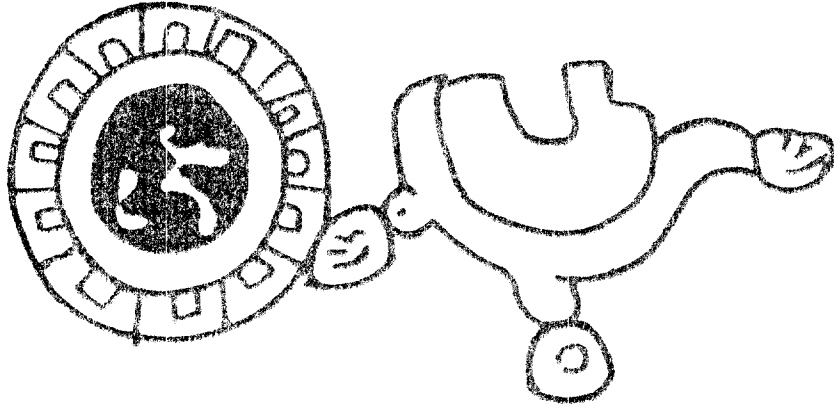


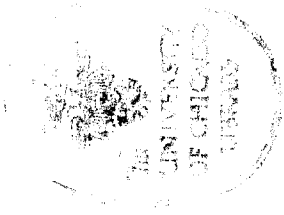
CHIMALPAHIN & the Kingdoms of Chalco

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To don Domingo de San Antón Muñón
Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin



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1. The Man & His Works

... *nehuatl don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin*

... I am don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin

Chimalpahin's Life

Chimalpahin states (II-28-3) that in the year 9 Acatl, 1579, on Tuesday, May 26, in the middle of the night, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin was born. (See his genealogy in table 1.) Although he identifies himself in almost the same manner on other occasions in his writings (as don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin; I-153-7; I-156-18, 58; I-173-15; II-126-12; and II-127-9),¹ this reference is the only instance in which the name Francisco is included and Muñón is omitted. The first reference affords an excellent clue as to Chimalpahin's actual birthright and social status. For all of Chimalpahin's preoccupation with indigenous high society and his close identification with it, he gives everything away when he reveals that upon his birth he was given the name Domingo Francisco. Two Spanish first names were typical of the colonial naming pattern for Indian commoners, which leads us to believe that Chimalpahin was scarcely more than a plebeian making the most of grand but rather distant connections. His parents, Juan Agustín Ixpintzin and María Jerónima Xiuhtotztzin, although born of Indian no-

bles and bearing Nahuatl surnames that can be traced back to noble ancestors, were of secondary status as well, perhaps illegitimate or born of secondary wives, for they too have two Spanish first names and lack a Hispanic surname; and Chimalpahin (II-28-5, 44) never identifies them as having Nahuatl titles or the Spanish “don” or “doña,” titles adopted in the late sixteenth century by nearly all Indians who claimed dynastic affiliations. Note in table 1 that Chimalpahin’s maternal grandparents and uncles do have the “don” and Hispanic surnames. On the positive side, Chimalpahin (II-28-6) says that his parents were *huetue Chichimeca pipiltin* ‘ancient Chichimeca nobles’, using the term to show that they at least had some relation to a past but noble lineage. On one occasion (II-58-56) he adds that his father was a *teuhctli* ‘lord’, but this is a term that he uses rarely (except as a part of a royal title) and that seems to have had little meaning for him. The general position of Chimalpahin and his parents would seem to have been located on the outer margin of Amaquemecan’s noble group.

Chimalpahin’s full name in itself is of great interest, and although it is not possible to be absolutely certain just how he came to be called thus, some of the components can be identified.

As stated, the name Francisco does not recur in Chimalpahin’s texts; Domingo appears as his sole first name in all other references. While Domingo was a fairly common name for Indians, it may be that it was taken from that of his respected maternal grandfather, don Domingo Hernández Ayopochtzin Xiuhtezcatl (II-28-43), who, although he died two years before Chimalpahin’s birth, received frequent mention and praise in his writings.²

According to Chimalpahin’s record (I-153-31), don Domingo Hernández Ayopochtzin was born in Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco (Chimalpahin’s home town) and was identified as a *Chichimeca tlatoxapilli* ‘Chichimeca kingly noble’ or member of a noble line. Chimalpahin (I-153-26) credits his grandfather with having been responsible for collecting all the extant data about the ancient traditions of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco and recording it as a history of the area, a sure sign of his literacy.³ In addition, he is stated to have been a seventh-generation descendant of the founding king of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, a genealogical line that continued for some 369 years (I-153-35). Yet, in spite of don Domingo Ayopochtzin’s high status and considerable accomplishments, it seems that he never ruled, for Chimalpahin does not state that he ever succeeded to the throne of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco—a possible indication that his grand-

father was not quite as high ranking or influential as Chimalpahin implies.

San Antón, Chimalpahin’s second name, derives from the small church of San Antonio Abad in Xolloco, a district of Mexico City where Chimalpahin went to live and work at a young age (II-41-57). He cannot have assumed this surname before attaining his position at the church. He stayed there for more than twenty years, and possibly much longer (I-145; I-153-13; II-126-9; II-127-10). That Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco could permanently dispense with Chimalpahin at such an early age is another indication of his marginal position among the Chalca nobility.

Chimalpahin’s church, San Antonio Abad, was some distance from the heart of colonial Mexico City and certainly was not central to mainstream activities in the capital. Nevertheless, its location in Xolloco, the famous historic meeting place in 1519 of the conqueror Hernando Cortés and Motecuhçoma, the Aztec emperor, perhaps added some prestige.⁴

The *ermita* (small open chapel) of San Antón was established in Xolloco in 1530 by Alonso Sánchez; the small chapel he built eventually (1570) came under the protection of the influential Mexico City Muñón family (Muriel 1961:II,83–90). Chimalpahin’s stay began in 1593 and probably lasted until the early 1620s. In 1628 the church was officially taken over by clergy associated with the order of San Antonio, whose mission was the care and treatment of those suffering from the “fire of St. Anthony” (Hansen’s Disease or leprosy). A small convent and hospital became part of the facility.⁵ Years later, after the suppression of the order, the church was converted to a garment factory. The tiny temple of San Antonio Abad is today in the final stages of an imperfect restoration. It will stand as a colonial monument but little else, for there are few surviving records about the church and no evidence whatsoever of Chimalpahin.⁶

It is unclear why this very small church warranted the patronage of the distinguished Muñón family,⁷ and most particularly the support of don Sancho Sánchez de Muñón, *maestrucuela* of the Cathedral Chapter.⁸ Did don Sancho host informal meetings, where Nahuatl annalists gathered to share and review ancient codices? Did the church of San Antón serve as a library or repository for precious documents?⁹ It is not likely, considering the small size and the location of the church.

However, don Sancho’s influence was such that Chimalpahin took the Muñón name as one of his own, as he did with the name of the church. One wishes for evidence indicating that don Sancho was a

benefactor of colonial Indians during his long tenure as a high-ranking Cathedral official.¹⁰ If his pronouncement in 1575 regarding Inquisition activities and the natives was a portent, the maestrescuela was at least empathetic: "I believe that one of the most important things would be to suspend the Inquisition for the present as far as the natives are concerned, since they are so new in the faith, weak and insubstantial folk" (Cuevas 1928:IV,235).

Our annalist's fourth name, "Chimalpahin," is that of one of his ancestors, who, although Chimalpahin describes him as a *tlatocapilli*, was bypassed (for reasons not stated), and his brother, Quauhthlehuantzin *tlatilolac teuhctli*, was installed as king in his stead (I-88-50, 46).¹¹ The latter, who bore the last of Chimalpahin's names, proved to be a great ruler (1418-65), whose kingdom flourished until aggression by the Mexica (the people of Mexico Tenochtitlan, often called the Aztecs) caused his abdication of the throne. We presume that Chimalpahin took these Nahuatl surnames by himself later on in life, much as he took on his colonial Spanish names. At any rate, very few indigenous people were still using such names at the time when Chimalpahin lived. Even the Spanish title "don" came later, after he moved to Xolloco, and occurs when he tells of his work there and his endeavors in compiling his history.¹²

Overall, Chimalpahin was probably at the far edge of the nobility, or even originally beyond the edge. Yet it was perhaps precisely for that reason that he identified with it so closely in his mind.

