IN THE PALACE OF NEZAHUALCOYOTL

PAINTING MANUSCRIPTS, WRITING THE PRE-HISPANIC PAST IN EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD TETZCOCO, MEXICO

EDUARDO DE J. DOUGLAS

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BY EDUARDO DE J. DOUGLAS

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For my parents and grandparents, and for Dan.

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IN THE PALACE OF NEZAHUALCOYOTL

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INTRODUCTION

D[on] M[art]yn Enríquez. I make it known to you, Juan Gutiérrez de Liébana, corregidor *[magistrate] of the pu[eblo] of Tepeapulco, that don Fran[cisco] Pimentel, the son of don Hernando Pimentel, cacique [indigenous lord] of the city of Tezcuco, has reported to me that, being the son of a father [made] a knight by the most illustrious Viceroy don Luis de Velasco in a public ceremony, by grant of His Majesty, as it is known, he [don Francisco] as his legitimate son, enjoys the continuance of such privilege. Carrying a sword by reason of his honor, [when] passing through said pueblo you [Juan Gutiérrez de Liébana] took it from him, because of which [act] he [don Francisco] received offense, as his quality [status] will be known, and he requested of me that I command you to return it to him and, lest another judge ignorant of the same [fact] take it from him, that I declare that he has the right to carry it.*

In 1575, in New Spain, the Spanish colony founded in 1521 in central Mexico after Hernán Cortés defeated the last independent rulers of the Aztec Empire, don Francisco Pimentel knew and defended his rights and privileges.[1] As a scion of one of pre-Hispanic Mexico's most illustrious aristocratic families, the ruling dynasty of Tetzcoco, don Francisco, a full-blooded Indian, understood that he had the freedom to dress, to carry arms, and to ride a horse like a Spaniard: the freedom, essentially, to be a Spaniard.[2]

An "Indian, noble and *ladino* [Hispanized], and fluent in [the] Castilian language," don Francisco was the product of the "mixed culture" of indigenous aristocrats in mid-sixteenth-century New Spain, a culture shaped by men and women such as his own father, don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin.[3] A grandson of Nezahualpilli (1464/1465–1515), the last ruler of Tetzcoco to reign entirely in the pre-Hispanic period, don Hernando had, from 1544, corresponded in Spanish with Charles V and Philip II to petition for the return of patrimonial lands, and, in 1554, he had even requested permission to travel to Spain in order to argue his case in person.[4] Although Charles V did not permit

him to cross the Ocean Sea, the king had three years earlier granted don Hernando and the city of Tetzcoco a coat of arms (Fig. I.1), and he commanded that the rights and privileges of Nezahualpilli's descendants—the very ones asserted by don Hernando's son don Francisco in 1575—be respected.[5]

Don Hernando's arms were based on those of the Counts-Dukes of Benavente in Spain, who were of the Pimentel family, after and in honor of whom the indigenous Pimentels of Tetzcoco were named.[6] In the rhetoric of heraldry, the coat of arms orders indigenous symbols (signs of "Indianness")—ethnic and toponymic qualifiers, pictorial metaphors for war, eagles, a coyote, feathered warrior outfits and shields, war clubs with obsidian blades, the decapitated heads of enemy warriors, and so forth—according to a European visual syntax.[7] The aristocratic conceit, like the names of men such as don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, indexes social status in the colonial present to the pre-Hispanic past, the knowledge of which don Hernando and his ancestors had preserved in written form.

From the time of Christopher Columbus's first voyage, Europeans described the "New" World to the Old World. Between 1492, the date of Columbus's first voyage, and 1519, the year in which Hernán Cortés and his men landed in what is today Mexico, the Spaniards confronted and wrote about peoples "without history."[8] Defined by European perceptions, these first "Indians" became for European readers the figures they encountered in Spanish texts: savages fit only for manual labor, not, like don Hernando and don Francisco Pimentel, nobles accorded rights and privileges.[9] Once Cortés and his men came into contact with the peoples of central Mexico, who could and did write, the new arrivals no longer held the monopoly on literacy, history, or civilization.

The Spanish Franciscan missionary in New Spain, Fray Toribio de Benavente (circa 1490–1569), known as Motolinía, explains in the "Epistola proemial" (Prefatory Letter) to his *Memoriales* (Notes) of circa 1536–1543: "There were among the natives [of central Mexico] five [types of] books, as I said, of figures and characters: the first spoke about the years and the [past] epochs; the second, of the days and feasts that they had throughout the year; the third spoke about dreams and auguries, tricks and vanities in which they believed; the fourth was of baptism and the names that they gave to children; and the fifth is of rites, ceremonies, and auguries that they had in marriage."[10]

In the Late Postclassic Period (circa 1200–1519 CE), in and around the Valley of Mexico (Map I.1), the heartland of the Aztec Empire and, after 1521, of New Spain, books "of figures and characters" recorded and sustained cosmic, divine, and human order among speakers of Nahuatl, the Aztec language, and their neighbors. Reading and writing were exclusively within the purview of the interrelated political and religious elites of the numerous ethnic polities, or, as they were known in Nahuatl, *altepemeh* (literally, "water-mountains," singular *altepetl*).[11] In state-

FIGURE I.1. Tetzcoco Coat of Arms. After Peñafiel, *Manuscritos de Texcoco*, frontispiece.

sponsored schools, noble and gifted children destined for the priesthood or high administrative office learned to read and write an iconic (image) script, which modern scholars have often characterized as "picture writing."[12] A pictorial element in central Mexican iconic script could depict a thing itself (a flower representing a flower), or serve as an ideograph (a flower signifying a concept, idea, or quality related to a flower, for example, fragrance) or as a phonetic element (flower, *xochitl* in Nahuatl, could communicate the sound "xoch" rather than either a flower or a concept related to it).[13] Through images, scribes conveyed a wide range of information. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts from New Spain such as Motolinía's tell us that pre-Hispanic rulers and priests


Huehuetoca
Citlaltepec
Zumpango
Lake Zumpango
Tepozotlan
Xaltocan
Lake Xaltocan
Tecama
Teotihuacan
Cuauhtitlan
Chiconauhtla
Acolman
Tepexpan
Tizayuca
Ecatepec
Tequicistlan
Chiauhtla
Tenayuca
Tlalnepantla
Texcoco
Lake Texcoco
Azcapotzalco
Huexotla
Los Remedios (Tototepec)
Tacuba
Coatlichan
Tlatelolco
Tenochtitlan
Chimalhuacan Atenco
Chicoloapa
Tacubaya
Santa Fe
Dike of Nezahualcoyotl
Coatepec
Mixcoac
Ixtapalapa
Coyoacan
Mexicalzingo
Huitzilopochco
Culhuacan
Ixtapaluca
Lake Xochimilco
Lake Chalco
Cuitlahuac
Xochimilco
Chalco Atenco
Mixquic
N
0 5 10 15
Miles
Lake Level, 18TH Century
Lake Level, 1520

commissioned and used iconic-script genealogies, histories, and ritual manuscripts—calendars, cosmogonies, and divinatory manuals. Maps, economic records, and transcripts of legal proceedings, too, were part of the pre-Hispanic documentary and scribal repertories.[14]

Many Spaniards disparaged central Mexican iconic script, which they called *pinturas* (paintings), but the colonial authorities and some Christian missionaries recognized it as a form of objective record keeping:

> The one [type of book], namely, that concerning the years and the [past] epochs, this one, the first [type], one can believe, because in truth although [they were] barbarians and without letters, they had much order and custom of counting/recounting these same epochs and years, feasts and days . . . In this same way, they wrote and painted the histories of war, of the succession of the principal lords, of storms and pestilence, in what epoch and [under which] lord they happened, and all those who first subjugated this land and ruled it until the Spaniards arrived. All this they had written in characters and figures.[15]

The Crown's and the Church's need for information inspired their representatives in New Spain to seek out paintings. The initial impetus came from the Crown, which sought accounts of pre-Conquest economic, political, and social organization, especially those concerning landholding, slavery, and tribute.[16] Such knowledge permitted the colonial administration to maintain the demands placed on the indigenous masses at pre-Hispanic levels, in theory if not always in practice, and thereby to minimize the risks of rebellion against Spanish authority.[17] The Church and its missionaries, above all the Franciscans, collected information on pre-Hispanic history, religion, and ritual in order to police the new converts, and in this way to eradicate what they deemed to be paganism and idolatry.[18]

Members of central Mexico's indigenous elites transcribed or translated the extant pre-Hispanic paintings for the agents of the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church. Native aristocrats and painters crafted new iconic-script texts, too: during the military phase of the Conquest in central Mexico, the Spaniards and their allies had destroyed archives in many polities, and the Church's less-enlightened emissaries later burned much of what had been spared.[19] In order to preserve knowledge of the pre-Hispanic past within their families and communities, these lords and painters commissioned and produced iconic-script documents, especially dynastic genealogies, histories, and maps, for themselves as well as for the Spaniards.[20]

In central Mexico, in the Early Colonial Period (roughly from 1521 to 1600), scions of pre-Hispanic ruling houses—men such as don Hernando Pimentel and his son don Francisco of Tetzcoco—initially served as middlemen between the Spanish colonial state and the indios, or Indians, whose labor and tribute sustained it and whose ancestors' labor and

MAP I.1. Map of the Valley of Mexico, circa 1520. From Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810*, p. xii, copyright 1964 by the Board of Trustees of the Leland Stanford Junior University. All rights reserved. Used with the permission of the Stanford University Press.

tribute had sustained their ancestors. To justify this and other privileges, indigenous lords, or *señores*, as the Spaniards often called them, were careful to make their royal blood visible, in part by means of iconic-script manuscripts:[21] "Confronted with . . . difficulties and not without clear-sightedness, the nobles resigned themselves to accept Christianity and the colonial domination. More or less sincerely converted, they chose the way of accommodation, and were at pains to preserve the signs of their origins, the 'paintings' of history and genealogy that legitimized their power."[22]

These documents enjoyed a quasi-legal status in colonial New Spain, and in theory if not always in practice, they served as bulwarks against Spanish—and even native—encroachment on lands, tribute income, and rights.[23] As Elizabeth Hill Boone concludes, "[t]hese are the documents that addressed the realms of Nahua life where the most was at stake . . . the realms of titles and privilege (of continued nobility and status), of land, of goods, and of rights."[24] Keen collectors and patrons of the "books . . . of figures and characters," indigenous lords and municipalities at first held onto pre-Hispanic originals, but later, when and as necessary, they commissioned bowdlerized copies, and at times fanciful adaptations, of the dynastic genealogies, civic histories, property maps, and tribute registers. These iconic-script documents preserved not only the "memory of the greatness and exploits of the ancient kings and lords" but also the income, lands, rights, and status of their descendants.[25]

Although the secular and the religious formed part of a coherent whole, and augury and liturgy were not separate from history, one can loosely divide central Mexican iconic-script manuscripts into two groups: the ritual, and the historical or mundane.[26] After 1521 Christian missionaries from Europe and Spanish administrators collected originals and requested copies of every type of pre-Hispanic iconic-script manuscript, at least until 1577, when Philip II forbade them to do so.[27] The indigenous had to be more circumspect, even before 1577: after 1521 all indigenous books and images could harbor memories of pre-Hispanic religion and idolatry, and to possess them could mark a recently converted Indian, a "new" Christian, as pagan, idolatrous, and, as a consequence, seditious.[28]

Thus, to record their past, native patrons looked to the potentially secular genres, a distinction which Christian evangelization and European cultural attitudes had brought into being.[29] Christian subjects of the Spanish king, they had to perceive their own past through different eyes and eventually to represent it in different forms, a process that would ultimately contribute to what Enrique Florescano has characterized as "disindigenization."[30]

In about 1532, for example, the Spaniard Juan Cano made use of and transformed two iconic-script documents, almost certainly pre-Hispanic in origin, in his attempt to secure the patrimony and status of his wife, doña Isabel Tecuichpo Motecuhzoma, a daughter of the Aztec ruler

Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin ("the younger"). Doña Isabel is today best known for her six marriages, including one to Cuauhtemoc, the Mexica ruler whom Cortés defeated in 1521; Cano was the sixth and last of doña Isabel's husbands, three of whom were Spanish. Although Juan Cano's and doña Isabel's two iconic-script documents have not survived, the alphabetic-script transliterations and Spanish translations of them penned in circa 1532 by an anonymous Franciscan friar, the *Relaciones de Juan Cano* (Juan Cano's reports), still exist.[31]

No pre-Hispanic manuscript from the Valley of Mexico has survived. But the two *Relaciones de Juan Cano*—the *Origen de los mexicanos* and the *Relación de la genealogía y linaje de los señores que han señoreado esta tierra de la Nueva España*—are among the earliest extant histories of the Valley of Mexico's pre-Hispanic past, whether in alphabetic or iconic script. Both reports view and record the past from the perspective of Tenochtitlan, the altepetl of the Mexica people and the supreme capital of the Aztec Empire, over the charred and blood-stained ruins of which Cortés ordered the construction of the new colonial capital, the future Mexico City. The *Relaciones de Juan Cano* represent only one central Mexican historical tradition, that of the Mexica of Tenochtitlan, and, as a transliteration from iconic into alphabetic script in tandem with translation from Nahuatl into Spanish, only one of the forms in which memory, knowledge, and the written archive of the indigenous past informed and was informed by cultural, economic, political, and social relations in colonial New Spain.

A historical tradition different from but closely related to that of Tenochtitlan concerns Tetzcoco, in the eastern Valley of Mexico.[32] Tetzcoco, the altepetl of the Acolhua people, was the second city of the Aztec Empire, in size, military might, political importance, and wealth.[33] Later, and for much of the sixteenth century, Tetzcoco was New Spain's second-largest city and largest de jure if not de facto indigenous municipality.[34] The Crown and its government considered New Spain to be composed of two distinct republics, the Spanish (the *república de los españoles*) and the indigenous (the *república de los indios*), in theory separate and each self-governing at the municipal level; needless to say, the actual situation was considerably more complex.[35] Produced circa 1542–1546, the earliest extant Tetzcocan histories are in iconic script, "picture writing," and they manifest different forms of continuity and change from those exemplified by the *Relaciones de Juan Cano*. Several early-colonial iconic-script accounts of the pre-Hispanic past have survived from Tenochtitlan as well, for example, the Tira de la peregrinación (also known as the Codex Boturini) and the Codex Azcatitlan, but none is as extensive in its historical sweep as the transliterated and translated *Relaciones de Juan Cano* or the iconic-script Tetzcocan versions.

Many of the iconic-script histories from Tenochtitlan form part of larger bilingual manuscripts produced for Spanish patrons and audiences. Conceived and bound in European book format and often painted

on European paper, these bilingual manuscripts expressly join indigenous, pre-Hispanic-style "picture writing" to alphabetic-script transliterations and translations into Spanish, frequently accompanied by explanatory annotations. To varying degrees, bilingual manuscripts also adapt indigenous archival and documentary genres and formats to European ones.

In contrast, in conception and design, the early-colonial iconic-script accounts of Tetzcoco's pre-Hispanic past—the Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10), the Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17), and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25)—neither transliterate iconic into alphabetic script nor ostensibly adapt indigenous to European genres and formats.[36] Although other iconic-script manuscripts, most notably, the Codex en Cruz and the Tira de Tepechpan, include references to Tetzcoco's history, the Xolotl, Tlohtzin, and Quinatzin are the only three that focus on Tetzcoco and its royal dynasty: they compose the fundamental pictorial archive from which to reconstruct an Acolhua vision of the pre-Hispanic past.[37]

The Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map all document Acolhua territory, genealogy, and history. They appear to be drawn entirely from the symbolic and linguistic worlds of indigenous central Mexico, and they are thus different in form if not intent and effect from don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin's letters to Charles V, the coat of arms granted to don Hernando and the city of Tetzcoco, or the *Relaciones de Juan Cano*. Through their formal and narrative choices, the painters and patrons of the Tetzcocan histories identify themselves as aristocratic and indigenous, and thus as legitimate heirs to the patrimony left to them by pre-Hispanic rulers such as Nezahualpilli. But, to have currency in the *república de los españoles*—"the realms of titles and privilege (of continued nobility and status), of land, of goods, and of rights"—the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl can only have figured the pre-Hispanic past from the "ladino" perspectives of men such as don Hernando and his son don Francisco.[38] After 1521 Nezahualpilli's sons and grandsons needed to be or be seen as legitimate heirs—Indians—as well as loyal subjects of the Crown and good Catholics—Spanish.

History and Patrimony: The Children of Nezahualpilli

When Nezahualpilli died in 1515, two of his numerous sons, Coanacochtzin and Ixtlilxochitl, apparently vied to succeed him on the throne.[39] According to some sixteenth-century accounts, Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin, the ruler of Tenochtitlan, intervened in the dynastic struggle and placed his nephew Cacama (Cacamatzin), the son of Nezahualpilli and Motecuhzoma's elder sister, on the throne. Ixtlilxochitl and Coanacochtzin were considered to be in the legitimate line of succession, but Cacama was not.[40]

Coanacochtzin in the end allegedly supported Cacama, but

Ixtlilxochitl rebelled and took control of the northern half of the Acolhua kingdom. From his provisional capital at Otompan (Otumba), Ixtlilxochitl fought against his half-brother Cacama in Tetzcoco and the emperor Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin in Tenochtitlan. As his grandfather Nezahualcoyotl had done before him when he confronted the Tepanecs of Azcapotzalco, Ixtlilxochitl secured the support of the eastern Nahua polity of Tlaxcala, an inveterate enemy of the Mexica of Tenochtitlan and, later, Cortés's staunchest indigenous ally. Ixtlilxochitl and Cacama eventually came to an understanding whereby the former would receive tribute from the northern half of the kingdom and the latter would retain the throne in Tetzcoco.

Ixtlilxochitl recognized his opportunity when Hernán Cortés and his Spaniards entered the Valley of Mexico: like his friends the Tlaxcalans, who accompanied the Spanish forces, Ixtlilxochitl allied himself with the new arrivals.[41] Cacama likewise welcomed Cortés and his men into Tetzcoco, but later unsuccessfully attempted to play his new friend against his uncle Motecuhzoma and betrayed both. Cortés had Cacama brought to and imprisoned in Tenochtitlan, and on Motecuhzoma's advice appointed another of Nezahualpilli's sons, Cuizcuitzcatl, as ruler. When Cuizcuitzcatl arrived in Tetzcoco, his half-brother Coanacochtzin, Cacama's old ally, had him put to death.[42] Coanacochtzin, who succeeded as ruler, sided with the Mexica under the leadership of Cuitlahuac, and, after Cuitlahuac's death from smallpox, of Cuauhtemoc, against the Spanish and their indigenous allies, while his brother Ixtlilxochitl supported Cortés. Between the Spaniards' disastrous flight from Tenochtitlan on the Noche Triste, or Sad Night, 30 June 1520, in the course of which the captive Cacama died, and their final victory over the Aztecs on 13 August 1521, Ixtlilxochitl made his services and the Tetzcocan resources that he controlled available to them.[43] When Cuauhtemoc was captured at Tlatelolco on that fateful August day, Coanacochtzin was with him, as was Tetepanquetzatzin, the ruler of Tlacopan, for they, too, had fought against the Spanish and their indigenous allies until the bitter end. After their defeat, Cortés permitted Cuauhtemoc, Coanacochtzin, and Tetepanquetzatzin to retain office as the nominal rulers of the three imperial Aztec cities of the Triple Alliance: Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan. Coanacochtzin was baptized a Christian, taking the name of Cortés's lieutenant Pedro de Alvarado.

Although don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin had the title of *tlahtoani* (plural *tlahtoqueh*), "he who speaks regularly," the Nahuatl term for the ruler of an altepetl, Ixtlilxochitl, now known as don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, remained in control of northern Acolhuacan. Ignoring the indigenous word "tlahtoani," the Spaniards imported the Arawak term "cacique" (*cacica* is the feminine form), roughly, "chief," from the Caribbean islands to Mexico and applied it to the colonial-era descendants of pre-Hispanic ruling families, specifically, the ones who, like don Pedro, were heirs to the primary position in the family. Derived

from cacique, the term "*cacicazgo*" refers to the inherited position or office and its perquisites, including patrimony in the form of land and tribute payments inalienable from the office. In his groundbreaking study, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, Charles Gibson suggests that the decision on the part of the Spaniards to use the term "cacique" and its derivatives facilitated the social shifts in and among indigenous communities after the Conquest.[44] Families and individuals without a claim to tlahtoani status and towns that were not altepemeh in the pre-Conquest era took advantage of the new terminology and the looser criteria it entailed to obtain the privileges of ruling families and fully independent communities.

In 1525, during an expedition to Honduras, Hernán Cortés received warnings of a rebellion among the Indian soldiers who formed the majority of his forces. Cuauhtemoc, don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin, and Tetepanquetzatzin, whom Cortés had brought along in order to prevent a native uprising in central Mexico, were alleged to have urged their compatriots to kill the Spaniards. Cortés had the three men put to death, and his ally don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, also part of the Honduran expedition, succeeded the executed Coanacochtzin as cacique of Tetzcoco.[45]

Don Fernando ruled until his death in 1531, leaving one daughter, doña Ana Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, who married don Francisco Verdugo Quetzalmamalitzin Huetzin, the cacique of Teotihuacan; doña Ana and don Francisco were the great-grandparents of don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (circa 1578–1648), the mestizo historian who would devote himself to collecting, preserving, and, when necessary, re-creating the record of Tetzcoco's pre-Hispanic past.

Don Jorge Alvarado Yoyontzin, another of Nezahualpilli's sons, succeeded as cacique-governor of Tetzcoco, but died in 1534 after only one year in office. Don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin, don Jorge's brother, succeeded him. Don Pedro died in 1539, at which point don Pedro's half-brother don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl appears to have claimed the cacicazgo.[46] Perhaps because he was thought to be outside the legitimate line of succession, or had too many enemies in an already contentious, factionalized family, don Carlos's relatives betrayed him as an apostate and a rebel to Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop, later archbishop, of Mexico City, and, once tried and convicted, he died at the stake in 1539.[47] At this point, the last of Nezahualpilli's sons to rule Tetzcoco, don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin, succeeded as cacique-governor and continued in office until his death in 1545.

Charles V's and Philip II's correspondent, don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, the son of don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin, one of those executed in Honduras, succeeded his uncle don Antonio and was the last of Nezahualpilli's descendants to be cacique and governor simultaneously.[48] While the office of cacique remained hereditary and, ideally, passed from one generation of the direct descendants of

pre-Hispanic rulers to the next, that of governor was increasingly, and eventually exclusively, in the viceregal gift, open even to those who by birth could not have succeeded to a cacicazgo. In separating the hereditary office from the actual, day-to-day, governance of indigenous municipalities, and municipal lands from the royal patrimony, the Crown and its colonial administrators sought to curtail the economic and political power of the indigenous aristocracy.[49] Don Hernando's son don Francisco claimed the cacicazgo after his father's death, but met with opposition from the other potential heirs; he did, however, later serve as governor of Tetzcoco. Don Hernando's brother don Diego Tecocolchi (Tecocoltzin) Teutzquitzin (Pimentel?) apparently succeeded him as cacique in 1565 and ruled until 1577, after which date the succession is unclear until the early seventeenth century.[50] In a 1627 land document, doña Juana Pimentel, then the cacica of Tetzcoco, states that she inherited the property in question from her father, a don Diego Pimentel, who may have been cacique at some point between 1579 and 1627.[51]

In 1576 don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl's granddaughter doña Francisca Verdugo and her Spanish husband, Juan Grande, were in litigation against don Hernando Pimentel's son don Francisco, the man who the year before had petitioned the viceroy, don Martín Enríquez de Almansa, for the return of his sword and recognition of his noble status.[52] Both doña Francisca and don Francisco were great-grandchildren of Nezahualpilli, and as grandchildren, respectively, of don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl and his brother don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin, found themselves contesting each other's claims to patrimony, as their grandfathers had before them. Don Francisco was closely allied with a mestizo cousin, Juan Bautista de Pomar, the author, in Spanish, of the 1582 *Relación de Tezcoco*, which formed part of one of the official *relaciones geográficas* (geographic reports) sent to Philip II from New Spain.[53]

Pomar was the son of Nezahualpilli's "illegitimate" daughter, doña María Ixtlilxochitl, and her Spanish husband, Antonio de Pomar; because he was a mestizo descended from an illegitimate branch of the royal family, Pomar was not in the line of succession. After 1580 don Francisco and Pomar handled the financial affairs and land transactions of the Tetzcocan cacicazgo in order to save its properties from confiscation because of municipal tax arrears, for which the "palace" was held responsible.[54]

Other members of the family under the leadership of a don Pedro de Alvarado sued in 1588 for the return of the monies collected by don Francisco and Pomar from the rental of patrimonial properties.[55] This don Pedro de Alvarado was a grandson of Nezahualpilli, but how they are related is not known. He was not, it seems, descended from don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin, the grandfather of his adversary don Francisco.[56] Don Pedro would have been a likely ally for doña Francisca Verdugo in Teotihuacan, as she, too, had sued don Francisco over the patrimony.

In these ever-more-frequent suits and countersuits between contentious heirs, as well as between native inhabitants and Spanish colonists, pre-Hispanic and pre-Hispanic-style indigenous pictorial genealogies, histories, and maps could, and often did, buttress litigants' claims. As Boone trenchantly observes, "[t]he Spanish authorities wanted ancient documents, and ancient meant pictorial."[57] The symbolic if not always the legal power of community or dynastic manuscripts was beyond measure, for not only did they preserve pre-Hispanic history from oblivion but also, by means of that same history, justified economic and social privilege within the indigenous and the Spanish republics of New Spain. To possess pictorial histories was to possess the material legacy of the past and, for the indigenous aristocracy, the freedom if not always the linguistic and cultural wherewithal to move between the colony's two republics.

The creation, elaboration, interplay, and conflict of indigenous, or Indian, mestizo, and Spanish interests complicated the debates among Nezahualpilli's litigious heirs. In addition to descent in the line of succession, culture and ethnicity became touchstones of "indigenousness," and thereby of the legitimacy of one's claims on the cacicazgo. Because of conquest, colonization, and the ambivalent social experience and divided or multiple economic and political loyalties of the indigenous aristocracy, however, culture and ethnicity were fluid and provisional, not fixed and innate. It is in this complex colonial present, and not in an idealized, unsullied, and static pre-Hispanic past that we must place the iconic-script histories of Tetzcoco and its royal dynasty. Only a reading informed by this context can convey anything approaching the full richness and subtle meaning of these texts.

Writing and Painting History in Early Colonial Tetzcoco

In his *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (History of the Chichimec people) of circa 1625, Alva Ixtlilxochitl cites "the [historical] reports that the *infantes* [princes] of Tetzcoco, don Pablo, don Toribio, and don Hernando Pimentel [Nezahualcoyotzin], and Juan de Pomar, sons and grandsons of Nezahualpiltzintli, wrote."[58] That don Hernando and his kin wrote historical reports in Spanish (the "ladino" texts to which Alva Ixtlilxochitl primarily refers) and petitioned the Crown from at least the early 1540s indicates that Tetzcoco's pre-Hispanic past was very much on the minds of Nezahualpilli's heirs in the period immediately following don Carlos's execution. This was the period in which the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map were painted. Don Carlos had allegedly advocated for ancestral custom: "Let us follow the ways our forebears had and followed, and in the way that they lived, let us live."[59] His relatives likewise looked to the pre-Hispanic past, but they had to do so without arousing suspicion of apostasy or sedition.

To assume a direct connection between the various efforts on the part of Nezahualpilli's sons and grandsons to secure or control patrimony (at least after 1539) and the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map necessitates a reading of the manuscripts as something other than and supplementary to pre-Hispanic indigenous history conveyed in pre-Hispanic indigenous form and style. The patrons' and painters' perspectives on and representations of "time before" had to accommodate Catholic and Spanish sensibilities, especially when expressed in traditional and therefore potentially suspect forms, as in the case of the three iconic-script manuscripts. The present study seeks, first, to analyze the Xolotl's, the Quinatzin's, and the Tlohtzin's forms and messages, and, second, to investigate the concerns of the manuscripts' patrons as well as the ways in which they shaped such forms and messages.

Just as these manuscripts and their patrons and painters formed part of and shaped specific historical traditions and situations, so, too, does this study, which draws on art-historical, anthropological, historical, linguistic, and literary scholarship new and old.[60] My critical analysis and readings of the pictorial narratives derive in part from long traditions of scholarly engagement with the pre-Hispanic past, but the broader conceptual framework as well as the perspective on early-colonial Mexico reflect more recent historical evaluations of and theoretical debates about colonial Latin America. In particular, this study considers how and to what extent Iberian colonization and all that it entailed affected the culture and experiences of Nezahualpilli's heirs. While throughout this book the notes acknowledge specific debts and sources, my general critical and theoretical stance is best made clear from the start.

My key theoretical assumption is that the manuscripts are to a greater or lesser degree colonial either in form, content, function, or reception, or in all of these. They cannot and should not be read or understood as if they had been painted before 1519, even were they shown to be "exact" copies of pre-Conquest documents. Such an assumption presupposes a distinction between pre-Hispanic and colonial indigenous cultures, experiences, perceptions, and societies, however mitigated by demonstrable and extensive continuities from the earlier to the later period. It is just this distinction that the following chapters will attempt to isolate and describe.

My second theoretical assumption is that, although the Quinatzin, Tlohtzin, and Xolotl are written in iconic script, "writing without words," they are nevertheless verbal texts and, as such, should be read according to the verbal system and textual traditions—the language and the literate culture—that shaped them. Although iconic script does not record words, at least not in the sense that an alphabetic script does, it is not outside of language. By this, I do not imply that iconic-script documents by necessity presuppose, parallel, and cue memorized oral texts. Rather, they can be written, read, and interpreted independently of such texts because they function as and are an expression of language, with all its ambigui-

ties, complexities, and varieties of signification. While, as numerous scholars have argued, iconic-script documents may have served as aides-mémoires, they need not have.[61] As texts, these documents can articulate and communicate meaning themselves rather than recall another and preexisting text, and they did so more and more after 1521 in response to new challenges and influences.[62]

Even in the colonial period, iconic-script histories of the pre-Hispanic past are representations of that past rooted in fundamental indigenous conceptual and linguistic structures. A key to these structures is found in Nahuatl aristocratic speech in general and Nahuatl poetry in particular. In the early-seventeenth century, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, a native speaker of Nahuatl as well as Spanish, observed that "the paintings and characters . . . gave true meaning to the songs, which, because they are composed in an allegorical mode and adorned with metaphors and similes, are exceedingly difficult to understand."[63] Nahuatl poetic and aristocratic speech prefers the figurative to the literal and works through metaphor and simile. What is neither directly depicted or seen nor explicitly stated or heard is what matters in this language. The texts, like their authors, if not all their intended audiences, are finely attuned to metaphor, parataxis, parallelism, and substitutions; and in order to read them, we must be, too.

Like Nahuatl poetry and courtly rhetoric, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map can simultaneously craft explicit representations *and* metaphorical interpretations. Previous studies of these and most central Mexican iconic-script histories and manuscripts have focused on identifying and cataloguing their glyphic vocabulary or reading their explicit representations in order to reconstruct the pre-Hispanic past.[64] The present study attempts to demonstrate how metaphor subtly qualifies these representations in the colonial present. Although I isolate what I consider to be figures of speech, ultimately, what I argue for is not a set of specific readings or interpretations, but a method of reading that recognizes the Xolotl, Tlohtzin, and Quinatzin as literary, specifically poetic, texts as much as historical records subject to verification.

Chapter 1 details the manuscripts' provenance, describes their physical form and state of preservation, and identifies their stylistic and typological affiliations. The manuscripts' provenance demonstrates their connection to Nezahualpilli's descendants and to the city of Tetzcoco, while their overall form, iconic-script content, and/or alphabetic-script annotations date two of them, the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin, to circa 1542–1546.[65] Stylistic analysis suggests that earlier conventional assumptions about what constitutes indigenous pictorial style may be skewed and that the painters and their patrons could and may have made a conscious choice to deploy a style that marks the manuscripts as indigenous and pre-Hispanic. Typological analysis identifies the Xolotl, the Tlohtzin, and the Quinatzin as cartographic histories, and as such, they picture land, genealogy, and narratives of the pre-Hispanic past, which themes

will be taken up in Chapters 2 through 4.[66] The painters have adapted the general type to address contemporary needs, especially in the case of the Quinatzin. Both typological adaptation and stylistic choice suggest an objectification of and a separation from the pre-Hispanic past and its traditions.

Chapter 2 focuses on land and investigates the manuscripts as examples of Mesoamerican cartography. After a brief survey of current scholarship on the depiction of space in central Mexican manuscript painting, pre-Hispanic and colonial, I analyze the cartographic form and content of the manuscripts. I consider the implications of the choice of places represented, the manner of representation, and the overall configuration with regard to four fundamental sites in Nahua histories: the origin place of the ethnic group; the altepetl or city; the regional state; and the cosmos. The analysis addresses two key conceptual and pictorial distinctions: first, that between a landscape and a map; and, second, that between an image and a sign. I argue for two levels of signification: the explicit representation of the terrestrial map, and the metaphoric evocations of the underlying cartographic structure. While the former conveys the physical scope of an Acolhua territory depicted in terms of purely human experience, the latter attributes to it a cosmic dimension and force.

Chapter 3 examines the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map as genealogies, specifically, dynastic genealogies. The chapter begins with a discussion of genealogy and genealogies in Mesoamerican art and culture, both before and after the Conquest, and then places the manuscripts within this broader tradition. An analysis of the form of the genealogies, which, like the underlying cartographic structure, is highly allusive, allows for a metaphoric reading of the Tetzcocan royal dynasty. At the level of metaphor, the genealogies evoke indigenous understandings of time, especially in terms of the 260-day ritual calendar and its alternating cycles of creation and destruction. By making a formal connection between the genealogies and the ritual calendar, the manuscripts correlate dynastic and divine creation.

Chapter 4 engages history and narrative, beginning with a brief consideration of the forms of historical narratives. A comparison of the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Codex Xolotl shows that, while the Xolotl presents sustained, sequential narratives, the two shorter manuscripts write disjunct, episodic, and impressionistic ones: explicit as opposed to implicit or symbolic narratives. I analyze the manuscripts in light of this fundamental distinction, separating out narrative from description and then examining what messages they communicate and how. In each case, the manuscript's narrative form—explicit or implicit—or underlying narrative order—the sequencing of events or symbols—qualifies its historical content. Finally, I consider what the Xolotl's, Tlohtzin's, and Quinatzin's historical narratives, in their form and content, suggest about the understandings and uses of the pre-Hispanic past in Tetzcoco after 1539.

The Conclusion briefly summarizes the argument: the metaphorical

articulation of history accommodates a colonial Acolhua self-identification and representation that operates in both the Nahua and the Spanish worlds. In the form of one unified utterance, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map could and did communicate two very different messages, just as their aristocratic patrons and painters could be and experience two very different things at once. Patrons, painters, and manuscripts witness what Barbara Mundy has termed "double-consciousness": they "[work] to satisfy an immediate local audience and [labor] with a set of expectations about the colonizers."[67] The manuscripts image pre-Conquest Tetzcocan experience in such a way that Indianness, a cultural and spiritual detriment in the eyes of the Spaniards, neither precludes access to civilization nor entails idolatry. For the literate indigenous viewer, who brought to them a different set of cultural assumptions and linguistic experiences, the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl define the past in uniquely indigenous terms that evoke the forbidden "ways of the forebears." With an eye to both Nahua and Spanish concerns, these works document and justify the royal family's claims to land, political rights, and elite status by imaging a civilized, imperial, but insistently if only superficially nonidolatrous pre-Hispanic Tetzcoco.

FIGURE 1.4. Codex Xolotl, page 1 bis (reverse of page 1), ink and color on amatl, circa 1541. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 1. Codex Xolotl, page 1, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 12. Quinatzin Map, leaf 1 (top panel), ink and color on amatl, circa 1542. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 14. Quinatzin Map, leaf 2 (center panel), ink and color on amatl, circa 1542. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

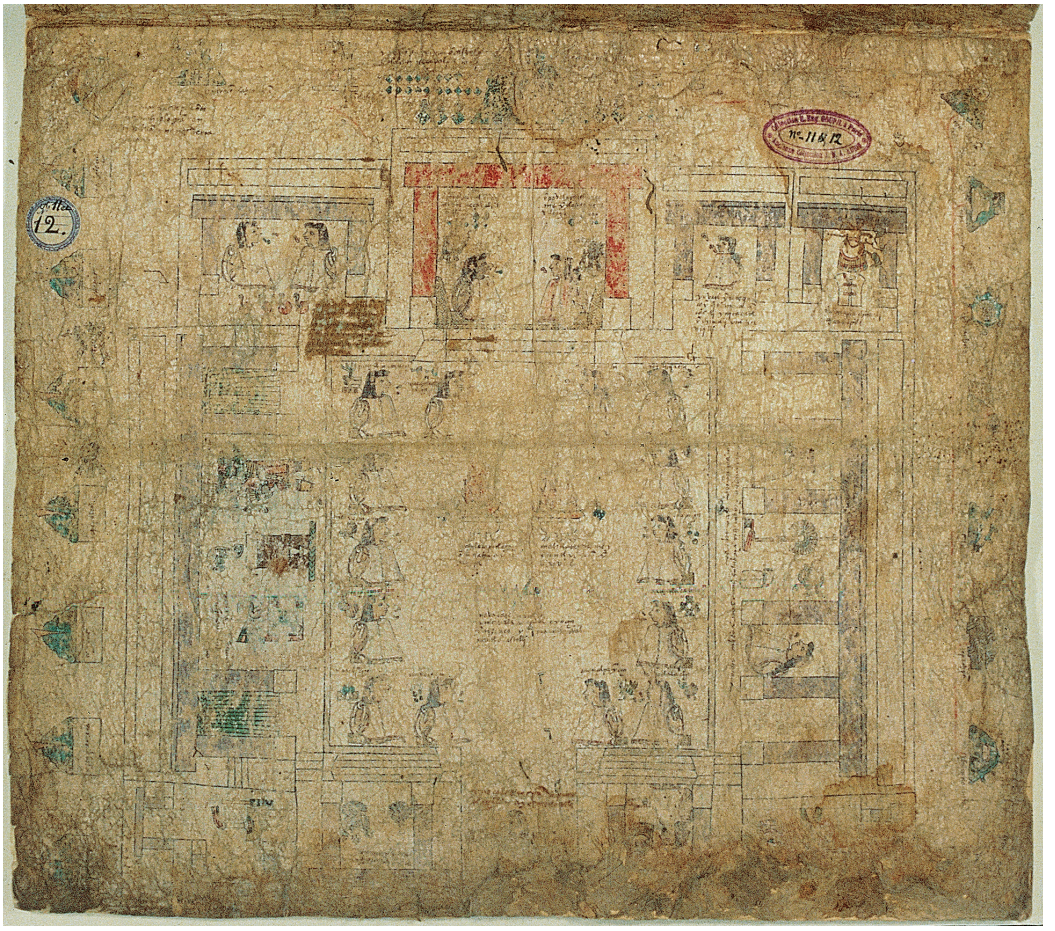


PLATE 16. Quinatzin Map, leaf 3 (bottom panel), ink and color on amatl, circa 1542. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 19. Tlohtzin Map, left section, ink and color on animal skin, circa 1542. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 21. Tlohtzin Map, left-center section, ink and color on animal skin, circa 1542. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 25. Tlohtzin Map, right section, ink and color on animal skin, circa 1542. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1 MIXED FORMS, MIXED MESSAGES: THE CODEX XOLOTL, THE QUINATZIN MAP, AND THE TLOHTZIN MAP

The Quinatzin Map, the Tlohtzin Map, and the Codex Xolotl, all today in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, first arrived in Europe in 1840 in the baggage of Joseph Marius Alexis Aubin (1802–1891), a French scientist, at one time (1826–1830) director of the science division of the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, who had resided in Mexico from 1830 to 1840.[1] During his decade there, Aubin became profoundly interested in Mexico's pre-Hispanic past and collected whatever indigenous documents he could find. It was a propitious moment for collecting, as the remnants of Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci's magnificent but ill-fated collection of Mexican antiquities, the *museo indiano* (Indian museum), were still to be had as well as the equally noteworthy holdings, many drawn from the Boturini collection, of the Mexican antiquarians Antonio de León y Gama (1736–1802) and Father José Antonio Pichardo (1748–1812).[2]

Boturini (1702–1755), a Milanese nobleman, had first gone to Mexico in 1736 to collect monies due to the Condesa de Santibáñez, a descendant of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin.[3] In Mexico he became passionate about the pre-Hispanic past partly by way of his devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the truth of whose apparitions in 1531 to the Indian Juan Diego he hoped to demonstrate.[4] Through the good graces of the Jesuits of the Colegio de San Pedro y de San Pablo in Mexico City, Boturini had access to and eventually both copied and in part acquired the rich trove of indigenous documents left to the college by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645–1700), the *criollo* patriot, antiquarian, scholar, poet, priest, and former Jesuit, at his death.[5]

Sigüenza y Góngora served as the executor of the estate of his friend and protégé, don Juan de Alva y Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (died 1684), cacique of San Juan Teotihuacan, former *nahuatlato* (interpreter) to the Juzgado General de Indios (the General Indian Court) and the Real Audiencia (the Royal High Court) of New Spain, and son of historian don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, who, like his son, had served the Crown as a nahuatlato.[6] Sigüenza y Góngora received from don Juan the manuscript collection that he had inherited from his father, don Fernando. Through his

mother, doña Ana Cortés, don Fernando was a great-great-great grandson of Nezahualpilli.[7] Because of his blood ties to the royal houses of Teotihuacan, which, although a mestizo, he at one time ruled as cacique (as did his son after him), and Tetzcoco, two cities and families intimately connected from the pre-Hispanic through to the colonial period, don Fernando dedicated much of his life to documenting their past. Don Fernando had access to and eventually possession of the pictorial histories of Tetzcoco—the greater and more important of the two cities before and after 1519—and in great part he based his Spanish-language accounts of Tetzcoco's past on this archive.[8] From his text, it is clear that he had before him, among other documents, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map.[9]

Don Fernando must have obtained the manuscripts either from his royal relatives in Tetzcoco or his maternal grandmother in Teotihuacan, doña Francisca Verdugo (the granddaughter of Nezahualpilli's son, don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl). Don Fernando knew Tetzcoco well; indeed in 1613 he served as its *juez-gobernador* (judge-governor), appointed by Viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdova, Marqués de Guadalcázar, at the request of the city's nobles and people, who commended don Fernando as "a relative [*propincuo*] and legitimate descendant [*sucesor*] of the kings that were of this said city, and a person fit and competent for this office."[10]

Even before 1613, don Fernando had written on pre-Conquest Tetzcoco with the help of his kin. In 1608 he submitted a copy of his *Compendio histórico de los reyes de Texcoco* and the pictorial sources that he had used to the indigenous authorities of Otompan and San Salvador Cuauhtlatzinco so that they might witness its veracity and accuracy:[11]

All that the ten books of said history and chronicle contain proves good and true, with no defect, and the report that the nobles of Tezcuco gave to him [don Fernando] also is certain and true; and likewise we have seen five histories and chronicles of the said most ancient kings and lords [i.e., Toltec, Chichimec, and Tetzcocan], written in pictures and characters, without many other papers and testimonies, from which was taken the said history and chronicle: of which, the first is entitled the history and chronicle of the Toltec kings; the second is called the chronicle of the Chichimec kings, in which are contained all the deeds and exploits up to king Nezahualcoyotzin, to the time when he gathered the army with which he destroyed the ancient city that was Azcapotzalco and the kingdom of the Tepanecs, and the lands and provinces of their allies [this document is without a doubt the Codex Xolotl]. The two chronicles here referred to were painted or written long ago. The third is named the eighty laws and ordinances of the great Nezahualcoyotzin. The fourth is of the registers and the royal tributes that the provinces of this New Spain paid. The fifth, a long history, treats of many things. And so that what he has written in this chronicle and history have certainty and force, and because many are the chroniclers who go beyond the truth attributed to his [don Fernando's] histories, and because the true histories today are

taken as fables, the said don Fernando de Alva has made cause in public and shown to us, for the reason cited, so that we see and judge whether the said history contains anything that is not certain or true, to correct or excise, or to add anything that he may have left in silence, all of which we have seen and judged, and the said history has no error or fault and is very certain and true, and thus do we hold it in memory handed down to us by our fathers and grandfathers, and we are certain that this is true, and is found in the few paintings and chronicles that remain to us; and we greatly urge him to make public the said history before the king our lord [Philip III] so that the memory of the greatness and exploits of the ancient kings and lords and other native inhabitants of this New Spain, our ancestors, may come to the notice of all and not in the end be lost.[12]

Before 1608 the evidence for the manuscripts' provenance is, if tenuous, not negligible. A Spanish inscription on the exterior of the Tlohtzin Map states that "this is the painting of don Diego Pimentel, noble and native [Indian] of Tezcuco." If the don Diego Pimentel mentioned on the outside of the Tlohtzin Map as its author or owner is the same don Diego who, together with don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, signed a letter to the Crown in 1544, then it is likely that the Tlohtzin was in Tetzcoco in the possession of a member of the royal family known to have been alive in the 1540s.[13]

The don Diego who signed the 1544 letter may be identified as don Hernando's brother don Diego Tecocolchi Teutzquitzin, who succeeded him as cacique in 1565. Who other than the descendants and heirs of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli would have had so keen an interest in or could have had possession of indigenous, pictorial histories of pre-Hispanic Acolhuacan, especially histories that emphasize royal genealogy?

The Manuscripts

The Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10) today comprises six rectangular panels of amatl, indigenous fig-bark paper, each approximately 42 x 48 cm., with ten painted pages and three fragments from one more painted page.[14] Each panel is (or was) made up of two separate sheets of amatl that have been glued back to back. The organization in terms of recto and verso pages—the painted back and front sides of the panels—suggests that the Xolotl's painters may have designed the manuscript as a European-style codex, with all the panels bound together along their left edges. Whether one of the painters or their patron, or even a later owner, did the binding is unknown; whoever did it explicitly chose to cast the manuscript in the general form of a European book. Four of the six panels remain bound together by stitching; seven of the eight resulting pages are painted, and the eighth, unpainted, page serves as the back cover.[15]

The pre-Hispanic prototype or source that lies behind the Xolotl would have been a long strip, known as a *tira* in Spanish. Made up of several pieces of either amatl or animal skin glued together, the tira was often folded throughout its entire length to form a screenfold book, the traditional book of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica.[16] Both the obverse and reverse sides of the screenfold book could be painted, and the reader/viewer could open, on one side or the other of the manuscript, as few or as many of the pages formed by the folds as he or she wished.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl used the Codex Xolotl as a primary source for his Spanish-language *Historia de la nación chichimeca*. Alva Ixtlilxochitl's text makes clear that what he consulted and in effect translated in the first quarter of the seventeenth century is the manuscript as we have it today.[17] In 1746 Boturini published in his *Catálogo del museo indiano* a description of the Xolotl as six panels with ten painted pages.[18] By the time León y Gama made copies of materials from the Boturini collection, including the Xolotl, between 1771 and 1788, what are now pages 2 and 3 had been removed from the manuscript: they do not appear in León y Gama's copy.[19] Before the extraction of these two pages, the manuscript had been folded over once, as if to form a quire.

Aubin acquired the Xolotl—minus pages 2 and 3—in Mexico in 1832, according to the annotation that he wrote on what was, then, the manuscript's front cover, the unpainted side of what are now fragments 1A, 1B, and 1C. A little earlier, in October 1831, the eccentric self-styled baron Jean-Frédéric-Maximilien de Waldeck (allegedly 1766–1875), who worked and traveled in Mexico from 1825 to 1837, had acquired the two missing pages.[20] When both men were back in Paris, Aubin learned of Waldeck's collection of Mexican pictorial materials and purchased what he recognized to be the missing Xolotl pages from him in 1842.[21] According to Eugène Boban, who catalogued Aubin's collection after it was purchased by Charles Eugène Espéridion Goupil in 1889, pages 2 and 3 had originally been glued back to back onto a lining, thus forming one leaf or folio painted on the resulting recto and verso; by the time Waldeck came into possession of them, they had been removed from their shared backing, separated, and remounted as two leaves.[22]

The painted sides of fragments 1A, 1B, and 1C (Figs. 1.1–1.3) were once attached to the back side of page 1 (Fig. 1.4), which is numbered as page 1 bis in the Bibliothèque nationale catalogue, to form the manuscript's front cover (technically folio 1 recto).[23] The paintings in this way lost to view contain radical pictorial experiments (discussed below), and the original context or purpose of the page on which they appear is uncertain. In his commentary on the manuscript, Charles Dibble argues that fragments 1A and 1B, which he numbers pages I–II bis, were part of the Xolotl's pictorial narrative, but the pronounced compositional and stylistic differences between them and the ten visible, painted pages may indicate otherwise, as Boban observed in 1891.[24] The painters may never have intended to include the page that comprised fragments 1A, 1B, and 1C in their pictorial narrative.

FIGURE 1.1. Codex Xolotl, fragment 1A, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1A. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.2. Codex Xolotl, fragment 1B, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1B. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.3. Codex Xolotl, fragment 1C, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1C. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.4. Codex Xolotl, page 1 bis (reverse of page 1), ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1 bis. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Boturini described the Xolotl in 1746 as a manuscript of six panels with ten painted pages. Each of the six panels specified by Boturini consists or consisted of two sheets of amatl, with one or two painted sides, joined together back to back, thus forming folios painted recto and verso. The six panels were gathered and bound by stitching along their left side, forming a European-style codex, and two unpainted pages served as front and back covers. Who did the binding, and when, cannot be determined. One can reconstruct the Codex Xolotl as it was when in the possession of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The page order of the codex as we have it today follows approximately the sequence of the history that the mestizo historian copied from it, suggesting that the manuscript's pages and their order, if not its overall format, are the same today as they were in 1746 *and* as they had been in the early seventeenth century.[25] But it is impossible to determine whether or not the document that Alva Ixtlilxochitl used then retained, and, more to the point, retains today the physical form or narrative extent and order that its painters gave it. Even though one cannot securely reconstruct the original format and scope of the Codex Xolotl, it seems fairly certain that the manuscript's painters never finished it: only six of the ten pages extant today have color (see below).

The Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17) consists of three rectangular sheets of amatl, of which the first and second each measure approximately 38 x 44 cm. (Plates 12 and 14) and the third, 34.5 x 43.5 cm. (Plate 16).[26] The three pieces were originally glued one to another, forming a vertically oriented tira of approximately 114 x 44 cm., painted only on the obverse. The top (first) and center (second) sheets remain attached to each other (Plate 11), but the bottom (third) one was cut from the original tira by 1770, perhaps even as early as before 1746, and also cut down somewhat.[27] In 1950 Robert H. Barlow recognized the connection between the top two sections, which Aubin had published as the Quinatzin Map in 1849, and a previously unpublished fragment, namely, the manuscript's third and bottom section.[28] As in the case of the Xolotl, serendipity brought all the sheets to France by separate routes and into the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale. At some point before the manuscript was cut down, the tripartite tira was folded in the manner of a business letter, with the top and bottom folded in and over the middle section.

The Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) is a horizontally oriented tira, made up of one long and one short piece of animal skin—probably deer—glued together to form a ground that measures 31.5 x 127.5 cm.[29] The two short ends of the tira fold in and meet at the center, and the whole was then folded over once, leaving three distinct folds across the length of the manuscript that do not follow the screenfold format. The long piece of skin runs the length of the three leftmost of the four sections created by the three folds, and the shorter one is glued to it along the rightmost fold, where the third section meets the fourth. The folding of the tira postdates the actual painting: the folds appear in the middle of scenes and have

caused pigment losses. As in the case of the Quinatzin, only the Tlohtzin's obverse is painted.

Like their pre-Hispanic forebears, the painters of all three manuscripts primed the amatl or animal-skin ground overall with a fine layer of white lime plaster, on which they then painted with vegetable and mineral inks, ranging from brown to black in hue, and colors, including red, pink, blue, green, yellow, and white.[30] They used very fine brushes that for the most part left no sign of themselves as physical instruments, or of the force and movement of the painter's hand, only an unbroken, thin line enclosing areas of mostly unmodulated color, all in the traditional, pre-Hispanic manner.

Age, wear, and vermin have caused significant losses of the lime plaster and the ink and pigments, especially in the areas around folds, as well as darkening and discoloration. Because they are painted on fig-bark paper rather than animal skin, the Xolotl and the Quinatzin have suffered more damage than the Tlohtzin. For the most part, the losses have not obscured the pictorial program on any one of the manuscripts.

Although it is possible that the Quinatzin Map and the Tlohtzin Map may originally have been more extensive than they are today, neither one appears to be incomplete as either a formal composition or a physical object. And, in their present form both manuscripts can be read as coherent if at times oblique statements. The Codex Xolotl, which as preserved may be neither in its original form nor complete, and, furthermore, even in its original form, may not have been finished, is considerably more problematic. The Xolotl offers an extensive pictorial history, but it ends *in medias res*; and the nature of its historical narrative—an altepetl and dynastic history—is such that it could have continued indefinitely.[31] In contrast, neither the Quinatzin nor the Tlohtzin seems to begin or end *in medias res*.[32] Because they treat subject matter different from (if related to) the Xolotl's wide-ranging sociopolitical history and employ a rhetorical structure that is only partially, and obliquely, narrative, no clear break or lacuna is evident. While the Xolotl articulates sequences of actions, of causes and effects, over time and across space, facilitating narrative, the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin in great part represent the past through selective description and metaphor. As accounts of the past, the difference between the Quinatzin Map and the Tlohtzin Map, on the one hand, and the Xolotl, on the other, is on the order of that between parataxis and hypotaxis in grammar.[33]

In addition to the iconic-script texts, all three manuscripts contain passages of alphabetic script, and, with the exception of a few inscriptions on the unpainted, outside surfaces, all these annotations are in Nahuatl transliterated into the Roman alphabet. On the painted sides the awkward and cramped placement of the alphabetic-script annotations makes clear that they were not part of the original designs but added after and independently of the iconic-script texts, perhaps by hands other than the painters' (see, for example, Plates 1, 2, 12, and 25).[34] On

FIGURE 1.5. Tlohtzin Map, detail of drawing on reverse, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

the Tlohtzin, two different, presumably later, hands also added an ink drawing of a body laid out on a high bier on the obverse of the manuscript (Plate 21, center left) and on the unpainted reverse, a much cruder ink drawing of a standing warrior who wears bloomerlike pantaloons and carries a shield (Fig. 1.5). The unpainted back cover of the Xolotl (the reverse of page 10) preserves a few ink sketches of uncertain date, one of which may have been intended as a frontal drawing of a human face. All three manuscripts have inscriptions in Aubin's hand on their outer surfaces that identify them as part of his collection, and stamps on front, back, and some pages that mark them as part of the later E. Eugène Goupil and Bibliothèque nationale collections. Pages 2 and 3 of the Xolotl also have Waldeck's name branded onto them.

The Quinatzin Map and the Tlohtzin Map carry annotations that help to situate them historically. One penned in Spanish on the reverse of the Tlohtzin attributes ownership or authorship of the manuscript to a don Diego Pimentel, a descendant of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli: this don Diego Pimentel may be the same don Diego who signed a letter to Charles V in 1544.[35] The reverse of the Quinatzin carries an equally significant gloss in a mixture of Nahuatl and Spanish: "Ipan xihuitl matlactli calli omicuill . . . inin amatl ipan mil quinientos y un años . . .

tlapohualli" ([In] the year Ten House was written . . . the paper [in] the year 1541 . . . the count). On the obverse of the Quinatzin, at the lower left of the top sheet (Plates 12–13, lower left), a Ten House (1541) year sign appears in association with the number 262 written in iconic script. The number in this instance gives the count of years that separate the depicted event—the arrival at Tetzcoco of the Chimalpaneca and the Tlailotlaque—from the date of the depiction (1541). An alphabetic-script gloss in Nahuatl reads: "In the time of Quinatzin, already 262 years [ago], the Tlailotlaque and the Chimalpaneca arrived."[36] In the Quinatzin's central section, however, two alphabetic-script glosses in Nahuatl and the two iconic-script year counts they translate point to a 1542–1543 date for the manuscript (Plates 14 and 15, top center).[37]

Several sources dating to the mid-sixteenth century mention a pictorial document that may be the Quinatzin, or a manuscript very closely related to it.[38] Motolinía included a description of a lost pictorial document along the lines of the Quinatzin in his *Memoriales* of 1536–1543.[39] A similar document must have informed the list of towns subject to Tetzcoco compiled by don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin to accompany one of his petitions to the Crown.[40] According to Juan de Torquemada, a comparable list included in Book II, Chapter LIII, of his *Monarquía indiana* of 1592–1613 comes from a record of the expenses of Nezahualcoyotl's court "written in the registers of his expenses and certified by a grandson of his, who after [he was baptized] a Christian was named don Antonio Pimentel"; this must surely be don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin.[41] Don Antonio's document, like don Hernando's, most likely reflects the Quinatzin, its prototype, or another pictorial document based on the same prototype. Both don Antonio and don Hernando knew Motolinía, and they almost certainly provided him with source material for his ethnographic studies.

The Codex Xolotl is more difficult to pinpoint in time, as it has no iconic- or alphabetic-script annotations that refer to the date of the painting.[42] Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Boturini, and Aubin believed it to be pre-Hispanic. Later, Walter Lehmann argued that the Xolotl was a colonial-period copy of a pre-Hispanic original, and subsequent scholars have agreed.[43] On the basis of style, Dibble, too, thought it to be colonial, as, later, did Robertson, who put it earlier than either the Quinatzin or the Tlohtzin.[44]

Michel Thouvenot rejects Dibble's stylistic analysis and dating. Starting from Lehmann's insight into the nature of the manuscript, he focuses on the question of its fidelity to pre-Hispanic traditions if not to one pre-Hispanic model and thus minimizes the issue of the date of production.[45]

The date of production does matter, however: if the Codex Xolotl is a colonial-period document, the perceptions, intentions, and understanding of its painters and patrons must have been informed by uniquely colonial concerns, even if the document itself had been copied directly from a pre-Hispanic original. Given the manuscript's focus on Tetzcoco

and its royal dynasty, the dating of the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin, and the situation, needs, and actions of the descendants of Nezahualpilli in Tetzcoco in the period immediately following don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl's execution in 1539, the most likely date for the Codex Xolotl is sometime in the early 1540s.

Matters of Style

Stylistic criteria are often difficult to isolate and interpret accurately, especially in works that expressly reproduce earlier models, but stylistic analysis is nevertheless instructive. Donald Robertson, the first art historian systematically to study early-colonial Mexican pictorial manuscripts, isolated a preference for line before color and a mastery of line as the predominant stylistic traits of Tetzcocan manuscripts: "We can say of the Texcocan School that it is dependent on line as the main vehicle of expression much more than the Mexican School, which uses color more vigorously and effectively. Some of the Texcocan manuscripts are uncolored, or only colored in certain passages, while this is rare in the Mexican manuscripts. The line of the Texcocan manuscripts is more delicate in the Early Colonial Period than the line of the [pre-Hispanic Mixtec] Codex Nuttall but is still the frame line of native style."[46]

As defined by Robertson, and in contrast to the deceptively three-dimensional contour line of European Renaissance art, frame line serves to enclose areas of flat, unmodulated color; to mark the essential or known as opposed to visually perceived boundaries between things; and to qualify objects symbolically.[47] Manuscripts identified as Tetzcocan do exhibit a controlled, precise handling of frame line. But early-colonial indigenous manuscripts from elsewhere in central Mexico, for example, the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 1.6) from Tenochtitlan, also rely on frame line; it is a matter of degree rather than kind, even among the Tetzcocan manuscripts themselves.

Although the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl may be approximately contemporary, and are almost certainly products of the same milieu, they appear to be the work of different hands. The painters of the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin, one in each case, are stylistically close, and they differ from the painters, perhaps two, of the Xolotl. Using Robertson's frame line as the unit of measure, the painters of the Xolotl appear the most traditional, or "indigenous"; the painter of the Quinatzin, somewhat less so; and the painter of the Tlohtzin, the most aware of and adept at contour line, and in this regard presumably the most ladino, or Hispanicized. Despite Robertson's claim that Tetzcocan painters preferred line to color, the two are inextricably joined in central Mexican painting, pre- and post-Conquest. Both the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin painters use color with great subtlety, and if the two manuscripts were today in a better state of preservation, color would be even more in evidence. The

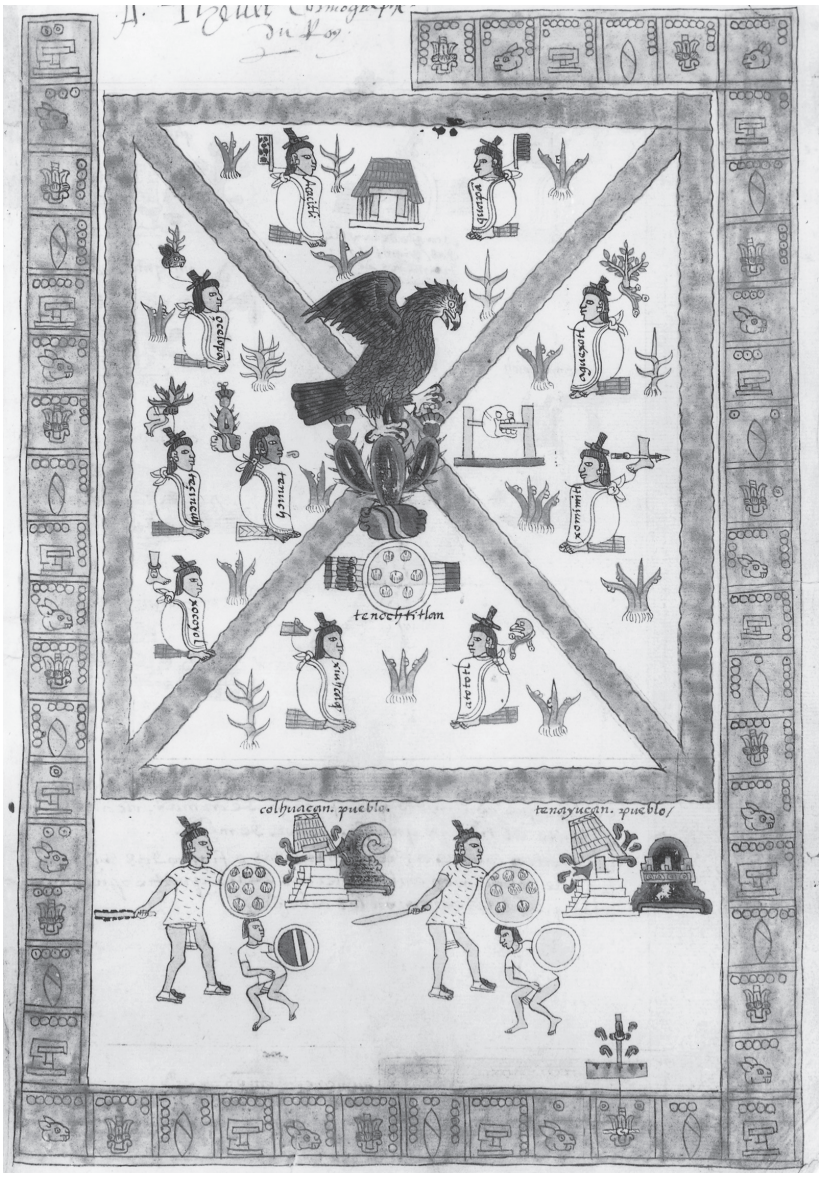


FIGURE 1.6. Codex Mendoza, folio 2 recto, ink and color on European paper, circa 1541, from Tenochtitlan, Mexico. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3134, Arch Selden A.1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bodleian Library.

Xolotl has less color overall—only six of the ten full pages use it—and fewer colors, but this may have more to do with the almost certainly unfinished state of the manuscript than with style.

The painted sides of fragments 1A, 1B, and 1C (Figs. 1.1–1.3) suggest that at least one of the Codex Xolotl artists had an allegedly "foreign," painterly interest in color and experimented with its mimetic properties.[48] The dissimilarity in the handling of color between the fragments and the other pages of the manuscript (Plate 1, for example) could point to different hands working independently of the Xolotl's painter or painters. Yet, the formal treatment of the human figure and the "non-native" delight in the properties of line seen in the handling of the mountains are con-

sistent from the manuscript's whole pages to the fragments. The artist who drew the figures worked on the vividly colored but in the end hidden page as well as on the visible ones, which would still have had less color even had they been finished (cf. Fig. 1.2 and Plate 2). The hand responsible for drawing the mountains also decorated both sets of pages. This artist distinguishes a mountain as an indexical and/or phonetic component in a place sign from a mountain or mountain range as a landscape element: the former is abstracted into a two-dimensional symbol, the latter is observed as a three-dimensional form (see, for example, Plate 4, upper left).[49] He or she may have added the color: the sinuous, wide strokes of blue, green, and white that make up the water and mountains on fragments 1A, 1B, and 1C resemble the black-line contours of the mountains—not mountain signs—elsewhere on the Xolotl (cf. Fig. 1.2 and Plate 4).[50] If the same artists worked on the "traditional" and the "innovative" pages, then they or the patron who commissioned them chose to display the ones executed in the more conservative, supposedly indigenous, that is, pre-Hispanic, if not distinctively Tetzcocan, style.[51]

For Robertson, modeling, like contour line, indicated European influence; Elizabeth Hill Boone, however, has observed that pre-Hispanic Aztec art did develop a naturalistic tradition, well represented even today in extant sculptures, distinct from the more—purposely—archaic Toltec or Mixteca-Puebla stylistic elements.[52] As with line, the experimentation with tone may predate the Conquest. We do not know enough about Aztec painting before 1519, as we have too few extant examples, and the ones that we do have are in contexts that invite conservatism—temple and altar walls, for instance. Whether realized through gradations of light and dark or of tone, modeling creates an impression of mass and volume. As in the case of line, the Xolotl artists here, too, seem the most conservative at first glance, the Quinatzin artist less so, and the Tlohtzin artist the most experimental. The Quinatzin and Tlohtzin painters delicately modulate tones when they depict flora (Figs. 1.7–1.8) and landscape elements, and, occasionally, the Tlohtzin painter also lightly shades one side of a figure or object (Fig. 1.7). The Xolotl's visible, perhaps unfinished, pages (Fig. 1.9) show little modeling, even where color is found. But the painted fragments that backed page 1 have the most extensive passages of color on any of the extant Tetzcocan pictorials, and their painters construct volumetric forms as much with color and tone as with contour line. It is as if the artist were experimenting in the marginal areas of the manuscript, yet remaining true to his model or source and its style in the core sections of the history.

A freer use of line, color, and contrasts of light and dark corresponds to greater naturalism—the hallmark of European Renaissance art—in figures and objects. The Xolotl once again falls closer to Robertson's paradigm of pre-Hispanic, indigenous style than does either the Quinatzin or the Tlohtzin. Men and women in the Codex Xolotl are generally squat in proportion and two-dimensional and synthetic in articulation (Fig. 1.10).

FIGURE 1.7. Tlohtzin Map, detail of mountain-cave of Huexotla, center-right section, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.8. Quinatzin Map, detail, top center, leaf 1 (top panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 11. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.9. Codex Xolotl, detail, bottom center, page 1, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.10. Codex Xolotl, detail, lower left, page 1, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.11. Quinatzin Map, detail, center, leaf 1 (top panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 11. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Whether shown seated, standing, or walking, their poses are simple. Nevertheless, the human figure is taller and more organic here than in the indubitably pre-Hispanic Mixtec and Borgia Group manuscripts, and the Xolotl's artists essay more ambitious poses than their pre-Hispanic counterparts. The figure is taller and thinner still in the Quinatzin, and it can turn in space, penetrating the picture plane (for example, the two Chichimec gravediggers in the top panel, center, Fig. 1.11).

The Tlohtzin's painter achieves the greatest naturalism. This artist carefully registers the distinction between left and right, front and back, and near and far (Fig. 1.7). Contour lines and occasional foreshortening render his or her figures three-dimensional forms without calling attention to themselves as novelties: they are thoroughly integrated into the artist's technical repertory. Men and women in the Tlohtzin, however, have emotionless, masklike faces, which resemble those on pre-Conquest Aztec sculpture in the round, while the more conservative Xolotl and Quinatzin painters draw animated, expressive faces.[53]

Similar relationships obtain among the three manuscripts in the treatment of flora and fauna. The Xolotl painters rarely represent either animals or plants independently of an iconic sign cluster, only a few rabbits, coyotes, and trees. They distinguish between a sign for and an image of a mountain, but they do not differentiate an animal or plant when shown as itself from one that functions as part of iconic script.[54] In both guises, they are stylized and two-dimensional, even if less so than in the pre-Hispanic Mixtec and Borgia Group manuscripts.

In contrast, the Quinatzin and Tlohtzin artists draw plants and animals with greater naturalism, and they formally differentiate between the thing as a representation of itself and the thing as an element in iconic script that need not refer to itself as itself. One may compare, for example, the naturalistic tree—an image—in Quinatzin leaf 1 (Plates 12 and 13) to the stylized tree in the toponym "Cuauhtitlan" in Quinatzin leaf 3 (Plates 16 and 17), or, on the Tlohtzin, the trees that grow on the slopes

of the mountains to the ones that form part of the place names "Cuauhyacac" or "Huexotla" (see, for example, Fig. 1.7).

In the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin, the forms, textures, and markings of birds, deer, rabbits, and serpents are well observed, if at times streamlined into pattern (Figs. 1.8 and 1.12). Trees, cacti, and maize plants likewise follow nature (Figs. 1.7 and 1.12), and contrary to pre-Hispanic precedent they generally appear without their roots.[55] Although many of the plants are approximately bilaterally symmetrical, both the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin artists occasionally break up the regularity of the silhouettes, especially in the case of trees. The Tlohtzin painter proves the more sensitive of the two, producing sophisticated effects that suggest three dimensions (Fig. 1.13).

In spite of the naturalism of individual elements, none of the manuscripts images three-dimensional spaces or unified scenes that fully deny the two-dimensional picture plane, according to Western systems

FIGURE 1.12. Tlohtzin Map, detail, left section, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 1.13. *RIght*: Tlohtzin Map, detail of maize plot; *left*, Quinatzin Map, detail of maize plot. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

of pictorial representation. All the painters relate figures and objects to each other in terms of hierarchical rather than true proportions, and they place them against a blank background (Figs. 1.9–1.12). When they intend a complex scene, the painters cluster together its constituent elements. To signal recession in space, they stack figures and objects vertically (Figs. 1.9 and 1.12), or create a synthetic view that combines elevation and plan (Plates 1 and 14). According to Robertson, the density and relationship of the elements to the ground result in "scattered-attribute space," "spaceless landscape," or "panel space":

> Scattered-attribute space is two-dimensional; the large number of figures, forms, and signs seem to float on the picture plane held in place by a strong system of lines and frames . . . In the spaceless landscape figures seem to float on the page as in a landscape, lacking ground line or horizon line to fix the composition in space and create a proper landscape. Spaceless landscape lacks the dense sifting of forms characterizing the scattered-attribute space and the specific setting of true landscape . . . [Panel space] results in a composition that is a single unit filling a single page with a strongly symmetrical pattern. Subordinate elements may be part of the larger design—year signs, for instance—but they are subject to the overall unity of the formal pattern much more than in scattered-attribute space. The panel is often surrounded by an elaborate border, but empty space in profusion and large scale are the two main characteristics of this type of space.[56]

Robertson associates scattered-attribute space and panel space with pre-Hispanic indigenous painting. He identifies spaceless landscape as characteristic of early-colonial indigenous painting as it began to absorb

European pictorial style and principles, and, later, true landscape as the mark of their complete assimilation.

The Xolotl (Plates 1–10) in great part exemplifies the scattered-attribute space of pre-Hispanic codices, but the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin are heteroclite in organization. Across its length, the Tlohtzin (Plate 18) joins passages of spaceless landscape (the background with narrative episodes) to a series of repeated panel spaces (the mountain-caves and their appended genealogies). Likewise, the Quinatzin's top leaf (Plates 12 and 13) reads as a spaceless landscape peppered with historical anecdotes, but seen in isolation the mountain-cave in its upper half becomes a panel space. The second leaf (Plates 14 and 15) belongs fully to the category of panel space, like folio 2 recto of the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 1.6) or page 1 of the pre-Hispanic Codex Féjérváry-Mayer (Fig. 1.14), part of the Borgia Group, whose layout both the Quinatzin panel and the Mendoza folio evoke.[57] Last, a grid of frame lines orders the Quinatzin's densely populated bottom leaf (Plates 16 and 17) as a scattered-attribute space.

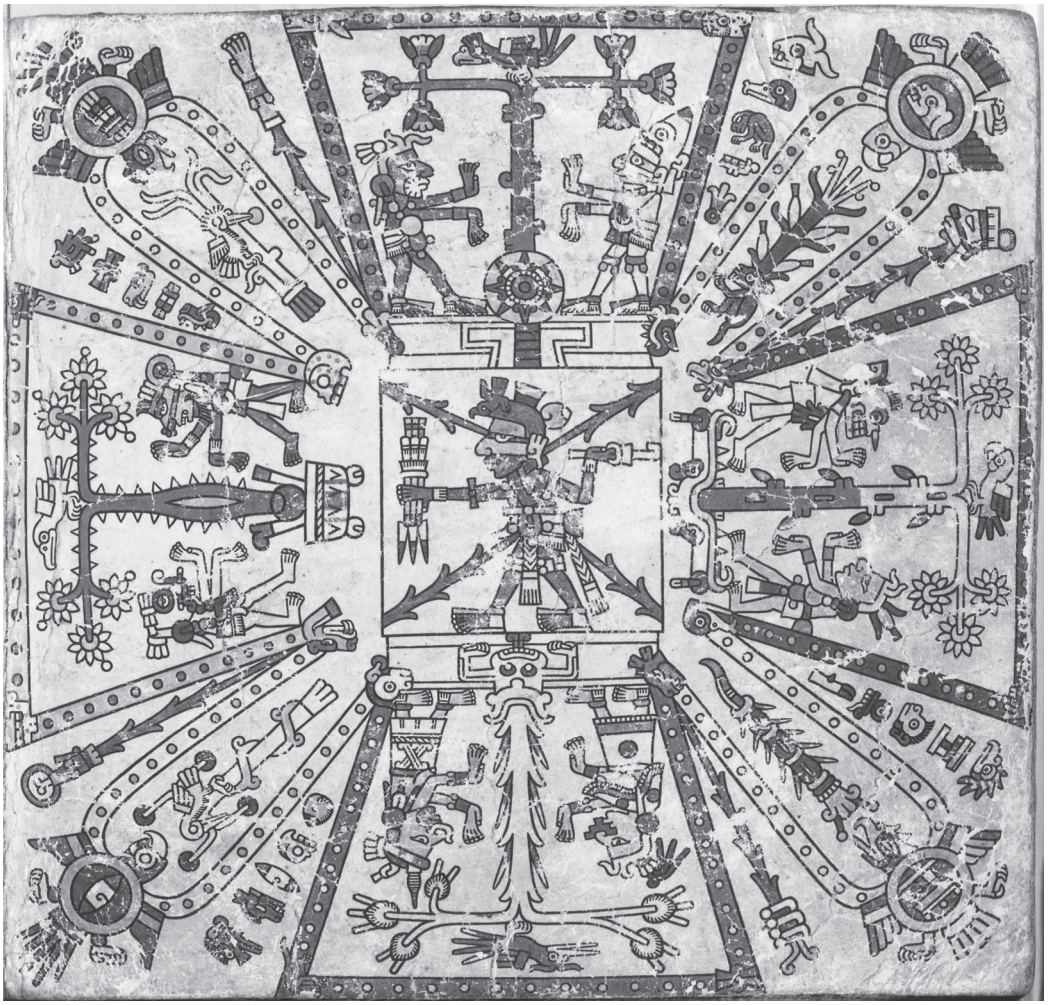


FIGURE 1.14. Codex Féjéváry-Mayer, page 1, ink and color on animal skin, Late Postclassic Period, from south central Mexico. Liverpool, World Museum Liverpool, M 12014. Photo: courtesy and copyright National Museums Liverpool (World Museum Liverpool).

