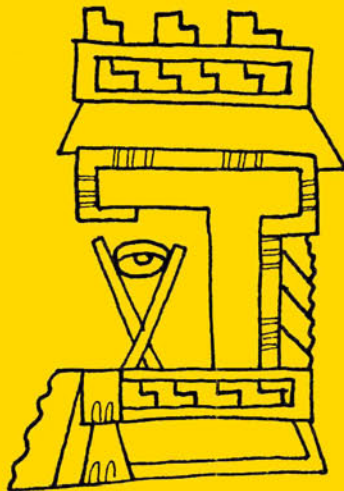


THE CODEX LÓPEZ RUIZ
A LOST MIXTEC PICTORIAL MANUSCRIPT



By
Mary Elizabeth Smith



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To GEORGE KUBLER,
who first suggested that
Mariano López Ruiz was
describing a pictorial manuscript

Quieres que cante el que en el alma lleva
la herida cruel del desamor que mata
los cantos de hermosas esperanzas?
Mi lira ya está muda. De sus bordones
ha tiempo ya empolvados solo brotan
las quejas de indecible desconsuelo.
Mi corazón ya no palpita y tiene
secas todas sus fibras delicadas.
No pidas flores a este árbol mustio
a quien azotan recias tempestades,
en cuyas frondas ya no anidan aves
que canten como antaño el himno santo
del amor, la fé y de la esperanza.

Last stanza of the poem "Canta Poeta" by

Mariano López Ruiz

(Silva Fuentes 1988:20)

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PREFACE

In 1898, Mariano López Ruiz, a teacher and poet from Nochixtlán in the Mixteca Alta of southern Mexico, published what he described as a "chronological study of the Mixtec rulers." Many years later, George Kubler, Professor of the History of Art at Yale University, suggested to me that the López Ruiz paper was based on a pictorial genealogical manuscript similar to those already known from the Mixtec-speaking region. This pictorial manuscript was annotated with glosses in the Mixtec language written in European script, and these were transcribed by López Ruiz. The glosses set forth names of persons, place names, and dates.

In deference to his perceptive 1898 description of the contents of the manuscript, I have called it the "Codex López Ruiz," with the proviso that its format is still a matter of conjecture. Moreover, we do not know if the pictorial manuscript that inspired his paper still exists. If it does, its present location is unknown.

This study discusses the López Ruiz paper in detail and attempts to determine which region of the Mixteca is the focus of the pictorial manuscript he described. Chapter 1 characterizes the content and format of Mixtec manuscripts painted in the prehispanic and Colonial periods. Chapter 2 summarizes the known biographical information on Mariano López Ruiz. The Mixtec practices of naming persons are considered in Chapter 3, which relates these practices to the glosses on the lost codex that give names of native nobility. Chapter 4 is a general discussion of the overall contents of the lost codex, in which comparisons are made between the events described as occurring in it and analogous scenes in the extant Mixtec manuscripts. The place names in Mixtec, Nahuatl and Spanish given by López Ruiz are the subject of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 contains a discussion of the specific persons in the genealogical section of the lost codex who may appear in other Mixtec manuscripts. Chapter 7 considers the glosses that refer to year and day dates, and Chapter 8 analyzes the dialect of all the Mixtec glosses. Because I postulate that the lost codex is from the region of Tlaxiaco in the western Mixteca Alta, the other manuscripts known or suggested to be from this region are characterized in Chapter 9.

The 1898 López Ruiz paper that is the focus of this book is found in Appendix A, where it is reproduced as it originally appeared in Volume XI of the *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate."* The lines of each page of this paper have been numbered because many references to the pages and lines of this text occur throughout my discussion, as well as in the tables and indices. Appendix B is a short reminiscence by Mariano López Ruiz concerning the time he spent in Tilantongo in the Mixteca Alta in the late 1880s. Index A lists the Mixtec names of persons transcribed by López Ruiz in his 1898 study, while Index B lists the place names in all languages given in this paper. For the sake of convenience and in order to avoid repetitious citations, the present location and the most accessible reproductions of most of the published pictorial manuscripts mentioned in this book are listed in a separate "Reproductions" section of the Bibliography.

The data presented in this study, especially the Mixtec names of boundaries included in Chapter 5, were collected over the past thirty-five years. My research began from 1962 to 1964 in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City, made possible by grants from the Doherty Foundation and the Pan-American Union. Ignacio Rubio Mañé and Miguel Saldaña were always helpful and patient in making available the resources of this rich archive.

In 1974 an American Philosophical Society Phillips Fund grant and a University of New Mexico research grant made it possible for me to work in the archive of the Secretaría de Reforma Agraria (SRA). In 1978 a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation fellowship enabled me to consult the documents from the Tlaxiaco region in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville. In both 1974 and 1995 the staff of the Rare Book Room at the University of New Mexico, the repository of the books and papers of the Van de Velde Collection, were unstinting in their assistance and patience.

As always, supportive colleagues were generous with comments and criticisms. To Nicholas Johnson, I owe a special debt of gratitude. He very thoughtfully read most of the manuscript for this book and made many pertinent suggestions. Important advice and encouragement were also provided by Maarten Jansen, Dana Leibsohn, John Monaghan, Ross Parmenter, and Emily Rabin.

I am also extremely grateful to those who participated in the production of this book. John Montgomery made the drawings of Figures 10a, 11, 13, 20-21, 26-30; Louise H. Ivers did the drawings for Figures 10b, 23-24, and 34; John Pohl created the drawing of Figure 19. The maps (Figures 1, 15-18, and 22) were drafted by Dagoberto López. Damian Andrus prepared some of the photographic illustrations. With both diligence and accuracy, Jean Mesa transferred to disk a manuscript that was crusty with correction fluid and laden with transparent tape. The editorial staff of Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology performed a splendid job of bringing this complex book manuscript into print.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AGI Archivo General de Indias. Seville.
- AGN Archivo General de la Nación. Mexico, D.F.
- AGN-RT Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico, D.F.), Ramo de Tierras.
- HMAI* Robert Wauchope, gen. ed., *Handbook of Middle American Indians*,
16 vols. (1965-1976). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- PNE* Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España*,
7 vols. (1905-1906). Madrid: Est. Tipográfico "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra."
- SRA Archive of the Secretaría de Reforma Agraria (the central archive in Mexico, D.F., and the regional archive in Oaxaca, Oax.)

1. MIXTEC MANUSCRIPTS BEFORE AND AFTER THE SPANISH CONQUEST

The Mixtec-speaking region of southern Mexico is renowned for its pictorial manuscripts or "codices." The "Mixteca," as it is often called, is located in the western section of the present-day state of Oaxaca, extending from the Pacific Ocean on the south to the southernmost portion of the State of Puebla on the north. The area is traditionally divided into three subsections (Fig. 1): the mountainous *Mixteca Alta*, the lowland *Mixteca de la Costa* that borders the Pacific Ocean, and the *Mixteca Baja*, north of the Alta and having a slightly lower average altitude than the Alta.

The extant corpus of Mixtec manuscripts is unique in that it covers a longer time span than do the manuscripts known from any other region of Mexico—that is, this corpus provides a *continuum* lacking in other areas. From the Nahuatl-speaking region in and around the Valley of Mexico, few, if any, prehispanic manuscripts have survived,¹ although many early Colonial pictorial manuscripts and texts written in European script provide insights into the prehispanic past of this region. Known from the Maya-speaking area of southern Mexico and the Yucatan peninsula are four codices painted shortly before or soon after the Conquest, but very few postconquest manuscripts that preserve prehispanic signs and pictorial conventions have yet been discovered from this area. By way of contrast, at least five Mixtec prehispanic codices have survived, as well as a quantity of Colonial manuscripts exhibiting native style, with a few drawn as late as the 1590s.²

The primary emphasis of most of the prehispanic and early Colonial Mixtec manuscripts is on genealogy. These pictorial documents set forth the ruling lines of the native nobility from their earliest quasi-mythic days and their historical beginnings in the late tenth century into the Colonial period, in one case as late as the mid-seventeenth century.³

As reconstructed by Ronald Spores (1967, 1984) from Colonial documents, the Mixteca consisted of "community kingdoms" (Spores 1967:10), with each major town (*cabecera*) controlled by hereditary nobility of the *cacique* class. Many of the *cabeceras* included smaller communities as dependencies. These were known as *sujetos*, *estancias* or *barrios* and were controlled by a distinct secondary class of nobility known as *principales*. Under ideal circumstances, *caciques* married only someone of their own class and not someone from the *principal* class (Spores 1967:9-11, 95-96, 164, 176 and 1984:74-75, 109). But exceptions to this rule did occur; and, at times, subsidiary offspring of the *cacique* class who did not inherit either their fathers' or mothers' *cabeceras* would become hereditary rulers of subsidiary towns or *sujetos* (Spores 1984:64-66).

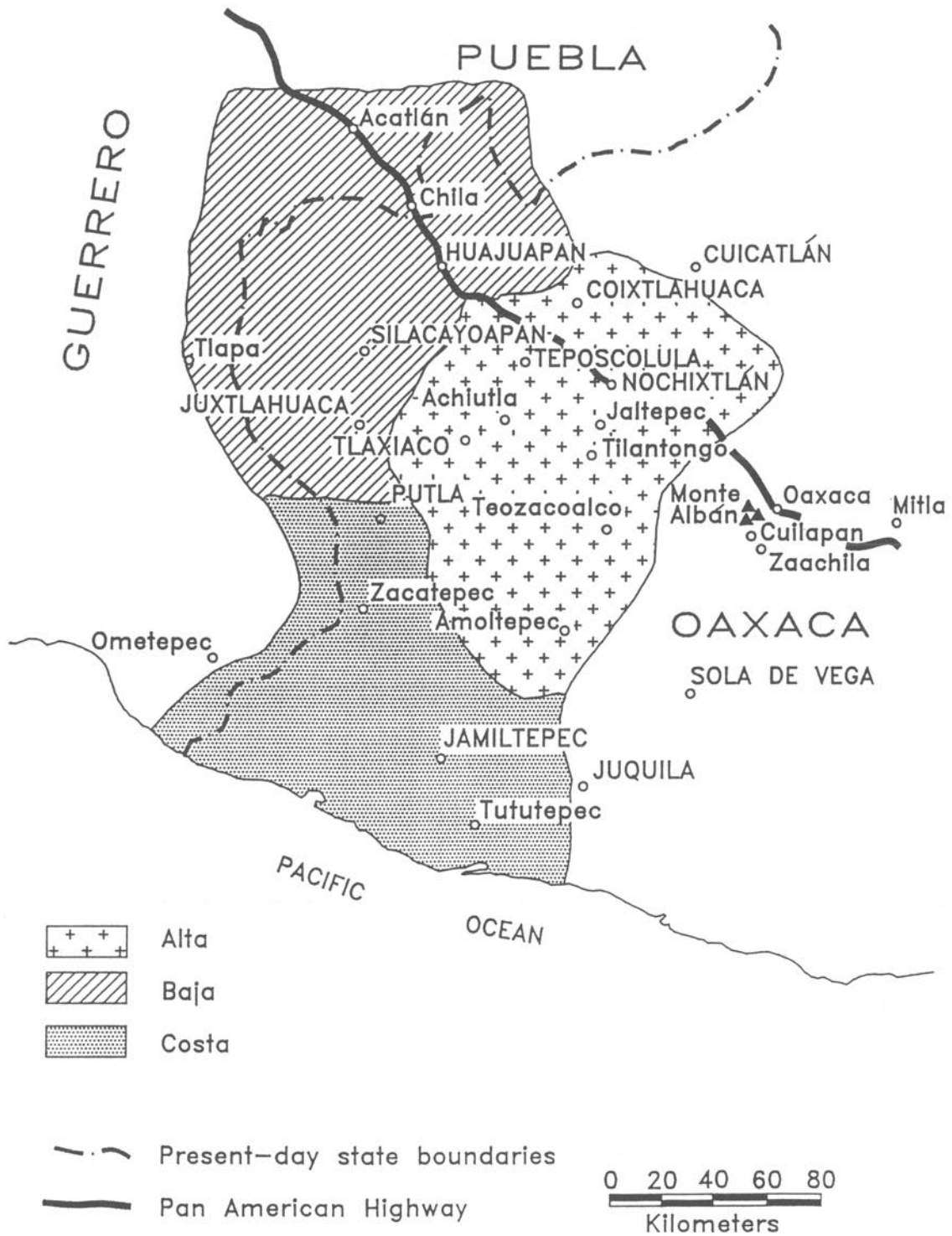


Fig. 1. Map showing the approximate locations of the Alta, Baja and Costa subregions of the Mixteca.

In the prehispanic period, the pictorial genealogical records were painted on screenfolds of animal hide, such as the Codex Bodley (Caso 1960) and the Codex Nuttall (Troike and Anders 1987; Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 1992b). Specifically, long horizontal adjoined strips of animal hide were scored at regular intervals and folded into "pages" of equal size. Each screenfold page was divided into registers by red guidelines showing the reading order within each page. The patterns of guidelines can vary from one manuscript to another, but the overall reading order is horizontal, either from right to left or from left to right.

Colonial Mixtec manuscripts contain many of the features seen in their preconquest counterparts, but they also have decided differences. Perhaps the most significant of these is the reduction of the genealogical material presented. A typical preconquest codex will show the subsidiary offspring of the rulers and often the marriages of these offspring. For example, the depictions of partial lineages of Tilantongo and Teozacoalco in the Mixteca Alta and Zaachila in the Valley of Oaxaca on pages 22-35 of the Codex Nuttall include many of the non-inheriting children of the rulers of these three towns. The encyclopedic Codex Bodley, whose lengthy narrative begins in the late tenth century and continues up to the time of the Conquest, literally includes "cousins by the dozens." By way of contrast, a typical Colonial Mixtec manuscript presents one ruling line, showing only those descendants who actually inherited the rulership and their spouses.

Several media and formats occur in Colonial-period genealogies. The animal-hide screenfold continues but often lacks the red guidelines that divide the individual pages into narrative strips. In the early Colonial Codex Egerton 2895 (Burland 1965; König 1979; Jansen 1994) and the Vienna portion of the Codex Becker II (Nowotny 1961; Jansen 1994), each page contains only one or two couples, with the lefthand figure of each couple considered to be the heir to the rulership of a single community that is named at the beginning of the codex. Each inheriting ruler faces his or her spouse, who is accompanied by a pictorial sign that names his or her hometown. But the parents of the spouses are usually not named, as was traditional in the earlier Codex Bodley, and subsidiary offspring of the main couple are only sporadically shown.

Other surviving Colonial manuscripts were drawn on large sheets of cloth (usually known by the Spanish term *lienzos*) or on European or native paper. Also known from the Colonial period are unscored lengths of animal hide usually known by the Spanish term *tira* ("strip" or "stripe"). Characteristic of many of these Colonial manuscripts is an even more simplified presentation of the genealogy of a single community's rulers: these rulers are shown as vertical columns of couples. The columns are read from bottom to top, with the understanding that the male ruler is the son of the couple directly below. Not only are the names of the wives' parents usually omitted, but so are the pictorial signs that name these women's hometowns. An example of this type of genealogy is seen in the upper section of the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36), which has five vertical columns of couples who were the rulers of a single community.

In all likelihood, the simplification of the genealogical material was an adaptation made to facilitate the use of pictorial manuscripts in Colonial legal disputes. Omitting all the subsidiary offspring and the contingent relatives implied that these unnamed persons had no claim to the rulership under dispute. Moreover, the columns of couples illustrated very clearly a phrase commonly found in Colonial legal documents: *por línea recta* ("by direct descent"). Similarly, the columns of couples in which the male ruler is considered to be the inheritor (even though in prehispanic codices that give the same genealogy the female is said to inherit) may also be an adaptation to Spanish preferences. As observed by Spores (1967:131-154), the preferred heir was the ruler's first male child by his most important wife, but women could--and did--inherit important rulerships.

Beginning at least as early as the second half of the sixteenth century, many of the towns considered to have been subjects or dependencies of the larger *cabeceras* established themselves as independent communities and claimed that they were autonomous with their own hereditary nobility. One of the manuscripts that illustrates this phenomenon is the Codex Muro (Smith 1973a) that gives the genealogy of the ruling line of San Pedro Cántaros and Adeques, former subjects of the powerful center of Yanhuitlán.⁴

Some of the early Colonial pictorial manuscripts that set forth the genealogy of a single community combine this genealogy with a map of the town. A good example of this type of cartographic genealogy is the Lienzo of Zacatepec from the Mixteca de la Costa (Peñafiel 1900; Smith 1973a:89-121; Caso 1977:137-144). In this lienzo, the genealogical narrative is presented above and within a larger rectangular frame to which are appended the pictorial signs of the names of Zacatepec's boundaries. The first of three generations of Zacatepec rulers in this lienzo has his rulership confirmed in a horizontal register above the map. He then enters the rectangle of his town, and the principal narrative within the map is arranged in a boustrophodonic or "switchback" pattern, reminiscent of the patterns seen in prehispanic screenfolds. Still another example of the combination of genealogy and map, the Map of Xochitepec from the Mixteca Baja (Caso 1958), shows perhaps the ultimate simplification of the depiction of one town's ruling line. Within the cartographic rectangle of this manuscript is a horizontal row of single male rulers, with no representation whatsoever of their spouses.

Indeed, the emphasis on genealogy continues to be so strong in the Mixteca in the colonial period that often when only a map is required, genealogical information may also be included in the manuscript. One of the best examples of this occurs in the map drawn around 1580 in the Mixteca Alta town of Teozacoalco to accompany the reply to the 1577 questionnaire sent by Spain to communities in the New World (Caso 1949; Acuña 1984, II:131-147; Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 1992b:35-53; Mundy 1996:112-117, 159-161, 165-166). The Teozacoalco map contains not only a detailed cartographic depiction of that town, but also

includes vertical columns of couples that set forth the native rulers of Teozacoalco, as well as the dynastic line of Tilantongo from which the Teozacoalco nobility stemmed, from their beginnings up to 1580.

Moreover, if maps contained genealogical data, manuscripts whose painted narratives dealt with genealogical-historical material were converted into maps in the Colonial period. Glosses in the Mixtec language written in European script that give the names of boundary sites were added to manuscripts whose pictorial narrative has nothing to do with geography. One example of this type of annotation is seen in the Codex Muro, a Colonial screenfold that is essentially genealogical in nature, but whose many glosses include boundary names not depicted in the pictorial text of the codex (Smith 1976).⁵ This type of Colonial addenda in European script created what might be termed a "written map"--specifically, a map written in European script--and this "written map" could be--and was--presented in litigation as a community land title. As with the simplification of genealogies discussed above, the conversion of pictorial genealogical manuscripts into maps was an accommodation made because of the native rulers' attempts to deal with the Spanish colonial legal system. Once a native ruler had established his hereditary right to rule *por línea recta*, he then had to demonstrate to Colonial authorities the boundaries of the community that he controlled.

The lost manuscript described by Mariano López Ruiz has many of the features of a typical Colonial Mixtec manuscript. Its content is primarily genealogical, with the genealogies presented by means of male-female couples, as is the case in both prehispanic and colonial pictorial documents. In common with several other Colonial manuscripts, glosses in Mixtec written in European script give the names of the persons appearing in the codex (discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 6). In addition, a "written map" was added to the manuscript that gives Mixtec boundary names (discussed in Chapter 5). More unusually, the dates on the codex were also annotated with Mixtec inscriptions (discussed in Chapter 7).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Donald Robertson (1959:9-24) postulated that preconquest style in the Valley of Mexico region is similar to that seen in the Mixtec Codex Nuttall. Elizabeth Boone (1982) discussed Valley of Mexico manuscript style in relation to extant prehispanic wall paintings and stone sculpture and suggested that the human figures of this style were more elongated than their Mixtec counterparts and that, in general, the Valley of Mexico style is comparatively more naturalistic than that of the Mixteca.
2. The Mixtec manuscripts known as of 1968 were listed by John B. Glass (1975:67-73) and those known as of 1980 by Cecil R. Welte (1981). According to Glass (1975:12), the five Mixtec manuscripts considered to be preconquest in date are: The Codex Bodley (Caso 1960), the Codex Nuttall (Troike and Anders 1987; Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 1992b), the Codex Vindobonensis (Adelhofer 1974; Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 1992a), the codices Colombino and Becker I, which are sections of the same manuscript (Nowotny 1961; Caso and Smith 1966), and Aubin Manuscript No. 20 (Lehmann 1905, 1966). Three of the manuscripts dating from the 1590s are discussed in Chapter 9 of this study: The Genealogy of Tlazultepec and two maps from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.

Among the general characterizations of the Mixtec pictorial writing system are the studies by Spinden (1935), Caso (1977), Smith (1983a), Jansen (1992), and Marcus (1992).

3. In the Codex Muro (Smith 1973b), the latest date written on the codex is 1684. The final pages of this codex (specifically, the left half of page 9 through page 11) are in a different or later style(s) from the first eight-and-one-half pages, which give genealogical information into the second half of the sixteenth century. The concluding pages of this codex are a rare instance of the additions of pictorial material to a manuscript at a later date.

The correlation of the dates in the Mixtec codices with Christian dates made by Alfonso Caso (1949, 1951, 1960, 1964a, 1977, 1979; Caso and Smith 1966) is in the process of being revised. Emily Rabin (1974, 1978, 1981) has worked extensively on the problems of the correlation of dates, but most of her work remains unpublished. Recent works that include revised correlations of dates are the detailed commentaries on the codices Vindobonensis and Nuttall by Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez (1992a, 1992b) and the study of Mixteca Alta codices and archaeology by Byland and Pohl (1994:233-264).

4. San Pedro Cántaros, under the Mixtec name *ñunaa*, is included in a 1565 list of Yanhuitlán subjects (AGI-Escribanía de Cámara 162-C, legajo 5; published in Spores 1967:194-196). The Codex Muro also illustrates the establishment of a ruling line of *principales* from the non-inheriting offspring of *caciques*. On page 3 of this codex, the first ruler of San Pedro Cántaros-Adeques is a man who is shown as the second son of the *cacique* of Teozacoalco in the Codex Nuttall (31-I).

One of the best documented cases of a subject town's claim to autonomy is that of Tecomatlán in the southwestern section of the Valley of Nochixtlán, a community also considered by Yanhuitlán to be its dependency. The 1580s litigation concerning Tecomatlán vs. Yanhuitlán is in AGI-Escribanía de Cámara 162-C, legajo 5, and AGN-RT 985 and 986-1. Excerpts of the Escribanía de Cámara document were published by Spores (1967:194-219), and the independent genealogy of Tecomatlán's rulers in AGN-RT 986-1 was summarized by Berlin (1947). A claim similar to that of Tecomatlán is made more implicitly in the Codex Muro.

The quantity of litigation over *cabecera* vs. *sujeto* status in the early Colonial period was noted in a letter of 1564 from the *Visitador* (Inspector) Lic. Jerónimo Valderrama to the Spanish Crown:

Entre otros muchos pleitos que indios tienen es uno en que ellos están muy porfiados, sobre si un pueblo será sujeto de otro o no. (Scholes and Adams 1961:87; transcription of AGI-Audiencia de México 92)

5. Other historical-genealogical manuscripts that have been annotated with "written maps" are: the Codex Colombino (Smith 1963; Caso and Smith 1966), the Hamburg section of the Codex Becker II (Nowotny 1975; Smith 1979) and the Codex Tulane (Smith and Parmenter 1991: 61-71.)

2. MARIANO LÓPEZ RUIZ

Who was Mariano López Ruiz? Among other things, he was a poet, a teacher, and an accountant. He was a devout Christian, as well as an intent student of the prehispanic past of Oaxaca.

The only published account of his life was printed in a Mexican periodical named *Biblos*, subtitled *Boletín Semanal de Información Bibliográfica Nacional* (vol. III, no. 107), dated February 6, 1921 (hereafter referred to as "Anonymous 1921"). This unsigned article on López Ruiz is entitled "Escritores Mexicanos Contemporáneos: Don Mariano López Ruiz" and was apparently based on an unpublished biographical paper by the noted Oaxacan scholar Manuel Martínez Gracida, a small section of which is quoted by Jansen (1990:100-101).¹ Accompanying the *Biblos* article is a photograph of López Ruiz (Fig. 2), probably taken when he was in his forties.

López Ruiz was born in Nochixtlán in the eastern Mixteca Alta on October 12, 1871, the son of Marcelino López and Manuela Ruiz de López. When he was two, his family moved to Oaxaca City because Mariano became ill and needed the better medical treatment available in the state capital. For four years Mariano's left leg and right arm were paralyzed, but he was able to regain their use after long treatment. After a brief time as a student at the Seminario de Santa Cruz in Oaxaca, he completed his primary and secondary schooling at the Instituto de Ciencias y Artes del Estado, also in Oaxaca.

Because of family problems, he returned to Nochixtlán and was appointed by the political head of the District of Nochixtlán to be director of the school in Tilantongo. Not only did the salary from this position help support his family, but it was at this time [the late 1880s] López Ruiz began to write about the prehispanic history of the Mixteca, based on the traditions he had learned in Tilantongo and Achiutla.

He later became an assistant (*ayudante*) in the school in Nochixtlán, where he met the educator Abraham Castellanos, who helped him get some of his writing published. Castellanos was also born in Nochixtlán about the same time as López Ruiz, and his best-known work is *El Rey Iukano y los Hombres del Oriente* (1910), a poetic interpretation of the Mixtec glosses written on the Codex Colombino (Jansen 1987:81-86; Fischer and Dürr 1988).

During the Mexican Revolution of the second decade of the twentieth century, López Ruiz was jailed, and several of his manuscripts were lost.² He later moved with his family to the state of Puebla, where he held the position of accountant with the Administración Principal del Timbre. In 1921 he is described as being involved in business activities (Anonymous 1921:22). He died in 1931 (Silva Fuentes 1988:29).



Fig. 2. Mariano López Ruiz. (After Anonymous 1921)

Included in the list of the writings of López Ruiz in the *Biblos* article (Anonymous 1921:22-23) are thirteen volumes of poetry and seventeen other studies on such subjects as Mexican history and Oaxacan folklore, as well as several dealing with religious-philosophical themes. Very little of his writing has been printed, and most of his publications were article-length papers, such as the one under discussion.³ The one completed book in which he was involved was *Ita Andehui: leyenda mixteca*, written in collaboration with Manuel Martínez Gracida (Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz 1910).⁴ All the published work by López Ruiz listed in the 1921 *Biblos* study predates the Mexican Revolution, which obviously marked a turning point in his life.

In many respects, the "Estudio cronológico sobre la dinastía mixteca," which is the focus of this book, differs from the other writings of López Ruiz, including the book on which he collaborated with Martínez Gracida (Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz 1910). A short statement by Martínez Gracida immediately preceding the published "Estudio cronológico" makes no mention of a pictorial manuscript, but states that the information in the paper was obtained by him and López Ruiz from traditions that are now lost in the Mixteca and that both men were attempting to obtain more information on these traditions from elderly Mixtec speakers.⁵

We know from other writings by López Ruiz that he based the material in many of his prose works on conversations with older Mixtecs. For example, shortly before his death in 1931, he wrote a short paper entitled "Mis Recuerdos" ("My Memories") that recreates a conversation he had in 1889 with a venerable citizen of Tilantongo named Domingo Cruz, known as "Tío Mingo." (The entire Spanish text of this short paper is in Appendix B of this book.) Nonetheless, as George Kubler suggested, the specific information in the "Estudio cronológico" was undoubtedly based on a lost pictorial manuscript annotated with Mixtec phrases written in European script. As observed by Maarten Jansen (1987:77), the reason a pictorial manuscript is not mentioned in the introductory paragraph by Martínez Gracida may have been to protect the identity of the town--still unknown--that owned the manuscript⁶

A few of the differences between the "Estudio cronológico" and the other writings by López Ruiz will be considered very briefly. First of all, the events described in the "Estudio cronológico" extend over a longer period of time than is the case in the majority of his other published and unpublished works. It begins with early ancient ancestors, lists many generations of prehispanic rulers, and goes beyond the Spanish conquest, giving the Spanish names of several generations of native rulers in the colonial period. By way of contrast, many of the other works by López Ruiz deal with the native rulers who lived just prior to and shortly after the Conquest.⁷

Secondly, the "Estudio cronológico" contains fewer of the hypothetical speeches and dialogues found in the paper entitled "Leyenda: Ita Cuixi" (López Ruiz 1910), the *Ita Andehui* book (Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz 1910), and many of the unpublished papers of López Ruiz.⁸ A few hypothetical speeches do occur in the "Estudio cronológico" article, especially at the beginning of the paper (pp. 438-439, 441), as well as in the closing section (pp. 445-446). But, for the most part, the text concentrates on what is depicted in the lost manuscript, even though the contents of this manuscript are sometimes described in the fulsome manner typical of the late nineteenth century. For example, several of the male rulers are said to be "rich, good and powerful" ("rico, bueno y poderoso," 442, line 30), "very warlike" ("muy guerrero," 443, line 30) and "valiant" ("valiente," 448, line 12). Some of the female rulers are considered to be "lovely" ("hermosa," 439, line 24; 442, line 31), "beautiful" ("bella," 440, line 16; 441, line 23), and "pretty" ("linda," 443, line 13). One female ruler is characterized as having an "irascible temper and very black thoughts" ("irascible carácter y muy negras sentimientos," 444, lines 12-13), and another as a "prodigy of beauty in her time" ("pródigo de belleza en su tiempo," 443, lines 32-33). Because the human figures in genealogical manuscripts painted by native artists are highly stereotyped and usually do not portray any distinctive physical or personality characteristics, these descriptions by López Ruiz are imaginative embellishments.

The third feature that makes the "Estudio cronológico" different from the other writings of López Ruiz is the quantity of Mixtec phrases in the text. His other writings will contain an occasional Mixtec place name (such as *Yucu Tnoo*, the Mixtec name of a site near Tilantongo in the Mixteca Alta), but no other work contains the large number of Mixtec place names as the "Estudio cronológico:" roughly forty-seven different names (listed in Index B). His other writings also contain a few Mixtec personal names of rulers, such as *Ocoñaña* ("twenty pumas or mountain lions") and *Ita Cuixi* ("white flower"). But none of his other works contains the Mixtec calendrical names of persons or year and day dates, all in the special calendrical vocabulary, that are so prevalent throughout the "Estudio cronológico."

The reason that the "Estudio cronológico" is distinct among the known writings of Mariano López Ruiz is because it was inspired by a pictorial manuscript and focused on the contents of this manuscript. As I worked on the analysis of his "Estudio cronológico" that appears in the following chapters, I developed a great deal of admiration for his knowledge and perception. It must be kept in mind that his description of the lost manuscript was written about a century ago and a half-century before Alfonso Caso's groundbreaking paper on the *Relación geográfica* map of Tezacoalco (Caso 1949), which provided the foundation for what can be considered the "modern era" of Mixtec manuscript studies. Moreover, when López Ruiz was writing his "Estudio cronológico" in the late 1890s, very few reproductions of Mixtec manuscripts had been published, and it is questionable how many of these López Ruiz would have been able to consult.⁹ Two Mixtec manuscripts that were extensively annotated with Mixtec glosses, as was the lost Codex López Ruiz, had been published in color lithographic copies in Mexico in the early 1890s: the Codex Egerton 2895 or Sánchez Solís (Peñafiel 1890:pls. 260-288) and the Codex Colombino (Chavero 1892). But, in the editions of both manuscripts, the Mixtec glosses are omitted.¹⁰

The glosses on the Codex Egerton 2895 or Sánchez Solís are close in subject matter to those on the lost codex. It is essentially a genealogical manuscript, and many of its glosses give the Mixtec names of persons, much as do the glosses on the manuscript described by López Ruiz. But López Ruiz could not have seen the original Codex Egerton 2895 or Sánchez Solís because in 1883, when he was twelve years old, this codex was sold to the German diplomat Freiherr von Wäckerr-Götter and taken by him to Berlin (Smith and Parmenter 1991:90).

In the case of the Codex Colombino, López Ruiz may have been aware of the existence of Mixtec inscriptions on this codex owing to his friendship with Abraham Castellanos in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Castellanos book entitled *El Rey Iukano* that contains a transcription of some of the Columbino glosses was published in 1910, twelve years after the appearance of the López Ruiz "Estudio

cronológico" paper. Presumably Castellanos consulted the original (or at least photographs) of the codex before 1910 (Fischer and Durr 1988:155), but precisely when this occurred is not known.¹¹

As will be discussed in Chapter 4, some of the Mixtec glosses on the lost codex described by López Ruiz are names of community boundaries that seem to have little to do with the pictorial manuscript on which they were written. This is also the case for the Codex Colombino, whose glosses give Mixtec boundary names of towns in the Mixteca de la Costa (Smith 1963, Caso and Smith 1966) and only occasionally relate to the pictorial text of the codex, which presents the biography of the best known Mixtec ruler, 8 Deer "Tiger Claw," who lived from 1063 to 1115. But this was not known when either López Ruiz or Castellanos was writing about manuscripts with Mixtec inscriptions.

* * *

In the analysis of the 1898 López Ruiz paper that follows, I have tried to "get behind the eyeballs" of Mariano López Ruiz, and they are remarkable eyeballs, indeed. My analysis often seems to me to be tedious because it concentrates on details rather than on the totality of his story. The whole is certainly greater than the sum of its parts.

Without question, the life and work of López Ruiz deserve more detailed consideration than they have received so far. He was by no means as well-educated or as well-connected (socially, politically, and financially) as his contemporary Abraham Castellanos or his older mentor Manuel Martínez Gracida. Moreover, he seemed to have had to rely on the influence of both men to get his work published. But his contribution to the early study of prehispanic Mixtec culture was by no means negligible, even though it apparently went unrecognized during his lifetime.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. On Martínez Gracida (1847-1923), see the biography by Brioso y Candiani (1910). The Martínez Gracida papers are now in the Casa de Cultura in Oaxaca, Oax. Selections from the four extant volumes of his unpublished monumental work, "Los indios oaxoqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos" were recently published in Oaxaca (Martínez Gracida 1986). López Ruiz stated that he had collaborated with Martínez Gracida on the preparation of this large study ("La princesa Donají," typescript copy of unpublished manuscript, Van de Velde Collection, Box I, folder 47, University of New Mexico, n.d., p. 241).
2. Two of the manuscripts that were lost were entitled "Historia de la Revolución Serrana" and "Leyendas indígenas sobre la raza mixteca" (Anonymous 1921:22).
3. In addition to the paper entitled "Estudio cronológica sobre la dinastía mixteca" that is the focus of this book, the article-length studies listed in the *Biblos* biographical sketch (Anonymous 1921:22) are:
 1. "Nación mixteca." *Periódico oficial del gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca*, vol. XII, nos. 59-63 (July 21-August 4, 1892). At the end of the final installment of this article is the byline of Mariano López Ruiz plus the notation "5 de Junio de 1892, Nochixtlán."
 2. "El último beso." *El Imparcial*, 1892. (Described as dealing with the killings committed by General Régules y Villasante in Yanhuitlán.)
 3. "Belleza de nuestro Estado: La cueva de Apoala." *El Centenario*, año I, núm. I (August 15, 1910), pp. 22, 24.
 4. "Leyenda: Ita Cuixi." *El Centenario*, año I, núm. 3 (October 15, 1910), pp. 77-78.Also given in this 1921 listing of López Ruiz publications is an article entitled "Mitología mixteca" that appeared in the *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate,"* vol. XI (1897-1898), pp. 421-434 (immediately preceding the López Ruiz "Estudio cronológico sobre la dinastía mixteca" paper). Although López Ruiz may have contributed some of the information contained in "Mitología mixteca," the article was signed by Manuel Martínez Gracida.

As well, short works by López Ruiz have been included in anthologies of Oaxacan authors:

1. A poem entitled "Junio" and a short essay entitled "La ciencia del deber" in a compendium of works by Oaxacan writers edited by Alonso Francisco Ramírez (1927:438-445).
2. Three poems entitled "Pasa los años. . . .," "A mi hija" (an excerpt of "La oración de la mañana"), and "Crueldad humana" in a compilation of works by Oaxacan writers compiled by Manuel Brioso y Candiani (1929:192-197).
3. Two poems entitled "A la Virgen de Nochixtlán" and "Canta poeta" is a selection of works by poets from Nochixtlán assembled by Fidelia Silva Fuentes (1988:15-20).

Transcript copies of five apparently unpublished López Ruiz manuscripts are in the Van de Velde Collection at the University of New Mexico (Box I, folder 47):

1. "Mis recuerdos," 2 pp. (Published as Appendix B of this study.)
2. "Reminiscencias interesantes," 6 pp. (Contains biographical information on Manuel Martínez Gracida and written after this scholar's death in 1923.)
3. "Ocoñaña: leyenda mixteca," 14 pp.
4. "Iukano: leyenda mixteca," 28 pp. (Dedicated to the memories of Abraham Castellanos and Manuel Martínez Gracida, so written post-1923, the year of Martínez Gracida's death.)
5. "La princesa Donají," 244 pp.

None of these typescript copies is dated, nor are the locations given of the original manuscripts that were copied by Van de Velde.

4. At least some of the unpublished manuscripts by López Ruiz were book-length: an unknown manuscript entitled "Elena" and described as "a novel of Mexican customs" (Anonymous 1921:22) and "La princesa Donají," the copy of which is 244 single-spaced typed pages (Van de Velde Collection, University of New Mexico).
5. The complete introductory paragraph by Martínez Gracida is as follows:

NOTA.

Los datos que contiene este estudio han sido recogidos de la tradición que se pierde ya en la Mixteca, así por el autor como el Sr. D. Mariano López Ruiz, vecino de

Nochixtlán, Estado de Oaxaca, y ambos hacen esfuerzos y los están haciendo aún con los ancianos, para alcanzar mejores noticias á fin de completar dicho estudio, que hoy es deficiente.

M. M. G.

6. By the time López Ruiz was writing his "Estudio cronológico," several towns in the Mixteca and elsewhere in Mexico no longer owned their original pictorial manuscripts. For example, in 1892 the town of Zacatepec in the Mixteca de la Costa brought its two early Colonial lienzos to Mexico City as supporting evidence in land litigation. The following year tracings were made of the two manuscripts, and these tracings were given to the town of Zacatepec in lieu of the original lienzos (Peñafiel 1900). Lienzo of Zacatepec 1 is now in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City; the present location of Lienzo of Zacatepec 2 is unknown. In the case of other pictorial manuscripts that were used as evidence in court (e.g., the codices Colombino, Becker I and II), the towns that owned these manuscripts do not even have copies of them, and they are long separated from the legal papers that recorded the litigation for which the manuscripts were presented. Understandably, town officials were--and continue to be--reluctant to publicize their pictorial manuscripts because this often means that they eventually will no longer belong to the town.
7. Examples of works that deal with the period just prior to the conquest are "Leyenda: Ita Cuixi" (López Ruiz 1910) and "Ocoñaña: leyenda mixteca" (typescript copy in the Van de Velde Collection at the University of New Mexico). In the collaborative book *Ita Andehui* (Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz 1910), the story takes place in a very short time span in the mid-fifteenth century.
8. One unpublished manuscript by López Ruiz contains not only hypothetical speeches but also poetry described as "Indian chants" ("Ocoñaña, leyenda mixteca," typescript copy, Van de Velde Collection, University of New Mexico.)
9. The Mixtec codices Bodley and Selden were published in lithographic copies in volume 1 of Lord Kinsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico* (London, 1831), but it is unlikely that this work was available in southern Mexico in the 1890s. Through his mentor Martínez Gracida, López Ruiz may have had access to Antonio Peñafiel's *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (3 vols., Mexico, 1890), which includes lithographic copies of two Mixtec manuscripts--the Lienzo of Yolotepec (pl. 317) and the Codex

Sánchez Solís or Egerton 2895 (pls. 260-268)--because Martínez Gracida had worked directly under Peñafiel in the 1890s in the national office responsible for statistics. Through the same Peñafiel-Martínez Gracida connection, he may also have known of the Lienzo of Zacatepec. Even though the Peñafiel edition of this lienzo was not officially published until 1900, the title page, on which the manuscript is called "Códice Mixteco Manuel Martínez Gracida," bears a date of 1898, the same year the "Estudio cronológico" was published. López Ruiz may also have been aware of the plates of the *Junta Colombina* published on the four-hundredth anniversary of the first voyage of Columbus (Chavero 1892), which illustrated in color lithographic copies the Mixtec Codex Colombino, as well as the codices Dehesa and Porfiro Díaz. At about the same time, the Swiss linguist Henri Saussure issued a vivid color lithographic copy of the Codex Becker I (Saussure 1891); but, as with the Kingsborough volumes, it is questionable whether this European publication would have been available in Oaxaca in the 1890s. (On some of the codex reproductions issued just prior to the turn of the century, see Saville 1901.)

10. In the 1892 Chavero publication of the Codex Colombino, the locations of most of the glosses were indicated by dotted lines flanked by asterisks, but they were not transcribed at that time.
11. López Ruiz was certainly aware of the Castellanos book *after* its publication in 1910 because, between 1923 and his death in 1931, he summarized some of the material in the book in an unpublished paper entitled "Iukano, leyenda mixteca" (typescript copy, 24 pp., Van de Velde Collection, University of New Mexico). (The reason to date this manuscript after 1923 is that it is dedicated to the memories of Castellanos, who died in 1918, and Martínez Gracida, who died in 1923.) In his "Iukano" paper, López Ruiz used no Mixtec names or phrases that were not in the 1910 Castellanos *El Rey Iukano*, which implies to me that López Ruiz never consulted the original Codex Colombino. (On the differences between the approaches to López Ruiz and Castellanos to manuscript with Mixtec glosses, see Jansen 1987). The name of Iukano is also mentioned by López Ruiz in the reminiscences he wrote shortly before his death on the legends he had learned while in Tilantongo in 1889 (Appendix B). The Iukano in this brief paper probably comes from the Castellanos book rather than from Domingo Cruz of Tilantongo.

3. NAMES OF PERSONS

In common with genealogical documents throughout the world, an important aspect of Mixtec manuscripts is the recording of names of persons. In prehispanic codices, both male and female rulers had two types of names. The first of these is usually called a "calendrical name" because it gives the day date on which the person was born. In the Mixtec calendar, twenty pictorial day signs combined with numerals from 1 through 13 to produce a 260-day ritual calendar, a type of calendar that was very common in preconquest Mesoamerica. In Table 1 are the twenty day signs used in many regions of Mexico, including the Mixteca and the Valley of Mexico. The numerals attached to the day signs were depicted as multicolored dots. In addition to having calendrical names, most persons of the ruling class were also identified by what is often known as a "personal name." This type of name usually consisted of two or more pictorial motifs and is placed next to the figure named or incorporated into his or her costume or headgear.¹











For example, the opening pages of the genealogical side of the Codex Nuttall (Figs. 3-4) are concerned with the biography of a male ancient ancestor whose calendrical name is 8 Wind and whose personal name is "Flints-Eagle."² (In Fig. 3, this individual appears three times: in the lower-right corner where he is emerging from a horizontal oval of earth, in the upper-right corner where he is the lefthand figure on top of a mound that contains a seated monkey, and in the lower-center section where he has one foot within a crevice in a body of water.) The 8 Wind name consists of the wind deity mask that represents the day sign Wind and eight numeral dots. The personal name "Flints-Eagle" is worn as a helmet: an eagle head decorated with flint blades.

Pictorial calendrical names of persons persist in Mixtec manuscripts of the Colonial period, but personal names are omitted in some postconquest manuscripts. In general, if rulers are identified by only one type of name, it will be the calendrical name. The one notable exception to this occurs in the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Teozacoalco, in which the rulers of Tilantongo and Teozacoalco are identified by their personal names only.

Glosses Giving Calendrical Names




Many of the glosses on the lost codex described by López Ruiz give the Mixtec calendrical names of rulers, and these were transcribed by López Ruiz and incorporated into his narrative. He does not attempt to translate these names. This is not surprising because these calendrical terms use a special vocabulary for both numerals and day signs, as can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, and were not identified until many years after López

TABLE 1. THE TWENTY DAY SIGNS

			----- Mixtec -----	
	<u>Day Sign</u>	<u>Nahuatl</u>	<u>Normal Vocabulary (Alvarado Dictionary)</u>	<u>Special Day-Sign Vocabulary</u>
ALLIGATOR		cipactli	coo yechi	quevui
WIND		checatli	tachi	chi
HOUSE		calli	huahí	cuau; mau
LIZARD		cuetzpallin	(ti)yechi	q(ue)
SERPENT		coatli	coo	yo
DEATH		miquiztli	ndeye, sihi	mahu(a)
DEER		mazatl	idzu, sacuaa	cuaa
RABBIT		tochtli	idzo	sayu
WATER		atl	nduta	tuta*
DOG		itzcuintli	ina	hua

*From glosses on Codex Egerton 2895, pp. 15, 27.

TABLE 1 (continued)

			----- Mixtec -----	
	<u>Day Sign</u>	<u>Nahuatl</u>	<u>Normal Vocabulary (Alvarado Dictionary)</u>	<u>Special Day-Sign Vocabulary</u>
MONKEY		ozomatli	codzo	ñuu
GRASS		malinalli	yucu	cuañe
REED		acatl	ndoo	huiyo
TIGER		ocelotl	cuiñe	huidzu
EAGLE		cuautli	yaha	sa
VULTURE		cozcaquautli	(ti)sii*	cuii
MOVEMENT		ollin	tnaa, nehe†	qhi
FLINT		tecpatl	yuchi	cusi
RAIN		quiauitl	dzavui	co
FLOWER		xochitl	ita	huaco

* From Anne Dyk, *Mixteco Texts* (tljii in the dialect of San Miguel el Grande, Oaxaca).

†"Earthquake" (*temblar la tierra*).

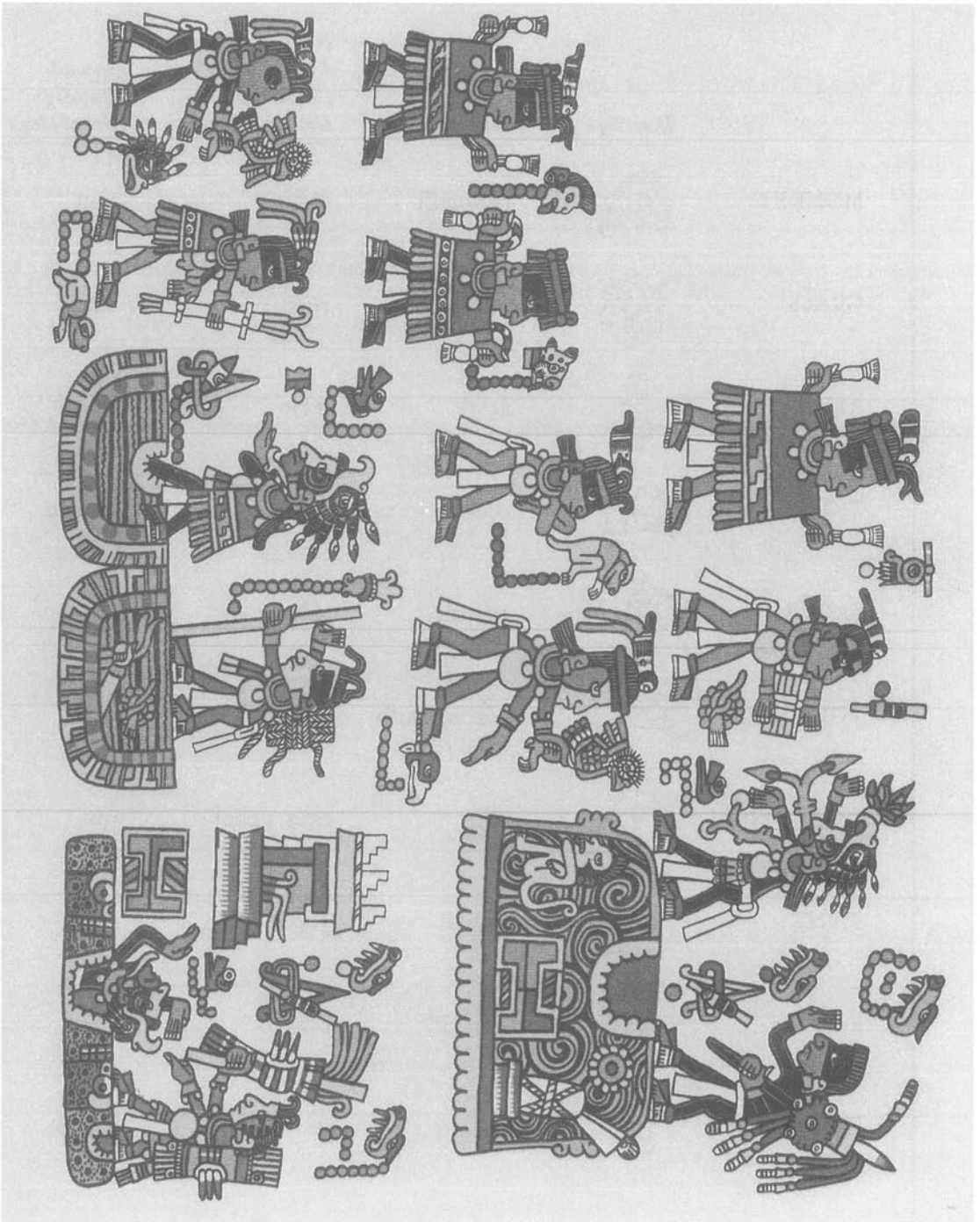


Fig. 3. Codex Nuttall, page 1. (After Nuttall 1902)

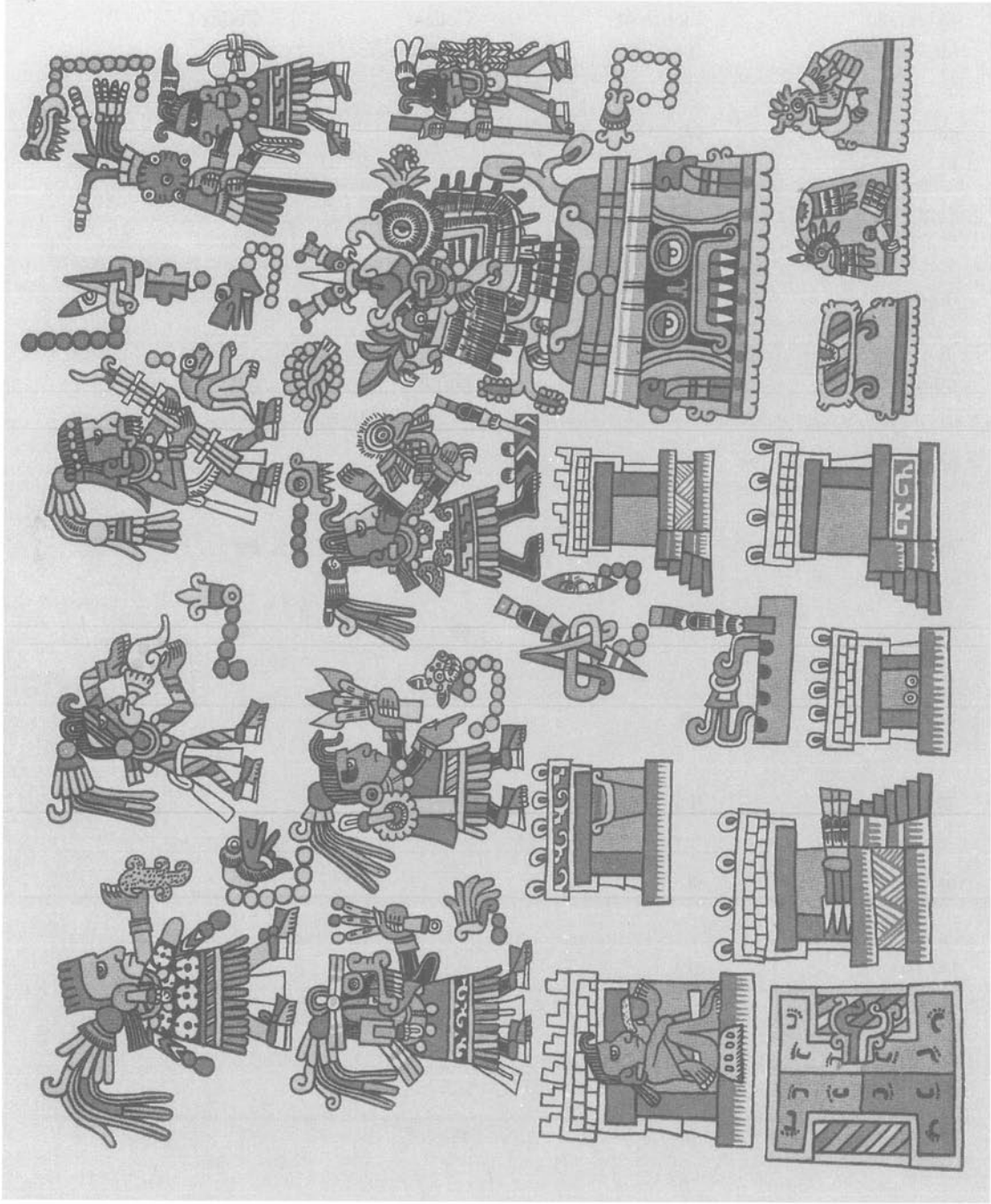


Fig. 4. Codex Nuttall, page 2. (After Nuttall 1902)

TABLE 2. THE NUMERALS 1-13 IN MIXTEC

	Ordinary Vocabulary (Alvarado Dictionary)	-----Calendrical Vocabulary-----		
		Lienzo of Nativitas*	Codex Egerton 2895**	Codex Muro
1	ee	ca, co	ca	ca
2	vvui	ca, co, cu	ca	ca
3	uni	co	go	co
4	qmi, cumi	qui	gh/gñ	que
5	hoho	q	gh/gñ	que
6	iño	ñu	ño	ñu
7	usa	sa	sa	sa
8	una	na	--	na
9	ee	q	ghi/gy	--
10	usi	si	si	si
11	usi ee	si i	--	si
12	usi vvui	ca	co	ca
13	usi uni	si	si	--

* Dahlgren 1954:370

** König 1979

Ruiz was writing (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:70; Dahlgren 1954:366-370).

In all likelihood, the glosses giving calendrical names were written near the human figures of the rulers that they name. But it is by no means clear whether the human figures identified by glosses were also accompanied by the usual prehispanic pictorial signs that give calendrical names (as seen for example, in the Codex Nuttall, Figs. 3-4). Certainly no mention of these signs is made by López Ruiz in his narrative. Among extant Mixtec manuscripts dating from the early colonial period, three have both the pictorial calendrical signs as well as Mixtec glosses giving the same names: the Codex Egerton 2895 (König 1979), the Codex Muro (Smith 1973b), and the Lienzo of Nativitas (*HMAI* 14:Fig. 48; Dahlgren 1954:366-370). Three others have Mixtec glosses written next to human figures or heads but no pictorial calendrical signs: the Map of Xochitepec (Caso 1958), the Map of San Vicente del Palmar (Smith and Parmenter 1991:95), and an early seventeenth century genealogy from Ayuzi, a barrio of Yanhuitlán (published as a line drawing in Spores 1984:109-110).³ In all of these manuscripts except for the Codex Egerton, the final rulers in the genealogies are identified by the Spanish names with which they were baptized following the Conquest (for example, "don Alonso," "doña María de Guzmán," and the like). This seems to have been the case as well in the Codex López Ruiz, because in the concluding pages (446-447) of the López Ruiz study, the nobility are given Spanish names.

