4. Original. Otro Mapa en un pliego de papel Europeo, en el cual se ven presos unos Caziques de los Pueblos de San Pablo, y San Andrés (supongo de la Provincia de Cholula) a quienes Cortés, Marina y Don

Andrés de Tapia parece comunican las noticias de nuestra Santa Fé Católica.¹⁸⁴

It is apparently not the "Antigua Mapa del Pueblo de San Andrés Cholula" described by Peñafiel, as that document is a map with geographical features only.¹⁸⁴ I have not been able to locate the map which was in Boturini's possession, and consequently I have been unable to compare it with the Codex of Cholula.

Apart from those mentioned above, there is a large amount of colonial documents referring to Cholula and its environment. The majority of these deal with land tenure, and several have maps.¹⁸⁵ There is also the well-known "Descripción de Cholula" from 1581 by Gabriel Rojas,¹⁸⁶ a variety of early maps of the area, and plans of the city.

There is a group of codices, although not from the territory of Cholula, which in style and content are very similar to the Codex of Cholula. This group is known as the "Techialoyan Códices".¹⁸⁷ They are written in Nahuatl and deal with land before and after the Conquest. One of these codices was studied in detail by Gómez de Orozco. It is painted on *maguey* paper in a style influenced by European art. The legends are in Nahuatl. The Indian governor of the town in question had the codex made in connection with a grant of land in 1534. Apart from indicating the borders of the town, it also relates pre-Hispanic history, mentions Cortés and baptisms of the local rulers, and depicts monks. It was made so that the descendants of the inhabitants would remember their history and know which land belonged to their town.¹⁸⁸ It should, however, be noted that some people suspect the Techialoyan Códices of being falsifications, and made much later than claimed.

Finally there are the two "lienzos" to which I have already referred: the "Lienzo de Tlaxcala"¹⁸⁹ and the "Lienzo de Analco, Oaxaca",¹⁹⁰ The style of the pictures of these two documents is very similar to those of the codex studied here, and it seems highly probably that the maker of the Codex of Cholula saw the Lienzo de Tlaxcala and even copied it in parts.

The Codex of Cholula is not a particular unusual document. From quite an extensive zone we know of similar colonial paintings. Usually they deal with land tenure, and often they are land titles. In many cases, however, they also contain historical accounts: pre-Hispanic history, the Conquest, conversions, baptisms, and so forth.

Although Clavijero apparently never saw the Codex of Cholula, he doubted its authenticity. He believed it was made by an ignorant Cholulteca, and he warned people against relying on the information of "modern paintings."¹⁹¹ It would be interesting to know what Clavijero meant by "modern," and whether he by any chance knew something about the date when the documents was made.

In one of the inventories made of the Boturini collection, there is a reference to the following:

Escrito de D. Lorenzo Boturini y Benaducci para que se le permitiese sacar copia de un cerro artificial de Cholula.¹⁹²

I have not been able to locate the actual letter, but the above reference may mean that Boturini himself made or had somewhere made a copy of the Codex of Cholula. It may of course also refer to a different matter. As far as the handwriting of the document studied in this work is concerned, it appears

to be early seventeenth century,¹⁹³ and is therefore not likely to have been done at the time when Boturini was in Mexico. Consequently, there is no reason that I can see why the Codex of Cholula should not be an authentic document, painted at the end of the sixteenth century, as claimed by the scribe Fray Gabriel de Santa María. It is perfectly feasible that one or more copies of the side showing the entire territory of Cholula were made at the same time to be deposited in different places.

The conclusions about the Codex which can be reached from this study are necessarily tentative. It was apparently not part of a "Relación", but it might of course have been inspired by the burst of map-making and history writing, which took place all over Mexico in the latter half of the sixteenth century as a result of the census brought about by Philip II.

The purpose of the document is stated in several of the inscriptions. It is a title to land, which appears to refer to several grants made between 1519 and 1586. It deals with land granted as private property to the rulers of Tenanquiahuc, and land granted to the city of Cholula. It is possible that the codex was made in connection with the latter in 1586, but it could of course also have been somewhat later, and the title from 1596 might have been used as proof of ownership in a dispute which followed.

The codex, however, is more than a title to land. It is also a history, which depicts and relates what happened in the territory of Cholula from pre-Hispanic times to the late sixteenth century. It is a "map of the Conquest" on which are pictured and described the events which took place when the Spaniards arrived. The references to *yaotlalli*, that is to say conquered land, or land of the enemy or of war, may refer to Conquest times or pre-Hispanic times.