While pre-Conquest manuscripts use and, even in one manuscript, alternate scattered-attribute and panel space, Robertson believed spaceless landscape and landscape to have been artistic and conceptual innovations that transformed indigenous representations of space.[58] But the Xolotl's allegedly conservative painters overlaid a panorama of the Valley of Mexico viewed from a fixed point, a "protolandscape," on the implied grid of pre-Hispanic scattered-attribute space (Plate 1). The protolandscape unifies the picture plane as well as creates an illusion, however inconsistent, of three-dimensional space on a two-dimensional surface. Robertson even suggests that the Xolotl's panoramic views "might have been drawn from nature rather than being completely formalized."[59]

Paradoxically, the illusion of three-dimensional space informs one of the allegedly least acculturated of the early-colonial indigenous pictorial histories, a product of the "school" of painting that

> throughout its life preserved the values of the native style in more positive fashion and resisted the inroads of European principles on its own artistic language. This is not unexpected when we consider the large role played by Texcoco in the cultural life of the Náhua peoples before the Conquest. To revert to an analogy, one may think of Texcoco as the Athens of Anahuac [the Valley of Mexico], the more creative seat of the traditional culture, and Mexico as its Rome, an inheritor of the older culture, transforming it to meet the requirements of a more hardheaded, less cultivated society . . . The Texcocan manuscript style reflects the predominantly native culture of Texcoco in its retention of the old ways and in the stubborn resistance to the new European influences.[60]

Either our understanding of pre-Conquest, and thus of post-Conquest, Aztec painting is skewed, as Elizabeth Hill Boone has observed, or our sense of the relationship between style and identity is far too crude to discern the complexities and paradoxes of indigenous cultural expressions one generation after the Conquest.[61] Even pre-Hispanic Aztec sculpture, of which a substantial corpus survives, demonstrates two very different, yet coeval, approaches to form: a linear, two-dimensional relief tradition of densely worked surfaces derived in part from earlier central Mexican art; and a tradition of sculpture in the round characterized by simplified, dynamic volumes, perhaps initially inspired by the art of the Gulf Coast.[62] The relationship of one tradition to the other and their ideological and ritual nuances have not been fully investigated or explained; their coexistence indicates that artistic style was more explicit choice than unconscious instinct, as Ernst Gombrich argued many years ago.[63]

By the late 1530s Nahua aristocrats such as don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl or don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin belonged to two worlds, willingly or not: the indigenous, in which they still ruled to a limited extent; and the Spanish, to which they had to adapt lest they lose their privileges and status. Representing themselves as Christians and Spaniards, by custom, by dress, by language, by marriage, and, soon, by

birth, Nahua princes and princesses still were—and could and did conceive of themselves as—indigenous.[64] Cottie Burland's appraisal of Lienzo Vischer I (the Mapa de Tecamachalco), a mid-sixteenth-century iconic-script document that he connected stylistically to the Codex Xolotl, is here germane: "It is a document of the mixed culture which Hernando Cortes [sic] so nearly succeeded in creating. It accepts the native people of Mexico and their ancient culture, and then proceeds to add a new grace derived from the blossoming culture of Renaissance Europe. But there is no jarring note in the work, it is a true and healthy synthesis of diverse traditions."[65]

Art-historical and historical scholarship since the 1980s has shown how much indigenous content survived in spite of European forms, and sometimes in spite of ostensible Christian content and monastic patronage.[66] What if, following in the footsteps of Constantino Reyes-Valerio, we were to consider an earlier and very different process of Christian conversion, that of the Greco-Roman world and Greco-Roman culture over the course of Late Antiquity?[67] Pagan form, classical and imperial in origin, communicated a new and egalitarian Christian message, and when new Christian forms developed, they served both Christ and Caesar.[68] Could indigenous Nahua forms accommodate a new European or Europeanized content as easily as indigenous messages could inhabit European forms? As easily as Nahua aristocrats in New Spain such as don Francisco Pimentel could assume the language and sartorial customs of Spain?

Typological Affiliations

The Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map are primarily historical documents, and they treat the main themes of central Mexican community and dynastic histories: the founding, antiquity, and political legitimacy of the altepetl, its ruling house, and its regional alliance. The manuscripts describe the Acolhua ethnic group's genesis and journey from savagery to civilization, in the course of which the ancestors of Tetzcoco's royal family established a dynasty and a state. In addition to sharing iconographic elements, royal genealogies, historical anecdotes, and an absence of explicit reference to pre-Hispanic religion, the Xolotl, the Tlohtzin, and the Quinatzin are to varying degrees maps.[69]

Tetzcocan manuscripts may be classified as cartographic histories: the way in which they conceive and represent space is inseparable from the history they write because, to quote Burland, "the Mexicans conceived a pathway through time as being closely akin to a pathway through space."[70] Of course, the term and concept "cartographic history" is a modern scholarly convention that derives from and qualifies our perception of such manuscripts. What we isolate as a diagnostic characteristic of the type may not have had the same significance to the people who made and used these histories.[71]

Donald Robertson believed that Tetzcoco's painters and patrons preferred space to time as the medium for writing the past. With regard to central Mexican pictorial histories, he observed that Mixtec histories generally articulated "a series of events qualified by place and time," *res gestae*, whereas Aztec (Nahua) histories structure events through a series of time signs or a series of place signs, but not both.[72] Robertson associated time-sign histories with the Mexica painters of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco and place-sign histories with the Acolhua painters of Tetzcoco.

Elizabeth Hill Boone has refined and expanded Robertson's typology of pictorial histories.[73] Boone defines four methods employed by pre-Hispanic and early-colonial central Mexican scribes to structure a history: timeline presentations, *res gestae* presentations, cartographic presentations, and blended structures.[74] For Boone the choice of structure is primarily a function of the type of story and the purposes for which it is told: "In all these Mexican pictorials, the stories told and the structures of telling are fully interdependent. The different kinds of stories, depending on their subject and the range of the data they include, call for different structures. The migration stories and accounts of foundation, for example, beg for a cartographic treatment. Likewise, the organizational structures themselves, because they make it easier for the historians to record one kind of story rather than another, yield different narratives."[75]

Boone, like Robertson, discerns a preference for *res gestae* presentations among the Mixtecs and for timeline presentations among the Aztecs (Nahuas), neither, however, to the exclusion of other narrative structures.[76] Among the extant early-colonial Nahua pictorial histories, she, too, notes that the Mexica of Tenochtitlan preferred timeline structures, while the Acolhua of Tetzcoco tended to use map-based or cartographic presentations.[77] The cartographic format, as Boone points out, accommodates stories about the land and stories that juxtapose events.[78] Because migration and foundation narratives belong to both story types, they fit well into the formal parameters of the cartographic history.[79] The cartographic history and its kin—maps of a community's spatial boundaries and maps of its social organization or settlement—treat space as both the setting for and the correlate of human actions and relations.[80]

With reference to a boundary map of Cuauhtinchan (state of Puebla) in another early-colonial central Mexican manuscript, the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* of 1545–1565 (folios 35 verso–36 recto), Dana Leibsohn comments: "The map implies that this specific geographical arrangement does not *a priori* exist independently of the cultural world. Rather, the terrain unfolds because a suite of significant events calls these particular sites together. In a crucial sense, history is the pre-text of geography. Landscapes are produced by narratives that disclose events which transpire at the feet of certain mountains, along the banks of specific rivers, and within the boundaries of individual communities. The map establishes a nexus where history and landscape conjoin."[81] Both before and after the Conquest, these maps described the human commu-

nity, its lands, and the processes whereby the two had fused into a "natural" whole.

No pre-Hispanic cartographic history survives from the Nahua region of central Mexico. The abundance of colonial examples, the early date of many of these, and their well-developed "unacculturated" style suggest that Nahuas used the cartographic format in the pre-Hispanic period.[82] As Robertson notes, "[i]t is clear from an examination of the sixteenth-century Spanish writers on Mexico that map-making or cartography played an important role in the native manuscript art before the arrival of the Spaniards. We have only to read Bernal Díaz and Cortés to learn that native map-making was advanced and native maps accurate."[83]

In pre-Hispanic and early-colonial central Mexico maps took various forms.[84] Barbara Mundy distinguishes four general categories in her authoritative survey of pre-Conquest and early-colonial Mesoamerican mapping: terrestrial maps that include historical accounts; terrestrial maps without historical content, including city plans, itineraries, cadastres, and closely related property plans; cosmographical maps of either the horizontal or the vertical cosmos; and celestial maps.[85] Of these, terrestrial maps with historical content were the most frequently produced: they relate how and why a connection between people and land came about, justifying that connection by the very act of imaging its genesis in space and time.[86] Cartographic histories and boundary and social-settlement maps—also cosmographical maps—facilitated the self-fashioning, self-perpetuating practices of ethnic and political communities.[87] As Leibsohn has pithily observed, "the 'ground' of indigenous maps is no less metaphysical than physical."[88]

With eight maps of the Valley of Mexico, the Codex Xolotl is a key and, in its form, unparalleled example of cartographic history. Aubin considered it "the most beautiful historical monument concerning America," and, earlier, Boturini cited it as "a map of exquisite delicacy."[89] The most extensive of the three Tetzcocan manuscripts, the Xolotl documents Acolhua history on its successive maps, from the migration of the eponymous Xolotl and his Chichimecs into the Valley of Mexico (Plate 1) up to the early part (circa 1427) of Xolotl's great-great-great-great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl's life (circa 1402–1472) (Plates 9 and 10).[90] The manuscript's painters densely packed each of its maps with place signs, historical events, and genealogies (Plate 6, for example). They include protolandscapes of the Valley of Mexico, too, which depict the valley's lakes and mountains from a vantage point in the west.[91] Because of the repetition of a more or less standardized cartographic framework, however, the Xolotl's overall form is unique.

To the contemporary Western eye, at least, the Quinatzin Map and the Tlohtzin Map appear abbreviated and impressionistic when compared to the Codex Xolotl. Culled perhaps from a longer chronicle such as the Codex Xolotl, the Tlohtzin Map (Plate 18) comprises only one map of the Valley of Mexico, with nine place signs, three dynastic genealogies, and

a handful of landscape elements, but no landscape as such.[92] The manuscript recounts a few pivotal episodes in the life of its eponymous hero, one of Xolotl's grandsons. The Tlohtzin's horizontal format and its subject matter recall the Tira de la Peregrinación and the Codex Azcatitlan, two colonial-period Mexica migration histories in a modified annals format.[93] As one moves from left to right in the Tlohtzin, the primary shift is spatial, from north to south. In the two Mexica histories, the shift is explicitly chronological, and sequences of consecutive year signs mark it out. Although in most cases time passes between the events depicted as one reads from left to right in the Tlohtzin, the manuscript's painter eschews written dates altogether: time is implied rather than directly represented.

Of the three Tetzcocan pictorial histories, the Quinatzin Map displays the most complex form and the widest range of associations. Each of the Quinatzin's three sections or leaves has a distinct composition and subject. At the top (Plates 12 and 13), an episode from Chichimec migration history unfolds in an anonymous wilderness, and the eponymous hero, Tlohtzin's son, thus Xolotl's great-grandson, establishes the city of Tetzcoco and its composite Acolhua ethnic group. The manuscript's first section tersely charts the eastern Valley of Mexico and functions as an abbreviated cartographic history. In the central section (Plates 14 and 15), a series of place signs that name the cities of Acolhuacan, the Acolhua regional kingdom, frames a diagram of Nezahualcoyotl's palace in Tetzcoco. The fourteen minor rulers who form Acolhuacan's royal council appear in the palace's courtyard, and Tetzcoco's two most-revered kings, Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, father and son, sit in the throne room and preside over the council. In the Quinatzin's bottom leaf (Plates 16 and 17), a grid of red lines frames a brief history of the Tepanec War fought in the western Valley of Mexico—here recounted by means of place signs—and the founding of the Triple Alliance, in addition to exemplary scenes of Tetzcocan and Triple Alliance law and custom.[94] In spite of the radical shifts in design and content from one section or leaf to the next, the Quinatzin's overall composition intimates a temporal as well as a cartographic order from top to bottom, as the earliest depicted historical episode occurs on the top sheet, in the east, and the latest on the bottom, in the west.

The closest parallel to the Quinatzin is the Codex Mendoza, notwithstanding differences in style, medium, format, and scale. The Mendoza may be the manuscript commissioned by the first viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, from indigenous painters of Tenochtitlan, for presentation to Charles V, which would make it almost exactly contemporary (circa 1540–1541) to the Quinatzin.[95] In his capacity as viceroy, Mendoza had responsibility for the execution of don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, whom Bishop Zumárraga and the inquisitorial tribunal remanded to the civil authorities for punishment after his conviction and sentence. Although the artists painted on European paper and designed and bound it as a true codex, the Mendoza, like the Quinatzin, consists of three distinct sections. Folio 2 recto (Fig. 1.6) shows the founding of Tenochtitlan,

the Mexica capital, and the year signs for the first fifty-one years of the city's history, preceding the reign of the first tlahtoani, Acamapichtli. Folios 2 verso to 18 recto contain the conquest lists of the Mexica tlahtoqueh, which specify the years of each ruler's reign and his military conquests. Folios 18 verso to 55 inventory the tribute owed by conquered cities and towns to the imperial capital, Tenochtitlan. Last, folios 56 verso to 71 provide an account of Mexica life, from birth through old age, including examples of laws and customs. While the first two sections may have been based on pre-Hispanic models and prototypes, here adapted to the European codex format, the third section appears to be a colonial document type—an ethnography—crafted in response to Spanish inquiries about indigenous life and society.[96]

Gordon Brotherston has observed that we cannot definitively prove the Mendoza to have been the viceroy's commission and that the patron may well have been a Mexica aristocrat who hoped to make manifest the history and good order of the Mexica state prior to 1519.[97] While his points are well taken, the manuscript nevertheless was designed with a Spanish viewer in mind, for whom the material has been specially selected, transliterated, and translated into a recognizable European format. The Mendoza's patron and painters clearly conceived it as a bilingual, bicultural text: the format and ground are European; the content, indigenous; the pictorial style, a hybrid; and the recto pages of indigenous "picture writing" face verso pages of alphabetic, Spanish-language texts that translate as well as explicate the images. In its form and its functions, the Codex Mendoza is a colonial document, and as such a cultural negotiation of economic and political power.

The Quinatzin's top leaf (Plates 12 and 13) repeats the themes of the Mendoza's first section. The Quinatzin includes the founding—and human geography—of Tetzcoco, as in folio 2 recto of the Mendoza. Four generations of the royal family appear in this section, three of which figure into the dynastic succession. The manuscript's second section (Plates 14 and 15), the mapping and organization of Tetzcoco's royal palace and tributary kingdom, corresponds to Mendoza section 2, and it contains the next two generations in the dynastic succession. The pictorial organization of the Quinatzin's second panel derives from and alludes to the same pre-Hispanic design as the Mendoza's map of the Mexica capital on folio 2 recto (Fig. 1.6), the quincunx cosmogram of the center and the four cardinal directions. The legal anecdotes of the Quinatzin's third leaf (Plates 16 and 17) parallel in part the themes of Mendoza section 3.[98]

The Quinatzin, in contrast to the Mendoza, is fully pictorial and in great part intended for an indigenous audience: even the later alphabetic glosses are written in Nahuatl. Nevertheless, the thematic echoes of the Mendoza in the Quinatzin make it possible that the painter and patron of the Tetzcocan document knew of the viceroy's commission and used it as a model.[99] The viceroy's painters and informants tailored the Codex Mendoza to suit new criteria and new needs, namely, the colonial state's curi-

osity about—and desire to control—the political life and economic potential of its indigenous subjects. The different elements incorporated into the new, hybrid manuscript may each have had pre-Conquest precedents, but the actual mixture did not. The processes of selection and juxtaposition, a form of ethnographic transcription, fragment pre-Conquest form and objectify pre-Conquest content. Serge Gruzinski has observed: "The extension of the field of observation seems moreover to be coupled with a small iconographic revolution: the decontextualization of the image. Pictographic expression once related to contextualized elements: it called to mind the marriage of a prince and not the institution of marriage; it described the punishment of a noble and not repression *per se*. In the Codex Mendoza, on the other hand, the compositions are removed from all anecdotal colour, from every particular or historical reference."[100]

The Quinatzin's painter worked for an indigenous and aristocratic patron, a native speaker of Nahuatl who could comprehend pictorial texts and whose needs were at one and the same time similar to and different from those of the colonial state. Motivated in part by Spanish perceptions, legislation, and concerns for Christian orthodoxy, the painter's and the patron's process of selection and transcription refigures the pre-Hispanic past in light of the colonial present. The pictorial iteration of the Tetzcocan manuscripts, their aura of antiquity, authenticates their contents as well as obscures their colonial genesis, and it accommodates Nahuatl discursive structures and rhetorical tropes.

The Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map are early-colonial documents, and they communicated, both in their form and their content, the specific needs and desires of the patrons who commissioned them and the painters who painted them. The forms and materials of the three manuscripts tie them generally to colonial and, to varying degrees, pre-Hispanic central Mexico, and the content connects them specifically to the city of Tetzcoco, its royal dynasty, and the pre-Hispanic past. Circumstantial evidence—the manuscripts' provenance—suggests that early-colonial-period descendants of the pre-Hispanic Tetzcocan royal dynasty, either sons or grandsons of Nezahualpilli, the last of Tetzcoco's rulers whose reign fell entirely in the pre-Hispanic period, commissioned and perhaps also painted them. Historical sources, even if incomplete and sometimes contradictory, show that Nezahualpilli's sons and grandsons, perhaps before (from 1515) and certainly after the Conquest, fought each other for control of royal patrimony, as their descendants would do down to the nineteenth century. More broadly, chronicles, letters, reports, and judicial records make clear that indigenous aristocrats and indigenous municipalities brought suits against each other as well as against colonists and the colonial state in order to protect their lands, privileges, and status, and that pictorial manuscripts—pinturas—in a clearly recognizable indigenous, pre-Hispanic style or format could and did support, if not altogether secure, their claims.

2 CEMANAHUACTLI IMACHIYO, "THE WORLD, ITS MODEL"

Mapping and Measuring Acolhuacan

In 1966 Howard F. Cline published the Oztoticpac Lands Map,[1] a sixteenth-century, indigenous central Mexican property map (Fig. 2.1).[2] Originally painted as evidence and testimony in a land-litigation trial, the map catalogues the size and ownership of numerous properties in the vicinity of Tetzcoco. The painter-scribe defines each plot as either transferable private property or inalienable patrimonial land tied to Tetzcoco's *tecpancalli*, or palace, and royal family.[3] Cline recognized the map's connection to Nezahualpilli's son don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, for it is his lands that are at issue. Painted in 1540, the year after don Carlos's execution, and thus almost certainly the earliest extant example of Tetzcocan manuscript painting, the Oztoticpac Lands Map argues for an indissoluble link between royal blood and royal land.

Don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin, cacique of Tetzcoco from 1540, commissioned the Oztoticpac Lands Map in an attempt to retrieve the lands that Bishop Juan de Zumárraga had had confiscated from his half-brother don Carlos and later sold to Alonso de Contreras, a Spaniard.[4] Don Antonio and his relatives joined forces with Pedro Vásquez de Vergara, a Spaniard who had formed a business partnership with don Carlos, and together they contested the legality of Zumárraga's sale and Contreras's purchase of palace lands (in Nahuatl, *tecpantlalli*).[5] Vergara petitioned for the return of the European fruit trees and grafts (Fig. 2.1, lower left) that he had provided, but neither given nor sold to his business partner as part of their joint venture, a venture which makes manifest the convergence of interests and frequent alliances between indigenous aristocrats and well-positioned Spanish colonists during the first century of New Spain's existence.[6] For his part, don Antonio hoped to demonstrate that the majority of the confiscated land was not private property but tecpantlalli that don Carlos had held in usufruct. At the upper left of the map (Fig. 2.1), above the Oztoticpac palace complex, a Nahuatl-language scribe wrote: "Oztoticpac belongs to the palace, the *tlahtocayotl* [cacicazgo], not Don Carlos's

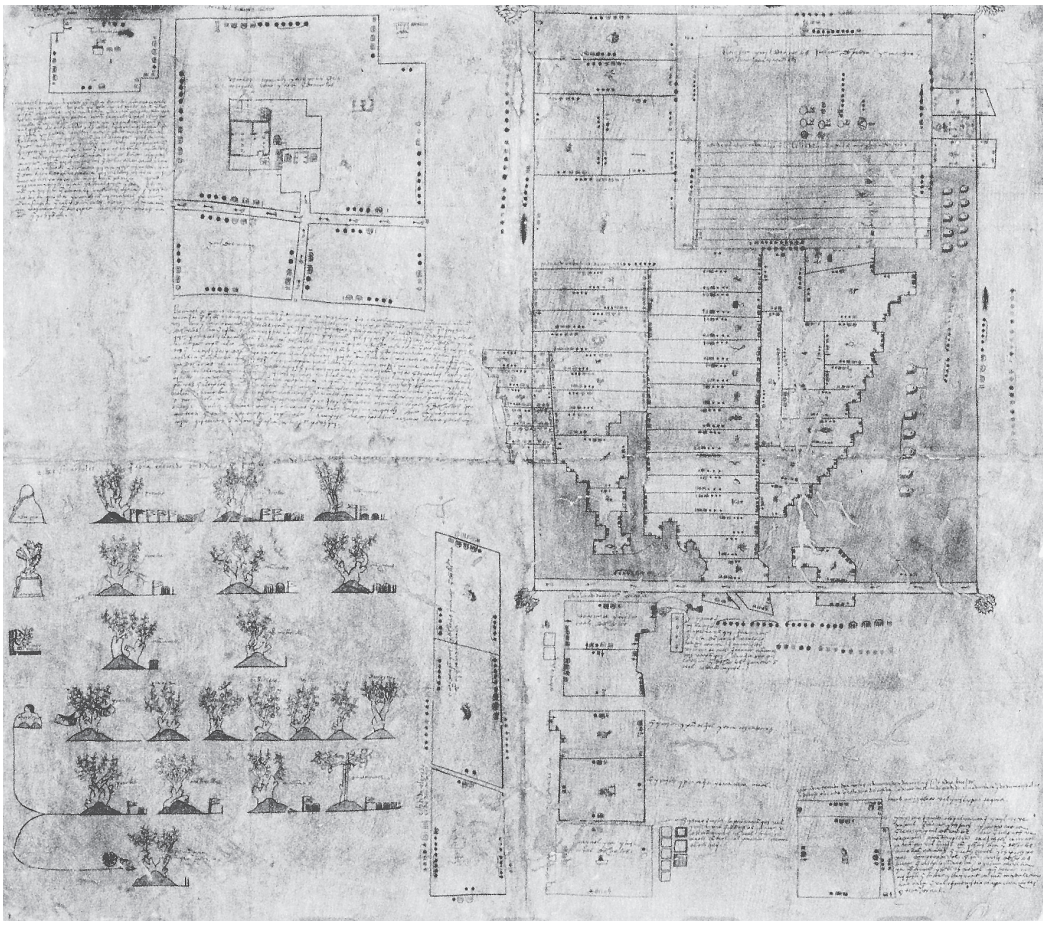


FIGURE 2.1. Oztoticpac Lands Map, ink and color on amatl, 75 x 84 cm., circa 1540, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Photo: courtesy and copyright Library of Congress.

property"; and a Spanish-language scribe added: "This belongs without doubt to the seignory [the cacicazgo]."[7]

The Oztoticpac Lands Map translates the physical world into linear measurements and economic qualifications.[8] In order to do so, the painter employed the mathematical graphemes of pre-Hispanic economic and land documents such as cadastres, property plans, and tribute lists.[9] Imaging land according to quantitative and legal criteria, the Oztoticpac Lands Map constitutes an ostensibly objective plan that Spaniards as well as Nahuas could comprehend. In contrast, the Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10), the Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17), and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25), cartographic histories rather than property plans, conceive Acolhua land in terms of narrative: discourse rather than numeration. The painters recorded the actors and actions because of which places had meaning for a specific group of people. To quote Dana Leibsohn, "[t]he map establishes a nexus where history and landscape conjoin."[10] And, as Barbara E. Mundy has observed about cartographic histories in general, "each represents the community by showing its common bounded territory and its shared history."[11]

Like the Oztoticpac Lands Map, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map make claims to land. The litigation map quantifies land and asserts its status as property, while the three histories configure and fuse the human community and its territory. The expressive content of the works parallels their cartographic grain and scope: the Oztoticpac Lands Map assumes and insinuates a history; the Xolotl, Quinatzin, and Tlohtzin offer fully fleshed out depictions of human agents and actions. The two indigenous cartographic strategies, one primarily descriptive and quantitative, the other narrative and discursive, mediate economic and political relations, the former by establishing title in a court of law, the latter by evoking rights and status in colonial society, in the *república de los españoles* and the *república de los indios*.

In the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map, narrative informs cartography. The three manuscripts simultaneously map and recount a cultural, historical, and spatial progression: from the wilderness and Chichimec barbarism, to the altepetl and the urban civilization inherited from the Toltecs of Tollan, to the tlahtocayotl, the hierarchical, regional state achieved through alliance and conquest.

Although analytical and mathematical, cartographic projections are cultural codes and thereby never fully objective or scientific. Metaphor, too, is a cultural code that transforms the material world into an image of our own cognitive and emotional experience of it: metaphor, like mapping, is ideology. For the aristocratic Nahuatl speaker of the Early Colonial Period, such as the painters and patrons of the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map, any expression shaped as a metaphor could convey through its form what one might describe as a context.[12] The context evoked by the form "adds nothing to the content of the representation: rather it is the simulacrum of the structure and processes of real events."[13] Although metaphors *do* add to the content of the representation, they do so covertly: only those who discern the rhetorical trope and understand that it entails "a change of code . . . a change of register" can perceive the content of the form.[14] For the generation of Nahua aristocrats born before but formally educated after the Conquest, the context implied by Nahuatl, the language, and its metaphors was still in part "the structure and processes of real events" predicated on the pre-Hispanic divine.

Mapping and Narrating Acolhuacan

The Nahuas of the Late Postclassic Period believed that they descended from Chichimec hunter-gatherers who had migrated into the Valley of Mexico in the waning years of the Early Postclassic Period (circa 900–1200 CE).[15] Nahua history begins with the departure of the Chichimec ancestors from an origin place known variously as Aztlan, Chicomoztoc, or Teoculhuacan, and Nahua space is first charted as the route traveled

from the ancestral homeland to the Valley of Mexico and its environs. Nahua histories as they were written down—in alphabetic or iconic script—in the Early Colonial Period, and presumably also in the Pre-Hispanic Period, generally open with an account of the migration that maps the migrants' course. The Codex Boturini and the Mapa de Sigüenza, both in iconic script, for example, detail the route taken by the ancestors of the Mexica from Aztlan to Tenochtitlan.[16] Likewise, the mixed format, alphabetic-iconic Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca records the itinerary followed by the ancestors of the people of Cuauhtinchan from Chicomoztoc-Teoculhuacan to the Valley of Puebla, as does the closely related iconic-script Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2.[17] The Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map all make reference to the migration of the Chichimec ancestors, but none charts it: they shift the cartographic focus from the migrants' route to their destination.[18] All three manuscripts configure the Chichimec odyssey more as birth, settlement, and civic foundation—narratives of place—than as journey or travelogue.[19]

In her study of central Mexican pictorial histories, Boone distinguishes variations among cartographic histories—the circuit and the map—that reflect differences of cartographic and thereby of historical theme or nuance: "These arrangements may be cognitive maps, approximating to greater or lesser degree the actual geography of a territory [map] . . . or they can take the form of a sequence of locations, virtually a listing of places that trace a route [circuit]."[20] More map than circuit, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map encompass the same geographic range, the Valley of Mexico, but they organize space; form and make use of place signs, landscape elements, flora, and fauna; and deploy and articulate map and narrative in a variety of ways (cf. Plates 1, 11, and 18).

The Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10) is one of the most extensive of the cartographic histories that have come down to us. Representing the Acolhua past from the arrival of the Chichimec ancestor and leader Xolotl (Plate 1) up to the first twenty-five years of Nezahualcoyotl's, Xolotl's great-great-great-great-grandson's, life (Plates 8–10), the manuscript's ten pages image their narratives on the Valley of Mexico's terrain. Nine of these ten pages contain eight maps—seven maps on one page each and one map across two pages—while the page without an apparent map, the eighth, is organized in three horizontal rows as a series of events, or *res gestae*, like a Mixtec historical manuscript.[21] Each of the Xolotl's eight maps (Plates 1–7 and 9 and 10) offers an ever so slightly different bird's-eye view of the valley from the west, encompassing the lakes, mountains, and the place signs, iconic-script toponyms, of cities and towns in and around it.[22] These maps occasionally approach landscape in quality.[23] At the same time, they delimit the Acolhua state through place signs, which express position in space. As Robertson notes, the Xolotl maps comprise a hybrid representation, a panoramic landscape joined to a frame or grid of place signs.[24]

The Xolotl's first map (Plate 1) best manifests the two tendencies, landscape and cartography, with its comparatively naturalistic rendering of the lakes at the center and the mountains along the eastern end of the Valley of Mexico (top of map) and the network of place signs within and around the valley. In the map, the manuscript's eponymous hero, Xolotl, his son Nopaltzin, and their cohort enter the Valley of Mexico. The new arrivals establish themselves first at Xoloc, then at Tenayuca in the northwestern corner of the valley.[25] From there Xolotl sends his son Nopaltzin to explore the valley's eastern half. Xolotl himself ascends key mountains, from whose summits he and his companions shoot arrows to the four cardinal directions as a ritual gesture of marking boundaries and claiming possession of the land thus marked.[26] Footprint paths indicate that he also circumambulates the territory counterclockwise, as prescribed in later Nahua boundary-marking rituals. The border of place signs that frames the landscape marks the perimeter of the Chichimecatlalli, or Chichimec land.[27] Thus, the Codex Xolotl's first page comprises a map and a circuit as well as a narrative and an enumeration if not, like the Oztoticpac Lands Map, a measuring of boundaries.

Of the three manuscripts, the Quinatzin (Plates 11–17) displays the most oblique cartographic and narrative articulation. Opening with an unidentified spaceless landscape, the Quinatzin's top section then shifts to an embodied map of the Acolhua capital in which the human figure and ethnic markers substitute for place signs and names (Plates 12 and 13). Nezahualcoyotl's palace in Tetzcoco, rendered in elevation and plan, dominates the manuscript's central section, and a series of toponyms around the building's perimeter plots out the kingdom and its boundaries (Plates 14 and 15). Within the palace's courtyard, Nezahualcoyotl's royal council—the Quinatzin's second embodied map—further specifies the state. At the center, a Four Reed year sign and two flaming braziers anchor the Acolhua polity's three manifestations—kingdom, palace, and royal council—which nest one inside the other.[28] The Quinatzin's bottom leaf (Plates 16 and 17) includes a brief account of the Aztec Triple Alliance, here figured as a series of place signs.

The Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) offers a more apparent—to the non-indigenous eye, at least—cartograph than the one depicted in the Quinatzin Map. Forming one coherent, unified map of the Valley of Mexico, the Tlohtzin (Plate 18) contains only nine place signs, six of which feature mountains rendered in section so as to reveal a large cave within. The nine toponyms appear in correct north-to-south and approximate east-to-west order, and they form an accurate if terse map. In contrast to the considerably more detailed Codex Xolotl, the Tlohtzin disregards the particularity of the Valley of Mexico's topography and does not image the mountains along its eastern end or the lakes at its center (cf. Plates 1 and 18).

Mapping the Wilderness

Xolotl: The First Chichimec

The Codex Xolotl best illustrates the substitution of effect for cause, of destination and place—the land—for time and movement—the migration. Each of the Xolotl's eight maps offers a bird's-eye view of the Valley of Mexico and of its neighbor to the east, the Valley of Puebla (for example, Plate 1). Oriented so that east is at the top, the views take in the five interconnected lakes at the heart of the Valley of Mexico—from north to south (left to right), Lakes Zumpango, Xaltocan, Tetzcoco, Xochimilco, and Chalco—shown near the bottom or west, and the mountains that enclose it at the east and the north. The smaller clusters of mountains that separate the Valley of Mexico from what is today the state of Hidalgo are visible at the left, or north. The range that forms the border between the valleys of Mexico and Puebla appears at the top, or east of each map; and at its southern, or right end, emerge Iztaccihuatl and Popocatepetl, the two great volcanoes.

The Codex Xolotl's first map (Plate 1) concerns the end, not the route, of the Chichimecs' migration. The sequence of events begins at the lower left. A footprint path connects the five place signs near the map's lower-left-hand corner to the hill of Xoloc (Place of the Dog or Place of Xolotl), above and to the right, where the eponymous hero, Xolotl, has already established himself and his Chichimec cohort. Among the five place signs is that of Tollan (Place of the Reeds), the Toltec capital that would serve as the model and touchstone of legitimacy for the Nahua cities of the Late Postclassic Period.[29] A crumbling stepped pyramid indicates the city's ruinous state. At each side of the cluster of reeds (*tolin* in Nahuatl) that serves as Tollan's iconic toponym, the painter has placed a round disk decorated with an eyelid and a pupil: a sign for stars, the "eyes" of the night sky, or, as here, for human eyes. The human eyes signify that the travelers stopped at Tollan to look over the site with care.

Tollan is situated outside and to the northwest of the Valley of Mexico, but Xoloc, near the northern shore of Lake Xaltocan, is within the valley, and it is here that the figures of Xolotl and his son Nopaltzin—both clearly named—make their first appearance in the manuscript (Fig. 1.10).[30] The womblike, seven-chambered cave at the Chichimecs' origin place, Chicomoztoc, is neither seen nor mentioned, and the map does not encompass the Chichimecs' migration. Shown standing atop the hill that represents Xoloc, the Chichimec leader talks with his son and eventual heir, who can be seen seated to the right. A Five Flint Knife year sign, written just below the hill, dates the scene.

Both father and son speak two speech scrolls, which, together with the three eye signs in front of Xolotl, suggest that the matter under discussion is the exploration of the country that they have just entered. A footprint path begins behind Xolotl and moves to the upper left, con-

necting him and Xoloc's toponym to a second series of five named sites (Plate 1). The path continues toward the upper left-hand corner, to a large Toltec center with two crumbling stepped pyramids and a place sign that consists of a splayed, four-legged, froglike creature set on a round disk. The sign that the Codex Xolotl's painters use for the word or concept "Toltec"—a cluster of reeds (tolin) and the lower half of a human head (*tecatl*, "person" in Nahuatl) in profile view—lies between the two derelict buildings. The footprint path returns from the ruins, which, following Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Dibble identifies as Cahuac, to the uppermost in the second set of five sites, where both Xolotl and his son Nopaltzin are shown seated and in conversation.[31] The painter places eye signs behind each figure and next to each place they have visited to specify reconnaissance of the territory.

A footprint path begins behind the figure of Nopaltzin and moves to the right. The path traces the route followed by the Chichimec explorer into and around the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, and eye signs mark every place he scouts. Nopaltzin stops at and looks over what would later become Acolhua settlements at Oztoticpac (the city, not the section of Tetzcoco of the same name), Tepetlaoztoc, and Tzinacanoztoc, en route to the largest freestanding mountain pictured on the map (Plate 1, center). The mountain may be Mt. Tlaloc, the highest peak in the vicinity of Tetzcoco, or Tetzcotzinco, as Peter E. B. Coy perceptively argued.[32] Flanked by four eye signs, two at either side, Nopaltzin stands on top of the mountain and espies the land around it. Together, the human figure and the eye signs evoke the sacred cosmogram of the center and the four cardinal directions, appropriately, as mountains connect the three levels of the physical world and anchor the four cardinal directions, at the center of which they stand.[33]

From Mt. Tlaloc/Tetzcotzinco, Nopaltzin makes a circuit through the eastern valley, in the course of which he stops at the future site of Tetzcoco. Located in the now severely abraded area just below the mountain, Tetzcoco lies at the visual and geographic heart of the map (Plate 1, center). To look over his new surroundings, Nopaltzin once again climbs to the top of what appears to be a hill, the only preserved corner of which shows that it contains a cave. The cave is here part of the toponym of Oztoticpac (On Top of the Cave Place)—a cave (*oztotl*) sign, a roughly quatrefoil-shaped stone border or frame, topped by (*-icpac*, "on, at the head of, above") a banner or flag (*pantli*)—the section of the city of Tetzcoco first settled by the Chichimecs and, in 1540, depicted on the Oztoticpac Lands Map by their Acolhua descendants (Fig. 2.1, top left). From Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, the Chichimec explorer continues to the south and then to the east, toward the mountains that separate the Valleys of Mexico and Puebla from each other.[34] At a place named Oztotlitectlacoyan (In the Middle of the Caves) he rests inside a cave, an allusion to the Chichimec custom of living in caves during the early stages of their acculturation into sedentary life.

Moving due west (straight down) from Oztotlitectlacoyan, Nopaltzin reaches and climbs a third mountain, whose toponym includes a pot (*comitl* in Nahuatl), perhaps Chalco or Chalco Atenco.[35] This mountain is situated near the lakes at the center of the valley, at what should be the southeastern end of Lake Tetzcoco or the eastern end of Lake Chalco; from here Nopaltzin turns and follows the lake's eastern shore to the north. He eventually visits Teotihuacan—represented by two stepped pyramids—which lies slightly to the northeast of the northern end of Lakes Xaltocan and Zumpango. From Teotihuacan, Nopaltzin heads to the west and south, closing the circuit by returning to his point of departure at Xoloc, where he reports to his father, Xolotl (Fig. 1.10). The scene at Xoloc simultaneously depicts Xolotl ordering his son to investigate the valley and Nopaltzin telling his father on his return about what he has seen: the end is the beginning. Xolotl and his descendants will henceforward claim and take possession of all that Nopaltzin saw on his tour of the valley: the circuit creates and frames the map.

Before the end of the year Five Flint Knife, Xolotl and his Chichimecs move south from Xoloc to Tenayuca (At the Place of Wallness [Like a Wall]), on the western shore of the lakes (Plate 1 and Fig. 1.9). The Chichimec leader sits and holds court at Tenayuca, a hill crowned by the curved cave wall that encloses him, and the Five Flint Knife date appears at the lower right of the hill (Fig. 1.9). The hill and cave wall together foreshadow Tenayuca's toponym, a wall formed of stone signs set across the center of, or around, a mountain sign, which first appears on the Xolotl's third page/map.[36] Xolotl's wife, Tomiyauh, sits behind her husband, separated from him by the cave wall. Seven seated Chichimec lords, including Nopaltzin, flank the hill at the bottom and at the left. Down and to the left of the seven Chichimec lords another six Chichimec males sit in a neat row (Plate 1, lower left). A footprint path that runs below the six men shows that they, too, came from the northwest. These men are leaders or representatives of the different bands that joined up with Xolotl and his people at Tenayuca, and the year sign placed below each one dates his arrival. From right to left, the years run consecutively from One House to Six Rabbit. One House can fall nine years after, as in this instance, or forty-three years before Five Flint Knife.

The Chichimecs in effect end their wanderings at Tenayuca. Nonetheless, a footprint path begins at the Five Flint Knife year sign that dates the end of the migration and moves down to the west (Plate 1 and Fig. 1.9). The path connects Tenayuca to a hill on the map's lower edge named Xocotlan, or "Place of Fruit," a journey made by the Chichimecs after their arrival at Tenayuca. From Xocotlan, the footprints originally continued to the south (right), then to the east (up) and the north (left), and finally to the west (down); the path and the named places through which it passes encircle and frame the map as a whole. The footprints and toponyms are legible along the sheet's well-preserved top (east) edge, but they are often no longer either visible or decipherable along the

left (north), bottom (west), and right (south) edges, which have suffered considerable losses over the years.[37] The newly sedentary Xolotl and his followers mark the places visited as boundaries and will claim possession of the land enclosed in this way. The Codex Xolotl's first map works as a historical narrative and a boundary map, the former justifying the latter.[38]

Just as Xolotl and the Chichimecs end their peregrinations and begin to settle in the Valley of Mexico, Tollan's civilized inhabitants, the Toltecs (People of the Place of the Reeds), leave their city and become exiles and migrants in their own land. At the lower left of the first map (Plate 1), a row of five round disks is visible just to the right of Tollan's toponym—a cluster of reeds—and a ruined temple. Connected by thin black lines to the rightmost disk, three footprints radiate out toward the south and the west. The footprints imply movement, and, according to Dibble, their pattern communicates dispersal in several directions.[39] The sign for the word or concept "Toltec" can be seen immediately to the right of the disks and the footprints. As there is nothing else nearby that the civic-ethnic moniker could easily modify, it must be part of the same statement: the Toltecs have departed, perhaps over the course of five years, or five years before the depicted present, or in five groups, abandoning Tollan, which lies in ruins.[40]

Seen only at the right (Plate 1), in the southern reaches of the Valley of Mexico, the Toltecs have traveled far to escape the fate of their city. Small Toltec families—father, mother, and child—appear in numerous locations, and in each instance the father expresses grief over the destruction of Tollan by shedding tears and holding up and bending one arm so that the wrist rests on his forehead and the hand is held out. The cities of Culhuacan (at lower right), Quechollan (at upper right), and Cholollan (at top center) are among the sites to which the refugee families have fled (Culhuacan and Quechollan) or will eventually flee (Cholollan). Founded by Toltecs, Culhuacan would now be heir to Tollan's political authority, and Cholollan, the ritual center sacred to the god Quetzalcoatl, to its religious authority.[41]

As represented here, Quechollan would preserve Toltec artistic traditions: a lapidary artist and a goldsmith practice their arts next to the city's toponym (a quecholli bird [a flamingo or roseate spoonbill] on a small hill sign). In their travels to and among Tollan's three successors, the refugees settle temporarily at, from west to east, Chapultepec, Huixachtitlan, Toltzalan-Acatlan, Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, Totoltepec, and Tepexomaco. Numerical signs refer to the number of years spent at each place: five at Chapultepec; four at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, Totoltepec, and Tepexomaco; and one or two at Toltzalan-Acatlan.[42] Footprints connect several of these sites, and the direction of the footprints indicates a migration from west to east across the southern Valley of Mexico (from Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc to Totoltepec) and into the Valley of Puebla (to Quechollan).

One Flint Knife year signs date the scenes at Chapultepec and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, and a Thirteen Flint Knife year sign dates that at

Quechollan. A One Flint Knife year can occur either twelve years before or forty years after a Thirteen Flint Knife year. The two children depicted at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc in One Flint Knife have the same names as the artists at Quechollan, who are young adults in Thirteen Flint Knife. If they are indeed the same people—footprints do connect the two sites—then the scene at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc must take place twelve years before rather than forty years after the one at Quechollan.[43] Five Flint Knife, the year in which Xolotl and his Chichimecs reach the Valley of Mexico, can fall either four years after or forty-eight years before One Flint Knife (the arrival of the Toltecs at Chapultepec and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc) and eight before or forty-four after Thirteen Flint Knife (the arrival of the Toltecs at Quechollan). As Tollan is in ruins when Xolotl and his people first see it, the Five Flint Knife year associated with the Chichimecs must fall at least four years after the One Flint Knife year in which the Toltecs are in Chapultepec and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc and eight years before the Toltecs seen at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc reach Quechollan twelve years later, in Thirteen Flint Knife.

Yet another date and numbers can be seen at Cholollan (Plate 1, top center). Below the city's deer's foot toponym (near the top center of the map), there are numerical signs—three units of twenty each and eighteen units of one each—that add up to seventy-eight, the equivalent of one and one half fifty-two-year cycles. Above the toponym, a coiled serpent sits on a magueylike pedestal, and the date One Reed names the creature.[44] One Reed (in Nahuatl, Ce Acatl) is the calendric name of both the god Quetzalcoatl and the Toltec leader Ce Acatl Topiltzin (Our Prince) Quetzalcoatl, two figures who are often indistinguishable in central Mexican historical traditions.[45] The nonhuman form of the figure and the presence of priests—note the long ponytails wrapped around several times with fabric or leather straps—at either side of the serpent suggest that the god Quetzalcoatl is what the painter intends here. As in the case of the Toltecs' departure from Tollan, the alignment of the god's name sign (One Reed) and icon (the coiled serpent), Cholollan's toponym, and the number 78 may form a sentencelike, pictorial statement. Dibble notes that Alva Ixtlilxochitl understood this cluster of signs to state that Quetzalcoatl's temple at Cholollan had been built seventy-eight years before the moment depicted.[46] If what transpires at Cholollan takes place in a Thirteen Flint Knife year, like the events at Quechollan, then the temple would date to a Thirteen Rabbit year, which falls immediately before a One Reed year. By specifying the long-standing Toltec presence at Cholollan, the historian differentiates the sacred city from what here may be more recent Toltec foundations, a consequence of the final abandonment of Tollan and the flight of its people.[47]

The Codex Xolotl's first map (Plate 1) conceives movement as Toltec departure as much as Chichimec arrival, and history begins here with the end of the Chichimecs' journey. What exists (the origin place, Chicomoztoc) or has transpired (the migration) beyond the pale of the map

cannot be directly represented. The temporal situation in turn requires that Tollan already be abandoned and the Toltecs already wandering across the southern and eastern Valley of Mexico and into the western Valley of Puebla. In contrast to the Chichimecs, who have just left behind an unseen, unmapped wilderness, the people of Tollan abandon regions already charted and civilized. Balancing a Chichimec northwest with a Toltec southeast, the Xolotl's painters map space and figure history so that they manifest oppositions—cultural, experiential, and spatial.[48]

The juxtaposition of opposites is one of the fundamental forms of the diphrastic, or two-term, metaphor in Nahuatl, used especially in aristocratic and ritual language.[49] The diphrastic metaphor evokes or generates a third and different term through the juxtaposition of two often but not necessarily unrelated ones, for instance, *atltlachinolli*, or "water-burnt thing," in Nahuatl, a metaphor—verbal and pictorial—for war. The rhetorical trope is an expression of the duality that Nahua thought perceived at the heart of being: Ometeotl (Two God) and Omecihuatl (Two Lady), the primal couple who resided in Omeyocan (Place of Twoness/Duality), created gods and man.[50] The painters cast the Chichimecs, the Toltecs, and their respective realms as ontological reverses, and as such they become the agents and places of history. The Xolotl's first map is thus a spatial metaphor for, as well as a pictorial history of, the genesis of the Nahua ethnic groups and polities—products of Chichimec-Toltec interactions—of the Late Postclassic Period.

Tlohtzin at Oztoticpac and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc

The Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17) and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) are closely related to the Codex Xolotl: all three derive from a common historical tradition, and the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin may derive from a common cartographic prototype, too.[51] Like the Xolotl, the two smaller manuscripts situate their narratives in the Valley of Mexico. Excising Chicomoztoc and the migration route, they delineate the processes of Chichimec arrival, settlement, and acculturation. Both the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin narrow the Codex Xolotl's cartographic and narrative scope. As the painters strip away details from map and history, the structure and expressive power of their metaphors become more evident.

The Xolotl's first map (Plate 1) traces the topography of the Valley of Mexico, human trajectories, and rituals of possession. The Tlohtzin Map (Plate 18) eschews the chorography of the Xolotl maps and records human relationships and the ways in which they shape space.

The Tlohtzin opens with a migration scene (Plates 19 and 20). At the left end of the manuscript, three male and three female Chichimecs walk in a spare landscape. As they cross from left to right, the migrants travel from northwest to southeast: their approximate geographic position is read from the orientation of the Valley of Mexico, east at the top, across the remaining length of the manuscript, rather than from any indicator

in the scene itself. Deer, rabbits, birds, and snakes, the nomads' customary prey, and numerous succulents, a source of water and fruit, share the landscape with the travelers (Fig. 1.12). A graceful, willowlike, flowering tree at the right end of the scene presages the more hospitable conditions of the Valley of Mexico, which the Chichimecs are about to enter; and, near the top, a stand of cattail reeds may mark the presence of an unseen lake, marsh, or stream, or, perhaps, allude to the nomads' imminent introduction to Toltec civilization (Plates 19 and 20).

The Tlohtzin offers not a migration route but an image of Chichimecs traversing a wilderness, with no fixed position or named location. (Although Tzinacanoztoc's mountain-cave, crowned by its unmistakable bat toponym, appears directly above the migration scene [Plates 19 and 20], it does not form part of it; in fact, of all the events recorded on the manuscript, the one at "Place of the Cave of the Bat"—from *tzinacan*, "bat," and oztotl—is the furthest removed chronologically, and culturally, from the wandering ancestors.) Together the migrants, animals, and plants form a self-contained semantic unit—nature—that differentiates and visually sets off the scene from everything else on the manuscript (Plate 18). Paring down history from a sustained, detailed narrative of the past to a signlike anecdote that stands in for and indexes that narrative, the Tlohtzin defines not a spatial trajectory but the hunter-gatherers' nomadic existence, their ways of being and doing. And hereafter, movement across space and through time will not be directly shown, but communicated implicitly by the new cultural practices to which it gives rise. The Chichimecs progressively slough off their "natural," animal-like attributes as the uncharted but vividly drawn wilderness gives way to cartography.

Beyond the wilderness, at the upper-right-hand corner of the scene that encapsulates it, the itinerant Chichimecs begin to be sedentary and localizable (Plates 19 and 20). The strong diagonal in the composition formed by the six walking figures draws the eye to their destination: the mountain-cave second from the left, identified as Cuauhyacac by the toponym of a tree (*cuahuitl*, "tree, wood, stick"), with a large human nose (*yacatl*, "nose, point, ridge") along the left side of its trunk. Like Tzinacanoztoc (the leftmost mountain-cave) and its visual pendant, the unnamed mountain-cave at the far right, the mountain-cave at Cuauhyacac records an event anchored in space.

In his *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España*, Alva Ixtlilxochitl recounts that Xolotl's son Nopaltzin stopped at a mountain named Cuauhyacac in the course of his initial exploration of the eastern Valley of Mexico.[52] And Pomar wrote of

> the grottoes and caves . . . especially those of Cuauhyacac, a half-league from this city [Tetzcoco] in the direction of the mountains [east], which are so large and capacious that two hundred men can live in them. And thus the Chichimec lords, the ancestors of the kings of this city, used them as houses and their principal seat, because in the vicinity there are many such [grottoes and caves]

and the Chichimecs lived in them long ago, all of these are today [1582] deserted and unpopulated, but very well cared for and esteemed by the nobles [*principales*] of this city, descendants of Nezahualcoyotzin, in memory of the fact that their ancestors, such strong and famous men in this land, had used them as house and settlement.[53]

The six ancestors on the Tlohtzin Map sit and take shelter in one of these caves, by which act they initiate the transformation from hunter-gatherer to settled agriculturalist and from tribe to urban polity.[54]

The Chichimecs' progress toward civilization continues to the right, or south, and down, or west, of Cuauhyacac, but the painter does not directly represent movement or map an itinerary through the eastern valley (Plates 19 and 20). Four mountain-caves, the first three of which have toponyms, appear to the right of Cuauhyacac. From north to south (left to right) in correct geographic order and position relative to one another, the three named sites are the Oztoticpac section of the city of Tetzcoco and the Acolhua settlements of Huexotla (Place of the Willow Tree) and Coatlichan (Serpent's Home) (Plate 18). The rightmost mountain-cave (Plates 24 and 25) is not named but can be identified as Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc from its location in space (the southern reaches of the Valley of Mexico, in the vicinity of Chalco) and the historical context (the presence of Tlohtzin, his wife, and their infant son, Quinatzin, all three here clearly named): Codex Xolotl page/map 2 (Plate 2) and the Quinatzin Map's top panel (Plates 12 and 13, discussed below) place Tlohtzin and his family here. When and where to the south of Cuauhyacac the painter again pictures actions, they relate explicitly to Tlohtzin and his initial experience of Toltec civilization.

As a compositional element, the six sites in the eastern valley counterpoise the northwest to southeast (lower left to upper right) diagonal of the Chichimecs wandering in a wilderness with one that runs northeast to southwest (upper left to lower right) and calls attention to named, fixed locations where settlement and civilization begin. Like the Codex Xolotl's first map, the Tlohtzin juxtaposes a Chichimec northwest to an increasingly Toltec southeast, mapping Acolhua history as a diphrastic metaphor.

In addition to serving as places of early settlement, mountain-caves in Mesoamerica were, and still are, places of birth, creation, and origins, both of gods and of men.[55] In central Mexico, human lineages and royal dynasties often traced their origins back to the birth in a cave—for example, Chicomoztoc—of a first or founding ancestor.[56] The Tlohtzin's mountain-caves all reference overlapping human and political origins by featuring recently born children (at Tzinacanoztoc, Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc), the beginnings of settlement and civic foundations (at Cuauhyacac, Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan), and dynastic genealogies (at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan).

Genealogy informs the Tlohtzin's projection.[57] The topmost male in the Tetzcocan dynastic genealogy, Tlohtzin, the youngest of the three male Chichimec migrants, acts as the founding father of the Tetzcocan dynasty. The Huexotla and Coatlichan royal families are figured in such a way as to highlight their connections to Tlohtzin and his descendants, and the Tetzcocan dynasty in turn appears as the founding dynasty of the eastern altepemeh (see below, Chapter 3). The manuscript also casts Tlohtzin the progenitor as the catalyst for the assimilation of Toltec culture. As in the Codex Xolotl, settlement substitutes for migration, but the Tlohtzin Map images it as a birth or creation that qualifies the migrants as autochthonous. And given the Tlohtzin's lack of year signs—only the existence of space and the presence of successive generations register the passing of time—the end is here more fully the beginning than in the Xolotl.

A balanced political opposition orders the Valley of Mexico. The Tlohtzin Map includes only three sites from the western valley, none pictorially qualified by a mountain-cave: from north to south (left to right), the altepemeh of Azcapotzalco (On the Anthill) of the Tepanec people, Tenochtitlan (Next to/Among the Prickly Pear Cactus) of the Mexica, and Culhuacan (Place of Those Who Have Ancestors) of the Toltec Culhua, each of which was an important political center in its heyday. The toponyms of the three western altepemeh appear along the bottom edge of the map, almost directly opposite Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan (Plates 18 and 21–25).

The juxtaposition of the three western cities to the three eastern cities makes clear the prevalence of sets of three in the map's composition. Altogether there are nine, or three times three, places specified on the map by a toponym or the presence of a mountain-cave. The eastern valley's six sites divide by type into two sets of three: three altepemeh (Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan); and three places, not necessarily cities or polities, where pivotal events took place (births at Tzinacanoztoc [Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli] and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc [Quinatzin], and the beginning of settlement at Cuauhyacac). Furthermore, a sign consisting of a flag (pantli) with a mysterious, crescent-shaped appurtenance along its left edge qualifies three places in the east, two named, one not: Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Coatlichan, and the upper-right corner, or southeastern limit, of the Tlohtzin Map.[58] With some overlap, the six mountain-caves and the three flag signs form another group of nine, or three sets of three.

The triplets that structure the Tlohtzin's composition recall the *tenamaztin*, the three hearthstones of the fire and creator deity Xiuhtecuhtli.[59] The three hearthstones support and protect the god, who is at the center of divine creation and the family house, where prayers and offerings are made to him at the hearth. The allusions to the three hearthstones bring to mind the creation of the cosmos and the founding, centering, and sustenance of the house, to which by association they equate the Chichimec settlement of the eastern Valley of Mexico.

Thus, and even more categorically than in the Codex Xolotl, history begins in the Tlohtzin Map when and where Xolotl and his people end their migration. The Tlohtzin's painter plots this origin in terms of the dynastic and political genealogies that anchor and define space in the eastern valley. The structure of the map endows what it encompasses of space and time with the character and energy of creation, rendering the Chichimec ancestors self-generating and autochthonous, like the ancestors in Mixtec manuscripts.[60]

Quinatzin at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc and Tetzcoco

The Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17) charts the Chichimec migration more allusively than either the Tlohtzin Map or the Codex Xolotl.[61] In the Quinatzin's top leaf (Plates 12 and 13), where the narrative begins, the painter sets the action in a wilderness, a spaceless landscape, like the one that opens the Tlohtzin. Flora, fauna, landscape elements, and Chichimecs inhabit the upper two-thirds of the leaf, and the humans are fully integrated into the natural world. At top center, a Chichimec couple and their infant child have taken shelter in a mountain-cave (Plates 12 and 13 and Fig. 1.8). While the cave and the family group indicate origins—of life and of a dynastic lineage—the mountain as a sign denotes the founding and continued existence of a place and its toponym.[62] Iconographically, family and setting bring to mind autochthony and deny foreignness and migration. But in this instance the lack of name and place signs belies the specificity implicit—and expected—in any account of civic foundations or genealogy.

In addition to the family in the cave, several Chichimecs people the landscape that surrounds the mountain (Plates 12 and 13); but, in contrast to the opening scene of the Tlohtzin, none is drawn as a migrant who is traveling in search of a new home. The scene lacks spatial or temporal coordinates, and it specifies neither the identities of the men and women nor the relationships among them. Armed with bow and arrow, like the man in the cave, the figure of a male Chichimec hunter appears twice, once to the right and once to the left of and below the mountain, where he shoots and hits a deer. Given that deer appear twice—one deer just shot and one pierced by an arrow and in its death throes—and are almost certainly to be read as one animal seen at two different moments in the course of the hunt, it is probable that the two hunters are likewise to be understood as one man. The man in the cave and the hunter may be the same man, too. At a minimum there must be two Chichimec men, as two appear together near the center of the panel, where, still holding digging sticks, they flank the corpse bundle of a woman whom they have just buried (Plates 12 and 13 and Fig. 1.11).[63] Another, living, woman appears at the right, where she sits next to a raging fire into which she seems to have cast a serpent. Unnamed and ambiguous like the male figures, the three Chichimec females depicted in the panel may represent one, two, or three characters.

Because of their anonymity, the Chichimecs can and perhaps should be interpreted in light of what they do collectively rather than of who they are individually. From the cradle to the grave, the men and women here satisfy physical needs. They provision themselves with shelter, sustenance, and fire, but their shelter is a cave, their sustenance, raw meat from the hunt, and their fire, undomesticated by the practical and ritual uses of the hearth and its three stones. The Chichimecs communicate with each other by means of gestures rather than verbal language—there are no speech scrolls here—and the nuclear family is the only apparent social unit. They bury rather than cremate their dead, and to dig a grave they use what in trained hands would serve as an agricultural implement.[64] In short, the Chichimecs enjoy a minimally civilized life, one no longer explicitly pictured as nomadic, but one not yet urbanized. Although they may no longer be nomads, these men and women still more closely resemble the animals that they pursue and whose skins they wear than the Toltecs—and Toltecized Chichimecs—seen along the bottom third of the Quinatzin's top leaf.

Like the Codex Xolotl's first map and the Tlohtzin Map, the Quinatzin divides space between Chichimec wilderness and Toltec cities and civilization. Cultural practices rather than place signs or historical agents and events here distinguish one sphere from the other. There is only one toponym on the panel, the now almost imperceptible curved mountain sign of Culhuacan at the lower-right corner (separated from the Chichimec wilderness), where, too, markers of time and personal identity are absent (Plates 12 and 13, lower third).[65] Wilderness and city describe states of being more than geographic locations or ethnic history. Manifest in personal and social customs, the transformation of Chichimecs into Toltecs describes the trajectory from barbarism to civilization as well as from anonymity to identity. Once discerned, the theme of acculturation and the visual pun (the head of the dying deer and the sound scrolls of its death cries) on the eponymous hero's, Quinatzin's, name sign (a deer's head with speech scrolls) permit an informed reader to situate the mountain-cave in the Quinatzin's top panel at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc and to identify the Chichimec family it houses as Tlohtzin, his wife, and their infant son, Quinatzin, who would one day found the city of Tetzcoco.[66] In the Codex Xolotl page/map 2 (Plate 2) and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 24 and 25), this episode is not part of the migration itinerary but of the Chichimecs' postmigration settlement in the Valley of Mexico and their gradual assimilation of Toltec urban culture.[67] By beginning with Tlohtzin at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, the Quinatzin painter underscores the substitution of the cultural for the physical journey and the destination for the route. The process of becoming fully human and thereby civilized assumes the same catalytic role as the ancestral migration, and the latter becomes a metaphor for the former: what is mapped is not so much spatial as cultural boundaries.

In the Codex Xolotl and the Tlohtzin Map, Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc is

situated in the southeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico. As positioned in the Quinatzin's first section (Plates 12 and 13, top center), the new ancestral cave at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc occupies the top edge, which in Mesoamerica most often represents the east, the direction of the rising sun, birth, origins, and creation. In relation to Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, the city of Tetzcoco (both in actuality and on the Quinatzin) is to the north and west, that is, in the same quadrant of space as Chicomoztoc is in relation to the Valley of Mexico. Across the lower third of the Quinatzin's first leaf, Tetzcoco is embodied by the figures of Quinatzin, his son Techotlalatzin, and his grandson, Techotlalatzin's son, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, all three of whom the painter names, and the figures marked by ethnic monikers, the representatives of the six ethnic groups that joined with Quinatzin and his people, and for whom the six districts of the city would one day be named. In the Quinatzin the movement from southeast to northwest, from the unmapped, unnamed mountain-cave at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc to the corporeal map of the city of Tetzcoco, functions as a spiritual and cultural migration that repeats, but like a mirror image, reverses, the physical and spatial migration from Chicomoztoc to the Valley of Mexico.[68]

Mapping the Altepetl

As an altepetl, Tetzcoco is the pendant of the ancestral homeland Chicomoztoc.[69] Situating Tetzcoco at the center of the spaces that they map, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map plot it geographically and metaphorically.[70] The Xolotl sets the city in the Valley of Mexico and its environs, and the Tlohtzin sets it in the eastern half of the valley, while the Quinatzin locates it within a spatialized progression from barbarism to civilization. Each manuscript figures the Acolhua altepetl differently—a toponym, an architectural diagram, the human body—and conceives it in varying degrees as human society, earthly city, and the locus and energy of divine creation.

Although all the manuscripts accurately position Tetzcoco in space, they qualify and interpret it as historical force or agent more than chart and quantify it as physical reality. Again, the Quinatzin Map proves to be the least maplike of the three histories, and the Xolotl, the most.

The Quinatzin and the Incorporation of Tetzcoco

Substituting the human body and social relations for toponyms and topography, the Quinatzin elides man and polity: the city creates civilized men; civilized men create cities. Along the bottom third of the Quinatzin's first leaf (Plates 12 and 13), the unnamed wilderness gives way to human figures that for the most part exist and act in isolation from nature. Together these figures make up several episodes in Acolhua

history distinct from and consequent to the Chichimec settlement-as-migration pictured directly above. The lower third also contains the leaf's only toponym, the curved hill that signals Culhuacan, at bottom right, and its only graphic indication of human migration, the footprint path that departs from Culhuacan's toponym.

Whereas the Chichimec settlement-as-migration episode plays out in an anonymous, emblematic landscape, the panel's second scene comprises a set of places metonymically named. The space thus mapped results from and references in equal measure Toltec migration and Chichimec settlement. Complementary opposites held in dynamic balance—a diphrastic metaphor—the "autochthonous" Chichimec and the "migrant" Toltecs point beyond themselves to a new, different, but related category: the Acolhua and their altepetl, Tetzcoco.[71]

Identified by a name sign, the now-adult Quinatzin sits at lower left and looks to the right, where two seated male figures face him (Plates 12 and 13). Iconic-script signs label these two men according to their ethnic affiliations: a Tlailotlac (They Who Have Returned, plural, Tlailotlaque) at top, and at bottom a Chimalpanec (Shield Place People, plural, Chimalpaneca), representatives of two Toltec groups allegedly from the Mixteca that immigrated into the Valley of Mexico and joined forces with Quinatzin's Chichimecs.[72] To the right of the Tlailotlac, near the center, another two seated men talk to each other; and behind the one at right sits a woman, who faces left and speaks, too. No signs identify these three figures, but their woven-cotton clothes and neatly groomed hair mark them as civilized, like the Tlailotlac and Chimalpanec at left. The footprint path from Culhuacan's toponym at lower right connects them to the city, indicating that they are Culhua, direct descendants of the Toltecs of Tollan. Like the footprint path, the round, cloth-wrapped bundles set on the ground in front of each man and the one the woman still carries on her back identify the three as migrants. As in the Codex Xolotl, the Toltecs are the migrants, and the Chichimecs, the native inhabitants of the mapped space.

Behind and to the right of the Culhua (Plates 12 and 13, lower right), three properly dressed and well-groomed—thus civilized—males sit in a row, all facing left. Iconic-script signs give their ethnic affiliations: from left to right, a Mexica, a Huitznahua, and a Tepanec.[73] These three men form the final segment of the virtual catalogue of ethnicities that begins at left with the Tlailotlac and Chimalpanec and continues with the Culhua near the center.

The figures with ethnic tags are distinct from those here identified by personal names, the adult Quinatzin at the far left, or his son Techotlalatzin and grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, who appear directly below the two Culhua males (Plates 12 and 13, bottom center), where they flank Quinatzin's corpse bundle and funeral pyre. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, among others, explains that the city of Tetzcoco had six sections, each named after the ethnic group that settled it: Chimalpan (the Chimalpaneca),

Tlailotlacan (the Tlailotlaque), Culhuacan (the Culhua), Mexicapan (the Mexica), Huitznahuac (the Huitznahua), and Tepanecapan (the Tepaneca).[74] Transformed into geographic coordinates, the six eponymous figures designate Tetzcoco's six barrios, or sections.[75] But the order of the coordinates from left to right is temporal—earlier to later—more than spatial—north to south.[76] The embodied history functions as an urban plan articulated through time, and it represents a midpoint between the wilderness (an image) at top and the toponym (a written sign) of Culhuacan at the lower right, just as the city of Tetzcoco did during the very years that have been collapsed into this scene. Because his life spans the first panel, Quinatzin embodies both the civilizing process and its correlate and consequence, the altepetl.

The Quinatzin's central section (Plates 14 and 15) shows Tetzcoco three and four generations later—the generations of Nezahualcoyotl (the third) and Nezahualpilli (the fourth) have been fused into one ideal, anachronistic generation—at the height of its power and cultural development. As in the manuscript's first (top) leaf, the painter maps the Acolhua altepetl metonymically: Nezahualcoyotl's royal palace and the kings and courtiers who inhabit it here figure Tetzcoco. Drawn in elevation and plan around a great central courtyard, the four wings of the palace open out like the petals of a flower. Each wing is architecturally distinct, and as a group they organize space according to its uses.

The palace diagram reproduces the Mesoamerican sacred cosmogram in form and function, as does the map of the Mexica altepetl Tenochtitlan on folio 2 recto of the Codex Mendoza (cf. Plate 14 and Fig. 1.6). Like the cosmogram, the palace orients space to the top of the panel. The throne room, with Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli in residence, occupies the central portion of the palace's top, eastern, wing. Their position in the east endows the kings and the throne room with divine powers—the very powers that brought space and time into being, then ordered and unified them.

The painter displays Tetzcoco's toponym directly above the throne room, for the first and only time on the Quinatzin (Plates 14 and 15, top center). Usually written with two phonetic elements (stone, tetl, and pot, comitl) superimposed on a mountain sign, the city's toponym here shortens to a pot affixed to a mountain, both drawn more naturalistically than conventionally, an indication of the colonial painter's interest in image as opposed to idea or sign.[77] Tetzcoco's place sign is noticeably larger than any other one on the panel, or elsewhere on the manuscript, and according to Aubin, at this scale it may signify *huey altepetl*, "great or capital city" in Nahuatl.[78] One in the series of toponyms that surrounds the palace, Tetzcoco's may, and should, also be read independently of the others because of its naturalism and disproportionate size. The series as a whole charts the Acolhua territorial kingdom—the tlahtocayotl—conquered by and ruled from Tetzcoco, which city, as the huey altepetl, surpasses the subordinate altepemeh politically and pictorially.

Together with the throne room below it, Tetzcoco's toponym forms a mountain and cave that mimic the composition and echo the meaning of the top panel's ancestral cave. The two origin or creation places, one actual and the other metaphorical, lie on the same vertical axis and in the same, eastern, quadrant of space relative to everything else in their respective panels (Plate 11). By means of this visual analogy and simile, the two kings in the throne room assume the same role as that of the ancestral couple in the cave. Whereas the earlier episode refers to the genesis of the biological family, by allusion if not by name, the Acolhua royal dynasty, the later one points directly to the creation of Acolhua political authority and thereby of Tetzcoco, the Acolhua altepetl. The shift from the one to the other is spatial and temporal: the mountain-cave at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc is to the east of (above) Tetzcoco, and the birth of Quinatzin precedes the full flowering of the city that he would found and that his descendants would rule. As in the first leaf itself, movement across time and space between the manuscript's top and central leaves engenders cultural development.

Nine toponyms appear across the top quarter of the Quinatzin Map's third (bottom) leaf (Plates 16 and 17, top), but imperial rather than urban cartography and history are at issue here. The signs refer to the multi-ethnic Triple Alliance of Tetzcoco, Tenochtitlan, and Tlacopan and the reason for which it came into being: to check the political ambitions of the Tepanec Confederation led by Azcapotzalco. The two rightmost of the nine toponyms indicate Tetzcoco's allies Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan, from right to left; and, beginning at the right-hand side with Azcapotzalco's, the other seven place names record cities of the Tepanec Confederation defeated by the Triple Alliance.

In contrast, and with the exception of a scene of Triple Alliance justice, the remainder of the third panel represents Tetzcoco by imaging a selection of its laws. A cultural as well as compositional pendant of the Chichimecs and the wilderness in the top panel, the legal sampler describes the Acolhua polity and places it within a grid and the built, urban environment (a house, a jail, a law court, a marketplace), and its people within the pale of civilization. Both the wilderness and the legal exempla and their settings are generic, but what they frame is not: the embodied ethnic map of Tetzcoco along the bottom of the first leaf (Plates 12 and 13); the chart of the Triple Alliance and Tepanec War along the top of the bottom leaf (Plates 16 and 17); and the plan of Nezahualcoyotl's palace and the map of the Acolhua tlahtocayotl that lie between the urban and the imperial cartographs (Plates 14 and 15).

From one end of the Quinatzin Map to the other, men, women, and their increasingly complex society chart Tetzcoco. The six ethnic groups in the manuscript's top leaf, the palace in the central leaf, and the legal anecdotes in the bottom leaf register the city's shape and texture: a heterogeneous population; a rational thereby cosmic architectural as well

as political order; and just laws. Together the manuscript's three sections trace a progression through time that is more cultural than spatial. From father to son, six generations of the Acolhua royal dynasty punctuate the cultural geography of the altepetl. From the unnamed figure of Tlohtzin in the top panel to the name signs and laws of his great-great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl and great-great-great-grandson, Nezahualcoyotl's son, Nezahualpilli in the bottom one, the successive generations of rulers shape Tetzcoco and its culture.

Tlohtzin and the Spatial Extension of the Tetzcocan Royal Genealogy

According to the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 21 and 22), Tlohtzin and his wife settled at Oztoticpac. Oztoticpac's mountain-cave sits near the top center of the map, slightly below and to the right, or southwest, of Cuauhyacac, where Tlohtzin, his father, Nopaltzin, and Nopaltzin's father, Xolotl, and their wives first sought shelter in the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico. Here the Oztoticpac toponym refers to a barrio of Tetzcoco, as the city of the same name lies to the northeast of Cuauhyacac. The barrio of Oztoticpac is the land within the boundaries of the Acolhua altepetl that, up to 1539, don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl had held in usufruct and that his half-brother don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin, the patron of the Oztoticpac Lands Map, later reclaimed as his patrimony.

The Tlohtzin's painter distinguishes between the homonyms by his choice of signs: a mountain sign with a stone sign set on its peak, above and to the right of the mountain-cave (Plates 21, top right, and 22, top center). The sign mimics the literal meaning of the name, but in this instance deploys two elements—a stone and a mountain—that usually appear as part of Tetzcoco's toponym, not the city of Oztoticpac's, which consists of a cave sign topped by a banner or flag.

Even more than the Quinatzin Map, the Tlohtzin elides the altepetl with the ruler's body and genealogy. Beginning in the cave with a founding Chichimec ancestor, Tlohtzin, and ending below and to the left with don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin, the leftmost in the row of the six sons of Nezahualpilli shown here, who were among the first generation of Tlohtzin's descendants to live under Spanish rule, the dynastic succession anchors the city in space and makes discernible its growth over time (Plates 21 and 22). Recorded in greater detail than any other dynastic and/or genealogical sequence on the Tlohtzin, these seven generations of rulers and the city that they rule occupy the compositional, geographic, and historical center of the manuscript.

The painter sketches Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco's evolution into an altepetl in the ever-more-refined aspect of its tlahtoqueh rather than in a plan of the city's spatial organization or ethnic composition. From Tlohtzin and his wife, who sit on the floor of the cave, dressed in animal skins, hair neither cut nor combed, to their great-great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl,

with his elegant cotton cloak, earflares, and hairstyle, seated on a *tepotzoicpalli*, or "humped-backed chair," a royal throne, and accompanied by seven of his court artists in addition to his wife, the ruler's person and circumstances improve with each successive generation.

In turn, from Nezahualcoyotl's son Nezahualpilli to Nezahualpilli's son don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin, the artist images another transformation. The change here is manifest in the difference between Cacama, the last Acolhua ruler to reign at least partially in the Pre-Hispanic Period, and his brothers and half-brothers, who succeeded him after the arrival and often at the behest of Cortés and the Spaniards. With the exception of the tepotzoicpalli on which they sit, the colonial-period successors have lost the traditional iconographic attributes of Aztec rulers, for example, earflares. Likewise, these men as well as their brother Cacama have put aside the Chichimec bow and arrow, which their ancestors—up to and including their father—carry in the manuscript.

As in the Quinatzin, the Acolhua royal family here physically transcends its Chichimec heritage, and the city of Tetzcoco is the consequence of the transcendence. Free of explicit pre-Hispanic regal and military trappings, the last generation on the Tlohtzin transcends in part its indigenous political heritage, too, or at least whatever recognizable traces of it the colonial authorities might have perceived as overly nostalgic or bellicose, and thereby seditious and potentially threatening to the new order.[79]

The Tlohtzin Map, like the Quinatzin, plots Tetzcoco. The latter positions the city as altepetl in an allusive space while communicating its history in the increasingly civilized cultural practices and complex social groupings of its people. Language, shelter, food, dress, and grooming, on the one hand, and the ethnic composition and layout of the city and the good order of its royal palace, court, and kingdom, on the other, define Tetzcoco. In contrast, the Tlohtzin locates the Acolhua polity in an unambiguous cartographic space, but only traces its civilization, history, and political—not spatial—organization through the bodies of its rulers, which the painter meticulously observes over seven generations.

The Codex Xolotl and the Altepetl

Rather than conceive and image the altepetl as dynastic genealogy, like the Tlohtzin, or as cultural advances set in motion by individual ancestors or rulers, like the Quinatzin, the Codex Xolotl's artists maintain the integrity of the cartograph. On the Xolotl's eight maps, Tetzcoco appears eight times in the form of topography or toponym. A sustained, coherent projection locates and renders the city visible, as it describes the political geography of the post-Toltec (post-1200 CE) Valley of Mexico. In each successive map, with only one exception, the painters repeat the basic lineaments of the projection, even when they alter its scale, and spatial coordinates, topographic detail, and toponym stand for Tetzcoco.

On the Codex Xolotl's first map (Plate 1), visual scrutiny and symbolic possession prefigure the Acolhua altepetl. Xolotl's son Nopaltzin explores the apparently unpopulated eastern half of the Valley of Mexico at his father's behest. Departing from Tonan, near the upper-left-hand corner of the map, where he receives orders from his father, Nopaltzin travels from north to south. En route he visits the future sites of Oztoticpac (the independent city), Tepetlaoztoc, and Tzinacanoztoc, all of which the painter situates and names. From Tzinacanoztoc the Chichimec scout continues south to a large mountain, to whose summit he ascends in order to reconnoiter the territory that it overlooks. If a toponym originally identified this mountain, it is no longer legible because of abrasion and breaks on the paper. Given its location and size, the mountain may be Mt. Tlaloc, the largest in the vicinity of Tetzcoco (and in the eastern valley), but it may also represent Tetzcotzinco.[80] Nopaltzin continues to the west of the mountain and stops at a place whose marker has been almost entirely lost. The little that remains of the toponym or landscape element—a part of a cave visible below the figure of the Chichimec—indicates either the actual presence of a cave or a place name that contains the word or sound "oztotl" (cave in Nahuatl), such as, for example, Oztoticpac, Tepetlaoztoc, or Tzinacanoztoc.[81] As in the Tlohtzin Map, the name should here refer to Oztoticpac, the barrio of Tetzcoco where the Chichimecs first settled.

Although the large mountain pictured between the eastern sierra and the lakes is almost certainly either Tetzcotzinco or Mt. Tlaloc on the first page/map (Plate 1), elsewhere in the Codex Xolotl the painters identify it as Tetzcoco. In the guise of its place sign, the city appears on the second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh pages/maps (Plates 2–5 and 7), but not on the sixth pages/map (Plate 6) or in the composite map on the manuscript's ninth and tenth pages (Plates 9 and 10).[82] In each case except page/map 7 (Plate 7), a cave lies between the lakes and Tetzcoco's mountain-toponym. In three out of five instances the cave is clearly named Oztoticpac, and it is twice even shown as contiguous with Tetzcoco's toponym. The cave thus named and situated refers to the barrio of Tetzcoco and not to the independent city in the vicinity of Otompan, to the north of the Acolhua capital, which Nopaltzin visited during his initial reconnaissance of the eastern valley. Oztoticpac's sign also appears independently on page/map 6 (Plate 6) and at the left side of the map on pages 9 and 10 (Plate 9), where it references Tetzcoco metonymically.

The Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin both place the Acolhua altepetl and dynastic succession at the center of compositions largely informed by noncartographic concerns. In contrast, the Codex Xolotl views the city and its rulers from the broader perspective of regional geography and Late Postclassic Period political history. In spite of the Xolotl's Acolhua bias, the map and history of the Valley of Mexico subsume Tetzcoco.