Index A at the end of this study lists the calendrical names in the López Ruiz narrative. This index is arranged alphabetically by the name of the day sign, beginning with Alligator and ending with Wind. The English names for the day signs are those used in Table 1. Within each day sign in the index, the calendrical names are arranged in numerical order, as much as this is possible. One major problem with the syllables that set forth calendrical numerals is that *co/ca/cu* can be the numbers 1, 2, 3 or 12; *q/qh/que* can be 4, 5 or 9; and *si* can be 10, 11 or 13. In spoken Mixtec, the syllables for numerals were undoubtedly differentiated by tones, for Mixtec is a tone language with low, middle and high tones. When the language was written in European script in the Colonial period, however, the tones were usually not indicated, and thus many of the calendrical names written on Mixtec pictorial documents have several possible translations. A further problem is that, although the Mixtec terms for the twenty day signs have been identified in painted manuscripts with glosses, several of these terms are not always clearly distinguishable. Specifically, the word for the day sign House can be *mau* and that for the day sign Death is *mahu(a)*, and it is difficult to decide which sign is intended in a text that lacks pictorial signs. The same is true for the day sign Lizard, which is *q(ue)*, and the day sign Movement, which is *qhi*. In Index A, those calendrical names that may include the day sign Death have been placed under "House or Death," and those that may include the sign Movement are placed under "Lizard or Movement."

Personal Names

At least some of the rulers in the Codex López Ruiz seem to have had personal names as well as calendrical names. Of the approximately ninety persons whose calendrical names are included in the López Ruiz article, perhaps twenty-five (sixteen men and nine women) may have been identified by personal names, and these are listed in Tables 3 and 4.⁴

In the López Ruiz narrative, the probable personal names in the Mixtec language are appended to the persons' calendrical names (with the exception of *Ocoñaña* on page 448, line 12), and these names were undoubtedly glosses on the codex. In all probability, the names in Spanish are a description by López Ruiz of the pictorial signs that accompany the figures in the codex. This implies that some of the painted figures were accompanied by signs representing their personal names, even if they lacked the pictorial signs setting forth their calendrical names. As noted earlier, however, the depiction of personal names without calendrical names is very unusual in Mixtec manuscripts from the Colonial period. Perhaps one indication that glyphic calendrical names were painted on the lost codex occurs in the personal name *cacica florida* or "flowery cacica" (444, line 17). This woman's calendrical name is *xihuaco* or 10, 11 or 13 Flower, and López Ruiz may have been describing the day sign Flower of her calendrical name rather than her personal name. Nonetheless, the other four women listed in Table 4 who have flowers as motifs in their personal names have a day sign other than Flower in their calendrical names. Thus the evidence for glyphic calendrical names on the lost codex is still inconclusive.

In one instance in which a male ruler has both a Mixtec and a Spanish personal name (441, line 22), these do not seem to be in agreement because the Mixtec name is *yahuiy* or "fire serpent" and the Spanish name is *tigre* or "tiger." It seems possible that this ruler's personal name was "fire serpent," but that he wore a feline costume and was described as a "tiger."

In another instance, what seems to be a person's name--*rayo de sol* or "sun ray" (444, line 3)--is associated with the Mixtec place name *ñuñume* rather than with the calendrical name of a person. Perhaps the sun ray was connected to one of the persons in this section of the codex, such as the male ruler *xicuaa* (10, 11 or 13 Deer) named on page 443, line 33, or the female ruler *xihuaco* (10, 11 or 13 Flower) named later on page 444, line 3. The sun-ray motif is also the "A" section of the typical Mixtec "A-O" sign used to signal year dates in the Mixtec codices. (An example of this sign is seen above the calendrical name 8 Wind over the head of this man's figure emerging from the earth in the lower-right corner of Fig. 3.) But the text of López Ruiz gives no indication that year dates are depicted in this section of the codex.

TABLE 3. PERSONAL NAMES GIVEN TO MEN

	<u>Mixtec</u>	<u>Spanish</u>
441, line 22	<i>yahuiy</i> ("fire serpent")	<i>tigre</i> ("tiger")
442, line 7	<i>coyavuiy</i> ("fire serpent")	
443, lines 2-3		<i>cabeza de tigre</i> ("tiger head")
443, line 12	<i>ñaña</i> ("puma or mountain lion")	
443, lines 18-19	<i>ñaña</i> ("puma or mountain lion")	
443, line 22		<i>cacique de sangre</i> ("cacique of blood")
443, lines 28-29		<i>del águila</i> ("of the eagle")
444, line 3		<i>rayo de sol</i> ("sun ray")
444, lines 5-6	<i>atimaño</i> ("in the center, one-half"?)	<i>cacique del sol</i> ("cacique of the sun")
444, lines 10-11		<i>cacique del Oriente</i> ("cacique of the East")
444, lines 15-16	<i>cueñe</i> ("tiger")	<i>cacique de tigres, ó mano de sangre</i> ("cacique of the tiger," or "bleeding hand")
444, lines 25		<i>cacique de camellones</i> ("cacique of the ridges or furrows")
447, lines 8-9		<i>tigre que vino del Oriente</i> ("Tiger who came from the East")
447, line 12		<i>lucero del monte del sol</i> ("planet Venus of sun hill")
447, lines 29-30		<i>pie de lobo</i> ("wolf foot")
448, line 12	<i>Ocoñaña</i> ("20 pumas or mountain lions")	

TABLE 4. PERSONAL NAMES GIVEN TO WOMEN

	<u>Mixtec</u>	<u>Spanish</u>
442, line 21	<i>yayusihi</i>	("turquoise cacica")
443, line 16		<i>cordón de rosas</i> ("strand of roses")
443, line 28	<i>yayusi</i> ("turquoise cacica")	
443, line 32		<i>flor de Oriente</i> ("flower of the East")
444, line 12		<i>cacica de Oriente</i> ("cacica of the East")
444, line 17		<i>cacica florida</i> ("flowery cacica")
444, line 20		<i>princesa de rosas</i> ("princess of roses")
447, lines 16-17		<i>cacica de rosas</i> ("cacica of roses")
447, line 33	<i>ita</i> ("flower")	

In the case of the male ruler who is considered to be a *cacique de camellones* or a "cacique of ridges or furrows" (444, line 25), López Ruiz may have derived this name from the final syllable *co* on the gloss of this man's calendrical name (*Ñu*)*cahuaco*. In Mixtec, *coo* can mean "ridge, furrow"; and earlier in his narrative (443, lines 4 and 15), López Ruiz had translated the Mixtec place name *yucu coo* as "monte de camellones" or "hill of ridges or furrows" (*yucu* = "monte" or "hill"). But ridges or furrows are not a usual motif in Mixtec personal names, and another possibility is that this ruler's personal name may include a serpent, because depending on variations tone, the Mixtec word *coo* can mean "serpent." Nonetheless, the phrase *cacique de camellones*, like the phrase *rayo de sol* discussed above, may refer to something other than a personal name.

The word *oriente* or "the direction East" appears in the personal names of two men (444, lines 10-11 and 447, lines 8-9) and two women (443, line 32 and 444, line 12). I believe that these references to the direction East may describe the typical prehispanic sun disk. (An example of the sundisk motif is appended to the figure whose calendrical name is 1 Death on the right side of Fig. 26 of this study). In most dialects of Mixtec, the direction East is characterized by the phrase "where the sun rises," and López Ruiz may well have been aware of this. Only a few years after López Ruiz published his study of the lost codex, Walter Lehmann (1905:852-856; 1966:152-157) demonstrated that the pictorial sign for the direction East in the Mixtec Aubin Manuscript No. 20 is a skyband with a sundisk, and the sundisk is usually associated with the direction East in Mixtec and Mixtec-related manuscripts (Jansen 1982:228-240, 244-248).⁵

Prefixes Associated with Calendrical Names

In the Codex López Ruiz, the majority of the glosses giving Mixtec calendrical names have as a prefix the syllable *ñu*. This prefix is also used in the inscriptions that set forth the names of rulers in the Codex Muro, and it refers to a person who is deceased (Smith 1973b:58, n. 11). The *ñu* prefix also seems to occur in the glosses accompanying three human heads in the lower-right corner of the Genealogy of Ayuxi, a *barrio* of Yanhuitlán (Spores 1984:111).

In the glosses on the Codex López Ruiz, six persons have, instead of *ñu*, the prefix *ya-*, a form of the Mixtec word *yya* or *iya*, which means *señor* or "hereditary ruler" (Table 5). The prefix *yya* is used in the glosses on the Codex Egerton 2895 (König 1979), the Codex Tulane (Smith and Parmenter 1991), the Map of Xochitepec (Caso 1958), the Map of San Vicente del Palmar and its cogent Map No. 36 (Smith 1973a:194), and in the Mixtec names of nobility given in the *Relaciones geográficas* from towns in various regions of the Mixteca (Acuña 1984). In the concluding pages (445-448) of the López Ruiz narrative are fourteen calendrical names that have no prefix at all.

**TABLE 5. CALENDRICAL NAMES WITH
THE PREFIX YA- [YYA]**

<i>(ya)quecuiñi</i>	439, lines 12, 22
<i>(ya)cuncuy</i>	439, lines 24, 31
<i>(ja)nuchi</i>	442, line 5
<i>(ya)qchi-coyavui</i>	442, line 7
<i>(ya)naqh</i>	446, line 18
<i>(ya)qhh</i> (baptized as "don Pedro")	447, lines 8-9

The appearances of both *ñu* and *ya* in the inscriptions of one codex is very unusual. To my knowledge, the only other instance in which this occurs is in the Lienzo of Natívitas, an early Colonial genealogical-cartographic manuscript from the Coixtlahuaca basin (*HMAI* 14:fig. 48). Within the map of Natívitas are two long columns of paired male and female rulers, with the column on the right considered to be the earliest. In the glosses accompanying the five couples at the bottom of the righthand column, the calendrical names of both the men and the women have *ya-* as a prefix. Then, in the sixth pair, the male figure's name begins with *ya*, and the female's with *yñu* (Caso 1979:448-449). The *yñu* at the beginning of the female name suggests a combination of *ya* and *ñu*; perhaps the annotator had begun to write "*ya*" and then changed the inscription to "*ñu*." All subsequent men and women in this column, as well as all of those in the lefthand column, have the prefix *ñu* in their names. Concerning the change from *ya* to *ñu*, Alfonso Caso (1979:243) commented that it is not known whether the *ñu* prefix indicates a different type of nobility. Moreover, as astutely observed by Ross Parmenter (1994), only those early rulers in the Lienzo of Natívitas whose calendrical glosses have the prefix *ya* appear in other lienzos of the Coixtlahuaca basin. This suggests that the persons whose names are prefixed by *ya* are more important than those whose names are prefixed by *ñu*.

It is possible that *yya* or *ya* prefix is used to refer to persons of the primary nobility or *cacique* class and that the *ñu* prefix denotes persons of the secondary nobility or *principal* class. In both the Codex Muro and the Ayuxi Genealogy, the two manuscripts in which only the *ñu* prefix is used, the rulers depicted control subject towns and hence would be considered to be *principales* rather than *caciques*. In the case of the Lienzo

of Nativitas, in which a change from *ya* to *ñu* occurs after the first five couples of the ruling line on the right, the town that they rule may have become a subject town after these initial five generations and thus the subsequent rulers were considered to be *principales*, not *caciques*. If the prefix *ya* or *yya* denotes a ruler of the *cacique* class and the prefix *ñu* denotes a ruler of the *principal* class, then the majority of the persons named in the Codex López Ruiz are *principales*.

Place Names Considered to Be Names of Persons

In at least eight instances, López Ruiz considered Mixtec glosses that seem to give names of places to be names of persons, and these are listed in Table 6. In all likelihood, these eight glosses were written on the lost codex near human figures; and in one case (*atucu* in Table 6), the place name was appended to a ruler's calendrical name. Moreover, the opening syllables of many Mixtec place names are the same as, or similar to, the prefixes of the rulers' calendrical names. As noted above, *ñu* is the most frequently used prefix to calendrical names in the glosses on the lost codex, and in place names, the opening syllable *ñu* means "land, place where something exists." In addition, the opening syllable *yu* occurs in place names that refer to hills (*yucu* in Mixtec), temples (*yucun* in Mixtec), or rivers (*yusa*, *yucha* or *yuta* in Mixtec, depending on the dialect). This syllable could easily have been considered to have been the same as the *ya* prefix seen in some of the calendrical names in the lost codex. The Mixtec phrases that are place names are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, and the eight names in Table 6 are included in the Index B of place names at the end of this study.

* * *

The names of specific persons given in the glosses on the lost codex will be discussed in Chapter 4, which summarizes the general contents of the codex described by Mariano López Ruiz, and in Chapter 6, which attempts to determine which historical persons in the codex may appear in other extant Mixtec manuscripts.

**TABLE 6. MIXTEC PHRASES GIVEN AS NAMES OF PERSONS
THAT MAY BE PLACE NAMES**

<i>yucun coho</i>		437, line 7; 438, lines 12 and 25; 439, line 29
<i>yusa ñuñute</i>		438, lines 8 and 20-21 439, lines 8 and 21
<i>yucun maa yushy</i>		442, line 16
<i>ñuita</i>		443, line 6
<i>atucu</i>	[Mixtec name of Nochixtlán; appended to calendrical name <i>ñucucua</i>]	443, line 25
<i>ñucuíxí</i>		444, line 1
<i>ñuñumé</i>		444, line 2
<i>anauqh</i>	[= <i>Anduqh</i> , Mixtec name of Nochixtlán]	444, line 34

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Personal names were said by Colonial historian Antonio de Herrera to have been given to a child at the age of seven by a priest (Herrera 1947, 6:321). These names were first identified in the Mixtec codices by Zelia Nuttall (1902:19-20). Some of the personal name motifs have been discussed by Spinden (1935:441-442), Caso (1949:157), Smith (1973b), König (1979), Jansen and Pérez (1983), and Jansen (1989).
2. The biography of 8 Wind "Flints-Eagle" has been considered in detail by Furst (1978b), Caso (1979:55-58), and Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez (1992b:85-101).
3. In Map No. 36 from Huajuapán in the Mixteca Baja, one male ruler has his calendrical name represented by a pictorial sign as well as by an accompanying Mixtec gloss, whereas the calendrical names of two couples within buildings in this map are set forth in glosses only (Smith 1973a:194).
4. The relationship of the rulers with personal names to the total population of rulers in the Codex López Ruiz seems to be similar to that seen in the Codex Tulane. In the latter codex, the total number of named persons is 111, with 85 having calendrical names only, 18 with both calendrical and personal names, 2 with personal names only, and 6 whose names are illegible (Smith and Parmenter 1991:17).
5. In addition to persons whose personal names seem to contain the word "Oriente" or "the direction East" (such as *cacique de Oriente* and *cacica de Oriente*), other individuals are described by López Ruiz as coming from the East. For example, it is said of the male ruler (*Ñu*)*cucuaatucu* that he came from the East and was born at the moment when the rooster crows for the first time in the night (" . . . vino del Oriente y nació en el mismo instante que el gallo canta por primera vez en la noche. . ."; 443, lines 25-27). The place name *Ñucuixi*, considered to be the name of a female ruler, is described as having been born in the East ("*nacida en el Oriente*"; 444, line 1). A female ruler whose calendrical name is (*Ñu*)*qhcuy* is also said to have come from the East ("*venida de Oriente*"; 444, lines 26-27). Perhaps sundisk motifs inspired these descriptions, although whether these sundisks are personal name motifs is not clear.

4. SUMMARY OF THE MIXTEC HISTORY NARRATED BY LÓPEZ RUIZ

In this chapter, I shall summarize the story told in the text of López Ruiz and compare the events included in his story with scenes in the extant Mixtec codices. The López Ruiz text is divided into four sections or "chapters," each of which is prefaced with a Roman numeral. Chapter I (pp. 437-439) describes the type of mythological origin scene that appears at the beginning of most Mixtec manuscripts. The very short Chapter II (p. 440) seems to be concerned with the early establishment of a ruler by means of conquest. Chapter III, the longest of the story (pp. 440-446), presents genealogies that run up to the time of the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. The final Chapter IV (pp. 445-448) deals in part with a ruler who is said to have lived in the early twelfth century (pp. 445-445), then with rulers of the Colonial period because they are identified by the Spanish names with which they were baptized (p. 447). In the concluding paragraphs (pp. 447-448), Mixtec calendrical names of other rulers are given; and this section, like Chapter III, ends with the Spanish conquest.

CHAPTER I

The first section (pages 437-439) is devoted to setting forth the early mythological origins of the Mixtec rulers whose genealogies are described later in the narrative. The establishment of divine origins for the later human nobility is a standard beginning point for many Mixtec manuscripts of both the prehispanic and Colonial periods.

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The story begins with an opening scene that includes a list of four pictorial place signs that appear at the beginning of the codex, but do not recur later in the manuscript. These are: silver hill, eagle hill, maguay cactus hill, and pine hill (437, lines 4-5). An early leader of the Mixtecs--perhaps a deity, priest or ancient ancestor¹--is said to have descended from the eagle hill and an oblique hill (437, lines 6-8). López Ruiz gives this early leader the Mixtec name *Yucuncho*, one of the place names he considers to be names of persons (Table 6) and undoubtedly one of the glosses written near this beginning of the pictorial narrative.

This type of opening scene has counterparts in other Mixtec manuscripts, even though the specific motifs in the other extant codices are different. For example, a group of what might be termed "beginning place signs" occurs in the opening scene of the Codex Tulane from the Mixtec-speaking region of southern Puebla (Fig. 5). Along the lower edge of this manuscript are three place signs: a mound with stars, a hill with



Fig. 5. Codex Tulane: the opening scene. (Photograph by Betsy Swanson, courtesy of the Latin American Library, Tulane University)

a dove-like bird, and a hill with a coyote. Directly above this row of signs, two priests offer incense at a hill with a palm tree that contains a male deity named 7 Deer, while another male deity named 9 Eagle dives toward the hill.

The opening scene in the López Ruiz story also seems analogous to the first two pages of the genealogical side of the Codex Nuttall that present the origins of the male ancient ancestor named 8 Wind "Flints-Eagle" (Figs. 3-4). In this opening segment, 8 Wind is shown as emerging from three places: from a multicolored band with skeletal features in the lower-right corner of page 1, from one of the rivers of Apoala (one of the legendary towns of origin of the Mixtecs) in the lower-center section of page 1, and from a wooded hill with a rain deity mask on the right side of page 2. Moreover, in the lower-right corner of page 2, underneath the appearance of 8 Wind on a rain-deity hill, is a row of three place signs: a hill with a split stone, a hill with an eagle, and a hill with a quetzal bird.

A group of three place signs--a tiger hill, an eagle hill, and a parrot hill--also occur toward the beginning of two Colonial manuscripts from the Coixtlahuaca Basin: the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec (Caso 1961; Parmenter 1982) and the Selden Roll (Burland 1955; Fig. 6 of this study). In both manuscripts the three places are shown as having been conquered because they have been pierced by an arrow. As noted by Viola König (1979:38-41), the components of two of these three signs are combined in an elaborate opening scene on page 2 of the Codex Egerton 2895, in which an offering is made to a large hill containing a tiger and supporting a large oval frame on top of which is perched an eagle. A male person is shown as emerging from the mouth of the tiger in this compound sign.

Thus, the beginning of the Codex López Ruiz exhibits features that are typical of the initial scenes in other Mixtec manuscripts: a cluster of place signs and a male figure who is emerging or descending.

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This page opens with the description of a journey from the caves to the mountains. Following this journey, *Yucuncho*, the early leader mentioned on the previous page and now considered to be an old man, is named as the ruler or *cacique* of his tribe by another elderly man called *Yusañuñute*. The Mixtec name *Yusañuñute*, like that of *Yucuncho*, is a place name rather than the name of a person (Table 6). According to López Ruiz, the act of conferring the rulership is commemorated by the elders of the group lighting pine torches and is witnessed by a group of seated Mixtecs.

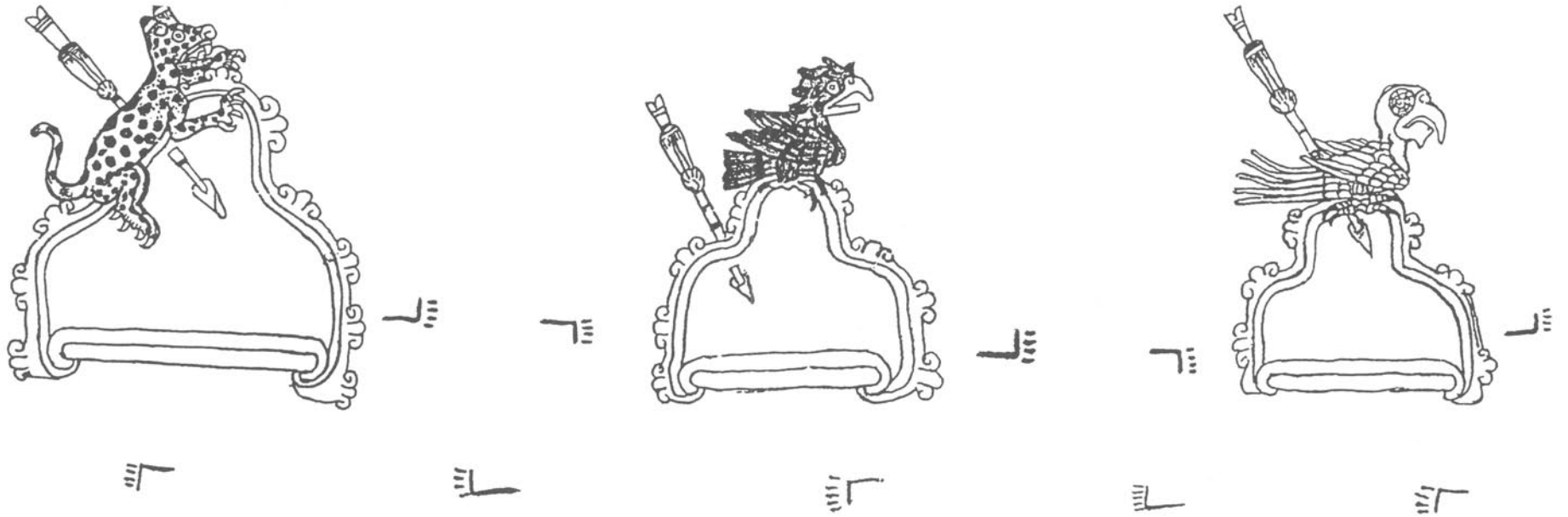


Fig. 6. Selden Roll: three conquered place signs. (After Burland 1955)

The references to a journey, to elderly men, and to torches also have visual analogies in other Mixtec manuscripts. For example, in the opening two pages of the genealogical side the Codex Nuttall (Figs. 3-4), the scenes in which the male ancient ancestor 8 Wind "Flints-Eagle" is shown as emerging from various places are accompanied by processions of priests, and these configurations suggest journeys. The priests carry various offering and ceremonial objects, including flaming torches (as the priest named 10 Lizard in the lower-left corner of page 1, and the priest named 2 Lizard in the upper-right corner of page 2).

In the Codex Egerton 2895, the two pages (3 and 4) following the opening emergence scene on page 2 contain a procession of priests carrying offerings or ceremonial objects. On page 4 of the codex, one priest named 10 Wind holds a flaming torch, while another priest named 2? House has a flaming incense burner. The latter priest is shown as an old man because he only has one tooth, implying he is toothless.

The association of fire with the beginning of historical genealogies also occurs twice in the Codex Tulane. As noted above, among the earliest human figures in this manuscript is a priest who extends an incense burner toward a hill with two deities (Fig. 5). Perhaps closer to the rulership ceremony described by López Ruiz is a scene preceding the second genealogy in the Codex Tulane (Fig. 7), in which twelve men are seated on either side of a fire and confirm the first ruler of Acatlán in southern Puebla (Smith and Parmenter 1991:37-39).

Another analogy to the investiture-of-ruler ceremony described by López Ruiz is a figural grouping called "offering of royalty" ("ofrecimiento de la realeza") by Alfonso Caso in his study of the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Tezacoalco (Caso 1949:160-161). On the left side of this map, the rulers of the prestigious town of Tilantongo are depicted in a typical early-Colonial format as a vertical column of couples. Facing the second and fourth generations, both of which are shown as single male figures rather than as couples, are seven seated noblemen (Fig. 8), and between each of the Tilantongo rulers and the attendant noblemen is a torch (rather resembling a red feather duster).

Similarly, in the early Colonial Lienzo of Zacatepec 1 from the Mixteca de la Costa, the first ruler of Zacatepec, 11 Tiger "Smoking Frieze-Rain Deity," meets with a group of eleven noblemen, one of whom holds a torch, with a second having an incense burner (Fig. 9). This conference takes place just before 11 Tiger enters the boundaries of Zacatepec to assume the rulership of that town.

Thus the type of activities associated with the installation of the first ruler of the dynastic line described by López Ruiz has parallels in extant codices. Processions of figures (often priests) occur at this time, as well as a conference of seated nobility with the first ruler. One of the seated subsidiary noblemen or standing priests carries a torch; and some other indication of fire, such as an incense burner, is also depicted in connection with the assumption of rulership ceremonies.



Fig. 7. Codex Tulane: the campfire scene. (Photograph by Betsy Swanson, courtesy of the Latin American Library, Tulane University)

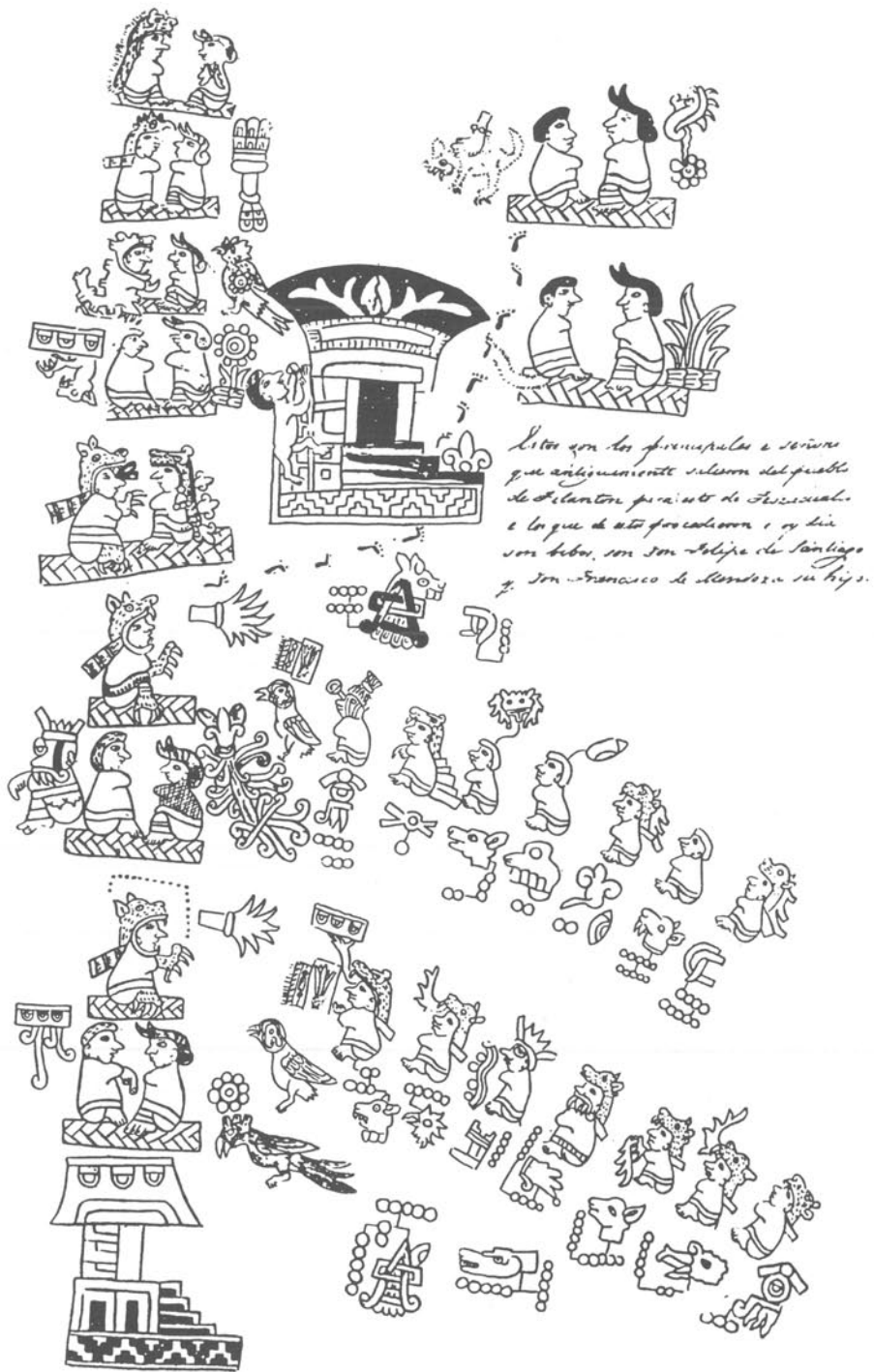


Fig. 8. Map of Tezacoalco: lower-left corner. (After Caso 1949:158)



Fig. 9. Lienzo of Zacatepec: upper-right corner. (After Peñafiel 1900:pl. V)

In the opening paragraph of this page, López Ruiz states that the investiture of the first ruler was completed by a hunter's killing a tiger at Tiger Hill, with the first ruler's wearing the tiger pelt at the Hill of the Sun. No precise analogies for this scene seem to occur in other Mixtec codices, although what may be similar events are shown in the detailed biography of the famous ruler 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" narrated in the codices Colombino-Becker I and Nuttall.² Prior to becoming ruler of Tututepec in the Mixteca de la Costa, 8 Deer and his half-brother make an animal sacrifice, although the animals involved are dogs rather than felines (Fig. 27). In the same sequence of events, 8 Deer also makes an incense offering at a hill with a tree containing a sun disk (Fig. 10), perhaps analogous to the Hill of the Sun in the López Ruiz narrative. Concerning the killing of a tiger at Tiger Hill, the motif that is being described here may have resembled a tiger hill in the Codex Nuttall (Fig. 11). The sign in the Nuttall appears in a group of places conquered by 8 Deer, with the subjugation of the place indicated by the arrow that punctures the animal. Another possibility is that the conquest in the lost codex is quasi-mythic or ceremonial as the Tiger Hill with an arrow in the Selden Roll (Fig. 6).

In the final five paragraphs on page 439 of the López Ruiz story, the Mixtec ruler and his group travel to the hill of the South where he meets his sister, whose Mixtec calendrical name is (*Ya*)*quecuiñi* (4, 5 or 9 Grass) and her sister named (*Ya*)*cucuy*, (probably 1, 2, 3 or 12 Vulture). The Mixtec leader, now referred to as the "head chief of tigers," and this second woman have a son. In the final paragraph of this page, the Mixtec ruler wins a battle over another group considered to be nomadic, and this group presents him with a great many chickens as war booty.

The offering of birds described by López Ruiz on page 439 is also a frequently represented event in the Mixtec codices, although bird offerings usually do not occur following a conquest. Rather, they are more likely to occur during ceremonial events and especially during an installation or confirmation of a ruler. For example, several bird offerings are seen in the opening pages of the genealogical side of the Codex Nuttall (Figs. 3-4). In the lower-left corner of page 1 of this codex, a priest named 3 Eagle offers a parrot toward the emerging ancient ancestor 8 Wind "Flints-Eagle," as does a person named 8 Vulture in the center of this page and a man named 4 Rain in the upper-right corner of page 2. The tradition of offering a bird to an important personage continues in Colonial manuscripts as evidenced in a scene in the postconquest Codex of Yanhuitlan (Fig. 12), in which a group of unnamed seated men, one of whom holds a bird, faces a ruler named 9 house, seated on the right side of this page.

Notwithstanding the characterization by López Ruiz of the events at the end of page 439 as a marriage, I believe that it is possible that what may be happening here is an offering to two female deities. The two



a



b

Fig. 10. The Ruler 8 Deer at a Hill with a Tree Containing a Sundisk.

(a) Nuttall 44-III

(b) Colombino 3-III



Fig. 11. Tiger Hill Conquered by 8 Deer.

Nuttall 46-II.

women named on page 439--(*Ya*)*quecuiñi* and (*Ya*)*cuncuy*--are the first persons in the López Ruiz narrative to be given Mixtec calendrical names. All previous Mixtec phrases in his text are either place names or dates, including the two toponyms *Yucuncho* and *Yusañuñute* that López Ruiz considered to be names of persons but are Mixtec names of boundaries written on the lost codex. Moreover, the calendrical names of these two women are two of six names in the glosses that have *ya-* or *yya-* as a prefix (Table 5). This, in itself, implies that these two women have some type of special status.

The gloss (*Ya*)*quecuiñi* could be 9 Grass, the calendrical name of a frequently represented death goddess, who often participated in the wars of humans and who is also consulted by rulers whose biographies are told in detail in the Mixtec manuscripts (Caso 1979:283-285; Furst 1982; Jansen 1982:248-254; Pohl 1994a:69-82). The second calendrical-name gloss, (*Ya*)*cucuy*, could be 12 Vulture, the name of another goddess who immediately follows the death goddess 9 Grass in a listing of deities between pages 30 through 27a of the Codex Vindobonensis (Fig. 13b). Unfortunately, 12 Vulture is not as frequently represented in the Mixtec codices as is 9 Grass, so we know very little about her functions, nor do we know in which regions of the Mixteca she was important.³

Another reason to postulate that the two earliest-named persons in the lost codex are deities is that it is traditional in Mixtec manuscripts for the representations of historical genealogies to begin with what Alfonso Caso (1977:43-48) called "a prologue in the heavens" with named deities appearing in the earliest scenes. This is exemplified in the opening section of the Codex Tulane (Fig. 5). Immediately following the three place signs is a pair of male deities on the right side of the manuscript: 7 Eagle within a hill with a palm tree and 9 Eagle diving toward the same hill, with two priests on the left making an incense offering to these gods.

Thus, although the activities described by López Ruiz on page 439 seem to be genealogical events, such a marriage and the birth of an offspring, they are more likely to be a ceremonial preface to the genealogical text presented later in the codex. Specifically, one of the early unnamed rulers or a priest may be consulting with, or making offerings to, two female deities: the well-known death goddess named 9 Grass and a lesser known goddess named 12 Vulture.

CHAPTER II (PAGE 440)

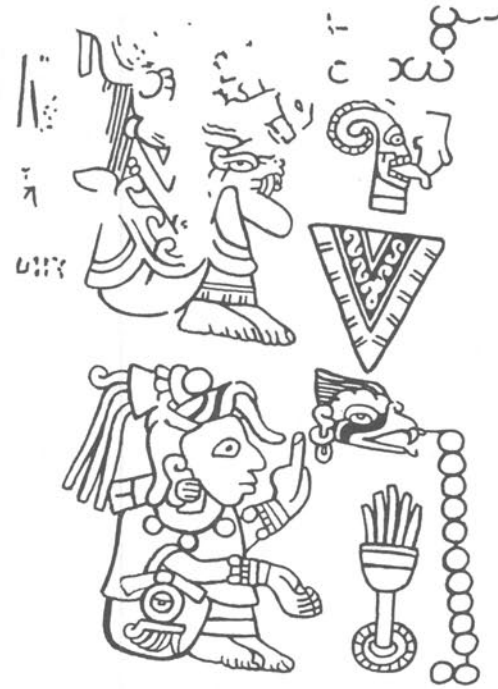
The five paragraphs of this short chapter are concerned with the activities of the surviving son of the first ruler who was the protagonist of pages 437-439 and whose first son had died. The Mixtec name of the surviving son is given as (*Ñu*)*cuhoco*, perhaps 1, 2, 3 or 12 Flower or Rain. This offspring is described as doing battle with the tribes in the nearby mountains and, specifically, as conquering the site of Ñuñumee.



Fig. 12. Codex of Yanhuitlán: a meeting between rulers and their people.
(After Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:pl. II)



a



b

Fig. 13. The Death Goddess 9 Grass in the Codex Vindobonensis.

(a) At Skull Temple, page 15b

(b) With the Goddess 12 Vulture (below), page 28d

Following this conquest, he marries a woman whose Mixtec name is given as (*Ñu*)*cabacoho*, perhaps 1, 2 or 12 Flower. Added to this Mixtec name is the Spanish phrase "*cacica* of blood," which may be a reference to this woman's personal name because blood does function as a personal-name motif in the Mixtec genealogical codices. This woman is described as coming from the family of her husband's enemies, and the marriage unites the two family groups under the rulership of the husband.

One reason that the couple discussed in Chapter II are treated separately from the mythological origins presented in Chapter I and the genealogies that begin in Chapter III is that they may be what is termed "ancient ancestors." That is, they are not deities but quasi-mythic originators of a genealogical line. (On "ancient ancestors," see note 1 of this chapter.) An example of a single couple who serve as ancient ancestors is seen as a preface to the first genealogy of the Codex Tulane (Fig. 14). Directly above the mythological origin scene in this codex (illustrated in its entirety in Fig. 5) is a single seated couple: a male ruler named 12 Reed on the right, and a female ruler named 13 Water on the left. This couple is placed *before* the pictorial sign that names the town with which the first genealogy is concerned: a body of splashing water, with an unnamed seated ruler on the left and an eagle on the right, perhaps the sign for the town of Chila in southern Puebla (Smith and Parmenter 1991:28-35). Immediately following this place sign are fifteen couples who were the rulers of this town. The single couple described by López Ruiz in his Chapter II seem to function in the same manner--that is, as an *entr'acte* between the deities of Chapter I and the historical genealogies of Chapter III.

Another reason that the couple of Chapter II is discussed in a discrete section of the López Ruiz narrative is that they were physically separate from the main narrative line in the lost codex he was describing. One indication that this might be the case is that, at the beginning of Chapter III (bottom of page 440 and top of page 441), this couple is said to have had no heirs. If the lost Codex López Ruiz were a typical Colonial Mixtec manuscript in which the lineages were presented as vertical columns of marriage pairs, then the brief interlude of Chapter II might have been placed at one side of the column or columns of genealogical couples.

An excellent example of this type of extra-genealogical material occurs in the Zapotec Genealogy of Macuilxochitl from the Valley of Oaxaca (Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1982, Whitecotton 1983 and 1990:14-48). The principal subject matter of this Colonial manuscript on parchment is a central vertical column of the couples who were rulers of Macuilxochitl. But appended to the right and left sides of some of the central couples are added figures drawn in different hands (Smith n.d.).

CHAPTER III

Described in Chapter III is the type of dynastic genealogy that is the main subject matter of Mixtec painted manuscripts of both the prehispanic and early Colonial periods. As delineated by López Ruiz, the genealogies of Chapter III are divided into four sections, with the first three sections ending with a lack of heirs and the fourth with the Spanish conquest. The genealogical material in this chapter is summarized in Tables 7 through 10, and the genealogies in these tables are presented as they were described by López Ruiz. It is possible that his narrative may not always follow the same reading order as the lost codex. An indication that this may at times be the case occurs in Chapter IV, which includes the Spanish names with which the native nobility were baptized in the Colonial period (page 447; Table 11). Following this segment with Spanish names is a section with the prehispanic style of Mixtec calendrical names--that is, names of persons who are earlier in date than those with Spanish names.

In the accompanying tables, the sex of the rulers is indicated by the biological symbols for male and female placed in front of the rulers' Mixtec calendrical names. The towns with which López Ruiz says that the various rulers are associated are placed in capital letters enclosed in boxes below the persons' names. In some cases, these place names are Mixtec names of uninhabited boundary sites rather than of communities that had a hereditary line. The boundary names were undoubtedly derived from glosses written near the figures of couples in the genealogy, and they will be considered in detail in the following chapter. In several instances I have made comments and suggestions in brackets in Tables 7 through 10, and some of these will be discussed briefly below.

Section 1: Page 441 through Page 442, Line 7

The first genealogical segment begins on page 441, following the death without heirs of the couple featured in Chapter II, and concludes on page 442, line 7, with the death of a male heir at a young age. As described by López Ruiz, this segment consists of six generations (Table 7). It is possible that the second generation in Table 7 may be a date rather than the calendrical names of a couple. I postulate this because the calendrical names of the two persons lack the prefix $\tilde{N}u$ - seen in most of the calendrical names in Chapter III and because the day sign Flint is one of the four that function as "year bearers" to give year dates.

Section 2: Page 442, Line 8 through Page 443, Line 20

The second segment of Chapter III, like the first, seems to consist of six generations, and the genealogies in this section are summarized in Table 8. A summary of the genealogical information, however, eliminates many of the complexities of the story told by López Ruiz.

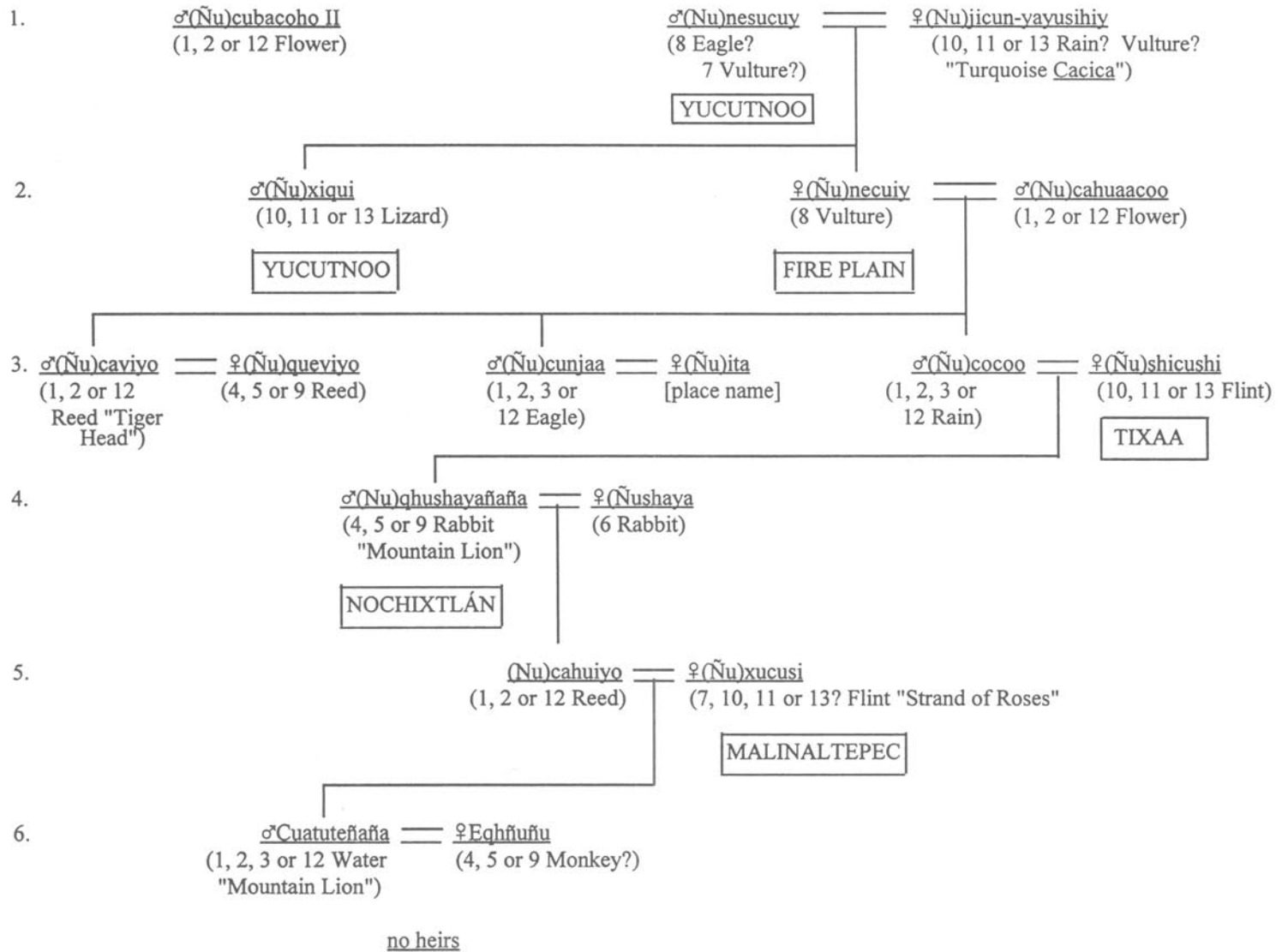
Following the death of a young male heir (442, line 7), a peregrination is made to a site named *Yucutnoo* ("black hill" in Mixtec), where a battle is fought over this place between two groups of Mixtecs. A male ruler is born there, whom López Ruiz first gives the place name *Yucumaa yushy* and later the calendrical name (*Ñu*)*cubacoho*. According to the story, this calendrical name was given in memory of the second son of those who were victorious at *Yucutnoo*: a *cacique* named (*Ñu*)*nesucuy* and his sister (*Ñu*)*jicum-Yayusihy*, who later married. As the narrative continues, the son and first offspring of this brother-sister pair inherits *Yucutnoo*, while the daughter and second child marries a man named (*Ñu*)*cahuaacoo*, presumably the same calendrical name as the (*Ñu*)*cubacoho* given to the ruler mentioned earlier in this segment (442, line 18). If this is the case, then the first (*Ñu*)*cahuaacoo* is named for the son-in-law of the victors at *Yucutnoo* rather than for their second son as López Ruiz states (442, lines 18-19).

The genealogical emphasis then appears to shift away from *Yucutnoo*, whose ruler in Generation 2 is not described as marrying or as having any heirs. Rather, the third generation consists of the children of this man's sister, who is said to have spent her youth in Fire Plain. Her three sons and their wives are named, with the second son said to marry a woman named *Ñuita*, a place name (443, line 6). This second son is also said to have lived in a cañada named *Ñucoocoo* (443, lines 5-6), which is the calendrical name of his younger brother and a rare instance in which a calendrical name is considered to be a place name, rather than the other way around. The fourth generation of this genealogy features the offspring of the marriage of the third of the three sons, and the final two generations consist of his son and grandson and their wives.

This second portion of Chapter III is by no means as straightforward in concentrating on a single line of descent through the first son as do the other three sections of this chapter. Moreover, the six generations of the second section contain about seventeen persons as contrasted with the six-generation genealogy of section 1 that has a maximum of twelve persons. In addition, according to the description of López Ruiz, events other than genealogical descent occur in this section, which begins with a peregrination and includes warfare and "sumptuous celebrations" (442, line 26).

The migration followed by a battle seems reminiscent of a sequence in the Lienzo of Nativitas from the Coixtlahuaca region (*HMAI* 14:fig. 48). At the end of the first column of genealogical couples on the right side of the interior, a line with footprints extends from the last couple at the top of the column to the lowermost couple of the genealogical column in the left side, perhaps analogous to the "peregrination" of López Ruiz.

TABLE 8. GENEALOGY OF CHAPTER III: SECTION 2 (Page 442, line 8 through Page 443, line 20)



Just below the first couple of the lefthand column is a battle scene, again analogous to the event in the López Ruiz narrative.

Section 3: Page 443, Line 21 through Page 444, Line 3

The genealogy described by López Ruiz in Section 3 of Chapter III is summarized in Table 9. This section begins with the second marriage of the woman who had no children with her first husband at the conclusion of Section 2 (Table 8). The Section 3 genealogy seems to be the most uncomplicated one in the López Ruiz narrative with one couple per generation and with the ruling line seeming to be transmitted from father to son. One problem in this section is that two Mixtec phrases considered to be names of persons are actually place names: that of the woman in generation 6 of Table 9 and that of the last male ruler (generation 7 of Table 9). Perhaps in the lost codex the male ruler of generation 6, (*Ñu*)*xicuaa*, marries the female ruler of generation 7, (*Ñu*)*xihuaco*. If this were the case, then the genealogy of Section 3 would be six generations in length, the same span covered in Sections 1 and 2. In Table 9, I have considered the initial marriage of Section 3 to be "Generation 0" because this couple is contemporaneous with the final generation of Section 2.

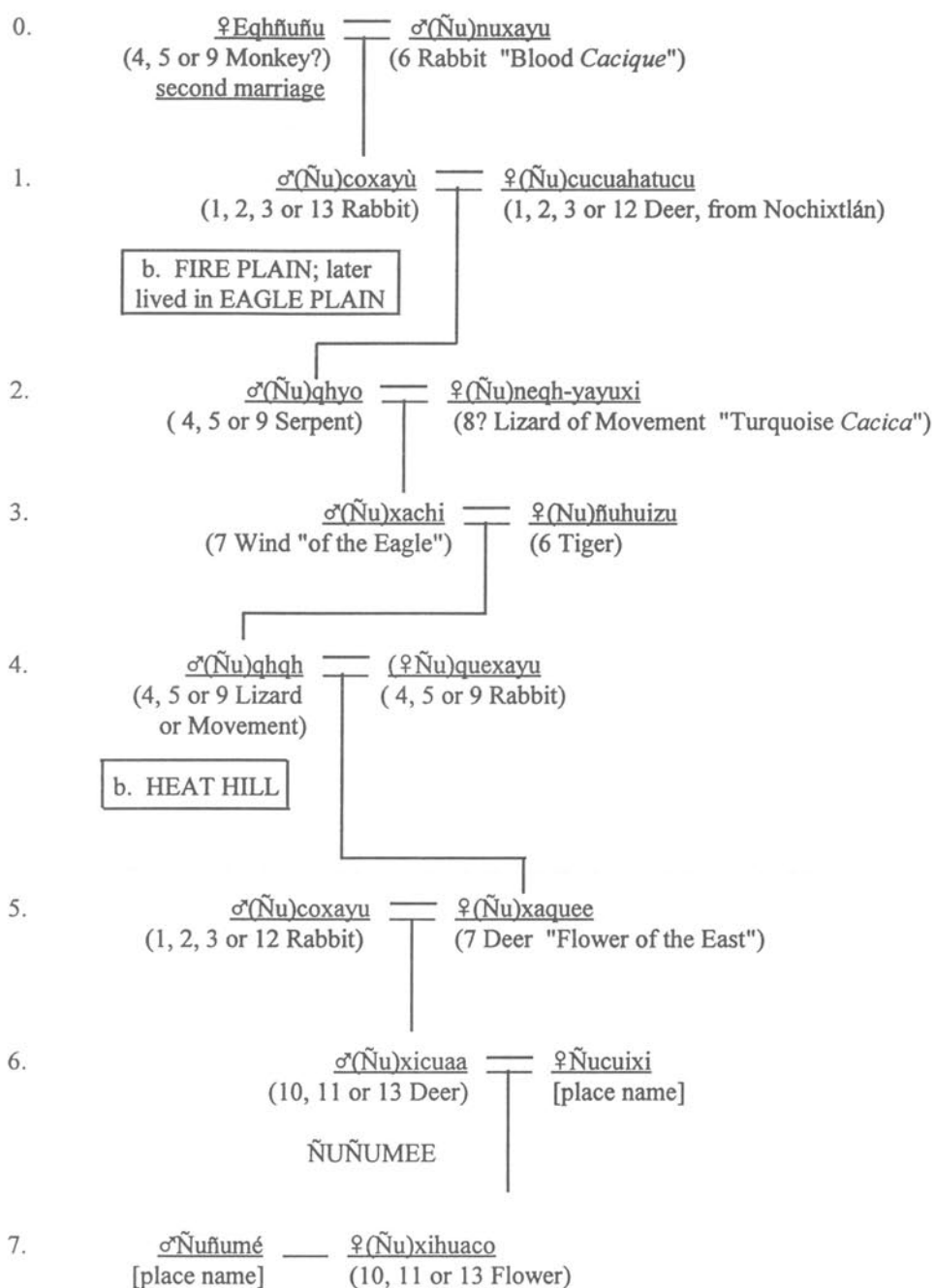
Section 4: Page 444, Line 4 through Page 445, Line 8

The genealogies of the fourth and final section of Chapter III are summarized in Table 10. This section, like Section 3, begins with the second marriage of a woman whose first marriage without offspring concludes the previous section (Table 9). In Table 10, this woman's generation is considered to be "0" because it is contemporaneous with the final generation described in Section 3. One feature that the Section 4 genealogy shares with that of Section 2 (Table 8) is that multiple offspring are shown for one generation. Specifically, five sons and the wives of two of these are given as the immediate descendants of Generation 3 in Section 4.

Several repetitions of calendrical names occur in the genealogies of Section 4. For example, at the beginning of this section (*Ñu*)*cuñuu* is the calendrical name of the ruler of Tlaxiaco who becomes the second husband of the woman who concluded the genealogy of Section 3. He is said to be living in *Ñundiyo* or "place of stairs" with a *cacique* whose calendrical name is also (*Ñu*)*cuñuu*, with the added Mixtec phrase *atimaño*, and who is described as a "cacique of the sun" (444, lines 4-6). Perhaps the lost codex contains two different glosses that refer to the same person.