Finally, the codex is a testament, which was made for Don Gabriel and his descendants, the Lords of Tenanquiahuc.

The author of the codex certainly does seem to have been confused, especially with regard to the various land grants, but it should not be forgotten that much of the information which he supplies is correct. Furthermore, it is possible that this confusion is apparent only. It may simply be caused by the difficulties involved in translating and interpreting the document without the aid of the uncopied information contained on the other side of the original codex. Consequently, it is essential that the original be studied, and for purposes of comparison the second copy in Cholula also. Perhaps these documents contain information which could solve the problems raised as a result of the present study, and prove the Codex of Cholula to be a perfectly authentic and perhaps valuable historical document. Moreover, it is possible that documents might exist somewhere which could prove that the Viceroy Alvaro Manrique de Zúñiga really did grant land to Cholula in 1586 or that the boundaries of this territory were established in that year. Finally, one day, documentary evidence might turn up which would confirm that the "Marcelino" family did exist as Lords of Tenanquiahuc and governors of Cholula in the sixteenth century.

The writer has personally searched for some of the suggested evidence: in Cholula, in Puebla, and in Mexico City. The contents of the archives of

Cholula were burnt or scattered during the Revolution, but ancient documents and books are rumoured still to be in the possession of people in that city. As far as the archives of Mexico and Puebla are concerned, there still remain thousands of documents to be consulted. Furthermore, there might be relevant information to be obtained in other towns of Mexico, and of course in Spain. However, if none of this is ever done, I still hope that the present study of one of the Codices of Cholula may be of some value, if only as a curiosity from the Mexican past, in spite of its deficiencies and lack of precision.

In conclusion, I should like to stress the fact that in Mexico there exists a large number of early colonial documents which have not been investigated. Many of them undoubtedly contain information which would prove to be of value for our better understanding of the history of the Mexican people. They ought to be studied before it is too late.

NOTES

¹ This paper is a condensed version of my thesis entitled "The Codex of Cholula: a preliminary study", written in 1961 for the Master's degree in Anthropology. For the aid and encouragement which I received in my project, I wish to thank Mr. Fernando Horcasitas under whose guidance this work was written; Mr. Byron McAfee who helped me with the Nahuatl; Professor Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Dr. R. Grenleaf, and Mr. John Paddock, all of Mexico City. In addition I am indebted to the personal of the Archivo General de la Nación, of the Municipal Archives of Puebla, and of the Department of Photography in the Instituto de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City, all of whom were most kind and co-operative. Last but not least I wish to express my gratitude to many people in Cholula for the kindness and hospitality they showed me during my visits to that city.

² A more detailed description of the codices as well as the history of the three documents to the extent that I have been able to reconstruct it were published in a paper in *New World Antiquity* (May/June, 1967) entitled "History of the Codices of Cholula".

³ 1962.

⁴ R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor, "Introducing Tlalocan," *Tlalocan: a Journal of Source Material on the Native Cultures of Mexico*, I, No. 1 (1943).

⁵ Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 9-10.

⁶ Francisco de la Maza, *La ciudad de Cholula y sus iglesias* ("Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas: Estudios y Fuentes del Arte en México," IX; México, D. F.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1959), Plate 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 61-62.

⁸ Gibson, 89.

⁹ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1960), I, 246.

¹⁰ Gibson, 89-90.

¹¹ Hernán Cortés, "Segunda carta-relación", *Cartas de relación* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1960), 35.

¹² R. H. Barlow, *The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica* ("Ibero-

Americana", 28; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949), 100-102 and map; Cortes, 38.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Bernal Díaz, 254.

¹⁵ *Relación de los obispos de Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca y otros lugares* ("Manuscrito de la colección del Señor Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta"; México: Luis García Pimentel, 1904), II, 21.

¹⁶ *Epistolario de Nueva España*, comp. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (18 vols.; México: Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e hijos, 1939-1942), IV, 20; IX, 158.

¹⁷ Ibid., II, 61.

¹⁸ Ibid., IV, 137.

¹⁹ Gabriel Rojas, "Descripción de Cholula", *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, I (1927), 166.

²⁰ *Relación de los obispos* . . . , 28.

²¹ *Códice Franciscano: Siglo XVI*, comp. Joaquín García Icazbalceta ("Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México"; México: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941), 24.