Chimalpahin says little more about his personal life. Eugène Boban (1891:II,163) states that he died in 1660.¹³ I have yet to determine how he came by this date.¹⁴ During Chimalpahin's long stay at San Antonio Abad he probably served in the capacity of aide and steward, the position that when held by an Indian in colonial times was usually called *fiscal*.¹⁵ But Chimalpahin speaks of various fiscals, Spanish and Indian, and never identifies himself thus (II-25-20; II-32-33; II-48-41; II-93-35; II-101-43).

Some scholars believe that Chimalpahin's official position at San Antonio was a *donado*, a lay brother (León-Portilla 1985:15-16; Romero Galván 1983:19-20). I tend to disagree because I believe Chimalpahin would have said so and even bragged about it. Moreover, his fastidious preoccupation with titles and position (to his detriment, it turned out) supports my theory. He clearly designates the status of Indians identified as *donados*—his friend the Franciscan Elías and his compatriot from

Amaquemecan, *Francisco Faustino Quetzalmaqatzin, ynim donado teopixque* *Saint Francisco* 'the latter Franciscan lay brother[s]'¹⁶ (II-88-38; II-48-21; II-99-12; II-101-54). Chimalpahin never suggests a specific role for himself, either as *donado* or as *fiscal*. Besides, his allusion to a father-in-law (*nomotatzin*) indicates that he may have had commitments other than spiritual ones (I-157-8).¹⁶ His station was all in all that of a *naboría*, an Indian among Spaniards, displaced from his homeland and in Spanish employ. Whether or not he ever left the church at Xolloco is uncertain.¹⁷

Chimalpahin's Sources in Mexico City

It is obvious that Chimalpahin had access to a wide range of materials, from old indigenous pictorials to books published in Spain. As a somewhat marginal figure, why was he so privileged as to be able to obtain and read all these works and often to make copies of them as well?¹⁸ What exactly was his role during his twenty-six known years at San Anton? As a steward who probably tended the physical plant and served the priests housed at the church, was he also a copyist or amanuensis for don Sancho? We do not know; Chimalpahin is silent except for this one eloquent passage (I-153-10):

And although [don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhthlehuantzin] was not deserving that it should become his task to care for the temple and holy church of the highly revered and respected, highly learned great priest St. Anthony the Abbot in the great and lordly city of Mexico Tenochtitlan where he grew up, it did become his task and duty to see to and care for the aforementioned temple and holy church of the saint for twenty-six years up to the present year of 1620.

Several scholars report that Chimalpahin was first a student at the Franciscan Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco (León y Gama in Glass 1975:15; Garibay 1971:II,229; and Romero Galván 1983:18). Angel María Garibay (1971:II,228-33, 309-13, 340) goes so far as to state that at least four historians, Chimalpahin, Alvarado Tezozomoc, Alva Ixtlixochitl, and Muñoz Camargo, were fellow students at the Colegio.¹⁹ By Chimalpahin's own account this would have been impossible, for he records that he came to Mexico City in 1593. He

would have been fourteen years old at the time. He does not give his reason for coming to the capital or an account of what transpired before that time. However, it is certain that he went directly to work at San Antón (II-41-57 to 42-2; I-153-10). There would not have been time to attend the Colegio.

Perhaps most telling is the 1606 account by fray Juan Bautista (1606:4), who lauds "some very fluent and able natives" with whom he had worked and studied Nahuatl for almost thirty years.²⁰ He states that almost all spoke Latin and many translated works from Latin into Nahuatl. His Nahua collaborators at the Colegio were nobles from important centers like Tlatelolco, Azcapotzalco, and Texcoco, and many went on to become *gobernadores* (governors) in large Indian towns. Fray Juan identifies don Antonio Valeriano, Esteban Bravo, and others, but there is no mention of Tezozomoc, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, or Chimalpahin, who according to Garibay (1971:II,229, 309) should have been at the Colegio.

It is well known that the Colegio was on the decline as early as the 1580s. Apparently by the turn of the century the secondary school at Tlatelolco had been abandoned and the primary school served only local Indian boys (Steck 1936:449-62, 603-17; 1943:3-19, 71-94; and 1944; Ocaranza 1934). Fray Juan himself (1606:7) implies a waning of indigenous scholarly activity, "because these days there are so few Indians to ask things about their language, that one can count them, and many of them use corrupt words, as the Spaniards use them."

Günter Zimmermann (1966:11-26) nonetheless feels strongly that Chimalpahin mixed with an inner circle of Indian nobility in Mexico City, and he cites mention of several members of the elite directly from Chimalpahin's accounts, suggesting that these individuals may have had access to one another's sources. The impetus for Chimalpahin's own history writing may have come partly from this association. For example, a noblewoman whom Chimalpahin (II-91-25, II-95-15) mentions and probably knew, doña Bárbara, wife of don Antonio Valeriano the Younger and daughter of tlatoani don Alonso Axayaca Ixhuetzcatzin of Itzpalapan, may have been writing her own history of ancient Mexico.²¹ Apparently Alva Ixtlilxochitl knew doña Bárbara and her father and made use of their Texcocan sources (Zimmermann 1966:24). Another well-connected Indian acquaintance was doña Martina, mother of one of the last of the descendants of Tlaacael, *cihuacoatl* (title of office, second in rank to the ruler) of Mexico Tenochtitlan (II-119-18 to 27).

And Chimalpahin knew of the 1578-80[?] writings of fray Bernardino de Sahagún (I-29-43), the 1571 dictionary of fray Alonso de Molina (II-28-52; II-173-33), and the histories, published respectively in 1579-81 and 1583-87, of fray Diego Durán (II-94-25?) and of his relative, the Mexican-born Father Juan de Tovar (II-91-44).²² The latter was rector of the Colegio de San Gregorio in 1610 but was formerly a member of the Cathedral Chapter under Chimalpahin's patron, the maestraescuela don Sancho. There is a curious intermixing of Mexico City personalities; it seems a small world indeed when Chimalpahin (II-91-41; II-93-44) records that Father Tovar served as sponsor when Chimalpahin's priest at San Antonio Abad, fray Agustín del Espíritu Santo (son of one of San Antón's patrons, Diego de Muñón, and probably nephew of don Sancho), celebrated mass for the first time.²³

Were Tezozomoc and Alva Ixtlilxochitl part of Chimalpahin's social milieu? Perhaps, but only peripherally. It is known that Chimalpahin was familiar with some of their sources and writings (see pages 20-21). However, because of his obscure origin and his distance from his ethnic base, Chimalpahin lacked social mobility and was not as well connected politically as his fellow historians—hence his marginal location and fixed position at San Antón. In contrast, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a *mesizo* but still a member of a distinguished, affluent noble line in Texcoco, went on to become court translator, *gobernador* of Texcoco in 1612, and in 1617 even *juéz-gobernador* (judge-governor) of Tlalmanalco, close to Chimalpahin's home (Garibay 1961:II, 228-29, 308-09). Less is known about Tezozomoc, but reliable evidence indicates that he was a descendant of the royal house of Moteuhcōma and recognized as such (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975:xiii-xiv).

Still, Chimalpahin was intelligent and learned, and I believe that he knew (in some fashion) just about everyone of his time who was of importance, being sure to put them in his history. That his associates did not reciprocate is odd. To date, I have not been able to locate any contemporaneous accounts that refer to Chimalpahin or his writings. Fortunately, time and later historians were more generous, and Chimalpahin became a legend.²⁴ By 1790 our Nahuatl annalist is reported to have been a *bachiller* and *maestro* of Latin and Fine Arts at Santiago Tlatelolco (León y Gama in Glass 1975:7),²⁵ and only a few decades later he was elevated to full patrician status (something he would have cherished) when a nineteenth-century copyist compared him with Plutararch (Chimalpahin BNM-FR, MS. 1727. 75v).

Chimalpahin's Local Sources

As mentioned earlier, during the course of his residence at the church in Xoloco Chimalpahin gathered information about the early histories of Mexico Tenochtitlan and of Amaquemecan, and particularly of his home town, Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco. He never specifies exactly what prompted the endeavor, but he does elaborate a little upon his procedures and sources.