Another notable repetition of calendrical names occurs later in this section. The fifth son of generation 4 is named (*Ñu*)*cahuaco* and he marries a woman named (*Ñu*)*qhciuy*. He is considered by López Ruiz to have

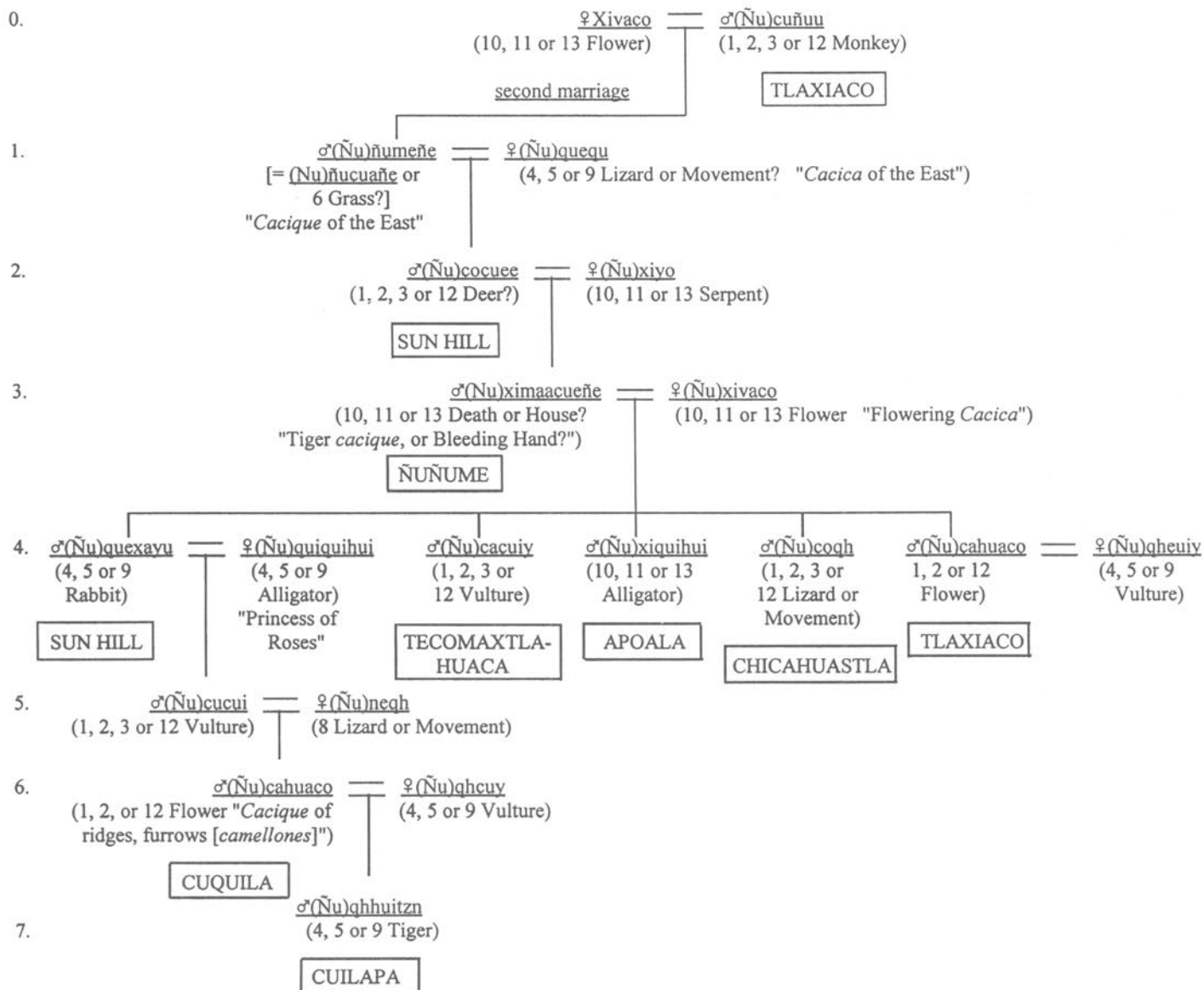
TABLE 9. GENEALOGY OF CHAPTER III: SECTION 3
(Page 443, line 21)



no heirs

b. = born in

TABLE 10. GENEALOGY OF CHAPTER III: SECTION 4 (page 44, line 4 through Page 445, line 8)



been the ruler of Tlaxiaco (*Dixinú* in Mixtec) at the time the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century (445, lines 3-8). The same calendrical name (*Ñu*)*cahuaco* is given to the grandson of the man who is the first offspring in Generation 4, and this second (*Ñu*)*cahuaco* also marries a woman named (*Ñu*)*qhcuy* (Generation 6 of Table 10). The second (*Ñu*)*cahuaco* is described as a "cacique of furrows, ridges (*camellones*)" and is considered to have been the ruler of Cuquila, southwest of Tlaxiaco. Here, too, two different sets of glosses on the lost codex may refer to the same couple.

Still another problem with the Section 4 genealogy is that the fifth son of the fourth generation is considered to have been ruling at the time of the Spanish conquest (445, lines 2-8). Yet, three later generations are given as the descendants of the first son of Generation 4. All the persons of the allegedly postconquest Generations 5 through 7 have typically prehispanic calendrical names rather than baptismal names in Spanish, which do not occur until Chapter IV of the López Ruiz narrative. But by the second or third generation following the Conquest, the nobility would be expected to have Spanish names as well as their Mixtec calendrical names. This apparent discrepancy may be an indication that López Ruiz was not reading the genealogies of this section in the correct order.

Summary

Chapter III of the López Ruiz narrative presents four genealogical segments of virtually equal length: six to seven generations. This segmented format may have resembled the presentation of the principal genealogy in the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36). The principal ruling line in this lienzo begins in the center of the right side, just above the unidentified sign of a mound with a corn plant, presumably the sign of the town controlled by this ruling line. A vertical column of ten couples rises above the place sign on the right border. Then, the genealogy seems to be extended by four shorter columns of couples to the left of the initial ten couples: two columns of three couples each, and two columns of four couples each. If all the couples were not considered to be part of a continuous line (although they probably are), then the couples at the end (or top) of each couple might be considered to have had no heirs. One feature described by López Ruiz at the beginning of two of his genealogical segments--the second marriage of the female ruler whose first marriage concludes the previous segment--does not seem to occur in the Lienzo of Philadelphia. Nonetheless, the division by López Ruiz of the genealogies of Chapter II into four segments may imply that he was describing four distinct columns of figures.

If the genealogies of the four segments are considered to be continuous and consecutive sections of a single genealogy, then the total number of generations in Chapter III would be about twenty-five, which is a long genealogy but not an impossible one. For example, the Codex Egerton 2895 gives the ruling line of

a place known as "Tiger Town," and the number of generations from the pair of ancient ancestors on page 5 of this codex to the final couple on page 31 is twenty-six. In the Lienzo of Philadelphia discussed above, the total number of couples in the five columns of figures above the mound with a corn plant is twenty-four. A lost codex from Yanhuitlán is also described as presenting twenty-four generations of rulers (AGI-Escribanía de Cámara 162-C, legajo 5; summarized in Spores 1967:94, 96).

Nonetheless, the number of generations for many of the ruling lines depicted in the extant manuscripts is considerably less than twenty-five. Seventeen generations of nobility are depicted for Teozacoalco in this town's 1580 *Relación geográfica* map (Caso 1949; Acuña 1984, II:131-147). Fifteen generations of rulers of Acatlán are delineated in the Codex Tulane (Smith and Parmenter 1991), and the same number is given for Macuilxochitl in that town's genealogical manuscript (Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1982; Whitecotton 1983 and 1990).

Perhaps some of the relationships that López Ruiz considered to be genealogical are actually tangential to the ruling line or lines in the lost codex. Specifically, some of the persons he incorporates into the hereditary genealogies may be engaged in "support" activities such as the "offering of royalty" (Fig. 8) and other ceremonies.

Another possibility is that some of the genealogical matter in the lost codex presents contemporaneous rather than consecutive ruling lines. This occurs in the Codex Tulane, which begins with fifteen generations of the rulers of one town and concludes with fifteen contemporaneous rulers of another community (Smith and Parmenter 1991).

CHAPTER IV

The fourth and final chapter of the López Ruiz story is even more segmental than Chapter III, and the relationship between the various segments is by no means clear. I have rather arbitrarily divided this chapter into four sections, with the proviso that these divisions may not relate to the manner in which the material presented in Chapter IV is drawn on the lost codex.

Page 445, Line 9 through Page 446, Line 12

The first segment of Chapter IV seems to be an isolated vignette dealing with the activities of a ruler named *Ñehuizo* (6 or 8 Tiger). He is said to have lived in the early twelfth century, which is described as a time of "continuous revolutions" (445, line 12). *Ñehuizo* is joined by two of his contemporaries, one named *Quchuiyo* (4, 5 or 9 Reed) and the other, *Qhoiyo* (perhaps also 4, 5 or 9 Reed) in an attempt to bring peace

to the region. It is agreed that the son of one of the four will be appointed the overall ruler of the disparate groups. The son in question is that of *Ñehuizo*, and he is named *Xixañuu*.

The translation of this last Mixtec name depends on how its components are divided. If the first two syllables, *xixa*, are the calendrical name, then it would be 10, 11 or 13 Eagle, with the *ñuu* at the end of perhaps being the ruler's personal name. If the final two syllables, *xañuu*, give the calendrical name, it would be 7 Monkey. Under the last interpretation, the *xi* syllable at the beginning of the name is not accounted for, unless it is a mistranscription of *Ya-*, the prefix that denotes nobility. But none of the other calendrical names in this segment have either the prefix *ñu-* or *ya-*, perhaps indicating that *xixa* is the calendrical name.

Page 446, Lines 13-34

This segment of Chapter IV deals almost exclusively with Mixtec names of boundary sites. These are discussed in Chapter 5 and are included in Index B at the end of this study. The only Mixtec calendrical name of a ruler mentioned in this section is (*Ya*)*naqu* or 8 Lizard, one of the six persons in the López Ruiz narrative whose calendrical name is prefixed with *ya-* (Table 5). The end of this segment (446, lines 28-29) deals with the early Colonial period because it describes the baptism of two rulers by the Dominican friar Benito Hernández. The baptismal names of the two men are Juan de San Pablo and Bartolomé de San Pablo.

Page 447, Lines 1-32

This segment deals primarily with early Colonial native rulers who are given the partial or full Spanish names with which they were baptized. In the second, third and fourth paragraphs of this page are short genealogies of one or two generations that end with no heirs or, in the case of the genealogy in the third paragraph, with two unnamed sons. Without question, the material in this segment is later in date than the other genealogical information in the López Ruiz narrative, perhaps naming native rulers who lived in the early seventeenth century.

The fifth paragraph (447, lines 24-32) begins with nobility who have Spanish names, with their descendants having Mixtec calendrical names. The three-generation genealogy that López Ruiz describes in this paragraph is summarized in Table 11. This is a clear case in which the genealogical material is being read in reverse chronological order, because the Colonial *caciques* with Spanish names would have lived later than those with the prehispanic style of Mixtec name.

TABLE 11. GENEALOGY OF CHAPTER IV (Page 447, lines 24-32)

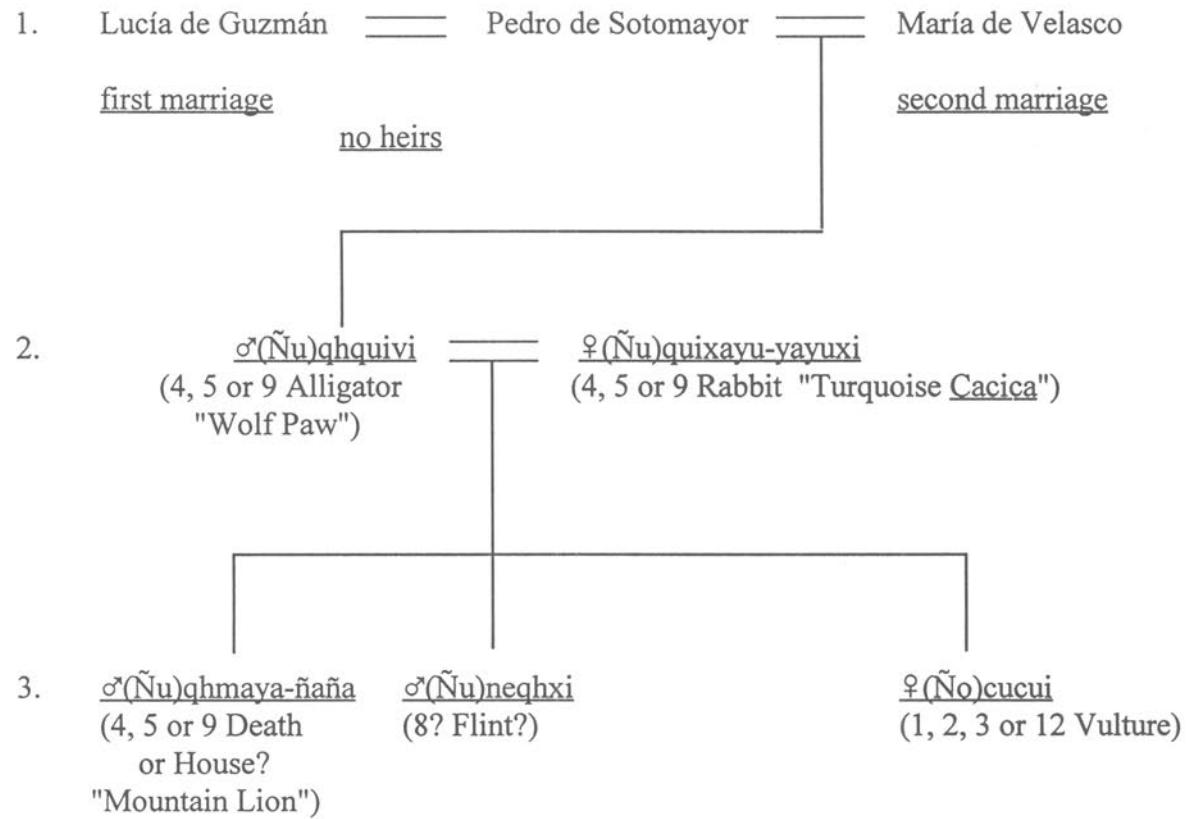
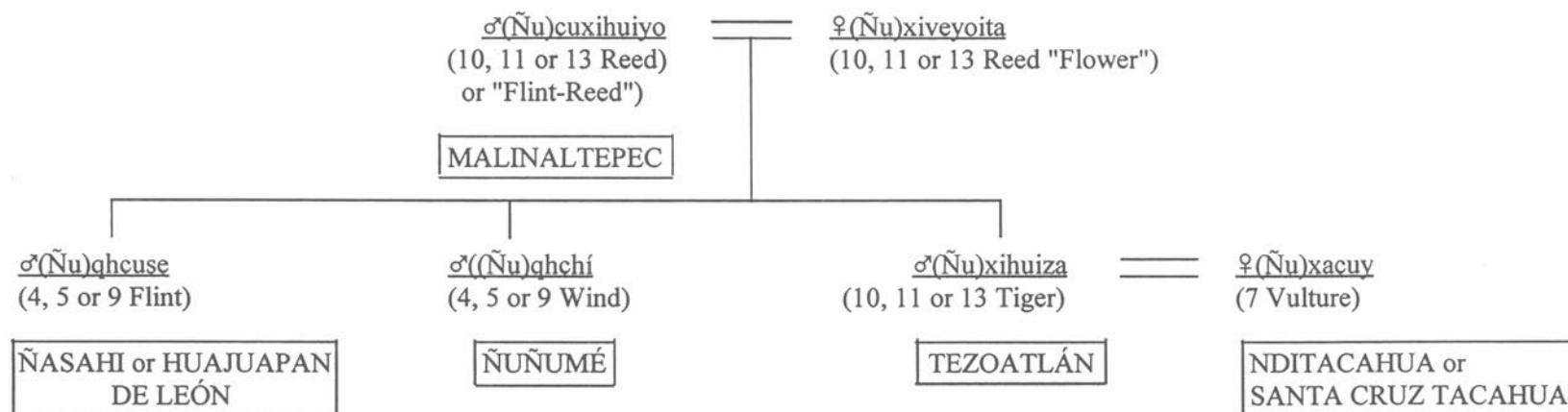


TABLE 12. *CACIQUES* AT THE END OF CHAPTER IV (Page 447, line 33 through Page 448, line 7)



Other caciques mentioned:

TONALÁ: (Ñu)xivaco (10, 11 or 13 Flower)

NUNUMÉ cacueñecacuiy

(1) cacueñe (1, 2 or 12 Grass)

(2) cacuiy (1, 2 or 12 Vulture)

and their offspring xiqhqueyo

(1) xiqh (10, 11 or 13 Lizard or Movement)

(2) queyo (4, 5 or 9 Serpent)

CHALCATONGO: qhchixacuiy

(1) qhchi (4, 5 or 9 Wind)

(2) xacuiy (7 Vulture)

CUQUILA: qhcoqhemiy

(1) qhco (4, 5 or 9 Rain)

(2) qhemiy [= qheciuy?] (4, 5 or 9 Vulture)

cuixiyo-nehuizo

(1) cuixiyo (10, 11 or 13 Serpent?)

(2) ñehuizu (6 or 8 Tiger)

Page 447, Line 33 through Page 448, Line 17

The final segment of Chapter IV and the end of the López Ruiz narrative describes briefly the rulers of various towns in the Mixteca and concludes with the Spanish conquest of the region. The genealogical relationships and names of persons in this section are summarized in Table 12.

In the opening paragraph of this segment, seven towns are named: Malinaltepec, Chalcatongo, and Cuquila in the Mixteca Alta; Ñasahi (Huajuapan de León), Tezoatlán, and Tonalá in the Mixteca Baja; and Ñuñumé, probably the Mixtec name of Putla in the Mixteca de la Costa. The ruler of Tezoatlán is said to be married to a woman from Nditacahua (Santa Cruz Tacahua). (The locations of these towns are shown in the map in Fig. 18.)

Are these seven communities related to the "seven *petates* and seven chairs" described in the opening segment of chapter IV (445, lines 12-13)? This seems possible, because the calendrical name *Ñehuizu*, said by López Ruiz to be the protagonist of this beginning section also occurs twice as part of the compound calendrical name *cuixiyo-ñehuizu* at the end of Chapter IV (448, lines 6-7 and 9). In the second mention, this compound name is said to be that of an "old man." The "seven *petates* and seven chairs" reference also seems analogous to the "offering of royalty" scenes in the Map of Teozacoalco (Fig. 8) because in both offerings in this map seven seated men face the man whose rulership is being acknowledged.

Beginning at the end of line 4 of page 448, the Mixtec calendrical names are paired, and these pairings are listed in Table 12. Specifically, two calendrical names are grouped as one, and neither name has the prefix *ñu-* or *ya-*. Indeed, the *cuixiyo-ñehuizu* mentioned above is such a double name, with *ñehuizu* being 6 or 8 Tiger. The *cuixiyo* section is more problematic. The last two syllables, *xiyo*, can mean 10, 11 or 13 Serpent, but the entire phrase *cuixiyo* may be analogous to the *Cahiuyo*, *Quchuiyu* or *Qhoiyo* given in the opening section of Chapter IV (445, lines 11, 14).

In the case of the double calendrical names given for the rulers of Ñuñume, Chalcatongo and Cuquila (448, lines 4-7), these glosses may provide subsidiary genealogical information unrelated to specific painted figures in the lost codex. This type of gloss occurs on the reverse of the Codex Tulane, in which columns of Mixtec names written in European script delineate the brothers and sisters of the inheriting rulers of Acatlán painted on the front of the codex (Smith and Parmenter 1991:61-64).

Because the paired Mixtec names lack the prefix *ñu-* or *ya-*, it might be conjectured that they represent year and day dates rather than names of rulers. This is unlikely, however, because most, if not all, the double names do not include one of the four day signs that function as year bearers in year dates: House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint.

The double calendrical names are not the only ones in this final section of Chapter IV that are difficult to interpret. For example, the first ruler in this section (447, line 33) is named (*Ñu*)*cuixihuiyo*. The final three syllables of this name, *xihuiyo*, give the calendrical name 10, 11 or 13 Reed, but this interpretation does not account for the final syllable *cu* preceding *xihuiyo*. What this name *seems* to be is a combination of *cuixi*, the word for the day sign Flint, combined with *huiyo*, the word for the day sign Reed.⁴ The name of this ruler's wife is given as (*Ñu*)*xiveyoita* (447, line 33). The first section of this name, *xiveyo*, can be the calendrical name 10, 11 or 13 Reed and seems the same as the *xihuiyo* of her husband's name. The second section, *ita*, can mean "flower" and may refer to this woman's personal name.

The final two paragraphs of Chapter IV describe the last stand of the Mixtecs and their defeat by the Spanish conquistadors. As López Ruiz succinctly states: "All hope having been lost, the Mixteca came under the domain of the Viceroy of Mexico, and the predominance of the native rulerships came to an end."

CONCLUSIONS

The story told by Mariano López Ruiz is very similar to that depicted in extant manuscripts from the Mixteca. It begins in Chapter I with a prologue that sets forth mythological origins and that seems to include deities, elderly priests, fire, and offerings of birds. The first named persons in this chapter apparently are two goddesses: 12 Vulture and the death deity 9 Grass.

Chapter II is an *entr'acte* between the mythological prologue and the extensive genealogical material presented in Chapter III. This brief chapter only names one couple, who may be "ancient ancestors"--that is, persons who have a mythic origin but are the progenitors of human lineages.

The subject of Chapter III is that of the majority of extant Mixtec manuscripts: the depiction of genealogical relationships in a chronological order. This chapter may include as many as twenty-five generations of rulers and ends with the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century. As described by López Ruiz and summarized in Tables 7 through 10, the type of genealogical material in the lost codex seems similar to that given in the Codex Egerton 2895. The latter codex begins with a mythological origin scene on page 2, followed by two pages (3-4) of priests with offerings, and then, on page 5, the depiction of the main town with which the codex is concerned ("Tiger Town"), along with a pair of ancient ancestors. In the "Tiger Town" genealogy presented on the remaining pages (6-31), most of the pages contain only one couple, with the figure on the left considered to be the heir of the couple on the preceding page and the figure on the right considered to be the spouse of the inheritor. Eleven pages of the Codex Egerton (6, 10, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 31) also depict subsidiary offspring of the main couple--that is, children who did not inherit "Tiger Town."

Some of the same types of information may have been given in the Codex López Ruiz, accounting for the multiple offspring seen in Tables 8 and 10.

The disparate material in Chapter IV does not seem to relate closely (if at all) to the mainstream genealogy delineated in Chapter III. If, as I believe likely, the Codex López Ruiz is not a screenfold but a large single-sheet manuscript (on cloth or paper), the scenes described in Chapter IV may be depicted as separate from the principal genealogy. Several other extant manuscripts include these types of "extra-genealogical" scenes. For example, on the interior of the Lienzo of Zacatepec from the Mixteca de la Costa, several couples and conquests are shown that are not explicitly related to the ruling line of Zacatepec. In the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36), of unknown provenance, the genealogical material is presented in the upper section of the manuscript, with the early quasi-mythic history in the lower section. Again, there is no obvious connection between these two groups of figures in the lienzo. Separate scenes are also common in some of the large cloth documents from the Coixtlahuaca basin, such as the Lienzo of Tlapiltepec and the Lienzo Seler II. In his Chapter III, López Ruiz seems to have described persons who have an explicit genealogical relationship; and, then, in Chapter IV he describes those persons or groups of persons on the lost codex who were not obviously connected with the principal genealogical line.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Determining whether a person in the Mixtec manuscripts is a deity, priest or ancient ancestor is usually done on the basis of the context in which the person appears.

Deities often appear on the obverse of the Codex Vindobonensis, and they may appear in the historical manuscripts over a longer period than is possible for a human lifetime. Both male and female deities are known, but they are not shown as marrying or having children. In common with ancient Greek religion, the Mixtec deities participated in the lives of human rulers. For example, the noted death goddess 9 Grass went into battle in the "War of Heaven" (Rabin 1979) depicted in the codices Nuttall (3-4 and 20) and Bodley (3-4). The sun god 1 Death (Caso 1959) was a "mover and shaker" in arranging accession to rulerships and mediating disputes between feuding factions (e.g., Bodley 33-II and Becker I, 4).

Priests are usually identified by their activities and accoutrements. They often carry torches, incense burners, and various offerings such as textiles, birds, and sacred bundles. At times, they will be dressed only in a loincloth, have black face paint, and lack a personal name. (For example, on the opening page of the genealogical section of the Codex Nuttall illustrated as Fig. 3 of this study, the men who approach 8 Wind "Flints-Eagle" with offerings are considered to be priests.) To my knowledge, all priests are male; there seem to be no priestesses in the codices. Occasionally, but by no means always, priests are shown as elderly (having only one tooth) and as bearded. Like deities, priests do not marry or have offspring, and they can appear in the manuscripts over a period longer than a normal human lifetime.

Ancient ancestors are quasi-mythic persons who appear at the beginning of a genealogical line. They are usually born from the earth, a river, a tree or the like, but are not shown with human parents. In contrast to deities and priests, ancient ancestors do marry, and their offspring are the earliest historical rulers of the Mixtec community kingdoms (Smith and Parmenter 1991:28-30). The person whose story is told in detail in the opening pages of the Codex Nuttall, 8 Wind "Flints-Eagle," is an example of an ancient ancestor. He is shown on the opening page of this codex (Fig. 3) as emerging, first, from a rectangle of earth combined with the features of a skull and, second, from one of the rivers of Apoala, one of the towns from which the Mixtecs are said to have originated. Moreover, 8 Wind appears on the obverse of the Codex Vindobonensis (35a) with the personal name "20 Eagles," which places him in a different category from the usual historical ruler. In many respects, ancient ancestors are the Adams and Eves of the Mixtec genealogical records.

2. One of the first to recognize the importance of 8 Deer was Zelia Nuttall (1902:20-27), who characterized him as "our hero." In the Mixtec screenfolds, the biography of this notable ruler is treated in detail in the Codex Colombino and Becker I, on one side of the Codex Nuttall (pages 42-84 of the 1902 edition), and in the Codex Bodley (pages 7-V through 14-IV). He also makes a cameo appearance as a father-in-law in the Codex Selden (9-I). His life and times have been discussed at length by Clark (1912), Caso (in Caso and Smith 1966; Caso 1979:169-184); Troike (1974); Anders, Jansen, and Pérez Jiménez (1992b:175-244); and Byland and Pohl (1994).

According to the published correlation of Mixtec and Christian dates by Alfonso Caso, 8 Deer lived from 1011 to 1063. In the still unpublished revision of this correlation by Emily Rabin, he lived one 52-year cycle later, from 1063 to 1115.

3. At least two different women with the calendrical name 12 Vulture may appear in the Codex Vindobonensis. The 12 Vulture who immediately follows 9 Grass on page 28d has a Rain sign on her costume and a jewelled fan to her right. Caso (1979:368-369) suggested that she is the same female named 12 Vulture on page 33c who has no distinctive attributes and that a woman named 12 Vulture in Vindobonensis 33d and 4b is a different personage. Furst (1978a:166) postulated that all four women named 12 Vulture in the Vindobonensis are the same individual and noted that she does not appear in the historical manuscripts.
4. In the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Putla in the Mixteca de la Costa (Acuña 1984, I:313), the native ruler of this town is called *cusivizu* in Mixtec, a combination of two words for day signs: *куси* or Flint and *vizu* or Tiger. This combination gives the personal name "Flints-Tiger" of a ruler of Putla whose calendrical name is 8 Lizard (Smith 1973a:97-98; Fig 32 of this study). Perhaps the combination of two words for day signs in the names in the Codex López Ruiz performed the same function. This type of Mixtec name, however, is unusual.

5. NAMES OF PLACES

Three types of place names appear in the López Ruiz narrative: town names in either the Nahuatl or Mixtec languages, names of boundaries in the Mixtec language, and place names in Spanish. All of these are included in Index B at the end of this study. This index also contains the Mixtec phrases that López Ruiz suggested were names of persons, but that I believe are place names (Table 6). The locations of most of the towns mentioned in this chapter are shown in the maps that are Figs. 15-18 and 22 of this study.

TOWN NAMES IN NAHUATL AND MIXTEC

The Nahuatl and Mixtec names of towns given in the López Ruiz story are listed in Table 13; and, with the exception of Cholula in central Puebla, their locations are shown in Fig. 18. The Nahuatl names are, for the most part, the names by which these towns are known today.

The majority of the towns are located in the District of Tlaxiaco in the western region of Mixteca Alta. The name of Tlaxiaco itself, either the present-day Nahuatl name or the town's Mixtec name *Dixinuu*, appears three times, as does the name of Cuquila, located southwest of Tlaxiaco. Two of Tlaxiaco's neighbors--Malinaltepec on the east and Chalcatongo on the southeast--are each named at least twice.¹ Also occurring twice in the Mixtec name *Tixaa*, which may refer to San Pablo Tijaltepec, southeast of Tlaxiaco.²

The place mentioned by far the most frequently, occurring eight times in the text is *Ñuñume* or *Ñuñumee*. This is probably the same as *ñuuñuma*, or "town of smoke," one of the Mixtec names of the important town of Putla in the Costa region of the Mixteca (Reyes 1890:91; Acuña 1984, I:313).³ At the time of the Conquest, Putla was one of Tlaxiaco's most formidable neighbors to the southwest, as well as being an important market center.

Four towns from the Mixteca Baja are included in the text: Tonalá, Tezoatlán, Huajuapán de León (as its Mixtec name *ñusahi*),⁴ and Tecomaxtlahuaca. Tezoatlán was Tlaxiaco's neighbor to the north in the early Colonial period.

The most frequently mentioned name of a town in the Mixteca Alta outside the District of Tlaxiaco is that of Nochixtlán, in the district of the same name and the birthplace of López Ruiz. The name of Nochixtlán occurs four times, in two instances as variants of the town's Mixtec name: *atucu* (appended to the calendrical name *ñucucua* on page 444, line 34) or *andugh* (transcribed as *Anaugh* on page 444, line 34). Singularly absent from the names of towns in the Mixteca Alta outside the District of Tlaxiaco are the towns whose genealogies are extensively documented in the codices Bodley, Nuttall and Selden--that is, Tilantongo,

TABLE 13. TOWNS NAMED IN THE TEXT OF LÓPEZ RUIZ

<u>Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Page and Line</u>
<u>District of Tlaxiaco</u>		
3	Tlaxiaco, or its Mixtec name <i>Dixinuu</i>	444, line 4 445, line 3 447, line 13
3	Cuquila	444, lines 24, 26 448, line 7
2-3?	Malinaltepec	443, line 17 445, line 17 (?) 447, lines 33-34
2	Chalcatongo	441, line 8 448, line 6
2	Tixaa [= San Pablo Tijaltepec?]	443, line 9 447, line 15
1	Nundaco, Santa Cruz	441, line 34
1	Chicahuaxtla	444, line 34
1	Ndita cahua [= Santa Cruz Tacahua]	448, line 3
<u>Mixteca de la Costa</u>		
8	Ñuñume(e) [= Putla?]	440, line 12 443, line 34 444, lines 2, 16 447, line 9 448, lines 1-2, 5, 11
2	Yucu satu [= <i>yucusatuta</i> or Zacatepec?]	447, lines 18, 29

TABLE 13. (concluded)

<u>Number of Mentions</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Page and Line</u>
<u>Mixteca Baja</u>		
2	Tonalá	441, line 15 448, line 4
1	Tezoatlán	448, line 2
1	Nusahi [= Huajuapán de León]	448, line 1
1	Tecomaxtlahuaca	444, line 30
<u>Mixteca Alta (Outside of the District of Tlaxiaco)</u>		
4	Nochixtlán or its Mixtec names Anduqh/Atucu	443, lines 12, 25 444, line 34 445, line 1
1	Apoala	444, line 33
1	Cuilapa	444, line 29
1	Zentzontepec	447, line 22

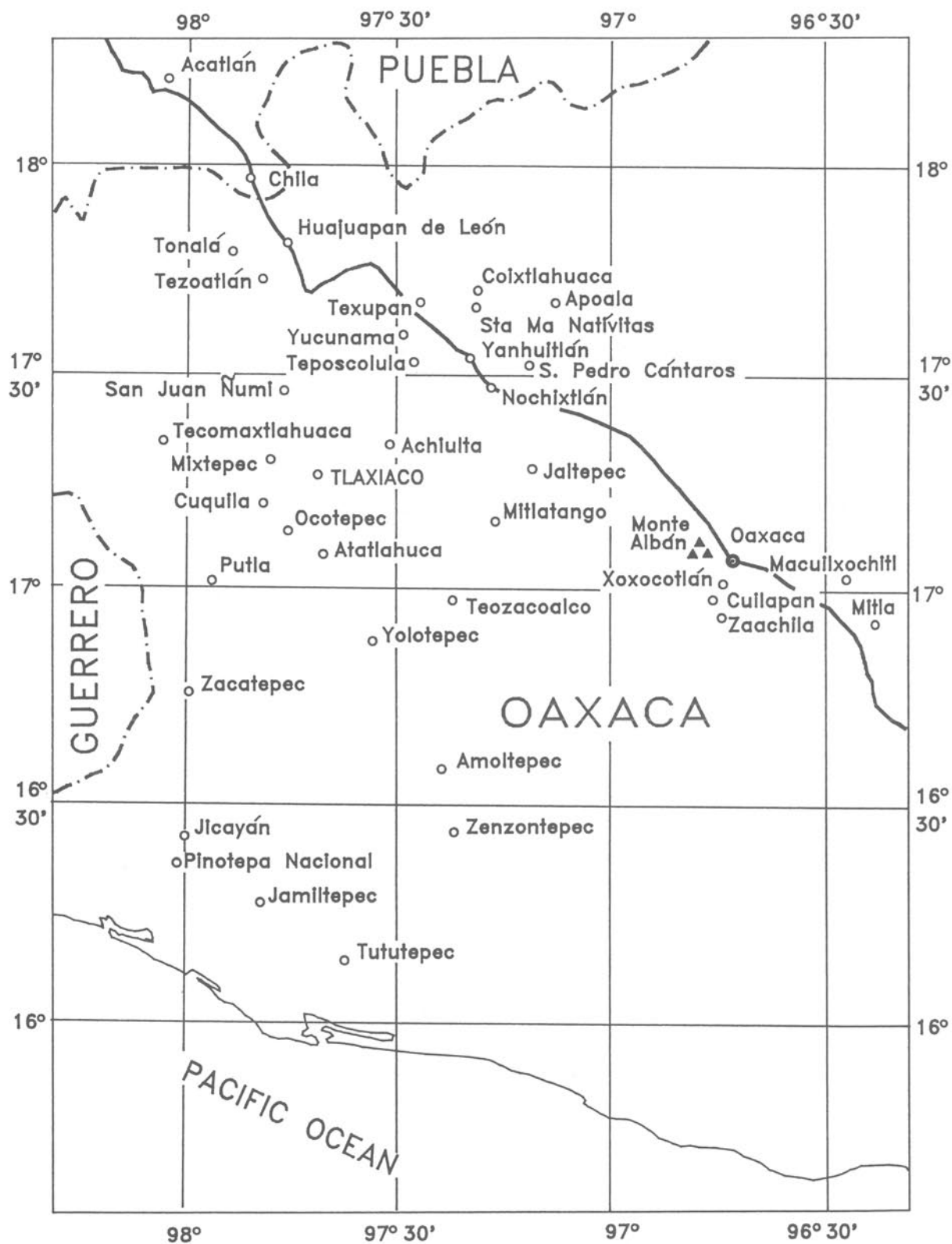


Fig. 15. Map of the Mixteca, showing the locations of many of the towns discussed in this study.

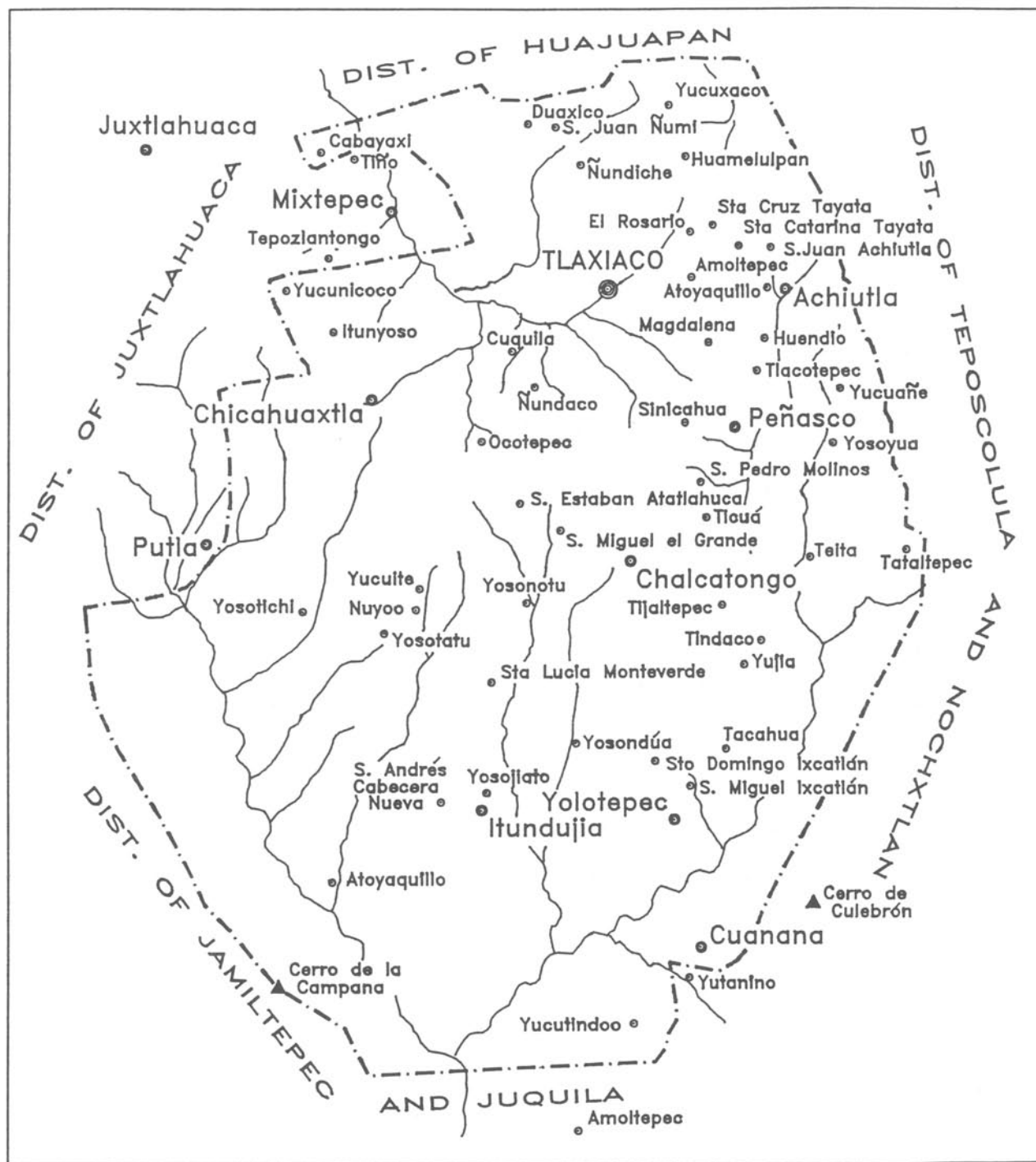


Fig. 16. Map of the District of Tlaxiaco in 1871. (After Vázquez 1871)

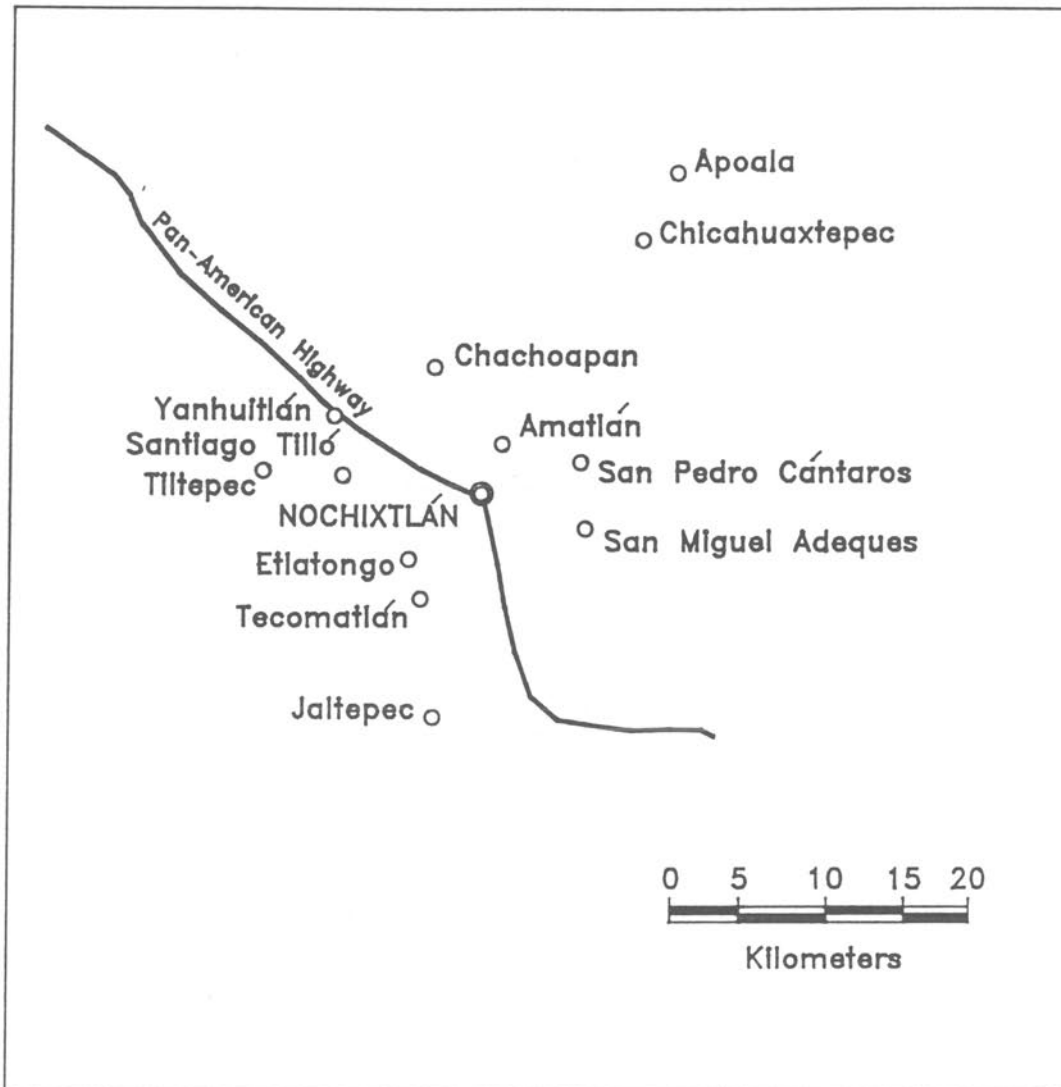


Fig. 17. Map of towns in the Valley of Nochixtlán and Vicinity.

Teozacoalco and Jaltepec. Nor is mention made of the two Mixteca Alta towns that had the most imposing sixteenth-century Dominican monasteries: Yanhuitlán and Teposcolula.

At least two other glosses in the Mixtec language that may refer to towns are *Ñundiyo*, translated by López Ruiz as "lugar de escaleras" or "stairway place" (444, line 5) and *yodzonuyuqhnduchi* (447, line 25). *Ñundiyo* is the Mixtec name of Cholula in central Puebla (Reyes 1890:93; cf. also König 1979:124-126), although there may have been other places within the Mixteca that were also known by this Mixtec name. *Yodzonuyuqhnduchi* seems to refer to a plain near the town of Etlatongo on the western edge of the Nochixtlán Valley. *Yodzo* means "plain, valley"; among the many meanings of *nu(u)* are "near, next to"; and *yuqhnduchi* or "temple of beans," is the Mixtec name of Etlatongo (Smith 1988:697-699).

As to the source of these town names, whether Nahuatl or Mixtec, it seems likely that López Ruiz was copying glosses in European script that had been written on the lost codex rather than interpreting pictorial signs of places on the codex. The Mixtec signs for most of the towns given in his narrative were not identified until over a half-century after he was writing. Indeed, some still have not been identified (as, for example, the sign of Malinaltepec).

Yucu Tnoo

Special problems are presented by the Mixtec place name *Yucu tnoo*, "cerro o monte negro" in Spanish and "black hill" in English. This place name appears four times on page 442 only, and it is not italicized as are the majority of Mixtec phrases in the López Ruiz text. (The use of italics, however, is not absolutely consistent in the published paper.)

The same Mixtec name, given as *Yucu tnó* and translated as "cerro negro," also appears at the beginning of *Ita Andehui*, the novelized story of ancient Mixtec life co-authored by Manuel Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz (1906:3, 6). In this book, *Yucu tnó* is considered to be west of the site where the princess Ita Andehui and her widowed mother live, a site described as "the plateau of a Gray Rock" (p. 6), later called in Mixtec *Cahua tnó* (pp. 32,33). At the end of the book (p. 231), this site is said to be near "the air vent [*Respiradora del Aire*] of Mitlatongo." As seen in the map that is Fig. 15 of this study, Mitlatongo is located south of the Valley of Nochixtlán and southeast of Tilantongo, a town whose nobility is mentioned frequently in *Ita Andehui*. In the description of Santa Cruz Mitlantongo in the "*Cuadros sinópticos*" compiled by Martínez Gracida (1883), it is stated: "In the mountain range north of this town is a chasm that creates a great deal of wind" This may be the same place as the "respiradera del aire" mentioned in *Ita Andehui*.

One possibility is that the *Yucu tnoo* that appears on page 442 of the López Ruiz narrative refers to the Late Formative archaeological site known as Monte Negro that is located near the present-day community of

Tilantongo. This site was first excavated by Alfonso Caso and his colleagues in the 1930s (Caso 1938, 1942; see also Spores 1967:42-44, 47-48, 98 and 1984:22-23; Flannery 1983; Byland and Pohl 1994:22-23, 54-55). Its sign was identified by Caso (1950:16) as part of a large compound glyph in the Codex Nuttall (Fig. 19). In this codex, Monte Negro is depicted as a black hill that forms the background for the platform with black-and-white geometric decoration that represents the Mixtec name of the later community of Tilantongo: *ñuu tnoo*, or "black town" (Caso 1949; Pohl and Byland 1990:119-123). López Ruiz would undoubtedly have been aware of the archaeological site of Monte Negro because he served as the Director of the Escuela Oficial of Tilantongo (Anonymous 1921:21) and apparently conducted excavations there (Jansen 1987:72).

As well, in his reminiscences about his sojourn in Tilantongo (Appendix B), López Ruiz said he was told that *Yucu tnoo* was the first site at which the Mixtecs settled following an early peregrination in the region. But the legend recorded in these reminiscences is not consistent with the role of *Yucu tnoo* in the "Estudio cronológico" under discussion. In this narrative *Yucu tnoo* appears at the beginning of the second segment of the genealogical account of Chapter III (442, lines 8-22; Table 8), and it is said to be the destination of the fourth journey of the rulers described in this chapter, and a site whose rulership was determined after several battles.

Another possibility is that the *Yucu tnoo* of the López Ruiz narrative refers to the town of Tiltepec in the western section of the Valley of Nochixtlán (Fig. 17). The Mixtec name of Tiltepec is *yucu tnoo* (Reyes 1890:89), and a sign of this town probably appears in the lower-left corner of page 6 of the Codex Muro (Fig. 20). In this codex, the sign depicts the hometown of a woman named 7? Grass who married into the ruling line of San Pedro Cántaros-Adeques that is the main interest of this manuscript, and above this woman's figure is a partially legible gloss that concludes with the toponym *yucu tnoo*. The *tnoo* or "negro" section of Tiltepec's name is here represented by vertical black stripes rather than as a solid black hill as is the case of the Monte Negro sign in the Codex Nuttall. In this respect, the hill with stripes in the Codex Muro seems similar to a hill with black-and-white stripes in the biography of 8 Deer in the Codex Nuttall (Fig. 21), a sign on which 8 Deer himself is seated.

A third possibility is that the *yucu tnoo* in the text of López Ruiz may be the name of a boundary located to the east of Tlaxiaco, as seen in Table 14. Nonetheless, most of the boundary names given by López Ruiz appear only once or, at times, twice. Certainly none of them occurs four times in the same section of the story, with the exception of *yusa ñuñute* in the opening pages of the narrative; and López Ruiz considered this Mixtec phrase to be the name of a person rather than a place name.

Still another possibility is that López Ruiz was describing a pictorial sign on the lost codex, a sign that was a black hill or a hill with black stripes. This seems to have been the case for the place names in Spanish,

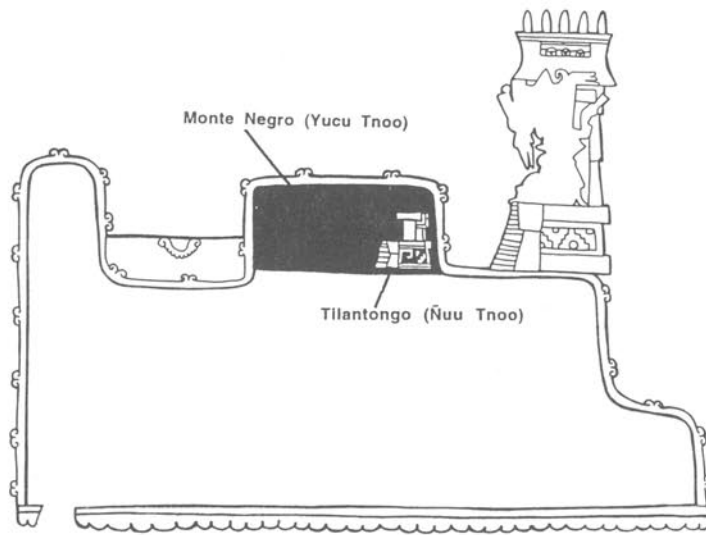


Fig. 19. The Signs of Monte Negro and Tilantongo. Nuttall 22.



Fig. 20. The Sign of Tiltepec.
Muro 6.



Fig. 21. Hill with Black-and-White Stripes
(Tiltepec?) and the Ruler 8 Deer. Nuttall
51-IV

discussed below. But precisely which *yucu tnoo* López Ruiz is referring to on page 442 of his story is still an open question.

NAMES OF BOUNDARY SITES

The majority of the thirty to forty place names in the Mixtec language that do not refer to towns are names of boundary sites. In one paragraph of his text (446, lines 13-16), López Ruiz specifically mentions that the places given in this section are boundaries ("linderos"); but place names in the Mixtec language *throughout* the text--including some phrases considered to be names of persons--are also names of boundary sites.

The Mixtec place names that can be identified from Colonial and modern land documents are listed in Table 14. Without question, those boundary names whose location can be determined from land documents enclose--literally and figuratively--the town of Tlaxiaco in the western Mixteca Alta. Of the thirty-four to thirty-nine Mixtec toponyms in López Ruiz that are considered to be boundary names, thirteen are definitely and six are possibly boundary sites documented to be in the Tlaxiaco region. That is, roughly half of the boundary names can be certainly or tentatively identified as being from the Tlaxiaco region. Moreover, there is only a very sporadic and probably coincidental correlation of these Mixtec names with sites outside of this region.⁵ Also, as can be seen in Table 14, the boundary names are for sites in all directions in relationship to the town of Tlaxiaco--north and northeast, south, southwest, west and northwest--thus surrounding Tlaxiaco much as do the pictorial signs of boundary names on a typical sixteenth-century Mixtec map (as seen, for example, in Figs. 33-35). The approximate boundary lines delineated by the sites thus far identified are shown by dotted lines in the accompanying map (Fig. 22).

Dating of the Boundary Glosses

As yet, about half of the boundary names given in the López Ruiz text cannot be correlated with Colonial documents. I believe that the reason for this is that the majority of documents cited from the archive of the Secretaría de Reforma Agraria and the Archivo General de la Nación date from the eighteenth century, whereas the boundaries on the Codex López Ruiz are from an earlier period, perhaps the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.

