The Histoire du Mechique relates that "... in this province of Tetzcoco lived another type of people called Populoca from the area of the Mixteca... The Populoca have another idol about the size of a man, which they call Malteutl, which means "Paper God," dyed with human blood, because every time they won a battle they sacrificed the best slave they had captured to him as a sign of thanksgiving." ¹

The god Malteutl of the Histoire du Mechique can perhaps be equated with the god of the Mexican merchants, the pochteca, as Acosta Saignes has suggested previously.² According to Tezozomoc "Vinieron los tratantes, mercaderes y arrieros de las jurisdicciones de la corona e imperio mexicano, que son los primeros que son causa de las guerras por el trato y granjería que entre manos traen: y estos tienen su dios y templo de por sí, y es llamado su ídolo Meteutle..." ³

In connection with the god Malteutl of the Popolucas of Tetzcoco

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and the god of the Pochteca, Meteutele, mention should be made of the etymology of the place name Amecameca, which means, according to Jiménez Moreno, “Lugar de los Dioses que Tienen Vestido de Papel.” ⁴ (In Mixtec, Amecameca is “Nuututu” or “Lugar de Papel.”) ⁵ Therefore, the question may be posed simply as follows: Is there evidence in the sources on which the thesis could be based that both Tetzoco and Amecameca had Otomangue speaking groups as part of their population, and that these people were merchants?

The linguistic evidence may be summarized as follows: Aside from the Histoyre de Mechique’s mention of Popolocas from the Mixteca who lived in Tetzoco, the Official Reports on the Towns of Tequisistlan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan, sent by Francisco de Castañeda to Philip II and the Council of the Indies in 1580 relate that the natives of San Juan Teotihuacan “speak Nahuatl generally, but a very few of them speak the Otomi and Popoluca tongues.” Otomi was also spoken by some of the population of Tepechpan and Acolman. ⁶ Francisco Cervantes de Salazar mentions another otomangue population in the Valley of Mexico in Sixteenth Century Tacuba when he states that “ay seis lenguas diferentes: las cuales son la mexicana, aunque corrupta por ser serranía donde se habla; la Otomi; la guata (sic.); la maçaua; la chuchume; y la chichimeca.” ⁷ Also indicative that Otomangue speakers once lived in the Valley of Mexico and nearby parts is the fact that in the Mixtec Vocabulario compiled by Fray Antonio de los Reyes, the following place names are given in Mixtec: Coatlichan, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Coyoacan, Tepozotlan, Azcapotzalco, 


⁵ Ibid.


Tlalocan
Xochimilco, Tacuba, Tacubaya, Tlalmanalco, Cuernavaca, Tetzcoco, Iztapalapa, Tlatelolco, Amecameca, Cuixtlaucu, Toluca, Tenango, Chimalhuacan-Chalco, Chimalhuacan-Atenco and Tecamachalco.8 (The majority of the other names by de los Reyes are towns in the Mixteca itself; therefore it is no doubt significant that the "foreign" town cited by the author in 1593 are located in the areas of the Valley of Mexico, Tetzcoco, Amecameca, etc.)

For the area of Amecameca, the linguistic evidence is somewhat more indirect. For example the Relación de Papalotipac (a Cuicatec town) states that "los primeros pobladores de este pueblo vinieron de un valle que está junto a las sierras de Mecameca, provincia de Mexico."9 There is, however, other historical evidence that the boundaries of Tlaxiaco in the Mixteca Alta once reached Popocatepetl.10 Also, Chimalpahin gives reports of inhabitants in the Amecameca-Chalco region who called themselves "Quiahuizteca" which is equivalent to the name "Nusabi" of the Mixtecs.11 Furthermore according to the aforementioned author, two groups of Nonoalca, the Nonohualca-Teotlixa-Tlacochcalca and the Nonohualca-Poyauteca also lived in the same area.12 The Nonoalca of the ancient Mexican chronicles have previously been identified as having been Otomangue speaking groups.13

