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**Cosmogonic use of time and space in historical narrative: The
case of the "Cronica Mexicayotl"**

Brennan, Sallie Craven, Ph.D.

The University of Rochester, 1988

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COSMOGONIC USE OF TIME AND SPACE
IN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE:
THE CASE OF THE *CRONICA MEXICAYOTL*

by

Sallie Craven Brennan

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the

Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Supervised by Dr. Edward Calnek
Department of Anthropology
College of Arts and Science

University of Rochester

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1988

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In loving memory of
Daniel Stuart Craven
and
John Weston Brennan

CURRICULUM VITAE

Sallie Elizabeth Craven Brennan was born in Panama City, Florida on May 15, 1943. As a child she lived in Florida, California, and Alabama. She attended Ensley High School in Birmingham, Alabama, where she was a member of the National Honor Society. Upon graduation in May, 1961 she was awarded the Exchange Club Trophy for Scholastic Achievement.

From 1961 until 1964 Mrs. Brennan attended the University of Alabama Hospital School of Nursing, Birmingham, Alabama. She received a scholarship from the Birmingham Downtown Chapter of the Business and Professional Women's Organization in 1961 - 1962. In 1962 - 1964 she was awarded a scholarship provided by the Birmingham Chapter of Zonta International. Upon graduation Mrs. Brennan received the Faculty Award for Scholarship. She passed her State Boards in 1964 and became a Registered Nurse. In 1964 - 1965 Mrs. Brennan was employed at the University of Alabama Hospital School of Nursing as an Instructor of Medical - Surgical Nursing.

Mrs. Brennan entered the University of Rochester College of Applied Arts and Science (now Part Time Studies) in September 1973, concentrating in Anthropology. In 1978 she was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa. In May 1978, she received a Bachelor of Science Degree, graduating with Highest Distinction.

From September 1978, until the present Mrs. Brennan has been a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Rochester, under the guidance of Dr. Edward Calnek. She received a

Department of Anthropology Fellowship from 1979 - 1980 through 1982 - 1983. In 1983 she received a Master of Arts Degree. As a graduate student Mrs. Brennan has served as a teaching assistant and taught courses in the Summer Session at the University of Rochester since 1984.

Mrs. Brennan currently resides in Rochester, New York with her husband and children.

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Since 1978 the Department of Anthropology of the University of Rochester has been my second home. Virtually everyone connected with the Department has in some way helped and/or influenced me. Therefore, I owe my gratitude to all. However, there are a number of individuals who must be mentioned. Dr. Anthony Carter, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, has been very patient with me. This work has taken much longer than I ever anticipated, and I thank Dr. Carter for his continuing support.

Dr. Grace Harris was a wonderful teacher with whom I enjoyed studying, and from whom I learned a great deal about Social Anthropology. I further appreciate Dr. Harris for her approach to the economic problems that students face. As Chairman of the Department of Anthropology early in my graduate studies, she took the enlightened position that students who were also suburban homemakers were just as deserving of and entitled to financial support as were other categories of students. Thank you, Dr. Harris.

My two Linguistics teachers had tremendous influence on the work presented here. Dr. Cristopher Day taught me that not only is Linguistics important, but it can also be fun. Additionally, while Nahuatl was not his particular interest, he did introduce me to the study of that language. More importantly, he gave me the tools needed to approach a non - Indoeuropean language on my own. Witho. his knowledge and help this work would not have been attempted.

Dr. Amelia Bell was also most helpful. She introduced me to text analysis, and literally put in my hands Eva Hunt's wonderful *The Transformation of the Hummingbird: Cultural Roots of a Zinacantecan Mythical Poem*, which inspired the approach taken here.

It has been my privilege to have been a student of Dr. Rene Millon since 1973, and he has had a great impact on me. In my previous educational experiences I had been expected to know a large body of facts and when and where to apply them. It had been my view that books were sacred; whatever is written -- and published -- is TRUE. Dr. Millon expected his students to learn to think rather than to just absorb. He expected his students not only to know facts, but also to understand how fact had been interpreted by various scholars. He demanded rigorous analysis of all material, and that his students be aware of their own biases and underlying assumptions.

My debt to Dr. Edward Calnek is enormous. It was my good fortune to walk into his classroom in January, 1973, and he has been my advisor since then. While Dr. Millon insisted that I learn to think for myself, Dr. Calnek seemed to assume that I was already able to do so. My terror that he might find my capabilities were less than he originally thought pushed me to do better than I felt I could. Dr. Calnek has become a good friend as well as my advisor and teacher. During times of family crisis when working was very difficult, he was patient and understanding. However, when I delayed too long in resuming work, he pushed me to continue. Without his knowledge, interest, and guidance this work would never have been completed.

I also wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Niki Harmon, former Secretary, and Fran Crawford, Secretary of the Department of Anthropology. Each has done me many kindnesses, as well as handling many of the administrative details that surround academic life.

The graduate students in the Department of Anthropology form a real community. Competition is minimal, and mutual support and encouragement are commonplace. While I am grateful to all my fellow students for their support and interest, a few individuals must be singled out. The first is Margaret Hempenius Turner. Peggy and I began the graduate program at the same time. Because we were interested specifically in Mesoamerican studies, we had almost all of our classes together. We also went through our Comprehensive and Qualifying Examinations together, which forged an even stronger bond between us. Peggy is a serious student but has a good sense of the relative importance of things. Her irreverent attitude made some almost unbearable times easier. We have supported one another throughout this long period, and I am delighted that we will end the process together.

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boundless enthusiasm for this work has sustained me, and her comments and suggestions have been most helpful. Everyone writing a dissertation should have a person like Gretchen nearby.

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I also owe thanks to two former students of Dr. James Lockhart of the History Department at U.C.L.A., Dr. S.L. Cline and Dr. Susan Parry Schroeder. My original intention was to do a political analysis of the region of Chalco, using the works of Chimalpahin as a major source. When my course work was completed and I had just begun my research, Dr. Calnek mentioned to Dr. Cline what one of his students was doing. Dr. Cline informed him that a student at U.C.L.A. was then engaged in a similar project. When I contacted Susan Parry Schroeder, I found that she was indeed engaged in a political analysis of Chalco. I was forced to find a new project and finally settled on the one presented here. If Dr. Susan Cline had not informed us of Dr. Schroeder's work, I would have invested even more time on that project. I have enjoyed doing the work presented here, and I also feel that I have grown intellectually in the course of this study. However, I would never have done this work had Dr. Schroeder not preceded me with Chimalpahin and Chalco. Additionally, as will be seen, I have extensively used Dr. Schroeder's analysis on

Chinalphin's personal life.

My family have been a source of much encouragement and support. I thank my parents, Agnes Tyson Craven and the late Daniel Stuart Craven, and my parents - in - law, Janet Hirst Brennan and the late John Weston "Mike" Brennan for their continual interest in my work and its progress.

My husband, Dr. James Brennan, has been wonderful throughout the course of this study. He has supported me both emotionally and financially. And he has not only been my sounding board, he has also edited parts of the manuscript.

I am also grateful to my children, Kellie and Michael Brennan, for their generosity, patience and support.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to discover the objectives of and the techniques used by the authors of Prehispanic Central Mexican Highlands historical narratives. The methodology used was that suggested by Edward Calnek (1978), in which historical narratives are divided into "episodes" and "transitions", following the structure of pictorial manuscripts. The episodes and transitions in fourteen Colonial Period written and pictorial accounts of the Mexica (Aztec) migration from Aztlan to Tenochtitlan, by native and Spanish authors, were compared. Using this method it was clear that approved historiographic techniques could not resolve the discrepancies in accounts, and it was suggested that time was used symbolically in prehispanic narratives.

An analysis of one narrative, written by a native author in his native language seemed to offer the best chance for eliciting prehispanic objectives and techniques. The *Cronica Mexicayotl*, written by Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc in Nahuatl was judged to be the best account for analysis.

The Mesoamerican principle of the equivalence of time and space was established and then used in the analysis of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, demonstrating that this principle at least partially structured this account. Analysis of individual episodes showed that ritual information was embedded in this account, and that many Mexica deities were represented. The path of the migrating Mexica (Aztecs)

formed a pattern which re-created the universe of the Fifth Sun, the age in which they were living, according to their cosmogony. The account also included the rituals necessary to maintain that universe.

The major conclusions were that the objectives of prehispanic Central Mexican Highlands historiography were to create and maintain the cosmos and moral universe, or to account for changes in that universe. This follows Gary Gossen's (1974) genres of Ancient and Recent True Narrative. The technique employed by authors of narratives was to use metaphors and symbols connected with their Mesoamerican belief system, including the symbolic value of time itself.

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NAHUATL PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Vowels

Vowels can be either long or short (meaning the duration the sound is held; this is not comparable to long and short vowels in English).

OrthographyPronunciation

a	as a in father
e	as ai in paid
i	as ee in seek
o	as ow in bowl
u	as oo in moon
Diphthongs	
ai	as i in site
au	as au in author
ei	as a in gate
Semivowels	
h, u, v	as w in who
y	as y in yes
Consonants	
Stops (all voiceless)	
p	as p in sport
t	as t in stick
c or qu	as k in skid
cu or qu	as qu in squid (k ^w)
h or	glottal stop, as tt in common pronunciation of bottle; closing of throat before initial vowel, i.e. "is"
Affricates	
ch	as ch in church
tl	lateral t (put tongue in position for "t", let air out side)
tz	as ts in hats
Sibilants	
z, ç or c before e or i	as s in snake
x	as sh in shake
Nasals	
m	as m in man
n	as n in now (frequently dropped in word-final position)
Liquids	
l	as l in leaf
ll	as l above, but doubled or prolonged (not as Spanish ll)

Chapter I

Introduction

In 1519 Hernando Cortes and his small army of Conquistadors arrived on the coast of what is now Veracruz, Mexico. Within months they made their way to the Central Mexican Highlands where they found the city of Tenochtitlan -- modern day Mexico City -- where the Mexica¹, or Aztecs, had their capital. Here they found a people with a long literary tradition. However, the Mexica had not developed an alphabetic system of writing; rather, they used a combination of pictures and glyphs that represented sounds, syllables, words or phrases.² A special class of priests produced and read the manuscripts. Written accounts of many kinds were kept, among them, censuses, tribute lists and historical accounts. The pictorial - glyphic writing system did not completely accommodate genres such as historical accounts, and in these cases the manuscripts served as a mnemonic for an oral account learned and recited by specialists.³

Following the Spanish Conquest in 1521, elite Mexica males were taught to write in Nahuatl, their native language, using the Spanish alphabet. During the Colonial Period a number of historical

1. The name "Aztec" is commonly used to denote the people who founded the city of Mexico Tenochtitlan. In this work I follow the examples of Tezozomoc and other Colonial Period authors, who referred to them as Mexica.

2. See Glass, 1975a and Glass and Robertson, 1975 for a survey and census of pictorial manuscripts. Robertson, 1959 discusses writing techniques.

3. See Nicholson, 1969 for a discussion on the types of written and oral texts. See also Colston, 1973.

narratives, presumably based on native pictorial manuscripts were written in Nahuatl and Spanish, by both native and Spanish authors.⁴ In modern times extant narratives from this period have become a primary source for ethnohistorians. Unfortunately, these accounts differ widely in their information, and scholars have been unable to reconstruct a single, universally accepted version of early Mexica history from them. Heretofore, it has been assumed that the native authors of prehispanic Central Mexican Highlands historical narratives had the same objectives as modern historians, i.e., to relate historical fact. It is my contention that at least the migration sequences of native historical narratives deal not with history, but with cosmological truths. The primary focus of this study is to discover the objectives of and techniques used by authors of prehispanic Central Mexican Highlands historical narratives.

Accounts of Mexica history generally begin in the native year 1 *Tecpatl* (Flint), when the Mexica left their homeland, Aztlán. In the Sixteenth Century this date in the Tenochca calendar was often correlated with the European date A.D. 1064. In the Colonial Period a number of accounts of the Mexica migration were written, which we presume were based on prehispanic written and oral texts. Extant accounts are basically similar: they give some of the names of places where the Mexica stopped along the way; some of the major events that occurred, in which the god occasionally spoke and/or acted; and some

4. See Gibson, 1975 and Gibson and Glass, 1975 for a detailed discussion and census of prose manuscripts. The evidence summarized by these authors suggests a heavy clustering of lengthier narratives in the period from ca. 1570 to ca. 1640.

of the dates of specific events. However, accounts vary in the names and number of places visited, specific dates of events and the details of the god's activities. Differences in accounts are usually attributed to differing historical traditions within the Valley.⁵ Differences in dates are sometimes attributed to different calendars being used by different polities in the area.⁶

In recent years scholars investigating the prehispanic Central Mexican Highlands historical tradition have looked more critically at their primary sources. Edward Calnek (1978) emphasizes that extant written historical texts came out of a tradition using a combination of pictorial-glyphic writing plus an oral component. He offers a method of separating the original written and oral content. Calnek suggests breaking down a written text into "episodes" and "transitions". Such episodes and transitions are based on the structure of pictorial manuscripts, such as the *Tira de la peregrinacion*. This manuscript, he says, has a definite series of

5. Barlow, 1945 argues that the writings of Duran, Tezozomoc in the *Cronica Mexicana*, and Tovar and the *Codex Ramirez* were the official Tenochca version of history, and that the source of these texts was a missing "Cronica X".

6. Sahagun, 1938, Tomo II:274, states, "Es de notar que discrepan mucho en diversos lugares del principio del ano. En unas partes me dijeron que comenzaba a tantos de enero; en otras que a primero de febrero; in otras que a tantos de marzo. En el Tlatiluco ... comenzaba el ano el segundo dia del febrero (It is of note that the beginning of the year differs much in diverse places. In some parts they tell me that it began on such - and - such a day in January; in others at the beginning of February; in others, on such - and - such a day in March. In Tlatiluco ... the year began on the second day of February.)"

Kirchhoff, 1954-55, argues there is evidence for several calendars in the Valley in the prehispanic period. See also Jimenez Moreno, 1940 and 1961.

discrete pictorial scenes, which are to be read in an orderly sequence. The scenes are both separated and joined together by simple transitional devices, such as the "conventionalized use of footprints indicating movement in space or calendrical glyphs denoting the passage of time (1978:252-3)." The pictorial scene defines the episode, while the symbols of the passage of time and/or space serve as transitions. In dealing with written narrative texts, Calnek advises that one note the written equivalencies of pictorial transitions, as well as internal cohesion of the narrative content (1978:254). In this way, the episode "emerges with special clarity as the principle unit of narrative organization (1978:252)." This method gives greater control when comparing various accounts of the same episode from different sources. He points out that the objective of this method is not testing the validity of sources, but

determining what the author intended to say about the historical past. Objective tests of the truth-value of historical sources can be most usefully devised when the historiographic technique and objective characteristic of the Central Mexican region in general are more clearly understood (1978:241).

Calnek goes on to suggest that reported historical events may have had political propaganda value (1978:252), implying events may not have "truly" happened when stated.

Truth - Neltiliztli

"Truth" differs in meaning from one culture to another. In the Western historiographic tradition it is assumed "true" events happened where and when historians report them. In the context of

Mexica historical narratives, we are offered the "true" story by different authors whose accounts vary in significant ways. Duran begins his *Historia de las Indias de Nueva Espana* with the words, "Para tratar de la cierta y verdadera relacion del origen y principio destas naciones indias... (To discuss the certain and true account of the origin and beginning of these Indian nations ...) (1965:1)." Two native authors from the Valley of Mexico who wrote in Nahuatl, Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin, "verify" their differing versions of native history. Chimalpahin states "ynic oc ceppa ye no nehuatl axcan nicneltilia (today once again I am verifying it) (quoted in Schroeder, 1984:17-18)." In his *Cronica Mexicayotl* Tezozomoc uses a similar phrase: "ynic ye no nehuatl nicneltilia (Now I also verify it) (Tezozomoc, 1949:7; Appendix:226:5)."⁷ He goes on to say, "ca mochi neltiliztli amo iztlacatiliztlii) (It is all truth, not a falsehood) (Tezozomoc, 1949:8; Appendix:226-7:5).

Leon - Portilla has analyzed the Nahuatl word we gloss⁸ "truth", *neltiliztli*. He says it is

derived from the same radical as "root", *tia-nel-huatl*, from which, in turn comes *nelhuayotl*, "base" or "foundation". The stem *nel* has the original connotation of solid firmness or deeply rooted. With this etymology "truth" for the Nahuas, was to be identified with well-grounded stability (1963:8).

"Well-grounded stability" may imply to those of us well-

7. The Appendix is cited in this manner, meaning Appendix:page:paragraph.

8. I use the word "gloss" rather than "translate" to indicate there is frequently little direct correspondence between terms in different languages.

grounded in Western historiography "fact" -- "it really happened." In fact, it does not. In spite of Leon-Portilla's elegant analysis of *nehtiliztli*, we have no well-grounded idea of what *nehtiliztli* meant to Nahuatl speakers in relation to their historical tradition. Indeed we do not really know what the words we gloss "history" meant to them ("Istoria, *nehtiliz amatl. tlatollotl. nehtilizcotl*" [History, life paper or book. History. That which concerns the life.] [Molina, 1977:76]). We assume their view was similar to our largely Western view and proceed on that basis. The apparent mythic episodes of an historical narrative have been duly noted by various authors. The myths have been interpreted as representing celestial or other natural phenomena or as a casting of actual historical events in mythic terms. (See Seler, 1960-67:III:324-351; IV:3-167; Garibay K, 1953-4:I:275-329; 449-478; II:267-313.)

Oral History - Tlahtollotl

Nicholson notes that all continuous year count annals (*[ce]xiuhamatl*, "[one]year paper or book") that begin by A.D. 1116

or from some other point in the 12th century ... commence with migratory sequences which, at best, are obviously highly patterned and stereotyped: the more genuinely historical sections do not usually begin until well into the 14th century (1969:46-47).

He identifies one of the terms Molina (1977:141) glosses as "history", *tlahtollotl*⁹, as one of the terms applied to the oral component of

9. Nicholson, 1969, has attempted to match Nahuatl terms to various types of extant pictorial and written manuscripts.

Central Mexican Highlands historiographic transmission techniques.

Tlahtollotl is composed of the noun *tlahtolli*, "word or speech", less its absolutive suffix, *-li*, plus the suffix *-l-otl*. This suffix, a variant of *-yotl*, makes a noun abstract, suggesting the essence of that noun. *Tlahtolli* itself is derived from the verb *tla-ihtoa*, "something (object) - to speak", in other words, "to speak something". The etymology of *tlahtollotl*, being ultimately derived from "to speak", emphasizes the oral quality of the word. "Narrative" may be a better gloss than "history". Because the written component of *tlahtollotl* was kept in *xihuitlapoalaxatl* ("year-count-paper or book"), where events were associated with a specific date, to Western eyes they appear to be histories, and they have thus been glossed.

True Narrative

In his analysis of the Chamula oral tradition Gary Gossen (1974) found two genres of "True Narrative": Ancient True Narrative and Recent True Narrative. The Chamulas have a Mayan world-view, and they believe that they occupy the umbilicus of the universe. In their view of time, the universe has been cyclically created and destroyed. They are currently living in the Fourth Creation or Sun. Ancient True Narrative tells of events that happened distantly in space and time, in one of the three preceding suns, while Recent True Narrative deals with events occurring in the present sun. Ancient

10. The usual spelling of words derived from *ihtoa* does not include the glottal stop, here represented by the letter "h". Andrews (1975) and Karttunen (1983) show the glottal preceding the "t". The initial "i" of *ihtoa* is supportive; it is dropped when preceded by a vowel.

True Narrative defines the cosmos and the moral universe; Recent True Narrative reinforces that universe. Gossen says Recent True Narrative sometimes concerns historical and/or living persons. Where he has been able to check out these stories, he has found the Chamulas take people out of the actual context and place them in a context consistent with the aims of the genre.

It is highly likely that these genres of oral tradition extend back to the prehispanic period and have some bearing on the objectives of Mexica *tlāhtōllōtl*. Nicholson notes the cosmogonic aspects of Central Mexican historical narratives. He states,

A more or less accepted canon of about 10 major cosmogonical episodes, in sequence, can be reconstructed for Tenochtitlan-Tlatilolco and its orbit... (1969:64-65).

Nicholson further notes the presence of "hero tales" in historical narratives. These are some of the elements comprising Chamula genres of True Narrative.

Looking at migration tales, Nicholson finds "pattern history" particularly strong.

Religious and cosmological influences were obviously strongly at work here, while legendary, novelistic, and folkloristic elements are clearly legion (1969:66).

He states the need for a thorough study of the "Aztec migration problem," to facilitate culling historically factual material from mythic elements.

Such a study will be presented here. However, the major goal of this study is to discover the objectives and techniques of

prehispanic historiography. This is a logical first step in attempting to discover what, if any, historical facts are embedded in these narratives. Without such knowledge, there is the danger of more conclusions, such as that of van Zantwijk who says,

The historical part of the pilgrimage was the thirteenth - century migration of the Mexitin from Tzompanco, in the northern part of the Valley of Mexico, to Chapultepec, in the middle of the valley (1985:12).

Van Zantwijk offers no supporting data for such a statement. The analysis presented in this study suggests that such a conclusion may be premature.

In this study one version of the Mexica migration from the homeland of Aztlan until the founding of Tenochtitlan will be analyzed. The text chosen for analysis is the *Cronica Mexicayotl* written by Tezozomoc in 1609 (Tezozomoc, 1949:7; Appendix:225:5). Chapter II examines the question of authorship of the entire document known as the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Although there is no argument that Tezozomoc wrote the part of the manuscript dealing with the Mexica migration, Kirchhoff (1951) states that Chimalpahin was the author of the second part. This chapter examines his evidence for this assertion.

The *Cronica Mexicayotl* is the most elaborate account of the Mexica migration and gives more dates than any other. Writing in Nahuatl, Tezozomoc directs this account to a specifically native audience (1949:5; Appendix:220:2). It was the second historical narrative written by Tezozomoc. His first account was written in Spanish about 1598.¹¹ Differences in his two accounts provide a good

basis for comparison. Chapter III compares the account of the Mexica migration in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* with other major versions. The methodology employed in this chapter is to divide the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and thirteen other accounts of the Mexica migration into "episodes" and "transitions", as suggested by Edward Calnek (1978). Accounts are then compared for their specific informational content, including the time and place events occurred. Such a methodology may seem simple. However, Nicholson says about such comparisons,

Although this undoubtedly sounds commonplace, particularly to any trained historian, anyone familiar with the pre - Hispanic branch of Mesoamerican ethnohistory is only too well aware how rarely it has actually been accomplished in practice. Not a little of the confusion and the existence of so many widely disparate reconstructions by different leading students can be attributed to the failure rigorously to pursue this indispensable critical and evaluatory analysis (1975:491).

Chapter IV compares the attitudes of the two most famous native authors from the Valley of Mexico, Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin. Their family backgrounds and their use of language reveal something of the degree to which these men were Hispanicized.

Chapter V looks at the structure of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* in relation to time and space. The place names mentioned in the Mexica migration sequence are plotted against coordinates centered at the Templo Mayor (Great Temple) in Tenochtitlan. The pattern of time and

11. In the introduction to his edition of Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*, Orozco y Berra states he has arrived at this date by internal evidence (1878:151). He cites Tezozomoc's statement about the flood in Tenochtitlan, which he says occurred about 128 years ago in the year 1470 (1878:567). 1470 plus 128 gives the year 1598.

place suggests a symbolic use of these aspects in this narrative and perhaps has implications for prehispanic historical narratives as well.

Chapter VI offers some conclusions.

The Appendix contains my English translation from the Nahuatl text in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*'s account of the Mexica migration based on Leon's paleography (Tezozomoc, 1949). Leon's paragraph numbers have been retained to facilitate comparisons between the translations. However, while Leon retained the punctuation and other diacritical marks, I found them to be largely meaningless. The interested reader can go back to Tezozomoc, 1949, for diacritics. The translation in the Appendix adheres as closely to the original Nahuatl as possible without violating English grammar. The reader of the entire Appendix may note strange shifts in tense, particularly between past and present. One aiming for a "literary" translation may well obliterate these changes in tense. I have retained them, because in Chapter V I will argue that these tense shifts are significant. Work on the translation will continue, including a translation of the entire document.

In this study, by subjecting the raw data -- in this case various accounts of the Mexica migration produced from about the mid-Sixteenth to the early Seventeenth Centuries -- to accepted historiographic techniques, I will demonstrate that such techniques do little to answer questions about the differences in accounts, or to elicit actual historical fact. By analyzing the structure of the account given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, I will demonstrate that at

least the author of this one account was interested in "higher truths" than mere historical fact. This holds implications for other such historical narratives. While the goal of this work is to further Mesoamerican studies, I hope it will serve as an example for those who work with translation or materials from a culture to which they are non-native. We must know not only what native categories are, but also the meaning of those categories within the specific cultural context.

Chapter II

The *Cronica Mexicayotl*

A Question of Authorship

The *Cronica Mexicayotl*

In 1949 the work of Adrian Leon made the *Cronica Mexicayotl* widely available to scholars. He published his paleography and Spanish translation of the document from photocopies¹ of Manuscript number 311 of the Bibliotheque National de Paris. The manuscript in the Bibliotheque National is a copy. The original is unknown. A copy was listed in the Boturini collection inventories of 1743 - 1745, and of 1746; but it was missing from the 1791 inventory. The manuscript was listed in Tomo 4, one of several volumes that have been traced back to the Siguenza y Gongora Collection (Glass, 1975b:Table 4). Much of Siguenza's collection, in turn, can be traced back to Ixtlilxochitl's (Nicholson, 1975: 478).

Leon notes that the first six and one half pages (those numbered 67 through the middle of 73) are written in a large, clear hand that appears to be from the seventeenth century. The rest of the

1. 49 photocopies found in paquete numero 21 of the collection of photocopies of the Museo Nacional de Mexico. The photocopies were ordered by Don Francisco del Paso y Troncoso in July, 1911 from manuscript number 311 of the Fonds Mexicains of the Bibliotheque National de Paris. The manuscript was part of the eighth notebook of the Goupil collection, bearing the page numbers 67-115, written on the front and back (Leon, 1949:vii). Four seals, one each on pages 67, 70, 93 and 115, bear the text, "Collection E. Eug. Goupil a Paris - Ancienne Collection J.M.A. Aubin (loc. cit.)."

pages are in a different hand, smaller but still clear (Leon, 1949:IX). Jimenez Moreno identifies the two scribes as Chimalpahin and Leon y Gama (Leon, 1949:X). Leon y Gama had access to Boturini's collection (Nicholson, 1975:492), and it seems likely that he copied part of this manuscript from Boturini's. Aubin probably acquired the manuscript presently in the Bibliotheque National in 1830, when he was in Mexico and bought part of Boturini's collection from the heirs of Leon y Gama (Mengin, 1952:392). Part of the collection sold to Goupil in 1891, it was donated by the latter's widow to the Bibliotheque National de Paris in 1898 (Nicholson, 1975:493).

Authorship of the original manuscript is contested. Leon attributes the manuscript to Tezozomoc (1949:VII), because he writes,

<p>auh in axcan ipan xihuitl de 1609 anos ye no nehuatl Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc ... yn axcan ypan xihuitl omoteneuh ynic ye no nehuatl nicneltilia nicchicahua yn intlahtol yn inhuehuetenonotzaliz yn oquitlallitiaque (Tezozomoc, 1949:7-8).</p>	<p>And today in the year 1609, now I also, Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc, ... Today in this stated year, I now also verify it. I fortify their speech, the relation of the ancients. They cause it to be set down (Appendix:225-6:5).</p>
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However, two other names are mentioned as contributing information.

The first is that of "Alonso Franco".² Following the account of the departure from Aztlan we are told,

<p>Oncan tlami itlahtol huehue in Alonso Franco catca nican ichan ipan altepetl Ciudad Mexico Tenochtitlan</p>	<p>There ended the speech of the old one, Alonso Francisco. His home was here in the city, the City of Mexico</p>
---	--

2. This is probably a contraction for "Francisco", which would be written "Franco". The only way to know would be to see the original MS, which is currently unknown.

auh in omomiquillico
 ipan xihuitl de 1602 anos
 inin Mestizo catca
 (Tezozomoc, 1949:25).

Tenochtitlan.
 And he came to be dead
 in the year A.D. 1602.
 He was a mestizo
 (Appendix:260:34).

The other name is that of Chimalpahin. On pages 82 and 83 of the manuscript, Chimalpahin made insertions into the text, objecting to the material on Chalco as written, and making corrections (Tezozomoc, 1949:47 & 49; Appendix:304 & 308 :62 & 64). Since these insertions are an integral part of the text -- not marginal notes or in some other way modifying the document -- it suggests that the manuscript was at least copied by Chimalpahin. However, Kirchoff (1951) argues that Chimalpahin was the author. Gibson and Glass list the manuscript as "attributed to Chimalpahin (1975:346)."

Leon notes an abrupt change in the material of the text at the end of page 92 and beginning of page 93 of the photocopies (at paragraph 119, in Tezozomoc, 1949:86). He therefore speculates that part of the original manuscript was lost (Leon, 1949:XVI).

The narrative in the document can be divided into three parts. Paragraphs 1 through 12 (Tezozomoc, 1949:3-13; Appendix:217-236:1-12) comprise the introduction. Paragraphs 13 through 106 (pages 13-77; Appendix:223-364:13-106) recount the Mexica migration from Aztlan until the founding of the cities of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilolco.³ The third part is from paragraph 107 through the end of the the document

3. The spelling of the name of this city varies from author to author. Here I follow Tezozomoc's spelling of Tlatilolco, except when citing the *Anales de Tlatilolco* by name. Tlatilolco can be glossed, "Upon the Elevation of Something." The elevation was of sand.

at paragraph 374 (pages 78-177). This section deals with the ruling family of Tenochtitlan. Rulers, beginning with Acamapichtli, are named, the dates of their reigns are given, something about the activities of some of them are included, and the names of their progeny are listed. (Male descendents are more frequently given than female. In the earlier sections daughters are not mentioned. Later, daughters are frequently numbered, but often their names are "not known" - even when the names of their spouses are known!). The wealth of geneological material in this latter section shows the interconnections of the ruling family of Tenochtitlan with most ruling families in the various polities in the Valley of Mexico.

The narrative begins in the native year 1 Tecpatl (Flint), which the author equates with a Christian date of A.D. 1069 (Tezozomoc, 1949 :14; Appendix:237:14). However, this is either a mistake or a copyist's error, since the author goes on to say,

ye yuh nepa ontzon ypan matlacpohualli	It had then been
ypan yepohualli ypan nauhxihuitl	1064 years since
motlacatillitizino y nelli Dios	Jesus Christ,
	the revered Son of
ytlazopiltzin Jesu Christo	the true God had been born
(Tezozomoc, 1949:14).	(Appendix:237:14).

In the next paragraph he tells us,

auh ynic ompa cenca huecahuaque	And they stayed there
	a long time
ynic ompa catca	when they came there.
onoca Chichimeca Azteca	The Chichimeca Azteca
	came to be settled
yn Aztlan ontzon xihuitl ypan	in Aztlan
matlacpohuaixihuitl ypan	

Tezozomoc says the original name of the site was Xaltillolli (1949:75; Appendix:360:104). The word is composed of *xalli*, "sand" and *tlajtilli*, "elevation (of something)."

matlactlionnahui xihuitl
(Tezozomoc, 1949:14).

for 1014 years
(Appendix:237-8:15).

This would push the date back to A.D. 50.⁴ However, the earliest date actually given is the native year 12 Calli (House), A.D. 61 (Tezozomoc, 1949:20; Appendix:250:28). This was the year in which the "Big Tree" (*huey quahuitl*) was planted by the Mexica. The author states,

auh inin omoteneuh quahuitl
in inpan poztec Mexitin
zan no yehuantin
intlaaquil
mochiuh in Azteca
in yuh quitotihui huehuetque
ye yuh matlactlomome xihuitl
oncan cate in Aztlan
in ipan 12 Calli xihuitl
61 anos
in iquac caqui que quahuitl
in ahuehuetl⁵
ye yuh nepa yepohualli ipan ce xihuitl

And this stated tree,
which fell on the Mexitin,
it was also their
planted thing.

It was done by the Azteca,
so the ancients came to say,
when they had been there
in Aztlan for 12 years.
It was in the year 12 House,
A.D. 61.

When they planted the
ahuehuetel⁵,
it had been 61 years since

motlacatillitizno in nelli Dios

the birth of the beloved Son

itlazopiltzin Jesu-Christo

of the True God, Jesus Christ.

(Tezozomoc, 1949:20).

(Appendix:249-50:28).

This would make the year A.D. 50 equal to a native year 1 *Tochtli*.

The latest date in the narrative is that of A.D. 1609, in which the author states he is writing (Tezozomoc, 1949:7; Appendix: 225:5). The last dated entry in the account itself is for the year 9 *Acatl* (Reed), A.D. 1578 (Tezozomoc, 1949: 176, paragraph 373).

4. A.D. 50 is the year given by Chimalpahin in his Fourth Relation for the arrival of the native inhabitants to the New World, 1958:171.

5. A type of cypress that is known for its great height, breadth and longevity.

Following the last entry is a "Nota de Boturini", indicating that this document is an incomplete fragment (Tezozomoc, 1949:177).

Authorship of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*

As stated above Leon attributes the *Cronica Mexicayotl* to Tezozomoc, because in the introductory passages Tezozomoc so identifies himself. However, Leon notes Chimalpahin's "presence" in the manuscript, since he made two corrections of the text dealing with Chalcan material. Leon also notes that on page 90 of the photocopies the narrative tells of the eruption of the volcano, Popocatepetl, in the year 1 Acatl, A.D. 1363, when the Mexica priest - leader Tenuch died (Tezozomoc, 1949:78) Of the text at this point Leon says,

Conviene indicar aqui que este es uno de los casos en que nuestro texto guarda muy grande semejanza en su redaccion nahuatl original con la de algunos textos del propio don Domingo de San Anton Munon Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, segun se puede comprobar por la comparacion de ellos, en la pagina 67 de los "(Annales) / de Domingo Francisco de San Anton Munon / Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin / Sixieme et Septieme Relations (1258-1612) /" que Remi Simeon publicara y tradujera en 1889, en la ciudad de Paris (Leon, 1949:XVIII-XIX).

(It is advisable to indicate here that this is one of those cases in which our text holds very great similarity in its original Nahuatl writing with some of the texts of Don Domingo de San Anton Munon Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin himself, as can be checked by a comparison of them, on page 67 of the *Annales de Domingo Francisco de San Anton Munon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, Sixieme et Septieme Relations [1285-1612]* that Remi Simeon published and translated in 1889, in the city of Paris.)

Additionally, Jimenez Moreno identified Chimalpahin as the first scribe of the manuscript (Leon, 1949:X).

Kirchhoff (1951) argues that Chimalpahin was the author of the "second part" of the manuscript, beginning

mas o menos desde el parrafo referido en adelante [i. e., paragraph 107], o sea desde la pagina 78 hasta la ultima pagina que es 177 (siguiendo la paginacion de la edicion de Leon), Chimalpahin no es simplemente el que copio y anoto esta obra, sino su autor mismo (Kirchhoff, 1951:226).

(more or less from the paragraph referred to before [i. e., paragraph 107], that is from page 78 until the last page, which is 177 [according to the pagination of the edition of Leon], Chimalpahin is not simply he who copied and annotated this work, but the author himself.)

Kirchhoff states that the second part of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is markedly different from Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana* (1951:226). He says the chronology is identical to that in Chimalpahin's Seventh Relation, and differs from all other sources "excepcion parcial hecha del Anonimo de Tlatelolco (a partial exception being that done by the Anonymous Tlatelolcan) (1951:227)." He notes in the "first part" of the text by Tezozomoc the repeated use of the phrase "Toltzallan Acatzallan (Among the Reeds, Among the Rushes)," referring to Tenochtitlan. He sees this phrase as being diagnostic of Tezozomoc and says that it does not occur in the part he attributes to Chimalpahin. He also notes that the list of 13 leaders and the *teomasas* (Carriers of the God) "tienen mucho en comun con las que da Chimalpahin en algunos de sus escritos (has much in common with those given by Chimalpahin in some of his writings) (1951:227)." Kirchhoff also notes that after this point in the manuscript there are no further interpolations by Chimalpahin into the text when Chalco or Chalicans are referred to.

Given Leon's observations about Chimalpahin, Kirchhoff's arguments for his being the author of the second half of the manuscript seem persuasive. However, there are a few problems with his argument. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the phrase "*in Toltzallan in Acatzallan* (Among the Reeds, Among the Rushes)" is used in the "second part" twice more: on page 82, paragraph 113, when the Mexica are asking for Acamapichtli to be their ruler; and on pages 85 - 86, paragraph 118, when Acamapichtli is seated as ruler. This phrase apparently is used until Tenochtitlan is founded and the dynasty is in place.

In support of his argument about the chronology in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* being identical to that of Chimalpahin's Seventh Relation and "partially" to that of the Anonymous Tlatilolcan, Kirchhoff presents a table of "Los Reyes de Tenochtitlan, segun las fuentes principales (The Kings of Tenochtitlan, according to principal sources), (1951:insert, pp. 226-227)." Here Kirchhoff gives the dates for the the coronation and death of the Tenochca rulers as stated in 15 sources. He lumps Tezozomoc (*Cronica Mexicana*), *Codice Ramirez* and Duran together in one column, presumably because they are all derived from the missing *Cronica X*. (See Barlow, 1945). He tells us, "Las fechas de Tezozomoc - Codice Ramirez - Duran y de Siguenza y Gongora han sido retraducias al calendario indigena sobre la base de 1519 - 1 acatl (The dates from Tezozomoc, *Codice Ramirez*, Duran and of Siguenza y Gongora have been traced back from the indigenous calendar on the basis that 1519 = 1 acatl) (loc. cit.)." The first four columns of Kirchhoff's table are seen in Table 1.

Table 1. List of the Rulers of Tenochtitlan and the dates of their Reigns - from Kirchoff, 1951.

	Cronica Mexicayotl	Chimalpahin (7a rel.)	Anonimo de Tlatelolco	Tezozomoc- Cod-Ramirez- Duran
Acamapichtli crowned ¹	5 acatl	5 acatl	5 acatl	8 tochtli
Acamapichtli died		12 acatl	12 acatl	3 tecpatl
Huitzilihuitl crowned	3 acatl	3 acatl	3 acatl	3 tecpatl
Huitzilihuitl died	1 acatl	1 acatl	11 tecpatl	
Chimalpopoca crowned	1 acatl	1 acatl	2 tecpatl ²	
Chimalpopoca died	12 tochtli	12 tochtli	12 tochtli	
Itzcoatl crowned	13 acatl	13 acatl	13 acatl	10 tecpatl
Itzcoatl died	13 tecpatl	13 tecpatl	12 acatl	(13 tecpatl
Moctezuma I crowned	13 tecpatl	13 tecpatl	13 tecpatl	(5 calli
Moctezuma I died	2 tecpatl	2 tecpatl	2 tecpatl	3 calli
Ayayacatl crowned	3 calli	3 calli	3 calli	3 calli
Ayayacatl died	2 calli	2 calli	2 calli	2 calli
Tizoc crowned	2 calli	2 calli	3 tochtli	2 calli
Tizoc died	7 tochtli	7 tochtli	6 calli	7 tochtli
Ahuitzotl crowned	7 tochtli	7 tochtli	7 tochtli	7 tochtli
Ahuitzotl died	10 tochtli	10 tochtli	10 tochtli	
Noctezuma II crowned	10 tochtli	10 tochtli	10 tochtli	11 acatl

1. Kirchoff used the term "coronado", so I follow him here. A term more in keeping with Nahuatl meaning would be "seated" which is used in the other tables.

2. This date is incorrect. *Anales de Tlatelolco*, p.54, paragraph 257 gives the date 1 acatl for the seating of Chimalpopoca.

5. This is the accepted date for correlating the calendar/s indigenous to the Valley of Mexico and the Western calendar. According to Duran 1519, the year in which Cortes came to the the New World, was the native year 1 Acatl (1971:391).

Kirchhoff's Table strongly suggests that in his Seventh Relation Chimalpahin is using the same source as the author of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and that the source might be largely from the Tlatilolca tradition. It also suggests that the chronology in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is outside the *Cronica X* tradition. This is highly misleading. There is no single *Cronica X* chronology. In his *Cronica Mexicana* Tezozomoc has no dates, native or Christian, associated with the seatings or deaths of rulers. He has only two dates in the portion of his work after the founding of Tenochtitlan. The heading for Capitulo LXIII, in which he tells of the selection of Ahuitzotl as ruler states,

De la coronacion del rey Ahuitzotl Teuctlamacazqui; del lavatorio de pies y la endiablada carniceria se habia de hacer de los cautivos, y de la celebracion del nueva ano, que llamaban Nahui acatl, ano de las cuatro canas (1878:471).

(Of the coronation of the king Ahuitzotl Lord - Priest; of the washing of the feet and the perverse slaughter they had to make of the captives, and the celebration of the new year, which they called Nahui acatl, year of the Four Reeds.)

It is not clear from the chapter itself if 4 Acatl is in any way connected with Ahuitzotl's election or seating. The second date Tezozomoc gives is in relating an incident of flooding during Ahuitzotl's reign. He says the flood happened

mas de ciento y veinte y ocho anos, poco mas o menos, que serian del nacimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesu Cristo por el ano de mil quatrocientos y setenta (1878:567)

(more than 128 years [ago], a little more or less,

which would be from the birth of our Redeemer
Jesus Christ by the year 1470.)

He tells us that Ahuitzotl was then involved with the reconstruction the flood made necessary in Tenochtitlan, "que no dejarian de pasar mas de dos anos (on which they did not let more than 2 years pass) (1878:567)." Following the successful reconstruction of the city Ahuitzotl died (1878:568). Furthermore, the seating of Acamapichtli is completely missing from this work. None of Kirchhoff's dates could have come from Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*.

When we look at the *Codice Ramirez* and Duran's *Historia de las Indias* Kirchhoff's dates look even less secure. The *Codice Ramirez* and the Tovar manuscript are both the works of Juan de Tovar, and are based on Duran⁷. However, from the dynastic information and the dates of reigns, it is clear that Tovar was not simply a copyist. In most instances his dates differ widely from Duran's. He also has Tizoc preceeding Axayacatl as ruler. Table 2 gives the Tenocha Dynasty as presented in the *Codice Ramirez*, with native dates based on 1 Acatl equals 1519. The *Codice Ramirez* never gives a date of death, but sometimes states the length of rule. It will be noticed that Cuitlahuac is missing from this list, as he is from Duran's.

When we look at Duran's list of rulers and their dates of reigns, only the seating of Itzcoatl in 1424 is the same as in the *Codice Ramirez*. Duran's dynastic list is presented in Table 3. A comparison of Tables 2 and 3 demonstrates that there is no single

7. See Barlow, 1945, and Kubler and Gibson, 1951.

Cronica X chronology. One can make a kind of chronology from Duran's dates, by knowing Moteuhczoma II died in 1520. Table 4 demonstrates this. Such a table cannot be made with the material from the *Codice*

Table 2. Tenochca Dynasty according to the *Codice Ramirez*.

Ruler	Seated	Native Date	Length of Rule	Native Date
Acaapichtli	1318	8 Tochtli	40 years	(9 Tochtli)
Huitzilihuitl	1359	10 Acatl	13 years	(10 Tecpatl)
Chiaalpopoca	no date			
Itzcohuatl	1424	10 Tecpatl	12 years	(9 Tecpatl)
Motecuczoma I	no date		28 years	
Tizocic	no date		4 years	
Awayaca	no date		11 years	
Ahuitzotl	no date		15 years	
Motecuczoma II	no date		15 years	
Quauhtemoc	no date			

Ramirez. Using the lengths of reigns given and working backwards from 1520 does not bring the seating of Itzcohuatl to 1424 as given in that document.

When Tables 2, 3 and 4 are compared with Kirchhoff's it is

clear he has used the *Codice Ramirez* for the coronation of Acamapichtli, while the other dates come from Duran's account. His 11 Acatl date

Table 3. Tenochca Dyansty according to Duran.

Ruler	Seated	Native Date	Died	Length of Rule	Native Date
Acamapichtli	no date	(2 Tecpatl)	1404	40 years	3 Tecpatl
Vitziliuitl	1404	3 Tecpatl	no date	13 years	(3 Calli)
Chimalpopoca	no date		no date	13 years	
Itzcoatl	1424	10 Tecpatl	1440		13 Tecpatl
Veuenotecuzoma	no date	(13 Tecpatl)	1469	30 years	3 Calli
Awayacatzli	no date		1481		2 Calli
Tizozicatzin	no date		1486		7 Tochtli
Auitzotl	no date		no date		
Montezuma	no date		(1520)		(2 Tecpatl)
Cuauemoc	no date				

for the coronation of Moteuhczoma-II could have also been given as 10

Tochtli. Duran says,

Reino este poderoso y airado Rey (aunque desdichado) diez y seis anos y medio y murio el ano que los espanoles entraron en esta tierra (1965, Tomo II:50).

(This powerful and angry [but unfortunate] king reigned 16 1/2 years and died in the year

in which the Spanish entered this land.)

While we know that Moteuhczoma died in 1520, the Spanish

Table 4. Tenochca Dynasty from Duran's Data

Acamapichtli seated	1364, 2 Tecpatl
Acamapichtli died	1404, 3 Tecpatl
Vilziliutl seated	1404, 3 Tecpatl
Vilziliutl died	1417, 3 Calli
Chimalpopoca seated	? 1417, 3 Calli ?
Chimalpopoca died	? 1424, 10 Tecpatl ?
Itzcoatl seated	1424, 10 Tecpatl
Itzcoatl died	1440, 13 Tecpatl
Moteczuzoma seated	1440, 13 Tecpatl
Moteczuzoma died	1469, 3 Calli
Axayacatl seated	? 1469, 3 Calli ?
Axayacatl died	1481, 2 Calli
Tizozicatzin seated	? 1481, 2 Calli ?
Tizozicatzin died	1486, 7 Tochtli
Auitzotl elected ¹	1486, 7 Tochtli
Auitzotl died	1502/1503, 10 Tochtli/11 Acatl
Montezuma elected	1502/1503, 10 Tochtli/11 Acatl
Montezuma died	1520, 2 Tecpatl
Cuauatemoc elected	1520, 2 Tecpatl

1. The term "elected" is used here and for Montezuma, rather than "seated", because it is clear the actual seating took place only after successful military campaigns had been undertaken by these two rulers.

entered Tenochtitlan in 1519. Therefore the date of the seating of this ruler is not clear from this source. It could be either 1502, 10

Tochtli, or 1503, 11 Acatl.

Kirchhoff does not explain his use of brackets connecting the death of Itzcohuatl, in 13 Tecpatl, and the coronation of Moteuhczoma I in 5 Acatl. The 5 Acatl date is inexplicable. This would mean an interregnum of 31 years.

The revisions to Kirchhoff's Table bring the Duran dates more into line with the *Cronica Mexicayotl* dates, but they are still not as close as those in Chimalpahin's Seventh Relacion, or in the Tlatilolcan source. However, it should be noted that both Chimalpahin and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* have other dates for the Tenochca monarchs. In his Third Relation Chimalpahin reports the dates for the seating and the death of Acamapichtli as being 1369, 7 Calli, and 1389, 1 Calli, respectively. He reports the death of Chimalpopoca as being in 1427, 13 Acatl, and the seating of Itzcoatl in the same year. The death of Itzcohuatl is given as 1441, 1 Calli. Of these dates, only that of the seating of Itzcohuatl is the same as in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. It is similar with the Tlatilolcan source. Kirchhoff obviously took his dates from Document V, "Historia De Tlatelolco Desde Los Tiempos Mas Remotos" (pp. 31-76). In Document II we find the "Lista de los Reyes de Tenochtitlan" (pp. 15-18). In this list only the seatings of Moteuhczoma I and II are identical to the dates given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*.

Two factors suggest it is more reasonable to assume that Chimalpahin either used the same source as the author of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* for his Seventh Relacion dates, or that he was copying the *Cronica Mexicayotl* itself. The first is the fact that he did not

include the numerous correlations between the native and Christian calendars found in the disputed portion of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. In this document, beginning with the seating of Huitzilihuitl, we are given the day in the *tonalpohualli* (the ritual calendar) and a Christian date correlation when a ruler was seated. In this case Huitzilihuitl was seated on 5 *Cohuatl* in the year 3 *Acatl*, or January 22, 1391 (Tezozomoc, 1949:89, paragraph 134). This continues with the seating of every ruler until the Spanish enter Tenochtitlan, where we are also given the native month and day.

1 *Acatl xihuitl*, 1519 anos
 ipan in callaquico
 in Mexico Tenochtitlan
 in D. Fernando Cortes
 Marques del Valle
 ipan in Meztlapohual huehuetque

1^o *Quecholli*,^o
 ic 23 de Noviembre
 (Tezozomoc, 1949:148).

The year 1 Reed, A.D. 1519,
 at this time he came to enter
 Mexico Tenochtitlan,
 Don Fernando Cortes,
 Marques del Valle,
 in the month count
 of the ancients
 10 *Quecholli*,^o
 which is November 23.

The day in the *tonalpohualli* is not given here. We get two more correlations in 1520: day 2 of *Ochpaniztli* in 2 *Tecpatl* = September 16, 1520 (page 159, paragraph 325); and day 20 of *Quecholli*, in 2 *Tecpatl* = December 3, 1520 (page 160, paragraph 326). In 1521 we are informed *Izcalli* falls in February (page 163, paragraph 334), and *Tozoztontli* falls in April (page 163, paragraph 335).

These calendrical correlations are not given by Chimalpahin. In his Third Relation he says in the year 1 *Acatl*, 1519,

8. Gretchen Markov (personal communication) states that the "0" written as a superscript may mean "primero", indicating the first day of *Quecholli*. In this case the calendar presented below does not work.

Nican ypan in
 yn ohuacico
 Marques del Valle yn Don
 Fernando Cortes,
 ye omoteneuh,
 ypan ce acatl xihuitl
 ypan cemil huitlapohualli
 ce hecatl (1963:140).

Here in this year
 he arrived here,
 the Marques del Valle,
 as Don Fernando Cortes
 is now called,
 in the year 1 Reed,
 one (day) in the day count
 1 Wind.

In his Seventh Relation, under the same year, he mentions
 Cortes' arrival in Tenochtitlan as being

ypan cemil huitlapohualli chicue ehcatl	a day in the day count, 8 Wind,
auh yn ipan yn inmeztlapohuall catca	and this was in the month count
huehuetque	of the ancients
chiuhcnahuilhuitia Quecholli	when 9 days of Quecholli
(1963:142).	had passed.

As has been pointed out previously by Kirchhoff (1954-55) the day 8 Ehecatl (Wind) is given in the *Anales de Tlatelolco* as the day the Spanish arrived in Tenochtitlan. There it is said, "Enseguida el (el Capitan) entro en Tenochtitlan a donde llego en (el mes) Quecholli, en el dia 8 Ehecatl (Consequently he [the Captain] entered into Tenochtitlan where he arrived in [the month] Quecholli, on the day 8 Wind) (1948:62, paragraph 288)." Why would Chimalpahin use the day count in his Seventh Relation, but not in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*? Why would he use the one correlation, 10 Quecholli, 1519 = 8 Ehecatl = the day the Spanish arrived in Tenochtitlan, without the full Christian date as given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*? The most logical explanation would be that Chimalpahin took the 10 Quecholli date from one source, such as the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and the 8 Ehecatl date from another source, such as the *Anales de Tlatelolco*.

It should be noted here that there are two dates on which most

calendrical correlations between the Christian and Central Mexican Highlands systems rest, and from which many native calendars are reconstructed. The first is that of the entrance of the Spanish into Tenochtitlan on November 8, 1519, which was the day 1 *Ehecatl* ("Wind") (according to Chimalpahin's Third Relation and Sahagun) or 8 *Ehecatl* (from Chimalpahin's Seventh Relations and the *Anales de Tlatelolco*), day 9 of the month *Quecholli*, in the year 1 *Acatl*. The second is the day the city of Tenochtitlan was conquered and Quauhtemoc was captured, on August 13, 1521, on the day 1 *Cohuatl* ("Snake") (from Sahagun) or 7 *Cohuatl* (Kirchhoff, 1954-55; Cline, 1973). According to Cline, if the city fell on 1 *Cohuatl*, the entrance would have to have been on 8, not 1, *Cohuatl*. Therefore, he says, the informants of Sahagun were using two calendars. Cline further points out that the November 8 date for the entrance of the Spanish "rests wholly on secondary literature or inference rather than on specific statements at or near the time by reliable participants (1973:25)." Using data from the *Anales de Tlatelolco* and from Sahagun's *Historia General*, he has reconstructed calendars for 1519 through 1521, which give the date of Cortes' entrance on 9 *Quecholli* as being November 9, 1521 (1973:25-26). A major problem with all correlations using Chimalpahin's date for entrance, the purported 9 *Quecholli*, is that it is based on a mistranslation of Chimalpahin. As can be seen above, Chimalpahin says "chiuhcnahuilhuitia *Quecholli* (9 days of *Quecholli* had passed) (1963:142)", making it the tenth day of *Quecholli*, as stated in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Therefore all calendrical correlations and/or reconstructions based even in part on 9 *Quecholli* as the date of

Cortes' entrance to Tenochtitlan are wrong and cannot be accepted. The *Cronica Mexicayotl*, furthermore, states specifically that the entrance was on November 23, not November 8 or 9. Until these dates are checked out, calendrical correlations based on other dates should be viewed skeptically. A paper on this subject is planned."

The second factor that strongly suggests that Chimalpahin is not the author of the second part of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and that Tezozomoc is, is the treatment of Itzcohuatl. Virtually every individual mentioned in the genealogical material in this document is shown to be related in some manner to Tezozomoc. It shows him to be a direct descendent of Itzcohuatl (see genealogy, Table 12, page 96). Duran describes Itzcohuatl as "hijo natural de Acamapich; que si no se nos a olvidado, diximos lo auia auido en una esclave suya de Azcaputzalco [(he was] the natural son of Acamapich; so that it not be forgotten by us, we say that he had had him by one of his slaves from Azcaputzalco) (1965, Tomo1:67)." The *Codice Ramirez* says the same thing: "era hijo natural del Rey Acamapichtli, habido en una esclava suya (he was the natural son of the King Acamapichtli, having [him] by one of his slaves) (1878:45)." Chimalpahin uses even stronger language

9. To my knowledge the only use of the correlations in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is by Kirchhoff, 1954-55. He used only the date of the seating of Cuhtlahuac in 2 *Tecpatl*, 1520 on the day "8 *Ehecatl* or perhaps 5," which was in the month *Ochpaniztli*, day two, equivalent to September 16 (Tezozomoc, 1949:159). Kirchhoff constructed a calendar which he says began in *Tlacaxipehualiztli*. However, he asserted that the *cem-* of the phrase "*cemilhuitia Ochpaniztli* (one day of *Ochpaniztli* had passed)," was a mistake for *ei-*, "three". He based his construction on the equivalence of day 4 of *Ochpaniztli* and September 16, 1520. As can be seen below, the dates given by the author of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* do give a framework for a workable calendar, and the date 2 *Ochpaniztli* was intended.

about Itzcohuatl's parentage. In his Seventh Relation he says of Itzcohuatl,

Ynin huel oquipiltzin bastardo

yn Acamapichtli
y huel achto tlatohuani
catca Tenochtitlan,
zan quil namacac
Azcapotzalco Cuauhcallitlan
hualla yn cihuatl yn inantzin
(1965:96).

This (one) was very much
the bastard son
of Acamapichtli,
who was truly the first Ruler
of Tenochtitlan.
Only it is said she was sold
when she came to
Azcapotzalco Cuauhcallitlan,
the woman, his revered Mother.

No mention is made of Itzcohuatl's parentage in either the *Cronica Mexicana* or the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, other than his being a son of Acamapichtli. According to the *Cronica Mexicana*, Itzcohuatl was one of the many sons of Acamapichtli and "segundo hermano de Chimalpopoca (second brother of Chimalpopoca) (1878:239)." In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* he is simply described as "inin ipiltzin in Acamapichtli (this [one] was the revered son of Acamapichtli) (1949:108, paragraph 187)." Chimalpahin had no qualms about using the Spanish term "bastardo" in referring to Itzcohuatl in the work under his own name. Why would he be more circumspect in this contested document? Tezozomoc, claiming direct descent from this personage would be much more likely to suppress, or just omit such information if it were true. Thus it appears that Tezozomoc is the most likely author of the entire document known as the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and that Chimalpahin, having it at his disposal, used it for part of his Seventh Relation. Kirchhoff's argument that the content of the second part of the manuscript is markedly different from the *Cronica Mexicana* will be addressed in a later section of this chapter.

The Calendar Outlined in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*

The question of authorship of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is of interest in itself. However, in this study it is especially important. In Chapter V it will be argued that calendrical, and attendant ritual, information is encoded in the account of the Mexica migration. It is important to know the author's idea of the indigenous calendar. This is not to claim that the Mexica calendar is manifested in this document. Additional study is necessary before any such statements could be made. However, if the same author wrote both parts of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, his calendar can be elicited from the information given in the latter portions of the document. The *tonalpohualli*, the ritual calendar, will not be dealt with. Tezozomoc gives enough information about the solar calendar, which is adequate for present purposes.

In three instances Tezozomoc gives a native month, day and year, with their exact correlations in the Christian calendar. He also gives two native months and their Christian month correlations. These are as follows:

1. In 1 *Acatl*, 1519 Cortes entered Tenochtitlan on 10 *Quecholli*, which was November 23 (page 148, paragraph 303).
2. In 2 *Tecpatl*, 1520, Cuitlahuac was seated on 2 *Ochpaniztli*, or September 16 (page 159, paragraph 325).
3. In the same year Cuitlahuac died on 20 *Quecholli*, or December 3 (page 160, paragraph 326).
4. In 3 *Calli*, 1521 Cuauhtimocztzin was seated in the month of

Izcalli, which fell in February (page 163, paragraph 334).

5. In the same year in the indigenous month of *Tozoztontli*, which fell in April, some of Moteuhczoma's sons died in the battle for Tenochtitlan (page 163, paragraph 335).

From the above information we are given the beginnings of a solar calendar:

2	<i>Ochpaniztli</i>	=	September 16,	1520
10	<i>Quecholli</i>	=	November 23,	1519
20	<i>Quecholli</i>	=	December 3,	1520
	<i>Izcalli</i>	=	February,	1521
	<i>Tozoztontli</i>	=	April,	1521

We have no information about when the year begins, nor where the *newontem* (the five useless days) occur. We can tell that the *newontem* do not come at the end of *Ochpaniztli*. Kirchhoff argues that the first 27 chapters of Sahagun's Book 12 are from the Tenochca point of view, and he states that the year begins with *Aticahualo* or *Quahuitlehua*, with the *newontem* immediately preceding (1954-55:260).⁴⁹ If this scheme is used, the calendar presented in Table 5 emerges from Tezozomoc's dates. It should be noted that this is not a calendar which incorporates a leap year. If 10 *Quecholli* equals November 23, 1519, then the last day of *Quecholli* will be December 3,

10. Drucker (1987) asserts that Caso was correct in saying that the year ended with the twentieth day of *Tititl*, and that the *newontem* followed. If this is correct, it would change Table 5 minimally; the *newontem* would occur on February 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. *Izcalli* would fall between February 7 and 26. The rest of the months would be the same as in Table 5. However, Howard Cline (1973) argues that the *Codex Barbonicus* on which Caso based his statements is probably not of Tenochca origin.

1519. 1520, in the Gregorian calendar, would be a leap year. Yet day 20 *Quecholli*, 1520 is given as December 3. Tezozomoc, writing in 1609, is using a system without a leap year. This is consistent with what is known about the indigenous calendar. If he is using Gregorian dates for events, pushing dates back 10 days will give the Julian dates for these events. This would mean Cortes entered the city of Tenochtitlan on November 13, which is fairly near to the traditional inferred date of November 8, and Cline's revised date of November 9.

Table 5. Indigenous calendar based on the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, if *Atlcahualo* is the first month of the solar year.