It is unlikely that the boundaries date from the early Colonial period, when the region controlled by Tlaxiaco was at its greatest. In the mid-sixteenth century, the *Suma de visitas* characterize Tlaxiaco as having eight satellite communities, with each of these communities, in turn, having subjects or dependencies (*PNE* I:282-283). The material in the *Suma de visitas* on these satellite communities is summarized in Table 15. At

**TABLE 14. MIXTEC BOUNDARY NAMES IN THE TEXT OF
LÓPEZ RUIZ AND IN OTHER DOCUMENTS**

<u>North and Northeast of Tlaxiaco</u>	
<i>yucu yuxi</i>	"monte verde" boundary, San Antonio Monteverde and Tezoatlán (1793, 1859) AGN-RT 2725-23 SRA-Comunal 276.1/227
437, lines 3-4 438, line 2 443, lines 4 and 15?	
<i>yucu coho/yucu cu</i>	boundary, Tlaxiaco and Tezoatlán (1793) AGN-RT 2725-23
437, line 7 438, lines 12, 25 439, line 39	
<i>itnu ñaña</i>	"cerro de gato montés" boundary, Monteverde and San Sebastián Nicananduta (1767, 1957) SRA-Comunal 276.1/227 and 276.1/197
441, line 34	
<i>itnu ndoso huayu</i>	"La Bandera" boundary, Monteverde and Tezoatlán (1774, 1793, 1878) AGN-RT 2725-23 SRA-Comunal 276.1/227
444, line 9	
<i>yucu yoco*</i>	boundary, Monteverde and Santo Domingo Nundó (1767) SRA-Comunal 276.1/227
446, line 16	

*See also under "East of Tlaxiaco"

TABLE 14 (page 2 of 4)

<p><i>yucu xitu*</i></p> <p>446, line 33</p>	<p>"cerro de cogoyo [cogollo]" boundary (<i>cuadrino</i>), Monteverde with Nicananduta, Nundó and Chilapa de Díaz (1957) SRA-Comunal 276.1/197</p>
<p><i>yucu ñuñuhu</i></p> <p>438, line 3 439, lines 28-29</p>	<p>? same as <i>sique yucu ñunuhu</i> "encima del cerro de la neblina" boundary, San Andrés Lagunas and San Pedro Mártir Yucunama, District of Teposcolula (1707 <i>et seq.</i>) AGN-RT 1285-1 and 646-2</p>
<p><i>yusa ñuñute</i></p> <p>438, lines 8, 20-21 439, lines 8, 21</p>	<p>? same as <i>yuta notí</i> arroyo near the road between Teposcoula and San Martín [Huamelulpan] (1595) AGN-Mercedes 21, fol. 99v; Spores and Saldaña 1973:195, no. 1818</p>

East of Tlaxiaco

<p><i>yucu tnoo</i></p> <p>442, lines 10, 20, 23, 29</p>	<p>? same as <i>yucu tnu</i> boundary, San Mateo, Peñasco (1707) SRA-Comunal 276.1/544</p> <p><i>sa[ha] yucu tnu</i> "pie del cerro negro" boundary (<i>trino</i>), San Bartolomé Yucuañe [Malinaltepec], San Pedro el Alto, and Tataltepec (1942) SRA-Comunal 276.1/189</p>
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*See also under "East of Tlaxiaco"

TABLE 14 (3 of 4)

<i>itnu ndoso ita</i>	boundary, Tlaxiaco and San Cristóbal Amoltepec (1862) SRA-Comunal 276.1/236
446, line 15	
<i>yucu yoco*</i>	"cerro del panal" boundary (<i>trino</i>), Tlaxiaco with Magdalena Peñasco and Amoltepec (1862) SRA-Comunal 276.1/236
446, line 16	
<i>yucu xitu*</i>	"cerro de espiga" boundary (<i>trino</i>), Tlaxiaco with Amoltepec and Santa Catarina Tayata (1863) SRA-Comunal 276.1/236
446, line 33	
<i>itnu tande</i>	boundary, El Rosario and San Miguel Achiutla (1707, 1751) SRA-Comunal 276.1/181
446, line 33	

South of Tlaxiaco

<i>cuiti cuandahui</i>	boundary, Tlaxiaco and San Esteban Atlatlahuca (1756) SRA-Comunal 276.1/236
443, lines 9-10, 18	
<i>itnu ndeyu</i>	? same as <i>itnu ndaa yiy</i> boundary, Tlaxiaco and Atlatlahuca (1757) Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, Virreinato-Límites, legajo 1, exp. 17
443, line 19	

* See also under "North and Northeast of Tlaxiaco"

TABLE 14 (4 of 4)

<u>Southwest of Tlaxiaco</u>	
<i>yucu coo</i> 443, lines 4, 15	boundary, Santo Tomás Ocotepec and Santiago Nuyoo (1706) AGN-RT 876-1; see also the Lienzo of Ocotepec (Caso 1966)
<i>itnu maha</i> 443, line 7	boundary, Buenavista Hacienda in the town of Ocotepec Puebla, Archivo Notarías, Acatlán (Feb. 22, 1847), fol. 3v
<u>West and Northwest of Tlaxiaco</u>	
<i>yodzo ñuita</i> 446, lines 17-18	<i>yodzo ita</i> "llano de la flor" boundary, Santiago Nundiche and San Juan Mixtepec (1758) AGN-RT 3544-3 SRA-Comunal 276.1/394
<i>toto xaha quaha</i> 446, line 20	? same as <i>toto ducha cuaha</i> "peña colorada" boundary, Tlaxiaco and Mixtepec (1758) AGN-RT 3544-3 SRA-Comunal 276.1/394
<i>itnu quihui</i> 446, lines 21, 28	boundary, Tlaxiaco and Nundiche (1707, 1719) SRA-Comunal 276.1/290
<i>yucu tuno</i> 448, line 11	? same as <i>yucu titnuu</i> "monte prieto" boundary, Tlaxiaco and Mixtepec (1758) AGN-RT 3544-3 SRA-Comunal 276.1/394

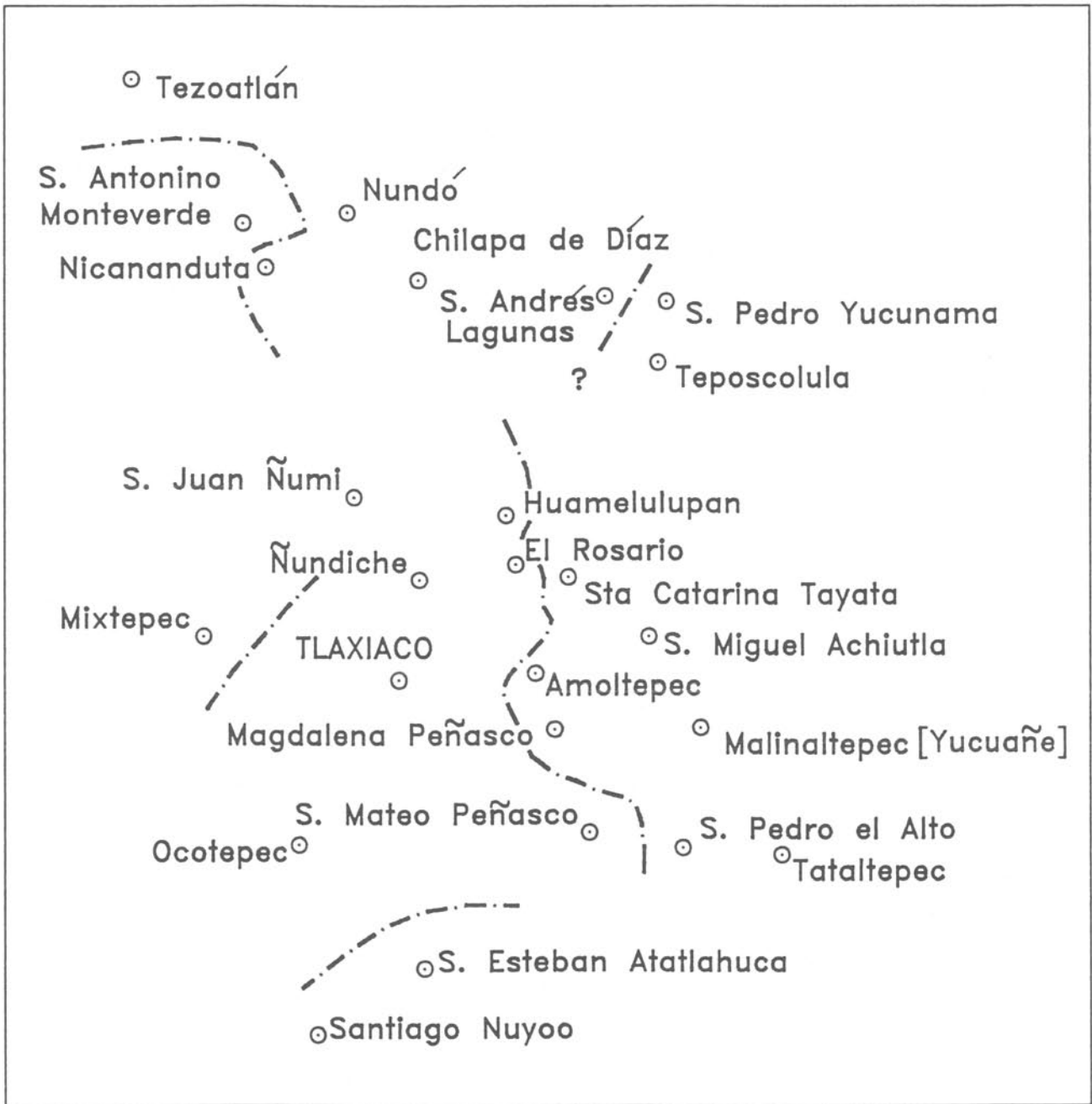


Fig. 22. Map Showing the Approximate Locations of the Boundary Sites Included in the Text of López Ruiz.

the time the *Suma de visitas* was compiled, Tlaxiaco extended northward to the Mixteca Baja and apparently included Chilapa de Díaz, now in the District of Teposocolula. On the south, Tlaxiaco extended into the present-day District of Putla because Teponaxtla in this district is also listed as a satellite (Monaghan 1994:156). Illustrative of the dominance of Tlaxiaco in the western Mixteca Alta at the time of the Conquest is the tribute page of this region in the early Colonial Codex Mendoza from the Valley of Mexico (Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 3:fol. 45r). In addition to the principal city of Tlaxiaco, only two other communities are listed for this area: Achiutla and an unknown town whose Nahuatl name is given as "çapotlan" (Zapotlan).⁶

By the time the boundary glosses were written on the lost Codex López Ruiz, Tlaxiaco no longer seems to have controlled completely some of the satellite towns to the south (such as Teponaxtla) and to the southwest (such as Chichahuaxtla). Tlaxiaco may also not have dominated San Juan Mixtepec to its west at the time of the annotations because Mixtepec is considered to be outside the territory covered by the glosses. Earlier, the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Mixtepec stated that this town recognized the *cacique* of Tlaxiaco as its ruler (Acuña 1984, I:293).

When the boundary glosses were added to the lost codex, Tlaxiaco still extended northward to the Mixteca Baja and still within its orbit was the town of San Juan Ñumí ("Pioltepeque" in the *Suma de visitas*) northeast of Tlaxiaco. By at least 1603, San Juan Ñumí is said to have had its own ruling line in the Chávez family (Smith and Parmenter 1991:111, n. 10), although it is unclear whether this family was controlled by Tlaxiaco or had established its independence.

Another indication that at least some of the annotations on the lost codex date from the early seventeenth century is the appearance in the López Ruiz narrative of the name of Pedro de Sotomayor (447, line 24). He is documented as having been the native ruler of Ocotepéc or of its subject town Santiago Nuyoo from 1612 to 1616 (Spores and Saldaña 1975:185, no. 2261; Romero and Spores 1976:nos. 324, 680, 2875).

Thus, if documents can be located that are closer in date to the annotations on the lost codex, more correlations may be found between the Mixtec place names given by López Ruiz and boundary sites in the Tlaxiaco region. If the codex had been annotated to be presented as corroborating evidence in a specific land dispute, the ideal situation would be to find the documents engendered by this dispute.

It is my impression that the Mixtec names of boundaries appeared on the lost codex *only* as annotations in European script and not as pictorial place signs. That is, the Codex López Ruiz was not a typical sixteenth-century Mixtec map, such as the Lienzo of Ocotepéc (Figs. 33-34), in which the boundary signs are arranged around the borders of the large cloth painting. I believe that the codex was essentially a genealogical manuscript, perhaps more closely resembling the Lienzo Philadelphia (Fig. 36) and that it was made into a "map" by having Mixtec boundary names written on it in European script.

TABLE 15. SATELLITE TOWNS OF TLAXIACO IN THE *SUMA DE VISITAS*

Name in the Suma de Visitas		Number of leagues from Tlaxiaco	Number of Dependencies	Present-Day Name
1.	Santa Maria	3	9	Santa María Cuquila?
2.	Choquixtepeque	3	6	Chichahuaxtla?
3.	Chilapa	5	5	Chilapa de Díaz (District of Teposcolula)
4.	Tepuçultepeque	2	22	?
5.	Comaltepeque	4	6	San Mateo Peñasco (SRA 276.1/982: "San Mateo Peñasco Comaltepec")
6.	Vdecoyo	5	15	?
7.	Pioltepeque	5-1/2	4	San Juan Ñumí
8.	Teponauastla	8-1/2	2	Former town of Teponaxtla, south of Tlaxiaco (Monaghan 1994)

Writing cartographic annotations on a painted manuscript whose pictorial narrative is genealogical or historical was a fairly common practice in the Mixteca in the Colonial period. For example, the prehispanic screenfold known as the Codex Colombino presents a painted biography of the famous ruler 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" (Clark 1912; Caso in Caso and Smith 1966; Troike 1974; Anders, Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 1992b:177-244). In the Colonial period, extensive glosses were added to the manuscript, setting forth the Mixtec names of boundaries of towns within the political orbit of Tututepec, the most important town in Mixteca de la Costa. In 1717, this codex was presented by Tututepec as a "mapa" in land litigation (Smith in Caso and Smith 1966).

Similarly, the painted subject matter of the Codex Tulane is a double "king list," presenting the native rulers of Acatlán and possibly Chila in southern Puebla. By the end of the eighteenth century, this codex belonged to San Juan Ñumí, north of Tlaxiaco, where it was glossed with the Mixtec names of the boundaries of Ñumí. This codex, as well, was presented in court as a "mapa" (Smith and Parmenter 1991:64-70).

Two other genealogical manuscripts that have added Mixtec boundary names are the Codex Muro and the Hamburg fragment of the Codex Becker II. The Muro codex, whose drawings depict the native rulers of San Pedro Cántaros-San Miguel Adeques, also has--among the many written addenda to the codex--Mixtec names of boundaries in this region (Smith 1973b, 1976). Codex Becker II is a genealogical manuscript from the Mixteca Baja; and the opening two screenfold pages in Hamburg, now separated from the four screenfold pages now in Vienna, have glosses with Mixtec boundary names (Nowotny 1975, Smith 1979).

Clustering of Boundary Glosses

As can be seen in Table 14, the boundary annotations that name sites in the various directions outside of Tlaxiaco seem to be clustered in discrete sections of the López Ruiz narrative. Specifically, the boundaries that are located north and northeast are given in the opening section of the text; and some of these seem to have been written near painted human figures because López Ruiz considers them to be the names of persons (Table 6). The names of boundaries south and southwest of Tlaxiaco all seem to be on page 443 of the López Ruiz text. The majority of boundary names identified as being to the east and west/northwest are in the paragraph on page 446 in which López Ruiz states he is giving names of boundaries. It is not known why he considered this group of Mixtec names to be boundaries but did not so designate the other place names presented in his text. Perhaps these names are accompanied by the symbol of a Latin cross that sometimes occurs with boundary names written on the Mixtec codices.⁷ The Mixtec toponyms may even have been labeled with the Mixtec word for "boundary" (*dzañu*, *sañu*, or *xañu*, depending on the dialect) that López Ruiz omitted from his narrative.

I believe that one of the implications of the clustering of boundary glosses is that the lost Codex López Ruiz was a large, single-sheet manuscript, with these glosses written around the edges of the manuscript. The

names of boundaries located north and northeast of Tlaxiaco were apparently written at the bottom of the sheet and are thus included by López Ruiz in his Chapter I on early mythological origins. The boundaries to the south and southwest of Tlaxiaco were apparently written near the genealogical figures described on page 443 of Chapter III of the López Ruiz paper. The boundaries to the east and northwest of Tlaxiaco, whose names are given on page 446 of Chapter IV, seem to be separate from the principal genealogical line and are, as noted, identified by López Ruiz as boundary names. They share their separateness from the main genealogy with the other material presented in his Chapter IV, which also seems to have no clear connection with the main genealogical line described in Chapter III.

PLACE NAMES IN SPANISH

In addition to the present-day Nahuatl and Mixtec town names and the Mixtec boundary names, Spanish place names also occur in the narrative of López Ruiz. The majority of these are in Chapters I and III of his article. None appears in the short Chapter II, and the only Spanish place names in Chapter IV are translations of some of the Mixtec boundary names (446, lines 13-22).

I believe that the Spanish place names in Chapters I and III may be descriptions of pictorial signs drawn in native style on the lost codex. Indeed, these place names may be the only ones that make direct references to the contents of the lost manuscript, because the present-day town names and the Mixtec names of boundaries are probably glosses written on the codex that may not relate closely--if at all--to the genealogical information presented in the painted codex. Most of these Spanish place names will be discussed below, and I shall attempt to relate them to analogous signs in the extant Mixtec manuscripts.

Chapter I

Because the opening chapter of the López Ruiz article deals with early pre-genealogical history, most of the Spanish place names in this section may describe signs of mythical places or ceremonial sites rather than inhabited communities. Nonetheless, if some of the places named in this section are towns, several of these are located in the Tlaxiaco region.

Pine Hill ("Monte del Ocotl")

At the beginning of the López Ruiz narrative (437, lines 3-4), a "pine hill" is grouped with three other place names: "silver hill," "eagle hill," and "*maguey* cactus hill." As I suggested in the previous chapter, this early configuration of places seems similar to groups of place signs that occur at the beginning of other

manuscripts, such as the Codex Tulane (Fig. 5). If the "pine hill" in the Lopez Ruiz paper is the name of a town, it could refer to the community of Ocotepc located southwest of Tlaxiaco. This town's Nahuatl name Ocotepc means "pine hill," as does its Mixtec name, *yucu ite* (Reyes 1890:90).

The known pictorial signs of Ocotepc have been discussed by Maarten Jansen (1982:254). In the 1597 Genealogy of Tlazultepec, in which the sign is accompanied by the gloss "ocotepc," it consists of a rectangle of bundled logs within a hill (Fig. 37, upper-left corner). An analogous sign occurs at the top of the Lienzo of Zacatepec 1 (Peñafiel 1900:plate III), where the rectangle of logs is placed on top of a hill. Above the logs is a crescent moon that may represent Nuyoo, a former subject of Ocotepc. A sign labelled "ocotepc" in the Codex Sierra, an economic manuscript from Texupan in the eastern Mixteca Alta, exhibits two diagonal contiguous sticks within a hill (León 1933:58, plate 32).⁸

Tiger Hill ("Monte de Tigre")

López Ruiz mentions this place in his first chapter (439, lines 1-3) as a site where a hunter kills a tiger. As I observed in the previous chapter, this description can apply to signs in other manuscripts in which a Tiger Hill is shown as conquered because there is an arrow puncturing it (Fig. 11). If the Tiger Hill in the López Ruiz text should refer to a specific town, it might be Cuquila, located southwest of Tlaxiaco. This sign for this community is an ocelot within a hill placed above a platform with geometric decorations in both the Lienzo of Ocotepc (Figs. 33-34, lower-right corner) and a Colonial map in the Archivo General de la Nación (Fig. 39).

Hill of the South and Sun Hill ("Monte del Sur" and "Monte del Sol")

Following the capture of a tiger on page 439 is a scene in which the early Mixtec rulers seem to be consulting with two female deities: the famous death deity 9 Grass, identified by her Mixtec calendrical name (*Ya*)*quequiñi*, and perhaps a lesser known deity named 12 Vulture, or (*Ya*)*cuncuy*. The two Spanish place names that are associated with these activities are "Hill of the South" and "Sun Hill," with Hill of the South said to be the site where 9 Grass awaited the migrating Mixtecs.

In the sixteenth-century Spanish-Mixtec dictionary compiled by the Dominican friar Francisco de Alvarado, the Mixtec phrase for the direction South is *huahi cahi*, which can be translated as "wide house" or "house of the cemetery." The pictorial sign for the South is a skull in the form of a post-and-lintel building (Lehmann 1905:863-865 and 1966:166-168); and, in his discussion of the signs for the four directions, Maarten Jansen (1982:228-240, 248-254) suggested that the Skull Building that represents the South is the sign for the town of Chalcatongo, located southeast of Tlaxiaco. Jansen (1980:29-31) further postulated that this Skull Building is the same as that occupied in the Mixtec codices by the death goddess 9 Grass (Fig. 13a). Thus the

Hill of the South mentioned three times on page 439 of the López Ruiz narrative may refer not only to the direction South *per se*, but to Chalcatongo as the center of the deity 9 Grass.

Sun Hill, which is mentioned twice on page 439, does not seem to be associated with the goddess 12 Vulture or any other deity. As suggested in the previous chapter, the function of this place seems similar to a hill with a tree containing a sundisk where 8 Deer makes an offering of incense in the codices Nuttall and Columbino (Fig. 10).

In the third chapter of the López Ruiz story, the first two places named are Chalcatongo (441, line 8), the town associated with 9 Grass, and Tonalan (441, line 15), a Nahuatl place name that can mean "sun place."⁹ Is this coincidental? Perhaps not, because in both instances the two places seem to be functioning as "prefaces": on page 439 as part of the opening mythological scene, and on page 441 as the beginning sites of the first genealogy.

Chapter III

This chapter discusses in detail the main genealogical line or lines in the lost codex, and thus it is possible that at least some of the Spanish place names in this section refer to the towns of rulers who appear in this portion of the codex.

Eagle Plain ("Llano de Aguila ")

The name Eagle Plain appears twice in the third chapter (443, line 23; 444, line 30), and it is one of four place names in this section that are considered to be plains ("llanos").¹⁰ If the Eagle Plain is depicted as a pictorial sign in the lost codex, the "plain" section of the name is probably shown as a horizontal rectangle of bound feathers because, as was astutely observed by Alfonso Caso (1960:15-18), the Mixtec word for "plain, valley" (*yodzo*) is homonymous with the word for "large feather" (*yodzo*). As noted by Jansen (1987:78), one of the two references to Eagle Plain in the López Ruiz narrative (444, line 30) describes the place as being "near Tecomaxtlahuaca," a town in the Mixteca Baja located west and slightly north of Tlaxiaco. The Mixtec name of Tecomaxtlahuaca is *yodzo yaha* or "eagle field" (Reyes 1890:90; Acuña 1984, I:284); and the pictorial sign of this town in the Codex Becker II (Fig. 23a) is an eagle head appended to a horizontal rectangle of bound feathers (Smith 1979:39-40).

Flame Plain ("Llano de la Lumbre")

In all likelihood, López Ruiz used the term "plain" ("llano") to characterize the horizontal platforms with geometric decorations (Fig. 23c) that usually represent the Mixtec word *ñuu*, "town, place where something exists." The rectangle with feathers sign for the Mixtec word *yodzo* had not been identified when he was writing; at that time the pictorial signs representing toponyms in the Nahuatl language had been more extensively studied than those depicting the Mixtec language.¹¹ Because the platforms with geometric decorations seen throughout the Mixtec manuscripts resemble the overall shape of the sign for "field, plain" in manuscripts reflecting the Nahuatl language (Fig. 23b), he may have considered some of these platforms to be "plains."

If this were the case, then the "flame plain" that López Ruiz mentions three times (441, lines 18 and 30-31; 443, line 24) might be the same as the "Flame Frieze" sign that occurs in the codices Bodley and Selden (Fig. 23c). Wigberto Jiménez Moreno (quoted in Jansen and Gaxiola 1978:12-13) identified "Flame Frieze" as the sign of Achiutla, Tlaxiaco's neighbor to the east.

Heat Hill ("Monte de Calor")

Perhaps the "heat hill" mentioned once by López Ruiz is the same as a hill that contains a flame in the 1597 Genealogy of Tlazultepec (Fig. 37, lower-left corner). The sign in the Tlazultepec manuscript represents the Mixtec name of Tataltepec, southeast of Tlaxiaco (Smith 1973a:58-59). According to the sixteenth-century Mixtec grammar by Antonio de los Reyes (1890:89), the Mixtec name of "Tlatlattepec" is *yucu quesí*; *yucu* is "hill," and *quesí* means "suffocating heat, fever."

Sun Hill ("Monte del Sol")

This is the only Spanish place name that occurs both in Chapter III (444, lines 14 and 19) and in Chapter I (439, lines 3 and 20). In the case of one of its appearances in Chapter III, it is closely associated with the Mixtec gloss *yucuyicanyi*, which probably also means "sun hill."

Byland and Pohl (1994:197-199) have postulated that the "Hill of the Sun" in the Mixtec codices is an important site located near Achiutla, southeast of Tlaxiaco, and that it was the seat of the sun deity 1 Death. In the description of Sun Hill in Chapter III of the López Ruiz paper, the site is said to be the town of two male rulers, one named 1, 2, 3, or 12 Deer? (444, lines 13-14) and the other named 4, 5 or 9 Rabbit (444, line 19). As will be discussed in the following chapter in the section "The Sun God 1 Death," López Ruiz states that this god is shown in the lost codex at a place known as "Sky Plain" ("Llano del Cielo"; 442, lines 2-3), probably represented by a horizontal skyband (the motif from which this deity is descending in Fig. 26).

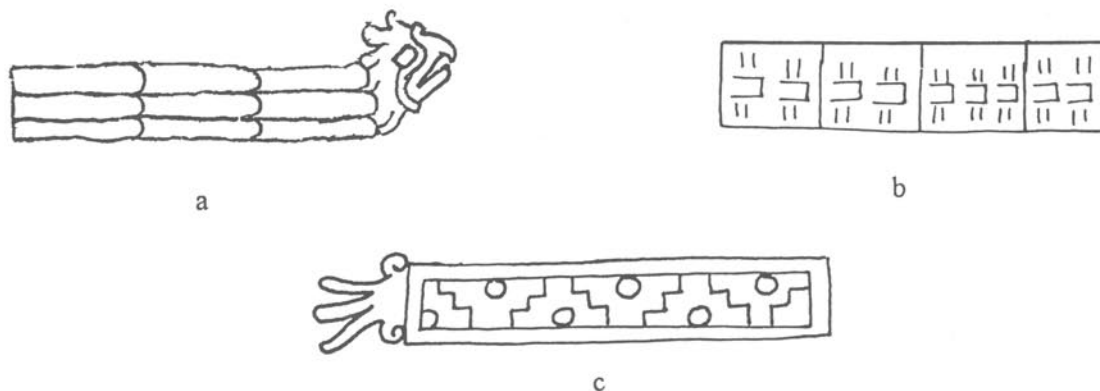


Fig. 23. Place Signs with Horizontal Rectangles.

- (a) The sign of Tecomaxtlahuaca. Becker II, 3.
- (b) The sign in Nahuatl manuscripts for "field, valley." Codex Mendoza, f. 43r.
- (c) The sign of Achiutla. Bodley 23-III.

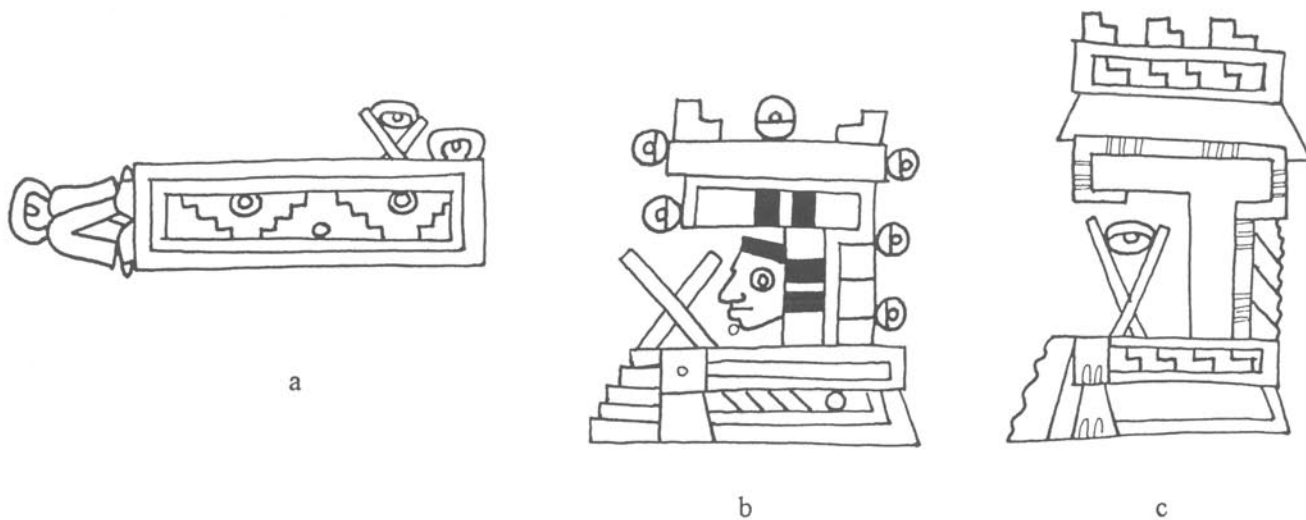


Fig. 24. The Sign of Tlaxiaco.

- (a) Bodley 15-II
- (b) Bodley 32-IV
- (c) Selden 14-I

Sun Ravine ("Cañada del Sol")

The son of one of the rulers of Sun Hill, discussed above, is said to have been married at a place named "Sun Ravine," considered to be near the town of Cuquila, southwest of Tlaxiaco (444, line 24). The precise location of this site is unknown, but in all likelihood it, like Cuquila, is within the District of Tlaxiaco.

CONCLUSIONS

Three types of place names appear in the text of López Ruiz. The first of these are contemporary Nahuatl or Mixtec names of towns (listed in Table 13) that seem to be transcriptions of glosses in European script that were written on the lost codex. The second are Mixtec names of boundaries (Table 14) that are also undoubtedly glosses in European script and not represented by pictorial signs in the codex. The third category is comprised of a few place names in Spanish, which may be descriptions of pictorial signs drawn in native style on the manuscript.

All three types of place names indicate that the Codex López Ruiz is from the Tlaxiaco region. The present-day place names include more mentions of towns from this region than from elsewhere in the Mixteca. The Mixtec boundary names form a "written map" because they set forth boundary sites that enclose greater Tlaxiaco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Spanish place names that can be tentatively identified represent the Mixtec names of communities within the District of Tlaxiaco, such as Achiutla and Tataltepec, as well as the nearby town of Tecomaxtlahuaca in the Mixteca Baja.

Apparently absent from the group of Spanish place names is a description of the sign of Tlaxiaco itself. This sign usually consists of crossed sticks or legs with an eye (Smith 1973a:58-60; Jansen and Pérez 1983; Jansen 1989:68-71) that Alfonso Caso characterized as "Observatory" in his commentaries on the codices (Fig. 24). One reason for this may be that the genealogies presented in the lost codex are those of *principales* who controlled towns that were subjects of Tlaxiaco, not the rulers of Tlaxiaco itself.

The use of a map--whether one using pictorial signs drawn on a prehispanic style or one written in European script--that depicts a large area as a framework for smaller, more specific places or events occurs elsewhere in the Mixteca. One of the best examples occurs in two of the maps that have survived from the Huajuapán region of the Mixteca Baja. The basic map is illustrated by a tracing made by the Swiss scholar Henri Saussure and published in color by Joaquín Galarza under the title "Lienzo Mixteco III" (Galarza 1986). This map sets forth the region controlled by the *cabeceras* of Huajuapán and Tonalá/Tezoatlán, a large area that includes most of the present-day District of Huajuapán in northern Oaxaca. In its format it is a typical Colonial Mixtec map in that it consists of a vertical rectangle and an almost empty interior space enclosed by the pictorial

signs of the boundaries of the region being mapped, with these signs accompanied by glosses in Mixtec giving the boundary names. The format and contents of this map are repeated in a later map on European paper known as "Map No. 36," because 36 is its catalog number in the manuscript collection of the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Mexico City (Glass 1964:pl. 38). Even though Map No. 36 presents the same data as the Lienzo Mixteco III, Map No. 36 was undoubtedly drawn at a later date for litigation over very specific plots of lands within the immense region delineated by the map. In the lower section of Map No. 36, appended above and below a river that runs horizontally across the map, are rectangles that represent individual pieces of land. Within the rectangles above the river are written the names of "don Juan" and "doña Margarita," presumably the names of the native nobility who claim the lands illustrated by the rectangles. The rectangles below the river contain glosses that give the Mixtec names of the lands, and two of these are accompanied by the Spanish word *pleyto* ("litigation"), implying that these particular lands were under dispute. Map No. 36 presents a microcosm (the specific plots of land) within a macrocosm (a map of a large section of the Mixteca Baja), and the same may be occurring in the lost Codex López Ruiz. That is, the Mixtec boundary glosses set forth the region of greater Tlaxiaco (the macrocosm), while the genealogy described in Chapter III of the López Ruiz paper may give the native nobility of a subject town within this region (the microcosm)

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Malinaltepec is definitely mentioned twice by its Nahuatl name. It is possible that the Mixtec name *yucu cuaño* (445, line 17) is a variant of the Yucuañe recorded as the Mixtec name of the town (Reyes 1890:89; Acuña 1984, II:230).
2. In a document from the late eighteenth century (SRA Comunal 276.1/325), San Pablo Tijaltepec is referred to as "San Pablo Tixaa," and this town seems to me to be the likeliest candidate for the Tixaa in the López Ruiz text. Other less likely possibilities are San Pedro Tidá in the western section of the District of Nochixtlán and San Miguel and Guadalupe Tizá, located southwest of Teposcolula in the district of the same name.
3. One reason to consider the final syllable (*me/mee*) of *ñuñume(e)* to be *ma* is that a similar type of substitution occurs in the glosses of Mixtec calendrical names in the López Ruiz text. One example is seen in the Mixtec calendrical name *Ñucumé* that appears twice on page 444 (lines 1 and 4). In this name, *Ñu-* is an affix that refers to a deceased ancestor; *cu-* is the numerical coefficient 1, 2 or 3; and *mé* is either *mau* (the calendrical sign House) or *mahu(a)* (the calendrical sign Death). Similarly, in the calendrical name *xaquee* (443, line 32), *xa* is the numerical coefficient 7, and *quee* is *quaa*, the calendrical sign Deer.

In the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Putla (Acuña 1984, I:313), *ñuñuma*, or "town of smoke," is the only Mixtec name given for Putla. By the time the list of Mixtec toponyms in the grammar of Antonio de los Reyes was published in 1593, the Mixtec name of Putla is given as *ñuucaa*, or "metal town," with *ñuuñuma* considered to be the town's earlier name (Reyes 1890:91). In the Lienzo of Zacatepec 1, the pictorial sign of Putla is a rectangular platform with grecas and metal axes, illustrating the name *ñuucaa* (Smith 1973a:97-98; Fig. 32 of this study).

According to the de los Reyes grammar (1890:ii), the name *ñuñuma* was also used to designate the entire region of the Mixteca de la Costa, along with *ñundaa* ("flat land"), *ñuñama* ("cornstalk land"), and *ñudeui* ("land of the sky"). Because the identified place names in the López Ruiz text refer either to towns or boundary sites, it seems likely that the *ñuñume(e)* designates the town of Putla, with the proviso that it may also refer to the Costa in general.

4. Huajuapán's Mixtec name is given in the grammar of Antonio de los Reyes (1890:90) as *ñuu dzai*, and in twentieth-century vocabulary of the dialect of San Miguel el Grande in the District of Tlaxiaco as *ñuu sajín* (Dyk and Stoudt 1964:32).
5. For example, a site with the Mixtec name *itnu dziñuhu* (448, lines 10-11) is documented as having been a *trino* shared by Amatlán, Chicahuaxtepec, and Chachoapan to the east of the Valley of Nochixtlán in 1717 (AGN-RT 557, 1a parte, exp. 3). Because none of the other boundaries in the López Ruiz text is from this region, it seems unlikely that the *itnu dziñuhu* in López Ruiz is the same as this particular boundary site.
6. Barlow (1949:112) felt that Çapotlan "eluded identification" but noted that this place name had been tenuously associated with the towns of Etlá and Macuñochitl in the Valley of Oaxaca. Kelly and Palerm (1952:305) suggested that Çapotlan is Teozapotlan (present-day Zaachila) in the Valley of Oaxaca. But, as noted by Berdan (Berdan and Anawalt 1992, 2:111, n. 4), Zaachila is geographically distant from Tlaxiaco. In all likelihood, Çapotlan was a name given by the Nahuatl speakers of the Valley of Mexico to one of the towns in the Tlaxiaco region, but which town is still a mystery.
7. Latin crosses occur with most of the Mixtec names of boundaries on the concluding pages (9-11) of the Codex Muro (Smith 1973b, 1976). In addition, a cross appears between two Mixtec names of boundaries written on the Codex Tulane (Smith and Parmenter 1991:104, plate 1) and on page 16-III of the Codex Colombino (Caso and Smith 1966). In the two Colonial Lienzos of Zacatepec, one of the pictorial boundary signs contains a Latin cross placed on the prehispanic sign of a stone (Smith 1973a:Fig. 120). All of these crosses are undoubtedly analogous to the wood and metal crosses that marked boundary sites in the Colonial period and continue to do so today (Smith 1973a:Fig. 121).
8. The sign of Ocotepéc is not included in this community's lienzo (Figs. 33-34); rather, the town is represented as a schematized church building in the center of the map. This is not unusual in Mixtec Colonial maps of a single community, in which the names of the boundaries are often shown as signs drawn in the prehispanic manner, but the town or towns in the center are not. Cf. the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Teozacoalco (Caso 1949; Acuña 1984, II:131-147) and Map No. 36 from Huajuapán in the Mixteca Baja (Smith 1973a:151, 154).

9. For the sake of economy, the Tonalan on page 441, line 15 and the Tonalá on page 448, line 4 have been grouped together in Table 13 and in the Index B at the end of this study. The Tonalá on page 448 probably refers to the town of the same name in the Mixteca Baja, whereas the Tonalan of page 441 may be a ceremonial site different from the Mixteca Baja Tonalá.

10. Only two of the Spanish place names that include *llano*, the Spanish word for "plain," will be discussed here. The other two are considered in Chapter 6 because they relate to persons who appear in other manuscripts. The "sky plain" ("Llano del cielo"; 442, lines 1-2) will be discussed in the section on "The Sun 1 Death," since it represents an attribute of this deity. The "blood plain" ("Llano de sangre"; 442, lines 5-6) is not a place name, but the personal name of a woman named 6 Wind, also discussed in Chapter 6.

11. Notable among the books on signs that represent Nahuatl toponyms and that would have been available to López Ruiz was the illustrated work of Antonio Peñafiel (1885) on the place signs in the early Colonial Codex Mendoza from the Valley of Mexico. In 1883 Manuel Martínez Gracida had published his *Colección de cuadros sinópticos...*, a monumental compendium of geographical data on all the towns in the State of Oaxaca and including many Mixtec place names, but these names were not related to specific pictorial signs.

6. RELATION OF THE PERSONS IN CHAPTERS III AND IV OF THE LÓPEZ RUIZ NARRATIVE WITH PERSONS IN OTHER MIXTEC CODICES

At least eighty--perhaps closer to ninety--persons are named by López Ruiz in his Chapters III and IV, which set forth the genealogical relationships of Mixtec rulers. How many of these persons appear in the extant Mixtec manuscripts?

It is often difficult to correlate the glosses in the López Ruiz text that give names of persons with the large *dramatis personae* listed in Alfonso Caso's *Diccionario biográfico de los señores mixtecos* (Caso 1979). One problem is that most of the syllables for the numerical coefficients (Table 2) have several possible meanings. For example, *co* or *cu* can refer to the numbers 1, 2, 3 or 12. In addition, several of the words for the twenty day signs (Table 1) have at least two possible interpretations. For example, *q*, *qh*, and *qhi* can be the day sign Lizard or the day sign Movement. Moreover, the majority of the persons in the López Ruiz text are identified by their calendrical names only, lacking personal names that would make it easier to correlate them with persons in other manuscripts.

GENEALOGICAL LINE(S) OF CHAPTER III

The third chapter of the López Ruiz paper is the longest and contains the most named persons. The subject matter of this chapter is essentially genealogical, setting forth the marriages and offspring of the rulers of one or more towns. The genealogical relationships described in this chapter are summarized in Tables 7-10. Three important persons at the end of the first segment of Chapter III (Table 7) definitely appear in other codices, and these three will be discussed first.

4 Wind "Fire Serpent"

One certain relationship between a person in the Codex López Ruiz with an individual in the extant Mixtec manuscripts is that of a notable male ruler named 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," whose name is given by López Ruiz as *(Ya)qchi-coyaviuy* (442, line 7). *Ya-* is the prefix denoting nobility, and this name is one of six in the López Ruiz narrative in which this prefix occurs (Table 5). *Qchi* can be 4, 5 or 9 Wind, but the identification of *q* as 4 is likely because the gloss contains the word for his personal name, *yaviuy* or "fire

serpent." In the personal name as transcribed by López Ruiz, the syllable *co-* precedes the word *yavuiy*, and this syllable may be the equivalent of *coo*, the Mixtec word for "serpent." This added syllable is unusual, because in other glosses in which the fire serpent is described, this motif is referred to by the single word *yahui/yavui* (Smith 1973b).

The ruler 4 Wind was a pivotal figure in Mixtec history, and his life has been discussed by Alfonso Caso (1955 and 1979:46-48) and Nancy P. Troike (1974, 1980). His biography is told in the most detail on the reverse of the Codex Bodley. Indeed, this codex--or at least its reverse--is very much a "4 Wind manuscript." His activities are also depicted on the concluding pages of the Codex Becker I and on page 16 of the Codex Colombino, a page that was originally placed between what is today pages 14 and 15 of the Becker I (Troike 1974, 1980). He also appears in the Codex Selden (8-IV) as the first offspring of the famous female ruler 6 Monkey of Jaltepec and her husband 11 Wind (Spinden 1935; Caso 1979:259-262; Anders and Jansen 1988:173-183). In the biography of 8 Deer in the Codex Nuttall, 4 Wind is shown as captured by 8 Deer (Nuttall 83-I), but we know from other sources (principally Codex Becker I and the reverse of the Bodley) that he managed to escape and eventually murder 8 Deer (Troike 1980).

According to the revised correlation of Mixtec dates by Emily Rabin, 4 Wind was born in 1092, when 8 Deer was 29 years old. He effected his escape from 8 Deer in 1099, although both his parents and two half-brothers were sacrificed at that time. In 1115, 4 Wind was responsible for the sacrifice of 8 Deer, and nine years later he married a daughter of 8 Deer. According to the Rabin correlation, 4 Wind died in 1164 at the age of 72.

As Troike (1974:362-364, 474) astutely observed, 4 Wind not only arranged for 8 Deer's death, but he also attempted to disperse the vast holdings that 8 Deer had accumulated through both conquest and marriage. This seems to be precisely what 4 Wind is doing in a Colonial lienzo from the Mixteca de la Costa, the Lienzo of Zacatepec 1. At the beginning of the historical narrative in the upper-left corner of this lienzo (Fig. 25), 4 Wind and his wife (8 Deer's daughter) are shown meeting with the first known ruler of Zacatepec and apparently granting him the rulership of this town. At the time this occurs, Zacatepec was probably under the domination of Tututepec, the most important community in the Costa and a place that was controlled by 8 Deer.

The role of 4 Wind in the Lienzo of Zacatepec may also be the same role he is playing in the lost Codex López Ruiz--that is, setting up a new rulership. In the description of 4 Wind by López Ruiz, 4 Wind is said to have died at a young age, implying that he is shown alone without a wife or children. As we shall see in the discussion below, the two persons whom López Ruiz considers to be the parents of 4 Wind are a male sun deity named 1 Death and a woman named 6 Wind who was the last wife of 8 Deer. The

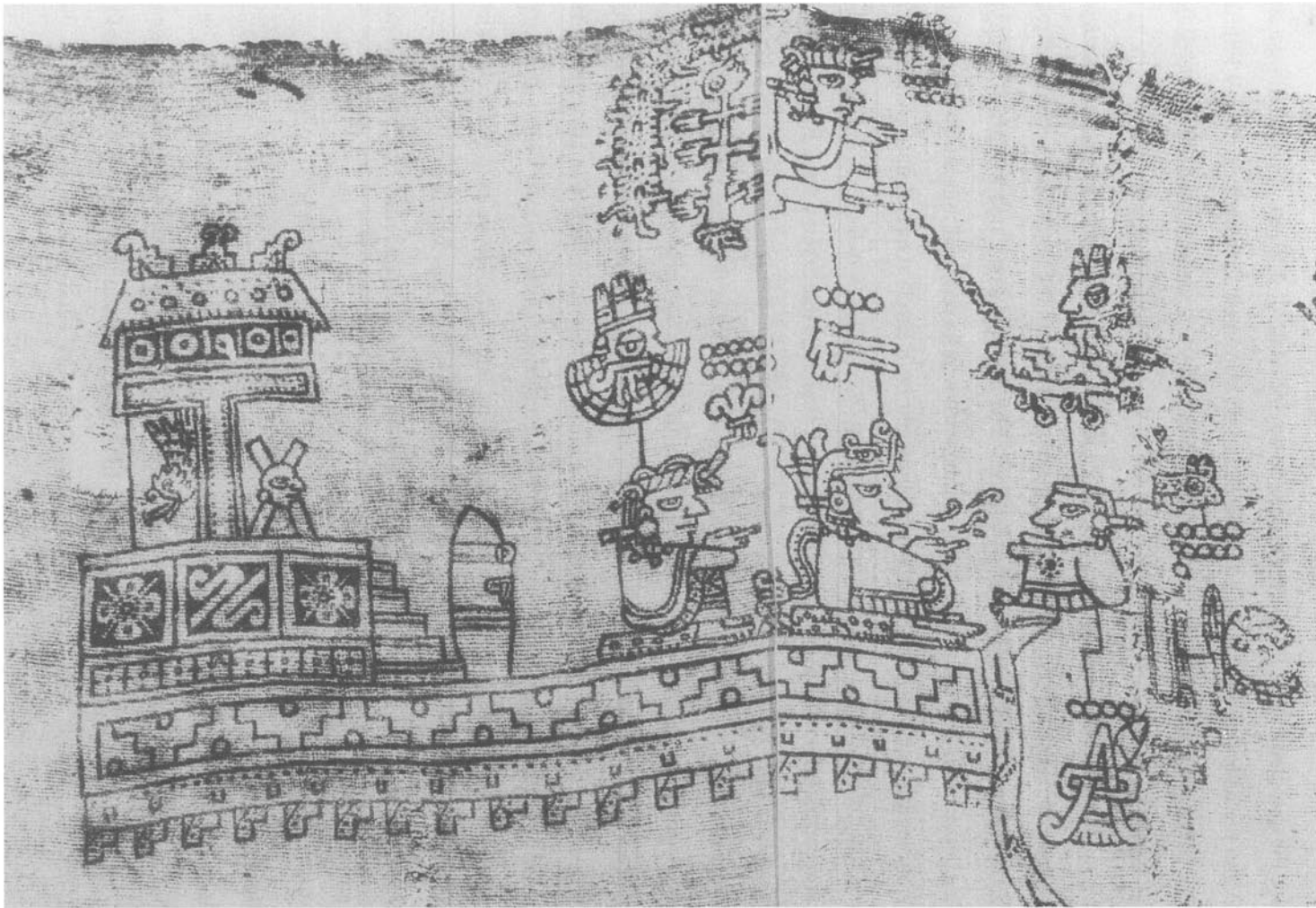


Fig. 25. Lienzo of Zacatepec: upper-left corner. The first ruler of Zacatepec, 11 Tiger "Rain Deity-Smoking Frieze" (right), confers with 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" and his wife 10 Flower "Rain Deity-Cobweb" at Flint on the day 1 Monkey? in the year 4 Flint. (After Peñafiel 1900:pls. I-II)

configuration of these three persons probably represents a conference to recognize the initiation of a new rulership rather than a genealogical relationship.

I shall discuss most of the dates given in the text of López Ruiz in the next chapter, but I wish to mention briefly here the date that López Ruiz considers to be the birthdate of 4 Wind. The date in question is the year *Cquecuí* and the date *Cunoo* (442, line 6), which can be translated as the year 4, 5 or 9 Flint and the day 1, 2, 3 or 12 Monkey. This is not the birthdate of 4 Wind which is well-documented in the codices Bodley (34-III) and Selden (8-IV) as the year 2 Flint and day 4 Wind. The year date 4, 5 or 9 Flint in the López Ruiz narrative may be the same as the 4 Flint date given in the Lienzo of Zacatepec for the meeting of 4 Wind with the first ruler of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). This is the earliest date in the lienzo and is placed directly below the ruler of Zacatepec and attached to his figure by a line. The day date associated with the 4 Flint year in the Lienzo of Zacatepec is on a section of the cloth that has become frayed, and thus the day sign of this date is not completely legible, although it is clearly accompanied by a single numeral dot. Alfonso Caso (1977:137) postulated that the day date is 1 Serpent because on the day 1 Serpent in the year 4 Flint (or 1120, according to the Rabin correlation), 4 Wind is shown as becoming ruler of Flint in the Codex Bodley (31-III), and Flint is part of the place sign on which 4 Wind is seated in the lienzo. I am not convinced that the shape of the animal head that functions as the day sign in the Lienzo of Zacatepec is the same shape as the serpent heads that serve as day signs in this lienzo. It seems to me more likely that the date given by López Ruiz and that in the Lienzo of Zacatepec are the same: the year 4 Flint and the day 1 Monkey. The day 1 Monkey is only 26 days after the day 1 Serpent, perhaps implying that initiating new rulerships was an activity that 4 Wind considered to be of the highest priority once he had been confirmed as the ruler of Flint. The date of the year 4 Flint and day 1 Monkey might have been considered by later generations as the generic date on which 4 Wind initiated their dynastic lines, much as Mexico officially celebrates September 16 as its day of independence from the rule of Spain, even though the achievement of this independence took place on many dates both before and after this specific date.¹

The Sun God 1 Death

In the López Ruiz story, a male ruler named (*Ñu*)*cumé* (1, 2, 3 or 12 Death) is considered to be the father of 4 Wind (442, lines 1-4). I believe that the person referred to by the calendrical name (*Ñu*)*cumé* is the famous sun god 1 Death (Caso 1959 and 1979:143-144). (*Ñu*)*cumé* is said to have been "born in the Plain of the Sky" (442, line 1). This is undoubtedly a reference to the sky band with which 1 Death is often associated in other Mixtec codices (Fig. 26), a horizontal rectangle with stars that resembles in its overall shape the sign for "plain" (Fig. 23).



Fig. 27. An Animal Sacrifice in the Codex Nuttall (44-IV).
The ruler 8 Deer (left and his half-brother 12
Movement) sacrifice two animals to a sun deity
12 Reed.

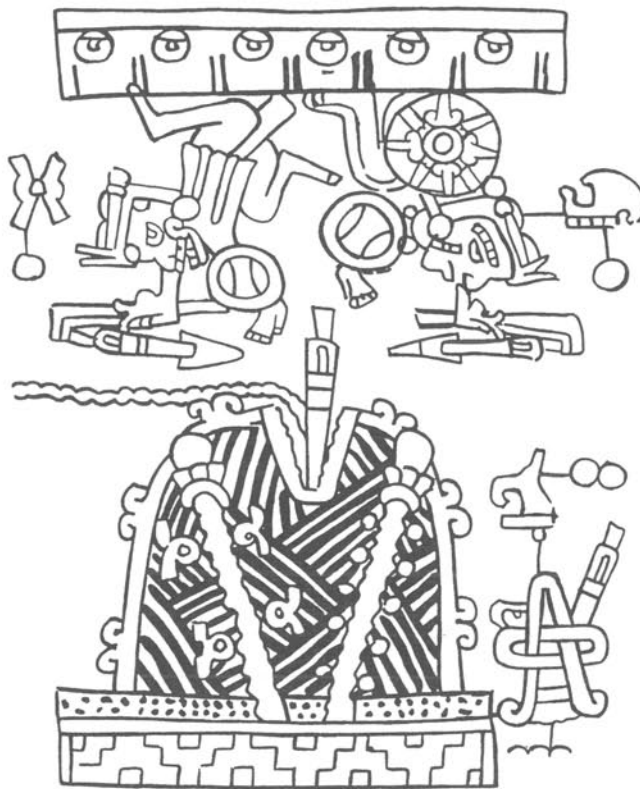


Fig. 26. Codex Selden: the opening scene. Deity
1 Death (right) and 1 Movement, one of
the deities associated with the planet
Venus, descend from a skyband.

López Ruiz also says that (*Ñu*)*cumé* "received a young wolf as an attribute, following the Nahualistic practices customary then" (442, lines 3-4). The scene being described here may be similar to one in the 8 Deer biography in the Codex Nuttall (Fig. 27), in which 8 Deer and his half-brother sacrifice animals to a sun deity named 12 Reed, who descends from a sky band.

The juxtaposition of the sun deity 1 Death and the ruler 4 Wind is by no means unique to the Codex López Ruiz. The sun god also plays an important role in the biography of 4 Wind painted on the reverse of the Codex Bodley. In the year 2 House (1104) and on the day 1 Death, a young 4 Wind, then 12 years old, confers with 1 Death at the Hill of the Sun (Bodley 33-IV). This event occurs five years after 4 Wind had escaped capture by 8 Deer, but it is evident that his problems are not over. Approximately thirteen years after the conference between 4 Wind and sun god 1 Death, 4 Wind is captured by the kingmaker and power broker 4 Tiger and has to escape again. Following this escape, 1 Death mediates between the two men (Bodley 33, III-II). These activities occur in 1118, when 4 Wind is 26 and 8 Deer has been dead for three years. Apparently 1 Death persuades 4 Tiger to perform a nose-piercing ceremony on 4 Wind in the following year of 1119 (Bodley 34-I), giving 4 Wind the status of an important ruler. A variant story of these events is shown on pages 15-16 of the Codex Becker I, in which 1 Death intercedes with 4 Tiger on behalf of 4 Wind, but less directly than is depicted in the Bodley narrative (Troike 1974:378-386, 401-402).

Although unquestionably a solar deity, 1 Death also played a political role in lives of important persons such as 8 Deer and 4 Wind. Troike (1974:479) has suggested that the actions of 1 Death in support of 4 Wind were motivated by an attempt

. . . to ensure peace in the Mixteca. During the three years since 8 Deer's death, his holdings would have been divided among his small sons. A number of important Mixtec towns would thus have been left without strong adult leaders, in addition to the loss of centralized control. It is possible that 1 Death feared the whole region might become embroiled in a series of battles if the conflict between 4 Tiger and 4 Wind was allowed to continue unchecked. Not only might the various towns take sides for or against either of these protagonists, but the rulers of other areas outside the Mixteca might also attempt to enlarge their positions, resulting in a serious crisis for the whole region.

Caso (1979:144) noted that 1 Death does not appear in the Mixtec historical codices following the lifetime of 4 Wind, but this solar deity may well have been involved with 4 Wind's dispersment of the holdings of 8 Deer and in the initiation of new ruling lines in towns formerly controlled by 8 Deer. In all likelihood, 1 Death is functioning in this role in the lost Codex López Ruiz.

Lady 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood"

The third person named by López Ruiz who can definitely be correlated with an individual depicted in another codex is a woman whose name is (*Ja*)*nuchi* (442, line 5). *Nuchi* is the calendrical name 6 Wind, and the initial *Ja* is probably equivalent to the prefix *ya-* used to denote nobility, a prefix used in the name of 4 Wind, as well. This woman is said to be from a place named "Blood Plain," but this is undoubtedly the interpretation by López Ruiz of her personal name "Feathers-Blood." In several Mixtec manuscripts in which 6 Wind appears, and especially in the Codex Bodley (Fig. 28a), the feather section of her personal name is the same as the horizontal rectangle of feathers that depicts the Mixtec word for "plain, valley" (Fig. 23a).

In her own way, 6 Wind was as important as 4 Wind to the last years of the life of the famous ruler 8 Deer. In the Codex Bodley (Fig. 28a), she is shown as the fifth and last wife of 8 Deer. The date of their marriage is not given, but the Codex Bodley depicts it as the last event before 8 Deer's death in 1115, so it is assumed to have occurred toward the end of his life. She is also shown as wife of 8 Deer in the codices Nuttall (27-I) and Vindobonensis (IX-1); in these manuscripts, as in the Codex Bodley, the names of her parents are not given, although the Bodley shows her place of origin as "Tiger Town" (Fig. 28a, right side).

López Ruiz considers 6 Wind to be the wife of the sun god 1 Death and the mother of the ruler 4 Wind, but this was certainly not the case. In all likelihood, the scene in the lost codex he is describing is similar to one in the Codex Becker I (Fig. 28b), in which 6 Wind and 4 Wind are having a conference shortly after the murder of 8 Deer by 4 Wind.² In the lost Codex López Ruiz, the sun deity 1 Death may have been seated beside or above the figure of 6 Wind, giving the impression that they were man and wife, while the figure of 4 Wind may have been isolated, implying that he never married but "died at a young age" (442, line 7).

As with the majority of conferences depicted in the Mixtec manuscripts we can only guess at the agenda of the meeting between 4 Wind and 6 Wind in the Codex Becker I and the lost Codex López Ruiz. In the case of the conference in Becker I (Fig. 28b), Troike (1974:376) has postulated that 6 Wind may be proposing her own marriage to 4 Wind, even though this marriage is never shown as taking place in the codices. Troike's suggestion seems to be based on the gestures of the two figures, both of which are shown as making a request, because the extended hands of both have the fingers pointing slightly downward (Troike 1982), a combination of gestures often seen in marriage pairs (see Fig. 28a, for example). Perhaps the "double request" gestures in the Codex Becker I imply an alliance other than marriage between 6 Wind and 4 Wind. As the young widow of 8 Deer and the only wife of this ruler who produced no recorded offspring, 6 Wind may be asking for the protection of 4 Wind, who had murdered her husband. In turn, 4 Wind may



a



b

Fig. 28. The Female Ruler 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood."

(a) As the wife of 8 Deer "Tiger Claw." Bodley 13-14, V.

(b) Meeting with 4 Wind "Fire Serpent." Becker I, 14-II.

be enlisting the support of 6 Wind in his dispersment of the extensive holdings of 8 Deer, or he may be offering some type of non-marital liaison.