²² "Suma de visitas de pueblos: manuscrito del siglo XVI", Vol. I of *Papeles de Nueva España*, Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística, comp. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (6 vols.; Madrid: Establecimiento Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra", 1905) I, 62. A document from the 18th century states that: El partido de Cholula, cuya extensión de Norte a Sur sera como de tres leguas y otras tantas del Este a Oeste, esta situado en un llano . . . Tiene treinta y ocho haciendas, diez y siete ranchos, cuatro molinos, dos batanes y cuarenta y cuatro pueblos de indios. [See Don Manuel de Flon, *El crédito agrícola en el Partido de Cholula de la Intendencia de Puebla en 1790*, ed. Luis Chávez de Orozco ("Publicaciones del Banco Nacional de Crédito Agrícola y Ganadero, S.A.", X; México: Banco Nacional de Crédito Agrícola y Ganadero, S. A., 1955), II.]

²³ Ignacio Pérez Guzmán, *Cuadro geográfico y estadístico del distrito de Cholula* (México, Junio de 1868).

²⁴ Maza, 75.

²⁵ Ibid., 62-63.

²⁶ Gibson, 40.

²⁷ Don Manuel de Flon, "Estado general de las haciendas, ranchos, molinos y batanes que tiene el Partido de Cholula, con expresión del predio en que las compraron sus actuales poseedores y lo que reconocen a favor de conventos de religiosos, a capellanías, a obras pías y a legos o particulares, con el cotejo de lo que queda a favor del poseedor y las que se han concursado", *El crédito agrícola en el Partido de Cholula* . . . This source mentions among others the following haciendas: San José Achichipicaya, San Juan Tulzingo, and San Bartolomé Almoloya. It also has a ranch called Mihucan. It should, however, be noticed that the Saints' names do not correspond to those given on the codex. (See Sections II-A9, II-A10, and III-A13.)

²⁸ Jorge Cerrón Carvaja, "Relación de Tepeaca y su partido", *Papeles de Nueva España*, V, 21.

²⁹ Fausto Marín-Tamayo, *La división racial en Puebla de los Angeles bajo el régimen colonial* ("Centro de Estudios Históricos de Puebla", Publicación número 14; Puebla, 1960), 29-30 and map.

³⁰ Antonio Peñafiel, *Nomenclatura geográfica de México* (México: 1897), 255.

³¹ Antonio Bermúdez de Castro, *Teatro angelopolitano o historia de la ciudad de Puebla* (Mexico: Dr. Nicolás León, 1946), 14, 32, 34. Motolinia's *History of the Indians of New Spain*, trans. Francis Borgia Steck (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1951), 322. Mariano Fernández Echeverría y Veytia, *Historia de la fundación de la ciudad de Puebla de los Angeles* (Mixcoac, D.F.: Imprenta "Labor", 1931), I, 254-280. *Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España*. Escrita por dos religiosos sus compañeros, el uno de los cuales le acompañó desde España a México, y el otro en todos los demás caminos que hizo y trabajos que pasó. (Madrid: n.p., 1875), I, 136-138.

³² Marín-Tamayo, map.

³³ Echeverría y Veytia, II, 326-327.

³⁴ Antonio Carrión, *Historia de la ciudad de los Angeles* (Puebla: Viuda de Dávalos e Hijos, 1896), I, 51.

³⁵ Marín-Tamayo, 31.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁷ Gabriel Rojas, 164.

³⁸ José Bravo Ugarte, *Historia de México* (México: Jus, Revista de derecho y ciencias sociales, 1941), 297.

³⁹ Gibson, 116.

⁴⁰ A. F. Bandelier, *Report of an Archaeological Tour in Mexico in 1881* ("Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America", American Series, II; Boston: Cupples, Upham, and Company, 1884), Plate XV.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 133. Memoria de los viejos caciques de Cholula", *Iglesia de San Gabriel Cholula*. Separata de los anales de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio, Año I, II Serie, No. 1 (México, D. F.: Editorial "Fr. Junípero Serra", 1953), 21.

⁴² Marín-Tamayo, 31.

⁴³ "Un documento de 1535", *VIII Exposición: Feria tradicional de Cholula*, Puebla, 1958.

⁴⁴ Maza, 61.

⁴⁵ Felipe Franco, *Indonimia geográfica del Estado de Puebla* (México, D.F.: Editores e Impresores Beatriz de Selva, 1955), 131.

⁴⁶ Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* (México: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1943), I, 282.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 438.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁴⁹ Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Formas de gobierno indígena* ("Colección Cultura Mexicana", V; México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1953), 23-24.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-26.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 43.