Atlcahualo	February 27	-	March 18
Tlacaxipehualiztli	March 19	-	April 7
Tozoztontli	April 8	-	April 27
Hueytozoztli	April 28	-	May 17
Toxcatl	May 18	-	June 6
Etzalcualiztli	June 7	-	June 26
Tecuilhuitontli	June 27	-	July 16
Hueytecuilhuitl	July 17	-	August 5
Tlaxochimaco	August 6	-	August 25
Xocotlhuetzi	August 26	-	September 14
Ochpaniztli	September 15	-	October 4
Teotleco	October 5	-	October 24
Tepeilhuitl	October 25	-	November 13
Quecholli	November 14	-	December 3
Panquetzaliztli	December 4	-	December 23
Atemoztli	December 24	-	January 12
Tititl	January 13	-	February 1
Izcalli	February 2	-	February 21
Nemontemi	February 22	-	February 26

The second part of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*

Kirchhoff (1951) states that the second part of the *Cronica*

Mexicayotl is different from Tezozomoc's previous writing. In this he is absolutely correct. The *Cronica Mexicana*, while different in some details, greatly resembles Duran's *Historia de las Indias*. These two accounts relate the history of the polity of Mexico Tenochtitlan and are slanted toward the great *Cihuacoahuatl* (Female Serpent, a political title), Tlaccaciel. (See Colston, 1973). The second part of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is a family story. There is a definite structure to this account: notification of a ruler's being seated is given; something about his life is related; then his death is reported along with a list of his progeny, and frequently their spouses and offspring for a few generations are also given. Notification of deaths, marriages and seatings in other royal families in the Valley are also made. Sooner or later ties of marriage, and then kinship, between most of the royal families in the Valley are apparent. With the seating of Huitzilihuitl, Tezozomoc says,

3 Acatl xihuitl, 1391 anos,
 ipan in motlatocatlalli
 in tlacatl Huitzilihuitl
 Tlatohuani Tenochtitlan

ipan cemilhuitl
 tlapohualli
 5 cohuatl, ic 22 de Henero,
 in iplitzin
 in tlacatl Acamapichtli
 Auh inin Huitzilihuitl,
 ihuan in iteycauh
 Tlatolzacatzin
 ye omito
 ompa quinnualcihuamacaque
 in Tiliuhcan Tlacopan
 auh nican catqui
 in yuh peuhlica
 in yuh ompa hualyatlica
 tiacamecayotl¹¹
 in yuh omonepanoco

The year 3 Reed, A.D. 1391.
 In this year the
 lord Huitzilihuitl
 Tlatohuani of Tenochtitlan
 was seated as ruler.
 This was (the day)
 in the day count
 5 Serpent, or January 22.
 He was the revered son
 of the lord Acamapichtli.
 And this Huitzilihuitl,
 and also his younger brother,
 Tlatolzacatzin,
 now it is said,
 they gave them wives there
 in Tiliuhcan Tlacopan.
 And it was here
 that it was thus begun.
 Thus the lineage¹¹ went here
 from there.
 Thus two roads came to cross

Mexico tlatocatlacamecayotl
(Tezozomoc, 1949:89)

in the Mexico royal line.

The royal lineage or genealogy appears to be the primary interest of the author in the second part of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Little attention is given to other events. For instance, in the *Cronica Mexicana* Chapters VI - XVIII, pages 239 - 282, are devoted to the career of Itzcohuatl. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* one paragraph is devoted to the seating of Itzcohuatl and to the fact that he then quickly made war against the Tepaneca of Azcapotzalco (1949:108). We are then told in the following year Quauhtlatohuatzin was seated in Tlatilolco, which was the same year the Azcapotzalca were defeated (loc. cit.). Then the death of Itzcohuatl is reported (1949:109).

Not all rulers are so summarily treated. However, longer episodes have a family slant. Tezozomoc's treatment of the defeat of Tlatilolco is a good example. In the *Cronica Mexicana* (1878:375-393) and in Duran (1965:258-271), while there are some major differences in the accounts, the cause for this event is rebellion on the part of the Tlatilolca. In Duran's account the rebellion is fomented by Teconal, the father of one of the ruler Moquihuixtli's wives (1965:259). The Tlatilolcans see this as a time of weakness in the Mexica imperium, as Axayacatl is young and Tlataeiel is an old man (1965:261). In the *Cronica Mexicana* the rebellion begins over a territorial dispute, with the Tlatilolcans feeling mistreated by the ruling Tenochca Mexica

11. The literal meaning here is "rope of humans". S. L. Cline uses the gloss proposed by Offner, 1983:197, "human cordage (1986:66)," "which indicates the net-like linkages of kin. The gloss 'lineage' unduly emphasizes the lineal aspect of the tlatamecayotl (1986:219, note 12)."

(1878:375-6). In this account Teconal is also the father-in-law of the ruler Moquihuitli (1878:383), and he is the warrior who trains the Tlatilolcans in preparation for war with the Tenochca (1879:367). In both accounts Tlaccuel is the hero. He is summoned by Axayacatl. He not only gives counsel to the young monarch, but also leads the Mexica in battle.

Women have important roles in both these accounts. In Duran's version, the Tenochca women in the Tlatilolco market are mistreated, furthering enmity between the two groups (1965:261). In Tezozomoc's account, the Tlatilolcan women in the market taunt some young Tenochca men who were sent by Axayacatl as spies (1878:378). Additionally Moquihuitli's wife, the daughter of Teconal, begs him not to pursue his course (1878:383), reminding him that innocent women and children will suffer. According to Duran, Moquihuitli was also married to a daughter or sister of the king of Mexico, Axayacatl (1965:262).

There is no mention of this woman in Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*. However, she is the cause of the battle in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Here, Chalchiuhnenetzin is listed as the third child of Tezozomoc, son of the ruler Itzcohuatzin, and sister of the ruler Axayacatl (Tezozomoc, 1949:114). She is also married to Moquihuitli and has two sons by him (loc. cit.). However, she is not pleasing to her husband, because she has "cenca tlaniyac (many stinking teeth) (1949:117)." Because of this, Moquihuitli mistreats her and she complains to her brother. Thus, Axayacatl makes war on the Tlatilolca (1949:119). The defeat of Tlatilolco then is the result of a family quarrel in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*.

Another difference in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*'s version of this episode is the role of Tlaccacel. He is not the heroic figure here that he is in the other two accounts. He aids Axayacatl, but is not the commanding person he is in *Historia de las Indias* and the *Cronica Mexicana*. Tlaccacel is not ignored in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, however. He is described as "cemanahuac tepehuan (conquerer of the world) (1949:121)." And Tlaccacel is treated as the rulers are in this narrative. His death is noted, followed by a list of his offspring and their spouses and offspring, including those born in the post-conquest era to Cortes' men (1949:122-129). His second child, Tlilpotoncatzin, is reported as following his father as *Cihuacohuatl* (1949:125). Notice is given of the marriage and birth of Tlilpotoncatzin's children (1949:139,140,141), and of his death (1949:146-7). In the account in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Tlaccacel is given a place equal to Mexica rulers, but he is not the dominant force that he is in the *Cronica Mexicana* or in Duran's *Historia de las Indias*.

Some information is completely different in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* from the other two accounts. The mother of Chimalpopoca, for example, is an entirely different woman in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* from the woman in Duran and the *Cronica Mexicana*. According to these two accounts, when Huitzilihuitl is seated his councillors go to Azcapotzalco to request a daughter of the ruler Tezozomoc as a wife for Huitzilihuitl (Duran, 1965:53-61; Tezozomoc:1878:233-5). Ayauhzihuatl becomes the mother of Chimalpopoca. These accounts make the Mexica very subservient to Azcapotzalco.

According to the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Huitzilihuitl marries a daughter of the ruler of Tiliuhcan (Iacopan (Tezozomoc, 1949:89). Her name is Miyahuaxochtzin, and she is the mother of Chimalpopoca (1949:90). The second wife of Huitzilihuitl is the daughter of the ruler of Cuauhnahuac, named Miahuaxihuitl (loc. cit.). This marriage gives the Mexica access to cotton. From this union Moteuhczoma Ilhuicamina is born. However, the conception of Moteuhczoma Ilhuicamina is reported as having been miraculous.

According to this account, the ruler of Cuauhnahuac does not want to give his daughter to Huitzilihuitl, so she is won by trickery. While Miahuaxihuitl walks in her patio at night, Huitzilihuitl shoots a reed with a precious jewel in the hollow center into her courtyard. She lifts the reed-arrow and, finding the precious jewel in the center, she puts it in her mouth. She cannot get the jewel back out and swallows it. From this Moteuhczoma Ilhuicamina is conceived (1949:90-95).

At his death, Huitzilihuitl is listed as having 12 children (1949:96). In the *Cronica Mexicana* Tezozomoc says nothing about Huitzilihuitl's Cuauhnahuac wife. However, Duran says,

y dicen algunos que cassaron a su rey con una hija del señor de cuauhnahuac, de quien tuvo otros muchos hijos. Otros quentan que no, sino ya conceda que se caso con la hija del señor de Cuauhnahuac, que en sus pinturas no allan auer tenido mas hijos de Chimalpopoca, ni yo en quantas pinturas y escrituras deste rey e visto no allio mas noticia de solo a el; porque demas de que no allamos noticia, allio por muy verdadero auer muerto este rey un ano depues que su muger; el qual no reino mas de trece anos y murio muy mozo, de poco mas de treinta anos (1965:59).

and some say that they married their king with a

daughter of the lord of Cuauhnahuac, on whom he had many other children. Others report that no, but do concede that he was married to the daughter of the lord of Cuauhnahuac, but in their pictures they do not find that Chimalpopoca had more children, neither have I found in some pictures and writings I saw about this king any more notice of any but him; the other reason that we have found no notice, I found as a very certainty this king had died a year after his wife; he did not reign more than 13 years and died a very young man, of little more than 30 years.)

Thus, while this account of the mother of Moteuhczoma Ilhuicamina is not related in the *Cronica Mexicana*, it is clear from Duran's account some version of the marriage of Huitzilihuitl to the daughter of the ruler of Cuauhnahuac was extant in the Valley of Mexico during Duran's time of writing.

These examples should serve to illustrate that Kirchhoff's contention that the account of the Mexica imperium in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is indeed very different from that in the *Cronica Mexicana*. However, they also serve to point out the great differences in focus of the two accounts. The *Cronica Mexicana* and *Historia de las Indias* are narratives about the polity of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The *Cronica Mexicayotl* is an account of the royal family, more specifically a genealogy, of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and its connections with other royal families in the Valley of Mexico. In native categories this account might be an example of the genre *tlatoca tlacamecayotl*, "genealogy or ancestry of great lords" (Molina, 1977:140). Rather than precluding Tezozomoc as author of this narrative, this should serve to confirm his authorship of the account. The genealogical material in the second half of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* shows Tezozomoc to have been a

scion of the Tenochca royal family. It is his family's story that is being told. It is more likely that Tezozomoc's Nahuatl version in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is the "official" -- but not necessarily "true", in the Western sense -- version of the history of the Tenochca ruling family, than is the account found in the *Cronica Mexicana* or in *Historia de las Indias*. In the *Cronica Mexicana* and in Duran's account the Cihuacoatl, Tlaccacel, is given too prominent a position vis-a-vis Tenochca Tlatoque ("Rulers"). In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Tlaccacel is pictured as a very important man, but he is not shown as being superior to the rulers.

The analysis presented in this chapter strongly supports the conclusion that Tezozomoc is the author of the whole document known as the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and that Chimalpahin had no role in its writing. However, even if Chimalpahin is not the author of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, we apparently owe him our thanks for copying and preserving the document.

Chapter III

The *Cronica Mexicayotl* and its Place in the Historical Traditions of the Central Mexican Highlands

The *Cronica Mexicayotl* was the second of Tezozomoc's historical narratives. His first, the *Cronica Mexicana*, as well as Duran's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* are seen as two versions of the so called *Cronica X* tradition. Barlow (1945) asserts that a missing *Cronica X* was the official Tenochca version of history, while Colston (1973) points out that it is highly partisan to the great Tenochca *Cihuacoahuatl* (literally "Female Serpent or Twin"; an office similar to a vice-ruler) Tlacaoel. In Chapter II it was shown that the part of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* dealing with events after the founding of the city of Tenochtitlan does not follow the versions based on the so-called *Cronica X* account. The *Cronica Mexicayotl* deals with the history of a ruling family rather than with the history of a polity. The later portions of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* appear more likely to be the "official" Tenochca version of that family's history than do the accounts in the *Cronica Mexicana* or Duran's *Historia de las Indias*. Questions remain about the place of the migration account in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. cursory reading of the migration account in this narrative suggests a close kinship with the account in the *Cronica Mexicana*, but differences are quickly apparent. What do Tezozomoc's two accounts have in common and how are they different?

How much does the *Cronica Mexicayotl* have in common with other accounts of the Mexica migration? What is the meaning of any similarities and/or differences?

In this chapter we will investigate the answers to these questions. The *Cronica Mexicayotl* will be compared to the *Cronica Mexicana* and Duran's *Historia de las Indias*. However, emphasis will be placed on Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*. Orozco y Berra (1878) and Barlow (1945) both argue that more credibility should be accorded accounts written by native authors. However, part of Tezozomoc's first account is missing. Where material is missing from the *Cronica Mexicana*, Duran's *Historia de las Indias* will have to be the standard for the *Cronica X* tradition.

While emphasis will be placed on comparing the *Cronica Mexicayotl* with the versions from the *Cronica X* tradition, it will also be compared with other accounts of the Mexica migration. Eleven other versions of the migration will be used. These accounts are pictorial as well as written. Time is the first factor that will be considered in the various accounts, because in many instances specific dates of episodes are given. Not all versions have a date for the same episode, but when they are dated, comparisons can easily be made. As will be seen, the sources are very inconsistent as to date when the same episode is both reported and dated.

Secondly, we will examine the locations where specific episodes reportedly occurred. Once again, it will be seen that places differ, sometimes widely, from version to version. A great deal of information in these two sections has been summarized into tabular

form, and from time to time the reader will be directed to look at a specific table. He/she is urged to do so, as seemingly simple information is difficult to keep in mind when there is a great deal of it. The tables are necessary to follow the argument.

Having examined time and place, we will look at the specific content of individual episodes. In this section episodes from the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, the *Cronica Mexicana* and Duran's *Historia de las Indias* are subjected to a virtual line-by-line comparison. By this method I hope to demonstrate definitively that the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is an elaboration on the *Cronica Mexicana*, and that both of Tezozomoc's accounts offer a more detailed version of the Mexica migration than does Duran's. Further, I hope to show by these detailed comparisons between many versions of the Mexica migration that approved historiographic techniques cannot resolve the differences among them: something other than "history" is involved in Central Mexican Highlands historical narratives.

Time and the Mexica Migration

The abundance of dates in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is one of the major differences in that account and the *Cronica Mexicana*. As stated in Chapter II in the portion of the *Cronica Mexicana* dealing with the Mexica dynasty, very few dates are mentioned, and no dates are firmly associated with the seating or death of any monarch. Few dates are mentioned in the account of the Mexica migration in that document, and those that are mentioned are most often different from dates given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account. Specific dates of events are

mentioned seventeen times in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, while only four specific dates are given in the *Cronica Mexicana*. In the latter, we are informed twice that the years were bound without a specific date given. Most discussions of the calendar state the years were bound in 2 *Acatl*. However, the first date given in the *Cronica Mexicana* is 9 *Acatl*, when the Mexica bind the years before leaving Ocopipilla and Acahualcingo (Tezozomoc, 1878:226). In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Tezozomoc changes this date to "chiuhcnahui anozo ome acatl (9 or perhaps 2 Reed) (Tezozomoc, 1949:30; Appendix:270:39)," and specifically states the date 2 *Acatl* when binding of the years is mentioned again before the Mexica depart from Cohuatepec (1949:36; Appendix:283:48), at Tecpayocan (1949:38; Appendix:287:52), at Techcatitlan Chapultepec (1949:39; Appendix:288:52), and at Culhuacan (1949:52; Appendix:315:72). In the *Cronica Mexicana* we are told they bind the years at Cohuatepec (1878:229) and at Tecpayuca (1878:230). In this chronicle we are told the Mexica leave Tecpayuca in 2 *Calli* and arrive at Atepetlac (loc. cit.). No date is associated with this movement in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. The *Cronica Mexicana* tells us the Mexica arrive at Chapultepec, "y alli cumplio otro ano Ome tuchtli (and there completed another year, 2 Rabbit) (1878:231)." Tezozomoc goes on to say,

y alli les hablo Huitzilopochtli a los mexicanos ...
 les dijo: Padres mios, mirad lo que ha de venir y
 estorzaos, comenzaos a aparejar, y mirad que no hemos
 de estar mas aqui, que otro poco adelante iremos,
 en donde hemos de aguardar, asistir y hacer asiento,
 cantamos que dos generos de gentes vendran sobre
 nosotros muy presto (1878:231).

(and there Huitzilopochtli spoke to the Mexicans ...

he said to them, "My fathers, watch for that which must come and strengthen yourselves, begin to prepare yourselves, and watch that we do not have to be here more, that we shall go further a little more, where we must wait, attend, and make a seat, we cry that two kinds of people will come over us very soon.)

Part of the text has been lost, for the next sentence, in a new paragraph, begins, "Vuelos otra vez al primer asiento en Temazcaltitlan Teopantlan... (We return another time to the first site in Temazcaltitlan Teopantlan) (1878:231)." However, when the above speech is compared with the introductory passages in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the sacrifice of Copil, it is clear the same episode has been lost from the *Cronica Mexicana*.

auh niman oncan ye quinnahuatia
 in Mexica in yehuatl
 in Huitzilopochtli...
 oquimilhui in Huitzilopochtli
 notahuane in tlein mochiáz
 oc xicchiyecan
 ca anquittazque
 tla oc xicchiyecan
 ca nehuatl nicmati
 ximochicahuan
 ximotlapallocan
 ximochicahuacan
 ximocencahuacan
 macamo nican in tiezque oc

 nechca in titlamatihui

 in oncan titlapiezque
 Auh inin ma oc xiquinchiyecan
 in techpolloquih

 ontlamantin in ye huitze
 (Tezozomoc, 1949:39).

And that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 now gives orders to
 the Mexica...
 Huitzilopochtli said,
 "O my fathers, yet await
 what will happen!
 Indeed, you will see it.
 Await it still.
 Indeed, I myself know it.
 Gather strength!
 Color yourselves!
 Fortify yourselves!
 Prepare yourselves,
 so that we shall not still
 be here!
 There we are going to capture
 something,
 which we will conserve there.
 And this, yet await them,
 they who are coming to
 conquer us.
 Two of them now come
 (Appendix:288-9:53).

The two who are coming are Copil and his daughter. This incident in

the *Cronica Mexicayotl* takes place in the year 1 *Calli*, 1285 (1949:41; Appendix:282:55).

Only one other specific date is given in the *Cronica Mexicana*. This is in the chapter heading for Capitulo III. There Tezozomoc says,

Que trata el comienzo de otros anos, y primero por Catecpatl de ano, una piedra pedernal, que fue en el nacimiento de Huitzilopochtli, y venida de Tula (1878:230).

(Which discusses the beginning of other years, and first by the year Ce Tecpatl, 1 Flint Stone, at that [time] was the birth of Huitzilopochtli, and of the coming to Tula.)

The birth of Huitzilopochtli takes place at Coahuatepec. Tezozomoc says essentially the same thing in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*:

Auh ce tecpatl 1168
in tonalli
ipan tlacat in Huitzilopochtli
ipan compehuatli
in teyacanalizyotl
in teomama in itoca
Quauhtlequetzqui
inic quinyacan Mexica
(1949:36-37)

And in 1 Flint, 1168,
in the summer,
then Huitzilopochtli was born.
Then he began there
the leadership,
the Teomama named
Quauhtlequetzqui.
With that, he led
the Mexica here
(Appendix:283:49).

Tezozomoc next tells us in this chronicle that the Mexica go to Tollan and "quickly" on to Atlitlallacyan (1949:37; Appendix:283:50). In the *Cronica Mexicana* he tells us they stay 22 years at Tula (1878:230). This is the only time period mentioned in this chronicle.¹

A summary of the dates given in each chronicle is shown in Table 6. Table 6 suggests that in the *Cronica Mexicana* Tezozomoc

Table 6. Dates given in the *Cronica Mexicana* and the *Cronica Mexicayotl* in the account of Mexican migration.

<u>Mexicana</u>	<u>Mexicayotl</u>
	1 <i>Tecpatl</i> , 1064, depart Aztlan
	12 <i>Calli</i> , 61, tree planted
	5 <i>Tecpatl</i> , 1068, tree fell
	12 <i>Acatl</i> , depart Chicomoztoc
9 <i>Acatl</i> , bind years, leave Ocopipilla and Acahualcingo	9 or 2 <i>Acatl</i> , bind years at Acahualcingo
no date, bind years at Coatepec	2 <i>Acatl</i> , depart Coatepec
1 <i>Tecpatl</i> , birth of Huitzilopochtli	1 <i>Tecpatl</i> , 1168, birth of Huitzilopochtli
no date, bind years at Tecpayuca	2 <i>Acatl</i> , bind years at Tecpayocan
2 <i>Calli</i> , depart for Atepetlac	
	2 <i>Acatl</i> , bind years at Techcatitlan Chapultepec
2 <i>Tuchtli</i> , at Chapultepec (sacrifice of Copil?)	1 <i>Calli</i> , 1285, sacrifice of Copil
	2 <i>Tochtli</i> , 1286, at Tlapitzahuayan
	11 <i>Acatl</i> , at Chapultepec
	2 <i>Acatl</i> , 1299, at Tizaapan
	10 <i>Acatl</i> , 1307, at Tizaapan
	13 <i>Acatl</i> , 1323, flee Tizaapan
	2 <i>Calli</i> , 1325, settle Tenochtitlan

gave dates only for events that occurred during the middle part of the

1. On the other hand, Duran places Coahuatepec in the "tierra de Tula," and says, "entraron en Tula los mexicanos el ano de 1168 donde estuvieron muy poco tiempo, y de alli pasaron a Atlitlatacpan (the Mexicans entered Tula in the year 1168 where they were a very little time, and from there they passed on to Atlitlatacpan) (1965, Tomo I:26)."

In his Second Relation - according to Zimmermann, or the Memorial Breve, according to Lehmann and Kutscher - Chimalpahin does not relate any activity at Coahuatepec. He mentions the Mexica being at Tula in 6 *Tecpatl*, 1160, (1963:14). Later, when the Mexica are at Chapultepec, he mentions Quauhtlequetzqui as their leader, and says he became their leader at Coahuatepec, near Tullan, in 1 *Tecpatl* (1963:43).

Mexica migration. However, as pointed out above, that portion dealing with events in the southern part of the Valley of Mexico, from Chapultepec until the Mexica are settled at Tenochtitlan, are missing from this manuscript. Orozco y Berra notes the copy used for the 1878 edition had 110 chapters, while Boturini had described a copy of the manuscript with 112 chapters. Siguenza cited events in Chapter 82 of his copy that were in Chapter 80 of the copy used in the 1878 edition (Orozco y Berra, 1878:152-7). Therefore, at least 2 chapters are missing. Edward Calnek has inspected the copy at the National Library of Congress, in Washington D.C. He says that the numbering of the chapters indicates that a larger number of chapters are in fact missing (personal communication). A great deal of information is missing about events in the Valley of Mexico before the founding of Tenochtitlan. Also missing is the account of the election and seating of Acamapichtli. This must be kept in mind when comparing the content of the *Cronica Mexicana* with the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, or any other work. Duran must be the *Cronica X* standard in comparing accounts of events when material is missing from the *Cronica Mexicana*.

Unfortunately, Duran's few dates for the migration are of little help. He says that the first group of people left Chicomoztoc in 820 (1965:9). 302 years later the Mexica also left (1965:16). This would be 1122, which is a 7 *Tochtli* date. Later, he says 1193 years after the birth of Jesus, "llego a esta tierra la nacion y congregacion mexicana (arrived to this land the Mexican nation and congregation) (1965:19)." This would have the Mexica entering the Valley of Mexico in a 13 *Calli* year. The only other date in Duran's

account of the migration is 1168, when, he says, the Mexica entered Tula (1965:26). Once again, we see there is no single "Cronica X" chronology. (See Chapter II.)

In looking at some of the other chronicles that have some Mexica information we find a mix of dates. Few sources date the same episodes. The native date of departure from Aztlan is given in eight other sources: *Codices de 1576 (Aubin)*, *Mexicanus*, *Azcatitlan*, and *vaticano-Rios*, the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, *Tira de la peregrinacion*, and Chimalpahin's Second and Third Relations. 1 *Tecpatl* is the date given in all of these except for *Codex Vaticano-Rios*, which states they left Aztlan in 2 *Acatl* (Lamina LXXXVIII). Few other dates can be compared between sources. Torquemada and *Historia de los Mexicanos*

Table 7. Dates of the Mexica Migration from 3 Chronicles

Episode	C. Mexicayotl	Chimalpahin 2nd. Rel.	A. Tlatelolco
Depart Aztlan	1 <i>Tecpatl</i> , 1064	1 <i>Tecpatl</i> , 1064	--
Depart Chicomoztoc	12 <i>Acatl</i>	--	1 <i>Acatl</i>
Place-	Acahualcincó	Guilpillico,	Uaxquauhtla,
bind years	9 or 2 <i>Acatl</i>	2 <i>Acatl</i> , 1091	no date
<i>Tecpayocan</i> ,	2 <i>Acatl</i>	2 <i>Acatl</i> , 1247	--
bind years			
Copil's sacrifice	1 <i>Calli</i> , 1285	10 <i>Calli</i> , 1281	--
Huitziluhuitl's capture	11 <i>Acatl</i> , 1295	2 <i>Acatl</i> , 1299	1 <i>Tochtli</i>
Tizaapan, bind years	2 <i>Acatl</i> , 1299	--	2 <i>Acatl</i>
Depart Tizaapan	13 <i>Acatl</i> , 1323	--	12 <i>Tochtli</i>
Arrive Tenoch- titlan	2 <i>Calli</i> , 1325	--	2 <i>Calli</i>
Settle Tlatilolco	1 <i>Calli</i> , 1337		1 <i>Calli</i>

por sus pinturas have no specific dates, but give the length of stay at various sites. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* has a combination of dates and durations of stay, but they are frequently not the same dated episodes as in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. In the same manner, Chimalpahin's Second Relation has numerous specific dates, but they cannot always be compared with the same episode in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Those dates from the latter two chronicles which can be compared with dates in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* are presented in Table 7.

As can be seen in Table 7 there is little agreement between dates in these sources. Other sources have the same variation in dated episodes. Even when sources tell of binding the years they are not totally in agreement as to where the Mexica are or to the number of times they bind the years. The *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* has the Mexica bind the years five times: at Cohuatl icamac at the top of Cohuatepec (page 11), at Apazco on the hill Huitzcol (page 17), at Tecpayocan on top of Tecpayo (page 26), at Acocolco (page 36) and at Tizaapan (page 41). *Codex Mexicanus* shows them binding the years in three places: at Chicomoztoc (Lamina XXII), at Tecpayocan (Lamina XXXI), and at Tizaapan (Lamina XL). The *Tira de la perigrinacion* has them binding the years four times: at Cohuatl icamac or Cohuatepec (Lamina VI), at Huitztepec (Lamina X), at Tecpayocan (Lamina XV), and at Chapultepec (Lamina XIX). *Codex Vaticano-Rios* shows them binding the years in three locales: Aztlan (Lamina LXXXVIII), maybe Coatepetl (Lamina XCIV), and at Culhuacan (Lamina XCIX). *Codex Azcatitlan* has them binding the years only twice, at Cohuatepec (Lamina VI) and at

Yohualltecatl (Lamina IX). Tecpayocan seems to be the most consistently named place for binding the years in all these sources.

These differences in dates from various sources have been noted for years. The usual explanation for such differences is the use of different calendars by various polities in the Valley of Mexico. (See footnote 6, page 3.) The argument for different calendars suggests that various polities started the new year at different times during the course of the solar year. If this is so, one would expect a discernable pattern to emerge, as Jimenez Moreno (1940) found to demonstrate that a calendar different from the one that was being used in the Valley of Mexico was in use in the Mixtec region. One would expect some dates for a specific event to be in the same year and others to be one year earlier or later. Thus, one can say from Table 7, the last four episodes from the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* fit this pattern. However, the dates for the departure from Chicomoztoc and Huitzilihuitl's capture do not follow this pattern. Neither do Chimalpahin's dates for the capture of Huitzilihuitl or the sacrifice of Copil fit the pattern. If one uses the argument that differences in dates occur because of the use of different calendrical systems, one would necessarily have to argue that an author whose dates do not fit the predicted pattern was taking his dates from entirely different systems. This type of argument is convincing when dealing with an author such as Chimalpahin. His work is clearly syncretic. He did use various sources from various communities. The argument is less convincing when dealing with a chronicle from an apparently specific tradition, such as the *Anales de*

Tlatelolco or the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Even with these works dates outside the prescribed pattern must be seen as deriving from a completely different system. But which one? How can such problems be resolved if there are no other sources with the same dates?

In Chapter II it was pointed out that many calendrical correlations and reconstructions are based on a mistranslation of the native date for Cortes' entrance into Tenochtitlan. This means that many claims about native calendars in the Valley of Mexico are wrong, and makes questionable at least some claims for multiple calendars. However, one explanation for the differences in dates that would not rely on an argument for different calendars would be that dates were used in symbolic ways in the course of writing narratives. It is well known that other media of communication -- portable and monumental art, architecture and ritual -- made use of the elaborate and complex symbol system developed in Mesoamerica. The authors of historical narratives may well have made use of the same symbol system. Nicholson (1968) uses the term "pattern history" in relation to migration tales. The *Codex de 1576 (Aubin)* has a definite pattern of movement in the Mexica's journey from Tollan to Chapultepec. They stay in each location for multiples of four years, so that in *Acatl* years the length of stay is reported and movement onward is always in *Tecpatl* years. Glass notes "the mystical date of 1 *Tecpatl* with which so many Mexican Indian annals initiate their history (1974:15)." Such observations do imply a symbolic use of time by writers in the Colonial Period.

Dates of episodes from various chronicles have been of no help

in establishing the place of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* in the Mexican Central Highlands historical tradition. We will now look at place.

Place in the Mexica Migration

Colston (1973) uses a comparison of place - names, as well as speeches, from Duran's *Historia de las Indias* and Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana* to support his argument that the two migration accounts are not based "exclusively on a single common source." He argues for the existence of many oral accounts of the Mexica migration within the *Cronica X* tradition, and states that it was only with the reign of Huitzilihuitl that Duran and Tezozomoc are using the same written source (1975:38-39). The number of places the Mexica visit or bypass is different in each account; Duran has 28 place-names, whereas Tezozomoc has 34. However, since part of the *Cronica Mexicana* is missing, there could well have been more place-names in his original narrative. Even taking into account differences in spelling, the names are occasionally different also. This is particularly true in the first part of the journey. A comparison between the place-names in these two sources and those in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is shown in Table 8. The *Cronica Mexicayotl* has 52 place-names. The greatest differences in place-names occur in the early part of the migration. There is some correspondence between Duran's account and that found in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, however. Some of the names in the *Cronica Mexicana* appear to be Colonial names, rather than prehispanic ones.

A survey of 11 other accounts, pictorial² as well as written, reveals that no other account has exactly the same place-names as any

Table 8. Sequence of Place-Names in the Mexica Migration in 3 Sources.

Duran	C. Mexicana	C. Mexicayotl
1. Aztlan	1. Chicomoztoc	1. Aztlan
2. Chicomoztoc	2. Aztlan	2. Guinehuayan Tzotzompa
3. Teoculhuacan	3. Chichimeca lands	3. Guinehuayan Chicomoztoc
4. Tierra Chichimeca	4. Santa Barbola	4. Colhuacan
5. Plains of Cibola	5. Minas de San Andres	5. Chichimeca- tialpan
	6. Chalchihuites	6. Cuextecatl ichocayan
	7. Guadelaxara	7. Cohuatl icamac
	8. Xuchipila	
	9. Culhuacan Xalisco	
6. Mechoacan	10. Mechoacan	8. Patzcuallo, Michoacan
7. Pazcuaro (Malinalco)*	11. Malinalco (Patzcuaro)*	(Malinalco)*
8. Ocopita	12. Ocopipilla	9. Ocopilco
9. Acahualcingo	13. Acahualcingo	10. Acahualtzinco
10. Coatepec	14. Coatepec	11. Cohuatepec
11. Tula	15. Tula	12. Tullan
12. Atlitlalaquian	16. Atlitlaquian	13. Atitalaquian
13. Tequixquiac	17. Tequixquiac	14. Tequizquac
	18. Atengo	15. Atenco
14. Tzompanco	(Zumpango)	(Tzompanco)
	19. Cuachilco	16. Auachilco
15. Xaltocan	20. Xaltocan	17. Xaltocan
	21. Eycoac	18. Epcoac
16. Ecatepec	22. Ecatepec	19. Ecatepec
	23. Aculhuacan	20. Acalhuacan
17. Tulpetlac	24. Tulpetlac	21. Tolpetlac
	25. Huixachtitlan	22. Huixachtitla
	26. Tecpayuca	23. Tecpayocan
	27. Atepetlac	24. Atepetlac
	28. Coatlayauhcan	25. Coatl Yayauhcan
	29. Tetepango	26. Tepepanco
	30. Acolnahuac	27. Acolnahuac
	31. Popotlan	

* Both Tezozomoc, in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and Duran have only the Malinalxoch faction going to Malinalco, so that site is placed in parentheses here, but not numbered. In the *Cronica Mexicana* Tezozomoc confuses Malinalco with Patzcuarro, and so Malinalco is numbered in that volume.

Table 8, continued.

18. Chapultepec	32. Techcatitlan Chapultepec	28. Techcantitlan Chapoltepec
		29. Acuezcocomac
		30. Huehuetlan
		31. Atlixocan
		32. Teoculhuacan
		33. Tepetocan
		34. Huitzilac
		35. Culhuacan
		36. Huixachtla
		37. Cahualtepec
		38. Tetlacuicomac
		39. Tlapizahuayan
		40. Chapoltepec
19. Atlacuihuayan		41. Acuezcocomac (Atlacuihuayan)
20. Mazatlan		42. Mazatlan
21. Colhuacan		43. Tepetocan
22. Tizapan		44. Tizaapan, Colhuacan
23. Acatzintitlan		45. Acatzintlan
		46. Mexictzinco
24. Iztacalco		47. Teocohuapan
25. San Antonio		48. Iztacalco
26. San Pablo (Mixuihtlan)		49. Pantitlan
27. Temazcaltitlan (Mexicatzinco)	33. Temazcaltitlan- Teopantlan	50. Mixiuhcan
28. Tenochtitlan	34. Tenuchtitlan	51. Temazcaltitlan
		52. Tenuchtitlan

of these three. Table 9 shows the Mexica migration sequence for the other sources.

All place-names in the first part of the journey in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* are also mentioned in at least one other source. The order is generally the same, but Aztlan, Chicomoztoc and (Teo)Culhuacan vary in order of mention from source to source. Duran, Tezozomoc's two accounts and Chimalpahin's Second Relation are the only sources to have some form of Ocopilco.

Beginning with Patzcuaro/Malinalco the list in both of Tezozomoc's accounts are identical until Popotlan in the *Cronica Mexicana* (number 31). Popotlan is not found in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* or in Duran, but is included in the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)*, the *Tira de la peregrinacion* and the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*. The *Cronica Mexicana* and the *Cronica Mexicayotl* state the Mexica are at a specific place at Chapultepec -- Techcantitlan: "in oncan Chapoltepec in icuitlapilco itocayocan Techcantitlan (there at the rear of Chapultepec, at the place named Techcantitlan) (1949:39: Appendix:287-8:52)." Techcantitlan is also mentioned in the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* and the *Tira de la peregrinacion*.

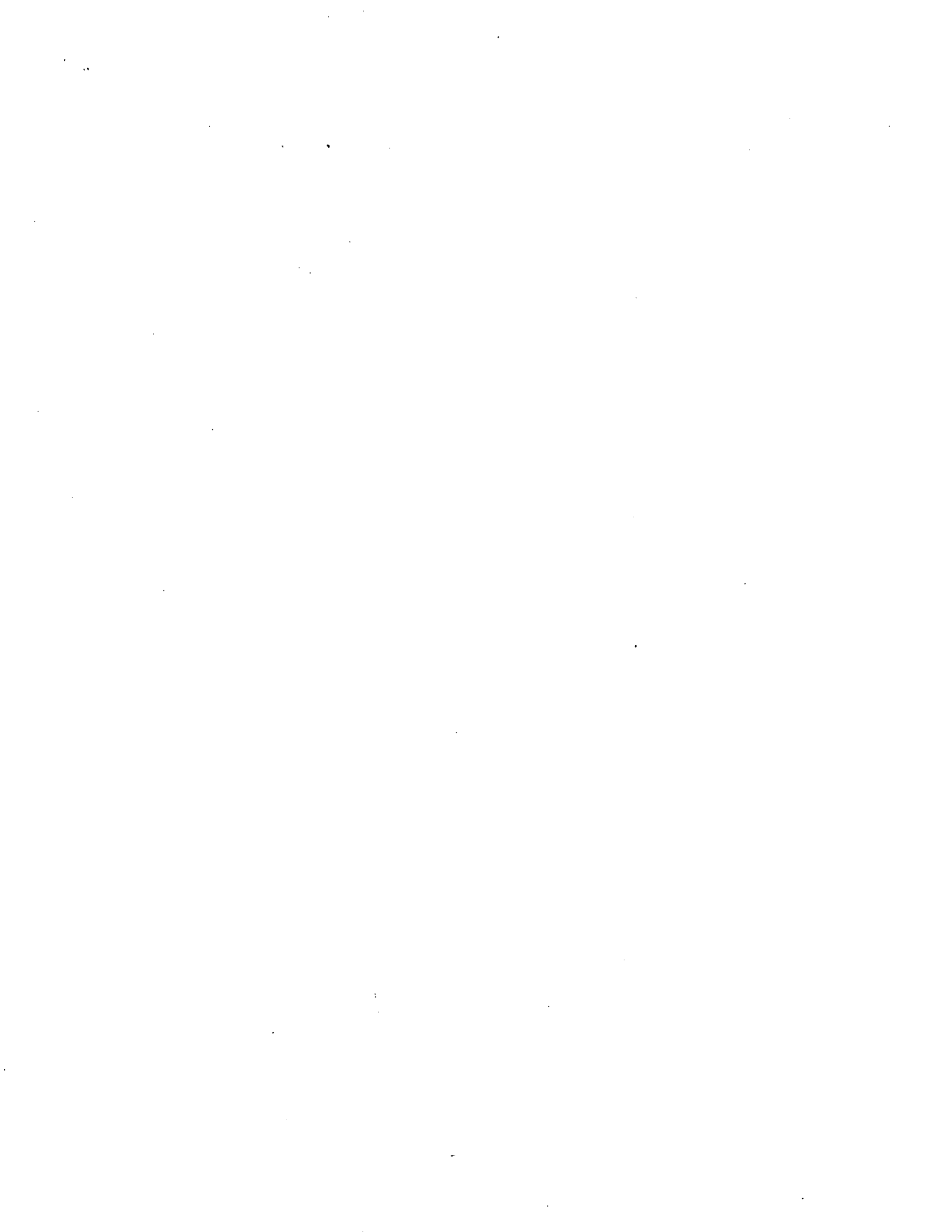
2. It should be noted that some of the pictorial manuscripts are without gloss, and the place-names given are the interpretations of a modern investigator. Some of these pictorial manuscripts need to be more adequately analyzed. The *Mapa de Siguenza* is one. There is no modern published - or readily available - analysis of the place-name signs of this manuscript. It will not be utilized here. Also, Mengin's commentary on the *Codex Mexicanus* is incomplete. He is obviously very familiar with the *Anales de Tlatelolco* and uses that source as a model for his interpretation of place-name signs. Some place-names, such as Cohuatepec, are clearly represented, but he does not include them. Others are less readily apparent and need analysis.

Anales de Ilatelolca	Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas	Codice Azulin	Codex Mexicanus	Codex - Azcatitlan	Tira de la Perewinacion	Anales de Cuauhtitlan	Codices Telleriano-Remensis & Vaticano-Rios
Teculhuacan	Aztlā	Colhuacan	Aztlan	Azcatitlan	Aztlan	Aztlan	Chicomortoc
Aztlan	Quauhticac	Quinehuayan	Tlatzallan	Tepexualco	Colhuacan	Cuauhtitlicacan	Hatepetl
Chicomortoc,	Chicomustoque	Aztlan	Chicomortoc	Chicomortoc	Coxtocatl-	Tepetl yoma-	Cactepetl
Quinehuayan	Land of Chi-	Coxtocatl	Coatllicanac	Cintocoyan	ichocayan	niquiyān	Aztlan-Toman-
Llanura despo-	chimecs	ychocayan	Natlhuacallan	Coatllicanac	Coahuatlcanac	Tepetl analliu-	icaca(n)
blada		Cohuati	Ocozacapan	Huacaltepec	or Cohuatepec	yan	Tezuactepetl
Quetzaltepec	Hollhuacala	ycanac	Cohuatepec	Natlhuacallan	Tollan	Cohuati yayauh-	Ayahualulco
Tlatzallan	Ocozara	cohuatepetl	Chinalco	Huixachtitlan	Atliltlalaquian	can	Colhuacan
Uaxaquahua	Coatebeque	Tollan	Tlenaco	Cohuatepec	Tlenaco	Zacatepec	Puchutla
Chinalac	Chinalcoque	Atliltlalacyan	Tollan	Tezatepec	Atotonilco	Tenatlahuacalco	Tototepetl
Tlenaco	Ensicox	Tlenaco	All itliallac	Xihucococan	Azapco	Cohuatepec	Nichhuacan
Tollan	Vinqualti	Atotonilco	Atotoniltenco	Tollan	Huitztec	Chinalcotitlan	Tlacahuacal-
Atliltlallac	Tlenaco	Azapco	Azapco	Huehuetoca	Tzoapanco	Tollan	tepetl
Atotoniltenco	Atliltlalaquia	Huitzcol	Tequiquiac	Tlenaco	Taltocan	Atlytlalacyan	Naruquetepetl
Azapco	Atotoniltengo	Tzoapanco	Citlaltepec	Maquistepetl	Acalhuacan	Tequiquiac	Tentototepetl
Tequiquia	Tequiquiac	Taltocan	Tzoapanco	Azapco	Ehcatepec	Azapco	Pantepetl
Tliltlac	Azapco	Acalhuacan	?a	Tzoapanco	Tolpetlac	Citlaltepec	Tlatoltepetl
Citlaltepec	Zuapanco	Ehcatepec	Ehcatepec	Taltocan	Coatitlan	Tzoapanco	Tlacauapan-
(Tzoapanco)	Tliltlac	?a	?a	Ecatepec	Huixachtitlan	Cuauhtitlan	tepetl
Quauhtitlan	Cuauhtitlan	Cuauhtitlan	Tolpetlac	Acalhuacan	Tecpayocan	Ecatepec	Huehuetepetl
(Chalco)	Ecatebeque	Huixachtitlan	Hepopualco	Tolpetlac	Pantitlan	Coatitlan	Silotepetl
Uexotzinco	Hepopualco	Tecpayocan	(Nalsinalco)	Tecpayocan	Amalinalpan	Pantitlan	Tzoapanco
Natlalzinco)	(Nalsinalco)	Pantitlan	Amalinalpan,	Yohualtlocatl	Pantitlan	Tolpetlac	Coacalco
Nextlatilco	Chinalpal	Amalinalpan,	Azcapotzalco	Tepelzinco	Acolnahuatl	Tecpayocan	Hecatepec
Tolpetlac,	Tlaltatevique	Azcapotzalco	Pantitlan	Chapultepec	Popotla	Tecpayocac	Tolpetlac
Hepopualco	Coatitlan	Pantitlan	Acolnahuac	Acuercoac	Techcatitlan	Popotlan	Uizatitlan
Tecpayocan	Visachichitlan	Acolnahuac	Popotlan	Huehuetlan	Atlixocan	Chapultepec	Tequepayocac
Acolnahuac	Tebulco	Popotlan	Techcatitlan	Atlixocan	Teculhuacan	Acolnahuac	Ayahualulco
Telepetzinco	Tenayucan	Techcatitlan	Atlixocan	Teculhuacan	Atlixocan	Chapultepec	Chapultepec
Chapultepec	Tepexaquilla	Atlixocan	Teculhuacan	?a	Coahuacan	Colhuacan	Acatzinco
Tizaapan,	Chapultepeque	Chapultepec	?a	Coahuacan	Contitlan	Contitlan	Tenacaltitlan
Colhuacan	Tlachetonago	Acocolco	Huitzilac	Azcatzinco	Tizaapan	Tizaapan	Tenochtitlan
Contitlan	Aguacoomac	Contitlan,	Colhuacan	Tizaapan	Mexicaltrinco	Tlalcoconoco	
Mexicaltrinco	Vevelan	Tizaapan-	Huixachtla	Ystacalco	Ystacalco	Mexico-Tenoch-	
Acatzinco	Jucocan	Colhuacan	?a	Huixtupac	Mexicpac	titlan	
Mexicaltrinco	Teculhuacan	Acatzintlan	?a	Miximhan	Miximhan		
Huixtupac	Tepetlocan	Mexicaltrinco	?a	Tenacaltitlan	Tenacaltitlan		
Yehutollan	Visachitla	Huixtupac	?a	Chapultepec	Tizaapan,		
Istacalco	Quexumale	Istacalco	Chapultepec	Tizaapan,	Colhuacan		
Tenochtitlan	Capulco	Tzoquipan	Tizaapan,	Colhuacan	Tenochtitlan		
Tlatilolco,	Tacuncalco	Tenacaltitlan	Colhuacan	Tenochtitlan			
Xaliyacac	Zacaqupa	(Tenochtitlan)					
	Chapultepeque						
	Colhuacan						
	Tizapaa						
	Catitlan						
	Huixtupaque						
	Istacalco						
	Mixucan						
	Tlatilulco						
	Tenustitan						

? a ? = unknown place-name sign, or unnamed place.

as Codice Telleriano-Remensis shows the Mexica engaged in battle with "Huastecs" at 14 places, the thirteenth being "Coatepetl". The path of the migration is from Coacalco, on Lamina III, proceeding on at the top of the succeeding pages to Tequepayuca on Lamina VIII. At this point the footprints go back through the preceding pages and place names and battles are shown, ending once again on Lamina III at Coacalco. These 14 place-names have not been included in the line of arch here.

Table 9. Mexica Migration according to 11 sources.



Duran's list for the migration between Patzcuaro and Chapultepec appears to be an abbreviated form of Tezozomoc's. Eleven place-names are missing from his list. However, those that are found in Duran are the same as in Tezozomoc's two accounts, and are in the same order. Duran admits to taking some editorial license at least once in the account of the Mexica migration. When the Mexica are at Mexicatzinco he says, "el qual nombre se le puso a esta lugar por causa de cierta torpedad que a causa de no ofender los oidos de los lectores, no la contare (that name was given to this place because of a certain lasciviousness; so as not to offend the ears of the readers I will not recount it) (1965:1:36)." Colston, who has studied Duran's *Historia de las Indias* in depth, says,

The *Historia* was not a verbatim translation of the *historia mexicana*, since Duran altered the content of the original Nahuatl chronicle by omitting certain data found in that source, and adding additional historical information from other sources. However, it seems Fray Diego only infrequently omitted material from the *historia mexicana* since he makes references to having resorted to this procedure on but three occasions; these omissions refer to what Duran believed to be superfluous details (1973:40).

Duran may have left out some of the places on the Mexica migration (as superfluous?), but there is no way of knowing for certain. In any case the place-names given in Duran and Tezozomoc's two accounts up to Chapultepec suggest that the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is within the *Cronica X* tradition, but perhaps it is an expansion of it.

In *The Aztec Arrangement* van Zantwijk's Table 2.1, "The Aztec Trek", shows 26 of the most commonly named places on the Mexica line of march according to 14 manuscripts. Such a table is very helpful in

that it demonstrates the extent to which sources agree on places visited or by-passed. However, it is somewhat misleading. Van Zantwijk has combined Chimalpahin's Relations for that source, and has also combined Tezozomoc's two accounts. He has omitted Duran from this table also. Additionally the table obscures the great differences in accounts. In his analysis of the Mexica migration Acosta Saignes (1946), to provide some order in accounts, divides sources into those that include Tula and those that do not. Knowing those that include Tula is of some importance if one wishes to discover the time of the fall of that city from historical accounts. However, from the standpoint of the Mexica, it would seem the important distinction would be those accounts that include Cohuatepec and those that do not: Cohuatepec is the purported birth-place of Huitzilopochtli. Table 10 demonstrates this distinction.

Table 10 shows that most sources list both Cohuatepec and Tula. Chimalpahin's Third Relation and the Codices *Telleriano-Remensis* and *Vaticano-Rios* give neither. No source lists Cohuatepec but not Tula. But the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, Chimalpahin's Second Relation, and possibly the *Tira de la peregrinacion* are the only sources to mention Tula and not mention Cohuatepec. Their omission of this site seems significant, given the importance of events at Cohuatepec from the Mexica point of view.

Point of view or bias is fairly clear in some of the written manuscripts. Colston says of the *Cronica X* tradition,

Table 10. Sources naming Cohuatepec or Tollan on the Mexica migration.

<u>Source</u>	<u>Cohuatepec</u>	<u>Tollan</u>
Duran	X	X
Cronica Mexicana	X	X
Cronica Mexicayotl	X	X
Anales de Tlatelolco	-	X
Historia de los mexicanos...	X	X ¹
Codice de 1576 (Aubin)	X	X
Codex Azcatitlan	X	X
Tira de la peregrinacion	X ²	X
Anales de Cuauhtitlan	X	X
Codices Telleriano-Remensis and Vaticano-Rios	-	-
Torquemada	X	X
Chimalpahin, 2nd Relation	-	X
3rd Relation	-	-

1. The author does not specifically place the Mexica at Tollan. Cohuatepec, Tlemaco and Atitlalaquia are all stated to be near Tollan.
2. Lamina V of the *Tira de la Peregrinacion* has two place-name signs. The first is clearly Cuextecatli ichocayan "Place where the Huastec cries". The second has the usual sign for tepetl, "hill", with the head of a snake with its mouth wide open and tongue protruding. This looks very much like a sign for Cohuatli icamac, "Within the serpent's mouth". However, the next plate with a place-name sign, Lamina VII, clearly shows Tollan. Therefore, Lamina V may signify Cohuatepec, "On serpent hill".

whether imparted orally or in written form, whether from the mouth or pen of the same individual, the *historia mexicana* and the major source of Tezozomoc (in the *Cronica Mexicana*), while not identical, most probably derived ultimately from the same oral historical tradition, a tradition that was noticeably partisan to Mexico Tenochtitlan and its Cihuacoatl, Tlaccacel (1973:37).

The *Anales de Tlatelolco* are so named because they clearly were written by an unknown individual from that polity. Likewise, the

Anales de Cuauhtitlan were written by an unknown author from Cuauhtitlan. Chimalpahin was a native of Chalco, and wrote from that perspective. The two latter accounts were

ultimately derived from various continuous year pictorial histories from different communities ... In the case of both these sources many independent chronicles were fitted -- obviously often quite artificially -- into single continuous master year count schemes... (Nicholson, 1968:48).

It is not clear from which native tradition(s) the information on the Mexica in these latter two chronicles derived. And while provenance of some of the pictorials is known, their derivation is also unknown. It seems of heuristic value to contrast the *Cronica X* tradition and the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, with differences being viewed as biases of the opposing factions. Comparisons can then be made with other documents for their biases. Because the pictorials do not always have written gloss to enlarge upon knowledge provided only by pictographs, place-names are of value in such a comparison.

The first major difference in the Mexica migration before reaching Chapultepec in the *Cronica X* tradition, including the *Cronica Mexicayotl* at this point, and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* is that the latter document omits Cohuatepec -- as seen above. Chimalpahin apparently follows the *Anales de Tlatelolco* in this.

The *Anales de Tlatelolco* also has the Mexica splitting up into different groups in the march down the northern part of the Valley. One group goes to each of the following places, Chalco, Cuauhtitlan, Huexotzinco and Matlatzinco. They then settle in Cuauhtitlan for a period of years before continuing their journey toward Chapultepec

(1948:33). No other written text has precisely this information.

However, a few of the accounts do tell of a movement or division off the major path in the northern part of the Valley. Plate XXX of the *Codex Mexicanus*, on which Mengin does not comment, places the Mexica at an unidentified place in 5 *Calli*, 1237, and at Ehecatepec in the next year. What appear to be minor paths go from the unidentified place to four place-name signs, one of which appears to be Huexotzinco.

The *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)*, page 24, has the following gloss for the year 7 *Acatl*:

ypan cempohvalxiuhtique
yn oncan covatitlan y(n) Mexica.

Auh niman canato yn chalco
y(n) metl.
auh ca oc quihuallichictiaque

oc onca(n) quivallitiaque yn
yn octli
y(n) mexica yn cohuatitlan
(Dibble, 1963:27).

In this year the Mexica
completed 20 years there in
Cohuatitlan.

And then they went to gather
maguey in Chalco.

And also they took out the
sweet juice (from the maguey).

But the Mexica had to drink
the pulque
there in Cohuatitlan.

The *Tira de la peregrinacion* is probably showing the same episode that the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* recounts. Lamina XIII has the Mexica settled at Cohuatitlan from 1 *Tecpatl* to 2 *Tochtli*, a period of 20 years. At the bottom of the page there is the sign for Chalco and probably maguey, with a short path and one footprint, leading to the year 5 *Tecpatl*. On Lamina XIV they are settled at Huizachtitlan and making pulque.

Códices Telleriano-Remensis and *Vaticano-Rios* show movement away from the major line of march at Tecpayocan. (See footnote **, Table 9.) Only one other account has movement away from the path

directly southward through the Valley, and that is the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*. Here we are told that three individuals leave the main body at Nepopualco to go to Malinalco.³

Thus five other sources seemingly follow the Tlatilolcan tradition of having a divergence from the main path of the Mexica migration in the northern part of the Valley of Mexico: the codices *Aubin*, *Mexicanus*, *Telleriano-Remensis/Vaticano-Rios*, the *Tira de la peregrinacion*, and *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*.

After the Mexica reach Chapultepec all sources have some sort of an account of the "Chapultepec defeat" by other forces in the Valley. But the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, unlike the *Anales de Tlatelolco* and Duran's account (this part of the *Cronica Mexicana* is missing) has the Mexica moving away from Chapultepec, across the Valley in a southeastern direction, and then coming back to Chapultepec. The Mexica are reported to have stayed in eleven places on their trek across the southern half of the Valley. This movement functions structurally to divide into two distinct episodes the sacrifice of Copil and the capture of Huitzilihuitl. In Duran the two episodes seem to be part of the same event.

3. The guiding principle used for including a place-name in Tables 8 and 9 was to use places where only a large segment of the migrating Mexica were said to have been. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* one or a few individuals were reported at various times to be at places not included. It will be noted on Table 9 that Malinalco is included for *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, even though only 3 individuals are said to have gone there. The Malinalxoch faction reported to have gone to Malinalco in Duran's account and in both Tezozomoc's accounts is important in the later episode of the sacrifice of Copil. A rather garbled version of this episode is included in the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, and therefore Malinalco is included in Table 9 for this source.

This part of the migration is also reported in four other sources: *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, with fourteen places; Chimalpahin's Second and Third Relations, with fifteen and three places, respectively; and the *Codex Mexicanus*, with twelve places. Chimalpahin's Third Relation has only Culhuacan in common with the others. Not all places in the *Codex Mexicanus* can be presently identified. However, four can be identified and are the same as places in the first three sources. As can be seen in Tables 8 and 9 with few exceptions most names in the list from the *Cronica Mexicayotl* are found in *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* and in Chimalpahin's Second Relation. Tetlacuicomac is the only place exclusive to the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Huitzilac is named in the latter source, while the other two give Huitzilopochco. But the author of *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas* says that "Uichlat" (Huitzilac) was its former name (1941:223). While the order of places in common is the same in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the order of Acuecomac and Huehuetlan and of Huixachtla and Cahualtepec is reversed in Chimalpahin's Second Relation.

Since this line of march is not in Duran, unless the missing part of the *Cronica Mexicana* is found and does contain it, we will have to say that it is outside of both the *Cronica X* and Tlatilolcan traditions. However, it is not exclusive to the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. It is also found in two sources that definitely predate Tezozomoc's account, *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* and *Codex Mexicanus*.

Very little happens in the time the Mexica are moving across the southern portion of the Valley, according to the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. When they reach Tlapizahuayan, the god Huitzilopochtli tells them to settle down. They are then chased back to Chapultepec by the Chalchans, where Huitzilihuitl is captured and sacrificed⁴ (Tezozomoc, 1949:45-49; Appendix:302-7:59-63). One difference in the accounts of the capture and sacrifice of Huitzilihuitl is whether the Xaltocameca participate. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and in Duran's *Historia de las Indias* they do not. In the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948:36), the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (1945:18), *Codex Azcatitlan* (Lamina X), *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* (1941:225), Torquemada (1943:I:83), and the Second Relation of Chimalpahin (1963:54), the Xaltocameca do participate in the "Chapultepec defeat."

It is at this point in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* that Chimalpahin breaks into the narrative for the first time. Tezozomoc tells of the politics that were involved, including the Chalchans, led by "huehue cacamatl teuhctli intlatocauh catca in Chalca Amequemecan oihui inin quitohua Mexica (Cacamatl the Elder, who was ruler of the people of Amaquemecan Chalco. It was said thus by the Mexica) (Tezozomoc, 1949: 47; Appendix:304:61)." Chimalpahin then gives his name and says,

oncnemilli

I looked into

4. The details of the capture of Huitzilihuitl should more properly be discussed in the next section, on specific content. However, in that section the comparison is mainly between Tezozomoc's two accounts and Duran. Also, the participation of the Xaltocameca in the capture of Huitzilihuitl is known in pictorial manuscripts by the sign depicting that locality, and therefore it seems appropriate for inclusion in this section. The same reasoning is applied to the question of the Mexica being mercenaries for the Culhuaque against the Xochimilca, below.

in Chalca xiuhlapohuallamatl

in iquac ipan in
yaoyahualloloque Mexica

in oncan Chapultepec...
(1949:47).

the Chalcan book of the
count of years
as to when, in what time,
they surrounded the Mexica
in war
there at Chapultepec...
(Appendix:304-5:62).

He goes on to name the rulers of the various parts of Chalco at that time, then says,

auh in quitenehua Mexica
in itoca huehue Cacamatzin

ca aic otlatocat
in amaquemecan
zan mochipa tlatocapillicatca
huey tiacauh ye ixhuihtzin

in Atonaltzin Chichimeca teuhctil
tlatohuani Amaquemecan
auh ye quin zatapan
in omonemiltico tlalticpac
ayemo ipan in oncan
quitenehua Mexica
(Tezozomoc, 1949:48).

And the Mexica mention
the name of the revered
Cacamatl
the Elder.
Indeed, he never ruled
at Amaquemecan.
He was always only a great lord,
a great warrior, the revered
grandchild of
Atonaltzin, Chichimeca Teuhctli,
the ruler of Amaquemecan.
And it was only later
that he came to live on earth,
not yet in the time
the Mexica mention there
(Appendix:306-7:62).

However, Tezozomoc's assertion that Cacamatl was the leader of the Chalcans is part of the *Cronica X* tradition, because Duran says "... los Chalcas, los quales traian por caudillo a un senor y cabeza, llamado Cacamatecuhtli,... (...the Chalcans, who brought as leader a lord and head, named Cacamatecuhtli...) (1965:30)."

Following the defeat of the Mexica at Chapultepec all sources have some version of the "Captivity at Colhuacan." The *Anales de Tlatelolco* tells of a number of tasks that the Mexica have to perform for the Culhuaque (reminiscent of the Labors of Hercules). One of the Mexica's activities in this period is to act as mercenaries for the

Culhuaque against the Xochimilca (1948:39-41). This is not in Duran's *Historia de las Indias*, nor is it in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Some version of this episode is related in *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* (1941:226), *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* (1963:38), *Codex Azcatitlan* (Lamina XI), *Tira de la peregrinacion* (Lamina XXI), *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (1945:18), and Torquemada (1943:I:89). Chimalpahin's Second Relation ends before this episode. Those sources that have both these two episodes in the lower part of the Valley of Mexico are the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus pinturas*, the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, *Codex Azcatitlan*, and Torquemada. The Second Relation of Chimalpahin has only one of these episodes, but ends before the second takes place. *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* and *Tira de la peregrinacion* each have the second episode but not the first.

When we turn to the last part of the Mexica migration, Table 9 shows many of these eleven sources have some of the same place-names given in Table 8. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* has three place-names not on Table 8, Contitlan, Nexticpac and Teuhtollan, and then ends with Tlatilolco Xaliyacac. (Table 8 ends before the settling of Tlatilolco.) Contitlan and Nexticpac are also found in *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)*, *Codex Azcatitlan*, and Torquemada. *Tira de la peregrinacion* ends with Contitlan, and the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* places Contitlan before Tizaapan and lacks Nexticpac.

Table 11 summarizes the results of this discussion on sources following the *Anales de Tlatelolco* in its differences with the *Cronica X* tradition and Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicayotl*. As can be seen from

Table 11. Sources with episodes found in the *Anales de Tlatelolco* that are not in Duran or Tezozomoc's two accounts.

Episode*	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sources:						
Chiamlpahin, 2nd Rel.	X		X			
C. Mexicanus		X				
C. 1576/Aubin		X		X	X	X
Tira de la...	?	X		X	X	
T-R/V-R		X				
Historia de los mexicanos...		X	X	X	X	X
A. Cuauhtitlan			X	X	X	
C. Azcatitlan			X	X	X	X
Torquemada			X	X	X	X

***Episodes:**

1. Omits Cohuatepec, but not Tula.
2. Mexica leave major path in northern part of the Valley of Mexico.
3. Xaltocameca participate in Chapultepec defeat.
4. Mexica act as mercenaries for Culhuacan against Xochimilco.
5. Mexica at Contitlan.
6. Mexica at Nexticpac.