Ten years following the demise of 8 Deer, 6 Wind marries 5 Dog "Coyote Tail," and she and her husband are shown as the first rulers of Teozacoalco in both the Codex Nuttall (27-IV, 26-I) and the Map of Teozacoalco (Fig. 8, the couple directly above the six-line text in European script).³ They may have acted as regents for the "new" ruling line of Teozacoalco (König 1979:148) until it could be assumed by the son of 8 Deer named 4 Dog "Coyote," who is considered the second ruler of the town in both the Codex Nuttall (27-IV, 26-I) and the Map of Teozacoalco (Fig. 8, the second male ruler above the six-line text in European script). At the time of 6 Wind's second marriage with 5 Dog, 8 Deer's son 4 Dog was fifteen years old, and hence 6 Wind and her second husband may have been establishing a *cacicazgo*-in-waiting for this son to avoid conflicts over the inheritance of Tilantongo, the town whose rulership 8 Deer had spent much of his adult life achieving (Troike 1974).

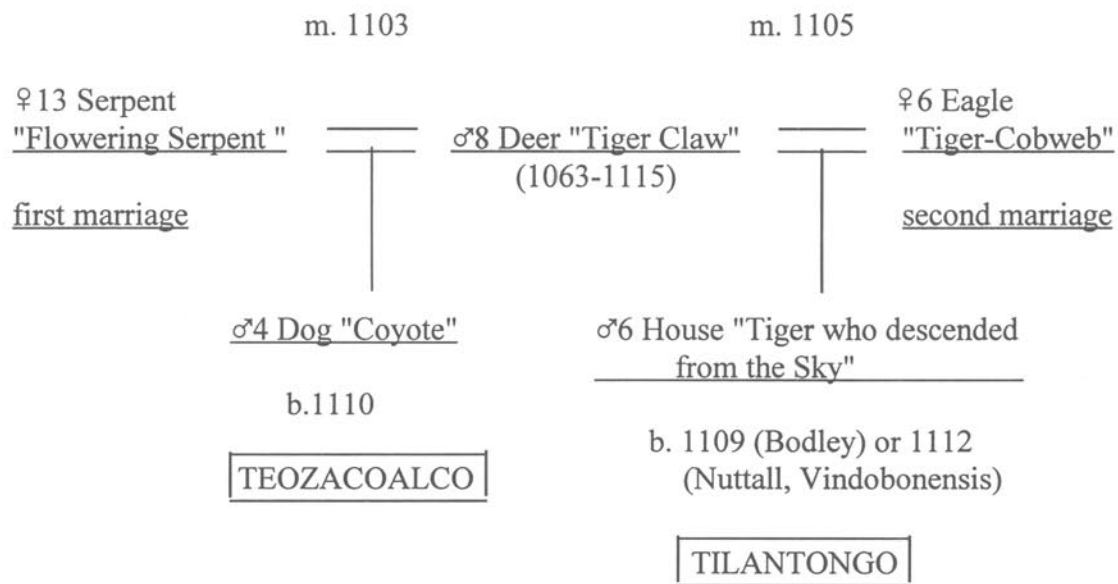
As the first son of the first wife of 8 Deer (Table 16), 4 Dog would seem to have been the logical heir to Tilantongo, but this *cacicazgo* is inherited by the first son of 8 Deer's second wife. At the time of 8 Deer's death, 4 Dog was only five years old, and his half-brother who inherited Tilantongo was only three or six. Thus the machinations of inheritance would have been controlled by adults rather than by the heirs themselves. As a ruler who seemed determined to restrict and disperse the holdings of the deceased 8 Deer, 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" may have made some of the crucial decisions concerning which communities were inherited by 8 Deer's sons.⁴ In this, 4 Wind may well have been assisted by 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood," who--with her second husband--seems to have established the *cacicazgo* of Teozacoalco so that it could be inherited by the first son of 8 Deer's first wife.⁵

The role of 6 Wind in the Codex López Ruiz is not clear because the texts transcribed by López Ruiz do not include the name of her famous first husband, 8 Deer (*naquaa*), or that of her enigmatic second husband, 5 Dog (*qhhua*). Nonetheless, in the lost codex she may have been functioning with 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" and the sun god 1 Death in the establishment of a new ruling line in a town other than Teozacoalco.

Other Persons in the First Genealogy

As can be seen in Table 7, 4 Wind, 1 Death, and 6 Wind appear as the final two generations of the first genealogical segment described by López Ruiz on page 441 and in the opening seven lines of page 442. Who are the other persons who are said to be the "earlier" generations of this genealogy? Unfortunately, the identity of the other participants in this segment is very much a matter of conjecture.

TABLE 16. THE FIRST SONS OF THE FIRST TWO WIVES OF 8 DEER "TIGER CLAW"



m. = married

b. = born

One statement that can be made with assurance is that the genealogy summarized in Table 7 is not that of 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," whose ancestry beginning with its early mythological origins is shown in detail on the reverse of the Codex Bodley (40 through 34-III). None of the persons named as an ancestor of 4 Wind is included in this genealogical segment of the López Ruiz story. Nor do the glosses of this portion of the Codex López Ruiz include the names of any of the well-documented wives of 4 Wind: the daughter of 8 Deer named 10 Flower "Rain Deity-Cobweb" (*xihuaco dzavui yuvui* in Mixtec), another daughter of 8 Deer named 5 Wind (*qhchi*), or a woman named 5 Lizard (*qhcuil*).

The opening section of the first genealogy (Generations 1-4 in Table 7) might be interpreted in three different ways, and it is equally possible that none of these three interpretations is correct. The first possibility is that some rulers in this opening segment are from Achiutla. As noted in Chapter 5, the Spanish place named "Flame Plain" that occurs twice in this segment (441, lines 18 and 29-30) may be a description of the Flame Frieze sign that represents the Mixtec name of Achiutla in the District of Tlaxiaco (Fig. 23c).

The genealogy of Flame Frieze/Achiutla is delineated in the most detail on the reverse of the Codex Bodley. According to this codex, the Mixtec rulership of Achiutla seems to have been literally and figuratively a creation of the important 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," who, as we have seen, appears in this segment of the López Ruiz narrative in a conference with the sun god 1 Death and the last wife of 8 Deer "Tiger Claw." The earliest known rulers of the town are a brother-sister marriage between two offspring of 4 Wind's second wife (Bodley 30-29; Table 17). This first generation of rulers produces three daughters, all of whom marry the sons of 8 Deer's son 4 Alligator and his wife 13 Flower, who was the daughter of 4 Wind's first marriage to 8 Deer's daughter. This certainly implies a very strictly controlled line of succession that 4 Wind presumably arranged for Achiutla. One of those involved in the early story of this town is a woman named 1 Grass "Feather Headdress," one of the three daughters of the earliest-named rulers of the place (Table 17), who marries 4 Water "Tiger-Rain Deity," the third son of 4 Wind's daughter by his first wife. In Bodley 29-II through 30-I, 1 Grass and her husband are shown as producing seven offspring in seven consecutive years.⁶ In the year following the birth of their last child (Bodley 30-I), the couple makes an offering at a temple with the calendrical names of the ancient male ancestor 1 Alligator and ancient female ancestor 13 Flower.⁷ Then, on Bodley 29-I, a male named 1 Eagle "Rain Deity-Arrow with Head with Black Face Paint" is shown as being born. Caso (1960:65; 1979:337) suggested that 1 Eagle may be either the son or a second husband of the female ruler 1 Grass. Whatever the relationship, in two of the three events following 1 Eagle's birth, he is very definitely associated with his mother or wife 1 Grass (Fig. 29). In the first, an arroyo with sand is shown with an arrow placed above the water on the right side of the sign (implying it is conquered?); the calendrical names of 1 Eagle and 1 Grass are attached to this place glyph. In the next scene 1 Eagle is seated in a river

or lake, holding a bowl of water that he splashes over his head (perhaps implying ritual bathing or purification?). In the final scene of this enigmatic sequence, 1 Eagle and 1 Grass are depicted as mummy bundles placed on a *petate* above a scaffolding that contains two flame motifs, with a third flame on the *petate* between the two mummy bundles. No dates are associated with these three events; the only date connected with 1 Eagle on Bodley 29-I is that of his birth, which takes place when the important ruler 4 Wind, the grandfather of the female 1 Grass, is 65 years old. But the three events definitely must have occurred after the demise of 4 Wind, which took place seven years after the birth of 1 Eagle and which is depicted on the next page of the Codex Bodley (28-II).

Three years following the death of 4 Wind, the Bodley shows a series of conferences that include both 1 Eagle and the female 1 Grass (Fig. 30). Alfonso Caso (1979:100) astutely suggested that this sequence of meetings is concerned with the dispersement of the domain of 4 Wind. Certainly this important ruler's death at the age of 72 after over a half-century of genealogical and other power machinations would have left a considerable vacuum. Moreover, as noted earlier, the Codex Bodley--especially its reverse--is very much a "4 Wind manuscript" because more space is devoted to this man's ancestry and life than is given to any other individual. Thus it is understandable that this codex would discuss the aftermath of his death.

The series of conferences on Bodley 28-V through 28-IV begins with a conversation between two unnamed men at a building on a platform that rests on a row of flint blades (Fig. 30, right side); perhaps this configuration represents a ceremonial site within Flint, the town ruled by 4 Wind. Neither of the two men in the scene is named, although Caso (1960:67) believed that the man on the left is 1 Eagle "Rain Deity," now ten years old. This is by no means certain, but 1 Eagle definitely appears by name in the next meeting, at which he is receiving instructions from a man named 8? Wind who has a skeletal buchal mask. This second meeting takes place at Flint, again the town of 4 Wind, who may have been the great-grandfather of 1 Eagle. The third meeting in this sequence depicts 1 Eagle's mother, 1 Grass, making a request of her husband 4 Water "Tiger-Rain Deity." Her hand is in the downward-pointing position that Troike (1982) associated with request-making, while her husband's raised hand (or, in this case, feline paw) indicates that he is complying with the request.

We may never know precisely what is being requested and granted by this couple, and we can only conjecture as to the detailed contents of the conferences on Bodley 28, V-IV.⁸ Certainly one of the results is that the young 1 Eagle did not inherit 4 Wind's domain of Flint; indeed, Flint disappears from the codices soon after the death of 4 Wind.⁹ Moreover, 1 Eagle is never shown as marrying or producing heirs, so that his death shown in Bodley 29-I (Fig. 29) undoubtedly occurred when he was in his early teens. The sign of Achiutla, the town of 1 Eagle's mother 1 Grass also seems to disappear from the Bodley reverse temporarily,



Fig. 29. The Life and Death of the Ruler 1 Eagle. Bodley 29-I.

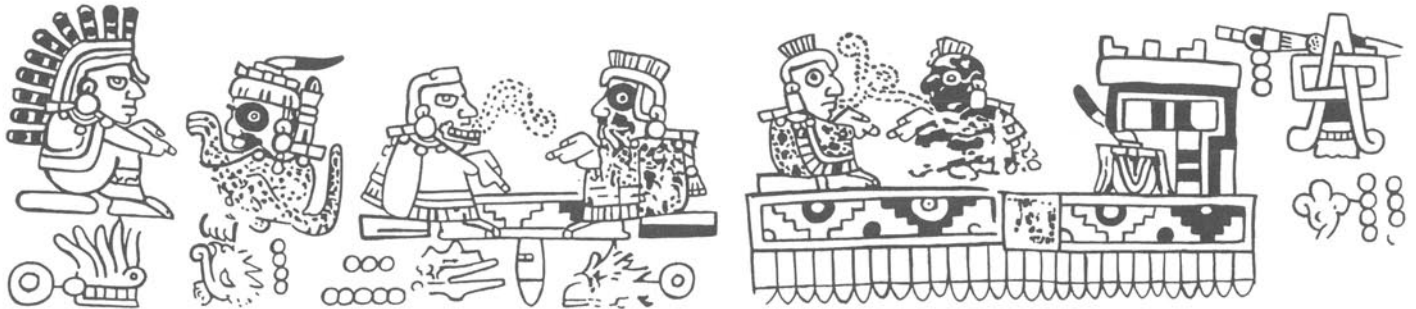


Fig. 30 Conference Scenes in the Codex Bodley (28-V)

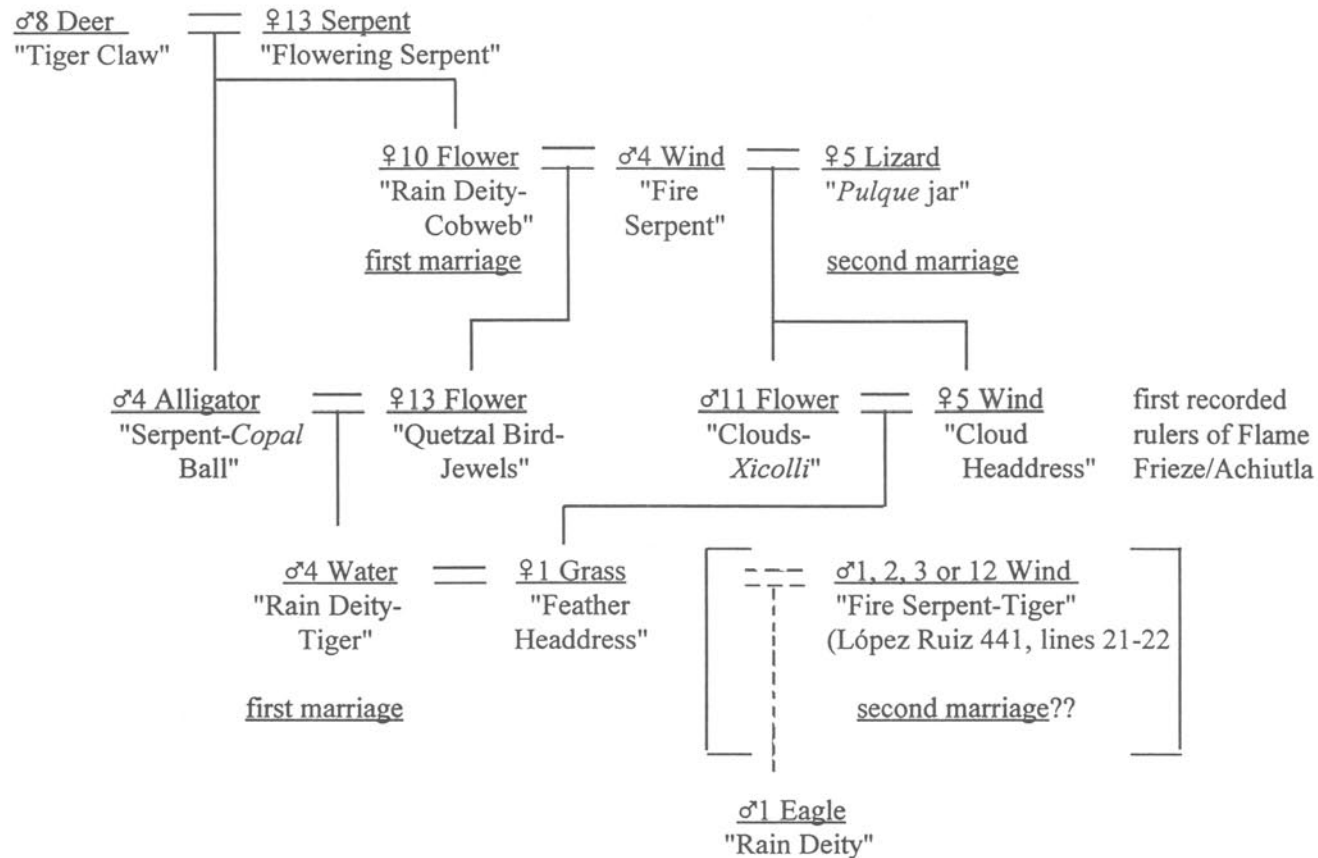
perhaps for at least three generations. The next occurrence of this sign in Bodley 27-I, where it is considered to be the birthplace of a woman named 4 Death "Fan-Flames," who marries 2 Wind "Rain Deity" of Tlaxiaco. Thus the deaths of the young 1 Eagle and his mother 1 Grass mark the end of a genealogical sequence.¹⁰

How do the events on Bodley 30-28 relate to the Codex López Ruiz? As can be seen in Table 7, which sets forth the first genealogical segment of Chapter III of López Ruiz, the calendrical name of the female ruler of Generation 3 is *cocuiñi*, which can be 1 Grass, or the name of the woman who was one of the offspring of the first rulers of Achiutla and the granddaughter of 4 Wind. López Ruiz says that the *cocuiñi* of his codex is the wife of *cunchi yahui*, which is 1, 2, 3 or 12 Wind "Fire Serpent," and he also reports that a "tiger" is part of the personal name of this man (441, line 22). This husband of 1 Grass does not appear in the Codex Bodley, but he may not have been important to the Bodley narrative, which is primarily concerned with the direct offspring of 4 Wind. In the account of López Ruiz, the son of 1 Grass and this otherwise unknown husband is named *canjaa*, which can be 1 Eagle, or the name of the possible son of 1 Grass in the Codex Bodley, who is shown as dying at the same time as 1 Grass (Fig. 29). López Ruiz further states that *canjaa* or 1 Eagle marries a woman named *quecuiñe*, which can be 9 Grass. It is possible that what is being shown in the lost codex is not a wife, but the famous death goddess 9 Grass, who is presiding over the death of 1 Eagle.

In the lost Codex López Ruiz, the woman 1 Grass and her son 1 Eagle conclude a genealogical sequence much as they do on the reverse of the Codex Bodley. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the final two "generations" (Generations 5 and 6 in Table 7), considered by López Ruiz to be the descendants of 1 Eagle and the female 9 Grass, consist of the sun god 1 Death, 6 Wind who was the last wife of 8 Deer, and the important ruler 4 Wind. But it would seem that these three individuals may be separated from the main genealogical line in the lost codex because López Ruiz describes a "peregrination" between Generation 4 with 1 Eagle and the female 9 Grass and the birth of their "son," the sun god 1 Death (441, lines 30-34). As postulated earlier, the trio of 1 Death, the woman 6 Wind, and the ruler 4 Wind are shown in a conference; in all likelihood, this conference is placed outside the genealogical segment at the beginning of chapter III. Possibly the conference concerns the efforts on the part of 4 Wind to arrange the succession to the town of Achiutla whose earliest recorded Mixtec rulers were his direct heirs or even the succession of his own town, Flint, on which 1 Eagle is seated (at least temporarily) three years after the death of 4 Wind (Fig. 30).

The other persons in the first genealogical segment of Chapter III of the López Ruiz paper (Table 7) do not seem to relate to persons in the extant codices. Nonetheless, the persons of the first two generations are said to be ancestors of the husband of 1 Grass who does not appear in any other codex. As well, the calendrical names given for Generation 2 may be dates rather than names of persons. Also having no apparent

TABLE 17. THE GENEALOGY OF THE FEMALE RULER 1 GRASS AND HER SON (?) EAGLE IN THE CODEX BODLEY (30-29)



counterpart in other manuscripts is a male named *cunuu* or 1, 2, 3 or 12 Monkey whom López Ruiz considered to be a younger brother of *cajaa* or 1 Eagle (Generation 4, Table 7).

I consider the correlation of the female 1 Grass and her son 1 Eagle in the Codex Bodley with Generations 3 and 4 of the genealogical segment of López Ruiz to be highly conjectural, at best. But it is possible that the woman 1 Grass, having prodigiously produced seven children in seven years with her first husband 4 Water (Bodley 29-II through 30-I), later had a second husband, the 1, 2, 3 or 12 Wind "Fire Serpent-Tiger," shown in the Codex López Ruiz but absent from the Codex Bodley. The son of this second marriage, 1 Eagle, may not have been considered the rightful heir to Flint, undoubtedly with good reason because his mother, although a granddaughter of 4 Wind, may have married a second husband, the father of 1 Eagle, who was outside the exclusive groups of descendants of 4 Wind. Thus 1 Eagle and his mother 1 Grass were eliminated--perhaps forcibly--as potential heirs, as illustrated by their deaths on Bodley 29-I (Fig. 29).

A second possible interpretation of the persons included in Generations 1-4 of Table 7 is that they are not historical rulers but associated with the four cardinal points. The female 1 Grass and the male 1 Eagle are not only participants in the genealogical skeins of the Codex Bodley, but they are also a couple depicted in connection with the direction West, as noted by Byland and Pohl (1994:71-176; see also Jansen 1982:228-249). If this were the case, then the woman *quecuñe* in Generation 4, considered by López Ruiz to be the wife of 1 Eagle, would be the death goddess 9 Grass, but here portrayed as the patroness of the Skull Temple that represents the direction South (Jansen 1980:28-31). None of the other persons in the genealogy summarized in Table 7 seems to relate to the other two directions, North and East, but there is considerable variation between manuscripts in the dates or calendrical names associated with the four directions. Moreover, the representation of the four directions often occurs at the beginning of the establishment of ruling lines in the Mixtec manuscripts, much as the persons in Generations 1-4 of Table 7 are positioned in the narrative of López Ruiz.

Nonetheless, none of the place signs for the four directions is described in this section of the López Ruiz narrative: the river of ashes for West, the skull temple for South, the sun for East, and the black-and-white checkerboard for North. Thus this interpretation is as conjectural as the relationship of the woman 1 Grass and the man 1 Eagle with the reverse of the Codex Bodley discussed above.

Still a third interpretation of the genealogical segment summarized in Table 7 is that López Ruiz was reading this section of the lost codex in the reverse chronological order. This occurs elsewhere in his article, as evidenced by one of the genealogies in his Chapter 4 (Table 11) in which the persons with Spanish Colonial names are said to be the antecedents of persons with the prehispanic style of Mixtec calendrical name. The

reason to postulate this reverse-order reading for the segment illustrated in Table 7 is that what López Ruiz considers to be the end of this genealogy (the conference including 4 Wind, the female 6 Wind, and the sun god 1 Death, Generations 5-6 in Table 7) seems more like a beginning scene than a concluding one. If this section is meant to be read in the reverse order, then none of the persons in Generations 1-4 relates to historical persons in other manuscripts, although it is possible that these four generations might represent persons associated with the four directions.

Genealogy of Section 2 (Table 8)

As far as I can determine, none of the rulers in this genealogical segment appears in any other extant manuscript. The Spanish place name "Flame Plain" is mentioned in this section (442, line 27) as the site where a young woman named *necuiy* or 8 Vulture spent her youth, but neither this woman nor her relatives are associated with Flame Frieze/Achuitla in the Codex Bodley or elsewhere.

Genealogy of Section 3 (Table 9)

None of the rulers named by López Ruiz in this segment seems to correspond to any of the historical persons known in other manuscripts. It is possible that at least one of the men included in this genealogy may be a deity: the male ruler of Generation 3, *xachi* or 7 Wind, described as "of the eagle." Throughout the obverse or early history section of the Codex Vindobonensis, at least one deity named 7 Wind appears with an eagle helmet and costume and often with a Janus head. He is frequently associated with a jaguar-costumed god named 7 Movement and with a goddess named 8 Deer (Caso 1979:54; Furst 1978a:166). However, none of the persons or places connected with 7 Wind in the Vindobonensis occurs in this genealogical segment of López Ruiz, so that the 7 Wind of this genealogy may be a historical person who was given the personal name "of the eagle" because he was born on a day that was associated with eagle attributes.¹¹

The "Flame Plain" place name is again mentioned in this genealogical segment (443, line 24) as the birthplace of the Generation 1 male ruler *coxayú* (1, 2, 3 or 12 Rabbit), who later grew up in "Eagle Plain," perhaps Tecomaxtlahuaca. But no male ruler with any of these calendrical names is associated with Flame Frieze/Achiutla in the extant manuscripts. Also, although this ruler is said by López Ruiz to have moved to Eagle Plain or Tecomaxtlahuaca at a young age, he does not appear in the 1578 codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca that sets forth the rulers of this town in the late postconquest and early Colonial era (Schmieder 1930).¹²

Genealogy of Section 4 (Table 10)

The persons in the final genealogical segment of Chapter III of the López Ruiz narrative have no definite counterparts in other Mixtec manuscripts. It is possible, however, that at least some of the persons that are considered by López Ruiz to be the concluding generations of this segment may be ancient ancestors or deities rather than strictly historical rulers.

This seems to be especially true of Generation 4, in which the multiple offspring may actually be a convocation of persons placed in a horizontal row as occurs in the Lienzo of Yolotepec (Fig. 31). This scene in the lienzo punctuates what appears to be a peregrination that begins in the lower-left corner at Apoala, the place of origin of the Mixtecs, and runs diagonally from lower-left to upper-right corner, and terminates at the "heart hill" or *Yolotepec* in the upper-center of the manuscript. In the conference scene illustrated in Fig. 31, the famous death goddess 9 Grass appears on the lower-right; she is identified by her calendrical name only and lacks the usual skeletal attributes traditionally associated with her in other Mixtec manuscripts. Seated facing her are the male 2 Movement "Blood-Gourd Container for Tobacco" and the female 2 Grass "Splashing Water." Directly above these three figures are two horizontal rows of thirteen male heads, each with an attached calendrical name. All the men whose heads are in this scene also appear elsewhere in the Lienzo of Yolotepec (Caso 1957:47, Cuadro II); but, if the scene illustrated in Fig. 31 of this study were the only surviving section of this lienzo, it might be construed that the thirteen named males above the couple who meets with the death goddess 9 Grass are this couple's children. Similarly, in the genealogies described by López Ruiz, the generations with multiple offspring may indicate a conference, perhaps a conference that includes deities or ancient ancestors.

Six of the persons in the final generations of this genealogical segment are listed in Table 18, with their possible correlations with ancient ancestors, deities, or priests. This list begins with the female partner of Generation 3, *xivaco* (10, 11 or 13 Flower) and concludes with the single male of Generation 7, *qhhuitzn* (4, 5 or 9 Tiger).

Of these six, three may have the same calendrical names as ancient ancestors of Apoala, the most frequently mentioned town of origin of the Mixtecs. These are: the woman 13 Flower (*xivaco*, the female of the pair of Generation 3); the man 1 Flower (*cahuaco*, whose name appears twice, as the last offspring in Generation 4 and as the male ruler of Generation 6); and the woman 9 Alligator (*quiquihui*, who appears as the wife of 4, 5 or 9 Rabbit, the first offspring of Generation 4). In the codices Vindobonensis (35-34), Nuttall (36), and Bodley (40-39, IV-III), the female 13 Flower and male 1 Flower are shown as the primordial couple of Apoala, with a daughter named 9 Alligator. Lacking in this section of the López Ruiz story is the husband of daughter 9 Alligator, whose calendrical name is 5 Wind or *qhchi*. The name of Apoala is also included in

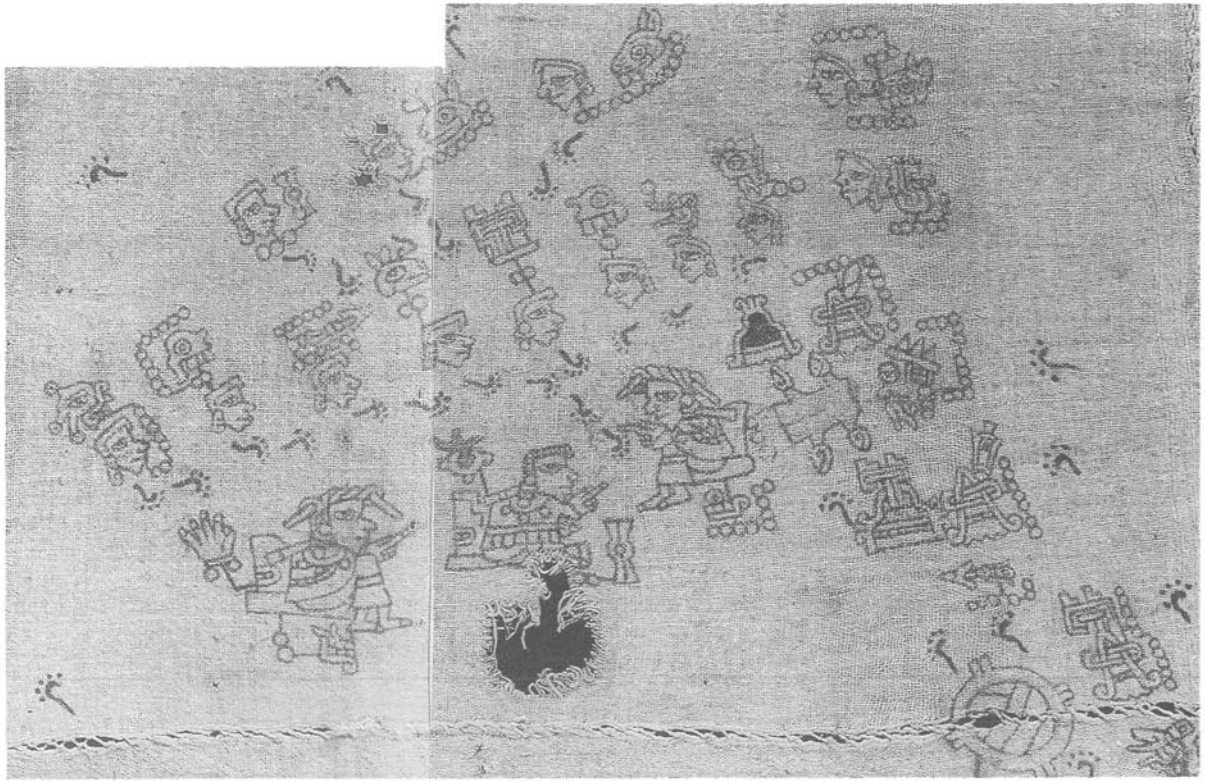


Fig. 31 A Conference Scene in the Lienzo Yolotepec. (Courtesy Department of Library Services, American Museum of National History, negative nos. 36141, 36146, photos by Julius Kirschner, Dec. 1916)

TABLE 18. POSSIBLE CORRELATION OF PERSONS IN CHAPTER III, SECTION 4, WITH DEITIES, ANCIENT ANCESTORS AND PRIESTS IN OTHER CODICES

<u>Codex López Ruiz</u>	<u>Other Codices</u>
♀ 10, 11 or 13 Flower (<i>xivaco</i>) "Flowering <i>Cacica</i> " 444, line 17; Table 10, Generation 3	♀ 13 Flower "Flower-Quetzal Bird" Goddess; ancient ancestor of Apoala Vindobonensis 36c, 35a, 27a, 2b, 1a Nuttall 19-left, 36 Bodley 40-39, IV, 28-I
♀ 4, 5 or 9 Alligator (<i>quiquihui</i>) "Princess of Roses" 444, line 20; Table 10, Generation 4	♀ 9 Alligator "Rain Deity-Feathered Feathered Serpent" ancient ancestor of Apoala Vindobonensis 35a-b, 34a, 27a Nuttall 36 Bodley 39-IV, 39-40, III Selden 1-III
♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Vulture (<i>cucuiy/cucui</i>) 444, lines 22 and 29; Table 10 Generations 4 and 5	♂ 12 Vulture deity Vindobonensis 29b
♂ 10, 11 or 13 Alligator (<i>xiquihui</i>) 444, line 31; Table 10, Generation 4	♂ 10 Alligator "Eagle-Janus Head" deity Nuttall 16-III, 19-left
♂ 1, 2 or 12 Flower (<i>cahuaco</i>) 444, line 25 and 445, lines 2-3; Table 10, Generations 4 and 6	1 Flower ancient ancestor of Apoala Vindobonensis 36c, 35a, 23b Nuttall 36 Bodley 40-39, IV
♂ 4, 5, or 9 Tiger (<i>qhuitzn</i>) 444, line 27; Table 10, Generation 7)	♂ 4 Tiger personage performing priestly activities Nuttall 14, 52-III, 70-III, 75, 77-III, 78-I and III, 79-III and IV, 80-I Colombino 9-I, 10-II, 12-I and III, 13, II-I and I, 19-I, 23 Becker I 1-III and I, 3-III and I, 4, 5-II, 15-II and II-III, 16-II Bodley 9-II, 10-III, 34-33, III through I

the descriptions of this genealogy by López Ruiz (444, lines 30-33), but Apoala is associated with *xiquihui* (10, 11 or 13 Alligator) of Generation 4 rather than with any of the ancient ancestors of Apoala discussed above.

In the case of *xiquihui* (10, 11 or 13 Alligator), who is described by López Ruiz as the third male offspring of Generation 4, a deity or mythological figure named 10 Alligator, shown with a Janus head and an eagle costume decorated with flint blades, appears twice in the early section of the genealogical side of the Codex Nuttall. On page 16-III of this codex, 10 Alligator is portrayed in a scene that is part of the peregrination of a female ruler named 3 Flint. In this scene, 3 Flint is shown as nude and descending into a river with a tree and strands of hair. She is flanked by four ancient ancestors, and above her figures is a conch shell on top of which is 10 Alligator. He here seems to function almost as an elaborate ceremonial staff because the lower section of his figure is grasped by a human hand. Later in the same codex, 10 Alligator is among a group of supernaturals (second from the left) who walk along the top of a large hill in the elaborate marriage scene on Nuttall 19.¹³

Another of the males named in Generation 4 of this genealogical segment may also be analogous to a deity in the Codex Vindobonensis: *cacuiy*, or 1, 2 or 12 Vulture, who is considered by López Ruiz to be the second son of the rulers of Generation 3. In the Vindobonensis 29-II, a 12 Vulture appears among a group of forty-four gods and goddesses who attend an ear-piercing ceremony in which the wind god 9 Wind (Quetzalcoatl) and the old god 2 Dog perforate each others' ears (Vindobonensis 30-26a). This 12 Vulture wears an ocelot helmet, and his name signs are an eagle and an ocelot within rectangles representing the night sky.¹⁴ In this sequence of deities, 12 Vulture is immediately followed by the male deity 7 Wind, who, as discussed above, may be the *xachi* of Generation 3 of the third genealogical segment presented by López Ruiz in Chapter III (Table 9).

Another male of Generation 4 of the fourth segment of Chapter III is named *coqh*, which can be 1, 2, 3 or 12 Movement or Lizard. This person may be the same as one of the deities associated with the planet Venus as the morning star ("Tlahuizcalpantecuhtli"). In the opening scene of the Codex Selden (Fig. 26), this deity is shown with the sun god 1 Death descending from a skyband and rending a hill from which emerges an umbilical cord that is attached to the first male ruler of Jaltepec, the genealogy with which this codex is concerned. In addition, a male named 1 Movement, wearing the typical Venus *quincunx* face paint plays a ball game with the young 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" and then assists him in one of his conquests prior to 8 Deer's becoming ruler of Tututepec (Bodley 10-IV).

In the genealogical segment under discussion, Generation 7 consists of a single male ruler: *qhuitzn*, which can be 4, 5 or 9 Tiger. Perhaps this figure is an important figure named 4 Tiger who functions as a type of "kingmaker" in the biographies of the notable rulers 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" and 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" in

the historical codices. Specifically, 4 Tiger is responsible for piercing the noses of both 8 Deer and 4 Wind, giving both nose ornaments that entitle them to their kingdoms.¹⁵

Three of the persons named in Generations 4 through 6 seem to have no counterparts in other codices: the first offspring in Generation 4, a male named *quexayu* (4, 5 or 9 Rabbit); a female named *qhcuuy* (4, 5 or 9 Vulture), who is the wife of *cahuaco*, the last offspring in Generation 4, as well as the wife of the male ruler (also named *cahuaco*) of Generation 6; and a woman named *neqh* (8 Lizard or Movement), the wife of *cucui*, the ruler of Generation 5.

Of the six persons discussed above who may be analogous to persons with the same calendrical names in other codices, three are ancestors of the fabled town of origin, Apoala; four (including the three from Apoala) appear in the obverse of the Codex Vindobonensis, which is primarily populated with deities, ancient ancestors, and mythological figures; one may be one of the gods associated with the planet Venus; and still another may be a notable personage who functions as a priest in granting high status to important rulers. Moreover, the only Spanish place name in this segment is "Sun Hill" ("Monte del Sol"; 444, lines 14 and 19). This is the first time that this place name has occurred in the López Ruiz narrative since the opening chapter that deals with early mythological history. The reappearance of this place name may suggest that at least part of this segment is ritual and includes supernaturals rather than strictly historical persons.

If what López Ruiz considers to be the concluding generations of this segment are deities and ancient ancestors, it is possible that he was describing this genealogy in the reverse order and that the hypothetical conference of deities and ancient ancestors should actually be at the beginning of the segment, rather than at the end. A reverse-order reading was also suggested for the opening section of Chapter III (Table 7), and both that segment and the one under discussion (Table 10) conclude with a single male person. In the case of the opening segment, the person is the important ruler 4 Wind, who is shown conferring with the sun god 1 Death and the last wife of 8 Deer; in the last genealogical segment, the single individual is 4 Tiger, who may have been *followed* by the group of non-historical persons included in Generations 3-6 of Table 10. Suggestive of some uncertainty on the part of López Ruiz as to the reading order of this segment is the repetition of the names of one couple. As illustrated in Table 10, the male *cahuaco* (1, 2 or 12 Flower) is considered to be the fifth offspring in Generation 4, where he is said to be married to a woman named *qhcuuy* (4, 5 or 9 Vulture). This same couple reappears as Generation 6, where the male *cahuaco* is now said to be the grandson of the first male ruler of Generation 4.

Without question, the suggestions concerning the presence of deities and ancient ancestors in this segment, as well as the hypothesis that the segment should be read in the reverse order, are highly conjectural. Indeed, the relationship between persons in the segment and supernaturals that is illustrated in Table 18 may be more

coincidental than significant. Equally possible is that all the persons who appear in Table 10 are historical rulers and that none of them appears in other codices, as is the case for the earlier two genealogical segments illustrated in Tables 8 and 9.

PERSONS IN CHAPTER IV (TABLES 11-12)

The material presented in Chapter IV of López Ruiz is very episodic and does not seem to present a long or connected genealogy or genealogies as is the case of his Chapter III. Very few of the persons in this final segment seem to have counterparts with other extant codices, and the analogies that will be suggested below are more hypothetical than confirmable.

Naqh and Don Pedro *Qhqh* (Rulers of Putla?)

One person named by López Ruiz who may appear in another manuscript is "the *cacique* Yanaqh" (445, line 18). *Ya* or *yya* is the prefix that refers to a member of the nobility, and *naqh* is the calendrical name 8 Lizard or 8 Movement. In the Lienzo of Zacatepec, one of two male rulers associated with the sign of Putla, the town most frequently mentioned in the text of López Ruiz, is 8 Lizard "Flints-Tiger" (Fig. 32), and it is possible that he may be the same as the *naqh* of López Ruiz.¹⁶

Nonetheless, on the following page of his study (447, line 8-9), López Ruiz describes another man, *Yaqhqh* as "*cacique* of Ñuñume" [Putla]. This *cacique*'s prehispanic personal name is "Tiger who came from the East" (Tiger-Sun?), and in the Colonial period he was baptized with the Spanish name Don Pedro. In the case of this ruler's Mixtec name, *ya* or *yya* denotes his noble status, and the calendrical name *qhqh* can mean 4, 5 or 9 Lizard or Movement. Perhaps these two men--*naqh* on 446, line 18, and *qhqh* on 447, lines 8-9, the only persons in Chapter IV whose calendrical names have the *ya* prefix--were rulers of Putla at different times, even though López Ruiz does not specify any relationship between the two.

The *naqh* or 8 Lizard on 446, line 18, is described as meeting "the elderly *ñehuizu*" (6 or 8 Tiger) at a boundary site whose Mixtec name is *Yodzoñuita*,¹⁷ and neither the wife nor the offspring of *naqh* are named. The Don Pedro *qhqh* of 447, lines 8-9, is described as being "the first *cacique* who was baptized," implying he lived around the time of the Conquest. The parents of this *cacique* are not named, but his wife, who was also baptized, is: doña maria *Quexayo* (4, 5 or 9 Rabbit). According to López Ruiz, this couple had no heirs. Nonetheless, a couple with the same Mixtec calendrical names (*qhqh* and *quexayo*) are mentioned earlier in the López Ruiz paper, in the third genealogical segment of his Chapter III (443, lines 29-31). As can be seen in Table 9, this couple is Generation 4 of this segment, and the male *qhqh* is said to have been born in "Heat

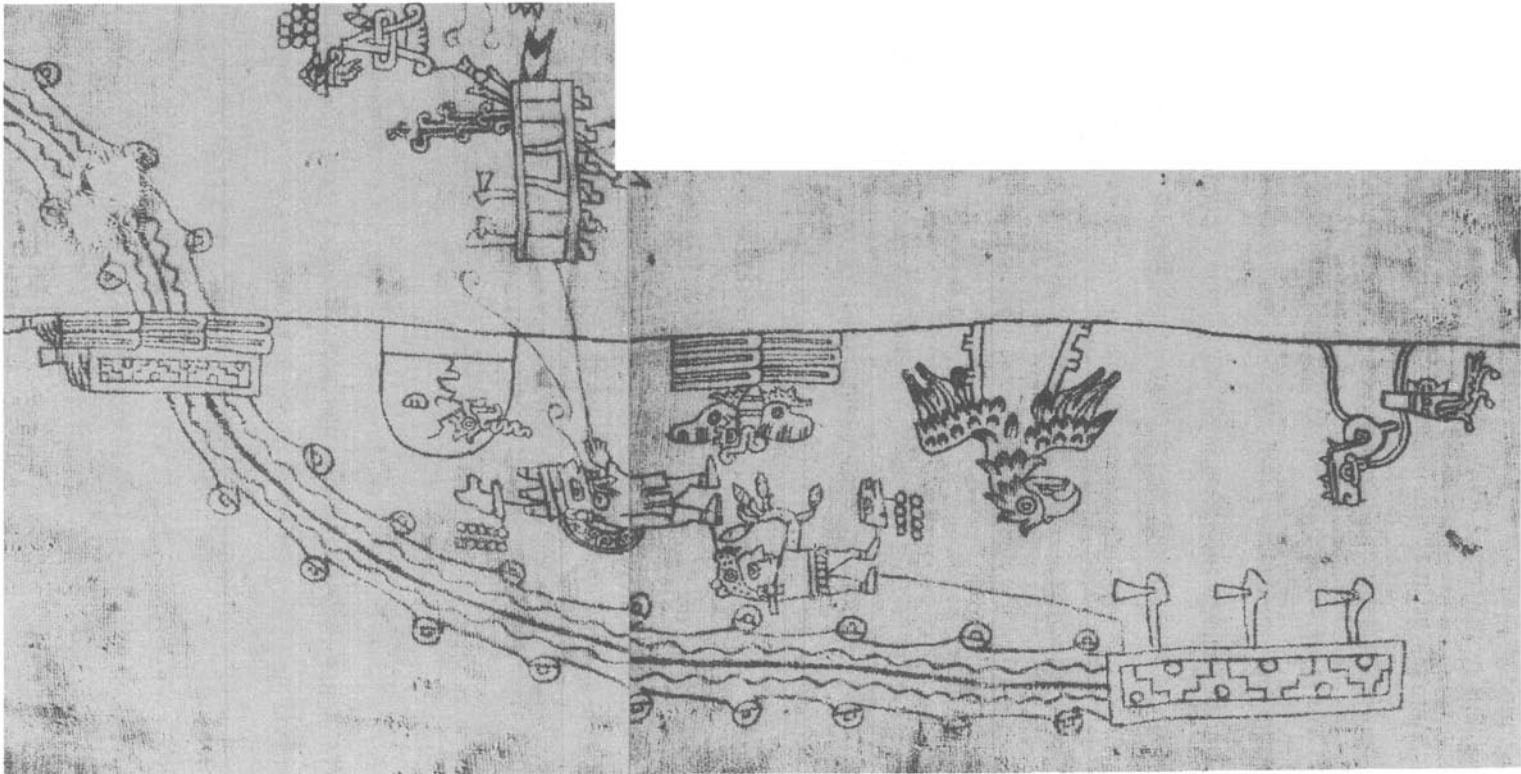


Fig. 32. The Sign of Putla in the Lienzo of Zacatepec. (After Peñafiel 1900:pls. XI, XVI)

Hill" (perhaps Santa María Tataltepec in the District of Tlaxiaco). He is said to be the son of the male ruler *xachi* (7 Wind), who, as suggested earlier, may or may not be the same as an eagle deity in the Codex Vindobonensis, and the female ruler named *ñuhuizu* (6 Tiger), whose calendrical name is very similar to that of the male ruler *ñehuizu* who is one of the principal persons featured at the beginning of Chapter IV (445, line 9, through 446, line 12). But the two men named *xicuaa* are given different hometowns. In Chapter III, *xicuaa* is said to have "established the residence on the ridges of Ñuñume [Putla]" (443, lines 33-34), whereas the *xicuaa* of Chapter IV is said to be from Tlaxiaco (447, lines 12-13). These correspondences between Chapter III and IV suggest that at least some of the persons in Chapter IV may appear first as part of a genealogical line and then re-appear elsewhere in the lost codex in scenes that are separate from the main chronological narrative.

Regrettably, one of the male rulers under discussion, *naqh* or 8 Lizard, is only mentioned once, in a non-genealogical context, in the study of López Ruiz (446, line 18), and he is not definitely associated with Ñuñume or Putla by López Ruiz. Thus it is by no means certain that he is the same as the 8 Lizard who is shown as Putla in the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 32). The second ruler under consideration, don Pedro *qhqh*, is considered by López Ruiz to have been a *cacique* of Putla (447, line 9), but this is not corroborated by any other source, either pictorial or written in European script.

Qhmaya-Ñaña (Ruler of Tlaxiaco?)

In the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of San Juan Mixtepec, the officials of that town state that they recognized as their ruler the *cacique* of Tlaxiaco, whose Mixtec name is given as *Tondiqhumiu* (Acuña 1984, I:293). Alfonso Caso (1977:Appendix IV, entry no. 371) translates the *qhumiu* section of this Mixtec phrase as the calendrical name 4 Death, with the opening section *tondi* perhaps being a variant of the Mixtec word *toho*, "hereditary ruler."

It is possible that this Mixtec calendrical name is the same as the *qhmaya* that is given to a ruler that López Ruiz considers to be the third generation of a short genealogy that begins with rulers with Spanish names (447, lines 24-32; Table 11). The *qhmaya* of López Ruiz has the Mixtec personal name *ñaña*, meaning "mountain lion, tiger."

The brief genealogical segment illustrated in Table 11 appears to be presented in the reverse chronological order because it is unlikely that the descendants of native rulers with Spanish names would have the prehistoric type of Mixtec calendrical name. If this genealogy is read in the opposite order, then the third generation in Table 11 would be (at least) two generations earlier than the generation comprised of *caciques*

with Spanish names, making it chronologically possible that the *qhmaya* in the López Ruiz text could be the same as the ruler of Tlaxiaco named in the Mixtepec *Relación geográfica*.

Nonetheless, several factors argue against the equation of the *qhmaya* in López Ruiz with the *qhumiu* of the Mixtepec text. First of all, the prefix of the Mixtec name *qhmaya* of López Ruiz is *ñu-*, and it would be expected that the name of someone as important as the *cacique* of Tlaxiaco would be prefixed with *ya-*, indicating the highest nobility, instead of *ñu-*, which may refer to someone of the secondary nobility or *principal* class. Secondly, no male ruler named 4 Death (or 4 House) is shown as a ruler of Tlaxiaco in the other codices. However, the genealogy of Tlaxiaco illustrated in other manuscripts does not extend up to the time of the Spanish conquest. The latest ruler of Tlaxiaco in the codices Bodley (20-II, 21-22, III) and Selden (17-IV) is a man named 8 Grass "Rain Deity-Sun," who was born in 1435 (Caso 1979:281) and would undoubtedly have died well before the arrival of the Spanish in the 1520s. Thus, if the 4 Death or 4 House mentioned in the Mixtepec *Relación geográfica* were the ruler of that town at the time of the Conquest, he would be later than the last-named ruler of Tlaxiaco in other manuscripts.

Paired Names of Rulers and Names of Towns That Border Tlaxiaco

The persons named in the paragraph beginning on line 33 of page 447 and ending on line 7 of page 448 present special problems. The material in this paragraph is summarized in Table 12.

Most of the place names in this paragraph are the towns that were formerly neighbors of Tlaxiaco: Huajuapán de León, Tonalá and Tezoatlán (north of Tlaxiaco); Malinaltepec (east of Tlaxiaco); Chalcatongo (southeast of Tlaxiaco); and Ññume (Putla) and Cuquila (southwest of Tlaxiaco). Does this mean that the persons named in this paragraph are from these towns? As far as I can determine, this does not seem to be the case.¹⁸

Moreover, as can be seen in Table 12, many of the Mixtec names of persons given in this paragraph are actually a combination of two Mixtec calendrical names, perhaps suggesting a marriage pair. But López Ruiz does not specify that one of the paired names belongs to a male ruler and the other to a female ruler. Because earlier in his article he had been explicit about which rulers are *caciques* and which are *cacicas*, this suggests to me that these paired names may be glosses that do not accompany human figures, whose costumes and hair styles would identify the sex of the rulers.

If the calendrical names in this paragraph do not identify the rulers of the neighbors of Tlaxiaco given in the same paragraph, they may be providing subsidiary genealogical information on some of the ruling lines presented in the lost codex, although their relationship to the other persons discussed by López Ruiz is unclear. In all likelihood, the material in this paragraph--whether pictorial figures or a text in European script or a

combination of both--is placed on the lost codex somewhere that is separate from the principal pictorial text. Perhaps this material is similar to the glosses on the reverse of the Codex Tulane that set forth in European script only the calendrical names of subsidiary, non-inheriting nobility of the ruling line of Acatlán in the Mixteca Baja (Smith and Parmenter 1991:61-64).

At present, however, the relationship of the persons named in this paragraph to either the towns associated with their names or to the other rulers described by López Ruiz is unknown.

Ocoñaña

In the penultimate paragraph of his narrative, López Ruiz states that an ancient ruler named *ciuxiyo-nehuizu* brings his people to *Ññume* (Putla) and then to the hill of *Yucutuno*. In the previous paragraph (448, lines 6-7), *ciuxiyo-nehuizu* is referred to earlier in Chapter IV as *Ñeichuizu* (445, lines 9-10) and *ñehuizu* (445, lines 18, 27; 446, line 7), which may be 6 or 8 Tiger. When this elderly ruler arrives in *Yucutuno*, this hill was occupied by the brave king *Ocoñaña*, and in an inspiring clandestine meeting, these leaders decided to wage a fierce battle against the Spanish" (448, lines 11-14).

The Mixtec name *Ocoñaña* is usually translated as "20 lions" or "20 tigers." In the extant Mixtec historical manuscripts, two notable male rulers have *Ocoñaña* as their personal names; an heir to the town of Tilantongo named 2 Rain, who died mysteriously at the age of 21 in the early eleventh century (Caso 1979:416-417); and a *cacique* of Teozacoalco named 5 Reed, who lived in the early 1400s or about a century prior to the Spanish conquest (Caso 1979:300-301; Rabin in Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1982:365, n. 7). The latter *Ocoñaña* also appears in the Colonial Genealogy of Macuilxochitl, and the name "*Ocoñaña*" is included in a gloss on the 1580 *Relación geográfica* map of Macuilxochitl, a town in the Valley Oaxaca (John Paddock and Emily Rabin papers in Whitecotton and Whitecotton 1982). As well, Wilfredo Cruz (1946:159) cites a document from Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán that gives the Mixtec name of Monté Albán, the great Classic site in the Valley of Oaxaca, as *yucu ocoñaña* ("the hill of *Ocoñaña*).

Neither the rulers named 2 Rain or 5 Reed seems to appear in the Codex López Ruiz, and it is doubtful that López Ruiz would have been aware of either ruler because their biographies only became known as a result of Alfonso Caso's pioneering work on the Map of Teozacoalco in the 1940s (Caso 1949). In all likelihood, the source of the *Ocoñaña* in the López Ruiz paper is a legend that he learned while he was in Tilantongo in the late 1880s. According to this legend, *Ocoñaña* was the name of the ruler of Tilantongo at the time of the Spanish conquest. An undated, unpublished 14-page paper by López Ruiz in the Van de Velde Collection at the University of New Mexico is entitled *Ocoñaña: leyenda mixteca* and deals with this hypothetical ruler of Tilantongo, described as "the last sovereign of the Mixtec Nation." At the time of the

Conquest, *Ocoñaña* is said to have gathered at his palace in Tilantongo "the kings of Tututepec, Sosola and Coixtlahuaca, as well as the *caciques* of Nochistlán, Ometepec and other community kingdoms," in order to coordinate the Mixtec resistance to the invading Spaniards.¹⁹

Slightly over fifty years after the publication of the López Ruiz article, Alfonso Caso (1949) demonstrated that the ruler of Tilantongo at the time of the Conquest was named 4 Deer "Eagle-Visible Eye," but this could not have been known by López Ruiz in the 1890s. Thus the *Ocoñaña* mentioned at the end of the López Ruiz paper is based on a legend rather than on a figure in the lost codex. I also doubt that the conquest by the Spanish of *Ocoñaña* is shown in the lost codex because manuscripts from the Mixtec heartland do not depict the Conquest.²⁰

Persons with Spanish Surnames

López Ruiz states that the genealogies presented in his Chapter III conclude with the Spanish conquest, but no Spanish surnames occur in his narrative until Chapter IV. All the Spanish names in this chapter are the baptismal names of the native nobility with the exception of that of the Dominican friar Benito Hernández. Transitional between the prehispanic Mixtec calendrical names and the Spanish surnames are names that combine Spanish given names and Mixtec calendrical names, such as Don Pedro *qhqh* (447, line 9), Doña María *quexayu* (447, lines 10-11), Don Martín *xicuaa* (447, line 12), and Doña María *caxayu* (447, line 16).²¹

Of the ten persons with Spanish surnames in Chapter IV, only the Dominican friar Benito Hernández and three of the native rulers with this type of name can be identified in Colonial documents.²²

Benito Hernández (446, line 29). Hernández, born in 1526 in the town of Moratilla, near Guadalajara, Spain, joined the Dominican Order at the monastery of Salamanca in 1543 at the age of 17. He probably came to the New World around 1550, and in the late 1550s and early 1560s he was associated with the Dominican establishments in Tlaxiaco and Achiutla. He also spent the final years of his life in Achiutla where he died in 1570 (Burgoa 1934, I:322-347; Arroyo 1958:19-33; Jiménez Moreno 1962:30-34). His most notorious act was the destruction of a sculpture in greenstone known as "el Corazón del Pueblo" ("the Heart of the Community") that was revered by the natives of Achiutla (Burgoa 1934, I:332-333). He published two *doctrinas* in the Mixtec language, one in 1567 that is said to be in the dialect of Tlaxiaco and Achiutla, and one in 1568, said to be in the dialect of Teposcolula (Jiménez Moreno 1962:34, 99).