Mapping the Tlahtocayotl

While Tetzcoco occupies one point in space on the Codex Xolotl's maps, Acolhuacan, the Acolhua kingdom in the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico and the Tepanec Confederation, Acolhuacan's counterpart in the western half of the valley, constitute the larger world and history that these maps encompass. All three of the Tetzcocan cartographic histories make reference to the Acolhua kingdom and its western pendant and the fundamental opposition between the two. A form of diphrastic metaphor, this opposition motivates the manuscripts' narratives and governs the visual syntax by which they are ordered. The Codex Xolotl grounds Acolhuacan in the central Mexican landscape, cartography, and the adventures of Xolotl and his allies and descendants. The Xolotl's eight maps position the Acolhua state and its capital at or near their physical center, and the manuscript's multiple narratives focus on the Chichimecs' Acolhua heirs and how they won, lost, and would again win a kingdom.

The Codex Xolotl and the Course of Empire

The Codex Xolotl's painters wrote history primarily as toponymy: they documented sociopolitical change by evoking, recording, or elaborating on place signs. On the manuscript's first two maps (Plates 1 and 2), the hill and the cave (below the lakes, at bottom center) that locate and stand for Tenayuca, where Xolotl established his residence, visually prefigure the city's toponym, a wall made from stones or stone signs set across or around a mountain sign. The substitution of the natural for the built environment recalls the Chichimecs' custom of living in caves during the early stages of settlement in the valley, providing a measure of their initial progress toward civilization. When it first appears on the manuscript's third map (Plate 3), Tenayuca's fully realized place sign in the same way gauges the immigrants' increasing cultural and political sophistication.

The composition of the first and second maps (Plates 1 and 2) also highlights Tenayuca. In each case, the most prominent iconic-script or scriptlike cluster on the sheet is the hill and cave reminiscent of the city's toponym. On the first map (Plate 1 and Fig. 1.9), Xolotl sits on top of the hill, framed by the cave wall, and his family and followers line up below and behind it; they are the largest social grouping depicted. On the second map (Plate 2), three supplicants, the leaders of the Acolhua, the Otomí, and the Tepanec peoples, visit Tenayuca in order to pay their respects to Xolotl, who now sits not on the mountain but on a reed throne, the tepotzoicpalli. This scene also appears on fragment 1B (Fig. 1.2, bottom center). Like the graphic adumbration of Tenayuca's toponym, the two scenes of the fledgling royal court evince the immigrants' transition from nomadic to settled life and from tribe to polity.

By foreshadowing its toponym at the outset, the Xolotl's painters

allude to Tetzcoco, too. On the first page/map (Plate 1), a large mountain rises in the eastern Valley of Mexico, across the lakes (up, or east) from the Chichimec settlement at Tenayuca. The manuscript's subsequent maps (Plates 2–7 and 9 and 10) situate Tetzcoco's toponym in this very spot, and they frame the mountain component of the city's place sign with the same grouping of hills and mountains as here. Xolotl's son Nopaltzin stands on top of the mountain, and the two together approximate, and thereby substitute for, a place sign. The human figure and the landscape element function as visual and sociopolitical counterpoints to Xolotl and his cohort at Tenayuca, at the opposite side of the valley; this is a marker of the direct genealogical connection to Xolotl as well as an intimation of the later power struggles between the polities of the eastern and western halves of the valley. Such evocative juxtapositions are fundamental to Nahuatl-language metaphors, too.

On the first map (Plate 1), Nopaltzin visits an unnamed cave in the area between the lakes and the mountain from whose summit he has scouted the territory. Again the Chichimec explorer and the landscape fuse into a signlike whole that pinpoints a key site for, and augurs a critical event in, Acolhua history. The cave heralds Oztoticpac, the section of Tetzcoco later settled by Nopaltzin's son Tlohtzin (on the Tlohtzin Map) or grandson, Tlohtzin's son Quinatzin (on the Codex Xolotl)—and, in 1540, figured on the Oztoticpac Lands Map and contested in a New Spanish court by Quinatzin's great-great-great-grandson don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin. As in the case of the mountain, the cave represented here will in the subsequent maps become part of Oztoticpac's toponym (a cave crowned with a flag or banner), which the painters begin to display as such on the third page/map (Plate 3).

Tetzcoco's toponym (a jar on a stone superimposed on a mountain sign) first appears on the Xolotl's second page/map (Plate 2), where it seems to replace the mountain seen on the first one. Throughout the manuscript, the mountain and place sign that designate the city occur in tandem with the generic cave symbol or its successor, Oztoticpac's toponym. In the area directly above Tetzcoco's place sign, the seated figures of Xolotl and Nopaltzin flank an enclosed plot, a hunting preserve, which rests atop a hill. Although the Chichimecs have migrated into and begun to stake out their claims in the eastern valley, no one has yet settled at Tetzcoco, whose toponym stands isolated and uninhabited.

The Xolotl's second page/map (Plate 2) describes how Xolotl divided the lands in and around the Valley of Mexico among his descendants and followers, including the recently arrived Acolhua, Otomí, and Tepanec peoples. Xolotl's grandson Tlohtzin received Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc in the southeastern corner of the valley, near Chalco (center right of the page/map). Tlohtzin and his wife, Pachxochitzin, both named, inhabit a cave set on a twin-peaked mountain, the toponym of Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc (literally, Valley between Two Mountains–Cave beneath the Earth). A line connects the couple to their six children, the third of whom is Quinatzin.

The Quinatzin Map's top leaf (Plates 12 and 13) and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 24 and 25) also show Tlohtzin and Pachxochitzin at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, but accompanied by only one child, Quinatzin, the future founder of Tetzcoco. The Acolhua, led by Tzontecomatl, have taken up residence at Coatlichan. The location, although shown on this map (at top, center right) and on the following one as a cave sign without a toponym, as well as the accurate albeit abbreviated dynastic genealogy appended to the cave and the ethnic moniker of the Acolhua (a bent human arm and water), identify the city.[83] Coatlichan sits above and between Tetzcoco (to the left) and Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc (to the right), and together the three mark out the corners of a triangle, like the three stones of a Mesoamerican hearth.

The adult Quinatzin appears on the Codex Xolotl's third page/map (Plate 3), where the artists show him enthroned and set directly on top of the first full instance of Oztoticpac's toponym. The seated ruler and the place sign are on axis with Tetzcoco's toponym, positioned just above them, and as a group the three elements designate the founding of Tetzcoco. The toponyms of Huexotla and Coatlichan lie to the right (south) of Tetzcoco's. These three place signs dominate the top center of this map and all the following ones. The Codex Xolotl gives visual prominence to Acolhuacan's three core altepemeh, but at the same time subordinates Huexotla and Coatlichan to Tetzcoco: Tetzcoco's toponym is larger than either Huexotla's or Coatlichan's, and it is the only one of the three shown in conjunction with a mountain sign, one of the iconic markers of the concept and term "altepetl."

From the point at which Quinatzin settles at Oztoticpac and founds the city of Tetzcoco on the Xolotl's third map, Acolhuacan—in effect the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico—occupies the lion's share of the pictorial/cartographic ground, while its neighbors to the north, east, south, and west form a narrow chorographic or toponymic frame. The western Valley of Mexico makes up the second-largest compositional and geographic unit in the third through eighth maps, but, whereas in the first two maps it is equal in size to its eastern counterpart, now it is only one-half to one-third as big (cf. Plates 1 and 3). As in the case of Acolhuacan, key cities and their toponyms qualify space and time in the west. Tenayuca and its place sign visually command the western valley on pages/maps 1–4 (Plates 1–4); Azcapotzalco, however, will prove to be the pivotal western altepetl. Azcapotzalco's toponym, an anthill (in Nahuatl, *azcapotzalli*), first occurs on page/map 2 (Plate 2), at bottom center, imaged as an ant on a dotted circle. According to the Codex Xolotl's second page/map, Xolotl granted Azcapotzalco to the Tepanec people and their leader, Acolhua, at the same time that he assigned Coatlichan to the Acolhua people, led by Tzontecomatl, and Xaltocan, in the northern stretches of the Valley of Mexico, to the Otomí people and their leader, Chiconcuah.

From page/map 5 of the Xolotl (Plate 5), Azcapotzalco supersedes Tenayuca politically, and Azcapotzalco's toponym becomes larger and

more visible while Tenayuca's diminishes in size and then disappears altogether. The fifth page/map highlights two other polities in the western half of the Valley of Mexico that will figure prominently throughout the remainder of the manuscript, Tlatelolco (On the Mound/Hillock) and Tenochtitlan, both settled by the Mexica people. Tlatelolco's toponym, a jar and, in some instances, teeth (*tlantli* in Nahuatl) superimposed on a dotted mountain, and Tenochtitlan's, a prickly pear cactus set on a stone, first appear on the fourth page/map (Plate 4), when the Mexica make their entrance (at the lower-right corner) into the Valley of Mexico. Although the two Mexica polities bordered each other in actuality and would ultimately form one composite altepetl, their place signs stand apart.[84]

On page/map 4, at bottom center, Azcapotzalco's, Tlatelolco's, and Tenochtitlan's place signs are set in a row from left to right, all smaller than Tenayuca's, which can be seen above and slightly to the left of them. On page/map 5 (Plate 5), the sizes of the four toponyms have changed, marking a new political dispensation: Tenayuca's toponym has shrunk to insignificance as Azcapotzalco's, Tlatelolco's, and Tenochtitlan's have grown. Here, Tlatelolco's and Tenochtitlan's place signs border the lakes (to the east) and are no longer aligned horizontally with Azcapotzalco's, which remains near the bottom center of the map (to the west). The three cities in the western valley parallel and counterpoise Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan, the three Acolhua altepemeh highlighted in the eastern valley.

In the western as in the eastern valley, at the north (left) and south (right), the toponyms of allied or subsidiary cities and towns flank those of the three central polities. On the fifth page/map (Plate 5), the Xolotl's painters graphically delineate hierarchy in both halves of the Valley of Mexico by showing the lords of allied or subsidiary sites holding digging sticks, a marker of their subordination as well as tributary obligations to Tetzcoco and Azcapotzalco, the leading cities of the nascent Acolhua and Tepanec/Mexica alliances, respectively.[85]

Earlier in the manuscript, when the Chichimec migrants are still cultural apprentices, different symbolic exchanges manifest hierarchical economic and political relationships. On page/map 2 (Plate 2), the five Chichimec leaders juxtaposed to toponyms, at upper left, have bound rabbits set in front of them, and lines connect the rabbits to numbers and, ultimately, to Xolotl at Tenayuca: the five men and their communities must provide tribute in the form of game to the ruler. On page/map 3 (Plate 3) square plots of land (fields) run from left to right across the center of the page and from the center to the top along the right edge. Digging sticks qualify the three fields nearest the place sign of Oztoticpac and the enthroned figure of Quinatzin, at center left, as agricultural plots, and two Chichimec men watch over them, presumably acting out of duty to Quinatzin. The subsidiary lords on page/map 5 (Plate 5) brandish similar digging sticks, but the painters depict these men next to the toponyms of the cities and towns that they rule rather than near agricultural fields.

The spatial and temporal movement through the Codex Xolotl's first five pages/maps (Plates 1–5) traces the transformation of nomadic hunter-gatherers into urban city-dwellers. The painters figure this movement in the graphic expression, elaboration, and spatial ordering of toponyms. At the same time, the manuscript's first five pages/maps chart a development that culminates in the creation and mapping of two distinct geographic and political spheres, the Acolhua kingdom in the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, centered on Tetzcoco, and the Tepanec kingdom in the western, centered on Azcapotzalco. The regional state, or tlahtocayotl, requires networks of tribute and hierarchical political relations, which the painters image as a symbolic sequence that runs from wild game, to agricultural fields, to place signs and rulers who wield agricultural implements as insignia of subordinate rank. Whereas the first few pages of the manuscript plot out a fundamental antithesis between the barbarian Chichimecs to the northwest and the civilized Toltecs to the southeast, on page/map 5 (Plate 5) the opposed forces stand on equal cultural and political footing, as they both arose from and represent the resolution of the earlier interaction of opposites. Now ethnic affiliation or identity and the regional state rather than the civilizing process will motivate change, and the Xolotl's remaining five pages (Plates 6–10) will detail the consequences of a dynamic opposition—war—between the Acolhua east and the Tepanec west.

East and West

The Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) distinguishes between the east and the west more starkly than does the Codex Xolotl, and the distinction between the two geopolitical poles structures the composition more thoroughly in the Tlohtzin than elsewhere. Huexotla and Coatlichan played critical roles in the establishment of the Acolhua regional kingdom, and they appear on the Tlohtzin Map, to the right, or south, of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. Represented as mountain-caves, they, too, shelter dynastic founders (Plates 22–25). A toponym above and to the right of each mountain-cave specifies the location, and a banner with a hooked element further describes Coatlichan. A *huexotl*, or willow tree, names Huexotla (Place of the Willow Tree) (Plates 22 and 23). Here, a serpent (*coatl*) slithering out from the rocky opening of a cave rather than the more frequently occurring sign for house (in Nahuatl, *calli*, "house," but also *chantli*, "home") identifies Coatlichan (Serpent's Home) (Plates 24 and 25). From Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco to Huexotla and then from Huexotla to Coatlichan, each mountain-cave sits a little lower, that is, farther south and west, on the page than the one that precedes it (Plate 18).

Together with Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Huexotla and Coatlichan form the heart of Acolhuacan, and as a group they occupy the Tlohtzin's geographic core. The composition points to the historical ties and typological similarity among the three cities. The six mountain-caves pictured on

the manuscript—all in the eastern valley—repeat the same basic design, and each refers to genealogy or origins (Plate 18). Five of the six have toponyms. Although the two northernmost, Tzinacanoztoc and Cuauhyacac, and the unnamed southernmost of the six sites witnessed settlement or birth events, they are described formally as places, self-contained both spatially and temporally, but not necessarily as urban polities. In contrast, the mountain-caves that locate and name the three Acolhua altepemeh take root in space and exist through time: in each instance, the multigenerational, dynastic genealogy extends beyond the physical confines of the womblike cave (Plates 21–25).

The Tlohtzin's painter juxtaposes the three Acolhua cities in the eastern valley to the only three localities in the western valley that the work records: from north to south, Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco to Azcapotzalco, Huexotla to Tenochtitlan, and Coatlichan to Culhuacan, each a city and ethnic capital in its own right. Only toponyms represent the western altepemeh: the anthill of Azcapotzalco (Plate 21, bottom right); the stone and prickly pear cactus of Tenochtitlan (Plate 23, bottom left); and the curved mountain of Culhuacan (Plate 25, bottom center). In addition, seated, named rulers accompanied by anonymous female consorts appear at Tenochtitlan (Huitzilihuitl, the second Mexica tlahtoani) and also at Culhuacan (Coxcox). The western cities served as regional capitals: from earliest to latest, Culhuacan of the vestigial, post-Tollan, Toltec state; then Azcapotzalco of the Tepanec Confederation; and last, Tenochtitlan of the Triple Alliance. Each in turn proclaimed itself to be an heir and successor to Tollan and Toltec power.

The three western polities mirror the three eastern ones. Among the three pairs, two had close if not always amicable ties. Coatlichan and Culhuacan shared a dynasty, and Tetzcoco and Azcapotzalco were fierce rivals, the former dominating the eastern and the latter the western Valley of Mexico.[86] In 1417–1418 Azcapotzalco defeated Tetzcoco, and the Tepanec ruler Tezozomoc had the Acolhua tlahtoani, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, Nezahualcoyotl's father, ambushed and killed. At this time, Tenochtitlan and Culhuacan both were subordinate to and served Azcapotzalco. In the Tlohtzin Map the three western cities form a military bloc hostile to the Acolhua cities to the east, and the two blocs together make up a paired opposition. Both geopolitical blocs are tripartite and call to mind the tenamaztin, the three stones of creation and of the Mesoamerican hearth that order the macrocosm of the universe and the microcosm of the house. Here the two sets of named altepemeh define space, and, because of the fundamental difference between them, they generate *tonalli*, or "soul force," in the form of war.[87]

The Heart of Empire

The Quinatzin Map's central leaf (Plates 14 and 15) shows, in elevation and plan, Nezahualcoyotl's palace in Tetzcoco, which the painter

has framed with place signs. From the time of Motolinía, who saw and described a related document, interpreters have tried to plot out the Acolhua kingdom's geography and political hierarchy by means of the toponyms that encircle the palace and the identity of the fourteen men seated in its courtyard.[88] Likewise, beginning with Alva Ixtlilxochitl in the early seventeenth century, historians have attempted to reconstruct the palace's layout and buildings on the basis of this diagram.[89] While the panel charts Acolhuacan, the Acolhua state is here more a sociocultural construct than a geographic entity: political hierarchy and sacred geometry inform the selection and disposition of the cities and towns.[90] The social diagram, as George Kubler observed, takes precedence over the physical plan.[91] The palace, too, like the map, is more symbol and metaphor than architectural plan or material fabric.[92]

The place signs that surround the palace survive at the left, top, and right sides, but severe abrasion has erased them along the bottom (Plates 14 and 15). The sign directly above the throne room, along the top end of the palace, at the center, Tetzcoco's, is visually the most prominent, and its unique form, pictorial style, and scale suggest that it should be understood as different from the others. Two of the alphabetic glosses in the palace's courtyard each mention a set of thirteen altepemeh (Plates 14 and 15, center).[93] Assuming bilateral symmetry in the composition, and with the exception of Tetzcoco's place sign, the rows of toponyms at top and bottom must originally have had six each, of which five survive along the top and none along the bottom. The columns of place names at right and left, excluding those in the corners, had seven each; all seven remain at the right, but only six at the left. The total number of toponyms, excluding Tetzcoco's, would thus come to twenty-six, with thirteen along the right half and thirteen along the left half of the building, in accord with the explanatory annotations. Twenty-six does not correspond to any of the counts of Tetzcoco's subjects and tributaries in the ethnohistorical sources: Motolinía reports a total of thirty; Torquemada, twenty-nine; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, twenty-eight; and don Hernando Pimentel (Nezahualcoyotzin), twenty-five (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2).[94] The numbers 13 and 26, or two times 13, evoke the 260–day ritual calendar so central to Mesoamerican life, suggesting that the painter may have reconfigured geography and political structure as sacred time.

The small toponyms to either side of Tetzcoco's are of two types, neither one of which resembles it. One group, at the left, is made up of pictorially generic signs, that is, common nouns, and the other of pictorially specific signs, proper nouns, seen mostly at the right; the former identify a type of place; the latter name particular places. Don Hernando Pimentel as well as Motolinía, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, and Torquemada all mention a bipartite division of or tributary order for Acolhuacan (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2).[95] According to Motolinía, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, and Torquemada, each of the two groups supplied the royal palace in Tetzcoco with goods and services during half the year.[96]

TABLE 2.1. The Southern Half of Acolhuacan

Anales de Cuauhtitlan (15)[1]	Motolinía, *Memoriales* (14)	Pimentel, *Memorial* (10 of 16)[2]	Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* (14)	Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (14)	Quinatzin Map (10 of the original 13)[3]	Quinatzin Map (14 rulers)[4]
Acolman	Acolman	Aculma	Acolman	Acolman	Acolman	Acolman
				Chalco		
Chiauhtla de Tetzcoco	Chiyaputla		Chiautla	Chiautla	Chiautlan	Chiuahtla
Chimalhuacan	Chimalhuacan	Chimalhuacan	Chimalhuacan	Chimalhuacan	Chimalhuacan	Chimalhuacan
Chiuhcnauhtlan	Chiuinahutla	Chiconauhtla	Chiautla (Chiucnauhtlan?)	Chicuhnautla	Chiucnauhtlan	Chiucnauhtlan
			Cohuatepec	Coatepec		
Cohuatlychan	Coualtlichan	Coatlichan	Cohuatlichan	Coatlichan	Coatlichan	Coatlichan
Cuauhchinanco	Quauhchinanco					Cuauhchinanco
Huexotla	Vehxutla	Huexutla	Huexotla	Huexotla	Huexotla	Huexotla
			Iztapalocan	Iztapalocan		
Otompan	Otompan					Otompan
Pantlan						
		Papalotlan	Papalotlan	Papalotla	Papalotlan	
	Pauatla					
Tepechpan	Tepechpan	Tepechpa	Tepechpan	Tepechpan	Tepechpan	Tepechpan
Tepetlaoztoc			Tepetlaoztoc	Tepetlaoztoc	Tepetlaoztoc	Tepetlaoztoc
Teotihuacan	Teotihuacan	Teutivuacan				Teotihuacan
Toçoyocan de Tetzcoco	Teconyucan	Teçayuca	Tezonyucan	Teyoyocan	Tezoyocan	Tezoyoca
			Tetzcuco			
Tollantzinco	Tollancinco					Tollantzinco
			Xaltocan	Xaltocan		
Xicotepec	Xicotepec	Xicotepec				Xicotepec

[1] Cities and towns subject to Tetzcoco according to the ethnohistorical sources and the right half of Quinatzin Map, leaf 2. Cities and towns listed in alphabetical order, and the spelling given in the sources has been retained.
[2] The ten cities and towns from the Pimentel *Memorial*'s list of sixteen that paid tribute to Tetzcoco that appear among the other lists of subject cities and towns associated with the southern half of Acolhuacan.
[3] Toponyms recorded around the right (southern) half of the palace, Quinatzin Map, leaf 2.
[4] Cities and towns whose rulers form part of the royal council depicted in the courtyard of the palace, Quinatzin Map, leaf 2.

In Motolinía's account, the earliest (almost exactly contemporary with the Quinatzin), one group (the southern half of Alcohuacan) consists of fourteen altepemeh subject to Tetzcoco and ruled by tlahtoqueh married to daughters of Nezahualcoyotl. Motolinía characterizes the other group (the northern half) as sixteen cities and towns also subject to the Acolhua capital, but ruled by "mayores y principales" (elders and nobles), not tlahtoqueh, in which the Tetzcocan ruler held land that renteros worked for him.

TABLE 2.2. The Northern Half of Acolhuacan

Anales de Cuauhtitlan (15)[1]	Motolinía, *Memoriales* (16)	Pimentel, *Memorial* (7 of 9)[2]	Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana* (15)	Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (14)	*Quinatzin Map* (8 of the original 13)[3]
Achichillacachyocan	Achichitlacachyocan		Achichillacachocan		
Ahuatepec	Auatepec	Ahuatepec	Ahuatepec	Ahuatepec	Ahuatepec
Axapochco	Axapuchco	Açapuchcho	Axapucho	Axapochco	Axapochco
Aztaquemecan	Azcaymeca		Aztaquemecan	Aztaquemecan	Aztaquemecan
	Cempuallan		Cempohualan	Zempoalan	
Coatepec	Couatepec	Coatepec			
	Couatlacinco	Cuauhtlantzinco	Quauhtlatzinco	Quauhtlatzinco	Cuauhtlatzinco
Coyohuac	Coyoac		Coyoac	Coyoac	Coyoac
Iztapallocan		Iztapaluca			
		Otumba	Otumpa	Otompan	Otompan
Oztoticpac	Oztoticpac		Oztoticpac	Oztoticpac	
				Quatlaeca	
Oztotl, Tlatlauyan (read as 1)	Oztotltlatlahucan		Oztotlatlauhcan	Quatlatlauhcan	
Papallotla de Tetzcoco	Papalotla				
			Teotihuacan	Teotihuacan	Teotihuacan
Tepepulco	Tepepulco	Tepeapulco	Tepepulco	Tepepolco	Tepepolco
Tetliztacan			Tetliztacan		
Tiçayucan	Tiçayuca		Tizayucan	Tizayocan	
Tlallan, Apan (read as 1)	Tlauanapa		Tlalanappan	Tlalanapan	
Xaltocan	Xaltocan				
	Yeztapacoca				

[1] Cities and towns subject to Tetzcoco according to the ethnohistorical sources and the left half of Quinatzin Map, leaf 2. Cities and towns listed in alphabetical order, and the spelling given in the sources has been retained.
[2] The seven cities and towns from the Pimentel *Memorial*'s list of nine that supported the royal palace in Tetzcoco that appear among the other lists of subject cities and towns associated with the northern half of Acolhuacan.
[3] Toponyms recorded around the left (northern) half of the palace, Quinatzin Map, leaf 2.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl includes twenty-eight cities and towns in his version, fourteen in each group. According to the mestizo historian, one group consists of the tributaries located near the royal court ("cerca de la corte") (the southern half) and the other of those "de la campiña" (the northern half), or "of the countryside."[97] The near group, which approximately parallels Motolinía's first set (the fourteen altepemeh with tlahtoqueh), does include the cities and towns closest to Tetzcoco and within the Valley of Mexico (and the modern state of Mexico). Motolinía, however, places those from his lists farthest north and east of

the Acolhua capital in his first, or tlahtoqueh, group, too: Tollantzinco, Cuauhchinanco, and Xicotepec, now in the modern states of Hidalgo and Puebla (in the Sierra Norte de Puebla). Alva Ixtlilxochitl mentions that these three cities were required to maintain the royal forests and gardens, not the palace, and that their rulers were members of the Acolhua royal council.[98] The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* includes them in its description of "Tetzcoco and the whole kingdom [*señorío*] of Neçahualcoyotzin and Neçahualpiltzintli," which closely resembles Motolinía's *Memorial tezcocano*, but without any reference to tribute.[99] Only Motolinía identifies Cuauhchinanco, Tollantzinco, and Xicotepec among the cities that support the royal palace. Alva Ixtlilxochitl's campiña tributaries, mostly situated in the northeast corner of the modern state of Mexico and in the state of Hidalgo, are the equivalent of Motolinía's rentero group, and these two correspond in part to the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*'s much more extensive register of Triple Alliance tributaries.[100]

Torquemada records twenty-nine tributaries, fourteen in one set that includes Tetzcoco (Table 2.1), and fifteen in the other (Table 2.2); he claims as his source a document "verified" ("autorizada") by one of Nezahualcoyotl's grandsons, don Antonio Pimentel, perhaps the don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin of the Oztoticpac Lands Map.[101] Without Tetzcoco, Torquemada's total number of tributaries would equal Alva Ixtlilxochitl's, although the numbers in the individual sets would differ from one author to the other. The cities and towns included in Torquemada's two groups and the attribution to one group or another follow the same patterns as the other lists. Indeed, Torquemada's tribute register overlaps considerably with those of Motolinía and Alva Ixtlilxochitl: eleven among the campiña altepemeh and eight of the so-called near ones appear in all three of the lists; and Ixtlilxochitl's and Torquemada's lists agree on thirteen of the campiña set and thirteen of the near set. Although the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* does not explicitly report on economic arrangements within Acolhuacan itself, its catalogues of the señorío of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli and of the cities and towns that paid tribute to Tetzcoco as a Triple Alliance capital and Motolinía's two sets of tributaries match almost perfectly. The latter's tlahtoqueh group and the former's señorío set agree on thirteen out of fifteen altepemeh (Table 2.1), and the Franciscan's rentero group of sixteen and the first fifteen of the *Anales*' tributary list also agree in thirteen cases (Table 2.2).

Don Hernando Pimentel's sets of nine tributaries that maintained the palace and sixteen that paid tribute to the city of Tetzcoco correlate somewhat with the other four accounts. The palace's nine tributaries are for the most part altepemeh that appear in the campiña or rentero groups (Table 2.2).[102] Of the nine, five, but not always the same five, overlap with each of the campiña and related lists, while three of the nine—Ahuatepec, Axapochco, and Tepeapulco—occur in all of them. The group of sixteen altepemeh that support the city overlaps with the near, or tlah-

toqueh, tributaries (Table 2.1). Of the sixteen, ten appear in Motolinía's list, eight in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's, seven in Torquemada's, and nine in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*'s. Seven of the sixteen—Acolman, Chimalhuacan, Chiucnauhtlan, Coatlichan, Huexotla, Tepechpan, and Tezoyocan—appear in all the accounts.

The legible toponyms and their distribution on the Quinatzin panel correlate with the two-part schema described in most of the ethnohistorical accounts (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2). Of the nineteen preserved toponyms around the palace, and excluding Tetzcoco's, five of the eight at the left—two pictorially specific and six generic—correspond with all five campiña or equivalent lists (Table 2.2), and seven of ten at the right—all pictorially specific—correspond with all five sets of the tlahtoqueh, or near cities (Table 2.1). The generic place signs along the left side of the palace consist of a simplified mountain pierced at its peak by a digging stick and below the mountain a rectangle that serves as shorthand for an agricultural field (Plates 14 and 15, left edge). Alphabetic notations in the fields, which may postdate the painting, name the places. In this form the signs describe only a type of property: Motolinía explains that the digging sticks, which appeared on the document he used, too, indicate the places where the rulers of Tetzcoco owned tracts of land worked by renteros.[103] In the Codex Xolotl (Plate 3), the implement denotes agriculture, tribute, and political subordination, but here the meaning is more specific and concrete. On the mountain signs that generally denote a place, especially an altepetl, the painter substitutes the digging stick, a marker of land as property, for a toponym.[104] Such a transposition in effect qualifies space as material object and possession rather than place or polity. Furthermore, Nezahualcoyotl's and Nezahualpilli's personal name signs appear among these generic place markers, between the third and fourth and the fourth and fifth, respectively, and Aubin considers the names proof that the places here specified formed part of the rulers' personal property.[105] The sites in question are all towns in the northern and northeastern reaches of Acolhuacan, clustered for the most part in the historically Otomí area around Otompan.[106]

Near the leaf's upper-left-hand corner, fragments of an alphabetic gloss mention eleven cities affiliated with a law court (Plates 14 and 15).[107] The two place signs directly above the gloss and nine of the ten around the right half of the palace name the cities. These signs are specific: toponyms, in some cases affixed to a mountain sign (not a naturalistic image, as in the case of Tetzcoco's toponym). Here, the alphabetic annotations are redundant. Even the information in the explanatory gloss is conveyed pictorially, as red lines join the eleven place signs.

The red lines also divide the signs into two unequal groups. The first group consists of the two toponyms to the left of Tetzcoco's: a red line that begins near the hall immediately to the left of the throne room, the *nauhpohuallahtolliocan* (place where there is talking [every] eighty [days]), a law court and council chamber, joins the two together.[108] From

left to right, these toponyms represent Teotihuacan and Otompan, and their alphabetic glosses read "eotiuacâ tlahtoloyâ" (Teotihuacan council place) and "tlahtoloyâ" ([Otompan] council place).[109] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ethnohistories identify these cities as important administrative centers as well as the locations of law courts subsidiary to the royal law court in Tetzcoco, one for nobles, at Teotihuacan, and the other for plebeians, at Otompan.[110]

The second, larger, group of place signs includes the three to the right of Tetzcoco's and seven of the eight preserved along the right side of the palace. A red line that begins under the toponym just to the right of Tetzcoco's, Huexotla's, joins all nine. Along the top, after Huexotla and moving clockwise, the signs represent Coatlichan and, in the corner, Chimalhuacan. From the top to the bottom of the palace's right flank, they read Tepetlaoztoc, Chiauhtla, followed by an indecipherable toponym, then Acolman, Tepechpan, and Chiucnauhtlan. After Chiucnauhtlan, the last of the cities connected by the red line, the painter continues with Papalotlan's toponym, below which lies the palace's bottom wing, only partially preserved.

The toponyms correlate with the male figures in the palace's courtyard, whose sequence they seem to follow (see Table 2.1). These men are the rulers of fourteen altepemeh subject to Tetzcoco, whom, according to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualcoyotl elevated or restored to power in about 1431, shortly after the Tepanec War.[111] Just as the six ethnic representatives in the first leaf figure Tetzcoco's demography, spatial divisions, and toponymy, these fourteen rulers personify Acolhuacan's political organization and core territories; in both instances, the Acolhua tlahtoqueh visibly preside over and command the state and the men who embody it. Dressed in cotton cloaks and loincloths, the men sit on small, square-shaped reed mats, and as they, too, are tlahtoqueh, each one speaks two speech scrolls. Name signs—another indication of elevated rank—identify them, and glosses transliterate the iconic signs into the Roman alphabet.[112] Although alphabetic glosses associate each man with an altepetl, no iconic-script toponyms here verify the associations. Describing the related document that he used, Motolinía clearly states that both name and place signs identified the figures of the rulers, but the chronicler himself reports only the altepemeh names.[113]

Across the top, from the left, the four rulers in the courtyard are each more or less under their cities' toponyms, and the sequences of rulers and toponyms move clockwise (and counterclockwise) in tandem. After the ruler of Tezoyocan, the fourth and last down in the right-hand column, and beginning with Acolman, the correlation becomes more complicated. (Given the sequence of rulers to this point, the now-illegible sign, the fourth down in the right-hand column of toponyms around the palace, should be Tezoyucan's.) Acolman, Tepechpan, and Chiucnauhtlan, the fifth, sixth, and seventh toponyms from the top in the column of place names at the right, are matched by rulers who appear at the oppo-

site side of the courtyard in the same order, but in a counterclockwise direction: the rulers of Acolman, Tepechpan, and Chiucnauhtlan, second, third, and fourth down in the column at the left. After Chiucnauhtlan the order breaks down: Papalotlan is next in the clockwise sequence of toponyms at right, but the ruler of Tollantzinco is next in the counterclockwise list of rulers at left. After Papalotlan, the toponyms are lost.

Following the ruler of Tollantzinco, counterclockwise, come the lords of Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec. If the three cities originally formed part of the register of tributaries that frames the palace, their toponyms are now missing. Motolinía includes all three in his list of Tetzcoco's subject altepemeh with tlahtoqueh, and the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* in its record of those that form part of the señorío. Alva Ixtlilxochitl excludes them from his two complementary sets of the tributaries that directly support the palace with service and raw materials, but he records that, after his return to power, Nezahualcoyotl restored the tlahtoqueh of Cuauhchinanco, Tollantzinco, and Xicotepec, among others, to office and that these men (and their descendants presumably) became members of the Acolhua royal council.[114] The men shown in the palace's courtyard and the toponyms set around the building thus represent two different orders of subordination to Tetzcoco, one primarily but not exclusively political and the other primarily but not exclusively economic and, to a lesser degree, geographic.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl's division of Acolhuacan into two loosely geographic halves (near the royal court and in the countryside) defined by their material obligations and relative proximity to the palace rather than participation in the royal council explains the selection and disposition of the toponyms. Although the Quinatzin's second panel plots Acolhuacan's political and tribute economy more than its physical geography, the order of one row of toponyms is to a certain degree geographic. Excluding the place signs in the two corners (undeciphered at left and Chimalhuacan at right), the top, visually most important, row contains Teotihuacan, Otompan, Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan, from left to right. Tetzcoco occupies the center, flanked at left by Teotihuacan and Otompan, both to the northeast, and at right by Huexotla and Coatlichan, both to the southwest. Here, the northeast to southwest sequence of the five cities is approximate because Otompan is to the northeast not the southwest of Teotihuacan. Teotihuacan and Otompan are key administrative and judicial centers, as the alphabetic annotations and the line that connects them to one of the royal law courts in Tetzcoco make clear. Huexotla and Coatlichan, on the other hand, both served as Acolhua capitals before Tetzcoco, a historical (and genealogical) connection imaged in the Codex Xolotl and the Tlohtzin Map. Tetzcoco and the four other Acolhua cities represent the history and structure of Acolhuacan and manifest the Mesoamerican sacred cosmogram of the center and the four cardinal directions.

The Acolhuacan of the Quinatzin's second leaf (Plates 14 and 15) cor-

responds in kind to the depictions of the Chichimec migration and of the city of Tetzcoco in the first (Plates 12 and 13): symbol more than itinerary or catalogue. Comparison to the related ethnohistorical sources, especially Motolinía's *Memorial tezcocano*, suggests that the painter selected and adapted his or her material in order to chart the Acolhua kingdom allegorically. Although accurate in its claims, and wide in its scope, the map of Acolhuacan subordinates cartographic accuracy and detail to sociocultural ideal. As imaged, the state is at one and the same time a concrete example of economic and political hierarchy and an allusion to sacred time and sacred space; both justify the Tetzcocan royal family's status, rights, and privileges, past and present.

From the second to the third leaf, the Quinatzin Map shifts its geographic focus to the western Valley of Mexico and its political-historical focus to the Tepanec Confederation and its successor, the Triple Alliance. Near the top of the leaf (Plates 16 and 17), a red line runs from one end of the paper to the other. The line sets off the top quarter of the sheet into one long, self-contained row, the largest of twelve variously sized rectangular segments formed by the grid of red lines that structures the composition of the leaf as a whole. A series of seven toponyms begins at the left end and occupies three-fourths of the row. From left to right, the place signs name Xochimilco, Culhuacan, Coyoacan, Cuauhtitlan, Toltitlan, Tenayuca, and Azcapotzalco. The sequence moves from the southeast (Xochimilco) to the northwest (Azcapotzalco) of the western half of the Valley of Mexico. The place signs' orientation and direction reverse the geographic order—north to south from left to right—of the core Acolhua cities of the eastern valley, whose toponyms border Nezahualcoyotl's palace along the top of the second leaf (Plates 14 and 15). With the exception of Toltec Culhuacan, these are ethnically Tepanec cities, and all seven were part of the Tepanec Confederation led by Azcapotzalco, the most powerful altepetl in the western valley in the period around 1400.[115] In 1417–1418, in an effort to control the entire Valley of Mexico, Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco had his eastern counterpart and rival, the Acolhua tlahtoani Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, deposed and murdered and Ixtlilxochitl's son and successor, Nezahualcoyotl, exiled from his capital, Tetzcoco, and his throne. Tezozomoc then attempted to rein in the Mexica of Tenochtitlan, the most truculent and ambitious of the mercenaries and vassals who served him.

A burning, collapsing temple qualifies each of the seven toponyms, denoting the military defeat of the city represented by the place sign. In addition to the temple, a shield crossed by a spear hovers just above the rightmost of the seven toponyms, Azcapotzalco's. Symbols of war, the shield and spear specify in this instance the enemy, Azcapotzalco, against whom the war in question was waged. A large, triangular object tied around with rope—traces of the twisted cord appear just below the shield at either side—sits behind the shield and spear. Although the state of preservation in this section of the leaf is poor, comparison to the mor-

tuary bundle in the top leaf indicates that the fragmentary object here is a bundled corpse, too. Given the toponym juxtaposed to the bundle, this should be Maxtla, the usurper who succeeded Tezozomoc. Nezahualcoyotl of Tetzcoco and his uncle and ally Itzcoatl, the Mexica tlahtoani, defeated Maxtla in the so-called Tepanec War of 1427–1428, thus ending Azcapotzalco's hegemony in the Valley of Mexico and opening the way for Nezahualcoyotl's return to power.

The Tepanec War episode also touches on the founding of the Triple Alliance tribute empire, the war's most far-reaching legacy. Two of its three members, Tetzcoco and Tenochtitlan, fought together against Maxtla, but the Triple Alliance as such came into being only after the conquest of Azcapotzalco, when the Tepanec city of Tlacopan joined forces with the two victorious altepemeh.

To the right of Azcapotzalco's place sign and Maxtla's corpse bundle, the painter images the toponyms and the rulers of Tetzcoco's two partners, Tenochtitlan and Tlacopan. The two men sit on thrones facing and speaking to each other. Now illegible signs once named them: almost certainly Nezahualcoyotl's contemporaries and allies, Totoquihuatzin of Tlacopan at left and Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan at right.[116] Centered beneath each of the enthroned rulers is his city's place sign, the teeth (tlantli), jar (comitl), and banner (pantli) of Tlacopan at left and the stone (tetl) and prickly pear cactus (nochtli) of Tenochtitlan at right. An iconic-script number, 115, sits between the two toponyms, and a series of four consecutive year signs, between the two rulers. From left to right the year signs read Thirteen Reed (1427), One Flint Knife (1428), Two House (1429), and Three Rabbit (1430), the four years leading up to Four Reed (1431), the pivotal moment in Acolhua history inscribed at the center of Nezahualcoyotl's palace on the manuscript's central leaf. The number 115 quantifies the distance between two points in time, either the first year cited, 1427, or the last one, 1430, and the present of the painting, 1542 or 1545.

Scholars have debated whether anything like the entity now known as the Aztec Empire—the Triple Alliance of Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan—even existed. Noting the "reconfiguration" or reinterpretation of pre-Conquest traditions in light of colonial necessities, Susan Gillespie, like Charles Gibson before her, has questioned the historicity of the Aztec Triple Alliance "*as it appears in the postconquest historical traditions*" (original emphasis).[117] Arguing for a symbolic approach, Gillespie notes that what is significant is the fact that Mesoamerican cultures and historical traditions pattern political power in groupings of three.[118]

But here and in one other instance (see below), the Quinatzin Map refers specifically to an association among the three cities, which, to my knowledge, is the earliest extant pictorial reference to a "Triple Alliance." Furthermore, Patrick Lesbre has shown that even the earliest post-Conquest sources, for example, the letters of Cortés, consistently record that the rulers of Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan fought together against the Spanish and their allies to the bitter end, an indication of the

importance of the bond among these three altepemeh.[119] If the tripartite structure mimics and alludes to the three stones of creation or the three vertical levels of being (underworld, earth, sky) in Mesoamerican cosmologies, the desire to configure the state accordingly becomes evident: political order replicates cosmic order.

Although Tetzcoco's toponym does not appear with Tlacopan's and Tenochtitlan's, the sequential connection between Three Rabbit on the third leaf and Four Reed on the second references the Acolhua state and its capital and rulers, especially Nezahualcoyotl. The footprint path that ends at the Four Reed year sign, at the center of the palace's courtyard, enters the building from the lower right. Given the losses along the bottom edge of the second leaf and the top edge of the third, it is now impossible to see where the path originated. If it started in the upper-right-hand corner of the third leaf, near the rulers and place signs of Tlacopan and Tenochtitlan, the traveled itinerary would parallel the recorded time sequence.[120]

Even if only intimated, this movement across space and time ties the third to the second section of the manuscript, and it signals a causal relationship between the Tepanec War and the Triple Alliance and Nezahualcoyotl's restoration to his rightful throne and capital. The painter and the composition tell the truth about the past and at the same time refigure the order of cause and effect. The defeat of Azcapotzalco and the advent of the Triple Alliance depend on Acolhuacan, which the manuscript positions at the center of space and time. Moreover, if the footprint path moved from the tlahtoqueh of Tlacopan and Tenochtitlan to the courtyard of the palace, it would intimate that the two men either belong among or in rank are on a par with the members of Tetzcoco's royal council, marking them as politically subordinate to Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli.

Punctuated by Maxtla's mortuary bundle and the figures of Totoquihuatzin and Itzcoatl, the epitome of the Tepanec War and its aftermath (Plates 16 and 17, top) balances the embodied ethnic map of Tetzcoco that unfolds around Quinatzin's mortuary bundle, near the bottom of the manuscript's top leaf (Plates 12 and 13, bottom). These two politically and spatially distinct cartographic-historical episodes, one early and urban and the other late and imperial, frame the central panel's diagrams of Acolhuacan and Tetzcoco's royal palace (Plates 14 and 15). At top, the arrival of the ancestors and the founding of the altepetl define the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, while below, the Tepanec War and the end of Azcapotzalco's hegemony chart the western half. But, because the defeat of Maxtla and his allies brought about Nezahualcoyotl's reign, the demise of Tepanec power connotes the rebirth of Tetzcoco, the altepetl, and Acolhuacan, the regional state. The west mirrors the east: Acolhuacan rises from the defeat of Azcapotzalco and the ashes of its ruler, Maxtla, just as Tetzcoco rose from the abandonment of Chichimec barbarism and the ashes of Quinatzin, whose cremation makes

manifest the Chichimecs' assimilation of Toltec civilization. Between east and west, Nezahualcoyotl's palace and the Acolhua state operate as the fulcrum of space and time, displacing Tenochtitlan, the altepetl physically at the center of the Valley of Mexico and politically and militarily at the heart of the Triple Alliance. Political propaganda and poetic metaphor inflect the map of Acolhuacan: Acolhua history and the Acolhua state here encompass the Tepanec Confederation and the Triple Alliance, and the painter configures Tetzcoco as both analogue and index of sacred space and time.

The Quinatzin Map anchors space and time in an idealized map of Acolhuacan and Nezahualcoyotl's palace in Tetzcoco. Acolhuacan, which the manuscript's second leaf casts as the archetype of political and geographic order, connects Quinatzin the great-grandfather to his great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl. The ancestor founded Tetzcoco and, as a consequence, Acolhuacan, the Acolhua regional state; the descendant, by defeating Maxtla, founded the Acolhua altepetl and its tlahtocayotl anew. The map of Acolhuacan makes clear the genealogical tie and the historical parallel, while the genealogy and the history explicate and justify the map.

Mapping the Cosmos

"Invisible to the Spaniards, another time was concealed in running water, inside mountains, in the depths of forests . . . They were the accesses linking the ever-present time of the creations and the gods to that of humans, the passages that divine powers, men and shamans could take."[121] The map of Acolhuacan, the plan of Nezahualcoyotl's palace in Tetzcoco, and the system of the tribute that supports them on the Quinatzin Map's second leaf (Plates 14 and 15) recall the *tonalpohualli*, the 260-day ritual calendar, and the quincunx layout of the center and the four cardinal directions of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica's sacred cosmogram, which today is best exemplified in the first page of the Codex Féjéváry-Mayer (Fig. 1.14).[122] The Codex Mendoza's map of Tenochtitlan at the time of its founding, on folio 2 recto (Fig. 1.6), likewise epitomizes and recasts the Mexica altepetl and its history as the cosmogram. The Mendoza and the Quinatzin painters may have used a model similar to the Féjéváry-Mayer, or an earlier state or city map based on such a model. In both the Quinatzin and the Mendoza, the formal allusion to sacred space and time endows the geographic and political spaces that they map with cosmic powers, and the altepetl itself becomes the impetus for, and the force of, creation.[123] As Alain Musset has observed: "Mesoamerican space always oscillates between the real and the imaginary, in a world where metaphor appears as a queen with a thousand subtle turns, where the boundaries between space and time no longer have force, and where everything that exists teems with a divine and mysterious life."[124]

The Mendoza artist encloses the map of the altepetl in time, framing it with fifty-one year signs laid out in a chronological sequence (Fig. 1.6).[125] Beginning at upper left with a year Two House, the founding date of Tenochtitlan, the cycle moves counterclockwise and ends fifty-one years later, at top center, with Thirteen Reed. One Flint Knife, the name of the year in which the Mexica set out from their origin place/homeland, Aztlan, as well as the one in which, fifty-one years after the founding of Tenochtitlan, the first Mexica tlahtoani, Acamapichtli, was enthroned (an event depicted on the Mendoza's next page, folio 2 verso) precedes Two House and follows Thirteen Reed. One Flint Knife years are key turning points in Mexica—and Acolhua—history and mark auspicious beginnings or births, including that of the Mexicas' patron deity, Huitzilopochtli, whose calendric name is One Flint Knife.[126]

Although not inscribed on folio 2 recto of the Codex Mendoza, One Flint Knife and the events to which it gave, or will give, rise, are felt both in their absence—the year sign, the departure from Aztlan, the enthronement of Acamapichtli, and the creation of the Aztec Empire—and in their visible consequences—the actual founding and spatial ordering of Tenochtitlan. The god's, Huitzilopochtli's, presence is felt, too, in part through the evocation of the year One Flint Knife, and in part through the image of the eagle seated on a cactus growing out of a rock that lies at the heart of the quadripartite city plan and, with it, forms a quincunx.[127] This image not only comprises Tenochtitlan's toponym—the stone and the cactus—and thereby names and brings into being the city, but it also renders visible the prophecy and command given by the god to his people: to continue their migration until they saw this very sight and, at the place where they saw it, to found their city.

In contrast to his Mexica counterpart, the Quinatzin artist grounds Tetzcoco and its royal palace, surrounding them with twenty-six toponyms, a map of Acolhuacan (Plates 14 and 15). The plan of the palace occupies the center of the space thus mapped, and at the heart of the palace, the painter sets two flaming braziers and a Four Reed (1431) year sign. The year sign dates Nezahualcoyotl's return to his throne and his city, the catalyst, like the fires in the braziers, for a re-creation of the altepetl and tlahtocayotl. The human agent and his actions give new life to the Acolhua state, and they here substitute for but at the same time evoke Xiuhtecuhtli, the god at the heart of the Codex Féjéváry-Mayer's sacred cosmogram (Fig. 1.14), just as Huitzilopochtli's prophecy and the iconic-script toponym that locate and name the Mexica altepetl stand in for the creator deity in the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 1.6). In spite of its ostensible substitution of the human ruler and his achievements for the Féjérváry-Mayer's god and the human and divine sacrifice that sustains the creator deity and his creation, the Quinatzin Map alludes to the pre-Hispanic divine by means of visual and formal analogies and metaphors, both spatial and temporal. The Tlohtzin Map and the Codex Xolotl intimate a forbidden cosmic order, too, as they map Acolhua space and time.

In the Palace of Nezahualcoyotl

The Quinatzin Map shows Nezahualcoyotl's palace—here, one section of the royal complex stands in as an architectural metonym for the whole—in a composite view, in elevation and plan (Plates 14 and 15). The palace has four wings, one at each side of the sheet, and each one consists either of indigenous-style, frontal-elevation, post-and-lintel buildings or porticoes, all opening onto the central courtyard. Each wing has a different spatial orientation and ground line, and, like the Féjéváry-Mayer's sacred cosmogram, the two-dimensional building opens out into the four cardinal directions, with east at top. Like the map of the state, the plan of the palace rationally arranges space—and the social and political relationships that it mediates. In so doing, it mimics the cosmic order established by the gods at the time of creation and distilled into the four-dimensional structure of the ritual calendar.

The top, or eastern, wing of the palace includes a large pavilion, the throne room, flanked by smaller structures, two at right and one at left (Plates 14 and 15, top, and Fig. 2.2). This architectural configuration can be read as a spatially truncated—the Acolhua artist does not employ the Mexica painter's perspectival foreshortening—mirror image of the Codex Mendoza's treatment, on folio 69 recto, of Motecuhzoma II's palace in Tenochtitlan (cf. Plates 14 and 15 and Fig. 2.3). The throne room sits on a raised platform, with a three-step stairway at front that leads into the palace's central courtyard (Plates 14 and 15, top, and Fig. 2.2). The artist painted the posts and lintel of the throne room's entrance red, a color associated with the east and the rising sun. The red, the brightest passage of color on this leaf and on the manuscript as a whole, makes this room unique—the other doorframes are purple—as does its scale, for it is much larger than any other room in the palace.

The figures of Nezahualcoyotl, at right, and, at left, of his son Nezahualpilli, both named, occupy the throne room, and above each man, a numerical count gives the length of his reign (Fig. 2.2).[128] The speaking rulers—each has two speech scrolls—sit on tepotzoicpalli. A reed mat,

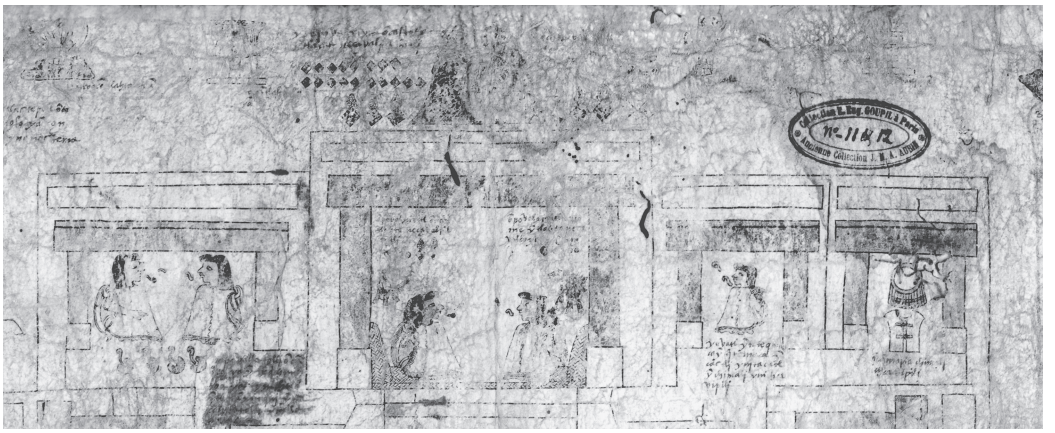


FIGURE 2.2. Quinatzin Map, top-center detail, leaf 2 (center panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 12. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

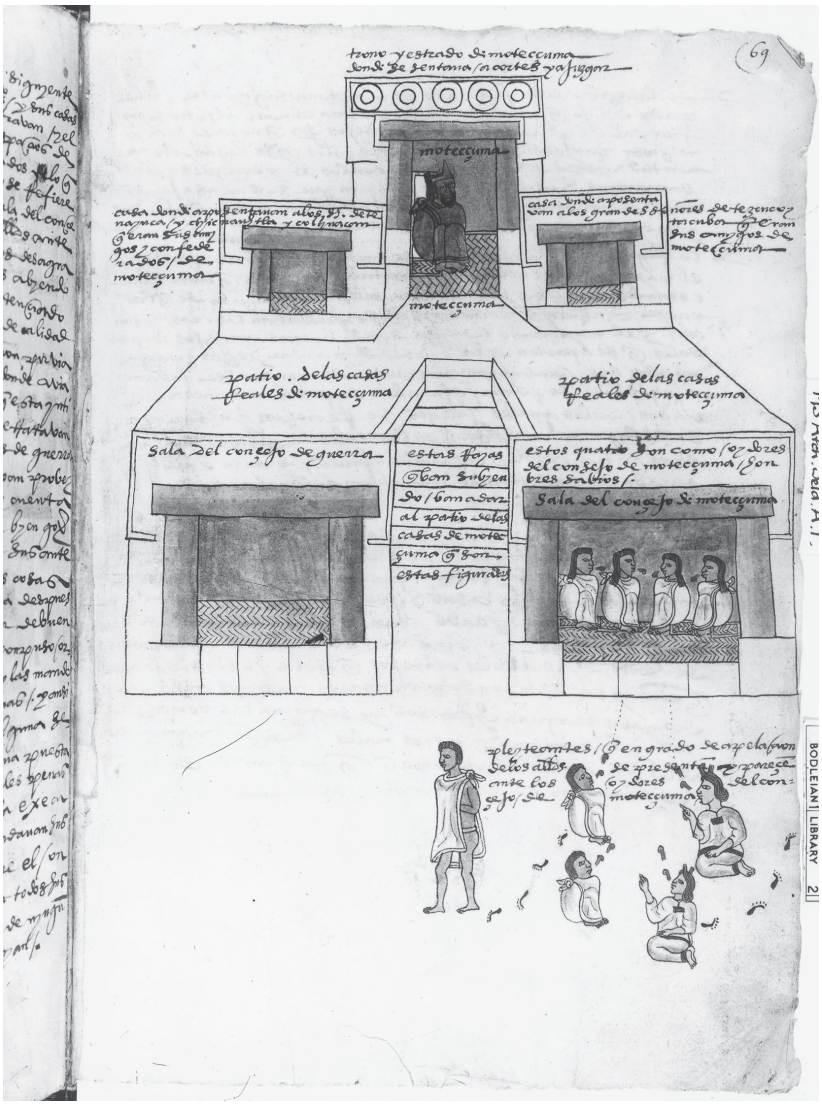


FIGURE 2.3. Codex Mendoza, folio 69 recto, ink and color on European paper, circa 1541, from Tenochtitlan, Mexico. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3134, Arch Selden A.1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bodleian Library.

or *petlatl*, runs from one end of the room to the other, labeling it as a "mat room," a common Mesoamerican metaphor for a throne or council room.[129]

To the left, behind Nezahualpilli, a room reproduces the composition of the throne room, but on a smaller scale and without the royal trappings (Fig. 2.2, left). Here, two unnamed males sit facing each other. Both have speech scrolls, and the one at left points to his colleague at right. Beneath these men lies a row of four kidney bean–shaped human jaws, with open mouths that emit speech scrolls. To the right, an alphabetic-script Nahuatl gloss reads: "the napouallatolli [court of justice], from where come the cases, robbery, adultery, speaking evil [calumny]." This building houses the royal court where judges heard cases every eighty days, and the two men are judges.

To the right of the throne room, behind Nezahualcoyotl, two small buildings stand side by side (Plates 14 and 15, top, and Fig. 2.2, right). In the left-hand building, an unnamed seated male faces left toward the throne room. The man, who speaks two speech scrolls, has his long, neat black hair gathered into a ponytail with a ribbonlike strap wrapped around it three times, a hairstyle worn by royal or military officials, as seen in the Codex Mendoza.[130] Beneath the figure an alphabetic-script Nahuatl gloss reads: "he [who] . . . [receives] the sandals, the shields, the war vests."[131] A round war shield with pendant feather decoration and a warrior's sleeveless, padded cotton vest fill the building at the right. Penned in under the warrior's armor, an alphabetic-script Nahuatl gloss states: "here are kept the shields, the cotton vests." This wing houses the palace's arsenal, which the man pictured within, a royal or military official, administers. Thus, the palace's eastern wing incorporates the three fundamental aspects of the altepetl and the tlahtocayotl: the royal dynasty, or rulership, framed by the law, at left, and the military, at right.

Along the sheet's right side, a portico makes up the palace's southern wing (Plates 14 and 15, right, and Fig. 2.4). The portico's four freestanding columns frame five bays or sections. The outer bays are empty, but the next one in at either side encloses a seated male, who faces in toward the central bay and his companion at the other side. The men, who speak to each other, wear their hair in a ponytail, like their companion in the arsenal above. The central bay contains a round feather fan with a long handle, a length of cord, a cloth sack tied at the top with a short cord, and a sandal. All of these items pertain to the *pochteca* (singular, *pochtecatl*), or traveling merchants, the special long-distance traders of the Aztec world, who also served as state spies, and they identify the pochteca pictured on the Codex Mendoza, folio 66 recto (Fig. 2.5, second register from the top, left side).[132] An alphabetic-script Nahuatl gloss under the three central bays claims: "the *achcacauhtin* serve here, their duty is to go put down rebels anywhere." Aubin interpreted this wing as a finance council chamber, where officials named achcacauhtin congregated and coordinated their efforts, including missions to subdue rebellious tributaries.[133] But the visual references to the pochteca, who also played a key role both in trade and imperial expansion, suggest that neither the annotator nor, later, Aubin grasped the full range of the painter's text, which, like the Codex Mendoza passages that it parallels (folios 66 recto and 67 recto, here Figs. 2.5 and 2.6), clearly mentions both the traders and the royal officials.

Along the leaf's bottom edge, the palace's western wing comprises two courtyards, one at each end (Plates 14 and 15, bottom center, and Fig. 2.7). Small buildings flank the inner edges of the two small courtyards, framing the only entrance, or portal, into the palace and its central courtyard. The small courtyards at either end preserve diminutive buildings along their outer edges and traces of similar buildings along their heavily abraded bottom or western edge. The little L-shaped group at the right, or

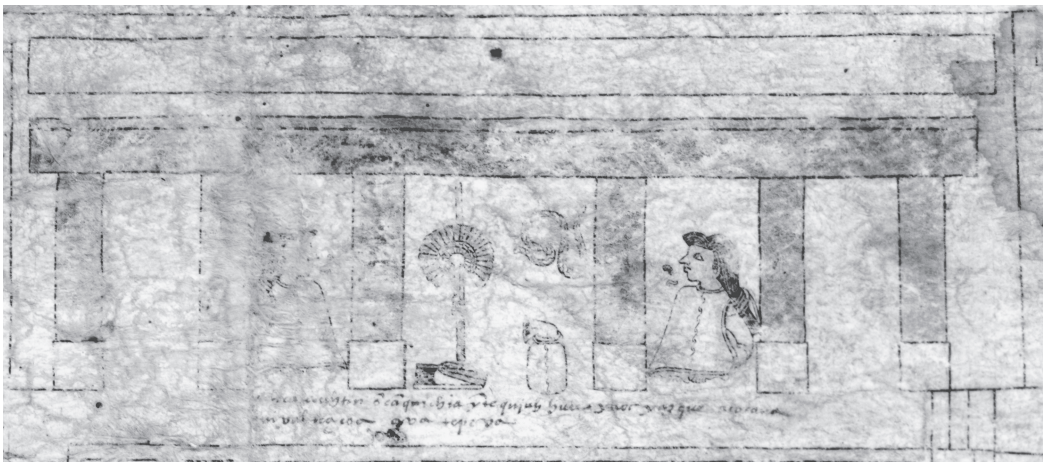


FIGURE 2.4. Quinatzin Map, right-side detail (turned 90 degrees), leaf 2 (center panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 12. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 2.5. Codex Mendoza, folio 66 recto, ink and color on European paper, circa 1541, from Tenochtitlan, Mexico. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3134, Arch Selden A.1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bodleian Library.

FIGURE 2.6. Codex Mendoza, folio 67 recto, ink and color on European paper, circa 1541, from Tenochtitlan, Mexico. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3134, Arch Selden A.1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bodleian Library.

south end, contains, from left to right, a round war shield with pendant feather decoration and the legs of a war costume. This group punctuates, so to speak, the economic and military spaces of the palace's southeastern and southern wings. In contrast, the L-shaped courtyard at the left, or northern, end encloses a feather fan on a tassel-decorated handle and a paddle, or drumstick, with which to play a musical instrument such as a *teponaztli* (horizontal drum) or a *huehuetl* (vertical drum).[134] This courtyard introduces the cultural spaces of the palace's northern and northeastern wings.

The two buildings that border and frame the portal sit on platforms fronted by stairways (Fig. 2.7). These are the only structures other than the throne room, directly opposite, that merit platforms and stairs, and they, too, have royal or imperial associations. The one at the right houses

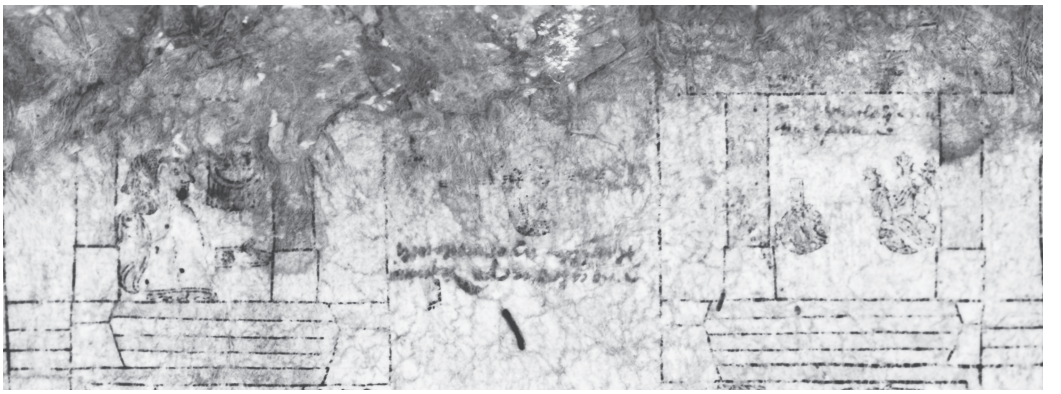
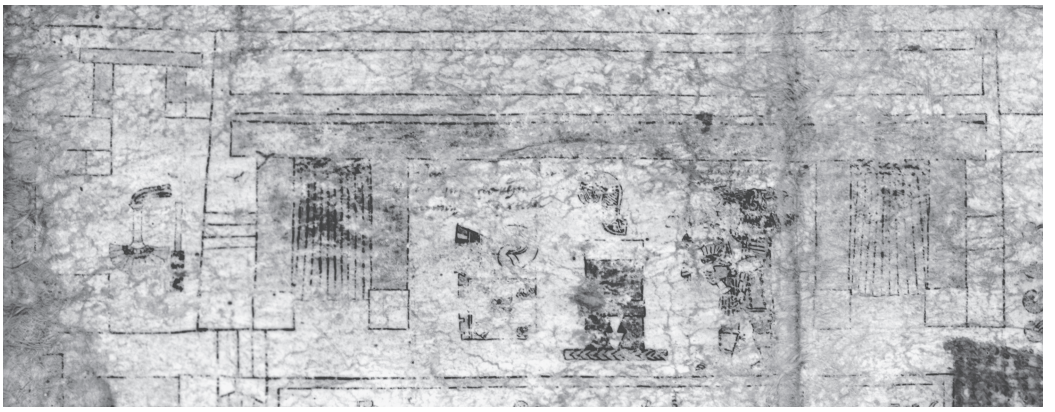


FIGURE 2.7. Quinatzin Map, bottom-center detail (turned upside down), leaf 2 (center panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 12. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

a man who wears the strap-tied ponytail of court or military officials and sits next to and facing a feather-fringed war shield and a sandal, symbols of war and trade, respectively (Fig. 2.7, left). The building to the left (Fig. 2.7, right) of the portal contains two legible iconic-script compounds: one, a stone and a banner, signifies "*te-pan*," that is, Tepaneca; and the other, a stone and a four-paddled prickly pear cactus, reads "*te-noch*," or Tenochca.[135] Tepaneca and Tenochca refer to Tetzcoco's two Triple Alliance partners, and they form a minor component of the Acolhua state. This building houses the representatives of Tetzcoco's two allies, while its twin on the other side of the portal serves as a military and traders' barracks or meeting place.

A portico, like its pendant to the south (right), the palace's northern wing runs along the leaf's left side, and its central bay forms the backdrop to a scene of music and dance (Plates 14 and 15, left, and Fig. 2.8). As elsewhere on the Quinatzin, this passage echoes one in the Codex Mendoza, on folio 70 recto (Fig. 2.9, top right), which includes many of the same elements. At the left there is an elaborately decorated loincloth and, below it, an equally fancy man's cloak. At center, a huehuetl stands on a reed mat, and the instrument makes music, imaged as a sound scroll rising from the drum and gracefully curving to the left. The pattern on the scroll resembles the one often seen on depictions of painted books, a subtle expression of the music's communicative power and close association with poetry and religious ritual. A richly dressed man stands to the right of the drum, holding a feather fan in his left hand and a flower bouquet in his right. Like the cloak and loincloth, this is elite festival attire, such as an aristocrat would have worn at a court or religious ceremony. Although the painter did not name this elegant figure, Aubin identifies him as Nezahualcoyotl's son Xochiquetzal, leader of the poets and historians, and the setting as the suite in the royal palace devoted to the pursuits over which Xochiquetzal had jurisdiction.[136] Given that, with the exception of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli in the throne room and the fourteen subsidiary rulers in the courtyard, the men who inhabit the palace, like the objects that accompany them, are generic, this man, too, should be read as symbolic: he and the luxurious items that he



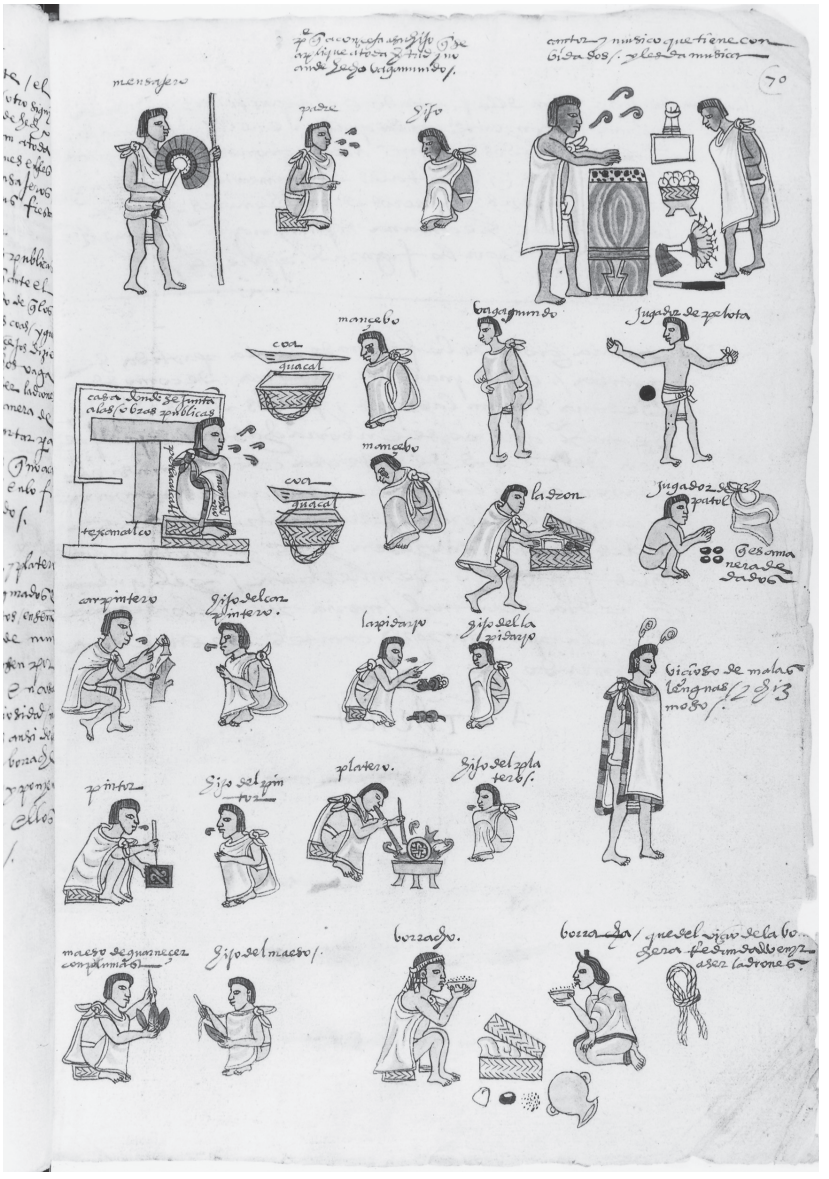


FIGURE 2.8. Quinatzin Map, left-side detail (turned 90 degrees), leaf 2 (center panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 12. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

FIGURE 2.9. Codex Mendoza, folio 70 recto, ink and color on European paper, circa 1541, from Tenochtitlan, Mexico. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3134, Arch Selden A.1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bodleian Library.

wears and uses denote aristocracy, art, culture, and courtly and religious ritual.

The palace's northern wing, with its indices of art and culture, forms part of an architectural or spatial sequence that includes the royal court of justice at top left (northeast) and the Triple Alliance at the bottom left (northwest). The northern sequence counterpoises the southern one—from the arsenal at the southeast (top right) to the military and traders' barracks at the southwest (bottom right)—which signals and serves different aspects of the Acolhua palace and polity: the military, tribute, and trade. Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli in the throne room occupy the east, the direction associated with creation, the rising sun, and the day, and the two rulers in their throne room bring into being and unite the north to the south (Plates 14 and 15). Flanked by symbols of the Triple Alliance at the north and of war and trade at the south, the entrance to the palace marks the west, the direction of the setting sun and the night, and counterpoises the throne room and the two rulers at the east. The order of Acolhua space—architectural, geographic, and political—reproduces and, in reproducing, sustains the divine and cosmic order.

The dynasty, a human progression in time, and the tribute system that maintains the palace and the state are the temporal correlate of Acolhua space. The only date on the manuscript's central leaf, the year Four Reed (1431), refers to Nezahualcoyotl and his political resurrection (Plates 14 and 15, center). For the Aztecs, Reed years marked turning points, such as the rebirth of the fifty-two-year calendrical cycle celebrated in the New Fire Ceremony, which took place in Two Reed years; and in One Reed, the birth of the god and the Toltec ruler Quetzalcoatl, whose calendric name is Ce Acatl, or One Reed, as well as the arrival of Cortés and his Spaniards. The namesake of the year, the day Four Reed, falls in a trecena—the fourteenth of twenty—of the ritual calendar that begins on One Dog, a day associated with Xiuhtecuhtli, the god at the heart of creation: new rulers were selected on One Dog and enthroned three days later, on Four Reed.[137] The two flaming braziers positioned above the Four Reed year sign, one at the north and one at the south, also refer to the god: they contain fire, the god's essence, and, in tandem with the year sign, they recall the three stones of creation and of the Mesoamerican hearth, both the province of Xiuhtecuhtli. The year sign and the two braziers center the palace and the state, just as the three stones center the cosmos and the hearth centers the house. Twenty, the numerical coefficient appended to each brazier, corresponds to the number of named days as well as to the number of trecenas in the tonalpohualli, and each coefficient of twenty cycles with the thirteen toponyms that border its half of the palace to fix the schedule of tribute, just as the numbers 1 to 13 cycle with the twenty named days to form the sacred calendar.

The temporal organization of the Acolhua state here follows the pattern ordained by the gods at the time of creation and figured in the tonalpohualli, like the spatial organization to which it is indissolubly joined.

In this way, the Quinatzin Map's painter conceives Acolhuacan as a metaphor for the numinous order that existed before the arrival of Cortés.

In Acolhuacan

The Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) likewise insinuates the cosmic and the divine into the mundane. The manuscript's painter configures geography and history as a series of tripartite units—three at the east and one at the west—a template that derives from and refers back to the three stones of creation and of the Mesoamerican hearth. Like the two flaming braziers and the Four Reed year sign on the Quinatzin Map, the cartographic triplets on the Tlohtzin invoke Xiuhtecuhtli and the cycles of creation and destruction of Mesoamerican cosmology. At the center of the Tlohtzin lie the three Acolhua altepemeh, Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Huexotla, and Coatlichan, in the east, the direction of the rising sun and creation. Three altepemeh in the west, Azcapotzalco, Tenochtitlan, and Culhuacan, the paired opposites of the Acolhua polities, connote the setting sun, the harbinger of night, cold, and death. The other sets of triplets, equally distinctive in form and kind, frame and elaborate on this dynamic opposition at the heart of Acolhuacan.

The mountain-caves at the Tlohtzin Map's northern, eastern, and southern limits constitute one tripartite set. Cuauhyacac, where the Chichimec ancestors first settled on arriving in the eastern half of the valley, delineates the Tlohtzin's eastern boundary. Cuauhyacac functions as a type of ethnic origin place, a Chicomoztoc, whence the Chichimec ancestors would found Tetzcoco and Acolhuacan. The mountain-cave at the far right, or southern end, of the map—unnamed but certainly Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc—features the birth of Tetzcoco's founder, Quinatzin (Plates 24 and 25, right center). Tzinacanoztoc at the far left, or northern end, of the map (Plates 19 and 20, top right) records the birth of Quinatzin's grandson, Nezahualcoyotl's father, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the Acolhua ruler whose death signaled the end of the people and polity conceived by his grandfather. These three mountain-caves approximate the divine order of the cosmos: creation at the east, the direction of the rising sun and beginnings, personified by the Chichimec ancestors at Cuauhyacac; death at the north, the direction of death, cold, and endings, personified by the ill-fated Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli as well as the Chichimecs wandering in the wilderness; and in the direction of the sun, at the south, life, light, and warmth personified by the newborn Quinatzin.

In the Tlohtzin's upper-right-hand corner (Plates 24 and 25, top right), the southernmost of the three banners that punctuate the map's eastern quadrant initiates another tripartite set. Three unnamed men sit, one above the other, directly below and on axis with the banner. Alphabetic-script Nahuatl annotations label the men as Chalca, but with the exception of their Toltec mien and the spatial coordinates, nothing in the iconic-script text specifies this, and no toponym here names and situates

Chalco. In his *Historia de la nación chichimeca*, Alva Ixtlilxochitl recounts that Tlohtzin lived in Chalco during much of his grandfather Xolotl's reign.[138] While there, as the Tlohtzin Map—one of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's primary sources—shows, he learned the rudiments of civilization, including agriculture.[139] The banner at the manuscript's top right corner flags not only the terminus of Tlohtzin's travels in the eastern Valley of Mexico but also the site of his cultural regeneration.

The other two banners, from right to left (south to north), at Coatlichan (Plates 24, top center, and 25, top left) and at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco (Plates 21, top right, and 22, top center), commemorate crucial events, too, by graphically highlighting the places where they happened, and that they thereby brought into being: the founding of the first Acolhua community and altepetl, Coatlichan, and the founding of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, the preeminent Acolhua altepetl. From Chalco to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, or south to north, the three banners trace out a trajectory from early to late and from less- to more-complex forms of culture and polity, a mirror image, or inversion, of the Chichimecs' movement through space and time.

The Tlohtzin Map (Plate 18) balances migrating Chichimec hunter-gatherers at the northwest (lower left) with Toltec urban dwellers at the southeast (upper right), a pattern evident in the Codex Xolotl and the Quinatzin Map, too. Like the political rivals at east and west, these pendants read as a diphrastic metaphor, and Tetzcoco, the term evoked, stands between the two. Thus, the painter and the map figure Acolhuacan's huey altepetl and its tlahtoqueh as the axis mundi, earthly avatars of the god at the heart of creation.

Births occur at each end of the manuscript, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's at the left, or north (Plates 19 and 20) and, at the right, or south (Plates 24 and 25), Quinatzin's, suggesting the spirals of time that, in Mesoamerica's sacred calendar, correspond to direction and extension in space. Quinatzin heralded a new historical cycle because he was born at the spatial and temporal point at which his father took up civilized life and, later, because he founded the city and dynasty that here articulate geography and history. Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli brought this cycle to a close, but his son Nezahualcoyotl would inaugurate another, which the Quinatzin Map implicitly likens to a creation epoch. The Tlohtzin, by picturing the ruler with his court artists, qualifies it as a second cultural regeneration (Plates 18 and 22, center).