Table 11, no source exactly follows the *Anales de Tlatelolco*. *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* has more episodes in common with the *Anales de Tlatelolco* than any other source, with five out of six. However, it must be remembered that this source also includes the march away from and then return to Chapultepec, which is included in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, but not in the Tlatilolcan source. *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, *Codex Azcatitlan* and *Torquemada* follow very closely the *Anales de Tlatelolco* in the last part of the journey. It appears there were many episodes involved with the Mexica migration that authors could pick and choose

from during the Colonial Period, but we have no knowledge of what governed their choices.

Looking at Table 8 from Chapultepec to Tenochtitlan, it can be seen that Duran has eleven place-names and there are fourteen in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* (from the second time at Chapultepec, number 40). Duran has one Spanish-named locality, San Antonio, without a Nahuatl toponym. The two sources have ten places in common, and in the same order, although the *Cronica Mexicayotl* gives Tizaapan as being part of Culhuacan, while Duran has them as two separate places. The *Cronica Mexicana* picks up again at Temazcaltitlan. Once again it appears that the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is an elaboration on the *Cronica X* tradition as presented in Duran's *Historia de las Indias*.

From the analysis of place-names included in various accounts of the Mexica migration from Aztlan to Tenochtitlan, it appears that in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Tezozomoc is basically following the *Cronica X* account, but adding to it episodes that were present in other accounts extant in the Valley of Mexico at the time of his writing. However, he is not including episodes that might be said to be diagnostic of differences seen in the Tlatilolcan sources. We will see if this observation is reinforced in the next section, which compares specific information of episodes from Tezozomoc's two accounts and Duran's *Historia de las Indias*.

Line-by-line Comparison of Episodes

A line-by-line comparison of episodes found in both the *Cronica Mexicana* and the *Cronica Mexicayotl* shows that very little

information given in the *Cronica Mexicana* differs in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. However, much more information is included in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* than is given in the *Cronica Mexicana*. In his first account Tezozomoc merely states that the people leave Aztlan because their god, Huitzilopochtli, persuades them to do so (Tezozomoc, 1878:223-4). The account of the Mexica's departure from Aztlan in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is a story of jealousy and political rivalry between the two sons of the deceased ruler, Moteuhczoma (1949:15-16; Appendix:239-41:19-20). One son is made ruler of the Cuexteca. The other, named Chalchiuhtlatonac, is made ruler of the Mexitin. This younger brother is nicknamed "Mexi": "zan mitohua Mexi ytocha chalchiuhtlatonac (he was only called Mexi; his name was Chalchiuhtlatonac) (1949:15; Appendix:240:19)." The elder, un-named brother is jealous of his younger brother and threatens him. Chalchiuhtlatonac decides to leave, taking his people with him. With some variation, this account is found only in Chimalpahin's Second Relation (1963:5-6). However, in Duran's *Historia de las Indias* we are told the people of Aztlan, the Azteca, are also called the Mecitin, "a causa de quel sacerdote y senor que los guiaba, se llamaba Meci (because the priest and lord who guided them was named Meci) (Duran, 1965:19)." In the *Cronica Mexicana* Tezozomoc gives a different derivation of the name Mexitin:

este nombre de *Mexitin* quiere decir Mexicano:
 como mas claro decir al lugar manantial de la uba,
 asi *Mexi*, como si del *Maguey* saliera manantial,
 y por eso son ellos ahora llamados Mexicanos,...
 (Tezozomoc, 1878:223)

(this name of *Mexitin* means Mexican: but more

clearly it says at the origin place of the grape, thus Mexi, as if from the maguey comes forth a spring, and for this [reason] they are now called Mexicans,... .)

In the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, the Mexica stay at Chicomoztoc for several years before moving on. Here their god speaks for the first time, and they are given their new name of Mexitin. During this episode a large tree (*huey quahuitl*) under which the Mexitin have been eating, falls (Tezozomoc, 1949:19-25; Appendix:247-258:27-32). This episode is found in Chimalpahin's Third Relation (1963:11) and in the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* (1963:6-8). Chimalpahin's account follows Tezozomoc's account very closely. The initial part of the account in the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)*, differs somewhat from Tezozomoc's, but one section is virtually word for word the same in the two accounts. According to the *Codice de 1576*, the Mexica are left at the foot of the tree, while the eight *calpultin* move on. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* there is no mention of a division of the people at this point, but the people do begin to move on. At this point in both we are told the Azteca are given their new name of Mexica or Mexitin. The *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* says,

zatepan yn ovalpeuhque yn otlica
ympam oacico yn tiacatecolo
vey comitl⁵ ytlan huehuetztoque
yvan cequantin mizquitl ytzintla

Finally they began hitherward
by road.
Monsters came to arrive
over them.
Somethings were lying down
by a great jar,⁵
and some others were lying

5. Dibble, 1963:22, translates this as "biznagas". Pictured on page 8 of the codex are three individuals, a mesquite tree and three round plants with pointed spines. Biznagas were not only used in sacrifice, but were also symbolic of autosacrifice, because of their naturally - occurring, red - tipped spines. However, the literal translation here is "large jar."

vehuetztoque
 Yehuantin yn quintocayotia
 mimixcova
 yn ce tlacatl ytoca xiuhneltzin
 ynic ome ytoca mimitzin
 yniquey in cihuatl
 ynveltiuh.
 oc ceppa oncan oquinnotz
 in diablo in Huitzilopochtli
 quimilhui
 Xiquimonanacan yn vey comitl
 yntlan cate yehuantin yacachto
 tequitizque.
 Auh ca niman oncan oquincuepilli
 yn intoca yn azteca
 oquimilhui
 In axcan aocmo amotoca in amazteca

 ye am mexicana.
 Oncan oquinnacazpotonique

 ynic oquicuique yn intoca
 yn mexicana
 yvan oncan oquinnacac in mitl

 yvan tlauhuitolli yoafn] chitatli

 yn tleyn acoyauh huel quimina
 yn mexicana
 (1963:7-8)

down at the foot of a mesquite.
 They were given the name of
 "Mimixcohua."
 One man was named Xiuhneltzin.
 The second was named Mimitzin.
 The third was a woman,
 their elder sister.
 There once more the devil,
 Huitzilopochtli, called them.
 He addressed them,
 "Take hold of the great jar!
 Within it are those who will
 pay the first tribute."
 And then they changed there
 their name from Azteca.
 He said to them,
 "Today your name is no longer
 Azteca.
 Now you are Mexica."
 There they feathered
 their ears.
 With that they took their name
 of Mexica.
 And also there he gave them
 the arrow,
 and also the bow, and also
 the net,
 so that whatever goes high,
 the Mexica shoot it well.

These very words are embedded within a longer account in the
Cronica Mexicayotl. Tezozomoc apparently elaborates on the
 information given in the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)* as well as enlarging
 the episode as a whole. He says,

Zatepan in ohualpeuhque in otlica
 inpan oacico in tlatlacatecollo
 huey comitl itla huehuetztoque
 ihuan cequintin mizquitl itzintlan
 huehuetztoque
 yehuantin in quintocayotica mimixcohua

Finally they began hitherward
 by road.
 Monsters came to arrive
 over them.
 Somethings were lying down by
 a great jar.
 And also some others were
 lying down at the foot of
 a mesquite.
 They were given the name
 "Mimixcohua",

chicomentin
 in ce tlacatl Xiuhnelztin
 inic ome itoca Mimichtzin

 inic ey in cihuatl inhueltiuh
 itoca Teoxahual
 auh in oc nahuintin amo huel momati
 in intoca tlatlacatecollo
 oncan oquinnotz
 in Huitzilopochtli
 in yehuantin in Azteca
 in motenehuan teomamaque...
 in teomamaque quimilhui
 xiquimonancan in huey comitl
 itlan cate yehuantin
 in yacato tequitzque
 Auh yuh quitotihui
 in huehuetque
 in ompa Aztlan ic hualquitzque
 in Aztlan
 ayemo intoca catca Mexitin
 za no quexquich ic monotz
 inic Azteca
 auh ye quin oncan inin titlatohua

 in quicuique intoca
 inic ye monotza Mexitin

 auh yuhqui in inic macoque

 in yuh quitotihui huehuetque

 yehuatl quintocamacac
 in Huitzilopochtli
 Auh ca niman oncan oquicuepilli
 in itoca in Azteca
 oquimil(hui)
 in axcan aocmo amotoca in amazteca

 ye anMexitin
 oncan no quinnacazpotonqui

 inic oquicuique in intoca
 inic axcan ye mitohua Mexica

 ihuan oncan no quinmacac in mitl

 ihuan tlahuitolli ihuan chitlatli

 in tlein acoyauh huel quimina
 in Mexitin

all seven of them.
 One man was named Xiuhnelztin.
 The second was named
 Mimichtzin.
 The third was a woman, their
 elder sister, named Teoxahual.
 And the names of the other
 four monsters are not known.
 There Huitzilopochtli called
 them,
 those Aztecs
 called Teomasas ...
 To the Teomasas he said,
 "Take hold of the great jar!
 Within it are those who
 will pay the first tribute."
 And thus the ancients
 will go to say,
 when the Aztecs went out
 from Aztlan toward here,
 their name was not yet Mexitin,
 but all were only called
 by Azteca.
 And now, later, we are saying
 this,
 they took their name,
 so that now they are
 called Mexitin.
 And it is thus, for this reason
 they were given (it).
 Thus, the ancients will go
 to say
 that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 gave them the name.
 And it is only there he restored
 his name to the Azteca.
 He said to them,
 "Today your name is no longer
 Azteca.
 Now you are Mexitin."
 There he also feathered their
 ears.
 With that they took the name
 Mexitin, so that now, today,
 they are said to be Mexica.
 And also he gave them there
 the arrow,
 and also the bow, and also
 the net,
 so that whatever goes high
 the Mexica shoot it well

(Tezozomoc, 1949:21-23).

(Appendix:251-255:29-31).

The Mexica finally leave Chicomoztoc in 12 Acatl. Tezozomoc attributes this long account of the Mexica's departure from Aztlan-Chicomoztoc to "huehue in Alonso Franco catca nican ichan ipan altepetl Ciudad Mexico Tenochtitlan, auh in omomiquillico ipan xihuitl de 1602 anos, inin Mestizo catca (the old one, Alonso Francislco. His home was here in the city of Mexico Tenochtitlan, and he came to be dead in the year 1602. He was a Mestizo) (1949:25; Appendix:260:34)." Francisco's account is more than twice as long as that found in the *Codice de 1576 (Aubin)*. The anonymous author of the latter was also an inhabitant of Mexico City (Dibble, 1963:1). This appears to be a case of Tezozomoc's using a non-Cronica X episode that is part of a Tenochtitlan Mexica tradition.

After the Mexica depart from Aztlan, as is seen in Table 8, the line of march differs in Tezozomoc's two accounts until they reach Patzcuaro. Here Tezozomoc confuses Patzcuaro with Malinalco in his first account. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, however, he correctly places Patzcuaro in Michoahuan and Malinalco is identified as a separate locale. In the latter account he also corrects an error in a date given in the *Cronica Mexicana*. In his first account Tezozomoc says they leave Patzcuaro for Ocopipilla and Acahualtzingo, where they bundle the years in 9 Acatl (1878:226). The correct time to bind the years is in 2 Acatl. In his second account Tezozomoc says the Mexica bound the years there in "9 or perhaps 2 Acatl (1949:30; Appendix:270:39)."

Some information given in the *Cronica Mexicana* is not in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. For example, both chronicles tell that part of the group is left at Patzcuaro, the future Michoacanos and Malinalxoch's faction. According to the *Cronica Mexicana*, Malinalxoch is left sleeping on a mountain, and her faction consists of "los padres antiguos de ellos, los mas ancianos (the old fathers among them, the most ancient) (Tezozomoc, 1878:225)." This is not in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Both of Tezozomoc's accounts are missing a transition that is in Duran; he says that only the Michoacanos are left at Patzcuaro, and Malinalxoch and her people are left somewhere between that site and Coatepec (1965:I:21-3).

There are a few other bits of information included in the *Cronica Mexicana* that are not in Tezozomoc's second account. For example, the list of gods other than Huitzilopochtli that the Mexica take with them and one *calpulli* are missing from the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Tezozomoc lists 11 dieties that they bring on the journey (1878:224). He then numbers the *calpultin*: Iopico, Tlacochealca, Huitznahuac, Cihuatepaneca, Chalmecca, Tlacatecpaneca, and Izquiteca (loc. cit.). In his second account, Tezozomoc also numbers the *calpultin*, but misses number six, five in the *Cronica Mexicana*, the Chalmecca.

Aside from such differences as these, virtually everything in the *Cronica Mexicana* after the departure from Aztlan Chicomoztoc is in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and they appear in the same order. However, the *Cronica Mexicana* appears to have served as an outline for the *Cronica Mexicayotl*; the author expands upon his original account.

Even seemingly minor information is elaborated upon in the later of the two chronicles. For example, in the *Cronica Mexicana* Tezozomoc describes the Mexica's journey through the land of the Chichimeca thus,

y en las partes que llegaban si les parecia tierra fertile, abundosa de Montes, y Aguas hacian asiento quarenta anos, y en partes treinta, otras veinte, o diez, y en otras tres, o dos, y un ano, hasta en tanta disminucion, que de veinte dias luego alzaban... (1878:224).

(and in the parts where they arrived, if it seemed to them fertile land, abundant with mountains and water they made a settlement 40 years, and in parts 30, others 20, or 10, and in others 3, or 2, and 1 year, until such a diminution so that in 20 days they soon left...).

His version of this information in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is longer.

auh ca cenca nohuian in Mexica in Chichimecatlalpan	And absolutely everywhere the Mexica were in the land of the Chichimeca.
in cana cualcan huecahuaya	In some good places they stayed for a long time.
cempohualxiuhtica in motlallia intla huel mati in cana caxtolli xihuitl in motlallia	They settled down for 20 years if they feel it to be good. In some part they settle down for 15 years;
in cana matlacxiuhtica in cana macuilxiuhtica in motlallia	in some part for 10 years, in some part they settle down for 5 years;
in cana nauh xihuitl ye xihuitl motlallia in cana onxiuhtia in cana cexiuhtia in motlallia	in some part 4 years, 3 years, they settle down; in some part 2 years, in some part for 1 year they settle down.
in amo tia huel mati in cana cempohualilhuitl ompahualilhuitl in motlallia (ompa quizaco in Cuextecatl ichocayan	If they do not feel some part is good, they settle down 20, 40 days. (They come to leave The Place Where the Huastec Utters his Cry
ihuan cohuatl ycamac) (Tezozomoc, 1949:26).	and also the Place in the Serpent's Mouth.) (Appendix:260-61:35).

Minor differences, due primarily to the differences in the languages of the two accounts and, perhaps, the author's facility with Nahuatl as opposed to Spanish, do occur. For example, when the Mexica prepare to leave Malinalxoch and her faction behind, Huitzilopochtli speaks to his followers in both accounts. The differences in the two accounts are slight. The *Cronica Mexicana* says,

y a esto dijo Tlamacazqui Huitzilopochtli a los viejos que la solian traer cargada (que se llamaban Quauhtlonquetzqui, y Axoloa el segundo, y el tercero llamado Tlamacazqui cuauhcoatl, y el cuarto Ococaltzin): no es a mi cargo ni mi voluntad que tales oficios y cargos tenga mi hermana Malinalxoch desde la salida hasta aqui. Asi mismo tambien fui yo mandado de esta venida, y se me dio por cargo traer armas, arco, flechas y rodela; mi principal venida y mi oficio es la guerra, y asi mismo con mi pecho, cabeza y brazos en todas partes tengo de ver y hacer mi oficio en muchos pueblos y gentes que hoy hay...(1878:225)

(and to this Priest Huitzilopochtli said to the old ones who used to be charged with carrying him [who are named Quauhtlonquetzqui, Axoloa, the second, and the third named Priest Cuauhcoatl, and the forth, Ococaltzin]: "It is not my charge nor my desire that my sister Malinalxoch should be such charges and burdens since the departure until here. Thus I myself was also commanded about this coming, and I am given as a duty to carry arms, bow, arrows and shield; my principal coming and my charge is war, and thus I myself with my breast, head and arms, in all parts I have to be concerned with and do my duty in many towns and [for] the peoples that are present today...")

The same passage in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* says,

auh niman oquito in tlamacazqui
in Huitzilopochtli
auh quimilhuia in itahuan
in omotenehua in teomamaque
ye cuel yehuantin
in itoca quauhtlequetzqui

inic ome itoca Azollohua

And then Huitzilopochtli
said to the priest,
and he addressed his fathers,
the stated *Teomasas*.
Now these are the ones:
(the first) is named
Quauhtlequetzqui,
the second is named Axollohua,

tiamacazqui
 inic yei itoca
 Quauhcohuatl
 inic nahui itoca
 Ocacaltzin
 auh oquimihui
 notahuane
 ca amo notequiuh
 in quimotequiuhitia in Malinalxoch

 in ompa i niconquizaco

 inic onihualihualoc

 ca mitl ca chimalli in onimacac

 ca yaoyaotl i notequiuh
 auh ca nelchiquiuh ca notzonteca
 inic niquttaz
 i nohuian in altepetl
 auh ca nitechiaz

 ca nitenamiquiz in nauhcampa
 (1949:29).

the priest,
 the third is named
 Quauhcohuatl,
 the fourth is named
 Ocacaltzin.
 And he addressed them,
 "O my fathers!
 It is not my duty
 to cause Malinalxoch to be
 cared for
 from there where I came to
 depart toward here.
 For this reason I stand
 brought here.
 It is the arrow, the shield
 I gave.
 It is war that is my duty.
 And it is my breast, my head.
 For this reason I shall see
 the city on all sides.
 And indeed I shall await
 the people.
 Indeed, I shall encounter
 people on four sides
 (Appendix:267-68:39).

The only real difference in these two passages is that he refers to Quauhcohuatl as "priest" in the first and Axollohua as "priest" in the second. Many more such examples could be cited. Thus, it is clear that in writing his second account, the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, Tezozomoc basically follows his *Cronica Mexicana* account, but adds detail and episodes in his second narrative.

There is one more episode in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* that is not in the *Cronica Mexicana*. When the Mexica reach Izompanco Tezozomoc tells us that the ruler is named Tlahuizcalpotonqui. The ruler likes the Mexica and marries his daughter, Tlaquilxochin, to an unnamed member of their group. The couple have three children, a daughter named Chimallaxochtzin, and two sons, Huitzilihuitl and Tozpanxochtzin (1949:37; Appendix:284-6:51). Thus, Tlahuizcalpotonqui

(Dusty Dawn) becomes the grandfather of the future Mexica ruler, Huitzilihuitl - "Hummingbird Down". No other source has precisely this information. Chimalpahin's Second Relation is closest. He says that in the year 7 *Tecpatl*, A.D. 1200, the Mexica are at Tizayocan for one year. There Tlaquilxochtzin, a noble woman of Tzompanco gives birth to a male child named Huehue Huitzilihuitl. The father is a Mexica Chichimeca (1963:28).

Torquemada's version of Huitzilihuitl's birth is slightly different. The Mexica are at Tzompanco, which is ruled by Tochpanecatl. His son, Ilhuicatl marries a young Mexica woman named Tiacapantzin. Huitzilihuitl is born a year later in Tizayocan. (1943:1:82).

Reporting the sacrifice of Huitzilihuitl, the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* explain, "y este Huitzilihuitl, segun se dice, era hijo de Tlahuizpotencatzin, de los nobles xaltocamecas; pero algunos dicen que era hijo de Nezahualtemocatzin, noble de Tzompanco... (and this Huitzilihuitl, according to what is said, was the son of Tlahuizpotencatzin, of the nobles of Xaltocan; but some say he was the son of Nezahualtemocatzin, a noble of Tzompanco...) (1945:18)."

Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas (1941:222) and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* (1948:33) identify Tlahuizcalpotonqui as a warrior captured and sacrificed at Tzompanco. Lamina VIII of the *Codex Azcatitlan* shows the Mexica at Tzompanco engaged in battle, with the Mexica victorious.

Thus, while there are many versions of this episode, they all differ considerably. Because it is reported in neither Duran's nor

Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*, we must say it lies outside the *Cronica X* tradition. However, the version of this episode in Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicayotl* is so different from that in the *Anales de Tlatelolco*, we can also say Tezozomoc did not take it from a Tlatilolcan tradition either.

This comparison of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the Mexica migration with the *Cronica X* tradition, represented by the *Cronica Mexicana* and Duran's *Historia de las Indias*, as well as other sources from the Colonial Period, demonstrates that Tezozomoc follows his original version very closely. However, he expands that version with additional information. He increases the number of places that the Mexica visited or by-passed. He provides many more dates than he does in his original account. He elaborates upon the episodes given in his first account and adds entirely new episodes. Most of this other information is found in other accounts known to be extant in the Valley of Mexico during the mid-Sixteenth and early Seventeenth centuries. He uses no episodes that might be diagnostic of a Tlatilolcan bias. The two accounts based on the *Cronica X* are slanted toward Tlacauelel. (See Colston, 1973). It is probable that the version given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is the Tenochtitlan ruling family's official version.

In the Colonial Period individual authors apparently had a number of episodes from which to choose in writing their narratives. Part of their choice was directed by regional or political interests. Other choices, directed by other interests, will be addressed in the following chapters.

Chapter IV

Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin

Chapters I and II demonstrated the the range of differences between accounts of the Mexica migration. Accounts written by both indigenous and Spanish authors were discussed. Surprisingly, in some cases differences between the accounts of individual native authors were greater than between some accounts written by Spanish and native authors. These differences cannot be accounted for without first determining what the objectives and techniques of native Central Mexican Highlands historiography were. Toward that end, the approach adopted here is an analysis of a single account written by an indigenous author in his native language. A small number of accounts coming from the Valley of Mexico meet these criteria. However, only two authors' work gives us enough personal data to insure we are dealing with an appropriate source, i.e., one guided by Mesoamerican principles. These two native authors are Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin.

Chimalpahin's corpus is much more extensive and far ranging than is that of Tezozomoc. However, this in itself is a factor arguing against Chimalpahin as the best author to use in trying to discover the objectives and principles of organization used in Mesoamerican historiography. Chimalpahin combined information from a number of sources at his disposal. He produced a pastiche that was apparently not part of Mesoamerican historiographic genres. (See Nicholson, 1969.) Tezozomoc's interest was strictly centered on the

Tenochca Mexica, and can be viewed as being consistent with prehispanic genres. One could, of course, examine Chimalpahin's extensive material on the Mexica. While more interested in the wider region of Chalco, and more specifically in his home town of Tzacualtitlan Tenanco (Schroeder, 1984:6), he included most of the material available at the time dealing with the migration of the Mexica from Aztlan to the founding of their capital city, Tenochtitlan. However, Schroeder (1984:22) says of all the Relations,

It should be noted that while there is a considerable repetition of data, overlapping of dates, and some inconsistencies, each Relation contains specific information that is not found in any of the others.

The above holds true for Mexica data also. When the principles of Central Mexican Highlands historiographic techniques are better understood, each Relation of Chimalpahin might be considered a single text. Analysis could perhaps then determine how the Mexica (as well as other) material fits into the structure of the Chalcan material -- what objectives determined Chimalpahin's choices to include or exclude specific information.

(Jose Rubin Romero Galvan [1976] finds a definite structure in Chimalpahin's Eight Relations. He notes in the First Relation that Chimalpahin refers to the Biblical account of the Creation, and in the Second Relation he refers to the Coming of Christ. He says the author is following medieval Christian historians by beginning his native history with these most important Christian events. These Christian events are followed by the history of the New World from 10 Tochtli, 670 to 2 Acatl, 1299, in the Second Relation. The Third Relation

traces the history of polities in the Valley of Mexico from 13 Acatl, 1063, to the Spanish Conquest in 1 Acatl, 1519, with the Mexica occupying the primary place in his narrative. In the Fourth Relation he tells the story of the populating of New Spain in 1 Tochtlī, A.D. 50. Romero Galvan asserts that in this Relation Chimalpahin places Mesoamericans within universal history and in line for Salvation. In the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Relations Chimalpahin relates the history of the region of Chalco, the time period covered by each Relation being overlapped by each succeeding Relation. In the Seventh Relation the time is brought up to the time in which Chimalpahin is writing. The Eighth Relation serves as Chimalpahin's conclusions. Romero Galvan says that Chimalpahin is interested in two aspects of history: the universal, i.e., Christian, and the particular, i.e., Mesoamerican.)

Several factors make Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicayotl*, and not the works of Chimalpahin, the best initial source for eliciting Central Mexican Highlands historiographic techniques: the ages of both authors, the social status of each, their sources, and most importantly, the extent to which the world view of each had been Hispanicized. We will look at each of these factors.'

1. I feel compelled to state explicitly here that in the following paragraphs I am criticizing neither Chimalpanin nor his work. Having studied Chimalpahin's Relations for many years, both in Rendon's translation and in translating portions of his Nahuatl text, I have developed a deep respect and affection for the Chalcan historian. In the following I am pointing out why his work is not as appropriate as that of Tezozomoc for initial analysis.

Tezozomoc as a Source for Chimalpahin?

Both authors wrote their historical narratives in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Tezozomoc dates his *Cronica Mexicana* to 1598, "Hacia el ano de MDXCVIII (up to the year 1598) (1878:223)." He states in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* that he is writing in 1609: "auh in axcan ipan xihuitl de 1609 anos ye no nehuatl Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc... (and today in the year 1609, now I also, Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc ...) (1949:7; Appendix:225:5)."

Chimalpahin was apparently writing at about the same time. His *Diario* spans the years 1589-1615, "and is filled with information about activities in Mexico City in colonial times and specifically during years when Chimalpahin was living there (Schroeder, 1984:25)." While it is not clear exactly when his historical material was written, "most scholars give 1620 for completion of his work and so it seems from a survey of Chimalpahin's writing (op. cit.:9)." Additionally, Chimalpahin had access to Tezozomoc's work. In two instances he interjects criticism of Tezozomoc's statements about Chalcan history in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. (See Tezozomoc, 1949:47,49; Appendix: 304-6 & 3081:62 & 64). Schroeder suggests Tezozomoc supplied Chimalpahin with information on Tenochtitlan (1984:14). She notes in 1983 a cache of documents was found in the library of the Bible Society of London. Of the cache she says,

One of the two substantial volumes consists mainly of Nahuatl text written in a hand which appears to be Chimalpahin's. The principal subject matter is the preconquest history of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco; Chalco seems hardly to figure in these writings. Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc, the Tenochca historian, is mentioned by name, and it is possible

that these are materials Chimalpahin took from that source to incorporate into his annals, broadening them beyond the story of his homeland (1984:27).

It is true that much of Chimalpahin's Mexica material is similar to that of Tezozomoc, but there are many significant differences in details. If one compares Tezozomoc's account of the Mexica departure from Aztlan with that of Chimalpahin as reported in the Second Relation (or the *Memorial Breve Acerca de la Fundacion de la Ciudad de Culhuacan*), one finds essentially the same story, including the same words spoken in an oration. However, the speech is given by different persons. In Tezozomoc's account the Mexica *tlahtoahuani* (ruler) Chalchiuhtlatonac orders his people to move out (1949:14-16; Appendix:238-42:17-21). In Chimalpahin's version (1963:6), the speaker is Huitziltzin, the priest and Carrier of the God (*teomama*). Here are the two versions of this speech.

Tezozomoc

niman inic oncan quihto in Mexi
in Chalchiuhtlatonac

tocnihuane
quimilhui in Mexica
ma ye ic otihualaque
ma ye ic otihualquizque
in tochan Aztlan
auh ic niman quitlacamatque
(1949:16).

(Then Mexi, Chalchiuhtlatonac
said there,

"O our friends!"
He addressed the Mexica.
"Let it be that we came ready.
Let it be that we are ready to
go out from here, our homeland
Aztlan."

Chimalpahin

niman ic oncan quihto
yn teomama tlamacazqui
huitziltzin
tocnihuane nopilhuane
quimilhui yn Mexica
ma ye ic otihualaque
ma ye ic otihualquizque
yn tochan aztlan
auh quitlacamatque yn Mexica
yn huey teopixque huitziltzin
(1963:6).

(Then he said it there,
the Carrier of the God,
the priest Huitziltzin.
"O our friends! O my children!"
He addressed the Mexica.
"Let it be that we came ready.
Let it be that we are ready to
go out from here, our homeland
Aztlan."

And immediately they obeyed him
[Appendix:240-1:21].)

And the Mexica obeyed him,
the great Guardian of the God,
Huitziltzin.)

Such passages do indicate some copying on the part of Chimalpahin. However, he has assigned the speech to the priest Huitziltzin. This name is almost the same as that given by Torquemada to the leader of the migrating Mexica, Huitzilton (1943, I:78). In fact, Chimalpahin says later that the priest's name is Huitzilton² (1963:8).

In following the sequence of episodes after the departure of the Mexica in both accounts, we see some more significant differences. Both authors give a similar description of Chicomoztoc. Then Chimalpahin includes an episode which does not appear in Tezozomoc's account, but does appear in Torquemada's (1943:I:78), and is possibly illustrated in the Mapa de Sigüenza. In this episode a hummingbird speaks to the Mexica. In Tezozomoc's account the episode of the "Big Tree" (*huey quahuatl*) takes place and Huitzilopochtli speaks to the Mexica (1949: 19-24; Appendix:247-53:27-29). This latter episode is reported in Chimalpahin's Third Relation (1963:11). However, in that Relation it is initially reported that the Mexica had four *calpultin*³ instead of the seven reported by Tezozomoc and in Chimalpahin's Second Relation. In both the Second and Third Relations Chimalpahin omits the other episodes in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. He even gives a

2. *-tzintli* and *-tontli* are Nahuatl diminutives, the former being honorific and the latter being somewhat perjorative.

3. This word is usually glossed "wards", however the literal meaning of *calpulli* (singular; plural, *calpultin*) is "large house". The basis of *calpulli* membership has been debated for years and is still unresolved.

different route taken by the Mexica before reaching the Valley of Mexico. (See Tables 8 and 9, pages 56-7 & 59.) Once the Mexica are in the Valley, he gives some of the same places that Tezozomoc says that the Mexica either visit or by-pass, but, for the most part, place-names differ. When the Mexica reach Chapultepec, both Chimalpahin and Tezozomoc recount the episode where Copil is sacrificed, but there are significant differences in the two accounts, including the date that the episode occurs. Tezozomoc states the event takes place in the year 1 House, A.D. 1285 (1949:44; Appendix:300:58). Chimalpahin, in the Second Relation states this episode occurs in the year 10 House, A.D. 1281 (1963:43-44). In this account the Mexica actors are the priests, Tenuch and Quauhtlequetzqui. In Tezozomoc's account the actors are the god Huitzilopochtli and the priest Quauhtlequetzqui. There are other details that differ in the two accounts. Such data indicate that Chimalpahin was not merely copying Tezozomoc's account of the Mexica migration.

Time Frame

Schroeder (1984:10) discusses the time setting of Chimalpahin's writing in relationship to other authors of historical narratives. She states,

Gunter Zimmerman (1966) has provided an account of what he takes to be Chimalpahin's social circle in Mexico City and suggests that at least one member (dona Barbara) [of Iztapalapa, the daughter of the ruler] had engaged in compiling some sort of history of early Mexico. The impetus for Chimalpahin's own history may have come partly from this association (loc. cit.)

She notes that Zimmerman also felt that Juan de Tovar, kinsman of Duran, may have been associated with the church of San Antonio Abad (loc. cit.), where Chimalpahin lived and worked.

By the time Chimalpahin was writing, both Duran and Tovar had written their versions of Mexica history, and Sahagun had also completed his monumental *Historia general de la cosas de Nueva Espana*. Chimalpahin mentioned the latter two, as well as Torquemada and Molina (op. cit.:11). Chimalpahin clearly had opportunity for access to accounts other than Tezozomoc's. And he obviously made choices of which material to include and where to place it within the context of his Chalcan material. The question is, what governed the choices he made? Tezozomoc must have made choices also. What governed his somewhat different choices? Were they observing the same conventions of choice as the prehispanic writers of historical narratives?

Apparently both authors came from historically aware families. Chimalpahin's maternal grandfather, who died two years before Chimalpahin's birth in 1579, wrote in script oral accounts he had collected from elders in Tzacualtitlan Tenanco, Chalco (Schroeder, 1984:6, 13). This manuscript was kept by Chimalpahin's father, and was used by the author as a basis for his own narrative. Schroeder's Table 2 (1984:15-16) gives a list of manuscript sources used by Chimalpahin. He himself also interviewed elders of the Chalcan community (op. cit.:12-13). However, Chimalpahin, born in 1579 (op. cit.:9), was further removed from the prehispanic past than was Tezozomoc.

While we have no date for Tezozomoc's birth, he must have been

born sometime close to the conquest. It appears he was reared in a traditional, noble family. In the genealogical material found in the latter portions of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, he is listed as the fourth child of his mother, Dona Francisca de Moteuhczoma:

inic caxtoll: on nahui in ipilhuan
Moteuhczoma xocoyotl
zan no cihuatzintli
itoca D^a Francisca de
Moteuhczomatizin,
inin quimonamicti in tlacati
Dⁿ Diego Huanitzin
tlatohuani Tenochtitlan
oncan tlacatque
in tecnquizque inpilhuan

inic ce itoca Dⁿ Felipe
Huitzilihuitl,
inic ome itoca D^a Anna,
inic ey itoca Axayaca,
inic nahui itoca Dⁿ Fernando
de alvarado Tezozomoczin
(Tezozomoc, 1949:157-8).

The nineteenth child of Moteuhczoma the Younger was another honored daughter named the revered Dona Francisca de Moteuhczoma.

This one was married to the Lord Don Diego Huanitzin, tlatohuani of Tenochtitlan.

There they were born, their children who came from them,

the first is named Don Felipe Huitzilihuitl,

the second is named Dona Anna,

the third is named Axayaca,

the fourth is named

the Honorable Don Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc.

The number of his father's children and their birth order is not clear. Don Diego's children are numbered one through seven, but a son and a daughter are both listed as his fourth child: "Inic nahui itoca D^a Juana Ilhuicamina Moteuhczoma. Inic nahui itoca Dⁿ Miguel Axayaca (The fourth is named Dona Juana Ilhuicamina Moteuhczoma. The fourth is named Don Miguel Axayaca) (Tezozomoc, 1949:170).⁴ Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc is then listed as Don Diego Huanitzin's fifth child. He is followed by Dona Anna Ilhuicaxahual (loc. cit.).⁵

4. These two children could have been twins, in which case Tezozomoc's full sister would be dona Juana, rather than dona Anna. However, they are just as likely to be the offspring of two different mothers, born very close together.

5. In the genealogy presented in Table 12 Don Diego Huanitzin's progeny by Dona Francisca are listed as given in Tezozomoc, 1949: 170.

As can be seen above, in the list of Dona Francisca's children, Dona Anna is listed as her second child, followed by Axayaca and then Tezozomoc (op. cit.:158). Don Diego Huanitzin's seventh child is listed as Dona Isabel, "tlazoconetl (beloved daughter)" ⁶ (op. cit.:171). Then her husband and offspring are named. Two other women are named below Dona Isabel's family. They too have "tlazoconetl" (sic) following their names. While they appear to be Don Diego's daughters, they may be those of Dona Isabel. It is clear, however, that Don Diego Huanitzin had more than one wife, with four children by Tezozomoc's mother and another four or six by another woman or women. It is stated that all the children of Don Diego are *tlatocapiltin* (Tezozomoc, 1949:169), which may be glossed as "kingly nobles".

We are informed that Don Diego Huanitzin died in 1542 after serving four years as *tlatohuani* of Mexico Tenochtitlan (loc. cit.). Previously he had been *tlatohuani* of Ecatepec when the Spanish arrived in the Valley in 1520 (op. cit.:164), and therefore was an adult at that time. Tezozomoc tells us that his father was converted a short time after the Spanish arrived (see below). Since the Spanish clergy were opposed to polygamy as practiced by the Mexica elite, and they would have kept a close eye on someone of such high office, Don Diego would have had to put away all but one wife. Since he had other children after Tezozomoc, by a woman other than Tezozomoc's mother, it appears likely that Tezozomoc was born at least shortly after the

6. *Conetl* is usually used by a woman speaking. However, Susan Cline (1986) found men occasionally used this term in Culhuacan wills.

Spanish arrived. 1543, the year following his father's death, would have been the latest possible date of Tezozomoc's birth, but this is unlikely. He states that his father was one of his sources for his narrative in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* (1949:9; Appendix:228:6). Therefore, Tezozomoc was most likely of the first generation reared under Spanish rule. He apparently grew up when some of the old ways were still being practiced.

Tezozomoc's Sources

Tezozomoc does mention the existence of written books.

yhuan otechmachiyotiliaque texamapan yn huehuetque yllamatque... yn iuhque nenonotzal ...	and also they edify us on paper, the old men, the old women... In this manner council is given.... they came to do it,... they came to set it down, in this ink, this color (Appendix:220:2).
yn oquichihuaco... yn quitlalico ynin tlillo ynin tlapallo (1949:4-5)	

However, he emphasizes the oral accounts.

yn imitolloca yn imilnamicoca yn oc ompa titztihui (lo. cit.).	It is by their speech, by their remembrances, we once again go seeking there. (Appendix:221:2).
---	--

Later he mentions some of his "informants", including his father.

Apparently he was privy to the ancient knowledge of *tlahtollotl*.

auh inic no nehuatl Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc ynic niquintlaneltillia ynic niquintlachicahuilia yn omoteneuhque huehuetque	And with that I also, Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc, with that, I verify it for them, with that, I fortify it for them, the mentioned ancients.
--	---

camo zan acame yncamaco

nican yn za no iuhque
tlatolli y nicnenehuilia
ynic quinnamictilia

yn intlahtol yn omoteneuhque
in otlatecpantiaque huehuetque
ca y nehuatl
nopial
nixcoyan
nicpixtica
ca huel tlahtoltzin
huel yncamacpatzinco

niccac oih quimtlahuitiaque

in tlazotlahtoque
in tlazopipiltin
yn omonemiltico

yn ye quin nican mohuica

yn oquinmopolhui tt^o Dios
yn mononotzinohuaya

quimolhuitzinohuaya
nepanol
yn iuh quimaticatca yn iyolltzin

in inhuehuenenonotzaltzin
in tlatatlahtoque
Don Diego de Alvarado
Huanitzin
niccauhtzin
Don Pedro Tlacahuepantzin
notlahtzin
Don Diego S^o Francico
tehuetzquititzin
yhuan occequintin
tlazopipiltin
yn oniquincaquilli in huel melahuac
quimatia y huehuenenonotzalitzli

yn nican niccuic⁷
yn intlahtlotzin⁸
(1949:8-9).

It is not just out of
anybodies' mouths.

Here, also in the same manner
I compare this account.

With that I bring them
together,

the words mentioned by,
put in order by the ancients.

It is mine --

it is my depository,
it is my personal thing.

I am guarding it.

It is well revered discourse,
very much from their revered
lips.

I listened as they caused it
to be spoken,

the beloved rulers,

the beloved nobles

who came to be given life

(converted)

a short time after He was
carried here.

Our Lord God pardoned them.

They used to take counsel among
themselves.

They used to say it
joined together.

Their ancient discourse

came to be known

in the revered hearts

of the rulers of men:

Don Diego de Alvarado

Huanitzin --

I came from him --

Don Pedro Tlacahuepantzin --

my revered uncle --

Don Diego San Francico

Tehuetzquititzin,

and also all the other

beloved nobles.

I truly listened to them well

as they made the ancient

subject known.

Here I take⁷

their revered speech

(Appendix:228-9:6).

7. "niccuic" may actually be "niccuillo", "I write it."

8. Read "tlahtoltzin".

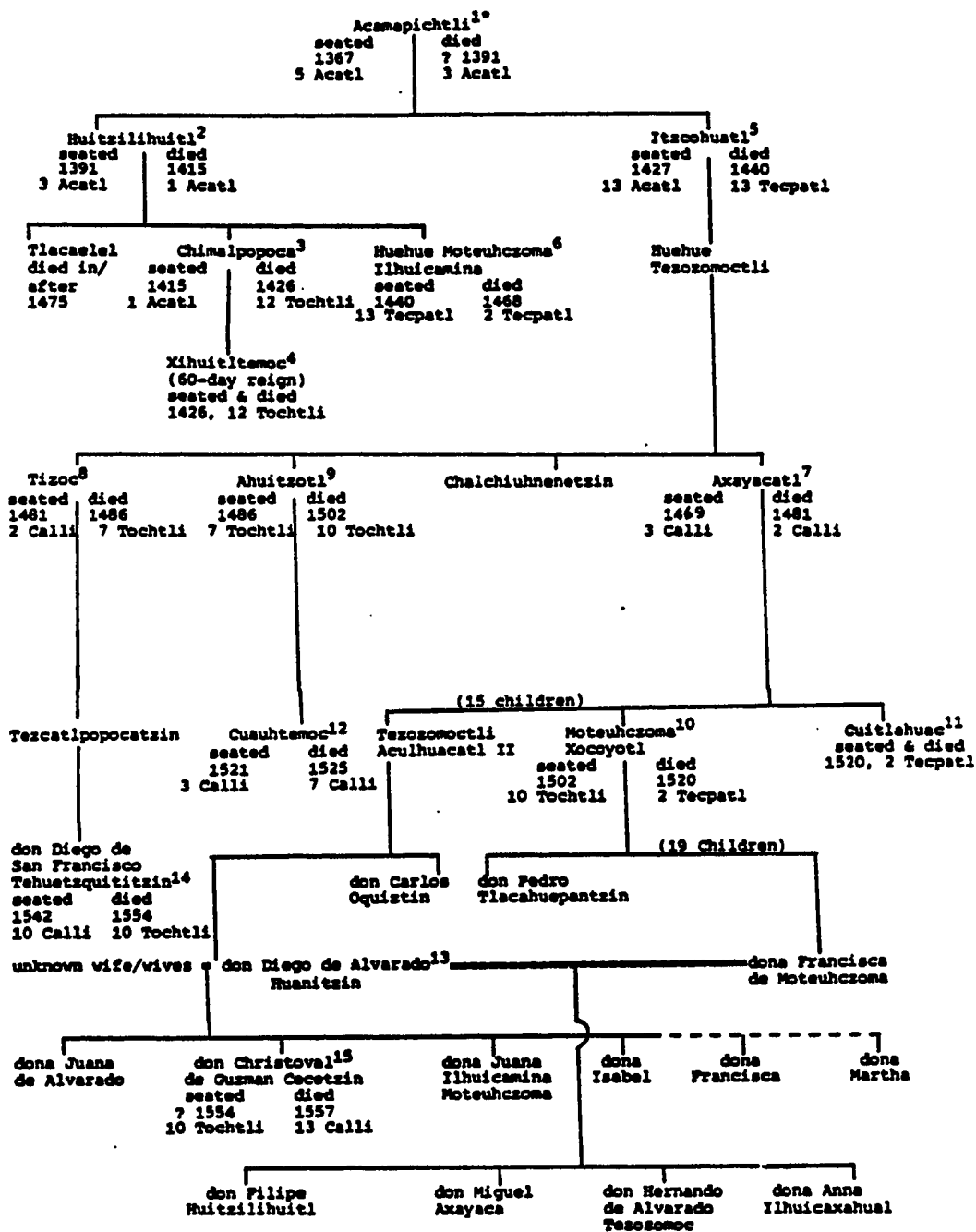
Status

In the above passage Tezozomoc emphasizes that his "informants" were nobles. He has already given his own lineage. He states that his mother was Dona Francisca de Moteuhczoma, daughter of Moteuhczoma, tlahtohuan: of Mexico Tenochtitlan. He says his father was "yn tlaacatl" Don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin (the Lord" Don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin)." He goes on to say, "yehuatzitzin onechmochihuilique huel nipiltzin (They engendered me. I am very noble) (1949:7; Appendix:225:5)." Tezozomoc was indeed "very noble". He was a scion of the highest noble family in Mexico Tenochtitlan, the son, grandson and half-brother of rulers, as is seen in his genealogy in Table 12. (The genealogy presented in Table 12 may differ from other genealogies found in other sources.)

One could argue that Tezozomoc's status would ensure an elite bias in his historical narrative. However, the elite controlled the production of historical narratives as well as being the authors of them. Tezozomoc seems to offer his lineage as a credential for the authenticity of his account.

Schroeder (1984:4-8) discusses Chimalpahin's questionable claims to high nobility. She offers several reasons to support her contention that rather than being a member of the elite, he was "scarcely more than a plebian making the most of grand but rather

9. While tlaacatl can be glossed "man" or "person", Sahagun, 1938: III:22-3, states that unless preceded by a number, the word means "Lord."



* Number = number in line of rulers.

Table 12. Genealogy of Tezozomoc, according to the *Cronica Mexicayotl*.

distant connections (1984:4)." He was given two Spanish names, Domingo Francisco. Schroeder says, "(T)wo Spanish first names were typical of the colonial naming pattern for Indian commoners (loc. cit.)." His parents, she says, were of secondary status, although their Nahuatl surnames can be traced back to noble ancestors. Chimalpahin does not refer to them as "don" or "dona". His illustrious maternal grandfather, Don Domingo Hernandez Ayopochtzin Xiuhtezcatl, while a *Chichimeca tlatocapilli* ("Chichimeca kingly noble"), never was a ruler, "a possible indication that the grandfather was not as high ranking or influential as Chimalpahin implies (op. cit.:6)." Chimalpahin himself did not adopt the title "don" until after he entered the church at San Antonio Abad. Perhaps he was merely being pretentious, but it may also be that an elite heritage was a necessary prerequisite for an author's account to be viewed as legitimate.

Purpose of Narratives

Both Tezozomoc and Chimalpahin state they are writing their narratives so that future generations will not forget the ancient accounts. Tezozomoc states that his account is specifically for the descendants of the Tenochca Mexica, so that this account of Mexico Tenochtitlan

ayc polihuiz
 ayc ylcahuiz
 yn oquichihuaco
 yn quitlallico
 ynin tiilio ynin tiapallo
 yn intenyo
 yn imitolloca
 yn imilnamicoca
 yn oc ompa titzihui

will never be lost,
 it will never be forgotten
 that they came to do it,
 that they came to set it down
 in this ink, this color.
 It is their fame.
 It is by their speech,
 by their remembrances,
 we once again go seeking

ayc polihuitz
 ayc ylcahuiz
 nochipa ticpiezque
 in tehuan yn titepilhuan
 yn titeyxhuihuan

 yn titeteyecatotonhuan

 yn titemintotonhuan

 yn titepiptotonhuan
 yn titechchichicahuan
 in titetlapallohuan yn titehezohuan
 quitotihui
 quitenehuatihui
 yhuan yn oc yollizque
 in tlacatizque
 yn Mexica tepilhuan

 yn tenochca tepilhuan
 (1949:5).

there.
 It will never be lost,
 never be forgotten.
 We will guard it forever,
 we, we who are their children,
 we who are their
 grandchildren,
 we who are their unworthy
 younger brothers,
 we who are the lesser
 great-grandsons
 of our great-grandfathers,
 we who are their descendants
 color and blood.
 It goes to be said;
 it goes to be mentioned.
 And also they will live again.
 They will be born again,
 in the children (nobles) of
 the Mexica,
 in the children (nobles) of
 the Tenochca
 (Appendix:221-2:2).

Chimalpahin makes a similar statement about the proposed audience for his account. He states,

And so that it will not disappear or be forgotten,
 I am verifying it. I am redoing it, putting it all
 in a book. I am reordering it completely -- how
 people lived long ago and how things were here in
 the second division and town of Tzacualtitlan
 Tenanco Chiconcoac Amaquemecan ... Here people's
 children (nobles) who live in the present time,
 and those who will live afterward who did not know
 about the ancient story and account of the city,
 will see it and know it in the ancient city
 history, the book of ancient life (Translated
 in Schroeder, 1984:17-18).

Degree To Which Authors Were Hispanicized

While both authors seem to claim a similar Mesoamerican audience for their respective accounts, Chimalpahin's account appears to be much more Hispanicized than does that of Tezozomoc. Both men claim to be Christian. Tezozomoc, however, brings Christianity into a

Mesoamerican idiom, while Chimalpahin sets his indigenous account into a Christian context.

When Tezozomoc writes of the Christian God and Jesus, he uses Mesoamerican concepts. In a passage quoted above, Tezozomoc speaks of his "informants" -- his father, uncle and other nobles -- who were converted "yn ye quin mohuica yn oquinmopolhui tt^o Dios (a short time after He was carried here. Our Lord God pardoned them) (1949:8; Appendix:228:6)." He uses the term mo-huica. mo- is reflexive, but can be used to denote reverence or as a passive tense. Molina glosses huica with the object t/a-, "something", as "lleuar algo (to carry something)," and with the object te-, as "yr con otros, o yr acompanando, o encompania de otros (to go with others, to go accompanied, or in the company of others) (1977:157)." This verb does not convey the sense of an omni-present god that Christian dogma claims. It is the same verb used to relate how the seven calpultin brought Huitzilopochtli and their other indigenous gods with them on their migration from Aztlan to Tenochtitlan: "quihualhuicac ytlan (they brought [carried] him here with them) (Tezozomoc, 1949:13; Appendix:236:13)."

At one point Tezozomoc describes what appears to be a Mesoamerican interpretation of a statement by Jesus shortly before His Crucifixion and subsequent Resurrection:

In my father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you (John 14:2).

Speaking of "teutDios Jesu Christo (the Lord God, Jesus Christ)," Tezozomoc says,

auh ompa ytechcopa
 yn ihuiccopa
 yn tonatiuh ycallaquiampa
 ompa oncatca cencahuey yeyantli
 yn oncan onohuaya
 (Tezozomoc, 1949:11).

And there near it,
 toward the place
 where the sun sets,
 there is a very large house.
 There He is seated
 (Appendix:232:9).

In Central Mexican cosmology the west, where the sun sets, is associated with *Calli*, "house." The "house" is that of the women who have died in childbirth and become goddesses (Sahagun, 1938, III:266).

As proof that the Christian God is the true one and that Huitzilopochtli is only a demon ("...macicama yn yehuati yn tlacatecolotl [it is known that one is a demon]"), Tezozomoc tells the Spanish, as well as the Romans, "omocenmanque yn ipan cemanahuatl (have spread out around the world) (1949:12-13; Appendix:235:11)." The Christian God enabled his followers to conquer other peoples with different, lesser, gods. This type of "might makes right" attitude does crop up in Christian thought. According to Ricard this argument was used by the early missionary friars to convince native Mesoamericans that the Christian God was the "true" one (1966:105). However, it was a convincing argument only because it is definitely a Mesoamerican attitude. In pictorial manuscripts, the burning of a temple signifies conquest, and gods of conquered peoples were moved to Tenochtitlan.

In Tezozomoc's account of the Mexica migration, Huitzilopochtli, supreme god of the Mexica, acts and/or speaks. In contrast in Chimalpahin's account of the migration in the Second Relation it is Huitzilopochtli's priests who act and speak. This seems a more "rational", i.e., Westernized, view. It is similar to

Duran's account of the sacrifice of Copil, where, instead of Huitzilopochtli himself killing Copil, the priest Quauhtloquetzqui (sic) takes the image of the god on his back, and slays Copil (1965:30). To the Mesoamerican putting on the god's insignia transforms the person into the god him/herself. Like Duran, Chimalpahin attributes action to the priests rather than to the god.

Schroeder describes Chimalpahin as a *naboria*, "an Indian among Spaniards, displaced from his homeland and in Spanish employ (1984:8)." She further notes that he describes his maternal great grandfather as *mespanolchichihuaya* - "dressed or adorned as a Spaniard (1984:13)." The latter term seems appropriate in describing Chimalpahin's world view. About the content of Chimalpahin's Relations, Schroeder says in part,

The first Relation is mostly concerned with biblical and philosophical topics, including the story of Adam and Eve and discussions of Greek philosophers.

The second Relation also contains some commentary on affairs of Christian religion ...

(As to the) fourth Relation ... the earliest date is 50 AD and relates to Noah and certain events in Europe (1984:22-23).

The Fourth Relation more than "relates to Noah." Here Chimalpahin places his Mesoamerican account within a Christian framework. He states the people who first settled this continent were descendants of Noah. However,

amo huel momati	it is not known
ac yehuatl in eyntin	from which of the three
ipilhuantzitzinhuan Noe	children (sons) of Noah
in itechquiza huehuetque chichimeca	the ancient chichimecs derived.
(Chimalpahin, 1958:176).	

In this Relation Chimalpahin seems to be arguing for the equality of

all men, Mesoamerican and Spaniard, all equally God's children in the Christian tradition. His place as a *naboria*, an Indian among Spaniards, seems painfully clear.

From immediately after the conquest Spaniards were divided on the place of native Mesoamericans. This division even extended to the clergy. Ricard says,

It is worthy of note... that there were always two clearly marked tendencies among the missionaries of New Spain, one favorable, the other hostile, to the natives, and that about 1570 a violent antinative reaction may be observed among the Franciscans (1966:35).

However, even those missionaries who were pro-native held paternalistic attitudes toward the indigenous inhabitants (op. cit.:291). By the time of Chimalpahin's birth in 1579 the debate over the nature of native Mesoamericans still had not been resolved satisfactorily. Daniel Boorstin summarizes this debate that involved church, state and economic interests from the first Spanish settlement in the New World (1983:629-35). On one side, championed by Las Casas, were those who held the view that all men were equally the children of God. They pointed to the Biblical stories of Adam and Eve and Noah to support their view. This camp held that the natives of the New World were immanently human. The other side, composed largely of the Conquistadores, was championed by the learned humanist, Dr. Juan Gines de Sepulveda. He took the Aristotelian view that some men were by nature slaves. Thus, in his view it was just to wage war against and enslave such populations as those of the New World. The debate led to almost no resolution. However, in 1573 Phillip II issued the

law governing future Spanish discoveries and conquests. His proclamation stated that the Spanish settlers were to use no more force than absolutely necessary against native peoples, nor were they to enslave them. "In a bow to Las Casas, the King banned the word 'conquest,' in future to be replaced by 'pacification' (Boorstin, 1983:634)."

Within his "native history" Chimalpahin apparently enters the debate on the nature of native, non-European peoples on the side of Las Casas. He asserts the basic kinship of all people inherent in Christian dogma. We find here a subtle message aimed not so much at his purported audience of native inhabitants, but to Spanish administrators and ecclesiastics. Having lived from the age of 14 in the Church of San Antonio Abad, Chimalpahin was never allowed to be a priest. Schroeder states

During his over twenty - five years at San Antonio Abad he probably served in the capacity of aide and steward, the position that when held by an Indian was in colonial times called fiscal (1984:8).

The *fiscal* was a highly prestigious post for a native (S.L. Cline: 1986:15). Ricard lists the duties of this office. The *fiscal*, or *wandon* assembled the people and brought them to mass and catechism, presented confirmands to the bishop, saw

that everyone received baptism and confessed during Lent, that marriages were lawful, and that couples lived in peace. They denounced adulteries and concubinage, impenitent drunkards, and the wine merchants who encouraged vice for their own profit; and they denounced poisoners, sorcerers, and, in general, all those who still practiced paganism. In the *pueblos de vista*, that is, villages that lacked resident priests, the *wandones* [*fiscales*]

policed the churches, kept the baptismal records, performed baptisms themselves in case of necessity, comforted the dying, buried the dead, and announced feasts, vigils, and fasts, and so forth (Ricard, 1966:97).

The *fiscal* appears to have been a very powerful position for a native, and called for a well educated man. Chimalpahin's Relations show a great deal of knowledge and interest in Western philosophy and theology. While we do not know if he wished to be a priest, as an Indian among Spaniards he was not allowed to rise above a certain station. In 1555 the ordination of Indians as priests was banned. They were deemed unqualified intellectually and morally (Ricard:217ff, esp. 230).

Chimalpahin's knowledge and his treatment of Mesoamerican subjects suggest he was much more Hispanicized than was Tezozomoc. Klor de Alva determined that Chimalpahin had completely adopted Christian values and accepted a European world - view (1982:353). The analysis presented here upholds Klor de Alva's view of Chimalpahin with one exception: Chimalpahin must have been well aware of his position as an Indian among Spaniards, and did not agree with the predominant view of Spaniards toward native populations. Within his account he embedded this message of the equality of all men.

Encoded Messages

Chimalpahin's more "rational" treatment of the material alerts us to the possibility of other subtle messages within his account. In the Second Relation Chimalpahin tells of the departure of the Mexica

from Aztlan.

yhuan nican motenehua
 yn aquin oquinhualyacantia
 yn diablo yn oquihualmoteotiaque
 yn motocayotia Tetzauhteotl
 auh yn huey tlamacazqui
 Teopixqui
 yn oquihualmama
 yhuan yn oquihualtlacanotzaya diablo
 tetzauhteotl
 ytoca huitziltzin
 ynin zatepan ohtlipan
 oquitocayotiaque
 huitzilopochtli
 ypampa opochmaye catca
 auh yehuatl inyn ompa oquinhualquixti
 Mexitin azteca chicomoztoca
 (1963:8)

And also it is mentioned here
 who caused them to be led
 here.
 By the devil named
 Tetzauhteotl
 (Frightening or Awesome God),
 they were made to take him
 here as a god.
 And the great priest,
 the Guardian of the God
 carried him here.
 And also the devil,
 Tetzauhteotl,
 caused him to call men here;
 his name was Huitziltzin
 (Revered Hummingbird).
 Finally on the road
 they named him
 Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird
 of the Left Hand),
 because he was left handed.
 And he caused them to leave
 there for here,
 the Mexitin Azteca
 Chicomoztoca.

In the above passage Chimalpahin tells us that the Mexica god was originally named Tetzauhteotl, and that his chief priest was named Huitzilopochtli. Later he tells us how the god acquired the name of his priest.

auh yn inteyacancauh ocatca
 yn itoca huitzilopochtli
 yn huey tlatecolopixqui
 ytetlaecolticauh
 y huey tlatecolotl tetzauhteotl
 cenca quitlacanotzaya
 quimottitiaya yn huitzilopochtli
 ynic zatepa[n] oquimixpitlati¹⁰
 yn tetzauhteotl

And their leader was
 named Huitzilopochtli.
 He was the great guardian of
 the demon,
 the servant
 of the great demon,
 Tetzauhteotl.
 Very often he used to summon
 men to him.
 He used to appear to
 Huitzilopochtli.
 So that finally he used to
 stand in (substitute)
 for Tetzauhteotl.

ynic za ytoca mochiuh huitzilopochtli	So that his name became only Huitzilopochtli.
auh y yehuatl huitzilopochtli	And that one, Huitzilopochtli,
yn achtopa	at first
zan huel oquixquich	only a little before,
yn itoca catca huitzilton	his name was Huitzilton
(1963:8)	(Little Hummingbird).

Chimalpahin states explicitly that the identity of the god and that of his priest become merged. This is consistent with Mesoamerican thinking. However, it is commonplace in Mexica thought that the identity of the priest or the sacrificial victim becomes submerged into that of the god. Sahagun tells us that the title for the high priest in Tenochtitlan was "Quetzalcoatl" (1938:III:298). Sacrificial victims were clearly viewed as the god to which they were sacrificed. In Chimalpahin's account the priest seemingly incorporates the identity of the god, in a reversal of the norm. However, Chimalpahin may not mean this. He says that the priest Huitziltzin/ Huitzilopochtli becomes a stand-in for the god. In this narrative the priest represents -- symbolizes -- the god. This becomes clearer when Chimalpahin's account of the sacrifice of Copil is examined.

There are five¹¹ basic versions of the sacrifice of Copil:

- 1.) Duran's;
- 2.) the *Anales de Tlatelolco*;
- 3.) *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*;
- 4.) Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicayotl*;
- and
- 5.) Chimalpahin's version in his Second Relation. The account in *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* is slightly different from

10. Read "ixiptlati"

11. There are six, if one counts the version in the *Codices Tovar/Ramirez*. Since these are seen as deriving from Duran's, they are not included here.

the others, but the basic story is similar in all accounts. Copil, nephew of the god Huitzilopochtli, vows to avenge a wrong done to his mother, the god's sister. He and Huitzilopochtli, or his priests, meet when the Mexica are at Chapultepec. Copil is taken as a prisoner of war and sacrificed. His heart is thrown or planted at the spot where the god's temple will later be built in the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan. In Chimalpahin's version the priests Tenuch and Quauhtlequetzqui are the individuals acting on behalf of their god, Huitzilopochtli. After Copil has been sacrificed, Quauhtlequetzqui says to Tenuch,

niman tiyaz
titlachiatiuh
in tultzallan
yn acatzallan
yn oncan otictocato
yn iyollo tlaciuhqui
copil
quen tlamamantiuh

yuh nechilhuia yn toteouh
Huitzilopochtli
oncan yxhuaz yn iyollo copil

auh tehuatl tiyaz
in titenuch
yfnl tiquittatiuh
oncan oyxhuac yn tenuchtli
yehuatl yn iyollo copil
oncan ycpac moquetzticac
yn cuauhtli
quicxitzitzquiticac
quitzotzopitzticac
yn cohuatl quicua
auh ynon tenuchtli yez tehuatl
yn titenuch
auh yn cuauhtli tiquittaz
ca nehuatl
(1958:111-112).