From his remarks it emerges that Chimalpahin interviewed numerous elders of the Chalco community and examined whatever documents they had in their possession. In the annals his use of such phrases as *occequintin huehuetque quimachiyotia* 'other elders manifest' (I-53-44; I-88-7; I-90-27; I-92-22) to show variance in data from different sources demonstrates that he did consult a variety of individuals and codices, although he does not identify them in most cases. He frequently mentions written sources, some in Roman script (I-156-10), others surely pictorial. The words Chimalpahin uses for the sources are often complex Nahuatl compounds such as *huehuexiuhitlapohualamoxtli* 'ancient-year-count-book' (I-169-16), which could be either some sort of calendric record, a set of annals, or *altepehuehuenenotzalizamoxtlacuilolli* 'altepetl-ancient-telling-book-painted or written', a town history (I-155-37). It is often difficult to distinguish between the many terms, and literal translations do not necessarily convey Chimalpahin's meaning.²⁶ A few phrases do include parallel Spanish terms that help to explain the nature of some of the sources. For example, we find *tlacopintli amoxtli libro* 'copied book' (I-156-55), *huehuenenimiltzili motenehua Chronica* 'ancient life story, called a chronicle' (I-146-10), and *huehueumatlacuiloli yhuan huehue libro yn inan motenehua originales* 'the mother, called the original, of the ancient paper writing and ancient book' (I-156-26).

Chimalpahin (I-154-11; I-155-9) also worked through oral interviews, and he includes the names of some of the people with whom he spoke. Most often he identifies them by the term *huehuetque* 'elders' or 'ancients' (I-154-8; I-156-29, 44; I-168-57; I-169-7). One of the more important of these elders was Chimalpahin's grandfather, don Domingo Hernández Ayopochtzin, who is said to have collected and recorded many oral accounts about Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco from other elders (I-156-7).²⁷ In addition, don Domingo had inherited a book from his father, don Diego Hernández Moxochintzezeloztzin, who Chimalpahin

(I-156-4) described as a *tlatocapilli* who dressed or adorned himself as a Spaniard (*mexpatolchichihuaya*)—that is, according to Chimalpahin, as someone who possessed the privilege or license to carry a sword and dagger and ride a white horse (I-3-8). When don Domingo died (1577), he passed his *huehuetlatolli* 'history', 'rhetorical oration', or 'story of the past' on to his son-in-law, Juan Agustín Ixpintzin, Chimalpahin's father. Chimalpahin explains that the reason the documents went to a son-in-law rather than lineal descendants was that don Domingo's sons were quite young. However, these uncles of Chimalpahin's, don Diego Hernández and don Cristóbal de Castañeda, were mature at the time of the writing of his history, and the latter had already served as governor of Amaquemecan (I-156-25).

Although there were other people whom Chimalpahin consulted, for the most part his interests in reference to his history of Amaquemecan Chalco were quite narrow. His informants were mainly from his own town, and the written sources he mentions are limited to documents about Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco. Perhaps he did not want to bring in any information that might detract from his primary purpose of exalting his own kingdom. In order to corroborate a story about the legitimacy of a ruler, Huehueyotzintli *tlailotlac teuhctli* of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco, Chimalpahin spoke with don Feliciano de la Asunción Calmaçacatzin as well as doña Magdalena de San Pedro Xiuhcaltzin, Huehueyotzintli's daughter (I-154-50). Many of the other informants whom he identifies were his own relatives, but he gives no details. These references are scattered and incomplete; what exists has been listed in table 2. If one can judge by the "dons" and "doñas" that Chimalpahin uses to identify them, these contacts could all claim membership in the high nobility of Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco.

On occasion Chimalpahin gives us some descriptive detail about the documents he examined.²⁸ Would that we had them today. Some were small and contained just a little information (I-156-32). One, which was a little larger, was good (he says) because it was exclusively about the *Tenancayotl* (the state or political entity of Tenanco), his own polity (I-156-48). Others were of various sizes and filled with similar material (I-156-33; I-168-54; I-169-1). He tells of a particularly rich source which was kept in the attic in the home of his father-in-law, don Rodrigo de Rosas Xocatzin, a nobleman of Itztlacoçauhcan in Amaquemecan. It was a large book written in Roman script and apparently

Table 2. Informants Used by Chimalpahin for his History of Tzaqualtilian Tenanco

Source of information	Relationship	Type of information
don Diego Hernandez Moxochintzetzeloatzin d. 1545 (I-156-5)	Chimalpahin's maternal great grandfather and son of Xiuhzinz tlat-que (I-155-50)	Kept ancient accounts (I-155-54).
don Domingo Hernández Ayopochtzin d. 1577 (I-153-34)	Chimalpahin's maternal grandfather (I-153-8)	Gathered information, inherited documents from his father, wrote it all down in a book (I-156-10).
Juan Agustín Ixpintzin d. 1606 (I-156-16)	Chimalpahin's father (II-28-5)	Inherited book and genealogical accounts from don Domingo Hernández (I-156-15). Passed them on to Chimalpahin (I-156-26).
don Cristóbal de Castañeda	don Domingo Hernández's sons (I-156-24) and Chimalpahin's uncles	
don Diego Josef Hernández	Son of Xiuhzinz tlatque (I-155-48)	Kept accounts of pre-conquest period (I-155-54).
don Baltasar Ahuilcatzin	Son of Xiuhzinz tlatque (I-155-50)	Kept accounts about the Tenancayotl (I-156-33). Gave them to his son.
don Francisco Cuetzpaltzin tlailotlac teuhctli (I-156-30)	don Francisco Cuetzpaltzin's son (I-156-31)	Passed accounts on to his son (I-156-32).
don Miguel de Santiago Tlotloticatzin (I-156-32)	Tetlan Tolotitatzin's son (I-156-34)	Kept book about Tenancayotl and the arrival of the Tenanca (I-156-48).
don Juan de Santo Domingo (I-156-35)	don Domingo Hernández's younger brother (I-156-45; I-168-53)	
don Vicente de la Anunciación (I-156-44)		

Table 2. (Continued)

Source of information	Relationship	Type of information
don Miguel de Santiago Teuhcaxatzin (I-157-5)	Chimalpahin's great grandfather and Anunciación's father? (I-157-5)	Left records and ancient genealogies to his son (I-157-4).
don Rodrigo de Rosas Xoccatzin (I-157-8)	Chimalpahin's father-in-law? (I-157-19)	Kept large book (history of Amaquemecan) in his attic (I-157-9).
don Feliciano de la Asunción Calmaçacatzin (I-154-10); d. 1611 (I-154-11)	A town elder (I-154-10)	Kept written accounts about early history of Amaquemecan (I-169-10). Source of information about legitimacy of Huehucyotzintli, a ruler of Tzaqualtilian Tenanco (I-154-47).
doña Magdalena de San Pedro Xiuhcaxatzin (I-154-50)	Daughter of Huehucyotzintli tlailotlac teuhctli and mother of don Juan Maldonado Miçahuitzin, ruler of Itzlaçoçauhcan (I-154-50)	Information about the legitimacy of Huehucyotzintli (I-154-47).
don Bartolomé de Santiago Tenmahuizzin Autenetzin; d. 1596 (I-168-57)	A town elder (I-168-57)	Kept ancient book about the Tenancayotl and the arrival of the Tenanca (I-169-1).

compiled in 1547, containing information about all the kingdoms within Amaquemecan. However, from the work Chimalpahin took only the information about his town. The book was then returned to the rafters, never to be seen again (I-157-8). Chimalpahin (I-156-19; I-157-14) states that as most of the documents came into his possession, he copied from them, reorganized the information, and wrote it all down as a book, a practice that he would repeat several times.

Chimalpahin's Works

Chimalpahin is now famous as the only known Nahua historian of his time who signed his works, having written them in his own hand and in his own language. But do the extant works of this prolific writer represent an original history or just his research notes? What remains seems to be a combination of both.

We do not know how Chimalpahin became so knowledgeable. Perhaps it was in the large Dominican monastery in Amaquemecan that he learned the rudiments of reading and writing as a child.²⁹ Surely he poured over the books and codices in the library of his grandfather, don Domingo Ayopochtzin.³⁰ We know nothing of his early years, except that he developed such a profound patriotism for Amaquemecan that later he would devote a good part of his life to writing a history of it that would endure for centuries.