In the Chichimecatlalli

The tripartite sets, antitheses, inversions, and temporal cycles that structure the Quinatzin Map and the Tlohtzin Map are formal tropes, metaphors that elide the human with the divine. The Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10) employs the same devices, for the same ends, but the manuscript's wealth of detail—its insistent facticity—obscures the allusive subtext

even more than the pared-down yet likewise ostensibly mundane Quinatzin and Tlohtzin do. Beneath the dense webs of historical narrative, from which, by necessity, the pre-Hispanic gods and ritual have almost completely disappeared, the Xolotl orders space as metaphor: the forms of poetic discourse and the sacred cosmogram imbue the maps of the Valley of Mexico.[140] The painters of the Codex Xolotl, a manuscript that may derive from and reflect a pre-Hispanic original, have made a conscious choice to retain the evocative cartography.

From its first page/map (Plate 1), the Xolotl describes the Valley of Mexico as a progressive series of antitheses. While the first map distinguishes a Chichimec northwest from a Toltec southeast, the subsequent ones contrast the eastern and western halves of the valley and the ethnic and political alliances that define them. Within the two halves of the valley, as in the Tlohtzin, tripartite sets of altepemeh dominate each block, anchoring and centering space like the three stones, or tenamaztin. In the process of exploring and taking possession of the Valley of Mexico, the eponymous hero and his Chichimecs circumambulate it, laying out space as well as rendering it visible. The alignment of the toponyms that constitute the boundaries thus created follows the abstract, geometric articulation of time and space found in central Mexican ritual-divinatory manuscripts. At the same time, however, the Xolotl's painters sketch passages of landscape, perhaps from direct observation, which serve as a pictorial counterpart of the facticity of the historical narrative. That the Codex Xolotl, a manuscript that puts so much emphasis on the empirical, still manifests the poetic tropes of Nahua aristocratic and ritual language and Mesoamerican cosmology makes clear how expressive such forms still were around 1540, and how much the ordering of space was still in the hands of the old gods.

The Maps of Acolhuacan

In contrast to the Oztoticpac Lands Map (Fig. 2.1), with its measured plots, the Codex Xolotl, the Tlohtzin Map, and the Quinatzin Map configure Acolhua land as Acolhua history. The three manuscripts map space in the shape of time, and they chart Acolhuacan as a metaphor of divine creation. Artists and patrons depict their land and their history as the earthly reflection of the energy that generated and sustains the cosmic order. The Tlohtzin Map (Plate 18) retains more of the physical world and the structure of a cartographic history than the Quinatzin (Plate 11), but in contrast to the Codex Xolotl (Plate 1), it whittles it to the bone. Both the Tlohtzin and the Xolotl encompass the Valley of Mexico and the whole of Acolhua history from the Chichimec migration under the leadership of Xolotl to the reigns of Xolotl's great-great-great-great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl (the Xolotl) and great-great-great-great-great-great-grandson don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin (the Tlohtzin), Tetzcoco's cacique and gov-

ernor from 1534 to 1539. Whereas the Xolotl is encyclopedic, the Tlohtzin conveys approximately the same breadth of time and space in the guise of one family, three banners, and nine toponyms. Nevertheless, it, too, achieves cartographic accuracy, with the altepemeh and mountain-caves correctly situated within the four cardinal directions. And it is human movement that functions as analogue and metaphor of sacred time, creating not only the space of the map but also the ethnic group, its culture, and its altepetl, which in turn become the motive force and model of Acolhuacan.

From top to bottom, the Quinatzin Map fuses Acolhua time and Acolhua space, configuring the whole as a composite map of human genealogy, cultural and political geography, and ethics. The map pictures the hierarchy and toponymy of the altepetl, but does so on the armature of cosmic creation, discernible in the architecture of the palace and the cyclical cartography of the tribute state. Stripped of almost all temporal and place markers, and of the ancestral migration, the first leaf (Plates 12 and 13) charts a dynastic and cultural trajectory. The second leaf (Plates 14 and 15) approximates a boundary map, but a boundary map that rearranges the physical world in order to chart cosmic time and political hierarchy. The third leaf (Plates 16 and 17) stakes out the ethical pale, which secures and sustains the altepetl. The Quinatzin Map itself, by plotting the historical, social, and territorial boundaries of Acolhuacan, undertakes to protect and maintain them, just as don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin did when he commissioned the Oztoticpac Lands Map in 1540 and drew a line between the tecpancalli and its lands on the one hand and the Spanish colonial state on the other.

The three manuscripts establish the Acolhua royal patrimony by transforming Acolhuacan into the ruling dynasty's creation, and they begin and end with the royal family's generations. The manuscripts all situate the ethnic origin place in the Valley of Mexico, demonstrating the indissoluble bond between Acolhua blood and Acolhua land. And it is this bond rather than the land itself that the Quinatzin, Tlohtzin, and Xolotl painters and patrons make manifest. In order to do so in the radically different world of New Spain, especially in the period following don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl's execution, the manuscripts distill from the pre-Hispanic past and its images a human map of Acolhuacan, but a map still inflected by formal metaphors that invoke other worlds.

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3 OUR KIN, OUR BLOOD

Ancestors

Who are these men who undo us, disturb us, live over us, who on our backs subject us? Here I am, and there is the Yoanizi, the Lord of Mexico [Tenochtitlan]; and there, my nephew Tetzcapilli, the Lord of Tacuba [Tlacopan]; and there is Tlacahuepantli, the Lord of Tula [Tollan]: we are equals, and nobody has the right to consider himself our equal. This is our land, our royal house, our jewel, our possession; its lordship is ours and pertains to us. Who comes here to give us orders and to subject us, who are neither our kin nor of our blood and make themselves our equals? We are here: let there be no one who makes fools of us.

With these words, don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl is said to have advocated rebellion against the recently arrived Spaniards.[1] The men whom don Carlos here evokes, scions of the Mexica royal dynasty, are his kin. Yoanizi refers to don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, a grandson of Axayacatl, the sixth tlahtoani of Tenochtitlan (r. 1469–1481), and a nephew of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin, the ninth tlahtoani of Tenochtitlan (r. 1502–1520), as well as the husband of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin's daughter doña Francisca de Motecuhzoma.[2] Tlacahuepantli is don Pedro Motecuhzoma Tlacahuepantzin (d. 1570), a son of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin, and thus the cousin and brother-in-law of don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin.[3]

Recognizing blood as the sole criterion for parity, the Acolhua aristocrat expressed indignation that "these men," the Spaniards, should have thought themselves his peers. Don Carlos's claim to rank and status was his biological connection—in Nahuatl, the *mecayotl*—to the pre-Hispanic past and its rulers: lineage constituted, and recorded genealogies, or *tlacamecayotl*, demonstrated one's right to rule.[4]

Carved, painted, or memorized and recited orally, genealogies had secured dynastic ambitions throughout pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica.[5] No pre-Hispanic, iconic-script, Nahua dynastic genealogy, or *tlahtocame-*

cayotl, survives from central Mexico, however.[6] But colonial copies and adaptations kept the genre alive and vibrant: noble lineage justified privilege in indigenous society and, after 1521, also under colonial law, as don Francisco Pimentel, don Carlos's great-nephew, argued in his 1575 petition to Viceroy don Martín Enríquez.[7] The *Report on the Genealogy and Lineage of the Lords That Have Ruled This Land of New Spain*, one of the two *Relaciones de Juan Cano* of circa 1532, makes clear the utility of indigenous noble lineage and dynastic genealogies.[8] Based on a now-lost pre-Hispanic iconic-script document, the Spanish-language report catalogues the regal forebears of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin's daughter doña Isabel—one of the sisters of the don Pedro Motecuhzoma Tlacahuepantzin cited by don Carlos—in order to validate her birthright and further her petition to the Crown for the return of patrimonial lands.

Although no pre-Hispanic iconic-script genealogy is known from the Valley of Mexico, references in sixteenth-century historical texts as well as transliterations such as the *Report on the Genealogy and Lineage of the Lords That Have Ruled This Land of New Spain* and the numerous extant colonial iconic-script genealogies attest to their existence.[9] The colonial examples share certain organizational schemes, which may represent, in part, the formal legacy of their pre-Hispanic prototypes. The preserved iconic-script genealogies generally order lines of descent vertically, stacking the generations one atop the other, either in an ascending or a descending order (see, for example, Plates 6 and 21).[10] The profile-view full figures or heads of a married couple, shown facing each other, with both or one partner named or otherwise identified—for example, by altepetl affiliation—or the figure or head of a male or, less often, a female, named or unnamed, represent one generation.[11] Some or all the children of a married couple may appear, either as full figures or heads, with or without name signs, and often a solid or dotted line or, occasionally, a rope (mecatl) connects parents to offspring and siblings to each other. If more than one child appears within one generation of a family, the iconic markers and/or names of the siblings generally but not invariably form a horizontal row, presumably in order of birth. When different genealogical sequences occur in the same document, ties between families can be specified either by showing a named individual twice—in one instance as the offspring of one line of descent and in the other as the parent in another—or, more commonly, by connecting with a dotted or solid line or a footprint path a named or unnamed individual in one family to his or her parent or parents in another and/or to the toponym of his or her birthplace. In the genealogies, as in other colonial, indigenous pictorial manuscripts, the treatment of the human figure and objects runs the gamut from the conceptual and synthetic style associated with pre-Hispanic traditions to the perceptual and naturalistic one attributed to European influence.

Variations in format reflect cultural, typological, and functional differences. Whether ethnic, linguistic, regional, or temporal, cultural

differences—Europeanized ("assimilated") as opposed to indigenous ("Indian"), Nahua/central Mexican as opposed to Mixtec/south-central Mexican, or, among the Nahua, Tlaxcalan as opposed to Valley of Mexico, or, within the Valley of Mexico, Mexica as opposed to Tetzcocan—are manifest in how descent, inheritance of property, and political succession are determined and graphically recorded. Delia Cosentino has observed that, "[i]nterestingly, unlike in the Mixtec examples, Nahua genealogies are not principally concerned with the depiction of successive marital couples but rather with the consanguine relationships between individuals and their offspring: this difference no doubt reflects divergent practices in the inheritance of power."[12]

Typological differences affect the form of a genealogy: a dynastic genealogy figures a line of succession in light of the prevailing rules for transmitting political authority from one generation to the next—father to son, as in Tetzcoco, or brother to brother or uncle to nephew, as in Tenochtitlan.[13] Less-restrictive rules—lineal descent from a tlahtoani, the criterion for noble status in Nahua central Mexico—apply in a noble but nondynastic genealogy.[14]

Documentary genre, or functional difference, too, influences content and form: a genealogy in a document that is exclusively dynastic or genealogical can be and often is different, in scope if not always in scheme, from one that forms part of a *res gestae* or cartographic historical narrative. Distinctions among these genres and functions, however, are in great part scholarly conventions. As Cosentino shrewdly discerns, "the Nahua family and its history was generally conceived of in physical and spatial terms," and thus "Nahua genealogies . . . may be understood as conceptual 'landscapes of lineage.'"[15] Like history, genealogy was in part a function of, and a correlate to, land: "In transforming people and land into the named figures of a genealogy and cartographic space, the map creates a structural bond between an elite group and the land on the map."[16] The separation of one from the other—the conceptualization and production of a genealogy without a cartographic or narrative armature—may constitute another instance of the decontextualization of indigenous form and content as a consequence of Spanish scrutiny and categories of inquiry, a form of objectification described by Gruzinski.[17]

Like their colonial successors, Mesoamerica's pre-Hispanic rulers perceived ancestors as motive and sign of the right to rule. Dynastic genealogies endowed the individual ruler with the authority of his forebears and permitted the dynasty to isolate the germ of the present in the past. Whether they did so truthfully is at one level irrelevant and, given the nature of the sources, often beyond our historical ken; the cultural and political message inherent in the genealogy is what mattered:

> Genealogies in stone or on screenfold manuscripts were kept to determine whose ancestry most qualified him for office. Rulers' texts refer to near ancestors, more distant ancestors, and finally to ancestors so remote that

they are virtually mythological . . . While even a clever propagandist might not be able to deceive his contemporaries about his immediate ancestors, it is clear that some rulers "borrowed" more distant ancestors—including deified ancestors—to legitimize their claim to the throne. In fact, some of the most spectacular genealogical displays may have been the work of nobles who were not really in the direct line of succession.[18]

By specifying the relationships among polities and ruling families, genealogies naturalized the political status quo. Each ruler perpetuated family, dynasty, and state, maintaining sociopolitical order and, by implication, cosmic order. Genealogies—landscapes of lineage, to use Cosentino's formulation—encompass ideology.[19]

In order to transmute power into divine sanction, Mesoamerican rulers and their artists grafted dynastic births, marriages, and deaths onto the cycles of creation and destruction.[20] During the Late Postclassic Period, no dynasty inserted itself more into these cosmic processes than the Mexica tlahtoqueh of Tenochtitlan. Once dead and cremated, at least part of the tlahtoani's ashes were cached in and became one with Tenochtitlan's *huey teocalli* (great temple in Nahuatl), the multitiered pyramid temple that each ruler had either had rebuilt or substantially renovated.[21] An axis mundi, the building stood at the intersection of the north-south and east-west avenues that divided the Mexica city into four quarters, transforming it into an urban avatar of Mesoamerica's sacred cosmogram. The temple anchored and oriented earth and cosmos, fusing them into a spatial continuum. Working in Tenochtitlan, in about 1540, the painter of the Codex Mendoza still conceived of and, on folio 2 recto of the manuscript (Fig. 1.6), mapped his city according to this template, as did the contemporary Tetzcocan artist responsible for the plan of the Acolhua palace, capital, and state in the Quinatzin Map's central panel (Plates 14 and 15).

In his 1582 report to Philip II, Juan Bautista de Pomar makes clear that Tetzcoco, too, had a great central temple, an axis mundi, of the same form as Tenochtitlan's (Fig. 3.1).[22] Because Tenochtitlan's Templo Mayor has been excavated, studied, and published, one can corroborate, or not, the descriptions of it included in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical texts such as Cortés's letters to Charles V.[23]

The huey teocalli of Tetzcoco as well as the adjacent royal palace of Nezahualcoyotl, however, today lie buried under the city's central plaza, obscured by five centuries of construction and detritus. Although the Mexica of Tenochtitlan mythologized the founding of their main temple in particular and unique ways (see below), Pomar's account indicates that the functions of the two buildings were similar, as was the close association between the tlahtoani and the building and rituals celebrated there.

Built to honor the Mexicas' patron deity, Huitzilopochtli, and to commemorate the founding of Tenochtitlan, the Templo Mayor staged the

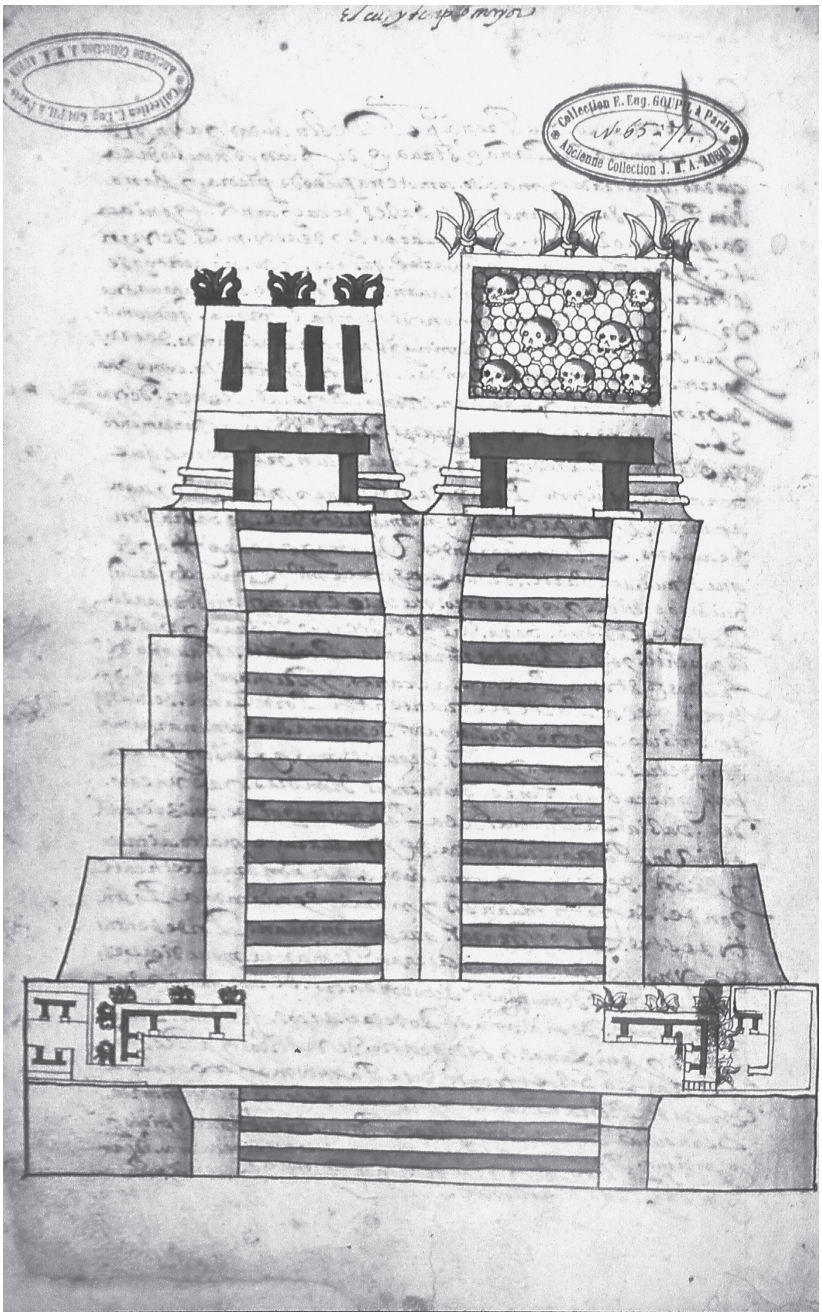

FIGURE 3.1. The Great Temple of Tetzcoco, ink and color on paper, 31 x 21 cm., circa 1582, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Codex Ixtlilxochitl, Part II, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 65–71. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

genesis of the god, and thereby of his people.[24] In part, the temple represented Coatepetl, "Serpent Mountain," Huitzilopochtli's birthplace and the site of his first conquest.[25] A monumental relief sculpture of the dismembered body of Huitzilopochtli's sister Coyolxauhqui, whom, immediately on being born, he fought and killed, lay on the platform at the foot of the stairway that led up to the top of the pyramid and the god's shrine.[26]

In 1978 utility workers digging in the historical center of Mexico City came on the sculpture, which had remained in situ, and subsequent excavations have uncovered the remains of the great temple.[27] Like the Coyolxauhqui relief that it mimicked, the lifeless body of every sacrificial victim cast down the stairs from the shrine above rendered the numinous drama tangible and visible.[28] The Mexica ruler's campaigns of conquest—reenactments of Huitzilopochtli's victory over his sister at Coatepetl, too—and the tribute paid by conquered peoples sustained the temple and its rituals, while the blood and hearts of sacrificial victims, another bounty of war, and the ruler's ashes gave the building tonalli, or life, breath, movement, and soul force.

The fulcrum of time as well as of space, Tenochtitlan's and, in spite of the differences, Tetzcoco's main temples conceived time as cosmic time. Each tlahtoani and expansion of the temple, and each ceremonial commemoration of Huitzilopochtli's birth, symbolized and perpetuated the cycles of creation and destruction.[29] At the same time, the temples functioned indirectly as dynastic genealogies and victory chronicles, metonymic architectural traces of each ruler's reign and military conquests, just as the rulers themselves stood in for Huitzilopochtli and, in their own lives and deeds, ritually performed the god's narrative.

Twin temples with two shrines and dedications, Tenochtitlan's and Tetzcoco's huey teocalli projected forward in time, too, juxtaposing Huitzilopochtli, the Mexicas'—and thus the Chichimecs'—solar and war deity, in the southern shrine (Fig. 3.1, right), to the venerable central Mexican rain/storm and agricultural deity, Tlaloc, in the northern one (Fig. 3.1, left). In the *Relación de Tezcoco*, Pomar specifically associates Huitzilopochtli with the Mexica, that is, the Chichimecs, who brought the god's sacred bundle to Tetzcoco from Culhuacan, and he also explains that Tlaloc predated the Chichimecs and was the "most ancient god in this land."[30] Tlaloc's half of the temple, like Huitzilopochtli's, represented a mountain, Tonacatepetl, "Mountain of Our Sustenance," the counterpart to Coatepetl.[31] A diphrastic metaphor, the buildings' complementary opposites—Coatepetl and Tonacatepetl, south and north, sky and earth, sun and rain, fire and water, young and old, foreign and native, Mexica/Chichimec and pan-Mesoamerican/Toltec—evoke the fundamental duality of being and, more specifically, atltlachinolli (water-burnt thing), war, the creative force of existence. In central Mexican cosmogonies, moreover, a dynamic opposition and interaction between the deities Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca engendered the alternating cycles of creation and destruction.[32]

As metaphor, the two temples also allude to the lineage of the Mexica, Acolhua, and other Nahua peoples of Late Postclassic Period central Mexico, who believed that they were descended from barbaric, nomadic Chichimecs, symbolized by Huitzilopochtli, and civilized, urban Toltecs, the people of "the Place of the Reeds," symbolized by Tlaloc (Fig. 3.1). By the Early Classic Period (circa 250–600 CE), the Place of the Reeds had

become Mesoamerica's paradigm of culture and one of its most pervasive metaphors. Known to the Early Classic Maya as Puh and to the Late Postclassic Nahua as Tollan, the Place of the Reeds embodied artistic and intellectual sophistication, urban civilization, and political authority, and this prestigious moniker qualified numerous Mesoamerican cities.[33] A genealogical affiliation with the Place of the Reeds signaled cultural refinement and dynastic and political legitimacy.

Nahua rulers such as the tlahtoqueh of Tenochtitlan and don Carlos's ancestors, the tlahtoqueh of Tetzcoco, boasted of their blood ties to the Toltecs, even as they celebrated their Chichimec origins.[34] While the Mexica rulers prided themselves on being descended from the last Chichimec migrants to settle in the Valley of Mexico, and the Acolhua, from the first, they also boasted of ancestral ties to the Toltec ruler Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl.[35] When they settled in and around the Valley of Mexico, Chichimec lords married Toltec women, and these unions produced new generations that fused and transformed the disparate genetic and cultural scripts.[36] The conjunction of human opposites—Chichimec and Toltec, male and female, barbaric and civilized, nomadic and urban, foreign and native—created the Nahua peoples and polities of Late Postclassic central Mexico. The fruitful if not always peaceful union of Chichimec and Toltec paralleled that of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, and Tenochtitlan's and Tetzcoco's central temples manifested both couplings in blood and stone (Fig. 3.1).

Like Tenochtitlan's and Tetzcoco's "great" temples, the Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10), the Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17), and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) integrate genealogy and dynastic succession. Neither the buildings nor any one of the three Tetzcocan documents is a genealogy or dynastic list as such. The three Acolhua as well as numerous other Nahua and Mixtec iconic-script histories incorporate rulers and dynasties into the cartographic or event-driven narrative of the pre-Hispanic past. Representing genealogy and succession by selecting, depicting, and naming ancestors and plotting lines of descent, the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl portray the Acolhua dynasty through time as they map the Acolhua realm on the landscape of central Mexico. Here, too, metaphor, the "content of the form," images a symbiosis between human and divine that tempers the manuscripts' otherwise secular iterations.

The Acolhua Genealogy and Dynastic Succession

Pomar observed that, "if some pictures and characters [iconic-script manuscripts] feature them [the Chichimecs], it is only [to trace] the lineages and genealogies of the native rulers [señores] of this land, who pride themselves and boast of being descended from them."[37] Produced approximately a decade after the *Relaciones de Juan Cano*, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map catalogue Tetzcoco's

ruling dynasty in iconic script, in pre-Hispanic-style formats and genres. Like the *Report on the Genealogy and Lineage of the Lords That Have Ruled This Land of New Spain*, the manuscripts justify rank and privilege by blood. The Xolotl, the Quinatzin, and the Tlohtzin name the rulers of Tetzcoco, at least down to the reign of Nezahualcoyotl (circa 1418–1472 CE), and they identify these men and the dynasty that they form as the creative forces of pre-Hispanic Acolhua history. Asserting both Chichimec origins and Toltec blood, the manuscripts map the lines of descent that warranted precedence in pre-Hispanic *and* colonial society.

Of the three, only the Tlohtzin includes a fully realized dynastic genealogy, and it is also the only one that follows the dynastic succession into the colonial period.[38] On the second through sixth of its ten pages and eight maps, the Xolotl contains the most extensive genealogical information, but it presents it according to individual generations and reigns—down to the period of Nezahualcoyotl's exile from Tetzcoco. The Xolotl is synchronic in its parts and diachronic as a whole, the Tlohtzin, fully diachronic. The Quinatzin alludes to and plays on, but rarely employs, the graphic schema of Late Postclassic and Early Colonial central Mexican genealogies, and it evokes rather than shows lineage and succession. While the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl may exhibit continuities of pre-Hispanic form in addition to function, the changed circumstances of patron and painter necessitated strategic emendation: in these manuscripts, produced after 1539, metaphor adumbrates the assimilation of the ruler into the deity, and the royal into the divine.

Codex Xolotl: The Chichimec Ancestors

When Pomar noted the social cachet of Chichimec ancestry for the Acolhua aristocracy and the existence of pictorial records that made manifest and at the same time verified claims to such ancestry, he may well have had in mind if not at hand the Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10).[39] Just as the Xolotl is the most extensive Nahua cartographic history known today, it comprises one of the richest sixteenth-century Nahua iconic-script archives of lineage and descent to have survived: sixty genealogical sequences encompassing 319 people on pages 2–6, and, appended to page 10 at the end of the manuscript, two more sequences, of 10 people.[40] In his commentary on the manuscript, Charles Dibble diagrams the most important line of descent, which begins with the leader of the first Chichimec group to migrate into the Valley of Mexico, the eponymous Xolotl, and his wife, Tomiyauh, and embraces 185 individuals over eight generations.[41] Other Nahua iconic-script genealogies may include more generations of one family than the Xolotl does, but none catalogues as many descendants from one founding couple.[42]

Although a few Toltec families appear on the Codex Xolotl's first page/map (Plate 1), the systematic genealogical archive begins on the

second one (Plate 2). The first group of genealogies refers to the period immediately after the nomadic Chichimec hunter-gatherers led by Xolotl have entered and settled in the Valley of Mexico. The "landscapes of lineage" continue through the sixth page/map (Plate 6), on which Xolotl's great-great-great-grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli succeeds as ruler of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and fathers an heir. Each of the five "genealogical" pages (2–6; Plates 2–6) more or less spans the maturity of one generation and the youth of the next, beginning on page/map 2 with Xolotl and his children, the first and second generations, and ending with his great-great-great-grandchildren and great-great-great-great-grandchildren, the sixth and seventh generations, on page/map 6. The Xolotl's seventh through tenth pages (Plates 7–10) focus on political alliances rather than genealogies as they recount the early life and travails of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's son and heir, Nezahualcoyotl, Xolotl's great-great-great-great-grandson.[43] The painters include two last genealogical sequences—the eighth generation—at the right edge of page 10 (Plate 10), in a brief coda whose two vertical black framing lines separate it from the cartography and text of the two-part map on pages 9 and 10.

Seventeen genealogies occur on page/map 2 (Plate 2), at the beginning of the Codex Xolotl's archive of lineage and descent. Fourteen of the seventeen genealogical sequences comprise two generations each, and the other sequences, three each. Fourteen named locations in and around the Valley of Mexico position the genealogies in space, nine to the east and five to the west. Eleven of the fourteen sites host one, and three sites, two genealogies each. Ten genealogies and eight sites feature the recently arrived Chichimecs.[44] Seven genealogies and six sites pertain to the Toltec refugees who, as pictured on the Xolotl's first page (Plate 1), had fled Tollan before Xolotl and his followers reached that city.

Page/map 3 (Plate 3) includes six Chichimec and two Toltec genealogies of two generations each, which appear at six locations in the east and two in the west. Many but not all of the toponyms and affiliated genealogical lines—families—repeat from page/map 2 and will reappear on pages/maps 4–6 (see Table 3.1).

The fourth page (Plate 4) has two Toltec and four Chichimec genealogical sequences of two generations each, divided among three eastern and two western locations. Page/map 5 (Plate 5) contains the greatest number of genealogies—twenty. Eighteen of two and two of three generations—of which seventeen feature Toltec and three, Chichimec, families—are distributed among nine sites in the east and six in the west. The culminating section of the catalogue, page/map 6 (Plate 6), contains nine two-generation-long genealogies, all Toltec, at three locations in the eastern and three in the western half of the valley.

From the second through the sixth pages, the genealogical archive traces the founding and growth of dynastic polities and the marriages and alliances by means of which they secure political ends. In tandem with the toponyms, the genealogies document settlement, the genesis

TABLE 3.1. Sites with Genealogies on Codex Xolotl, Pages/Maps 2–6

Map 2 (14 sites and 17 genealogies)[1]	Map 3 (8 sites and 8 genealogies)	Map 4 (5 sites and 6 genealogies)	Map 5 (15 sites and 20 genealogies)	Map 6 (6 sites and 9 genealogies)
			Tzinacanoztoc, 1C	
			Acolman, 1T	
			Chimalpan, 1T	
			Mextlatelco (?), 1T	
		Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, 1C	Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, 2T	Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, 2T
		Huexotla, 1C	Huexotla, 1C and 1T	Huexotla, 2T
Coatlichan-Acolhuacan, 1C	Coatlichan-Acolhuacan, 1C	Coatlichan-Acolhuacan, 2C	Coatlichan-Acolhuacan, 1C	Coatlichan-Acolhuacan, 1T
Tlalnepantla, 1T	Tlalnepantla, 1T		Tlanepantla (?), 2T	
	Coatepec, 1C		Coatepec, 1T	
Zohuatepec, 1C				
Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, 1C	Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, 1C			
Cholula, 1T				
Tlalmanalco, 1T				
Quechollan, 2T				
Mamalihuazco, 2C				
Chalco-Atenco, 1C	Chalco-Atenco, 1C			
	Tlalpiltepec, 1C			
Culhuacan, 1T	Culhuacan, 1T		Culhuacan, 1T	
			Coyoacan, 1T	
Chapultepec, 1T				
			Tlacopan, 1T	Tlacopan, 1T
		Tenochtitlan, 1T	Tenochtitlan, 1T	Tenochtitlan, 1T
		Tlatelolco, 1T	Tlatelolco, 2T	Tlatelolco, 2T
Azcapotzalco, 1C	Azcapotzalco, 1C		Azcapotzalco, 2T	
Tenayuca, 2C				
Xaltocan, 1C				

[1] The number of genealogies at each site, identified as Chichimec (C) or Toltec (T), is given after the place name. The sites are listed in an approximate east-to-west order, from top to bottom.

and generations of families and dynasties, legitimate succession, and, more broadly, the transformation of Chichimec into Toltec. By page/map 6, the descendants of the nomadic Chichimec hunter-gatherers who migrated into the Valley of Mexico on page/map 1 have thoroughly assimilated and have been assimilated by Toltec civilization, of which,

because of intermarriage, they are now the direct heirs: on page/map 2, ten out of the seventeen genealogies are Chichimec; on page/map 3, six out of eight; on page/map 4, four out of six; on page/map 5, three out of twenty; and on page/map 6, not even one of the nine genealogies includes a Chichimec. As the Chichimecs become Toltecs, the communities that they founded on first settling in the valley cohere into two diametrically opposed alliances, each centered on a core group of three dynasties and polities.

The genealogical sequences on Codex Xolotl page/map 2 (Plate 2) introduce the territorial dispositions as well as families and lineages that will shape Late Postclassic central Mexican history. The ten Chichimec genealogies image either a blood tie to Xolotl and Tomiyauh, whom the painters thus designate as the ancestral/creator couple, or they occupy territory granted by Xolotl to the family's founding father, who appears elsewhere as subordinate or supplicant to the Chichimec leader.[45] These new families and communities descend not only from Xolotl but also from the Toltecs, whose rights they acquire both through the occupation of land and through intermarriage.[46] Cosentino observes that "a series of consanguine and marital configurations appear on Map 2 to demonstrate the beginning of a history that increasingly intertwines the incoming Chichimecs with the already established Toltec population of the southern Valley, in particular."[47] Seven of the Chichimec founding fathers, including Xolotl's son Nopaltzin and Nopaltzin's son Tlohtzin, have wives marked by dress and grooming as Toltec. Some of these women are daughters of the Toltec families pictured on this or the manuscript's first page, but, because intermarriage is as much a cultural as an economic, legal, and political exchange, others are the progeny of the earliest unions between—invariably—Chichimec men and Toltec women.[48] Toltec brides and mothers transmit civilization, the Toltec legacy, to their daughters and eventually to their male descendants.

On page/map 2 (Plate 2), three of the Chichimec genealogies suggestively intertwine through four generations: two at Tenayuca in the western valley, where Xolotl has settled, and one in the eastern valley, at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc. At Tenayuca, in the northwest (Plate 2, lower left), Xolotl and Tomiyauh form a family with their two daughters, women who also figure at other locations on this page.[49] Positioned to the left of but in proximity to Xolotl, Tomiyauh, and the two girls—and Tenayuca's toponym—Nopaltzin, the only Chichimec male whom the text consistently affiliates with Xolotl, his wife, Azcaxochitl, and their three sons constitute a separate genealogical line, the second and third generations of Xolotl's family through the male line.[50] The painters include a fourth child, a son named Tenancacaltzin, at left, behind and just below the figure of Nopaltzin, to which the boy is connected by a solid line.[51] The physical separation from the offspring who descend from and are graphically connected to Nopaltzin and Azcaxochitl suggests that Tenancacaltzin is the child of another woman, a woman whose rank does not necessitate that she

be shown or named. Azcaxochitl sits in front of and faces Nopaltzin, an iconic convention to signify the principal, or legitimate, wife when a man has more than one consort.[52] As the daughter of Pochotl, the Toltec ruler of Culhuacan—allegedly the son of Topiltzin of Tollan—Azcaxochitl's genealogical and political status and desirability are beyond doubt.[53]

In contrast to their half-brother Tenancacaltzin, Azcaxochitl and Nopaltzin's three sons are not only among the first generation produced through Chichimec-Toltec intermarriage but they are also the first who descend from Topiltzin as well as from Xolotl: paradigms both for a Nahua royal dynasty and for a legitimate line of dynastic succession. At Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, in the southeast (Plate 2, upper right), the region here mostly inhabited by Toltec refugees, Tlohtzin, who appears at Tenayuca as one of Nopaltzin and Azcaxochitl's three sons, his wife, Pachxochitzin, and six children make up another, separate, genealogical sequence. Tlohtzin's offspring are the fourth patrilineal generation of the family and the dynasty founded by Xolotl, which derives its authority not only from its Chichimec origins but also from its Toltec ancestry.[54]

On Codex Xolotl page/map 3 (Plate 3), Nopaltzin (the second generation) succeeds Xolotl (the first generation) at Tenayuca; here, as most often in the manuscript, the painters show the son and successor seated on a tepotzoicpalli, the high-backed reed throne, next to his father's and predecessor's corpse bundle, a standard formulation to signify the transfer of power from one generation to the next.[55]

On the fourth page/map (Plate 4), Tlohtzin (the third generation), a descendant both of Xolotl and of Topiltzin, succeeds his father Nopaltzin. In this instance, however, the successor sits on the ground rather than on a throne, a subtle pictorial omen of what will follow.[56] After Tlohtzin's death, his first cousin Tezozomoc (a member of the third generation), the son of Xolotl's daughter Cuetlaxochitl (the second generation), comes to power in the western valley, at Azcapotzalco. Positioned just below the seated Tlohtzin, the enthroned and now Toltec Tezozomoc, who has succeeded his father, Aculhua, as ruler of Azcapotzalco, functions as Tlohtzin's successor by visual parataxis: the juxtaposition is more poetic device than historical fact.[57] The legitimate line of dynastic succession from father to son inaugurated by Xolotl seems to end in the third generation at Tenayuca.[58]

By this time, Tlohtzin's son Quinatzin (the fourth generation), one of the six children of Tlohtzin and Pachxochitzin shown on the second page/map at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc (Plate 2), has already appeared on the third page/map (Plate 3) enthroned as a ruler in his own right in the eastern valley, at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, where he was the first to settle permanently. Xolotl's great-grandson through the male line, Quinatzin, who should have succeeded his father, Tlohtzin, at Tenayuca (on Map 4), continues the first dynasty to count not only Xolotl but also Topiltzin among its ancestors, the line of succession that the manuscript qualifies as legitimate, at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco.

In the western valley, Tezozomoc, Xolotl's grandson through the female line, in effect usurps Quinatzin's position, upsetting the normative order communicated through the genealogies and the dynastic succession at Tenayuca.[59] And, just as Tezozomoc displaces the legitimate heir, the city or territory that Xolotl granted to Tezozomoc's father, Aculhua, and his Tepanecs—Azcapotzalco—displaces Tenayuca, the city founded by the supreme Chichimec leader. On page/map 5 (Plate 5), Tenayuca's toponym is much smaller than it was on the previous pages, and thereafter it disappears altogether from the manuscript.

Settlement and, as the genealogies attest, intermarriage will gradually resolve the dialectic—a diphrastic metaphor—between uncivilized Chichimec hunter-gatherers in the northwest and civilized Toltec agriculturalists in the southeast that informs the Codex Xolotl's first two pages/maps (Plates 1 and 2). On pages/maps 3–6 (Plates 3–6), the genealogies and the toponyms with which they configure the newly established Nahua altepemeh lay the groundwork for a second and equally dialectical history. The Nahua polities divide into two intimately related yet hostile geographic blocs: the Acolhua cities and allies on the eastern, and the Tepanec cities and allies on the western shores of the Valley of Mexico's lakes. Separated by ethnic affiliation and geography if not by language—they are all Nahuatl speakers—and culture, the Acolhua and Tepanec peoples and polities are the fruit of Chichimec settlement and Toltec intermarriage. Acolhua and Tepanec rulers claimed, and the genealogies on the second page trace, lineal descent from Xolotl and, through the Toltec dynasty of Culhuacan, whose daughters they and their Chichimec forefathers sought out as wives, from Topiltzin, the lord of Tollan.

According to the manuscript's second page (Plate 2), Xolotl granted Coatlichan, also known as Acolhuacan, in the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, to the Acolhua-Chichimecs, and Azcapotzalco in the western half of the valley to the Tepanec-Chichimecs.[60] The Tepanec leader Aculhua married Xolotl's daughter Cuetlaxochitl, by whom he fathered three sons, and as a family the five make up the genealogy recorded at Azcapotzalco on page/map 2. The Acolhua leader Tzontecomatl married Tecihuatzin, the daughter of the Toltec ruler of Tlalmanalco, a city in the eastern valley, and they produced one son, Itzmitl, who in turn sired one son, Huetzin: the three generations constitute Coatlichan's genealogical sequence on page/map 2.

On the Xolotl's third page/map (Plate 3), Cuetlaxochitl and Aculhua's son Acamapichtli, at Azcapotzalco, and Tzontecomatl and Tecihuatzin's grandson Huetzin, at Coatlichan, marry Ilancueitl and Atotontzin, respectively, daughters of Achitometl, the Toltec ruler of Culhuacan, a descendant of Topiltzin.[61] Likewise, on the third page, two of Xolotl's great-grandsons, the brothers Quinatzin and Tochintecuhtli, take up residence in the vicinity of Coatlichan, the former at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and the latter at Huexotla. Quinatzin and Tochintecuhtli belong to the fourth generation of Xolotl's descendants through the male line; through their

paternal grandmother, Azcaxochitl, they are descendants of Topiltzin, too, and first cousins once removed of Ilancueitl and Atotontzin.[62]

The genealogies and dynastic successions pictured on the Codex Xolotl's fourth page (Plate 4) complicate the familial relationships as well as clarify the formation of ethnic and political alliances. In the west, Aculhua and Cuetlaxochitl's son Tezozomoc succeeds his father at Azcapotzalco. As noted, Tezozomoc's accession symbolizes the—illegitimate—transfer of power in the western valley from Tenayuca to Azcapotzalco, and from Xolotl's heirs in the male line, who also descend from Topiltzin, to those in the female line, who do not. On the fourth page, too, Tezozomoc's brother Acamapichtli, the youngest of Aculhua and Cuetlaxochitl's three sons in the Azcapotzalco genealogy on page/map 2 (Plate 2), becomes the ruler of Tenochtitlan, the recently founded Mexica settlement in the western valley. At Tenochtitlan, in the year One Flint Knife, Acamapichtli, now a Toltec rather than a Chichimec, as he was on the previous page, sits on a throne directly above the city's toponym, which occurs here for the first time in the Xolotl.[63] With his wife, Ilancueitl, and a son, he establishes a new dynastic line at Tenochtitlan, not a new family, and this dynasty is the only one on page/map 4 headed by a Toltec male.

Acamapichtli, at the time still a Chichimec, Ilancueitl, and their three children had already formed a family at Azcapotzalco (page/map 3, Plate 3), a family that, because Acamapichtli there sits on the ground rather than on a throne, the composition labels as a cadet branch of the Tepanec royal dynasty. The spatial and temporal order of the genealogies and enthronements specifies that Tenochtitlan's dynastic line derives from, and suggests that it is subordinate to, Azcapotzalco's; but, as the genealogies make clear, the Mexica dynasty descends from Xolotl *and* Topiltzin, while the Tepanec does not.[64]

A new family as well as dynastic line and toponym appear on the fourth page (Plate 4) at Tlatelolco, Tenochtitlan's "sister" city, a Mexica settlement that lies between Azcapotzalco and Tenochtitlan. Tlatelolco's ruler, Mixcoatl, seated on a tepotzoicpalli, his inappropriately named Toltec wife, Chichimecacihuatzin ("Little/Revered Chichimec Woman"), and a son make up a dynastic genealogy that has no visible, graphic connection to any other family or dynasty recorded on this or the previous three pages, a sign of its fledgling status.[65]

On the fifth and sixth pages of the Codex Xolotl (Plates 5 and 6), the royal genealogies and the marriages that perpetuate them closely bind Azcapotzalco, Tenochtitlan, and Tlatelolco (and, to a lesser extent, Tlacopan, a Tepanec city that will later form part of the Aztec Triple Alliance). Azcapotzalco plays the key role, especially the daughters of its ruler, Tezozomoc. On page/map 5 (Plate 5), one of Tezozomoc's daughters marries the ruler of Tlacopan, and their daughter, Tezozomoc's granddaughter, marries Tezozomoc's nephew, Acamapichtli's son and successor at Tenochtitlan, Huitzilihuitl. On the next page (Plate 6), another of Tezozomoc's daughters marries the ruler of Tlatelolco.

The bonds of kinship created through intermarriage among the three cities and their ruling families make the cities natural allies, as does their geographic proximity. Azcapotzalco, the oldest of the three cities, the Tepanec people who settled it, and their royal dynasty, which the first Tepanec leader, Aculhua, and Xolotl's daughter Cuetlaxochitl engendered before the Mexica of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco had even arrived in the Valley of Mexico, take precedence. The Mexica of Tenochtitlan and their rulers, who are identified as descendants of Azcapotzalco's royal dynasty (through Acamapichtli, Tenochtitlan's first ruler), and thus of Xolotl, and of Culhuacan's royal dynasty (through Acamapichtli's wife, Ilancueitl), rank second here, even though the royal family's Toltec blood endows them with the nobler pedigree. Tlatelolco, the Mexica who founded it, and their newly established royal dynasty are the most junior among the three. Under the leadership of Azcapotzalco's royal dynasty, especially of the second ruler, Tezozomoc, and his successor, Maxtla, Azcapotzalco, Tenochtitlan, and Tlatelolco will control the western and aspire to conquer the eastern valley.

Arrangements in the eastern half of the valley parallel those in the west, and, as there, lineage and descent forge the determinative dynastic and political links. On page/map 3 (Plate 3), Huetzin, ruler of the Acolhua settlement at Coatlichan, and grandson of its founder Tzontecomatl, married Atotontzin, a daughter of Achitometl of Culhuacan (and sister of Acamapichtli's wife, Ilancueitl). Huetzin, Atotontzin, and their seven children make up the genealogy recorded just below Coatlichan's toponym on the third page, and they represent the third and fourth generations of the city's ruling dynasty (the first two generations—Tzontecomatl and his son, Huetzin's father, Itzmitl—appear on page/map 2, Plate 2).

On the fourth page (Plate 4), Huetzin and Atotontzin's son Acolmiztli, through his mother a descendant of Topiltzin of Tollan, marries one of the daughters of Tlohtzin's son Tochintecuhtli of Huexotla, Nenetzin, who descends from Xolotl through the male line (and through her father's paternal grandmother, Azcaxochitl, from Topiltzin).

The genealogy appended to Coatlichan's toponym on the fourth page moves from the fourth to the fifth generation of the dynasty: from the fourth ruler, Acolmiztli, enthroned as his father's successor, and his wife, Nenetzin, to their four children. Acolmiztli and Nenetzin's offspring are the first among Tzontecomatl's heirs, the Acolhua dynasty of Coatlichan, also to be descendants—through the female line—of both Xolotl and Topiltzin. Above Coatlichan's toponym and to the right of Acolmiztli's corpse bundle, Acolmiztli and Nenetzin's third son, Mococomatzin, enthroned on a tepotzoicpalli, accedes as his father's successor; he is the fifth ruler of Coatlichan and the first who can claim Tzontecomatl, Topiltzin, and Xolotl as ancestors. Here, Mococomatzin, his Toltec wife, Papalopantzin, whose genealogical connections are not given, and their son Paintzin/Opantecuhtli configure a second Coatlichan genealogical sequence.[66] This genealogy records a critical transformation: Paintzin/

Opantecuhtli—the sixth generation—is the first male in the Coatlichan dynasty to assume from birth the dress and grooming of Toltec men, and thereby to be fully civilized.[67]

On the Xolotl's fourth page (Plate 4), Nenetzin's sister Cuauhcihuatzin marries, too. Her husband is her paternal uncle Quinatzin of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. The genealogical sequence at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco on page/map 4, the first recorded for the city, shows the ruling dynasty's first two generations: Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin, the ancestral couple, and their five sons, who descend from Xolotl and Topiltzin both through the maternal *and* the paternal lines. The last and presumably youngest of Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin's sons, Techotlalatzin, appears a second time on the fourth page, directly above Tetzcoco's toponym, and above and to the right of his father's corpse bundle. In this instance, Techotlalatzin sits on a throne, which identifies him as Quinatzin's successor.

Although Techotlalatzin's wife, Tozquentzin, accompanies him, the two do not initiate a family or genealogical sequence here as Mococomatzin and Papalopantzin do in the succession statement at Coatlichan, to the right. Tozquentzin is a daughter of Acolmiztli and Nenetzin of Coatlichan, and thus Mococomatzin's sister, and she appears in this guise in the main genealogy at Coatlichan on page/map 4. As Nenetzin is Techotlalatzin's mother's sister, Tozquentzin and Mococomatzin are Techotlalatzin's first cousins as well as, respectively, his wife and brother-in-law.

Huexotla lies between and connects Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco (to the north or left) and Coatlichan (to the south or right), and the marriages of its founder's two daughters, Cuauhcihuatzin and Nenetzin, bind the three cities and their dynasties together. Huexotla's toponym initially figures on page/map 3 (Plate 3), where it occurs in conjunction with the city's first settlers and ancestral couple, Tlohtzin's son, Quinatzin's brother Tochintecuhtli and his wife, Tomiyauh, a Toltec woman whose ancestry the painters do not specify. On the fourth page/map (Plate 4), just below the city's place sign, Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh head the first genealogical sequence depicted at Huexotla, which includes their two sons and two daughters, the second generation of the dynasty and, through their father, the fifth generation of Xolotl's descendants in the male line; this replicates the generational and temporal order of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and its ruling dynasty. As at Coatlichan and Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, a succession statement positioned above Huexotla's toponym and to the right of Tochintecuhtli's corpse bundle expands on the genealogy inscribed below it. With his wife, Xilocihuatzin, whose figure is now almost entirely worn away by abrasion, Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh's son Quiauhtzin, the second ruler of Huexotla, points forward to the next generation.[68]

Antiquity and descent from Topiltzin and, more important, from Xolotl dictate rank among the three eastern polities and their rulers. Coatlichan was the first of the three to have been settled—on page/map 2

(Plate 2), with Xolotl's blessing. As of the fourth generation, the children of Huetzin and Atotontzin, the city's royal dynasty has a genealogical connection to Topiltzin through the female line.[69] Neither Tzontecomatl nor Tecihuatzin, the founders of the dynasty, however, descended from or were related to the supreme Chichimec leader. Only in the fifth generation, the children of Huetzin and Atotontzin's son Acolmiztli and his wife, Tochintecuhtli's daughter Nenetzin, can the dynasty claim Xolotl as an ancestor, and, as in the case of their Toltec heritage, only through the female line.

Huexotla and Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco are of more recent vintage than Coatlichan, but their ruling dynasties boast the more exalted pedigree. When Tochintecuhtli, a direct, patrilineal descendant of Xolotl and a matrilineal descendant of Topiltzin, founded Huexotla, his brother Quinatzin settled at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. The brothers belong to the same genealogical line, but, according to the Codex Xolotl's third page/map (Plate 3), they are not equals: Quinatzin sits on a reed throne at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, Tochintecuhtli, on the ground at Huexotla. The throne qualifies Quinatzin both as a ruler and as the successor to his—and Tochintecuhtli's—father, Tlohtzin, the third Chichimec lord and the second and last of Xolotl's patrilineal descendants in the legitimate line of succession to rule at Tenayuca. The manuscript implies that Quinatzin should have succeeded at Tenayuca, in this way marking him as, at the least, the *primus inter pares* among his generation while also calling into question Tezozomoc's and Azcapotzalco's ascendancy in the western valley.

Even on page/map 4 (Plate 4), Tochintecuhtli and his son and successor, Quiauhtzin, perch on small, tabouret-like reed mats, while Quinatzin sits on a high-backed royal tepotzoicpalli at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. The painters differentiate the relative status of the cities that the brothers rule, too: Nopaltzin, Quinatzin and Tochintecuhtli's paternal grandfather, traveled through Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco when he reconnoitered the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico on page/map 1 (Plate 1), and the city's toponym, like Coatlichan's, appears on page/map 2 (Plate 2), whereas Huexotla's debuts on the third page (Plate 3).

On page/map 4 (Plate 4), Quinatzin marries his niece, Tochintecuhtli's daughter Cuauhcihuatzin. Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin's son Techotlalatzin, who will succeed his father on the throne, marries Tozquentzin, the daughter of Acolmiztli and Nenetzin of Coatlichan, joining the royal dynasties of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. Techotlalatzin descends from Xolotl and Topiltzin through the maternal and the paternal lines, and his wife, Tozquentzin, descends from Xolotl and Topiltzin through the maternal line. The blood of Xolotl, Topiltzin, and the royal dynasties of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco courses through the veins of Techotlalatzin and Tozquentzin's children, with whom the royal couple configure a genealogical sequence at Tzinacanoztoc on page/map 5 (Plate 5), in the northeast corner of the valley.

In spite of Coatlichan's apparent antiquity and the Huexotla dynasty's almost equivalent ancestry, the manuscript's painters give pride of place to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and its royal dynasty, whose preeminence they incarnate through the genealogies.

Known collectively as the Acolhua, the peoples and polities of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dominate the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, pendants to Azcapotzalco, Tenochtitlan, and Tlatelolco, the Tepanec and Mexica cities that dominate the western half. The two tripartite forces generate a balanced yet dynamic opposition, which impels and illuminates history in pages 7–10 (Plates 7–10).

The narrative now chronicles contention over dynastic and political legitimacy—power struggles—rather than the transformation of nomadic hunter-gatherers into civilized urban dwellers. As the genealogies show, the Acolhua, Tepanecs, and Mexica descend from and exemplify the synthesis of Chichimec and Toltec stock. The rulers of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, in the east, and Azcapotzalco, in the west, who lead their respective alliances both assert the right to rule as the heir of Xolotl and Topiltzin, and the dynastic antinomy motivates war.

The central genealogies on the fifth and sixth pages (Plates 5 and 6) highlight the Acolhua protagonists and the Tepanec antagonists whose inevitable confrontation the Xolotl's final four pages illustrate, and whose claims the genealogies implicitly adjudicate. On page/map 5 (Plate 5), at Tzinacanoztoc, Quinatzin's son and successor, Techotlalatzin, and his wife, Tozquentzin, beget the next—the third—generation of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco's ruling dynasty. Techotlalatzin and Tozquentzin's four sons and one daughter are members of the sixth generation of Xolotl's descendants through the male line, and their sons are among the first generation of males to be Toltec from birth, the legacy of successive female forebears.[70] Techotlalatzin's eldest son, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, whom Tozquentzin cradles in her lap at Tzinacanoztoc, succeeds his father as ruler—the third at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and the sixth in the dynasty founded by Xolotl—on page/map 6 (Plate 6), where, directly below his predecessor's corpse bundle, he sits on a tepotzoicpalli. But, like his great-grandfather Tlohtzin (the third generation and third ruler), the last of Xolotl's patrilineal descendants in the legitimate line of succession to rule at Tenayuca, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli (the sixth generation and sixth ruler) will prove a pivotal figure.

On page/map 6 (Plate 6), at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, two consorts flank the enthroned Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli. To the right, facing him directly, sits the legitimate, or principal, wife, Matlalcihuatl, a daughter of Huitzilihuitl, the Mexica ruler of Tenochtitlan; a footprint path starts at Huitzilihuitl's corpse bundle at Tenochtitlan and connects to Matlalcihuatl at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. Tecpacxochitl, the "concubine," or secondary wife, a daughter of Huitzilihuitl's paternal uncle Tezozomoc—a solid line connects her to Azcapotzalco's toponym and her father—appears at left, in

the subsidiary position behind Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli. Although they are first cousins once removed (Matlalcihuatl's father is Tecpacxochitl's first cousin), the two women are not dynastic or genealogical equals: according to the Codex Xolotl, Matlalcihuatl is a descendant of the royal dynasty of Culhuacan; Tecpacxochitl is not. Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli fathers a son and a daughter by the former, and five sons by the latter, the seventh generation of Xolotl's patrilineal descendants. Genealogy and the pattern of dynastic succession first delineated on page/map 2 (Plate 2)—now normative—qualify Matlalcihuatl's only son, Nezahualcoyotl, as the legitimate successor, the next in line for the throne.

Like his father, Aculhua, who allegedly contested and prevented his great-nephew Quinatzin's succession at Tenayuca on page/map 4 (Plate 4), causing the first disruption to the legitimate line of succession, Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco challenges the authority of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco—his first cousin three times removed—on page/map 7 (Plate 7).[71] Alva Ixtlilxochitl avers that his ancestor Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli would not elevate Tezozomoc's daughter Tecpacxochitl to the position of principal, or legitimate, wife and that, because of this offense, her father would not permit his reluctant son-in-law to retain his throne.[72]

The Xolotl's seventh page details the Tepanec father-in-law's aggressions against his Acolhua son-in-law, which eventuate in Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's assassination at the hands of Tezozomoc's minions (Plate 7, upper left corner). Tezozomoc and, after his death (on page 8, Plate 8), his son and successor, Maxtla, prevent Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's son and rightful heir, Nezahualcoyotl, from acceding to the Acolhua throne and the primary position among Nahua rulers.[73] Since witnessing his father's murder, Nezahualcoyotl had been forced to wander in exile, a nomad like his Chichimec ancestors, as well as a fugitive. Once again, a ruler of Azcapotzalco disrupts the legitimate line of succession, a line that the Codex Xolotl and its genealogies exclusively associate with the Acolhua dynasty of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco.

As Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's and Tlohtzin's reigns, respectively the third and the sixth, make clear, every third generation of Xolotl's heirs experiences or effects a crucial transition: Tlohtzin was the last legitimate heir to rule at Tenayuca, in the west, and Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli seems to be the last one to rule at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, in the east. Just as his great-grandfather Quinatzin, the fourth ruler, did before him, Nezahualcoyotl, the seventh ruler, will ultimately reestablish the legitimate dynasty at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco in the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, and in the process he will help transfer power to those whom the Xolotl considers Topiltzin's rightful heirs in the western half.

On page 8 (Plate 8, lower left corner), Tezozomoc's son and successor, Maxtla, imprisons the Mexica ruler of Tenochtitlan, Chimalpopoca, his first cousin once removed, and will later order his execution.[74] Chimalpo-

poca and his brother and successor on the throne, Itzcoatl, are Nezahualcoyotl's mother's (Matlalcihuatl's) brothers, and, after Chimalpopoca's death, the nephew will ally himself with his uncle Itzcoatl to overthrow Maxtla.[75]

The ninth and tenth pages of the Codex Xolotl (Plates 9 and 10) detail the early stages of Nezahualcoyotl's campaign against Maxtla, but the manuscript as we have it today and as Alva Ixtlilxochitl had it in the seventeenth century does not include the dénouement of the dynastic crisis: the formation of the Mexica-Acolhua alliance, in effect the reunification of east and west, the defeat of Azcapotzalco and its allies, and the restoration of Nezahualcoyotl to power in Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. It is nevertheless clear that, as before, the legitimate line of succession will prevail, for the genealogies so meticulously and purposefully charted in the manuscript predetermine *and* justify this outcome. To quote Cosentino, "genealogical roots are demonstrated visually as sources of power for . . . rule."[76] The Acolhua dynasty descends from Xolotl through the male line, the Tepanec through the female line; and the Acolhua and the Mexica dynasties count Topiltzin among their ancestors, whereas the Tepanec does not. Nezahualcoyotl, the sole male of the seventh generation in the legitimate line of succession, will avenge his father's death and finally succeed him on the throne, in the east; consequently, in the west, the Mexica dynasty of Tenochtitlan, matrilineal descendants of Xolotl and Topiltzin, will assume its due rank, supplanting Azcapotzalco's Tepanec dynasty.

The Tlohtzin Map: The Acolhua Dynasty before and after Cortés

Genealogy dictates the Tlohtzin Map's form and content (Plates 18–25).[77] Like its cartography, the manuscript's genealogies distill from the Acolhua past and its iconic-script archive only what is necessary to argue the antiquity, legitimacy, and continuity of Tetzcoco's royal dynasty.[78] But, although the Tlohtzin includes only seven genealogical sequences, as a group they encompass nine generations, one more than the Codex Xolotl's 316 genealogies. Large mountain-caves, an iconographic marker of origins as well as of place and polity, site 6 of the 7 dynastic/genealogical sequences, and toponyms identify five of the six locations. Historically, if not graphically, all the sequences depend on and connect to the genealogy that elaborates Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco's mountain-cave and toponym, and they focus narrowly on the city's royal family and their ancestors. The distillation of text and image lays bare the Tlohtzin's intent to both Nahua and Spanish eyes: to demonstrate the validity of Acolhua dynastic claims, and hence the inviolability of Acolhua patrimony.

The Tlohtzin opens at left with a scene of three men and three women walking from the northwest corner of the Valley of Mexico toward the east and south (Plates 19 and 20). Signs—and, later, alphabetic-script

Nahuatl annotations—name the six figures, while dress, grooming, and pose denote the context: Chichimec migration. Amacui (Xolotl?) travels with his wife, accompanied by their son Nopaltzin and his wife and Nopaltzin's son Tlohtzin and his wife.[79] Moving from bottom left to top right, northwest to southeast, the six figures march in two diagonal rows of three each. The men occupy the upper row: at the top, Amacui/Xolotl; at the center, Nopaltzin; and at the bottom, Tlohtzin. The three women who accompany them make up the lower row: from upper right to lower left, Amacui/Xolotl's wife, here named Malinalxochitl; Nopaltzin's wife, here named Cuauhcihuatl; and Tlohtzin's wife, Icpacxochitl.[80] The artist positions the six Chichimecs so that each nuclear family forms a triangle, with the husband and father at top, the wife and mother below and on axis with her husband, and their son behind and centered between them—three interlocking generations of a family that configure an implicit if unusual genealogy.

The Tlohtzin Map contains four genealogical sequences that hew more closely to conventional schema. The six Chichimec migrants reach the end of their journey and take shelter in a mountain-cave—the second from the left—at Cuauhyacac, in the northeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico (Plates 18 and 20). The artist disposes the seated figures in two columns of three each in the cave, one at left and one at right, facing each other. Amacui/Xolotl and Malinalxochitl, the ancestral couple, head the columns, and Nopaltzin (below his mother, Malinalxochitl, at right) and Tlohtzin (at left, across from his father, Nopaltzin, and below his grandfather Amacui/Xolotl) come next, followed by Cuauhcihuatzin, Nopaltzin's wife, at right, and Icpacxochitl, Tlohtzin's wife, at left. As in the migration scene, the disposition of the figures highlights their blood and marriage ties, while the setting, a womblike cave, references birth and creation.

As one moves from Cuauhyacac to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, from north to south and earlier to later, the Tlohtzin Map shifts from narrative—migration and settlement—to genealogy (Plates 18, 21, and 22).[81] Lying at the heart of the map and the text, the manuscript's most extensive genealogical sequence anchors the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco mountain-cave, the third from the left, and its toponym.[82] The youngest male from Cuauhyacac, Tlohtzin, initiates this genealogy, which ends six generations later with his great-great-great-great-grandsons. From Tlohtzin to his great-great-great-grandson Nezahualpilli, each man is paired with a wife or consort, presumably the mother of the next ruler, the men forming a column at left, the women, one at right (Plates 21 and 22). Accompanied by his wife, each heir sits directly below his father and is followed by the next heir, his son.

The pattern breaks down with the Conquest-period generation: Nezahualpilli's son Cacama, who ruled Tetzcoco when the Spaniards arrived in 1519, and the brothers and half-brothers who succeeded him—and here form a line behind rather than a column below him—appear with-

out wives or consorts. From top to bottom, earlier to later, the dynastic genealogy comprises Tlohtzin and his wife, Icpacxochitl; Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl's son Quinatzin and his wife, Cuauhcihuatzin; Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin's son Techotlalatzin and his wife, Tozquentzin; Techotlalatzin and Tozquentzin's son Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and his wife, Matlalcihuatzin; Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and Matlalcihuatzin's son Nezahualcoyotl and a wife or consort; Nezahualcoyotl's son Nezahualpilli and a wife or consort; Nezahualpilli's son Cacama; and behind Cacama, from right to left, presumably in the order in which they succeeded, his brothers and half-brothers don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin, don Hernando Tecolcotzin, don Hernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitzin, don Jorge Alvarado Yoyontzin, and don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquititzin.[83] Name signs identify all the figures but two, the wives of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli—unexpected, given that a child and grandchild of these two women may have commissioned or painted the manuscript.[84]

Tlohtzin and Quinatzin shelter in the mountain-cave (Plates 21 and 22). They sit at the left, facing their wives, who sit at right and face them; from this point on in the manuscript, husband-wife pairs follow this iconographic convention.[85] Cradlelike carrying frames lie between Tlohtzin and his wife, Icpacxochitl, and, below, between their son Quinatzin and his wife, Cuauhcihuatzin. Each carrying frame contains an unnamed infant, perhaps the next heir in line—Quinatzin between Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl, and Techotlalatzin between Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin.[86] With the exception of Quinatzin's wife, Cuauhcihuatzin, the members of the two families in the cave are physically the most Chichimec figures in the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dynastic genealogy. Hair long and unkempt, Tlohtzin, his wife, Icpacxochitl, and their son Quinatzin—both as an infant and as an adult—wear rough, animal-skin garments.[87] Like their forebears Xolotl and Nopaltzin, Tlohtzin and Quinatzin wear the *pachxochitl*, the leafy garland headdress of Chichimec rulers, and they carry bows and arrows, the nomads' weapon of choice.[88] Like the animal-skin garments, the bow and arrow symbolize Chichimec identity, and in spite of the visible improvement in dress and grooming from one generation to the next, Tlohtzin's and Quinatzin's descendants and heirs up to and including Nezahualpilli still carry them, a sign of their Chichimec heritage.[89]

Among the ancestors in the cave, it is Quinatzin's wife, Cuauhcihuatzin, who introduces Toltec customs and sartorial refinement. Like her mother, Tomiyauh, who can be seen in the mountain-cave of Huexotla at right (Plates 22 and 23), Cuauhcihuatzin wears a *huipilli* and a skirt, both woven from cotton rather than pieced together from animal skins. Her hair is elegantly dressed, with a neat bun at the nape of the neck and a braid wrapped around the head. Cuauhcihuatzin resembles her mother not only in form but also in function: she, too, has married a Chichimec husband and will give birth to a generation visibly more assimilated into Toltec culture.

After the first two generations, the painter alters the pattern of the dynastic genealogy at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco (Plates 21 and 22). Quinatzin's successor, the now-adult Techotlalatzin, and his wife, Tozquentzin, make up the third generation (the fifth generation from Xolotl), the first depicted outside the mountain-cave, but no child accompanies them. Techotlalatzin's cloak is clearly made of cotton rather than animal skins, and he no longer wears the pachxochitl. Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and his wife, Matlalcihuatzin, the fourth generation (the sixth from Xolotl), sit just below Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's parents, Techotlalatzin and Tozquentzin, whom they copy in dress, grooming, and posture. Nezahualcoyotl, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's son and heir, and his unnamed wife, the fifth generation (the seventh from Xolotl), are next. Nezahualcoyotl's hair is shorter than that of his ancestors and impeccably groomed, and, as it is combed behind the ear, one can see the king's jade or obsidian earflare, which replaces the limp, fabriclike bands that hang from the ears of Chichimec men. As a sign of rank and refinement, Nezahualcoyotl rests on a tepotzoicpalli, and all his successors will do likewise, in contrast to their less-courtly forebears, who sat on the ground.

The Tlohtzin distinguishes Nezahualcoyotl and his wife from other dynastic couples, just as the Codex Xolotl privileges this ruler's life and reign over those of his ancestors and contemporaries.[90] Drawn in a smaller scale than the members of the dynasty, seven court artists practicing their arts line up behind Nezahualcoyotl's consort (Plate 22): from left to right, a manuscript painter, a jade or obsidian carver, a lapidary mosaic specialist, a goldsmith, a feather worker, a stone carver, and above the stone carver, a woodworker. By positioning them in a row next to Nezahualcoyotl and his wife, the painter makes a visual analogy to genealogy, metaphorically invoking the royal couple's fecundity. The artists qualify this reign as the Acolhua artistic-cultural apogee and, by implication, the Acolhua political and dynastic apogee.

Nezahualcoyotl's son and heir, Nezahualpilli, and his unnamed wife constitute the sixth generation (the eighth from Xolotl), and they assume the poses and attributes of his father and mother. Cacama and his five brothers and half-brothers, the seventh generation (the ninth from Xolotl), follow their father, Nezahualpilli. The Tlohtzin graphically differentiates Cacama both from his pre-Hispanic-era father and from his colonial-era brothers and half-brothers. Cacama echoes his father in pose and dress; however, he no longer carries the Chichimec bow and arrow, and the hair at the crown of his head has been tied into a warrior's topknot (Plates 21 and 22).[91] Cacama's brothers appear without the emblematic Chichimec weapon, too, but they neither tie their hair in the warrior's topknot, like Cacama, nor wear it as long as, or with a hank wrapped with fabric or leather straps at the back of the head, as their father and grandfather did. While they copy their father's and brother's dress and pose, they have forsaken the earflares worn by Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco's last three pre-Hispanic rulers. Cacama ends the verti-

cal dynasty and succession from father to son that began above with Tlohtzin, and at left with Xolotl, and initiates the horizontal succession among one generation of descendants and heirs, who are visibly not what their forebears were.[92]

Compared to the other horizontal "generation" in the dynastic genealogy, Nezahualcoyotl's court artists, this one appears sterile, unproductive. Even so, Cacama also represents the possibility of renewal. Reading down the dynasty, every other generation or reign effects change. Amacui/Xolotl founds a new homeland and dynasty; Amacui/Xolotl's grandson Tlohtzin settles Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, where he continues the dynasty begun by his grandfather; Tlohtzin's grandson Techotlalatzin is here born half-Toltec; Techotlalatzin's grandson Nezahualcoyotl inspires the arts and culture; and Nezahualcoyotl's grandson Cacama, Amacui/Xolotl's great-great-great-great-great-great-grandson, ends the line of pre-Hispanic rulers. The figure of the last monarch to reign before Cortés balances that of the first Chichimec settler: one requires the other, and, for the indigenous reader, every end presages a beginning, as in the sacred calendar.

Graced by a toponym and a dynastic genealogy, the mountain-cave of Huexotla, the fourth from the left, lies to the right and south of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco (Plates 22, upper right, and 23). The founder of the city and dynasty and his consort inhabit the cave, and what appear to be the next three rulers and their consorts line up below them in neat columns, men at left and women at right. The women are Toltec in mien, but their spouses are Chichimec (the founding father) or partially Toltec (the three successors) but never as fully Nahua as Nezahualcoyotl or Nezahualpilli, and men and women alike sit on the ground. The painter names all the men but only the first woman, and the later alphabetic scribe did not annotate either the individual figures or the scene as a whole. From top to bottom, the genealogy includes Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh; Manahuatzin/Matzicoltzin and his consort; Quiauhtzin and his consort; and Paintzin/Yaotl and his consort. On Codex Xolotl page/map 4 (Plate 4), Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh, the founding couple at Huexotla, have three sons, and in spite of some discrepancies in the signs, the boys' names and the order in which they appear there match those of the three apparent heirs on the Tlohtzin (Plates 22 and 23).[93] The composition suggests four generations and rulers, but there are only two generations—one couple and their sons and daughters-in-law—and one ruler and his successor.

Huexotla had intimate ties to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and its dynasty, but the Tlohtzin Map does not signal them. No lines connect Quinatzin's wife, Cuauhcihuatzin, to Huexotla or to her parents, Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh; only the annotation under Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin in the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dynastic genealogy makes the connection explicit. Nothing in the iconic-script text registers Tochintecuhtli's own ties to his daughter's husband, or to the family and dynasty sired by

Xolotl. According to the Codex Xolotl's genealogies, Tochintecuhtli was one of the sons of Xolotl's grandson Tlohtzin, and hence Quinatzin's brother as well as father-in-law.[94]

At Coatlichan, the second mountain-cave from the right (Plates 24 and 25), and the southernmost of the three Acolhua polities pictured on the Tlohtzin Map, the dynastic genealogy differs from those at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and Huexotla. The Coatlichan dynasty encompasses two royal couples, three rulers, and three generations. The first, presumably ancestral, couple occupies the mountain-cave, while their son, his wife, and their seven children—the only instance on the manuscript of parents shown with all their offspring—sit below and outside it. As at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and Huexotla (Plates 21–23), the second dynastic couple, the son and successor and his consort, aligns with the first, men at left and women at right. Like the court artists behind Nezahualcoyotl's wife, the second couple's five sons and two daughters line up behind their mother, the boys in a row, the girls under the rightmost boy. Long, unkempt hair and animal-skin garments mark the founding couple as Chichimec, but their son, who keeps his hair long yet dons woven cloth, is here partially Toltec, as are his sons, while his wife and daughters are fully Toltec. As at Huexotla, both the men and the women sit on the ground.

Although signs name every member of the dynasty, a fold in the deerskin has made three of the monikers illegible. From top to bottom, earlier to later, the family consists of Itzmitl and Malinalxochitl; Itzmitl and Malinalxochitl's son Huetzin and his wife (name illegible); and their children, from left to right behind Huetzin's wife, the first son, Huitzilihuitl (Acolmiztli?); the second son (name illegible); the third son (name partially illegible, perhaps Acolmiztli?); the fourth son, Itzitlolinqui; the fifth son, Quecholtecpantzin; and below Quecholtecpantzin, the two daughters, Chicomatzin and Ome Tochtli.[95] The number and sex of Huetzin's progeny in the Tlohtzin coincide with the Codex Xolotl's account (page/map 3, Plate 3), but the names and order do not.[96]

Although he appears as the city's second ruler, Huetzin was the third; he was the grandson of Tzontecomatl, the Acolhua-Chichimec leader to whom Xolotl grants Coatlichan on Codex Xolotl page/map 2 (Plate 2). The son of Tzontecomatl's son Itzmitl and his wife, Malinalxochitl, Huetzin married Atotontzin, a woman of the royal house of Culhuacan.[97]

In the Xolotl, Huetzin and Atotontzin's son, Huetzin's successor, Acolmiztli, wedded Nenetzin, one of Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh's two daughters. Also, Coatlichan's ruling house, like Huexotla's, provided a bride to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco: Acolmiztli and Nenetzin's daughter Tozquentzin married Quinatzin and Cuauhcihuatzin's son, her first cousin Techotlalatzin. As in the case of Cuauhcihuatzin, on the Tlohtzin, only the later alphabetic annotation inscribed below Techotlalatzin and Tozquentzin at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco names her father and birthplace.

On Codex Xolotl page/map 4 (Plate 4), Cuauhcihuatzin's and Nenetzin's marriages bind together the ruling families of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco,

Huexotla, and Coatlichan, the three Acolhua polities. Yet, neither woman figures at Huexotla on the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 22 and 23), where the genealogy portrays their brothers', Tochintecuhtli and Tomiyauh's, three sons instead; and Nenetzin, moreover, figures nowhere on the manuscript. The two women's absence is conspicuous, especially as the Tlohtzin only traces the Huexotla genealogy down to their generation, and the Coatlichan genealogy ends with the generation into which Nenetzin married. On the Tlohtzin, neither Coatlichan's nor Huexotla's dynastic genealogy begins as early or continues as late as Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco's (cf. Plates 21, 23, and 25). Both end at the point at which they either have produced or are about to produce a daughter who marries into and perpetuates the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dynasty: Cuauhcihuatzin of Huexotla married her uncle Quinatzin, the second ruler of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, and bore him Techotlalatzin, the third ruler; Techotlalatzin married the daughter of Cuauhcihuatzin's sister Nenetzin and Acolmiztli of Coatlichan, his cousin Tozquentzin, with whom he fathered Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the fourth ruler. By means of genealogy as well as cartography, the manuscript subordinates Coatlichan and Huexotla to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco.

Dynasties and polities in the western Valley of Mexico had family ties to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, too. Although politics in great part determined which of the western altepemeh the painter included on the Tlohtzin Map—from left to right, north to south, Azcapotzalco, Tenochtitlan, and Culhuacan—genealogy informed the choice of rulers (Plate 18). Elegantly attired and enthroned on tepotzoicpalli, Huitzilihuitl, the second ruler of Tenochtitlan, and Coxcox, a ruler of Culhuacan, sit next to the toponyms that identify their respective cities, and well-groomed wives or consorts in Toltec dress sit on the ground across from and facing each man (Plates 23, bottom left, and 25, bottom, left of center). The women are anonymous, but the men have name signs.

According to the alphabetic annotation under Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and his wife, Matlalcihuatzin, in the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dynastic genealogy (Plates 21 and 22), she is the daughter of Huitzilihuitl of Tenochtitlan; nothing in the iconic-script text references her connection to the Mexica capital or its royal dynasty. Matlalcihuatzin bore Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli his son and heir, Nezahualcoyotl, whom the Codex Xolotl tags as Ixtlilxochitl's only male child in the legitimate line of succession. Like his father, Nezahualcoyotl took a Mexica woman as his principal, or legitimate, wife, and the alphabetic gloss under this ruler and his consort on the Tlohtzin Map identifies her as the daughter of Temictzin of Tenochtitlan (Plates 21 and 22).[98] If this Temictzin is the one that Alva Ixtlilxochitl cites as the eighth and youngest child of Huitzilihuitl, he would have been Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's wife's, Matlalcihuatzin's, brother, and both their son Nezahualcoyotl and his wife, perhaps named Azcalxochitzin, would have been grandchildren of Huitzilihuitl.[99]

Azcalxochitzin may have been the mother of Nezahualcoyotl's succes-

sor, Nezahualpilli. In one account recorded by Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualpilli married his first cousin Tenancacihuatzin, allegedly a daughter of his mother's sister, Temictzin's daughter Teycuhtzin, with the result that in this generation both husband and wife would have been great-grandchildren of Huitzilihuitl.[100]

Nothing, whether pictorial or alphabetic, indicates Coxcox of Culhuacan's origins or his ties to the Acolhua of the eastern valley (Plate 25, bottom, left of center): he may have been a son of Acolmiztli of Coatlichan and his wife, Nenetzin, one of the daughters of Tochintecuhtli of Huexotla.[101] As the husband of Atotontzin of Culhuacan, Huetzin, Acolmiztli's father and Coxcox's grandfather, claimed the throne of the Toltec-Culhua polity, and Coxcox based his claim on his grandfather's.[102] Coxcox was forced to flee from Culhuacan to Coatlichan, where he seems to have succeeded his brother Mococomatzin as ruler.[103] According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, when he fled Culhuacan Coxcox brought with him the Culhua, Huitznahua, Mexica, and Tepanec contingents that join forces with Techotlalatzin of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and his Acolhua-Chichimecs on the Quinatzin Map's top leaf and Codex Xolotl page/map 5.[104]

Coxcox already had close ties to Techotlalatzin, as he was a brother of Techotlalatzin's wife, Tozquentzin, and because their mothers—Nenetzin and Cuauhcihuatzin—were sisters, the men were first cousins and brothers-in-law. Like Huitzilihuitl at Tenochtitlan, Coxcox of Culhuacan symbolizes a network of relationships to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, and, with greater succinctness than at Coatlichan or Huexotla, the two western polities and rulers validate Acolhua dynastic pretensions.