"Soon you will depart.
You will go see
in the midst of the reeds,
in the midst of the rushes,
where you went to bury
the heart of the sorcerer
Copil,
in what manner it is being
used.
Thus our god, Huitzilopochtli,
addresses me.
There the heart of Copil
will grow.
And you will go.
You who are Tenuch
will go to see
that there the heart of Copil
grew into a rock-nopal.
There, standing on it,
will be an eagle.
Grasping it with his foot,
almost finished with it,
he eats a serpent.
And that nopal will be you,
for you are Tenuch.
And the eagle that you
will see is me."

In this passage Chimalpahin clearly states that the two

priests are symbolized by the nopal (*nuchtli/nochtli*) and the eagle (*cuahtli/quauhtli*).—The usual gloss for *Tenuch* is "stone-, or rock-nopal". However, the lack of the absolute suffix *-tli* suggests that the word is possessed, giving a gloss of "someone's, or the people's, nopal." *Quauhtlequetzqui* can be glossed "He raised up the eagle-fire." Both the nopal and the eagle are associated with Huitzilopochtli. Chimalpahin has implied before that the priests in this narrative are "stand-ins" for the god. The passage above reinforces this implication.

The foregoing analysis suggests that coded messages may be embedded in the accounts of native historical narratives. Analysis of the symbolism contained in such a narrative may provide information on the objectives and techniques of Central Mexican Highlands historiography. And while Chimalpahin has provided the key to the need for such a symbolic analysis, the foregoing discussion has suggested that on the basis of relative age, social status, and world-view, Tezozomoc's narrative is a better account with which to work initially than is that of Chimalpahin. In the following chapter an analysis of Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the Mexica migration will be presented.

Chapter V

Time and Space in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*

Migration tales are accounts of movement in space and over time.¹ Therefore, to some extent they are structured by these factors. Such is the case with the account of the Mexica migration from their homeland of Aztlan to their new capital city of Tenochtitlan. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the Mexica are reported to have visited or by-passed 52 places. While not every movement is associated with a specific date, the years in which episodes reportedly took place are mentioned sixteen times.

This chapter is based on the hypothesis that in the migration sequence in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Tezozomoc was re-creating the universe of the Fifth Sun. The individual episodes contain calendrical and attendant ritual information that the Mexica believed was necessary to keep that universe in motion. To support this hypothesis, first, the Mesoamerican principle of the equivalence of time and space will be established. Next, the places of dated episodes, particularly those in which the god acted and/or spoke, will be located and their spatial relationships to the Mexica capital of Tenochtitlan will be observed. Then individual episodes will be analyzed to elicit ritual information. It will be noted where ritual was instituted, which gods were involved, and which native months and

1. Parts of this chapter appeared previously in two versions of an earlier paper. See Brennan, 1984a and 1984b.

seasons were indicated. Ritual activity will also be associated with the cardinal directions, as the locations where ritual activity occurred are plotted in relation to Tenochtitlan. Schematic representations of these relationships will be presented.

Finally, in a series of maps the Mexica journey will be traced, showing that the path forms both North-South and East-West axes and a series of arcs circumscribing the Valley of Mexico, with Tenochtitlan near its center. By this literary device, Tezozomoc recreated the Mexica universe of the Fifth Sun, with the Mexica and their god occupying the prime place -- the center.

Mesoamerican Concepts of Time and Space

Mesoamericans had definite views about time. They believed that time was cyclical. The world had been created and destroyed before, and destruction was likely to occur again at any time. The Mexica believed that they were currently living in the fifth creation, or Sun. Each Sun was named for the cataclysmic event that ended it. The current, Fifth Sun was named *Nahui Ollin*, "Four Motion" or "Movement", and would end in a great earthquake.

The Mexica had two calendars which ran concurrently: a 260 - day ritual calendar, the *tonalpohualli* ("day - count"), and a 365 - day solar calendar, the *xiuhpohualli* ("year - count"). The days of the *tonalpohualli* were named by combining numbers 1 through 13 with twenty day - names:

1. *Cipactli* - "Earth monster", or "Alligator"

2.	<i>Ehecatl</i>	-	"Wind, Air"
3.	<i>Calli</i>	-	"House"
4.	<i>Cuetzpaltzin</i>	-	"Lizard"
5.	<i>Cohuatl</i>	-	"Serpent, Snake"
6.	<i>Miquixtli</i>	-	"Death"
7.	<i>Hazatl</i>	-	"Deer"
8.	<i>Tochtli</i>	-	"Rabbit"
9.	<i>Atl</i>	-	"Water"
10.	<i>Itzcuintli</i>	-	"Dog"
11.	<i>Ozomatli</i>	-	"Monkey"
12.	<i>Malinalli</i>	-	"Grass, Straw"
13.	<i>Acatl</i>	-	"Reed"
14.	<i>Ocelotl</i>	-	"Jaguar"
15.	<i>Quauhtli</i>	-	"Eagle"
16.	<i>Cozacuauhtli</i>	-	"Vulture"
17.	<i>Ollin</i>	-	"Movement"
18.	<i>Tecpatl</i>	-	"Flint"
19.	<i>Guiahuitl</i>	-	"Rain"
20.	<i>Xochitl</i>	-	"Flower"

The day - count began with the day *Ce Cipactli*, "1 Earth monster", then *Ome Ehecatl*, "2 Wind", *Yei Calli*, "3 House", etc. After day 13 *Acatl* passed came *Ce Ocelotl*, "1 Jaguar". *Xochitl* would be numbered 7, then day 8 *Cipactli*, 9 *Ehecatl*, and so on. It was believed this system extended back to the beginning of time and proceeded without interruption from the first day of the First Sun. Days were considered auspicious, unlucky or neutral. Calendar priests kept track of the days in a *tonalamatl*, "paper or book of days".

The solar calendar, the *xiuhpohualli*, was divided into 18 months (*meztli*) of 20 days, making 360 days. (See Table 5 for the names of the months.) The remaining five days were added as a unit called the *nemontemi*, days of fear and reduced activity. As far as is presently known, no provision for a leap year was made.

The years were named by numbers 1 through 13, coupled with one of four year - signs: *Tochtli* ("Rabbit"), *Acatl* ("Reed"), *Tecpatl*

("Flint") and *Calli* ("House"). It took 4 X 13, or 52 years to complete this cycle of years and for the solar and ritual calendars to return to the beginning. Fifty - two years made one "calendar - round". Every fifty - two years in the year *Oae Acatl* ("Two Reed"), life was suspended while everyone waited to see if the sun would continue in its course, or if the world would once again be destroyed. When the pleiades² crossed the meridian in the night sky, heralding the continuation of the sun and life, a New Fire ceremony was held; the bundle of years was tied or bound up ("toxiuh molpilia [tying or bundling our years] [Sahagun, 1938:III:269]"). The numbers 4, 13, 52, and their multiples were significant in Mesoamerican thought.

The years were also considered to be lucky or unlucky. According to Duran *Acatl* years were the best: "They loved the reed years, and were happy when these years came (1971:393)." He says of *Tecpatl* years,

A Flint Knife symbolized these years, and it stood for the cold, the ice, and the thin airs of those parts [i. e., the North], and it indicated that the barren, fruitless, dry, hungry years belonged to the Flint Knife (1971:392)

Calli years "were cloudy years, rainy, filled with mist; all one's day was spent in idleness," while a *Tochtli* year "was considered neither bad nor good, for in some years things went well and in others badly (1971:392)." However, Sahagun says that the *Ce Tochtli* ("1 Rabbit") years were seen as years of hunger, and provisions were made the year

2. Johanna Broda, 1982, identifies the pleiades as the sign of continuation of the Fifth Sun.

before in preparation for famine (1938;III:267-8).

Each of the four year - signs was also associated with one of the four cardinal directions (Duran, 1971:389; Sahagun, 1938;III:266-7). *Tochtli* was associated with South, *Acatl* with East, *Tecpatl* with North, and *Calli* with West. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

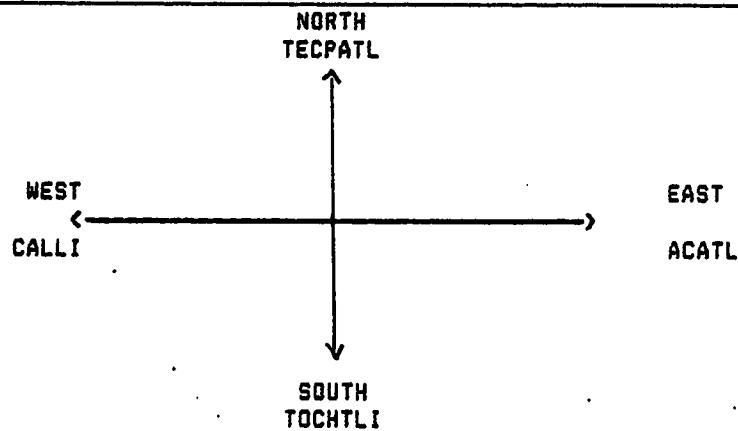


Figure 1. Association of year - signs and cardinal directions.

According to Sahagun the cardinal directions had specific names and associations. *Huitztlampa* was South; *Tlacopa* was East; *Nictlampa* was North and *Cihuatlampa* was West (1938;III:266-7). Additionally, directions were associated with specific gods, colors, birds, winds, etc.

Direction was, and continues to be, important in native thought. Nahuatl has two directional verbal prefixes: *hual-*, meaning "hither, toward here", and *on-*, meaning "thither, toward there", relative to the speaker. However, Eva Hunt (1977:97-98) suggests that

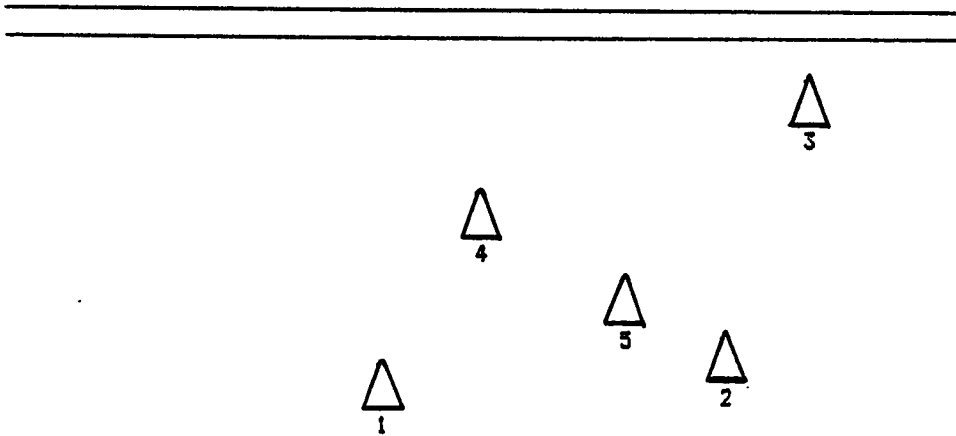


Figure 2. Actual location of mountains around Concepcion Papalo. (From Hunt, 1977:98, Figure 7).

direction itself is relative rather than absolute. Direction depends on the culturally defined location. Figure 2 represents the actual

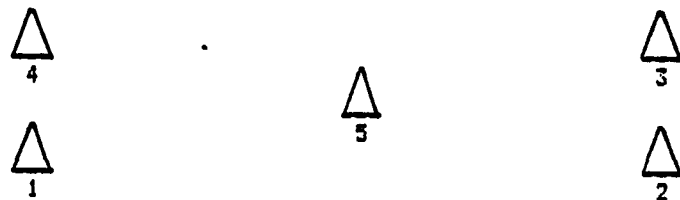


Figure 3. How mountains are arranged and used in ritual by the villagers of Concepcion Papalo. (From Hunt, 1977:98, Figure 7.)

location of five mountains in the Cuicatec region of Concepcion Papalo. Figure 3 illustrates the way villagers arrange them in a

mythic set and use them in ritual.

Culturally ascribed direction apparently goes back in Mesoamerican thought to at least the Colonial Period. In her analysis of Culhuacan wills from 1580 - 1600, S. L. Cline found that direction was fairly consistently given by reference to specific locales. She says,

Descriptions of property locations give insight into Indians' conception of space. Angelina Mocol's aunt, Maria Tiacapan, gave the following description of one parcel, "I declare that in Xilomanco I was given [a piece of land] ... it is three *matl* [sic] wide toward Mexico City, and toward Coyoacan it is seven *matl* [sic] long" (TC 176,177). Rather than giving a cardinal direction, she gave a local point of reference. Most houses were identified by the directions they faced. To indicate south, for instance, Angelina Mocol said a house was "facing toward Xochimilco" (TC 182,183). Nahuatl has standard terms for east and west. East is *tonatiuh yquizayanpa ytzticac*, "facing the sun's emerging place," and west, *tonatiuh ycalaquiyampa ytzticac*, "facing the sun's entering place." Angelina's aunt, Maria Tiacapan, however, used an *ad hoc* way of saying west, "toward Coyoacan." ... In Culhuacan, Xochimilco was the reference point for south; Mexico City was the reference point for north (although it was northwest) (1986:127,129).

Xochimilco is slightly east of south, and Coyoacan is slightly north of west from Culhuacan. These data show that at least in the Colonial Period, location served to denote direction. Furthermore, they suggest that in Mesoamerican thought culturally defined location has some correspondence to absolute direction, but not necessarily exact correspondence. Direction and time were intimately related in Mesoamerican thought; if we know time, we can assume direction, and vice - versa.

Geographical Location of the Valley of Mexico

The Valley of Mexico lies 7,000 feet above sea level in the Central Highlands of south - central Mexico.⁴ The Valley is surrounded by a mountainous perimeter on three sides -- to the east, south and west. These ridges were thrown up during Tertiary Period vulcanism, which dammed up the drainage system creating a basin of some 7000 square kilometers (2,700 mi²). A shallow -- 1 to 3 meters -- lake system developed. To the north were the Lakes Xaltocan and Zumpango, composed of slightly saline water. In the center lay the large, highly saline Lake Texcoco. In the south were the fresh water Lakes Xochimilco and Chalco. These lakes provided the Valley dwellers with abundant edible flora and fauna. They also served as an efficient means of communication and transport between the various lake - shore communities.

The Valley of Mexico was largely isolated from its neighbors by its surrounding mountain peaks. Natural gateways did provide some access. Through the Chalcan region in the southeastern portion of the Valley lay access to the neighboring high Valley of Puebla to the east, and south to the area of Morelos 2,000 feet below. The Teotihuacan Valley in the northeastern part of the Valley provided a route to the Gulf Coast. At the northern end of the Valley lay a

3. See Hunt, 1977:179ff., "The Space - Time Continuum, or What Time is this Place?" Barbara Tedlock (1982) confirms Hunt's analysis of Mesoamerican concepts of time and space. Also, Joyce Marcus (1976) makes the same sort of argument for the relative placement of various Maya centers.

4. In this section I follow Wolf, 1959:3-10, and Sanders, Parsons and Santley, 1979:81-85.

series of low, discontinuous hills which permitted entry from that direction. To reach the neighboring high (8,600 feet above sea level) Valley of Toluca required a trek over the mountains in the southwestern portion of the Valley of Mexico. From Toluca one could get to Malinalco to the south.

The Valley offers seasonal variation in climate. The winters are typically cold and dry, while summers are warm with abundant rainfall. Frosts generally begin in October and last well into February, but are typically severe from November 1, until February 1.

The rainfall pattern is monsoonal. From the first of November to the first of May scattered showers occur. Beginning in May substantial showers fall. They become consistent from June 1, through mid - September, with 80% of rain falling between June 1, and October 1. Generally there is a lull in July and August, with rain tapering off in late September. By November there is a return to scattered showers.

Precipitation varies with location in the Valley. It increases from north to south and with elevation. The west side of the Valley receives more rainfall than the east. Annual averages range from 450 mm. in the northeastern plains to more than 1500 mm. in the southwestern mountains. Droughts can occur and adversely affect agricultural production. Much of the ritual activity in the prehispanic period centered on ensuring adequate rainfall.

Maps will be provided as we examine the location of places named in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the Mexica migration, but they do not include elevation. The perimeter of mountains surrounding

the Valley of Mexico should be kept in mind, especially during the first part of the journey.

Time and Space and the Mexica Migration

As noted above in the section on Mesoamerican concepts of time and space, location was used to denote direction. However, to determine direction there must be a point of reference. David Carrasco (1982), using Wheatley's concept of sacred space, and Johanna Broda (1979), using Eliade's *axis mundi* argue that the Great Temple in Tenochtitlan was for the Mexica the sacred place where all cosmic forces met. Indeed, Tenochtitlan is near the center of the Valley of Mexico. More importantly, as political rulers of the Valley, it was the prerogative of the Mexica to place the center of their universe wherever they wished. Therefore, in tracing the path of the migrating Mexica, the center of the axes will lie at the Templo Mayor (Great Temple) of Mexico - Tenochtitlan.

Locating the place - names mentioned in the account of the Mexica migration given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* depended on a number of sources. A surprisingly large number of places were found on modern maps. Reconstructed maps were also used: Gibson's Map 3, "Cabeceras and selected associated estancias (1964:48-9);" Gonzalez Aparicio's "Plano reconstructivo de la region de Tenochtitlan al comienzo de la conquista (1968);" and Sanders, Parsons and Santley's Map 19, "Greater Tenochtitlan (1979)," based on Gonzalez Aparicio's.

Written sources were also used. Sahagun and Duran give the location of some of the sites. Sometimes seemingly contradictory

evidence is given for a particular location. For example, the author of *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* states that Huitzilac was formerly Huitzilopochco (1941:223) (modern Churubusco). However, from archival material Kirchhoff found that Teoculhuacan in the Valley of Mexico was also located at Huitzilopochco (1959:76). A statement by Sahagun seems to clear the confusion about this site. He states that water to bathe sacrificial captives was taken from "there [at the village] of Uitzilopochco. It was there at the [spring] called Uitzilatl, in a cave (FC:2:13)⁵." Huitzilatl means "Hummingbird - Water;" Huitzilac means "at the Hummingbird - Water." Thus, Huitzilac was a site within the limits of Huitzilopochco.

Thirty-four out of the fifty-two places named have been identified (65%). This is shown on Figure 4.⁶ Since the principle of the equivalence of time and space is being used here, those places associated with a date are of prime importance. All such places except Aztlan, Chicomoztoc and Cohuatepec have been found. Cohuatepec reportedly lies near Tollan (modern Tula): "auh niman ic acico in oncan Cohuatepec in ihuicpa in Tullan (and soon they came to arrive there at Cohuatepec near Tollan) (Tezozomoc, 1949:30; Appendix: 271:39)." Plotting the location of the other identified places against axes centered on Tenochtitlan suggests a pattern that allows me to

5. FC indicates the *Florentine Codex*. The dates of copyright for the volumes of this work are from 1950 to 1963. Using "FC" seems to be less confusing. Also, the number of the book, rather than the volume number is used, in this case book 2.

6. The shore - line of all maps used in this chapter was traced from that shown on the National Geographic Map, "Visitors Guide to the Aztec World (December, 1980)." It, in turn, was based on Armillas (1971:654, Figure 1).

Degree of Fluorine in the Mexico Migration
 from the Ontario Migration

1.	Arctic	26.	Michigan
2.	Alaska	27.	Minnesota
3.	Yukon	28.	Wisconsin
4.	Northwest	29.	Illinois
5.	Alaska	30.	Indiana
6.	Yukon	31.	Ohio
7.	Northwest	32.	Missouri
8.	Alaska	33.	Arkansas
9.	Yukon	34.	Louisiana
10.	Northwest	35.	Mississippi
11.	Alaska	36.	Alabama
12.	Yukon	37.	Georgia
13.	Northwest	38.	Florida
14.	Alaska	39.	South Carolina
15.	Yukon	40.	North Carolina
16.	Northwest	41.	Virginia
17.	Alaska	42.	West Virginia
18.	Yukon	43.	Maryland
19.	Northwest	44.	Delaware
20.	Alaska	45.	District of Columbia
21.	Yukon	46.	Pennsylvania
22.	Northwest	47.	West Virginia
23.	Alaska	48.	Ohio
24.	Yukon	49.	Indiana
25.	Northwest	50.	Michigan
26.	Alaska	51.	Illinois
27.	Yukon	52.	Wisconsin
28.	Northwest	53.	Minnesota
29.	Alaska	54.	Michigan
30.	Yukon	55.	Ohio
31.	Northwest	56.	Indiana
32.	Alaska	57.	Illinois
33.	Yukon	58.	Michigan
34.	Northwest	59.	Ohio
35.	Alaska	60.	Indiana
36.	Yukon	61.	Illinois
37.	Northwest	62.	Michigan
38.	Alaska	63.	Ohio
39.	Yukon	64.	Indiana
40.	Northwest	65.	Illinois
41.	Alaska	66.	Michigan
42.	Yukon	67.	Ohio
43.	Northwest	68.	Indiana
44.	Alaska	69.	Illinois
45.	Yukon	70.	Michigan
46.	Northwest	71.	Ohio
47.	Alaska	72.	Indiana
48.	Yukon	73.	Illinois
49.	Northwest	74.	Michigan
50.	Alaska	75.	Ohio

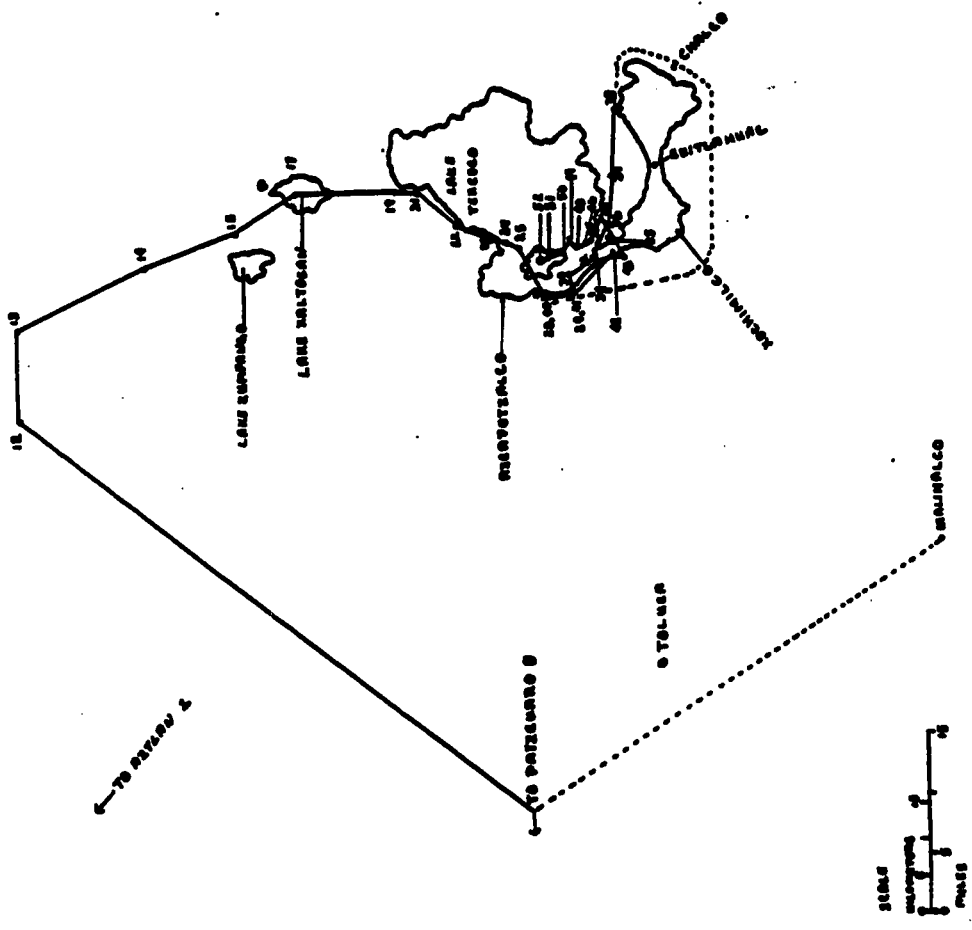


Figure 4. The path of the Mexica Migration.

hypothesize the relative positions of Aztlan and Chicomoztoc and to trace the path of the migrating Mexica in the first part of their journey.⁷ Additionally, times and places where the god acted and/or spoke are of great importance.

Orations attributed to the god Huitzilopochtli occur in seven locations. One such speech - event can be divided into two parts. Thus, we are dealing with eight incidents in which Huitzilopochtli speaks. In his first narrative, the *Cronica Mexicana*, Tezozomoc simply states that the Mexica leave Aztlan because they are ordered to by their god Huitzilopochtli (1878:224). In his second account, he says that the Mexica decide to leave their homeland for political reasons in 1 *Tecpatl*, 1064 (Tezozomoc, 1949:14-16; Appendix: 237-41:14-20). The Mexica go to Chicomoztoc, the place of departure, four times (op. cit.:16; Appendix:241:21). In 5 *Tecpatl*, 1068, an unnamed god speaks to them, promising them world dominion if they follow him (op. cit.:20-24; Appendix: 249-58:28-32). Still, they do not leave Chicomoztoc until seven years later in 12 *Acatl*, 1075 (op. cit.:25; Appendix:258:33).

After the Mexica move out, they travel for some years until they come to "Pazcuallo" (Patzcuaro), Michoacan. Once again the god speaks, causing a division among the Mexica. One group, carrying the god, sets out for Coahuatepec, the other for Malinalco (Tezozomoc, 1949 :27-31; Appendix :266-73:38-41). This episode lays the foundation for

7. It should be noted that the model presented here is predictive. If any of the unidentified places are found in the future and lie outside the projected relative positions for them, the model will be disproved.

the sacrifice of Copil that occurs later at Chapultepec. The episode that takes place at Patzcuaro is not specifically dated, but is associated with the dates "9 or perhaps 2 Acatl." Immediately following the god's speech the Mexica leave Patzcuaro for Ocopilco and Acahualtzinco where they bind the years (op. cit.:30; Appendix:270:39).

From Acahualtzinco they move on to Cohuatepec, where they build a ceremonial center. Huitzilopochtli instructs the Mexica to plant crops, and the Mexica settle there (op. cit.:32-33; Appendix:273-76:42-43). In the year 1 Tecpatl, 1168 (op. cit.:36; Appendix:283:49), exactly 104 years or 2 calendar - rounds after their decision to leave Aztlan, the god appears before his people for the first time.

The priests of Huitzilopochtli tell him they have reached the place he promised them. Angered at their presumption, Huitzilopochtli rebukes them. Girded for war, he appears in his temple. An apparently cosmic battle ensues, from which Huitzilopochtli emerges victorious (Tezozomoc, 1949:33-35; Appendix:276-81:44-46). The Mexica bind the years in 2 Acatl and then move out (op. cit.:36; Appendix:283:48).

By the year 1 Calli, 1285, the Mexica are at Chapultepec, where the god speaks again (op. cit.:39; Appendix:288-89:53). At this point Copil is sacrificed and the site on which their Great Temple will be built is determined.

The Mexica ruler, Huitzilihuitl is sacrificed in 11 Acatl, 1295. After the Mexica move around for a while, Huitzilopochtli directs his priests to go to the ruler of Culhuacan to ask for land (op. cit.:49; Appendix:308:64). Coxcoxtli, the ruler, sends them to

Tizaapan. Here they once again bind the years in 2 *Acatl*, 1299.

The Mexica are still at Tizaapan in 13 *Acatl*, 1323, when Huitzilopochtli orders his priests to ask the Culhua ruler for his daughter as a Mexica bride (Tezozomoc, 1949:54; Appendix:318-20:75-76). The girl is sacrificed. Her father is angered and calls upon his warriors to destroy the Mexica. They are chased into the area near their future city. Following the directions of their god, the priests find the site he has chosen for his city, and they settle there in 2 *Calli*, 1325 (op. cit.:69; Appendix:348-9:96).

The results of the speeches of Huitzilopochtli can be summarized briefly.

A. Four speeches result in the initiation of the Mexica's movement.

- 1.) The Mexica leave Chicomoztoc.
- 2.) The Mexica leave Cohuatepec.
- 3.) The Mexica flee from Culhuacan.
- 4.) The Mexica go to settle Tenochtitlan.

B. One speech results in continued movement after a division within the Mexica ranks.

C. Three speeches result in the Mexica settling down for various periods:

- 1.) at Cohuatepec;
- 2.) at Tlapitzahuayan after the sacrifice of Copil;
- 3.) and at Tizaapan, Colhuacan, after the sacrifice of Huitzilihuitl.

When we look at the places where the god Huitzilopochtli

speaks, we find that three of the four cardinal directions are marked by his speech. The first speech - event takes place at Chicomoztoc, which, in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, is located near Aztlan. Aztlan itself is described as being

in cenca huey atentli
 huey atoyatentli
 in quitocayotia in axcan
 in yehuantin Espanoles
 yancuic Mexico
 (Tezozomoc, 1949:22)

on the edge of the great water,
 on the shore of a great stream,
 where today the Spanish
 came to name it
 New Mexico
 (Appendix:253:29).

In the Colonial Period New Mexico became a separate Spanish administrative unit (*gobierno*) by 1598. "Most of this area is now in the state of New Mexico, but the southern part is divided between Texas and Chihuahua (Gerhard, 1972:123)." Therefore, according to this source Aztlan and Chicomoztoc lie far to the north and west of Tenochtitlan. The dates associated with the decision to depart Aztlan and to move to Chicomoztoc are 1 and 5 *Tecpatl* respectively.

The Mexica departure from Patzcuaro is associated with 9 or 2 *Acatl*. Patzcuaro lies roughly west of Tenochtitlan, but probably southeast of Aztlan.

Cohuatepec is reportedly close to Tula, and the Mexica arrive there before coming to Tula. Tula lies northwest of Tenochtitlan. The dates associated with Cohuatepec are 1 *Tecpatl* for the birth of Huitzilopochtli, and 2 *Acatl* for the Mexica departure.

The sacrifice of Copil follows a speech of Huitzilopochtli's at Chapultepec. This occurs in the year 1 *Calli*. Chapultepec is west of Tenochtitlan.

Following the sacrifice of the Mexica ruler Huitzilihuitl in

Culhuacan in 11 *Acatl*, 1295, the Mexica move again. Later Huitzilopochtli orders his priests to ask the ruler of Culhuacan for a place to settle. They settle at Tizaapan, Culhuacan south of Tenochtitlan. They bind the years there in 2 *Acatl*. The year before would have been 1 *Tochtli*. The only *Tochtli* date given in this account is 2 *Tochtli*, 1286, when the Mexica settle in Tlapitzahuayan

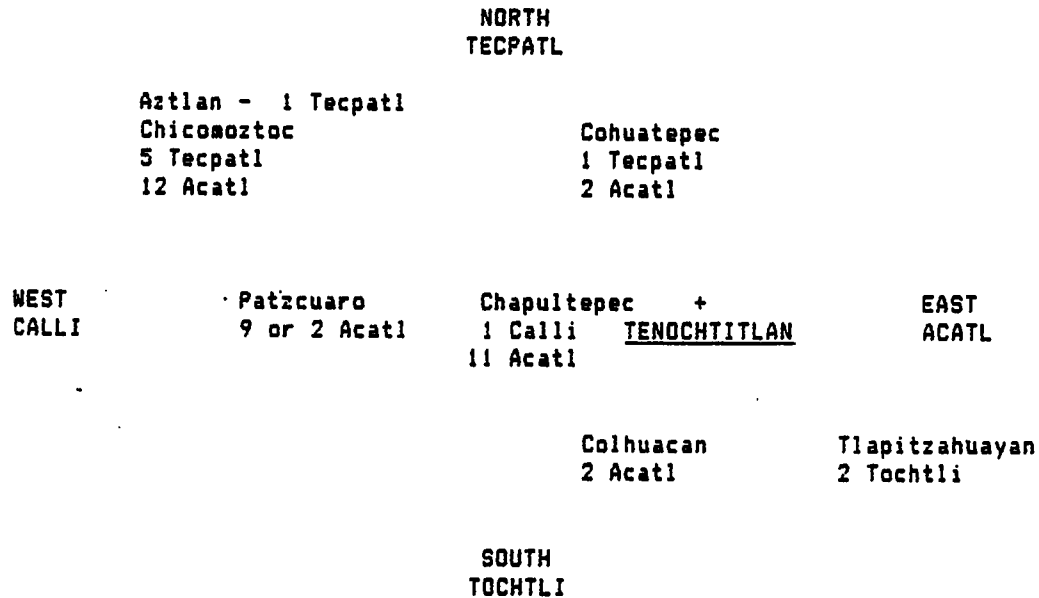


Figure 5. Schematic representation of places and associated dates in the Mexica migration.

for 10 years. This site is the furthest south, and also east, that the Mexica travel. These dates and places are shown schematically in Figure 5.

We can see from Figure 5 that three out of the four cardinal directions are marked by a specific time and place. North is associated with three *Tecpatl* and two *Acatl* dates. West is marked by one *Calli* and one or two *Acatl* dates. South is marked by one *Tochtli* and one *Acatl* date. Only East, associated with *Acatl*, is unmarked. However, there are more *Acatl* dates than any other. Of the sixteen dates, nine are *Acatl*, three are *Tecpatl*, three are *Calli* and one is *Tochtli*⁸. The one *Tochtli* date is associated with settlement at Tlapitzahuayan for ten years. *Tecpatl* years are associated with powerful events: the decision to leave Aztlán; the god Huitzilopochtli's first speech to his people; the birth of Huitzilopochtli. *Calli* dates are associated with "foundings": the planting of the "Big Tree"; the "planting" of the heart of Copil; and the founding of the city of Tenochtitlan (and later with the founding of Tlatilolco). The *Acatl* dates have more varied associations. Five times the years are bound in *Acatl* years. Three *Acatl* years are associated with movement, and three times *Acatl* years are associated with death, in the sacrifices of Huitzilihuitl and the daughter of Coxcoxtli, and with the death of Coxcoxtli himself.⁹ Therefore, *Acatl* is associated with death, with movement and with the passing of the cycles of time.

8. There is a proportion here of *Acatl* : *Tecpatl/Calli* : : *Tecpatl/Calli* : *Tochtli* : : 3 : 1. I do not know if the ratio of 3 : 1 is significant, but I feel it should be noted.

9. These add up to more than nine, because some *Acatl* years have more than one type of association.

Ritual Activity and the Cardinal Directions

Ritual activity is also associated with the four cardinal directions. When the Mexica prepare to leave Aztlan they

hualla macehua in oncan	came there to do penance
itocayocan quinehuayan in tzotzompa	at the place with the name
	Quinehuayan Tzotzompa.
in quihualtemaya in imacxoyauh	Here they used to place
	their fir branches,
ahnozo acxoyatl	or perhaps, fir branch
(Tezozomoc, 1949:16)	(Appendix:241:21).

Acxoyatl¹⁰ is used in autosacrifice -- the pricking of tongue, ear, or some other body part with thorns. Sahagun says of the acxoyatl, under the heading of "The Offering of Thorns,"

The offering of thorns was thus performed: they plucked green reeds (acxoyatl) and cut maguey spines, and bloodied them. Then they laid as offerings upon the green reeds two thorns.

In all places - some of them perchance in two places, or three, they laid thorns as offerings; or in five places, only when it was their own will (FC:2:78).

Sahagun also associates acxoyatl with ritual in two months: the fourth month, Huey tozotli (FC:2:7) and the twelfth month Tectico (FC:2:118). According to the calendar suggested by data in the genealogical portion of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, the fourth month falls between April 28 and May 17, while the twelfth month is from October 5 to October 24 (see Table 5); this indicates spring and fall.

10. Anderson and Dibble translate acxoyatl as "fir branches (FC:2:78)," or "green reeds (FC:2:184-5)." They cite Sahagun, the Robredo Edition, Vol. II, page 233, as identifying the acxoyatl as laurel silvestre (FC:2:78, footnote 14). Also, Selser, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, part 4, page 83, identifies the acxoyatl as pine (FC:2:59, footnote 3).

According to *Leyenda de los soles* (*Legend of the Suns*), Nanahuatl, an aspect of the god Quetzalcohuatl (most commonly glossed "Feathered Serpent", but just as correctly glossed "Precious Twin"), was chosen by the other gods to become the Fifth Sun. Before he immolated himself in a large fire built by the gods at Teotihuacan, "Tomo sus espinas y sus ramos de laurel silvestre (*acxoyatl*)... Primeramente Nanahuatl se saco sangre en sacrificio (He took his spines and fir branches... First Nanahuatl bled himself in sacrifice) (1945:122)."

In his Commentary to the *Codex Borgia*, Seler divides the *Tonalamatl* into four quarters and associates the beginning day of each quarter with one of the world directions and with a god and ritual or sacrifice. He associates the first day of the first quarter, 1 *Cipactli*, with Quetzalcohuatl, the god of the Wind, with the East, and with auto - sacrifice (1963:21-29). According to the *Anales de Tlatelolco* the Mexica leave Aztlán on the day 1 *Cipactli* in the year 1 *Acatl* (1948:31). Thus, while Aztlán lies somewhere far to the northwest of Tenochtitlán, we find associations here with the East, with *Acatl* and with the seasons of spring and fall.

In Mexica cosmology the Sun needed to be nourished with the blood and hearts of the people to continue to move in his course through the day. The proper persons to provide this nourishment were men who died in battle and those who were captured in war and then sacrificed to the Sun. At the beginning of the Fifth Sun, according to *Leyenda de los soles*, in the year 1 *Teçpatl* the 400 *nixicohua* ("Cloud Serpents") were born at Chicomoztoc. The Sun presented them

with arrows and shields, then he said to the *m̄ixcohua*, "He aqui con que me servireis de comer y me dareis de beber (Here is that with which you are to serve me with something to eat and you are to give me to drink). (1945:122-23)." The *m̄ixcohua* were to be hunted by five of their siblings and to provide the Sun with the first nourishment of human hearts and blood.

To the Mexica the god Huitzilopochtli is a god of war, but he is also the Sun. When the Mexica are at Chicomoztoc, for the first time they hear the voice of the god warning them that a large tree is going to fall on them. After the tree falls, seven *m̄ixcohua* fall from above. Huitzilopochtli instructs his priests to

xiquimonancan in huey comitl
 itlan cate yehuantin
 in yacato
 tequitzque
 (Tezozomoc, 1949:21)

"Take hold of the great jar!
 Within in it are those who
 will be the first
 to pay tribute
 (Appendix:253:29).

Before leaving Chicomoztoc, Huitzilopochtli presents the Mexica with the implements of war: bows, arrows, and slings. He institutes warfare and human sacrifice.

Warfare occurs for the first time in this account at Coahuatepec. There Huitzilopochtli himself takes the field against his mother, Coyolxauhcihuatl, and the Centzonhuitznahuatl, his uncles. He vanquishes them and eats their hearts. We are told this battle takes place at night -- "auh in iquac in oquinqua yohual nepantla (And when he ate them, it was during the night) (Tezozomoc, 1949:35; Appendix: 280:46)" -- in the *Teotlachco*, the ball court of the gods.

In his analysis of Sahagun's version (1938:III:259-62) of this

episode Seler identifies Coyolxauhqui (the sister of Huitzilopochtli in this version) as the moon. The Centzonhuitznahuac, Huitzilopochtli's uncles, are identified as southern stars (Seler, 1960-1967:III:324-351). There is no direct evidence for that in this version. However, there are a number of elements in this account of the battle that suggest that it took place in the night sky. Laminas 18 through 21 of the *Codex Borgia* are identified by Seler as the six regions of the world. Each page is divided into an upper and lower register, and pictures opposite regions. The structure of these pages, according to Seler (1963,I :211-221) is as follows:

Lamina 18 pictures the sky above and the interior of the earth below.

Lamina 19 has the eastern sky above, with the western earth below.

Lamina 20 shows the western sky above, with the eastern earth below.

Lamina 21 has the northern sky facing the southern sky above, while below the southern earth faces the northern earth.

The upper register of Lamina 21 has two figures of Tezcatlipoca dressed for the ball game. The two Tezcatlipocas stand on each side of a ball court, which Seler identifies as the Teotlachtli, "Ball Court of the Gods (1963:II:215)." He suggests this picture portrays the Teotlachco as the northern night sky. According to Sahagun one of the constellations recognized by the Mexica was called the *Citlaltlachtli*, "Star Ball Court" (Primeros Memoriales, Capitulo 2). Tezozomoc refers to the *Citlaltlachtli* in the *Cronica Mexicana*. Following the seating of Motéuhczoma Xocoyotl ("the Younger"), the ruler is exhorted,

tener especial cuidado de levantaros a media noche,

que llamaban *yohualtiqui wawalhuaztli* las llaves que llaman de San Pedro de las estrellas de el cielo, *Citlaltlachtli* el norte y su rueda, ... (Tezozomoc, 1878:574).

(to make it a special duty to rise at midnight [and look at the stars] that are called *yohualtiqui wawalhuaztli*, which they call the Keys of Saint Peter of the stars in the sky, the *Citlaltlachtli*, the north and its wheel, ...).

Aveni tentatively identifies *Citlaltlachtli* with the constellation Gemini (1980:32-36 *passim*).

In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* we are told that in the ball court of the gods Huitzilopochtli "quinqua in itlahuan auh in yehuatl in inan (ate his uncles, and that one his mother) (Tezozomoc, 1949:34; Appendix:281:45)." The Mexica used the word eat (*qua*) to denote an eclipse. Molina says, "Eclipsarse la luna. metztli qualo. (Eclipse of the moon. moon eaten) (1977:49 part 1)." Additionally, Sahagun tells us that when dawn comes, they say of the moon, "ya se muere la luna, ya se duerme mucho. ... al tiempo de la conjuncion dicen: ya es muerta la luna (now the moon is dead, now it is sleeping a lot. ... at the time of an eclipse they say, now the moon is dead) (1938:III:256)." These data suggest strongly that the first incident of warfare, this battle at Cohauatepec, occurs in the northern night sky. The death of Coyolxauhcihuatl perhaps indicates a lunar eclipse.

When the Mexica first arrive at Cohauatepec they build a ceremonial center with temples, ball court and skull rack. Then Huitzilopochtli dances. We are told the name of his song is "Tlaxotecayotl (Tezozomoc, 1949:33; Appendix:276:43)." According to Sahagun in the fifteenth month of the Mexica calendar they celebrated

a feast to the god Huitzilopochtli. He says,

and when the feast of Quecholli ended, then began the singing and dancing, when they intoned the song named Tlaxotecaiotl - the song of Huitzilopochtli (FC:2:130).

During the feast men were slain at a place named Uitznahuac (FC:2:136) as well as in the Teotlachco at Tenochtitlan (FC:2.:27). Thus ritual established at Coahuatepec was enacted in Panquetzaliztli.

According to the calendar in Table 5, the fifteenth month begins December 4 and ends December 23. Johanna Broda states that there is a strong correspondence in the calendar between winter, Panquetzaliztli, and Toxcatl, the fifth month, when the summer sun makes its first zenith passage (1979:9). Table 5 shows Toxcatl running from May 18 until June 6.¹¹ This month is dedicated to Tezcatlipoca (FC:2:67). (As we have seen above, Lamina 21 of the *Codex Borgia* shows Tezcatlipoca on either side of the Teotlachco.) According to the *Cronica Mexicayotl* Huitzilopochtli's first appearance before his people occurred at Coahuatepec. His first ritual appearance in the solar calendar year is in the month of Toxcatl. Sahagun says

And here in Mexico, when [it was the month of] Toxcatl, was set up and formed a figure of Huitzilopochtli here at the temple of Uitznahuac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench. ...

They covered [Huitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough, for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered (FC:2:68-9).

11. Aveni, 1980:41-2, cites Nuttall (1928) as giving the date of zenith in Mexico City as May 17. This would mean that Toxcatl begins on the day following the first zenith passage, according to the calendar in Table 5. This would be of value in a system without a leap year correction.

Moreover, Tezozomoc tells us,

Auh ce tecpatl 1168,
in tonalli¹²
ipan tlaecat in Huitzilopochtli
(1949:36)

And in 1 flint, 1168,
in the summer¹²
then Huitzilopochtli was born
(Appendix:283:49).

Therefore, the episode at Coahuatepec can be associated with both winter and summer, and with the northern night sky.

Two different rituals are instituted at Chapultepec. They both involve the sacrifice of warriors captured in battle. The first is the sacrifice of Copil in 1 Calli, 1285. He is the first war captive in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account to be ritually sacrificed. Copil is the son of Huitzilopochtli's sister, Malinalxoch, whom Huitzilopochtli ordered his party to abandon at Patzcuaro; "quicochcauhque (they left her sleeping) (Tezozomoc, 1949:30; Appendix:271:40)." Copil comes to Chapultepec to avenge his mother against Huitzilopochtli. Copil and his daughter, Azcatlxochtzin, whom he has brought with him, are captured in battle. Copil is sacrificed;

12. Leon glosses *tonalli* as "el signo en que nacio (the sign in which he was born) (Tezozomoc, 1949:36)." However, for *Tonalli*, Molina gives, "calor del sol, o tiempo de estio (heat of the sun, or the time of this) (1977:149, part 2)." Karttunen follows Molina: "TONNAL-LI pl: -TIN warmth of the sun, summertime, day (1985:246)." Simeon does give "day - sign" as one of the glosses of *tonalli* (1963:650), but this would be possessed, i.e. *itonal*, "his day - sign"

It should be noted that Sahagun does say that *ce tecpatl* is associated with Huitzilopochtli: "They said that this was his sign and that of Canaxtli (Mixcoatl) (FC:2:38)." However there were other days in the *tonalpohualli* that were also associated with Huitzilopochtli, *nahui olin* and *ce ocelotl* among them (FC:2:35). In the statement above, Tezozomoc seems to be referring to the year *ce tecpatl*, 1168, not to a day *ce tecpatl* in 1168, although this is the only time the terms "*xihuitl*" and "*anos*", "year", are not used.

he is decapitated, and his heart is cut out of his chest. Copil's head is set down at Acopilco, and his heart is thrown "in tollitic in acahitic (within the reeds, within the rushes)," and it marks the spot where the Great Temple will later stand (Tezozomoc, 1949:41-45; Appendix:292-302:55-58). Years later, when the Mexica are about to establish the site for Tenochtitlan, Huitzilopochtli directs his priest to go "among the reeds, among the rushes" and to find a nopal cactus with an eagle standing on top: "ca yehuatl in iyollo in Copil (For that is the heart of Copil) (Tezozomoc, 1949:64; Appendix:339-40:90)."

The major feast in which war captives were sacrificed took place in the second month, Tlacaxipehualiztli (FC:2:3). According to the calendar presented in Table 5, this month falls between March 19 and April 7, or early spring. Tlacaxipehualiztli means "the flaying of men". The captives were flayed and their captors wore the skin for the remainder of that month. They put the skins away at the feast held in Tozoztontli (FC:2:55). This rite was dedicated to the god Xipe Totec ("Our Lord, the Flayed One") and took place at the temple of Yopico (FC:2:3).

Sahagun's description of the rite at Tlacaxipehualiztli appears to have little direct relationship to the slaying of Copil. However, he says of the captives;

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle - cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle - vessel. And these captives who had died they called "eagle - men" (FC:2:47).

Sahagun's description in this passage clearly connects Copil's heart, which grows into a nopal cactus, on which an eagle is found perching, with the captives sacrificed at Tlacaxipehualiztli. He further connects them with the god Huitzilopochtli. "And so they (the captives) were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Huitzilopochtli (FC:2:47)." The hair from the crown of a captive's head was also offered to the god.

This was called "the sending upward of the eagle - man," because he who died in war went into the presence of [the sun]; he went before and rested in the presence of the sun. That is, he did not go to the land of the dead (FC:2:48)

Furthermore, they named the captor "the sun, white earth, the feather (FC:2:48) (emphasis mine.)."

Copil's captor is Huitzilopochtli, the Sun God. Thus, Copil is the first war captive to be sacrificed and then go to join the sun in the eastern part of the sky; he accompanies the sun on his journey from dawn until noon. However, Copil apparently is also the war captive *par excellence*.

Copil is the first child born in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the Mexica migration. When Huitzilopochtli's party leave Malinalxoch sleeping at Patzcuaro, she goes to Malinalco. She is "ye otztli ye huey ihtetl (already pregnant, already great in the belly) (Tezozomoc, 1949:31; Appendix:272:40)," when she arrives in Malinalco. There she gives birth to Copil. A woman who had given birth to a child was equivalent to a warrior who had taken a captive in battle. Sahagun says,

And when the baby had arrived on earth, then the midwife shouted; she gave war cries, which meant that the little woman had fought a good battle, had become a brave warrior, had taken a captive, had captured a baby (FC:6:167).

Thus by his very birth, Copil is considered his mother's "war captive".

Moreover, women who died in childbirth were the counterparts of men who were slain in battle or sacrificed as war captives. They "became goddesses" and went to accompany the sun from noon to sunset. They lived in a house in the West called the *Cihuacalli*, "the house of women" (Sahagun, 1938:VII:266). Tezozomoc's description of Malinalxoch suggests that she is one of the *Cihuapipiltin*, the goddesses who had died in childbirth. Her name has associations with death. *Mallinali*, the first part of her name, is glossed "grass or straw." In the *Codex Borgia* *mallinali* is shown as a tuft of brownish - yellow grass. In this codex *mallinali* is frequently associated with a skull. Also, the pictogram for the town of Malinalco, "On or in the straw or grass," is also a skull. Therefore the term *mallinali* is associated with death.

The second term in Malinalxoch's name is *xochitl*, "flower." In his commentary to the *Codex Borgia Seler* says that "flower" is a symbol for blood. He says that "*xochitl* conserva su significado en las palabras compuestas. *Xochicalli*, 'casa de las flores,' es, por ejemplo, el corazon (*xochitl* keeps its significance in compound words. *Xochicalli*, 'house of flowers,' is for example, the heart) (1963:I:26)."

As we have seen above, Huitzilopochtli's faction leave Malinalxoch sleeping when they abandon her. Sleep appears to have been a metaphor for death among the Mexica. At dawn the moon was said to be "dead, ...sleeping a lot (Sahagun, 1938:III:256)." Sahagun also says,

For so it was said: "When we die, it is not true that we die; for still we live; we awaken. Do thou likewise." In this manner they spoke to the dead when one had died... (FC:10:192).

Linguistic evidence also supports the contention that Malinalxoch is dead. Nahuatl nouns are composed of a stem and an absolutive suffix. When nouns are compounded, the absolutive suffix is dropped from all save the final noun. Tezozomoc drops the absolutive suffix from both nouns in Malinalxoch's name; it should be "Malinalxochitl". Tezozomoc's treatment of the names of Huitzilopochtli's mother, Coyolxauhcihuatl, and his uncles, the Centzonhuitznahuatl, make his dropping of the absolutive suffix from *xochitl* significant. After Huitzilopochtli has eaten the hearts of his mother and his uncles, Tezozomoc refers to them as "Coyolxauh" and the "Centzonhuitznahua" (1949:35; Appendix:280-1:36). From the name of Huitzilopochtli's uncles Tezozomoc merely drops the absolutive suffix -tl. His treatment of Huitzilopochtli's mother's name is more complex. In Sahagun's account of the birth of Huitzilopochtli, the sister of Huitzilopochtli was named Coyolxauhqui (1938:III:259-262). This name is composed of the noun, *coyolli* -- "bell" -- and the verb *xauhqui*, the preterit form of *xahua*, meaning "She is painted in the ancient manner."¹³ The morpheme -qui is the third person singular

pronoun in the preterit tense. Pronouns are not regularly dropped when compounding. However, Tezozomoc deletes this morpheme in his name of Huitzilopochtli's mother, Coyolxauhcihuatl. He adds the redundant term *cihuatl* - "woman" - to the usual name for this person/goddess. After Huitzilopochtli kills Coyolxauhcihuatl, Tezozomoc refers to her as "Coyolxauh". He drops the noun *cihuatl*, and does not restore the personal pronoun *-qui* to *Coyolxauhqui*. This shows a linguistic pattern of deleting suffixes from the names of dead persons. Thus, Huitzilopochtli's abandonment of his sleeping, pregnant sister may represent her dying in childbirth.

Then how does she later speak with her son? One answer is because she is a goddess. Also, it was believed that the *chihuapiltin*, "the princesses", the women who had died in childbirth, returned. One of their days in the 260 - day ritual calendar was *ce quiauitl*, "1 Rain" (FC:2:37).

Sahagun describes the *chihuapiltin* as malevolent beings.

Of them it was supposed, and men said: "They hate people; they laugh at them." When one was under their spell, possessed by them, one's mouth was twisted, one's face was contorted; one lacked the use of a hand; one's feet were misshapen - one's feet were deadened; one's hand trembled; one foamed [at the mouth] (FC:1:6)."

Tezozomoc also describes Malinalxoch as an evil person.

13. *National Geographic*, vol.158, No.6, December 1980, page 767 has an excellent picture of the stone depicting Coyolxauhqui that lay at the foot of the Templo Mayor in Mexico City. Coyolxauhqui's face is in profile. There is a band running from the bridge of her nose, under the eye to about half-way between the end of the eye and the ear. Descending from the band is a jewel and a "jingle bell." One could gloss her name as "She is adorned in the ancient manner with bells."

amo tlaça
 catca cenca tlahueiocayotl
 in quimotequiuhua
 teyolloquani

tecotzquani
 teixcuepani
 tecochmamani
 tecohuaqualtiani
 tecoloqualtiani...
 ihuan tlahuipochin mocuepa
 (1949:28)

No person
 was more wicked.
 She imposed tribute.
 She was an eater of human
 hearts.
 She was a sorcerer,
 a witch.
 She puts people to sleep,
 makes serpents bite people,
 makes scorpions bite people...
 And also a sorcerer,
 she changes herself
 (Appendix:266-7:38).

In the above passage the term *mocuepa* has been glossed "she changes herself" to fit the context of being a sorcerer.¹⁴ Molina says of the reflexive form of *cuepa*, "Cuepa. nino. boluerme de donde yua, o boluerme delado, o del otra parte (to return from where I had been, or to turn myself to one-side or to some other part) (1977:26, part 2)." So the basic meaning of the term is a change of physical place or position. Just so, the *cihupipiltin* returned several times a year on the days 1 Rain, *ce mazatl* (1 Deer) and *ce ozomatli* (1 Monkey) (FC:2:36-38J).

Clearly the sacrifice of Copil institutes the ritual of sacrificing warriors in the spring at Tlacaxipehualiztli. Copil also appears to be the quintessential war captive; he is not only his mother's "war captive", but he is also the "war captive" of a woman who dies in childbirth. Additionally, he is the war captive of Huitzilopochtli himself.

14. Moreover, this passage connects Malinalxoch with scorpions and spiders. According to Cecilia Klein "spiders, scorpions, and other noxious creatures [are] associated with the dead (1975:70)." Thus, we have here another indication that Malinalxoch is dead.

While the sacrifice of Copil indicates spring, the sacrifice of the Mexica ruler, Huitzilihuitl, definitely takes place in the fall. Tezozomoc states,

M:1

11 Acatl xihuitl 1295 anos

The year 11 Reed, A.D. 1295.

ipan in yepan Quecholli

The time was some time in

Quecholli,

in inmetztlapohual catca

according to the ancient's

huehuetque

count of months,

inic Zacatl quiquizaya

when the Mexica used to go out

Mexica

to the grassy field

(1949:46).

(Appendix:302-3:60).

According to the calendar in Table 5, *Quecholli* falls between November 14 and December 3. Thus, of the rituals instituted at Chapoltepec one indicates spring, and the other explicitly takes place in the autumn.

According to Sahagun, *Quecholli* was dedicated to the god Mixcoatl. It was a time of hunting game and preparing weapons for war. Sacrifices were made of a man and a woman representing Mixcoatl and his consort (FC:2:25-6;124-29). Duran gives the name Camaxtli as another appellation for Mixcoatl (1971:140-153). According to Duran the person who was sacrificed as Mixcoatl was "an ancient priest," who fasted for eighty days beforehand (1971:140). By the time of the feast, the priest was "so thin, weak, and emaciated that he could barely stand or speak (op. cit.:145)." Young men and boys

adorned as hunters, each with bow and arrows in his

hands, formed a squadron. Amid tremendous shouts and screams they [feigned] attack against the emaciated elder who represented the god, shooting many arrows into the air so as not to offend the god. When the rites and shouting had ended, all the priests took hold of the lean old man and helped him [down the steps] with marked reverence (Duran, 1971:140).

Before the old priest was sacrificed hunters went to the place called Zacatepec ("On the grassy hill"). Here grass shelters were made for a camp. The men spent the night there. In the morning the hunters formed a cordon around the camp site and drove game into the center. Then the game was slaughtered (FC:2:126-7). The old man portraying Mixcoatl was not sacrificed until "one day had been counted in [the month of] Panquetzaliztli (FC:2:129)."

As stated above, the capture and sacrifice of Huitzilihuitl takes place in *Quecholli*. Huitzilihuitl remains at Chapultepec while a contingent of Mexica move across the Valley of Mexico to the Chalcan region at Tlapitzahuayan. Here they remain under the hegemony of the Chalcans for ten years. The Mexica are then chased by the Chalcans to Chapultepec.

oncan quinyaoyāhualloloque
in Mexica
in ixquich in Tepaneca
Azcapotzalca
ihuan in Culhuaque

in Xochimilca in Cuitlahuac
ihuan Chalca
(Tezozomoc, 1949:46).

There they surrounded the
Mexica in battle,
the Tepanec people of
Azcapotzalco,
and also the people of
Culhuacan,
Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac,
and also the people of Chalco
(Appendix:303-4:61).

Tezozomoc says that the leader of the Chalcans was their ruler, Cacamatl the Elder. It is at this point that Chimalpahin interjects with the observation that not only did Cacamatl not rule

the Chalcans, but that he was not alive at the time in question (Tezozomoc, 1949 :47-8; Appendix:304-5:62).

The name *Cacamatl* the Elder resonates with the name of *Canaxtli*,¹⁵ the old one sacrificed at *Quecholli*. Like the game surrounded and slaughtered at *Zacatepec* during the same month, the Mexica are herded to *Chapultepec* and surrounded in war. Finally,

auh in Chapoltepec oncan cacique
in huehue Huitzilihuitl

in yehuatl in achtopa intlatohuani
catca Huitzilihuitl
ompa quihuicaque
in Culhuacan
ompa quimictiaque in Culhuaque
(Tezozomoc, 1949:48).

And there in Chapoltepec they
took prisoner Huitzilihuitl
the Elder.

That one, Huitzilihuitl, was
their first ruler.

They took him there to
Culhuacan.

There the people of Culhuacan
killed him

(Appendix:307:63).

Huitzilihuitl is called "The Elder" here because he is the first *tlatohuani* of that name. However, he is indeed an old man. He was born when the Mexica were at *Tzompanco* (Tezozomoc, 1949:37; Appendix:285:51), after they had bound the years and departed *Cohuatepec*. After Huitzilihuitl's birth they bound the years twice more. His death reportedly takes place in 1295. The Mexica bind the years for a third time since Huitzilihuitl's birth four years later in 1299. Therefore, he is a minimum of 98 years old.¹⁶

15. Homophones and/or words with similar sounds were used to bring to mind other similar sounding words in pictorial manuscripts and in ritual. Barbara Tedlock (1982) has a discussion on how Highland Maya calendar priests use one word to generate a whole set of similar sounding words in ritual.

16. Copil was born at least two calendar - rounds before Huitzilihuitl. Perhaps a man could have lived to be 98 in those days - although it seems unlikely - but one could not have lived for almost 200 years. Close attention to the dates in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* alerts one to the probability that most, if not all, of the account is symbolic.

Just as game is herded into the center at Zacatepetl, the Mexica are chased to Chapultepec. Huitzilihuitl, the elderly *tlahtohtlan* --who is also a priest -- is sacrificed as Mixcoatl. The Mexica institutionalize the *Quecholli* sacrifice of Mixcoatl at this time.

However, Huitzilihuitl also represents Huitzilopochtli. His name means "Hummingbird - down or fluff". According to Sahagun's version of the birth of Huitzilopochtli, his mother conceived him from a tuft of feathers (1938:1:259-262). There does seem to be some merging of the two gods, Mixcoatl and Huitzilopochtli, in Mexica thought. The day *ce tecpatl* is a sign common to both (FC:2:38). As seen above, the Mixcoatl - representative is actually sacrificed after the beginning of *Panquetzaliztli*. Additionally, in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* it is Huitzilopochtli who provides the Mexica with weapons and institutes warfare. (Tezozomoc, 1949:23; Appendix:254-5:31). In *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* Tezcatlipoca, in his form as Mixcoatl, institutes warfare (1941:216-217). (In *Leyenda de los soles* the sun initiates warfare [1945:123].)

The two episodes at Chapultepec involve the sacrifices of two war captives, one indicating the spring of the year, and the other occurring in the fall. These episodes occur in the western portion of the Valley.

In the southern portion of the Valley two other ritual events are instituted. The first occurs at Tizaapan Culhuacan, and involves the sacrifice of the daughter of Achitometl, the ruler of

Culhuacan. Huitzilopochtli instigates this event. He calls his priests and says,

notahuane
oc ce tlacatl in neciz
itoca yaocihuatl

ca nocitzin
(Tezozomoc, 1949:54).

"O my fathers!
Another person will appear.
Her name is Yaocihuatl
(Warrior Woman/Woman of War).
She is my grandmother
(Appendix:318-19:76)."