Chimalpahin is best known for two major bodies of work, the *Relaciones* and the *Diario*. This study of Chalco is based upon these accounts, and I shall discuss them at length later. He has, however, also been credited with other writings—some known and some unknown, for many of his original manuscripts have been lost.³¹ In 1983 additional works by Chimalpahin were discovered in England in a collection of histories by Alva Ixtlilxochitl, the mestizo chronicler from Texcoco. This treasure of ancient manuscripts had been traded for Bibles by the erstwhile librarian of the Colegio de San Ildefonso in Mexico City, José María Luis Mora, in 1827. Mora, deeply involved in political reform in the new Mexican state and an entrepreneur of liberalism, intended to disseminate the Bibles in spite of contrary national policy.³² In London, the British and Foreign Bible Society filed the manuscripts, and they were forgotten.

This rare discovery has been studied carefully by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Wayne Ruwet, who graciously provided me with photocopies as well as Anderson's transcription and translation.³³ Among the many precious items in this collection, we find Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana*, but in Chimalpahin's handwriting. The manuscript is very similar in style to Chimalpahin's other works, although it does contain the names of both men as authors. My own examination of the Bible Society manuscript (BSM) reveals a concentration on events in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, and Texcoco; hence, it is not of great importance to

this study of Chalco, though references will be made to the manuscript from time to time.

Perhaps most interesting of all is that Chimalpahin, being a good historian, identifies many of the sources in these accounts—whether a deceased cacique, a town codex, or an old pictorial, indicating that he himself was often transcribing (from picture texts) and taking his own notes. Whether he collaborated with Tezozomoc has yet to be determined, as does the means by which these works came to be associated with those by Alva Ixtlilxochitl.³⁴

Even more recently another work (hereafter, the Browning Manuscript) attributed to Chimalpahin was discovered in a private collection in Yuma, Arizona.³⁵ It is entitled "La conquista de México compuesto por don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Quauhtlehuanitzin." This manuscript is not in Nahuatl nor in Chimalpahin's handwriting, but it appears to be the earliest known copy of his now lost original.³⁶ I am in the process of preparing a transcription and translation of this very interesting history which represents Chimalpahin's version of the second part of Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia de las Indias*, known as *La crónica de la Nueva España* (1552). It seems that Chimalpahin, while copying López de Gómara, took it upon himself to edit, correct, and expand the work where and when he saw fit. For the interest and purpose of readers in English, this version, when completed, will represent the first 235 chapters of *La crónica* and will include most of the forty crucial sections about Aztec culture deleted from Simpson's edition (see López de Gómara 1966).³⁷

I would now like to go into some detail about Chimalpahin's two major works, the *Relaciones* and *Diario*. For the most part, both works are in the form of annals, in Nahuatl, and in Chimalpahin's hand (see figures 1 and 2 for typical pages from the *Relaciones* and *Diario*, respectively). Someone in the course of the last few centuries ordered the first part of Chimalpahin's writings and numbered them as *Relaciones* 1–8.³⁸

The *Relaciones* cover the years 670–1612 and contain all sorts of information reflecting Chimalpahin's catholic taste in reading materials—from discourses on Adam and Eve, the geography of the world, and ancient classical philosophers to the peregrinations of the Mexica and other groups and the establishment of most of the great Indian kingdoms in the Valley of Mexico.³⁹ Despite the variety, there is a definite concentration on Indian topics, especially Chalco, in the *Relaciones*.

Because there are considerable overlapping of years and repetition of events, the German scholar Günter Zimmermann (1963 and 1965) transcribed and reordered all of Chimalpahin's annals chronologically, intending to translate the entire work into German. Zimmermann produced an invaluable tool for research purposes; unfortunately, much of Chimalpahin's method was lost as well as any sense of what each source was like.

Going through the manuscript in its original order (or as it is today in Paris), one finds at the top of a page Chimalpahin's cross indicating a new topic, maybe a title to the new section, and the introductory statement, *Nican ompenhua ontzint* . . . 'Here begins . . . ' suggesting that he is looking at a fresh source or one distinctly different from what preceded. We see his paragraph marks along the left margin, his crossovers and corrections, and the never-ending trails of marginalia adding to or changing his text as he came upon additional information. The marginalia often wrap around the entire text. Very frequently he has written in the margin *ynin huel* 'truly this happened' or *ynin nelli yhuac* . . . 'this truly was when . . . ' as though he were corroborating his material with newly found facts. Pages are crammed with writing, and both sides are used. Only rarely is part of a page left blank; perhaps he intended to return with additional facts.

The last or eighth *Relación* is different from the others, for in it Chimalpahin has gone beyond annals to write a substantial connected narrative about Amaquemecan and most especially about his town, Tzauquilatlan Tenanco. According to his preface, this section is about his grandfather, don Domingo Ayopochtzin, mentioned earlier as a man of great distinction who could trace his lineage back to the founding fathers of Tenanco, one of the earliest kingdoms to be founded in all Chalco. It is in the eighth *Relación* that we get the closest to Chimalpahin, for he describes the area (though metaphorically) and writes about the local people he interviewed and the books and codices that they shared with him. There is mention of his family and his work, but most importantly he tells us why he is writing his book about the *huelhuetlatolli* 'ancient story' of Amaquemecan (I-173-15):

So that you may know it, I, don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhlehuanitzin, sought out all this ancient lore from whoever still knows it in our time, now during our lives. And so that it will not disappear or be forgotten, today once again I am

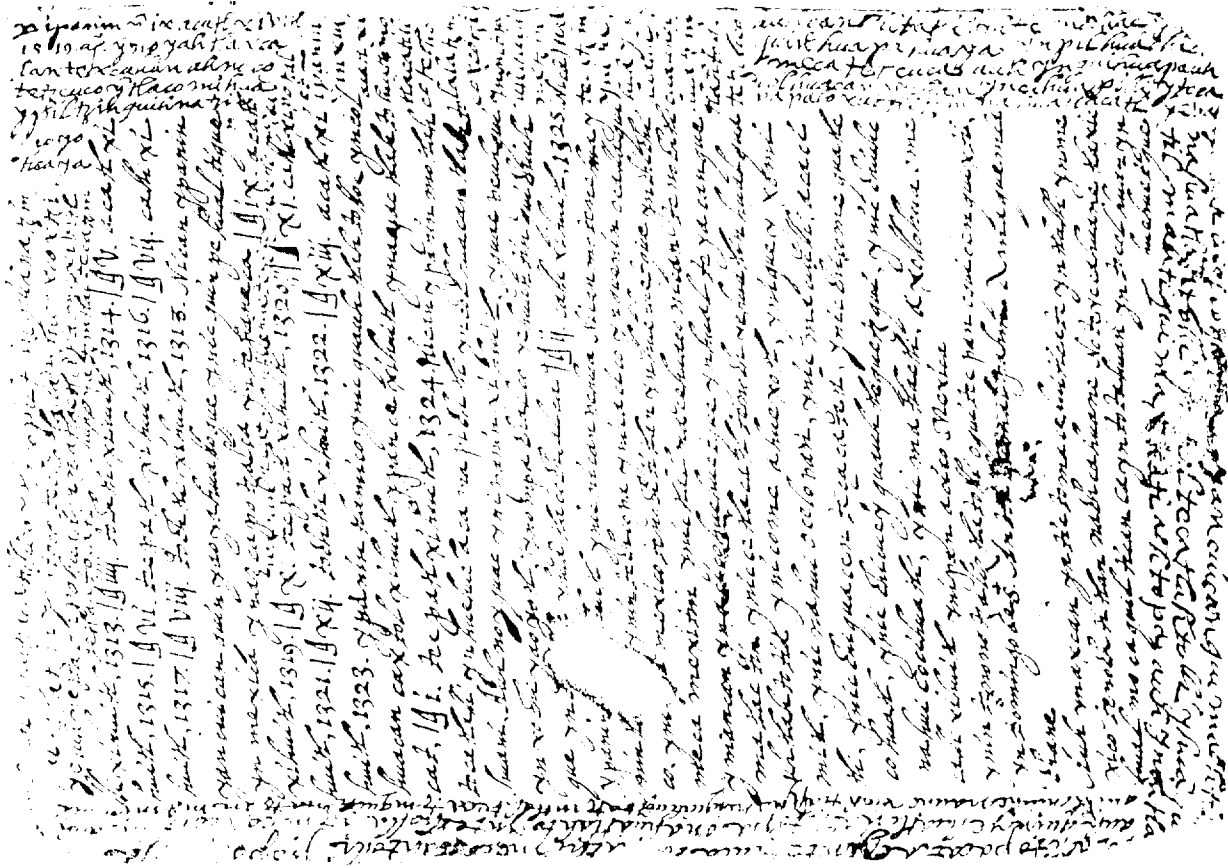


Figure 1. Third *Relación*, 77v. Facsimile from Mengin (1949:22).

