Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation, Núm. 5, Publication Num. 4. Orinda, al.

Drucker, Philic. 1943. Ceramic Sequences at Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, Mexico. Bulletin 140, B.A.E., Smithsonian Institution. Washington.

MacNeish, Richard S. 1954. An Early Archaeological Site Near Panuco, Veracruz. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 44, Part 55. Philadelphia.

Peterson, Frederick A. 1963. Some Ceramics from Mirador, Chiapas. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation. In Press.

Warren, Bruce. 1961. The Archaeological Sequence at Chiapa de Corzo. In VII Mesa Redonda, Los Mayas del Sur y sus Relaciones con los Nahuas Meridionales, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología. México.

Weiant, C. W. 1943. An Introduction to the Ceramics of Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, Mexico. Bulletin 139, B.A.E. Smithsonian Institution. Washington.

N70 IV: 3 — THE GOD MALTEUTL IN THE *HISTOYRE DU MECHIQUE*

The *Histoyre 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 *Histoyre 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 Populucas of Tetzcoco

[1] Eduard de Jonghe "Histoyre du Mechique," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris* Nouvelle Série II, (1905), pp. 1-41. (Unpublished English translation by F. Horcasitas, 1950).

[2] Miguel Acosta S. "Los pochteca: ubicación de los mercaderes en la estructura social tenochca", *Acta Anthropologica,* I, No. 1, (1945), p. 40.

[3] Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc *Crónica mexicana.* México, Editorial Leyenda, 1944. p. 272.

and the god of the Pochteca, Meteutle, 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 Pa-
pel." [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
Tetzcoco 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 Populocas from the Mixteca
who lived in Tetzcoco, the *Official Reports on the Towns of Tequizis-
tlan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan*, sent by Francisco de Casta-
ñeda 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 Acol-
man.[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 quales son la mexicana,
aunque corrupta por ser serranía donde se habla; la Otomí; 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 An-
tonio de los Reyes, the following place names are given in Mixtec:
Coatlichan, Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Coyoacan, Tepotzotlan, Azcapotzalco,

[4] Wigberto Jiménez Moreno. "Etimología de toponímicos mixtecos" *Vocabulario
en lengua mixteca*. México, Instituto Nacional Indigenista e Instituto Nacional
de Antropología e Historia, 1962, p. 87.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Official Reports on the Towns of Tequizistlan, Tepechpan, Acolman, and San
Juan Teotihuacan Sent by Francisco de Castañeda to His Majesty Philip II and
the Council of the Indies, in* 1580. "Papers of the Peabody Museum of Amer-
ican Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XI, No. 2; Cambridge,
1926. p. 56. Translated and edited with an instruction and notes by Zelia
Nuttall. See also Francisco del Paso y Troncoso *Relaciones geográficas de la
diócesis de México*, Vol. VI of *Papeles de Nueva España* (Madrid: Sucs. de
Rivadeneyra, 1905. p. 220.

[7] Francisco Cervantes de Salazar. *Crónica de Nueva España*, Vol. I of *Papeles
de Nueva España*, edited by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, Madrid: Hauser y
Menet, 1914. p. 38.

Xochimilco, Tacuba, Tacubaya, Tlalmanalco, Cuernavaca, Tetzcoco, Iztapalapa, Tlatelolco, Amecameca, Cuitlahuac, Toluca, Tenango, Chi-malhuacan-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 Papaloticpac* (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, Chi-malpahin 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 afore-mentioned author, two groups of Nonoalca, the Nonohualca-Teotlixca-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 Ixtlilxochitl and Chimalpahin regarding the Tlailotlaque, who arrived in Tetzcoco after having spent much time in the area of Amecameca, and who

---

[8] Alfonso Caso. "Vocabulario sacado del *Arte en lengua mixteca* de Fray Anto-nio de los Reyes. In *Vocabulario en lengua mixteca*. México, 1962. p. 109-153.

[9] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 88.

[10] Manuel Orozco y Berra. *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México*. México, 1880. Vol. III, p. 441.

[11] Wigberto Jiménez Moreno. "El enigma de los olmecas" *Cuadernos Americanos*, Vol. V, 1942, p. 125. Quotation from the *Annales de Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin.* Sixiéme et Septiéme Relations. Rémi Simeón, Paris, 1889. Jiménez Moreno also cites folios 79 and 116 of the photocopies of the unedited *Relaciones* of the same author in the Museo Nacional de México.

[12] *Chimalpahin.* Simeón edition. PP. 25-48.