⁵³ Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de las conquistas de Hernando Cortés* (México: Imprenta de la testamentaria de Ontiveros, 1826), I, 98.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁵⁵ "Licencia al secretario Juan de Cueva para matar en Cholula", MSS in Ramo de Indios, II, Exp. 567, Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F.

⁵⁶ *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca: Anales de Quauhtinchan*, comp. Heinrich Berlin and Silvia Rendón ("Fuentes para la Historia de México", I, México: Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1947), 433.

⁵⁷ *Motolinía's History* . . . , 319.

⁵⁸ Marín-Tamayo, 10.

⁵⁹ *Epistolario de Nueva España*, IV, 137.

⁶⁰ Gabriel Rojas, 166.

⁶¹ Juan Suárez de Peralta, *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Indias* ("Testimonios Mexicanos", Historiadores 3; México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1949), 99.

⁶² Brave Ugarte, II, 297.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ MSS in Ramo de Tierras, vol. 1164, Exp. 1. Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F.

⁶⁵ Torquemada, I, 438.

⁶⁶ Bandelier, Plate XV.

⁶⁷ *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, 80, 101, 110, 111.

⁶⁸ "Suma de visitas. . .", 61. It should be noted here that there is a mistake in this description of the *cabeceras* and wards of Cholula. At the beginning it gives six different names of cabeceras, but in the following it lists the same name twice. I have not attempted to correct the mistake, but have referred to the names as they occur in the book.

⁶⁹ Bandelier, Plate XV.

⁷⁰ "Suma de visitas. . .", 62.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ "El trazo antiguo de la ciudad de Cholula", XI *Exposición de Cholula*, 1961. In this pamphlet is reproduced a map made by Luis Cuautle Gómez in 1940. It seems largely to be based on "Catecismo de historia Cholulteca" by Hernández. This short history as well as the map are interesting sources, but perhaps not very reliable.

⁷⁴ Walter Krickeberge, *Las antiguas culturas mexicanas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961), 420.

⁷⁵ Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional* (Madrid: Imprenta de Juan Zúñiga, 1746), 113-114.

⁷⁶ Maza, 42.

⁷⁷ Frans Ferdinand Blom, "El lienzo de Analco, Oaxaca," *Cuadernos Americanos*, XXIV (Noviembre-Diciembre, 1945), 127-132.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "Introducción", Alberto Ruz Lhullier *Guía arqueológica de Tula* (México, D.F.: Ateneo Nacional de Ciencias y Artes de México, 1945), 7. Also personal communication from Professor Wigberto Jiménez



Codex of Cholula

Moreno, who supports this statement by evidence from códices (Mapa Quinatzin, Códice Sierra) and other historical sources. México, D.F., January, 1962.

- 80 *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, Plate IV.
- 81 *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, 75, 76, 119.
- 82 Gabriel Rojas, 159-160.
- 83 Boturini, "Catálogo del museo histórico indiano", *Idea de una nueva historia*, 39-40.
- 84 Bernal Díaz, 249, *Motolinia's History* . . . , 138-139.
- 85 Maza, 102.
- 86 Bandelier, 245.
- 87 Cortés, 36-37.
- 88 Bravo Ugarte, 103.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 128.
- 90 Bandelier, 230.
- 91 Lienzo de Tlaxcala: *manuscrito pictórico mexicano de mediados del siglo XVI*, ed. Cor. Próspero Cahuantzi (México, D.F.: Librería Anticuaria, 1939), Plate IV.
- 92 "La matanza de Cholula", *Visión de los vencidos: relaciones indígenas de la conquista*, comp. Miguel León Portilla ("Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario", No. 81; México, D.F.: Imprenta Universitaria, 1959), 49-50.
- 93 Cortés, 36.
- 94 Andrés Tapia, "Relación", *Crónicas de la conquista*, ed. Agustín Yáñez ("Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario"; México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1950), 61.
- 95 Bernal Díaz, 245.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 123-124.
- 97 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 98 Gabriel Rojas, 160.
- 99 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 100 Krickeberg, 33.
- 101 *Diccionario enciclopédico hispano-americano de literatura, ciencias y artes* (Barcelona: Montañer y Simón, Editores, 1892), XI, 721.
- 102 Bravo Ugarte, 298.
- 103 *Motolinia's History* . . . , 43.
- 104 Petición de los maceguales de Cholula", *Sobre el modo de tributar los Indios de Nueva España a su Majestad: 1561-1564*, ed. France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams (México: José Perrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1958), 133.
- 105 "Suma de visitas", 62.
- 106 Fray Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* ("Colección de incunables Americanos", IV; Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1944), 97.
- 107 *Motolinia's History* . . . , 282-283.
- 108 Gabriel Rojas, 163.
- 109 Alexandre de Humboldt, *Ensayo político sobre la Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1941), II, 269.
- 110 Bandelier, 230-231.