Juan and Pedro de Sotomayor (447, lines 18, 24-28). In the Teposcolula archive, several documents deal with Pedro de Sotomayor, who is described as the *cacique* of Santo Tomás Ocotepec, southwest of Tlaxiaco, in the second decade of the seventeenth century (Romero and Spores 1976:entry nos. 324, 680, 2875; documents ranging in date from 1612 to 1616). In these documents, Pedro de Sotomayor is said to be the son

of Juan de Sotomayor, also *cacique* of Ocoatepec (John Monaghan, personal communication, May 29, 1993). Presumably, then, Juan de Sotomayor was *cacique* in the closing years of the sixteenth century; his name occurs in a document dated 1600 in the Teposcolula archive (Romero and Spores 1976:entry no. 699). The father-son relationship between Juan and Pedro de Sotomayor is not made explicit in the narrative of López Ruiz, who names only a daughter, doña María, of Juan de Sotomayor (447, lines 18-23). As well, Pedro de Sotomayor is said by López Ruiz to be the progenitor of two generations of offspring with prehispanic Mixtec calendrical names (Table 11), indicating that the genealogical material in this section of the codex is not being read in the correct chronological order.

Angel de Villafañe (447, line 22). A native nobleman with this Spanish name is said to marry doña María, the daughter of Juan de Sotomayor and his wife Inés de Velasco. In all likelihood, this person is the same as the don Angel de Villafañe who is said to be the *cacique* of Juquila, Zentzontepec, Comaltepec and Tepecingo in 1609 (Spores and Saldaña 1973:entry no. 811; AGN-Mercedes 84, folio 274). Not only is this Villafañe associated with Zentzontepec, the town in which his wife doña María is said by López Ruiz to have established herself (447, lines 20-22), but the date of 1609 is reasonable because this son-in-law of Juan de Sotomayor was probably about the same age as his son Pedro de Sotomayor, who appears in documents dated 1612-1616.²³

Undoubtedly, further archival investigation will uncover the identities of other persons with Spanish surnames in the study of López Ruiz, such as Lucas de Rosas (447, line 15) and Juan and Bartolomé San Pablo (446, lines 30-32).

CONCLUSIONS

Very few of the persons with Mixtec calendrical names in the López Ruiz narrative assuredly appear in other extant Mixtec manuscripts. Indeed, the only three that I believe have definite analogies to persons in other codices appear at the end of the first genealogical segment of Chapter III (442, lines 1-7; Generations 5-6 of Table 7). These three are: the sun god 1 Death, the important ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," and a woman named 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood," who was the fifth and last wife of 8 Deer "Tiger Claw," the ruler whose biography is recorded in most detail in the extant corpus of Mixtec manuscripts. A few other persons included in the López Ruiz paper may appear in other manuscripts, but the relationships of these persons with individuals in other codices are hypothetical and may be random rather than significant. The lost codex that López Ruiz was describing shows no close and consistent correspondences with any other extant codex.

The implication of this is that the Codex López Ruiz was created for a region from which we have no other pictorial genealogical manuscripts. In this respect, it is similar to the Lienzo of Zacatepec from the Mixteca de la Costa. This lienzo contains approximately sixty different named historical persons, and only two of these appear in other manuscripts: the ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" (also in the Codex López Ruiz) and his wife 10 Flower "Rain Deity-Cobweb." This couple is in the upper-left corner of the lienzo (Fig. 25), where 4 Wind is conferring the right to ruler to the first recorded *cacique* of Zacatepec. A similar situation may be occurring in the Codex López Ruiz, in which the conference of 4 Wind with the sun god 1 Death and the wife of 8 Deer named 6 Wind may be empowering a new ruling line. As perceptively suggested by Nancy Troike (1974:363-364, 474), among the accomplishments of 4 Wind was the dispersal of the holdings accumulated by 8 Deer "Tiger Claw," whom 4 Wind had murdered; and the initiation of new ruling lines was undoubtedly a part of this effort.

The calendrical names of the three participants in the conference in the Codex López Ruiz have the prefix *ya-*, indicating that they are of the highest nobility. The majority of calendrical names given by López Ruiz have the prefix *ñu-*, perhaps because these native rulers were *principales* or members of the secondary nobility. This may suggest that the rulers in the lost codex were from former subject towns and were attempting to establish their independence from a larger *cabecera*, a type of activity that was common in the Colonial period when the manuscript was created.

In Tables 7 through 10, I have presented the genealogical material as it was described by López Ruiz in his Chapter III. This material seems to divide into four segments, with the first three ending owing to lack of heirs and the fourth ending with the Spanish conquest. If the rulers were arranged in vertical columns of paired couples as is frequently the case in Colonial Mixtec manuscripts, some of these segments may have been read by López Ruiz in reverse chronological order. This definitely seems to have been the case for a short genealogy in his Chapter IV (Table 11), which begins with *caciques* with Spanish names and concludes with rulers with the prehispanic style of Mixtec calendrical names.

As noted in Chapter 4 of this study, the genealogical segments in Chapter III of the López Ruiz paper present a total of twenty-five generations, if these segments are considered to present a continuous, chronological ruling line. At least some of the persons with Mixtec names, however, are not part of the principal genealogy. This is certainly the case for the three participants in the conference in the first segment: the sun god 1 Death, the ruler 4 Wind, and the woman 6 Wind (Generations 5 and 6 of Table 7), who are manipulating a genealogical line in which they are not participants. As well, some of the multiple offspring described by López Ruiz may be deities or ancient ancestors (as, for example, Generation 4-7 in Table 10). Thus the total number of generations in his Chapter III may be considerably less than twenty-five.

The material in Chapter IV of the López Ruiz paper seems to consist of vignettes that were placed on the codex in sections separate from the principal genealogical line(s). Two of the calendrical names in this section have *ya-* rather than *ñu-* as a prefix. One of these, *Yanaqh* (8 Lizard or Movement; 446, line 18), may be the same as the 8 Lizard "Flints-Tiger," shown as a ruler of Putla in the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 32). The other, don Pedro *Qhqh* (4, 5 or 9 Lizard or Movement; 447, lines 7-9) is said by López Ruiz to be the ruler of *Ñuñume* or Putla, but this is not corroborated by any other source.

Toward the end of Chapter IV (447, line 33 through 448, line 7), López Ruiz names rulers who are said to be from towns that border Tlaxiaco. Thus far, none of these persons is known in other documents. In this section, paired calendrical names are given, suggesting married couples. The calendrical names that occur in this section may be glosses only, with the inscriptions not associated with human figures.

Chapter IV also contains Spanish baptismal names of native rulers of the Colonial period. Of the three that can be identified from other documents, two were from the Tlaxiaco region: Juan de Sotomayor and his son Pedro de Sotomayor (447, line 18 and 24-28), who were *caciques* of Ocotepec in the District of Tlaxiaco in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In addition, the Dominican friar Benito Hernández is named in Chapter IV (446, line 29), and he was active in the District of Tlaxiaco in the late 1550s and early 1560s, as well as spending the final years before his death in 1570 in this region.

These Spanish names, as well as the place names discussed in Chapter 5 and listed in Tables 13 and 14, indicate that the lost codex described by López Ruiz is from the Tlaxiaco area. As well, at least some of the glosses were written on the lost codex in the seventeenth century because Pedro de Sotomayor appears in other documents dating from the second decade of this century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. The metaphorical or non-historical quality of the date 4 Flint in the life of 4 Wind is evident in the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). In his appearance in this lienzo, 4 Wind and his wife 10 Flower "Rain Deity-Cobweb" are shown in the "already married" pose because the two figures are facing in the same direction. Yet, in 4 Wind's biography on the reverse of the Codex Bodley (29-IV), the marriage between 4 Wind and 10 Flower is dated as taking place in a 8 Flint year, four years *after* the year 4 Flint. This seems to indicate that the 4 Flint date may be more symbolic than strictly chronological.
2. Nancy Troike (1979:68-69) has convincingly demonstrated in her reconstruction of how the Codex Colombino and Codex Becker I originally fit together and that what today is page 16 of the Colombino (the page that depicts the sacrifice of 8 Deer) was placed between what is today pages 14 and 15 of the Codex Becker I. In his commentary on the Becker I, Nowotny (1961:14) believed that the scene on page 14 of that codex shows the marriage of 6 Wind with 8 Deer, and a belief shared by Caso in his commentary on the Codex Colombino (Caso and Smith 1966:42-44, 140-142). This is not possible because 8 Deer is dead before this conference takes place. Troike (1974:371-374) has correctly identified the male partner in the meeting as 4 Wind.
3. Caso postulated that 5 Dog was 6 Wind's first husband and that 8 Deer was her second husband (Caso and Smith 1966:42-43). But Troike (1974:373) has convincingly argued that her first marriage was to 8 Deer and her second was to 5 Dog.

Is it coincidental that the second marriage of 6 Wind occurs in 1125, one year after the first marriage of 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" to 8 Deer's daughter 10 Flower "Rain Deity-Cobweb"? Perhaps in the nine years between the death of 8 Deer and the marriage of 4 Wind, 6 Wind served as a concubine of 4 Wind, although this type of relationship is not made explicit in the codices. It is possible, however, that his liaison may be implied by the "double request" or marriage-like gestures depicted by 6 Wind and 4 Wind in the Codex Becker I (Fig. 28b).

Neither the Codex Nuttall nor the Map of Tezacoalco gives a town of origin for 5 Dog, the second husband of 6 Wind, and this question is somewhat confused by his appearance with his wife 6 Wind at the top of page 6 of the Codex Egerton 2895. As seen in Fig. 28a, the Codex Bodley clearly depicts the hometown of 6 Wind at the time of her first marriage with 8 Deer as "Tiger Town," the

place whose rulers are the principal concern of the Codex Egerton. Nonetheless, in this codex it is 6 Wind's second husband 5 Dog who is considered to be the non-inheriting offspring of the ruler of Tiger Town named 12? Wind "Serpent-Turquoise" and his wife 1 Eagle "Hand-Turquoise" from Tilantongo, whereas 5 Dog's wife 6 Wind is considered to be from Tilantongo. (The sign of Teozacoalco, the town of which 5 Dog and 6 Wind are considered the first rulers in the Codex Nuttall and the Map of Teozacoalco, does not appear at all in the Codex Egerton.) One possible interpretation of this seeming contradiction is that 5 Dog and 6 Wind were not only husband and wife but also brother and sister and that both were from Tiger Town. The reason that the woman 6 Wind is shown at Tilantongo in the Codex Egerton is that this was where she was living following the death of her first husband 8 Deer. But Viola König (1979:148) has observed that, once a woman was widowed, she returned to her parents' home, which would be Tiger Town. (However, if 6 Wind were the sister of 5 Dog, then Tilantongo would be her mother's town, as well as that of her deceased husband 8 Deer.) In all likelihood, the differences between the stories told in the codices Bodley and Egerton represent regional perceptions of the same genealogical material. That is, the Codex Egerton presents the genealogy of 5 Dog and his wife 6 Wind from the viewpoint of Tiger Town, whereas the Codex Bodley shows 6 Wind from the point of view of 4 Wind, the ruler whose story this codex emphasizes--and after all, 6 Wind was only the childless last wife of 8 Deer, literally the mortal enemy of 4 Wind.

The identity of the town represented by the "Tiger Town" sign is still uncertain. In her book-length study of the Codex Egerton, Viola König (1979:55-59, 206) postulated that the sign might represent one of three towns; in the order of her preference, these towns are: Cuquila in the Mixteca Alta and in the District of Tlaxiaco; Cuyotepejí in the Mixteca Baja, located north of Huajuapán and south of Tequixtepec del Rey; and Tehuacán in southern Puebla.

4. In the Codex Bodley (12-II), 6 House, the first son of the second wife of 8 Deer, is said to have been born in 1109, which would make him the first male heir of 8 Deer. In the codices Nuttall (27, II-III) and Vindobonensis (VIII-3), this son is said to have been born three years later in 1112, which would make him two years younger than 4 Dog, the first son of the first wife of 8 Deer. Because the Bodley is a "4 Wind manuscript," the earlier birthdate for 6 House may have been given to legitimize 4 Wind's decision to allot the *cacicazgo* of Tilantongo to this son. In the 8 Deer biography given in the Codex Bodley, it also seems possible that 6 Eagle "Tiger-Cobweb," the second wife of 8 Deer and mother of 6 House, may have collaborated with 4 Wind in arranging the death of 8 Deer. In his commentary on the Codex Bodley, Caso (1960:42) noted that, immediately preceding the sacrifice of 8 Deer, he attacks

a place sign to which are appended the name signs of his second wife 6 Eagle (Bodley 14-V). Caso further postulated that this attack may have been responsible for the death of 8 Deer. Troike (1974:359) suggested that the place attacked by 8 Deer was not directly connected with his second wife, but that she may have informed 4 Wind of 8 Deer's attack so that 4 Wind would know where to find 8 Deer. Troike (1974:360) further hypothesized that 8 Deer was purposefully killed at the age of 52, a perfect cycle in many areas of Mesoamerica, before he himself could decide how his domain would be divided among his various offspring. Thus, as the second wife of 8 Deer, 6 Eagle may have cooperated with 4 Wind to effect the demise of 8 Deer to give her son an advantage over the offspring of the first wife of 8 Deer. If this were the case, she was successful, because it was her son 6 House who assumed the *cacicazgo* of Tilantongo.

In all probability, the Tilantongo inherited by 6 House was not as extensive as this community was under 8 Deer. The sister of 6 House who married 4 Wind is shown at a place whose sign is described as "Flint" in the codices Bodley (11-III) and Selden (8-IV), and this place seems also to have become the major town of 4 Wind himself in the Bodley (11-IV, 31-III) and the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). "Flint" is considered to be a site now known as "Mogote de Cacique" located within the community of Tilantongo (Jansen and Winter 1980; Jansen 1982:275-276; Pohl and Byland 1990; Byland and Pohl 1994:90-93), but this site is not shown with a ruling line until the time of 8 Deer's daughter and her husband 4 Wind. Thus, even though 4 Wind did not assume the rulership of Tilantongo itself, he seems to have established as his power base a place within Tilantongo, a place that may have competed with Tilantongo during his lifetime and that of his immediate heirs. The establishment of a ruling line at "Flint" is undoubtedly another example of the "disperse and diminish" policy that 4 Wind applied to the holdings of 8 Deer.

5. Caso (1949:174; 1979:149) postulated that the woman named 4 Death "Jewel" who is shown as the wife of 4 Dog "Coyote" in the Codex Nuttall (28-I) and the Map of Teozacoalco was the daughter of 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood" and her second husband 5 Dog, but this is by no means certain. Neither the Nuttall nor the Map of Teozacoalco names either the hometowns or parents of any of the wives of the rulers of Teozacoalco. I do think it more likely, as postulated in this study, that 6 Wind and her second husband established the *cacicazgo* of Teozacoalco as a place that could be inherited by 4 Dog without the implication that he was their son-in-law.

In the early Colonial sources, Tilantongo is described as the most prestigious ruling line of the Mixteca (Burgoa 1934, I:276). Nonetheless, once the ruling line of Teozacoalco was established, its

offspring are documented as having initiated other ruling lines. As discussed in note 5 of Chapter 1, a second son of Teozacoalco rulers began the line of San Pedro Cántaros-San Miguel Adeques depicted in the Codex Muro. In addition, as illustrated in the Codex Tulane, rulers of Teozacoalco convened to sanction the ruling line of Acatlán in southern Puebla, and the first ruler of Acatlán may have been a subsidiary offspring of Teozacoalco (Smith and Parmenter 1991:37-39).

6. Of these seven children, only two re-appear in the Codex Bodley or any other manuscript: the male 13 Serpent "Eagle" (the fifth child and third son) and the female 11 Deer "Eagle-Jewel" (the sixth child and third daughter). On Bodley 29-28, I, they contract still another brother-sister marriage, just one year prior to the death of their great-grandfather 4 Wind "Fire Serpent." Immediately following the death of his great-grandfather 4 Wind (Bodley 28-II), 13 Serpent appears with a second wife: 6 Alligator "Jewel-Cobweb" of Tilantongo, a great-granddaughter of 8 Deer "Tiger Claw."
7. This pair of ancient ancestors also appear together in the large wedding scene on page 19 of the Codex Nuttall and twice in the concluding pages of the Codex Vindobonensis: on page 2b associated with a hill with a turquoise blade (?), and on page 1a on a slope that is split by hands and contains an insect. The latter place is defeated and disappears from the historical codices following the "War of Heaven" in the early eleventh century (Rabin 1979), an event characterized by Caso (1960:74-76) as one of "the crises in Mixtec history." In both Vindobonensis 2b and 1a, the date associated with this couple is the year 1 Rabbit and the day 1 Rabbit, a metaphorical or non-historical date connected with the founders of Hill Split by Hands-Insect (Jansen 1988:167-168). The attributes of the male 1 Alligator are shown in most detail on the Vindobonensis 28a and b, where is depicted with an ocelot costume, a Venus sign, and a skyband; those of female 13 Flower, on the Vindobonensis 27a, where she appears with a quetzal and a jewel. As Caso (1979:13) noted, the two calendrical names of this couple are the "alpha and omega" of day dates because 1 Alligator is the first day of the 260-day ceremonial calendar and 13 Flower is the last.
8. Perhaps some indication of the tenor of the conferences is provided by the unusual type of speech scrolls in this section of the Codex Bodley (28, V-IV), in which the outlines of the scrolls consist of dots rather than the traditional black frame lines. Elsewhere in the Bodley, speech or sound scrolls are shown as single line volutes (e.g., Bodley 5-II) or as multicolored volutes (e.g., Bodley 33-II). Perhaps a clue to the scrolls with dotted outlines can be gained from their association with one of the

musicians in the Codex Becker I who participates in the events that follow the death of 12 Movement "Blood-Tiger," the half-brother of 8 Deer. On the left side of page 7-III and partly on the right side of page 6-III of the Codex Becker I is an unnamed man playing the type of upright drum known in Nahuatl as a *huehuetl* and in Mixtec as a *ñuu*. Extending from the mouth of the drummer are scrolls whose contours are dots like those of the Bodley; appended to the top of the scrolls in Codex Becker I is a downy feather ball. The drummer is probably singing (Smith 1983a:243), so that the speech scrolls with dots and a feather may imply dulcet (or, by extension, conciliatory) speech. It is also possible that the use of dots may reflect an idiom in the Mixtec language. In the codices, dots are used to illustrate several words, among them "sand" (*ñute*) and "ashes" (*yaa*). In the case of the scrolls under discussion, I believe they may illustrate the word *yaa* which can mean not only "ashes" but "song." Perhaps also relevant to the speech scrolls is the meaning of *yaa* as "something clear, not muddled" (on *yaa*, see also King 1988:282-290). In addition, in the sixteenth-century Spanish-Mixtec dictionary of Fray Francisco de Alvarado, the word *yaa* appears in several idioms relating to human speech:

hablar bajo come entre dientes	
hablar de gracia, componiendo su cabeza	<i>caha yaa</i> (<i>cana</i> = hablar)

As well, the phrase *caha yaa* is given as the first definition of "mentir" in this dictionary.

9. If, as postulated by Jansen and Winter (1980), Jansen (1982:275-276), and Byland and Pohl (1994:90-93, 167-171), the Flint place sign represents the site of Mogote del Cacique within the *cacicazgo* of Tilantongo, this site may have been established by 4 Wind as part of his campaign to dilute the power of the son of 8 Deer who inherited Tilantongo (Table 16). Flint may have been abandoned soon after the death of 4 Wind because, in the extant codices, it is primarily associated with him and his direct descendants (Jansen 1982:392-393).

10. The depiction of the deaths of the woman 1 Grass and her son 1 Eagle is unusual because the deaths of the majority of persons who appear in the Mixtec codices are not shown at all, especially the deaths of women (Smith 1994:133-134, n. 17). Undoubtedly the reason for recording the deaths of these two individuals was to make it very clear that they did not inherit Flint or any of the other towns controlled by 4 Wind.

11. Very few male rulers in the extant codices have the calendrical name 7 Wind. In his biographical dictionary of the persons in the Mixtec and Mixtec-related manuscripts, Caso (1979:54-55) lists only two: a ruler in the Map of Xochitepec from the Mixteca Baja, and a ruler of Tlalixtlahuaca in the Lienzo of Ihuitlán from the Coixtlahuaca basin.
12. The Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca was drawn in 1578 to illustrate a specific lawsuit over tribute brought by the Colonial *cacique* of that town. This codex presents eight generations of Tecomaxtlahuaca's rulers accompanied by glosses giving their names in Nahuatl. Only two of these glosses give the full calendrical names of the male rulers, and none of the women is named, so it is difficult to correlate these rulers with persons in other manuscripts. Moreover, this codex presents the Tecomaxtlahuaca genealogy as a typical Colonial vertical column of couples which omits interlopers (male or female) from other communities, as well as the subsidiary offspring of those who did inherit. Nonetheless, none of the Nahuatl names of the male rulers in this codex seems to relate to the 1, 2, 3 or 12 Rabbit who is said to have spent his youth in Tecomaxtlahuaca. One faintly possible connection between the Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca and the lost Codex López Ruiz may occur in the son of 1, 2, 3 or 12 Rabbit, whose calendrical name is 4, 5 or 9 Serpent (Generation 2 of Table 9). The fourth rulers in the Tecomaxtlahuaca manuscript is named *Coatl*, "serpent" in Nahuatl. But in this manuscript *Coatl*'s father is named *Atonalcoatzin* ("water serpent") and his son is named 1 or 3 Monkey (Smith 1979:39-40), which does not relate at all to the genealogical relationships set forth by López Ruiz and summarized in Table 9. Moreover, the fourth generation of rulers in the Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca lived shortly before the Spanish conquest, and the 4, 5 or 9 Serpent of Generation 2 in Table 9 presumably lived considerably earlier.
13. The Mixtec calendrical name *xiquihui* can also mean 11 Alligator as well as 10 Alligator, and at least two male supernaturals named 11 Alligator appear in other codices. Each of these, however, is always paired with another person whose name is not included in this genealogical segment of López Ruiz. The most important of the deities named 11 Alligator seems to have solar/sky associations. He appears throughout the Codex Vindobonensis (51c, 47a, 36b, 29a?, 13a and b) and is shown in the sky with the bridegroom in the double-page wedding scene in Nuttall 19 and also in the sky in the "War of Heaven" in Nuttall 21 (Rabin 1979). In all of his appearances, he is shown with the male deity 4 Alligator (*qhquihui*) who is not mentioned by López Ruiz. Similarly, an 11 Alligator, in the guise of an opossum and holding bowls of blood and flint blades, appears in one of the "War of Heaven" scenes

- in Nuttall 3-III. In this scene, he is paired with the goddess 11 Serpent, traditionally shown with entwined serpents as hair and often, as here, as decapitated or accompanied by her severed head. Like her companion 11 Alligator, she holds bowls with blood and flint blades. The same pair, without calendrical names, also appear in the Codex Vindobonensis (22a, 20a, 13a). But the name of the goddess 11 Serpent (*siyo*) is also lacking in the narrative of López Ruiz.
14. Another male named 12 Vulture is paired with the male 12 Lizard (*xiqh*) appears in the large wedding scene in Nuttall 19 among a group of men who welcome the bridegroom 12 Wind "Smoking Eye" after his descent from the sky. Caso (1979:368) believed that this pair are the same as the 12 Vulture and 12 Lizard who are shown as mummy bundles in the following page 20 of the Nuttall, that depicts the "War of Heaven." The 12 Lizard with whom 12 Vulture is paired in the Nuttall is not included in the fourth genealogical segment of chapter III of the López Ruiz narrative.
 15. The pivotal role of 4 Tiger in the biographies of 8 Deer and 4 Wind has been discussed by Clark (1912:21, 24, 26), Caso (1955:294, 296; 1960:39, 61-62; in Caso and Smith 1966:29-31, 44-45; 1977:81-82; 1979:321-322), Nowotny (1961:15), Smith (1973a:70-75), Troike (1974:164-202, 239-244, 251-283, 351, 374-375, 380-394, 397-403, 434-439, 444-453, 476-482), Jansen (1982:387-389, 392; 1996), Pohl (1994a:93-108), and Byland and Pohl (1994:138-150, 169).
 16. As can be seen in Fig. 32, 8 Lizard "Flints-Tiger" is accompanied by another male ruler named 10 House "Rain Deity-Sun" in the Lienzo of Zacatepec. The relationship of this second man to 8 Lizard is unknown; he may be a brother, father, son or ally. This second ruler does not occur in the Codex López Ruiz, nor is he named in the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Putla. The only *cacique* named in the latter text is 8 Lizard, who is identified as *cusivizu*, his two personal-name motifs--flints-tiger--in the Mixtec calendrical vocabulary (Acuña 1984, I:313, 315).
 17. As illustrated in Table 14, *yodzo ñuita* was a boundary west of Tlaxiaco, between Santiago Ñundiche and San Juan Mixtepec.
 18. Individuals with the same calendrical names as those in this paragraph do occur in other Mixtec manuscripts, but their relationship to those named in this section of the López Ruiz paper seems to be more coincidental than meaningful.

For example, one of the paired calendrical names in this paragraph (448, line 5) consists of *xiqh* (10, 11 or 13 Movement or Lizard) and *queyo* (4, 5 or 9 Serpent), who are said to be associated with Ñuñume or Putla. In the lower section of the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36), the calendrical names 10 Lizard and 9 Serpent appear among paired names of two figures who appear as males associated with a large hill on the right side and then as male-female couples associated with distinct place signs in the lower-right corner. All the couples in the lower section of this lienzo except 10 Lizard and 9 Serpent have relationships with persons on the obverse of the Codex Vindobonensis and in non-historical scenes in the Codex Nuttall (Caso 1964b:140-141; Parmenter 1966:16-18). As noted by Caso (1964b:141), 10 Lizard and 9 Serpent appear in no other manuscript. Nonetheless, because this couple is associated with four other pairs of ancient ancestors who are not part of the twenty-four generation genealogy in the upper section of the lienzo, in all likelihood they are ancient ancestors, as well. Whatever the roles of the pairs named in the López Ruiz paragraph under discussion, they do not seem to be ancient ancestors. Moreover, the place sign in the lower-right corner of the Lienzo of Philadelphia on which 10 Lizard and 9 Serpent are seated is a plain or valley with the calendrical sign 1 Reed (perhaps *yodzo ca/co huiyo* in Mixtec). This sign does not seem to appear in any other codex, nor does it seem to be related to any of the place names mentioned by López Ruiz.

In *xiqhqueyo*, the paired name in the López Ruiz text under discussion (448, line 5), the *qh* that represents the day sign in the calendrical name *xiqh* may also refer to the day sign Movement as well as to Lizard. If the day sign were Movement, then it must be noted that a couple in the Codex Tulane has the same paired calendrical names as those given by López Ruiz. The couple, a male ruler named 10 Movement (*xiqh*) and his wife 9 Serpent (*qhyo*), are the eighth of fifteen rulers of a town that may be Chila in southern Puebla (Smith and Parmenter 1991:34). But because the Codex Tulane does not otherwise relate to the lost Codex López Ruiz, the correspondence between the couples in the two manuscripts is probably one of chance and is not significant.

Equally tenuous is a possible relationship between one of the male rulers named in this enigmatic paragraph of the López Ruiz paper and a man with the same calendrical name in the Codex Egerton 2895. According to López Ruiz (448, lines 3-4), a male ruler named *xihuaco* (10, 11 or 13 Flower) is said to have established himself at Tonalá, an important town in the Mixteca Baja. In the upper section of page 21 of the Codex Egerton, a male ruler named 10 Flower is shown as the ruler of *ñuxitno* ("oven town"), along with his wife 13 Movement "Visible Eye." This man's appearance at "oven town" is unusual because this event is the only one following the opening pages of the codex that is accompanied by a date: the year 12 Flint and the day 12 Grass. Even if the 10 Flower in the

Egerton should be the same as the *xihuaco* mentioned in López Ruiz, the "oven town" that is ruled by the 10 Flower in the Egerton is probably not Tonalá. Viola König, in her detailed study of the Codex Egerton, suggests that another sign on page 15 of the codex, consisting of a sweathouse, is Tonalá (König 1979:78-81); and this seems likely because the sweathouse sign is accompanied by the Mixtec glosses *ñoyhe*, which is equivalent to *ñuuniñe* ("hot town"), the Mixtec name for Tonalá in the sixteenth-century Mixtec grammar by Fray Antonio de los Reyes (1890:90). Concerning the "oven town" sign on page 21 of the Egerton, König (1979:90-95) postulates that this sign may represent the Mixtec name Malinaltepec in eastern Guerrero, Texcalapa in southern Puebla, or (less likely) Telescalco in northwestern Oaxaca or a site named Río Verde near San Juan Mixtepec west of Tlaxiaco.

19. On the unpublished López Ruiz papers in the Van de Velde Collection, see note 3 of chapter 2. A published article by López Ruiz (1910) deals with a woman named *Ita Cuixi* ("white flower") who, by legend, was the daughter of *Ocoñaña*.

As discussed by Maarten Jansen (1987:72-77), the legend of *Ocoñaña* of Tilantongo was embellished considerably by the mentor and colleague of López Ruiz, Manuel Martínez Gracida, in his unpublished study of the prehispanic rulers of Tilantongo. According to Martínez Gracida, *Ocoñaña* was born in 1483, just prior to the Conquest, and his four predecessors as *caciques* of Tilantongo were: *Ehuahuñaña* or "5? lions" who lived from 1340 to 1420, *Sahoñaña* or "15 lions" (1375-1448), *Sahouniñaña*, or "18 lions" (1413-1482), and *Sahoqmiñaña* or "19 lions" (1481-1512). None of these four names occurs in either prehispanic or colonial Mixtec manuscripts; and, as noted by Jansen (1987:76), these names are the products of Martínez Gracida's imagination as seemingly logical ancestors for *Ocoñaña* or "20 lions." Indeed, one of these hypothetical rulers of Tilantongo, *Sahouniñaña* or "18 lions," is a protagonist in the story *Ita Andehui*, co-authored by Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz (1906:168, 217, 228, 232).

20. One exception to this generalization is the Colonial Codex of Yanhuitlán, essentially an economic rather than a genealogical manuscript. One of the extant pages of this codex illustrates the Spanish conquest of Mexico City-Tenochtitlan in the Valley of Mexico (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:Pl. I), but not the conquest of the Mixteca. The Yanhuitlán codex also includes native depictions of Dominican friars and other ecclesiastical persons, as well as figures of Spaniards who are supposedly *encomenderos*. Similarly, the Codex Sierra, from Texupán in the Mixteca Alta and also an economic

document, has some pictorial representations of Colonial administrators and church officials. As a rule, however, Colonial manuscripts from the Mixteca Alta, Baja and Costa often show the *results* of the Conquest (such as Christian churches to indicate towns or, as in the Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca, European costumes worn by the postconquest native rulers), but they usually do not illustrate the Conquest itself.

In part, the omission of the conquering Spaniards in Colonial Mixtec manuscripts may be because many of the manuscripts, such as the Codex Selden, were prepared to be presented as corroborating evidence in Colonial courts of law (Smith 1994). In presenting their case in court, the native litigants undoubtedly did not want to portray the earlier military conflicts of the Conquest. In general, the emphasis in Colonial Mixtec pictorial genealogies is on *continuity*, not on interruption.

Representations of the intrusive Spanish are seen in Colonial manuscripts from regions adjacent to the Mixteca, such as the Chocho-speaking area of the Coixtlahuaca basin. For example, several maps of the Valley of Coixtlahuaca include Spaniards on horseback: the Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca 1 (Glass 1964:Pl. 123-124) and the Codex Meixueiro or Lienzo A (HMAI 14:Fig. 44). In these two lienzos, mounted Spaniards confront named native nobility who are on foot, but no obvious battle of conquest is represented. Thus far, nothing has surfaced from southern Mexico that is comparable to the Book XII of Bernardino de Sahagún's Florentine Codex that presents an account of the Spanish conquest illustrated by native artists (Dibble and Anderson 1975; Cline and Cline 1989).

21. This type of transitional name also occurs in the Codex Muro. The couple on the left side of page 8 of this codex is identified in the adjacent glosses by their Spanish given names (but no Spanish surnames) and by their Mixtec calendrical names (but not their personal names, even though the pictorial signs of these names appear above their heads). Earlier in this codex (the first seven pages plus the right side of page 8), the ruling couples are accompanied by inscriptions that give both their calendrical and personal names in Mixtec. Following the couple on the left side of page 8, the figures on pages 9 through 11 of the codex lack any pictorial name signs but are accompanied by glosses that set for their full Spanish names (e.g., "don feliphe mexia" on page 9). On page 9 only, the Spanish names are followed by the rulers' Mixtec calendrical names (e.g., *ñuqueui* or 6 Alligator in the case of Felipe Mexia).
22. Standard sources for the Spanish names of the native nobility in the Colonial period include Appendix IV of Caso 1977, the indices of the catalogs of AGN-Mercedes and AGN-Indios (Spores and Sandaña

1973 and 1975), and the index of the catalog of the Archivo de Juzgado de Teposcolula in the Mixteca Alta (Romero and Spores 1976).

23. In the closing decades of the sixteenth century, Angel de Villafañe was also the name of the *cacique* of Jaltepec in the Valley of Nochixtlán, in the eastern Mixteca Alta (AGN-Mercedes 7, fol. 97; Burgoa 1934, I:328; García Pimental 1904:68). It is uncertain whether Jaltepec's Angel de Villafañe is the same as, or perhaps the father of, the Angel de Villafañe who was *cacique* of Juquila, Zentzontepec, Comaltepec and Tepecingo in 1609. The Jaltepec genealogy is delineated through the mid-sixteenth century in the Codex Selden (Caso 1964a, Smith 1983b and 1994); and there seems to be little or no relationship between the Codex Selden and the lost Codex López Ruiz.

7. DATES

In common with other pictorial manuscripts from the Mixteca, the lost Codex López Ruiz contained year and day dates, and these dates, like the names of persons and places, were accompanied by glosses in the Mixtec language written in European script. Both the year and day dates use the special Mixtec calendrical vocabulary set forth in Tables 1 and 2, with the usual problem that most of the numerals are expressed by syllables that seem to be homonymous except for variations in tone and perhaps glottal stops. In the case of the year dates, thirteen numerals from 1 through 13 combine with only four day signs, the so-called "year bearers": House, Rabbit, Reed and Flint. Thus any given year date can occur once every fifty-two years.

Fourteen Mixtec inscriptions on the codex were identified by López Ruiz as dates, and these are summarized in Table 19. In the two columns on the lefthand side of this table are the Mixtec phrases that give the year and day dates, accompanied by my translation of these phrases in parentheses. In the center is a brief characterization of the event that López Ruiz described as being related to the individual dates, and in the righthand column are the page and line of the López Ruiz article on which the date appears.

Typical of pictorial manuscripts from the Mixteca, dates are most frequently associated with "beginning" types of events (Smith and Parmenter (1991:16-17). According to López Ruiz, dates accompany five births of rulers (dates 4, 7, 11, 12, 13 in Table 19), four instances of investiture or the establishment of rulers at a named site (dates 2, 8, 9, 10 in Table 19), as well as four migrations or journeys (dates 1, 3, 5, 6 in Table 19). Only one of the fourteen dates (date 14 in Table 19) is not linked with a "beginning" type of event. This date is described as the year in which the native rulerships ended at the time of the Spanish conquest.

Metaphorical or Non-Historical Dates

In all likelihood, the first three dates in the López Ruiz text are what is often called "metaphorical" or "non-historical" dates. This type of date, although it does occur as an actual year and day in the Mixtec calendar, essentially signals a *type of event*. For example, in Mixtec manuscripts the year 1 Reed and the day 1 Alligator (literally, Year One and Day One) indicate the phrase "in the beginning" and often preface the beginning of a genealogy or a new sequence of events (Furst 1978c). The date of the year 7 Reed and the day 7 Reed often denotes a peregrination (Caso 1979:304; Smith and Parmenter 1991:40-41). At times, dates can be associated with specific sites, as the year 1 Rabbit and the day 1 Rabbit, which is connected with a place whose pictorial sign consists of a split mountain and an insect (Jansen 1988:166). As well, dates can be commemorative. For example, in the Codex Bodley (31-III), the ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" is shown seated

TABLE 19. DATES GIVEN IN THE LÓPEZ RUIZ TEXT

	Year	Day	Event	Page and Line of Text
1.	Nishayù (6 or 8? Rabbit [same as Date 3])	nixayù (6 or 8? Rabbit)	Initial migration of the leader <i>Yucuncho</i> and his tribe	437, line 5
2.	Thiqua (? House?)	Thiquaa (? House?)	Investiture of <i>Yucuncho</i> as <i>cacique</i>	439, lines 5-6
3.	nijayuhu (6 or 8? Rabbit) [same as Date 1]	nijayuhm (6 or 8? Rabbit)	Migration of <i>Yucuncho</i> and his tribe to Mountain of the South	439, line 15
4.	yicunjé (10, 11 or 13? Flint)	jicó (10, 11 or 13 Rain)	Birth of first son of <i>Yucuncho</i> and wife <i>(Ya)cuncuy</i> ; this son died at a young age	439, line 26
5.	Thicun (? House? Flint?)	Jacua (7 Deer)	Return of <i>Yucuncho</i> and his tribe to <i>yucuñuñuhu</i> ("hill that goes away"), where they win a battle over another migratory tribe	439, line 28
6.	Jajayuhuu (7 Rabbit)	naquiti (8 Alligator? Movement?)	Migration to <i>ytnuñaña</i> in the town of Santa Cruz Ñundanco	441, line 33
7.	Cquecuí (4, 5 or 9 Flint?)	cunoo (1, 2 or 3 Monkey)	Birth of ruler <i>(Ya)qhchi-coyavuiy</i> , who died at a young age	442, line 6

TABLE 19 (concluded)

	Year	Day	Event	Page and Line of Text
8.	Ñuhuiyo (6 Reed)	cajaa (1, 2 or 12 Eagle)	Ruler (<i>Ñu</i>) <i>caviyo</i> and wife (<i>Ñu</i>) <i>queviyo</i> establish their residence at <i>Yucunoo</i> ("hill of the plowed furrows")	443, line 5
9.	jacushi (7 Flint) Flower	cohacoo (1, 2 or 3 Flower)	Ruler (<i>Ñu</i>) <i>cunjaa</i> and wife <i>Ñuita</i> establish their residence at <i>ytnumaha</i> ("badger slope")	443, lines 7-8
10.	jaacushi (7 Flint)	neco (8? Rain)	Ruler (<i>Ñu</i>) <i>cocoo</i> and wife (<i>Ñu</i>) <i>shicushi</i> establish their residence at <i>Cuetivandhuiy</i> ("shadow slope")	443, line 10
11.	qhuiyo (4, 5 or 9 Reed)	qheco (4, 5 or 9 Rain)	Birth of ruler (<i>Ñu</i>) <i>ñumeñe</i>	444, lines 9-10
12.	Xacusi (7 Flint; claimed by López Ruiz) to be the year 1113		Birth of ruler <i>Ñeichuizu</i>	445, line 9
13.	xavaxi (7 Flint?; claimed by López Ruiz to be the year 1115	ncoo (6 or 8? Rain)	Birth of ruler <i>Xixañuu</i>	445, line 26
14.	Camaa (1, 2 or 12 House)		End of native Mixtec rulerships	448, line 17

on a throne in the year 3 Reed and day 2 House. As astutely noted by Jansen (1988:170), the same date is the first given in the Codex Selden, which was painted for the town of Jaltepec in the Valley of Nochixtlán, the hometown of 4 Wind's mother, 6 Monkey. In this case, the date of 4 Wind's enthronement undoubtedly was deliberately chosen to commemorate his maternal ancestors. In general, all the dates on the obverse of the Codex Vindobonensis, which deals with the very ancient history of the Mixteca, can be considered to be metaphorical or non-historical.

The first three dates given by López Ruiz are actually only two different dates because the first and the third are the same. I believe that these dates are probably non-historical, not only because they appear in the early, quasi-mythic section of the narrative, but because the year date and the day date are the same, a feature of many--but by no means all--non-historical dates. As far as I can determine, neither of these two dates appear in other Mixtec manuscripts.

The Year 4 Flint, the Day 1 Monkey (Date 7 in Table 19)

One date in the López Ruiz text that does appear in another Mixtec manuscript is the year 4 Flint, the day 1 Monkey (given as *Cquecuí cunoo* in the transcription of the Mixtec glosses). As was discussed in Chapter 6 in the section on the ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," this date probably also occurs in the one appearance of this ruler at the beginning of the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). Moreover, the role of 4 Wind in both the Zacatepec lienzo and the Codex López Ruiz is the same--that is, he is overseeing the beginning of a new genealogical line.

The Year 7 Flint

By far the most frequently named year in the glosses on the lost codex is 7 Flint. This year occurs in four of the fourteen dates (9, 10, 12, 13 or Table 19). It is possible that two of these four (10 and 13) may be the same date.

Two of the 7 Flint dates (9 and 10) are included in the same paragraph on page 443 of the López Ruiz narrative, implying that they may refer to different days in the same year. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the events with which the two dates are associated. They refer to the establishment of the second and third sons at two different sites, implying that the dates are contemporaneous. Moreover, in the López Ruiz text the two 7 Flint dates immediately follow a 6 Reed date (date 8 in Table 19), a date that is one year earlier than 7 Flint and the date on which the older brother of the two men associated with the 7 Flint date establishes his rulership. Thus this succession of dates seems to make historical sense.¹

The other two 7 Flint dates (12 and 13 in Table 19) occur at the beginning of the final section of the text of López Ruiz. As was discussed in the section entitled "Chapter IV" in Chapter 3 of this book, it is not clear how this segment of the narrative of López Ruiz relates to the previous three segments.

One problem with the opening paragraphs of this fourth segment is that the Mixtec calendrical names of rulers lack the distinctive prefixes *ñu* or *yya* that clearly indicate that the gloss is giving the name of a person rather than a date. For example, the first 7 Flint date (12 in Table 19) is followed by a gloss giving a day 6 or 8 Tiger (*ñeichuizu*), said to be the calendrical name of a ruler born in that year, although this gloss could be the day date 6 or 8 Tiger in the 7 Flint year. Three other calendrical names in this section could also be either year or day dates. Two of these appear in the same line of the text (445, line 11) and seem to be two different transcriptions of the same date: *Quchuiye* and *Qhoiyo*, or 4, 5 or 9 Reed. The third, *cahuiyo* (445, line 14) can be 1, 2 or 12 Reed. Because Reed is one of the four "year bearers," any of these three dates could indicate a year or day date, instead of the calendrical name of a ruler.²

Still further problems are created by the correlation with Christian dates given by López Ruiz for the two 7 Flint dates in this section, the only correlations given in his description of the lost codex. The first 7 Flint date (12 in Table 19) is said to be 1113, and the second (13 in Table 19) is said to be 1115. These correlations cannot be correct for several reasons. First of all, neither 1113 nor 1115 is a 7 flint year: 1113 was a 10 House year in the Mixtec calendar, and 1115 was a 12 Reed year. The year 7 Flint can be correlated with the Christian dates 1031, 1084, 1136, 1188, 1240, 1292, 1344, 1396, 1448, 1500, 1552, and so forth--with 1136 being the closest year to 1113 and 1115 (Caso 1951:table). The Christian year dates 1113 and 1115 may have been written on the lost codex by someone other than the person who annotated the manuscript with Mixtec glosses giving prehispanic style of dates.³ This would account for the lack of correlation between these Christian dates and the dates set forth in the Mixtec inscriptions.

Still another complication is that the Christian dates 1113 and 1115 do not jibe with the story told by López Ruiz in the opening of the fourth section of his study. According to his text, the first date, 1113, was supposedly the birthdate of a ruler named *Ñeichuizu* (8 Tiger), while the second date, 1115 or just two years later, is said to be the birthdate of this man's son, something that López Ruiz must have known was not possible. Moreover, the full Mixtec date that is correlated with the Christian year date 1115 is the year 7 Flint and the day 6 or 8? Rain, which is said to be the birthdate of the son named *Xixañuu*. If a son had been born on this date, his name would have been the same as the day date, 6 or 8? Rain.

This type of discrepancy between date and event also occurs in other descriptions of births by López Ruiz. For example, at the end of the third section of his text, a *cacique* whose Mixtec name is given as *Nuñumeñe* (either the calendrical name 6 Grass or a place name) is said to have been born in the year 4, 5 or

9 Reed on the day 4, 5 or 9 Rain (date 11 in Table 19). If this date did record the man's birth, then his name would be that of the day date: *qheco*, or 4, 5 or 9 Rain. Perhaps a clue to the discrepancy between the day dates considered to be birthdates and the calendrical names of rulers supposedly born on these days can be found in the one date and named ruler which appears in other manuscripts--the example of 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," said to have been born in the year 4 Flint on the day 1 Monkey (date 7 in Table 19). As was discussed above, the date in question is not that of 4 Wind's birth, but the date on which he presided over the beginning of a ruling line in both the Codex López Ruiz and the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). In all likelihood, the other dates said to record births and lacking the rulers' calendrical names (specifically, dates 11 and 13 in Table 19) also record a significant event (possibly an important conference) in the lives of the rulers with whom the dates are associated.

The Final Date: *Camaa* or 1, 2 or 12 House (date 14 in Table 19)

The last date occurs in the concluding sentence of the text of López Ruiz (448, line 17). The year date *camaa* (1, 2 or 12 House) is described as the year in which the Mixtec rulers came under the domination of the Spaniards. This year date is not accompanied by a day date.

Because the Mixtec calendrical syllable *ca* can be 1, 2 or 12, this date, like many of those given by López Ruiz, is difficult to correlate with a Christian year date. If the year in question is 2 House, then the date might be 1521, the year in which Mexico-Tenochtitlan fell to the Spanish conquerors and a year that signaled the end of the autonomy of the native rulers throughout Mexico, including the Mixteca. If the year is 1 House, the first Christian date following the conquest is 1533. In the Tlaxiaco region, 1533 followed by three years the 1528-1530 litigation by the indigenous nobility of Tlaxiaco and Achiutla against *encomendero* Martín Vásquez concerning his excessive tribute demands and his maltreatment of the native population of the area (AGI-Justicia 107; summarized in Méndez Aquino 1985:83-86). If the year is 12 House, then the first date following the Conquest would be 1557, which seems somewhat late for the establishment of Spanish dominion described by López Ruiz. If the *camaa* gloss sets forth a year date that can be correlated with a Christian year, then it would most likely be 2 House and the equivalent of 1521, the date of the conquest of the Valley of Mexico capital of Tenochtitlan. This date seems to be the most significant in terms of the Spanish defeat of indigenous Mexico, even though it does not relate directly to the Mixteca Alta or, more specifically, to the region of Tlaxiaco.⁴

López Ruiz further states that the year *camaa* occurred in the "century" (*siglo*) named *xuxi yiqui ñuu* in Mixtec (448, line 17). The traditional European century as a 100-year period did not exist in prehispanic Mesoamerica; and, as far as we know, the traditional prehispanic cycles of fifty-two years did not have names

or signs. In addition, the translation of the phrase *xuxi yiqui ñuu* is uncertain. It is possible that the last two words of the phrase, *yiqui ñuu*, refer to the bones [of those] of the community. *Yiqui* (*yeque* in the dialect of the Alvarado dictionary) means "bones"; among the many meanings of *ñuu* is "town, place where something exists." The initial word *xuxi* should be *dzudzi* in the Alvarado dictionary dialect, but no definitions for such a word are apparently given in the dictionary. If this word were comparable to the *dzudzu* of the dictionary, then it could mean "marrow, pith" (*tuétano*), which would fit with the following word *yiqui* or "bones," with the entire phrase translated as "the marrow of the bones of the community." This translation is, at best, conjectural, and it does not seem to relate directly to the calendrical context of the last sentence of the López Ruiz article.

CONCLUSIONS

The Codex López Ruiz is not unique in having glosses accompanying dates, but this type of gloss is unusual in manuscripts from the Mixteca and less common than glosses that give names of persons or places. In addition to the lost codex described by López Ruiz, glosses referring to dates appear only in the Lienzo of Natívitas from the Coixtlahuaca basin and in the Codex Muro from the eastern Mixteca Alta, as well as in one gloss on the unpublished Map of Yucunama, from the District of Teposcolula in the Mixteca Alta (Jansen 1994:91).

The patterns and types of dated events in the Codex López Ruiz are similar to those of other Mixtec codices. The earliest dates are metaphorical or non-historical, and these are often associated with early predynastic history. Moreover, almost all the dates are associated with "beginning" events such as births and investitures of rules, also characteristic of other Mixtec manuscripts.

The only date that assuredly occurs in another codex is related to one of the few persons who also appears prominently in other manuscripts: the ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent." The date of the year 4 Flint and the day 1 Monkey, considered by López Ruiz to be 4 Wind's birthdate, is actually a date on which 4 Wind is considered to have initiated new ruling lines, much as he is shown doing in the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). This date and others said by López Ruiz to be birthdates apparently do not record births, because the calendrical names of the persons said to have been born are not the same as the day dates given. Mixtec calendrical names are equivalent to the rulers' birth dates, and thus the dates in which the day date is different from the individual's name undoubtedly record other "beginning" types of events.

The final year date in the López Ruiz study is 1, 2 or 12 House and is said to signal the end of the Mixtec rulerships owing to the Spanish conquest. This date can be correlated with 1521 in the Christian calendar, the year in which Mexico City-Tenochtitlan fell to the invading Spaniards.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. One of the two 7 Flint dates on page 443 of the López Ruiz text (date 9 in Table 19) might be conjectured to be analogous to the date of the year 7 Flint and the day 1 Flower on page 18b of the Codex Vindobonensis. In the Vindobonensis, this date is associated with one of a series of firemaking scenes, in this case performed by an unnamed male figure in a turquoise-and-gold dog costume. Adjacent to the firemaking is a range of hill signs that Nowotny (1958) associated with the direction East (see also Jansen 1980:29-34 and 1982:228-248). Preceding the firemaking scene on page 18 is a ceremony showing offerings made to the male deity 7 Flower. Caso (1979:441-442) pointed out that 7 Flower is similar to the sun deity Tonacutecuhli, the god of painters, in Valley of Mexico cosmogony. Furst (1978a:218, 243) also considered this deity to have solar associations and notes that he is "a god who receives precious objects. He is given paper, objects for the making of paper and for painting and writing, chocolate, pulque, and tobacco." Pohl (1994b:8-9) further suggested that this deity may be the patron of weaving. As far as I can determine, the presumably historical context of date 9 in the text of López Ruiz does not relate to the ceremonial context of the year 7 Flint, day 1 Flower on page 18 of the Codex Vindobonensis.
2. As suggested earlier, several of the Mixtec calendrical glosses that López Ruiz describes as names of persons may, instead, be dates. One such instance occurs in the early genealogies of Section III of his study (441, lines 17-20; see also Table 7), where the male *Jacuy* (7 Vulture) and his wife *Nucunjiy* (6 Flint) may actually be the year 6 Flint and the day 7 Vulture. The reason for postulating that these two glosses may refer to dates rather than names of persons is that they lack the prefixes *ñu* or *yya* usually found in names of persons in this section of the text. In the case of the paired names lacking *ñu* or *yya* prefixes at the end of Section IV (448, lines 4-7; see also Table 12), these are most likely names of couples because none of them contains one of the four year bearer signs (House, Rabbit, Reed or Flint).
3. Although it may be coincidental, 1115 is the year of the death of the important Mixtec ruler 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" in Emily Rabin's revision of the correlation of Mixtec dates proposed by Alfonso Caso. According to the correlation postulated by Rabin (1981), 8 Deer lived one 52-year cycle later than suggested by Caso; that is, he lived from 1063 to 1115, rather than from 1011 to 1063. Even though 8 Deer (*naquaa* in Mixtec) is not mentioned in the text of López Ruiz, the presence of 8 Deer seems

to be implied in the conference held by 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" with the sun god 1 Death and 8 Deer's fifth wife, 6 Wind "Blood-Feathers" (442, lines 4-7; discussed in Chapter 6). This trio seems to be sanctioning a new genealogical line, much as 4 Wind is doing at the beginning of the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Fig. 25). In both the lienzo and the Codex López Ruiz, 4 Wind appears to be dismantling the territories controlled by 8 Deer, which Troike (1974:362-364, 474) postulated was one of his major undertakings. In the year 1113 (or 10 House in the Mixtec calendar), the second Christian date mentioned by López Ruiz, 8 Deer is shown in the Codex Becker I (13, I-III) conquering or visiting eight places (Troike 1974:347-349). Perhaps more importantly, in this same year 4 Wind, whose parents and two half-brothers had been sacrificed by 8 Deer, is depicted meeting with a group of men who eventually assist him in the murder of 8 Deer two years later (Becker I, 13-14, line III and Colombino 16-111; Troike 1974:349-358). Thus it is possible that these two Christian dates, which do not seem to relate to the Mixtec dates given in the text of López Ruiz (445, lines 9, 26) may refer to important events in the life of 4 Wind, seven and five years before the date of 4 Flint associated with him earlier in the study of López Ruiz (442, line 6; date 7 in Table 19).

4. As observed in note 20 of Chapter 6 of this study, the conquest of Mexico City-Tenochtitlan is illustrated in at least one manuscript from the eastern Mixteca Alta: the Codex of Yanhuitlán (Jiménez Moreno y Mateo Higuera 1940:56-57; pl. I). The one-page representation of this conquest is curious in that it does not seem to relate to the remainder of the Yanhuitlán codex, which deals with economic and religious matters in the regions of Yanhuitlán and Teposcolula. Moreover, the conquest drawing is the only one of two in the extant sections of the codex that is read horizontally rather than vertically (the other page is a drawing of corn stalks, illustrated as plate XVII of Jiménez Moreno y Mateos Higuera 1940). As well, this page may have been drawn in a style that is different from the other drawing styles of the codex (Smith 1985).

Although some of the extant pages of the Yanhuitlán codex have Mixtec year dates drawn in a prehispanic style, the page showing the conquest of Tenochtitlan lacks such a date. A 2 House year date does appear on a partially destroyed, much-amended page that apparently shows the delivery of tribute goods, and this date is "possibly 1521" (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:57-58; pl. III).

8. THE DIALECT OF THE GLOSSES

In manuscripts that were annotated with inscriptions in a native language, determining the dialect of the glosses can help identify or corroborate hypotheses concerning the region where the manuscript was annotated. This is certainly true for the glosses written on the lost Codex López Ruiz.

One of the principal distinguishing features of a dialect is the manner in which is written the sound that is given as *s* in the dialect of the Mixteca Alta town of Teposcolula. The Teposcolula dialect is the best-documented in the early colonial works of two Dominican friars: the Spanish-Mixtec dictionary of Fray Francisco de Alvarado (Jiménez Moreno 1962; originally published in 1593) and the Mixtec grammar of Antonio de los Reyes (1890; also originally published in 1593). In the transcription of the glosses on the lost codex by López Ruiz, the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect is most frequently expressed by the letter *x*, as can be seen in Table 20. In this table, the page and line numbers of the study of López Ruiz are given in the left-hand column. Listed under the four renderings of the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect in the text of López Ruiz (*x*, *sh*, *j* and *s*) are the topics of the glosses: names of persons, names of places, or dates. Of the sixty-eight glosses that contain the equivalent of the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect, forty-five (or virtually two-thirds) express this sound as *x*, seventeen as *j*, and three as *sh*, and three as *s*.