The most important evidence of Otomangue speakers in the areas of Tetzcoco and Amecameca is that which is given by both Ixtlixochitl and Chimalpahin regarding the Tlailotlaque, who arrived in Tetzcoco after having spent much time in the area of Amecameca, and who

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originally came from towards the Mixteca. The reports of the cited authors are perhaps confirmed by the *Historia tolteca chichimeca* which states that in the year 3 acatl (probably 1327) a group of Mixteca and Popolucas arrived in the town of Cuauhtinchan where they stayed and received women from the Chimalpaneca. According to Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin, the Tlailotlaque came to Tetzcoco with another group called Chimalpaneca.

Now, if it be admitted that the Tlailotlaque of Amecameca and Tetzcoco were Otomangue speakers, what is the evidence that they were in some way connected with merchant groups? In the first place, according to Sahagún, one of the names of the chief merchants was "pochtectatlalotlac", the other being "acxotecatl." And Dr. Garibay has mentioned in connection with the Pochteca, basing his information on the Codices Matritenses of the informants of Sahagún, that two of the merchant titles were "teuctli tlailotlaque" and "mixcoa tlailotlaque". Chimalpahin refers to the señorío of Tecuanipan-Amecameca-Chalco-Pochtlan (Pochtlan is one of the merchant barrios mentioned by Sahagún) and further states that the "acxoteca" (another of the merchant barrios of Sahagún) lived in Tetelco, from where they were driven by people named "Tlaylotlaca". The acxoteca also lived in Tlahuac where they were oppressed by a group called Pochteca. The same author states that the acxoteca were the first people who migrated to the area of Chalco-Amecameca; they came from Tollan, from where they brought their market.

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16 Ixtlilxóchitl. II, pp. 69-70.
20 Paul Kirchhoff. "Composición étnica y organización política de Chalco según
Tlalocan

And evidence from the area of Tetzoco also sheds more light on a correlation of the Tlailotlaque with the Pochteca. The present day village of San Antonio Tepetitlan, a part of a larger settlement called San Andrés Chiauhtla near Tetzoco, was known formerly as Purificación Tlailotlcan.21 Tepetitlan is listed by Sahagún as one of the merchant barrios. Furthermore, one of the areas of Purificación Tlailotlcan (San Antonio Tepetitlan) used to be called Ahuachtlan (sic.).22 (Ahuachtlan was a barrio of the Pochteca, according to Sahagún.) Of interest also is that another of the barrios of San Andrés Chiauhtla is known today as Concepción Nonoalco; barrios called Nonoalco still exist in Tlatelolco and Mixcoac, two former Pochteca centers.23

A further connection between Tlailotlaques and probable inhabitants of another of Sahagún’s merchant barrios is mentioned by Chimalpahin when he speaks of the groups which composed the Eztlapictin tenanca, one of the ethnic entities of Chalco-Amecameca. According to him, the Eztlapictin-tenanca were divided into six subgroups: tlailotlaque, atlaughteca (Atlaughteca is one of Sahagún’s merchant barrios), tlacatecpantlaca, amilca, teuhicpantlaca and tepaneca.24 Regarding the last named group, the Quinatzin map states that “... nous les verrons (les Chimalpanecas) sous le règne d’Ixtlilxochitl, petit fils de Quinatzin, ouvrir les portes de Tetzuco aux Tepaneques d’Azcacaputzalco et mas- sacrer Huitzilihuitl, que defendait la ville.”25

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22 Ibid.