[13] Robert Chadwick. "The Olmeca-Xicallanca of Teotihuacan: A Preliminary Study" *Mesoamerican Notes*, VI. Mexico. University of the Americas. In press.

originally came from towards the Mixteca.[14] 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.[15] According to Ixtlil-xochitl and Chimalpahin, the Tlailotlaque came to Tetzcoco with an-other group called Chimalpaneca.[16]

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 "pochtecatlailotlac", the other being "acxotecatl." [17] 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 tlailo-tlaque".[18] 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.[19] 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.[20]

---

[14] Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl. *Obras históricas*. México: Ed. Nacional, S. A. 1952, I. pp. 123-124, 168-69, 289-290, 307; II: 69-70. — Chimalpahin, Simeón Edition, p. 28.

[15] *Historia tolteca-chichimeca. Anales de Cuauhtinchan*. Comp. Heinrich Berlin and Silvia Rendón. México: Robredo, 1947. pp. 109-110.

[16] Ixtlilxóchitl. II, pp. 69-70.

[17] Bernardino de Sahagún. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. Mé-xico: Ed. Robredo, 1938. III, p. 50.

[18] Angel María Garibay. *Vida económica de Tenochtitlán. Pochtecayotl: Arte de traficar*. "Fuentes Indígenas de la Cultura Náhuatl, Informantes de Sahagún." México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1961. p. 178.

[19] Acosta Saignes. *Acta Anthropologica*. I, 1. 29 and 26, citing Chimalpahin, Simeón edition. Silvia Rendón "Traducción provisional de algunas relaciones de Chimalpahin inéditas."

[20] Paul Kirchhoff. "Composición étnica y organización política de Chalco según

And evidence from the area of Tetzcoco 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 Tetzcoco, was known formerly as Purificación Tlailotlacan.[21] Tepetitlan is listed by Sahagún as one of the merchant barrios. Furthermore, one of the areas of Purificación Tlailotlacan (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 kown 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, atlauhteca (Atlauhco is one of Sahagún's merchant barrios), tlacatecpantlaca, amilca, teuhticpantlaca and tepaneca.[24] Regarding the last named group, the Quinatzin map states that " . . . nous les verrons (les Chimalpanecas) sous le regne d'Ixtlilxochitl, petit fils de Quinatzin, ouvrir les portes dȇ Tetzcuco aux Tepaneques d'Azcaputzalco et massacrer Huitzilihuitl, que defendait la ville." [25]

---

las relaciones de Chimalpahin." *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos,* XIV, primera parte, 1954-55. p. 297. Other published translations of Chimalpahin are *La cuarta relación de don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin.* Translated by Silvia Rendón. "Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia." III. 1947-48. pp. 199-218. *Diferentes historias originales de los reyes de Culhuacan y Mexico.* Das Manuscrit Mexicain NR. 74 der Bibliothéque Nacionale de Paris. Hamburg, 1950. Translated by E. Mengin.

[21] Pedro Carrasco. "El barrio y la regulación del matrimonio en un pueblo del Valle de México en el Siglo XVI." *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos,* XVII, 1951. p. 14.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.* p. 12.

[24] Kirchhoff. *Ibid.* p. 296.

[25] *Mapa Quinatzin,* Paris: 1885. Published by Aubin. pp. 74-106.

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 Tlaillotlacteuhtli" 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 Tlaillotlac-Teohuacan.[27]

The word "tlailotlaque" means "the returned ones". Therefore, there can be some doubt that the "tlailotlaque" of Ixtlilxochitl 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 Ameca-meca and Tetzcoco — 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 Tezo-zomoc mentions, Meteutle, 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 Panquetzaliztli.

"Malli" means prisoner in the sense of a soul of a sacrificed victim represented by a skeleton adorned with paper. The *Histoyre du Mechique,* 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 bath-ing and sacrificing of slaves during the month of Panquetzaliztli.

Sahagún also states that "they (the mercants) gave (the victims)

[26] Kirchhoff. *Ibid.* p. 297.
[27] Kirchhoff. *Ibid.*

their 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]

—Robert Chadwick
Instituto Nacional de Antropología

---

[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 University of Utah, 1951. Part III, p. 131.

[29] *Ibid*. Part X, 1959. p. 65.

[30] A Spanish version of the *Histoyre du Mechique* (retranslated by Joaquín Meade, notes by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno) appeared in *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, Vol. XX, No. 2, 1961.

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 Católico*. 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 paredones gruesos de adobe, estaba a punto de derrumbarse. Muchas fueron las causasa que contribuyeron al estado ruinoso de esta antiquísima 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-