The Tlohtzin Map images another, more elliptical, Acolhua genealogy, which prophesies dynastic continuity. At left, directly above the Chichimec migrants (Plates 19 and 20), the text jumps ahead three generations to the birth of Tlohtzin's great-grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli. A half-Chichimec, half-Toltec adult male, his Toltec female consort, and their infant child shelter in a mountain-cave at Tzinacanoztoc. No names identify the three figures, but an alphabetic Nahuatl gloss below the mountain-cave states that the scene records Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's birth, an event that the Codex Xolotl's fifth page/map (Plate 5) also situates at Tzinacanoztoc. If the child is Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, then the two adults must be his father, Techotlalatzin, and mother, Tozquentzin. The painter aligns the birth at Tzinacanoztoc to the migration episode that opens the manuscript directly below, juxtaposing the pictorial narrative's latest reported historical event to its earliest. The contiguous scenes run the genealogical and cultural gamut from Amacui/Xolotl, the Chichimec founding father, to his first patrilineal descendant to be fully Nahua, his great-great-great-grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli.

A second pairing alludes to the same historical trajectory. The Tzinacanoztoc episode mirrors another at the opposite end of the manuscript (Plates 24 and 25). In an unidentified mountain-cave in the southeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico, Tlohtzin's wife, Icpacxochitl, named in

iconic script and pictured as Chichimec, cradles an infant on her lap. Likewise Chichimec and named, Tlohtzin sits outside and below the mountain-cave. He speaks the word "Quinatzin," the deer's head sign for which appears among the speech scrolls that come out of Tlohtzin's mouth. Tlohtzin's words name the otherwise anonymous child inside the cave, and the identity of father, mother, and child specifies the location, Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, Quinatzin's birthplace.

Like the scene at Tzinacanoztoc, the one at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc concerns a nuclear family—a man, a woman, and one child—and the two episodes are unique on the Tlohtzin Map. Both reference birth and genealogy, and together they subtly play on the elements of the historical archive, contrasting a named location with anonymous actors to an anonymous location with named actors. The semantic pendants circumscribe the manuscript, marking the northern and southern limits of the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico (Plate 18). As they span space, the two families map out a genealogical order: Quinatzin, the child at the right, is the father of Techotlalatzin, the father at the left. The liminal episodes pair Quinatzin, Xolotl's last fully Chichimec patrilineal descendant, at the south, to Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, Quinatzin's grandson, at the north, who is here, as on the Codex Xolotl, the family's first Nahua. The painter thereby inverts and balances the cartographic structure of a Chichimec northwest and Toltec southeast with a Toltec birth at the northeast and a Chichimec birth near the southwest.

The migrating Chichimec ancestors at left can and should be read with Quinatzin's birth at right, which continues the genealogical sequence that they initiate (Plate 18). To get from Tlohtzin—the third and last generation in the migration episode at bottom left—to the fourth generation—Tlohtzin's son Quinatzin at bottom right—and then to the fifth and sixth generations—Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin and Techotlalatzin's son Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli at top left—one circles through space and time, mimicking a Mesoamerican calendric cycle. In one direction, left to right, or north to south, the sequence moves from the migration under Xolotl, to the settlement of the eastern valley under Tlohtzin, and, by implication, to the establishment of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and the Acolhua state under Quinatzin. From right to left, or south to north, genealogy and history evoke but do not depict the—temporary—dissolution of dynasty, city, and state in the reign of Xolotl's great-great-great-grandson, Quinatzin's grandson, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli.

The Tlohtzin Map's allusion to the calendar supplements the text. The literate Nahua viewer could discern what was absent from but necessitated by the recursive genealogy: Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's son and successor, Nezahualcoyotl, who reestablished the Acolhua dynasty.[105] If wars of succession among Nezahualcoyotl's grandsons again disrupted the dynasty, they have left no visible trace on the manuscript. A consequence of the struggles among Nezahualpilli's sons, as well as of Spanish colonization and Christian evangelization, the trial and execution of don

Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl end an era, yet, like the murder of his great-grandfather Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, don Carlos is conspicuous by his absence. The hapless colonial prince parallels his ill-fated great-grandfather, the pivot between the era of Xolotl and that of Nezahualcoyotl and, closer to hand, his brother or half-brother, Cacama, the pivot between the era of Nezahualcoyotl and that of the new Christian and Spanish colony. Any son or grandson of Nezahualpilli who could have commissioned, painted, or read this manuscript in about 1540 would have sensed the possibility of dynastic restoration, however elusive, in its genealogies.[106]

The Quinatzin Map: The Acolhua Dynasty and State in Time

The Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17) includes six generations of Tetzcoco's royal dynasty, but it eschews most graphic conventions for genealogies or ruler lists: there is only one family group or genealogical sequence, and no dynastic catalogue as such. Nevertheless, the manuscript represents ancestors, origins, and dynastic succession; paratactic couplings structure the episodic narrative, including its portrayal of the Acolhua dynasty, its genesis, and generations. More than either the Codex Xolotl or the Tlohtzin Map, the Quinatzin Map insinuates the pre-Hispanic divine into its account of fathers and sons, rulers and heirs.

Like the Tlohtzin and Xolotl, the Quinatzin opens with the Chichimec ancestors' settlement of the eastern Valley of Mexico (Plates 12 and 13), but it translates historical agents and events into generic types or symbols. At the top center of the first leaf, an unidentified mountain-cave encloses an unnamed family, the only one depicted on the manuscript, whose dress and grooming label them as Chichimec—a woman seated at right, a man at left, and between the two adults, a child who lies in a cradlelike carrying frame.[107] The grouping of a Chichimec couple with a child in a mountain-cave and, in this instance, the woman's exposed, wrinkled belly, an indication of pregnancy and parturition, denote ancestors, but these ancestors have neither name nor place of origin. The only toponym on the page, Culhuacan's curved mountain, appears at lower right (Plates 12 and 13). In contrast to the mountain-cave, the sign refers to a known place, the Toltec polity Culhuacan, "Place of Those Who Have Ancestors," which is here uninhabited. Generic mountain-cave and toponym, wilderness and city, and Chichimec and Toltec together adumbrate Nahua genealogy and history.

A summary biography of Quinatzin, the founder of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, orders the Quinatzin Map's first leaf (Plates 12 and 13). Above and to the left of the mountain-cave, a felled deer and its death rattle allude to the eponymous hero's nominal glyph. The iconic-script wordplay suggestively names the Chichimecs in the cave as Xolotl's grandson Tlohtzin and his wife, Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl, the first generation,

and their son Quinatzin, the second generation, and locates them at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc. At bottom center, the seated and named figures of Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin, the third generation, at left, and Techotlalatzin's son, Quinatzin's grandson, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the fourth generation, at right, flank Quinatzin's corpse bundle.[108] The just-deceased Quinatzin and his son and grandson, at bottom, mirror the newborn child and his parents, at top, and the pictorial simile—precept as much as biography—epitomizes family and genealogy: one's parents bring one into the world, and one's children (and grandchildren) usher one out of it and continue one's presence in it. The pendants comprise four patrilineal generations of the Acolhua dynasty, from Tlohtzin, the Chichimec great-grandfather, to Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, his Nahua/Toltec great-grandson.

Quinatzin's only certain appearance between birth and death occurs near the first leaf's bottom left corner (Plates 12 and 13), where, as an adult, he speaks to representatives of the Chimalpaneca and Tlailotlaque. Quinatzin's figure echoes that of Tlohtzin in the mountain-cave: both wear animal-skin cloaks, pachxochitl, and earflares; sit facing to the right; hold a bow and two arrows parallel to the ground in the far (the left, here invisible) hand; and extend the forearm and hand of the near (the right) arm away from the torso, pointing to the right with the index finger. In contrast to his anonymous, inarticulate, and barefoot father, the son has a name and name sign, speaks three speech scrolls, wears sandals, and sits on a small, woven-reed mat rather than on the ground.

Incremental refinement characterizes the dynastic and generational succession from Quinatzin to his son Techotlalatzin and grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, too. Quinatzin's son and grandson substitute woven cotton for their forebears' animal-skin cloaks, and, although their hair is long and unkempt in the Chichimec manner, they no longer wear the pachxochitl. Like Quinatzin, Techotlalatzin and Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli hold bows and arrows and sit on reed mats, but their mats, with long, thin bases and narrower, higher seats, are larger and more elaborate than Quinatzin's rectangular, boxlike stool. Quinatzin and Tetzcoco, embodied on the manuscript's first leaf by the ethnic groups that settled and gave their names to the city's six districts, lie between and motivate the changes that distinguish Quinatzin's son and grandson from his father. In recording ethnic and dynastic origins, the Quinatzin Map elides the polity into the ruler's body: here as in the Codex Xolotl and the Tlohtzin Map, Quinatzin and his heirs are the cause and the symbol of Acolhua history.

Like his birth, Quinatzin's death and his transfigured, soon-to-be-cremated body—a fire burns under the corpse bundle—inaugurate a new era. The immolated ruler as the terminus of a migration or the pivot between two epochs recalls the myths of Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, the Toltec leader, as well as the cremated and cached remains of the Acolhua and Mexica tlahtoqueh.[109]

Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl's death or immolation brought about the Nahua world of the Late Postclassic Period, while, from one generation to the next, the Acolhua and Mexica rulers, both as living men and as ashes, nourished and increased their cities' great temples, where gods and ruler, divine creation and human polity, became one. The deceased Quinatzin's fabric-wrapped body recalls deity bundles as well, such as that of Huitzilopochtli, which guided the Mexicas' ancestors on their migration from Aztlan to Tenochtitlan.[110] Assuming the deity bundle's form, trappings, and power, the founding ancestor's body conjures up the pre-Hispanic divine. Qualified by means of a formal simile as sacred, generative, prophetic, and civic—deity bundles often signal and justify political foundation—Quinatzin's corpse anchors the dynasty and polity in sacred space and time, a symbol of birth and creation, like the cradled infant that he once was.

The Quinatzin Map's implicit dynastic genealogy continues on the second leaf (Plates 14 and 15 and Fig. 2.2), at top and center, with the fifth and sixth generations, Quinatzin's great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl and great-great-grandson Nezahualpilli. Nezahualcoyotl, the son leaf heir of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the last ruler pictured on the first leaf, and Nezahualpilli, Nezahualcoyotl's son and heir, inhabit the cavelike throne room of Tetzcoco's royal palace, an abbreviated plan of which orders the leaf. Enthroned on tepotzoicpalli, the two rulers sit facing each other, Nezahualcoyotl at right and Nezahualpilli at left. They are on axis with Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin and grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, who appear near the bottom and center of the first leaf, and Quinatzin's father, Tlohtzin, and mother, Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl, who appear farther up, near the top and center of the leaf (Plate 11). Nezahualcoyotl's and Nezahualpilli's cotton cloaks edged with fringe; their combed, shoulder-length hair, with a hank at the crown of the head wrapped in a fabric or leather strap; the high-backed, woven-reed thrones on which they sit; and the man-made architecture which surrounds them improve on their predecessors' mores and habitats and register the growing complexity of Acolhua polity and society. Because the royal law court, at left, and the palace's arsenal, at right, frame and protect the two rulers, neither father nor son wields the Chichimecs' bows and arrows.

As they are on axis with the first leaf's seemingly generic mountain-cave and Chichimec family, and both scenes are positioned at the top—the east—of their respective leaves, Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli in the throne room figure as ancestors and founders of a genealogical line and a dynasty, too, even though they are men and the last generations of descendants depicted on the Quinatzin Map. Through iconic-script wordplay, the mountain above the throne room, part of Tetzcoco's toponym, transmutes the architectural space into a mountain-cave, and the room and its occupants take on the guise of origin place and founding couple.

Seated below the rulers, in the palace's courtyard, the fourteen lords of the Acolhua royal council compositionally approximate a dynastic

genealogy (Plates 14 and 15, center). The Quinatzin presents the lords both as rulers in their own right—they sit on woven-reed mats and speak—and as the political children of Tetzcoco and its dynasts: Nezahualcoyotl's and Nezahualpilli's metaphorical issue.[111]

Like Quinatzin's corpse bundle on the first leaf, with which they are on axis, the throne room and the two rulers on the manuscript's second leaf indirectly reference the divine (Plate 11). Such a disposition of two figures in the eastern quadrant of space, at the apex of a man-made mountain—architecture—recalls the double pyramids of the Nahua world, especially the great temples of Tetzcoco and Tenochtitlan (Fig. 3.1). Seated at the east, in the throne room of the palace, Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli invoke the two deities, Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, who sustain and are sustained by ruler, dynasty, and polity. Together, Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc signify a series of fundamental oppositions—fire and water, sky and earth, war and agriculture, Chichimec and Toltec—that generate and metamorphose Nahua genealogy and history into the calendrically mapped cycles of divine creation, destruction, and re-creation.

From top to bottom of its first two leaves, the Quinatzin Map portrays six successive generations of the Acolhua dynasty: Tlohtzin, the founding father and first generation; Tlohtzin's son and successor, Quinatzin, the second generation; Quinatzin's son and successor, Techotlalatzin, the third generation; Techotlalatzin's son and successor, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the fourth generation; Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's son and successor, Nezahualcoyotl, the fifth generation; and Nezahualcoyotl's son and successor, Nezahualpilli, the sixth generation. In contrast to the Codex Xolotl and the Tlohtzin Map, on the Quinatzin, no graphic dynastic or genealogical scheme circumscribes all six men and relates them physically and unequivocally one to the other, and with the exception of Tlohtzin, the founding father, and his son and heir, Quinatzin, no ruler appears either with a wife or consort or as part of a family as such.

Pictorial metaphors modify the Quinatzin Map's disjunctive dynastic genealogy, intimating a series of equivalences that identify the ruler's birth and the genesis of the family and the dynasty with divine creation, and the ruler with the gods; such an identification entails a promise of dynastic continuity through rebirth and revival. The genesis of family and dynasty and their transformation from Chichimec to Nahua/Toltec motivate and elide with the genesis and consequent history of the polity, Tetzcoco, as well, which, like its rulers and gods, reflects the image of creation. The metaphorical conflation of dynasty, polity, and deity communicates indigenous political ideology, in indigenous terms, but here, as in the Codex Xolotl and the Tlohtzin Map, the painter has shorn away ostensible reference to the "idolatrous," which, before 1519, inspired and sustained Nahua royal families, in order to safeguard the rank and privileges of their colonial descendants and heirs.

Our Kin, Our Blood

The Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map all feature the Acolhua royal family of Tetzcoco, and they trace the family's origins back to the Chichimec ancestors who migrated into the Valley of Mexico and intermarried with the valley's Toltec inhabitants. Although the three manuscripts trace out the same family line and integrate it into the map of Acolhuacan, each one configures the dynasty and its genealogy differently.

The Codex Xolotl offers the most extensive genealogical documentation and most closely adheres to genealogical conventions. The more concise Tlohtzin Map encompasses one generation more than the Xolotl, however, and it is the only one of the three manuscripts that continues the royal family and succession into the colonial period. The least-comprehensive of the three—only six generations as opposed to the Xolotl's eight and the Tlohtzin's nine—the Quinatzin Map alludes to and plays on rather than directly transcribes genealogy and genealogical formats. In spite of the differences of form, all three manuscripts assert and justify the rights of Xolotl's heirs, Tetzcoco's royal family, a legacy created by and handed down through generations of recorded ancestors. By means of blood and kin, the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl, like don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, argue: "This is our land, our royal house, our jewel, our possession; its lordship is ours and pertains to us. Who comes here to give us orders and to subject us, who are neither our kin nor of our blood and make themselves our equals? We are here: let there be no one who makes fools of us."[112]

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4 TELLING STORIES

We have always had our good laws and praiseworthy customs, from time immemorial, from the beginning of our royal house and kingdom.

Like all historical writing, the iconic-script histories of pre-Hispanic Mexico written in the Early Colonial Period satisfied economic, political, and social needs—not only for Spanish but also for indigenous patrons.[1] In the aftermath of the execution of don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, and in response to the erosion of indigenous political autonomy and economic prerogatives, a litigation document—the Oztoticpac Lands Map—and three iconic-script histories—the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map—advocated the legitimacy and rights of the Acolhua dynasty and polity. The Acolhua painters and patrons responsible for the three histories chose the subject and means of depiction, strategically mining memory and the iconic-script archive and its formal vocabulary to accommodate Christian and Spanish sensitivities.

Chapters 2 and 3 investigate how these painters and their manuscripts configured two essential aspects of central Mexican iconic-script histories, cartography and genealogy, as record and as metaphor. As record, the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl list places, polities, and people and situate them in relation to each other in the space and time of human experience. As metaphor, the manuscripts, especially the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin, image dynasty and state as similes, hence analogues, of "the ever-present time of the creations and the gods."[2] The record, like the Oztoticpac Lands Map, asserts and justifies rank and privilege in the *república de los españoles*, the metaphor in the *república de los indios*: the former presupposes Spanish legislation and Christian scrutiny; the latter, the linguistic and cultural fluency of an early-colonial Nahua aristocrat.

In addition to mapping land and people, and in contrast to the Oztoticpac Lands Map, the Quinatzin, the Tlohtzin, and the Xolotl tell stories that inform, and are informed by, cartography and genealogy. The three manuscripts image signal events in the arrival and settlement of the

Chichimec ancestors in the Valley of Mexico, the genesis of the Acolhua people, the founding of the Acolhua polity and dynasty, the creation of the regional state, and the lives and reigns of paradigmatic rulers. In the Codex Xolotl, according to Robertson, such "details of Texcocan [*sic*] history stand forth as clearly as the events of European history of the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries."[3] Neither the Quinatzin nor the Tlohtzin represents the past as "eventfully" as does the Xolotl, just as neither surveys the Valley of Mexico or its rulers and their kin as comprehensively or matter-of-factly.

Interpretive and ideological, narratives may be explicit and historiated—the directly depicted events, set in motion by agents and their actions, that determine and justify the past and thereby the present—or implicit and symbolic. A historiated narrative explicitly represents agents, actions, and events as causes and effects; it is a story. Implicit and symbolic narratives are those communicated indirectly, often by means of signs, symbols, or structural patterns that are not themselves representations of actions and events but allusions to causes and effects other than—and that qualify—those directly narrated. The previous two chapters propose that cartography and genealogy function as implicit and symbolic narratives: they intimate causes and effects by means of abstract, iconic diagrams or structures—signs—rather than depicted actions and events—mimesis—however abbreviated or elliptical. The allusive cartographic and genealogical narratives function as metaphor, as in their form they evoke something—the divine and the intangible—beyond what they ostensibly represent—the human and the material.

Hayden White has argued with regard to the writing of history in the Western tradition that the form of the narrative itself conveys a message above and beyond the actual content or subject of the historical text.[4] Stories comprising agents, actions, and events are narratives, of course, and in the three Tetzcocan iconic-script histories, the forms of these narratives convey something distinct from and in addition to their content. Chapters 2 and 3 posit metaphor, specifically, the diphrastic metaphor of Nahuatl aristocratic and ritual language, as a form of discourse, and address the ways in which this form qualifies the Quinatzin's, the Tlohtzin's, and the Xolotl's cartographic and genealogical content. Metaphor, a fundamental rhetorical trope of Nahuatl, communicates as well as qualifies narratives, too. As the underlying pattern of and as a symbol for narratives and the order of causes and effects that they isolate, metaphor operates as the "simulacrum of the structure and processes of real events."[5]

The Codex Xolotl

Adapted or copied, perhaps, from an early-fifteenth-century manuscript commissioned by Nezahualcoyotl, the Codex Xolotl (Plates 1–10)

legitimates his rule in great part through stories about migrations, marriages, births, deaths, dynastic successions, usurpation, battles, treason, ambushes, murders, imprisonment, and so forth.[6] Stories are so fundamental to the Xolotl that on page 8 (Plate 8) the painter substitutes four friezelike, Mixtec-style boustrophedon bands for the cartography that otherwise structures the composition: events—*res gestae*, "things done"—not geography, order the bands. In the Codex Xolotl the stories articulate a narrative, a sequence of causes and effects that explains the how and the why of history, in addition to the who, what, where, and when.

Because of its "eventfulness," the Codex Xolotl is an explicit, sustained, and, more to the point, hypotactic narrative. In spite of inconsistencies and lacunae, the Xolotl not only pictures but also coordinates legible, interrelated sequences of actions and events through time as causes and effects, in tandem with the cartography and genealogy that accommodate them. Thus, beginning with Alva Ixtlilxochitl, historians could render the Xolotl's iconic-script history as a text in the modern—in the broadest sense of the term—Western tradition, in Western languages, and more or less according to Western notions of historical causation and narrative syntax. Alva Ixtlilxochitl's and subsequent translations of the manuscript, especially Dibble's authoritative critical edition and commentary, recount the history of the Valley of Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period through the stories that Acolhua patrons and painters of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries conceived to explain and negotiate their own historical situations.

Although, as seen in the previous chapters, the Codex Xolotl devotes considerable space and effort to the identification and inventory of actors and locations, historiated actions and events articulate the narrative: what people do as much as if not more than who, what, or where they are. For example, on page/map 1 (Plate 1), Xolotl and his Chichimecs enter the Valley of Mexico from the northwest; Xolotl's son Nopaltzin reconnoiters the eastern and southern reaches of the valley; Xolotl and his people settle at Tenayuca; more Chichimecs arrive; and the Toltecs who fled Tollan move south and east, settling in some places temporarily and in others permanently. On page/map 2 (Plate 2), more Chichimec bands arrive in the valley; Xolotl distributes land among his followers, including the new arrivals; Xolotl and Nopaltzin set up hunting preserves; Xolotl requires tribute from the Chichimec groups settled in the north of the valley; numerous marriages take place, among which the first marriages between Chichimec men and Toltec women; Topiltzin's son Pochotl arrives at Culhuacan; and the Culhua and Xolotl's Chichimecs fight a battle. On page/map 3 (Plate 3), Xolotl dies and Nopaltzin succeeds him; war breaks out between the more-settled, acculturated followers of Xolotl in the south and east and their less-settled, less-acculturated brethren in the north and the west; Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and Huexotla are founded by great-grandsons of Xolotl; Quinatzin, the founder of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco,

is seated as ruler; Quinatzin requests tribute in the form of game and the care of hunting preserves and game; and more marriages take place. All of the Xolotl's pages and maps read thus, and the actions and events of each follow from those of the ones that precede it and lead to those of the ones that follow.

Dibble's critical edition of the Codex Xolotl offers an insightful reading and interpretation of the manuscript's content and an evaluation of the problems that it poses. Nevertheless, the form of the text's narrative, as opposed to the actual stories communicated, needs to be considered.[7] The Xolotl's detailed narrative, in which carefully ordered series of actions and consequences explain the past, witnesses an interest in and a need for history as archive or record—partisan, to be sure—whose eventfulness signals its objectivity and truth value, in short, its historicity. Narrative eventfulness in this case ostensibly and insistently situates causation in human agents and actions, materially justifying Acolhua dynastic claims—those of Nezahualcoyotl in the fifteenth century, and those of his grandsons and great-grandsons one century later. While the Tetzcocan iconic-script manuscripts' emphasis on the human and the pragmatic, remarked on by Robertson, may reflect early-colonial cultural and political realities, the eventfulness of the narrative must derive in great part from the pre-Hispanic prototypes and traditions that informed the Xolotl.[8] In spite of the numerous differences—of date, origin, medium, and style—pre-Hispanic Mixtec genealogical-historical manuscripts such as the Codex Zouche-Nuttall manifest the same quality of eventfulness as the Xolotl, for the same purposes, and may have served as one of the sources for pre-Hispanic Nahua dynastic and civic histories, as Robertson proposed.[9] While the Zouche-Nuttall unequivocally represents the divine and its generative role in history, the Xolotl intimates it through the underlying, metaphorical spatial order.

The Codex Xolotl encompasses two narrative sequences that link together as cause and effect. Dibble comments on the difference between the pace and scope of pages/maps 1–6 (Plates 1–6) and those of 7–10 (Plates 7–10).[10] The first six pages/maps document Acolhua history from the arrival of Xolotl and the Chichimecs (Plate 1) to the accession, five generations later, of Xolotl's great-great-great-grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli as ruler of Tetzcoco (Plate 6). The last four pages/maps include only two generations, Ixtlilxochitl's ill-starred reign (page/map 7, Plate 7) and the ten years, circa 1418–1427, of his son's, Nezahualcoyotl's, exile from Tetzcoco and exclusion from power (pages/maps 8–10, Plates 8–10). Historically, however, the division should fall between pages/maps 5 (Plate 5) and 6 (Plate 6): pages/maps 1–5 (Plates 1–5) include the first five generations of the Acolhua dynasty, from the advent of Xolotl to the accession and reign of Techotlalatzin; and pages/maps 6–10 (Plates 6–10), the sixth and seventh generations, from the death of Techotlalatzin and the accession of his son Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli (page/map 6, Plate 6) to the year Thirteen Reed (1427), the last year of Nezahualcoy-

otl's exile (pages/maps 8–10, Plates 8–10). The first narrative engenders and explicates the second, which in turn would motivate and legitimize another series of events—Nezahualcoyotl's restoration to power in One Flint Knife (1428) and return to Tetzcoco in Four Reed (1431)—which is not part of the Codex Xolotl as we have it today, or as Alva Ixtlilxochitl had it at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but forms the historical core of the Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17).

The Xolotl's two narratives reflect two graphic expressions of eventfulness and perhaps the use or adaptation of different sources. The first, the Acolhua account of the Chichimecs' migration into the Valley of Mexico and their consequent transformation into the Nahua of the Late Postclassic Period (Plates 1–5), is fully cartographic in structure and only occasionally specifies dates and temporal duration. The second narrative is not only cartographic but also annalistic. Pages/maps 6–7 (Plates 6–7) and the two-page map across pages 9 and 10 (Plates 9–10) are cartographic, but they frame page 8 (Plate 8), a modified annals or, in Boone's terms, a blended structure, distributed across four horizontal bands or registers. A shift in narrative focus accompanies the change in format. Beginning with page/map 7 (Plate 7) and the death of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the manuscript no longer figures genealogical information, with the exception of the narrow band at the far right of page 10, which does not form part of the two-page map on pages 9 and 10 (Plates 9–10). Whereas the first five pages of the manuscript (Plates 1–5) span a few hundred years, the last five (Plates 6–10) illustrate the key events of a twenty-year period (1409–1427), and, as Nicholson discerned, these events read as heroic biography as much as general political history.[11]

The years recorded sporadically in the first narrative are problematic, but the chronology of the second is more or less coherent.[12] Techotlalatzin's death and Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's accession to the throne on page/map 6 (Plate 6, center left), in the year Eight House (1409), inaugurate the second epoch and chronicle. The year of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's assassination and the beginning of Nezahualcoyotl's exile, Four Rabbit (1418), is the latest of the four years inscribed on page/map 7 (Plate 7, center left).[13] Page 8 (Plate 8), lists ten consecutive years, like an annals. Each of the page's top two registers is self-contained and reads from left to right; the bottom two enclose one segment of text, ordered more or less from left to right.[14] The top register cites three years—Four Rabbit (1418), which carries over from page/map 7, Five Reed (1419), and Six Flint Knife (1420)—and the second register from the top records the seven years from Seven House (1421) to Thirteen Reed (1427), which is the last date inscribed on the manuscript and would be the last year of Nezahualcoyotl's exile. Everything depicted on the bottom half of page 8 (Plate 8) and on pages 9 and 10 (Plates 9 and 10) must take place in Thirteen Reed (1427), the year before the defeat, in One Flint Knife (1428), of Maxtla of Azcapotzalco, who figures prominently on page 8: Thirteen Reed dates Maxtla's accession to the throne and the death of his father, Tezozomoc.

In the Codex Xolotl, the second narrative, the historical consequence, or effect, mirrors and reverses the first, the cause. Pages/maps 1–5 (Plates 1–5) trace the process of acculturation, from the migration of the nomadic Chichimec ancestors to the last descendant born and represented as at least in part culturally Chichimec, Techotlalatzin. The history imaged in pages 6–10 (Plates 6–10) begins with the first generation born and represented as culturally Toltec, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli. But this narrative entails a form of symbolic regression, as it ends with Nezahualcoyotl in exile (pages 8–10, Plates 8–10), a nomad, like his Chichimec ancestors (page/map 1, Plate 1). A key event marks the center of each narrative and serves as its crux: on page/map 3 (Plate 3), Quinatzin founds Tetzcoco and becomes its ruler in a One Flint Knife year; on page 8 (Plate 8), Quinatzin's great-grandson Nezahualcoyotl begins the last and pivotal year of his exile, a Thirteen Reed year (1427). Thirteen Reed precedes One Flint Knife, and here, as on Codex Mendoza folio 2 recto (Fig. 1.6), the former invokes the latter. Even though One Flint Knife (1428) does not appear in the Xolotl's second narrative sequence, its auspicious presence is felt and eloquently prophesies the next cycle of Acolhua history: the defeat of Maxtla and the Tepanecs; Nezahualcoyotl's return to power; the founding of the Triple Alliance; and the refounding of Tetzcoco. In this allusive, proleptic narrative, Nezahualcoyotl reenacts and parallels his great-grandfather Quinatzin's achievement, as the Quinatzin Map makes clear.

In the Codex Xolotl, the form of the narrative entails a conception of history that qualifies its content: while the latter explicitly and exclusively pictures human agents and their actions, the former intimates other forces behind the events thus represented. The balanced, diphrastic, and cyclical structure of the Xolotl's narrative suggests that the sacred calendar—the almost palpable expression of the pre-Hispanic divine—orders the shape of time.[15] As in the cartography and genealogy, the form of the narrative functions as metaphor. The metaphor does not materially alter the narrative's content, but alerts the informed reader to different and symbolic interpretations of it. To perceive the "content of the form" requires fluency in the linguistic code and ideology that motivate it; to read the content of the narrative—the identification of the who, what, where, and when that constitute it—requires only a basic command of iconic-script vocabulary and syntax.

The Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17) and the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) trace the same cartography, genealogy, and history as the Codex Xolotl. Both manuscripts portray events, many of which they share with the Xolotl, but neither articulates them as a sustained, hypotactic narrative. The Quinatzin's and the Tlohtzin's stories are isolated, episodic, and paratactic. Restraint and selectivity as opposed to eventfulness characterize these narratives as they underline the importance and iconicity of the historical events portrayed and of the agents whose actions cause them.

The Tlohtzin Map

The Tlohtzin Map (Plates 18–25) images one explicit narrative, which follows Xolotl's grandson Tlohtzin from the northwest to the southeast of the Valley of Mexico. The story begins at the far left, in the northwest corner of the valley, with the ancestral migration (Plates 19 and 20). The six Chichimec migrants walk toward and eventually take shelter in the mountain-cave of Cuauhyacac, in the eastern valley. A later annotator penned the first segment of a long alphabetic-Nahuatl inscription under the mountain-cave: "They settled there in Cuauhyacac together; they were there together. Then they left, they went to Coatlichan, Amacui [Xolotl] together with his wife. Then they left, they went to Huexotla, Nopal together with his wife. Then they left, they went to Oztoticpac, Tlohtli together with his wife."[16] The iconic-script text pictures the subsequent movements of Tlohtzin and his wife, but it does not recount what his parents and grandparents did, or where they went. Even so, the extrapictorial details reflect the Tlohtzin's south to north, right to left, cartographic and genealogical hierarchy: from Coatlichan (Amacui/Xolotl, the first generation), to Huexotla (Nopaltzin, the second generation), to Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco (Tlohtzin, the third generation).

Tlohtzin and his wife, Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl, figure at the beginning of Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco's royal genealogy–dynastic succession, in the mountain-cave, where they share the role of ancestors and founders with their son Quinatzin and his wife, Cuauhcihuatzin (Plates 21 and 22). Although the Codex Xolotl and the Quinatzin Map place Tlohtzin at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc in the southeast corner of the valley, neither associates him with Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco; Alva Ixtlilxochitl's histories, which are based on these manuscripts, assert that he maintained his court in the west, at Tenayuca.[17] Tlohtzin's presence here continues the story that begins with the migration at the right, where he is the youngest male.

At Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, the painter weaves together the historiated narrative and the symbolic narratives of the genealogical-toponymic catalogue. The alphabetic-script Nahuatl glosses under each couple in the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dynastic genealogy (Plate 22), a continuation of the annotation that begins under Cuauhyacac, at left, translate the name signs of the rulers and their consorts or record the consorts' affiliation, with one exception. The gloss under Tlohtzin, Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl, and their child (Quinatzin) refers to and explicates events that the iconic-script text pictures at right, farther to the south and later in time: "Oztoticpac [was] truly Tlohtli's residence, then Tlohtli went only there to Coatlichan to hunt [literally, to shoot something with arrows], because of whom [for which reason] the Chalca person went there."

Above the Coatlichan mountain-cave, the painter picks up the thread of the historiated narrative (Plates 24 and 25). From Coatlichan to the far right edge of the manuscript, Tlohtzin and his wife figure in four anecdotes or episodes, and in each instance an unnamed Toltec male,

perhaps from Chalco, accompanies them and acts as their guide and teacher.[18] The Toltec's long leather- or cloth-wrapped ponytail identifies him as a priest or court official, and his diminutive size relative to Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl marks him as a subordinate.

In the first anecdote, directly above Coatlichan, the two Chichimecs look on as their civilized companion prepares to roast a snake and a rabbit, which, for the first time, they will eat cooked rather than raw. To the right, in the second anecdote, the Toltec introduces Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl, who now cradles a child in her lap, to *atole*, the watery maize gruel drunk then and now in central Mexico. Husband and wife hold bowls of the frothy beverage up to their mouths, but the Toltec mentor has to tip Tlohtzin's bowl with his own hand to encourage him to drink. Below Tlohtzin, a *mano* and *metate*, the Mesoamerican quern, and a tamale-laden flat ceramic disk, a *comalli*, set over a fire indicate that he and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl will taste maize, the staff of civilized life, in more substantial forms as well.

The third episode takes place at the upper right corner of the manuscript, in the southeastern Valley of Mexico (Plates 24 and 25). The city of Chalco is located in the vicinity, but its toponym is not part of the iconic-script text. The two Chichimecs sit one above the other, facing to the right, and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl here, too, holds a bowl up to her lips. Three unidentified Toltec males, perhaps Chalca, sit across from Tlohtzin and his wife, facing them. The men are drawn at the same scale as the Chichimec couple, and their hair is neatly combed but not gathered into the diagnostic ponytail of priests and court officials. Seated, facing to the right toward the three men, the diminutive cicerone appears three times, mediating between the Chichimecs and the Toltecs. At the top, the guide and mediator carries three small, round objects at his side, perhaps *xiquipilli*, priestly incense pouches, or *tecomates*, the small, round bowl with a narrow mouth frequently used in Mesoamerica. At center, he presents his fellow Toltecs with a basket of game that one assumes Tlohtzin has hunted—the Chichimec wields a bow and arrows—and at bottom, he engages the three men in conversation.

Down and to the right, in the fourth anecdote, Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl shelters in an unnamed mountain-cave, cradling a child in her lap (Plates 24 and 25). Tlohtzin and his Toltec guide sit outside the cave, below the mountain. Tlohtzin speaks graphically for the first and only time on the manuscript. The name sign for Tlohtzin's son and heir, Quinatzin, forms part of the speech that emanates from his mouth. The mountain-cave should be Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, Quinatzin's birthplace and Tlohtzin's temporary home near Chalco, in the southeastern valley. The episode records the younger ruler's birth, as do the parallel scenes on the first leaf of the Quinatzin Map (Plates 12 and 13) and on page/map 2 of the Codex Xolotl (Plate 2, upper left). The birth roots Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl in the land and gives their son Quinatzin a natural claim to it. The anecdote brings to a close the historiated narra-

tive—migration, acculturation, settlement, and possession—that began with the six walking Chichimecs at the other end of the manuscript (Plate 18).[19] The banners—perhaps boundary markers—at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco (Plates 21 and 22), Coatlichan (Plates 24 and 25), and Chalco/Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc (Plates 24 and 25) follow Tlohtzin's and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl's trajectory and may symbolize their claim to the land as well as to Toltec civilization, the rudiments of which they have assimilated along the way: the latter legitimates the former.

The scene at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc (Plates 24 and 25) pairs thematically with another one at the opposite end of the manuscript, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's birth at Tzinacanoztoc (Plates 19 and 20). As noted in the previous chapter, the two mountain-caves and birth events echo and reverse each other—named actors at an unnamed location (Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc) in lieu of unnamed actors at a named location (Tzinacanoztoc)—and the pendants frame the iconic-script text. Because the events at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc at the right precede those at Tzinacanoztoc at the left—the child at right is the father of the father at left—they turn time and narrative back in space. Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco lies between the two and joins the implied and the historiated narratives. At the left, Tlohtzin, the protagonist of the stories, is the youngest male and the third generation among the Chichimec migrants; he is also the first generation and cofounding ancestor at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco, at the center, as well as the father at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, at the right. His son Quinatzin, the child at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc, at right, represents the second generation and cofounding ancestor at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin is the third generation at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and the father at Tzinacanoztoc, at left, and Techotlalatzin's son Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, the child at Tzinacanoztoc, is the fourth generation at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco.

Segments of the long alphabetic-Nahuatl annotation translate and embellish the four pictorial anecdotes. In the area above and between Huexotla and Coatlichan (Plate 24), one segment recounts that

> [t]he Chalca person's [the companion/cicerone] name is Tecpoyoachcauhtli. Tecpoyoachcauhtli felt fear in this way when he saw Tlohtzin's bow . . . Tecpoyoachcauhtli said to Tlohtli, "My son, let it be that I stay here next to you." But Tlohtli did not hear [that is, understand] because he is Chichimec [and thus does not speak Nahuatl, the Toltec language]. And then he went with Tlohtli to hunt. And he shoots it with arrows . . . the deer, the rabbit, the snake, the bird, and he gives it to Tecpoyoachcauhtli. And afterward Tecpoyoachcauhtli for the first time roasted over the fire what Tlohtli had shot. Then he had Tlohtli eat something cooked for the first time: before, he ate raw what he hunted. And Tecpoyoachcauhtli stayed for a long time next to Tlohtzin. Then he [Tecpoyoachcauhtli] asked him [Tlohtzin] permission, he said to him, "My son, may I speak with your servants the Chalca people, the . . . teca people, may I tell them that I myself have seen you and in this

way stayed [lived] with you. And Tlohtzin already understood a bit his speech [talk], and he sends it, the rabbit, the snake, in [literally, by means of] a basket.[20]

Above and to the right of the second anecdote (Plate 24), the introduction to maize, the annotator explains:

And Tecpoyoachcauhtli approached Tlohtzin [and] said to him, "My son, let it be that you see your servants the Chalca people!" Tlohtzin went with him right away, and Tecpoyoachcauhtli went before him, he carried [that is, led] him along. He, Tlohtzin, had deer and rabbit brought [along], like the first time he [Tecpoyoachcauhtli] went. Tlohtzin arrived; [and] the Chalca people went to meet him, they sat him down, [and] they gave him something to eat. They served him tamales, atole; he did not eat the tamales, he only tried the atole. Then Tecpoyoachcauhtli spoke with the Chalca, he said to them, "Tlohtzin has not produced a child [*momopiluatiya*?]." Then *yam* . . . [?] the Chalca people . . . the Chal[ca] people . . . the devil *quitlay* . . .[21]

The next installment of the annotation forms a narrow column, just behind the figure of Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl in the third episode, the meeting with the three Chalca men described in the previous segment (Plate 24). The scribe comments:

Tlohtzin . . . know it. In this way [thus] the Chalca people served the devils. Because the Chichimecs only did this one thing, they followed after [that is, hunted] the deer and the rabbit that they ate. They only took the sun as a god whom they called their father. In this way they adored the sun as a god, they cut off the head of the snake, the bird; they dug the earth, they shook the grasses, they dripped the blood. In this way also they took the earth as god, they called it their mother. By this means the devil fooled them as much as [to the extent that] they sinned against our lord the only [*icel*, "he alone"] God.

With the possible exception of the three small round objects that may be incense pouches, nothing in the iconic-script text signals ritual or sacrifice. Once more the later alphabetic-Nahuatl scribe adds details from another source, written or oral, in this case viewed through the filter of Christianity.

The annotation reaches its conclusion in a short coda inscribed between the second and third of the three sequential views of the Toltec cicerone (Plate 24). Here the annotator relates that "Tecpoyoachcauhtli saw them alive and was with them. He gave them the rabbit, the snake. And he spoke to them [of] the long time he was with Tlohtzin and he told them that he accompanied him and hunted with arrows." The gloss translates the meeting episode. In the second, or middle, view of Tlohtzin's guide and mentor, he carries what looks to be a serpent

draped around his shoulders, and a basket from which a rattlesnake's tail extrudes lies on the ground in front of him. In the last of his three appearances, the cicerone speaks animatedly, gesticulating with his right arm.

Near the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco dynastic genealogy, two alphabetic-Nahuatl glosses, written by a different annotator, mention events not shown on the manuscript.[22] To the right, behind Techotlalatzin's wife, Tozquentzin (Plate 22), a now-faded inscription states: "Then in the time of Techotlalatzin four groups arrived there: the Mexica, the Colhua, the Huitznahua, and the Tepaneca."[23] Between Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco and Huexotla (Plate 22), the second gloss, now lost except for the ten letters ". . . ilotlaqueh," probably refers to the Chimalpaneca and Tlailotlaque.[24] The Codex Xolotl (Plate 4, upper half, left of center) and the Quinatzin Map (Plates 12 and 13, lower half) explicitly show the immigration and incorporation of these ethnic groups into Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco. That the Tlohtzin does not depict such critical events in Acolhua history suggests that its painter and patron conceived it as a text different from either the Quinatzin, which may in part reproduce the same prototype as the Tlohtzin, or the Xolotl, which the Quinatzin and Tlohtzin painters must have known: the Tlohtzin may incorporate or adapt a prototype that does not require explicit narrative iteration.[25] Later, an alphabetically literate Nahua felt the need to append the immigration episodes in order to reclaim them for historical memory and to elaborate on and thereby more fully explicate the iconic-script text.[26]

Another gloss, this one written in the hand of the primary alphabetic-Nahuatl annotator, relates to the court artists shown behind Nezahualcoyotl's wife (Plate 22). Inscribed below the seven craftsmen, the gloss reads: "[T]he person Nezahualcoyotzin [literally, revered Nezahualcoyotl] then collected together the [devils], then he housed the four separate groups [that is, ethnic groups or peoples] and then he brought together as many separate groups, the ones who make things with fire, the craftsmen."[27] The annotator refers to Nezahualcoyotl's reorganization of Tetzcoco, whereby he assigned each craft group its own neighborhood, and his restoration of the city's temples.[28]

The Tlohtzin Map insinuates other, metaphorical, narratives on which neither alphabetic-script annotator comments. At Coatlichan a woven-reed mat lies below Itzmitl's son Huetzin and his wife, Atotontzin, the second and last couple in the dynastic genealogy, and the only one shown outside the mountain-cave (Plates 24 and 25). A woven-reed mat or throne generally signifies rulership, but here, because it is larger than and different in form from the tepotzoicpalli seen elsewhere on the manuscript and lies below the man *and* the woman, it may reference marriage: at a Nahua wedding, bride and groom sat on a reed mat, and a corner of the husband's cloak was knotted with a corner of the wife's huipilli to symbolize their union, customs recorded on Codex Mendoza, folio 61 recto (Fig. 4.1).[29] Huetzin's and Atotontzin's garments are not knotted together; even so, as they are the only couple on the manuscript

FIGURE 4.1. Codex Mendoza, folio 61 recto, ink and color on European paper, circa 1541, from Tenochtitlan, Mexico. Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3134, Arch Selden A.1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bodleian Library.

that appear with all their children, they exemplify the idea of family. A woven-reed basket and a ceramic tripod bowl pictured to the left, behind Huetzin, are objects that occur as well in the Mendoza marriage scene, where they hold food for the wedding banquet. The Tlohtzin's basket and bowl are empty, but the plot of maize—a round, speckled mound of soil with four maize stalks—that grows to the left of the bowl denotes food, specifically, the food of civilized men and women. Mat, basket, bowl, and maize plot, all markers of acculturation, are juxtaposed to Huetzin and his wife, Atotontzin, a daughter of the royal dynasty of Culhuacan and a direct descendant of Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl of Tollan, and to the toponym of Coatlichan, the first Acolhua settlement and polity. While the objects may index historical events, they are not historiated narratives of these events, as are the anecdotes featuring Tlohtzin and his wife, which also concern the transformation of Chichimec into Toltec.

History, metaphor, and narrative intersect on the Tlohtzin Map to evoke another turning point in Acolhua history and civilization. Codex Xolotl page/map 3 (Plate 3) documents a *chichimecayaotl*, or Chichimec war, a civil war that pitted Toltecized Chichimecs against traditionalists who preferred to maintain their ancestral nomadic ways.[30] The traditionalists rebelled when Quinatzin required them to till and sow fields and demarcated hunting preserves for the exclusive use of the court. Quinatzin waged war in the name of civilization, seconded by his brother, Tochintecuhtli of Huexotla, and their neighbor Huetzin of Coatlichan.[31]

Quinatzin and Tochintecuhtli, both sons of Tlohtzin, and Huetzin all play key roles on the Tlohtzin, as do the cities that they ruled. The manuscript's historiated narrative focuses on acculturation into Toltec civilization, while the objects—cultural markers—displayed behind Huetzin at Coatlichan invoke civilized practices. The overall configuration of cartography, genealogy, metaphor, and stories alludes to the Chichimec War and hence to Acolhua cultural refinement and superiority, too. Although civilization characterizes the Acolhua, after 1539 the depiction—even opprobrious—of traditionalists tarred by a seditious conservatism such as that imputed to don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl was perhaps best avoided by Tetzcoco's painters and patrons.

The most oblique narratives on the Tlohtzin Map involve the western half of the Valley of Mexico, which the manuscript condenses into three place signs: from left to right, north to south, Azcapotzalco (Plate 21, bottom right), Tenochtitlan (Plate 23, bottom left), and Culhuacan (Plate 25, bottom, left of center). The seated figures of Huitzilihuitl of Tenochtitlan (Plate 23, bottom left), Coxcox of Culhuacan (Plate 25, bottom, left of center), and their unnamed consorts appear next to their cities' toponyms, anchoring the two polities in time and indirectly signaling their genealogical connections to the Acolhua dynasties of the eastern valley. Other than these four figures, nothing qualifies or elaborates on the toponyms. The complex history of political interactions between the three western polities and their eastern counterparts, a history that the Codex Xolotl


mezquites, q llamavan calmecac
calmecac
casa donde criavan y enseñavan a los mochos
cuicacalli
viejo
viejo
viejo
viejo
muger
varon
esteras
comida
comida
comitan de pulq.
la taça.
amanteca y pepsada
hueso de xiquipil
hueso de xiquipil

directly images, must be intuited from the Tlohtzin's terse spatial and genealogical mapping of the western valley.

In the conclusion to his commentary on the Tlohtzin Map, Aubin opines that the manuscript served as a primer, a tool for educating children: "Here ends this synopsis of national history, destined for very young children, showing the establishment of marriage; the making of mats and cloth; the use of the loose soil of molehills, larger [there] than in Europe, for [making] pottery; but a stranger to questions of a higher order. The scientific element will only appear in the second part of our second map [the Quinatzin Map] in a rough geometric representation of the ordering of administrative services."[32] He sensed a simplification in the text that facilitated pedagogy by transforming history into a form of descriptive ethnography comprehensible to the most naïve of audiences. For Aubin, the perceived absence of analysis and chronology, the "scientific element," differentiated the Tlohtzin's "timeless" stories from the Quinatzin Map's history: "The Tlohtzin Map is, without argument, the most beautiful of the American historical paintings known . . . The Quinatzin Map, inferior in execution, but of a higher order because it is chronological, only contains two absolute dates: that of the establishment of civilization and that of its restoration."[33]

Gruzinski believes that the type of generic description that Aubin attributes to the Tlohtzin reflects a different phenomenon: "the decontextualization of the image."[34] Gruzinski's point of reference and primary example is the third, ethnographic, section of the Codex Mendoza (Figs. 2.3, 2.5, 2.6, 2.9, and 4.1), which describes Mexica life and customs for a Spanish audience. Beginning with Aubin, many scholars have noted that Acolhua life and customs are key themes of the Tetzcocan manuscripts. Like the Mendoza, the Tlohtzin decontextualizes and objectifies indigenous practices, but it recasts them as much as signs that evoke narratives as ethnographic description. While these narratives may lack the "scientific element"—for Aubin, the "simulacrum of the structure and processes of real events"—they figure an equally complex and "real" history.

The Quinatzin Map

The Quinatzin Map (Plates 11–17) figures Acolhua history as the transformation of Chichimec barbarism into Acolhua civilization. Like the Tlohtzin, the Quinatzin writes the past not only as actions and events but also as culture and institutions. The manuscript pictures historical episodes, but they do not articulate a consecutive narrative, as in the Codex Xolotl. The painter juxtaposes quasi-generic ethnographic description to a syncopated historical narrative that by association assumes an iconic quality.

The Chichimec ancestors inaugurate the Quinatzin Map (Plates 12 and 13). At the top of the Quinatzin's first leaf, Chichimec customs and habitat

substitute for the spatial movement and mapping generally delineated in migration narratives. The iconographic trope of a Chichimec family sheltering in a mountain-cave and the pictorial wordplay on the eponymous hero's name sign situate the otherwise generic scene: the settlement of Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc and the birth of their son Quinatzin. The bottom third of the leaf obliquely maps the city of Tetzcoco through its multiethnic society. At left, the now-adult Quinatzin, who founded the city, meets representatives of the Tlailotlaque and Chimalpaneca. These groups arrived in Tetzcoco at different times, but the iconic-script text and the later alphabetic-Nahuatl scribe who annotated it elide the two events.[35] Political symbolism prevails over chronology: had the painter had any question about the order of events, he could easily have consulted the elders or other manuscripts, perhaps even the Codex Xolotl.

Farther to the right, Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin and grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli flank his corpse bundle. Above and to the right of the obsequies, six figures personify the four groups of refugees from Culhuacan—Culhua, Huitznahua, Mexica, and Tepaneca—that joined the Acolhua polity during Techotlalatzin's reign.[36] The arrival of the last four of the six Toltecized ethnic groups that settled in Tetzcoco completes the city's charter and the leaf's historical narrative, which Quinatzin—as infant, adult, and corpse—embodies.[37]

The transition from nomadic to sedentary and wilderness to city exemplified by Quinatzin necessitates a shift from hunting and gathering to agriculture. At the top of the first leaf, the nomadic hunter, the deer that he stalks, and, in the mountain-cave, the rabbit's head set on a cactus paddle specify the Chichimecs' sustenance and the means whereby they acquire it. To the left of center, in a scene so closely paralleled on the Tlohtzin Map that the two must derive from the same source, three maize stalks grow from a mound, and a gopher gnaws on one of the stalks (Fig. 1.13). This maize grows wild, and it feeds whoever or whatever finds it. Farther to the right, behind Quinatzin's grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, an enclosed and plowed field of maize, a product of human industry, offers more reliable and civilized sustenance.[38]

Near the center of the leaf (Plates 12 and 13 and Fig. 1.11), and on axis with Quinatzin's funeral rites, two unnamed Chichimec men bury an anonymous female corpse in the wild. The juxtaposition of a deceased woman wrapped in animal skins and buried in the ground to Quinatzin's cloth-wrapped corpse bundle, which is about to be cremated, evinces the progression from Chichimec to Toltec, as does the juxtaposition of ethnography—a burial custom as such—to history—Quinatzin's obsequies. The men have excavated the grave with the digging sticks that they hold in their hands. The use of agricultural implements to dig a grave rather than to plow a field and plant crops measures the distance that separates the nomadic hunter-gatherers and crude sepulcher in the wilderness from the settled agriculturalists and enclosed maize field at Tetzcoco.

Along the bottom of the leaf, a row of objects further develops the theme of civilization: from left to right, an open manuscript and a painter's brush, a flint knife for working wood, a piece of metalwork or mosaic work, and an adz.[39] The artists' and writers' tools contrast with the Chichimecs' bows and arrows, digging sticks, and cactus-paddle serving dish. As on the Tlohtzin, even though these iconic antitheses may reference specific events, they read more as descriptive ethnography and poetic metaphor than historical narrative. Here too, however, the cultural pendants allude to Quinatzin's war against Chichimec traditionalists, another milestone of Acolhua history and civilization.

Two long alphabetic-Nahuatl annotations, one inscribed above the mountain-cave at the top of the leaf and the other behind Techotlalatzin near the bottom (Plates 12 and 13), recognize culture's critical role in the making and writing of Acolhua history.[40] Only fragments of the first annotation can be deciphered:

. . . the tribute . . . / . . . bird . . . / . . . the deer . . . child/. . . no/. . . plant frond crown . . . only . . . / . . . house the cloaks . . . /. . . is wafted up . . . only by means of smoke they worship [?]/only . . . /worship idols.[41]

It is evident that the commentator interpreted the iconic-script text in part as a catalogue of Chichimec mores. Farther down, the second annotation relates that, "[in the time of] Techotlalatzin the Culhuas came here. They brought with them their dried maize seeds, the bean seeds, the amaranth seeds, and chia seeds. They put the seeds in gopher holes; by this means the tender maize stalk and the tender green ear of maize were made. Afterward they came to make fields for themselves, they cleared the land. Then they brought with them the gods they possessed; and when they [the Culhuas] died, they were burned [that is, cremated]." The annotator does not mention, either, that the Mexica, Huitznahua, and Tepanec accompanied the Culhua, or that in tandem with the Chimalpaneca and Tlailotlaque these four groups plot Tetzcoco, geographically and socially. The emphasis is on the introduction to and acquisition of the civilized customs that bring to fruition the process of acculturation initiated above.

The alphabetic-Nahuatl scribe notes the introduction of new, unnamed gods in addition to the practice of cremation here represented by Quinatzin's funeral rites.[42] The cloth-wrapped bundles set in front of the two Culhua men suggest deity bundles, but the iconic-script text does not mark them as such.

As argued in the previous chapter, because of the ruler's identification with the gods, especially with Huitzilopochtli, Tezcatlipoca, and Xiuhtecuhtli, his corpse bundle invokes the divine. Tetzcoco's dead ruler symbolizes the shift from the simple nature worship of the Chichimec nomads to the complex rituals associated with the deities whose avatar he is and the urban polities that they create and sustain through sacrifice.

Quinatzin's obsequies—a historical event or fact—imply practices and

beliefs different from the ritual portrayed above and to the left, where an anonymous Chichimec woman sits next to a raging fire (Plates 12 and 13). The woman extends both arms toward the flames, from which what appears to be a plumed serpent rises. The scene calls to mind religious rather than culinary customs: the woman has not skewered the serpent onto a wooden stick for roasting, as Tlohtzin's Toltec cicerone does in the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 24 and 25), an indication that she will not retrieve it from the fire.

The fragmentary annotation at the top of the page lists "worship by means of smoke," and one of the Tlohtzin annotations specifies offerings of birds and snakes as characteristic of Chichimec cult practice; although the glosses are not part of the iconic-script text, they are a literate, almost certainly aristocratic, Nahua's translation of or extrapolation from it and, thus, may reflect a well-informed memory of pre-Hispanic traditions. By means of analogy and metaphor, the Quinatzin intimates the introduction of new gods and the consequent substitution of human for animal sacrifice, dangerous subjects in an early-colonial indigenous manuscript, but essential components of pre-Hispanic religion and political ideology.

The first leaf reads as an episodic, embodied narrative, with a beginning, middle, and end: Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl's/Pachxochitl's settlement at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc and the birth, maturation, and death of Quinatzin, which actions or events effect and signify the founding of Tetzcoco and the transformation of Chichimecs into Toltecs. Quinatzin's biography encompasses the Acolhua dynastic genealogy from his father, Tlohtzin, who sires him, to his son Techotlalatzin, whom he sires, to his grandson Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, who mourns him. As in the Tlohtzin Map, these four rulers motivate as well as symbolize the historical narrative. Like adjectives and adverbs, the quasi-generic ethnographic scenes modify the narrative, again as in the Tlohtzin, and together ethnography and history recall other narratives of the Acolhua past that the painter could not, after 1539, limn directly.

Iconography, historical content, and structure if not form and medium closely tie leaf 1 of the Quinatzin Map (Plates 12 and 13) to the Tlohtzin Map (Plate 18) and distinguish their treatment of early Acolhua history from that of the Codex Xolotl (for example, Plate 1). Quinatzin leaf 1 and the Tlohtzin must in part derive from the same source—not the Xolotl—and they configure not only cartography and genealogy but also history and narrative as record and as metaphor. In this way, they are much closer in structure and intent to pre-Hispanic Aztec imperial sculptures such as the Teocalli de la Guerra Sagrada (Temple of Sacred War) or the Calendar Stone than to a cartographic history manuscript such as the Xolotl.[43] Like those sculptures, they document crucial human actors and actions as causes and effects, and they transform them and their earthly sphere into analogues of the divine. The pre-Hispanic sculptures do so explicitly, the early-colonial manuscripts, implicitly; both, however, do so by means of the poetic tropes of aristocratic and ritual language, the

Nahuatl of the court and the temple. The obliquity of the form conjures up the divine and excludes the uninitiated, whether plebeian or non-Nahua.

The analysis of the Quinatzin Map's cartography and genealogy indicates that poetic tropes order the manuscript as a whole and bind it into a unified composition, even though the second and third leaves are different in form from the first, as well as from each other. Both leaves 2 (Plates 14 and 15)—a ledger of the Acolhua state, tribute register, and plan of Nezahualcoyotl's palace, all eloquently abbreviated—and 3 (Plates 16 and 17)—a conquest list and legal miscellany—advance the manuscript's account of the past. Even more than the first, the second and the third leaves intimate rather than depict events and subordinate history and narrative to description and metaphor. And their content, unparalleled in either the Tlohtzin or the Xolotl, corresponds in part to the third, ethnographic, section of the Codex Mendoza. Three unambiguously dated events—the Tepanec War in the years Thirteen Reed (1427) and One Flint Knife (1428); the formation and initial military campaigns of the Triple Alliance in Two House (1429) and Three Rabbit (1430) on leaf 3 (Plates 16 and 17, top); and the return of Nezahualcoyotl to Tetzcoco in Four Reed (1431) on leaf 2 (Plates 14 and 15, center)—constitute the historical narrative and circumscribe the ethnography. The Tepanec War, the Triple Alliance, and Nezahualcoyotl's return to Tetzcoco eventuate in the idealized map of Acolhuacan on leaf 2, by analogy an earthly manifestation of divine order, and the exemplary legal anecdotes on leaf 3, which mimic in human terms the rational and just regulation of the sacred calendar. Nezahualcoyotl assumes the role of his great-grandfather Quinatzin: founding father of Tetzcoco, embodiment of civilization, and avatar of the gods.

The Quinatzin Map moves forward in time from the first to the second leaf. The last member of the Acolhua dynasty portrayed on leaf 1 (Plates 12 and 13), Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, is the father of Nezahualcoyotl, the first ruler shown on leaf 2 (Plates 14 and 15). The manuscript records the royal genealogy–dynastic succession in chronological order, but it does not image a consecutive narrative of events, however abbreviated, from the reign of Tlohtzin, the earliest ancestor and ruler on leaf 1 (Plates 12 and 13), down to that of Nezahualpilli, Nezahualcoyotl's son, the last descendant and ruler depicted or named on leaves 2 (Plates 14 and 15) and 3 (Plates 16 and 17). The first leaf features pivotal if mostly undated events in the reigns of Tlohtzin, his son Quinatzin, and Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin, as detailed above. The second and third leaves elaborate on equally significant but explicitly dated events in the reign of Techotlalatzin's grandson Nezahualcoyotl. The manuscript excludes the reign of Techotlalatzin's son Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli, which should connect the first to the second leaf: on leaf 1, he appears as a son and a grandson in the reign of his father, whom he assists at the funeral rites for his grandfather Quinatzin, but not as a ruler in his own right.

According to the Codex Xolotl, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli contested control of the Valley of Mexico with Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco. In the year Four Rabbit (1418), Tezozomoc and his Tepanecs defeated Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's forces and occupied Tetzcoco. Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli appealed to his allies, but traitors among them ambushed and murdered him. His son and legitimate heir and successor, Nezahualcoyotl, fled to safety in the Valley of Puebla and would have to wait ten years to avenge his father's murder and regain his throne. Xolotl pages 7–10 (Plates 7–10) vividly narrate these events up to Thirteen Reed (1427), the last year of Nezahualcoyotl's exile, while the Tlohtzin Map subtly alludes to them by recording Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's birth at Tzinacanoztoc and contrasting it to his grandfather Quinatzin's birth at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc.[44]

Drawn in elevation and plan, Nezahualcoyotl's palace orients Quinatzin leaf 2 (Plates 14 and 15): each of the building's four wings ranges along one side of the sheet, marking one of the cardinal directions. Nezahualcoyotl and his son and heir, Nezahualpilli, sit in the throne room at the center of the palace's eastern (top) wing, above which rises Tetzcoco's toponym; rooms devoted to the judiciary, at left, and the military, at right, flank the throne room (Fig. 2.2). Above each ruler and his name glyph, iconic-script numerical counts specify the length of his reign and, farther up, the time elapsed between his birth and the painting of the manuscript.[45] Historically, this scene is impossible, as father and son would not have known each other as adults: Nezahualcoyotl died in 1472 when Nezahualpilli (b. 1464–1465) was a child of six or seven. By showing the two men together, the painter forgoes accuracy for symbolic value.

Twenty-six toponyms, in addition to Tetzcoco's, frame the palace, thirteen around each half. These toponyms name the cities whose tribute supports the Acolhua capital and court, many of which had to be reconquered by Nezahualcoyotl after the Tepanec War. Fourteen members of the royal council, here, specifically, rulers of cities subject to Tetzcoco whom Nezahualcoyotl restored to power, occupy the courtyard of the palace, seven at each side. At the center of the courtyard, two flaming braziers, each qualified by the number 20, signify tribute for the palace.

As figured on leaf 2 (Plates 14 and 15), the Acolhua polity results from historical causes that the Quinatzin Map narrates selectively and intermittently, and whose chronology it reorders compositionally. While the idealized state descends from the family, dynasty, and city portrayed on the first leaf (Plates 12 and 13), it is more the consequence of actions and events not pictured either there or on the second leaf: the overthrow and murder of Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and the exile of his son Nezahualcoyotl in Four Rabbit (1418); the defeat of Tezozomoc's successor, Maxtla, and the Tepanec Confederation at the hands of Nezahualcoyotl and his uncle or great-uncle Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan in One Flint Knife (1428); the formation of the Triple Alliance in Two House (1429); and, most important, Nezahualcoyotl's restoration to power in One Flint Knife (1428)

and return to Tetzcoco in Four Reed (1431). Only the Four Reed year sign inscribed in the palace's courtyard and the identity of the fourteen council members point to these decisive events.

The alphabetic-Nahuatl annotations on leaf 2 are instructive. With a few exceptions, they translate name glyphs and toponyms or identify architectural functions ("place for storing padded-cotton vests and shields," "place for talking every eighty days"): they are nominative. The glosses above Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli not only translate their names and the iconic-script numerical counts but also modify them with predicates ("ruled," "was born"). The annotation below Four Reed extrapolates action and agent from the chronological marker: "Year Four Reed revered Nezahualcoyotl arrives at Tezcuco [*sic*] already 115 years [ago]."[46]

One last annotation refers to action, but not necessarily a historical event. A man's head set on a yokelike bar stands in the entrance portal to the palace (Plates 14 and 15, bottom center, and Fig. 2.7), at the bottom edge of the leaf. The bar resembles the wooden neck-yokes often placed on slaves in the marketplace, or when they were punished by their masters or transported in preparation for sacrifice. Above the yoked figure, a fragmentary annotation reads, "[H]e/she entered the palace . . . *tlapilia* [?] . . . the slave." Offner connects this scene to Nezahualcoyotl's legal code, according to which a slave seeking freedom would receive it if, once he or she escaped from a master or the slave market, he or she could reach the palace's courtyard and beg for the ruler's mercy.[47]

The slave is generic and hypothetical, and even in an idealized, anachronistic image of the Acolhua polity, he is different in kind from what surrounds him. Like the rulers reinstated by Nezahualcoyotl, the yoked man and what he signifies—law—attest to the wisdom and virtue of the ruler and the good order of the state. The fourteen members of the royal council offer firsthand testimony, the slave a general exemplum: the former is history, the latter, legal custom, and both witness the ruler's godlike power over his subjects' lives.

Ruler and slave mirror each other, too: when the slave enters the palace, his fate is transformed, just as Nezahualcoyotl's was when he and Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan defeated Maxtla of Azcapotzalco in One Flint Knife (1428), and Tetzcoco's was when Nezahualcoyotl returned in Four Reed (1431). The juxtaposition of the two men qualifies one as divine not only because he has the power to transform his own and the other's fate but also, more obliquely, because it identifies him with Titlacahuan, "He Whose Slaves We Are," one of the monikers of the patron deity of rulers and rulership, Tezcatlipoca.[48] The restored ruler and the soon-to-be freed slave are pendants that discreetly tag palace and polity as sites of creation and transcendence.

Interweaving the general and the particular as well as ethnography and history, the coupling of ruler and slave reiterates the composite, metaphorical structure of the Quinatzin's first leaf—and of the Tlohtzin Map—and it connects the second (Plates 14 and 15) to the third leaf (Plates

16 and 17), historically and thematically. Through the portal, to the right of the yoked head, a path of human footprints enters the palace's courtyard and continues to the Four Reed year sign, where it ends. The path may begin at the figure of the slave and represent the means whereby he obtains freedom.[49] The bottom right to upper left angle along which the footprints travel suggests, however, that they begin away from rather than next to the slave, and that they enter the portal from its lower right edge. The path should thus begin near the bottom right corner of the second leaf, or the upper right of the third. The destination, the Four Reed year sign that marks Nezahualcoyotl's return to Tetzcoco, makes clear that the footprints concern him, either as subject—he traveled this route—or object—someone, perhaps the slave, traveled this route to reach him. If Nezahualcoyotl is the subject, then the Tepanec War epitome at the top right of the third leaf is the logical point of origin, as it plots out in circuitlike fashion the circumstances that led him back to Tetzcoco.

The Quinatzin Map's third leaf (Plates 16 and 17) incorporates individually framed historical narratives, more signlike than historiated, and historiated but largely generic legal anecdotes. In great part, the manuscript's last segment illustrates selections from the legal codes of Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli, which elaborate on the theme of law and legislation introduced on leaf 2.[50] In terms of the Quinatzin's narrative of the past as well as poetic tropes, the third leaf is the pendant of the first (Plates 12 and 13), and together they form a two-part metaphor, barbarism/Chichimec and law/Toltec, whose point of connection and synthesis is the Acolhua polity that lies between the cultural and historical poles (Plates 14 and 15). While a modern Western viewer instinctively reads in a linear fashion from the first to the second leaf, a native Nahuatl speaker in the mid-sixteenth century, especially one still fluent in the oblique, poetic language of pre-Hispanic courts and ritual, would have sensed the overarching, nonlinear structure of the metaphor and read accordingly. The astute indigenous reader would likewise discern that the chronology of the historical events, depicted and intimated, links the first leaf directly to the third, although the composition obscures the actual progression of time.

The top quarter of leaf 3 (Plates 16 and 17) profiles the Tepanec War fought against Azcapotzalco and the founding of the Triple Alliance. This passage constitutes a history fully located in space and time, in fact, the manuscript's clearest recitation of past events. From left to right, the painter sets out the iconic-script toponyms of seven polities—the Tepanec Confederation ruled by Azcapotzalco—in an approximate geographic order. The burning temple set above each one denotes conquest, and at the right, just above Azcapotzalco's toponym and temple, the bundled corpse of Maxtla also proclaims his and his city's defeat.[51] Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan and Totoquihuatzin of Tlacopan, Nezahualcoyotl's two Triple Alliance allies, sit to the right of Azcapotzalco's toponym and Maxtla's corpse bundle. Between the enthroned rulers and the place signs

of the cities that they rule runs a row of four consecutive year signs—Thirteen Reed (1427), One Flint Knife (1428), Two House (1429), and Three Rabbit (1430)—and above them a shield and darts, an iconic-script designation for war. In tandem with the toponyms at left, this configuration tersely relates the Tepanec War (fought 1427–1428) and its aftermath, the formation and early conquests of the Triple Alliance (1429–1430). The next year in the sequence, Four Reed (1431), the year of Nezahualcoyotl's return to Tetzcoco, appears at the center of the second leaf (Plates 14 and 15, center). Cause and effect are perfectly legible: the Tepanec War and the Triple Alliance led to Nezahualcoyotl's return. As argued in Chapter 2, the composition subordinates this narrative to the iconic portrayal of the Acolhua polity in the second leaf and Nezahualcoyotl's and Nezahualpilli's jurisprudence in the third.

The Quinatzin's historical narrative in effect stops between the first and the third leaves, excising Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's reign and Nezahualcoyotl's exile. The narratives that frame the second leaf substitute the creation and, by analogy, the re-creation of Tetzcoco and Acolhua civilization for the occluded episodes. At top, the lower third of leaf 1 (Plates 12 and 13) documents the founding of the city and its sophisticated culture under the leadership of Quinatzin and, later, his son Techotlalatzin. At bottom, the upper section of leaf 3 (Plates 16 and 17) records the Tepanec War and the founding of the Triple Alliance, which motivate the revival of Tetzcoco under the leadership of Nezahualcoyotl and, later, of his son Nezahualpilli. By visually equating the composite Acolhua polity and ethnic group with the multiethnic, tripartite empire, the juxtaposition characterizes the Tepanec War and Triple Alliance Empire as Acolhua rather than Mexica achievements. The manuscript likewise attributes the sociopolitical trajectory from altepetl to imperial alliance to Tetzcoco and the Acolhua.

Even the dating of events on the Quinatzin Map—and the Codex Xolotl as well—represents forms of historical occlusion and appropriation. Thirteen Reed, the first year (1427) of the Tepanec War, shares its name with the day on which the sun of the present creation era—known as the Fifth Sun or the Four Movement Sun—was born. One Flint Knife, the year of Maxtla's defeat and Nezahualcoyotl's political resurrection (1428), is also the name of the year in which the Mexica left Aztlan, their origin place, and, later, of the year (1376) in which Acamapichtli, the first Mexica ruler, came to power. One Flint Knife is the calendric name of the Mexicas' patron deity Huitzilopochtli, too. The year (1429) in which the Triple Alliance was established, Two House, also dates the founding of the Mexica capital, Tenochtitlan (1325). Four Reed, the year in which Nezahualcoyotl returned to Tetzcoco, takes its name from a day sacred to Xiuhtecuhtli, the fire god, on which rulers were ceremonially enthroned. All of these dates appear on major monuments from pre-Hispanic Tenochtitlan, on which they communicate Mexica imperial propaganda, but here they have been naturalized as Acolhua, and their historical reference is to

Nezahualcoyotl, Acolhua founding father, Acolhua embodiment of civilization, and Acolhua avatar of the gods.[52]

The Quinatzin records one more date, Four or Five Flint Knife, toward the left end of the Tepanec War–Triple Alliance narrative on leaf 3, just above Culhuacan's toponym (Plates 16 and 17, top left). Given the pattern of dates across leaves 2 and 3, Five Flint Knife (1432) is the most natural reading, as it follows Four Reed (1431): the six consecutive years from Thirteen Reed (1427) to Five Flint Knife (1432) cycle counterclockwise—the direction of ritual movement—across the two leaves and tie them together.[53] Five Flint Knife should refer to a historical event that features Nezahualcoyotl, and because it is larger than any of the other signs in the sequence, even Four Reed, the event should witness his power and virtue more eloquently and viscerally than the military or political actions signaled by the other dates.

To the right, a distance count of eighteen—three horizontal rows of six units each—modifies Five Flint Knife. The distance count almost certainly moves the narrative forward to Ten Rabbit (1450), the first year of the Great Famine (1450–1454) that afflicted the Valley of Mexico, rather than back to Thirteen Rabbit (1414), a year of no apparent significance in Acolhua history. In the area enclosed at the left by Five Flint Knife and the distance count, at the right by Maxtla's corpse bundle, and below by the toponyms of the Tepanec Alliance, five now fragmentary objects form a row (Plates 16 and 17, top center). Four of the objects appear to be *cuezcomatl*, large, oval granaries for storing dried maize, here constructed of cordlike coils of clay and set on thin rectangular bases.[54] The four vessels image the royal granaries that, according to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualcoyotl opened to his people during the Great Famine of 1450–1454, an act of charity whose consequences parallel those of the introduction of maize agriculture on the first leaf.[55]

Below the war narrative, leaf 3 elides history with descriptive ethnography (Plates 16 and 17). Figured anecdotes of crimes and punishments, as Barlow observed, form four vertical columns that address, from left to right, theft, political insubordination, adultery, and judicial malfeasance.[56] The columns devoted to theft (leftmost) and adultery (second from right) each comprised four scenes, but, due to the loss of most of the bottom quarter of the leaf, only three remain. Those concerning political insubordination (second from left) and judicial malfeasance (rightmost) included three scenes each but preserve two and two and one half, respectively. The four/three/four/three pattern pairs theft and adultery, on the one hand, and political insubordination and judicial malfeasance, on the other. The pairings reflect the distinction between nobles and non-nobles observed in Aztec law, which holds the former to a higher standard and metes out punishments specific to both the nature of the offense and the social status of the offender.[57] In this instance theft is assumed to be a crime of the non-noble, and although every stratum of society engages in adultery, the punishments depicted identify the adul-

terers as non-noble. In contrast, the administration of the law and the polity concerns the upper strata of Nahua society, as attests the presence of rulers, heirs, and military officials in the scenes of political insubordination and Nezahualcoyotl's and Nezahualpilli's direct intervention—signified by their name glyphs—in the scenes of judicial malfeasance.[58] The portrayal of law on the third leaf balances and transcends the barbarism of the Chichimecs in the first leaf: two explicitly named rulers, Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, descendants of the nomads, enact and enforce the laws.

The leftmost column illustrates three thieves, all male, and their crimes (Plates 16 and 17).[59] At top, a burglar breaches the back wall of a house with a digging stick, at night, while the unsuspecting inhabitants sleep inside. Above the thief, a cloth-wrapped bundle, a lidded woven-reed box, and a cluster of precious quetzal feathers inventory his ill-gotten gains. At center, in the entrance to another house, a second burglar lifts the lid of a large woven-reed chest whose contents he will steal. At bottom, in a marketplace, a third malefactor pilfers a woman's cloth-wrapped bundle when she looks the other way. At the right of each vignette, the scene jumps forward to the punishment prescribed by law, death by strangulation, as the thieves' closed eyes and limp bodies and the ropes tied around their necks show. Here, as elsewhere on the Quinatzin, appearance manifests culture and ethics: the executed criminals wear only breechcloths, and their hair is unkempt, a sign of their moral corruption.[60]

Three adulterous couples and their punishments, the thematic and compositional complement to the scenes of theft, appear two columns farther to the right (Plates 16 and 17). The topmost anecdote pictures a couple incarcerated in a wooden cage, and three stones secure the cage's roof against escape. An alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss labels the structure as a "wooden house place, place where people are put," or jail. No crime is directly represented, but the two anecdotes below suggest that adultery is at issue and that the caged couple await their fate. In the central episode another couple, already tried and convicted, suffer the punishments prescribed when non-noble adulterers have murdered the cuckolded husband.[61] At the left, the adulterous wife has been executed by strangulation, her guilt and degradation in part signaled by her exposed breasts and loose hair—no virtuous Nahua woman would ever appear without a huipilli, the tuniclike shirt, and impeccably groomed hair. Dressed only in a breechcloth, her paramour stands to the right, his body stretched to its full height, with arms raised uncomfortably above the head. The adulterer's wrists and ankles have been bound by ropes and secured to short pieces of wood. At the left, a raging fire burns his flesh while at the right a court official or priest sprinkles him with water in order to intensify and prolong the agony.[62] The bottommost vignette adds another variation to the catalogue of adultery and its consequences. Here two men stone the adulterers to death, and the men's speech scrolls indicate that they are

adding insult to injury by lecturing the guilty pair at the same time.[63] As above, the adulterous couple's physical aspect advertises their guilt.