- 111 Francisco J. Hernández, "Catecismo de historia cholulteca", X *Exposición de Cholula*, 1960.
- 112 "El trazo antiguo de la ciudad de Cholula".
- 113 Torquemada, I, 257.
- 114 Bravo Ugarte, 298.
- 115 Francisco Sosa, *El episcopado mexicano: galería biográfica ilustrada de los ilmos. señores arzobispos de México desde la época colonial hasta nuestros días*, (México: Editores Hesiquio Iriarte y Santiago Hernández, 1877), 27-36.
- 116 Bernal Díaz, I, 330, 348, 494.
- 117 *Ibid.*, II, 12.
- 118 Cortés, II, 43, 60.
- 119 *Ibid.*, 57-59.
- 120 Bernal Díaz, I, 494.
- 121 Torquemada, I, 369-372.
- 122 "Memoria de los viejos caciques", 18.
- 123 Bernal Díaz, I, 221.
- 124 *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Plate 3.
- 125 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 126 "Petición de los maceguals de Cholula", 133.
- 127 Bernal Díaz, I, 246.
- 128 Bandelier, 230-231.
- 129 Bernal Díaz, I, 60, 93; Torquemada, I, 369.
- 130 Gomara, 103-108.
- 131 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 62.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 134 "El trazo antiguo de la ciudad de Cholula".
- 135 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 136 "El trazo antiguo de la ciudad de Cholula".
- 137 Hernández.
- 138 "El trazo antiguo de la ciudad de Cholula".
- 139 "Leyenda de los soles", *Códice Chimalpopoca*, trans. Primo Feliciano Velázquez (México: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), 119-120.
- 140 Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1956), II, 258-261.
- 141 Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "Roots of Mexican Culture," Course given at Mexico City College, México, D.F., 1961.
- 142 "Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas", *Relaciones de Texcoco y de la Nueva España*, comp. Joaquín García Icazbalceta ("Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México;" México, D.F.: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941), 212.
- 143 Sahagún, III, 209.
- 144 Fray Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de tierra firme* (México, D.F.: Editora Nacional, S.A., 1951), I, 15.
- 145 Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (México, D.F.: Editora Nacional, S.A., 1952), I, 17.
- 146 *Ibid.*, 19-21.

- 147 Torquemada, I, 244.
- 148 Ibid., I, 44-45; II, 350.
- 149 *Códice Xolotl*, studied by Charles E. Dibble ("Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia", Primera Serie, No. 22; México, 1951), Plates IV, VI.
- 150 Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "Introducción", *Guía arqueológica de Tula*, 9-12.
- 151 Eduardo Noguera, *La cerámica arqueológica de Cholula* (México, D.F.: Editorial Guaranía, 1954), 302.
- 152 Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "Síntesis de la historia pre-tolteca de Mesoamérica", *Esplendor del México antiguo*, ed. Raúl Noriega, Carmen Cook de Leonard, and Julio Rodolfo Moctezuma (México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones Antropológicas de México, 1959), II, 1028.
- 153 According to Jiménez Moreno this was not so. He thinks that a group of Teotihuacanos went to Cholula during the period of Teotihuacan II. They remained there until about 800 A.D., when they were expelled by a group of the historical Olmecs, who were not Mixtecs or others from Teotihuacan. On the contrary, this Olmec conquest of Cholula resulted in the expulsion of the Teotihuacanos and symbolizes the end of the Classic era in the Cholula area. Personal communication from Professor Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, Mexico, D.F., 1961.
- 154 Jiménez Moreno, "Síntesis . . .", 1076.
- 155 Wigberto Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los Olmecas", *Cuadernos Americanos*. No. 5 (1942), 129.
- 156 Noguera, 302-303.
- 157 Jiménez Moreno, Course given at Mexico City College.
- 158 Torquemada, II, 350.
- 159 *Códice Xolotl*, Plates IV, VI.
- 160 Ixtlilxochitl, I, 120.
- 161 Diego Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala*, published and annotated by Alfredo Chavero and José Fernando Ramírez (México: n.p., 1892), 107.
- 162 Barlow, *The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica*, 100-102 and map.
- 163 Rafael García Granados, *Diccionario Biográfico de historia antigua de Méjico* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1953), III, 429.
- 164 Personal communication from Byron McAfee, Mexico, D.F., 1961.
- 165 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 *Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al Padre Fray Alonso Ponce . . .*, I, 160-161.
- 168 Motolinía's *History*, 325.
- 169 Bandelier, Plate XV.
- 170 "Petición de los maceguals de Cholula", 133.
- 171 "Suma de visitas", 61.
- 172 Ibid.
- 173 "El trazo antiguo de la ciudad de Cholula".
- 174 Torquemada, II, 616.
- 175 The name Zepotecas is interesting in view of the known connections