In terms of the letter *x*, Josserand (1983), in one of the most detailed discussions to date of the various Mixtec dialects, points out that the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect is expressed as *x* in what she terms the "Central Mixteca Alta," a region that is roughly equivalent to the District of Tlaxiaco. Specifically, the words for "bed" and "comal," which are *sito* and *siyo* in Teposcolula, are *xito* and *xiyo* in eleven towns in the region of Tlaxiaco: San Juan Ñumi, San Miguel Achiutla, San Bartolo Yucuañe, San Mateo Peñasco, San Pedro Molinos, San Agustín Tlacotepec, Santo Tomás Ocotepec, San Esteban Atlatlahuca, San Miguel el Grande, Chalcatongo, and Santiago Yosondua (Josserand 1983:505; the locations of these towns are shown in the map of Fig. 16 of this study).

The use of the letter *j* as the equivalent of the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect is also a diagnostic of the dialect of the Tlaxiaco region. As early as 1593, the Dominican friar Antonio de los Reyes (1890:v) noted that the Mixtec verb "to eat," which was *sasi* in Teposcolula, was *jhajhi* in the "difficult" dialect of Tlaxiaco and Achiutla. Moreover, in many twentieth-century studies by the linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Tlaxiaco region, the *s* of Teposcolula is considered to be *j*, pronounced as "h" in Spanish (e.g., the work on the dialect of San Miguel el Grande as recorded in Dyk 1959 and Dyk and Stoudt 1965 and that of San Esteban Atlatlahuca in Alexander 1980). As observed by Josserand (1983:204-205, 219), the

**TABLE 20. THE EXPRESSION OF THE S OF THE
TEPOSCOLULA DIALECT IN THE GLOSSES
OF THE CODEX LÓPEZ RUIZ**

Part 1 of 3

<u>Page and Line of the López Ruiz Text</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>SH</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>S</u>
437-4	place name			
437-5 (2)	date	date		
438-5	place name			
439-15 (2)			dates	
439-26 (2)			dates	
439-28			date	
441-15			person's name	
441-25, 27			person's name	
441-33			date	
442-21 (3)			person's name	persons' names (2)
442-24	person's name			
443-2			person's name	
443-4			place name	
443-5 (2)			date; person's name	

TABLE 20 (Part 2 of 3)

Page and Line of the López Ruiz <u>Text</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>SH</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>S</u>
443-8 (2)		persons' names		
443-10			date	
443-13		persons' names		
443-15	place name			
443-16 (2)	persons' names			
443-23	person's name			
443-31 (2)	persons' names			
443-32	person's name			
443-33	person's name			
444-1	person's name			
444-3	person's name			
444-4	place name			
444-15 (2)	persons' names			
444-17	person's name			
444-19	person's name			
444-31	person's name			

TABLE 20 (Part 3 of 3)

Page and Line of the López Ruiz Text _____	<u>X</u>	<u>SH</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>S</u>
445-3				
	place name			
445-9				
	date			
445-26				
	date			
445-27				
	name of person?			
446-21				
	place name			
447-10				
	person's name			
447-10				
	person's name			
447-11				
	person's name			
447-12				
	person's name			
447-13				
	place name			
447-16				
	person's name			
447-18				
	place name			
447-29				
	place name			
447-31 (2)				
	persons' names			
447-32				
	person's name			
447-33				
	person's name			
448-1				
				person's name
448-2				
	person's name			
448-3 (2)				
	person's name			
448-6				
	person's name			

difference between *x* and *j/h* is merely a variation in transcription, with both letters representing the same sound.

Thus, sixty-two of the sixty-eight glosses that contain the equivalent of the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect express this letter in a dialect characteristic of the Tlaxiaco region. This seems to corroborate the hypothesis made in Chapter 5 on the place-name glosses that the lost codex is from that region.

As noted above, the expression of the *s* of the Teposcolula dialect as *sh* or *s* occurs only three times each, which seems too sporadic to be significant. The *sh* may well be a variant of *x* because in a Mixtec date at the beginning of the study of López Ruiz (437, line 5), the year date contains *sh*, while the day date has *x* for the same sound.

As can be seen in Table 20, the seventeen occurrences of *j* are restricted to one section of the narrative of López Ruiz. This section begins in the middle of page 439 and continues through page 443, line 10, with no transcriptions using *j* elsewhere in the text. Moreover, in the section in which *j* is predominant, the *x* only appears once. The *x* is seen in the opening paragraphs of the text; then, following the cessation of *j* on page 443, the *x* is the predominant rendering of the *s* of Teposcolula for the final six pages of the narrative.

Given that *x* and *j* are alternative transcriptions of the same sound, perhaps two different hands were involved in writing the glosses on the lost codex, but this is difficult to determine without seeing the handwriting on the original manuscript. Notwithstanding the two different methods of transcription, the types of information given in both hands are the same, as can be seen in Table 20. That is, both styles of glosses (those with *j* and those with *x*) set forth names of persons and dates. Undoubtedly the reason names of places are found in the glosses with *x* and not those with *j* is that the section of the text in which the *j* occurs contains no place names with this sound.

If the glosses on the lost codex were written in two different hands, this does not imply that two persons were responsible for different subject matter or that the glosses were written on the codex at two different times, as is the case for the other Mixtec manuscripts that were glossed by more than one annotator. For example, the two principal groups of inscriptions on the Codex Egerton 2895 from the Mixteca Baja record two different types of information: one gives the names of persons, and the second the names of towns (König 1979:15-20). In the case of the Lienzo of Ocotepéc from the Tlaxiaco region (Figs. 33-34), the two groups of glosses are from two distinct periods. The earliest ones in Nahuatl set forth the boundaries of Ocotepéc in the late sixteenth century when the lienzo was painted, and the second group in Mixtec gives the names of the town's boundaries in the early eighteenth century after some of Ocotepéc's former subject towns had achieved autonomy and the area

of the *cabecera* of Ocotepc had diminished (Caso 1966a; Smith 1973a:148-153). The two sets of glosses on the Codex Tulane exemplify differences of both time and space. The earliest glosses were written in the sixteenth century when the codex was in Acatlán in southern Puebla and give subsidiary information about the rulers of Acatlán painted on the codex. The second group of glosses dates from the early nineteenth century and gives the names of the boundaries of San Juan Numí in the District of Tlaxiaco, which had acquired the codex in the late Colonial period. This second set of annotations does not have any relationship whatsoever to the painted codex (Smith and Parmenter 1991:61-71).

The glosses on the Codex López Ruiz that refer to persons and dates seem to relate to the pictorial contents of the manuscript and were probably written on the codex at more or less the same time, even if by two different hands. The annotations that set forth Mixtec names of boundaries may be contemporaneous with the Mixtec names of persons and dates; but, as discussed in Chapter 5, the boundary glosses probably do not refer to pictorial signs that name the boundaries in a prehispanic manner. Rather, these glosses are likely a "written map"--that is, a text written in European script that is added to a genealogical-historical manuscript to convert it into a quasi-cartographic title to community lands, a practice that was common in the Mixteca in the Colonial period.

One indication that the Mixtec boundary names written in European script on the lost Codex López Ruiz do not refer to pictorial place signs is that, for the most part, these names are not considered to be a discrete text in the narrative of López Ruiz. At times, the boundary names are said to be names of towns ruled by the nobility named in the text; on occasion, boundary names are given as names of persons (Table 6). In only one section of the text are Mixtec names of places specifically described as boundaries. On page 446, lines 13-22, López Ruiz states that the first act of the ruler 8 Tiger was to set forth the boundaries of his town, followed by eight Mixtec names of places.

* * *

In summary, virtually all the glosses on the Codex López Ruiz were written in the dialect of the District of Tlaxiaco. No change in the dialect occurs in glosses dealing with three different subject matters: names of persons, place names, and dates. Thus, even if the glosses setting forth different subjects were written on the manuscript at different times, they apparently were all written by someone whose dialect was that of Tlaxiaco. The dialect of the glosses confirms the information given in the Mixtec boundary names and in the Spanish surnames of Colonial *caciques* whose realms can be identified from other sources: the lost codex originated in the Tlaxiaco region.

9. OTHER PICTORIAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TLAXIACO REGION

I have postulated that the lost Codex López Ruiz is from the region of Tlaxiaco in the western Mixteca Alta. If this is the case, what other pictorial manuscripts have survived from this region, and do any of these relate to the Codex López Ruiz?

Only five, possibly six, pictorial manuscripts are considered to be from this region, and all are postconquest in date. Four are essentially cartographic: the Lienzo of Ocotepc, the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, and two maps in the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN-RT). Two, like the Codex López Ruiz, are primarily genealogical: the Genealogy of Tlazultepec and the Lienzo of Philadelphia. This last manuscript is the "possible sixth" that may be from Tlaxiaco and is considered here because it has a few iconographic similarities to the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos that is definitely from the District of Tlaxiaco. All six are "single sheet" manuscripts. Three are on woven cloth: the lienzos of Ocotepc, Córdova-Castellanos, and Philadelphia. Three are on European paper: the genealogy of Tlazultepec and the two AGN maps. These manuscripts will be characterized briefly in this chapter, to determine if they can shed any light on the lost Codex López Ruiz. In addition, the eminent historian Wigberto Jiménez Moreno postulated that the Codex Bodley, one of the most extensive of the Mixtec screenfold manuscripts, may be from the Tlaxiaco-Achuitla area, and this codex will also be discussed below.

THE LIENZO OF OCOTEPEC

The Lienzo of Ocotepc (Figs. 33-34) is a typical sixteenth-century Mixtec map of one community surrounded by the pictorial signs that name the town's boundaries. The town of Ocotepc, whose lands are illustrated in this map, is shown in the center as a Christian church whose base contains the inscription *santo tomas ocotepeque*.¹ The towns that were subject to Ocotepc are depicted as smaller church buildings placed within the landscape hills of the map and accompanied by glosses that give the Spanish names of their patron saints. To the right of the church representing Ocotepc is a hill with an ocelot, the only prehispanic style of place sign in the central portion of the map. Within the base of the hill of this sign is written *cuquila*, the town that is Ocotepc's neighbor to the north. On top of the hill is a platform on which is seated a couple who are not named. Around the borders of the map are the sixteenth-century boundaries of Ocotepc, depicted as place signs in the prehispanic manner and accompanied by glosses in Nahuatl. The only named person in the lienzo

occurs at the top of the map, where a standing male figure is identified in the adjacent gloss as 4 Flower of Chicahuaxtla, Ocotepc's neighbor to the west.

Within the boundaries of the map are inscriptions in Mixtec that give Ocotepc's boundaries in the early eighteenth century, presumably contemporary with the gloss "años 1701" written under the central church of Ocotepc in the same hand as the Mixtec boundary glosses. By the early eighteenth century, the subjects of Ocotepc had become towns in their own right, thus greatly reducing the lands controlled by Ocotepc.

The lienzo is notable for its detailed portrayal of the landscape within the town's boundaries and its extensive use of color. Green appears in the landscape hills as well as in the hill signs of the boundary names. Blue is used for water, both the stream of water that runs through the map and the boundary signs that include water. It also appears in the post-and-lintel building to the right of the church of Ocotepc and in the costumes of the couple seated on the sign of Cuquila to the right of that building. Red is used in the roofs of all the church buildings, in the post-and-lintel building to the right of the church of Ocotepc, and in the costumes of the couple on the Cuquila sign, as well as in several of the boundary signs. Yellow is found in the ocelot of the Cuquila sign and in some of the boundary signs.

The lienzo was first published in 1966 by Alfonso Caso, whose description of it is illustrated by a color photograph, a black-and-white photograph taken under ultraviolet light (reproduced as Fig. 33 of this study), and a schematic drawing of the interior of the map. Caso also transcribed and partially translated the glosses in Nahuatl and Mixtec. Accompanying Caso's paper is an excellent analysis by Irmgard Weitlaner Johnson of the textile on which the map was painted. I compared the lienzo to similar community maps from the Mixteca and correlated some of the Mixtec glosses with a document that gives the names of Ocotepc's boundaries in 1726 (Smith 1973a:148-153). The best study of the lienzo to date is by John Monaghan (1989), who related the contents of the map to sixteenth-century documents that are contemporaneous with the creation of the manuscript in about 1580, as well as providing data from the present-day inhabitants of the region south of Tlaxiaco. He further postulated that the map illustrates the attempts on the part of those living at higher elevations such as Ocotepc to control land holdings at lower elevations, where the growing period for corn and other crops is longer and where "hot country" products, such as cacao, are available (see also Monaghan 1994 for a discussion of this type of "vertical integration").

* * *

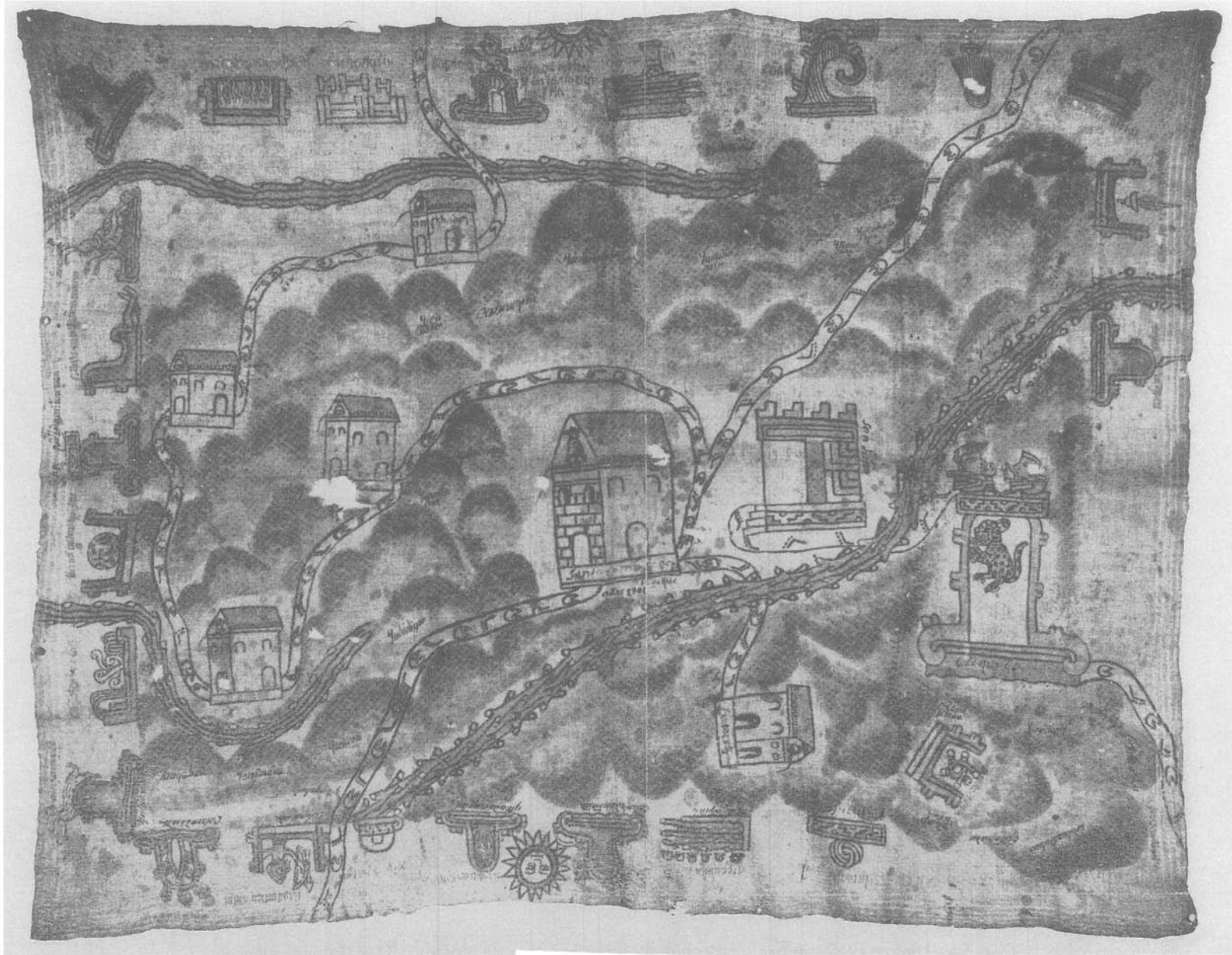


Fig. 33. Lienzo of Ocotepc. Municipal archive, Santo Tomás Ocotepc. (After Caso 1966a:fig. 3; photograph in ultraviolet light by Walter Reuter)

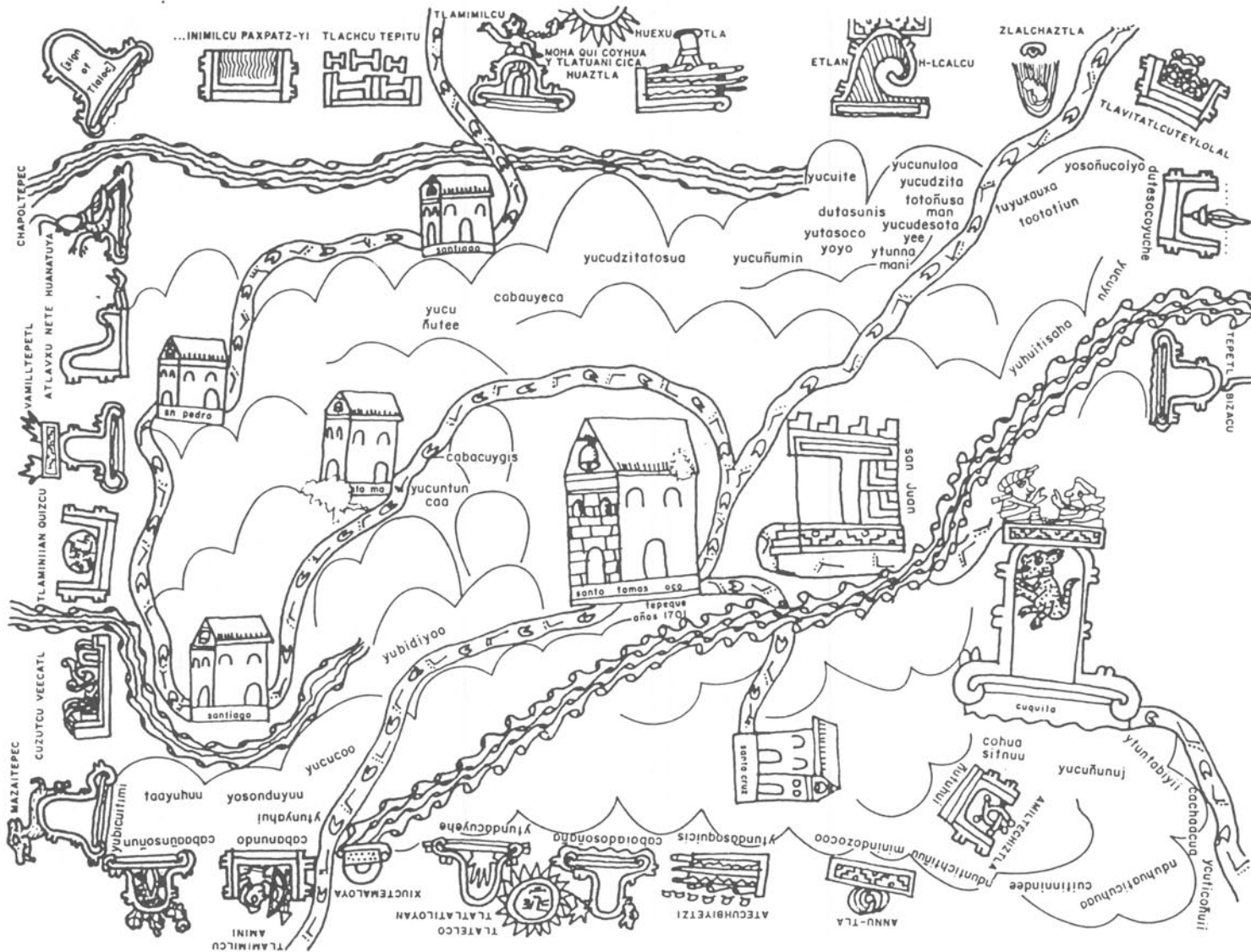


Fig. 34. Lienzo of Ocotepéc: drawing showing location of glosses. The Nahuatl glosses are in capital letters and the Mixtec glosses in lower-case letters.

In many respects, the Lienzo of Ocotepc is closer in its contents to other community maps from the regions outside of Tlaxiaco than it is to the lost Codex López Ruiz. The principal similarity is that both contain a "written map." Specifically, the eighteenth-century glosses in Mixtec on the Ocotepc lienzo are a land document written in European script that does not refer to the sixteenth-century pictorial signs on the map, but present the boundaries of Ocotepc after the town had lost some of the territory it had controlled in the early Colonial period. The Mixtec boundary names on the Codex López Ruiz, as well, do not seem to relate to pictorial signs drawn in a prehispanic manner, although in the case of this codex it seems unlikely that signs of the boundaries were ever present on the lost codex. The Mixtec boundary glosses on the Lienzo of Ocotepc represent an updating of an earlier map, whereas those on the Codex López Ruiz appear to be an attempt to convert a non-cartographic genealogical manuscript into a land document.

THE LIENZO CÓRDOVA-CASTELLANOS (Map of San Esteban Atlatlahuca)

This lienzo, like the Lienzo of Ocotepc, is essentially a map of a single community surrounded by the pictorial signs that represent the names of the town's boundaries. In 1905 the original lienzo was described as being in the collection of Javier Córdova of Cholula, Puebla, and he was said to have obtained it in San Esteban Atlatlahuca, the town whose territory is depicted in the manuscript.² At present, however, the location of the original is unknown.

Two copies of the lienzo have been published. The first (Fig. 35) is accompanied by the only extensive discussion of the lienzo to date, by Antonio Peñafiel (1914), who called the manuscript "El Códice Mixteco Precortesiano Javier Córdova" after its owner. Peñafiel described the original lienzo and translated the Nahuatl inscriptions associated with the place signs around the border. He reported that the dimensions of the original lienzo are 117 x 138 cm and that the water on the lienzo was painted blue, with vestiges of red and yellow visible elsewhere in the map. None of these colors appears in the copy published in 1914.

A second copy, made by Nicolás León, was published as *Maya Society Publication No. 5* (1931; reprinted in *HMAI* 14:fig. 78). Unaware of the earlier Peñafiel publication, William Gates of the Maya Society called the lienzo "Codex Abraham Castellanos," after the early-twentieth-century Mixtec scholar from Nochixtlán in the Mixteca Alta (Jansen 1987:81-86; Fischer and Dürr 1988).³ In the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* census of pictorial manuscripts (Glass and Robertson 1975:112, entry no. 77), the two titles of the two published copies were combined, and it was called "Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos."

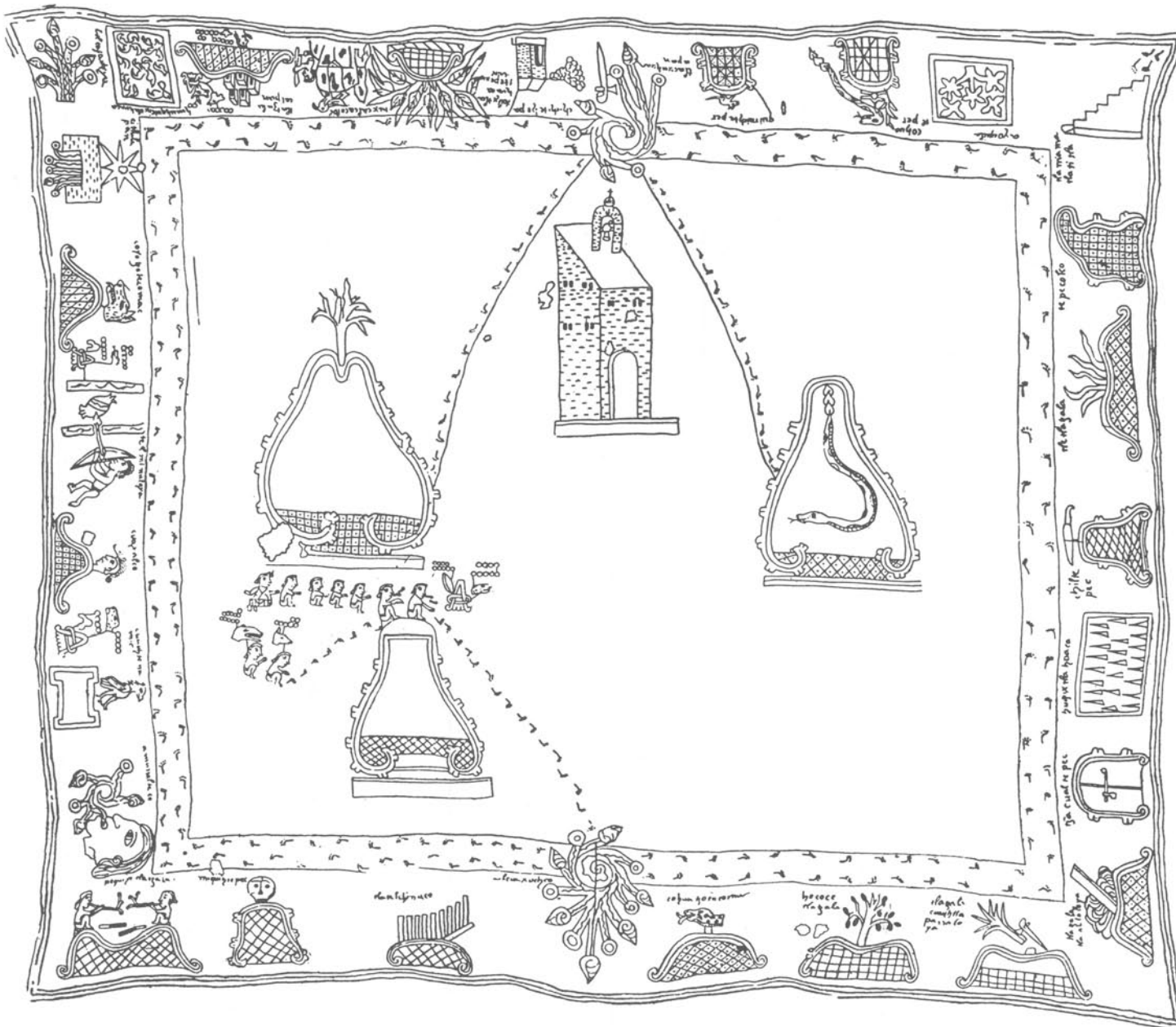


Fig. 35. Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos: twentieth-century drawing of lost original. (After Peñafiel 1914:pl. 24)

Even though both the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos and the Lienzo of Ocoatepec are community maps, there are several differences between the two. Obviously, the interior of the Córdoba-Castellanos lacks the European style of landscape seen in the Ocoatepec lienzo. It also has a few prehispanic types of dates and names of persons, both of which are lacking in the Ocoatepec map.

Interior of the Lienzo

In the upper center of the interior of the Córdoba-Castellanos is a Christian church that probably represents the town of San Esteban Atatlahuca, much as the large church in the center of the Lienzo of Ocoatepec represents the town of Santo Tomás Ocoatepec.⁴ In addition, three prehispanic style of hill signs appear within the interior of the map.

In the lower-left corner is a hill sign that has no other distinguishing pictorial motifs. Above and to the right of this hill is the date of the year 9 Flint and the day 9 Lizard. A horizontal row of seven seated figures also appears above the hill. Six of the figures are male, with one female at the left side of the row. The two men on the right side are accompanied by speech scrolls, implying that they are the most powerful of the group. These two are also connected by footprints to two seated males below who are the only named individuals on the interior of the lienzo: 7 Deer? and 11 Alligator.⁵ These two men do not seem to appear in any other Mixtec manuscript. Because of the connecting footprints, the two men with calendrical names may be the same as the two men with speech scrolls at the top of the hill.

Because all the figures in the lower-left corner are facing in the same direction and because only one is a woman, these figures do not seem to constitute a traditional genealogy, in which paired men and women face each other (see, for example, the genealogy in the upper-right corner of the Lienzo of Philadelphia, Fig. 36). Also because of the presence of a female figure, this group is not participating in the event described as an *ofrecimiento de la realeza* by Alfonso Caso (1949:160). Caso first identified this ceremony in the map accompanying the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Teozacoalco in the Mixteca Alta (two examples are seen in Fig. 8 of this study). In this map, the *ofrecimiento* is depicted by a row of seated figures--all male--facing in the same direction, toward the figure of a ruler whose rights are being confirmed. Not only does the row of figures in the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos include a woman, but it lacks the figure of a ruler whose authority is being affirmed, as well as the torch shown in the Teozacoalco map between the ruler and the row of men who face him.⁶

At least two of the group in the lower-left corner of the lienzo--the men with speech scrolls at the top of the hill, who may be same as the men named 7 Deer? and 11 Alligator below--appear to embark on a migration, presumably in the date of the year 9 Flint and day 9 Lizard to the right of the group. A line of

footprints extends downward from the right side of the row of figures to a pictorial sign of a swirl of water (*ojo de agua*) placed among the boundary signs at the bottom of the lienzo. From there, the footprints continue within a road-like configuration of parallel lines that forms a rectangular border inside of the boundary signs. Starting at the *ojo de agua* at the bottom, the footprints go in opposite directions within the "road" and converge again at an *ojo de agua* with an axe in the center of the top of the lienzo. At this point, the footprints diverge again, with one line extending downward to a hill with a plant on the left side of the interior of the lienzo and a second extending downward to a hill with a serpent on the right side of the interior of the map. Because the identities of these last two place signs are unknown, it cannot be determined whether the migration is strictly cartographic--that is, whether it begins within Atatlahuca, goes around the boundaries, and terminates at two places inside of the town's boundaries.

Dates and Named Person in the Border of Boundary Signs

In addition to the date and two named persons within the center of the lienzo, three dates and one named person are associated with three of the boundary signs. All of these are on the left side and top-left of the lienzo.

Attached to a sign of a ballcourt with an eagle on the left border, two signs above the lower border, is the year 4 House and a day date consisting of four numeral dots and an animal head whose identity is uncertain. The head has a rectangle of visible teeth characteristic of the Rabbit sign and sketchy lines on the interior probably indicating fur, but it lacks the long ears seen in most Rabbit signs. It is possible that this sign may also be Lizard or Tiger.

Two signs above the Eagle Ballcourt is a sign that consists of two parallel streams of water that flank a stone; this sign is being attacked by an unnamed man with a bow and arrow. Appended to the sign is a date of the year 5 House and the day 7 Serpent. This date occurs six times on the obverse (or very early history section) of the Codex Vindobonensis, which indicates it is a "metaphorical" rather than a chronological date, and this may be true for all the dates in the lienzo.⁷

The third date is on the left side of the top border, appended to a place sign that has a group of buildings within the declivity of a hill. The year date appears to be 2 Deer which, as noted by Peñafiel (1914:33), is a Zapotec year date because Deer is not a year-bearer in the Mixtec calendar. The accompanying day date has six numeral dots and an animal head that Peñafiel thought to be Tiger, although because of its long ears, it could also be Rabbit. Should this head be that of a rabbit, then a date of the year 6 Rabbit and day 2 Deer would be possible in the Mixtec calendar. Nonetheless, the 2 Deer notation is appended to the A-O year sign, implying that it, rather than the other animal head with six numeral dots, is

the year date. If this is the case, then the lienzo displays two different calendrical systems, which is unusual for Mixtec manuscripts.⁸

On the Peñafiel copy of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, a profile male head accompanied by the calendrical name 12 Flower is drawn below the hill with the 2 Deer year date. (This head and calendrical name are lacking in the Nicolás León copy issued as *Maya Society Publication No. 5*). As far as I can determine, this particular 12 Flower does not seem to be the same as any other known man with the same calendrical name (Caso 1979:450-451).

The Nahuatl Boundary Glosses

The boundary signs of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, like those of the Lienzo of Ocotepéc, are identified by glosses in Nahuatl. If, however, the glosses on the Córdova-Castellanos are translated into Mixtec, at least four of them are also found in Colonial lists of the Mixtec names of boundaries of San Esteban Atlatlahuca, as can be seen in Table 21. In the lefthand column of this table are the descriptions of the boundary signs and their location on the lienzo. In the second column are the transcriptions and translations of the accompanying Nahuatl glosses by Peñafiel (1914). The next two columns give the Mixtec names of the boundaries of Atlatlahuca found in two different documents and my translation of these names.⁹ The right-hand column gives the town or towns with which Atlatlahuca shares the boundaries.

The four signs that can definitely be related to documents that give the Mixtec names of Atlatlahuca's boundaries are located in the four corners of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos. This demonstrates that the map is, indeed, that of Atlatlahuca rather than one of its neighbors or of some other town. It further demonstrates that the map is oriented with north at the top.

Thus, the early Colonial signs of boundaries in both the Lienzo of Ocotepéc and the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos are identified by glosses in the Nahuatl language. Why is Nahuatl used in community maps of essentially Mixtec towns? My impression is that in the western edge of the Mixteca there was, at least in the sixteenth century, a Nahuatl-speaking "corridor." This corridor seems to run north-south along the western edge of the Mixteca Baja, Mixteca Alta, and Mixteca de la Costa.

In addition to the two lienzos from the Mixteca Alta discussed above, two other Mixtec manuscripts have the boundary signs identified in Nahuatl only: the Map of Xochitepec from the Mixteca Baja and the Lienzo of Zacatepec 2 from the Costa. In the case of the Map of Xochitepec, Alfonso Caso (1958:458) postulated that this manuscript was from San Juan Bautista Xochitepec, a town located 28 km northeast of Huajuapán de León, but this map may well be from a town further west in the Mixteca Baja.¹⁰ In the case of Zacatepec in the western section of the Costa, the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of this town states that "todos los

TABLE 21. BOUNDARY SIGNS IN THE LIENZO CÓRDOVA-CASTELLANOS THAT RELATE TO COLONIAL MIXTEC NAMES OF THE BOUNDARIES OF SAN ESTEBAN ATATLAHUCA

Description of Boundary Sign and Location on Lienzo	Nahuatl Gloss and Translation by Peñafiel (1914)	SRA Comunal 276.1/236 (15987)	del Estado, Virreinato, Límites, legajo 1, exp. 17 (1757)	Oaxaca, Archivo General Town(s) with which Atatlahuca Shares Boundary
1. hill with a bent peak (right border, second sign from top)	<i>tepecolco</i> "en el cerro torcido o doblado"	<i>yucu yacua</i>	<i>yucu yacua</i> "cerro encorvado"	Tlaxiaco and Santa Cruz Nundaco
2. hill with declivity that contains a tree felled by an axe (lower-right corner)	<i>tlatzala-cuauhtla-panaloyan</i> "arboleda en el lugar en donde se vadea el río"	[it]no tahi yutu	<i>hit[n]u tahui yutnu</i>	San Miguel el Grande and Santa Catalina Yasonotù
3. profile human head from whose mouth emerges a swirl of water (left border, second sign from bottom)	<i>amenalteco</i> "en los labios del estanque de agua o alberca"	<i>yu[hu] mini</i> "la boca del (o en la orilla del) lago"	<i>yuhu mini</i>	Santa María Yolotepec
4. rectangle with vegetation (top border, second sign from left)	<i>huauhqui-ixtlahuac</i> "llano seco o de la planta llamado <i>huauhpatli</i> o <i>huauhpaquilitl</i> "	<i>yoso [i?]tandesi</i> "llano de flor de <i>ocpatli</i> "*	<i>yoso yud[z]i</i> "llano de <u>paxtle</u> , heno"	Santo Tomás Ocotepec

* The Nahuatl word *ocpatli* refers to various plants used to begin the fermentation of pulque from the juice of the maguey cactus. Cf. the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Zacatepec (Acuña, I:322), in which the Mixtec terms for "*ochpati*" is given as *yucu disí* (*yucu* = "herb, plant"; *disí* [*ndedzi* in the dialect of the Alvarado dictionary] = "pulque").

naturales hablan la lengua *mixteca*...y algunos la *mexicano*" (Acuña 1984, I:318). In addition, from the same group of *Relación geográficas*, the same is said for the towns of Juxtlahuaca in the western Mixteca Baja, Mixtepec in the western Mixteca Alta, and the Putla in the western region of the Costa (Acuña 1984, I:282, 292, 313).¹¹

Also from the western section of the Mixteca de la Costa are documents of 1576 that record the request by Spaniard Martín Núñez for a grazing site within the town of Pinotepa Nacional (AGN-RT 2776, exp. 6). At the beginning of the document, an interpreter is appointed for the Nahuatl language only; as well, the indigenous authorities of Pinotepa present a petition in the Nahuatl language (fols. 5-5v).

The presence of the Nahuatl language is by no means restricted to the western Mixteca but is evident in other areas of the Mixteca, as well. In sixteenth-century litigation, two interpreters were often appointed by the court, one for the Mixtec language and one for the Nahuatl language. Moreover, from the Valley of Oaxaca, eighteenth-century maps of the town of Xoxocotlán (based on earlier, lost maps) give the names of this town's boundaries in both Mixtec and Nahuatl (Smith 1973a:202-210).¹²

One notable example of a manuscript from the eastern Mixteca Alta that has an extensive text in Nahuatl only is the Codex Sierra from Santa Catarina Texupan (León 1933; see also Bailey 1972:456-457, 460). This codex is essentially an economic document that delineates the town contributions to the maintenance of the church from 1550 to 1564. It consists of 31 folios of European paper, and the format of each page resembles a European ledger. On the left side are small Europeanized drawings illustrating the goods purchased or the persons to whom money was paid. These drawings are accompanied by representations of the total amounts spent in pictorial signs. Adjacent to the drawing are texts in Nahuatl written in European script describing the expenditure. In a discrete column on the right side of each page, the total spent is set forth in European numerals, and at the top of each page the year in which the expenditures took place is given in Arabic numerals.

The three different place signs in the Codex Sierra (those for Texupan, Mexico City, and Ocotepc in the District of Tlaxiaco) seem to represent these towns' Mixtec names. Moreover, the year dates shown in a native manner include the typical southern Mexico A-O year sign, and the correlation of these dates with Christian years is a Mixtec rather than a Valley of Mexico correlation (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:69-76; Caso 1951). Nonetheless, an element of bilingualism occurs in the dates shown with A-O year signs because all are accompanied by a drawing of a leaf. As noted by León (1933:20), this motif represents the Nahuatl word *xihuitl* that means both "year" and "plant."

It is not known why this economic ecclesiastical document from the eastern Mixteca Alta was written in Nahuatl. According to the 1579 *Relación geográfica* of Texupan, both Mixtec and Chocho were spoken in the town, with Mixtec being the most common (Acuña 1984, II:220), but no mention is made of Nahuatl.

Concerning the presence of the Nahuatl language in the Mixteca and other regions far from Mexico City, H. R. Harvey has suggested:

The reasons for the expansion of Nahua following the conquest are readily apparent. Much of the population of Central Mexico was already either Nahua-speaking or else under the control of Nahua-speakers. Beyond its home territory, the trade routes were dotted with Nahua-speaking colonies as far south as Costa Rica in Central America. It was an established language of commerce, of political administration, a *lingua franca* for an enormous expanse of territory. Small wonder that the Spaniards readily adopted it and actively promoted it. (Harvey 1972:199)

Thus some evidence of the Nahuatl language is found throughout the Mixteca in the early Colonial period. Nonetheless, for whatever reasons, the Nahuatl presence seems more pronounced in the western Mixteca Baja, Alta, and Costa, including the District of Tlaxiaco. In the case of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, this map not only has Nahuatl glosses, but its "pictorial writing" also has many features that are more typical of areas north of the Mixteca, and these will be discussed below.

Non-Mixtec Features

Notable non-Mixtec features occur in both the format and drawing style of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos. One of these is the orientation of the place signs that represent the names of boundaries. Usually in Mixtec community maps, the bases of these signs face the interior of the map rather than the outer border as is the case in this lienzo.¹³ Indeed, the only other map from the Mixteca in which the boundary signs face outward, as do those of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, is the Map of Xochitepec (Caso 1958), perhaps from the western Mixteca Baja and mentioned above as one of the manuscripts whose boundary signs are identified by glosses in Nahuatl.

Another unusual feature of the Córdova-Castellanos is the rectangle of footprints within the signs of the boundaries. To my knowledge, this lienzo is the only extant map from the Mixteca that has this type of interior border consisting of a road with footprints. Footprints within the boundaries are found in pictorial manuscripts from both north and west of the Mixteca. North of Oaxaca, a remarkable group of early colonial maps has survived from the Nahuatl-speaking town of Cuauhtinchan in the state of Puebla. Five of these are

included in the combination prose and pictorial manuscript known as the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca" (Kirchhoff, Odena Güemes, and Reyes García 1976; Reyes García 1977; Leibsohn 1994), as well as a separate map known as the "Mapa Pintado" (Kirchhoff, Odena Güemes, and Reyes García 1976:1-2 of the facsimile) and four additional maps known as the "Maps of Cuauhtinchan" (Simons 1968; Yoneda 1981). The patterns of footprints in several of these maps resemble those of the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos. For example, in the "Mapa Pintado" and in one of the maps of the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca" (Kirchhoff, Odena Güemes, and Reyes García 1976:1-2, 28-29 of the facsimile), footprints enter the territory of Cuauhtinchan on the left side of the map, diverge in opposite directions, and meet again on the right side of the map, much as occurs in the border of footprints in the Córdoba-Castellanos. Also, in the map from the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca", the site at which the footprints join on the right border is depicted as a swirl of water. As noted earlier, in the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos swirls of water mark the place at the bottom of the manuscript where the footprints begin to go around the map in opposite directions, and a swirl of water with an axe marks the site at the top where the footprints converge. The arrangements of footprints in the lienzo and in the Cuauhtinchan manuscripts are by no means absolutely the same. The footprints in the Cuauhtinchan maps lack the enclosing borders of parallel lines seen in the lienzo. Moreover, a single line of footprints is characteristic of the Cuauhtinchan manuscripts, whereas a double row of footprints is shown within the boundaries of the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos. Nevertheless, the Córdoba-Castellanos resembles more closely some of the maps from Cuauhtinchan than it does other surviving maps from the Mixteca.¹⁴

West of the Mixteca, several community maps have survived from eastern Guerrero, including the Lienzo Totomixtlahuaca (1974; also *HMAI* 14:Fig. 67). In this lienzo, a rectangular border consisting of parallel lines that enclose footprints is placed along the lower edges of the boundary signs. The bases of these signs, like those of the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos, face toward the outer borders of the manuscript. In the Lienzo Totomixtlahuaca, however, the footprints all go in the same direction, moving counterclockwise around the boundary sites, rather than going in two different directions, as they do in the Córdoba-Castellanos and the maps from Cuauhtinchan discussed above.

The style of the hill signs is also not typically Mixtec. The cross-hatched pattern within the hills is usually seen only in manuscripts that are from the Mixteca Baja, such as the Codex Egerton 2895 (Burland 1965; König 1979), and is more characteristic of manuscripts from the Nahuatl-speaking region north of the Mixteca.¹⁵ The hill signs in the lienzo also lack the distinctive scalloped border along the base of the signs that are seen in many Mixtec manuscripts (illustrated, for example, in Figs. 11 and 21).

The stone sign in the left border (third sign from the top, being attacked by a man with a bow and arrow) also resembles signs for stones from the Nahuatl-speaking region to the north of the Mixteca because it consists

of a horizontal oval with projections at each end and diagonal stripes in the interior. A number of manuscripts from the Mixteca Baja use this type of stone sign as well, such as Map No. 36 and its cognates from Huajuapán de León. Usually the Mixtec sign for a stone is an oval with multicolored stripes throughout the entirety of its interior (illustrated in the horizontal oval on a hill that is the third sign from the right in the lower-right corner of Fig. 4).

The representation of the sign for "plain, valley" (*yodzo* in Mixtec, *ixtlahuaca* in Nahuatl) as a blanket-like rectangle is also unusual. This is seen in three boundary signs in the lienzo: the sign second from the left in the top border, the sign on the right side of the top border, and the third sign from the bottom in the right border. In Mixtec manuscripts, the sign for a plain or valley is usually a horizontal rectangle of bound feathers (Fig. 23a), a sign that is a pun, for the Mixtec word *yodzo* can mean "large feather" as well as "plain, valley" (Caso 1960:17-18).¹⁶

In addition, the one female figure in the lienzo, on the left side of the row of seated figures associated with the unnamed hill in the lower-left corner, is in the "Aztec woman pose" (Caso 1960:14; Robertson 1966:306). That is, she is kneeling with her legs tucked under her torso, rather than seated with her legs in front of her, as is typical of many women in the Mixtec codices, including all the female figures in the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36). Females in the "Aztec woman pose" are most often seen in Mixtec manuscripts from the northernmost Baja, such as the Codex Egerton 2895 and the Codex Tulane.

Notwithstanding the strong non-Mixtec features of the Córdova-Castellanos, this lienzo does have the A-O year sign seen in manuscripts from southern Puebla down through the Mixtec-speaking region. As well, three of the men are identified by calendrical names, also typical of southern Mexico.

* * *

Because the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, like the Lienzo of Ocotepéc, is primarily a cartographic rather than a genealogical manuscript, it shows little resemblance to the lost Codex López Ruiz. The main similarities seem to be the depiction of ancient ancestors in the lower-left corner of the lienzo and the "migrations" made by at least some of these ancestors. These parallel the opening section of the López Ruiz narrative (pp. 437-439), in which the persons described are deities and ancient ancestors, who are said to undertake "migrations."

THE LIENZO OF PHILADELPHIA (?)

In contrast to the lienzos of Ocotepc and Córdoba-Castellanos, the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36) is primarily a genealogical rather than a cartographic manuscript. The lower section of this lienzo deals with early history and ancient ancestors, and the upper section sets forth a 24-generation genealogy of one town, whose pictorial sign is a slope or barranca with a corn plant.

The lienzo, formerly in the William Randolph Hearst collection, was acquired by The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in 1942 and was first discussed in detail by Alfonso Caso (1964b).¹⁷ Shortly afterward, Ross Parmenter (1966) astutely noted some iconographic similarities between this lienzo and the Lienzo Córdoba-Castellanos.

In his discussion of the ancient ancestors in the lower section of the lienzo, Caso (1964b:140) pointed out the curious phenomenon of a sex change that occurs to one partner of the five pairs of men associated with the unnamed hill in the lower-left corner. Each of these pairs migrate, as indicated by the lines with footprints, to five different places shown in the lower-right section. Following this migration, one of each of the five pairs is shown as a female, with the same or similar calendrical name as her male counterpart at the pre-migration site of the unnamed hill. To my knowledge, this change of sex is unique in the Mixtec manuscripts. Caso (1964b:140-141 and 1979:273, 338) also observed that one pair in this early history section--a male named 1 Grass and a female named 1 Eagle, associated with the Hill of the Circle (Necklace?) in the lower-center of the lienzo--also appear in the codices Vindobonensis and Nuttall, usually as a toothless elderly couple.¹⁸ This suggests that they--and, by extension, the other four pairs in the lower section of the lienzo--are deities or ancient ancestors. These two persons are the only individuals in the lienzo who assuredly appear in any other Mixtec manuscript,¹⁹ implying that the lienzo is a very local document.

No obvious connection is shown between the ancient ancestors in the lower part of the lienzo and the genealogy in the upper section. Caso (1964b:142) postulated that one of the couples associated with the five places in the lower-right corner may have been the parents of the first male ruler of the Corn Plant Place, perhaps the male 12 Reed and female 11 Reed who are associated with the place sign with a ravine and no other pictorial element, because this pair is placed closest to the beginning of the genealogy.

The only date connected with the genealogy also occurs at the beginning. It consists of a partially destroyed year date: a Reed year with at least 4 numeral dots, and perhaps as many as 13, but the exact number is difficult to determine because about two inches are missing from the right border of the lienzo (Parmenter 1966:22). The day date is clearly visible as 6 Death.



Fig. 36. Lienzo of Philadelphia. The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
(Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, negative no. S8-19820)

The origins of the wife of the first ruler, a woman named 10 Wind, are more clearly delineated. A line with footprints connects her with a place sign in the upper-left corner of the lienzo. This sign was described by Caso as "Hill of the Head," but more accurately characterized by Parmenter as "Hill of a Dead Man." Seated on this place and facing the same direction is a pair of men, 11 Wind and 8 Flint. If this pair follows the pattern of the five pairs below, the lefthand figure, 8 Flint, is female, and this pair is the parents of the wife of the first male ruler (Caso 1964b:142).

In his study of the lienzo, Parmenter (1966:20-21) perceptively observed that the date inside of the unnamed hill in the lower-left corner of the Lienzo of Philadelphia is the same as that associated with the unnamed hill in the lower-left corner of the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos: the year 9 Flint and the day 9 Lizard. As well, in both lienzos a group of figures, all of whom face the same direction, is associated with a nameless hill, with both groups probably being deities or ancestors. There are, however, some differences between the groups in the two lienzos. In the Philadelphia, the ten men are all named and are definitely divided into five pairs who become male-female couples after travelling to five different places. By way of contrast, the group of figures in the Córdova-Castellanos is not definitely paired and totals an uneven number: seven at the top of the hill as well as the two men below, who are the only ones with calendrical names and who, as noted, may be the same as the two unnamed men with speech scrolls at the top of the hill. Moreover, included in the group at the top of the hill in the Córdova-Castellanos is a woman, whereas the entire group associated with the hill in the Lienzo of Philadelphia consists of men only, even though five of the ten men become women once they leave the hill. Moreover, the travels of the groups in the two lienzos are different. The Lienzo of Philadelphia seems more explicit, in that it shows each of the pairs in the lower-left corner going to five named places. In the Córdova-Castellanos, possibly only the two men on the right side of the row above the unnamed hill travel, although this is by no means clear. Furthermore, the travel route shown in this lienzo goes around the interior border of the boundary signs (the types of signs lacking in the Lienzo of Philadelphia), with two lines of footprints terminating at two place signs on the interior above the original starting point. But which man (if either) goes to which place? This question cannot be answered with any certainty.

Parmenter also noted that a Hill of a Serpent is a very prominent sign in the center-right section of both lienzos. But here, again, the relationship between the place sign and the patterns of footprints is different. In the Córdova-Castellanos, the Serpent Hill is the destination of what appears to be a migration or pilgrimage route, whereas no one seems to be travelling to the Serpent Hill in the Lienzo of Philadelphia. Indeed, in the latter lienzo the line of footprints that connects the woman who marries the first ruler of the Corn Plant Place with her hometown of Hill of the Dead Man assiduously bypasses Serpent Hill.

Does the occurrence of the Serpent Hill and a date of the year 9 Flint and the day 9 Lizard in the Lienzo of Philadelphia indicate that this manuscript, like the Córdova-Castellanos, is from the Tlaxiaco region? It is difficult to say. As Parmenter noted, none of the three named men in the Córdova-Castellanos appears in the Lienzo of Philadelphia. Moreover, it is possible for deities or ancient ancestors and their place signs to be found in manuscripts from towns that are in very different regions. For example, the two male deities whose calendrical names are 9 Movement and 7 Deer are given in the *Relación geográfica* of Acatlán in southern Puebla as the principal deities of that town, and they appear at the beginning of the Codex Tulane, which sets forth fifteen generations of the rulers of Acatlán (Smith and Parmenter 1991:25-28, 36-37). The calendrical names of those same two deities are also associated with the first ruler of Zacatepec in the Mixteca de la Costa.²⁰ Thus, the two gods are connected to two places that are from different regions of the Mixteca. It is also possible, then, that the date of the year 9 Flint and the day 9 Lizard, presumably a non-chronological date, could have been important to more than one town. As well, the Serpent Hill may have been a ceremonial site that was significant in more than one town or region.

Regrettably, because the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos is principally a cartographic manuscript and the Lienzo of Philadelphia is primarily a genealogical document, much of the information they contain does not overlap. Specifically, the Lienzo of Philadelphia does not provide signs of the main town's boundaries as does the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, and the latter manuscript does not present the quantity of named persons seen in the Philadelphia. Moreover, as noted, the three named men in the Córdova-Castellanos do not appear in the Philadelphia.

Without question, the crucial place sign in the Lienzo of Philadelphia is that containing a corn plant on the right edge just above the center. This sign represents the name of the town whose genealogy is presented in the lienzo; and, presumably, if this sign could be identified, we would know where the lienzo is from. At present, we do not know which town is represented by this sign, and very few recorded Mixtec place names contain the word *nuni* ("maíz" or "corn").

The principal town name that includes *nuni* is that of Tototepec in eastern Guerrero, which is given as *yoso nuni* or "llano de maíz" in a list of Mixtec place names in a seventeenth-century manuscript by Dominican friar Miguel de Villavicencio.²¹ But the sign in the Lienzo of Philadelphia does not include the horizontal "feather mat" that traditionally represents the Mixtec word *yodzo* (and seen in another place sign in the lower-right corner of the lienzo). Rather, the corn plant is shown within a mound as part of a declivity that may be a ravine or slope.

In a listing of towns and other sites in Oaxaca by Manuel Martínez Gracida (1888:316), a *cuiti ñuni* is given as a *rancho* of Pinotepa Nacional in the Mixteca de la Costa. Notwithstanding the tilde on the initial *n*

of *ñuni* in this place name, Martínez Gracida stated that it can be translated as "mogote de maíz" as well as "mogote de salitre."²² Even if *cuiti ñuni* can mean "mogote de maíz," we have no indication that this *rancho* would have had the 24-generation genealogy shown in the Lienzo de Philadelphia. So the identity of the main sign in the lienzo still remains a mystery.

The same can be said for the identity of the place represented by the Serpent Hill sign that occurs prominently in both the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos and the Lienzo Philadelphia. In Mixtec, the "hill of the serpent" would be *yucu coo* (*yucu* = "hill"; *coo* = "serpent"). At least two sites in the Tlaxiaco region are named "serpent hill." In a 1726 document (AGN-RT 876-1, fol. 20-22) and in the Lienzo of Ocoatepec, *yucu coo* is given as a boundary between Ocoatepec and Santiago Nuyoo (Smith 1973a:153). In a 1862 document (SRA Comunal 276.1/236), *yucu ñu coo* ("cerro donde está una culebra") is said to be a site on or near the boundary line between Tlaxiaco and San Cristóbal Amoltepec. But, again, we have no clear indication that the Serpent Hill in the two lienzos represents either of these sites in the Tlaxiaco region.²³

Style

In contrast to the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, the style of human figures and place signs is more traditionally Mixtec and exhibits fewer features associated with Valley of Mexico manuscripts. In general, the human figures in the lienzo are similar to those seen in Mixtec manuscripts painted just before or shortly after the Spanish conquest, such as the codices Bodley and Selden and the Lienzo of Yolotepec from the Mixteca Alta, the Lienzo of Zacatepec from the Mixteca de la Costa, and Codex Becker II from the Mixteca Baja (Smith 1973a:15-17). But each manuscript has its distinctive features; and in the Lienzo of Philadelphia, one of these is the handling of the majority of Reed signs. Of the thirteen occurrences of this sign in the lienzo, nine are shown as Europeanized arrow with the feathers depicted as triangular projections containing horizontal lines that delineate the feathers' barbs. This type of arrow/reed is the only obvious non-native motif in the lienzo, which lacks church buildings, indigenous nobility or Spaniards dressed in European costumes, and similar postconquest elements seen in other Colonial manuscripts.