Huitzilopochtli instructs the Mexica to go to the Culhua ruler and ask for his daughter. The Mexica make their request of the ruler Achitometl, and he grants it. Achitometl's daughter is taken to the Mexica camp where the Mexica are instructed to kill and flay her.

notahuane
in ichpoch in Achitometl xicmictican
xicpehuacan
in iquac in oanquixipeuhque
ce tlacatl xiconquican in tlamacazqui
(Tezozomoc, 1949:55-6).

"O my fathers!
Kill the maiden daughter of
Achitometl!
Flay her!
And when you have flayed her,
dress a man, a priest, in it
(Appendix:322:77)."

Huitzilopochtli's instructions are followed. Achitometl is then invited to a feast, where he sees the skin of his daughter on the priest. He then orders his own people to kill the Mexica.

Huitzilopochtli refers to the daughter of Achitometl by two appellations, Yaocihuatl ("Warrior Woman or Woman of War") and Nocitzin ("My Grandmother"). These names can be applied to two Mexica goddesses. "Nocitzin" is the first person possessed form of citli, which can be glossed as either "grandmother" or "hare". Here it refers to Toci, "Our Grandmother", a major Mexica goddess. The feast of Toci was held in the eleventh month, *Ochpaniztli*. According to the calendar presented in Table 5, *Ochpaniztli* fell between September 15 and October 4. During the feast of Toci, a woman representing the

goddess was slain. According to Sahagun, "The night when she was to die having fallen, they decked her very richly ... (as if) some great lord might sleep with her (FC:3:19)." At the sacrifice, they struck off her head and flayed her. A youth put on her skin (loc. cit.).

In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the sacrificial victim is described as *ichpoch*, "his maiden (daughter)". The implication here is that the victim is young. However, according to Duran, the Toci - representative was a woman of forty to forty - five (1971:231). On the day before Toci was honored a young girl of twelve to thirteen was sacrificed in honor of Chicomecoatl, also known as Chalchiuhcihuatl and Xilonen. The girl was decapitated on a pile of corn. Then she was flayed and one of the priests donned her skin (Duran, 1971:225). Sahagun says nothing of this sacrifice. However, he does say that at the feast of *Ochpaniztli* the priests of Chicomecoatl also wore the skins of flayed victims who died at the same time as Toci (FC:2:116). Therefore, there is a connection between the goddesses Toci and Chicomecoatl/Chalchiuhcihuatl/Xilonen in ritual. In the account in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the goddesses appear to have been blended.

According to Torquemada, Citli (glossed "hare") played a role in the creation of the Fifth Sun at Teotihuacan. To make the Sun move, Citli took a bow and three arrows and shot at the Sun. This angered the Sun, who returned the arrows and shot Citli (1943-44:II:78).

The *Cronica Mexicayotl* also refers to another goddess. *Yaocihuatl* ("Warrior Woman / Woman of War") obviously refers to Cihuacoatl. In the Song of Cihuacoatl, she is referred to as, "Our

mother, warrior [woman], our mother, warrior [woman] (FC:2:212).¹⁷ Of Cihuacoatl Sahagun says, "By night she walked weeping and wailing, a dread phantom forboding war (FC:2:3)." The feast of Cihuacoatl took place in the eighth month of *Huey Tecuilhuitl*, which, according to Table 5, fell from July 17 to August 5. Sahagun says that at the *Huey Tecuilhuitl* feast, "A multitude came together -- the poor of Mexico (FC:2:91)." They were given *atolli* (a thin gruel of ground corn) to drink " in a vessel called *tizapanqui* (loc. cit.)."¹⁸ The poor of Mexico were given food by the rulers at this time.

In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account, the Mexica themselves are poor. When the ruler Achitometl comes to the feast he brings gifts of food, as well as resinous gum, copal, paper, flowers and tobacco. The Mexica address him,

oticmihiyohuilti
noxhuihtzine
tlacatle tlatohuanie
cocoliztli timitztocutilizque

in timocolhuan
in timomacehualhuan
(Tezozomoc, 1949:57).

"We have endured hardship.
O my revered grandchild!
O Lord, O ruler!
We will confess to you (our)
illness (poverty),
we who are your grandfathers,
we who are your subjects
(Appendix:324:80)."

Following the feeding of the poor at *Huey Tecuilhuitl* a young girl was sacrificed as the goddess Xilonen (FC:2:99). Thus, we have ritual connections between Toci and Cihuacoatl, via Xilonen. Cecelia F. Klein (1975) argues that Cihuacoatl and Toci, among other

17. She is also called Quilaztli, the Goddess of Colhuacan, and Deer of Colhuacan in this song. FC:2:211-212.

18. The sacrifice of the daughter of Achitometl took place at Tizaapan.

goddesses, were variants of the earth goddess, Tlaltecuhlli.¹⁹ The Croncia Mexicayotl supports her argument. The episode of the sacrifice of the daughter of the ruler of Culhuacan institutes the ritual practices honoring the goddesses Toci and Cihuacoatl. In the native calendar these rituals occur in the seasons of summer and fall. The episode takes place in the southern portion of the Valley of Mexico, in a place, Colhuacan, that is viewed as South from the city of Mexico - Tenochtitlan.

According to Klein,

Tlaltecuhlli and her sister - variants ... all belonged to the west, the south, and/or the center of the universe, regions apparently associated in the Post - Classic Mexican mind with earth, darkness, fertility, and death (1975:72).

Another of Toci's many appellations was *Tlalli iyollo*, "Heart of the Earth" (Duran, 1971:229). As such she caused earthquakes. According to Simeon, *tlalli iyolloco*, which adds the locative suffix *-co*, means "au centre, dans le coeur de la terre (at the center, in the heart of the earth) (1963:176)." This suggests that the episode in the southern portion of the Valley occurs in the underworld.

Another ritual instituted in the southern part of the Valley occurs as the Mexica make their way northward from Culhuacan to Mexico - Tenochtitlan. According to Tezozomoc,

19. "Tlaltecuhlli" can be glossed "Lord of the Earth." We usually think of *Tecuhtli* or *Teuhctli* ("Senor", "Lord") as referring to males. Therefore there is some question about Klein's argument here. However, one of Toci's many appellations is *Teteo innan* "Mother of the Gods", FC:2:110. In the Song of *Teteo innan*, she is also referred to as *Tlaltecuhlli*, FC:2:209, thus supporting Klein's analysis.

zan no tollihtic acaihtic
in motlallico

oncan ce tlatatl momiquilli
itoca huita
oncan quitlatique in inacayo
mochi in amapaniti
inic mitohua
motenehua mopantlatillique
in Mexica huehuetque...

zan no oncan Acaihtic
in Tollihtic in motlallico

itocayocan Iztacalco...

nimanoncan quichihua
quitlacatillia
itoca Amatepetl
tzohualli in quichiuque
quitzonecontique
quicxitique
in oquitlacaquetzque
niman ye ic quitlaquentia
quipantique
niman ye ic quicuicatia
cenyohual in quicuicatia
in oncan Iztacalco
(oncan quicuiquehque
in tlatatecatl Cuihuacan

in itoca Tetzitzillin)
niman ye ic huitze
in ahtic itocayocan
Pantitlan

(Tezozomoc, 1949:60-61).

And they also came to be
settled within the reeds,
within the rushes.
There a man died;
his name was Huito.
There they burned his body
all in paper banners.
For this reason, they say,
it is named by
the ancient Mexica
"The Banners Were Burned"...
But they also came to settle
within the rushes,
within the reeds,
at the place named
Iztacalco...
Then they made it there;
they produced it;
its name was "Paper Mountain".
They made it of tzoalli.
They put on its head;
they put on its feet;
they raised it up on a man.
They immediately dressed it.
They put it on top.
They immediately sang for it.
They sang for it for a night
there in Iztacalco.
(They sang for him,
a valorous warrior of
Cuihuacan
named Tetzitzillin.)
They immediately come
into the water to the place
named Pantitlan
(Among the Banners)
(Appendix:330-32:84-5).

The Mexica celebrated a number of festivals involving tzoalli-
amaranth seed dough. However, there were two in which man - like
figures were made of the dough: in the thirteenth month, *Tepeilhuitl*
("Feast of the Mountains"), and in the fifteenth month,
Panquetzaliztli ("The Raising Up of Banners"). Because Tezozomoc
says, "its name was 'Paper Mountain'," one's first thought is that

they were celebrating *Tepeilhuitl*. Indeed, in his *Historia de las Indias* Duran says that when the Mexica were at Iztacalco,

allí hicieron la fiesta de los cerros, aquellos tanto solenizaban por aquel su día, y hicieron muchos cerros de masa, poniendo los ojos y bocas... (1965:36).

(here they made the feast of the mountains, which they solemnized when it came to be their day, and they made many mountains of dough, putting on the eyes and mouths...)

"Many mountains of dough" were made at *Tepeilhuitl* according to Sahagun. He also says, "Thereupon were given human form and adorned [the figures]; they molded them [with amaranth seed dough] (FC:2:121-2)." These images were placed upon circular mats at the houses of those who had died in water. Four women and a man were sacrificed as mountains. The women were named *Tepexoch*, *Matlalcueie*, *Xochtecatl* and *Maiauel*; the man was called *Milnauatl* (FC:2:122).

However, in Tezozomoc's account, there is only one image, and its name is *Amatepetl*, Paper Mountain. According to Sahagun, on the feast of *Panquetzaliztli* two slaves were sacrificed to the god *Amapan*²⁰ (FC:2:134).

Panquetzaliztli was dedicated to *Huitzilopochtli*. "At this time occurred the magnificent, long, and rapid procession of the supreme god of the Mexicas, *Huitzilopochtli* (Duran, 1971:457)." In

20. It would be most fitting to call this god "Paper Banner", in keeping with the ritual practices at *Panquetzaliztli*, which are discussed below. However, such a gloss does not appear to be grammatically correct here. The god's name is composed of *amatl*, "paper", and *pan*. In this case *pan* appears to be the postposition *-pan*, "on the surface of", rather than *panitl*, "banner", giving a gloss of "On the Paper".

this celebration an image of amaranth dough was fashioned "about as large as a man could carry in his arms while fleeing so swiftly (op. cit.:458)." Banners were placed along the route of the race of Huitzilopochtli, small banners being placed in the trees and on plants (op. cit.:459). According to Sahagun, paper was rolled up during the race of Huitzilopochtli (FC:2:134). The route of the race differs slightly in Duran and Sahagun, but they agree it began at the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, went west to Chapultepec, down toward Coyoacan, and then returned up the causeway back to the Temple of Huitzilopochtli once more (Duran, 1971:87; Sahagun, FC:2:134). (See Figure 9, page 159.) The image of Huitzilopochtli, made of *tzoalli*, was carried around the course.

Duran describes the *tzoalli* image thus,

After it was kneaded, an idol was made of that dough... Green, blue, or white beads were inlaid as his eyes, and his teeth were grains of corn. His feet and hands [were also formed]. He was in a sitting position, as we saw in the painted picture [Plate 3]. When the [idol] had been finished, all the lords came, bringing a finely worked, rich costume which was just like the dress of the god... When he had been thus finely garbed and adorned, he was set upon a blue bench, similar to a litter, to which four handles were attached (Duran, 1971:86).

Duran's description of the image of Huitzilopochtli is quite similar to that described by Tezozomoc in the passage from the *Cronica Mexicayotl* quoted above. There are also many references to paper and banners in the cited passage: Huiton's body is burned "all in paper banners (mochi in amapanitl)," and they call the place "mopantlatillique (The Banners were Burned);" the *tzoalli* image is called "Amatepetl (Paper Mountain);" after the ceremony they leave for

"Pantitlan (Among the Banners)." These data strongly suggest that the Mexica are instituting the rituals of *Panquetzaliztli* in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* passage cited above. According to the calendar presented in Table 5, the fifteenth month, *Panquetzaliztli*, falls between December 4 and December 23, ending just after the winter solstice.

At least one other ritual is instituted on the journey between Culhuacan and Tenochtitlan. At one place a Mexica woman gives birth to a child, so the place is named Mixiuhcan (Place of Giving Birth). The Mexica move on to a place where a bathhouse is built, the site being named Temazcaltitlan (Near the Bath House). Here the mother of the baby is ritually bathed (Tezozomoc, 1949:60-61; Appendix:331-34:85-86). The Mexica remain at Temazcaltitlan until they move to the site of their new city.

Ritual bathing played a large part in Mexica life. All slaves and captives were bathed before sacrifice. However, bathing was also used as a purificatory rite during illness and for post partum women. Other children had been born during the Mexica journey, and a bathhouse had been built previously at Mexicatzinco (Tezozomoc, 1949:59; Appendix:330:83). However, this is the first instance of a new mother's being bathed in this account.

In the bathhouse the Mexica took sweat baths, which were followed by several pots of cold water being poured over the bather. Duran describes the frankly religious aspects of the sweat bath.

In the first place, it is to be remarked that there was a god of the baths. When a bathhouse was to be built, after this deity had been consulted, offered sacrifices, and presented with many gifts, all the people of the ward where the bathhouse was

to be erected took the small stone idol and buried it in the same site where the building was to be constructed. The latter was built there, the idol remaining underground. [This idol] was usually given sacrifices, offerings, and incense, especially before people entered to bathe (1971:270).

The purificatory ritual following childbirth is instituted during the Mexica journey from Aztlan to Tenochtitlan at Temazcaltitlan. The new mother is named Quetzalmoyahuatzin, which means "(Revered) She disperses the precious feathers" (i.e., either riches or children). Her child is named Contzallan, meaning "Within the Jar", or figuratively, according to Simeon, "se cacher (to hide) (1963:110)." Contzallan is born "in cemilhuiltonalli chiuhcnahui hecatl (on a day with the sign 9 Wind) (Tezozomoc, 1949:61; Appendix:333:86)." This may be the only time a date is given in the day - count (*tonalpohualli*)²¹ in this portion of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*.

The day 9 Wind was of great significance in Mesoamerican thought. The god of the wind was Quetzalcoatl (Sahagun, 1938:III:263), and Chiuhcnahui Ehecatl (9 Wind) was his appellation in this aspect. In his interpretation of the *Codex Borgia*, Seler says of Quetzalcoatl, in his guise as 9 Wind, shown on Lamina 4, Column 22, "es garantia de la fecundidad, el desarrollo de la vegetation, la abundancia de los alimentos (he is the guarantor of fecundity, the growth of vegetation, the abundance of food) (1963:I:42-3)." In this Lamina of the *Codex Borgia* 9 Wind is associated with the sign of the

21. The only other possibility is the *ce tecpatl* associated with the birth of Huitzilopochtli. See above, note 12 of this chapter.

earth goddess, a head of *cipactli*, of which Seler says,

"solo puede significar la tierra que entrega los frutos del campo, los mantenimientos, los viveres, el bienestar... *cipactli* es el signo de los Senores de la vida, de nacimiento, y del sustento... aparece aqui junto al simbolo de Quetzalcoatl, tiene evidentemente el mismo significado que la figura en la columna 1 junto al signo, *cipactli*: ambos se basan en la concepcion de... Quetzalcoatl es garantia de la fecundidad... (1963:I:42-3).

(it can only signify the land which gives up the fruits of the plain, the sustenance, the provisions, the well-being... *cipactli* is the sign of the Lords of Life, of birth, and of sustenance... it appears here joined with the symbol of Quetzalcoatl, evidently giving the same significance as the figure in column 1 joined to the sign *cipactli*: both are based on the conception of... Quetzalcoatl as the guarantor of fertility...)

In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the birth of this child, there is a woman, whose name suggests fertility and bounty, giving birth to "The Hidden One", on the day dedicated to the god who brings forth the riches of the earth (as well as being the god of merchants [Duran, 1971:129,137]). However, it is Quetzalcoatl/Chiuicnahui Ehecatl ("9 Wind") as the god of the east wind, *tlalocayotl*, who brings forth the riches of the earth. In the East lay the earthly paradise Tlalocan (Sahagun, 1938:III:263).

Sahagun also associates the day 9 Wind with the first month of the year. He says of Netotiloian ("Place where they dance"),

Netotiloian: here danced the ceremonially bathed captives [of the day - sign] Chiconauhecatl, when they were about to die. And when they died, it was at midnight, not by day. [This took place] upon the feast of Xilomanaliztli or Atl caualo, also yearly.

Chililico: here died the ceremonially bathed ones [of the day - sign] Chiconauhecatl, at midnight. And each year did the ceremonially bathed ones die here. And only the chiefs then ceremonially bathed them.

Likewise at the feast of *Atl caualo* [was this done] (FC:2:173).

Because of the nature of the intercalation of the 365 - day solar calendar and the 260 - day *tonalpohualli* ("day - count"), Sahagun could not be correct in saying this event happened yearly on 9 Wind in the first month of the solar year. 9 Wind would be the seventeenth day of the first month once every fifty - two years, and would fall in the month at some points in between.²² However, it is interesting that 9 Wind can be identified with a particular month. According to the calendar in Table 5, *Atl cahualo* falls between February 27 and March 18 -- late winter to just before the spring equinox.

The data in this section can be summarized as to time -- seasonally -- and place in the manner shown in Figure 6. As can be seen in this figure, rituals instituted north of Chapultepec have two seasonal aspects, diametric opposites. Those rituals instituted south of Chapultepec give a progression of Summer, Autumn, Winter, Spring.

The Path of the Mexica Migration

In tracing the path of the migrating Mexica, a series of maps will be used to represent various aspects of the journey. As can be seen from Figure 4, the Mexica visited so many places in the southern part of the Valley, their route is rather confused if viewed on one

22. The years that would have 9 Wind falling in *Atl cahualo* could be figured out. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to engage in such an exercise at this time.

Sequence of Place-Names in the Aztec Migration from the Green Ancestral

- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. Arlan | 26. Tappano |
| 2. Chicoutier | 27. Anishinab |
| 3. Goussier | 28. Nishinab |
| 4. Tappano | 29. Chiquito |
| 5. Chicoutier | 30. Anishinab |
| 6. Chicoutier | 31. Anishinab |
| 7. Chicoutier | 32. Anishinab |
| 8. Chicoutier | 33. Anishinab |
| 9. Chicoutier | 34. Anishinab |
| 10. Chicoutier | 35. Anishinab |
| 11. Chicoutier | 36. Anishinab |
| 12. Tolan | 37. Anishinab |
| 13. Mitlaxco | 38. Anishinab |
| 14. Tappano | 39. Anishinab |
| 15. Tappano | 40. Anishinab |
| 16. Tappano | 41. Anishinab |
| 17. Tappano | 42. Anishinab |
| 18. Tappano | 43. Anishinab |
| 19. Tappano | 44. Anishinab |
| 20. Tappano | 45. Anishinab |
| 21. Tappano | 46. Anishinab |
| 22. Tappano | 47. Anishinab |
| 23. Tappano | 48. Anishinab |
| 24. Tappano | 49. Anishinab |
| 25. Tappano | 50. Anishinab |

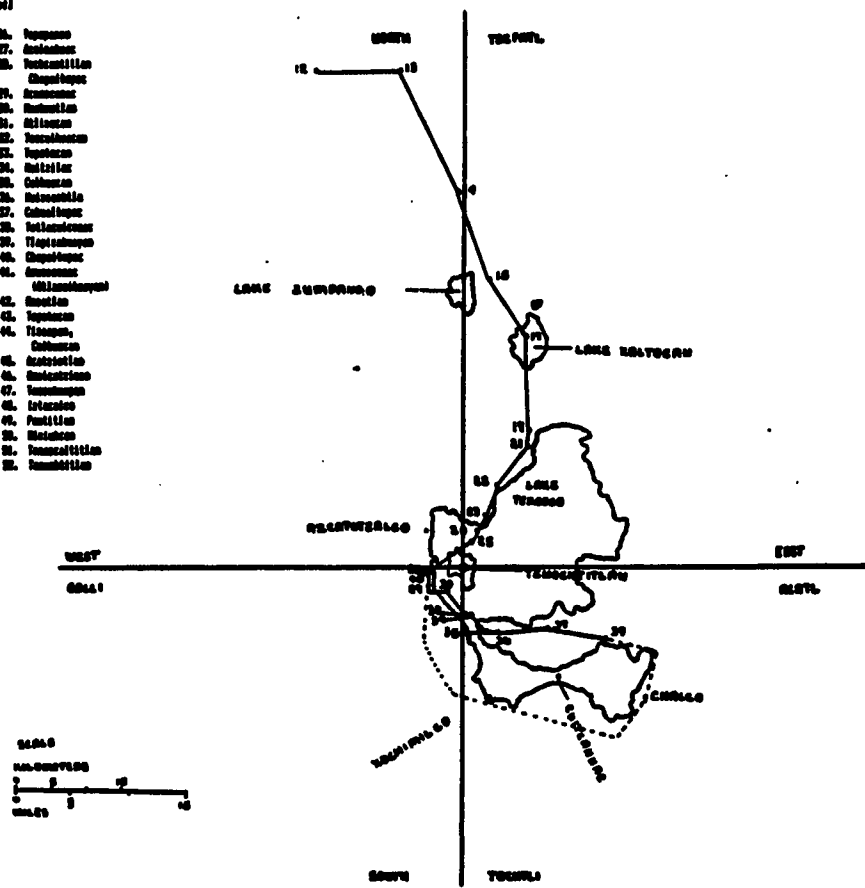


Figure 7. Mexica migration from Tolan (12) to Chapultepec (40).

lines of the axes: the path itself in that part of the journey creates a pair of axes. It will be noted from Figure 7 that the axes from center to North and from center to East are very strong. The West and South axes are almost conjoined. According to Cecilia F. Klein, South and West, as well as Center, were apparently all associated in the Post-Classic Mexican mind (1975:72).

From Tlapitzahuayan (number 39) the Mexica were chased back to Chapultepec (number 40) by the Chalcans (Tezozomoc, 1949:46; Appendix: 303:60). At Chapultepec "oncan quinyaoyahualloque in Mexica (there they surrounded the Mexica in battle (Tezozomoc, 1949:46; Appendix:303:61)," the people of Tecpanec Azcapotzalco, Culhuacan, Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac and Chalco. These localities roughly encircle the lower portion of the Valley of Mexico. This is indicated by the broken line in Figure 7.

Figure 8 shows the path of the journey from Chapultepec (number 40) to Tenochtitlan (number 52).²³ Thirteen sites were visited on this portion of the journey; all but one have been found. This part of the migration creates a loop through the lower part of the Valley. The path here is very similar to that run during the Race of Huitzilopochtli as reported by Duran (1971:87). Figure 9 illustrates the path of this race.

Indeed, Tezozomoc's use of verbs and tense changes during this part of the journey suggests that the route from Chapultepec to Tenochtitlan is equivalent to the route at *Panquetzaliztli*. Tezozomoc

23. The enlargement of the area in Figures 8 and 9 is taken from Sanders, Parsons and Santley, 1979, Map 19, "Greater Tenochtitlan."

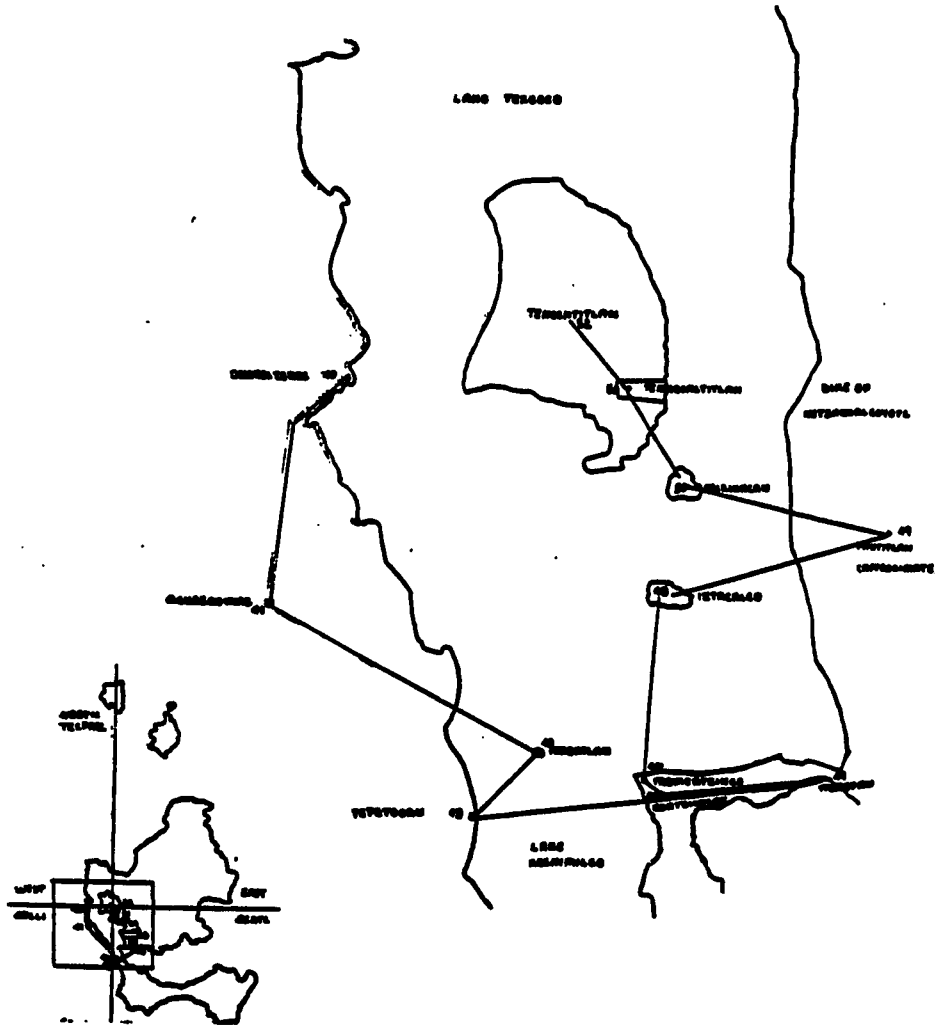


Figure 8. Mexica migration from Chapultepec (40) to Tenochtitlan.

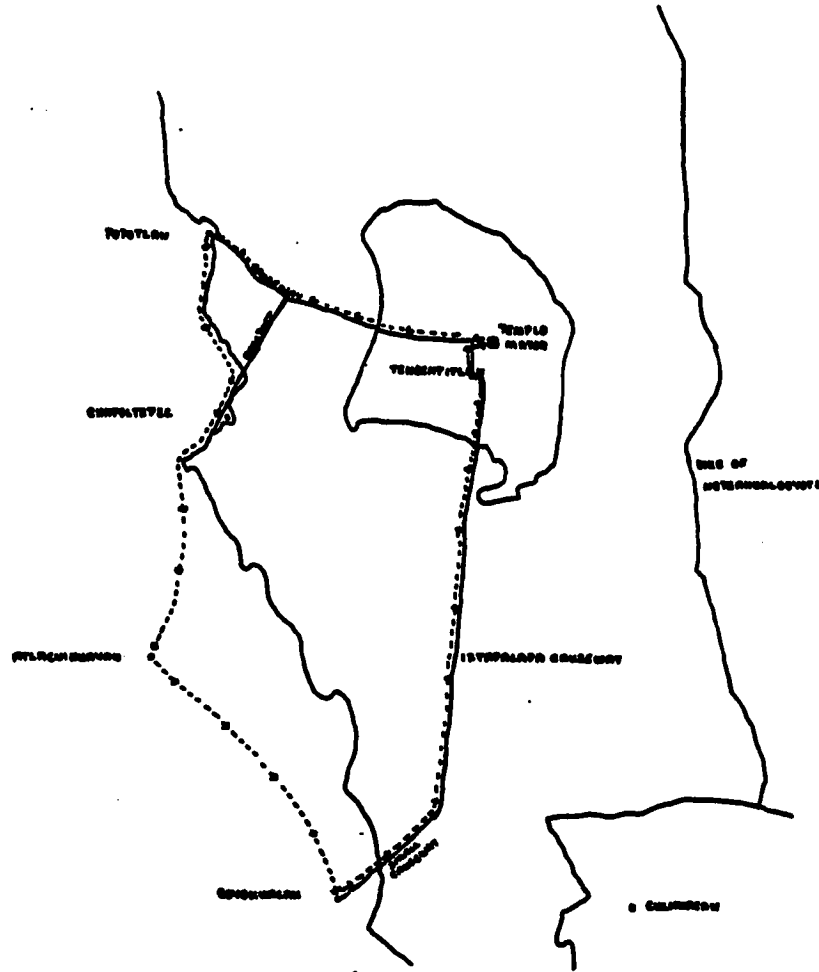


Figure 9. Path of Race of Huitzilopochtli.

says the Mexica left Chapultepec for Acuezcómac. He uses the past tense here: "Auh niman ye ic miquani ... (And quickly they moved ...) (1949:48; Appendix:307:64)." He tells of their activities in Acuezcómac in the past tense. With the move to Mazatlan he changes to present tense, using the verb *huitz*, "come": "niman ye ic huitze (Quickly they come) (Tezozomoc, 1949:48; Appendix:308:64)." He then reverts to past tense again. This change in tense, with the same phrase, "quickly they come," is repeated again with the movements to Iztacalco (page 60; Appendix:331:85), Pantitlan (page 61; Appendix:332:85), and Temazcaltitlan (page 61; Appendix:333:86). This literary device of tense change speeds up the action. It also brings the event into the immediate present, as ritual does. It seems likely that the Mexica migration from Chapultepec to Tenochtitlan is meant to indicate the Race of Huitzilopochtli held at *Panquetzaliztli*.

Thus, within the Valley of Mexico the path of the migrating Mexica form North - South and East - West axes centered on Tenochtitlan. Additionally, a semi - circle is encribed around the southern portion of the Valley by the movements of the Mexica and/or their enemies. A smaller loop is described through this same area by additional movements by the Mexica.

In turning outside the Valley, the journey from Patzcuaro (number 8) to Coahuatepec / Tollan (numbers 11 and 12) is impossible to trace exactly. No intervening sites have been found. However, the idealized route can be surmised. Remembering that a mountainous perimeter encircles the Valley of Mexico, one must project a curving path. This is particularly apparent if Patzcuaro is moved closer to

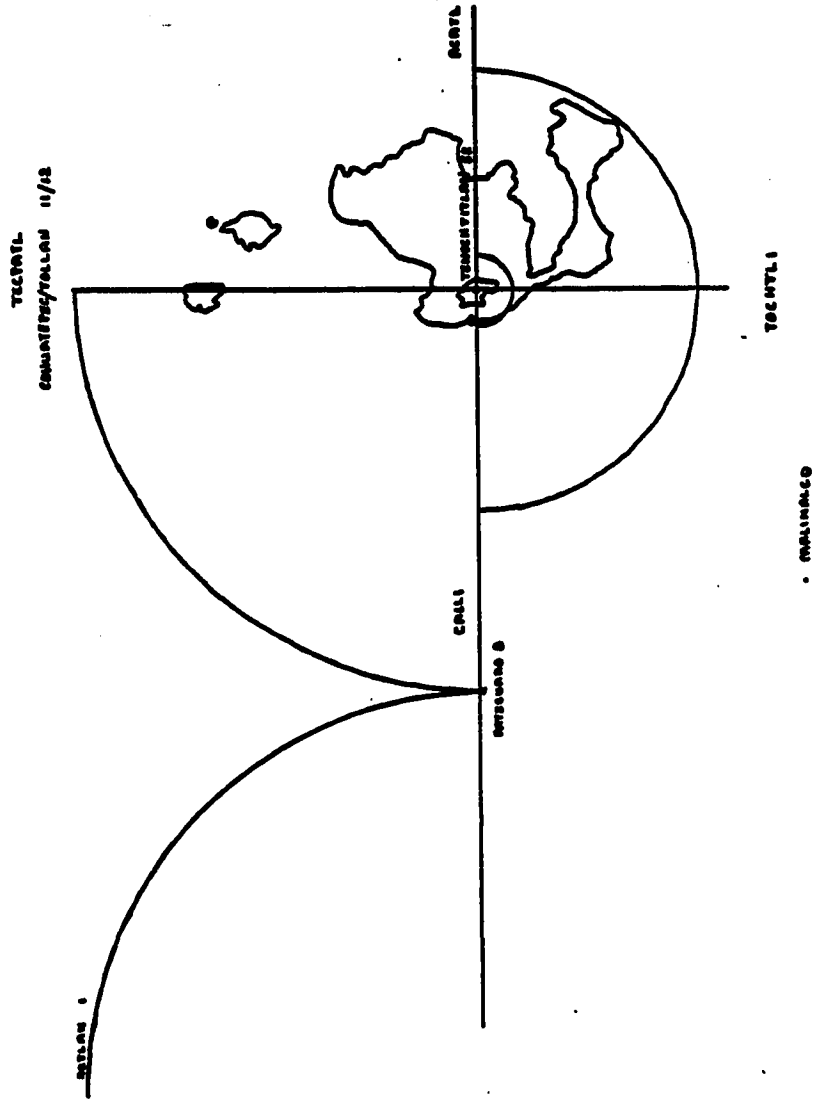


Figure 10. Idealized route of Mexica migration from Aztlán (1) to Tollan (12).

the Valley than it actually is.²⁴ This path creates an arc over the northwestern quadrant formed by the axes centered at Tenochtitlan, as shown in Figure 10. The pattern thus established enables the idealized location of Aztlan (number 1) to be predicted. Aztlan lies far to the northwest of Patzcuaro, and the path would be another arc, from zenith to Patzcuaro. This is also shown in Figure 10.

The movements of the Mexica, and therefore of the god they carried, form three arcs centered around Tenochtitlan. Their own movements and/or that of their southern and western neighbors in the Valley of Mexico create a semi-circle around the southern perimeter of the Valley. The four cardinal directions are marked by speeches of their god. North - *Tecpatl* is marked twice. The fourth arc, from North - *Tecpatl* to East - *Acatl* is created by their movements from Aztlan to Patzcuaro. Events were set in motion at Aztlan in 1 *Tecpatl*, as was the action of Huitzilopochtli in Coahuatepec. The Mexica left Aztlan - Chicomoztoc in 12 *Acatl*. They left Patzcuaro and then bound the years in Acahualtzinco in "9 or perhaps 2 *Acatl*." These *Acatl* dates are equivalent to the 2 *Acatl* date of departure from Coahuatepec after they bound the years there. Therefore, this arc can be moved into this area. Thus, five arcs are formed around the Valley of Mexico by the movements of the Mexica and their neighbors. This is

24. For me this is the most problematic aspect of the model presented in this chapter. I first envisioned this placement following Tezozomoc in the *Cronica Mexicana*, where he identifies Malinalco as "a donde es ahora Pazcuaro (where today Patzcuaro is) (1878:255)." At this point I feel the model hangs together too well not to be justified in moving Patzcuaro very far east of its actual placement.

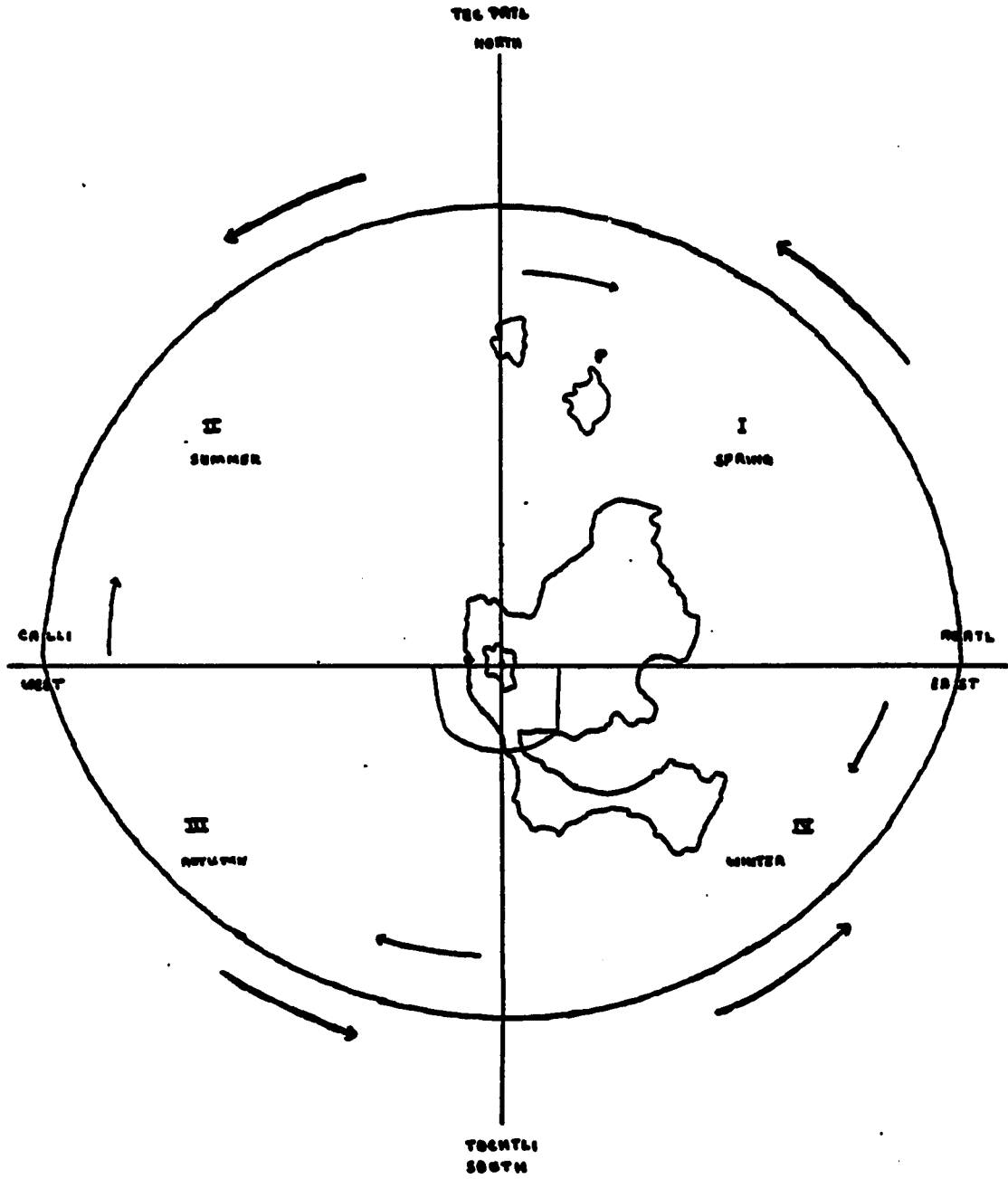


Figure 11. Pattern produced by the path of the Mexica migration.

illustrated by Figure 11.²⁵

At each of the cardinal directions a new ritual practice was instituted. Each of these rituals had seasonal associations. Ritual practices in the the northern hemisphere each point to two opposite seasons: East indicates spring and autumn, North, summer and winter, and West, autumn and spring. Rituals instituted in the southern hemisphere give the usual progression of seasons -- summer, autumn, winter and spring. Seasonal associations are also indicated on Figure 11.

Figure 11 also indicates clockwise as well as counter-clockwise directions. Each segment of the outer circle was formed in a clockwise direction, while the whole and the inner loop were formed in a counter-clockwise direction. According to *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* the First Sun went only to mid-day, and the mirror of Tezcatlipoca made it appear to descend in the western portion of the sky as it returned to earth in the eastern sky (1941:212). Men who died in battle or as war captives accompanied the sun from dawn to noon. Women who died in childbirth accompanied the sun from noon to sunset. The First Sun's going only from dawn to noon and back to the east again may indicate male and female directions; the male direction is counter-clockwise, while the female direction

25. It will be noticed in Figure 11 that the circle is flattened in the southern portion of the Valley. It may be that Malinalco defines the bottom limits of this portion of the pattern, which would make a more perfect circle. However, in Mexica cosmology there were 13 layers in the heavens, with only 9 in the underworld. (Laminas I and II of *Codice Vaticano-Rios* illustrate the layers.) The pattern as presented is more in accord with this world view.

is clockwise. Both these directions are indicated in the pattern produced by the migration tale in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*.

The Mexica migration began in 1 *Tecpatl*, 1064, and ended with the founding of Tenochtitlan in 2 *Calli*, 1325. Everything was in place for the city's founding in the previous year, 1 *Tecpatl*, 1324. In the latter year 260, or 5 times 52, years had passed since events were set in motion in Aztlan. According to Tezozomoc the years were bound five times on the journey. It thus took five calendar rounds for the Mexica to complete their migration, and five calendar rounds were indicated by the binding of the years.

The Meaning of the Mexica Migration

The story of the Mexica migration is one of a people in motion. Within this story Tezozomoc was recreating the universe of the Fifth Sun. Five calendar rounds were passed in migration. The voice of the god produced four major movements -- *Nahui Ollin* ("Four Motion") -- with the Mexica departing Chicomoxtoc, Cohuatepec, and Culhuacan and going to Tenochtitlan. The cosmic battle at Cohuatepec raises the action from an earthly plane to a cosmic one. This is reiterated in Culhuacan with ritual reference to Toci, who is also *Tlalli iyollo*, "The heart of the earth." Events in the southern portion of the Valley occur in *Mictlan*, the underworld. Each of the arcs equals one of five Suns, with Huitzilopochtli occupying the central position. Only after the recreation of their universe, with all rituals instituted, were the Mexica able to begin a new era with a new center of that universe.

Figure 11 strongly suggests that the movement of the Mexica with their sun god Huitzilopochtli represents the movement of the sun through the cosmos during the course of a year. It also represents the movement of the sun through the course of a day.²⁶

This view of the migration tale clears up the problem of the "Chapultepec Defeat." (See Nicholson 1969.) It was argued in Chapter IV that Chimalpahin informed us that the priest in the migration tale symbolized the god, and it was asserted that the priest Quauhtlequetzqui symbolized the god Huitzilopochtli. Quauhtlequetzqui can be glossed "He Raised Up the Eagle Fire." The eagle is one of the symbols of Huitzilopochtli, and the sun would be the eagle fire. Earlier in this chapter it was further argued that Huitziluhuitl, priest and ruler, also symbolized the God Huitzilopochtli. According to the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, it was said that Quauhtlequetzqui was killed at Chapultepec, but since he later had a child by Copil's daughter, his death there was questionable (Tezozomoc, 1949:44-45; Appendix:301:58). Huitziluhuitl was taken captive at Chapultepec and sacrificed at Colhuacan (Tezozomoc, 1949:48; Appendix:307:63).

26. Michel Graulich, 1981, argues that the day is the major metaphor in Mesoamerican thought. Figure 11 suggests that the year takes precedence. Another major difference in the model presented here and that in Graulich 1981 is the direction shown in Figure 11. His model runs only in a clockwise direction.

Graulich's model has created a great deal of controversy. See "Comments" by Carrasco, Coe, Gonzalez, Hayden and Virve, Reinhold, Riese, Stewart, and Tichy following Graulich, 1981, pp. 50-55. Part of his model's problems stems from placing *Mictlan* in the north, where he follows Sahagun's statements that *Mictlan* is associated with that world direction. In the model presented in this chapter, ritual data clearly indicate *Mictlan* is south. Cecelia F. Klein (1975:72) cites Thompson (1934:222-5), as pointing out that *Mictlan* "was originally assigned to the south by the Aztecs."

In Mexica cosmology in autumn and at sunset the sun enters the underworld. There he must engage the inhabitants of *Mictlan* in battle, fighting his way back to the eastern sky to rise with the spring/dawn. The "Chapultepec Defeat" is actually the means by which the sun, represented by both *Quauhtlequetzqui* and *Huitzilihuitl*, enters the underworld in this account. The passage through the southern portion of the Valley of Mexico is the path of the sun through the underworld in the autumn - winter/night of the year. The Mexica, in fighting their way out of the southern portion of the Valley represent the yearly/nightly battle of the sun with the inhabitants of *Mictlan*. The Mexica maiden who gave birth on the day 9 Wind symbolizes *Cipactli - Tlaltecuhlli*, the earth goddess, whose womb faces east. (See Cecelia F. Klein, 1975). Her child, the sun, comes "out of the vase (womb)" -- *Contzallan* -- with the spring/dawn.

Chicomoztoc and Chichimecs

If the model presented in this chapter is correct, *Aztlan* lies at the apex of the heavens. So too does *Chicomoztoc* ("Within the Seven Caves").

Auh yn ompa yn i[n]chan
ytocayocan *Aztlan*
yehica yn intoca *Azteca*

yhuan yn ompa in inchan

ynic ontlamantli
ytocayocan *Chicomoztoc*
(Tezozomoc, 1949:14).

And there in their homeland
the place was named *Aztlan*.
For this reason they were
named *Azteca*.
And also there in their
homeland
is a second place
named *Chicomoztoc*
(Appendix:238:17).

Chicomoztoc is said to be the place of departure for many of

the ethnic groups inhabiting not only the Valley of Mexico, but other areas as well. According to Duran,

Los que salieron de aquellas cuevas fueron los seis generos de gentes; conviene a saber: los Xuchimilcas los Chalcas, los Tepanecas, los Culhuas y los Tlaluiccas y Tlaxcaltecas, aunque desaber que no todos juntos ni todos en un ano, sino unos primero y otros despues, y asi sucesivamente iban dejando aquel sito y lugar de las cuevas (1965:I:10).

(Those that went out of these caves were six kinds of people; it is suitable to know: the Xochimilca, the Chalca, the Tepanecs, the Culhuas and the Tlauhicas and Tlaxcaltecas, although it should be known that not all together nor all in one year, but some first and others afterward, and thus successively they went out of that site and place of the caves.)

The Mexica, he tells us, left much later, remaining at the place of departure "por ordenacion divina (by divine command) (loc. cit.)."

Also associated with Aztlan and Chicomoztoc is Culhuacan, "Place of the grandfather - owners," or "Place where they have ancestors." The relationship between these three places is not very clear in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. Aztlan is described as "in the middle of the water (anepantla) (Tezozomoc, 1949:15; Appendix: 339:18)." When the Mexica went to Chicomoztoc, "acaltica in hualhuia inic hualpanoya (it was by boat they came, so that they crossed the water) (op. cit.:16; Appendix:242:22)." Later Tezozomoc says,

Auh inic hualpanoque in Aztlan
in Azteca Mexitin
acico oncan in Culhuacan
(Tezozomoc, 1949:18).

And with that they crossed
over toward here from Aztlan,
the Azteca Mexitin.
They came to arrive there
in Culhuacan
(Appendix:246:25).

Thus, it appears that Chicomoztoc and Culhuacan are near to one

another, or in the same location.

An historical narrative from outside the Valley of Mexico enlightens us further on the Mesoamerican view of Colhuacan and Chicomoztoc. *Historia Tolteca - Chichimeca* is a narrative about the settling of the area around Cholula, a city in the Valley of Puebla, east of the Valley of Mexico, after the desertion of Tollan. According to this document Culhuacan is a mountain, "Colhuacatepec", and Chicomoztoc is a cavern within the mountain (1947:75, paragraph 79; Lamina II). This narrative associates the site with heat and the sun.

According to *Historia Tolteca - Chichimeca* two Tolteca - Chichimeca, named Icxicohuatl (Footed Serpent) and Quetzalteueyac (?Elongated as a Beautiful Feather?) came to Colhuacatepec to get chichimec allies to defeat the inhabitants of Cholula. Upon arrival Quetzalteueyac said, "Mi noble señor Icxicoatl, has llegado aquí al cerro de Colhuaca, en donde esta calor (My noble lord Icxicoatl, you have arrived here at the hill of Colhuacan, wherein it is hot) (1974:88, paragraph 173)." The narrative continues,

Entonces ya van sosteniendose con precaucion, como guiandose a ciegas, pues segun dicen, hacia mucho calor en ese lugar. Entonces el dijo: "Mi noble, aqui es donde esta la gente chichimeca." Alla fue donde Icxicoatl adquiero su nombre Mapachi (aprensador). Esto ocurrio a la puesta del sol (1947:89, paragraph 174).

(Then they went already taking precautions, as if being led by blind men, because as they said, it is very hot in that place. Then he said, "My Noble, here is where the Chichimec people are." It is there Icxicoatl acquired his name Mapachi [one who presses down]. This occurred at sun set.)

The next day Quetzalteueyac acquired the name Tlacanauhqui,

which Berlin glosses as "el adelgazado (growing slender or thin) (1947:89, paragraph 176)." Berlin has broken this Nahuatl term into the components *tla-*, "something (as object)," and *cānauhqui*, the third person singular preterit of *canaua*, "adelgazar tablas, o piedras anchas o la loza, quando la haze(n) (to thin slabs or broad stones or pottery when they make it) (Molina, 1977:12, section 2)."

However, the term can be analyzed another way. *Tlaca(h)-tli* means "day". According to Molina *Nahuac*, with the first person pronoun *no-*, means "par de mí, o conmigo (near, close to, or with me) (op. cit.:63, section 2)." This division would yield the gloss, "He was close to, or with, the day."

Historia Tolteca - Chichimeca says further that Quetzalteueyac was given a second name at Colhuacatepec. He had to bash in the mountain to open the cavern of Chicomoztoc.

Por esto motivo Quetzalteueyac adquiro otra vez nombre, el de Uitec (rompeado). Cuando esto sucedio fue el segunda dia (1947:89, paragraph 180).

(For this reason Quetzalteueyac acquired another name, that of Uitec [breaking]. When this happened it was the second day.)

These data from a source outside the Valley of Mexico, with solar references to Culhuacan and Chicomoztoc, reinforce the analysis of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, which places those two sites, as well as Aztlan, at the apex of the heavens. Mexica cosmology structures the universe as two large stepped pyramids. The earth represents the bases of both. The descending pyramid has 9 levels, and contains the realm of Mictlanteuhctli and his consort Mictlancihuatl. The

ascending pyramid contains 13 levels. At the apex lives the creator god, Ometeotl, with his consort, Omecihuatl.

According to *Historia Tolteca - Chichimeca* one of the songs sung at Chicomoztoc, said to be the identification song of Ixcicuatl and Quetzalteueyac, says in part "Oh Ometeotl, el Creador Tezcatlanextia (Oh Ometeotl, the Creator, Shining Mirror) (1947:91, paragraph 195)." There are many references to "nuestra Creador y Hacedor (our Creator and Maker)." (See op. cit. pp. 87, 89, 90, 96.) Additionally, Quetzalteueyac's second name, Tlacanauhqui, is phonetically close to Tloque Nahuaque, one of the appellations of Ometeotl (Leon Portilla, 1963:90-91).

Culhuacan, "The Place of the Grandfather - owners," and Chicomoztoc, "In the Cave of the Seven", have associations with the sun and the creator. This may shed some light on the meaning of Chicomoztoc. The word is a compound of *chicom[el]*, "seven", *ozto[tl]*, "cave", and the locative suffix, *-c*. Nahuatl numbers are additive. Numbers 1 through 10 are written thus:

ce	ome	ei	nahui	macuilli
1	2	3	4	5
chicuace	chicome	chicuei	chiucnahui	mahtlactli
5 + 1	5 + 2	5 + 3	5 + 4	10

(See Andrews, 1975, Appendix D for Nahuatl numbers.) As can be seen, the word for "7" is also a compound of terms for "5 + 2". Thus, Chicomoztoc can be further broken down into "In the Cave of the Five plus Two." The "Two" must refer to the creator pair, Ometeuhctli and

Omecihuatl (Lord of the Two , Lady of the Two, or as Leon Portilla glosses them, "Lord and Lady of Duality [1963:82]"). Because we are dealing with an account of recreating the universe in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, it seems likely that the "Five" refers to the Five Suns or Creations of the world, or the five world directions, or even both. Seler says that each of the five creations was connected with one of the five world directions (1963:II:31). If this is true, then "Chicomoztoc" is a metaphor for "In the Place of the Creators and their Creation." Chicomoztoc is indeed the place of origins.

Chicomoztoc, the place of origins, is associated with Culhuacan. Therefore, Culhuacan, "The Place of the Grandfather - Owners," must also be associated with origins. The site is also called Teoculhuacan (Duran, 1965:8; Chimalpahin, 1963:5). *Teotl* means god, but can also be used as an adjectival meaning sacred. Teoculhuacan would mean "Place of the Sacred Grandfather - Owners", or "Place of the God - Grandfather - Owners." The creators would surely be the Owners of the Grandfathers, as well as the God - Grandfathers.

Connected with Culhuacan and Chicomoztoc are the people called Chichimeca. Tezozomoc says,

Auh inic quizque
in ompa
omoteneuh in motocayotia

quinehuayan Chicomoztoc
in motenehuaya
Teochichimeca Azteca Mexitin
(Tezozomoc, 1949:17).

And when they went out
from there,
from the stated place
with the name
Quinehuayan Chicomoztoc,
they were called
the Teochichimeca Azteca
Mexitin
(Appendix:242-3:23).

(See also Duran, 1971:14; Chimalpahin, 1963:5).

The precise meaning of the term "Chichimeca", and exactly who they were has puzzled scholars for years. Davies devoted an entire chapter to this question (1980:72-97). There is some disagreement among experts about which part of speech the term *chichi* is. Theima Sullivan says that the Chichimeca might be people from a place called Chichiman, which is more likely to derive from a noun than from a verb.²⁷ However, Sullivan was dealing with the derivation of place names in making this statement. On the otherhand, Frances Karttunen looks at vowel length in the word *chichi*. According to Karttunen,

By its vowel length pattern it is clearly not derived from the words for 'dog', 'rags, patches,' or 'bitter.' It is possibly derivationally related to CHICHI [with long I's] 'to suckle.' (1983:48.)

Molina does not have any listing for *chichimeca*. Simeon, giving Torquemada and Clavijero as sources, defines *chichimecatl* as, "Qui suce ou qui tette (one who sucks or who suckles) (1963:84)."

The usual gloss of *chichimeca* is "The Dog People," from the noun *chichi*, "dog". An alternative has been to divide the word into a verb, *chichi*, "to suckle", and the noun *mecayotl* (*meca*, plural), "rope". The gloss here might be "Rope Suckers" (van Zantwijk, 1985:308, note 22). (Martha Sempowski offers an alternative, "Suckled by the Rope", thinking of the *tlacamecayotl*, the lineage.)

The gloss "Rope Suckers" is not very satisfactory. There is at least one other option. *-me* is one of the plural suffixes added to verbs to form the "patient", the recipient of the action expressed by

27. From Davies, 1980:80.

the verb. According to Sullivan it is analogous to a past participle (1976:126).²⁸ Adding the suffix *-me* to the verb *chichi* yields the past participle *chichime*, "suckled". *-ca* is the plural form of *-catl*, denoting "people of ..." a particular place. (Once again this is not really grammatically correct.) The reading here would be "The Suckled People, or The Suckled Ones." Teochichimeca would be "Those Suckled by the Gods."

While this gloss is admittedly grammatically incorrect according to the rules set out by experts such as Sullivan and Andrews, it is certainly in accord with Mexica concepts. Food is important in creation tales. According to *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* during the first creation or Sun giants lived on the earth. They ate acorns, which they were able to pick off the tops of trees due to their great size (1941:212). In the Second Sun the inhabitants ate pine nuts from pine trees, "y no otra cosa (and no other thing) (op. cit.:213)." In the Third Sun the inhabitants ate a seed similar to wheat, which grew in the water (loc.cit.). In the Fourth Creation the earth's population ate a grain similar to maize (op. cit.:214). It was not until the Fifth Sun that true people lived on earth who ate the things available to people today (i.e., maize).

In the *Historia Tolteca - Chichimeca* the chichimec leaders were fed by eagles and jaguars. When they first emerged from

28. Chichimeca in this instance does not follow the rules for formation of the patient as set forth by Sullivan. However, those of us who work with Nahuatl frequently find that constructions used in these 16th and 17th century documents do not always follow those rules of grammar set down by modern investigators.

Chicomoztoc, the Chichimeca were fed maize by Ixicoatl and Quetzalteueyac. Then the Chichimec leaders fasted.

Durante cuatro dias los senores ayunaron. Para ello, nuestro padre, nuestro amo, se tenido entra las ramas del mezquite blanco y la gente chichimeca ayuno e hizo penetencia. Cuatro noches y cuatro dias pasaron alla haciendo penetencia dolorosamente. Alla les llevaron de beber y de comer el quauhtli (aguila), el ocelotl (jaguar) (op. cit.:94).

(During four days the lords fasted. For him, our father, our master, they were held among the branches of the white mesquite and the chichimec people fasted and did penance. They passed four nights and four days sadly doing penance there. There they brought them food and drink, the quauhtli [eagle], the ocelotl [jaguar].)

Lamina IX of *Historia Tolteca - Chichimeca* goes with this passage. It shows four chichimecs reclining in the branches of four mesquite trees. Two have eagles and two have jaguars above them. From the mouths of the birds and the cats the symbol for water flows down to the mouths of the chichimecs. Symbols of war -- shields, bows, arrows, clubs -- are also on this page. In Mesoamerican thought eagles and jaguars were both associated with war; warriors were divided into Eagle and Jaguar Knights. Additionally, warriors who died in battle or were sacrificed and went to live in the eastern part of the sky were called eagles (FC: 2:47). The sun was also the eagle, and the chichimecs fasted "for him, our father, our master." In this account the chichimecs were fed as babies by supernatural beings associated with warfare and the sun.

These data suggest that, at least within the context of migration accounts, an appropriate gloss for chichimeca is "The

Suckled Ones." The Suckled Ones came from the place of origin, the place of those who own the grandfathers, from Chicomoztoc, Colhuacan.

The Beginning of Time

When the Mexica were at Chicomoztoc, the *Cronica Mexicayotl* tells us a large tree (*huey quahuatl*), specifically an *ahuehuetl* ("cypress"), fell where they were resting (Tezozomoc, 1949:20; Appendix:247-48:27). Two accounts of the creation of the Five Suns mention large trees in connection with the beginning of the Fifth Sun. According to *Leyenda de los soles* the Fourth Sun ended in a torrent of rain so great that in the ensuing flood the sky fell to earth. All except two of the earth's inhabitants turned into fish. Before the sky fell, Titlacahuan (Tezcatlipoca) called to Tata and his wife Nene and told them to make holes in a very large *ahuehuetl* and to hide there when the sky fell (1945:119-120). The rain ceased in the year 1 *Tochtli*, and the Fifth Sun began.

The account differs in *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*. Here also the Fourth Sun was destroyed by torrential rains that caused flooding and the falling of the sky. However, in this account Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl each created a large tree. Four men were also created. The two gods and the four men, using the trees, "alzaron el cielo con las estrellas como agora esta (raised up the sky with the stars as they now are) (1941:214)." This happened in a *Tochtli* year.

According to the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the tree that fell on the Mexica had been planted by them. The Mexica had been in Aztlan for

1014 years in 1064 (Tezozomoc, 1949:14; Appendix:237-8:15). Therefore, they had been in Aztlan since A.D. 50. The tree fell in 5 Tecpatl, A.D. 1068 (Tezozomoc, 1949:14; Appendix:250:28), and was 1008 years old. It was planted in the year 12 Calli, A.D. 61 (loc.cit.). This makes A.D. 50 a 1 *Tochtli* year, and it indicates that it was the year in which the Fifth Sun was created. It is significant that A.D. 50 is the date given by Chimalpahin in his Fourth Relation as the year in which the native inhabitants arrived in the New World (1958:171).

Because the Fifth Sun began in A.D. 50 and the Mexica migration did not begin until 1064, we know that the *Cronica Mexicayotl* is not recounting the Fifth Sun's creation, but its recreation, with the center of that universe moved to Tenochtitlan, and with their god, Huitzilopochtli as the Sun. This recreation began in the year 1 *Tecpatl*, a powerful year. According to *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* the sun of the Fifth Sun was created twenty-six years into the new age, which would have been in 1 *Tecpatl* (1941:215-216).

Sahagun also mentions the *ahuehuetl*. According to him *cueallo hecauhyo* -- a thing that has shade, shadow, gives protection -- is a metaphor for a lord, king, emperor, bishop or pope. He says,

Pochotl es un arbol que hace gran sombra y tiene muchas ramas, *ahuehuetl* es de la misma, porque el señor ha de ser semejante a estos arboles, donde sus subditos se amparen (1938:III:23).

(The *Pochotl* is a tree that makes great shade and it has many branches, *ahuehuetl* is the same, because the lord must be similar to these trees, where his subjects find protection.

Therefore, the *ahuehuetl*, as well as the *pochotl*, is a metaphor for a great ruler. When the Mexica were at Chicomoztoc, the *ahuehuetl*, the prevailing lord, fell. This lord had to be Quetzalcoatl. According to *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* the son of Quetzalcoatl became the Fifth Sun (1941:216). According to *Leyenda de los soles* the Fifth Sun was Nanahuatl (1945:122), the equivalent of Xolotl, or Quetzalcoatl (Precious Twin) in his guise as evening star. After the *ahuehuetl* fell Huitzilopochtli spoke to his people for the first time, promising them world dominion. He himself could not become the Fifth Sun until the old lord, Quetzalcoatl, fell.

Tlahtolli in Tlahtollotl - Speech in Narrative

A great deal of known Mexica cosmology has been elicited from this analysis of the *Cronica Mexicayotl*'s account of the Mexica migration. Doubtless a great deal has been missed. This is a very complex narrative. Additional study of the narrative might yield further information. Leon Portilla (1963) has ably demonstrated that the discourse of Nahuatl - speaking philosophers has multi-layered meanings. The creator/s of this account were obviously well versed in the metaphors and symbols of their culture, and they demonstrate a love of complexity. One must admire their brilliance.