between the peoples of the Oaxaca and Puebla-Cholula areas. According to current local tradition in Cholula, there were "Zapotec" people in that city during some epoch of its history. Might there perhaps have been a *barrio* of "Zapotecas" (traders?), an invasion, or a conquest? We know very little about the origin of the Zapotecs or their early relations with the Mixtecs. The latter group should undoubtedly also be more accurately defined than it is at present. According to Jiménez Moreno (Course at Mexico City College) the Zapotecs expanded after the fall of Teotihuacan, and their influence reached Cholula.

¹⁷⁶ See the respective section for further discussion of the data.

¹⁷⁷ *Anales de Tecamachalco*, trans. Antonio Peñafiel (Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana; México; Oficina tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1903).

¹⁷⁸ *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca: anales de Quauhtinchan*, comp. Heinrich Berlin and Silvia Rendón ("Fuentes para la historia de México", I; México: Antigua Librería Robredo, de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1947).

¹⁷⁹ "Memoria de los viejos caciques de Cholula", *Iglesia de San Gabriel Cholula*. Separata de los anales de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio, Año I, II Serie, No. 1 (México, D.F.: Editorial "Fr. Junípero Serra", 1953), 17-21.

¹⁸⁰ A. F. Bandelier, *Report of an Archeological Tour in Mexico in 1881*. ("Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America", American Series, II; Boston: Cupples, Upham and Company, 1884), 133.

¹⁸¹ "The Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco or Códice Campos," publ. Frederick Starr. *The University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, Bulletin III* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1898), 3-38.

¹⁸² "Memoria de los viejos caciques de Cholula," 17-21.

¹⁸³ "The Mapa de Cuauhtlantzinco. . .", 3-38.

¹⁸⁴ Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, "Catálogo del museo histórico indiano", in *Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional* (Madrid: Imprenta de Juan Zúñiga, 1746), 40.

¹⁸⁵ Antonio Peñafiel, *Ciudades coloniales y capitales de la República Mexicana*, Tomo V: *Las cinco ciudades coloniales de Puebla* (México: Imprenta y Fototipia de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1914), 29-31.

¹⁸⁶ See for example documents in Ramo de Tierras, manuscripts in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, D.F.

¹⁸⁷ Gabriel Rojas, "Descripción de Cholula", *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Históricos*, I, (1927), 158-169.

¹⁸⁸ Donald Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: the Metropolitan Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 190-195.

¹⁸⁹ *El Códice de San Antonio Techialoyan*, studied by Federico Gómez de Orozco (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, 1933), 4-9.

¹⁹⁰ *Lienzo de Tlaxcala: manuscrito pictórico mexicano de mediados del siglo XVI*, ed. Cor. Próspero Cahuantzi (México, D.F.: Librería Anticuaria, 1939).

¹⁹¹ Frans Ferdinand Blom, "El Lienzo de Analco, Oaxaca", *Cuadernos Americanos*, XXIV (Noviembre-Diciembre, 1945), 124-136.

¹⁹² Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia antigua de México* (México: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1958), I, 154.

¹⁹² "Segundo inventario de los objetos y papeles recogidos a Boturini: inventario del museo que el comisario de guerra honorario Ignacio Cubas entregó al Sr. Dr. D. Isidro de Icaza, en virtud de orden del gobierno supremo de la federación, de 16 de diciembre de 1825", *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, VII (1936), 574.

¹⁹³ Personal communication from Dr. R. Greenleaf, Mexico City College, Mexico, D.F., 1961.

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ERRATA

"The Codex of Cholula: a preliminary study," *Tlalocan*, Vol. V. Núm. 3, pp. 267-288.

Page	Paragraph	Line	Error	Correction
268	3	1	It	In
269	2	16	quauhtotoaque	cuahtotoaque
271	3	7	(add to end of sentence:)	Tlaxcala, but on
286	3	5	plan	plain
287	3	3	cuauxochtli	quaxochtli