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 Tzaqualtitlan Tenanco Chiconcoac Amaquemecan—the great place and one of our four divisions here in the whole state called the province of Chalco. Here people's children [nobles] who live in the present time, and those who live afterward who did not know about the ancient story and account of the city, will see and know it in the ancient city history, the book of ancient life.

In addition to the more or less official accounts of succession in the Amaquemecan kingdoms, Chimalpahin includes gossip about would-be virgin brides deceiving husband-kings, the murder of legitimate successors to thrones, and the late (1547) but earnest attempt to restore all kingdoms to rightful dynastic heirs. Yet Chimalpahin's world is not all Indian. He devotes the last ten pages of this chronicle to the royal kingdom of Spain, a curious juxtaposition of European and native American noble houses—as though he considered the two comparable.

The *Diario* covers the years 1589–1615 in the normal annals style. It contains a long series of entries about events in Mexico City and about other activities relating to New Spain. Chimalpahin made entries for only those dates he considered important. One particular event might take up several pages, while another (for example, his notice of the death of Pope Sixtus V) warrants hardly more than one line (II-38-11). In the *Diario* we have the sense that he is a firsthand observer; at one point he adds *huel oniquittac* 'truly I saw it' (II-126-13). Within these annals there are other annals. In 1608 he stops (as if he has come upon a new source) and recapitulates much of what he has written before about the settlement of Mexico Tenochtitlan and the lists of the Mexica kings. Then he traces subsequent events in the capital city right up to the time of writing. Overall, these accounts of the Mexica follow the Bible Society manuscript closely. With his 1609 entry, Chimalpahin returns to his rich reporting about Mexico City, with less and less information about Indians and, instead, lists of Audiencia officials and the like. The *Diario* concludes on October 14, 1615, with an unfinished statement and a mark, which may or may not be his device (we have no official concluding signature or rubric by Chimalpahin). On this page there is a note in what appears to be the handwriting of don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: "Although the good don Domingo de San Antón Muñón

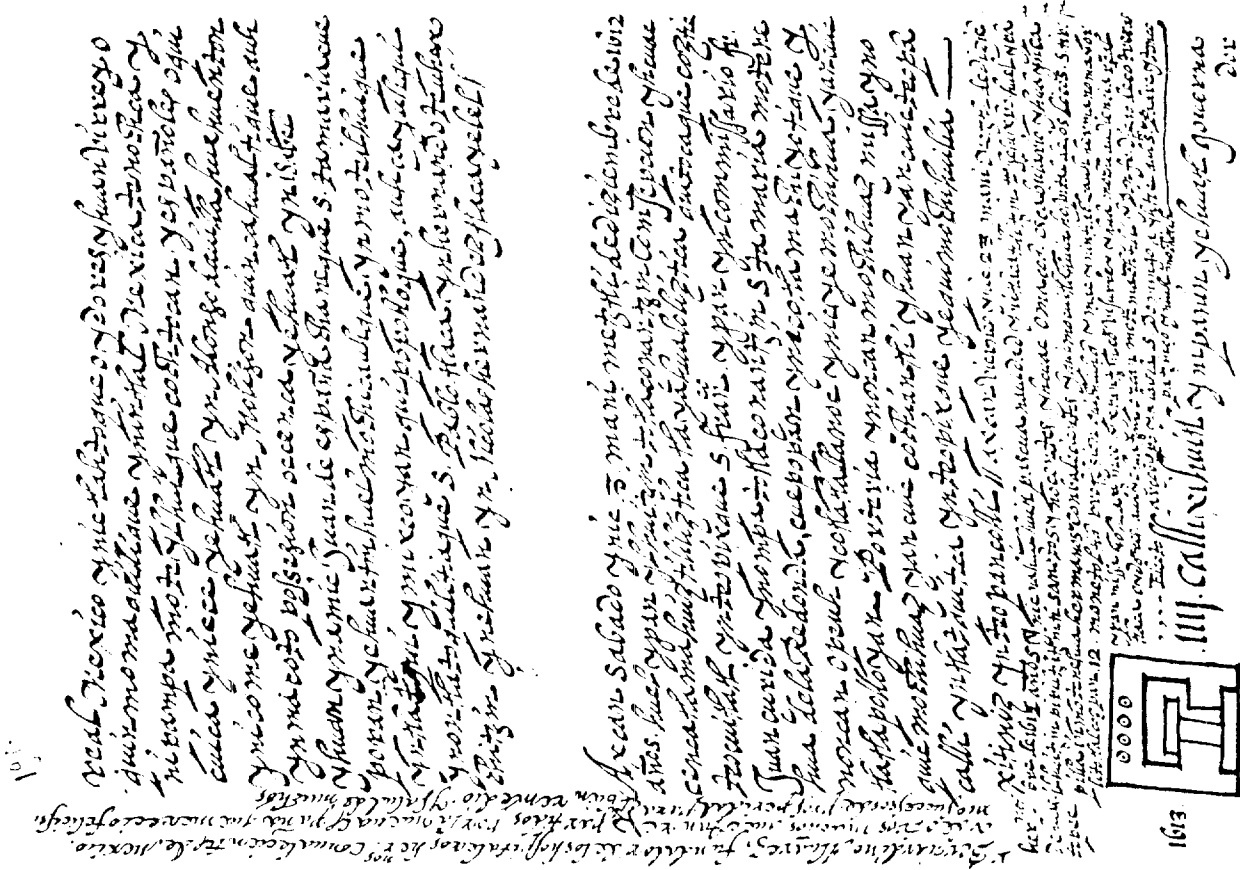


Figure 2. *Diario*. BNP-FM Ms. 220, p. 198.

Chimalpahin lived longer, I did not find any more personal papers on this matter, other than those contained here" (BNP-FM 220, p. 282).⁴⁰ All but one small part of the *Diario* eventually ended up in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This portion consisted of some eighteen pages which had been misplaced and which remained anonymous until 1971, when Luis Reyes García (1971) recognized in them the familiar handwriting of Chimalpahin. After close study and the correlation of dates, style, and subject matter, Reyes García was able to state unequivocally that these annals correspond with the span missing in the Paris manuscript.

Information about the ownership and history of Chimalpahin's work is as sketchy as his biography. Working backward, that is, identifying all known works and tracing them to former owners and repositories, permits the tentative profile in table 3. Ongoing research by numerous scholars should flesh out the picture considerably.

Scholarship on Chimalpahin

The first translation of any of Chimalpahin's writings was the work of Rémi Siméon, who in 1889 published the sixth and seventh *Relaciones* in French translation. The renderings, while mainly adequate, are in some cases outdated in view of more recent grammatical and ethnohistorical insights.

In 1944 Ernst Mengin translated and published the fifth *Relación* in German. In 1949 he published a facsimile copy of the original eight *Relaciones*. Examples from this publication may be seen on pages 23 and 25. In 1958 Walter Lehmann and Gerdt Kuitscher published a German translation of selected sections of the *Relaciones*. Günter Zimmermann followed in 1960 with parts of the second, third, and eighth *Relaciones* in both Nahuatl and German translation; and then, in 1963, as mentioned earlier, he edited and published the first of two volumes, *Die Relationen Chimalpahin's zur Geschichte México's, Teil 1: Die Zeit bis zur Conquista, 1521*. Zimmermann transcribed and reorganized all the pre-conquest annals contained in the first seven *Relaciones* into chronological order. The eighth *Relación* is to be found at the end of this first volume. The second volume, *Teil 2: Das Jahrhundert nach der Conquista, 1522-1612*, was published in 1965 and includes the annals from 1522 to 1612 and the *Diario* (1589-1615). At the end of the second volume there are fragments of text from the second, fourth, and seventh *Relaciones* that did not fit into