However, one additional point can be raised. The first movement of people out of Aztlan followed a speech by the ruler, Chalchiuhtlatonac. The Mexica did not depart from Chicomoztoc, however, until the speech of the god set them in motion. Huitzilopochtli's speech, more than his actions, kept them moving

until his words told them to settle in Tenochtitlan. This suggests a belief in speech as a motive force.²⁹ Such a belief makes the title of the ruler, *Tlahtoahuani* -- One Who Speaks, Speaker -- much more comprehensible.

Additionally, speech, within the context of historical narratives, may be a signal to the listener that the episode, or series of episodes, containing the discourse may not be "true history" in the Western sense. The "truths" manifested in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*'s account of the Mexica migration are eternal, cosmological truths in Mexica culture.

29. Lamina LXXIII of the *Codice Vaticano* - Rios seems to support this. This plate shows the figure of a man, encircled by the signs of the 20 - day names, each of which is associated with a part of the body. The sign for *oillin*, "movement," is associated with the tongue. The gloss reads, "Temblor (*Ollin*, el movimiento) en la lengua (Earthquake [*Ollin*, "movement"] [has dominion over] the tongue) (page 166)."

Chapter VI

Conclusions

Neither colonial writers of historical narratives nor modern scholars have reached a consensus about Mexica history. During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries there were evidently a number of reported events based on structured segments from pictorial texts from which the authors of narratives could choose for inclusion in their accounts. They made their choices based upon their own particular views and biases. Modern scholars have used this same "cut and paste" technique. Using these Colonial Period documents as source materials, they have taken data from several of them to produce their various reconstructions. As a result no single, universally accepted account of Mexica history has emerged. Until the present work no in depth study has been done to evaluate the Colonial sources that serve as primary data. In the present study fourteen Colonial Period versions of the Mexica migration were compared. These accounts were both pictorial and written, authored by both native Mesoamericans and Spaniards. The methodology proposed by Edward Calnek was used to make these comparisons. This method of dividing each text into "episodes" and "transitions", and subjecting said episodes and transitions to a virtual line-by-line comparison offers the best means of gaining control over our primary sources and making some judgements about them. The power of this methodology has been demonstrated in the present study. While the results may be unexpected, and even

unwelcome, at least we will now know how this material can and cannot be used.

Well-defined differences among all the accounts were found. No account has precisely the same information as any other single account. However, among narratives, three distinct traditions of the Mexica migration can be found:

1. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* appears to come from one tradition.
2. Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana* appears to come from a different tradition.
3. Duran's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva - Espana y Islas de Tierra Firme* and Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana* and *Cronica Mexicayotl* are found to be similar enough to form a single tradition, which, following Barlow (1945), can still be considered as being from the *Cronica X* tradition.

However, it should be recognized that differences among these versions from the *Cronica X* tradition do exist. The information contained in the *Cronica Mexicana* is intermediate between that found in Duran's *Historia de las Indias* and that given in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. If the pattern established for the known material in the *Cronica Mexicana* can be used to judge what is missing in that account, one would expect that it contained more information than is in Duran's account, but less than is told in the *Cronica Mexicayotl*. It is probably significant that much less information was made available to Duran in the Nahuatl account on which he based his history and by Tezozomoc in his Spanish version of the migration, the *Cronica Mexicana*, than Tezozomoc presented in his Nahuatl version, the *Cronica*

Mexicayotl. Apparently an abbreviated version of the Mexica migration was made available for Spanish consumption. The "whole truth" was reserved for a native audience. This suggests that Duran was not as learned about Mesoamerican things as he believed himself to be. He was indeed astute enough to know the natives were trying to fool the Spanish clerics, but he was not aware of the extent to which they were doing so.

Chimalpahin derived his material from all three major traditions, but he clearly took from the *Cronica Mexicayotl* within the *Cronica X* tradition. However, Chimalpahin changed many details of the material for his own narrative.

(The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* appears to have some aspects in common with all three traditions, but has many things that are peculiar to this one chronicle. The author gives no indication of the source for his usually brief references to the Mexica, although he does mention Texcoco sources for other entries. A critical analysis of this document is needed.)

Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas combines more episodes found in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and the *Anales de Tlatelolco* than any other source. However, there are many difficulties with this narrative. It was written ca. 1535 by a Spaniard (Garibay attributes it to Frey Andres de Olmos [Gibson and Glass, 1975:345]). The spelling of the Nahuatl names of most places and persons make them virtually unrecognizable. This may be due to mistakes in palaeography. However, it is more likely to be due to an imperfect knowledge of the language by the author or scribe, since some of the

episodes reported in this account are also horribly garbled. Without some knowledge of information in other sources one may have great difficulty in understanding much of this account. Furthermore, there are no dates given in this account of the Mexica migration. Moreover, the analysis of the Mexica migration from the *Cronica Mexicayotl* strongly suggests that one cannot use a combination of episodes from native sources to compile a Mexica history. Consensus simply was not pertinent to Mesoamerican authors of historical narratives.

The stated objective of this study was to try to discover the objectives of and techniques used by the authors of native Central Mexican Highlands historical narratives. I suggested that the two genres of True Narrative found by Gary Gossen (1974) among the Maya Chamulas might have prehispanic roots. In my analysis of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* I argued that Tezozomoc ritualized history. I demonstrated that the Mesoamerican concept of the equivalence of time and space was used to structure this account of the Mexica migration. Events taking place in *Tecpatl* years occurred in the North; those in *Calli* years occurred in the West, and events in *Tochtli* years occurred in the South. *Acatl* years marked all directions, including East, with which it is associated. The places and events reported in this account of the Mexica migration formed a pattern which re-created the universe of the Fifth Sun, with the Mexica and their god occupying the center of that universe. In the *Cronica Mexicayotl* two known deities were named, Huitzilopochtli and Coyolxauhcihuatl. During the analysis many Mexica deities were elicited from the account: Mixcoatl, Toci, Chicomecoatl, Cihuacoatl, the Cihuapipiltin, and sacrificed war

captives who join the sun. Many of the known Mexica rituals were also elicited in the analysis, including sacred warfare, binding of the years and ritual bathing. The rituals associated with the following Mexica months were also found: *Atl cahualo*, *Tlacaxipehualiztli*, *Hueytozoztli*, *Toxcatl*, *Hueytecuilhuitl*, *Ochpaniztli*, *Quecholli* and *Panquetzaliztli*. These months are representative of all four seasons. The *Cronica Mexicayotl* account of the Mexica migration defines the Mexica cosmos, and provides an account of the ritual necessary to keep the cosmos operating. This is consistent with Gossen's genre of Ancient True Narrative, which defines the cosmos and moral universe.

Gossen says that the Chamula genre of Recent True Narrative reaffirms and/or defends that universe. When we look at the kinds of information native historical narratives provide, they too reaffirm the existing universe. They tell of the deaths and seatings of monarchs, dynastic marriages, wars and conquests. These are the elements necessary to keep the defined universe in order. Historical narratives also relate portents of doom to that universe: volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, eclipses and comets. Thus, these two genres of True Narrative extend back to the Colonial Period. Such a time depth makes it highly likely that these genres of True Narrative have prehispanic roots. It also suggests that the objectives of native Mesoamerican authors of historical narratives were to define and defend their universe, or to justify changes to the established order. Their "histories" are "true" in the sense that they have a "firm base", which is "well grounded (*neltliliztli*)" in their belief systems.

However, there are major differences in the True Narrative

found in Chamula oral tradition and the narratives produced in the prehispanic past in the Mexican Central Highlands. The Mexica narratives were presented orally, but they also had a written component. Furthermore, they were controlled by the elite. Individual episodes probably did make their way into the oral tradition. However, because historical narratives were in part written, they could be systematized and codified to enlarge the meaning of any single episode. "True" historical narratives cannot be viewed as a loose compilation of individual episodes. My analysis of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* shows that the whole has cohesion. It is a TEXT ("any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole [Holliday and Hasan, 1976:1]").

An elite bias is present in historical narratives, since they support the state. It would be expected that only the intelligentsia would understand the multi-layered meanings embedded in these official accounts. If Tezozomoc's claims for his illustrious pedigree are true, he was just the type of individual who would likely be among the cognoscenti. According to Schroeder (1984), Chimalpahin may not have been such a candidate by birth. However, it is clear that he was aware. It was from his work that the approach taken to the *Cronica Mexicayotl* in this study was initiated. Since Chimalpahin apparently had access to Tezozomoc's work, it is conceivable that they knew one another. Perhaps Tezozomoc instructed Chimalpahin in the specialized knowledge for authors of historical narratives.

To produce their "true histories" Tezozomoc, Chimalpahin and other native authors drew on the symbols and metaphors coming out of

their complex belief system and its ritual traditions. Because the same traditions were common to many Central Mexican Highlands communities, we get many migration sequences that are, as Nicholson (1969) notes, "highly patterned and stereotypical." Migration tales tell cosmological truths and define sacred space. The pattern produced depends on the "truths" that the author wanted told. Thus, authors such as Chimalpahin and the anonymous Tlatilolcan would not want to give the Mexica the prime position in the center of their individual universes; episodes must reflect their biases. For example, neither of these authors could include the birth of Huitzilopochtli at Coahuatepec in his narrative.

While the assertion that the objective of native authors of historical narratives was to define and defend the cosmos is based upon analysis of Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicayotl*, there are also indications that Chimalpahin was guided by the same principles. One is struck by the plethora of Christian dogma in his writings, while there is so little overt native religious information. Jose Rubin Romero Galvan (1976) finds a definite structure in Chimalpahin's Eight Relations. He notes in the First Relation Chimalpahin referred to the Creation, and in the Second he referred to the Coming of Christ. Romero Galvan says that the author was following medieval Christian historians by beginning his native history with these most important Christian events. (See Chapter IV for specifics of Romero Galvan's observations.)

However, it seems that Chimalpahin was following a Mesoamerican structure. At the same time, Christian that he was, he

was also bringing Mesoamericans into a Christian context. He used a mix of Western and Mesoamerican material structured along the lines of *Leyenda de los soles* and *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*. These two documents begin with a discussion of the creations of the Five Suns. This material states the Mesoamerican view of time and, to some degree, space. They then discuss the career of Quetzalcoatl at Tollan. After this they go into the Mexica migration. Chimalpahin begins with the Biblical version of Creation. He then goes into Mesoamerican concepts of time, as well as a discussion of the known world in his day (i.e., space). This is followed by the account of Quetzalcoatl's career at Tollan. However, he also adds material. In this Relation he tells of the birth of Jesus. Additionally he adds information on the founding of Colhuacan ("Place of the grandfather-owners") in the Valley of Mexico as part of his account on Tollan. This is then followed by his account of the Mexica migration. He adds into this account the migration of a major Chalcan group, the Totolimpanecas. He has apparently grafted his own personal interests, Christianity and Chalco, onto a largely Mesoamerican framework. Given the religious nature of episodes from the *Cronica Mexicayotl*, it is clear that Chimalpahin used this material to convey information about the Chalcan view of Mesoamerican religion. He claims for Chalco a part in the re-creation of the universe of the Fifth Sun.

It is likely that the Creation of the Five Suns was understood as preceding any native historical narrative. Thus, writers such as Tezozomoc and the anonymous Tlatilolcan did not feel the need to append this material to their accounts, although there are

references to it in the *Cronica Mexicayotl* and possibly in the *Anales de Taltelolco* as well.

If migration tales actually recount the creation of the cosmos, events as reported in them cannot be viewed as actual historical facts. They cannot be used to discover specifics about early Mexica history. Nor can they be used to discover the social structure of the Mexica before the founding of Tenochtitlan (i.e., the old Calpulli question). They can, however, be used as a source for determining the social structure later in the city's history. These accounts must resonate with "truth" for the intended Mesoamerican audience. They can also be used to elicit more information about religion and ritual.

However, this assertion does not mean that the Mexica had no concept of or interest in linear history. According to my analysis of the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the Fifth Sun began in A.D. 50. This is within the time range of A.D. 1 - 150, when the first great Pyramid of the Sun was constructed at Teotihuacan (Millon, 1973:52), where, according to *Leyenda de los soles*, the sun of the Fifth Sun was created. According to the *Cronica Mexicayotl* the Mexica could not leave Chicomoztoc until the old lordship, represented by Quetzalcoatl, ended. The date A.D. 1068 is close to the decline of Tula, although according to the archaeology of that site, the city was not deserted until around A.D. 1200 (Diehl and Benfer, 1975).

It is highly likely that there was a migration by the Mexica and others into the Valley of Mexico after the fall of Tula. Archaeological evidence suggests that for about five hundred years

following the collapse of Teotihuacan in about A.D. 750 the relatively small population in the Valley of Mexico lived in numerous small rural settlements (Parsons, 1974). Additionally, there was gradual abandonment of agricultural settlements in the northern frontier region of Mesoamerica during the middle of the twelfth century (Kelley, 1971). It is highly likely that some of these agriculturalists, perhaps the Mexica among them, moved into the Valley of Mexico looking for new agricultural lands. Surface survey in the Valley also supports abrupt discontinuities in and reorganization of Valley population after ca. A.D. 1150 (Sanders, Parsons and Santley, 1979:137-153). Archaeological evidence also supports the settlement of Tenochtitlan around the time reported (op. cit.:153), but the 2 *Calli*, A.D. 1325, date for the building of the first Templo Mayor is probably too early. Therefore, "true history" as we understand it is embedded in these tales, but specific events must be supported by further evidence, other than native historical narratives. If other communities were observing the same conventions as the authors of Mexica historical narratives, then even collaboration from outside written sources for a specific event does not constitute acceptable evidence for historic fact. Dates especially, which are so imbued with symbolic meaning, cannot be relied upon, even for post-foundation periods in native historical narratives.

Munro Edmonson's analysis of Yucatecan Maya histories suggests that the Maya had a similar view of time. In his "Introduction" to *The Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*, Edmonson says, "Their chronology is obscured by esoteric numerological, astrological, and religious

assumptions (1982:xi)." He calls these Yucatecan Maya histories "prophetic histories," because they are "dominated by a sense of cyclical repetition and by a profound faith that correct calendrical calculation will enable the priests to predict the fate of the next cycle (1982:xi)." He states that in the Colonial Period, continuing into the late Eighteenth Century, the Itza Maya tried to orchestrate events to fit the exigencies of the prophecies that were associated with their calendrical system. When events overcame the Yucatecan Maya, they eventually revised their calendrical system to fit what had in fact happened, incorporating first Mexica, and later, Christian, concepts of time. (1982:xvii-xix). While there is insufficient data to make such an assertion here about the Mexica, we can certainly say that the two systems were cognates. Dates in both systems were too important to leave to chance.

Because the dates in Mesoamerican historical narratives must be viewed with suspicion, statements about the calendars in use in the Valley of Mexico must be called into question. The data used for making correlations between the Christian and native calendars, and for making statements about various native calendars, are usually based on two dates, the day Cortes entered Tenochtitlan, and the day that the Spanish defeated the Mexica. (See Chapter II for the specifics about these calendrical reconstructions.) Mesoamericans associated Cortes with Quetzalcoatl. There are three day - signs that one would automatically associate with Quetzalcoatl: *ce acatl* (1 Reed), *coatl* (snake) and *ehecatl* (wind). Cortes arrived in the New World in the year *Ce Acatl*. It is of importance that the days

associated in various accounts with his entrance to Tenochtitlan and victory over that city are *coatl* (snake) and *ehecatl* (wind). This is too neat to be due purely to chance. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that dates cannot be taken from one account and used in combination with dates from another account. It has been shown that dates have been used for their symbolic value, and they depend on the author's overall intent. Many reconstructions of native calendars depend on dates from more than one source. Therefore, claims for multiple calendars in use in the Valley are untenable at this time. This is not to argue that multiple calendars are outside the realm of possibility. Given the demonstrated love of complexity among Mesoamericans, one can well imagine a cadre of priests whose job it was to coordinate ritual and other events with the calendars of every other community in the Valley. However, at this time the data for such assertions are not good.

Altering dates for symbolic religious reasons may have extended to wills in the Colonial Period. Gretchen Markov (personal communication) notes that in the course of her work with Mexico City wills from that time, strange things were happening with dates. Wills frequently give the day of the week, day of the month, year and, sometimes, the time of day and the Saint's Day upon which they were written. According to Markov, in checking the dates given against the perpetual calendar, she often found a lack of correspondence between the day of the week and the given date in a particular year. (Markov does not have any data to indicate whether the scribes who wrote the wills with questionable dates were native or Spanish.) She points out

that S. L. Cline had some of the same trouble with dates in wills from Colonial Colhuacan. Cline says that one will was made "Thursday, the feast of Saint Catherine, the 21st day of November of the year 1599 (1986:20)." According to Markov, in the Julian calendar November 21 fell on a Sunday, in the Gregorian it was a Wednesday. Cline further notes "The notary or testator might have got the saint's day wrong. I have been unable to discover a Saint Catherine whose day was November 21 (1986:215, note 11)." According to Markov, the day of Saint Catherine Virgin, whose devotion goes back to the late Eleventh Century, fell on November 25 (which was a Thursday according to the Julian calendar). Cline points out that in the post-Conquest period, a will was as much a religious document as a civil one. It was also dictated by the testator before witnesses. Thus, the making of a will was part of the oral tradition at that time.¹

Aside from dates, it is highly likely that historical fact can be found in the post-foundation parts of native annals. However, even this material must be used with caution. Any episodes with speeches must be viewed with suspicion. It is probable that these episodes may be labeled True Narrative, which function to define or defend the existing universe, or to justify some change. However, additional study is needed to support such an hypothesis. The application of Calnek's methodology to post-foundation accounts may yield additional information on the reliability of historical narratives for the period

1. It should be noted that Markov (personal communication) does not agree with this assessment of Indian wills from the Colonial Period. She feels that they were only civil documents.

following the settlement of Tenochtitlan.

However, this study has demonstrated that the authors of native historical narratives did not view "history" as do we in the Western tradition. The reporting of historical facts was not their primary objective. Their view of time was considerably different from our own. Nahuatl terms, such as *tlahtollotl* must no longer be simply glossed as "history", because this leads us to think of them, and use them, incorrectly. However, this study together with others that have preceded it, such as Gossen's and Edmonson's, are allowing students to develop a more informed view of what words such as *tlahtollotl* meant to Mesoamericans. With greater knowledge of the meaning of native categories, modern scholars will know how these materials can and cannot be used.

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APPENDIX

The *CRONICA MEXICAYOTL*

by Don Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc

1

nican mitohua	Here it is said,
motenehua	it is told
yn quenin oacico	how they came to arrive,
ocallaquico yn huehuetque	how the ancients came to enter.
in mitohua motenehua	It is said they are named
Teochichimeca Aztlan tlaca	Teochichimeca, the people of
	Aztlan,
Mexitin Chicomoztoca	the Mexitin Chicomoztoca.
yn tlatemoco	They came to search for land.
yntlan macehuaco	They came to obtain for
yn nican ypan huey altepetl	themselves here the great city,
ciudad Mexico	the City of Mexico
Tenochtitlan	Tenochtitlan.
yntenoyocan	It is the place of their fame.
ymachiyocan	It is the place of his sign -
yn Tenochtli ymancan	the place where the rock-nopal
yn atlitic	sat in the water.
yn quauhtli ynequetzayan	It is the place where the eagle
	rose up,
yn quauhtli ypipitzcayan	the place where the eagle cried,

yn quauhtli ynētomayan	the place where the eagle freed himself.
quauhtli ytlaquahuayan	It is the place where the eagle ate something;
y cohuatl ytzomocayan	the place where the serpent was broken.
yn michin ypatlanan	It is the place where the fish flew.
yn matlalatl yn tozpallatl	It is the place where the dark green water
yn nepaniuhyān	joined with the yellow water.
yn atlatlayan	It is the place where the water burned.
yn oncan yn ihuiyotl machco	There the plume became known.
yn toltzalla[n]	Among the reeds,
yn acatzalla[n]	among the rushes,
ynin nānicoyān	this was the place they came to find.
ynin chiyelloyan	This was the place waited for,
nauhcampā ynepān tlaça	its various people in four places.
yn oncan acico	There they came to arrive,
motlallico	they came to settle down,
yn matlactlōmeyntin Teochichimeca	the 13 Teochichimeca.
yn cococayotica	Miserably, they came
motlallico	to settle down,

ynic oacico

when they came to arrive.

2

Yzcatqui nican noapehua

Here it is. Here I begin.

nican mottaz

Here it will be seen.

nican ycuillicentoc

Here, once and for all,
it is set down in writing

yn cenca qualli

very well,

yn cenca nezcalilitlahtollo

the very prudent account
of their glory.

yn ipolhualloca

It is its account;

yn itlahtollo

it is its history,

yn inelhuayo

of its foundation,

yn itepechco

of its base,

yn iuh peuhtica

as it was in the beginning,

yn iuh tzintitica

as it was at its commencement,

yn motenehua huey altepetl

the mentioned great city,

Ciudad Mexico

the City of Mexico

Tenochtitlan

Tenochtitlan,

y atlihtic

within the water,

yn tultzallan

among the reeds,

yn acatzallan

among the rushes.

yhuan mitohua

And also it is said,

motenehua

it is called

tolli ycoyocayan

the place where

the reeds blew,

acatl ycoyocayan

the place where

the rushes blew.

ynan yta itzonteco mochiuhtica

It was made to be the mother,

the father, the head:

yn mochi yxquich yc nohuian

everyone, on all sides

altepetl ynyn cuic Nueva Espana

throughout New Spain

took this city as

an example.

yn iuh quitotiaque

Thus they cause it to be said;

yn iuh quitlallitiaque yn yntlahtol

thus they cause their account

to be set down.

Yhuan otechachiyotiliaque

And also they edify us

texampan

on paper,

yn huehuetque yllamatque

the old men, the old women

catca yn tocihuan

who were our grandmothers,

yn tocolhuan

our grandfathers,

yn tachtolnJhuan

our greatgrandfathers,

yn tomintonhuan

our great great grandfathers,

yn topiptonhuan

our great grandmothers,

yn tochicahuan

our ancestors.

yn iuhque nenonotzal

In this manner counsel

is given.

mochiuhuih

It comes to happen

yn otechcahui

they guard us.

cahuilitiaque

They bequeathed (it) to us

in axcan tonnemi

who live there today.

ynin techtiquiza

auh ayc polihuiz

ayc ylcahuiz

yn oquichihuaco

yn quitlallico

ynin tlillo ynin tlapallo

yn intenyo

yn imitolloca

yn imilnamicoca

yn oc oapa titztihui

ayc polihuitz

ayc ylcahuiz

nochipa ticpiezque

in tehuan yn titepilhuan

yn titeyxhuihuan

yn titeteyecatotonhuan

yn titemintotonhuan

yn titepiptotonhuan

yn titechchichicahuan

in titetlapallohuan yn titehezohuan

quitotihui

quitenehuatihui

We emerge the possessors

of this.

And it will never be lost;

it will never be forgotten

that they came to do it,

that they came to set it down

in this ink, this color.

It is their fame.

It is by their speech,

by their remembrances,

we once again go seeking

there.

It will never be lost.

It will never be forgotten.

We will guard it forever,

we, we who are their children,

we who are their

grandchildren,

their unworthy younger

brothers,

the lesser great grandsons,

of our great grandfathers,

we who are their descendants,

color and blood.

It goes to be said,

it goes to be mentioned.

yhuan yn oc yollizque
 in tlacatizque
 yn Mexica tepilhuan

 yn tenochca tepilhuan

auh ynin tlahtolli
 Tenochtitlan
 pielli yn oncan
 omotlatocatlalico
 in izquintin in huehueyntin
 yn tlazohuehuetque
 yn Tenochca teteuhctin
 yn Tenochca tlahtoque
 Reyesme

And also they will live again.
 They will be born again,
 in the children [nobles]
 of the Mexica,
 in the children [nobles]
 of the Tenochca.
 And this account
 of Tenochtitlan
 is stored there where
 they went to be installed,
 all of the great
 beloved ancients,
 the Tenochca lords,
 the Tenochca rulers,
 the kings.

3

Auh yn Tlatilolco
 ayc ompa ticuililozque
 ca nel amo ynpial mochiuhtih

 auh ynin huehuenenonotzaliz-
 tlahtolli
 ynin huehuenenonotzalizamo-
 tlacuiloli Mexico
 yn oticahuililotiaque

And as for Tlatilolco,
 we will never be taken there,
 for it did not become their
 depository.
 And in this ancient chapter
 of history,
 this ancient written
 subject of Mexico,
 we inherited it.

yn huel topial ynin tlahtolli

This account is truly
our depository.

ynic no tehuantin

In that manner, we,

occeppa

one more time,

yn topilhuan

with our children,

yn toxhuihuan

our grandchildren,

yn tezohuan yn totlapallohuan

our blood, our color,

yn totehcopa quicazque

they will be standing next

to us.

ynic mochipa no yehuantin quipiezque

With that, they also will

always guard it.

tiquincahuilitiazque

We shall bequeath it to them

yn iquac titomiquilizque

when we are dead.

o ca yehuantin

O! It is for them

ynin tlahtolli huehuetque

that we set down this account

yn nican tictliallia

of the ancients here.

ynan topilhuan

It is the mother of

our children

nican anquittazque

that you will see here.

yhuan ynan ixquichti

And also it is the mother

of all:

yna[n] Mexica

the mother of the Mexica,

ynan Tenochca

the mother of the Tenochca.

nican anquimatizque

Here you will know it.

yn iuh peuhcatqui

Thus here is the beginning.

yn oticteneuhque yn huey altepetl

We mentioned the great city,

Ciudad Mexico
 Tenochtitlan
 yn atlihtic
 yn tultzallan
 yn acatzallan
 yn oncan otioaque otitlacatque

 yn Tenochca

the City of Mexico
 Tenochtitlan,
 within the water,
 among the reeds,
 among the rushes,
 there where we lived,
 where we were born,
 the Tenochca.

4

auh in tictlallia
 ynin amoxtlacuilloli
 ye otiquitoque tlapac
 cenca timiequintin yn tipipiltin
 ynoc tocnopil tomacehual
 omochiuh yn achtopa axcan
 yn otepan acico
 yn ihiyotzin
 yn itlahtoltzin
 yhuan yn huel nelli nellahuac
 itlanextzin
 ttº Jesu Christo
 ynelli ypiltzin Dios
 o yehuatl in nican tlaai
 yn intiahtol huehuetque
 yn achtopa Christianosae catca
 yn achto momachtianime

And we set down
 in this written book,
 we said it before above,
 we are very many, we nobles.
 Whereas our fate, our merit
 was made the first day
 He came to arrive over people,
 His revered life,
 His revered word,
 and also His very revered
 light,
 our true Lord Jesus Christ,
 the true son of God,
 He ended here
 the word of the ancients.
 They were the first Christians,
 who were the first

pipiltin catca

instructed nobles.

5

auh in axcan ipan xihuitl de 1609 anos
 ye no nehuatl Don Hernando de Alvarado
 Tezozomoc
 nixhuiuh yn tlacat catca huey
 tlahtohuani
 Moteuczomatzin Xocoyotl

And today in the year 1609,
 now I also, Don Hernando
 de Alvarado Tezozomoc,
 I who am the grandchild of the
 man who was the great ruler,
 the revered Moteuczoma
 the Younger,

yn omotlapiellico
 yn equiapachilhuico
 huey altepetl nican
 Mexico Tenochtitlan

who came to guard,
 who came to govern
 the great city here,
 Mexico Tenochtitlan,

ytlazoychpochtzin ytech
 oniquiz

from his beloved daughter
 I came.

in tlacatl cihuapilli nonantzin
 Dona Francisca de Moteuczoma

My revered mother was the Lady
 who was the noble woman Dona
 Francisca de Moteuczoma.

ynamictzin catca yn tlacatl
 Don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin

Her honored spouse was Lord
 Don Diego de Alvarado
 Huanitzin.

niccauhtzin

I came from him.

notatzin

He is my revered father.

yehuatzitzin onechaochihuilique

They engendered me.

huel nipiltzin

I am very noble.

yn nican ye ninotocatenehua
za nocel
y nihuehuetlacahualli

y nihuehuenenonotzalli

ynoc nechonaochicahuilia tt° Dios

yn axcan ypan xihuitl omoteneuh
ynic ye no nehuatl nicneltilia
nicchicahua yn intlahtol
yn inhuehuetenonotzaliz
yn oquitlallitiaque
otechcahuilitiaque
yn tlapac omoteneuhque
yn huehuetque yn Mexica
pipiltin catca
yn oquinmopolhui
yn quinmohuiquilli in tt° Dios

yntle yn oquitotiaque
yntle yn oquitlallitiaque

yn imamatlacuilolpan
ca mochi mochiuh
ca mochi neltiliztli

I now mention my name here,
for only I alone,
I am the remnant of
the ancients,
I am the designate of
the ancients.

With that, our Lord God
strenghtens me.

Today, in this stated year,
I now also verify it.
I fortify their account,
the relation of the ancients.
They cause it to be set down.
They bequeathed it to us.
As mentioned above,
the ancient Mexica
were nobles.

He pardoned them
when our Lord God
was carried to them.

What they were made to speak,
what they caused to be
set down

in their written books,
indeed, it all happened.
It is all truth,

amo iztlacatiliztli
 amo zan quiyollohuique huehuetque

 amo zan quipipicque
 yn inhuehuetlahtol
 yn oquitlallitiaque

not a falsehood.
 The ancients did not
 merely make it up.
 They did not merely fabricate
 their ancient account
 that they caused to be
 set down.

6

auh inic no nehuatl
 Don Hernando de Alvarado
 Tezozomoc
 ynic niquintlaneltitilia

 ynic niquintlachicahuilia

 yn omoteneuhque huehuetque
 camo zan acame yncamaco

 nican yn za no iuhque
 tlahtolli y nicnenehuilia
 ynic quinnamictilia

 yn intlahtol yn omoteneuhque
 in otlatecpantiaque huehuetque
 ca y nehuatl

And with that I also,
 Don Hernando de Alvarado
 Tezozomoc,
 with that, I verify it
 for them,
 with that, I fortify it
 for them,
 the mentioned ancients.
 It is not just out of
 anybodies' mouths.
 Here, also in the same manner
 I compare this account.
 With that I bring them
 together,
 the words mentioned by,
 put in order by the ancients.
 It is mine.

nopial
 nixcoyan
 nicpixtica
 ca huel tlahtoltzin
 huel yncamacpatzinco
 niccac oih quimitlahuitiaque

in tlazotlahtoque
 in tlazopiltin
 yn omonemiltico
 yn ye quin nican mohuica

yn oquinaopolhui tt^o Dios
 yn mononotzinohuaya

quinolhuitzinohuaya nepanol

yn iuh quimaticatca
 yn iyolltzin
 in inhuehuenenonotzaltzin
 in tlacatlahtoque
 Don Diego de Alvarado
 Huanitzin
 niccauhtzin
 Don Pedro Tlacahuepantzin
 notlahtzin

It is my depository,
 my personal thing -
 I am guarding it.
 It is truly revered history,
 truly from their revered lips.
 I listened as they caused it
 to be spoken,
 the beloved rulers,
 the beloved nobles,
 who came to be given life
 a short time after He
 was carried here.
 Our Lord God pardoned them.
 They used to take counsel
 among themselves.
 They used to say it
 joined together.
 Their ancient discourse
 came to be known
 in the revered hearts
 of the rulers of men:
 Don Diego de Alvarado
 Huanitzin --
 I came from him,
 Don Pedro Tlacahuepantzin -
 my revered uncle,

Don Diego de Sⁿ Francisco
 Tehuetzquititzin
 yhuan occequintin
 tlazopipiltin
 yn oniquincaquilli
 yn huel melahuac
 quimatia y huehuenenonotzaliztli

 yn nican niccuic¹
 yn intlahtoltzin

Don Diego de San Francisco
 Tehuetzquititzin,
 and also all the other
 beloved nobles.
 I listened to them
 well and truly
 as they made the ancient
 subject known.
 Here I take¹
 their revered words.

7

Ynic axcan
 yc nitlaneltilia
 nicnamictia yn intlahtol
 yn occequintin
 yn aqueque yn tieyn totoca
 yn achto Christianosae momachtianiae

 yn tlapac omoteneuhque
 yn huel cenca quimatia

 yn iuh ye onneciz
 yn iuh oquitecpantiaque y

Now, with that,
 I thereby verify it.
 I bring together the speech
 of the others
 who are what we call
 the first instructed
 Christians,
 who were mentioned above.
 They caused it to be known
 very well.
 Thus it will now be seen
 as they caused it to be

1. "niccuic" may actually be "niccuilo," "I write it."

nehuatl axcan niquinneitlilia
niquinchicahuilia yn yntlahtol

ma iuh maco

oca ye yxquich

ynic tamechonpehualtilia

yn ticneitilia

yn ticchicahua huehuetlahtolli

huel xiccaquican

xicanancan

yn antepilhuan

yn anteyxhuiuhhuan

yn anMexica yn anTenochca

yhuan y mochintin yn zazo ac yehuantin

yn amotech quicatihui

yn yollizque

yn nemitihui

yn amotlacamecayohuan yezque

put in order.

I now, I verify [it] for them.

I strengthen their history
[narrative] for them,

that it is thus given.

There it is all sufficient.

With that, we begin there
for you.

We certify it.

We fortify the ancient
history [narrative].

Listen to it well!

Take hold of it,

you who are children,

you who are the grandchildren,

you Mexica, you Tenochca,

and also all whoever they are

who will go to be of

your high birth,

they who will be born,

they who will come to live,

they who will be your

descendants.

Yzcatqui nican ompehua

Here it is. Here it begins,

yn Cronica Mexicayotl

the chronicle about Mexican
things.

yn oncan quitauhca

There it came to be famous.

teneuhtia yn yntecoma

It was designated their
vessel,

yn intlacatiliz

their birth.

yn huel yehuatl yn

It is the very commencement of
their foundation.

intzintilizpehualiz

And also it is of their coming,
of their arrival,

yhuan yn inhualliz

of these here in this place
called New Spain.

yn imecoliz

They came to settle down and
also to obtain

yn yehuantin y nican ypan

all and everything throughout
that great one.

in Nueva Espana motenehua

And also when it commenced
to be.

omotecaco yhuan oquimacehuaco

y mochi yn ixquich yc huey yehuatl

auh yhuan ynic otzintic

When it began,

ynic opeuh

when it was founded,

ynic onelhuayohuac

the great city of

in huey Altepetl

Mexico Tenochtitlan.

in Mexico Tenochtitlan

Indeed, they are named

ca yntoca

the Mexitin Chichimeca,

Mexitin Chichimeca

men of Aztlan Chicomoztoc.

Aztlan tlaca Chicomoztoc

And as to when and where,

auh in iquac yn ipan

cahuitl amo huel monamiqui in iquin
quehwa

the time is not known,
when or where.

9

Auh ca huel yehuantzin
ytlanequilitzintica
yn cenquizca huecapan

And it is well that
it is His wish
to come to be reunited on
high,

huey tzintli
teutDios Jesu Christo
ynic yehuantin hecozque
huallazque
motecaquihui

at the great foundation,
the Lord God, Jesus Christ.
With that, they will arrive,
they will come,
they will come to be
spread out.

onoquihui

They will come to be
lying down

yn ixeleuhca yopan yn cemanahuatl

in the separate places that
cover the world.

auh ompa ytechcopa
yn ihuiccopa
yn tonatiuh ycallaquiyampa
ompa oncatca cencahuey yeyantli

And there near it,
toward the place
where the sun sets,
there, there is an extremely
large house.

yn oncan onohuaya

There He is seated.

auh zan ye oncatqui

And already He is found there.

yn axcan cahuipa yn amo zan quexquich

A very long time before now

yn amo zan tlapohualli yn altepetl

innumerable cities were
spread out there.

yn yehuantin in macehualtin

They, the subjects,

yn iuh axcan motta

today are thus seen

yn miyeccan

in many places

ynepapan tlallipan cemanahuac

in diverse lands of the world.

10

auh yntlapial

And their conservatorship

catca quitlatlauhtiaya

was to ask him,

quiteomatia

to pray to him

yn aquin quitocayotiaya

whom they used to call

tetzahuitl huitzilopochtli

Tetzahuitl [Frightening]

Huitzilopochtli.

ca tlahtohuaya

Indeed, he used to speak,

quinnotzaya

he used to summon them.

yhuan oyntlannel oquinmocniuhtiaya

And also, although he used to

befriend them,

in yehuantin Azteca

the Aztecs.

ynic yehica

Because of that,

for that reason,

yn ixpolihui yn izqui tzonxiquipilli

innumerable human spirits,

in teyollia yn teanimazhuan

human souls, disappeared.

yn quinhuicaya ompa mictlan

He used to carry them there

among the dead.

11

auh yn ipampa yn ynic	And because of that,
	for that reason,
in palehuilco yez	He will come to help.
quimonequiltitzino	He wanted it,
yn cenquiza huey huecapan	The Very Most High,
yn atlancatzintli	[Whose] foundation is
	not below,
yn atzonquizqui	He Who is immortal,
yn iteoyotzin Dios	The Divine God.
ynic moxexellozque in inyeyan	For that reason they will be
	separated from their homes,
yn innetlaliayan	from their seats.
ynic ye huallazque	For that reason they will come.
in ye nican omotecaco	Already they came here
	to settle down,
omocecenmanaco	they came to be spread out
nonuampa tlallipan	on all parts of the earth.
ynic ynpan yez	For that reason
	He will be with them.
ynpan huallaz	He will come to them.
ynpan motlalliQUIUH	He will come to establish
	Himself
	with them,
yn mellahuac tlanextli	the True Light.
yhuan ynic quinhualmatizque	And also for that reason they

in yehuantin Espanolesae
 ynic quinnemilizcuepaquihui

yhuan inic huel momaquixtizque
 yn inyollia
 yn imanmazque

yn iuhqui xiuhqui ye huecauh
 yn yehuantin rroma tlaca
 yhuan yn ompa tlaca espana yn
 Espanolesae
 yn huel ixquich yc omocenmanque
 yn ipan cemanahuatl

will know
 them, the Spaniards,
 when they come to change
 their way of life.

And also for that reason,
 truly their spirits,
 their souls
 will escape.

In such a way for many years,
 have the people of Rome
 and also the people of Spain,
 the Spaniards,
 thereby they have spread out
 around the world.

12

Auh ca yuhqui
 ynyn quenin yn iuhque
 macicama yn yehuatl
 yn tlacatecolotl
 yn iquih yehuantin Mexica yezque

in cencamachioque yezque
 ynic tlamamauhtizque

ymacaxozque yn ye nican nohuan

And it is in this way,
 this is how, in this manner,
 it is known that one
 is a demon.
 Thus it will come to be they,
 the Mexica,
 they will be many examples.
 For that reason they will be
 terrified.

Now everywhere here they will

yhuan yn ixquich yn amo zan quetzqui

tzonxiquipilli in teyollia

in teanimazhuan

in quinhuicaz

ompa mictlan ynin ca Mexica

ynic conca yn inyeliz

yn intlamantiliz yn ihu nican

notocatoc tecpantoc

be frightened.

And also, of all the

innumerable

Mexica human spirits,

human souls he raised up,

he will take

them there among the dead.

For that reason he took

their lives.

Their custom is thus here to

come to be standing in order.

13

Capitulo achto

oncan michua yn huallaliz

yn imecoliz in yehuantin Mexica

yn nican ypan

yancuic Nueva Espania

yhuan yn ixquich tiacatl

yn oquinhualhuicacque calpolleque

yhuan yn quenin quihualhuicac ytlán

hualla in yehuatl

yn zan tlapic

huitzilopochtli

Chapter 1

Here is told of their coming,

of the arrival of the Mexica

here in this place

of New Spain;

and also of all the men

they brought with them in the

calpultin;

and also of how they brought

him with them;

he came, that one,

the false god,

Huitzilopochtli,

yn ihueltiuh ytoca
Malinalxoch

and his elder sister named
Malinalxoch.

14

Ynic quizque
yn Chichimeca yn Azteca
ynic ompa hualquizque
yn i[n]chan Aztlan
ypan ce Tecpatl xihuitl 1069² anos

When they went out,
the Chichimeca Azteca,
when they went out
from their homeland Aztlan,
it was the year 1 Flint,
A.D. 1069.²

ye yuh nepa ontzon ypan matlacpohualli
ypan yepohualli ypan nauhxihuitl
motlacatillitzino y nelli Dios
ytlazopiltzin Jesu Christo

It had then been
1064 years since
Jesus Christ, the revered son
of the true God had been born.

15

auh ynic ompa
cenca huecahuaque
ynic ompa catca
onoca Chichimeca Azteca
yn Aztlan ontzon xihuitl ypan

And they stayed there
a very long time.
When they were there,
the Chichimeca Azteca came to
be settled
in Aztlan

2. This date is incorrect; perhaps a mistake was made in transcription at some point. The correct date, 1064, is given in the Nahuatl numbers below.

matlac pohualxihuitl ypan
 matlactlionnahui xihuitl
 yn iuh neztica
 yntlapohual huehuetque
 ynic nican nenemi

for 1014 years.
 Thus it is visible
 in the accounts of the
 ancients
 when they lived here.

16

Yzcatqui nican nonpehua
 nican ycuiliuhtoc yn intlahtollo
 yn Mexica in huehuetque

Here it is. Here I begin.
 Here is written the history
 of the ancient Mexica.

17

Auh yn ompac yn i[n]chan
 ytocayocan Aztlan
 yehica yn intoca Azteca
 yhuan yn ompa
 in inchan
 ynic ontlamantli
 ytocayocan Chicomoztoc
 Auh ynin yntoca Azteca
 yhuan yntoca Mexitin

And there in their homeland
 the place was named Aztlan.
 For this reason they are
 named Azteca.
 And also there
 in their homeland
 is a second place
 named Chicomoztoc [Within the
 Cave of the Seven].
 And this was their name,
 the Azteca.
 And they were also named

auh yn axcan za nellahuac
 yn mitohua
 yn intoca Mexica
 Auh ca quin nican
 quicuitacico
 yn intoca Tenochca

the Mexitin.
 And today it is said
 with certainty
 their name is Mexica.
 And indeed, after arriving
 here they took
 their name Tenochca.

18

Auh in ompa huallaque yn Mexica
 yn itocayocan Aztlan
 can nepantla

 yn ompa huallehuaque

 ca chiconcalpoltin

And the Mexica came from
 the place with the name Aztlan,
 which is in the middle
 of the water.
 From there they departed
 for here,
 the seven calpultin.

19

yn Aztlan huehue Mexica

 yn axcan quitocayotia
 yancuic Mexico
 yn ompa tlahtohuani catca ytoaca
 Moteuhczoma .
 ynyn tlahtohuani oncatca omentin
 ypilhuan

The Aztlan of the ancient
 Mexica
 today came to be called
 New Mexico.
 The ruler there was named
 Moteuczoma.
 This ruler there had two sons.

auh yn iquac ye miquiz
niman ye yc quintlahtocatlallitih

yn omoteneuhque ypilhuan
yn tetiachcauh amo huel momati
yn itoca yehuatl
yntlahtocauh yez
in Cuixteca
auh ynteteyccauh
yn Mexicatl
zan mitohua Mexi
ytoca
chalchiuhtlatonac
yehuatl ye quinnaca
yn Mexitin
yn tlatocayez yn omoteneuh
Chalchiuhtlatonac

And when he should be dead,
then he is going to seat as
ruler

his stated sons.

The name of the elder brother
is not known.

He would be the ruler of
the Cuixteca.

And the younger brother,
the Mexican,

he was only called Mexi;
his name was

Chalchiuhtlatonac.

To that one he gave
the Mexitin.

The stated Chalchiuhtlatonac
would be ruler.

auh yn iquac yn ye yntlahtocauh
yn Mexitin yn Chalchiuhtlatonac
auh niman ye ic quicocolia
yn itiachcauh yn intlahtocauh
cuixteca
ye quitohua
camo hueltzin

And when Chalchiuhtlatonac
was the ruler of the Mexitin,
immediately, for this reason
his elder brother, the ruler
of the Huasteca, hated him..
Soon he said to him,
"It is not well.

yn ce yntlahtocauh yez
 yn Mexitin
 ca zan moch niquincenpachoz
 nehuatl yn Mexitin

Only one should be the ruler
 of the Mexitin.
 Indeed, only I myself
 should be
 the ruler of the Mexitin."

21

Auh yn Mexitin niman ye yc
 ye hauila macehua in oncan
 itocayocan quinehuayan in tzotzompa
 in quihualtemaya in imacxoyauh
 annozo acxoyatl
 nauhpailloque in oncan
 in ceppa hualhui
 in quihuallittaca
 cecenmantoc
 in acxoyatl in aquin quihualcecenmana
 niman inic oncan quihto in Mexi
 in Chalchiuhtlatonac
 tocnihuane
 quimilhui in Mexica

And immediately the Mexitin
 came there to do penance
 at the place with the name of
 Quinehuayan Tzotzompa
 [The Place of Leaving Them
 At the End].
 Here they used to place their
 acxoyatis,
 or perhaps, acxoyatl.
 They returned there four times.
 The first time they came,
 they came here to see
 each one extending an offering,
 each one of whom offers an
 acxoyatl here.
 Then Mexi, Chalchiuhtlatonac
 said there,
 "Our friends!"
 He addressed the Mexica,

ma ye ic otihualiaque
 ma ye ic otihualquizque

 in tochan Aztlan
 auh ic niman quitlacamatque

"Let it be that we came ready!
 Let it be that we will be
 ready to go out from here,
 our homeland, Aztlan."
 And immediately they obeyed
 him.

22

Auh inic huallamacehuaya

 acaltica in hualhuia
 inic hualpanoya
 in quihualtemaya in imacxoyauh

 in oncan omoteneuh itocayocan

 quinehuayan oztotl.

And when they used to come
 to do penance,
 it was by boat they came,
 so that they crossed the water
 to where they used to place
 their acxoyatis,
 there at the stated place with
 the name of
 Quinehuayan Oztotl
 [The Cave Place Where They
 Used to Leave Them.]

23

Auh inic quizque
 in ompa
 omoteneuh in motocayotia
 quinehuayan Chicomoztoc
 in motenehuaya

And when they went out
 from there,
 from the stated place with the
 name Quinehuayan Chicomoztoc,
 they were called the

Teochichimeca Azteca Mexitin

quihualhuica in tlein

intlapiat

inin tlaquimilolcatca

in quimoteotiaya

quicaquia

in tlatohua

auh quinanquiliaya

in amo quittaya

in quenami quinnotzaya

Teochichimeca Azteca Mexitin.

They brought with them here

that which is

their guarded thing;

this was bundled;

they used to worship it.

They listened to it

when it spoke.

And they used to answer it.

They could not see it

as it addressed them.

auh in oapa in quinenehuayan

Chicomoztoc

motocayotia in texcalli

ca chicocan in coyonqui

in oztotl tepetlamimiloli

intech catque

in oncan quizaco Mexitin

incicihuahuan quinhualhuicaque

inic hualla

omequizque Chicomoztoc

And there in Quinenehuayan

Chicomoztoc,

as the cavern is named,

for it opened in 7 parts,

the cave is to be found within

the high mountains.

There the Mexitin

came to go out.

Their women accompanied them

here.

For that reason it came

that they went out

from Chicomoztoc by twos.

in oncan ca cenca temamauhtican
 camo zan quexquich in ompa onoque
 in ompa tlapia in tequanime
 in cucuetlactin in ocelome
 in mimiztin in cocohua
 ihuan tzihuacyotoc

 nequameyotoc
 zacayotoc
 in chicomoztotl ca cenca hueca
 amo aca oc huel onmatia

 inzacatepan
 in ompa in canin Chicomotoc
 ca iuh quitotiaque

 in ompa hualquizque

 in motocayotiaya Teochichimeca

 hualquizque
 ca in iquac ompa hualolinque

 inic ompa huallehuaque
 ca nohuan quauhtlan

It was a very frightening
 place there.
 Many things are lying there.
 Savage beasts guard it there:
 wolves, jaguars,
 puma, serpents.
 And also tzihuactli cactus
 are lying there.
 Maguey is lying there.
 Grass is lying there.
 Chicomoztotl is very far away.
 No one knows the way
 to the place
 of their grassy walls,
 there where Chicomoztoc is.
 Thus it is they cause it
 to be said,
 from there they went out
 toward here,
 those who used to be called
 Teochichimeca,
 they went out toward here.
 Indeed, when they moved from
 there toward here,
 when they left there for here,
 everywhere it was among trees,

tepetlan	in the mountains,
atlaauhtla	in places where
	bogs were abundant,
teocontla	places where great thorns were
	abundant,
xihuallacatia	places where stubble was
	abundant,
tzihuactla	places where the tzihuactli
	cactus was abundant
nequametla zacatla cuillotla	places where maquey, grass,
	and greenery were abundant;
i nohuian in hualnenticaque	it was thus everywhere as they
	walked toward here.
in huallaca xipetlatiaque	As they came they killed
	things with pelts:
ca mazatl tochtli	indeed, deer, rabbits,
tecuaní cohuatl	savage beasts, serpents,
tototl	birds,
in quiminaya	they used to shoot
	with their arrows.
in quihualquaticaque	They walked here eating it.
imehuatilmahualyetia	They came here in their
	clothing of skins.
ihuan tonacayotl	And also the fruits of the
	earth
in intech hualmonectia	were used by them toward here.

in yuh ye onneciz
 quihualnotztia
 in tlein intlapial
 .
 in intlaquimilol
 quihualhuicaya
 in quimoteotiaya

Thus it will now be seen
 they were called here by it,
 by what was their guarded
 thing,
 their wrapped-up thing,
 which they carried here.
 They used to worship it.

Auh inic hualpanoque in Aztlan
 .
 in Azteca Mexitin
 acico oncan in Culhuacan
 .
 quin oncan quihualantiquizque
 .
 in Diablo tetzahuitl Huitzilopochtli
 .
 in huallaque
 ce cihuatl itoca Chimalma
 ompa quihualhuicaque
 .
 in Aztlan chicca[n]
 hual quiztiaque

And with that they crossed
 over toward here from Aztlan,
 the Azteca Mexitin.
 They came to arrive there
 in Culhuacan
 [The Place of Those with
 Grandfathers].
 They went out from there
 toward here
 taking the Devil Tetzahuitl
 Huitzilopochtli.
 As they came,
 they accompanied from there
 toward here
 a woman named Chimalma.
 They were made to go out from
 Aztlan toward here

inic hualnenenque

in seven parts,
when they marched toward here.

26

Auh in ompa ic huallehuaque
Azteca in Culhuacan
nahuintin in quihualmamaque
in tetzahuitl Huitzilopochtli
teconhualonotia
in teomamaque
ce tlacatl itoca
Iztacmixcohuatzin
auh inic ome itoca
Apanecatli
inic ey itoca
Tetzcacohuacatl
inic nahui cihautl itoca
Chimalma
yehuantin i motenehua teomamaque

And when the Azteca departed
from there in Culhuacan,
four carried hither
Tetzahuitl Huitzilopochtli.
He was carried hither in a jar
by the Carriers of the God:
One man was named
Iztacmixcohuatzin;
and the second was named
Apanecatli;
the third was named
Tetzcacohuacatl;
the fourth was a woman named
Chimalma.
They were called "Teomasas"
[Carriers of the God].

27

Auh in oacico
in quahuitl ytzintla(n)
niman ye ica itzintlan oncan
onmotlallique

And they came to arrive
at the foot of a tree.
Soon they settled down there
at its foot,

in oncan icac tomahuac
 in quauhuitl (sic) in ahuehuetl
 niman oncan contlallique
 in tlamomoztli
 ipan quitlallique in tetzahuitl
 Huitzilopochtli
 inic contlallique

auh in ye iquezquilhuitiyoc
 niman conmanilique in imitac
 niman ye tlaquazquia
 niman ye quicaqui
 aquin quinnotza
 in icpac huallahtohua ahuehuetl

quimilhuia
 in oncan ancate
 onximiquanican
 amo amopan huetziz
 ca moztla huetziz in ahuehuetl

niman ic quicauhque

in quiquaya

where the very large tree,
 the ahuehuete, was standing.
 Then they set down there
 an altar.
 On it they set down Tetzahuitl
 Huitzilopochtli.
 With that they set him down
 there.
 And after being settled there
 for a few days,
 they then offered to him there
 their provisions.
 Immediately they wished to eat.
 Immediately they hear it.
 Who calls to them?
 It is spoken hither from the
 top of the ahuehuete.
 It addresses them,
 "You who are there,
 move there,
 so it will not fall on you!
 Indeed, tomorrow the ahuehuete
 will fall."
 Immediately, for this reason,
 they left
 where they used to eat;

cenca huecauh in totoloticatca

niman ica miquanique

oquitlalcahuique in ahuehuetl

oneltic

in tlahuico

motzineuh

in inpan poztec in quahuitl

in ahuehuetl

oncan oc nauhxuhtique in catca

Azteca Mexitin

inic oncan motlallico

itzintlan mocehuiaya in ahuehuetl

they had been eating there for
a very long time.

Quickly they moved;

they fled the ahuehuete.

It proved to be true.

When it came to be light,

it was destroyed;

the ahuehuete fell

on them.

The Azteca Mexitin were there
for four more years.

For that reason they came to
be settled there;

they rested at the foot of the
ahuehuete.

auh inin omoteneuh quahuitl

in inpan poztec Mexitin

zan no yehuantin

intlaaquil

mochiuh in Azteca

in yuh quitotihui huehuetque

ye yuh maltactlomome xihuitl

oncan cate in Aztlan

in ipan 12 Calli xihuitl

And this stated tree,

which fell on the Mexitin,

it was also

their planted thing.

It was done by the Azteca,

so the ancients came to say,

when they had been there

in Aztlan for 12 years.

It was in the year 12 House,

61 anos	A.D. 61.
in iquac caquique	When they planted the
quahuatl in ahuehuatl	ahuehuete,
ye yuh nepa yepohualli ipan ce xihuitl	it had been 61 years since
motlacatillitizino in nelli Dios	the birth of the beloved Son
itlazopiltzin Jesu-Christo	of the True God, Jesus Christ.
inic caquique omoteneuh quahuatl	When they heard the mentioned
ahuehuatl	ahuehuete,
in ipan in 5 tecpatl xihuitl	it was the year 5 Flint,
1068 anos	A.D. 1068,
ino impan poztequico	when it came to fall on
in omoteneuhque Azteca Mexitin	the stated Azteca Mexitin,
in otlipan inic huallaque	when they came on the road.
auh inic cenca huecauhtica	And for that reason it had been
inic icaca in ahuehuatl	standing for a very long time,
	the ahuehuete,
inic tlaaquilli	for a planted thing.
ihuan ^e inic poztequico inpan Mexitin	And also, when it came to fall
	on the Mexitin,
in ixquichcauhtica ontzonxiuhtica	it was just about
ipan matlacpohualxiuhtica	1008 years old.
ipan chicuexiuhtica	
in yuh ₋ nextica intlapohual huehuetque	Thus it is seen in the account
	of the ancients.

Auh ye omito
 in quahuatl itzintla[n]
 huecauhtica in oc ompa
 catca in Azteca
 Zatepan in ohualpeuhque
 in otlica
 inpan oacico in tla[tlal]catecollo

 huey comitl itla huehuetztoque

 ihuan cequintin mizquitl itzintlan
 huehuetztoque

 yehuantin in quintocayotica
 mimixcohua
 chicomentin
 in ce tlacatl Xiuhneltzin

 inic ome itoca
 Mimichtzin

 inic ey inhcihuatl
 inhueltiuh
 itoca Teoxahual

And it was already said
 that the Aztecs were there
 at the base of the tree
 for a long time.
 Finally they began hitherward
 by road.
 Monsters came to arrive
 over them.
 Somethings were hurled down by
 a great jar.
 And also some others
 were hurled down
 at the foot of a mesquite.
 They were given the name
 "Mimixcohua,"
 all seven of them.
 One man was named Xiuhneltzin
 [Revered True Year, or Grass,
 or Turquoise].
 The second was named
 Mimichtzin
 [Revered Fish [plural]].
 The third was a woman,
 their elder sister,
 named Teoxahual

auh in oc nahuintin amo huel momati
 in intoca tlatlacatecollo
 oncan oquinnotz in Huitzilopochtli
 in yehuantin in Azteca
 in motenehuan teomamaque
 in itemamachuan
 inin iztlacateuti
 ye otiquitoque tlapac
 in intoca teomamaque
 no ihuan oquinotz
 in yehuati in intlatocauh
 in yehuantin Azteca Mexitin
 in ompa catca onoya in ipan
 in ihtic in cenca huey altepetl
 Ciudad Aztlan Chicomoztoc
 yuh quimatiquitocan
 in ipan altepetl Aztlan
 Aztatlan
 imonoyan in Aztame
 inic motenehua Aztlan
 in ompa catqui in axcan
 in azo ye ompa
 in huel itlan inahuac

[Ornament of the God].
 And the names of the other
 four monsters is not known.
 There Huitzilopochtli called
 them, those Azteca
 called the Teomamas-
 they who carried
 this false god,
 as we already said above,
 their name was "Teomama".
 And also he called him,
 that one, their ruler
 when the Azteca Mexitin
 had been settled there
 within the very great city,
 the City of Aztlan Chicomoztoc.
 They knew and served him.
 In the city of Aztlan,
 among the herons,
 it was the place where the
 herons used to stretch out.
 For this reason it was called
 Aztlan.
 Today it is there.
 Without doubt it is now there,
 very near, at the side,

in cenca huey atentli
 huey atoyatentli
 in quitocayotia in axcan in yehuantin
 Espanoles in yancuic Mexico
 Aztlan Chicomoztoc
 ye omto oncan quinnotz
 in Huitzilopochtli
 in Azteca
 in teomanaque quimilhui
 xiquimonancan in huey comitl
 itlan cate yehauntin
 in yacato tequitzque

on the edge of the great water,
 on the shore of a great stream,
 where today the Spanish
 came to name it New Mexico,
 [there is] Aztlan Chicomoztoc.
 It was already said
 Huitzilopochtli
 called the Azteca there.
 To the Teomamas he said,
 "Take hold of the great jar!
 Within it are those who
 will pay the first tribute .".

30

Auh yuh quitotihui

 in ompa Aztlan ic hualquitzque
 in Aztlan
 ayemo intoca catca
 Mexitin
 za no quexquich ic monotz
 inic Azteca
 auh ye quin oncan
 inin titlatohua
 in quicuique intoca
 inic ye monotza Mexitin

And thus the ancients
 will go to say;
 when the Azteca went out
 from Aztlan toward here,
 their name was not yet
 the Mexitin,
 but all were only called
 by Azteca.
 And now, later,
 we are saying this,
 they took their name,
 so that now they are called

auh yuhqui
 in inic
 macoque
 in yuh quitotihui
 huehuetque
 yehuatl quintocamacac
 in Huitzilopochtli

the Mexitin.
 And it is thus,
 for this reason,
 they were given [it].
 Thus the ancients
 will go to say,
 that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 gave them the name.

31

Auh ca niman oncan
 oquicuepilli
 in itoca in Azteca
 oquimil(hui)
 in axcan aocmo amotoca in amazteca

 ye anMexitin
 oncan no quinnacazpotonqui

 inic oquicuique in intoca mexitin

 inic axcan ye
 mitohua
 Mexica
 ihuan oncan no quinmacac
 in mitl

And it is only there
 he restored
 his name to them, the Azteca.
 He said to them,
 "Today your name is no longer
 Azteca.
 Now you are the Mexitin."
 Then he also feathered
 their ears.
 With that they took the name
 of Mexitin,
 so that now, today,
 they are said
 to be the Mexica.
 And also he gave them there
 the arrow,

ihuan tlahuitolli
 ihuan chitatli
 in tlein acoyauh
 huel quimina in Mexitin

and also the bow,
 and also the sling³,
 so that whatever goes high
 the Mexica shoot it well.

32

Auh in yehauntin Teoamaque
 quinoztque in yehuatl
 in tetiachcauh
 in quinyacana
 in intlatocauh
 Azteca Mexitin
 in itoca catca
 Chalchiuhtlatonac
 auh quihui in yehautl
 Huitzilopochtli
 in Chalchiuhtlatonac
 tia xihuallah Chalchiuhtlatonacze
 za monequi huel
 cenca totech monequiman
 na xitlatlamachi
 xitlatecpana
 in yun yez
 in yuh mochihuaz

And they, the Teoamas,
 they called him
 the people's elder brother,
 he who led them,
 the ruler of
 the Azteca Mexitin.
 His name was
 Chalchiuhtlatonac.
 And that one,
 Huitzilopochtli,
 said to Chalchiuhtlatonac,
 "Come Chalchiuhtlatonac!
 It is much wished.
 It is wished very much by us.
 Do it skillfully!
 Put it in order!
 Thus it will be.
 Thus it will happen.