Framed by thieves and adulterers, the second column from the left contains two anecdotes of noble indiscipline and insubordination (Plates 16 and 17). An indigenous-style building at the center of the smaller of the two episodes, at top, encloses a seated male figure and the components of an aristocratic war costume. The unnamed young man holds a quetzal-feather headdress in his right hand and loose feathers from the headdress in his left. A round war shield hangs on the wall, to the left of the headdress, and, below the shield, a long-sleeved, long-legged warrior costume whose left sleeve has come loose. The headdress, a *quetzalpatzactli*, would have been worn by a tlahtoani, and the costume by a high-ranking warrior, perhaps the ruler himself.[64] The condition of the panoply, so different from that of the war shields and costumes stored in Nezahualcoyotl's palace on leaf 2 (Plates 14 and 15), reveals that this young man is or will be ineffective both as a warrior and as a ruler, unable to protect and therefore unworthy to guide his people.[65] The anecdote—and the manuscript as a whole—casts the political in light of the familial and the ties between rulers and subjects in the light of the duties and responsibilities of fathers and sons: in Nahuatl, the highly prized quetzal feather is a metaphor for paternal love, and in this instance it refers literally to the waste of resources—one's own patrimony—and figuratively to abusing a father's love.[66] The prodigal receives his due, at right: degradation, made visible by his unkempt hair and partial state of undress, and death by strangulation.[67]

References to filial duty and the responsible management of one's patrimony would have cut very close to the bone around 1542. Although presented as a generic admonition, the nobility of the transgressor may allude to well-known incidents in the reigns of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli. Both rulers—the only ones named on this leaf—visited capital punishment on sons and wives guilty of adultery and treason.[68] Any member of Tetzcoco's royal family who could commission, paint, or read this admonitory anecdote must have discerned in it the figures of these ancestors or, of more recent import, don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, who met an equally ignominious end.

The prodigal's counterpart, the young man outside and to the left of the building, sits on a large, lidded storage chest, safeguarding its contents from thieves such as the ones portrayed at left, as well as from the neglect and misuse that ruined the panoply pictured at right.[69] The prudent son and young lord has also secured the chest with a rope, which resembles the ones used to execute his less-cautious peer and other miscreants on the Quinatzin's third leaf. Such forethought and virtue are exactly what Nezahualcoyotl demonstrated when he stored, and later distributed, the dried maize that kept his people alive through the Great Famine, and the general example resonates with the historical event. The patron of the Oztoticpac Lands Map (Fig. 2.1), Nezahualcoyotl's grand-

son, Nezahualpilli's son don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin, brother or half-brother of the ill-fated don Carlos, exhibited the same qualities of character and rulership in 1540 when he went to court to keep palace lands out of Spanish hands.

The parable-like anecdotes of the prudent and the prodigal sons and young lords, and the legal sampler as a whole, are summary iconic-script equivalents of the elaborate speeches, the huehuetlahtolli, or "words of the elders."[70] Huehuetlahtolli served as primers for proper conduct, but because of their poetic articulation and complex metaphors, they are not the "stranger[s] to questions of a higher order" that Aubin mistakenly deemed the Tlohtzin Map to be.[71] As part of their accession ritual, Nahua rulers listened to many such admonitory speeches, which an older male relative or an allied ruler, often one and the same person, declaimed. In the context of the speech, the elder addressed the new ruler as a son or nephew—many huehuetlahtolli were composed for the education of children—and after his installation, the ruler would address his people as his children.[72]

Whereas the anecdote of the sons and young lords pertains to the ruler's household and only by extension to the polity—an heir who cannot manage his patrimony will not govern successfully—the lower, much larger scene (Plates 16 and 17 and Fig. 4.2) directly concerns rulership and the state. Offner connects this episode to Alva Ixtlilxochitl's description of Triple Alliance embassies and protocol.[73] According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, when a ruler refused to receive "trade" delegations from the Triple Alliance, he was considered to be in rebellion "because these three capital cities [Tenochtitlan, Tetzcoco, and Tlacopan] established themselves as lords and masters of all the others through the rights they claimed to all [this] land, which had belonged to the Toltecs, whose successors and heirs they were."[74] He goes on to describe how each of the three "capital cities" sent an emissary, one after the other, beginning with Tenochtitlan, to warn the insubordinate ruler and his people to relent or be conquered.

At the top of the scene (Fig. 4.2), a young male figure sits at the left, and Tenochtitlan's place sign can be seen behind and slightly above the young man's head. Like his Acolhua and Tepanec colleagues below, the Mexica messenger wears his long black hair tied round three times with a straplike ribbon—the hairstyle of priests and, as here, of the achcacauhtin, agents of the royal or imperial bureaucracies. A war shield, the emissary's symbolic gift, appears between him and the elderly couple, at right, whom he exhorts, and an alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss above the shield records that "the Mexica give him a shield."[75]

At the bottom of the scene, the Tepanec envoy from Tlacopan, the third and last of the ambassadors, presents a shield to his interlocutors, too. Seated at the left, with an abbreviated Tlacopan place sign just behind his head, the Tepanec addresses two young men who sit at right.[76] Signs identify the young men as an eagle (at left) and a jaguar (at right),

FIGURE 4.2. Quinatzin Map, bottom-left detail, leaf 3 (bottom panel), ink and color on amatl, 34.5 x 43.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 396. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

members of the two elite warrior societies, jaguar knights and eagle knights, to be found in any Postclassic central Mexican polity.[77]

According to the Triple Alliance's etiquette of intimidation, the shield that they receive announces not what may happen but what is now inevitable: war. At the center of the scene, framed by the first and third embassies, an Acolhua achcauhtli from Tetzcoco faces an unnamed lord seated on a reed mat similar to the ones used by the fourteen subordinate rulers depicted on the second leaf. The Acolhua envoy adorns the anonymous tlahtoani with a headdress, anoints him, and formally addresses him, as if he were advising a wayward son.[78] Offner recognized this as the *tecpilotl*, the headdress that a Triple Alliance ambassador would place on the head of an insubordinate or unwilling vassal as a portent of war and punishment, and he points out that the same headdress appears in

the cognate scene on folio 66 recto of the Codex Mendoza (Fig. 2.5).[79] The tufts of eagle down are the significant element, for they mark sacrificial victims, including captive warriors. At the right, behind the seated figure of the insubordinate ruler, the manuscript looks ahead to the end of his resistance: the ruler's half-naked corpse, and the club used to crush his skull.[80] Just as the prudent son calls to mind Nezahualcoyotl, the disobedient ruler indexes the prodigal young lord, and both resonate with Maxtla, at the top of the page.

The prudent and prodigal sons and young lords and Triple Alliance embassy episodes pair formally and thematically with those pictured in the column farthest to the right (Plates 16 and 17). Alva Ixtlilxochitl's translation of this or a similar iconic-script text makes clear that these vignettes deal with the administration of justice.[81] As Offner discerned, in contrast to the others in the legal sampler, these anecdotes are historical, not generic and hypothetical.[82] Nezahualcoyotl's name sign appears above the building in the top anecdote and Nezahualpilli's above the one at center, both drawn at a larger scale than anything else in either scene. The royal monikers act like calendrical signs and date the episodes to the designated reigns, for the men depicted are not the rulers themselves, but judges who served them. The fact that they sit on tepotzoicpalli, the high-backed, woven-reed seats usually reserved for rulers, evokes the authority of the tlahtoani, on whose behalf and at whose pleasure judges served; it may also intimate that these judges presume on royal prerogative.[83]

In the two relatively well preserved vignettes, the judges speak to or with two litigants, seated directly opposite and facing them (Plates 16 and 17, right side). While the judges have name glyphs, none of the litigants is identified by name. Below each of the two buildings lies a supine male figure, with feet at the left and head at the right. Given the traces of rope around their necks, it is clear that both men were found guilty of serious crimes and executed by strangulation. Both carry now-almost-indecipherable name signs, of which just enough remains to have allowed Offner to make out that these names are the same as those of the men seated in the buildings, the judges: the culprits are the judges, not the litigants.[84] In addition, Offner observes that the two dead men still wear their cloaks and are spared the shame of public nakedness, even after conviction and execution, an indication of their privileged status.[85]

The upper scene takes place during Nezahualcoyotl's reign (1428/1431–1472). The later alphabetic-Nahuatl glosses identify the two male litigants at the right as, at top, a "*tecutli*," or lord from the highest rung of the nobility, and, at bottom, an "achcauhtli," or court official, such as the ones in the Triple Alliance embassy at left.[86] In his *Brief and Summary Relation of the Lords of New Spain* of circa 1566–1570, Alonso de Zorita relates the story of a Tetzcocan judge who, in a case argued before him, unjustly favored a noble against a non-noble and then lied about it to the monarch.[87] On discovering the deceit, the king had the

decision reversed and the judge hanged. This may be what transpires here; unfortunately, Zorita did not record the name of either the judge or the king. In the central scene, an unidentified woman (below) and a man (above) present their case(s) to a judge at some point during Nezahualpilli's reign (1472–1515).[88] The judge has a personal name sign consisting of two elements, an eagle's head (*cuauhtli*) set above an ear of mature corn (centli), which together produce a name along the lines of Cencuautli, or One Eagle. The same name sign identifies the man, executed by strangulation, whose supine body lies below the building.[89] Offner found an anecdote concerning a judge named Zequauhtzin (Revered or Little One Eagle), whom Nezahualpilli condemned to death by strangulation for having held trials at home rather than in court, a practice strictly forbidden.[90]

The third, only partially preserved, scene varies the compositional pattern somewhat (Plates 16 and 17, lower right corner). As in the two scenes above, there is an indigenous-style profile-view building at right, but the figure of the judge has been lost altogether. Above the building there is no name sign, only an alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss in which Nezahualpilli's name can still be read. The reader of the iconic-script text apparently knew to carry down the name from above and apply it to this scene. At the left, where the litigants in the first two anecdotes sit, there is here a vertically oriented male who has been executed by strangulation.[91] Between the dead man and the building appear traces of what must have been a second male figure, as one can still discern part of a shoulder over which two ends of a cloak have been knotted and the remnants of what may be a *tlalpiloni*, the ornament that rulers and warriors tied around the topknot of their hair.[92] From what remains of the second figure, it appears that he stood, leaning slightly, and faced right, toward the building. None of the figures has a preserved name glyph, but at least one, the judge, must originally have had one.

Because it is fragmentary, the third scene is the most difficult to interpret. If the figure at the center of the scene wears the feathered hair ornament reserved for rulers and military men, then chapter 68 of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca* may provide a key:

> Among the events that took place during the reign of Nezahualpiltzintli was that a secretary reported to him that the judges who heard criminal trials had condemned to death two adulterers of the third type [that is, cases of adultery in which the cuckolded husband was not killed and the evidence for adultery was indirect], of whom one was a musician and the other a soldier, and that the supreme presidents of the four councils, to whom it pertained to determine and confirm any serious case [that is, involving the death penalty], had confirmed the sentence in question, and that it only remained for the king to give his approval; once the secretary's report had been heard, the king, taking a brush, placed a line in black ink over the musician and left the soldier [that is, on the painted record of the trial]. The secretary took the

painting to show it to the supreme presidents [that is, of the four councils], who, believing that the king was not in accord with the laws and that he repealed them, went in to see him, with the painting, to demand that he preserve the laws of his father and grandfathers; he [that is, the king] told them that he did not act against the laws, but that as someone in whose power it was to improve on them, he ordered that by law from that day forward the soldier or military man who was caught in the crime of adultery of the third category be condemned to perpetual exile to one of the empire's frontiers and border forts because this way he would be well punished, and a great benefit would accrue to the state, as soldiers were its defense and succor.[93]

The strangled offender appears at the left, and he is clearly not accorded the same courtesies in death as the judges above, a sign of lower status. Moreover, the alphabetic-Nahuatl annotation inscribed above the building implicates Nezahualpilli directly in the action, as its last two and only fully legible words are "itencopa neçaualpilçintlj" (at the command of Nezahaulpiltzintli, literally, because of/from his lips Nezahualpiltzintli).

The Quinatzin's brief survey of legal activism ranges from the subornation of justice at top to the modification of the law undertaken by the only person competent to do so, the ruler, at bottom. The judges in the first two anecdotes flout the law by disregarding their obligation to uphold it, just as, at the left, the prodigal young lord and son squanders his patrimony and the imprudent ruler leads his people and polity to ruin. The two named Acolhua rulers, Tetzcoco's own prudent young lords and heirs, remedy judicial malfeasance. Nezahualcoyotl and his son Nezahualpilli impose the death penalty on the presumptuous officials as they do on common thieves or adulterers, or on their own spouses and children, who, like the judges, appropriated property or prerogatives to which they had no legal or moral claim. In the third episode, Nezahualpilli, the wise judge and the good ruler, sustains the state by amending and thereby perfecting the law, while the state in turn guarantees the rule of law.

To write history, the Quinatzin deploys a range of poetic, primarily metaphorical, structures, and the text as a whole reads more as symbolic ethnography than sustained historical narrative. Throughout, the Quinatzin juxtaposes the specific with the general, and history with ethnographic vignettes and prescriptive anecdotes; in this way it qualifies the historical events as iconic and metaphoric. By selectively representing and thus qualifying the pre-Hispanic past, the manuscript articulates an Acolhua royal image for the colonial period: civilized, endowed with rights and privileges, law-abiding, and free from idolatry or sedition—the obverse of don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl. By means of allusion and metaphor, however, the composition insinuates the divine into its portrayal of Tetzcoco and its rulers, especially Quinatzin and Nezahualcoyotl, who figure as human avatars of the pre-Hispanic gods that justified their rule.

Metaphor and Narrative

The Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map all demonstrate don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin's claim that "we [the Acolhua] have always had our good laws and praiseworthy customs, from time immemorial, from the beginning of our royal house and kingdom." While the Xolotl (Plates 1–10) details a wide range of actions and events as causes and effects, the Quinatzin (Plates 11–17) and the Tlohtzin (Plates 18–25) each feature only a few historical actors and episodes. The Xolotl tells a story that one can read through time, and the manuscript's pages unfold in a consecutive, temporal order, often further refined by dates and distance counts within the iconic-script text. Neither the Quinatzin nor the Tlohtzin recounts the past as a detailed chronological sequence: the Quinatzin includes seven year signs and four distance counts that measure time, the Tlohtzin, none. Both manuscripts isolate and juxtapose events, and the juxtapositions communicate categorical or poetic rather than strictly causal or temporal relationships.

The Codex Xolotl's narrative—eventful, hypotactic, and insistently historical—illustrates human, not divine, agents and actions. The overarching, diphrastic structure of the Xolotl's narrative, however, mimics patterns of expression associated with the language of the temple and the royal court and thus with the gods and the sacred calendar of pre-Hispanic central Mexico. The poetic tropes of courtly and ritual language inform the Tlohtzin Map and the Quinatzin Map, too, and evoke the same associations. In contrast to the Xolotl, the Tlohtzin and the Quinatzin isolate agents and events as symbols, and their narratives are oblique and paratactic. The Acolhua patrons and painters responsible for these manuscripts deployed two different narrative strategies to image the pre-Hispanic past: eventfulness and symbol. Both strategies addressed the needs of Nezahualcoyotl's and Nezahualpilli's colonial descendants, who had to negotiate property, privilege, and status not only in the *república de los españoles* but also in the *república de los indios*.

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CONCLUSION: IN THE PALACE OF NEZAHUALCOYOTL

Around 1453, three years into the Great Famine that scourged the Valley of Mexico, Nezahualcoyotl, the ruler of Tetzcoco, had a palace and gardens built on the sacred hill of Tetzcotzinco.[1] According to the Codex Xolotl's first page/map (Plate 1), the king's great-great-great-grandfather Nopaltzin had once surveyed the eastern valley from the hill's summit. The Tetzcotzinco complex celebrates the inauguration of an irrigation system commissioned by Nezahualcoyotl to remedy the drought that had occasioned the famine. The presence of water throughout the palace and gardens transformed them into an earthly analogue of Tlalocan, the fertile paradise of the rain and storm god, Tlaloc, an association clearly intended by the patron and his architects.

Nezahualcoyotl's artists carved the history of their patron's reign and evocations of the Chichimec and Toltec past, the toponyms of Tollan and Tenayuca, and the contemporary Triple Alliance into the very stone of the hill. Sculpted images and symbols of deities such as Tlaloc and his consort, Chalchiuhtlicue, the goddess of lakes, rivers, and streams, also appeared throughout the complex. By juxtaposing the gods and their life-giving waters to narratives of and allusions to Acolhua history, architects, artists, and ruler visibly unified cosmic and human creations.

Earlier in his reign, Nezahualcoyotl almost certainly commissioned an iconic-script manuscript that would later serve as a, or perhaps the, model for the Codex Xolotl. Nezahualcoyotl's painters joined their own detailed account of the king's reign and a chronicle of his ancestors that they must have copied from earlier sources. Judging from the Xolotl, the now-lost manuscript of the late 1420s or early 1430s portrayed the ancestral migration into the Valley of Mexico, the founding of the Acolhua capital and dynasty, and the conquest of a territorial state, in addition to the signal events of Nezahualcoyotl's life and rule, a record of which the king would have imaged at Tetzcotzinco approximately two decades later. All these events figure in the Codex Xolotl, but the early-colonial manuscript, commissioned and perhaps painted by Nezahualcoyotl's descendants, obscures the numinous powers that featured so prominently in the

royal palace and gardens at Tetzcotzinco, and almost certainly featured in the manuscript commissioned by the king in about 1430.

Painted sometime in the 1540s, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map depict the pre-Hispanic history of Tetzcoco. The three manuscripts, cartographic histories, trace the origin of the city, its people, and its royal dynasty and follow them through time as they map them across space. The Quinatzin, Tlohtzin, and Xolotl document the pre-Hispanic past and, in doing so, they assert the rights and privileges of their colonial patrons, descendants of the rulers whose achievements they commemorate and extol. In their content and form, the manuscripts manifest the situation of their aristocratic indigenous patrons, men and women who often found themselves between the two cultural and linguistic worlds of sixteenth-century New Spain, yearning for the glorious past and negotiating an uncertain present.

In order to address the indigenous and Spanish worlds simultaneously, the Quinatzin's, Tlohtzin's, and Xolotl's patrons and painters made shrewd formal and narrative choices. The manuscripts' form, materials, style, and writing system derive from and evoke the pre-Hispanic past and its literate traditions; their aura of antiquity is the touchstone of their historical veracity for Indian and Spaniard alike. Alert to Spanish and Catholic concerns, the painters excised explicit references to the pre-Hispanic divine from the pictorial narratives, which emphasize the humanity, civility, and good order of the Acolhua state and its rulers. Thus, these painters and their patrons and manuscripts inaugurated a process that would result in the "characteristic tendency of colonial Acolhua historiography: the re-writing of history in a providentialist and Christian sense."[2] But the form, linguistic resonance, and underlying cartographic, genealogical, and narrative structures of the manuscripts invoke for an indigenous audience what the explicit narratives deny: the gods of the ancestors and the link between the ruler and the divine.

The Quinatzin, Tlohtzin, and Xolotl are texts composed by native Nahuatl speakers, and as such they follow the discursive patterns or forms of signification of Nahuatl speech and thought. Nahuatl, especially as spoken in the royal courts, is a language of metaphor, a language that figures what is not directly said. To read the three manuscripts in light of metaphor and to read them as poetic texts as much as historical records restores to them communicative power and complexity, even if their full range of meaning remains beyond our grasp. In this way, we can better appreciate the extent to which patrons, painters, and manuscripts rewrote the past and the present.

Manuscripts such as the Quinatzin Map and the exactly contemporary Codex Mendoza, from Tenochtitlan, exemplify another form of adaptation: bricolage, or the reconstruction and representation of indigenous experience from decontextualized fragments. The Quinatzin summarizes, objectifies, and reorders the past in light of Spanish political and religious concerns. While the manuscript's language or mode of discourse

marks it as indigenous and aristocratic, its carefully selected content renders it acceptable to Crown and Church. With the Codex Mendoza, a manuscript fabricated for a Spanish audience in response to Spanish ethnographic curiosity and economic interest, as their model, the Quinatzin's painter and patron chose and in some cases adapted passages from several historical narratives, manuscripts, and manuscript types. The process of editing resulted in the shifts in perspective and between narrative and non-narrative iterations and historical and generic content from one panel of the Quinatzin to the next, as from one section of the Mendoza to the next. Nevertheless, the manuscript is a unified, coherent statement of Acolhua identity and argument for Acolhua authority and political legitimacy.

Mixed Messages, Mixed Forms

At about the same time that the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map were painted, don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, a great-grandson of Nezahualcoyotl, began to write letters in Spanish to Charles V to argue for the return of patrimonial lands and privileges.[3] In contrast to don Hernando's Spanish-language missives, the three iconic-script histories are formal survivals and continuations of the pre-Hispanic past that they describe. Although the letters and the pictorial histories are very different in form, they make similar claims. As they all postdate the 1539 conviction and execution of Nezahualcoyotl's grandson, don Hernando's uncle, don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl, on charges of sedition and idolatry, any and every apparent reference to indigenous autonomy or pre-Hispanic religion had to be excised, and all were.

Yet, in contrast to don Hernando's letters to the emperor, the three pictorial manuscripts also had to communicate with an indigenous audience, in indigenous terms, and they did so by deploying Nahuatl linguistic and poetic tropes that could insinuate the pre-Hispanic divine without arousing Spanish or Christian suspicions. Different in form if not intent, don Hernando's letters and the Tetzcocan iconic-script histories are products of the same artistic, cultural, and social milieu, and they manifest the "double-consciousness" of indigenous aristocrats and their artists in sixteenth-century Mexico.[4] To ask which is more "Indian" is irrelevant; to ask how each one constructs itself as "Indian," and why, may help us better appreciate the complexity and variety of indigenous responses to colonization and evangelization.

Like Nezahualcoyotl's manuscript of circa 1430, the Codex Xolotl as well as the Quinatzin Map and the Tlohtzin Map drew on and adapted earlier historical traditions and artistic models, just as they responded to new conditions and influences. Without their sources in hand, it is difficult to gauge the extent to which the manuscripts transformed and updated them, excepting the absence of ostensible religious content. For-

mal changes are evident, however, when we compare the Codex Xolotl (Plate 6) or the Tlohtzin Map (Plates 21 and 22) to a later work such as the Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco of circa 1750 (Fig. C.1).[5] The Genealogical Tree configures ten generations of the Tetzcocan royal dynasty as a European-style family tree rather than an indigenous-style genealogy or dynastic list. Painted to demonstrate lineal descent from Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, the genealogy also avers the patrimonial status of, and thus inalienable rights to, Tetzcotzinco.[6]

The scheme of the genealogical tree derives from medieval European tables of consanguinity, sometimes known as *arbores juris* (trees of law), created to determine marriage prohibitions and the Christian iconography of the tree of Jesse.[7] When introduced into Mexico in the sixteenth century, the tree of Jesse absorbed, transformed, and was transformed by indigenous traditions such as the world trees that hold up the sky, mark the center and the four cardinal directions, and join the underworld, earth, and heavens.[8] But in the Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco, the dynamic overlap of the Early Colonial Period, like the pictorial style, has given way to a deeper integration and closer reproduction of European models.[9]

In conception as well as execution, the Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco exemplifies the European-style painting of eighteenth-century New Spain rather than the colonial legacy of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican iconic-script texts (cf. Plate 21 and Fig. C.1). Although the iconic-script toponym of Tetzcotzinco (a hill and a jar) and the sign for Acolhua or Acolhuacan (a bent arm holding a bow and arrow) appear at the base of the trunk, the tree and its spreading branches, the three-quarters-length, variously posed human figures isolated in foliage-framed oval cartouches, and the floating banners with Spanish-language annotations refract indigenous experience and identity not only through European words and images but also through European perceptions of the Indian.[10] The progression from the pre-Hispanic Indian in the first two generations, the two bottommost, to the Europeanized Indian in the later ones parallels the racial transformations—the incremental whitening of the indigenous—found in the *casta* paintings of the end of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.[11] Nezahualcoyotl and his son and heir, Nezahualpilli, the two pre-Hispanic rulers, and their consorts wear the fanciful red, white, and blue feather costumes that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Spanish painters fashioned as a sign of "Indianness," and, equally inappropriately, European-style crowns grace the two rulers' heads. Beginning with the sons of Nezahualpilli, the third generation represented on the Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco, and the first to live under Spanish rule, the men dress as and effectively have become European gentlemen, while the women, with some exceptions, don the elaborate blouses (the pre-Hispanic-style huipilli), skirts, and scarves favored by aristocratic Indian women of the colonial period. Whereas the symbols of European culture here transform

FIGURE C.1. Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco, ink and watercolor on parchment, 73 x 48 cm., circa 1750, Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. Nr. Iv ca 3011. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bildarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin/Art Resource, New York.

and thereby "civilize" the male descendants of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, in the genealogical passages of the Tetzcocan pictorial histories, marriage to Toltec women rendered their Chichimec grandfathers and great-grandfathers urban and urbane.

The *Handbook of Middle American Indians* says of the Genealogical Tree: "[T]he document, not in the native tradition, is of slight interest for early sixteenth-century or preconquest genealogy."[12] Commissioned by descendants of Nezahualcoyotl, the genealogy nevertheless asserted its patrons' Indianness and the legitimacy of their claims on patrimonial lands, in this instance, lands located on the slopes of Tetzcotzinco. The genealogy does in the eighteenth century what Nezahualcoyotl's sculptural program at Tetzcotzinco and manuscript commissions did in the fifteenth, or the Xolotl, Quinatzin, or Tlohtzin in the sixteenth century, but according to a different yet perhaps equally viable sense of indigenous identity.

The Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco, like the Quinatzin Map, the Tlohtzin Map, and the Codex Xolotl, bears witness not only to cultural fluidity but also to more objective, quantifiable changes in indigenous life after 1521. In a letter dated Mexico City, 28 April 1770, Pedro de Moncada de Aragón Branciforte y Platamone (1739–1828), the marqués de Moncada y Villafont, an impoverished Sicilian-born Spanish aristocrat resident in New Spain, complains about his rich colonial father-in-law, Miguel Calixto de Berrio y Saldívar (1716–1779), second conde de San Mateo de Valparaíso and first marqués de Jaral, and the—in Moncada's opinion—primitive ways of the criollos.[13] The marqués begs his correspondent in France, Marie-Jérôme Éon de la Baronnye (1734–1817), the comte de Cely, to send him potable wine, books, and drawing materials. To satisfy the Frenchman's curiosity about the New World and its peoples, he includes with his letter a fragment of a central Mexican iconic-script manuscript, which Robert H. Barlow later identified as part of the Quinatzin Map (Plates 16 and 17).[14]

For Moncada, the indigenous painter's ability to communicate in pictures manifested the "civilization" of New Spain's native peoples at the moment of contact. Without benefit of an informed reading or, indeed, knowledge of its original context, the Spanish aristocrat intuited the fragment's intent if not its specific subject: "I cannot tell you anything about this country. If you wish to see a sample or token of its antiquity, I send the attached piece of paper with hieroglyphs, which they used to make in the time of Montisuma [*sic*]. The paper is made from cotton and aloe. You will judge for yourself whether they [the indigenous peoples of Mexico] were the barbarians, or we [the Spaniards], when their land, their goods, and their mines were stolen from them."[15] While Moncada's letter and the Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco attest that both indigenous and Spanish perceptions had changed over the course of time, the genealogy makes clear that the struggle to protect the legacy of the pre-Hispanic past—land, privilege, and status—had not.

PLATE 1. Codex Xolotl, page 1, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 1. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 2. Codex Xolotl, page 2, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 2. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 3. Codex Xolotl, page 3, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 3. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

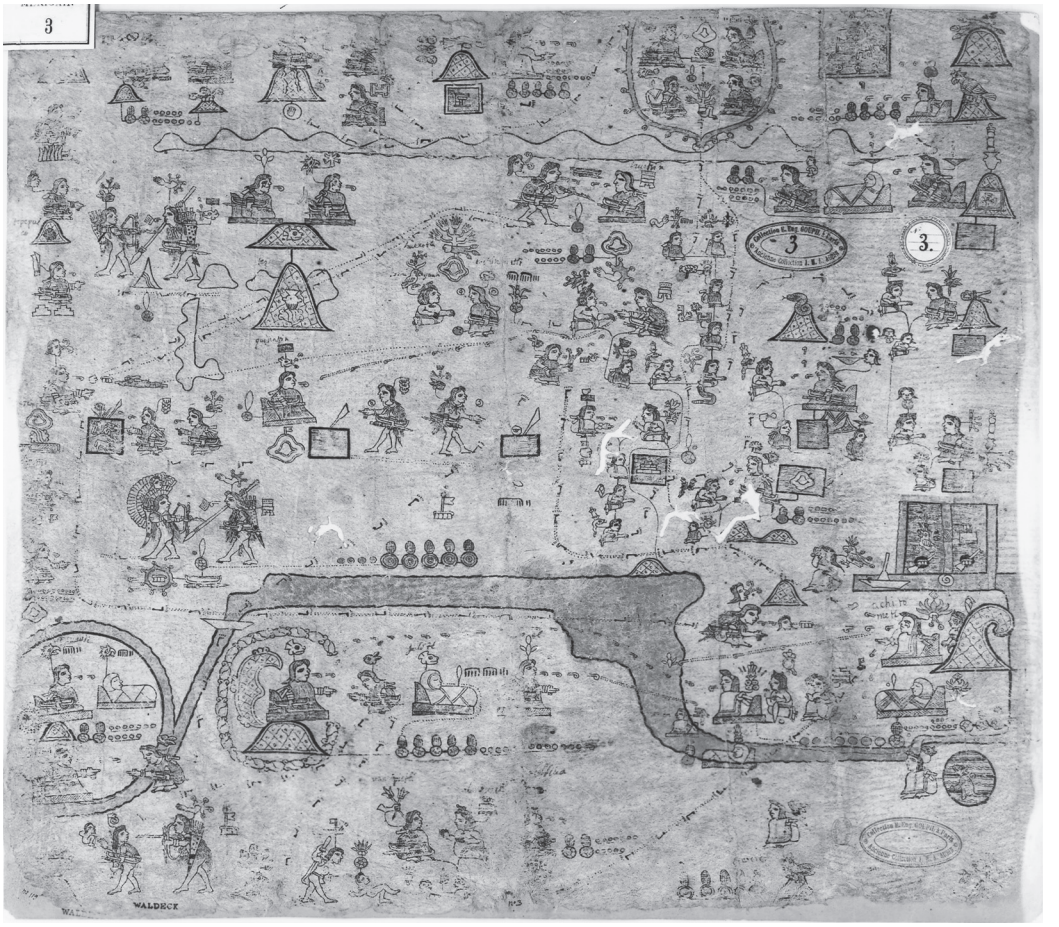

PLATE 4. Codex Xolotl, page 4, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 4. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 5. Codex Xolotl, page 5, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 5. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 6. Codex Xolotl, page 6, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 6. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 7. Codex Xolotl, page 7, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 7. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 8. Codex Xolotl, page 8, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 8. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 9. Codex Xolotl, page 9, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 9. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 10. Codex Xolotl, page 10, ink and color on amatl, circa 1541, approximately 42 x 48 cm., from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 10. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 11. Quinatzin Map, leaves 1 and 2, ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 11–12. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 12. Quinatzin Map, leaf 1 (top panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 11. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 13. Quinatzin Map, lithograph, leaf 1 (top panel), 1849, after Jules Desportes. Work in the public domain.

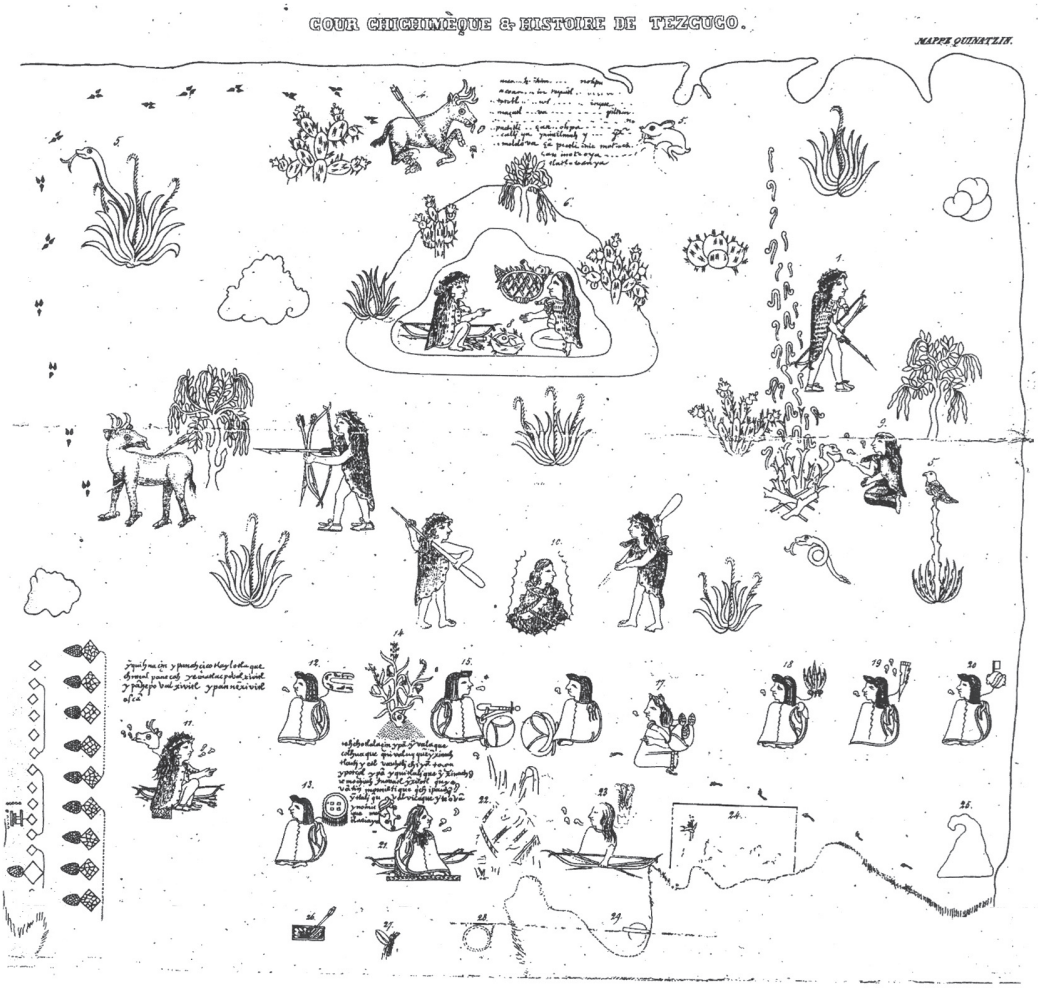

PLATE 14. Quinatzin Map, leaf 2 (center panel), ink and color on amatl, 38 x 44 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 12. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

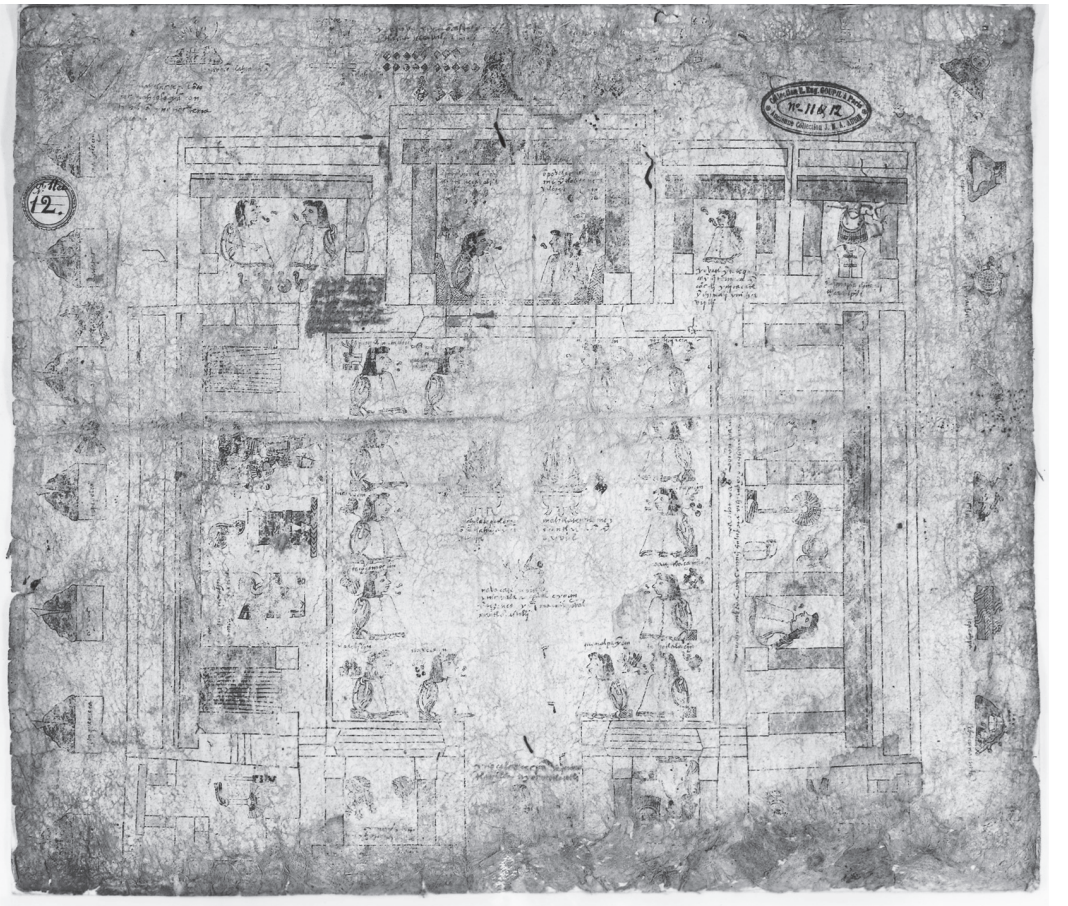

PLATE 15. Quinatzin Map, lithograph, leaf 2 (center panel), 1849, after Jules Desportes. Work in the public domain.

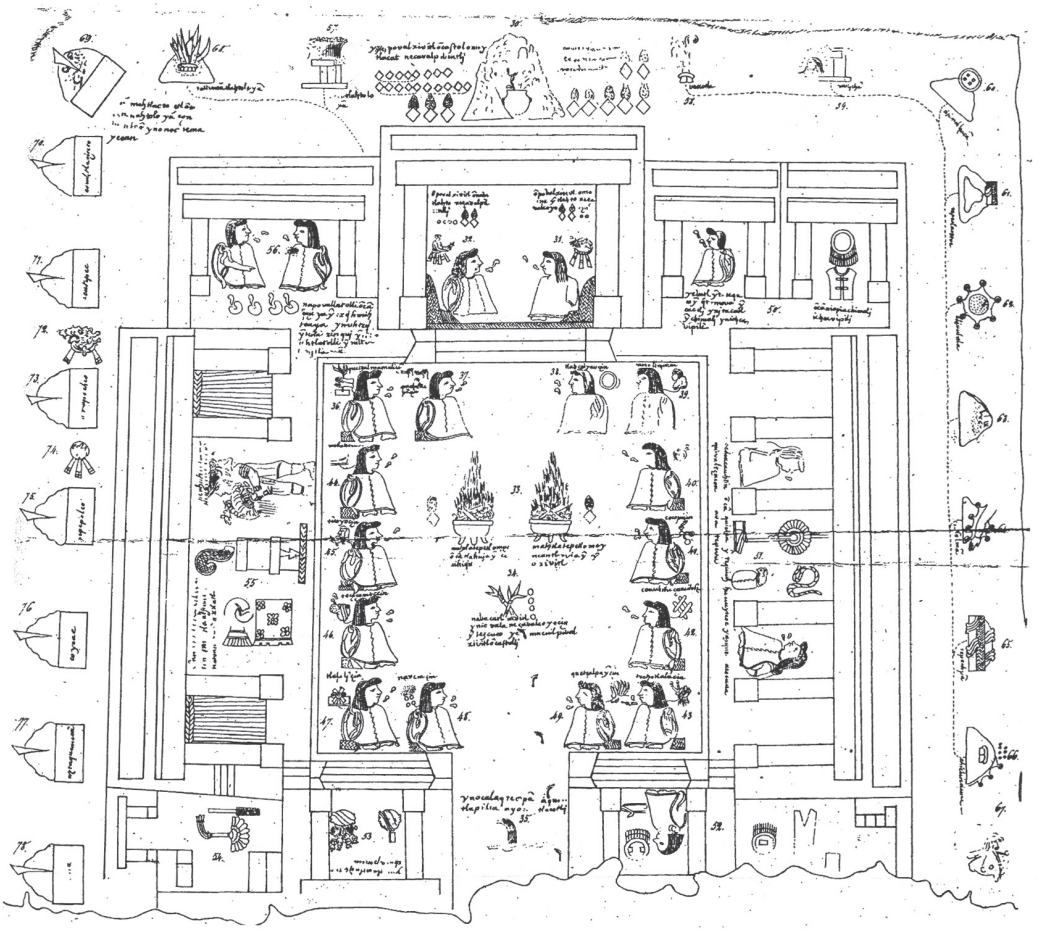

PLATE 16. Quinatzin Map, leaf 3 (bottom panel), ink and color on amatl, 34.5 x 43.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 396. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

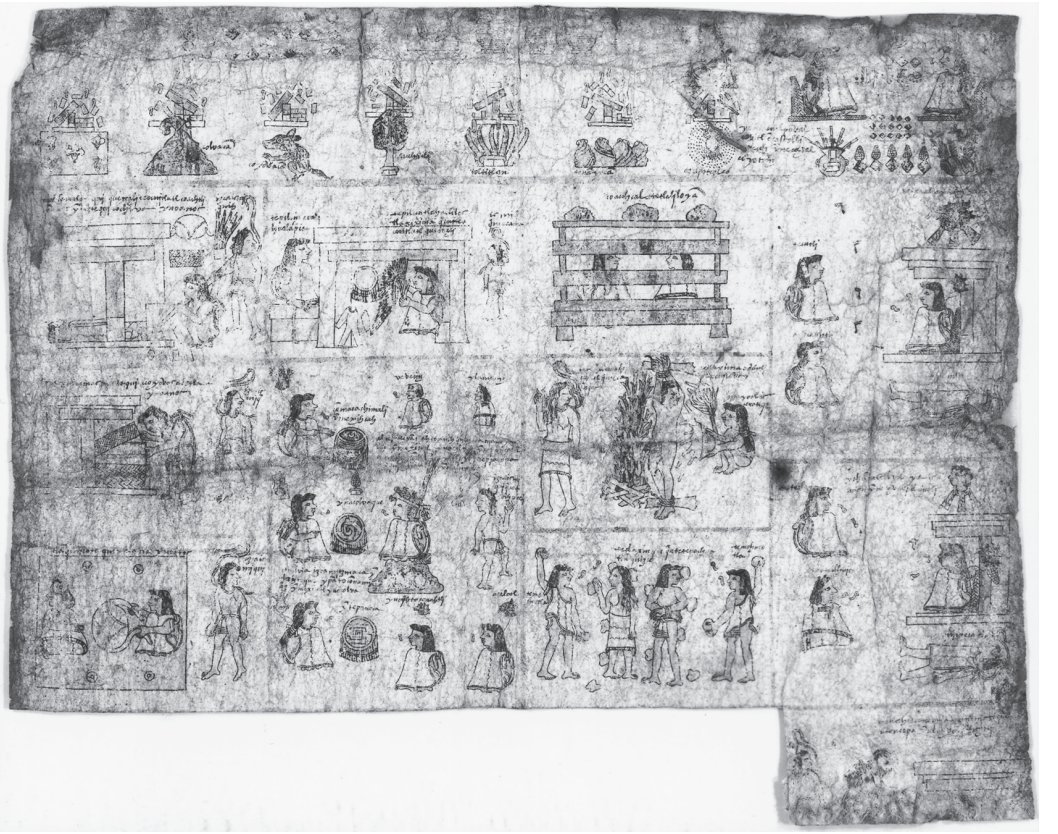

PLATE 17. Drawing, Quinatzin Map, leaf 3 (bottom panel), after Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art*, plate 154 on 205, copyright 1983, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers. All rights reserved. Used with the permission of Harry N. Abrams, Inc.

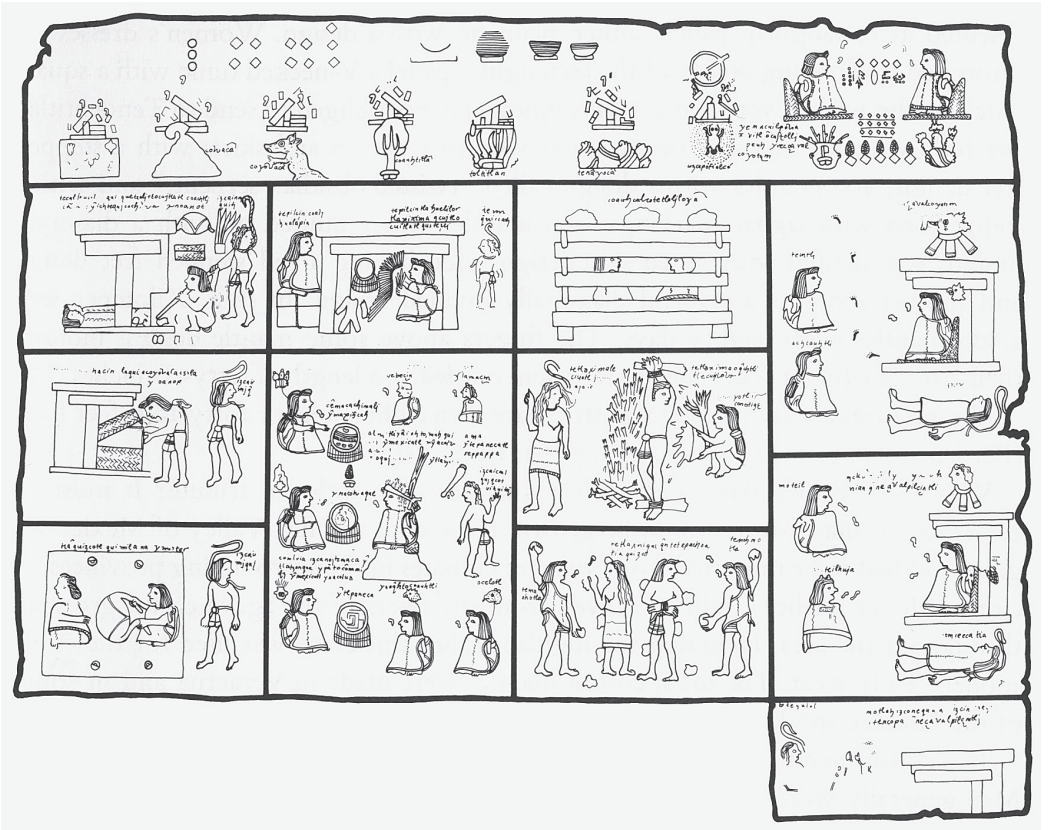

PLATE 18. Tlohtzin Map, full view, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 19. Tlohtzin Map, left section, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 20. Tlohtzin Map, lithograph, left section, 1849, after Jules Desportes. Work in the public domain.

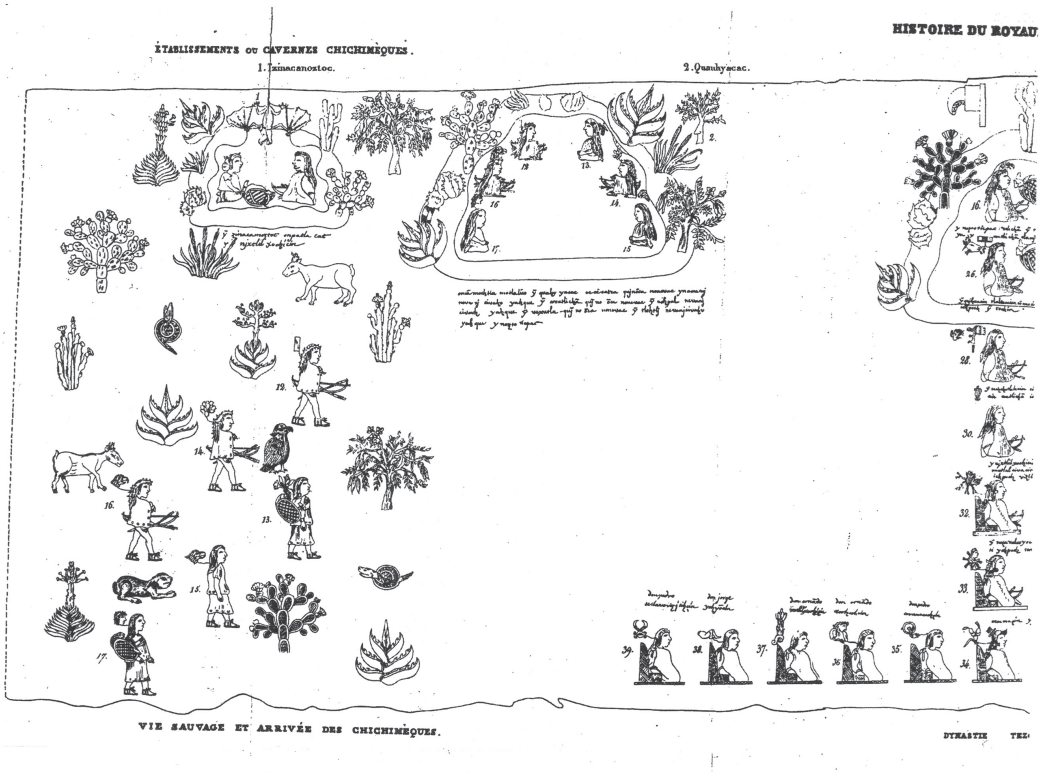

PLATE 21. Tlohtzin Map, left-center section, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

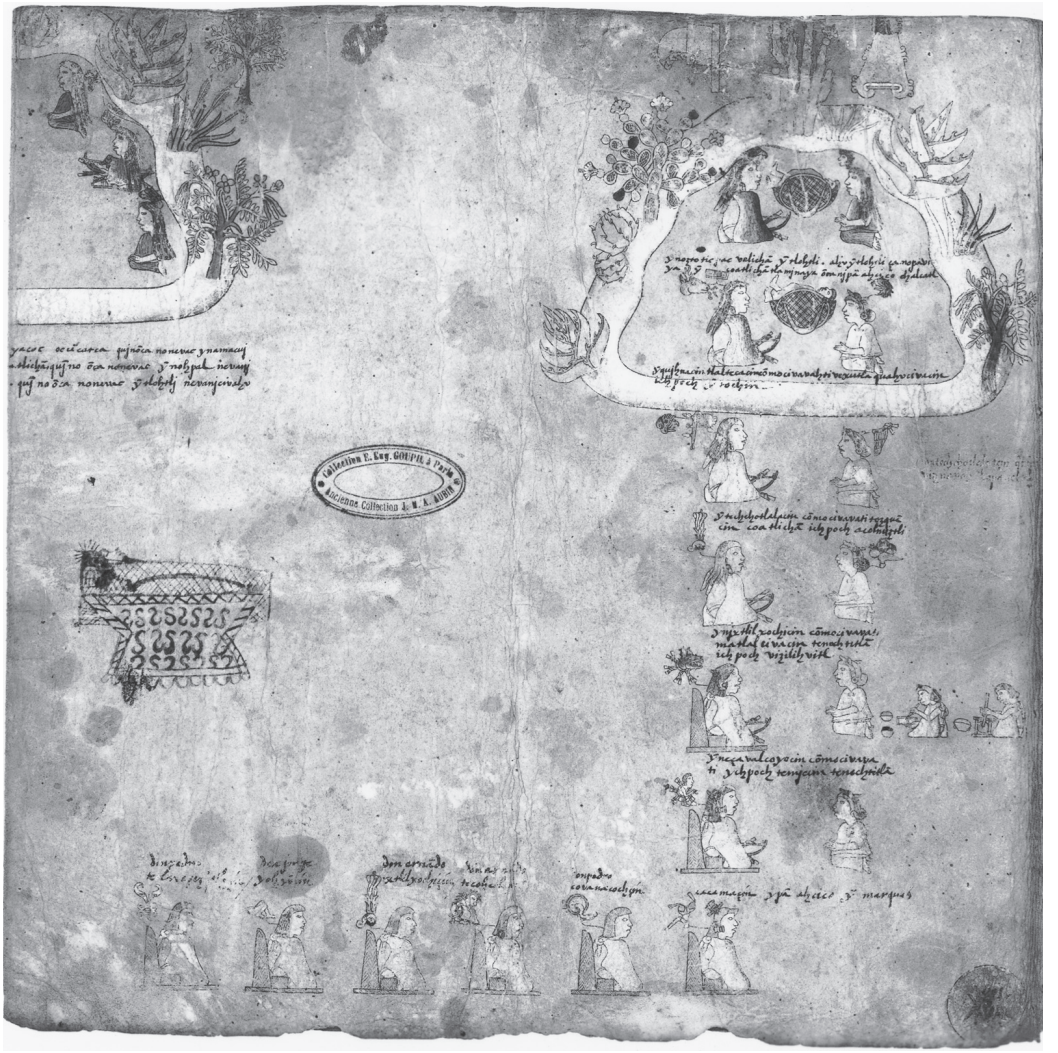

PLATE 22. Tlohtzin Map, lithograph, center section, 1849, after Jules Desportes. Work in the public domain.

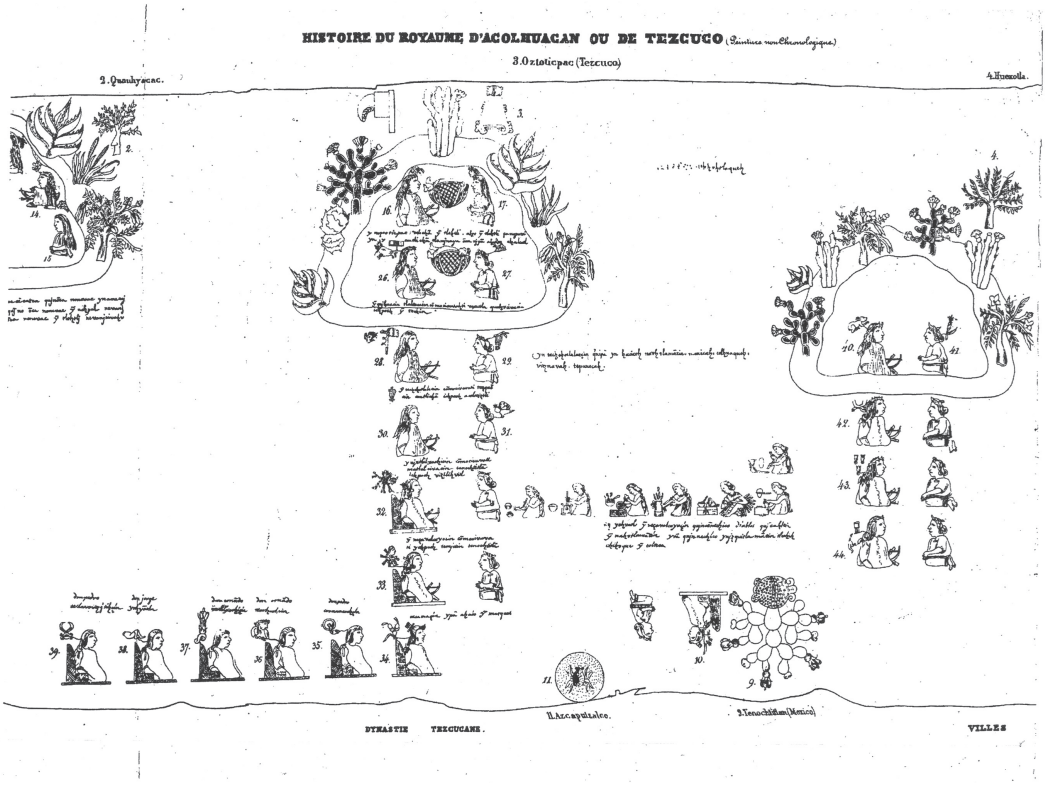

PLATE 23. Tlohtzin Map, right-center section, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

PLATE 24. Tlohtzin Map, lithograph, right section, 1849, after Jules Desportes. Work in the public domain.

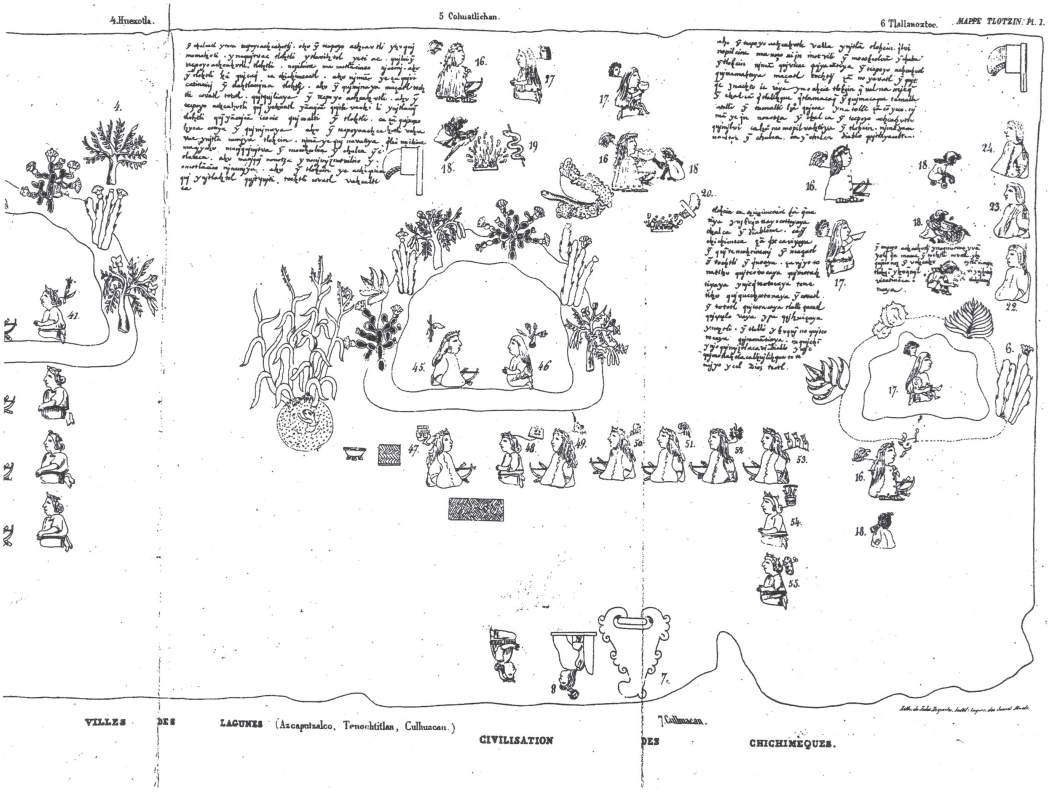

PLATE 25. Tlohtzin Map, right section, ink and color on animal skin, 31.5 x 127.5 cm., circa 1542, from Tetzcoco, Mexico. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds mexicain 373. Photo: courtesy and copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

NOTES

Introduction

1. The epigraph is drawn from Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City, hereafter cited as AGN), General de Parte, vol. 1, exp. 305, fs. 59v–60r (15 November 1575). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine. Don Martín Enríquez de Almansa, who served as viceroy of New Spain from 1568 to 1580, granted don Francisco's request. Although the terms are anachronistic and inexact, I use "Aztec" and "Aztec Empire" to refer to the members of the Triple Alliance and their tribute state. In 1429–1430, three polities—Tenochtitlan of the Mexica people, today Mexico City; Tlacopan of the Tepaneca, now the Tacuba section of the Mexican capital; and Tetzcoco of the Acolhua, formed the Triple Alliance. By 1519 the Triple Alliance had conquered and ruled a vast tribute empire, which we now refer to as the Aztec Empire. Because of its military preeminence, Tenochtitlan served as the primary imperial capital. The term "Aztec" ("person of Aztlan") derives from the place name Aztlan (perhaps to be understood as "White Place" or "White Heron Place"), the origin place of the Mexica of Tenochtitlan. Although the term does occur in the sixteenth-century sources, the Mexica did not as a rule refer to themselves as Aztecs, nor did the members of the Triple Alliance refer to their tribute state as the Aztec Empire: these usages are later and most commonly found in scholarship (see Duverger, *L'origine des Aztèques*, esp. 75–82, 113–130).

2. I use the term "Indian" (in Spanish, *indio*) to signify a Spanish and by extension European vision and categorization of the indigenous peoples of the so-called New World. As a rule, Indians were not permitted to wear European clothing, ride horses, or carry arms without the express permission of the Crown. Indigenous aristocrats petitioned for and often obtained permission to do so. Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 155, notes the importance of these privileges.

3. The characterization of don Francisco as an "indio y principal *y ladino, y muy entendido en nuestra lengua castellana*" (emphasis mine) appears in a land litigation document of 1576 (published in Horcasitas, "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli," 159–163). The term "ladino" here refers to active cultural choices rather than a passive biological "heritage." Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 697, *s.v.* "ladino," specifies, "We also call ladino the morisco [in Spain, a Muslim converted to Christianity] or foreigner who has learned our language with such care that one can barely distinguish him [by his speech] from us," and notes that the term first referred to Iberians and their ability to speak Latin. I have borrowed the term "mixed culture" from Cottie Burland ("The Map," 17) and Serge Gruzinski (*The Conquest of Mexico*, 33). Earlier, in the conclusion to his study of the Aztecs in the colonial period, Charles Gibson (*The Aztecs*, 404) wrote regarding "a combined culture, with enduring Indian values" in the mid-sixteenth century; and, more recently, Patrick Lesbre ("'Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 713) has noted sixteenth-century examples of "what Mexico could have been but was not: a harmonious synthesis of European and indigenous traditions, as much material as cultural."

4. Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España*, vol. 4, 128–130, no. 232 (don Hernando and don Diego to the Crown, 26

September 1544); vol. 16, 63–65, no. 416 (don Hernando to the Crown, 25 November 1554); and vol. 16, 74–75, no. 511 (don Hernando to the Crown, 6 April 1562). Don Hernando requests permission to travel to Spain in the letter of 25 November 1554.

5. The royal cedulas granting the coat of arms are published in Horcasitas, "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli," 153–156; and Peñafiel, *Manuscritos de Texcoco*, 5–8. For discussion of European heraldry and its incorporation into the symbolic language of central Mexico's indigenous aristocracy, see Galarza, "Héraldique européenne"; and Escalante Gonzalbo, "Pintar la historia," 42. It was Antonio Alonso Pimentel de Velasco (d. 1574), sixth count and third Duke de Benavente, who presented the request to Charles V (Horcasitas, "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli," 154).

6. For naming practices among the indigenous peoples of early-colonial New Spain, including the use of Spanish surnames such as Pimentel and how they reflect social status, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 117–130.

7. The arms of the Counts-Dukes of Benavente have a shield quarterly, or a three bands gules and sinople a five escallops argent aspersed, and bordure compony with the arms of Castile and León.

8. I borrow the term from Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*.

9. Keen, *The Aztec Image*, 71–137, and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, survey sixteenth-century European debates about the nature of New World peoples. See also Moffitt and Sebastián, *O Brave New People*.

10. Fray Toribio de Benavente (hereafter cited as Motolinía), *Memoriales*, 121–122. This passage is a *locus classicus* for the typology of Nahua pictorial manuscripts. See also Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's enumeration of book and record types in *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 527.

11. The altepetl is a political entity with a distinct ethnic identity and geographic extension. Most of the peoples in and around the Valley of Mexico in the Late Postclassic Period were culturally and linguistically Nahua (that is, speakers of Nahuatl), but they identified themselves according to their altepetl affiliation, not the broader cultural or linguistic category. To date, the finest analysis of the Nahua altepetl is Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 14–58. For the pre-Hispanic period specifically, see Hodge, *Aztec City-States*, 1–31.

12. For Nahua education and schools, see León-Portilla, *Toltecayotl*, 190–204. For codices and painters, see Arellano Hoffmann, "El escriba mesoamericano"; Galarza, *Amatl, amoxtli*, 13–34; León-Portilla, *Códices*, passim; and Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 25–33.

13. For discussion of the central Mexican pictographic system, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, esp. 28–63; idem, "Introduction: Writing and Recording Knowledge," 3–26; Grube and Arellano Hoffmann, "Escritura y literalidad en Mesoamérica"; Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, esp. 17–93; and Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 12–24.

14. For an analytical survey and typology of extant Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts, pre- and post-Conquest, see Glass, "A Survey." John M. D. Pohl, "Mexican Codices," offers an excellent account of the social "embeddedness" and signification of Mesoamerican documents.

15. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 121–122. This passage captures the ambiguity of Spanish perceptions of the indigenous, juxtaposing "barbarians and without letters" to "had much order and custom."

16. Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico*, 24–57, traces the history of and motivation for the Crown's search for information on its American possessions.

17. For example, *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 230–231 (Book VI, sec. V, Law xxi), the Emperor don Carlos and the Empress Regent, Valladolid, 19 July 1536, states, "[Let the tax assessors promise that] they will inform themselves about what previously they [the Indians] used to pay to their rulers and to the others who were their lords and governed them so that they [the Indians] may pay the very same to Us [the Crown] when it is time to assess [their] taxes."

18. Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico*, argues that the writings of Franciscans such as Fray Andrés de Olmos (1480–1568) and Motolinía, based as they were on native sources, constitute the earliest sustained and systematic ethnographies of indigenous Mexico—and the Americas—and set the pattern for subsequent ethnographic studies. Baudot reconstructs Olmos's biography and writings (121–245) and treats Motolinía (246–398). Another Franciscan, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499–1590), compiled the monumental *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, a veritable encyclopedia of pre-Hispanic Aztec life, thought, and language,

which we have in various drafts (for example, Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*). For a survey of Sahagún's work, see d'Olwer and Cline, "Sahagún and His Works"; and León-Portilla, *Bernardino de Sahagún*.

19. For instance, Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 46, claims that Cortés's forces burned the palace archives of Tetzcoco.

20. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 34–67, details what is known of the painters, patronage, and circulation—in both the Spanish and the indigenous spheres—of colonial-period indigenous pictorial manuscripts.

21. The Crown legislated a privileged role for indigenous ruling families, at least within indigenous communities. See, for example, *Recopilación*, vol. 2, 245–246 (Book VI, sec. VII, Laws i–iv).

22. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 19.

23. For the legal discourses motivated by such manuscripts, see Cummins, "The Madonna and the Horse," esp. 58–68; and Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 111 and 183–211. Woodrow Borah, *Justice by Insurance*, details the experiences of the indigenous with law and litigation and notes the use of pictorial documents (241). For early colonial maps and manuscripts as legal documents, see also Brotherston, *Painted Books from Mexico*, 154–176; Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 40–46 and passim; Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 353–364; Montes de Oca Vega et al., *Cartografía*; and Russo, *El realismo circular*.

24. Boone, "Pictorial Documents," 182.

25. The quotation is drawn from a 1608 testimonial to the accuracy and veracity of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's accounts of the pre-Hispanic past issued by the indigenous authorities of two Valley of Mexico towns, Otompan and San Salvador Cuauhtlatzinco. The testimonial is published in Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 517–521.

26. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 37–38, discusses the production and uses of "non-religious" manuscripts by indigenous painters and patrons in the Early Colonial Period, as does Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 61–89.

27. Baudot, *Utopia and History in Mexico*, 491–524, provides a detailed account of the Crown's fears and actions, with discussion (500–510) of Philip II's prohibition, included in a royal cedula sent to the then-viceroy of New Spain, don Martín Enríquez. The royal cedula of 22 April 1577 (recorded in Archivo General de Indias [Seville], Patronato Real, vol. II, Minutas de Reales Cedulas, sec. 79) is published in García Icazbalceta, *Nueva colección de documentos*, vol. 2, 249–250. The cedula (249) refers specifically to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's "Universal history of the most noteworthy things of New Spain, which history is a copious compilation/ordering of the rites, ceremonies, and idolatries that the Indians practiced in [the time of] their infidelity, divided into twelve books and [written] in the Mexican language [Nahuatl]." Further on (249–250), Philip II commands: "[A]nd you [the Viceroy] shall beware not to consent that anyone in any way write things about the superstitions and way of life that these Indians had, in any language, because in this way it is meet for the service of God Our Lord and ours [i.e., the king's service]."

28. For example, Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 35, and Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 1, mention the 1539 inquisitorial trial of don Baltasar, the lord of Culhuacan, who, among other charges, was alleged to have commissioned a pictorial manuscript that showed the emergence of Culhuacan's pre-Hispanic gods. Don Baltasar's trial record is published in *Procesos de indios*, 177–184.

29. I refer here to the perception of Europeans, as the distinction between secular and religious was not made and would have been incomprehensible in indigenous central Mexican cultures. With regard to early-colonial iconic-script manuscripts from central Mexico, Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 19, has argued that, "[a]mong the Nahua, the Mixtec or the Zapotec, the line that separated clandestine [i.e., "idolatrous"] production from history painting was obviously as thin and arbitrary as the Christian and European criteria that distinguished the memory of Indian 'false religions' from a strictly historical tradition."

30. Florescano, *Myth, Memory, and Time in Mexico*, 127. Florescano refers specifically to indigenous and mestizo (half-Spanish, half-indigenous by birth) historians such as Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, who wrote in Spanish and conceived and represented the indigenous past according to European conceptions of history and the writing of history.

31. Boone, "Pictorial Documents," 182. The *Relaciones de Juan Cano*—the *Origen de los mexicanos* (Origin of the Mexicans), and the *Relación de la genealogía y linaje de los señores que han señoreado esta tierra de la Nueva España* (Report on the geneal-

ogy and lineage of the lords who have ruled this land of New Spain)—survive in the so-called *Libro de oro y tesoro índico*, a collection of thirteen sixteenth-century manuscript documents, mostly central Mexican, bound together in book form and now preserved in the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin (catalogue no. JGI XXXI, CDG 995). The *Relaciones de Juan Cano* are published in García Izcalbaceta, *Nueva colección de documentos*, vol. 3, 240–280. (García Icazbalceta at one time owned the *Libro de oro y tesoro índico*.) Emma Pérez-Rocha, *Privilegios en lucha*, publishes and studies the judicial inquiry into doña Isabel's claims. Donald E. Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children*, provides a broader account of doña Isabel and her relatives and descendants; and Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 423–426, summarizes the history of doña Isabel's patrimony.

32. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," provides the most thorough critical analysis of Tetzcocan history and its sources to date, and it investigates the differences between Mexica and Acolhua reconstructions of the pre-Hispanic past. The present study has greatly benefited from it and Professor Lesbre's numerous publications on Tetzcoco. Jongsoo Lee, *The Allure of Nezahualcoyotl*, likewise critically reviews the writing of Tetzcoco's past, from the sixteenth century to the present, through the historical treatment of Nezahualcoyotl, the city's most honored pre-Hispanic ruler.

33. The term "Acolhua" derives from the name of a group that migrated into the Valley of Mexico at the beginning of the Late Postclassic Period (circa 1200). The Acolhua eventually settled in the eastern half of the Valley of Mexico, at Coatlichan, and then joined the group that settled Tetzcoco, which became identified ethnically as Acolhua. The term "Aculhuacan" means "in the place of the Acolhua people," and it can refer to individual settlements, for example, Coatlichan and Tetzcoco, or to the larger regional state in the eastern Valley of Mexico ruled by Tetzcoco. Unless otherwise specified, Aculhuacan will here be used to name the regional state rather than individual settlements.

34. Mexico City, the colonial capital, had an indigenous as well as a Spanish municipality, but Tetzcoco was considered a wholly indigenous municipality and had only an indigenous cabildo, or municipal council.

35. See Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 166–193 and 396–402; and Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 28–47.

36. At some point, the leaves that now constitute the Codex Xolotl, one of the three Tetzcocan pictorial histories, were bound together along their left edges in order to form an approximation of a European codex. Whether the manuscript's painters did this, or even intended to do it, is unknown. See Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 141, and discussion of the Codex Xolotl's form in Chapter 1, below.

37. See Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 87. For the Codex en Cruz (Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter BnF], Fonds mexicain, 15–17), see *Codex en Cruz*. For the *Tira de Tepechpan* (BnF, Fonds mexicain, 13–14), see Diel, "Power, Politics, and Persuasion"; and *Tira de Tepechpan*.

38. Quotation from Boone, "Pictorial Documents," 182.

39. Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 18 and 170–171, gives the outlines of the dynastic struggle pre- and post-1515, as recorded in the colonial sources. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 544–565, reviews the evidence and persuasively argues that the disruption in the succession is a colonial-period fabrication.

40. Juan Bautista de Pomar, a mestizo descendant of the royal family and chronicler of Tetzcoco, claimed that Nezahualpilli had no legitimate children (Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 71). Nevertheless, many of the documents from the litigation between, on the one hand, Pomar and don Francisco Pimentel, the son of don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, and, on the other, don Pedro de Alvarado and his circle specifically discuss and distinguish "legitimate" successors and heirs (López y Magaña, "Aspects of the Nahuatl Heritage," passim [I thank Frances Karttunen for making this thesis known to me]). Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 549) states that Nezahualpilli's "legitimate" wife was Azcaxuchitzin, a daughter of a grandson of the first Motecuhzoma (Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, reigned circa 1440–1469), and that they had eleven "legitimate" children, among them Coanacochtzin and Ixtlilxochitl. Cacama's mother, a sister of the second, or younger, Motecuhzoma (Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin, reigned 1502–1520), was one of Nezahualpilli's concubines. See also Alfredo Chavero's

note on the problems of identifying Nezahualpilli's wife (reprinted in Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 152 n. 2). Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 549–553, analyzes the accounts of Cacama's illegitimacy and thus ineligibility to succeed to the throne, which he attributes to post-Conquest attempts to buttress other heirs' claims to the patrimony and to distance themselves from the Conquest-era indigenous resistance to Cortés and Spanish rule.

41. The events are recounted in Hernán Cortés's Second and Third Letters to the Emperor Charles V (Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 159–309 passim and 310–453 passim); Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, esp. 173–179, 213–217, 279–289, 327–330, 344–364, 394–399, 407–415; and Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 387–393, and vol. 2, 203–263. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 639–670, sifts through the accounts of Ixtlilxochitl's collaborations with Cortés, some of which claim that he allied himself with the Spaniard and converted to Christianity as early as 1519.

42. The sources are inconsistent in their treatment of Cacama and his successors. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 390 and passim) claims that a brother named Tecolcoltzin succeeded Cacama and that he was also the first man to be baptized in Tetzcoco, taking the name don Fernando Tecocoltzin; but elsewhere (ibid., vol. 2, 236) he writes that Coanacochtzin was Cacama's successor. Alva Ixtlilxochitl also records (ibid., vol. 2, 241–242) that Cuizcuitzcatl, a son of Nezahualpilli, was sent as a messenger to Coanacochtzin by Cortés and killed by Coanacochtzin. Cortés (*Cartas de relación*, 225–226, and 226 n. 244) states that, at Motecuhzoma's suggestion, he appointed Cuizcuitzcatl (Cocuzcaçin), whom he identifies as a son of Cacama, as Cacama's successor; later (ibid., 329, and n. 51), after the murder of Cuizcuitzcatl (named both as Cucascasin and Ypacsuchil [Ipacxochitl]), Cortés appointed another brother, known as don Fernando Ahuaxpitzcatzin, but does not mention the other don Fernando, don Fernando Tecocoltzin (cf. Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 483 n. 11, 488 n. 52, and 498 n. 97). Bernal Díaz (Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, 217) states that one of Cacama's brothers succeeded him and was baptized with the name Carlos, and he refers to him only as don Carlos. But, further on (ibid., 319), Díaz del Castillo mentions a Cuizcuitzcatl (Cuxcuxca) who was selected by an unnamed "señor de Mexico" to rule Tetzcoco, but was murdered by his brother Coanacochtzin (Cocoyoaçin). In an anonymous Tetzcocan account of the Conquest included in the Codex Chimalpahin (Mss. 374, 3 vols., Bible Society Collection, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, vol. 3, fs. 132r–137, published as Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Codex Chimalpahin*, vol. 2, 187–207), which opens after the Spaniards' retreat from Tenochtitlan, Cortés sends Tocpacxochitzin (Ipacxochitl [see Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 329 n. 49, citing Orozco y Berra as the source of the identification]) to Tetzcoco, and eventually Coanacochtzin has him killed. Coanacochtzin leaves Tetzcoco for Tenochtitlan, and Cortés makes Tecocoltzin the ruler. After the fall of Tenochtitlan, and the (implied but unspecified) death of Tecocoltzin, Cortés appoints don Carlos Ahuachpitzcatzin ruler of Tetzcoco and Ixtlilxochitl ruler of Otompan (Otumba), but eventually Ixtlilxochitl rules alone over Otompan and Tetzcoco. Neither Cuizcuitzcatl nor don Carlos Ahuachpitzcatzin appears in Sahagún's list of the rulers of Tetzcoco (Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 9 [Book 8], 9–11), which omissions Anthony Pagden attributes to "patriotic reasons" (Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, 483 n. 11). Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 572–600, reviews the sources and their claims.

43. In fact, Cortés made Tetzcoco his headquarters during the siege of Tenochtitlan. See Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 328 ff. See also Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 602–638.

44. Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 36. For more recent discussion of the term "cacique/cacica" and its social implications in New Spain, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 133–136.

45. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 450 and 503; Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 562–565; and Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera*, 522–525, who mentions only Cuauhtemoc and the ruler of Tlacopan.