Table 3. Probable Course of Ownership of Works Attributed To Chimalpahin^a

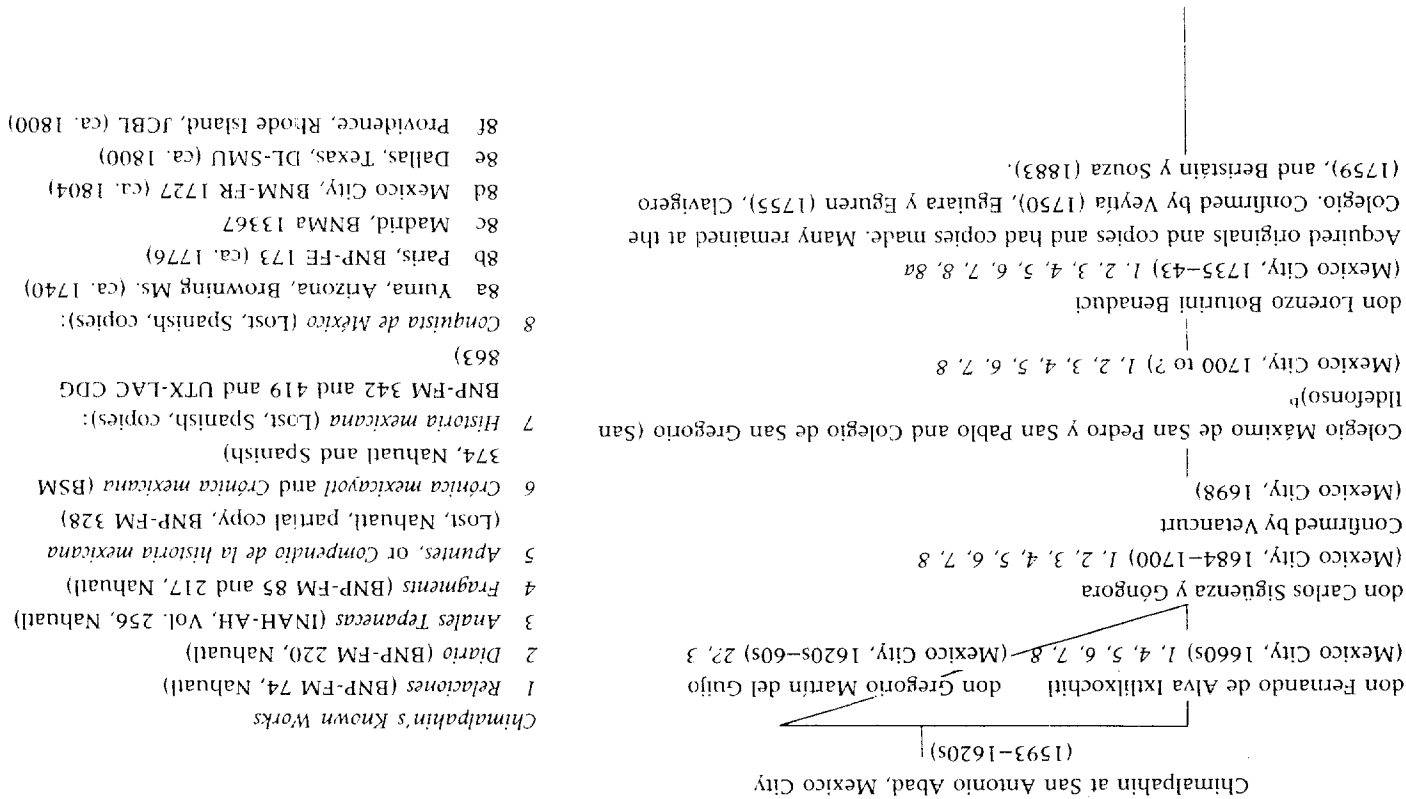
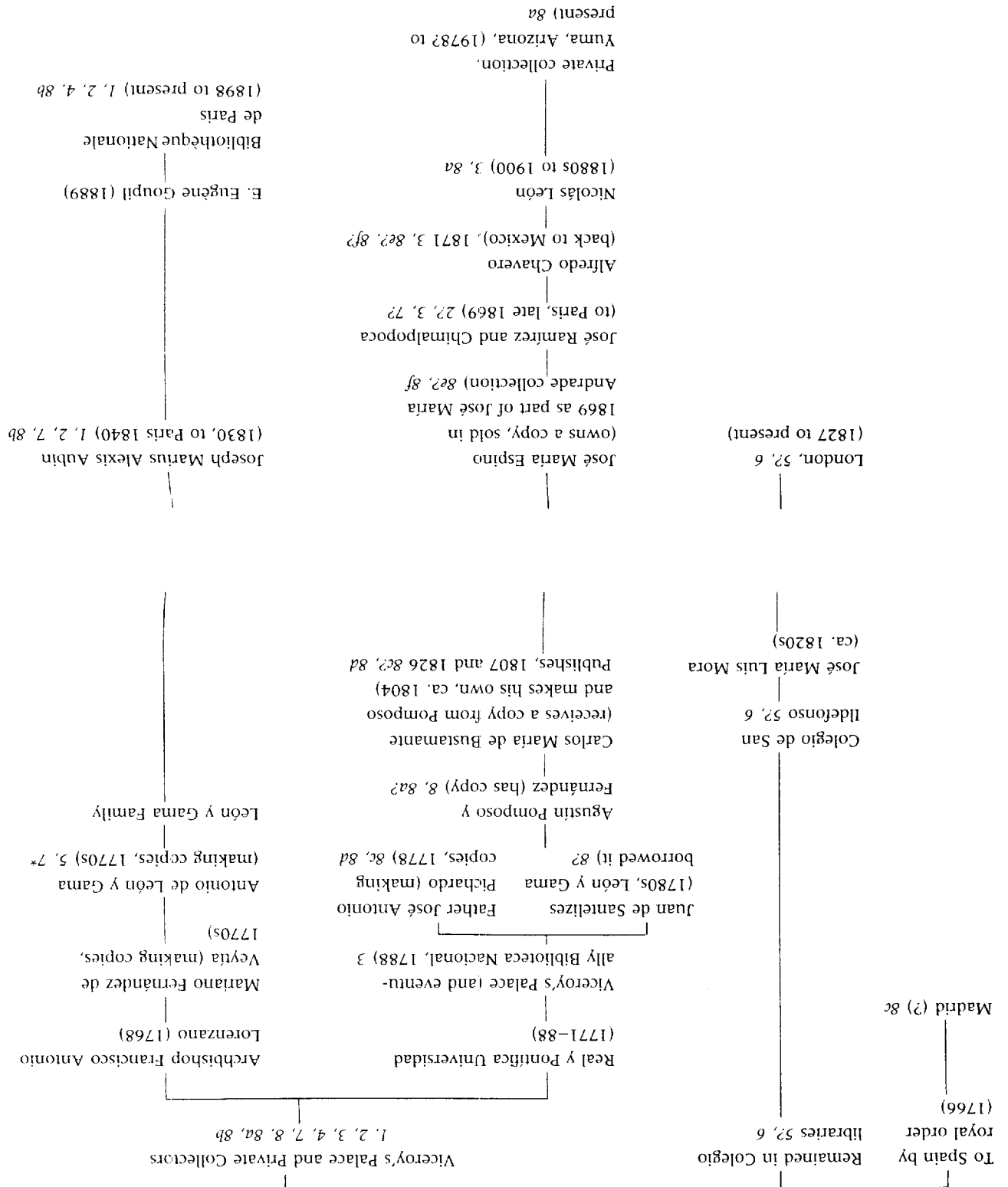


Table 3. (Continued)



*See Burrus (1959), Mengin (1949), Moreno (1971), and Glass (1975, 1976, 1977, and 1978) for additional details and dates. See *HMAI* 15: 330-33 for specifics about certain works by Chimalpahin.
 Over the centuries there has been some confusion about which one or if both of the Colegios housed the precious manuscripts. According to José Rojas Garduñas (1951), in 1577 the Jesuit Colegio Máximo was made up of four seminaries: San Pedro y San Pablo, San Bernardo, San Gregorio, and San Miguel. The next decade saw some reorganization of the seminaries and eventually there were just two principal locales, the Colegio Máximo of San Pedro y San Pablo and the Real Colegio de San Ildefonso (with library of San Gregorio associated?) located next to each other.

the chronological sequences of the annals. Other fragments of Chimalpahin's works now in the Paris collection have been included at the end of this second volume.

In 1965 another partial translation of Chimalpahin's work was published, Silvia Rendón's Spanish translation of the second through seventh *Relaciones*. Earlier Rendón (1949) published just the fourth *Relación* in Spanish translation; this work was incorporated into her 1965 edition. The Nahuatl text is not included; there are several undocumented genealogical dynastic tables and a fairly extensive index of names. Much of the translation is inexact. My own research has resulted in the modification of many of the royal lineages formulated by Rendón, as well as a restructuring of the sociopolitical model that she proposes for Amaquemecan Chalco.