23 Ibid. p. 12.

24 Kirchhoff. Ibid. p. 296.

According to Chimalpahin, there were seven lords who ruled in the señorío of Amecameca. An analysis of their titles and the names of their principal cities also reveals that the word “tlailotlaque” again is related to the name of one of Sahagún’s merchant barrios. One of the seven rulers of Amecameca, whose title was “El Tlailotlacteuhltli” was lord of Tzacualtitlan-Tenanco-Atlauhtlan. 26 Atlauhtlan-Tenanco and Pochtlan-Tecuanipan are localities in which reigned two of the seven lords of Amecameca. The name of a third Amecamecan dominion was called Tlailotlac-Teohuacan. 27

The word “tlailotlaque” means “the returned ones”. Therefore, there can be some doubt that the “tlailotlaque” of Ixtlixochitl and Chimalpahin were merchants; that the examples cited which connect the word “tlailotlaque” with merchant barrios, titles of merchants, etc. do refer to merchants, but that the “tlailotlaque” of the chronicles were a people who had once lived in the Valley of Mexico, left for a time returned and had no connection with trading. The existence, however, of the place name “Tlailotlacan” only in two areas — those of Amecameca and Tetzoco — and many of these tlailotlaques connected to names of Sahagún’s merchant barrios, tends to confirm a correlation of tlailotlaque with pochteca rather than deny it. And if this be the case, the “Paper God” (Malteutl) of the Histoyre du Mechique would therefore probably correspond to the god of the Pochteca which Tezozomoc mentions, Meteute, and would in turn explain the etymology of Amecameca, “lugar de los (dioses) que tienen vestido de papel.” This is especially true in view of the suggested etymology of the word “Malteutl”: comparable to a part of the ceremony of the bathing of the slaves and their subsequent sacrifice by the Pochteca in the month Panquetzalitzli.

“Malli” means prisoner in the sense of a soul of a sacrificed victim represented by a skeleton adorned with paper. The Histoyre du Mecheique, in speaking of the Paper God,” Malteutl mentions that the god was about the size of a man and that the best slaves were offered to him every time a battle was won. And, according to Sahagún “it was especially the merchants who performed the ceremonial bathing and sacrificing of slaves during the month of Panquetzalitzli.

Sahagún also states that “they (the mercats) gave (the victims)

26 Kirchhoff. Ibid. p. 297.
27 Kirchhoff. Ibid.
Tlalocan
t heir paper vestments, their paper adornment, in which they were to
die.” 28 Furthermore, as a part of the merchant sacrifice of slaves, a
priest within a fire serpent and wearing “su vestido de papel” descended
from the pyramid of Huitzilopochtli. 29 According to the Garibay version
of Sahagún “luego la ponen (la serpiente de fuego) en el papel sagrado
que sustituye al dios.”

The god referred to in the afore-mentioned ceremony is obscure,
but the fact that sacred papers, which substituted for a god in a ritual
in which merchants sacrificed slaves is not too dissimilar to the situation
which the Histoyre du Mechique describes. Slaves were sacrificed to the
“Paper God” Malteutl, which indicates that the Malteutl of the
Histoyre du Mechique and the Meteutle of Tezozómoc’s Crónica
mexicana are probably one and the same. 30

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28 Bernardino de Sahagún. Florentine Codex. Trans. by Charles A. Dibble and
Arthur J.O. Anderson. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the
30 A Spanish version of the Histoyre du Mechique (retranslated by Joaquín
Meade, notes by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno) appeared in Memorias de la Aca-

N71 IV: 3 — LA ANTIGUA IGLESIA DE SAN LUCAS
CAMOTLAN, OAXACA

Hace unos meses uno de los diarios capitalinos del Estado publicó
un artículo encabezado La Región Mixe Tiene un Nuevo Templo Ca-
tólico. Se refería al pueblo de San Lucas Camotlán, donde por varios
años había yo hecho estudios lingüísticos y etnológicos. “Un nuevo
templo” quería decir que la iglesia antigua estaba por desaparecer.
Hacía más de quince años que era evidente que a pesar de todos los
esfuerzos de los vecinos, el edificio, con su techo de zacate y sus pare-
dones gruesos de adobe, estaba a punto de derrumbarse. Muchas fue-
rón las causas que contribuyeron al estado ruinoso de esta antigúsimn
iglesia, construida por frailes dominicos, según Bernard Bevan. Entre
las razones más obvias — aparte de su antigüedad, que ya pasaba de
tres siglos — se encuentran los siguientes factores: Ya creciente de-