46. The figure of don Carlos presents numerous problems. To begin, his name has been variously given. In the record of his trial, published as *Proceso inquisitorial del cacique de Tetzcoco*, one of his Nahuatl monikers is given as "Chichimecatecotl," and I read this as "Chichimecatecatl," or "Chichimec Person/Chichimec." Although the Acolhua rulers of Tetzcoco took the

title Chichimecatecuhtli, or "Chichimec Lord," and many scholars have interpreted don Carlos's moniker thus (see, for example, Greenleaf, *Zumárraga*, 67–75), the "-tl" nominative suffix used in the trial record suggests that the root is "chichimecateca," which ends in a vowel sound, not "chichimectecuh," which ends with a glottal stop and thus requires the nominative suffix "-tli." Furthermore, Chimalpahin (Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Codex Chimalpahin*, vol. 2, 41) claims that a don Carlos Ahuachpitzactzin (Ometochtzin Chichimecatecatl?) succeeded don Fernando in 1531 and was burned at the stake in 1539 because of idolatry, but the anonymous Tetzcocan account (ibid., 201–203) collected by Chimalpahin excludes don Carlos and cites don Jorge as Ixtlilxochitl's successor.

47. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 36, cites don Carlos because one of the charges against him was that he had a pre-Hispanic *tonalamatl* (book of days), or divinatory almanac. Don Carlos's trial, like that of don Baltasar of Culhuacan, took place in 1539. See also Bernand and Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, vol. 2, 116–119.

48. For the record of don Hernando's election as cacique, see Horcasitas, "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli," 152.

49. Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 166–172; Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 30–35.

50. Cline, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," in *À la Carte*, 9, table 1, mentions a don Cristóbal in the year 1579, but does not cite his source.

51. The document is published in Horcasitas, "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli," 163–164. Given the dates, it is unlikely, although not impossible, that the don Diego Pimentel mentioned in this document is don Diego Tecocoltzin Teutzquitzin, don Hernando Pimentel's brother and successor, who served as cacique from 1565 to 1577.

52. The litigation record is published in ibid., 159–163.

53. For the *relaciones geográficas* of New Spain prepared for Philip II, see Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*.

54. The palace meant the town government, or cabildo, as it was still controlled by the high nobility. For indigenous municipal governments and their tribute obligations, see Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 195–219.

55. López y Magaña, on whose 1980 study I base these remarks, follows the course of the litigation through an examination of judicial and notarial records now in the Archivo Histórico at the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City. For the family relationships, see López y Magaña, "Aspects of the Nahuatl Heritage," 13–27, and charts 1–4. López y Magaña (ibid., 39–57) shows how Pomar acquired lands from his indigenous relatives, including "inalienable" patrimonial lands, and manipulated his connections and Spanish law in order to create a large private holding, "becoming a large-scale commercial wheat farmer selling into the Mexico City market, just like the provincial Spaniards with whom he was associated" (ibid., 53).

56. López y Magaña (ibid., 18) comments: "The Pomar papers do seem to show us two factions among the descendants of Nezahualpiltzintli, one being associated with the successors of don Pedro de Alvarado [the later don Pedro, not Coanacochtzin] and the other (the one Pomar favored) headed by don Francisco Pimentel, son of don Hernando Pimentel. Yet it is by no means clear that the two factions can be thought of as 'the Alvarados' and 'the Pimentels.' Both names appear constantly among both factions; don Hernando Pimentel's father, Coanacochtzin, bore precisely the Christian name don Pedro de Alvarado." Also, Leslie Kay Lewis, "Colonial Texcoco," 137, n. 1 to table 3, observes that there were two Pimentel families in Tetzcoco, founded by two brothers.

57. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 248.

58. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 137.

59. *Proceso inquisitorial*, 41.

60. Many of the key critical perspectives on and problems inherent in the study of colonial-period indigenous art and culture are elegantly summarized in Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents." See also Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*, 17–31.

61. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 28–38, offers the finest analysis and description of central Mexican iconic script and its modes of communication published to date.

62. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 1–69, traces this process, which he summarizes (69) as "disqualification (of the oral), decontextualization (of pictographic language in relation to its usual references, or the elements of the language in relation to the whole that organized

them), singularization, withdrawal of connotations from the field, or distancing." Gruzinski's penetrating analysis has deeply influenced my own thinking on sixteenth-century Mexico and the arguments presented in this book.

63. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 525.

64. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 32.

65. Pomar, who at the time was involved in his relatives' litigation over patrimonial lands, states in his 1582 report to the Crown (*Relación de Tezcoco*, 46–47) that the Tetzcocan pictorial histories had been destroyed during the Conquest, or burned as a consequence of don Carlos's execution. In spite of Pomar's assertion, the Codex Xolotl, the Quinatzin Map, and the Tlohtzin Map certainly existed in 1582. Was Pomar being coy about the pictorial histories in order to guard them from a member or members of the royal family inimical to him and his colleague don Francisco Pimentel? Or did Pomar not have access to them because they were in the hands of someone hostile to him and don Francisco?

66. With reference to Lienzo Vischer I, Burland ("The Map," 12) observes that the *lienzo* "presents us with a group of statements . . . [t]he first is cartographic . . . [t]he second is genealogical . . . [t]he third statement is . . . dynastic history."

67. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 215–216.

Chapter One

1. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 5–8. Having lost his money in the Panama Canal affair, Aubin sold his collection in 1889 to Charles Eugène Espéridion Goupil (1831–1895), better known as Eugène Goupil, who had deep family ties to Mexico. Goupil bought the collection with the intention of keeping it together and in France and ultimately presenting it to the National Library in Paris, which his widow, Mme. Augustine Élie Goupil, did in 1898, three years after his death. For Goupil, see Cohen, "Eugène Goupil." For the vicissitudes of the Aubin-Goupil Collection and of J.M.A. Aubin, see Réville, "Antiquités mexicaines"; and *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, 9–11, esp. the diagram on 11. In addition, I have drawn information on the provenance of the manuscripts from *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 11–14, as well as *Codex en Cruz*, 1–4. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 93–100, reviews the provenance of the Quinatzin Map.

2. For a summary of the Boturini Collection's history, see Glass, "The Boturini Collection," esp. 473–475. León y Gama copied and probably acquired many of the manuscripts from the Boturini collection between 1771 and 1788, when it was housed at the Real y Pontificia Universidad in Mexico City, and Father Pichardo, who was León y Gama's executor, later acquired many of León y Gama's holdings for his own collection. For León y Gama and the Boturini Collection, see Moreno de los Arcos, "La Colección Boturini."

3. Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*, 57–59; and Brading, *The First America*, 381–386.

4. Brading, *The First America*, 385–386; and Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, 192–200.

5. The terms "criollo" and "creole" have a wide range of reference, and their meanings change as one moves through time and across space. Originally used in the Iberian peninsula to refer to a slave of African descent but of European birth, especially a slave born in the master's house, in Spanish America the term "criollo" frequently but not exclusively refers to an American-born person of European, primarily Spanish, ancestry. Unless otherwise specified, I employ the term "criollo" in this sense. For Sigüenza y Góngora, see Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archaeology*, 55–57.

6. In his edition of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's works, Edmundo O'Gorman collects and publishes in a documentary appendix (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 265–402) archival documents relating to the historian and his family, including a testimonial by Sigüenza y Góngora of don Juan de Alva y Cortés's will and his appointment as executor (vol. 2, 392–394, original, AGN, Vínculos, vol. 232, fs. 261r–262v [Mexico City, 6 June 1684]) and two documents relating to the dispute over the cacicazgo involving Sigüenza y Góngora in his capacity as executor (vol. 2, 395–402, originals, AGN, Vínculos, vol. 232, fs. 206r-208r [Mexico City, 8 October 1683 and San Juan Teotihuacan, 29 October 1683]; and fs. 223r–233v and 288 [Mexico City, 1 February 1684]). Here, and in the course of earlier disputes over the cacicazgo, don Fernando's mother, doña Ana Cortés, and, later, her descendants were accused by the opposing party, all close relatives, of being ineligible to

inherit as they were Spaniards or *castizos* (in the Mexican context, this word refers to mixed-race, not noble lineage or pure race, as in Spain); such bickering and charges were common in the struggles over indigenous royal patrimonies. Guillermo S. Fernández de Recas, *Cacicazgos y nobiliario indígena*, 111–125, also collects and publishes the documents of the Alva Cortés cacicazgo of Teotihuacan, as does Guido Münch, *El cacicazgo*.

7. Doña Ana descended from don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualpilli's son and Cortés's staunch ally. The mestizo historian used the name Ixtlilxochitl to mark the connection.

8. For don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and his histories, see Edmundo O'Gorman's "Estudio introductorio"; and Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," passim. Don Fernando, his histories, and his family, particularly his younger brother, don Bartolomé de Alva, a *bachiller* graduate of the Real y Pontificia Universidad in Mexico City, priest, writer, and translator, exemplify what survived of the "mixed culture" of the sixteenth century. For discussion of this remarkable family, see Castillo, "La población colonial," esp. 535–547 ("Apuntes para la genealogía de los señores de Teotihuacan"); Bernand and Gruzinski, *Histoire du Nouveau Monde*, vol. 2, 104–165; and Münch, *El cacicazgo*, passim.

9. O'Gorman provides an invaluable indexed catalogue of the historian's citations to his sources (O'Gorman, "Registro de citas," in Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 49–85). O'Gorman (ibid., 84, *s.vv*. "Tlohtzin, Mapa de") observes, for example, that passages in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's text translate some of the Nahuatl glosses on the Tlohtzin verbatim, which not only establishes that the historian had and consulted the document but also suggests that he himself may have been its annotator.

10. O'Gorman publishes the viceregal appointment letter as document no. 9 in his documentary appendix (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 334–335). Don Fernando later served as juez-gobernador in other indigenous communities such as Tlalmanalco and Chalco, which makes clear how very well connected he was in both the indigenous and the Spanish worlds.

11. The *compendio* is published as *Compendio histórico del reino de Texcoco* in ibid., vol. 1, 415–517. O'Gorman appends (517–521) the text of the testimonial, dated 20 November 1608, from the indigenous authorities of Otompan and San Salvador Cuauhtlatzinco, and a document from the proceedings of the municipal government of Tetzcoco (7 November 1608) recording that this had been done. O'Gorman cites Chavero's edition of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's works as his source for the document (ibid., 521, n.). Boone, "Pictorial Documents," 191, notes this testimonial, too.

12. Ibid., vol. 1, 518–519. The document goes on to mention don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl's maternal great-great-grandfather, Cortés's ally, don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, a son and heir of Nezahualpilli, and his services to the conquistador and Crown.

13. The letter is published in Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España*, vol. 4, 128–130, no. 232 (don Hernando and don Diego to the Crown, 26 September 1544).

14. BnF, Fonds mexicain, nos. 1–10, plus three fragments numbered 1A, 1B, and 1C. The major publications and studies of the Xolotl are Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 55–208, and atlas, plates 1–10; *Códice Xolotl*; Dibble, "A Recently Discovered Copy of the Xolotl Codex"; idem, "The Page Order of the Codex Xolotl"; idem, "Apuntes sobre la plancha X del Códice Xolotl"; idem, "Nahuatl Glosses in the Codex Xolotl"; McGown and Van Nice, *Identification and Interpretation*; Radin, *Sources and Authenticity*, 17–18 and 41–45; and Thouvenot, *Codex Xolotl*. For a review of these and other works, see my entry on the Codex Xolotl in Oudijk and Castañeda de la Paz, "Census of Pictorial Manuscripts."

15. The seven painted pages are catalogued and published as BnF, Fonds mexicain, nos. 4–10; the unpainted page (the reverse of no. 10), which now serves as the outside back cover of the manuscript, has no catalogue number.

16. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 141, posits that the Xolotl may originally have been a screenfold book. Indeed, to turn a screenfold book that has been painted on only one side into a codex of folios painted recto and verso, one would need to glue the sheets cut from the original screenfold back to back.

17. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 76) identifies the point at which the manuscript he possessed ended, with Nezahualcoyotl's recapture of Tetzcoco in 1427, according to the historian. Believ-

ing the Codex Xolotl to be pre-Hispanic, Alva Ixtlilxochitl assumed that the manuscript was painted at the beginning of the year One Flint Knife (1428), just after its narrative ends and before Nezahualcoyotl in alliance with Itzcoatl of Tenochtitlan defeated Maxtla of Azcapotzalco in 1428. Although the Codex Xolotl does not directly show Nezahualcoyotl's recapture of Tetzcoco on its last map, the double-page map across leaves 9 and 10, Ixtlilxochitl identifies the separate historical and genealogical passage comprising the right-hand third of leaf 10 as the end of the manuscript.

18. Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de una nueva historia general*, second pagination, 3, sec. III, no. 1. Boturini, who believed the manuscript to be pre-Hispanic, notes that it had once been in the library of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl and that the mestizo historian used it as the basis for his own history of the Chichimecs. Thouvenot, *Codex Xolotl*, 39, observes that, while the manuscript that we have may or may not correspond to the one Ixtlilxochitl used, it certainly corresponds exactly to the one described by Boturini.

19. Once a part of the Aubin Collection, the León y Gama copy of the Codex Xolotl is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Fonds mexicain, no. 10 bis [a]) and is published in *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 2.

20. Waldeck mentions the two pages in his journal entries for 21, 23, and 24 October 1831 (Journal of Baron J.F.M. Waldeck, British Library, Ms. Add. 41684, 52v–53r). The Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, has a photocopy (Ayer ms. 1261) of this volume of Waldeck's journal, which I consulted.

21. The story of these pages is given in Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 99–101.

22. Ibid., 99. In Waldeck's journal the two pages are clearly discussed as separate works ("Journal of Baron J.F.M. Waldeck," 53r, entry for 23 October 1831; and 63r, entry for 14 January 1832, an inventory of Waldeck's possessions).

23. Boban does not number, describe, or analyze the fragments in his 1891 catalogue of the Aubin-Goupil collection, but he mentions (*Documents*, vol. 1, 95) that he noticed page/map 1 separating from what was at that time its backing (fragments 1A, 1B, and 1C), which he removed to expose the three painted fragments and the transfer of pigment from them to 1 bis, the backside of page/map 1. (The composite form of page 1 may explain Boban's account of pages 2 and 3.) Dibble published and analyzes fragments 1A and 1B—but not the considerably smaller 1C—in his critical edition of the manuscript (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 43–46), labeling them I–II bis, and he includes them as part of the manuscript's "original" narrative.

24. Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 95, believed that the painter was not satisfied with the painting on the page whose unpainted reverse he then used to form the manuscript's front cover; historical anecdotes that appear on page/map 2 also appear on the fragments, which suggests that Boban's hypothesis is correct. As noted above, Thouvenot (*Codex Xolotl*, 37–38) believes the fragments to have been part of a different document.

25. Thouvenot, *Codex Xolotl*, 36–40, reviews the question of the original page order.

26. BnF, Fonds mexicain, nos. 11–12 (top and center panels) and 396a (bottom panel). The major publications on the Quinatzin are Aubin, *Mémoires*, 74–106, and plates IV–V; idem, "Mappe Quinatzin" (this is a separate printing of the Jules Desportes lithographs that illustrate the Quinatzin in Aubin's *Mémoires*); idem, "Mapa Quinatzin," with one folding plate; Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin"; Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 221–242, and atlas, plates 11–12 (Aubin's text is preceded by a preliminary note by Boban); Alfredo Chavero, *Historia antigua y de la conquista*, vol. 1, xiii–xiv and 565–575; Douglas, "Figures of Speech"; Harwood, "Crime and Punishment"; León-Portilla, *Códices*, passim; Lesbre, "Manumission"; idem, "Mapa Quinatzin"; idem, "Algunas consideraciones"; Mohar Betancourt, "Glifos y nombres"; idem, "El *Mapa Quinatzin*"; idem, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*; and Radin, *Sources and Authenticity*, 19 and 38–41, and plates 16–17. For a review of these and other works, see my entry on the Quinatzin Map in Oudijk and Castañeda de la Paz, "Census of Pictorial Manuscripts."

27. The third panel was sent to France in 1770, accompanying a letter from a Sicilian-born Spanish aristocrat and soldier, Pedro de Moncada de Aragón Branciforte y Platamone (1739–1828), the marqués de Villafont (later marqués de Moncada y Villafont), a colonel, later general, of the Dragones de Puebla Regiment, then a resident of Mexico City, to his friend and correspondent the comte de Cély (Marie-

Jérôme Éon de la Baronnye [1734–1817]), from whose collection it presumably entered the recently founded Bibliothèque nationale sometime after the French Revolution. (The comte de Cély was a royalist émigré, and his property was confiscated by the revolutionary government.) The panel was transferred from the Cabinet des Médailles to the Fonds mexicain in 1879 (Nicholson, "The Native Tradition Pictorials," 41). Moncada's letter is preserved as BnF, Fonds mexicain, no. 396b, and published in Núñez y Domínguez, "La misión," 361–363. Raoul d'Harcourt's summary of the letter, in French, is published in Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 111. Boturini (*Idea de una nueva historia general*, second pagination, 4, sec. III, no. 5) describes what is now known as the Quinatzin as "[a]nother map on Indian paper, which has various figures and numbers, and some lines [written] in the Nahuatl language. It concerns the Emperor Nezahualpiltzintli and his sons. It is longer than a sheet [literally, a fold] of sealed paper ["papel de marca," a sheet marked with the official seal and required for all public and legal business]." It is unclear from Boturini's description whether or not the third panel was at that time still attached to the other two.

28. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 74–106, first published in 1849, then republished in a revised version in 1885. Núñez y Domínguez, "La misión," 361, mentions the fragment, but neither describes nor illustrates it. Barlow ("Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin") published a detailed analysis of the fragment, with illustrations and drawings, and demonstrated the connection between it and Aubin's Quinatzin Map.

29. BnF, Fonds mexicain, no. 373. The major publications concerning the Tlohtzin are Aubin, *Mémoires*, 51–74, and plates I–III; idem, "Mappe Tlohtzin"; idem, "Mapa Tlohtzin," with one folding plate; Chavero, *Historia antigua y de la conquista*, xiii–xiv and 509–536; Radin, *Sources and Authenticity*, 18 and 35–38, and plates 13–15; and Spitler, "The *Mapa Tlohtzin*." For a review of these and other works, see my entry on the Tlohtzin Map in Oudijk and Castañeda de la Paz, "Census of Pictorial Manuscripts."

30. For chemical analyses of sixteenth-century central Mexican pictorial manuscripts, see Leclerc, "Analyse de quelques codex mexicains" (analysis of the paper from a sampling of twenty-two manuscripts, including the Codex Xolotl); Albro and Albro, "The Examination and Conservation Treatment"; and Haude, "Identification of Colorants on Maps."

31. Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 62, discerned the "anecdotal" or "personal pictorial narrative" (his terms) quality of the Codex Xolotl, especially of the last two leaves and their treatment of Nezahualcoyotl. Indeed, the relationship between the manuscript and this ruler, whose efforts to regain his throne occupy one-third of the narrative, has often been noted, beginning with Alva Ixtlilxochitl (e.g., *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 76), who dated the Xolotl (under the title *Historia general del imperio de los chichimecas*) to the period immediately before Nezahualcoyotl's restoration to power; see also Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 70. Nigel Davies (*The Toltec Heritage*, 67) opines that "it [the Codex Xolotl] . . . had perhaps undergone a measure of re-editing, possibly at the prompting of Nezahualcoyotl." The manuscript has been interpreted as a justification or legitimization of Nezahualcoyotl's rule; see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 184; Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 150; Spitler, "El equilibrio"; and idem, *The Painted Histories*. If the Pre-Hispanic source or sources that the Xolotl painters copied or adapted focused on Nezahualcoyotl and his heroic feats, then it is likely that the manuscript would not or did not continue too far beyond the point at which it ends in its present state.

32. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 274, 278, and 321, argues that the bottom leaf of the Quinatzin was originally longer. She believes that the painter would have included more examples of Tetzcocan laws along the bottom and information on tribute along the top. She also suggests (ibid., 238) that the depiction of the palace in the central leaf may originally have been larger than what we now have.

33. Hypotaxis refers to structures that order and subordinate elements semantically and syntactically, parataxis, to structures that simply juxtapose them. For example, "He left when they arrived" is hypotactic, while the juxtaposition of "he left" to "they arrived" is paratactic as the temporal and causal relationship between the statements, if any, remains unspecified.

34. Robertson (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 140) believes that the alphabetic

annotations on the Tlohtzin were planned as part of the program and compares this coordination of the pictorial and the alphabetic to that in the immediate post-Conquest Codex Borbonicus from Tenochtitlan. What persuaded him was the otherwise spare treatment of the pictorial surface, which compositional strategy he considers nonindigenous: if there are not enough images, if the page is not dense enough, the painters must have planned for alphabetic texts because indigenous artists would never produce so bare a surface. Although *horror vacui* may be characteristic of some extant pre-Hispanic manuscripts from central Mexico, none of which is from the Valley of Mexico, it may not have been characteristic of *all* pre-Hispanic central Mexican manuscripts (see below). The key argument against Robertson's view, however, is the date: the earliest substantial alphabetic Nahuatl documents, the Cuernavaca census records, date to 1535–1545 (Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 264). A written alphabetic Nahuatl text as sophisticated as the Tlohtzin annotations would have been unusual in the early 1540s, but expected and comparatively common later in the century.

35. As mentioned above, a don Diego, together with don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, signed a letter to the Crown in 1544. Don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin had a brother named don Diego Tecocolchi Teutzquitzin, but that he, too, used the surname Pimentel is to my knowledge still undocumented, albeit likely (see Cline, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," in *À la Carte*, 10, fig. 5). Otherwise, the only mention of a don Diego Pimentel occurs in a land document of 1627, in which the then-cacica of Tetzcoco, doña Juana Pimentel, says that she inherited the property in question from her father, don Diego Pimentel; this don Diego may have been too young to be the one who signed the 1544 letter or whose name appears on the Tlohtzin. The document, a nineteenth-century copy of a seventeenth-century original, is part of a rich collection of copies in AGN, *Tierras*, vol. 3594, exp. 2, fs. 1–54v (dated September 1855), "Copias certificadas de varias constancias de los autos del casicasgo de Pimentel y Alvarado y siguen doña Guadalupe Carrillo y Pimentel y doña María Antonia Güemes y Pimentel con doña Luz López Uribe como aspirantes a dicho casicasgo." Fernando Horcasitas ("Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli") published the collection, with commentary (the 1627 document appears on 163–164).

36. The alphabetic Nahuatl reads: "Y[n] quihnaçin ypan ahçico tlaylotlaque chimalpanecah ye matlacpoual xiuitl ypa[n] yepoual xiuitl ypan [y]n o[me] xiuitl axca[n]." The dating is problematic, and the gloss and the pictographic year count have been read differently. Chavero (cited in Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 32 n. 1) and Radin (*Sources and Authenticity*, 38) read the number in the gloss as 162 and the pictographic number as 212. Both are impossible readings, as the gloss clearly states: "matlacpoual xiuitl ypa[n] yepoual xiuitl ypan [y]n o[me] xiuitl" (literally, "ten score years and three score years and two years," or 262), and there were originally thirteen symbols for 20 and two symbols for 1 in the pictographic count. Boban (*Documents*, vol. 1, 225) translates the figure in the alphabetic gloss as 162 ("cent soixante-deux"), but two paragraphs later he refers to it twice as 262, which is what he reads in the pictographic number. (Robertson [*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 138–139] cites Boban's "cent soixante-deux" [139 n. 4], but translates it as "172," and Eloise Quiñones Keber, "The Tlailotlaque," 88, uses Robertson's mistranslated number.) Chavero takes the Ten House date to refer to the year of the arrival of the Chimalpaneca and Tlailotlaque, from which one should count forward, rather than to the year of the painting, from which one should count backward. If it is the latter and one accepts 1541 for the painting of the manuscript, one would then have a date of 1279 for the arrival of at least one of these two groups of people, who, according to the Codex Xolotl page/map 4, arrived at different times (see *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 61–64), with the Tlailotlaque arriving in a Four Reed year (probably 1327) and the Chimalpaneca in One Rabbit (probably 1298). The 1279 date is equally problematic as Quinatzin is said to have succeeded to the throne in 1298 (One Rabbit). Dibble (*Códice Xolotl*, 62), like Chavero, associates the Ten House with the depicted scene rather than the date of the painting. Boban (*Documents*, vol. 1, 225) notes the now almost completely illegible alphabetic Nahuatl annotation on the back of the manuscript, but rejects its claim because it would upset both his dating of Quinatzin's "coronation" to 1272 (ibid., 224) and the dates given later in the manuscript (leaf 2, especially). He would

like to read Ten House, 1281, as the arrival date, to which one would then add 262 to reach 1542–1543, the date suggested for the painting in the manuscript's central panel (see below).

37. These dates refer to Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, who both appear at the top center of the panel. Above the figure of Nezahualpilli, the annotation reads: "yyepoual xiuitl ô castol omey tlacat neçaualpilcintlj" (Nezahualpiltzintli was born seventy-eight years [ago]). Below the alphabetic annotation there is the pictographic number seventy-eight. As Nezahualpilli was born in about 1465, this indicates a date of 1542–1543 for the painting. Above the figure of Nezahualcoyotl, the alphabetic gloss is severely abraded and now illegible, but traces remain of the pictographic number 140. The number and its later alphabetic transcription almost certainly refer to the number of years elapsed since Nezahualcoyotl's birth, which is generally thought to have occurred in 1402, resulting in a date here of 1542.

38. Charles Gibson, "Llamamiento General," esp. 3–5, collects and compares these sources. I use his summary of the differences and similarities.

39. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 557–559. This passage is known as the *Memorial de Tezcocano*. Although the document described by Motolinía must have been based on the same prototype, it cannot have been the Quinatzin. One of the twelve Franciscans who arrived in 1524 to evangelize the indigenous, the so-called Apostles of New Spain, Motolinía had stayed for a time in Tetzcoco in 1524, then served there, at the Franciscan convent of San Antonio, from 1526 to 1527 and again after 1536, and he knew the royal family very well. In fact, Motolinía baptized Nezahualpilli's son don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin and grandson don Hernando Pimentel, giving them the surname Pimentel in honor of his patron in Spain, Antonio Alonso Pimentel, conde de Benavente. Motolinía also assisted in the first-ever Christian marriage celebrated in Tetzcoco, in 1526, at which Nezahualpilli's son and Cortés's ally, don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl, seven of his companions, and their "legitimate" consorts took vows of matrimony (ibid., 275–276, recounts the episode).

40. See Gibson, "Llamamiento General," 9–10. Formerly in the Boturini Collection, the document is now lost, but its text, based on a copy, appears in Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*, vol. 2, 201–203. See also Gibson and Glass, "Census," 355, *s.vv*. "Pimentel, Hernando."

41. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 1, 232. See also Gibson, "Llamamiento General," 10–11, esp. 10, n. 22; and Gibson and Glass, "Census," 355, *s.vv.* "Pimentel, Antonio."

42. Thouvenot, *Codex Xolotl*, 28–33, details the difficulties of securely dating the Xolotl. For the Xolotl glosses, see Dibble, "Nahuatl Glosses," and Thouvenot, *Annotations du Codex Xolotl*.

43. Lehmann, *Methods and Results*, 13. Lehmann also argued that the order of the leaves "had been tampered with" as had the overall form of the manuscript.

44. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 11–12; and Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 143.

45. Thouvenot, *Codex Xolotl*, 28–33. While Thouvenot's critique of Dibble's stylistic arguments is in part warranted, there is at least one stylistic and iconographic trait that is indubitably colonial: the manner in which the Xolotl's painter or painters deal with corpse bundles. In pre-Hispanic and in many early-colonial manuscripts, corpse bundles are roughly egg-shaped, as the pre-Hispanic indigenous custom was to wrap the body of the deceased in a fetal position, and they show the body fully wrapped. The corpse bundles in the Codex Xolotl, with only one exception, are laid out flat and leave the face exposed, as if at a Christian wake.

46. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 153–154.

47. Ibid., 16 and passim. Robertson's fundamental distinction remains operative in the scholarship. See, for example, Baird, *Drawings of Sahagún's Primeros Memoriales*, 118–123; and Kathleen Stewart Howe, "Relationship of Indigenous and European Styles," esp. 27–28. Elizabeth Hill Boone, "Towards a More Precise Definition," argues that some of the differences in the use of line may be due to traits characteristic of pre-Hispanic Aztec pictorial style, which was different from although related to Mixtec pictorial style, rather than to European intrusions.

48. Robertson based his claims about the Tetzcocan manuscripts and color primarily on the Xolotl, but other Tetzcocan paintings do use substantial color. Although he spoke in terms of "the magnitude of differences between the paintings of Siena and Florence" (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 135), I suspect that Rob-

ertson, unconsciously perhaps, here was attempting to make a distinction between Tenochtitlan and Tetzcoco that has more to do with the canonical differentiation of Florentine *disegno* from Venetian *colorito*, associating the former with the geometric form of the indigenous traditions and the optical effects of the latter with the illusionistic naturalism of sixteenth-century European art. In her foreword to the 1994 reprint edition of *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, Elizabeth Hill Boone observes (xii) that Robertson's "unstated referent" for the analysis and organization of the corpus of Mexican manuscripts "was surely Bernhard Berenson's *Italian Painters of the Renaissance*."

49. In his fundamental article, "The Map as a Vehicle of Mexican History," Burland notes the "trees and 'naturalisation' of hill-forms [in the Codex Xolotl] which make the existing document rather like the Lienzo Vischer I in outward appearance" (15–16). Burland attributes these traits to the influence of European pictorial style (ibid., 16), the direct source of which he believes is the Franciscan Colegio de la Santa Cruz at Tlatelolco (17, 18). The Lienzo Vischer I, also known as the Mapa de Tecamachalco, now in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Basel, is painted in ink and pigment on six joined strips of animal skin and measures 242 x 145 cm.; Burland dates it to 1557. See ibid., 11–12 and fig. 1.

50. The overall effect of the color on the three fragments appears most dramatically in the image and pigment transfer that they left on the physical back of page 1 (numbered 1 bis in the BnF catalogue [here Fig. 1.4]).

51. The "traditional" and "innovative" may reflect or derive from the difference between copying or adapting a pre-Hispanic model, whether a specific manuscript or an iconographic type, on the one hand, and, on the other, creating a new pictorial solution to a previously unknown problem, theme, or subject.

52. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 17 and 66; and Boone, "Towards a More Precise Definition," passim.

53. The severe, volumetric naturalism of the Tlohtzin figures and faces—deriving, I believe, more from pre-Hispanic than European sources—supports Boone's argument ("Towards a More Precise Definition") that pre-Conquest Aztec painting had a naturalistic vein, somewhat in line with that manifest in sculpture.

54. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 28 and passim. Comparing the cave forms in the three Tetzcocan manuscripts, Robertson (ibid., 143) opines that "[t]he cave for the artist or artists of Xolotl is a geographic sign still; for the artist of the Mapas de Quinatzin and Tlotzin [*sic*] it has been liberated from the rigid framework of the sign, although it is not yet a perfectly free rendering of a cave as seen in nature."

55. With reference to plants in Mixtec manuscripts and, by extension, in pre-Hispanic Aztec manuscripts, Robertson (ibid., 22) writes: "Plants have one common trait; they are shown complete with roots, at least when space permits. . . . It means that the artist is not loath to remove things which in the natural world prevent his seeing the object completely."

56. Ibid., 61. In a more recent and important study on colonial-period indigenous cartography, Russo (*El realismo circular*, 64–87) details some of the problems with Robertson's concept of spaceless landscape and argues that a different conception and communication of space pervades pre-Hispanic indigenous representations. I agree with Russo's argument (ibid., 64–67) that what is at issue is not spacelessness but another conception of and visual code for a dynamic, multidimensional space; thus I use Robertson's "spaceless landscape" as a purely descriptive term that refers to a modern Western perception and categorization rather than a sixteenth-century indigenous intention or signification.

57. The Codex Féjérváry-Mayer (Liverpool, World Museum Liverpool, catalogue no. M 12014), is a pre-Hispanic ritual-calendric manuscript on animal skin, formatted as a screenfold. See Brotherston, *Painted Books from Mexico*, 178.

58. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 183.

59. Ibid., 141.

60. Ibid., 134. Although Robertson's analogy between Greece and Rome, on the one hand, and Tetzcoco and Tenochtitlan, on the other, is characteristic of the Western filters through which we inevitably view indigenous production, the identification of Tetzcoco as a cultural innovator and force can be traced back at least to the sixteenth century. Fray Diego Durán (1537–1588), the Spanish-born Dominican chronicler who spent part of his childhood in Tetzcoco, wrote of the Acolhua of Tetzcoco that "their refined style of speaking is

so outstanding that it reminds one of the Castilian of Toledo in Spain. In comparison with these people, the others seem coarse and rough. Some will think that I am partial in speaking so well of Tezcoco; although I did not acquire my milk teeth in that city, I got my second ones there. Since the remarkable things of Tezcoco have been extolled by others, everything I say is already well known" (*History of the Indies*, 14–15). Durán's sense of Tetzcoco's cultural superiority is typical of colonial-period Acolhua attitudes about themselves and their past, which he must have absorbed as a child growing up in Tetzcoco. The importance of civilization, especially the process of acquiring it, in Tetzcocan histories was noted by Radin, *Sources and Authenticity*, 19; Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 114 n. 47 and 137–138; and later elaborated by León-Portilla, "Proceso de aculturación."

61. Boone, "Towards a More Precise Definition"; Dean and Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents"; Gruzinski, *The Mestizo Mind*; idem, *Les quatre parties du monde*, passim; and Russo, *El realismo circular*, 19–21 and passim, analyze the complexities and heterogeneity of such cultural expressions.

62. For Aztec sculpture, see Pasztory, *Aztec Art*, 139–178; the individual catalogue entries in Matos Moctezuma and Solís Olguín, *Aztecs*; and Nicholson and Quiñones Keber, *Art of Aztec Mexico*. Emily Umberger, "Art and Imperial Strategy," offers an excellent discussion of the ideological implications of formal and iconographic elements in Aztec art.

63. See, for example, Gombrich, "Style."

64. Representation and experience may be closely related, but they need not be. I do not know and cannot judge the relationship between Nahua public behavior and personal belief or experience, nor do I know what constitutes a genuine Christian or a Spaniard. Louise M. Burkhart points out ("Pious Performances," 362) that "Nahuas understood Christian teachings in their own terms and adapted them for their own ends, which varied through time and from place to place. I consider it pointless, and indeed ethnocentric, to raise the issue of sincerity and to question whether Nahuas who spoke or acted in a Christian manner were 'truly' Christian. To characterize colonial Nahuas as crypto-pagans operating under a veneer of Christianity is to grant objective reality to the dualistic categories of 'Christian' and 'pagan,' which were highly meaningful to Europeans but foreign to indigenous self-conceptions."

65. Burland, "The Map," 17.

66. See, for example, Cortez, "Gaspar Antonio Chi"; Dean, *Inka Bodies*; Escalante Gonzalbo, "Pintar la historia"; Leibsohn, "The 'Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca'"; and Peterson, *The Paradise Garden Murals*.

67. Reyes-Valerio, *Arte indocristiano*, 219. This work and the later *El pintor de conventos* remain unsurpassed in their consideration of the complexity and variety of indigenous artistic expression, and the present study is deeply indebted to these pioneering works.

68. See, for example, Elsner, *Imperial Rome*.

69. Robertson (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 135) comments on the ostensible avoidance of the divine and the emphasis on human actions in Tetzcocan manuscripts, and Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 39, has reiterated this point.

70. Burland, "The Map," 11.

71. See Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 241 n. 10; and for a general description of the type, Glass, "A Survey," 35–36.

72. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 62–65, quotation from 62. Indeed, Robertson (64–65) used these differences as means whereby to reconstruct a history of diffusion and stylistic development—from the Mixtec, to the Acolhua of Tetzcoco, and from Tetzcoco to the other Nahua altepemeh of central Mexico, in short, the historical development recorded in Tetzcocan histories. Quiñones Keber ("The Tlailotlaque") has critiqued Robertson's hypothesis, in place of which she posits a Toltec origin for Acolhua manuscript painting, noting that in his histories Alva Ixtlilxochitl makes clear that the Tlailotlaque were a Toltec people, even though they had migrated to and then from the Mixteca.

73. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, passim. Boone's book is the finest, most comprehensive study to date of Mexican pictorial histories, and my own work has greatly benefited from it, as it has from Robertson's still-invaluable study. H. B. Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," esp. 43–52, likewise remains a fundamental and inspired, if brief, analytical survey of central Mexican pictorial histories.

74. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 64–86.

75. Ibid., 244. For the Tetzcocan manuscripts specifically, see Spitler, "El equilibrio."

76. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 243.

77. Regarding the Acolhua, see ibid., 182–183, and for the Mexica, 198, with references to idem, "Manuscript Painting." Boone specifically, and I believe correctly, connects the narrative structure of timeline presentations to the political ideology and imperial expansion of the Mexica state.

78. Earlier, Nicholson ("Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 50) had observed: "The categories of historical information most commonly depicted on these maps [i.e., cartographic histories] are migrations and conquests and, especially, genealogical layouts and dynastic sequences."

79. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 242–244, for story types and historical structures generally, and 162–196, esp. 182–194, for migration histories.

80. George Kubler addressed the social dimension of Mesoamerican cartography in a 1968 essay on two late-sixteenth-century maps of Cholula, in which he made the distinction between a social diagram and a physical plan. Kubler's essay first appeared, in Spanish, in *Estudios de historia novohispana* 2 (1968): 111–127, and is reprinted in an English translation as "The Colonial Plan of Cholula." This trait in indigenous central Mexican mapping traditions has been studied in greater depth in Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 118–126; and Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography."

81. Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography," 270. Leibsohn's work, in this article and elsewhere, has significantly informed my own thinking on early-colonial maps. For the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 173–182; *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*; Leibsohn, "The 'Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca,'" esp. 89–145; and Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 158–164.

82. See Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 62–65 (history manuscripts based on place signs rather than time), and 179–182 (cartography); and Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 49–50. Barbara E. Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 215–218, suggests that cartographic histories may have developed out of noncartographic pictorial history manuscripts, such as the Mixtec screenfold Codex Zouche-Nuttall, a *res gestae* history that focuses on actions and events.

83. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 179.

84. For an introduction to Mesoamerican maps and mapping, see ibid., 179–189; Aguilera, "Cartografía indígena"; Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, passim; Burland, "The Map "; Galarza, *Amatl, amoxtli*, 91–111; Glass, "A Survey," 33–35; Guzmán, "The Art of Map-Making"; Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 153–189; Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, esp. 91–133; idem, "Mesoamerican Cartography"; Russo, *El realismo circular*, 68–73; and Smith, *Picture Writing*. The present discussion of Mesoamerican mapping is deeply indebted to Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain* and "Mesoamerican Cartography."

85. Cosmological and celestial Mesoamerican maps may have appeared in formats other than manuscript painting, for example, painted pottery, mural decoration, sculpture, architecture, urban planning, or ritual movement; see Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 183–184 and passim.

86. Ibid., 204–218. See also Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 162–164 and passim; idem, "Aztec Pictorial Histories," 60–64; Burland, "The Map"; and Leibsohn, "Primers for Memory."

87. Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography," 266. But, with reference to boundary maps, Marcus (*Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 153) notes: "From this mapmaking tradition it is clear that many highland rulers conceived of their territories as delimited by a series of natural landmarks which were constant and changeless—not by human settlements, which inevitably came and went."

88. Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography," 266.

89. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 15; and Boturini, *Idea de una nueva historia general*, second pagination, 3, sec. III, no. 1.

90. For the Codex Xolotl and its historical narrative, see Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 55–208, and atlas, plates 1–10; Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 183–186; Calnek, "Historical Validity"; *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 11–15; Radin, *Sources and Authenticity*, 17–18, and résumé on 41–45; and Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 141–143.

91. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 181.

92. Stylistically more "conservative"

colonial-period Mixtec maps also use a spare format.

93. For the Tira de la Peregrinación, also known as the Codex Boturini, see *Códice Boturini*; for the Azcatitlan, see *Codex Azcatitlan*.

94. Robert H. Barlow, who first studied this panel, referred to these scenes as "castigos y delitos," or "crime and punishment" ("Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 113).

95. The most recent and thorough publication, with facsimile, is Berdan and Anawalt, *The Codex Mendoza*.

96. See Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 95–107; Boone, "The Aztec Pictorial History"; Berdan, "The Imperial Tribute Roll"; and Calnek, "Ethnographic Content." In contrast to Calnek, Joanne Harwood ("Disguising Ritual" and "Crime and Punishment") argues for interpreting the scenes in the third section of the Mendoza—and in the third panel of the Quinatzin—as early-colonial continuations and adaptations of putatively prescriptive ethical texts from pre-Hispanic ritual manuscripts such as the Codex Féjérváry-Mayer. In this she follows Gordon Brotherston (see, for example, Brotherston, *Painted Books from Mexico*, 130–153), who does not agree with the view that the ethnography of Mexica life presented in the third section of the Mendoza is unprecedented and thereby a distinctly colonial instance of ethnographic self-objectification. While I believe that there are pre-Hispanic sources for some of the scenes on the Quinatzin's third leaf, for example, the iconic-script legal codes and case records mentioned by the chroniclers (for example, Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 491; and Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 527), I do not believe that the selection of scene types—historical and legal—and the actual juxtapositions reflect any pre-Hispanic model. Furthermore, I am not fully convinced that the pre-Hispanic texts cited by Brotherston, especially the Féjéváry-Mayer, can be read as the type of prescriptive ethical texts he interprets them to be, an iconic-script equivalent of the precepts for behavior known as *huehuetlahtolli*, or "words of the elders."

97. Brotherston, *Painted Books from Mexico*, 31–33, 55–60, and 158–164. Nicholson, "The History of the *Codex Mendoza*," reviews the evidence for the connection between the manuscript known today as the Mendoza and the viceregal commission of circa 1540.

98. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 113, 115, poses the question of a connection or relationship between the third panel of the Quinatzin and the depictions of crimes and punishments in the Mendoza.

99. A patron able to commission such a manuscript as the Quinatzin and his painters could easily have had access to the viceregal court and the artists it employed. If, as I believe, the Tetzcocan manuscripts were royal commissions, the patrons would have attended don Carlos's execution and, as members of the highest rank of the indigenous aristocracy, would have had connections and easy access to the viceregal court.

100. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 32. In this passage Gruzinski refers specifically to the content of the Codex Mendoza, but his comments are valid for indigenous manuscript painting of the colonial period in general.

Chapter Two

1. For indigenous Mesoamerican terms for maps, see Mundy "Mesoamerican Cartography," 185–187. For the complicated etymology of *cemanahuatl*, "the world," from which the term "*cemanahuac*" derives, see Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 29, *s.v.* "cemanahuatl."

2. Cline, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, republished in revised and expanded form as idem, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," in Ristow, *À la carte* (all subsequent citations refer to this revised and expanded version). See also idem, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," in *Actas y memorias*; Harvey, "Oztoticpac Lands Map"; and Noguez, "Research Report." Now in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., the map is painted in ink and color on amatl and measures 75 x 84 cm.

3. For pre- and post-Conquest indigenous landholdings in central Mexico, see Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 257–299; and Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 141–176, with categories summarized in table 5.3 on 161. Land is defined according to whether it was corporately or individually owned; by the class of the corporation or individual; by the social or tribute obligations of the holder, if any; and, last, by proximity to the core area of the altepetl.

4. Cline, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," 18.

Don Antonio, the other litigants, and the judges appear on a pictorial manuscript fragment now in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, the Humboldt Fragment VI, which pertains to the same litigation as the Oztoticpac Lands Map (ibid., 13–15, and fig. 7).

5. This is the same Pedro Vásquez de Vergara who signed the Codex Vergara (from Tepetlaoztoc) and the Codex of Santa María Asunción; he also appears in the Codex Kingsborough (or Tepetlaoztoc). See Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 78–80; and *Memorial de los indios*.

6. Cline ("Oztoticpac Lands Map," esp. 27–28) notes that the map has the earliest known indigenous depictions of European fruit trees.

7. The term "tlahtocayotl," literally, "that pertaining to the tlahtoani," derives from the Nahuatl term for the ruler of an altepetl, "tlahtoani," and means "kingdom, realm, rulership, and patrimony," which meanings the Spaniards communicated through the term "cacicazgo." See Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 266, *s.v.* "tlahtocayotl"; and Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario*, second pagination, 140 verso, *s.v.* "tlatocayotl." As Karttunen cites Molina's definitions in her analytical dictionary, subsequent references to Karttunen will not include a citation to Molina's dictionary unless necessary for the sake of clarity.

8. Harvey, "Oztoticpac Lands Map," studies the numeration and units of measure and provides modern equivalents.

9. For the reconstruction of pre-Hispanic tribute rolls and financial records from post-Conquest examples, see Berdan, "The Imperial Tribute Roll"; and Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 31–32, 70–77, and 99–100. For cadastral maps and property plans, see Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 221–225; and Williams, "Mexican Pictorial Cadastral Registers." Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 4, 334, describes color-coded pre-Hispanic land registers that recorded the ownership and boundaries of landholdings.

10. Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography," 270.

11. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 107.

12. For metaphor in Mesoamerica, see Montes de Oca Vega, *La metáfora en Mesoamérica*; for metaphor and other poetic devices in Nahuatl specifically, see Sautron-Chompré, *Le chant lyrique*, 86–99. For metaphor in Aztec art, see Alcina Franch, "Lenguage metafórico."

13. White, "The Question of Narrative," 26–57, quotation from 27.

14. Montes de Oca Vega, "Los difrasismos en el náhuatl: Una aproximación lingüística," 392.

15. Chichimec, from *chichimecatl*, most likely "teat-suckling person" (not "dog person," as some believe), describes the level of development—nomadic hunter-gatherers—of the alleged ancestors of the central Mexican Nahua altepetl–defined ethnic groups. For the contested etymology and meaning of chichimecatl, see Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 48, *s.v.* "chichimecatl."

16. For the Mapa de Sigüenza and the Codex Boturini, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 166–173 and 207–221, respectively.

17. For the Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, see ibid., 173–182, as well as *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*; and Leibsohn, "The 'Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca.'" The Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No. 2 has been extensively studied and published in Carrasco and Sessions, *Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest*.

18. As Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 162, also observes.

19. In fact, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta (*Historia eclesiástica indiana*, 81) reported that Fray Andrés de Olmos, the first of the Franciscan "ethnographers," had collected an origin account from Tetzcoco that denied the Chichimec migration altogether. According to Mendieta, Olmos's Tetzcocan informant and the pictorial manuscript in his (the informant's) possession attributed the origin of the Acolhua to the land of Aculhuacan itself: "[T]hey say that the sun, at the hour of nine, cast an arrow [or ray] in this place [the vicinity of Acolman] and [the arrow] made a hole [in the ground], from which came out a man, the first man, who only had a body from the armpits up, and that afterward a full-bodied woman emerged."

20. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 164–166, quotation on 165. Boone compares the distinction between circuit and map to Michel de Certeau's distinction between tour and tableau, which Dana Leibsohn first applied to central Mexican pictorial histories (Leibsohn, "Primers for Memory," 166 and 170).

21. Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 216, suggests that cartographic histories may have developed out of cartographic passages included in Mixtec *res gestae*–format manuscripts.

22. An iconic-script toponym can include a stylized mountain (tepetl) sign and a rebus-like or ideographic element that represents the actual place name. For the structure and use of toponyms in pre-Hispanic central Mexico, see Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 153–177; and for toponyms in early-colonial Nahua manuscripts, see Berdan, "Glyphic Conventions," 96–97.

23. A point made by Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 141–142 and 182–185.

24. Ibid., 181.

25. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 17–29, describes and analyzes the narrative content of the map, with citations to the passages in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's historical works based on it. I here follow in great part Dibble's identification and interpretation of the scenes.

26. Ibid., vol. 1, 26–28. For Mesoamerican rituals of territorial possession and their colonial pictorial traces, see García-Zambrano, "Early Colonial Evidence."

27. The boundaries as well as the narrative, needless to say, may be, indeed, probably are, in great part fictive. See Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 206–207, and fig. 5.18 on 208. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 18, compares page/map 1 of the Xolotl to the Mapa Forrado en Papel de Maguey, a boundary map inserted at the beginning, and the Cuauhtinchan boundary map on folios 32 verso–3 recto, of the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca."

28. In the Aztec version of the Mesoamerican calendar, the vague, or 365-day, year takes its name from one of four possible day names (Reed, House, Flint Knife, and Rabbit) that cycle with the numbers one through thirteen, resulting in fifty-two possible combinations of a name with a number. Thus, for the Aztecs, a full calendric cycle (a *xiuhmolpilli*, or bundle of years) of vague years consists of fifty-two years, at the end of which a new cycle of fifty-two similarly named and numbered years begins.

29. For the significance of Tollan and discussion of the numerous Mesoamerican cities considered to be Tollan, see D. Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl*, esp. 104–147; and Stuart, "'The Arrival of Strangers.'" *Historia Mexicana* 39, no. 3 (January–March 1990), includes a debate on history and myth in Nahua memory and traditions, with substantial discussion of Tollan and the Toltecs (Florescano, "Mito e historia"; idem, "Hacia una reinterpretación"; López Austin, "Del origen de los mexicas"; P. Carrasco, "Sobre mito e historia"; and Baudot, "Nota."

30. Xolotl's name sign is a dog's head (from Xolotl, a dog-headed avatar of the god Quetzalcoatl, and thus also dog) and Nopaltzin's, a three-pronged cactus (a *nopalli*, nopal cactus).

31. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 22, with reference to Alva Ixtlilxochitl. In O'Gorman's edition of Alva Ixtlilxochitl (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 293), the name appears as Cahuacayan.

32. Coy, "Tetzcotzinco." There is no legible iconic toponym on the mountain. As transcribed by León y Gama in the copy that he made of the Codex Xolotl, the alphabetic Nahuatl annotation to either side of the mountain mentions both Tlaloc and Tetzcotzinco, but neither name is now legible; see Dibble, "Nahuatl Glosses in the Codex Xolotl," 118; and Thouvenot, *Annotations du Codex Xolotl*. For the ritual importance of Mt. Tlaloc, see Townsend, "The Renewal of Nature"; and for Tetzcotzinco and Tetzcocan historical traditions, see Lesbre, "Tetzcutzinco."

33. For the importance of mountains in Mesoamerican, specifically Aztec, thought and belief, see, for example, Broda, "The Sacred Landscape"; Russo, *El realismo circular*, 82–87; and Townsend, "The Renewal of Nature."

34. Hereafter, Tetzcoco will refer generally to the Acolhua altepetl and Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco will refer specifically to the representations of the Acolhua altepetl in pictorial histories that either name the whole (Tetzcoco) by the part (Oztoticpac), include both place names, or fuse elements of the two into one toponym.

35. The toponym for Chalco can be rendered with a *chalchihuitl* (jade, precious jewel) sign and a pot. Chalco Atenco's place sign generally also includes a water (*atl*) sign and human lips or the lower half of a human face (*tentli*, "lip, mouth, edge"), in order to distinguish it from the settlement named Chalco Chimalhuacan, which lies farther south. Both Chalco Atenco and Chalco Chimalhuacan were components of a larger, composite ethnic polity, for which see Gerhard, *Guide*, 102.

36. On page/map 2 (here Plate 2), at lower left, four stone (*tetl*) signs set in front of Tenayuca's cave and the seated Xolotl, two above and two below, prefigure the toponym.

37. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 26–27, lists the places visited.

38. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*,

vol. 1, 295–296, describes the rites of possession. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, 301–303, discusses this passage as an expression of Mesoamerican territorial conceptualization.

39. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 19.

40. A similar pictorial, sentencelike statement, with footprints, the Toltec ethnic moniker, and a number, occurs on the second page/map of the Codex Xolotl. Such sentencelike statements are common on this manuscript.

41. For a summary of what the indigenous historical sources relate about Culhuacan and Chololan (modern Cholula), see Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 23–41 (Culhuacan) and 158–173 (Chololan).

42. Four and five dots, respectively, represent the numbers four and five. One or two (the second may be drawn in the water of the lake) disks appear at Toltzalan-Acatlan near Culhuacan.

43. The distances between any two named and numbered years, for example, between a One Flint Knife year and a Thirteen Flint Knife year, as here, can increase by intervals of fifty-two years, a full calendar round, or the time it takes for a particular combination of a name with a number to recur. It is unlikely, notwithstanding, that the scene at Quechollan takes place sixty-four years after—or ninety-two years before—the one at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc.

44. Name signs are joined to what they name in this way, while place, day, and year signs generally are not attached in this manner to what they modify.

45. H. B. Nicholson, *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl*, offers a detailed review and critical analysis of the indigenous traditions about and sources on Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl.

46. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 24.

47. For Chololan and its political and religious authority as well as archaeological chronology, see Geoffrey G. McCafferty, "Tollan Chololan." D. Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl*, 133–140, discusses Chololan as one of the paradigmatic Tollans of Mesoamerica.

48. In his analysis of the Codex Xolotl's second page (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 41), Dibble notes that the upper right of the map is the "region of the Toltecs, or of Culhua culture."

49. For diphrastic metaphors, see Garibay K., *Llave del náhuatl*, 115–116; Montes de Oca Vega, "Los difrasismos en el náhuatl del siglo xvi"; idem, "Los difrasismos en el náhuatl: Una aproximación lingüística"; and Sullivan, *Compendio*, 16–17.

50. For duality and the creator couple, see León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, 80–103.

51. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 141, suggests that the Quinatzin and the Tlohtzin might even have been copied from the same manuscript.

52. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 294.

53. Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 104.

54. Both the Tlohtzin and the Codex Xolotl (page/map 1, for example) depict a mountain named Cuauhyacac to the north and east of Tetzcoco and identify it as a stopping place for the Chichimec nomads. Alva Ixtlilxochitl mentions Cuauhyacac numerous times, in the context of the migration (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 294), as Quinatzin's burial place (ibid., vol. 1, 534), and later as the site of one of Nezahualcoyotl's famous gardens and nature preserves (ibid., vol. 2, 114). It is unclear whether Alva Ixtlilxochitl refers to the same Cuauhyacac in each instance, especially as there was at least one other place of this name, located to the south and east of Tetzcoco. The southeastern Cuauhyacac appears on the Oztoticpac Lands Map. As both the Tlohtzin and the Xolotl clearly place the Cuauhyacac of the migration narrative in the north of the valley, it cannot be identified with the Cuauhyacac of the Oztoticpac Lands Map.

55. For the uses and significance of caves in Mesoamerica, see Heyden, "An Interpretation of the Cave"; idem, "From Teotihuacan to Tenochtitlan"; and the essays in Brady and Prufer, *In the Maw*.

56. See Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, passim; and Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 127–131.

57. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 130–131, notes the importance of genealogy in the Tlohtzin Map.

58. A similar element qualifies the iconic-script toponym of Azcatitlan (Aztlan) on folio 1 verso of the later (second half of the sixteenth century) Mexica manuscript, the Codex Azcatitlan; see *Codex Azcatitlan*, vol. 1 (facsimile), folio 1 verso.

59. The term "tenamaztli" (with the plural suffix, *tenamaztin*) refers also to the three hearthstones traditional throughout Mesoamerica even today; see Molina, *Vocabulario*, second pagination, 98 recto, *s.v.* "tenamatzin"; and Campbell, *Morphological Dictionary*, 323, *s.v.* "tetl" (1). That the term takes a plural form is significant,

as only animate nouns in Nahuatl form plurals: Nahuatl speakers considered the hearth and its three stones to be alive. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 74, mentions the tenamaztin, citing the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* passage in which Itzpapalotl teaches the Chichimecs the names of the three hearthstones (the tenamaztin), namely, Mixcoatl, Tozpan, and Ilhuitl (*Códice Chimalpopoca*, 3, section 1, with the critical annotation on 70). Aubin does not, however, extend the creation imagery, for this is in effect what it is, to the spatial patterning on the Tlohtzin Map. For an account of the three hearthstones of creation in Maya cosmology, see Freidel, Schele, and Parker, *Maya Cosmos*, esp. chapters 2 and 3.

60. See Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 96–100, for discussion of Mixtec births from trees and rocks and their relationship to foundation accounts.

61. The analysis and interpretation of the Quinatzin Map that I offer here first appeared in my "Figures of Speech."

62. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 127–131, reviews the role of mountains in Mesoamerican conceptions of origins and community.

63. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 218–219, argues that the female figure is alive and a mother goddess, whom the two men are digging out of a cave. I note that the figure has a closed eye (not open, as Mohar Betancourt believes), a marker of death, and that the scalloped border that surrounds her does not necessarily indicate a cave—indeed, the artist has carefully differentiated this pattern from that of the mountain-cave directly above.

64. Except in special cases, the Aztecs generally cremated their dead, and cremation was considered the civilized practice. For Aztec death rituals, see Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 4 (Book 3), 41–49.

65. The curved mountain references Culhuacan phonetically and ideographically. The curvature of the mountain's peak evokes the Nahuatl root "*col*," "something twisted," and its derivatives: for example, "*colihui*," "to bend"; "*coloa*," "to bend or twist something"; or "*colli*," "something bent or twisted." "*Col*" and its derivatives here phonetically reference the Nahuatl word "colli," grandfather, ancestor, whose relationship to the root "*col*," "something twisted," remains unclear; see Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 40, *s.v.* "col."

66. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 76–77, first observed that the head of the dying deer and the speech scrolls of its death cries at the upper left of the mountain-cave function as a visual pun on and allusion to Quinatzin's name sign and that in the Tlohtzin's version of this scene (far right of the manuscript) Tlohtzin speaks the same iconic elements, thus naming his son.

67. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 209–221, interprets this scene as mythic and ritual, identifying the figures in the cave as deities, the Chichimecs' sun god and a mother goddess, and relating the hunting scene to the worship and rituals of the god Mixcoatl/Camaxtli, also associated with the Chichimecs. Lesbre, "Algunas consideraciones," was the first to argue for a ritual interpretation of some of the scenes (deer hunting and snake immolation) in the upper half of the Quinatzin's first leaf. While Lesbre's argument is carefully reasoned and persuasive, and there may well be a ritual subtext in these scenes, the painter cast them in such a way as to obscure this element, at least to the nonindigenous reader/viewer. Aubin (*Mémoires*, 75) reads these scenes as descriptions of Chichimec customs, which, ostensibly, they are.

68. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 232–233, likewise discerns cultural evolution as a key element in this section of the manuscript.

69. Duverger, *l'origine des Aztèques*, 105–112, shows how for the Mexica the altepetl Tenochtitlan is the pendant as well as the equivalent of the origin place, Aztlan; for them, as for the Acolhua, the end is the beginning, the destination, the starting point.

70. Leibsohn, "Colony and Cartography," makes clear the symbolic importance of the center in indigenous maps. See also Elzey, "Some Remarks."

71. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 232, distinguishes between the divine and the mythic in the top section of the leaf and the human and the historical in the lower section.

72. For the Tlailotlaque and Chimalpaneca, see Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 32–33. An earlier version of Alva Ixtlilxochitl's history (ibid., vol. 1, 430) mentions only the arrival of the Tlailotlaque. See also Quiñones Keber's critical review of this aspect of the Tetzcocan historical accounts, "The Tlailotlaque."

73. From left to right the signs are a maguey (*metl*) for the Mexica; a speak-

ing thorn (*huitztli*, "thorn, spine," and *nahuati*, "to speak clearly") for the Huitznahua; and a stone (tetl) and banner (pantli) for the Tepanec.

74. See, for example, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 430 and 432–433. See also Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 23; and Hicks, "Tetzcoco," 236–237. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 80, was the first to recognize the connection between these six figures and the six sections of the city.

75. A similar metonymic mapping occurs on folio 2 recto of the Codex Mendoza, the ritualized, cosmic map of the Mexica capital, Tenochtitlan. For discussion of the Mendoza map, see Mundy, "Mesoamerican Cartography," 193–194 and 235–237; and for indigenous mapping of Tenochtitlan in general, idem, "Mapping the Aztec Capital."

76. The Chimalpaneca and Tlailotlaque arrive during the reign of Quinatzin (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 32–33), but the other four groups become part of the Acolhua city and ethnic group during the reign of Quinatzin's son Techotlalatzin (ibid., vol. 2, 34–35). Compare the Codex Xolotl versions of these events: *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 62–63 (page/map 4, Quinatzin) and 79–80 (page/map 5, Techotlalatzin).

77. The terminology is Robertson's (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 61).

78. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 85.

79. But Spitler, "The *Mapa Tlohtzin*," emphasizes the continuities between the pre- and post-Conquest sections of the dynastic succession.

80. Coy, "Tetzcotzinco."

81. According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl's account in the *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 294), based in part on the Codex Xolotl, Nopaltzin visited Oztoticpac, Cuahuaticpac, Tepetlaoztoc, and Tzinacanoztoc, then he surveyed the apparently unpopulated eastern valley from the summit of Cuauhyacac, then from the summits of Patlachiuhcan (Patlachique, the mountain that frames the pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacan to the south), of Tetzcotzinco, and, of Mt. Tlaloc. From Mt. Tlaloc, Nopaltzin went to Oztoticpac, "lugar de la ciudad de Tezcuco."

82. A mountain appears on the sixth page/map, but it is unnamed, perhaps a mistake on the part of the painter.

83. The sign for Acolhua, a bent human arm (acolli) with water (atl) spouting from the top, can refer both to the Acolhua ethnic group and to the city of Coatlichan, which was also known as Aculhuacan (In the Place of the Acolhua People). Boone (*Stories in Red and Black*, 185) reads this sign as Acolman, the name of a city in the northeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico. Although the sign can refer to Acolman, Acolhua/Aculhuacan is the more probable reading here. For the Acolhua and their settlement of Coatlichan, see Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 17. The Coatlichan genealogy on page/map 2 of the Xolotl overlaps in great part with the one shown on the Tlohtzin. Later, Aculhuacan could also refer to the altepetl of Tetzcoco and, more generally, to the regional state conquered and ruled by Tetzcoco.

84. Shortly after the founding of Tenochtitlan on islands in the marshy waters of Lake Tetzcoco (Two House [1325]), in a One House year (1337), a dissident group split off and established its own settlement, Tlatelolco, on an island to the north of Tenochtitlan. The two would remain separate and enemies until 1473, when the tlahtoani of Tenochtitlan, Axayacatl, defeated Moquihuix, the ruler of Tlatelolco.

85. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 81, identifies the digging sticks as symbols of subordination and vassalage. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 557–558, describes an iconic-script document on which lands owned by Tetzcoco's rulers but worked by "*renteros*," or tenant farmers, are identified as such by digging sticks.

86. For the connection between Culhuacan and Coatlichan, see Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 123.

87. The primary meaning of the word "tonalli" is "warmth of the sun, summertime, day," and, like Tonatiuh, the word for "sun" and the name of the sun god, it derives from *tona*, "to be warm, for the sun to shine"; see Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 245, *s.v.* "tona," and 246, *s.v.* "tonalli"; Molina, *Vocabulario*, second pagination, 149 recto, *s.vv.* "tona" and "tonalli"; and Campbell, *Morphological Dictionary*, 370–371, *s.v.* "tona." Tonalli also refers to "the sign under which one was born" (i.e., one's destiny), or "the soul and spirit," in which sense Molina (*Vocabulario*, second pagination, 150 verso, *s.v.* "totonal") cites it as *totonal*, "our tonalli," that is, the root word, plus *to-*, the first person plural possessive prefix. In the latter sense, the tonalli is one of

the animistic forces or entities that make life possible, for which see López Austin, *The Human Body*, vol. 1, 204–229, and vol. 2, 233–234, *s.v.* "tonal"; and idem, *Tamoanchan y Tlalocan*, 34–41.

88. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 557–559 (the *Memorial tezcocano*). The document that Motolinía describes included tribute registers for the Triple Alliance Empire and an explanation of the division of the spoils among the three cities. (I believe that this demonstrates that the second leaf of the Quinatzin was extracted from a larger, specifically economic, document to form part of a new, uniquely colonial, compilation, on the model of the Codex Mendoza.) The author or compiler of the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* must have known a work such as the one used by Motolinía, if not the same one, as under the year One Reed (1519), the year in which the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, he or she provides a catalogue of rulers in power at the time, followed by a detailed accounting of Tetzcoco and its subjects and tributaries and then a similar accounting of Triple Alliance tribute and its distribution, with detailed lists of tributaries and tribute. This, the final section of the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, ends with a conquest list for the rulers of Tenochtitlan; see *Códice Chimalpopoca*, 63–68. Gibson, "Llamamiento General," 7, first discerned the close connection between the two accounts and raised the possibility of a common source. Gibson's article surveys and compares the numerous lists of Tetzcoco's subjects and tributaries preserved in the ethnohistoric accounts, including Quinatzin Map leaf 2, and remains fundamental. I use it as the basis of my own discussion. Pedro Carrasco, *Estructura política-territorial*, 246–252, studies the Quinatzin's list specifically and sifts through the other ethnohistoric sources (203–245). Jerome A. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 87–120, likewise reviews the sources. And Aubin, *Mémoires*, 87–88, reviews Ixtlilxochitl's and Torquemada's accounts of Tetzcoco's subjects in light of the Quinatzin. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 1, 327–428, and Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 237–267, have investigated the structure and extent of the Acolhua state on the basis of the Quinatzin and the other sources. Lesbre's is the best, most thorough treatment of the problem to date, and it should be consulted together with Gibson's article. As my own concern is with the pictorial representation and the communicative and ideological messages inherent in formal, compositional choices, I do not essay a critical appraisal of the numerous catalogues of Tetzcoco's subjects and tributaries and their truth value.

89. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 89–100. See also Robertson, "Domestic Architecture"; and Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 237–267.

90. Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 14–58, studies how the altepetl and its constituent parts formed a hierarchy based on temporal precedence or political and social preeminence rather than geographic order. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 91–133, esp. 106–112 and 118–126, applies Lockhart's insights into Nahua social and political order to central Mexican mapping traditions. See also Gruzinski, "Colonial Indian Maps"; Kagan, *Urban Images*, 107–120; Russo, *El realismo circular*; and Sacchi, *Mappe*, 133–149 and 184–214.

91. Kubler, "The Colonial Plan of Cholula," 98–99.

92. Because of the discrepancy between the descriptions of the palace and its size included in the alphabetic-script histories and reports of Pomar and Ixtlilxochitl and what appears in the Quinatzin, Mohar Betancourt (*Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 238) speculates that more of the building may originally have appeared in the manuscript, suggesting that we have only a fragment of the original.

93. While the annotator could easily have misread a place sign, or incorrectly affiliated a named person with an unnamed place (see below), mistaking the number of toponyms around the palace is much less likely, especially if they are broken down into and expressed as two smaller groups.

94. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 557–559; Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 114; and Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 1, 231–232. The Pimentel text, a letter to Charles V today known as the *Memorial de don Hernando Pimentel*, survives only as a copy included in Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*, vol. 2, 201–203.

95. The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (*Códice Chimalpopoca*, 64) details tribute paid to Tetzcoco, but in the context of the Triple Alliance. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 87–88, and P. Carrasco, *Estructura político-territorial*, 236–252, discuss the two halves in light of the evidence from Alva Ixtlilxochitl and Torquemada as well as the Quinatzin Map, while Gibson, "Llamamiento General,"

and Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 1, 327–428, analyze and compare these lists, among others, and the painted manuscript.

96. *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, Motolinía, Torquemada, and Alva Ixtlilxochitl all include more cities and towns and types of tribute and service rotations, e.g., taking care of the royal forest preserves and gardens. Three—Motolinía, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, and Torquemada—include two sets of cities and towns that in rotation directly maintain the palace. Don Hernando Pimentel's equivalent groups are identified as nine cities and towns that support the royal palace and sixteen "towns that bordered said city of Tescuco, subjects that paid tribute to said city" (Pimentel, *Memorial*, 202).

97. The word *campiña* can refer to the countryside itself, especially flat, uncultivated land; to the countryside as landscape; or to the countryside as cultivated terrain; see Moliner, *Diccionario*, vol. 1, 485, *s.v.* "campiña." But Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 247, *s.v.* "campiña," cites only the first meaning. Although don Hernando Pimentel identifies one of his sets of tributaries as "pueblos comarcanos," it includes cities and towns from both Alva Ixtlilxochitl's near and "campiña" lists, and don Hernando says that the tribute they paid supported the city of Tetzcoco generally as opposed to the palace specifically.

98. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 89, 94, and 114.

99. *Códice Chimalpopoca*, 64.

100. The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (ibid.) explicitly identifies forty-five cities and towns that paid tribute to Tetzcoco as part of the Triple Alliance, while Motolinía's rentero set and Alva Ixtlilxochitl's campiña set (Table 2.2) contain sixteen and fourteen tributaries, respectively, that paid tribute to Tetzcoco in its guise as the capital of Aculhuacan. Of the first fifteen tributaries listed by the *Anales*, however, thirteen appear on Motolinía's list of sixteen rentero towns and nine appear on Alva Ixtlilxochitl's list of fourteen campiña towns.

101. Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, vol. 1, 232.

102. Hernando Pimentel has two categories that refer to renteros or property: the first he describes as "the towns that my ancestors won in war, where they had 'renteros'"; and the second as "towns where they [my ancestors] had plots of land that they had personally gained through merit ['ganadas por sus personas']." The places in these two categories do not appear in any of the campiña/rentero lists.

103. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 557–558. For discussion of this marking of the land, see Aubin, *Mémoires*, 91; P. Carrasco, *Estructura político-territorial*, 208–235 passim (with reference to the Motolinía passage on 217); and Offner, *Law and Politics*, 61–64 and 289–291 (Appendix 1, "An Analysis of the Structure of the Motolinía Document").

104. Frances Berdan (personal communication, 2003) has observed that, if the alphabetic glosses are indeed later, the reader or speaker of the iconic text may have known exactly which cities and towns were the ruler's personal property and thus would have used the generic signs as a mnemonic device to recall the category, the members of which he had "stored" as part of an oral text. Once the reader or speaker recognized the category, he or she could supply the individual names of its members.

105. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 91.

106. See the entry for the jurisdiction of Otumba (Otompan) in Gerhard, *Guide*, 207–209.

107. The fragments read: "yn mahtlacte. etl ôce . . . tlahtoloyâ çon . . . yn onoc temayecan" (the eleven cities . . . court/council place . . . lies there at right).

108. Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 160, *s.v.* "nauhpohuallahtolli," offers "court of justice held every eighth [*sic*] day," citing the *Bancroft Dialogues* (Bancroft Library Ms. M-M 458, published in Karttunen and Lockhart, *The Art of Nahuatl Speech*, and Siméon's Nahuatl dictionary (*Diccionario*, 306, *s.v.* "nauhpoallatolli").

109. Teotihuacan is here pictographically named as a Tollan/Reed Place. Although the alphabetic transliteration of Otompan is now obliterated, the sign above is the profile-elevation building with the distinctive reed roofing that indexes the toponym "Otompan."

110. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 89. See also Aubin, *Mémoires*, 100–101 and 103–104; P. Carrasco, *Estructura político-territorial*, 239–240; and Offner, *Law and Politics*, 61–66.

111. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 89. The names and affiliations given by Alva Ixtlilxochitl match exactly those on the Quinatzin, and the altepemeh

attributed by the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* (*Códice Chimalpopoca*, 64) to "Tetzcoco and the whole kingdom [señorío] of Neçahualcoyotzin and Neçahualpiltzintli" are those represented by tlahtoqueh on the Quinatzin (Table 2.1), with one exception: the *Anales* includes one town, Pantlan, not on the Quinatzin. Pedro Carrasco, *Estructura político-territorial*, 246–252, and figs. XV.1 and 2, compares the Quinatzin's list of subsidiary rulers to Alva Ixtlilxochitl's. In "Llamamiento General" (3–5), Gibson notes that Alva Ixtlilxochitl names eighteen towns in the restoration list and suggests that all of these should be represented in the interior of the palace (4, under his section III.A). Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 89) actually mentions nineteen towns by name and adds "otros," but he lists only fourteen led by tlahtoqueh appointed or reappointed by Nezahualcoyotl and names fourteen men. Nezahualcoyotl put the remaining towns ("Coatepec and Iztapalocan and others that lie in that direction" and "Xaltocan, Papalotlan, and others") under his own supervision. Gibson would restore Coatepec, Iztapalocan, Xaltocan, Papalotlan, and Teotihuacan to the thirteen towns he lists as represented by tlahtoqueh on the second panel of the Quinatzin; for some reason he overlooks the fourteenth ruler, Quetzalmamalitzin of Teotihuacan.

112. Reading the corner figures as part of the horizontal rows, and assuming the accuracy of the roman-script altepetl affiliations on the Quinatzin, the men are (the order in which they occur in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's list of restored rulers is given in parentheses), in the top row, from left to right, Quetzalmamalitzin of Teotihuacan (10), Quecholtecpantzin of Otompan (11), Tlazolyaotzin of Huexotla (1), and Motoliniatzin of Coatlichan (2); at the right, from top to bottom, Tezcapoctzin (?) of Chimalhuacan (3), Cocopitzin of Tepetlaoztoc (4), and Quauhtlatzacuilotl of Chiauhtla (9); along the bottom, from right to left, Techotlalatzin of Tezoyocan (7), Quetzalpaintzin of Xicotepec (14), Nauhecatzin of Cuauhchinanco (13), and Tlalollintzin of Tollantzinco (12); and, last, at the left, from bottom to top, Tetzotzomoctzin of Chiucnauhtlan (8), Tencoyotzin of Tepechpan (6), and Motlatohcazoma of Acolman (5).

113. Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 557. Thirteen of the fourteen altepemeh with tlahtoqueh that appear in Motolinía's tribute register are included among the fourteen alphabetic-script place names appended to the ruler figures on the Quinatzin (Table 2.1). The only discrepancy is that the Quinatzin replaces Pauatla in Motolinía's list with Tepetlaoztoc. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 94, describes the Tetzcocan ruler's royal council, citing the same fourteen altepemeh affiliations as the Quinatzin (one of his sources), but he gives a different order of precedence and a different distribution between right and left when he relates their seating arrangements in the royal council hall. Alva Ixtlilxochitl makes clear that seniority and antiquity ("señores por su orden y antigüedades") determine the position (second or third rank) relative to the Tetzcocan tlahtoani, who sits alone in the first rank. In spite of the discrepancies with Alva Ixtlilxochitl's left-right distribution, and one significant discrepancy in rank (Otompan moved to a second-rank position), the rulers nearest Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli on the Quinatzin are in Alva Ixtlilxochitl's second rank and those farther away are in the third.

114. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 89 and 94.

115. For the Tepanec Confederation, see Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 134–156.

116. Neither Barlow ("Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin") nor Offner (*Law and Politics*) nor Mohar Betancourt (*Códice Mapa Quinatzin*) noticed that the lines that generally connect name signs to figures are here preserved, and thus they thought that these figures had only altepetl identities.

117. Gillespie, "The Aztec Triple Alliance," 233. Gillespie, however, cites Motolinía and his *Memoriales*, in which chronicle there is a ranking of Valley of Mexico polities, with Tenochtitlan first, Tetzcoco second, Tlacopan third, and so forth—not, as she makes clear, a Triple Alliance. She points out (249) that a Triple Alliance is missing from the majority of Valley of Mexico historical narratives, with the exception of some Acolhua and Mexica histories; furthermore, "[t]he fully developed Triple Alliance appears only in the Acolhua (Texcoco) traditions dating towards the end of the sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century" (249).

118. Ibid., 256. Post-Conquest indigenous histories, both alphabetic and pictorial, record several such tripartite military and political alliances in the Postclassic Period; see Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, passim.

119. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol.

2, 544–568. Lesbre demonstrates that both Mexica and Acolhua authors and nobles altered pre-Hispanic history, particularly that of the Triple Alliance, to negotiate more advantageous positions and economic and political power for themselves in colonial society.

120. A partially preserved figure of a collared slave stands in the portal of the second leaf. The footprint path could also depict the slave's flight into the palace's courtyard, whereby he gains his freedom. Offner (*Law and Politics*, 140–141) notes this custom and suggests that it is exactly what is depicted in this section of Quinatzin leaf 2, as does Mohar Betancourt (*Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 243). Lesbre, "Manumission," considers the depiction of the slave in detail, and, although he notes the possible relationship between the footprint path and Nezahualcoyotl's return to Tetzcoco in Four Reed, he associates the path with the slave (ibid., 109).

121. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 91.

122. Gordon Brotherston, *Book of the Fourth World*, 90–102, discusses the closely related quincunx and quatrefoil structures (the Codex Mendoza map is both) in indigenous American thought.

123. For the importance of this cosmic template to the Mexica conception and ordering of space, see D. Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice*, 49–87; Matos Moctezuma, "Symbolism"; Mundy, "Mapping the Aztec Capital," esp. 21–22; and, more generally, Brotherston, *Book of the Fourth World*, 82–102; and Russo, *El realismo circular*, 68–98.

124. Musset, "La perception," 50.

125. Although a fifty-one-year sequence is one year shy of the fifty-two years of a xiuhmolpilli, or calendrical cycle, the sequence here is not a calendric cycle. The xiuhmolpilli begins in either a One Rabbit or a Two Reed—not a Two House—year, as the Mendoza folio makes clear; the Two Reed year that occurs in the fifty-one-year sequence is graphically identified by the symbol for the New Fire Ceremony—the fire board and stick—celebrated to mark the end of one and the beginning of the next xiuhmolpilli. The Mendoza artist and the tradition that he represents, however, elide the Mexica historical cycle with a calendric cycle, substituting Two House for Two Reed, and thereby equating the former to the latter.