In 1981 Jacqueline de Durand-Forest completed a doctoral dissertation of almost one thousand pages entitled *L'histoire de la Vallée de México selon Chimalpahin Quauhthlehuamitzin (du XIe au XVe siècle)*. Approximately 325 pages are devoted to the translation of various selections from the Nahuatl manuscript of Chimalpahin into French. The analytical portion includes numerous genealogies, maps, and extensive commentary about calendars, dynastic histories, and religious orders. Durand-Forest has made some attempt to reconstruct the sociopolitical organization of Chimalpahin's Amaquemecan Chalco, but much of her treatment is limited to chronologically organized excerpts of what Chimalpahin says about individual kingdoms. This work was recently (1987) published in two volumes.

Other scholars have been concerned with the analysis of specific aspects of Chimalpahin's works.⁴¹ Of particular importance is the research of Eduard Seler (1913), Paul Kirchhoff (1951, 1954–55, 1964), Miguel León-Portilla (1961, 1980, 1988), Luis Reyes García (1971), John Glass (1975, 1978), and José Rubén Romero Galván (1976, 1977, 1978). In 1983 Romero Galván published a Spanish translation and transcription of the eighth *Relación*. Most recently, Romero Galván and a school of *nahuatlatoque* at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México are methodically translating the remaining seven *Relaciones* and the *Diario* into Spanish.

2. The Setting: Amaquemecan Chalco

Indigenous Records

Chimalpahin (II-153-51)⁴² refers to Amaquemecan as Tamoanchan (likened to *paraíso* or Paradise) and describes it thus:

. . . yn rican ypan altepetl Chalchiuhmomozcó Amaquemecan Chalco, y tenyocan y machiyocan yn Itollimpa quauhthlitempa, y cepayauhxicco yn molenehua Poyauhthlan, xochithualco ayauhthualco, yn iztac çollin ynemian, yn cohuatl ymomanayan, yn ocellome ynnemian, yn Tamoahuanchan, xochitl icacan

. . . here in the kingdom of Chalchiuhmomozcó ['at the jade altar'] Amaquemecan Chalco, the famous and exemplary place, the place of [the god] Totolin, at the edge of the forest, at the edge of the snows, called Poyauhthlan, in the flower patio, in the misty patio, where the white quail dwells, where the snake coils, where the jaguars live, Tamoanchan, the place of flowers. . . .

He traces the beginning of this magnificent kingdom to its founding in 1261 after the Chichimeca Totlimpaneca Itzilacoçauhque (partially overlapping names for the ethnic groups making up the larger body) completed their long journey from Chicomoztoc (ca. 1160) in the mythical distant land of Aztlan and established their kingdom on top of a "mountain" called Chalchiuhmomoztli, most likely the knoll known today as Sacramento. It was located at the base of the broad alluvial plain sweeping down from the volcanoes Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl.⁴³ Ac-

What now should follow in this connection is an analysis of the *Diario* and of his accounts about the sixteenth century. Study of these writings should reveal other aspects of the same mentality and other types of continuity from the preconquest era.

For the future, of utmost importance is a careful examination of all recently discovered manuscripts by Chimalpahin, first to carry out an intensive analysis of the materials focusing on Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlatelolco. Since Chimalpahin was most systematic on his home region of Chalco in the *Relaciones*, I have no doubt underestimated the extent of his contribution to the history of other states in the Valley of Mexico, particularly Tenochtitlan, in that work. A truly synthetic and critical rendering of Chimalpahin's account of the latter from all known records would be well worth the effort.

Then, at some point in the course of research, it is essential that Chimalpahin's offerings be distinguished from those long attributed to another indigenous author, Tezozomoc. This would be a delicate but not necessarily impossible task, for Chimalpahin's style, partisanship, and patriotism are already familiar. The Nahuatl writings by him are not very numerous. Sorting out these materials will likely furnish information about other Nahua authors as well, and it may facilitate the identification of documents shared by a clique of native Mexican historians.

Finally, in keeping with the above, as well as to further our understanding of Chimalpahin himself, we must ask: how and why did Chimalpahin come to make a copy of the Spanish account of the Conquest? Do the seemingly small but subtle changes in his version reflect yet another attempt to glorify the Nahua past? We need next a closer look at the "colonial" Chimalpahin.

Notes

Introduction to Part One

1. Unless stated otherwise, all references from Chimalpahin's texts are from Günter Zimmermann. *Die Relationen Chimalpahin's zur Geschichte México's* (1963 and 1965). In subsequent references I will list only volume, page and line numbers, omitting Zimmermann's name and volume dates. Roman numerals I and II correspond to Zimmermann's Teil 1 (1963) and Teil 2 (1965) respectively; the first of two Arabic numbers refers to the page number in the appropriate volume; and the second Arabic number indicates the line on that page.
2. For a thorough discussion of the geophysical attributes of Chalco, see Parsons et al. (1982:1-33).
3. Chimalpahin (I-78-17) describes *xochiyayotl* as warfare where commoners, not nobles, die. For additional information on flower wars, see Hassig (1988:10, 128-30, 139).

1. The Man & His Works

1. These references relate to his writings known as the *Relaciones* and *Diario*, written in or shortly before the 1620s. In a considerably earlier work, the *Crónica mexicana* (ca. 1598), he uses the name Francisco.
2. See for example I-145; I-149-58; I-150-4; I-152-36; I-153-8, 31; I-154-1; I-156-9, 13, 21, 39, 45; II-28-43; II-59-21.
3. Karttunen (1982:395-417) states that in Amecameca literacy was widespread, whereas Cline (1986:16) reports few individuals with such skills in sixteenth-century Culhuacan.
4. See López de Gómara (1966:138-140) and Cortés (1986:83-86). Note

that fray Diego Durán (1967:II, 540) records that meeting place as Tocititlan, the site of the temple of the goddess Toci, which some believe may be beneath the chapel of San Antonio Abad. See "Templo de San Antonio Abad" (1986:13).

5. Chimalpahin (II-135-5 to 136-10) details the history and deeds of the Antonians, whose pious work he traces back to the year 1095. Another possible and earlier date for the presence of the clerics at San Antón is 1562, which seems more likely ("Templo de San Antonio Abad" 1986:3-4).

6. To dispel the rumor that Chimalpahin's remains may be buried under the floor of the chapel, the church's restorers are carefully sorting through all debris before putting the finishing touches on the church.

7. Chimalpahin (II-38-45) identifies Diego de Muñón as patrón in 1591, when the sacrament was first celebrated there. However, don Sancho Sánchez de Muñón is noted as providing the official sanction.

8. Don Sancho Sánchez de Muñón was likely a member of the Alonso Sánchez family.

9. Chimalpahin (II-33-58) notes that "Doctor don Sancho Sánchez de Muñón, maestrescuela, gobernador, and vicar general of the archbishopric of Mexico" also granted the license for the establishment of the Mexico City *cofradía* of Soledad in 1591.

10. I anticipate John Frederick Schwaller's forthcoming biography of don Sancho Sánchez de Muñón, which will no doubt bring to light new information about Chimalpahin's respected patron.

11. Chimalpahin's concern with prestige and title is reflected in his careful and constant association of the royal title with a ruler's name, as with the tlailotlac teuhctli noted here. See pages 169-74 for more on indigenous titles in Chalco.

12. In Tlaxcala, high-ranking Indians were using "don" to indicate high rank by the middle years of the sixteenth century. See Lockhart, Berdan, and Anderson (1986:20-22). The authors cite the classic example of an Hernando Tecepotzin who, after a varied career, finally assumed the "don" when he became governor. By the 1620s, Chimalpahin's time, the title was more common among Indians, but he was strict in recognizing only those who according to tradition could justify a claim to it.

13. For others apparently following Boban, see Mengin (1949:7), León-Portilla (1961:476), Zimmermann (1966:1.12), and Romero Galván (1983:17).

14. From Sigüenza y Góngora (pp. 25-26 in text) we know only that he was alive after the writing of the *Diario*.

15. See Cline (1986:15, 35, 111) for examples of the role of indigenous fiscals in Culhuacan.

16. However, Chimalpahin never speaks of a wife. It is strange that he did not, if his father-in-law was as high ranking as he states.