3. or net.

in tiquinhuicaz
 miec tiacatl motlan yazque
 auh ma ixquich in chicome calpolli
 oncan inpialhuan mochiuhtiazque

in omoteneuhque
 in nican oaquimanque

in huey comitl itlan ohuehuetztoca

auh yehuantin in achi cenca tlapaltique
 chichahuaque Mexitin
 ma huel cenca hualca

ic ixachintin inic miequintin in
 macehualtin

yehica ipampa
 ca tiazque

titotecatihui

titotlallitihui

ihuan tiquinpehuatihui

in ipan huey cemanahuatl onoque

in macehualtin

auh yehica ipampa

i nenuatl

neilitiztica namechilhua

You will rule them;
 a multitude will go with you.

And all seven calpultin
 will be made to make their
 depositories there

of those who were mentioned.

They were given contained
 here.

They are lying within
 the great jar.

And they grow stronger.

The Mexitin gather strength,
 superiority,

in great quantity with many
 subjects.

Thus, because of this,
 indeed you will go.

You are going to be extended.

You are going to settle down.

And also you are going
 to vanquish

the subjects who inhabit
 the great world.

And because of that,
 I myself speak to you
 with certainty.

aompa namechihuatih
 antlatoque
 anpipiltin
 in ixquich ica
 inic nohuan ompa cemanahuac
 auh inic antlatoque anyezque
 onyezque
 anquinpiezque
 amo zan quexquichtin
 amotzonquizque
 amotlanque yezque
 in amomacehualhuan
 in amechtlacallaquillizque
 in amechmacazque
 in amo zan quexquich
 tlapanahuiahualca
 in Chalchiuhuitl
 in cozticteocuitlatl
 in quetzalli
 in quetzalitztl
 in tapachtli in tiapaltehuilotl
 in tlazotlaque[nltizque
 auh in nepapan ihuitl
 ihuan amechmacazque

In ignorance I am going to
 send you
 to be the rulers,
 to be the nobles
 of all at sometime,
 everywhere there in the world.
 And when you are rulers,
 they will be there.
 You will guard them.
 Not only without count,
 without end,
 infinite will be
 your subjects.
 They will pay tribute to you.
 They will give to you
 innumerable,
 most excellent, precious
 jade,
 yellow gold,
 beautiful long green plumes,
 emeralds,
 coral, amethysts;
 they will cover things
 preciously.
 And the diverse feathers.
 And also they will give you

in xiuhtototi
 in tlaquechol
 in tzinitzca

 in ye ixquich in tlazoihuitl

 auh i tiapalcacahuatl
 in tiapapaichcatl
 ca mochi anquittazque
 ca nel notequiuh
 ic onihualihualoc

 auh yehuati ica
 in itlatol oquinquixti in yehuati

 Chalchiuhtlatonac
 chicomecalpolli
 in macehualtin
 in quinpiaya
 in intlapialhuan
 in intlaquimilohuan
 in iteohuan

the green-plumed bird,
 the red-feathered duck,
 the brilliant-black plumed
 bird,
 indeed, all the precious
 feathers.
 And this, the colored cacao,
 the many-colored cotton.
 Indeed, you will see it all.
 It is truly my tribute.
 For this I have been sent
 here."
 And at sometime that one,
 Chalchiuhtlatonac,
 he delivered
 his speech to them,
 the seven calpultin,
 the subjects
 who guarded them,
 their guarded things,
 their wrapped things,
 his (their) gods.

12 acatl xihuitl 1075 anos
 ipan in oncan chiconxiuhtique

The year 12 Reed, A.D. 1075.
 At this time they had passed

in quinehuayan Chicomoztoc

in Mexitin Azteca Chichimeca

huehuetque

inic niman oncan no hualquizque

Chicomoztoc

inic

mitonua

Chicomoztoca

inic niman ohualoiinque

in ipan in omoteneuh

12 acatl xihuitl

inic ye huitze

inic ye hualnenem:

ye yuh nepa matlactlomome xihuitl

nualquizque in ompa

inchan

Aztlan

inic oncan

omoteneuh

quinehuayan Chicomoztoc

in ipan in omoteneuh 12 acatl xihuitl

inic niman oncan huallehuaque

7 years

there at Quinehuayan

Chicomoztoc,

the ancient Mexitin Azteca

Chichimeca.

Because they then went out

from there at

Chicomoztoc toward here,

for that reason

they are called

the people of Chicomoztoc.

When they moved toward here,

it was in the stated year

12 Reed.

With that, now they come;

with that, now they walk

hitherward.

It had been 12 years since

they went out from

their homeland

Aztlan toward here.

With that,

in the stated place.

Quinehuayan Chicomoztoc,

in the stated year, 12 Reed,

with that, they left for here.

inic ohualnenenque
 oca ihui inin
 hualquizque
 in Aztlan
 in Azteca Mexitin Chichimeca
 huehuetque
 in ompa axcan mitonua
 Yancuic Mexico

With that, they walked hither.
 It was in this manner
 they went out
 from Aztlan toward here,
 the ancient Azteca Mexitin
 Chichimeca,
 from there which today is
 called New Mexico.

34

Uncan tlami in itlatol
 huehue in Alonso Franco

 catca nican ichan
 ipan aitepetl Ciudad
 Mexico Tenochtitlan
 auh in omomiquillico
 ipan xihuitl de 1602 anos
 inin Mestizo catca

There ended the speech
 of the old one, Alonso
 Fran[ci]sco.
 His home was here
 in the city, the City of
 Mexico Tenochtitlan.
 And he came to die
 in the year A.D. 1602.
 He was a mestizo.

35

auñ ca cenca nohuian
 in Mexica in Chichimecatlalpan

 in cana cualcan
 nuecahuaya

And absolutely everywhere
 the Mexica were in the land
 of the Chichimeca.
 In some good places
 they stayed for a long time.

cempohualxiuhtica in motlallia	They settle down for 20 years
intla huel mati	if they feel it to be good.
in cana caxtolli xihuitl in motlallia	In some part they settle down
	for 15 years;
in cana matlacxiuhtica	in some part for 10 years;
in cana macuilxiuhtica in motlallia	in some part they settle down
	for 5 years;
in cana nah xihuitl ye xihuitl	in some part 4 years, 3 years,
motlallia	they settle down;
in cana onxiuhtia	in some part for 2 years;
in cana cexiuhtia	in some part for 1 year
in motlallia	they settle down.
in amo tla huel mati in cana	If they do not feel some
	part is good,
cempohualilhuitl ompohualilhuitl	they settle down for 20 days,
in motlallia	for 40 days.
(ompa quizaco	(There they come to leave
in Cuextecatl ichocayan	Cuextecatl ichocayan
	[Where the Huasteca Utters his
	Cry],
ihuan cohuatl ycamac)	and also Cohuatl ycamac
	(In the Serpent's Mouth.)
auh ca nohuan	And indeed everywhere
quihualtocatiaque	toward here they caused
in tialli	the land to be sown.
auh in quihualquatiaque	And they marched hitherward

in intech monequia nacati

in tonacayotl

ihuan in etl

huauhtli chian

ihuan chilli

xitomatl

eating it.

They used to their advantage

the flesh,

the produce,

and also the bean,

the amaranth, chia,

and also the chili,

the tomato.

auh i cana cenca huecahuaya

moteocaltiaya

oncan quiquetzque

in ical

in iteouh

in Huitzilpochtli

auh ca oc no cequintin

quinhualhuicac in intehuan

inic mitohua in chicomecalpolli

in Mexicain huallaque

auh ic ce calpolli

Yopica

And when they stopped in some

place for a very long time,

they used to build a temple.

There they stood up

in his house

his [their] god,

Huitzilopochtli.

And indeed, equally,

in a separate part

they accompanied their gods,

when the stated seven

calpultin

of Mexicans came.

And the first calpulli

was Yopico

	[The people who only skin, or skin one time];
inic ome calpolli	the second calpulli
Tlacochealca	was Tlacochealca
	[The people of the Arrow House];
inic yei calpolli	the third calpulli
Huitznahuac	was Huitznahuac
	[Near the thorn];
inic nahui calpolli	the fourth calpulli
Cihuatecpaneca	was Cihuatecpaneca
	[The Palace Women];
inic macuilli calpolli	the fifth calpulli
tlacatecpaneca	was Tlacatecpaneca
	[The Palace Men];
inic chicome ⁴ calpolli	the seventh ⁴ calpulli
Izquiteca	was the Izquiteca.

37

Auh ye omitoca	And now it has come to be said
cenca nohuian hualtiaque	on all sides they moved hither
in chichimecatlalpan	in the land of the Chichimeca.
in cana quihualcauhtiaque	In some places they were made
toctli miahuati	to leave here the tender green

4. No sixth calpulli is reported here. I am uncertain about the correctness of the above translations of the names of calpullin. Nahuatl names are usually very difficult to translate with any assurance, but I offer them as a possibility.

	maize stalk in flower.
in cana quihualcauhtehuaque	In some places they were made
	to abandon
xilloti helloti cozahia	the maize beginning to form,
	forming fresh kernals of
	maize turning yellow.
auh in cana oc	And in some places
quipixca	they pick it,
quihualquatehua in tonacayotl	they eat the flesh before
	leaving here.
auh ca cenca mic tlamantli	Indeed, they did many things
in quichihque in otlipan	on the road.
inic haullaque	When they came,
nohuan nenque	they lived on all sides
in Culhuacan	in Culhuacan,
in hueca Culhuacan	in distant Culhuacan.
ihuan in tona ichuacan ⁵	And also they all walked
	exposed to the sun ⁵ ,
anozo tonallan	or perhaps in the heat
ca cenca mochi nenque	of the sun.
auh ca incotoncahuan	And indeed the Michoacanos

5. Leon translates *tona ichuacan* as "the west". However, "the west" is either *tonatiuh icalaquian* or *tona iaquian*. While the Mexica are clearly west of the Valley of Mexico, the phrase in question is followed by *anozo tonallan*, "or perhaps in the heat of the sun." *anozo* is a word that usually precedes a slight redundancy of the previous word. Therefore, I have translated the phrase in question as if it were *tonalhuacan*, "They were exposed to the sun."

in Michhuaque
 in Mexica
 ihuan in Malinalca
 auh ca mochintin huallaque
 auh inic quincauhque in Michhuaque

mahuiltiaya

in oquichtin ihuan incihua
 in oncan Pazquallo itocayocan

auh quinhualcuiltehuaque

in intilma

in inmaxtli

incihua in incuein inhuipil

quincuillique

Auh in oquichtin aoc momaxtleque

za tzintlapantinemia

anozo za tzintlapantinemi

maxauhtinemi

auh incihua za incicuil in omana

[Those Who Own the Fish]
 were of the Mexica's members.
 And also the Malinalca.

Indeed, they all came.
 And for this they left the
 Michoacanos:

They passed the time
 pleasantly in the water,
 the men and their women,
 there in the place named
 Pazquallo.

And they brought with them
 their cloaks,
 their breechclouts.

Their women brought
 their skirts, their blouses.

And the men no longer covered
 themselves,

but [exposed] the place of
 their buttocks,

perhaps they only [exposed]
 the place of their buttocks.

They went about with their
 crotches exposed.

And their women only carried
 their blouses.

auh in oquichtin ic huipilleque
 omichiuhque
 o ihui inin quincauhque
 Michhuaque

And the men were troubled
 because of their blouses.
 And it was because of this they
 abandoned the Michoacanos.

38

auh in yehuatl in itoca Malinalxoch
 in ihueltiuh
 in Huitzilopochtli
 inic quicauh in otlipan

And that one named Malinalxoch,
 the elder sister
 of Huitzilopochtli,
 for this reason he abandoned
 her on the road.

mochintin in itahuan ca
 quicochcauhque
 ipampa amo tlatatl
 catca cenca tlahuelocayotl
 in quimotequiuhitia
 teyolloquani

All his fathers, indeed,
 they left her sleeping,
 because no person
 was more wicked.

She imposed tribute.
 She was an eater of human
 hearts.

tecotz[qu]lanani
 teixcuepani
 teotlaxiliani
 tecochmamani
 tecohuaqualtiani
 tecoloqualtiani
 ca mochi quinozta
 in petlazolcohuatl

She was a sorcerer,
 an enchanter,
 a witch.
 She puts people to sleep,
 lets serpents bite people,
 lets scorpions bite people.
 Indeed, all call her
 [some kind of] serpent,

in tocatl
 ihuan tlahuipochin
 mocuepa
 ca cenca huey tlahuelilloc

 auh ca yehuati inic amo connec
 in Huitzilopochtli

 inic amo quihualhuicac
 in ihueltiuh
 in itoca Malinalxoch
 in mochintin in itahuan
 in zan quincechcauhque

a spider.
 And also a sorcerer,
 she changes herself.
 She came to have very great
 power.
 And thus that one
 Huitzilopochtli
 did not wish there.
 So as not to bring here
 his elder sister
 named Malinalxoch,
 all his fathers
 only left them sleeping.

auh niman oquihto in tlamacazqui
 in Huitzilopochtli
 auh quimilhua in itahuan
 in omotenehua in teomamaque
 ye cuel yehuantin
 in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui

 inic ome itoca Axollohua tlamacazqui

And then Huitzilopochtli
 said to the priest,
 and he addresses his fathers,
 the stated *Teomamas*.
 Now these are the ones:
 [The first] is named
 Quauhtlequetzqui
 [He Raises up the Eagle-Fire].
 The second is named Axollohua
 [Possessor of the Larval
 Salamander], the priest.

inic yei itoca Quauhcohuatl

The third is named

Quauhcohuatl

[Eagle-Serpent].

inic nahui itoca

The fourth is named

Ocacaltzin

Ocacaltzin.

auh oquimilhui

And he addressed them:

notahuane

"O my fathers!

ca amo notequiuh

It is not my duty

in quimotequiuhua in Malinalxoch

to cause Malinalxoch to be

cared for from there

in ompa i niconquizaco

where I came to go out.

inic onihualihualoc

For this reason I stand

brought here.

ca mitl ca chimalli

It is the arrow,

in onimacac

the shield I gave.

ca yaoyotl i notequiuh

It is war that is my duty.

auh ca nelchiquiuh ca notzonteca .

And it is my breast, my head.

inic niquttaz

For this reason I shall see

i nohuian in altepetl

on all sides the city.

auh ca nitechiaz

And indeed, I shall await

the people.

ca nitenamiquiz in nauhcampa

Indeed, I shall encounter

the people on four sides.

ca niteatlitiz

Indeed, I shall give the

people drink.

ca nitetlamacaz

Indeed, I shall give something

ca nican
 niquinnechicoz
 inepapantlaca
 auh ca amo zannen
 ca niquinpehua
 inic niquittaz
 in Chalchiuhcalli
 in teocuitlacalli
 in quetzalcalli
 in quetzalitzcalli
 in tepochcalli
 in tlapaltehuillocalli
 inepapan ihuitl
 in xiuhtototl

 in tlahquechol
 intzinitzca

 in ye ixquich in tlazoihuitl
 auh in tlapapalcocohuatl
 in tlapapalichcatl
 ca mochi niquittaz
 ca nel notequiuh
 ca ic onihuallihuoloc

to the people.
 It is here
 I shall unite
 its diverse people.
 And it is not in vain
 that I vanquish them.
 For this reason I shall see
 the House of Jade,
 the House of Gold,
 the House of Quetzal Feathers,
 the House of Emerald,
 the House of Marble,
 the House of Colored Crystal,
 the diverse feathers of
 the brilliant green-feathered
 bird,
 the flamingo,
 the brilliant black-feathered
 bird,
 all the precious feathers.
 And the many-colored serpents,
 the many-colored cotton.
 Indeed, I shall see it all.
 Truly, it is my charge.
 It is for this reason I stand
 brought here.

auh inin notahuane

ximitacatican

ma tihuian

ca nechca

in titlamatihui

auh niman ohuallaque in oncan

in itocayocan in ocopipillah

niman huallehuaque

oncan motlallico

in itocayocan

Acahualtzinco

oncan huecahuaca

oncan inxiuhmolpilli

chiuhcnahui anozo ome acatl

in inxiuhtlapohual

in huehuetque

ye omito

ihuan oncan quizque

oncan motlalliche

in Ocopilla

ihuan in itocayocan

And for this, O my fathers,

provide yourselves with

provisions for the road,

so that we may go.

It is there;

we go knowing it."

And then they came there

to the place named Ocopipillah

[They Observe the Burning

Pine Torch].

Then they left hitherward.

They came to settle down there

at the place named

Acahualtzinco [The Revered

Uncultivated Little Place].

There they stopped for a

long time.

There they bound their years

in 9, or perhaps 2 Reed

in the year count of the

ancients,

now it is said.

And from there they went out

from where they settled down

at Ocopilla

and also at the place named

Acahualtzinco
 auh niman ic acico
 in oncan Cohuacatepec
 in ihuicpa in Tullan

Acahualtzinco.
 And immediately they arrived
 there at Cohuatepec
 [On Serpent Hill],
 near Tollan [Among the Reeds].

40

auh in yehuatl in ihueltiuh
 in Huitzilopochtli
 in itoca Malinalxoch
 in iquac quicochcauhque
 in oquicxicauhque
 in ohualliz
 ic niman ye choca in Malinalxoch
 quimilhuia in itahuan
 notahuane
 campa tiazque
 ca nel otechnahualcauh
 in equixtiuh in Huitzilopochtli
 campa nohuian in tlahueliloc
 auh ma tictemocan in tlalli
 in canin tiezque
 ca ye nohuian onohuac
 auh niman oquittaque in tepeti

And that one, the elder sister
 of Huitzilopochtli
 named Malinalxoch,
 when they left her sleeping,
 they left her on foot.
 When she awakened,
 Malinalxoch immediately cried.
 She addresses her fathers,
 "O my fathers!
 Where shall we go?
 Because he secretly
 abandoned us.
 Huitzilopochtli, totally evil,
 made [them] leave.
 Let us search the earth
 for where we may go.
 Everywhere it is already
 settled."
 And then they saw the mountain

itoca Texcaltepetl

 in icpac omotlallique
 auh quin tlatlauhtique
 in yehuantin oncan chaneque
 in Texcaltepeca
 Niman oquimilhuique
 ca ye qualli
 oncan onximotlallican
 icpac in Texcaltepetl
 auh in yehuatl in Malinalxoch
 ye otztli
 ye huey ihtetl
 auh in otlacat in iconeuh
 in Malinalxoch oquichtli
 itoca Copil
 in ita
 itoca Chimalquauhtli

 tlatohuani Malinalco

named Texcaltepetl
 [Cavern Mountain]
 and settled on its summit.
 And then they humbly asked of
 those who lived there,
 the people of Texcaltepetl.
 Then they addressed them,
 "It is well.
 Settle down there
 on the top of Texcaltepetl."
 And that one, Malinalxoch,
 was already pregnant,
 already great in the belly.
 And he was born, her infant,
 the son of Malinalxoch,
 named Copil.
 His father,
 named Chimalquauhtli
 [Shielded Eagle]
 was ruler of Malinalco.

41

Auh in occentlamantli inin
 oncan omotlallique
 in Cohuatepec
 quin oncan huel omonextique

And the other separate group
 settled down there
 at Cohuatepec.
 They revealed themselves well

in Mexica Chichimeca
 auh in yehuantin in oncan chaneque

in Otomi

Zan quimotetzahua

quitohuaya

aquique

in campa ohuallaque

in nican omotlallico

campa inchan

ca amotlaca

ca cenca tlahueliloque

there,

the Mexica Chichimeca.

And the ones who were

the inhabitants there

were the Otomi.

And they were frightened.

They were saying,

"Who are they?

From where did they come

when they came to settle down

here?

Where is their homeland?

Indeed, they are inhumane;

indeed, they are very wicked."

Auh in yehuantin in Mexica

niman ye quiquetza

in inteocal

in ichan in Huitzilopochtli

niman ye quimana oncan

in Quauhxicalli

ihuan in yopico

ihuan Tlacochealco

Huitznahuac

Tlacatecpa Tzomolco

And they, the Mexica,

soon they raise up

their temple,

the home of Huitzilopochtli.

Soon they offer to him there

the Eagle Vase,

and also at Yopico,

and also at Tlacochealco,

Huitznahuac,

Tlacatecpa, Tzomolco,

Atempan
 Tezacacohuac Tlamatzinco
 Mollocotitla Nonohualco
 Cihuatepec Yzquitlan
 Milnahuac
 Cohuatixoxouhcan Aticpac
 ca huel oncan quincenquixti.
 quintecpan
 quinpouh
 in ixquich tlatlacatecollo
 in yehuatl in Huitzilopochtli
 ca yehica in teyacancauh
 imachcauh in Diablosme

Atempan,
 Tezacacohuac, Tlamatzinco,
 Mollocotitla, Nonohualco,
 Cihuatepec, Yzquitlan,
 Milnahuac,
 Cohuatl xoxouhcan, Aticpac.
 Indeed, he arranged them there;
 he lined them up;
 he counted them,
 all the devils,
 that one, Huitzilopochtli.
 It is because he was
 the people's leader,
 the superior of the Devils.

auh in yehuatl in Huitzilopochtli
 niman ye quiteca
 in itlach
 niman ye quimama in itzoapan
 auh niman ye ic queltzacua
 in atlaughtli
 in tlamimilolli oncan
 omotecac in atl
 otentimoma

And that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 soon he constructs
 his ball court.
 Then he gives his skull rack.
 Then quickly he blocks up
 the gully,
 and the elevation there
 spread out the water.
 It was taken captive
 by his lips.

itencopa omochiuh
 in Huitzilopochtli
 auh niman oquimilhui
 in ittahuan
 yehuantin Mexica
 notahuane
 ca ye omoma in atl

 xicaquican
 xictocacan huexotl
 ihuan in ahuehuetl in acatl
 in tolli atlacuezonolaxochitl

 ihuan ye quixinachohua
 in mimichtin in cueyame
 in axollome
 in acociltin aneneztin

 ahuihuitlame
 axaxayacatl
 in quatecomatl yoyolli
 auh ihuan in izcahuitl

 ihuan itotome
 in canauhtli in yacacintli
 in quecholtin in acatzanatl

It was done by order of
 Huitzilopochtli.
 And then he said
 to his fathers,
 they who were the Mexica,
 "O my fathers!
 Indeed, now the water is taken
 captive.
 Listen!
 Plant willows
 and also cypress, rushes,
 reeds, the flower of the
 water grass.
 And also, now propagate
 fish, frogs,
 the edible salamander larvae,
 the crayfish that appear in
 the water,
 small lagune worms,
 water insects,
 the large headed insects.
 And also the small grubs
 living near the water.
 And also the birds:
 duck, [another kind of] duck,
 flamingo, thrush, red wings,

tozcacoztique

small birds with the yellow
neck."

auh in Huitzilopochtli

And then Huitzilopochtli

oquito

said,

inin izcahuitl

"This small grub living near

the water,

ca huel nonacayo

it is truly my body,

nezo notlapallo

my blood, my color."

auh niman oncan oqueuh in icuic

And then he sang his song

there

cuicoyan

in the place where they sing.

ihuan mitotia

And also he danced.

in cuicatl itoca

His song is named

tlaxotecayotl

Tlaxotecayotl

[Lordship Flung Down]

ihuan tecuilhuicuicatl

and also Tecuilhuicuicatl

[Song of the Feast of Lords].

in oncan quitlaili

He composed it there.

44

auh niman oquitoque in itahuan

And then his fathers,

centzonhuitnahuac

the Centzonhuitznahuac said,

quilhuia in yehuatl Huitzilopochtli

they address that one,

Huitzilopochtli:

tlamacazque ca ye nican

"O Priest, it is now here.

yez in motequih

It will be your tribute.

inic tihualia	For this reason you came.
in titechiaz	You will await the people;
in tinenamquiz	you will find them
in nauhcampa	in four places.
in tictotopehuaz in altepetl	You will possess the city.
inic ticaciz	For that reason you will
	take it
melchiquih motzonteco	as your breast, as your head
ica	sometime,
ihuan moyollo mezo motlapallo	and also as your heart, your
	blood, your color.
inic	For that reason
tiquittaz	you will see it
in titechtenehuille	as you promised us:
in epapan chalchihuitl	its various jade
in tlazotetl	the precious stones;
in teocuitlatl	gold,
in quetzalli	quetzal feathers,
in nepapan tlazoihuitl	its various precious feathers;
in tlapapalcacahuatl	the many-colored cacao,
in tlapapalichcatl	the many-colored cotton;
ihuan in epapan xochitl	and also its various flowers,
in epapan xochiqualli	its diverse fruit,
in epapan netlamachtilli	its diverse riches.
ca nel oticnelhuayoti	Because you were the
	foundation of it.

otictzonteconti imaltepeuh

in nican Cohuatepec

na ye nican mocontlallica

in motahuan i momacehualhuan

in Azteca in Mexitin.

quitlatlauhtia yehuantin

in centzonhuitznahuac

You were put at the head of
their city

here in Cohuatepec.

Now it is here, your united
land,

your fathers, your subjects,
the Azteca Mexitin."

They prayed to him,

the Centzonhuitznahuac.

45

auh niman oquallan

in Huitzilopochtli

niman oquimilhui

tlein anquitohua

cuix amehuan anquimat in

cuix amotequiuh

cuix anechpanahua

ca nehuatl nicmati

in tlein nicchihuaz

auh niman ye mochichihua

in Huitzilopochtli

And then Huitzilopochtli
was angry.

Then he said to them,

"What are you saying?

Is it the case that you,
you know it?

Is it the case that it is
your tribute?

Is it the case that you
surpass me?

It is I, I know
what I will do!"

And immediately

Huitzilopochtli

adorned himself.

in oncan in ichan
 in teocalticpac
 in onnochichihuh
 inic onmoyaoacnichihuh

 zan ica necutli inic onmoxaxauh

 in quimixteyayahualti

 ihuan ichimal in concuic
 inic quinnamic in itlahuan

 inic micalque
 oncan in inan Huitzilopochtli

 itoca Coyolxauhcihuatl
 in onmoyaochichihuh
 niman ye huitz
 in quinpoloquihuh
 in quinnictiquihuh
 in itlahuan in centzonhuitznahuac

 oncan teotlachco

 in quinquah in itlahuan
 auh in yehuatl in inan

There in his home,
 at the top of the temple,
 there he adorned himself.
 With that he adorned himself
 for war.
 From time to time he painted
 himself with honey,
 with which he made circles
 around his eyes.
 And also he took his shield.
 With that he went to find
 his uncles.
 With that they waged war.
 There the mother
 of Huitzilopochtli,
 named Coyolxauhcihuatl,
 adorned herself for war there.
 Immediately he comes.
 He will go to destroy them;
 he will go to torture them,
 his uncles,
 the Centzonhuitznahuac.
 There in the ball court of
 the Gods
 he ate his uncles.
 And that one, his mother,

in quimonantica
 in itoca
 Coyolxauhcihuatl catca
 niman achtopa itech opeuh
 in quimicti
 in oncan teotlachco

 quiquehcoton
 oncan quiqua yenuatl
 in iyollo in Coyolxauhcihuatl
 quiqua in Huitzilopochtli

she who was the mother of him,
 whose name
 was Coyolxauhcihuatl,
 above all he began with her.
 He killed her.
 There in the ball court
 of the gods,
 he cut off her head.
 There he ate it, that one,
 the heart of Coyolxauhcihuatl;
 Huitzilopochtli ate it.

46

auh in Coyolxauh
 ca ihueltiuh catca
 in Centzonhuitznahuatl
 Auh in iquac in oquina
 yohual nepantla
 auh otlathuic
 tlanuizcalpan
 niman equimittaque
 in itahuan in imacehualhuan
 in Mexica
 za mochi elcoyontonqui

 in Coyolxauh in huan

And Coyolxauh
 was indeed the elder sister
 of the Centzonhuitznahuatl.
 And when he ate them,
 it was during the night.
 And when it became day,
 at dawn,
 then they saw them,
 his fathers, his subjects,
 the Mexica.
 They were all lying there
 with their chests opened,
 Coyolxauh and also

Centzonhuitznahua
 in oncan teotlachco

 aocmo tiay in iyollo
 mochi oquiqua in Huitzilopochtli
 ca cenca huey tzitzimitl
 nuey colleletli
 omochiuh in Huitzilopochtli

the Centzonhuitznahua.
 There in the ball court
 of the Gods
 their hearts were no longer.
 Huitzilopochtli ate them all.
 He is a very great devil,
 a great demon.
 It was done by Huitzilopochtli.

Auh in Mexica
 cenca omomahtique
 auh in yehuantin
 in centzonhuitznahuatl
 inic momatia
 in oncan Cohuatepec
 oncan yez in altepetl
 ye onca Mexico yez
 auh ca amo quinec in yehuatl
 Huitzilopochtli
 niman quicuitlacoyoni in atl
 quichic inin queitzaca
 in atlahtli in oncan catca
 in oncan monia in atl

 niman mochihuac

And the Mexica
 were very afraid.
 And those
 Centzonhuitznahuatl,
 they thought there
 in Cohuatepec
 was where the city should be.
 It is there Mexico should be.
 But that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 did not want it.
 Then he breached the water.
 He scraped it there where
 the gully was blocked up,
 where the water used
 to spread out.
 Then they were harmed:

in ahuehuatl in huexotl
 in acatl in tolli
 in atlacuezonalxochitl

 auh mochi micque in anemi

 in michin in cueyatl
 axollotl
 axaxayacatl
 in quatecomatl yoyolli
 ihuan acociltin
 aneneztin
 ihuan opoliuhque
 omochi yaque
 in cacanaughtin
 yacacintin
 quecholtin in teotzaname
 in aztatl
 in acoltlatlahque tozcacoztique

 in ye ixquich totome

the cypress, the willow,
 the rushes, the reeds,
 the flowers of the flowering
 water grass.

 And all died that lived in
 the water:
 the fish, the frogs,
 the larval salamander,
 the water insects,
 the large-headed insects,
 and also the crayfish
 that live in the water.
 And also they perished,
 those that were awaited:
 the duck,
 the [other kind of] duck,
 the flamingo, the starlings,
 the herons,
 the red-wings, the small bird
 with a yellow neck,
 all the birds.

48

auh niman ye hualpeuh
 in Huitzilopochtli

And immediately
 Huitzilopochtli
 began hitherwards.

in quinhualhuicac
 in itahuan in imacehualhuan
 in Mexica
 auh in oncan Cohuatepec
 oncan quilpique
 in inxiuhtlapohual
 Ome acatl

He brought them with him
 toward here,
 his fathers, his subjects,
 the Mexica.
 And there in Cohuatepec
 there they bound
 their count of years,
 in 2 Acatl.

49

Auh ce tecpatl 1168
 in tonalli
 ipan tiacat in Huitzilopochtli
 ipan compehualti
 in teyacanalizyotl
 in teomama
 in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui
 inic quinyacan Mexica

And in 1 Flint, 1168,
 in the summer,
 then Huitzilopochtli was born.
 Then he began there
 the leadership,
 the Teomama
 named Quauhtlequetzqui.
 With that, he led the Mexica.

50

Auh niman ye huitze
 acico in Tollan
 amo huecauhque in oncan
 niman hualmiquanique
 in Atlitlallacyan

And immediately they come,
 they come to arrive in Tollan.
 They did not stay there a
 long time.
 Then they moved toward here to
 Atlitlallacyan.

hualmiquanique	They moved toward here
Tequixquiac	to Tequixquiac.
oncan quichiuhque	There they made
in inchinan ⁶	their enclosure of corn
	stalks. ⁶
quitocaque in chinamitl ⁷	They called it the chinamitl. ⁷

51

Auh niman huallehuaque	And then they left
	toward here.
motlallico oncan	Coming to arrive
acico in Atenco	at the edge of the water,
	they came to settle
	down there.
(in oncan chaneque intlatohuani	(There the ruler of the
	inhabitants
itoca Tlahuizcalpotonqui teuchtl:	was named Lord
	Tlahuizcalpotonqui
	[Dusty Dawn].

6. or cane.

7. Molina (1977:21) defines *chinamitl* as a circle of corn stalks. Simeon, (1963:91) defines *chinamitl* as a fence of cane or corn stalks. By extension it can mean a section or district of a settlement. Karttunen (1983:52) defines it as an enclosed area. Leon translates this as *chinampa*, meaning literally "toward or from the *chinamitl*," but referring to the fields of drained swamp where agriculture was conducted. According to S.L. Cline (1986) *chinamitl* was used in Colhuacan wills for what is commonly called *chinampa*. The author may well mean "to build a *chinampa* here, but I have translated it literally.

cenca quintlazotlaque

in Mexica

quinnamictiaya in comiti

in caxitl)

niman oncan quimanque in intzompan

oncan oquitoque

inic axcan

itocayocan Tzompanco

oncan quinmacac ichpoch

in Tlahuizcalpotonqui teuchtli

in ichpoch itoca Tlaquilxochtzin

yehuati quinchiuh oncan

ye tlacati

inic ce cihuati itoca

Chimallaxochtzin

inic ome ya yehuati

in itoca

Huitzilihuitl

They loved the Mexica

very much.

They used to match a pot with
a bowl.)

There they placed their skull
rack on the ground.

There they named it,

so that today

the name of the place is

Tzompanco

[Place of the Skull Rack].

[There Lord Tlahuizcalpotonqui
gave them his maiden daughter.

His daughter was named

Tlaquilxochtzin

[Revered Burnished Flower].

She begat them there.

Three were born:

the first was a female named

Chimallaxochtzin

[Revered Shielded Water
Flower];

the second, later one,

was named

Huitzilihuitl

[Hummingbird Down];

inic ey itoca
 Tozpanxochtzin)

 niman onmotlallico in Mexica

 in quachilco
 auh niman acico
 in Xaltocan
 oncan ic ye mochinantia

 oncan quittocaque in tlaolli
 i huauhtli in etl in ayotl
 in chilcotl in xitomatl
 niman ye huitze
 in Epcohuac
 ca no oncan mochinantiaque

the third was named
 Tozpanxochtzin
 [Revered Yellow Flower].)
 Then the Mexica came to settle
 down
 there in Quachilco.
 And then they came to arrive
 in Xaltocan.
 there for the third time
 an enclosure was built.
 There they planted maize,
 amaranth, beans, gourds,
 chili peppers, tomatoes.
 Immediately they come
 to Epcohuac.
 There also an enclosure
 was made.

52

Auh niman motlallico

 in Ecatepec
 ihuan itocayocan Acalhuacan

 niman huallaque
 in oncan. Tolpetlac

And then they came to settle
 down
 in Ecatepec,
 and also at the place named
 Acalhuacan.
 Then they came
 there to Tolpetlac.

ye no ceppa hualliehuaque oncan
 motlallico itocayocan Huixachtitla
 auh niman huallaque
 motlallico
 itocayocan Tecpayocan
 oncan ye no ceppa inxiuhaolpilli

 Ome acatl
 niman huallaque
 motlallico
 in oncan Atepetlac
 auh niman hualliehuaque
 oncan motlallico
 itocayocan
 Cohuatl yayauhcan
 niman huallaque in oncan
 itocayocan Tepepanco
 hualliehuaque oncan
 motlallico
 in itocayocan
 Acuinahuac
 niman huallaque
 motlallico
 in oncan Chapoltepec

Once more they left there
 toward here,
 coming to settle down at the
 place named Huixachtitla.
 And then they came,
 coming to settle down
 at the place named Tecpayocan.
 There they once more bound
 their years
 in 2 Reed.
 Then they came,
 coming to settle down
 there in Atepetlac.
 And then they left toward here.
 They came to settle down there
 in the place named
 Cohuatl Yayauhcan.
 Then they came there to the
 place named Tepepanco.
 They left hitherwards,
 coming to settle down there
 in the place named
 Acuinahuac.
 Then they came,
 coming to settle down
 there at the rear of

in icuitlapilco

itocayocan

Techcantitlan

quin yehuantin yuh quitocayotiaque

in Mexica

Auh in oncan Chapoltepec

oncan ye no inxiuh quilpique

in xiuhlapohualli

Ome Acatl

Chapoltepec,

at the place with the name

Techcantitlan.

[Upon the Sacrificial Stone].

Later they, the Mexica, thus

gave it the name.

And there in Chapoltepec,

there now also they bound

their years,

in the count of years,

in 2 Reed.

53

auh niman oncan ye quinnahuatia

in Mexica

in yehuatl in Huitzilopochtli

ye quimilhuia in yehuantin

teomamaque

in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui

inic ome itoca Axollohua tlamacazqui

ihuan inic ey itoca Ococaltzin

auh in yehuantin

inin teomamaque

oquimilhui in Huitzilopochtli

And that one, Huitzilopochtli

now gives orders

to the Mexica.

Now he addresses those

Carriers of the God:

his name is Quauhtlequetzqui;

the second is named Axollohua,

the Priest;

and also, the third is named

Ococaltzin.

And to them,

these Carriers of the God,

Huitzilopochtli said,

notahuane in tlein mochiáz

oc xicchiyecan

ca anquittazque

tia oc xicchiyecan

ca nehuatl nicmati

ximochicahuan

ximotlapallocan⁸

ximochichicahuacan

ximocencahuacan

macamo nican in tiezque oc

nechca in titlamatihui

in oncan titlapiezque

Auh inin ma oc xiquinchiyecan

in techpolloquiuh

ontlamantin in ye huitze

"O my Fathers, yet await what
will happen!

Indeed, you will see it!

Await it still!

Indeed I myself know it.

Gather strength!

Color yourselves!⁸

Fortify yourselves!

Prepare yourselves,

so that we shall not still be
here!

There we are going to capture
something,

which we will conserve there.

And this, let us yet await
them.

They are coming to conquer us.

Two of them now come."

Auh in yehuatl

in itoca in Malinalxoch

in ihueltiuh

in Huitzilopochtli

And to that one

named Malinalxoch,

the elder sister

of Huitzilopochtli,

8. This has the sense of "Be noble!".

oquihui in iconauh
 in yehuati in itoca Copil
 quilhua
 nonantzine
 ca cenca nicmati
 onca moquichtiuh
 niman oquihui
 ca quemaca
 ca onca in motia
 itoca Huitzilopochtli

 inic nechcauh
 zan nechcochcauh
 nechnahualcauh
 in otlipan
 auh niman ic
 nican titotlallique
 in texcaltepeticpac
 niman oquitto in Copil
 ca ye qualli
 nonantzine
 ca ye nehuati nicmati
 ca nictemotiuh
 in canin
 otla huel matito
 in canin omotlallito

he said to her, her son,
 the one named Copil.
 He addresses her,
 "O my revered Mother!
 Indeed I know
 your elder brother is there."
 Then she said to him,
 "Indeed yes. It is certain
 your uncle
 named Huitzilopochtli
 is there.
 When he abandoned me,
 he left me sleeping.
 He secretly abandoned me
 on the road.
 And for that reason
 we settled here
 at the top of Texcaltepetl."
 Then Copil said to her,
 "It is well,
 my revered Mother,
 that I myself now know.
 Indeed, I am going to search
 for where
 he went to be content,
 where he went to settle down.

ca nicpopollotiuh

Indeed, I am going to destroy
him.

ca nicquatiuh

I am going to eat him.

Auh ca niquinpopollotiuh

And indeed, I am going to
destroy them.

ca niquinpehuatiuh

Indeed, I am going to vanquish
them.

in oquinhuicac in itahuan

He went with them, his fathers,
his subjects.

in imacehualhuan

And I know very well

auh ca cenca nicmati

how all his diverse gifts

in ixquich inemach

he took with him,

in itech pouhqui

that he might see them,

in quittaz

that he might honor

in quimahuizoz

his diverse riches.

in epapan netlamachtli

And indeed, I myself shall be,

auh ca nehuatl niyez

indeed, I shall have my

ca nehuatl nonemachez

portion

in ixquich in epapan

of all his diverse

chalchihuitl

jade,

in teocuitlatl in quetzalli

gold, quetzal feathers,

in epapan ihuitl

his diverse feathers,

in tlapapalcocohuatl

the many-colored serpents,

in tlapapalichcatl

the many-colored cotton,

in epapan xochitl

his various flowers,

in epapan xochiqualli

his diverse fruits.

auh inin
 nonantzine
 maca xitlaccoya
 ye niyaun
 nictemotium
 in tlahueliloc notiah
 cenca xinechmoxilli

And with this,
 O my revered Mother,
 do not be sad.
 Now I am going.
 I am going to search for him,
 my evil uncle.
 Goad me enough!

55

Auh ca niman ye ic
 huitz omocenca
 omochichih
 yenuatl in itoca Copil
 ca cenca huey tlahueliolc
 Auh ca cenca huey nahualli

 amo machihqui in inan
 in itoca Malinalxoch
 ca cenca tlahueliloc in Copil
 niman ye huitz ipan Ce calli xihuitl
 1285 anos
 oncan mocuepco?
 in itocayocan Zoquitzinco

 ye no ceppa huitz

And immediately following that
 he comes to prepare himself,
 to adorn himself,
 that one named Copil.
 He is very greatly evil.
 And he is a very great
 sorcerer.

 Not as great as his mother
 named Malinalxoch,
 but Copil is very evil.
 Now comes the year 1 House,
 A.D. 1285.
 He comes to return there
 to the place named Zoquitzinco
 [By the little muddy place].
 Quickly a second time he

	comes,
oncan mocuepco	he comes to return there
in itocayocan	to the place named
Itztapaltemoc	Itztapaltemoc
	[He descended to the paving
	stones].
Auh ca yehuatl in Copil	And it is that one, Copil,
ic mocuepa ipan moquixti	because he returns when he
	withdrew
Itztapaltepetl	from Itztapaltetl
	[Paving Stone Hill],
ic motocayotia in axcan	for this reason today
	it is named,
catiquitohua in mochi tlaçatl	it is called by all men
Itztapaltetitla	Itztapaltetitla
	[Upon the Paving Stone Rock].
Auh ca yehuatl in Copil	And indeed, that one, Copil,
ca inecuepa mochiuh in Itztapaltetl	indeed his return happened at
	Itztapaltetl,
in yehuatl in Copil	that one, Copil.
auh ye no ceppa	And quickly, a second time,

9. I am translating *mocuepa* here as "to return", but it can also mean "to change him/herself," as it seems to mean about Malinalxoch in paragraph 38: "*ihuan tlahuipochin mocuepa*," "And also a sorcerer, she changes herself." In relation to Copil, as well as Malinalxoch, *mocuepa* probably has a double meaning: he is described as "a great *nahualli*," or "sorcerer" for lack of a better term. *mocuepa* is used frequently in this paragraph in reference to Copil.

mocuepa
 in ichan
 in Texcaltepeticpac itoca
 Auh in axcan in Malinalco
 ca yehuatl quitocayotica

 ipampa ca yehuatl icaca
 itoca Malinalxoch
 inic monotza altepetl Malinalco

 quin yehuatl
 oncan ic tlatoca

 macatacito in itoca Malinalxoch

 inic acico
 Auh in yehuatl in Copil
 ye no ceppa huitz
 quihuica ichpoch
 itoca Atzcatlxochtzin¹⁰
 oncan mocuepaco
 in itocayocan Tecpantzinco

he returns
 to his home
 named Texcaltepeticpac.
 And today in Malinalco,
 it is that one who caused it
 to be named.
 It is because that one named
 Malinalxoch came on foot,
 that it is called the town of
 Malinalco,
 after her.
 For that reason it came to be
 named there.
 The one named Malinalxoch
 coming to arrive there,
 they gave it her name
 when she came to arrive.
 And that one, Copil,
 comes quickly a second time.
 He brings his maiden daughter
 named Atzcatlxochtzin¹⁰.
 There he comes to return to
 the place named Tecpantzinco
 [In the little Palace].

10. In paragraph 58 this is spelled *Azcatlxochtzin*, "Revered Ant Flower". I can find no *atzcatl*.

Auh in yehuati Huitzilopochtli
 niman huello
 quimohuelloquitac in ca yehuati

 in imach in ye huey
 in itoca Copil
 niman oquimihui in itahuan
 notahuane
 ximochichihuacan
 ximocencahuacan
 ca ye huitz in tlahueliloc i nomach
 ye niyauh
 nicpopolotih
 nicmictiz
 auh niman oquinamic
 in oncan itocayocan
 tepetzinco

 auh in oquittac
 oquihui

 ac tehuatl
 campa tihuitz
 quihualihui

And that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 then he cast down.
 He cast himself down
 on seeing it is that one
 his nephew, now big,
 named Copil.
 Then he addressed his fathers.
 "My fathers,
 make yourselves ready!
 Adorn yourselves!
 Now my evil nephew comes.
 Now I am going.
 I am going to destroy him.
 I shall kill him."
 And then he was near him.
 there in the place named
 Tepetzinco
 [Upon the revered little hill].
 And seeing him,
 he [Huitzilopochtli] addressed
 him [Copil],
 "Who are you?
 Whence do you come?"
 Here he [Copil] addressed
 him [Huitzilopochtli],

ca nehuatl
 oc ceppa conihui

 campa mochan
 nihualhuia ompa
 in Texcaltepeticpac
 niman oquitto in Huitzilopochtli
 ca ye qualli
 cuix amo tehuatl in omochiuh
 i nohuelitih
 in Malinalxoch
 niman oquito in Copil
 ca quemaca ca nehuatl
 auh ca nimitzaciz

 ca nimitzpopolotih
 tle ipampa in ticochcauh
 in ticnahualcauh i nonantzin

 auh ca nimitztlatlatic
 conihui in Huitzilopochtli
 ca ye qualli tlachihualauh

 niman ye ic monahualtotoca
 niman oc acique
 in Copil

"It is I."
 Once more he [Huitzilopochtli]
 addressed him [Copil] there,
 "Where is your home?"
 "I came from there,
 Texcaltepeticpac."
 Then Huitzilopochtli said,
 "It is well.
 Are you not the one engendered
 by my elder sister,
 Malinalxoch?"
 Then Copil said to him,
 "Indeed yes, it is I.
 And indeed, I will take you
 captive.
 I am going to destroy you,
 because you let her sleep.
 You secretly abandoned my
 revered mother.
 And indeed, I will kill you."
 Huitzilopochtli addressed him.
 "It is well [I] saw [you]
 coming."
 Soon he was taken by surprise.
 Then they arrived again with
 Copil

in oncan Tepetzinco
 auh in iquac in omic
 ca niman quiquehcoton
 niman ye queltequi
 in oquetec
 conanilli in iyollo
 auh icpac quitlalli
 in Tepetzinco in itzonteco
 in axcan ye itocayocan Acopilco

 auh itzonteco in Copil oncan
 mic

there at Tepetzinco.
 And when he died
 it is then he decapitated him.
 Then he swallowed it.
 Swallowing it,
 he took his heart there.
 At the top of the little hill
 where right now
 the place named Acopilco is,
 he set down his head.
 And there the head of Copil
 died.

57

auh in yehuatl in Huitzilopochtli
 in oconmicti
 niman ye ic hualmotlallotia
 ica in iyollo in Copil

 auh in yehuatl
 in teomama
 in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui
 quinamictiuh in Huitzilopochtli

 in oquinamic
 equihui

And that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 causing him to die there,
 immediately he covers
 the heart of Copil here
 with earth.
 And that one,
 the Carrier of the God,
 named Quauhtlequetzqui,
 was going to accompany
 Huitzilopochtli.
 As he went with him,
 he addressed him,

oticmihiyohuilti
 tlamacazque
 oquihualihu:
 tia xihuallah
 Quauhtlequetzque
 izca in iyollo
 in tlahueliloc in Copil
 ca onimictito
 auh xicmotlalochti in tollitic
 in acahitic
 ic tiquittaz oncan
 manı tepetlatl
 oncan mocehui in Quetzalcohuatl
 in iquac yah
 auh in icpal centetl tlahuh ye
 centetl tlitic
 oncan timoquetzaz
 in ticonmayahuiz
 in yehuatl in iyollo in Copil
 auh niman ye ic huitz
 in Quauhtlequetzqui
 in quimayahuitz yollotli
 in onacico in oncan
 oquitlatenehuilli
 niman oquittac in tepetlatl
 oncan moquetz

"We endured hardship,
 O Priest."
 Here he addresses him,
 "Come hither,
 O Quauhtlequetzqui!
 Here is the heart
 of the evil Copil.
 Indeed, I went to kill (him).
 Take it among the reeds,
 among the rushes,
 where you will see there
 a covering of tepetate.
 There Quetzalcohuatl rested
 when he went.
 And his seat of authority is
 red and black.
 There you will stand up
 and hurl down
 the heart of Copil."
 And immediately
 Quauhtlequetzqui comes
 to hurl down the heart.
 Coming to arrive there where
 he was promised,
 then he saw the tepetate.
 There he stood up,

in conmayauh yollotli	and he hurled down the heart.
niman ompa neutzito	Then going to stand up there
in tollotic	among the reeds,
in acashtic	among the rushes,
niman ye ic oncan mocuepa	he immediately returned
in oconmayauhito	to where he went to hurl down
in yollotli	the heart,
in yehuatl in Quauhcohuatl	that one, Quauhcohuatl,
anozo Quauhtlequetzqui	or perhaps Quauhtlequetzqui.
contlamantilia in intlatol huehuetque	It is marked down there in the
	words of the ancients
in ac yehautl quimayauhico	that he, coming, hurled down
yollotli	the heart.
ipampa ce tlacatl	Because of this, the man,
in Quauhtlequetzqui	Quauhtlequetzqui,
no ce tlacatl in Quauhcohuatl	or the man Quauhcohuatl,
inic oc acico tehuan	came to arrive with someone
in Tenochtitlan	at Tenochtitlan.
auh in Quauhtlequetzqui	And Quauhtlequetzqui
oncan mic in Chapultepec	died there at Chapultepec
ipan ce calli xihuitl	in the year 1 House,
1285 anos	A.D. 1285.
Auh in axcan tictocayotia	And today we name it
Tlalcocomocco	Tlalcocomoco
	[Place where the earth breaks]
in oncan moquetz in Quauhcohuatl	there where Quauhcohuatl

inic quimayahuico yollotli

stood up

when he hurled down the heart.

58

Auh in ipan

And at this time,

ometeneuh ce calli

in the stated year,

xihuitl 1285 anos

1 House, A.D. 1285,

inic quinhualpehuaya Mexica

it was then the Mexica were
conquered

in Malinalca

here by the Malinalca,

ihuan huey Tenanco inchan

and also by those whose home
is great Tenanco

(Place within the walls).

yehuantin oncan in quimictique

They are the ones who caused

Quauhtlequetzqui

Quauhtlequetzqui to be killed
there.

in yuh quitohua

Thus it is said.

yece amo yaomiquin

But Quauhtlequetzqui did not

in Quauhtlequetzqui

die in war,

ipampa in Copil

because Copil

in ichpoch quihualhuica

brought his maiden daughter
with him.

ca inic quinhualpehuaya Mexica

It was when they vanquished
the Mexica here

in iquac temacheutzico

that he came to fall into
someone's hands.

ye quin iquac oncan
 quimaca in Quauhtlequetzqui
 in Azcatl XOCHTZIN
 oc quipilhuatitia

 oncan tlacat
 in itoca Cohuatzontli

 itlazopiltzin in Quauhtlequetzqui

 ipampa inin
 amo huel momati
 mellahuac oc quezqui xihuitl
 in Quauhtlequetzqui
 in oyuh temachuetzico
 Copil

 macihui in ipan ce Calli
 xihuitl quimachiyotia
 huehuetque
 in mic
 yece amo yaomic
 zan momiquilli oncan
 in Chapultepec
 in tiein ipan xihuitl

A short time thereafter
 Quauhtlequetzqui took
 Azcatl XOCHTZIN.
 By then he had caused her
 to conceive.
 Here [the one] named
 Cohuatzontli
 [Serpent hair] was born.
 He was the beloved [illegitimate]

 child of Quauhtlequetzqui.
 Because of this
 it is not truly known
 how many more years
 Quauhtlequetzqui endured
 after he was sent so that
 Copil came to fall
 in someone's hands.
 Although it is marked by the
 ancients that at this time,
 the year 1 House,
 he died,
 but not that he died in war.
 Only that he was dead there
 at Chapultepec
 in that year.

ce calli xihuitl
 ye mellahuac in ipan
 quinnualpehuaya
 Mexica in oncan
 Chapultepec
 yehuatl iquac mic Copil

year 1 House,
 it is truly the time
 they vanquished
 the Mexica there
 at Chapultepec,
 when Copil died.

Auh in Mexica niman ic yaque
 Acuezcamac
 quizque nuenuetlan
 atlixocan teoculhuacan
 Tepetocan Huitzilac
 Culhuacan Huixachtla
 Cahualtepec Tetlacuixomac
 Tlapitzahuayan
 motlallito ipan ome tochtli
 xihuitl 1286 anos.
 in motecato cequintin Mexica
 in Tlapitzahuayan
 ompa matlacxiuhtito

And immediately they went to
 Acuezcamac.
 They went out to Huenuetlan,
 Atlixocan, Teoculhuacan,
 Tepetocan, Huitzilac,
 Culhuacan, Huixachtla,
 Cahualtepec, Tetlacuixomac,
 Tlapitzahuayan.
 They went to settle down in
 the year 2 Rabbit, A.D. 1286.
 Some of the Mexica
 went to be settled there
 in Tlapitzahuayan
 for a period of 10 years.

11 Acatl xihuitl 1295 anos
 ipan in yepan Quecholli

The year 11 Reed, A.D. 1295.
 This time it was the time of

in inmetztlapohual catca
 huenuetque
 inic zacatl quiquizaya
 Mexica
 zan quin motetzonhuiayan

 inin tzoncuetiexquitlalia Mexica

 in Chalca oncan quinchololtique

 quintetepachoque
 ye no ceppa ompa
 yahque in Chapultepec
 iquac intlatocauh mochiuhticatca
 in huehue Huitzilihuitl
 in Mexica

Quecholli

according to the ancients'
 count of months,
 when the Mexica used to go out
 to the grassy field.
 Only then was the time they
 took people with snares.
 The Mexica placed them by the
 hair on tanned skins.
 The people of Chalco made them
 flee there.
 They threw stones at them then.
 Quickly, a second time,
 they went there to Chapultepec,
 when Huitzilihuitl the Elder
 was made the ruler
 of the Mexica.

Auh inic ontlamantli
 in oncan mochiuh
 in Chapultepecuitlapilco
 oncan quinyaoyahualloloque
 in Mexica
 in ixquich
 in Tepaneca Azcapotzalco

And a second thing
 happened there
 at the rear of Chapultepec.
 There they surrounded the
 Mexica in battle,
 all of the people of
 Tepaneca Azcapotzalco,

ihuan in Culhuaque
 in Xochimilca in Cuitlahuaca
 ihuan Chalca
 ompa mocenquixtique
 mocentliallique
 in altepetl ipan tlaca in ixquich
 in ompa in Chalca
 ichan in itoca
 huehue Cacamatl
 teuctli intlatocauh catca
 in Chalca Amaquemeque
 oihui inin quitohua
 Mexica

and also the people of
 Culhuacan,
 Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac,
 and also the people of Chalco.
 There they were gathered,
 they were assembled,
 all the people from each city.
 There [were] the people of
 Chalco,
 which was the home of [the
 one] named
 Cacamatl the Elder,
 who was the ruler
 of the people of
 Amaquemecan Chalco.
 It was thus said
 by the Mexica.

Auh yece i nehuatl nican
 ninotocatenehua
 Domingo de San Anton Munon
 Chimalpahin
 onictepotztocac
 onicnemilli
 in Chalca xiutlapohualliamatl

But, however, here I myself,
 I mention my name,
 Domingo de San Anton Munon
 Chimalpahin.
 I pursued it.
 I looked into
 the Chalcan book of the count

in iquac ipan in
yaoyahualliloque Mexica

in oncan Chapultepec

in ipan Ome Acatl
1299 anos

oc yehuantin inpan iquac tlatocati

in huel oc Chichimeca tlatoque

in acico Chalcatlalpan

inic ce itoca Yacahuetzqui

teohua teuhctli intlatocauh

ihuan imacicauh¹¹

in Chalca in Tlalmanalco

Auh inic ome itoca Atonaltzin

Chichimeca teuhctli

tlatohuani

in tlatocauh ihuan

imacicauh in Totolimpaneca

Amaquemecan

of years

as to when, in what time,
they surrounded the Mexica
in war

there at Chapultepec.

The time was 2 Reed,
A.D. 1299.

They still ruled over them
then,

other Chichimec rulers
who came to arrive in the
land of Chalco.

The first is named
Yacahuetzqui,

Priest Lord, their ruler,
and he was their leader¹¹

in Tlalmanalco Chalco.

And the second was named
Atonaltzin,

Chichimeca Teuhctli [Lord],
Tlahtohuani [Ruler].

He was their ruler, and also
he was their leader in
Totolimpaneca Amaquemecan.

11. Read "imachcauh.

inic ey itoca
 Guahuitzatl teuhctli
 tlaillotlac teuhctli
 intlatocauh ihuan no imacicauh

 in Tenanca
 inic nanui itoca Itzquauhtzin

 atlahtecatl teuhctli
 intlatocauh in Tenanca atlahteca

 ihuan occequintin in Chalca
 tlatoque
 in amo nican niquintocatenehua

 in impan mochiuh
 inic yaoyahualliloque Mexica

 in oncan Chapultepec
 auh in quitenehua Mexica
 in itoca huehue Cacamatzin

 ca aic otlatocat in Amaquemecan

 zan mochipa tlatocapilli catca

The third was named
 Lord Guahuitzatl,
 the Tlaillotlac Teuhctli.
 He was the ruler and also the
 leader
 of the people of Tenanco.

 The fourth was named
 Itzquauhtzin,
 Atlahtecatl Teuhctli,
 the ruler of the people of
 Tenanco Atlahtlan.
 And also some other Chalcan
 rulers,
 whose names I cannot mention
 here,
 happened to be with them
 when they surrounded the
 Mexicans in battle
 there at Chapultepec.
 And the Mexica mention
 the name of the revered
 Cacamatl the Elder.
 Indeed, he never ruled at
 Amaquemecan.
 He was always only a kingly
 noble,

huey tiacauh
 ye ixhuihtzin
 in Atonaltzin
 Chichimeca teuhctli
 tlatohuani Amaquemecan
 auh ye quin zatapan
 in omonemiltico Tlalticpac
 ayemo ipan in oncan
 quitenehua Mexica

a great warrior,
 yet the revered grandchild of
 Atonaltzin,
 Chichimeca Teuhctli,
 the ruler of Amaquemecan.
 And it was only later
 that he came to live on earth,
 not yet in the time
 the Mexica mention there.

Auh in Chapultepec oncan
 cacique
 in huehue Huitzilihuitl
 in yehuatl in achtopa intlatohuani
 catca Huitzilihuitl
 ompa quihuicaque
 in Culhuacan
 ompa quimictiaque in Culhuaque

And there in Chapultepec
 they took prisoner
 Huitzilihuitl the Elder.
 That one, Huitzilihuitl,
 was their first ruler.
 They took him there
 to Culhuacan.
 There the people of Culhuacan
 killed him.

Auh niman ye ic miquania
 in Mexica
 in oncan Acuezcocomac
 oncan quinxinque

And the Mexica immediately
 moved
 there to Acuezcocomac.
 Then they worked there.

oncan quicuique in atlatl
 inic axcan itocayocan
 Atlacuihuayan

niman ye ic huitze
 onmotlallico in Mazatlan

ihuan Tepetocan
 mochi ic motecaque in Mexica

auh ca niman oncan huallaque
 in Culhuacan

auh in yehuatl in Coxcoxtli
 tlatohuani in oncan Culhuacan
 macihui quimachiyotitihui

huehuetque Mexica

yehuatl ipan

in Achitometl

tlatohuani in oncan Culhuacan

(yece i nehuatl Domingo de Sⁿ

Anton Munon Chimalpahin

huellonicnemilli in Mexica

xiuhtlapohuallamatl

oniquittac in ipan omoteneuh tlapac

in ome acatl xihuitl 1299 anos

There they took the atlatl,
 so that today the place is
 named Atlacuihuayan

(Place where the
 spearthrower was taken).

Immediately they come.

They come to settle down there
 at Mazatlan,

and also at Tepetocan;

all across it the Mexica were
 extended.

And then they came there to
 Culhuacan.

And that one, Coxcoxtli,
 was ruler there in Culhuacan,

although the ancient Mexica
 came to note

that it was the time

of Achitometl

as ruler there in Culhuacan.

(However, I, Domingo de San

Anton Munon Chimalpahin,

I looked well into the Mexica

book of the count of years.

I saw in the time stated above,

the year 2 Reed, A.D. 1299,

yehuati in Coxcoxtli tlatocati
 in oncan Culhuacan)
 niman oquimilhui inin Mexica
 in Huitzilopochtli
 notahuane
 xictlatlauhtican in Coxcoxtli
 canin tiezque
 niman oquitlatlauhtique in Coxcoxtli
 quilhuique
 tlatcatle tlatohuanie
 ca timitztotlatlauhtilia
 campa nel tiazque
 ca onelloticmatque
 in matzin.
 in motepetzin
 ma xitechmotlaoccolili achitzin
 in motlaltzin
 in oncan ipan
 tonyezque
 niman oquinnanquilli
 oquitto in Coxcoxtli
 ca ye qualli

that one, Coxcoxtli, is ruler
 there in Culhuacan.)
 Then Huitzilopochtli said this
 to the Mexica:
 "O my fathers!
 Ask Coxcoxtli
 where we should be!"
 Then they asked Coxcoxtli;
 they addressed him,
 "O Lord, O Ruler!
 Indeed, we beseech you!
 Where in truth shall we go?
 Certainly we know
 it is your revered water,
 your revered hill.
 Please succor us with a little
 of your revered land.
 There on it,
 there we shall be."
 Then he answered them;
 Coxcoxtli said,
 "It is well."