126. For the significance of One Flint Knife, see Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 5 (Book 4), 77–79; and Umberger, "Aztec Sculpture," 280–282. In the Codex Xolotl, One Flint Knife is the year in which Xolotl's Chichimecs arrive in the Valley of Mexico and, later, the year in which Quinatzin appears enthroned at Oztoticpac–Tetzcoco.

127. The small, thatch-roofed building in the upper, or eastern, quadrant of the map may represent the first shrine built to house Huitzilopochtli.

128. At left, above Nezahualpilli, a horizontal row of four dots followed by two diamond-shaped turquoise mosaics topped by corncobs (totaling forty-four); at right, above Nezahualcoyotl, a horizontal row of two diamond-shaped turquoise mosaics topped by corncobs followed by two dots (totaling forty-two).

129. On Codex Mendoza, folio 69 recto (here Fig. 2.3), Motecuhzoma's palace also has woven-reed-mat flooring. One could also compare the Maya *popol na*, literally, "mat house," that is, council house. Copán's popol na (Structure 10L-22A) likewise visually signals its name and functions through the woven-mat patterns carved into its limestone and stucco façade. For Copán Structure 10L-22A, see Fash, *Scribes*, 130–135 and figs. 82–86.

130. See, for example, Codex Mendoza, folio 66 recto (here Fig. 2.5), where the men who wear their hair in this fashion are identified as "official/agent and ambassador of the lord of Mexico." This diagnostic hairstyle will appear again in the third and bottom section of the Quinatzin as well as on the Tlohtzin. Priests on Codex Mendoza folios 62 recto and 63 recto, and the priestly warriors in the top row on folio 65 recto, have closely related hairstyles.

131. Although the annotator mentions sandals, no sandals appear here. Where the manuscript's painter includes them, in the southern and western wings of the palace, they almost certainly signify long-distance traders and trade.

132. The pochteca could and did, for example, declare wars on behalf of the state and fight in them. For the pochteca, see Berdan, *The Aztecs*, 31–34; Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 10 (Book 9), 1–67; and Townsend, *The Aztecs*, 194–199.

133. The word "achcauhtli" (plural, *achcacauhtin*) refers to something or someone that is larger or has an advantage, for example, "chief, master, principal, elder brother, and so forth." It does not appear in its unpossessed form (that is, *achcauhtli*) in Molina's 1571 *Vocabu-*

lario. Campbell, *Morphological Dictionary*, 7, *s.v.* "achcauhtli," lists all the forms and combinations in which it does occur in Molina's dictionary (see also Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 2, *s.v.* "achcauhtli"; and Siméon, *Diccionario*, 9, *s.v.* "achcauhtli"). The term is also used as the title for a type of judicial or military official (Aubin, *Mémoires*, 97, and n. 1; for the achcauhtli as a court bailiff, see Offner, *Law and Politics*, 57–58). Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 4 (Book 3), 55, and vol. 9 (Book 8), 43, refers to the achcauhtli both as a "master of youths" and as an equivalent to an *alguacil* (Spanish, "constable") in early-colonial indigenous municipal administration.

134. The paddle may also be a bark-beater used for making paper.

135. Above the two ethnic monikers the traces of an alphabetic Nahuatl gloss, now almost illegible, read "y...tla.tlaq...ch.. apaneca."

136. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 99, citing Torquemada and Alva Ixtlilxochitl as his authorities. Above the figure there are indecipherable vestiges of an alphabetic Nahuatl gloss. Aubin alleges that the name Xochiquetzal can be read here, but this is not evident on either the manuscript or Jules Desportes's nineteenth-century lithograph. In any event, whether or not the later alphabetic-script Nahuatl gloss named Xochiquetzal does not change the fact that the painter did not name him in iconic script.

137. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 5 (Book 4), 87–89; and Umberger, "Aztec Sculpture," 275–276.

138. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 26. Alva Ixtlilxochitl also states that Tlohtzin's mother was the "señora natural" of Chalco, but in the Xolotl, she is from Culhuacan. Elsewhere in the *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (ibid., vol. 2, 20) and in the *Sumaria relación de la historia de esta Nueva España* (ibid., vol. 1, 533), Alva Ixtlilxochitl writes that Tlohtzin married Pachxochitzin/Topacxochitzin, the daughter of Cuauhtlapal, one of the lords of Chalco. The Xolotl identifies Cuauhtlapal as one of Xolotl's Chichimec followers.

139. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 26.

140. The one exception is the depiction of the Mexica tlahtoani Chimalpopoca in the costume of Huitzilopochtli on page 8 (Plate 8), at the lower left, as one of the anonymous reviewers of the manuscript kindly reminded me.

Chapter Three

1. The epigraph for this section is drawn from *Proceso inquisitorial*, 46. Don Carlos's accusers reported the speech, but he denied that he had spoken thus (ibid., 57–59).

2. For don Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, see García Granados, *Diccionario biográfico*, vol. 3, 86–87, *s.vv.* "Huanitzin, don Diego de Alvarado." Don Diego was the señor of Ecatepec and also served as tlahtoani/gobernador of Tenochtitlan from 1539 until his death in 1541; he and doña Francisca were the parents of the historian don Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc.

3. For don Pedro Motecuhzoma Tlacahuepantzin, see ibid., vol. 3, 153–154, *s.vv.* "Moctezuma Tlacahuepantzin, don Pedro"; and Chipman, *Moctezuma's Children*, 81–88. Tetzcapilli remains unidentified: Totoquihuatzin, the tlahtoani of Tlacopan when the Spaniards arrived in 1519, died during the Conquest, and his son Tetepanquetzatzin (later baptized as don Pedro Cortés Tetepanquetzatzin) succeeded as tlahtoani and was among the tlahtoqueh who surrendered to Hernán Cortés in August 1521. Cortés had Tetepanquetzatzin executed in 1525, along with Cuauhtemoc of Tenochtitlan and Coanacochtzin of Tetzcoco (Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 562–565). Between 1525 and 1550, several men apparently unrelated to the ruling family did service as cacique, señor, or gobernador of Tlacopan, and in 1550, Totoquihuatzin's son don Pedro Tetepanquetzatzin's brother or half-brother, don Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin, became cacique-gobernador; see Alvarado Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicáyotl*, 169; Fernández de Recas, *Cacicazgos y nobiliario indígena*, 25–30; Gibson, *The Aztecs*, 171; and Pérez-Rocha, *La tierra*, 82–87 (fig. 8 on p. 85, a genealogy of don Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin, incorrectly interpolates a generation ["Totoquihuaztli el viejo"] between Antonio Cortés [Totoquihuatzin, who succeeded in 1550] and doña Juana de Alvarado and their two sons, Pedro Cortés Tetepanquetzatzin and Juan Cortés). Pérez-Rocha (*La tierra*, appendix 10, 151–153) publishes a 1552 letter sent to Charles V by don Antonio Cortés Totoquihuatzin (original, in Latin, in Seville, Archivo General de Indias, series Patrimonio, vol. 184, document 45), in which he identifies himself as the son of the Totoquihuatzin who ruled Tlacopan in 1519. Nowhere, however, does the name Tetzcapilli occur.

4. "Mecayotl," literally, "quality of/nature of rope/cord," derives from "*mecatl*," "cord or rope," and "*-yo*," a derivational suffix that forms abstract nouns; see Karttunen, *Analytical Dictionary*, 142, *s.v.* "mecayotl." According to Molina (*Vocabulario*, second pagination, 55 recto, *s.v.* "mecayotl," and second pagination, 115 verso, *s.v.* "tlacamecayotl"), "mecayotl" signifies "lineage or consanguineous relationship" ("abolorio, o parentesco de consanguinidad"), while "tlacamecayotl," literally, "people [arranged/organized as/in the] quality of/nature of cord/rope," from "*tlacatl*," "person," and "mecayotl" means "genealogy of ancestry or descent" ("abolorio de linage o de generacion"). Jerome Offner (*Law and Politics*, 201) has argued that "kindred" rather than "descent" or "lineage" comes closer to the sense of tlacamecayotl, which he translates as "human cordage." With regard to noble status and succession to rulership, however, the concept or term "lineage" may better reflect the criteria, and I will thus retain it here. See also Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 122 and 157 nn. 9 and 10; and, for the argument for descent groups, Kellogg, *Law*, 172–186. Molina's definitions of "mecayotl" and "tlacamecayotl" indicate, I believe, that the latter referred to lineage and descent rather than kin (note the use of the terms "linage" and "generacion" rather than "parentesco" and "consanguinidad") and also to a genealogy in the sense of a graphic record or representation ("abolorio"). As is evident from Molina's usage, the Spanish term "abolorio," from *abuelo*, "grandfather," refers both to one's ancestry and to the graphic depiction of one's ancestry, like the English "genealogy"; see Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 6, *s.v.* "abolengo, 2," and, 8, *s.v.* "abuelo, 2." For "tlacamecayotl" and other Nahuatl-language terms for genealogies, see the finest, most comprehensive analysis of Nahua genealogies to date, Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 76 and 122–123; and Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 50–52. Cosentino ("Landscapes of Lineage," 60, 72 n. 55, 76, 109 n. 8, 193–196, 206–207 n. 56, 293, and fig. 29) cites the term "*tlacamecayoamatl*," "people cord paper," for graphically recorded genealogies, which appeared on a now-lost genealogical document of circa 1565, *La genealogía de Tlalhua de San Lucas Tecopilco*, but Molina does not include it in his dictionary.

5. For pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican genealogies, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 87–124; Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 73–118; and Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 261–302.

6. According to Molina (*Vocabulario*, first pagination, 65 verso, *s.vv.* "genealogia por linage noble"), the term "tlahtocamecayotl," from "tlahtoani" (ruler of an altepetl) and "mecayotl" (genealogy), joined by the linking element "*ca*," refers to noble lineage. See also Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 76 and 109 n. 9.

7. For don Francisco, see above, Introduction. Don Francisco was the son of don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, who was the son of don Carlos's half-brother don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 37, observes that "[f]ewer native-inspired genealogies were made in the course of time" because of the changes in indigenous society after 1519, but the extant examples suggest otherwise. For genealogies in the colonial period, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, passim; Cortez, "Gaspar Antonio Chi"; Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," passim; Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, passim; and Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 50–52.

8. García Izcalbaceta, *Nueva colección de documentos*, vol. 3, 240–256; and Pérez-Rocha, *Privilegios en lucha*. Ronald Spores, "Genealogy," provides an early and exemplary analysis of how indigenous genealogical documents and Spanish law and viceregal courts mediated claims to land and status among the descendants of pre-Hispanic rulers.

9. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 73–118, reviews the evidence and includes discussion of the surviving pre-Hispanic Mixtec manuscripts and their genealogical passages. She also catalogues the seventy-eight extant colonial-period Nahua genealogies: thirty from Tlaxcala (Appendix A, 316–322) and forty-eight from the Valley of Mexico and the states of Morelos and Guerrero (Appendix B, 323–326). Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 50–52, provides a partial list as well as keen analysis of the formats. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 87–124, offers a detailed analysis of the Mixtec "genealogical histories"; Smith, *Picture Writing*, 27–32, outlines Mixtec pictorial conventions for communicating genealogical information (personal names, marriages, and births, for example); and Spores, "Genealogy," considers the

relationship between pre-Hispanic and post-Conquest conventions. Alfonso Caso's groundbreaking article, "El mapa de Teozacoalco," made possible much of the subsequent work on Mixtec pictorial documents and remains fundamental reading; and Barbara E. Mundy, "At Home in the World," offers new insights into the Teozacoalco map's integration of cartography and genealogy. Michel Oudijk, *Historiography*, includes extensive critical analysis of colonial-period Zapotec genealogies. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 182–194, an analysis of the three Tetzcocan manuscripts, addresses genealogies and genealogical formats within them, as does Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 134–154. The present discussion of genealogies and genealogical formats is greatly indebted to these sources. See also Couch, "Lienzo of Ihuitlan"; Mundy, "Fragmento de las mujeres"; Parmenter, *Four Lienzos*; and Whitecotton, *Zapotec Elite Ethnohistory*.

10. The organization of genealogies in the pre-Hispanic Mixtec screenfold manuscripts follows the meander pattern, according to which the iconic-script text is ordered. Smith, *Picture Writing*, 217, fig. 1, diagrams the meander-pattern reading orders of the Mixtec historical manuscripts (figure reproduced in Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 62, fig. 31). Cosentino ("Landscapes of Lineage," 111 n. 23) notes Mary Elizabeth Smith and Ross Parmenter's suggestion that vertical rows in colonial-period Mixtec genealogies may derive from Spanish (and, more broadly, Western) concepts of descent by *linea recta* rather than pre-Hispanic indigenous practices and perceptions; see *The Codex Tulane*, 20. In addition, Cosentino ("Landscapes of Lineage," 62 and 72 n. 59) cites a radial format in colonial-period Nahua genealogies, but it occurs less frequently in the extant corpus. Examples include the so-called Circular Genealogy of the Descendants of Nezahualcoyotl (Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin), which disposes the generations vertically and within each generation aligns the figures in a circle, resulting in five generations ordered as five concentric circles, with the earliest at the center. The genealogies inscribed in the upper third of the Circular Genealogy follow the standard pattern; see Glass and Robertson, "Census," 175, no. 235.

11. In Tlaxcalan genealogies, the first, or ancestral, generation is generally depicted in or next to a house structure; see Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 34 and 165–207.

12. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 124; and see also Pohl, "Mexican Codices." For the colonial period, Kellogg, *Law*, documents how Spanish legal traditions and cultural attitudes toward gender affected indigenous patterns of property ownership and inheritance, especially with regard to women.

13. The distinction between a dynastic genealogy and a dynastic or ruler list can be problematic. While a dynastic genealogy may be said explicitly to reference and thereby to demonstrate the blood relationship between one ruler and the next, a ruler list does not necessarily do so; see Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 52. Nicholson specifies that such "lists usually involve just the depiction of each ruler in sequence (top to bottom or left to right are the most common formats), with his name-glyph, commonly seated on a throne" and "[o]ften, but not invariably, their reigns are dated or at least the total number of years they ruled is recorded" ("Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 52). In a ruler list, however, the blood relationship may be implicit, and a culturally sensitive viewer would know, if such were the case, that in order to be in the line of succession one had to be in the line of descent, however determined (agnatic, cognatic, and so forth). Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 70–71, relates the Tetzcocan pattern for royal succession: ideally, from father to the eldest son of the principal, the "legitimate," wife. For the different patterns of succession to rulership in Tetzcoco and Tenochtitlan, see Offner, *Law and Politics*, 202–209.

14. For an overview of what is known about nobles, rulers, and succession in Nahua central Mexico, see Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 102–117; and Offner, *Law and Politics*, 202–213.

15. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 119.

16. Mundy, "At Home in the World," 377. Burland, "The Map," 12, had already noted the connections among cartography, genealogy, and history, specifically, dynastic history. See also Boone, "Pictorial Documents," 181–190.

17. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 32.

18. Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 442.

19. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 119. Cosentino (13 and 88) cites Pierre Bourdieu's observation that genealogies "justify and legitimate the established order"; see also Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 262–264 and 442–443; and Pohl, "Mexican Codices."

20. Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 261–302, analyzes royal ancestors, official genealogies, and the all-important connections to the divine.

21. The temple is generally referred to as the "Templo Mayor," the Spanish translation of "huey teocalli." For Mexica royal funerary ritual, see Umberger, "Events," 428–437; Durán, *History of the Indies*, 291–296; and Motolinía, *Memoriales*, 417–420. Emily Umberger has kindly shared her thoughts and work on Mexica imperial funerals, on which I have drawn. A monumental stone relief of the Earth Lord/Lady, Tlaltecuhtli, in the Templo Mayor Precinct at the foot of the temple stairway (discovered in October 2006 in Mexico City), may be associated with the cached ashes of Ahuitzotl, the eighth tlahtoani of Tenochtitlan; see Matos Moctezuma and López Luján, "La diosa Tlaltecuhtli."

22. Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 57–58. The painting on folio 112 verso of the Codex Ixtlilxochitl (BnF, Fonds mexicain, nos. 65–71), here Fig. 3.1, may be the original illustration that accompanied Pomar's report. For the Codex Ixtlilxochitl and the Pomar illustrations, see René Acuña's critical introduction to Pomar's *Relación de Tezcoco* (Acuña, *Relaciones geográficas*, vol. 8, 42–44); *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, 14–15; Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 149–151; and J. Eric S. Thompson, "The Missing Illustrations."

23. Cortés, *Cartas de relación*, 237–239. Miguel León-Portilla, "The Ethnohistorical Record," surveys the colonial-period historical accounts of the temple.

24. The Acolhua had a different migration and civic foundation history, in which, as recorded in the Early Colonial Period, the gods played no ostensible role and Huitzilopochtli did not prophesy the founding and location of the city, as Robertson (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 135) observes. For Tenochtitlan and its temple, see the essays in Boone, *The Aztec Templo Mayor*; and Broda, Carrasco, and Matos Moctezuma, *The Great Temple*. Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, "The Templo Mayor," provides an excellent, succinct account of the chronology and symbolism of the Templo Mayor.

25. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 3 (Book 2), 175–176, identifies Huitzilopochtli's temple as Coatepetl. For the Templo Mayor's relationship to Coatepetl, see Matos Moctezuma, "Symbolism," esp. 199–205; and for Coatepetl as a Mesoamerican origin/creation place, see Schele and Mathews, *The Code of Kings*, 37–40; and Schele and Kappelman, "What the Heck's Coatepec?"

26. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 4 (Book 3), 1–5, relates the events at Coatepetl. The importance of Coatepec and Coyolxauhqui is demonstrated by the numerous sculptures of the goddess found at the Templo Mayor, for which see Matos Moctezuma, "Las seis Coyolxauhqui." The extant descriptions of Tetzcoco's temple do not mention a Coyolxauhqui relief, a monument, myth, and iconography that are intimately connected to the Mexica and their migration and foundation accounts.

27. For the discovery of the Coyolxauhqui sculpture and the Mexican government's subsequent decision to excavate the area, see Matos Moctezuma, "El Proyecto Templo Mayor."

28. Matos Moctezuma, *Una visita*, 51–52, notes how the temple's sacrificial ritual reenacted Huitzilopochtli's victory; see also Townsend, *The Aztecs*, 159.

29. We do not know the chronology and building history of Tetzcoco's Templo Mayor, and thus cannot say whether or not each Acolhua ruler rebuilt or substantially renovated it, as the Mexica tlahtoqueh did in Tenochtitlan. Nevertheless, Pomar (*Relación de Tezcoco*, 83) relates how the bundled body of the deceased Acolhua ruler was adorned with the attributes of Huitzilopochtli and, thus arrayed, cremated in the patio of Tetzcoco's Templo Mayor, an indication of the intimate association of the deity, the ruler's body, and the temple. Pomar, however, states that the ruler's ashes were cached in a box of wood or stone, which was stored in a special room of the royal palace, accompanied by a masked bundle representing the deceased.

30. Ibid., 59–60.

31. Matos Moctezuma, "Symbolism," 203–205; and Townsend, *The Aztecs*, 159. Pomar's description of Tetzcoco's temple (*Relación de Tezcoco*, 57–58) does not identify it as a sacred mountain.

32. The *Leyenda de los soles* (*Códice Chimalpopoca*, 119–128) preserves an account of the five creation eras and the efforts of Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl. Kay Almere

Read, *Time and Sacrifice*, 48–88, analyzes the symbiotic relationship between cycles of creation and destruction.

33. David Stuart ("'The Arrival of Strangers'") identified a Mayan hieroglyphic form of Place of the Reeds, Puh, the Classic Period Mayan word for cattail reed. See also D. Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl*, 63–147; and Schele and Mathews, *The Code of Kings*, 38–40. Pablo Escalante Gonzalbo, "Tula y Jerusalén," 86–87, speculates on a possible conceptual equivalence between Tollan and Jerusalem in the Early Colonial Period, in line with the mutually beneficial and fruitful cultural dialogue between the evangelizers and the evangelized.

34. Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 85–89; and Duverger, *L'origine des Aztèques*, 169–276.

35. See Nicholson, *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl*, 5–48, for a careful review of the main central Mexican accounts of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl.

36. Susan D. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 25–56 and passim, investigates the cosmological and political significance of such marriages with regard to the founding of the Mexica dynasty.

37. Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 49.

38. By fully realized dynastic genealogy, I mean a genealogy that as one unified composition or compositional element depicts the dynasty from its earliest to its latest generations. Although the genealogies in the Codex Xolotl cover eight generations, they do so over separate pages and as separate genealogical sequences of two or three generations each.

39. Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 49. Boone (*Stories in Red and Black*, 183–186), Cosentino ("Landscapes of Lineage," 146–154), Dibble (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, passim), and Robertson (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 32 and 63) have commented on and studied the central role of genealogy in the Codex Xolotl; the following discussion is indebted to their careful analyses and keen observations.

40. By genealogical sequences I mean groups of people unequivocally and purposely ordered as families: at the minimum, a man and a woman and their child or children, almost always connected by lines in order to identify them as spouses and parents and offspring. I do not include pictorial statements of succession (generally an enthroned ruler shown in conjunction with the corpse of his predecessor), dynastic lists as defined by Nicholson ("Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 52), or depictions of dynastic couples in genealogical sequences unless they form part of a larger, unified pictorial iteration that specifically and graphically configures a family of at least two generations. In some instances, grandchildren (a third generation, or the children of the children) appear. When the grandchildren are spatially separated from their grandparents, the painters assert and mark the connection between the first and third generations in other ways, as noted above, for example, by showing the child of one couple in one genealogical sequence as the parent of the next generation in another, and, as in the Codex Xolotl, connecting the appearance as child and as parent by a line, solid or dotted, or a footprint path. In such cases, I have counted the genealogies separately. Also, different generations of the same genealogical sequence can appear on different pages, and they, too, have been counted separately. Thus, there are numerous repetitions among the sixty genealogical sequences and 319 individuals.

41. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, appendix 4 ("Genealogía de Xolotl según el códice"). Boone (*Stories in Red and Black*, 184) remarks that "[t]he underlying theme of the codex is that the Texcocans were the people who originally dominated the valley and allowed other people to settle there, and *that Texcocan royal blood flows in the veins of the other rulers*" (emphasis mine).

42. For example, "Una familia de Tepeticpac" (Mexico City, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Cat. No. 35-27), includes nine generations but only thirty individuals; see Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 46–47 and fig. 15.

43. Dibble first noted the shift in the narrative pace and structure between the first six pages and the last four, which, as he pointed out, cover the period circa 1409–1427 (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 89). See also Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 184; Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 150; Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 62; and Spitler, *The Painted Histories*.

44. The cultural or ethnic identification of the father determines the distinction between a Chichimec and a Toltec genealogy: genealogies in which the father is Chichimec will be counted as Chichimec; those in which the father is Toltec will be counted as Toltec.

45. By starting the family and dynasty with Xolotl, the Codex Xolotl makes possible an Acolhua dynasty of nine rulers that parallels the Mexica dynasty of Tenochtitlan.

46. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Toltec polities are situated in the southeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico and, across the mountains, in the Valley of Puebla. For genealogical purposes, the key Toltec dynasty is Culhuacan's royal family, which, according to Nahua historical traditions, descended from Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, the ruler of Tollan. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 25–56, thoroughly reviews the dynastic role and importance of women from Culhuacan.

47. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 148.

48. For example, here on page/map 2, two of Xolotl's Chichimec followers, Cuauhtlapal and Cozcacuauh, who first appear as members of Xolotl's court at Tenayuca in the western valley, settle at Mamalihuazco in the eastern valley, and they marry Toltec women, Xiloxochitl and Chalchiuhcihuatzin, respectively, both of whom are daughters of Chalchiuhtlatonac, the Toltec ruler of Tlalmanalco. Each couple has a daughter and a son, and the daughters are born Toltec, the sons, Chichimec. Pachxochitzin, the daughter of Cuauhtlapal and Xiloxochitl, marries Xolotl's grandson Tlohtzin, a Chichimec although his mother (Nopaltzin's wife) Azcaxochitl was a Toltec, a daughter of the royal house of Culhuacan. (But, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 533, identifies Cuauhtlapal, the father of Pachxochitzin, as a lord of Chalco, not a Chichimec follower of Xolotl.) Tlohtzin and Pachxochitzin appear on page/map 2 at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc with their six children, two daughters depicted as Toltec and four sons as Chichimec. Malinalxochitzin, the daughter of Cozcacuauh and Chalchiuhcihuatzin, marries her first cousin Itzmitl, a Chichimec, at Coatlichan, the son of another of Xolotl's Chichimec followers, Tzontecomatl, and her (Malinalxochitzin's) mother's sister, Tecihuatzin; Malinalxochitzin and Itzmitl are shown at Coatlichan with their two children, a Toltec daughter and a Chichimec son. As discussed below, in the Xolotl, it is generally only as of the sixth generation that the male descendants of families founded by Chichimec fathers will be born Toltec.

49. As both Tomiyauh and Xolotl are Chichimec, their two daughters are Chichimec, too, in contrast to the female offspring of Chichimec men and their Toltec wives. One daughter, Cuetlaxochitl, appears at Azcapotzalco as the wife of the Tepanec leader, Aculhua, and the mother of their three sons, and the other, Cihuaxochitl, at Xaltocan, as the wife of Chiconcuauh, the leader of the Otomí, and mother of their son and two daughters.

50. Although Nopaltzin does not form a genealogical sequence with Xolotl and Tomiyauh, as do Cuetlaxochitl and Cihuaxochitl on page/map 2, his close association with the Chichimec leader both here and on the first page, the placement of the genealogical sequence headed by Nopaltzin and Azcaxochitl at Tenayuca, and, on page/map 3, the depiction of Nopaltzin as Xolotl's successor identify him as Xolotl's son. And, of course, Nopaltzin is already an adult when the manuscript opens, and thus was born before the Chichimecs arrived in the Valley of Mexico, whereas his sisters were born at Tenayuca. The Tlohtzin Map explicitly identifies Nopaltzin as Xolotl's son (see below).

51. The name glyph is partially abraded. Dibble (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 33) identifies this figure as Tenancacaltzin, "el hijo natural de Nopaltzin," as does Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 301).

52. There are exceptions. As Boone (*Stories in Red and Black*, 185) has pointed out, on page/map 1, Tomiyauh sits behind Xolotl at Tenayuca in order to allow the painters to show Xolotl in conversation with Aculhua, Chiconcuauh, and Tzontecomatl, the leaders, respectively, of the Tepanec-Chichimeca, the Acolhua-Chichimeca, and the Otomí-Chichimeca. For the distinction made between the principal, or legitimate, wife and the ruler's other female consorts, see Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 70.

53. Azcaxochitl appears as a daughter of Pochotl, the ruler of Culhuacan, in the genealogy appended to that city's toponym on page/map 2, and a solid line connects the young girl to her adult self at Tenayuca. The Xolotl clearly identifies the people and dynasty of Culhuacan as Toltecs from Tollan on the first page. But nowhere do the painters record the name Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl; the glyphs for Ce Acatl Quetzalcoatl that appear on page/map 1 at Cholula, near the top edge just right of center, refer to the deity. According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras*

históricas, vol. 1, 281), Azcaxochitl's father, Pochotl, was the elder son of Topiltzin of Tollan, an identification not made in the Xolotl as we have it today. Only the Acolhua historical traditions mention Pochotl (Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 29; and Nicholson, *Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl*, 120). On page/map 2, he marries Toxochipantzin, the daughter of Nauhyotl of Culhuacan and succeeds his father-in-law (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 297–298; and *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 32).

54. In the genealogy at Tenayuca, Tlohtzin's name is given as Pochotl Tlohtzin, which underlines the connection to his maternal grandfather, Pochotl of Culhuacan.

55. As previously noted, the treatment of corpse bundles in the Xolotl betrays the manuscript's colonial date: the body is wrapped in a supine rather than a fetal or seated position, with the head perpendicular to the torso and legs, and the helmetlike wrapping of the head exposes the face of the deceased. Although the bundle is placed on a tepotzoicpalli—in the Xolotl drawn like a chaise longue to accommodate the supine corpse—in the indigenous pre-Hispanic fashion, the wrapping and position of the body reflect the influence of Western Christian traditions.

56. This section of the page is partially abraded. Nopaltzin's corpse bundle and the year count for his reign are clearly legible. Just below and to the right, near the feet end of Nopaltzin's corpse bundle, is the fragmentary figure of Tlohtzin; here Tlohtzin's name sign is well preserved (positioned behind and connected to the figure by a line). The outline of Tlohtzin's back is legible, and there is no indication of a high-backed throne. To the right, in front of Tlohtzin, the painters include a year count—a sign that he did rule, as such counts give the length of a reign—and above the count, a small corpse bundle. A fragmentary name glyph, to the left, connects to the bundle and identifies it. On the León y Gama copy of page/map 4 (see *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 2, Plancha IV, third illustration), the glyph has been reconstructed as a hawk's head, "*tlohtli*," but not enough remains to verify the accuracy of the reconstruction. What little remains of the name glyph resembles the edge of a stone (tetl) sign more than a hawk's head, which would suggest Tenancacaltzin as a possible reading. Yet a line connects the year count directly in front of the seated Tlohtzin to the corpse bundle and to the fragmentary name glyph. The glyphs for the year One Rabbit appear above the bundle, and a line connects the year name to it and then continues up and to the left toward the enthroned figure of Tenancacaltzin. Tenancacaltzin appears again, this time in combat with a Mexica warrior in a Two Reed year; he could not have died in One Rabbit, one year earlier.

57. Dibble (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 66), citing Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 428–429), notes that it was Tezozomoc's father, Aculhua, who did not recognize Quinatzin as Tlohtzin's heir. The depiction of Tezozomoc and his brother Acamapichtli (see below, this chapter) as Toltecs on page 4 is another instance of chronological disorder: the history of the western half of the Valley of Mexico is collapsed into a few emblematic moments or reigns that serve as metaphorical foil for Acolhua developments in the eastern valley. For discussion of the chronological problems, see *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 119–123.

58. On page/map 4, a Tenancacaltzin appears seated on a royal throne, just above and to the right of Nopaltzin's corpse bundle and, as such, balances the figure of Tlohtzin, who sits on the ground just below and to the right of his deceased father. But following Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 428), Dibble (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 66) relates that Tenancacaltzin attempted to usurp the throne at Tenayuca after the death of his half-brother Tlohtzin. In a different historical report (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 533), Alva Ixtlilxochitl states that Quinatzin made his uncle Tenancacaltzin lord of Tenayuca because he (Quinatzin) preferred to have his court at Tetzcoco. But on the Xolotl itself, the sequence and nature of the events are unclear.

59. If the Tenancacaltzin on page/map 4 is the same as the "hijo natural" of Nopaltzin who appears on page/map 2, and if on the later page he is to be understood as a rival successor to either Nopaltzin or Tlohtzin, his succession would represent another break in the legitimate line of succession: the son of a secondary wife or concubine displacing the son of the principal, or legitimate, wife.

60. At Coatlichan-Aculhuacan, the water and bent arm sign that forms the name Aculhua appears as the toponym on page/map 2, which Boone (*Stories in Red and Black*, 185) reads as Acolman, but it can also be read as Aculhuacan, "Place of the Acolhua," another name for

Coatlichan. The Coatlichan toponym, a serpent and a house, occurs at the same location on the following page.

61. According to the Xolotl's genealogies, which diverge considerably from Mexica sources (see below), Achitometl is the son of Pochotl and Toxochipantzin, and thus the brother of Nopaltzin's wife, Azcaxochitl, and the uncle of Tlohtzin. Achitometl's daughters are Azcaxochitl's nieces and Tlohtzin's first cousins. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 25–56, details the accounts and identifications of Ilancueitl and Atotontzin and their role as dynastic founders.

62. Quinatzin and Tochintecuhtli's father, Tlohtzin, is a first cousin of Achitometl's children, as Tlohtzin's mother, Azcaxochitl, was Achitometl's sister.

63. The Mexica migrants first appear on page/map 4, wandering through the southwest corner of the valley (lower right), from whence to the vicinity of Culhuacan, and finally settling in a marshy place near the western shores of the lake, a site allegedly given them by Aculhua of Azcapotzalco; the Xolotl artists date the settlement to a Two House year, the most frequently cited founding date for Tenochtitlan, which falls fifty-one years before One Flint Knife, the date of Acamapichtli's accession here and in Mexica histories. Mexica historical traditions recount that they were the last of the Chichimecs to arrive in the Valley of Mexico, but the Xolotl depicts them as already Toltec and Toltecized.

64. According to Mexica historical traditions and sources, Acamapichtli belonged to the royal house of Culhuacan, not that of Azcapotzalco; by affiliating him with the latter, the Xolotl and related sources temper Mexica dynastic claims and advance those of the Tetzcocan royal family. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 25–56, summarizes the various accounts of Acamapichtli's and Ilancueitl's origins and relationship.

65. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 305, 313, 402, and 409) identifies Mixcoatl as the son of Aculhua of Azcapotzalco and thus the brother of Tezozomoc and Acamapichtli. The Azcapotzalco genealogy on Codex Xolotl page/map 2 shows Aculhua, his wife, Cuetlaxochitl, and three sons. Two of the three sons have legible name glyphs: the first, Tezozomoc, and the third, Acamapichtli (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 38, states that only Acamapichtli's name is visible, but there are two smoke scrolls, from Tezozomoc, or "Smoking Stone," preserved behind the head of the first son). In his *Historia de la nación chichimeca*, which is based on the Xolotl, Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 17) names the second son Epcoatl, and although part of this son's name glyph is preserved, it is not legible enough to confirm the identification: for Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Epcoatl and Mixcoatl are interchangeable. On page/map 4, Mixcoatl's name glyph, a cloud serpent, is well preserved; what remains of Epcoatl's name glyph on page/map 2 does not resemble it. And, in contrast to their treatment of Acamapichtli, the painters of the manuscript do not visibly connect Mixcoatl with Azcapotzalco. On the other hand, if Mixcoatl were the brother of Tezozomoc and Acamapichtli, the western alliance would manifest the tight genealogical symmetry seen elsewhere in the Xolotl.

66. In his commentary on page/map 5, Dibble (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 74) notes that one of Tezozomoc's daughters at Azcapotzalco has a name that includes Papalotl, or "Butterfly," and identifies her with Paintzin/Opantecuhtli's wife, as does Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 37), who gives her name as Papaloxochitl (Butterfly Flower). But Tezozomoc's daughter's name glyph does not include the banner element that is clearly part of Paintzin/Opantecuhtli's wife's name (Papalopantzin, "Butterfly Banner") on pages/maps 4 and 5, and on neither page is Papalopantzin shown in any way connected to Azcapotzalco. Also, Papaloxochitl first appears as a daughter or child only after Papalopantzin has already been a wife and mother.

67. Paintzin/Opantecuhtli is Tochintecuhtli's great-grandson and thus a seventh-generation descendant of Xolotl. Although Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco and his brother Acamapichtli, the ruler of Tenochtitlan, appear as Toltec on this page, they did not when first shown at Azcapotzalco on page/map 2 as the sons of Aculhua and Cuetlaxochitl. When he appears on page/map 3 with his wife, Ilancueitl, Acamapichtli is still depicted as a Chichimec.

68. Xilocihuatzin's name glyph, like her figure, is all but illegible here, but it appears clearly on page/map 5.

69. Tzontecomatl's wife, Tecihuatzin, the daughter of the Toltec ruler of Tlalmanalco, introduced Toltec blood into the

dynasty, but she was not from Culhuacan, where Topiltzin's descendants reigned.

70. Their second cousins at Huexotla, the five sons of Techotlalatzin's first cousin Quiauhtzin, son and successor of Techotlalatzin's father's brother Tochintecuhtli, are also among the sixth generation of Xolotl's descendants through the male line and the first generation of males to be Toltec from birth.

71. According to the genealogies, Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli's great-grandfather Tlohtzin was Aculhua's nephew, and Tezozomoc's first cousin: Tlohtzin's father Nopaltzin was Aculhua's wife's (Cuetlaxochitl's) brother and Tezozomoc's uncle. While the relationships are clear, the chronology is not.

72. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 326, and vol. 2, 37. Tecpacxochitl's role resembles that of the women whom Gillespie (*The Aztec Kings*, passim) has classified as "Woman of Discord," a female who serves as a catalyst for the creation or destruction of gods and dynasties.

73. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 353–354) reports that Maxtla usurped the throne from his brother Tayatzin, but this is not evident in the Xolotl.

74. Chimalpopoca's father, Huitzilihuitl, was Maxtla's first cousin, as Maxtla's father, Tezozomoc, was Huitzilihuitl's father's brother. Chimalpopoca supported Maxtla's brother Tayatzin as successor to Tezozomoc, and the two plotted against Maxtla (a scene included on Codex Xolotl page 8), for which they were put to death. The Xolotl artists show Tayatzin's death by garroting (third row from the top, to the right of center) and Chimalpopoca's imprisonment but not his execution on page 8.

75. There are varying accounts of the relationships among the first four rulers of Tenochtitlan: in some, Itzcoatl is the son of Acamapichtli and the brother of Huitzilihuitl and thus the uncle of Chimalpopoca; in others, all three are sons of the first ruler, Acamapichtli. The Xolotl makes Itzcoatl the son of Huitzilihuitl in the Tenochtitlan genealogy on page/map 5, and thus the brother of Chimalpopoca. See Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 14, fig. 1.4.

76. Cosentino, "Landscapes of Lineage," 153.

77. Ibid., 130–131; and see discussion in Chapter 2, above.

78. Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 186–190, makes this point.

79. The name glyph of the head Chichimec male on the Tlohtzin, a sheet of amatl, identifies him as Amacui. According to Aubin (*Mémoires*, 52), this may be another name for Xolotl, but it does not appear anywhere on the Codex Xolotl. I will here use "Xolotl" or "Amacui/Xolotl" for the sake of convenience and clarity. Likewise, in contrast to the Xolotl, the Tlohtzin depicts its namesake, Nopaltzin's son Tlohtzin, and his mother and wife as part of the migration into the Valley of Mexico.

80. In the Codex Xolotl, Xolotl's wife is named Tomiyauh, and Nopaltzin's wife, Azcaxochitl. Although Tlohtzin's wife's name glyph appears to be different from the one in the Xolotl, it is a plausible variant of it. Both Tlohtzin's wife and his mother are Toltecs in the Xolotl, not Chichimecs, as here.

81. I differentiate between the formal, fully schematized genealogies, which serve as visually static catalogues, and the compositionally looser narrative episodes, which relate specific events in space and time.

82. As noted in Chapter 2, the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco toponym is here a composite of iconic elements from the individual Oztoticpac and Tetzcoco toponyms.

83. Don Hernando Tecolcotzin's position in the order of succession is unclear. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 544–601, sorts through the various accounts of Nezahualpilli's successors and their fate during and just after the Conquest.

84. The names and order of rulers and wives from Tlohtzin and Icpacxochitl to Ixtlilxochitl Ome Tochtli and Matlalcihuatzin are in agreement with the Codex Xolotl. (As the Xolotl as we have it ends circa 1427, when Nezahualcoyotl is a young adult and in exile, he does not appear there with a wife or children.) The alphabetic gloss under Nezahualcoyotl and his wife at least gives her father's name, Temictzin, and states that he is from Tenochtitlan. Alva Ixtlilxochitl provides varied accounts of Nezahualcoyotl's wife and her father (*Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 447). Temictzin is the brother of the ruler of Tlacopan, and Nezahualcoyotl marries his daughter Matlalcihuatzin (note that this is also Nezahualcoyotl's mother's name), who bears him two sons, Tetzauhpiltzintli and Nezahualpilli (ibid., vol. 2, 117–120). Nezahualcoyotl marries the daughter of his uncle Temictzin, his

first cousin Azcalxochitzin (the same name as Nezahualpilli's wife in one instance), who had been promised in marriage to Quaquahtzin of Tepechpan, and Azcalxochitzin (simply referred to as "la reina") gives birth to Tetzauhpiltzintli (ibid., 121) and, later, Nezahualpilli (ibid., 126). Temictzin is the son of Huitzilihuitl of Tenochtitlan (thus Nezahualcoyotl's mother's, Matlalcihuatzin's, brother [ibid., vol. 2, 37]). Elsewhere (ibid., vol. 1, 544), Alva Ixtlilxochitl names Temictzin's daughter, who is affianced to Quaquahtzin of Tepechpan but will marry Nezahualcoyotl, Tenancacihuatzin. Tenancacihuatzin, as it turns out, is also in one case (ibid., vol. 2, 152) the name of Nezahualpilli's legitimate, or principal, wife, identified as the daughter of Xoxocatzin, a descendant of the Mexica royal house and lord of Atzacualco, and Teycuhtzin, a daughter of Temictzin and sister of Nezahualcoyotl's wife, "Azcalxochitzin," and thus Nezahualpilli's first cousin. That Nezahualpilli's wife remains anonymous is significant: the sources relate that Cacama's mother was a niece of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin (ibid., vol. 1, 386), a concubine of Nezahualpilli's. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (ibid., vol. 1, 549) also reports that Nezahualpilli's legitimate, or principal, wife was Azcaxuchitzin, a daughter of a grandson of the first Motecuhzoma (Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina), and that they had eleven legitimate children, among them, Coanacochtzin (don Pedro de Alvarado Coanacochtzin) and Ixtlilxochitl (don Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl). Pomar (*Relación de Tezcoco*, 71), on the other hand, alleges that Nezahualpilli had no legitimate children. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 544–558, reviews the evidence and considers the "de-legitimization" of Cacama as retrospective, an effort on the part of his kin to establish themselves as legitimate heirs in the colonial period.

85. For pictorial conventions in the representation of married couples, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 55–56.

86. But in the Codex Xolotl and the Quinatzin Map, Quinatzin's birth takes place at Tlatzalan-Tlallanoztoc.

87. This is in contradiction to the Codex Xolotl, where Tlohtzin's wife, Pachxochitl/Topachxochitl, appears in Toltec clothing, as she is the daughter of a Chichimec father and Toltec mother.

88. According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 26), "pachxochitl," from "*pachtli*" (a plant that grows and hangs from trees) and xochitl (flower), were used to crown Chichimec rulers. The custom is not represented in the Codex Xolotl. That the men here wear the pachxochitl crown underlines their status as rulers, and thus helps to justify the rank, privileges, and patrimony of their descendants.

89. It is noteworthy that the painter represents these later rulers as hunters rather than warriors, giving them bows and arrows as attributes rather than the atlatl, darts, and shield that index military campaigns and prowess.

90. Lee, *The Allure of Nezahualcoyotl*, details the colonial construction of Nezahualcoyotl as the paradigmatic ruler of pre-Hispanic history.

91. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 546, notes this, too. The only other man on the manuscript with this hairstyle is Huitzilihuitl, at Tenochtitlan.

92. Spitler ("The *Mapa Tlohtzin*," 80), in contrast, emphasizes the continuities: "The painter's decision to render Texcoco's Colonial rulers as Preconquest *tlatoque* masks the Texcocan concern with its contemporary political situation."

93. The signs for the first son, Manahuatzin/Matzicoltzin, are similar but not exactly the same; those for the second son, Quiauhtzin, are the same; and those for the third son are entirely different. In the Xolotl, the third son's name sign is a shield and war club, thus Yaotl (enemy), but in the Tlohtzin, it is a pair of human legs walking, a footprint, and a pair of human legs running, thus Paintzin (from the verb *paina*, "to run"). Aubin, *Mémoires*, 70, asserts that Paintzin and Yaotl name the same man. On the Xolotl, Quiauhtzin succeeds Tochintecuhtli (page/map 4), then Quiauhtzin's son Coazanac succeeds him (page/map 5), and finally Coazanac's son Tlacotzin succeeds him (page/map 6). Neither the Tlohtzin nor the Xolotl is in agreement with Sahagún's account (*Florentine Codex*, vol. 9 [Book 8], 13–14) of the Huexotla dynasty.

94. For Tochintecuhtli as the son of Tlohtzin and lord of Huexotla, see the discussion of Codex Xolotl pages/maps 2 and 3, above; *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 37, 48, and 54; and Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 424–445, and vol. 2, 20 and 22.

95. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 24–25) and Codex Xolotl page/map 3 make Acolmiztli the eldest son. On the Tlohtzin, the eldest son has a name sign with a hummingbird (*huitzilin*) head,

whereas the third son's name sign, now partially effaced, appears to have included a lion or jaguar head. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 72–73, reads the first son's name as Huitzilihuitl, which, citing the Coatlichan dynastic information given in part three ("Genealogía de los reyes de Azcapotzalco") of the *Manuscrit de 1528* (BnF, Fonds mexicain 22 and 22 bis), he states is another name for Acolmiztli.

96. The Coatlichan genealogy on Codex Xolotl page/map 3 names and orders Huetzin's seven children as follows: Acolmiztli, the first son; Coaxochitzin, the first daughter; Coazanac, the second daughter; Quecholtecpantzin-Quauhtlachtli, the second son; Tlatonal-Tetliopeuhqui, the third son; Chicomatzin-Matzicolque, the fourth son; and Memexoltzin-Itzitloliuhqui, the fifth son.

97. Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 21) claims that Malinalxochitl was the eldest daughter of Tlohtzin, who is thus named on Xolotl page/map 2, but the Xolotl clearly and unequivocally identifies the Malinalxochitl who marries Itzmitl as the daughter of Cozcacuauh, a Chichimec lord, an identification that Alva Ixtlilxochitl elsewhere (ibid., vol. 1, 301) accepts.

98. See discussion above, this chapter, for the accounts of Nezahualcoyotl's principal wife.

99. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 37.

100. Ibid., vol. 2, 152. See above, this chapter, for a summary of the accounts of Nezahualpilli's wife.

101. Ibid., vol. 1, 313 and 320, identifies Coxcox as the son of Acolmiztli; cf. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 60. It is now impossible to make out either Coxcox's figure or name sign among the children of Acolmiztli and Nenetzin at Coatlichan on Codex Xolotl page/map 4, but a Coxcox does appear on the same page as the successor to but not son of Calquiauhtzin of Culhuacan (and on page/map 5, a son of the ruler of Coyoacan succeeds Coxcox). For a collection of citations to Coxcox in the ethnohistorical sources, see García Granados, *Diccionario biográfico*, vol. 1, 157–159, no. 651, *s.v.* Coxcoxtli. Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 54, notes the recurrence of names, including Coxcox's, in the sources and argues that many may be titles assumed by different people in different generations.

102. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 313, states that Coxcox inherited the throne through his wife, Xiloxochitzin, a daughter of the ruler of Culhuacan, Quiauhtzin, who had no sons; on Codex Xolotl page/map 4, at Culhuacan, Coxcox is shown as Calquiauhtzin's successor and the husband of Xiloxochitzin, but nothing there marks her as Calquiauhtzin's daughter. In his *Memorial breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan*, 36–39, under the year Two Rabbit, or 1130 CE, Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin) records Huetzin's usurpation of the Culhua throne and the resistance to him. Under the year Ten House, or 1281 CE, Chimalpahin (ibid., 128–129) cites the accession of Coxcox, but does not give his parentage. Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 45–66, sorts through the varying accounts in the sources, as does Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 42–45, but from a very different perspective.

103. Codex Xolotl page/map 5 records Coxcox as Mococomatzin's successor, but there is no graphic indication that this Coxcox and the one who appears at Culhuacan on page/map 4 are one and the same. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 314, and vol. 2, 36–37, treats them as one man.

104. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 37. On the Tlohtzin Map, an alphabetic-script Nahuatl annotation placed directly behind Techotlalatzin's wife, Tozquentzin, mentions the arrival of these four peoples during her husband's reign.

105. Although Nezahualcoyotl appears in the manuscript's primary dynastic genealogy, he does not participate in any of its depicted events.

106. My argument that the calendrically structured genealogy functions as a prophecy of restoration or resurgence corresponds to Boone's argument (*Stories in Red and Black*, 237) that "the Aztec imperial annals are reflections on a past that has not been completed and is not over at the time of telling . . . The story that these annals tell is that the world began with time at Aztlan and continues to the present, with the promise that it will run for as long as the year count (and time) runs." Where Boone sees the promise of continuity in the linear temporal articulation of Mexica imperial annals, I see it in the cycles of creation and destruction.

107. Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 209–221, identifies the figures in the cave as deities and interprets the scene as ritual; see also Lesbre, "Algunas consideraciones."

108. It is unclear, although likely, that the mummy bundle was named. Above and to the right of Techotlalatzin, who sits to the left of the bundle, there are traces of at least two speech scrolls. These scrolls are too far away and different in color from the ones spoken by Techotlalatzin to belong to them. The color, however, matches that used for the speech scrolls that emanate from the moribund deer, above, and from the deer's head of Quinatzin's name sign, which identifies the adult Quinatzin at left. Quinatzin's name sign may have originally appeared in the now heavily abraded area between the bundle and Techotlalatzin.

109. The dying deer that names Quinatzin at the top of the page also evokes the Toltec leader: a two-headed deer that had transformed into a woman when pierced by a Chichimec hunter's arrow gave birth to Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl. In some accounts, Mixcoatl is the father of Quetzalcoatl. Mixcoatl shot a two-headed deer, which, once struck by the arrow, became a woman, and the hunter and his now-human prey mated and engendered Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl; see Davies, *The Toltec Heritage*, 91–95; and Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 136–137. Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, the ruler transformed into deity, is an example of the euhemerism common in the genealogies and histories of Mesoamerican royal dynasties, for which, see Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems*, 261–302. Gillespie, *The Aztec Kings*, 123–172, argues for the reinterpretation of Motecuhzoma II Xocoyotzin through the figure and career of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, which effort, she argues (ibid., 173–207), is retrospective, that is, a post-Conquest attempt to understand the experience of the Conquest. Although the Quinatzin Map identifies its eponymous hero with aspects of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl, and does so from the perspective of the colonial period, the motivation and intention are different.

110. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 80 and 83, notes the connections between the corpse bundle and deity bundles in general and argues that this bundle would have been marked by symbols of the gods, as were those of Nahua rulers. Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 83, describes how the Tetzcocan ruler's corpse bundle was dressed with the attributes of Huitzilopochtli and, in this guise, cremated in the patio of the god's temple, the great temple of Tetzcoco.

111. In the version of this scene that Motolinía knew and described (*Memoriales*, 557), the wives of the fourteen members of the royal council, all daughters of Nezahualcoyotl, accompanied their husbands, thus making both the subordination to Tetzcoco and the genealogical connection manifest.

112. *Proceso inquisitorial*, 46.

Chapter Four

1. The epigraph for this chapter is drawn from the last will and testament of don Antonio Pimentel Tlahuiloltzin, Tetzcoco, 20 July 1545, published in Horcasitas, "Los descendientes de Nezahualpilli," 151.

2. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 91.

3. Robertson, *Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 135.

4. See, for example, White, *The Content of the Form*, and idem, *Metahistory*. Although he studies only alphabetic texts in the Western tradition, his fundamental argument that form itself communicates a message independently of content, which message subtly qualifies the content, may be applied to central Mexican iconic-script manuscripts. Boone (*Stories in Red and Black*, 64) discusses the differences between central Mexican and Western traditions of writing history with reference to White's "The Value of Narrativity." Boone argues that the varying "truth values" or historicity that White posits for the apparently increasingly more sophisticated forms of the annals, chronicle, and narrative in the Western tradition do not apply with regard to the indigenous central Mexican tradition because in the latter narrative cannot be "so narrowly" defined. Boone's assessment of narrative in the central Mexican tradition is correct, and we are far from understanding what constitutes a narrative in indigenous central Mexican cultures and languages, especially when it is written in iconic script. Nevertheless, if one substitutes the general terms "form" or better yet "form of discourse" for the more specific "narrative," which is a type of form, and accepts iconic script as a culturally and linguistically specific form of discourse as well as a manner, technology, or tool of discourse, White's insights do apply to Mexican pictorial texts.

5. White, "The Question of Narrative," 27.

6. Following Alva Ixtlilxochitl's comments (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 76) on what he calls the *Historia general del imperio*

de los chichimecas, almost certainly the Xolotl, Boban (*Documents*, vol. 1, 70) reiterates that the model has to have been a document from Nezahualcoyotl's reign; cf. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 11–14.

7. Robertson's observation (*Mexican Manuscript Painting*, 135), cited above, on the clarity of the events of Acolhua history in the Xolotl leads one to just this problem of narrativity.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 12–14. For the Zouche-Nuttall, see Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 87–124 passim; Byland and Pohl, *In the Realm of 8 Deer*, 106–188 passim; and *Codex Nuttall*.

10. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 89.

11. Nicholson, "Pre-Hispanic Central Mexican Historiography," 62.

12. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 119–123.

13. The dates on page/map 7 (Plate 7) are inconsistent, and the scribe almost certainly made a mistake when writing them: the years written on the page are Twelve Rabbit, One Reed, Two House, and Four Rabbit, but Four Rabbit (1418), the date of the key event pictured on the page, should be preceded by the years Thirteen Rabbit (1414), One Reed (1415), Two Flint Knife (1416), and Three House (1417).

14. Although the bottom two registers form one passage of text, it is certain that the artist initially conceived of them as distinct registers: the line that marks out and separates the registers is still visible.

15. I borrow the phrase "the shape of time" from George Kubler, *The Shape of Time*.

16. Thouvenot, *Annotations de la Mapa Tlotzin*, transcribes the glosses.

17. See, for example, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 533.

18. Although the alphabetic-script annotation states that the man is Chalca, that is, from the polity of Chalco in the southeastern corner of the Valley of Mexico, nothing in the iconic-script text explicitly identifies him as such.

19. The pictorial sequence, however, is not entirely clear, as Icpacxochitl/Pachxochitl cradles an unnamed child in the second of the four episodes, and, even earlier, a child accompanies her and Tlohtzin at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco.

20. Tecpoyoachcauhtli, which is compounded from "*tecpoyotl*" (town crier, proclaimer) and "achcauhtli" (chief, master, principal, elder brother, but also a title for a judicial or military official, for which, see above, Chapter 2), is more a title than a proper name. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 26, identifies Tecpoyoachcauhtli as Tlohtzin's teacher and master, from whom the Chichimec learned to till the land, among other things.

21. Aubin (*Mémoires*, 62) translates "momopilhuatiya" as "he is/has been converted," deriving it from "*piloa*" (to hang something up, to hang someone), in the sense of being obedient to, serving someone. He also reconstructs "quitlayecoltia" (in the sense of to serve someone, others) in the last line, on the basis of what follows in the next segment of the gloss.

22. Ibid., 65. Aubin first noticed the differences in the handwriting, dating the two shorter annotations associated with the Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco genealogy earlier than the others.

23. Codex Xolotl page/map 5 (here Plate 5) and Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 34–35, date the arrival of these four groups to Techotlalatzin's reign. Because the representatives of these four ethnic groups are placed directly above Quinatzin's corpse bundle on the first leaf of the Quinatzin Map (here Plates 12 and 13), the composition indicates that they must have arrived during the next reign, his son's, Techotlalatzin's.

24. The Chimalpaneca and Tlailotlaque arrived during Quinatzin's reign, either separately or together. Codex Xolotl page/map 4 (here Plate 4) shows only the Tlailotlaque, but leaf 1 of the Quinatzin (here Plates 12 and 13) includes representatives of both groups. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 32–33, mentions the arrival of both, but an earlier version (ibid., vol. 1, 430) cites only the Tlailotlaque. See also Quiñones Keber, "The Tlailotlaque."

25. The painter here perhaps used a more exclusively genealogical prototype as his model, to which he added a particularly well chosen historical narrative drawn from other manuscripts.

26. Indeed, the annotations guaranteed that literate Nahuatl speakers who did not have the requisite training to read iconic-script texts would have access to them.

27. The word "diablos" appears in Jules Desportes's circa 1849–1851 lithographic reproduction of the manuscript (Aubin, "Mappe Tlohtzin"), but it is no longer legible.

28. See Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 406–407, for the reorganization of Tetzcoco's neighborhoods; and

Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 57–59, for Nezahualcoyotl and the city's temples.

29. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 74, was the first to interpret the mat as a reference to marriage customs; see discussion below, this chapter.

30. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 48–51; cf. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 22–23.

31. Tochintecuhtli was Quinatzin's brother and father-in-law, and Huetzin's son Acolmiztli would marry Tochintecuhtli's daughter Nenetzin, the sister of Quinatzin's wife, Cuauhcihuatzin.

32. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 74. The molehill cited by Aubin is a reference to the gopher that burrows a hole at the center of the maize plot. Dana Leibsohn plays on the idea of the primer in the title of her 1994 essay, "Primers for Memory."

33. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 105–106.

34. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico*, 32.

35. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 31–35, makes this point. The year Ten House and the number 262, both in iconic script, date the arrival of the Chimalpaneca and the Tlailotlaque on Quinatzin leaf 1, but their interpretation is contested; see above, Chapter 1.

36. On the Codex Xolotl, page/map 5 (here Plate 5), all four come together from Culhuacan in a Four House year, during Techotlalatzin's reign; cf. *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 79–80. According to Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 34, the Culhua, Mexica, Huitznahua, and Tepaneca came together in Four House (1301, according to Alva Ixtlilxochitl), from Huexachtecatl (today Cerro de la Estrella) in the vicinity of Culhuacan.

37. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 426, claims that one genre of Tetzcocan iconic-script history began with Quinatzin, in effect starting time with the founding of the city and its dynasty under his leadership.

38. The dried maize cobs in the Culhua woman's bundle demonstrate the benefits of agriculture: one can grow and store crops for later use. Karl Taube (personal communication, 2000) pointed out to me that, in Mesoamerica and among the Pueblo cultures of the southwestern United States, placing a bit of maize in an infant's mouth is what makes it part of the human community and gives it the energy or soul needed to speak, a testament to the symbiotic connection between maize and civilization.

39. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 82–83. Aubin connects this scene to the row of craftsmen behind the figure of Nezahualcoyotl's wife on the Tlohtzin (Plate 22), using the objects depicted in the latter to reconstruct the three fragmentarily preserved objects to the right of the book and brush here. Dibble, with reference to the Codex Xolotl (*Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 79–80), notes that four ethnic groups from Culhuacan brought culture and agriculture with them, and he also mentions Alva Ixtlilxochitl's *Historia de la nación chichimeca* (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 34) and this scene on the Quinatzin.

40. Marc Thouvenot, *Annotations de la Mapa Quinatzin*, provides transcriptions of the annotations. There is a third annotation just above the seated figure of Quinatzin, near bottom left, which relates that the Tlailotlaque and the Chimalpaneca arrived during his reign. Some argue that Alva Ixtlilxochitl wrote the three annotations himself; see, for example, Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 208; and, contra, *Códice Xolotl*, vol. 1, 13. To my eye, the Quinatzin alphabetic glosses and those on the Tlohtzin, with two exceptions, are in the same hand. The quality and style of these glosses indicate a highly literate Nahuatl speaker with an assured hand, which resembles that of the longer explanatory glosses on the Codex Xolotl. The two alphabetic glosses on the Tlohtzin not from this scribe resemble the set of shorter glosses, mostly single-word identifications, on the Codex Xolotl, which are all in one hand, a hand different from that of the above-mentioned long glosses.

41. See also Aubin, *Mémoires*, 77 (reiterated in Boban, *Documents*, vol. 1, 223–224).

42. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 35, writes that the migrants from Culhuacan brought with them the worship of Tlaloc and Huitzilopochtli and inaugurated temples and sacrifices in Tetzcoco. Cf. Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 59, who reports that the Mexica brought Huitzilopochtli from Culhuacan.

43. For a careful analysis of the Teocalli de la Guerra Sagrada and the Calendar Stone, see Townsend, *State and Cosmos*, 49–71.

44. Thirteen Reed (1427) is the last year recorded on the Xolotl and dates the death of Tezozomoc of Azcapotzalco on page 8, at the center of the second register from the top.

45. For the numerical counts and dating, see above, Chapter 1.

46. If Four Reed is 1431, then the resulting date for the manuscript is 1546, which does not agree with the counts on leaf 1 (resulting in a date of 1542–1543) or even with the counts on leaf 2 of the time elapsed from the births of Nezahualcoyotl (140 years from 1402 = 1542) and Nezahualpilli (78 years from 1464–1465 = 1542–1543) to the present. The *castolli* (fifteen) could be an error on the part of the alphabetic scribe, or he or she could have begun counting from One Flint Knife (1428), the year in which Nezahualcoyotl and Itzcoatl defeated Maxtla of Azcapotzalco, rather than Four Reed (1431), in which case the date of the manuscript would be 1543. As previously noted, One Flint Knife is a year name associated with beginnings and pivotal events such as migrations and foundations, and the day name One Flint Knife is Huitzilopochtli's calendric name; see Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 5 (Book 4), 77–79; and Umberger, "Aztec Sculptures," 280. On page/map 3 of the Codex Xolotl, Quinatzin first appears at Oztoticpac-Tetzcoco in a One Flint Knife year.

47. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 140–141. See also Lesbre, "Manumission"; and Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 243.

48. For the moniker, see Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 3 (Book 2), 68.

49. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 140–141; Lesbre, "Manumission," 109; and Mohar Betancourt, *Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 243.

50. Although there is no conclusive proof that this was the manuscript's last section, the overall logic and eloquence of the tripartite structure and its pictorial program strongly suggest that this is indeed the case. As noted in Chapter 1, above, Mohar Betancourt (*Códice Mapa Quinatzin*, 238, 274, 278, and 321) believes that both leaves 2 and 3 were originally more extensive.

51. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 376, points out that, although Nezahualcoyotl sacrificed Maxtla, he saw to it that the body received "the honors and burial with all solemnity that are meet for such a lord."

52. Umberger, "Aztec Sculptures," is the fundamental study of the ideological functions of dates on Mexica monuments.

53. When I consulted the manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, I observed the faintest trace of a curved line just above the fourth circle, because of which I believe that the date is Five Flint Knife.

54. One can compare the granaries depicted in the Codex Mendoza, for example, on folio 20 verso, which consist of horizontal sections, but set on two legs and made of uncertain material. Archaeologically retrieved cuezcomatl such as those excavated at Cacaxtla show that they were indeed made from fired clay. By analogy to the Mendoza, one could interpret the cuezcomatl as a record of tribute exacted from the conquered cities below, but the date and distance number would then require a satisfactory explanation.

55. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 111–113. Nezahualcoyotl's life-saving generosity parallels that of Motecuhzoma Ilhuicamina, the Elder, the ruler of Tenochtitlan, who, according to Durán (*History of the Indies*, 238–241) and the Mexica historical traditions that he draws on, opened the royal granaries in order to save his people from starvation and his city from depopulation. Durán (ibid., 238) dates the famine to One Rabbit (1454) and the two following years, Two Reed (1455) and Three Flint Knife (1456). As often, the Quinatzin and the historical traditions that it represents function as Acolhua ripostes to Mexica imperial propaganda and historical traditions.

56. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 113. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 101–105 (a chapter entitled "Which treats of the eighty laws that Nezahualcoyotl established and how he ordered them to be kept") indicates the importance of law and Nezahualcoyotl's reputation as a lawgiver in Acolhua historical traditions and may derive in part from the Quinatzin's third leaf. As noted in Chapter 1, Harwood ("Crime and Punishment") argues for interpreting the scenes here and in the third section of the Codex Mendoza as early-colonial adaptations from pre-Hispanic ritual manuscripts such as the Codex Féjérváry-Mayer. In this she follows Brotherston (for example, *Painted Books from Mexico*, 130–153), who does not agree with the view that the ethnography of Mexica life presented in the third section of the Mendoza is unprecedented and thereby a distinctly colonial instance of ethnographic self-objectification.

57. My discussion of law and legislation is greatly indebted to Offner, *Law and Politics*, esp. 242–282, which remains the finest study of Aztec law and includes a thorough analysis of the Tetzcocan class system (124–162).

58. Offner, ibid., 75, was the first to

understand the nature of this section and to refer to it as "offenses against rulers and rulership."

59. Offner, ibid., 272–279, summarizes the Tetzcocan legislation on and punishments for theft and analyzes the Quinatzin scenes. One may compare the cognate scene in the Codex Mendoza, folio 71 recto, where the depicted punishment is different, however.

60. Only the very poor or the purposely degraded, as here, would be without a *tilmatl*, or cloak. When not worn around the shoulders and draped over the torso, for example, because of the heat or its impediment to movement, the cloak was tied around the waist rather like a sarong.

61. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 257–266, summarizes what is known about the laws on adultery and tabulates the legislation; see table 6.12 on 262, and table 6.13 on 263.

62. Ibid., 261, and table 6.12 on 262. The law required that, when the offended husband was murdered, the guilty man be burned alive while water and salt were applied to his flesh.

63. This is the punishment for non-nobles in cases where there was direct evidence; that is, the adulterers were caught in flagrante delicto, but the aggrieved husband was not harmed. See ibid., 261–263, and table 6.12 on 262.

64. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 120, identifies this headdress as the quetzalpatzactli, which, according to Sahagún (*Florentine Codex*, vol. 9 [Book 8], 34) is a headdress worn only by tlahtoqueh.

65. The alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss above the seated figure characterizes him as "a well-born perverted one, he commits adultery, he takes gold [and] quetzal feathers." The gloss imputes adultery to the noble wastrel, but the image does not, unless one is to read the charge not in the isolated scene but in the overall context in which it appears. Or it could simply express a Nahua sense of the interrelationship of crimes and vices. One can compare, for example, a passage of Spanish-language commentary in the Codex Mendoza, folio 69 verso, which refers to the upbringing of children: "[F]rom inactivity were born and engendered evil vices such as rumormongering, followed by drunkenness and thievery and other evil vices."

66. The word "*quetzalli*," "quetzal feather," can serve as a metaphor for anything precious, including a child or a parent. Molina (*Vocabulario*, second pagination, 89 recto) cites a metaphor for a parent's love for his or her child, "quetzalteuh, cozcateuh ipan nimitzmati" (I love you as [if you were] a quetzal feather, a jewel). Molina's definition reads: "tener gran amor el padre al hijo. Metaphora" (for a parent to have great love for a child. Metaphor). The image of the quetzal feather and the jewel qualifies not only the parent's perception of the child but also the intensity of the parent's love for that child.

67. Nobles were almost invariably punished by death by strangulation. Their bodies were then properly bundled and cremated, as was Maxtla's after his defeat and sacrifice; the bodies of non-nobles executed by strangulation were thrown into ravines, to be eaten by wild animals and birds of prey. See, for example, Offner, *Law and Politics*, 261, with reference to adultery.

68. For Nezahualcoyotl, see, for example, Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 1, 446, 544–545 (concerning his rebellious son Tezauhpiltzintli); and for Nezahualpilli, see ibid., vol. 2, 164–165 (concerning an adulterous wife). Pomar, *Relación de Tezcoco*, 76–77, refers to these and similar cases. In the Bancroft Dialogues (University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Ms. M-M 458), a set of dialogues written as examples of noble speech in Nahuatl, probably compiled circa 1570–1580 in Tetzcoco under Franciscan patronage, an elderly indigenous noblewoman recounts examples of child rearing and justice in pre-Hispanic Tetzcoco, including accounts that these rulers sentenced their own wives and children to death; see Karttunen and Lockhart, *The Art of Nahuatl Speech*, 154–157.

69. The alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss just above his head states: "the good [that is, moral] well-born man guards here the possessions."

70. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 119–121, compares the scene to those of sacred and profane love in the European tradition.

71. Aubin, *Mémoires*, 74.

72. Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 7 (Book 6), is an anthology of such speeches; see also León-Portilla, *Aztec Thought and Culture*, passim; and idem, *El destino*, 343–352.

73. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 73. While he perceived the connection to this column, Offner does not mention that Alva Ixtlilxochitl's chapter (*Obras históricas*,

vol. 2, 101–105) addresses all the crimes shown here.

74. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 103.

75. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 75, reads the gloss as I have reported it, correcting Barlow's reading ("Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 117) of "cêmacachimalj," which he translates as "escudos de pura caña" (shields [made] wholly of reed), to "cômacachimalj" (they give him a shield). Below the shield the artist has added a somewhat puzzling sign that Barlow (ibid.) thought might be the name of the rebel ruler, but this is unlikely: name signs are generally placed behind the head of the figure they identify, and a black line connects the sign to the figure. The sign consists of two elements: a dried ear of maize (*centli*) and two human teeth (tlantli). If these signs are phonetic, then one could have a toponym along the lines of Centlan or Cetlan ("*-tlan*" is a common locative suffix meaning "place of, at" and is almost invariably represented by teeth). Centlan, however, could also be understood as a rendering of *centlani*, a Nahuatl adverb meaning "in the depths, the abysm"; see Molina, *Vocabulario*, second pagination, 18 recto, *s.v.* "centlani." The sign could be an iconic-script representation of the Mexica's threat. The combination could also approximate the sound of the Nahuatl verb *centlalia*, "to gather things or people together in one place," which is exactly what transpires here; see ibid., second pagination, 17 verso, *s.v.* "centlalia." A long but fragmentary alphabetic gloss runs just below the elderly couple. This gloss must refer to the scene as a whole, given that the words "the Mexica [person], the Acolhua [person], the Tepanec [person]" can still be made out.

76. The place sign is missing the flag (pantli) that represents the "*-pan*" sound.

77. These two warrior types have deep roots in Mesoamerica and Mesoamerican art. One can point, for example, to their presence on the epi-Classic Period (circa 800 CE) battle murals at Cacaxtla. An alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss above the eagle knight states: "he spoke to eagle" (ynoq[ui]hto coauhtli); another, above the jaguar knight, identifies him as "jaguar" (*ocelotl*). Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 117, interprets "oq[ui]hto" as "oquichtli" (man, husband, male), with the pejorative diminutive suffix "*-ton*," thus, "little male eagle, small male eagle," which he believes to be a personal name. Furthermore, Barlow (ibid., 122) suggests, incorrectly, that this figure and one in the column farthest right with a fragmentary name sign that includes an eagle are one and the same. Citing Gordon Whittaker, Offner, *Law and Politics*, 73, reads "oq[ui]hto" as the third-person singular preterit of the verb *ihtoa* (to say something), with both preterit and object (that is, to him) prefixes, which reading I have followed.

78. Below the Acolhua envoy, an alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss records his speech: "I say to him here, I give [to you?] the obsidian [blade] . . . so that [?] you go to meet the Mexica, the Acolhua." As the gloss purports to quote from the envoy's speech, its author must have had someone at hand who still knew some of the set text or was familiar enough with courtly rhetorical conventions to reconstruct it.

79. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 71–75, esp. fig. 2.5 on 75. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Offner's authority in this case, mentions elsewhere that the Chichimeca had a "royal" headdress called "*tecpilotl*" (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 26), but made with green feathers.

80. Above and to the right of the corpse an alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss translates the action: "thereby here the dead one he/she/they beat him with a wooden [club]."

81. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 101–105. The key passage is on 105: "The judges of these tribunals could neither receive bribes nor be partial to one of the parties [involved in a trial] under pain of death." Offner, *Law and Politics*, 77, cites another passage in Alva Ixtlilxochitl that he believes recounts what is depicted in the central scene (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 169, the story of the judge Zequauhtzin), for which see below.

82. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 75–76. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 105, on the other hand, simply collapses this pictorial passage into one general statement about the requirement that judges be impartial and honest.

83. The word "icpalli" can be used to describe a judge's bench, for example, "tecutlatoca icpalli" (seat of the judge), "tetlatzontequilica icpalli" (judge's bench), and "tlatzontequiliz icpalli" (judge's bench); see Campbell, *Morphological Dictionary*, 118–119, *s.v.* "icpalli." The physical form that the icpalli take here, with the high back, is diagnostic of rulers' thrones; one can compare the judges' seats in the *nauhpohuallahtolli* law court

shown at the top of the Quinatzin's central panel, to the left of the throne room.

84. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 76–78, and fig. 2.7 on 77.

85. Ibid., 75–76.

86. Ibid., 77. Offner takes the two men to be a judge (the tecutli) and a bailiff (the achcauhtli), both in consultation with rather than in contention before the judge named by an eagle's head (cuauhtli) name sign. This is indeed possible, although one would then expect the word "tecutlato" (literally, lord speaks, used of judges) rather than tecutli. Furthermore, one would expect the painter to convey some sense of why the named judge was executed, as he does elsewhere in this section. And, last, one would wonder why the named judges, who even sit on royal tepotzoicpalli, are not themselves glossed as judges when an otherwise anonymous figure is. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 122, correctly identified these two figures as a lord (the tecutli) and a war captain, one of the senses of the word "achcauhtli," and believed them to be antagonists in a case before the judge.

87. Zorita, *Life and Labor*, 128. Keen, the translator and editor of the edition cited, attributes this anecdote to Nezahualpilli (n. 26 on 128) but produces no evidence for the attribution. Zorita cited Tetzcocan law as the model for all pre-Hispanic Nahua legal codes, as this was what his native informants told him.

88. Both litigants have the same partially preserved alphabetic-Nahuatl gloss, "moteiluia" (he/she brings a complaint), but no indication of who or what they might otherwise be.

89. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 124, discerned the corncob but not the eagle's head in the seated judge's name sign; he most likely could not make out enough in the photograph he used to see that the same sign identified the corpse.

90. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 77, with his translation of the relevant passage in Alva Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 169).

91. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del mapa Quinatzin," 124, read this figure as a female litigant and did not see or comment on the rope, which he included in his drawing of this scene (fig. N on 123). Enough remains so that one can still see that this figure wears a breechcloth and that the rope above his—for so it must be—head does indeed wrap around his throat.

92. The tlalpiloni is the short cord with fanlike feather clusters at either end; one twisted the cord around the topknot of hair, and the fanlike clusters hung down at the back or sides of the head. The four Mexica military leaders in the bottom row of figures on Codex Mendoza, folio 65 recto, wear tlalpiloni. Only military men, including the ruler, had the right to dress their hair in a topknot.

93. Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 171. Offner, *Law and Politics*, 261, discusses Nezahualpilli's innovation.

Conclusion

1. For Tetzcotzinco, see Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, vol. 2, 114–116; Lesbre, "Tetzcutzinco"; Medina, *Arte y estética*; Townsend, "Coronation at Tenochtitlan," 389–390; and idem, *The Aztecs*, 145–152.

2. Lesbre, "Tezcoco-Aculhuacan," vol. 2, 706.

3. For don Hernando Pimentel Nezahualcoyotzin, see above, Introduction.

4. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain*, 215–216.

5. The Genealogical Tree of the Royal Line of Tetzcoco (Stammbaum des königlichen Geschlechtes von Tetzcoco), ink and watercolor on parchment, 73 x 48 cm, circa 1750 (Ethnologisches Museum, Berlin, Inv. Nr. Iv ca 3011); see Glass and Robertson, "Census," 209, no. 330; and Kutscher, "Ein Stammbaum."

6. The colonial Tierras (land litigation) series in the AGN preserves several cases that involve ninth- and tenth-generation descendants of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli depicted on the Genealogical Tree; see AGN, Tierras, vol. 2520, exp. 1, of 1754–1755, doña Juana María de Uribe Pimentel y Alvarado (ninth generation), cacica of Texcoco, against the Jesuits of the Hacienda of Chapingo, over lands (some located on "Monte Texcoco," most likely, Tetzcotzinco); vol. 2518, exp. 4, of 1763, José Uribe Pimentel y Alvarado (ninth generation, brother of doña Juana), concerning the cacicazgo of Texcoco and lands (the record specifically mentions that Uribe is a direct descendant of Nezahualpilli); and vol. 2887, exp. 6, of 1758–1777, José Uribe Pimentel Alvarado and Juana de Alvarado Uribe Pimentel e Ixquixochitl against María Lucio, over the rancho named Zacatepec. The genealogy almost certainly functioned as evidence in some if not all the litigation.

7. For European family trees, their

sources, and ideological import, see Klapisch-Zuber, "The Genesis of the Family Tree."

8. For the iconography of the tree of Jesse and its introduction to and parallels in Mexico, see Cosentino, *Las joyas*, 47–81; Cortez, "Gaspar Antonio Chi," 67–109; and Russo, "El renacimiento vegetal."

9. One might argue, however, that a dynastic genealogical tree echoes one of the Nahuatl-language metaphors for a tlahtoani: "you are a cypress, you are a ceiba, under you the people will have shelter, will have shade," for which see Sullivan, *Compendio*, 354; and Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, vol. 7 (Book 6), 58.

10. The hill and jar iconic-script toponym can also signify Tetzcoco, but the alphabetic gloss makes clear that Tetzcotzinco is the correct reading.

11. For casta, or race mixture, paintings of New Spain, see Katzew, *Casta Painting*.

12. Glass and Robertson, "Census," 209, no. 330.

13. For Moncada and his relations with his in-laws, see Reyna, *Opulencia*, 149–170.

14. Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del Mapa Quinatzin."

15. Keen, *The Aztec Image*, details Western perspectives on and interpretations of the Aztecs of central Mexico from the sixteenth to the twentieth century; and Kubler, *Esthetic Recognition*, traces Western aesthetic responses to indigenous New World objects. Needless to say, Moncada perceived the pictorial fragment and its semiotic system through a European lens, and he interpreted them in light of Old World phenomena—for example, Egyptian hieroglyphs—and expectations. The "attached piece of paper" is what is now the third (bottom) section of the Quinatzin Map. The letter is preserved and catalogued as BnF, Fonds mexicain, no. 396b. Núñez y Domínguez ("La misión," 361–363) published it, deeming it of greater interest than the accompanying iconic-script fragment. Raoul d'Harcourt's French abstract of Barlow's article (Barlow, "Una nueva lámina del Mapa Quinatzin," 111) mentions it and quotes this passage.

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