17. Apparently Chimalpahin stopped writing his history during the second or third decade of the seventeenth century. The last entry in his *Diario* is October 14, 1615. There is also an incomplete citation in the second *Relación* which refers to the year 1631. Otherwise, most scholars give the date 1620 for the completion

of his works and so it seems since he uses the term *axcaxt* 'now' when he speaks of events in 1620. See I-151-15 and I-153-16.

18. The practice of copying no doubt stems from early pedagogical techniques used by the friars. Schwaller (1986:317-83), in speaking of Sahagún's methods, suggests that fray Bernardino probably had his students copy the Nebrija vocabulary and other works into their study books. The result could have been a "school" of copyists, an informal group of Indian scholars who conscientiously duplicated ancient texts. The evidence, however, is slim.

19. There is evidence only for Alva Ixtlilxochitl, who may have attended ca. 1602.

20. Chimalpahin knew of fray Juan and his works, which he refers to as *iamoxtzin yn iSermontototzin* 'his book his Serminario' (II-95-39).

21. For additional references to doña Bárbara and the Axayaca family, see Lockhart and Otte (1976:160-62) and Anderson, Berdan, and Lockhart (1976:198-205).

22. Beristáin y Souza (1816:III, 180) credits Juan de Tovar as being a "natural de Texcoco." Fray Diego Durán was born in Spain but lived in Texcoco for several years. The exact relationship of Tovar and Durán is not clear. See Durán (1967:I.xi-xii and II, 9-10).

23. Fray Agustín seems to have been affiliated with several indigenous religions. Chimalpahin (II-89-36; II-91-9) notes that earlier fray Agustín and Diego Suteño (de Sotelo de Moteuhcçoma) and then fray Tomás de Rivera (grandson-in-law of a former tlatoani of Amaquemecan) participated in religious ceremonies together.

24. See, for example, Chimalpahin (ENM-FR, Ms. 1727, 75f): "su sabiduría y gran talento" (ca. 1804); Eguíara y Eguen in Glass (1973:7): "outstanding in his distinguished knowledge of his race and of Indian affairs" (ca. 1755); León y Gama (1832:88): "el más sabio de cuantos he visto, en la cronología de sus reyes, y el más instruido en el sistema de sus calendarios" (ca. 1790); and Beristáin y Souza (1883:I, 302): "indio mexicano, descendiente de los antiguos caciques" (ca. 1816).

25. Since the secondary school at the Colegio had already been phased out, it is not likely that Chimalpahin held such a position in the seventeenth century. Also, if Chimalpahin had some expertise in Latin, it is not evident in his writings, for he surely would have slipped in a phrase now and then to demonstrate his proficiency in this, too.

26. The number and variety of the descriptions are remarkable. I have compiled lists of them with citations from his text, but few are translatable.

27. See also León y Gama (1978 [1832]:86, 88-89), who refers to calendrical records kept by don Domingo Hernández Ayopotzin [sic].

28. See Karttunen (1982:395-417) for a discussion of indigenous literacy and book use during the early colonial period.

29. León-Portilla (1961:475-82) believes that Chimalpahin learned to read and write at San Antonio Abad, a position that I held as well until recently. In

contrast, Romero Galván (1983:18) believes that the Dominicans may have contributed to Chimalpahin's primary education.

30. See Cline (1986:96) for discussion on religious books and books of hours in the possession of literate Indians in Culhuacan.

31. For a list of known works by Chimalpahin, see Gibson and Glass (1975:330-33). More than anyone else John Glass can be credited with the most exhaustive attempt to locate and describe Chimalpahin's works. Glass's abrupt termination of his research represents a profound loss to the field. See Glass and his CONAMEX series for particulars about Chimalpahin and his writings.

32. See Hale (1968) for additional information about the bibliophile Mora, who apparently translated the Gospel according to St. Luke into Nahuatl. I am grateful to Professor Hale for the loan of his microfilm of Mora's correspondence with the Bible Society.

33. Anderson and Ruwet are currently preparing this collection for publication. For a preliminary appraisal of Chimalpahin's portion of this work, see Anderson (1984).

34. León (Alvarado Tezozomoc 1975:xv-xvii) maintains that Chimalpahin was only a copyist of the manuscript, which was authored by Tezozomoc. See also Kirchoff (1951:227), who believed the *Crónica* to be the work of both men. Of course neither León nor Kirchoff knew of the existence of the BSM. For Tezozomoc's original was lost long ago. Also, there is good evidence that Alva Ixtlilxochitl was a collector of ancient manuscripts and his library (which may have contained some of Chimalpahin's writings) was willed to the Mexican bibliophile, don Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, in return for a favor. See Leonard (1929:92-93) for particulars on this association, and Gamio (1922:1.pt.2.519-20) for a study of the Texcocan estate of the Ixtlilxochitl family.

35. I am grateful to Michael C. Meyer, Director of the Latin American Area Center, University of Arizona, for bringing the manuscript to my attention in December 1986.

36. The "Conquista" manuscript represents one of the few records Chimalpahin made in Spanish. I have been able to locate five other copies of the López de Gómara history (1552?) attributed to Chimalpahin: Mexico City (ca. 1804, incomplete), Paris (ca. 1776, complete), Madrid (fragment), Dallas, Texas (ca. 1770s, incomplete), and Providence, Rhode Island (ca. 1770s, incomplete). Not one is exactly like another, which adds to the intrigue about the original source. Bustamante (1826) published a poor version of this work; which copy he used is not yet certain.

37. The Browning manuscript follows the 1552 (and Simpson) editions fairly closely except for Chimalpahin's periodic and somewhat whimsical emendations, which are definite indications of his personal input.

38. Both the *Relaciones* and *Diario* are housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Fonds Mexicain 74 and 220, respectively. Mengin's (1949) introduction to his facsimile publication details the contents of each *Relación* as well. See also

Romero Galván (1983:51-66) for information specifically about the eighth *Relación*.

39. For some of Chimalpahin's Spanish sources, León-Portilla (1980:95-129 and 1988:179-98) has good evidence indicating Chimalpahin may have used information directly from Sahagún's *General History of the Things of New Spain*. Other early works obviously used by Chimalpahin are Enrico Martínez's (1606) *Reportorio de los tiempos e historia natural de Nueva España* (1948) and fray Juan Bautista's (1606) *Sermonario*.

40. The last two pages of Chimalpahin's *Diario* are filled with entries (1623-24) from the journal of don Gregorio Martín del Guijo, a cleric and lawyer living in Mexico City about the same time Chimalpahin was there. The handwriting seems to be that of don Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora and matches the final above-mentioned reference to Chimalpahin. The rest of Martín del Guijo's diary has been lost, but a copy of the years 1648-64 was published in 1952. Having studied the subject matter in Martín del Guijo's account, I think it unlikely there was any association between the two men, except for the possibility that don Gregorio acquired Chimalpahin's manuscript. See Glass (1973:2-4) for information given by Juan José Eguíara y Eguen (1755) regarding the possibility of Martín del Guijo possessing the *Diario*.

41. An example is Elke Ruhnau's (1988) recent attempt to use some of Chimalpahin's writings about Chalco to fashion a model for state development theory.

2. The Setting: Amaquemecan Chalco

1. A similar but not quite identical passage will be found at I-147-10. Note that this selection with its descriptive, laudatory language is quite like one relating to Mexico Tenochtitlan in another work by Chimalpahin, the Bible Society Manuscript (BSM). It may be that Chimalpahin's passage about Amaquemecan is based on the Mexica model. See above, pp. 20-21 for more information about these accounts.

2. See I-32-23 to 31 for Amaquemecan's location near Popocatepetl.

3. See also Parsons et al. (1982:4, 62) for evidence indicating ongoing occupation to the present.

4. See Berdan and Anawalt (forthcoming) for examples of many different altepetl glyph toponyms.

5. See *Códex Mendoza* (1978) and Séjourne (1983:55-71) for information about other glyphic devices for Chalco and its environs.

6. For background on politics in colonial Chalco, see Gerhard (1972:102-06) and Gibson (1964:414-15).

7. For tribute accounts for Chalco pueblos in the 1560s, see González de Cossío (1952:394-95, 508-10). Tribute accounts for Chalco in 1552 indicate a somewhat higher population figure (Scholes and Adams (1958:85-87, 92-93,