Auh niman oquinnahuati
 in itlatocahuan in Coxcoxtli

And then Coxcoxtli spoke
 to his rulers,

in Culhuaque
 quimilhuia
 campan
 yezque
 oquilhuique in itlatocahuan
 tlatcatle tlatohuanie
 ma ompa huian
 ma ye ompa yeti in Tepetitlan

 in nican Tizapan
 niman ompa oquincahuato

 oquintlallito in ompa Tizaapan

 auh niman oquinonotzque
 in tlatohuani in Coxcoxtli
 quilhuia
 tlatohuanie
 ca otinquincahuato
 in Tizaapan in Mexica
 niman oquito in Coxcoxtli
 ca ye qualli
 ca amo tlaca
 ca cenca tlahuelliloque
 azompa tiamizque

the residents of Culhuacan.
 He addresses them,
 "In what place
 should they be?"
 His ruler's said to him,
 "O Lord! O Ruler!
 Let them go there.
 Let them now go there next to
 the little hill"
 here at Tizapan."
 Then they went there to leave
 them.
 They went to settle them there
 in Tizaapan.
 And then they called to
 the ruler, Coxcoxtli.
 They address him,
 "O Ruler!
 Indeed, we went to leave
 the Mexica there in Tizaapan.
 Then Coxcoxtli said,
 "It is well.
 Indeed, they are inhumane.
 Indeed, they are very wicked.
 Perhaps they will be finished
 there;

cohuaquallozque

they will be eaten by
serpents;

ca cenca inchan in cocohua

it is very much the home of
serpents."

66

Auh in yehuantin in Mexica

And they, the Mexica

cenca opapacque

rejoiced very much when

in oquimittaque in cocohua

they saw the serpents.

zan moch yehuantin

they cooked them for

in quinmopahuaxillia

themselves.

in quinmotlehuachillia

they roasted them for

themselves;

in quiqua yehuantin Mexica

The Mexica ate them.

67

Auh niman ye quitohua

And immediately, it is said,

in Coxcoxtli oquinnamic

Coxcoxtli thought it.

ye quimilhuia

Now he addresses them,

Culhuaquehe

"O People of Culhuacan!

in anquincahuato tla tiquimittati

You have not seen those you

went to leave.

cuix omicque

Perhaps they died."

niman oquilhuique

Then they said to him,

ca ye qualli

"It is well,

tlacatle tlatohuanie

O Lord, O Ruler,

ma tiquimittatin
 auh in oquimonittaque
 tlapopotztouque
 poctli mani
 tlatlatia
 in ipan onacique
 niman quimilhuique
 ohuanquihyohuique Mexicaye
 zan tamechittaco
 tamechtlapallico
 quen ancate
 niman oquinhualnanquillique

 oquimilhuique
 oantechmocnellique
 ca tipacticate
 quimonilhuique
 ca ye qualli
 ye tihui
 huallaque in tecpan
 niman ye quinonotza
 in Coxcoxtli
 ye quilhua
 tlacatle tlatohuanie
 ca tiquimonittato

that we go to see them."
 And they saw it there.
 They were smoking something.
 Smoke is extended;
 they are burning something.
 When they arrived there,
 then they addressed them,
 "O how you suffer, Mexicans!
 Only we come to see you.
 We come to greet you.
 How are you?"
 Then they responded to
 them here.
 They addressed them,
 "You favor us.
 Indeed, we are content."
 They addressed them there,
 "It is well.
 Now we are going."
 They came to the palace.
 Immediately they called
 to Coxcoxtli.
 Now they address him,
 "O Lord! O Ruler!
 Indeed, we went to see
 them there.

ca oquintlatlamiqne
 in cocohua
 in oquinquaque
 ca yocaitijque in cocohua

ca otlanque
 niman oquitto in Coxcoxtli
 otla xiquimittacan
 ca tlahuelliloque
 ma quichiuhticcan
 maca xiquinnotzacan

Indeed, they destroyed
 the serpents.
 They ate them.
 Indeed, they appropriated the
 serpents.
 Indeed, they are finished."
 Then Coxcoxtli said,
 "If you should see them,
 who are so wicked
 that they should be so
 occupied,
 do not call to them!"

Auh in Mexica in yehuecahua
 ye quinmocihuamontia
 in imichpochhuan in Culhuaque
 in yehuantin Mexica
 auh in Culhuaque
 ye quinmomontia
 in Mexica in intelpochhuan
 ye nellihui in inpilhuan¹²

And now the Mexica stayed
 for a long time.
 Now those Mexica took as
 daughters- in-law
 the maidens of the people of
 Culhuacan.
 And the people of Culhuacan,
 now they married their
 daughters
 to the young men of the Mexica.
 Now they mixed their
 children.¹²

Auh in tlatohuani Coxcoxtli
 oncatca yeintin
 ipilhuan
 inic ce itoca
 huehue tezozomocitli
 inic ome itoca
 huehue Acamapichtli
 in zatepan in ompa tlatocat
 in Culhuacan
 inic ey cihuatl amo huel momati
 in itoca
 quimocihuahuati
 in itoca
 Opochtli in Itztahuatzin

 Zan huel Mexicatli
 tequihua
 in ceme Mexica

And from the ruler Coxcoxtli
 there were three
 of his children:
 the first was named
 Tezozomocitli the Elder;
 the second was named
 Acamapichtli the Elder,
 who later ruled there
 in Culhuacan;
 the third was a woman
 whose name is unknown.
 She was married to him
 whose name was
 Opochtli Itztahuatzin
 [He goes out of sight on
 the left hand],
 who was only pure Mexican,
 a valient warrior,
 one of the Mexica.

12. This could also be read, "Now they are thus truly their (Mexica and Culhuaque) children." Additionally, it could be read as "they mixed their nobles."

ihuan oncan mocihuahuatique
 Culhuacan
 yehuatl in itoca Cohuatzontli
 in conan ichpoch
 in Acxoquauhtli
 tlatohuani catca
 in cihuapilli conan
 itoca Nazohuatl

And also they were married
 there in Culhuacan.
 The one named Cohuatzontli
 received the maiden daughter
 of Acxoquauhtli,
 who was the ruler.
 He took here the Lady
 whose name was Nazohuatl.

71

Auh niman ohualpanoque
 in oncan Culhuacan in Mexica
 oquinhuahuicaque in incihuahuan
 in imichpochhuan in Culhuaque
 ye quinpilhuatia in oncan
 ihtic altepel
 in Culhuacan

And then the Mexica crossed
 over the water toward here,
 there in Culhuacan.
 Their wives, the young women
 of Culhuacan,
 accompanied them here.
 Already they had conceived
 children with them
 there within the city
 of Culhuacan.

72

Auh in ipan
 omoteneuh
 Ome acatl xihuitl 1299 anos
 in ipan toxiuhmolpilli

And at this time,
 in the stated year,
 2 Reed, A.D. 1299,
 then they bound our years.

in iquac oncan callaquico
 ipan altepetl Culhuacan in Mexica
 ye yuh nepa
 matlacpohualxihuitl ipan
 cempohualloncaxtolli ipan
 ce xihuitl
 ompa hualquizque
 inchan Aztlan
 in ixquich in nohuian otlipan
 ohualnientiaque
 inic oncan motlallico Culhuacan
 in ipan
 tlatohuani omoteneuh Coxcoxtli

When the Mexica came to enter
 there,
 into the city of Culhuacan,
 it had already been
 236 years since
 they went out from there,
 their homeland Aztlan,
 toward here,
 all made to live everywhere on
 the road toward here,
 when they came to settle there
 in Culhuacan
 in the time of
 the stated ruler, Coxcoxtli.

Auh ihuan ye yuh nepa
 matlacpohual xihuitl ipan
 cempohuallonmacuilli xihuitl
 ompa hualquizque
 ic quizaco
 in quinehuayan Chicomoztoc
 inic nohuian otlipan hualnientiaque

And it had also been
 225 years since
 they went out from there
 toward here,
 by means of coming to go out
 from Quinehuayan Chicomoztoc,
 so that they were made to live

inic niman oncan ocallaquico
 Culhuacan
 oncan omotlallico
 in ipan omoteneuh Ome acatl
 iquac oncan quitlallique
 niman in Tenochtzin
 in quinyacanaz Mexica
 oncan quilpillique in ixiuh
 ic macuilpa
 oncan quilpillitacico
 in inxiuh Mexica
 in ixquich ica ompa ic
 hualquizque
 Aztlan
 inic cenca huecauhtica

 inic hualmotlatlallitiaque

 inic nohuian in otlipan
 ohualnientiaque huehuetque
 inic ohuacico
 Culhuacan

everywhere on the road toward
 here.

When they came to enter there
 in Culhuacan,

they came to settle there
 in the stated time, 2 Reed.

When they set him down there,
 then the revered Tenoch
 would lead the Mexica.

There they bound the years
 for the fifth time;

when coming to arrive there,
 the Mexica bound their years.

From the time when
 they went out from there

in Aztlan toward here,

then they were a very
 long time

when they were caused to be
 placed here.

So that the ancients were made
 to live everywhere on the road
 when they came to arrive here
 in Culhuacan.

10 Acatl xihuitl 1307 anos
 ipan in moaiquillico
 in tlacatl Coxcoxtli
 tlatohuani catca Culhuacan
 oncan quincauhcia in itic yaltepeuh
 in Mexica
 ye yuh chiuhcnauh xihitl
 oncan motlallico
 Auh ic niman oquauhtlato
 in Achitometl
 in oncan Culhuacan

The year 10 Reed, A.D. 1307.
 At this time the Lord
 Coxcoxtli came to die.
 He was the ruler of Culhuacan.
 There he made the Mexica leave
 from within his city
 9 years before,
 when they came to settle there.
 And; thereby, Achitometl
 then goverened there
 in Culhuacan.

75

13 Acatl xihuitl 1323 anos
 ipan in oncan
 cempohualxiuhtique
 on macuiltique in Tizaapan
 Culhuacan in Mexica
 inic onoque

The year 13 Reed, A.D. 1323.
 At this time the Mexica
 had spent
 25 years
 at Tizaapan Culhuacan,
 so that they were settled.

76

Auh in yehuatl niman oquimilhui
 in itahuan
 in Huitzilopochtli
 quimilhui
 notahuane

And then that one,
 Huitzilopochtli,
 addressed his fathers.
 He addressed them,
 "O my fathers!

oc ce tlacatl in neciz

itoca yaocihuatl

ca nocitzin

Auh ca

tiquixnextizque

auh tia xiccaquican

notahuane

ca amo nican

in tiezque

ca nechca

in titlamatihui

in oncan titlapiezque

auh ca amo zannen

in tiazque

in tiquintiacahuizque

in Culhuacan

ca ticacocuizque

in tomiuh in tochimil

auh in axcan ximochicahuacan

ximocencahuacan

ca ohuanquicacque

in oncan ixneciz

in yaocihuatl

Another person will appear.

Her name is Yaocihuatl

[Woman of War/Warrior Woman].

She is my revered grandmother.

And indeed,

we shall acquire it.

And please listen,

O my fathers.

It is not here

that we shall be.

It is there

that we are going to capture

it.

There we shall guard it.

And it is not in vain

that we shall go.

We are going to treat

the people

of Culhuacan as slaves.

Indeed, we shall raise up

our arrow, our shield.

And now, fortify yourselves!

Adorn yourselves!

Indeed, you heard it here!

She will appear there,

Yaocihuatl,

in nocitzin
 auh ca namechnahuatiz tla xihuian
 xiquitlaniti in ipiltzin
 in ichpoch in Achitometl

huel yehuatl in itlazopiltin

anquitlanilizque
 ca nehuatl nicmati
 namechmacaz

my revered grandmother.
 And indeed, I order you to go.
 Go ask Achitometl for his
 revered child,
 his maiden daughter.
 That one is truly his beloved
 child.
 You will ask for her.
 Indeed, I myself know it;
 I shall give [her] to you."

77

Auh niman oyaque in Mexica
 oquitlanito in ichpoch
 in Achitometl
 oquitlatlauhtique in Mexica
 quilhaia
 nopiltzin
 tlacatle tlatohuanie
 ca timitztotlatlauhtilia
 in timocolhuan
 in timomacehualhuan
 ihuan in ixquichtin in Mexica
 ca ticmomacahuiliz
 titechmomaquiliz

And then the Mexica went.
 They went to request of
 Achitometl his maiden daughter.
 The Mexica implored him.
 They address him,
 "O my revered child [noble]!
 O Lord! O Ruler!
 Indeed, we respectfully
 implore you,
 we who are your grandfathers,
 we who are your subjects,
 and also all of the Mexica.
 Indeed, you will concede her.
 Respectfully, you will give

in mocozqui
 in moquetzal
 in mochpochtzin
 in toxhuuhtzin
 in cihuapilli
 ca ompa motlapieilitica

 in oncan Tepetitlan Tizaapan
 auh niman oquihto in Achitometl
 ca ye qualli Mexicaye
 ma xichuicacan
 niman oquinmacac
 in Mexica
 oquihuicace in ichpoch
 in Achitometl
 caxitique
 ocontiallito
 in oncan Tizaapan
 niman ye quitohua
 in Huitzilopochtli
 quihuia in intoca
 teonanaque
 axoiloehua tiamacazqui
 ihuan in Quauhtlequetzqui
 anoze Quauhcoahutl

to us
 your jewel,
 your precious feather,
 your revered maiden daughter,
 our revered grandchild,
 the Lady.
 Indeed, there she is conserved
 for something,
 there in Tepetitlan Tizaapan."
 And then Achitometl said,
 "It is well, O Mexica,
 that you take her."
 Then he gave [her]
 to the Mexica.
 They took the maiden daughter
 of Achitometl.
 They drew near her..
 They went to set her down
 there at Tizaapan.
 Immediately Huitzilopochtli
 says,
 he addresses those named
 Carriers of the God,
 Axoiloehua the priest,
 and also Quauhtlequetzqui,
 or perhaps Quauhcoahutl,

quimilhuia	he addresses them,
notahuane	"O my fathers!
namechnahuatia	I order you!
in ichpoch in Achitometl xicmictican	Kill the maiden daughter of
	Achitometl!
xicxipehuacan	Flay her!
in iquac in oanquixipeuhque	When you have flayed her,
ce tlacatl xiconquican in tlamacazqui	dress a man, a priest, in it."

78

auh niman ye quimictia	And they immediately kill her.
ye quixipehua	Now a man, a priest,
in ce tlacatl tlamacazqui	flays her.
auh niman oquitto in Huitzilopochtli	And then Huitzilopochtli said,
notahuane	"O my fathers!
tia xicotzati in Achitometl	Go call Achitometl!"
niman oyaque in Mexica	Then the Mexica went.
oquintzato	They went to call him;
quilhuia	they address him,
totecuiyoye noxhuihtzine	"Our Lord! O my grandfather!
tlacatle tlatohuanie	O Lord! O Ruler!
timitztotlahcahualtilizque	We will restrain you.
timitztotlapololtilizque	We will sooth you,
in timacehualhuan	we who are your subjects.
ca mitzmotlatlauhtilia in mocolhuan	Indeed, your grandfathers,
in Mexica	the Mexica, respectfully

ca quitohua ma quimotilliqui

ma quimotlapalhuiqui

in teotzin

ca ticontonchillia

implore you.

Indeed, it is said that he is

to be honored,

he is to be saluted,

the revered god.

Indeed, we are summoned

there by him."

79

Auh niman oquihto in Achitometl

ca ye qualli ma tihuan

niman oquimilhui intlatocahuan

in Achitometl

ma tihuan in Tizaapan

techcohuanotza in Mexica

And then Achitometl said,

"It is well that we go."

Then Achitometl said to

his rulers,

"Let us go to Tizaapan.

The Mexica invite us for a

feast."

oquinanquillique

oquihuique

ca ye qualli tlatohuanie

ma ximohuica

auh niman ye quihuica

oili

copalli amatl

xochitl in yetl

ihuan in itoca tlatlatlaqualli

They responded.

They addressed him,

"It is well, O Ruler,

that you are accompanied."

And then he brought

resinous gum,

copal incense, paper,

flowers, tobacco,

and also that which is named

the food of men,

ic quitlamanillizque
 in teotl
 in yuh quilhuique Achitometl
 inic quinoztato
 auh ca ye amo nelli in yehuatl
 auh ca ye yehuatl
 in oquixipeuhque

so that they could give it
 to the god.
 Thus they addressed Achitometl
 when they went to summon him.
 And it is truly not he,
 but it is she,
 that they flayed.

80

Auh in oacic in oncan
 Tizaapan
 in yehuatl in Achitometl
 quilhuique in Mexica
 inic ye quihualnamiqui

 oticmihiyohuiltl
 noxhuuhtzine
 tlacatle tlatohuanie
 cocoliztli timiiztocuutilizque

 in timocolhuan
 in timomacehualhuan
 ma xicmotilli
 ma xicmotlapalhui in moteotzin
 niman oquitto
 ca ye qualli

And when he arrived there
 in Tizaapan
 the Mexica addressed him,
 Achitometl,
 when he was already present
 here.
 "We have endured hardship,
 O my revered grandchild,
 O Lord, O Ruler!
 We will confess to you
 [our] illness [poverty],
 we who are your grandfathers,
 we who are your subjects.
 Honor him!
 Salute your revered god!"
 Then he said,
 "It is well,

nocolhuane

niman ye conana in olli

in copalli

in xochitl in i yetl

in tlaquatlaqualli

ye quitlamamaca

ixpan quitequillia

in zan tlapic iteouh

in yehuatl in oquixipeuhque

auh in yehautl in Achitometl

niman ye ic

ixpan quinquehcotona

in Zozoltin in iteouh

auh ca ayemo huel quittaya

in aquí in ixpan

quiquehcotona

in zozoltin

niman yeye quitlienamaquilia

quixahuilia in tlemaitl

in onna

quittac in yehautl

in ce tlacati in ichpoch

O my grandfathers."

Immediately he takes the

resinous gum,

the copal incense,

the flowers, the tobacco,

the food of men.

Now he divides it.

Now he places it

in vain before his god,

the one that they flayed.

And that one, Achitometl,

immediately,

in front of his god,

decapitates quail.

And indeed, not yet did he

see well

in front of whom

he decapitates

the quails.

Immediately he burns incense

in honor of the gods.

The incense burner whitens.

Then he knew there.

He saw her,

the person who was his maiden

daughter.

in Achitometl cenca omomauhti
 niman ye ic
 tzatzi
 quintzatzilia in itlatocahuan
 ihuan in imacehualhuan
 quimilhuia
 aquique in. a.¹³Culhuaquehe

 cuix amo anquitta
 ca oquixipeuhque i
 nochpotzin
 amo nican yezque
 in tlahuellioloque
 tiquinmictizque
 tiquinpopollozque
 nican tlamizque in tlahuellioloque

 auh niman ye ic

 moyaoatla
 niman ye quimilhuia in itahuan
 in Huitzilopochtli
 ca nehuati nicmati
 zanihuan zan iyollic

Achitometl was very afraid.
 For this reason,
 immediately he cries.
 He cries to them, his lords
 and also to his subjects.
 He addresses them,
 "Who of you, O people of
 Culhaucan,
 did not see her?
 Indeed they flayed her,
 my revered maiden daughter.
 They will not be here,
 the evil ones.
 We shall kill them.
 We shall destroy them.
 Here the evil ones will
 be finished."
 And immediately, for this
 reason,
 they were attacked.
 Immediately Huitzilopochtli
 addresses his fathers,
 "Indeed I myself know it.
 Carefully, peaceably,

13. Read, "in anCulhuaquehe," "you who are the people of Culhuacan."

xonquizcan

go out there!"

81

Auh niman ye tetoca

And then the people of

in Culhuaque

Culhuacan pursued the people;

quintoca in Mexica

they pursued the Mexica.

niman ye quimonquequetza

Immediately the Mexica ran

in atlan in Mexica

there into the water.

inic quinmatque Culhuaque

They knew about the people of

Culhuacan.

azo oncan oixpolihque in atlan

Without doubt they disappeared

there in the water.

niman oncan hualchimalpanoque

They then crossed over here

from there on a shield;

ic panoque in mitl in chimal

For this reason, by arrow and

shield they crossed over.

auh in mitl in mitohua

And the arrow, it is said,

in tlacochtli

was a *tlacochtli*;

in motocayotia tlatzontectli

it is called *Tlatzontectli*;

[Judged].

quicuicuitlalpique

They burned it

ipan motlalique

when they settled

in atlan

in the water,

inic hualpanoque

when they crossed over here.

(auh in occequintin Mexica

{And some of the other Mexica

in amo huel hualpanoya

did not cross over here well.

panohuani quimontequillico

They came to place them there
as a passenger on a boat.

ce cihuatl moxauhticac

One woman who was arrayed in
the ancient manner

amo quimatl in campa hualla

did not know where to come
when the Mexica crossed over
here.

inic hualpanoque Mexica

oncan quinhualtepeuhtiquizque

There they set out, dropping
them here.

pipiltotontizozoltica onoque

The poor little children
lay there in the filth.

ce quimohuilliana

One dragged himself along.

quin imoztlayoc in quimanato

The following day went to show
that they had not died
there at the foot of the reeds.

amo micque

in oncan Acatzintlan

Then, for this reason,
afterwards

niman quin yehuantin ic

ontlatocayotique

they came to name it there

Acatzintitlan)

Acatzintitlan [Place near
the foot of the reeds].)

ihuan in chimalli ipan motlallique

And also they settled down on
the shield in the water,

in atlan

when they crossed over here,

inic hualpanoque

when the people of Culhuacan
pursued them here.

inic quinhualtocaque in Culhuaque

82

auh niman ic
 oncan acico
 in oncan tollihtic
 acaihtic
 in Mexicatzinco

oncan quitzonicpilloque in itoca
 Acatzin
 oncan quitilique
 in itzinco
 quiminque
 ic oncan tlatocayotique

Mexicatzinco

niman ye oncan quihuahuatza
 ino paltic
 in inyaotlatqui
 in intlahuitz
 in inchimal
 in ixquich in intlatqui

And then, for that reason,
 they came to arrive there,
 there among the reeds,
 among the rushes,
 at Mexicatzinco [Little Place
 of the Mexical].

There they raised up its name,
 Acatzin [Base of the Reed].
 There they took aim
 at its base;
 they shot it with an arrow.
 Therefore they gave it the
 name there
 of Mexicatzinco.

Immediately there they dried
 out their wet things,
 their war material,
 their arms,
 their shields,
 all of their property.

83

auh in yehauntin in incihuahuan
 in inpihuan
 niman ye mochoquillia

And they, their women,
 their children,
 immediately they cry.

quitohua
 campan tihui
 ma zan nican tiecan
 in acaihtic
 niman oncan motlallique
 niman ye oncan quiquetza

 in temazcalli
 oncan callacque
 in ihtic in temazcalli
 niman ye motema

It is said,
 "Where are we going?
 Let us only be here
 among the reeds."
 Then they settled down there.
 Immediately they raised up
 there
 a bath house.
 Then they entered
 into the bath house.
 Immediately they bathed.

84

auh inic
 tlaquallanique
 oncan tetzinco
 mayauhque
 in temazcalco
 niman ye ic
 quinhualtoca
 (ye huitze teocohuapan
 quizaco)
 atlan quintepehuato

 zan no tollihtic acaihtic
 in motlallico

And with that,
 they became angry
 there at the people's base.
 They fell down inside the
 bath house.
 Immediately, for this reason,
 they buried them here.
 (Now they come to Teocohuapan,
 coming to go out.)
 They went to scatter them in
 the water.
 And they also came to be
 settled within the reeds,

oncan ce tlacatl momiquilli
 itoca huito
 oncan quitlatique in inacayo
 mochi in amapanitl
 inic mitohua
 motenehua mopantlatillique
 in Mexica huehuetque

 inic nexticpac
 mitohua

within the rushes.
 There a man died;
 his name was Huito.
 There they burned his body
 all in paper banners.
 For this reason, they say
 it is named by the ancient
 Mexica Mopantlatillique
 [The Banners Were Burned].
 For this reason, it is said,
 it is shown above.

85

auh niman ye ic

 huitze
 hualmiquanique
 zan no oncan Acahtic
 in Tolihtic
 in motlallico
 itocayocan Iztacalco
 in Mexica quinhualyacantia

 in itoca Tenochtzin

 niman oncan quichihua

And quickly,
 for this reason,
 they come.
 They moved toward here.
 But there also they came to
 settle within the rushes,
 within the reeds.
 at the place named Iztacalco.
 He was made to lead the Mexica
 here,
 he whose name was the Revered
 Tenoch.
 Then they made it there;

quitlacatillia

they produced it;

itoca Amatepetl

its name was "Paper Mountain".

tzohualli in quichihque

They made it of tzoalli.

quitzontecontique

They put on its head;

quicxitique

they put on its feet;

in oquitlacaquetzque

they raised it up on a man.

niman ye ic quitlaquentia

With that they immediately
dressed it.

quipantique

They put it on top.

niman ye ic quicuicatia

With that, they immediately
sang for it.

cenyohual in quicuicatique

They sang for it for a night
there in Iztacalco.

in oncan Iztacalco

[In the White House].

(oncan quicuiqueuhque

(There they sang for him,

in tlacatecatl

a valorous warrior

Culhuacan

of Culhuacan

in itoca Tetzitzillin

named Tetzitzillin.)

niman ye ic

With that, quickly

huitze

they come

in aihtic itocayocan

into the water to the place

Pantitlan

named Pantitlan

[Among the Banners].

oncan motlallique

They settled there.

huecauhque in oncan catca

They were there in Pantitlan

in Pantitlan

for a long time.

auh niman ye
 huitze oncan
 zan no tollihtic
 acaihtic
 in oncan motlallique
 niman oncan ce tiacat
 mixiuh
 in inpiltzin
 in inichpoch
 in Mexica
 itoca
 Guetzalmoyahuatzin

auh in iconeuh itoca
 Contzallan

Auh ipan
 in cemilhuitonalli
 chiuhcnahui hecatl
 yehuatl ipampa in axcan
 itocayocan
 Mixiuhcan

And quickly
 they come there.
 But there also they settled
 down within the reeds,
 within the rushes.
 Then there a person
 gave birth,
 their revered child,
 the maiden daughter
 of the Mexica.
 Her name was
 Guetzalmoyahuatzin
 [Revered She disperses the
 precious feathers].
 And her child was named
 Contzallan
 [Within the vase].

And the time of this
 was a day with the sign
 9 Wind.
 For this reason today
 the place is called
 Mixiuhcan
 [Place of giving birth].

niman ye ic huitze
 oncan motlallico
 in oncan ihcac icaltzin

Sⁿ Pablo Ytepotzco

in oncan quichihque
 quiquetzque in Temazcalli
 oncan quitenque
 in imichpoch in Mexica
 in itoca Quetzalmoyahuatzin
 oncan omote[n]
 in inan Contzallan
 inic motocayotia
 in Temazcaltitlan

oncan motenque mochintin
 in Mexica
 oncan motlallique
 ye cate

Then quickly they come.
 They come to settle there
 where today is standing
 the revered house of
 San Pedro Itepotzco
 [On His Back].
 There they made it;
 they raised up the bath house.
 There they bathed her,
 the maiden of the Mexica
 named Quetzalmoyahuatzin.
 There she was bathed,
 the mother of Contzallan.
 For this reason it was caused
 to be named Temazcaltitlan
 [Near the Bath House].
 There all of the Mexica
 bathed.
 There they settled;
 they are now.

aun niman oncan onehuaque
 oyahque in tollihtic
 in acashtic
 in oncan axcan motocayotica

And then they left there.
 They went within the reeds,
 within the rushes,
 where today it is named

Toltzallan
 Acatzallan
 niman inic
 oyahque
 in Mexica huehuetque
 in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui
 anozo Quauhcohuatl
 ihuan no yehuatl
 in itoca in Axollohua tlamacazqui
 imomextin yahque in tlatemoto

 in canin motlallizque

In the Midst of the Reeds,
 In the Midst of the Rushes.
 Then, for this reason,
 the ancient Mexica
 went.
 His name was Quauhtlequetzqui,
 or perhaps Quauhcohuatl;
 and also, likewise that one
 named Axollohua, the priest.
 Both went, going to seek
 something
 where they could settle down.

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auh ino ipan
 quizato
 in quittaque cenca mic tlamantli
 in tlanahuazolli
 in oncan ca in acaihtic
 ca yehica
 ipampa
 innahuatil
 yuh quimilhui in Huitzilopochtli

 in teomamaque
 in itahuan

And at this place,
 going to go out,
 they saw many things,
 ancient marvels,
 there within the reeds.
 It is because of this,
 for this,
 their obligation,
 that Huitzilopochtli thus
 addressed
 the Carriers of the God,
 his fathers,

in Quauhtlequetzque
 anozo Quauhcohuatl
 in Axollohua tlamacazqui
 ca quinnahuati
 ca yuh quimilhui in ixquich
 in oncan in onoc in tolliitic
 in acaihtic
 in oncan tiapiez

 in yehautl in Huitzilopochtli
 ca itencopa
 quimilhui
 ca yuh quinnahuati
 in Mexica
 auh niman oquittaque
 iztac in ahuehuatl
 iztac in huexotl
 in oncan ihcac
 inuan iztac in acatl
 iztac in tolli
 inuan iztac in cueyatl
 iztac in michin
 iztac cohuatl in oncan nemi atlan

 auh niman oquittaque
 nepanauhticac

Quauhtlequetzqui,
 or perhaps Quauhcohuatl,
 [and] the priest Axollohua.
 Indeed, he gave them orders.
 Indeed, he addressed them all
 lying there within the reeds,
 within the rushes.
 So that something would be
 conserved there,
 that one, Huitzilopochtli,
 indeed, from his lips,
 he addressed them.
 It is thus he gave orders
 to the Mexica.
 And then they saw it,
 the white ahuehuete,
 the white willow,
 standing there.
 And also, the white rush,
 the white reed,
 and also the white frog,
 the white fish,
 the white serpent that lives
 there in the water.
 And then they saw
 standing joined,

in texcalli in oztotl
 inic ce in texcalli in oztotl
 tonatiuh iquizayan itztoc

itoca tleatl
 atlatlayan
 auh inic ome in texcalli in oztotl
 mictlaapa yztoc

inic nepaniuhtoc
 itoca matlallatl

ihuan itoca toxpallatl

auh in oquittaque
 niman ye
 choca in huehuetque
 quitohua
 ancaya nican yez ca

tiquittaque in techilhui
 inic technahuati
 in tlamacazqui

the rock, the cave.

The first rock, the cave,
 is visible at the place of
 the sun's rising.

Its name is Fire-Water,
 The Place of Burning Water.

And the second rock, the cave,
 is visible toward the realm of
 the dead.

So that joined there
 is the water
 named "Dark-Green Water"
 and also the water named
 "Yellow Parakeet Colored
 Water."

And when they saw it,
 immediately
 the old ones cried.
 It was said:
 "You are standing where it
 will be.

We see it as he told us.
 For this he ordered
 us priests.

in Huitzilopochtli in oquihto
 anquittazque in tollihtic
 in acaihtic
 mic tlamantli in oncan
 ca auh in axcan coa

tiquittaque oticmahuizque
 ca ye nelli
 ca omochiuh
 ca oneltic intlatol
 inic technahuati

niman oquitoque
 Mexicaye ma oc tihuian
 ca otitlamahuizoque
 ma oc tictlatolchiyecan

in tlamacazqui
 yehuatl quimati quenin
 mochiuaz
 niman ohualloque
 motlallico in oncan
 Tenochtitlan

Auh niman yohualtica

Thus Huitzilopochtli said:

'You will see many things
 there among the reeds,
 among the rushes.'

And indeed, today it becomes
 known.

We saw it. We marveled at it.

Indeed, it is well
 it happened.

Their speech is proved true.

For this reason he gave us
 orders."

Then they said,

"O Mexica! Let us go again!

Indeed, we profit by it.

Yet again let us await the
 order

of the priest.

That one knows how

it will happen."

Then they came,

coming to settle there

in Tenochtitlan.

And then with the night

in oquittac
 in oquomottiti
 in teomana
 in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui
 anozo Quauhcohuatl
 in yehuatl Huitzilopochtli oquihui

Quauhcohuatl
 ca ohuanquittaque in ixquich
 in oncan onoc
 in acaihtic
 ohuantlamahuizoque
 Auh tla xiccaqui
 ca oc centlamantli
 in ayemo anquitta
 Auh inin xihuian xiquittati
 in Tenochtli
 in oncan anquittazque
 ic pacca
 icpac ihcac
 in yehuatl in quauhtli
 oncan tlaqua
 oncan mototonia

 auh ca ic pachihui
 in amoyollo

he saw it.
 He was shown it there,
 the Carrier of the God
 named Quauhtlequetzqui,
 or perhaps Quauhcohuatl.
 Huitzilopochtli addressed
 that one:
 "O Quauhcohuatl!
 Indeed, you saw all
 that is lying there among
 the reeds.
 You marveled here.
 Now hear this!
 There is one more thing
 that you have not yet seen.
 Go and find this,
 the Rock-Nopal Cactus.
 There you will see,
 contentedly
 standing on top,
 that one, an eagle
 eating something there,
 warming himself there
 in the sun.
 And indeed, your heart will
 be content.

ca yenuatl in iyollo in Copil
 in tihualmayauh in oncan
 timoquetz
 tlaicocomoco
 Auh niman oncan
 huetzico
 ino anquittaque
 texcaltempa
 oztotempa
 in acatzallan
 in toltzallan
 auh ca oncan
 ixnuac in iyollo in Copil
 in axcan motocayotia
 Tenochtli
 auh ca oncan in tiezque
 in titlapiezque
 in titechiezque
 in titenamiquizque
 in nepapantlaca
 telchiquiuh totzonteco
 tomiuh tochimal
 inic tiquimittazque
 in ixquich in techyahuallotoc
 ixquich tiquinpehuazque
 tiquimacizque

For that is the heart of Copil
 that you hurled down here
 when you stood up
 at Tlaicocomoco.
 And then, where
 it came to fall,
 you saw it,
 at the edge of the rock,
 at the edge of the cave,
 among the rushes,
 among the reeds.
 And it is there
 the heart of Copil germinated,
 where today it is caused to be
 named *Tenochtli*.
 And it is there we shall be;
 we shall guard something;
 we shall await the people;
 we shall go to find the people.
 Different people [will be]
 our bosom, our head,
 our arrow, our shield.
 For this reason we shall see
 them all lying around us.
 We shall conquer them all.
 We shall take them captive.

ic maniz in taltepeuh
 Mexico Tenochtitlan

 quauhtli ipipitzcayan
 inetomayan quauhtli

 itiacuayan
 ihuan michin ipatlanian

 ihuan cohuatl itzomocayan

 in Mexico in Tenochtitlan
 auh ca miec tlamantli
 in mochiuaz
 niman oquilhui
 in Quauhcohuatl
 ca ye quallli tlamacazque
 otiacauhqui i moyollotzin
 ma quicaquican i motahuan
 in huehuetque in ixquichtin
 ic niman oquincentlalli
 in Mexica
 in Quauhcohuatl
 oquinaquilti
 in itlatol in Huitzilopochtli
 in oquicacque Mexica

Therefore our city
 Mexico Tenochtitlan will be
 extended:
 the place of the eagle's cry,
 the place of the eagle's
 releasing,
 his place of eating;
 and also the place where the
 fish fly;
 and also the place where the
 serpent is broken:
 Mexico Tenochtitlan.
 And indeed, many things
 will happen."
 Then Quauhcohuatl addressed
 him [Copil].
 "It is well, O Priest,
 your heart was deposited,
 that your fathers, all of the
 ancients, listened."
 Soon he reassembled
 the Mexica.
 Quauhcohuatl
 made them understand
 the word of Huitzilopochtli.
 The Mexica heard it.

Auh niman on occeppa yahque

in toltzallan

in acaltzallan

in oztotempa

auh ino ipan

quizato

acatitlan

ihcac in tenochtli in oncan

(Oztotempa

in oquittaque

icpacca icpac ihcac

moquetzticac in quauhtli

in yehuatl in tenochtli

oncan tlaqua

oncan quiqua

auh in yehuatl in quauhtli

in oquittac in Mexica

cenca omopectecac in quauhtli

zan huecapa in conittaque

Auh in itapazol ipepech

zan moch yehuatl

in ixquich inepapan tlazolihuitl

And then they went there

once more,

among the reeds,

among the rushes,

toward the edge of the cave.

And at this time,

going to go out

near the reeds,

there standing upright was the

tenochtli.

(At the edge of the cave

they saw it.

standing contentedly on top.

The eagle was standing

on it, the tenochtli.

There he eats something.

There he ate it.

And that one, the eagle

saw the Mexica.

The eagle bowed very low.

They saw it only from afar.)

And his nest, his matting was

all only that --

all his various feathers --

in ixquich in xiuhtotoihuitl

in tlahquecholiuhuitl

in ixquich quetzalli

auh zan no oncan quittaque

tetepeuhtoc

in tzonteco inepapan totome

in tiazototome intzonteco

oncan zozoticate

ihuan cequi totoicxiti

cequi oniti

all his turquoise-bird

feathers,

his red-plumed bird feathers,

all the precious

beautiful feathers.

And they also saw there,

lying scattered,

the heads of the various

birds,

the heads of the precious

birds

being strung out there,

and also some bird feet,

some bones.

auh oncan quinnotz

in Diablo

quimilhu

Mexicaye

ye onca yecan

(auh yecan amo quitta in Mexica

in aquin quinnotza

ic oncan

tlatocayotique

Tenochtitlan)

And there the Devil

called them.

He addressed them,

"O Mexica!

Now at last it is there!"

(But the Mexica did not see

who called.

For this reason

they caused it to be named

there Tenochtitlan

auh niman ye ic

choca in Mexica

quitohua

otocnopiltic

otomacehualtic

ca oticmahuizoque

in taltepeuh yez

ma oc tihuian

ma oc titocēhuiti

niman ye ic huitze

in oncan Temazcaltitlan

inin ipan Ome Calli xihuitl 1325 anos

[Near Someone's Nopal.]

And immediately,

for this reason,

the Mexica cried.

It was said,

"O, we are happy!

O, we are fortunate!

Indeed, we marvel

that our city will be.

Now let us go!

Now let us rest!"

Then quickly they come

there near the bath house.

This was in the year 2 House,

A.D. 1325.

93

Auh ca niman ye ic

quimilhua

in yehuatl Quauhtlequetzqui

anozo Quauhcohuatl

in Mexica quimilhui

nopilhuane

ma titlachtequican

ma achitzin tictlallican

And immediately,

for this reason

he addresses them,

that one, Quauhtlequetzqui,

or perhaps Quauhcohuatl.

He addressed the Mexica,

"O my children!

Let us cut a ball court,

so that in a little while we

tlachcuitectzintli
 ihuan totlalmomoz
 in oncan otiquittaco
 in quauhtli
 azo quen manian mocehuiquih
 in tlamacazqui in toteouh
 in Huitzilopochtli
 niman oquittoque in Mexica
 ca ye qualli ma ticchihuacan

 niman oquitlallique
 intlachcuitetequi
 ihuan in intlalmomoz
 in oncan Oztotempa

 in oncan in ihcac in Tenochtli

 auh ca ipampa
 ca yuh quilhui
 ca yuh quinahuati
 in Huitzilopochtli
 in yehuati in Quauhtlequetzqui
 anozo Quauhcohuatl
 ca nahuati in quichihuazque

may set it down
 within the revered little
 piece of sod,
 and also our altar of earth,
 there where we came to see
 the eagle,
 near where the priest
 of our god Huitzilopochtli
 came to rest there."
 Then the Mexica said,
 "It is well that we should
 do it."
 Then they set it down,
 cutting their piece of turf,
 and also their altar of earth
 there toward the edge of the
 cave
 where the *tenochtli* was
 standing.
 And it is for this reason,
 it is thus he addressed him.
 It is thus Huitzilopochtli
 ordered
 that one, Quauhtlequetzqui,
 or perhaps Quauhcohuatl.
 Indeed, he ordered that

in Mexica

the Mexica should do it.

94

Auh ca cenca icnoyotica
 netoliniliztica
 in ye quichihua
 in ye quitlallia ical
 in Huitzilopochtli
 inic quiquetzque ca zazan

 oc tepiton itoca
 Ayauhcalli
 campa nel quicuizque
 in tetl in quahuitl
 auh ca nel tetlalpan in zate

 motlallico
 in tollitic
 in acaihtic
 ca in intlalpan
 in tepaneca
 in Azcapotzalcatl

 ihuan ca intlalpan
 Acuihuacatl
 cate quaxochco

And it is with much misery,
 with much poverty
 they now build it.
 Now they set down the house
 of Huitzilopochtli.
 Without reason then they
 raised up
 another small chapel named
 the Mist House.
 From where did they take
 the stone, the wood?
 And certainly it was someone
 elses' land.
 when they came to settle
 within the reeds,
 within the rushes.
 It was the land of
 the Tepanec people,
 the inhabitants of
 Azcapotzalco.
 And also it was the land of
 the Acolhua people.
 They are within the border.

in cate ihuan
 ca inquaxochco
 in Culhuaque
 auh ca ipampa
 in cenca motoliniaya

They are also
 within the border
 of the people of Culhuacan.
 Indeed, it is for this reason
 they had much poverty.

auh ca niman ye no ceppa
 monahuati in Mexica
 quitohua
 tla xihualhuian Mexicaye
 ma titlatlauhtitihui
 in Tepanohuayan
 ihuan Azcapotzalco
 Auh niman mochintin oquittoque
 ca aco huel
 mochihuaz
 in ompa titlatlatlauhtitihui

 macamo tiquinquallaniti
 in Tepanohuayan tlaca
 ihuan Azcapotzalca

And quickly a second time
 the Mexica were given orders.
 He said,
 "Come Mexica!
 Let us go to beg
 at Tepanohuayan,
 and also at Azcapotzalco."
 And then all of them said,
 "It is not well
 that it should happen
 that we should go there to
 beg.
 Let us not make them angry --
 the men of Tepanohuayan
 and also the people of
 Azcapotzalco."

Auh ye omitto

And now in the stated year,

Ome Calli xihuitl 1325 anos

ye yuh nepa

yetzonxihuitl ipan chiquacempohualli

xihuitl ipan macuilxihuitl

motlacatillitzino

in totemaquixticatzin Jesu-Christo

in iquac ocallaquico

inic acico

inic motlallico

in Toltzallan

in Acatzallan

in atlihtic in Tenochtitlan

in huehuetque Mexica Azteca

Chichimeca

ihuan ye yuh nepa matlacpohualxihuitl

ipan epohual ipan onxihuitl

in ipan ce tecpatl xihuitl

ompa hualquizque

inic ompa huallehuaque

in inchan in Aztlan

in anepantla

Ihuan ye yuh nepa matlacpohualxihuitl

ipan ompohualli onmatlactli

2 House, A.D. 1325,

it had been

1325 years since

our revered savior,

Jesus-Christ, was born

when they came to enter,

so that they came to arrive,

so that they came to settle

down

in the midst of the reeds,

in the midst of the rushes,

in the water at Tenochtitlan,

the ancient Mexica Azteca

Chichimeca.

And it had also been

262 years

since the year 1 Flint

when they went out from there

toward here.

With that they left

toward here from

their homeland Aztlan,

in the middle of the water.

And it had also been

ipan ce xihuitl
 ompa hualquizque
 inic ye
 nonicuel¹⁴
 oncan huallhuaque
 in zan oncan
 quinehua Chicomoztoc
 inic callaquico
 inic nocentlallico
 Tenochtitlan
 auh ic omito

inic cenca huecahuaque
 ohtlipan
 inic huallaque
 inic nohuian hualnentraque

ipan ixquich tlalli
 in Mexica Chichimeca huehuetque
 ca macuilpan in ohtlipan

in inpan toxiuhmolpilli
 inic ohuacico
 Tenochtitlan

251 years since
 they set out for here,
 so that now,
 one more time,
 they left for here
 from the same place,
 Quinehua Chicomoztoc.
 With that, they came to enter,
 with that, they came to be
 reassembled at Tenochtitlan.
 And for that reason it was
 said
 that they spent a very long
 time on the road.
 So that they came,
 so that they were made to live
 everywhere
 all on the land.
 Five times in their time on
 the road the ancient Mexica
 Chichimeca
 bound our years,
 when they came to arrive here
 in Tenochtitlan.

14. Read *nocuelle*.

Auh in yehuantin
 in Mexica huehuetque
 in nican in quitzitziquique
 altepetl
 inic mitohua
 inic motenehua
 in Toltzailan
 in Acatzailan
 in Mexico in Tenochtitlan
 Izca in intoca
 inic ce itoca Atitenoch
 inin yehuati impan huallicatia
 quinhualyacantia
 in ixquich Mexica
 ye yuh nepa cempohuallon
 chicome xihuitl
 ompa quitlallique
 in Culhuacan
 in Mexica
 Inic ome itoca Quauhtliyoiqui

 inic ey itoca Acacitli

And they are the ones,
 the ancient Mexica,
 who took hold of
 the city here.
 For this reason it is said,
 for this reason it is called,
 Among the Reeds,
 Among the Rushes,
 Mexico Tenochtitlan.
 Here are their names.
 The first is named Atitenoch;
 this one led them here;
 he caused all the Mexica to be
 directed here.
 It had already been
 27 years
 since the Mexica had been
 settled there
 in Culhuacan.
 The second is named
 Quauhtliyoiqui [Living Eagle].
 The third is named Acacitli
 [Reed Hare,
 or Reed Grandmother].

inic nahui itoca Tenzacateti	The forth is named Tenzacateti [Lip-Plug Stone].
inic macuilli itoca Ahuexolotl	The fifth is named Ahuexolotl [Water Cock].
inic chiquacen itoca Ocelopan	The sixth is named Ocelopan [Jaguar from above], or perhaps Xiuhcaque
anozo Xiuhcaque	[Dressed in Turquoise Sandals],
teomama	the Carrier of the God
inic chicome itoca	The seventh is named
Quauhtlequetzqui	Quauhtlequetzqui,
anozo Quauhcohuatl	or perhaps Quauhcohuatl.
inic chicuey itoca	The eighth is named
Tzompantzin	Tzompantzin [Revered Skull Rack].
inic chiuhcnahui itoca	The ninth is named
[zhuactlaxquiti]	[zhuactlaxquiti [Something Baked Among the Leaves].
inic matlactli itoca	The tenth is named
Ocomecatzin	Ocomecatzin.
inic matlactonce itoca	The eleventh is named
Chicopachmani	Chicopachmani.
inic matlactomome itoca Ahatzin	The twelfth is named Ahatzin.
inic matlactomey itoca Copil	The thirteenth is named Copil;

inin teomama

this one was a Carrier of
the God.

in yehuantin

They are the ones

in hualteyacanque

who conducted

in huehuetque

the ancient people here.

98

auh in teomamaque

And the Carriers of the God

in quitlacaittaya

saw him as a man.

in iuhqui in quitlacanotzaya

Thus Huitzilopochtli called

in Huitzilopochtli

men to him.

inic ce itoca Xomimitl

The first is named Xomimitl.

in yuhqui Teopixque ipan mochiuaya

In this way they were made
priests at that time.

Auh in oc ce tlacatl itoca

And another man is named

Quauhtlequetzqui

Quauhtlequetzqui,

anozo Quauhcohuatl

or perhaps Quauhcohuatl.

Inic ome itoca Ucocal

The second is named Ucocal
[House of Pine Branches].

inic yei itoca

The third is named

Chachallayotl

Chachallayotl [Verbosity].

inin ohtlipan in hualteomamaque

These carried the god here
on the road.

auh in yehautl

And he is the one,

inic nahui

the fourth [one],

in itoca in tlamacazqui Axollohua

the priest named Axollohua,

ca ompa mic
 ompa cacique
 in Culhuacan Tizaapan

he died there
 when they reached
 Culhuacan Tizaapan.

99

Auh in huel nican Tenochtitlan
 caxitico
 in quihualmamaque
 in Huitzilopochtli
 inic ce yehuatl
 in itoca Quauhtlequetzqui
 anozo Quauhcohuatl
 tlamacazqui
 Teomama
 inic ome itoca Copil
 teomama
 inic ey itoca xiuhcaque
 teomama
 inic nahui itoca Cuitlachquauhtli
 teomama
 inic macuilli Poyahuitl
 teomama
 Yehuantin inin hualteomamaque

And precisely when they came
 to approach Tenochtitlan,
 they carried Huitzilopochtli
 hither:
 The first is that one
 named Quauhtlequetzqui,
 or perhaps Quauhcohuatl,
 the priest,
 Carrier of the God.
 The second is named Copil,
 a Carrier of the God.
 The third is named Xiuhcaque,
 a Carrier of the God.
 The fourth is named
 Cuitlachquauhtli
 [Filthy Eagle],
 a Carrier of the God.
 The fifth is named Poyahuitl
 [Shade], a Carrier of the God.
 They are the ones who carried
 the god here

in nican acico

when they came to arrive here.

100

auh in iquac ipan

And this was the time

in iquac tlatocati

when there were two rulers

in omentin tlatoque

who ruled

Amaquemecan Chalco

in Amaquemecan Chalco.

inic ce itoca

The first was named

huehue teuhctli

Huehue Teuhctli,

Chichimeca teuhctli

the Chichimeca Teuhctli.

inin ipiltzin

He was the revered son of

in Atonaltzin

Atonaltzin,

Chichimeca teuhctli

the Chichimeca Teuhctli.

inic one tlatoque

The second of the rulers

itoca Quauhitzatl teuhctli

was named Quauhitzatl

Teuhctli,

tlayollotlac teuhctli

the Tlayollotlac Teuhctli,

tlatohuani

ruler of

Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco

Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco.

yolticate in iquac ohuacico

They were living when the

Tenochtitlan Mexica

Mexica came to arrive here

at Tenochtitlan.

in yuh neztica

It is thus seen

huenhuexiuhlapohuallamatl

in the ancient year-count book.

auh in Culhuacan

And in Culhuacan,

ye no iuh ompa ce xihuitl

it had also been one year

tlatocati in huehue Acamapichtli

that Acamapichtli the Elder
ruled.

101

auh niman ye no ceppa

And then one more time

monahuatia in Mexica

the Mexica were given orders.

ye quitohua

Now it was said,

ma ticcohuacan in tetl

"Now let us buy stone

in quahuatl

and wood,

ma yehuatl ica in atlan chaneque

by using those that live in

the water,

in atlan onoque

those that inhabit the water:

in michin

the fish,

in axollotl

the edible salamandar,

ihuan in cueyatl

and also the frogs,

in acocillin

the crayfish

in anenez

that appear in the water,

in acohuatl

the water serpents,

in axaxayacatl

the water insects,

in izcahuatl

the small lagoon worms,

ihuan in canauhtli

and also the duck,

in quachilli

the water fowl,

in yacacintli

the [kind of] duck,

in ixquich in totome

all the birds

in atlan chaneque

that make their home on the
water.

ma yehuati ic ticcohuati
 in tatzintli
 in quauhtzintli
 niman oquittoque
 ma yauh quimochihua

 niman ye ic tlatlama
 quimana quimaci

 in michin
 in axollotl
 aneneztlī
 acocillin in cueyatl
 ihuan in ixquichtin in totome.
 in atlan nemi

By means of these let us buy
 the revered little stone,
 the revered little wood."
 Then they said,
 "Thus it is done to his
 water."
 Quickly they go hunting.
 They seized them; they caught
 them with their hands,
 the fish,
 the larval salamander
 appearing in the water,
 the crayfish, the frogs
 and also all of the birds
 that live on the water.

102

Auh niman oyaque
 in tlanamacato
 ihuan tlacohuato

 niman ohualmocuepque
 ohuallaque oquicuito
 in tetl in quahuatl
 atle huehuey
 zan moch tepitoton

And then they went.
 They went to sell things.
 And they also went
 to buy things.
 Then they returned here.
 They came to take
 the stone, the wood.
 Nothing was large;
 everything was only small.

auh in quahuatl
 zan no yuhqui
 atle tomahuac
 zan moch pitzaton in quahuatl
 niman ye ic quauhtzotzona

 in Oztotempa
 in ic oncan quineihuayotique

 in yehuatl altepetl
 in icai in iteocal
 in Huitzilopochtli
 auh in yehuatl
 in ca zan moch tepitoton
 catca in ayauhcalli
 auh in onez tetl
 in onez in quahuatl
 niman ye quipehualtiz
 in ayauhcalli oquiquechillique

And the wood also,
 in like manner,
 nothing was thick;
 all the wood was thin.
 Immediately they made
 something of wood
 at the edge of the cave.
 With that they made there
 the root [foundation]
 of the city --
 his house, his temple,
 Huitzilopochtli's.
 And that one, the oratory
 [Mist House],
 was all small.
 And the stone was visible;
 the wood was visible.
 Then they began
 to raise up the oratory.

103

Auh niman ye no ceppa yohualtica
 in ye quitohua
 ye no ceppa tenahuatia
 in yehuatl in Huitzilopochtli

And then once more by night
 now it was said.
 Now, one more time, that one,
 Huitzilopochtli gave someone
 orders.

niman quilhui
 in ye quitoa
 tla xiccaqui Quauhtlequetzque
 anozo Quauhcohuatl
 nauhcampa ximotlallica[n]

 ximoxellocan
 xitlatocayotican
 auh niman oquitlacamatque
 nauhcampa omotlalique
 in Mexica
 auh in oyuh ye nauhcan omotlalique

 (oquilhui in Quauhcohuatl)
 ca omochiuh
 tlamacazque
 inic otinechnahuatl
 omoxelloque in motahuan

 niman oquito in Huitzilopochtli
 ca ye qualli
 Auh xiquinmomamacacan in ixquichtin
 in tiquinhualhuicaque
 in amocalpolteohuan
 in tlacochcalca
 in cihuatecpan

Then he addressed him.
 Now he says,
 "Listen, Quauhtlequetzqui!
 Or perhaps, O Quauhcohuatl!
 Divide yourselves in four
 parts
 and settle down.
 Give a name to something!"
 And they obeyed him.
 The Mexica settled down in
 four places.
 And after they settled down
 in four places,
 (Quauhcohuatl addressed him,)
 "Indeed, it was done,
 O Priest,
 as you ordered me.
 Your fathers divided
 themselves."
 Then Huitzilopochtli said,
 "It is well.
 And divide them up --
 all of your *calpulli* gods
 that we brought with us:
 the Tlacochcalca,
 the Cihuatecpan,

in huitznahuac	the Huitznahuac,
in Tlacateopan	the Tlacateopan,
in Yopico	the Yopico,
in tezcacohuac Tlamatzinco	the Tezcacohuac Tlamatzinco,
in mollocoitillan	the Mollocoitillan,
in Chalmeca	the Chalmeca,
in Tzomolco in cohuatlan	the Tzomolco, the Cohuatlan,
in Chillico in izquitla	the Chillico, the Izquitla,
in milnahuac	the Milnahuac,
in Cohuatl xoxouhca	the Cohuatl Xoxouhca.
ma in necican	So that they will appear
nauhcampa	in four places,
xiquinquixtican in Moyotlan	send them to Moyotlan" --
in axcan ye mitoa	which today is called
S ⁿ Juan	San Juan --
in Teopan	"to Teopan" --
in axcan ye mitoa	which today is called
S ⁿ Pablo	San Pablo --
in Tzaqualco	"to Tzaqualco" --
in axcan ye mitoa	which today is called
S ⁿ Sabastian	San Sabastian --
ihuan Cuepopan	"and also to Cuepopan" --
in axcan mitoa	which today is called
S ^{ca} Maria Redonda	Santa Maria Redonda.

Auh niman oquittoque in Mexica
 ca ye qualli tlanacazque
 ma yuh mochihua
 niman oquinmomamacaque
 in incalpolteohuan in Mexica
 auh in iquac
 in yehuacauh
 in ye yuh matlactlomey xihuitl
 in Tollihtic
 in acaihtic
 in yehuantin in Mexica huehuetque
 in oncan ihcac in Tenochtli

 niman ye ic moxellohua
 in Mexica
 in oyuh quittato
 in Tollihtic
 in Acaihtic
 in oncatca in tlatilli
 itoca Xaltilloli
 niman omoxelloque
 ipan ce calli xihuitl
 1337 anos
 ipan in ompa
 *loyaque in Mexica huehuetque

And then the Mexica said,
 "It is well, O Priest
 that thus it is done."
 Then the Mexica divided
 their *calpulli* gods.
 And this was when
 it was already old.
 It had been 13 years,
 within the reeds,
 within the rushes,
 those ancient Mexica were
 where the *Tenochtli*
 was standing.
 Immediately the Mexica
 were divided.
 After that they went to see
 Within the Reeds,
 Within the Rushes.
 An elevation named
 Xaltilloli was there.
 Then they were divided
 in the year 1 House,
 A.D. 1337.
 This was the time when
 *(the ancient Mexica went
 there.

auh in axcan tiquitohua

tictocayotia

Tlatilloico Sⁿtiago

And today we say it,

we name it

Tlatilloico Santiago.

105

Auh in yehuantin in ompa

quitzitzquito

in altepetl

izca in intoca

inic ce itoca Atlan quauhuitl

inic ome itoca Huicton

inic ey itoca Opochtli

inic nahui itoca Atlahzol)*

inic macuilli itoca

Cuitlachquauhtli

teomama

inic chicuacen itoca

Xochilleletzin

inic chicome itoca

Cemacachiquihuitl

inic chicuey itoca Xomimitl

inic chiuhcnahui itoca Callaomitl

And these are the ones

who went there to take hold

of the city.

Here are their names.

The first is named Atlan

Quauhuitl.

The second is named Huicton.

The third is named Opochtli.

The fourth is named Atlahzol.)*

The fifth is named

Cuitlachquauhtli,

a Carrier of the God.

The sixth is named

Xochilleletzin.

The seventh is named

Cemacachiquihuitl.

The eighth is named Xomimitl.

The ninth is named Callaomitl.

... These parentheses do not make sense here. Perhaps they should begin with "inic ce intoca Atlan quauhuitl." Later in the paragraph it is stated that those mentioned by the ancients were only 12, beginning with Cuitlachquauhtli, the fifth name here.

inic matlactli itoca Ocellopane

The tenth is named Ocellopane.

inic matlactlonce itoca

The eleventh is named

Iztacmichin

Iztacmichin.

inic matlactlonome itoca

The twelfth is named

Cocihuatli

Cocihuatli.

inic matlactlonmey itoca

The thirteenth is named

Poyahuitl

Poyahuitl,

teomama

a Carrier of the God.

inic matlactlonnahui itoca

The fourteenth is named

Xiuhcoyollatzin

Xiuhcoyollatzin.

inic caxtolli itoca

The fifteenth is named

Maltecatzin

Maltecatzin.

in ompa yaque Xatiloico

They went there to Xatiloico.

in ompa motlallito

Those who went there to settle
down

cenca tlahuelliloque catca

were very evil.

niman yuh motlallico

Thus, those who then came to
settle

in amo tlaca cate Tlatiloica

Tlatiloica are inhumane.

cenca moxicohuani

They were very jealous.

in axcan ca ye yuhque

Today it is the nature of

in imixhuihuan

their grandchildren

in yuhqui amo tiacanemi

thus to be inhumane.

inin ootocateneuhque huehuetque

Those ancients mentioned

by name

in ompa yaque tlatiloico

who went to Tlatiloico

in mopehua ca zan matlactiomome

in tialmacehuato

ic pehua yehuatl

in Cuitlachquauhtli

ic tlam: itech yehuatl

in maltecatzin

are counted only 12

who went to obtain land.

Thereby it begins with that

one,

Cuitlachquauhtli

and ends with that one,

Maltecatzin.¹⁵

106

Auh ye omitto tlapac

in yehuantin in Mexica Huehuetque

in nican in quitzitzquique

in altepetl in Mexico

in Tenochtitlan

zan matlactiomey

in tlatzonilpico¹⁶

occeppa nican motocatenehua

inic ce itoca

Tenoch

Quauhtliyoiqui

And it was already stated

above

that those ancient Mexica

who here took hold of

the city of Mexico

Tenochtitlan

were only 13

who came to bind up the hair

of something.¹⁶

Once more they are mentioned

by name here.

The first is named

Tenoch,

Quauhtliyoiqui,

15. This refers to the list above. Thus, it is the men named as numbers 5-15, which makes a total of 11, not 12, as the author states.

16. This is enigmatic. It appears to mean "to be the rulers or head of the city."

Tzompantzin	Tzompantzin,
Quauhcohuatl	Quauhcohuatl,
teomama	a Carrier of the God,
Ahuexotl	Ahuexotl,
Izhuac tiazquitl	Izhuac tiazquitl,
Ocomecatzin	Ocomecatzin,
Chicopachmani	Chicopachmani,
Ahatzin	Ahatzin,
Tenzacatetl	Tenzacatetl,
Acacihтли	Acacihтли,
Copil	Copil,
teomama	a Carrier of the God,
Xiuhcacque	Xiuhcacque,
teomama	a Carrier of the God.