In addition to the nine Europeanized Reed signs, four other Reed signs are drawn in a more traditional native style. These are seen in the place sign in the lower-right corner and in the calendrical names of three persons in the genealogy in the upper-right section: the woman 7 Reed of the fifth generation above the corn plant place, the woman 10 Reed at the bottom of the fourth column of ruling couples, and the man 9 Reed at the bottom of the fifth and final column. In its style, this Reed sign and other of the twenty day signs in the Lienzo of Philadelphia most closely resemble those of the Codex Becker II, as can be seen in Table 22. In the lefthand column of this table are four day signs--Wind, Death, Rabbit, and Reed--as they appear in the

Lienzo of Philadelphia. The remaining columns illustrate these four signs in the other manuscripts which share overall style characteristics with the Philadelphia lienzo: Codex Becker II, the Lienzos of Zacatepec and Yolotepec, and the codices Bodley and Selden. Because the twenty day signs are present in many of the manuscripts from the Mixteca and other regions of Central Mexico, they are often good diagnostics to determine style characteristics, as demonstrated by Elizabeth Boone (1982:165-166).

The Wind signs in the Lienzo of Philadelphia and Codex Becker II consist not only of the standard buccal mask and beard of the wind god as seen in the lienzos of Zacatepec and Amoltepec and the Codex Bodley, but also have a horizontal rectangle bisected by a vertical line placed at the top of the mask. Moreover, the overall shape of the sign in both the Philadelphia and Becker II is vertical, rather than being horizontal as is seen in the other manuscripts included in Table 22.


























The Death signs in both the Lienzo of Philadelphia and Codex Becker II have similar curlicue noses, and the shapes of the signs are more compactly squarish than the rectangular shape of these signs in the other manuscripts. The Rabbit signs in the Lienzo of Philadelphia and Becker II have elongated oval ears that project vertically from the top of the ears rather than projecting backward as is usual in the other manuscripts.

As noted above, the four examples of the prehispanic Reed signs in the Lienzo of Philadelphia resemble more closely Reed signs in the Becker II than those in other manuscripts. The signs in both manuscripts are not as simplified as those in the Codex Selden, and they lack the arrowheads seen in the Reed signs of the Lienzo of Amoltepec and the Codex Bodley and the triangular projections of feathers of the lienzos of Zacatepec and Yolotepec.

In addition to the style of these four day signs, the Lienzo of Philadelphia and Codex Becker II share several other features. In the lienzo, the platforms of the five buildings in the lower-right quadrant lack stairways, and four of the five contain the double-volute motif that Caso (1964b:140) called by the Nahuatl term *ihuitl*, meaning "day" or "fiesta." The same can be said for the principal building in the opening pages of the Codex Becker II that are in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, the so-called "Hamburg Fragment" (Nowotny 1954; *HMAI* 14:Fig. 24).²⁴

I do not necessarily imply that the Lienzo of Philadelphia and the Codex Becker II are from the same region, because artists could and did travel from one place to another.²⁵ The Codex Becker II is from the area of the Mixteca Baja west of Huajuapán, but it is very different from such Mixteca Baja manuscripts as the codices Egerton 2895, Tulane and Tecomaxtlahuaca and the Map of Xochitepec and Map No. 36, in that it has fewer Valley of Mexico features and is more purely "Mixtec" (Smith and Parmenter 1991:89-97). Thus, even if the Philadelphia lienzo and the Becker II were drawn by the same artist(s), the two manuscripts could be from very different places.

**TABLE 22. FOUR DAY SIGNS IN THE LIENZO OF PHILADELPHIA
AND OTHER MIXTEC MANUSCRIPTS**

	Lienzo Philadelphia	Codex Becker II	Lienzo of Zacatepec	Lienzo of Yolotepec	Codex Bodley	Codex Selden
WIND						
DEATH						
RABBIT						
REED	 					

Comparison with the Codex López Ruiz

The subject matter of the Codex López Ruiz is closer to that of the Lienzo of Philadelphia than it is to any of the other extant pictorial documents from the Tlaxiaco region. Specifically, the Philadelphia lienzo, like the Codex López Ruiz, depicts ancient ancestors, early migrations from one place to another, and a long genealogy. Indeed, some of the questions concerning the reading order of the main genealogical line in the lienzo may also be pertinent to some similar problems in the description by López Ruiz of the lost Codex. Caso (1964b:142-143; see also Parmenter 1966:22) postulated that the 24-generation genealogy in the lienzo is to be read in a boustrophodonic manner: That is, the righthand column above the place with a corn plant reads from bottom to top, the second column from top to bottom, the third column from bottom to top, the fourth from top to bottom, and the fifth and final column from bottom to top. I am not convinced of this, for it seems to me more likely that *all* five columns should be read from bottom to top. In all known Colonial Mixtec genealogical documents that have single columns of figures, the reading order of these columns is from bottom to top. Moreover, in the case of the map that accompanies the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Teozacoalco in the Mixteca Alta (Caso 1949; Acuña 1984, II:131-139), the genealogy of that town begins as a column of couples outside the town's map that reads from bottom to top, and then this genealogy is continued within the map by a second column of couples that *also* reads from bottom to top.

As noted in Chapter 6, Mariano López Ruiz seems to have read some of the genealogies in the lost codex he was describing in the reverse order, implying that their reading order is open to question, as seems to be the case in the Lienzo of Philadelphia. In the first genealogy of Chapter III of his paper (page 441, line 11 through page 442, line 7; summarized in Table 7 of this study), this genealogy supposedly ends with the important ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," who is here associated with the sun god 1 Death and the fifth wife of 8 Deer, 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood." In all likelihood, these three stand at the beginning of the genealogy and are sanctioning its inception. As well, in his Chapter IV (pp. 447-448), native rulers with Spanish names are said to be progenitors of offspring with Mixtec calendrical names, which does not occur in other manuscripts whose rulers are accompanied by inscriptions that give their names.²⁶ Again, this implies that at least some of the genealogies in the lost codex were not being read in the correct order.

THE GENEALOGY OF TLAZULTEPEC

The Genealogy of Tlazultepec (Fig. 37) is a line drawing in black ink on European paper, with no color whatsoever. The drawing was made specifically for litigation dated September 30, 1597, concerning the *cacicazgo* of San Pedro Tlazultepec, present-day San Pedro el Alto, located about 30 km southeast of Tlaxiaco

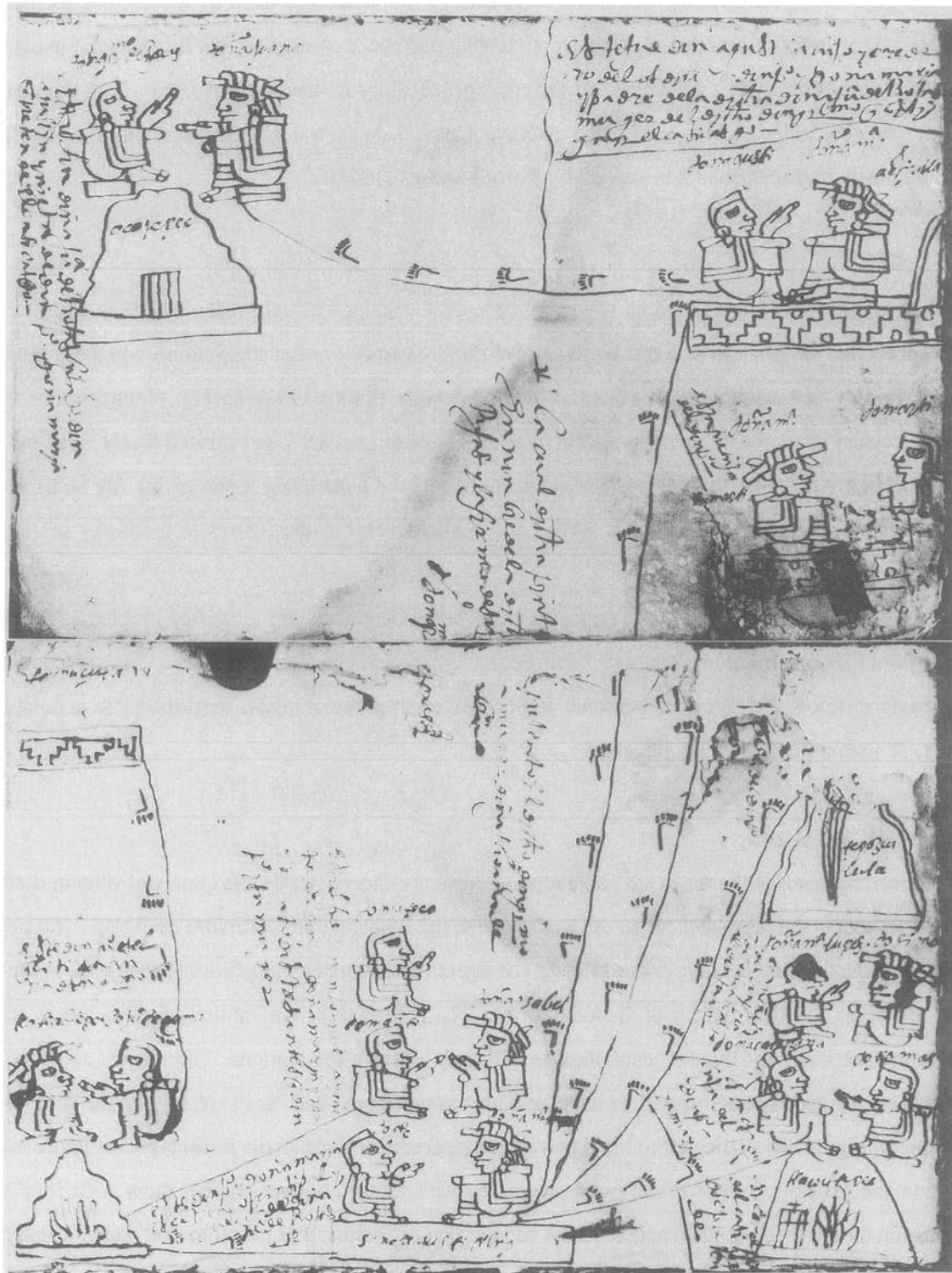


Fig. 37. Genealogy of Tlazultepec. Archivo General de la Nacion (Mexico City), Ramo de Tierras 59, expediente 2.

(Gerhard 1993:289). Fortuitously, the pictorial genealogy is still accompanied by the documents that record the litigation for which it was drawn, rather than having become separated so that the pictorial manuscript is a type of *objet trouvé*, lacking the context of the court proceedings in which it was used. Both the documents and the corroborating drawing are in the Archivo General de la Nación (Ramo de Tierras 59-2). The Genealogy was first published and studied by Ronald Spores (1964).

Figural Style

The style of the human figures in the Tlazultepec Genealogy closely resembles that of other Mixtec manuscripts from the Mixteca Alta that were painted shortly before or after the Spanish conquest, such as the codices Bodley and Selden and the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Smith 1993a:15-17). Indicative of the late-sixteenth-century date of the drawing is the cursive line characterized as "disintegrated frame line" by Donald Robertson (1959:65-66). In addition, the artist seems to have been using a pen or ink (or both) that were unfamiliar to him, because the ink has spread and run in several of the figures in the lower section of the Genealogy.

As noted by Spores (1964:25), all the native rulers in the Genealogy are identified by glosses setting forth their colonial Spanish names, such as "don Pedro," "doña María," and the like. No indication of the prehispanic style of calendrical or personal name is given in pictorial signs, in glosses that accompany the figures, or within the text of the litigation.

Format and Footprints

The arrangement of figures in the Tlazultepec Genealogy shows clearly the claims of litigant doña Juana de Rojas, shown in the upper-left corner at Ocotepc with her husband don Gerónimo de Rojas, who presented her case and the drawing in court in late 1597.²⁷ The figures that represent her family are placed in the lower-center and along the right border of the manuscript. The relationships among these figures are indicated by lines with footprints and further explained by adjacent Spanish inscriptions. Footprints are used in the Genealogy in the prehispanic manner to indicate both "comes from" and "goes to" in both the biological and geographical senses. Extending from the paternal grandparents of doña Juana de Rojas--don Pedro and doña María in the lower-center of the drawing--are lines with footprints that connect them with four of their offspring on the right side of the manuscript. A second line of footprints leads from don Agustín (upper-right corner), one of the sons of don Pedro and doña María, to the figure of litigant doña Juana de Rojas (upper-left corner), don Agustín's daughter. Thus, in a very explicit manner doña Juana de Rojas demonstrated that she is a direct descendent of don Pedro, former *cacique* of Tlazultepec.

In addition to connecting lines with footprints, genealogical relationships are also shown by vertical columns of paired figures. This type of vertical column of figures is typical of Colonial pictorial manuscripts from southern Mexico, such as the 1580 *Relación geográfica* map of Teozacoalco in the Mixteca Alta (Fig. 8), in which genealogical descent is represented as vertical stacks of couples to be read from bottom to top, with an unmarried son placed at the top.

Above the figures of don Pedro and doña María in the lower-center of the Tlazultepec Genealogy is their son don Martín, paired with his wife doña Isabel, and above this couple is their son don Mateo. The accompanying gloss tells us that all three of these heirs died before don Pedro and his wife, so they are not potential rivals for the Tlazultepec *cacicazgo*. Similarly, in the lower-right corner above the sign of Tlazultepec is a vertical two-generation genealogy. The woman on the left side of the first generation, doña Catarina, is connected by a line with footprints to her parents don Pedro and doña María, and she faces her husband don Tomás. The couple above shows the lower couple's daughter doña María López, who married don Simón (the glosses giving names of this pair have been reversed, with the name of María López written above the male figure and that of Simón above the female figure). In common with the descendants above the figures of don Pedro and doña María in the lower-center, the two women in the lower-right corner who were don Pedro's direct heirs (i.e., doña Catarina and doña María López) are described in the adjacent glosses as deceased.

In prehispanic manuscripts, lines with footprints can indicate travel as well as genealogical descent, and this convention is also seen in the Tlazultepec Genealogy. In the lower border of the manuscript, a line with footprints leads from the sign of "Tlatlattepec" in the lower-left corner to the figures of don Pedro in the center. In the text of the litigation, we learn that don Pedro had originally lived in Tlatlattepec (present-day Santa María Tataltepec in the District of Tlaxiaco) but had moved to an *estancia* of Tlaxiaco named San Agustín Ñutisi, present-day San Agustín Tlacotepec (AGN-RT 59-2, fol. 46). Within the horizontal platform on which don Pedro and his wife are seated is the gloss *s.no sagusti sihiq*, a variation of this *estancia*'s name.²⁸

Rather purposely, footprints are used to indicate travel of the opponent of doña Juana de Rojas: don Juan de Guzmán, also known in the court proceedings as don Juan de Guzmán y Velasco. He is shown seated above the sign of Tataltepec in the lower-left corner, and a line of footprints connects him with his town of birth, a platform on the left border that is identified by the gloss "tamaçula" (San Juan Tamazola in the eastern Mixteca Alta).²⁹ This platform represents the Mixtec word *ñuu* ("town, inhabited place"), but it lacks a second pictorial element that would clearly give the name of the town, although complete place signs occur elsewhere in the Genealogy. The parents of counterlitigant Juan de Guzmán are not shown or named, nor is the woman at Tataltepec, whom don Juan marries, identified by a gloss on the Tlazultepec Genealogy.

Moreover, in the Genealogy don Juan de Guzmán is very much isolated from the direct genealogical line presented by his opponent doña Juana de Rojas. Conspicuously lacking are footprints that unite his figure genealogically with that of his aunt doña María López, the second female figure above the Tlazultepec sign in the lower-right corner--that is, on the opposite side of the drawing from the figure of don Juan de Guzmán. The only acknowledgement of Juan de Guzmán's claim is a gloss to the left of doña María López and her husband don Simón that states: "This was the granddaughter of don Pedro who left [in her will] the *cacicazgo* [of Tlazultepec] to don Juan" (translation in Spores 1964; material in brackets mine).³⁰ But no pictorially explicit relationship is shown between María López and Juan de Guzmán, in contrast to the clear presentation of the descent of doña Juana de Rojas in a direct line (*por línea recta*) from her grandfather don Pedro.

The depiction in the Genealogy of don Juan de Guzmán as an isolated outsider is corroborated by the testimony on behalf of doña Juana de Rojas on September 30, 1597, the opening round of her claim to Tlazultepec and the segment of litigation in which the Genealogy was presented (AGN-Tierras 59-2, fol. 10-16). Three of the four witnesses who testify at this time say that don Juan de Guzmán "came from outside" (*vino de fuera*), and this is very much illustrated in the format of the drawing. If don Juan de Guzmán had commissioned a drawing to support his claim to Tlazultepec, the format would have been very different. He undoubtedly would have had himself shown more securely integrated into the main ruling line rather than appearing to be a footnote in the opposite corner from the pictorial sign of the town he claimed to inherit.

Place Signs

The Genealogy contains six place signs drawn in the prehispanic style, in addition to the platform on the left side identified by the gloss "tamaçula." Like the human figures, these signs exhibit the "disintegrated frame line" characteristic of colonial manuscripts. In all but one instance, the signs are accompanied not only by glosses that set forth the towns' present-day Nahuatl names, but the signs themselves seem to represent the communities' Mixtec names.

Tataltepec (lower-left corner). The Mixtec name of this town is given in the 1593 list of Mixtec town names compiled by fray Antonio de los Reyes (1890:89) as *yucu quesí*, or "hill of scorching heat." (*Yucu* = "hill"; *quesí* = "scorching heat" [*bochorno*].) In the Genealogy, a flame motif within the hill sign is used to express the idea of heat, one of the qualities of fire (Smith 1973a:59).

Tlazultepec (lower-right corner). The Mixtec name of this town in the 1593 list of Mixtec town names of fray Antonio de los Reyes (1894:89) is *yucu cuihi*, which means "hill of fruit."³¹ (*Yucu* = "hill"; *cuihi*, in the Alvarado dictionary, means "fructa generalmente.") The Tlazultepec sign in the Genealogy is a hill containing a plant of some type, perhaps with the implication that it is a fruit-bearing plant. To the left of the

plant is a schematized church building, a motif lacking in the other place signs, possibly signifying that this is the town under litigation (as is stated in the accompanying gloss).

Teposcolula (right border). The Mixtec name of Teposcolula is *yucu ndaa*, which fray Antonio de los Reyes (1890:7), who wrote his Mixtec grammar in this town, translates as "la sierra de nequen" or "the hill of henequen." (*Yucu* = "hill"; *ndaa* can refer generically to a number of fiber-producing plants such as henequen or those known in Nahuatl as *ixtle*.) In the Genealogy of Tlazultepec, what appear to be three long leaves of this type of plant are placed within a hill sign. These leaves are vertical or upright, still another meaning of the Mixtec word *ndaa*.

Unfortunately, a portion of the manuscript above this place sign has been destroyed, so that we do not know the names of the rulers associated with Teposcolula in the Genealogy. All we know is that one of the daughters of don Pedro and doña María in the lower-center married a man from this town.

San Martín [?] (right border). The identity of the place sign on the right border above the Teposcolula sign is open to question. A pictorial sign consists of a platform with geometric decorations to which is appended a motif that may be hair or perhaps flowing water. Seated on the sign are doña María, still another daughter of don Pedro and doña María in the lower-center of the Genealogy, and her husband don Martín, the ruler of the town in question. To the left of the doña María seated on this sign is a gloss that Spores (1964:27) has interpreted as "San Martín (?)." ³² However, this gloss appears to me to be "do martin," a repetition of the name of the ruler of this place (who is also identified as "do martin" in a gloss above his head). I believe that the gloss that named the town represented by this place sign may have been written in the section below the sign that is now missing. Regrettably, this daughter of don Pedro and doña María is not mentioned in the text of the Tlazultepec litigation, nor is the town ruled by this daughter's husband. Thus this sign cannot be surely identified.

The sign associated with doña María, wife of don Agustín (upper-right corner). The sign of the town ruled by the woman who was the mother of litigant doña Juana de Rojas is also difficult to identify. This sign consists of a platform with a throne, and above the female ruler's head is the gloss "achiutla," implying that she ruled the town of San Miguel Achiutla in the District of Tlaxiaco. But the platform-with-throne is not the usual sign of Achiutla, which Wigberto Jiménez Moreno (summarized in Jansen and Gaxiola 1978:12-13) suggested is a platform with a flame (Fig. 23c), representing this town's Mixtec name *ñuu ndecu* (*ñuu* = "town"; *ndecu* = "to burn").

Nor are the documents that describe the Tlazultepec litigation much assistance in identifying this sign. In the opening round of testimony for which the Genealogy was drawn, dated September 30, 1597, the town of doña Juana's mother is not mentioned in the questions posted to the witnesses, nor is it given by the four

witnesses who testify on behalf of doña Juana, three of whom are from Achiutla. This opening round *did* take place in the town of Achiutla, and it is possible that the "achiutla" gloss was added later to indicate the site of the litigation by a scribe different from the one responsible for the majority of the glosses.

The second round of testimony on behalf of doña Juana de Roja took place on February 17, 1598, in the town of Ocoatepec, and the Genealogy is not mentioned as having been presented for this testimony (AGN-RT 59-2, ff. 17-25). In the list of questions asked of the five witnesses, doña María, the mother of doña Juana de Rojas, is said to be from the town of *Tiyoo*, a subject of Yanhuitlán, and three of the witnesses affirm that she was from Tiyoo or Tiyuu. The town referred to is probably Santiago Tilló on the west side of Nochixtlán valley and a subject of Yanhuitlán in the sixteenth century (AGI-Escribanía de Cámara 162-C, legajo 5, f. 307v; published in Spores 1967:195). According to Martínez Gracida (1888:407) and Alavez Chávez (1988:56), the Mixtec name *tiyoo* or *tiyuu* means "flea (the insect)": and seems to have nothing to do with the platform-with-throne associated with the mother of doña Juana de Rojas in the upper-right corner of the Tlazultepec Genealogy.

The identification of the sign that represents this woman's hometown is further confused by the third round of testimony on behalf of doña Juana de Rojas (AGN-RT 59-2, ff. 30-26). This testimony took place in Teposcolula on June 4, 1598; and here, again, the Genealogy is not mentioned. Of the three new witnesses who testified at this time, two stated that the mother of doña Juana is from the town of Nuyoo, a subject of Ocoatepec in the District of Tlaxiaco, and the third said that she was from Nuyoo, a subject of Yanhuitlán. In the sixteenth century, Nuyoo, which means "moon town" in Mixtec (Martínez Gracida 1888:368), was a subject of Ocoatepec--but not of Yanhuitlán (Monaghan 1995). And, again, *Nuyoo* does not seem to be represented by the platform-with-throne in the upper-right corner of the Tlazultepec Genealogy.

Although place signs that consist of a platform and a throne do appear in other Mixtec manuscripts,³³ the platform-with-throne in the Genealogy of Tlazultepec may not be functioning strictly as a place sign. What it may indicate is that don Agustín, the father of litigant doña Juana de Rojas, married a woman named doña María and went to live in the town where she ruled--with the platform-with-throne's being emblematic of the phrase "the town where she ruled." The platform-with-throne does not seem to represent any of the three place names associated with it in the accompanying litigation: Achiutla (written above it in the Tlazultepec Genealogy), Santiago Tilló in the Valley of Nochixtlán, or Santiago Nuyoo in the District of Tlaxiaco (the last two places are those mentioned in the litigation that took place after the testimony for which the Genealogy was presented). The name of the town is not included in the September 30, 1597 proceedings for which the Genealogy was drawn; and, in essence, it is not important to the case presented by doña Juana de Rojas. Her contention is that she descended in a direct line from her grandfather don Pedro (lower-center of the

Genealogy) through her father don Agustín (upper-right corner), a descent that is clearly indicated in the Genealogy by lines with footprints and reinforced by the accompanying glosses. The town ruled by don Agustín's wife and doña Juana's mother was not relevant to the 1597-1598 court case because this town was not under litigation. Thus the platform-with-throne may not refer to the name of a specific town.³⁴

Ocotepec (upper-left corner). In most of the standard sources of Mixtec town names (de los Reyes 1890:89; Martínez Gracida 1888:373), this town's name is given as *yucu ite*, usually translated as "hill of the pine(s)."³⁵ (*Yucu* - "hill"; *ite* = "pine" [*ocote* in Nahuatl].) Technically, however, *ite* refers to the wood of the pine (as it is used for torches and other implements), not to the tree itself.³⁶ In the Genealogy of Tlazultepec and other manuscripts, the sign for Ocotepec is a hill with a rectangle of bound pine logs.³⁷

* * *

The Genealogy of Tlazultepec superficially resembles the lost Codex López Ruiz in that both manuscripts are essentially genealogical in nature. But in many ways the two manuscripts are very different. The Tlazultepec drawing deals--at most--only with three generations of early Colonial rulers, all of whom are identified by Spanish names rather than by prehispanic types of calendrical and personal names. The total *dramatis personae* of this manuscript is nineteen persons.

By way of contrast, the lost Codex López Ruiz begins with early quasi-mythic history and goes up to and beyond the Conquest, with approximately ninety named persons. All persons from the prehispanic period are identified by Mixtec calendrical names, and twenty-five of these also have personal names. The lost codex may well have been presented as corroborating evidence in litigation (many manuscripts that were annotated with glosses did function in this manner), but the location of the documents dealing with the legal case(s) using this codex is unknown as the location of the codex itself. From what we can determine from the description by López Ruiz of the lost codex, however, it does not seem to have been as definitely edited and oriented toward a specific legal case as was the Genealogy of Tlazultepec. As well, the Genealogy lacks the Mixtec names of boundaries found on the Codex López Ruiz because boundaries *per se* were not under dispute in the case for which the Genealogy was drawn.

TWO MAPS FROM THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN,
MEXICO (TIERRAS 876-1 AND 3556-6)

Two Colonial maps now in the Mexican National Archive are from the Cuquila region southwest of Tlaxiaco (Figs. 38-39).³⁸ Like the Genealogy of Tlazultepec, both were drawn as late as the 1590s: the Tierras 876-1 map illustrates a 1595 petition for a land grant, and on the back of the Tierras 3556-6 map is a certifying statement dated March 18, 1599. Both are on a single sheet of European paper measuring approximately 43 x 31 cm, the standard page size of a legal document, and both are drawn in black ink with no color.

Neither map is a community map showing one town enclosed by place signs that represent boundary names, as is the case of the Lienzo of Ocotepc (Figs. 33-34) and the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos (Fig. 35). Rather, both were drawn in response to *specific* situations concerning land allocation or re-allocation.

The Tierras 876-1 map is a very common type of Colonial map in that it delineates the location of a piece of land granted to a named individual, in this case a "sitio de estancia menor" (a grazing site for sheep or goats) located between Santa María Cuquila, San Andrés Chicahuaxtla, and San Juan Mixtepec. The grazing site is illustrated by a horizontal oval slightly to the right of the center of the page, and the three towns are shown as generic front-facing church buildings, with a frieze containing stepped fretwork between the facades and the trapezoidal bell towers. These buildings are accompanied by short glosses giving the names of the towns and their distances from the grazing site. The church representing Chicahuaxtla is in the upper-left corner, that representing Mixtepec in the upper-right corner, and that representing Cuquila at the bottom, indicating that the map is oriented with west at the top.

Native elements in this map include, in addition to the platforms with geometric decorations in the churches, the presentation of road as lines with footprints and the depiction of a river as parallel lines that contain wavy lines on the interior and with shells projecting from both borders. Moreover, the hills at the top of the map (labelled "montes") resemble prehispanic hill signs in that they are bell-shaped forms with borders that have small paired productions to indicate roughness or bumpiness. A European feature is the depiction of trees inside and above these hills and elsewhere in the map. But these trees suggest the phrase "wooded hills" rather than presenting landscape as do the hills of the Lienzo of Ocotepc (Figs. 33-34). Indeed, the placement of the trees not associated with hills is reminiscent of the prehispanic feature that Donald Robertson described as "scattered-attribute space," characterized by "an even shifting of forms on the page" (Robertson 1959:61).

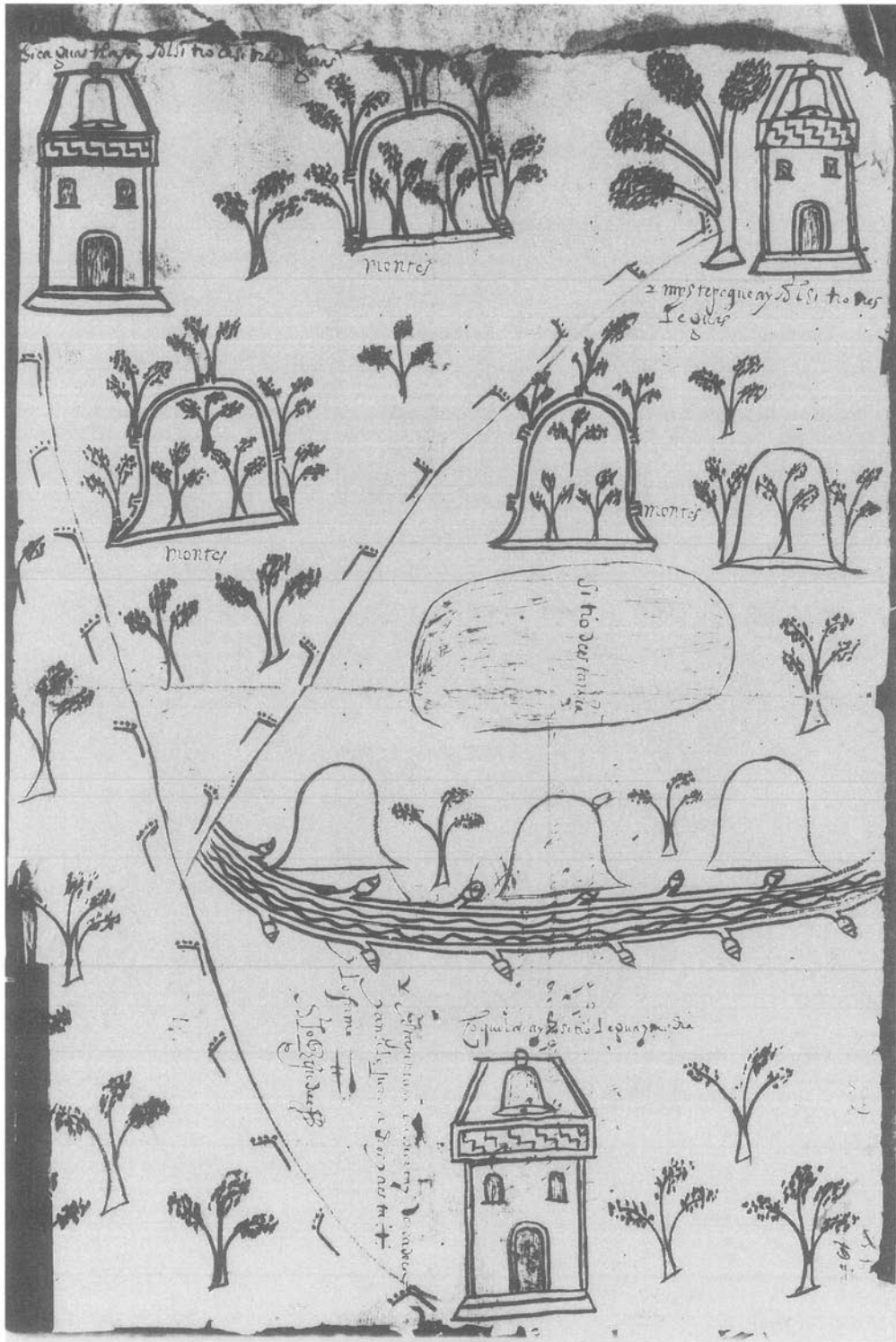


Fig. 38. Map Accompanying a Land-Grant Petition in the Town of Cuquila. Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), Ramo de Tierras 876, expediente 1, f. 122.

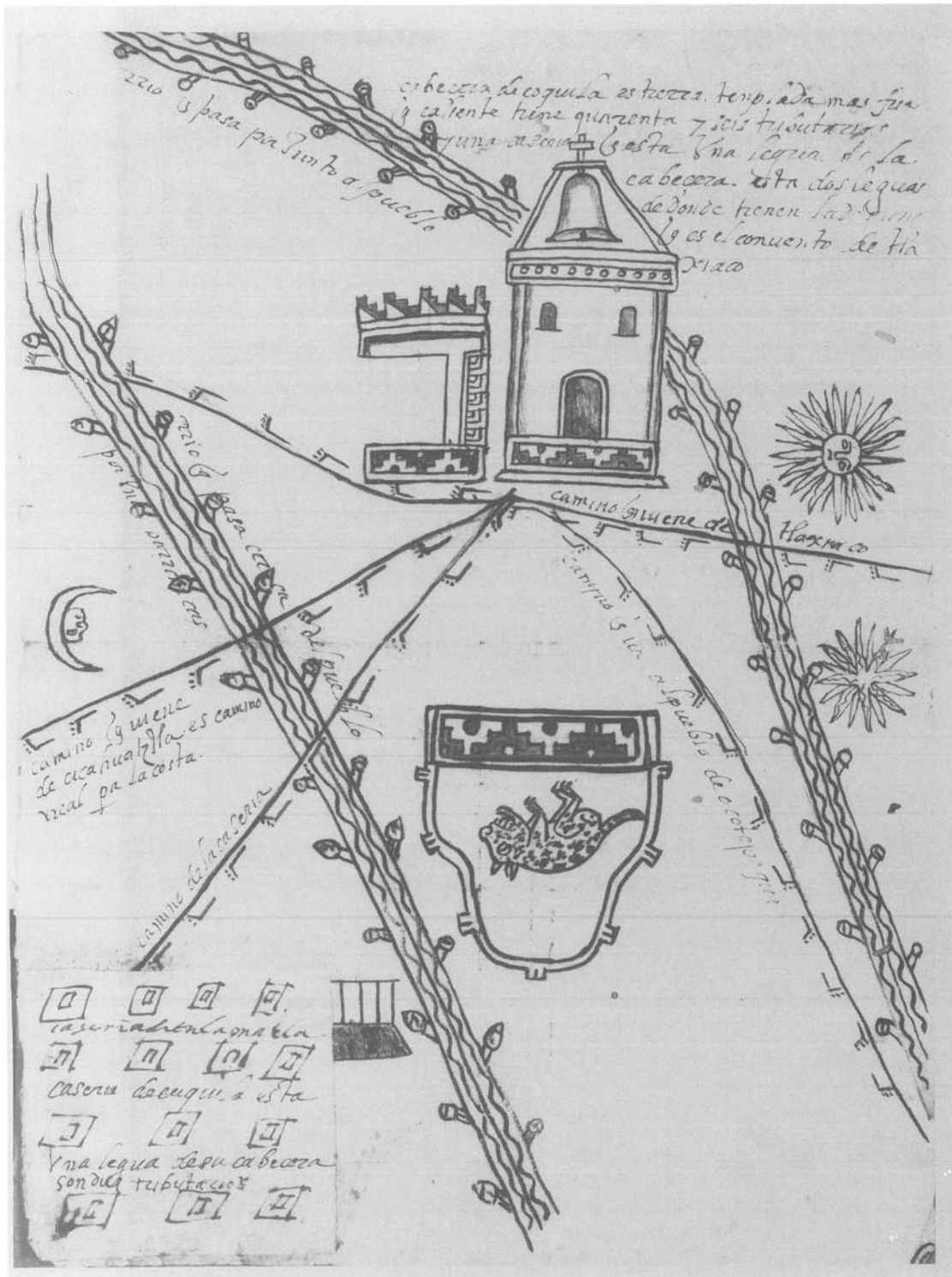


Fig. 39. Map of Cuquila. Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City),
Ramo de Tierras 3556, expediente 6.

The second AGN map (Tierras 3556-6) presents the location of the town of Cuquila relative to neighboring towns and especially to an outlying dependency (*casería*) shown in the lower-left corner as four rows of buildings. The buildings of the dependency were drawn on a separate piece of paper by a hand different from that responsible for the rest of the map, and this piece of paper was then pasted onto the map.³⁹

The Tierras 3556-6 map is not now associated in the Mexican National Archive with any documents written in European script, although it is possible that it may originally have been grouped with the same documents as the other AGN map. Many of the documents in Ramo de Tierras 876-1 deal with Cuquila, some of them dating back to the sixteenth century.⁴⁰

In all likelihood, this map was drawn to illustrate an actual or potential *congregación* of the outlying hamlet or *casería*. The *congregaciones* were attempts by the Colonial government to aggregate smaller communities with larger ones, and many of these attempts were made in the last decade of the sixteenth century and the opening decades of the seventeenth century (Simpson 1934; Cline 1949; Gibson 1964:282-286). Specifically, in 1598 an official named Ruy Díaz Cerón was appointed to effect *congregaciones* in the Mixteca Alta (AGN-Indios, vol. 6, 2a parte, exps. 935, 1015; Spores and Saldaña 1975:entries 1078-1079); and, on the reverse of the Tierras 3556-6 map, the 1599 certifying statement is signed by Díaz Cerón, as well as by the royal scribe Alonso Morán. Because this map was drawn to illustrate a potential *congregación*, it depicts only two inhabited sites: the major town of Cuquila and the outlying community or *casería*. These two sites are placed in a cartographic framework of rivers and roads, but this map lacks the scatter pattern of hills and trees seen in the Tierras 876-1 map.

In the glosses written on the appended square of paper in the lower-left corner, the *casería* is described as having only ten tributaries and as located one league from Cuquila. The *casería* is also mentioned in the longest text on the map, written in the upper-right corner and associated with Cuquila itself:

Cabecera of Cuquila. Temperate climate, more cold than hot. It has 46 tributaries and a *casería* which is one league from the *cabecera*. It is two leagues from a center that administers the Christian doctrine, which is the monastery of Tlaxiaco.

In addition, glosses are written near all the rivers and roads. In the upper-left corner, the river that runs behind the church building is identified as the river that passes next to the town. The river on the left side is said to be the river that runs near the town through some barrancas. The road that runs from right to left below the church and the post-and-lintel building is labelled as the road that comes from Tlaxiaco. From this road three additional roads extend downward. The one on the left is identified as that which comes from Chicahuaxtla, as well as being the *camino real* going to the Mixteca de la Costa. The road that goes to the

pasted-on rectangle in the lower-left corner is "the road of the *casería*," and that extending downward to the lower-right border is the road that goes to the neighboring town of Ocotepc.

On the basis of these glosses, it can be determined that this map is oriented with north at the top, but this is made explicit by two European suns on the right border and a European crescent moon with a profile face on the left border. The two suns and the moon may have been drawn by a hand different from that responsible for the remainder of the map. In any event, they were drawn in a different ink from that used in the rest of the map. The majority of the other images on the map and accompanying glosses were drawn or written in a type of black ink that has remained black. The two suns and the moon, as well as the fourteen schematic buildings of the *casería* on the pasted-on section in the lower-left corner, were drawn in a type of ink that was originally black but has turned brown owing to oxidation.

In many respects, the Tierras 3556-6 map has more prehispanic features than the Tierras 876-1 map discussed above. In addition to the prehispanic style of water, roads, and platforms with geometric decorations also seen in the Tierras 876-1 map, this map has a native style of post-and-lintel building placed next to the church, as well as the prehispanic sign of Cuquila, placed upside down as if it were facing the church and adjacent post-and-lintel building. This sign consists of an ocelot within a hill sign whose lower border is a platform with geometric decorations, very similar to the sign of Cuquila on the right side of the Lienzo of Ocotepc (Fig. 33-34).

In essence, this map of Cuquila exhibits all three of the principal ways of illustrating a community in early Colonial maps: as a prehispanic style of place sign, as a prehispanic style of post-and-lintel building, and as a generic Christian church. The church, a motif drawn from European cartography, indicates that Cuquila is a Christian community (Leibsohn 1991). Moreover, the presence of a church--on a map if not in actuality--often signified that the town in question was a *cabecera* rather than a subject town or dependency (Gibson 1964:293).⁴¹ The prehispanic post-and-lintel structure probably represents the principal civil building of the town, be it the palace of the native ruler or, in later Colonial times, the *cabildo* or city hall. This juxtaposition of church and civil building suggests the Colonial town-planning pattern of placing the main ecclesiastical building on one side of a plaza with the principal civil building on an adjacent side (as occurs, for example, in the siting of the Cathedral and National Palace in Mexico City's *Zócalo*). The prehispanic style of place sign names the town, much as does the name "Cuquila" printed on twentieth-century road maps. As well, it may represent cartographically the location of the *pueblo viejo*, or former prehispanic site, of Cuquila.⁴²

My impression is that the two AGN maps from the Cuquila region were drawn by the same hand. The four features shared by both maps are the lines with footprints, the streams of water, the prehispanic hill

signs, and the Christian churches. The churches are the most complex of the four features and thus the best for comparison. In both maps, the church buildings are drawn as two-dimensional façades with no indication of the structure behind the façade nor any suggestion of perspective. The churches in the two maps have a thin vertical border on both sides of the façades. In the center of the lower sections of the façades are archways with blackened interiors representing the doorways, and these are also enclosed by a thin border. On each side of the tops of the façades are archways with blackened interiors representing windows. These have no enclosing borders, but the baselines are extended on each side of the blackened openings, suggesting window sills. In both maps, the arrangements of windows and doors within the façades resemble schematized human faces, with the two windows as eyes and the door as a mouth. The bell towers above the church façades are trapezoidal with borders on both sides similar to those that enclose the main façades of the buildings. Within the towers are prominent bells placed in the center on the same axes as the doorways below.

A small cross appears on top of the bell tower in the Tierras 3556-6 map, a motif that is lacking in the three churches of the other map. Moreover, the base of the church in the Tierras 3556-6 map has a platform with black-and-white stepped pyramidal patterns, as do the adjacent post-and-lintel building and the place sign below. In the Tierras 876-1 map, the churches rest on short, undecorated sloped platforms. Notwithstanding these minor differences, the renderings of the church buildings in the two maps seem similar enough to postulate that they were drawn by the same artist.

* * *

The two AGN maps have no relationship to the lost Codex López Ruiz other than their being from the District of Tlaxiaco. Both lack the extensive genealogical information and the names of community boundaries given in the lost codex. Neither of the two AGN maps is the type of pictorial document that would and could be presented in court to settle disputes among communities, as is the case with the other extant manuscripts from the Tlaxiaco region. Rather, they were prepared for intra-community concerns that were essentially Colonial in nature: a land-grant to a specific individual, and the attempt to amalgamate a smaller community with a larger one.

THE CODEX BODLEY (?)

In unpublished discussion at the 1977 Dumbarton Oaks conference on "The Art and Iconography of Late Post-Classic Central Mexico," the eminent historian Wigberto Jiménez Moreno suggested that the Codex

Bodley may be from the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla region. The reason for this hypothesis is that the rulers of these two towns are emphasized in the closing section of the reverse of the codex (Bodley 29-III through 22-III).⁴³

The suggestion by Jiménez Moreno that the Bodley may be from the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla area is intriguing, but for several reasons it does not seem to fit the narrative emphases of the codex. First of all, even though the Tlaxiaco ruler 8 Grass "Rain Deity-Sun" is shown as the last ruler on the reverse of the Codex Bodley (22-III), he is shown as one of the penultimate generation of rulers presented on the Bodley obverse (20-II). Specifically, one of the wives of 8 Grass, 9 Deer "Flower-Jewels," is the aunt of the ruler of Tilantongo named 4 Deer "Eagle-Visible Eye," whose marriage is the last event depicted on the front of Bodley (19-III), and who ruled Tilantongo at the time of the Spanish Conquest (Caso 1979:164). It seems to me likely that if the codex were from Tlaxiaco, the rulers of that town, rather than those of Tilantongo, would be those who extended into the time of the Conquest.⁴⁴

Secondly, the reverse of the Codex Bodley is primarily devoted to the biography of the ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent." The opening pages of the Bodley reverse (40 through 34-II) delineate in detail 4 Wind's ancestry through his father's line from the earliest quasi-mythic beginnings. The life of 4 Wind, from his birth on Bodley 34-III to his death on 28-II, is given more space in the Bodley than that of any other ruler.⁴⁵ Both before and after the death of 4 Wind, the towns of Tlaxiaco and Achiutla are emphasized, precisely because the *Mixtec* rulerships of these towns were initiated by direct descendants of 4 Wind. In essence, then, Tlaxiaco and Achiutla are given special treatment in the concluding pages of the Bodley reverse not necessarily because the manuscript is from these two towns, but because their genealogies are the legacy of 4 Wind.

Indeed, given equal or perhaps even more emphasis on the Bodley reverse is a long multi-generational narrative that might be entitled "The Revenge of Teozacoalco" (Caso 1979:424). This narrative, unique to the Codex Bodley, begins on Bodley 28, II-I, sixty-three years after the death of 4 Wind, with a battle between 13 Eagle "Rain Deity-Copal," ruler of Teozacoalco in the early thirteenth century, and a ruler named 8 Tiger "Blood-Coyote," who appears in no other Mixtec codex.⁴⁶ The story of the descendants of 8 Tiger extends leftward on the top register of the Bodley reverse starting on page 28; and, beginning on page 26 with an elaborate A-O year sign, the second register also deals with the descendants of 8 Tiger. From page 26 on, these two top lines are separate from the lower three registers of the codex; and the parallel narrative on lines I and II culminates on pages 22-21 in an elaborate scene that is two registers high, the only scene in the Codex Bodley that occupies more than a single register. The principal event of this large scene is the sacrifice by 9 House "Tiger-Torch-Visible Eye," ruler of Teozacoalco and Tilantongo, of 7 Rain "Earth Figure-Flames," a descendant of 8 Tiger "Blood-Coyote" and ruler of an unknown place whose sign is a Hill with a Gold Mask.⁴⁷ The Teozacoalco-Tilantongo ruler 9 House who performs the sacrifice is the great-great-great-

grandson of Teozacoalco ruler 13 House "Rain Deity-Copal, " who was earlier involved in battle with an ancestor of the man being sacrificed--hence "The Revenge of Teozacoalco." Bitter memories in the Mixteca, as elsewhere, can be long-lived.

The long narrative that begins on Bodley 28, II-I with the battle between Teozacoalco ruler 13 Eagle and opponent 8 Tiger "Blood Coyote" and that concludes with the elaborate sacrifice scene on Bodley 22, I-II, seems to depict a sequence of events that were important to the family who commissioned this codex. The only two persons in this detailed story who appear in any other pictorial manuscript are the two rulers of Teozacoalco: 13 Eagle "Rain Deity-Copal" at the beginning and 9 House "Tiger-Torch-Visible Eye" at the end. However, notwithstanding the emphasis on the triumph of Teozacoalco in this narrative sequence, I do not think that the Codex Bodley is from Teozacoalco any more than it is from the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla region because Teozacoalco is not emphasized elsewhere in the codex. Specifically, the extensive genealogical narrative on the front of the Bodley, which begins in early quasi-mythic times and goes up to the period of Spanish contact, does not include all the inheriting rulers of Teozacoalco known from the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Teozacoalco and the genealogical side of the Codex Nuttall (pages 27-III through 33-II.)⁴⁸

The only complete ruling line given on the Bodley obverse is that of the prestigious town of Tilantongo. Indeed, this side of the codex presents the most extensive and detailed story of the preconquest rulers of Tilantongo; and, as noted earlier, the last marriage pair on the Bodley obverse (19-III) includes the ruler of this town at the time of the Conquest.⁴⁹

Thus, the obverse of the Bodley emphasizes the genealogy of Tilantongo, while the story on the reverse is centered around one individual, 4 Wind "Fire Serpent": his life, his paternal ancestry, and the ruling lines of his descendants (including those of Tlaxiaco and Achiutla). The stories told on the two sides of the codex are by no means antithetical. The ruler 4 Wind is never shown as associated with Tilantongo *per se*, but the Flint Frieze place he did rule is considered to be a site named Mogote de Cacique ("Mound of the Native Ruler") that is located at the edge of the town of Tilantongo (Jansen and Winter 1980; Jansen 1982:275-276; Byland and Pohl 1994:90-93, 167-171). As noted in the discussion of 4 Wind in Chapter 6, this important ruler not only killed his older rival 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" but attempted to disperse the holdings that 8 Deer had accrued by both marriage and conquest (Troike 1974:732-634, 474). Part of these attempts may have involved setting up a different site *within* Tilantongo at the Mogote de Cacique, which had a different place sign from the black-and-white frieze of Tilantongo. The "Flint Frieze" sign of Mogote de Cacique is primarily associated with 4 Wind and disappears from the manuscripts shortly after his death. This place may well have originally been inherited from 8 Deer by his daughter 10 Flower "Rain Deity-Cobweb," who married 4 Wind nine years after he had killed her father; or it may have been chosen by 4 Wind as a site from which he could

control the son of 8 Deer who is shown as inheriting the Tilantongo of the black-and-white frieze (see Table 16).⁵⁰ So 4 Wind is by no means disassociated from Tilantongo, whose genealogies are emphasized on the Bodley obverse.

The Codex Bodley is the longest and most detailed of the extant Mixtec screenfolds, with the largest number of rulers. It is truly an encyclopedic manuscript; without it, the interpretation of other manuscripts such as the codices Nuttall, Selden, Colombino-Becker I, and the Vindobonensis reverse would be difficult. But each manuscript has its distinctive point of view, and I believe that the local emphasis of the Bodley is that of Tilantongo rather than that of the Tlaxiaco-Achiutla region of the western Mixteca Alta.

CONCLUSIONS

The surviving manuscripts that are assuredly from the Tlaxiaco region are few in number, and none is earlier than the second half of the sixteenth century. Indeed, if neither the Codex Bodley nor the Lienzo of Philadelphia is from Tlaxiaco, then the lost Codex López Ruiz and the Genealogy of Tlazultepec are the only known genealogical manuscripts from this region. Because the Tlazultepec Genealogy was drawn for a specific lawsuit and deals with no more than three generations of postconquest native rulers, the Codex López Ruiz may be the only extant manuscript (even though it survives only in the López Ruiz description of it) that sets forth multiple generations of prehispanic rulers--the type of pictorial document so common from other areas of the Mixteca.

Four of the surviving pictorial manuscripts are essentially cartographic and contain very little genealogical material. Two of these, the Lienzo of Ocoatepec and the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, are typical of early Colonial maps from the Mixteca in that they depict a single community enclosed by the pictorial signs that name the town's boundary sites. The other two, now in the Archivo General de la Nación, were drawn for specific Colonial situations: the map in AGN-RT 876-1 illustrates a land grant, and the map in AGN-RT 3556-6 was prepared in connection with a potential *congregación*, an attempt by Spanish administrators to amalgamate smaller, outlying hamlets into larger communities.

Three of the pictorial manuscripts from the Tlaxiaco region were drawn as late as the 1590s: the Genealogy of Tlazultepec and the two AGN maps. This suggests to me that a strong tradition of manuscript painting existed in this region in the prehispanic period and continued throughout the early Colonial period into the last decade of the sixteenth century--even though so few manuscripts from the region have survived.

Moreover, the Codex López Ruiz is not the only early Colonial manuscript described as being from the Tlaxiaco area, although the references to the other lost manuscripts are very brief. These references occur

in lengthy litigation involving Martín Vázquez, *encomendero* of Tlaxiaco, from 1528 into the 1540s. Between 1528 and 1530, Vázquez was accused of severely mistreating the indigenous nobility of Tlaxiaco and of extracting excessive amounts of tribute of both goods and services (AGI-Justicia 107, legajo 2, ramo 4; summarized in Méndez Aquino 1985:83-86). During these proceedings, three *principales* from Tlaxiaco presented a cloth *lienzo* on which was painted the tribute paid to Vázquez in slaves and gold.⁵¹ The *lienzo* in question was undoubtedly an economic document similar to the Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca from the Mixteca Baja (Schmieder 1930) or the tribute pages of the early Colonial Codex Mendoza from the Valley of Mexico (Berdan and Anawalt 1992). Because the *lienzo* illustrated tribute paid to a Spanish *encomendero*, it was unquestionably painted in the Colonial period but, in all likelihood, used prehispanic conventions for recording this tribute.

The same (or a similar) economic document is described in later litigation between Martín Vázquez and Francisco Maldonado, *encomendero* of Achiutla, Chalcatongo, Tecomaxtlahuaca, and other communities. These two *conquistadores* both claimed the town of Atoyaquillo (present-day San Juan Teita) was a part of their holdings. In 1539, Francisco Maldonado stated that the tribute, services, and buildings given to Martín Vázquez were recorded in "the books and figures and paintings that the Indians have."⁵²

Elsewhere in this document, a witness named Juan Núñez Mercado, former *encomendero* of Tecomavaca in northeastern Oaxaca, testified that the Indians of Atoyaquillo had complained about their treatment by Juan Griego, the beleaguered contemporaneous *encomendero* of this town. To substantiate their complaint, the Indians had presented a painting and said that Griego had killed a *principal* of Atoyaquillo who was the brother of the *cacique* of Achiutla. The subject matter of this pictorial manuscript is not described explicitly, but it may have been a genealogical document showing the relationship between the *principal* of Atoyaquillo and the *cacique* of Achiutla who was his brother.

The pictorial economic document(s) and the possible genealogical painting described above predate any of the extant manuscripts from Tlaxiaco and the lost manuscript described by López Ruiz. The earliest painted manuscript mentioned in the litigation involving *encomendero* Martín Vázquez is the tribute document presented in 1528, less than a decade after the Spanish conquest of Mexico City-Tenochtitlan. Obviously, scribes/painters were available in the Tlaxiaco region to prepare a painted *lienzo* for specific complaints against Vázquez, implying that manuscripts were also created in this region in the prehispanic period. And, as noted, scribes/painters knowledgeable of preconquest conventions were also available as late as the 1590s to prepare pictorial documents for specific legal cases, as evidenced by the Genealogy of Tlazultepec and the two maps now in the Archivo General de la Nación. Without question, the Codex López Ruiz is not the only missing

manuscript from a region that seems to have had a strong tradition of painted documents throughout the sixteenth century--and probably earlier, as well.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. The prehispanic pictorial sign of Ocotepc appears in the upper-left corner of the Genealogy of Tlazultepec (Fig. 37), where it is shown as a hill containing a rectangle of slabs of wood. As Jansen (1982:254) has observed, the same sign also appears in the Codex Sierra from Texupan in the Mixteca Alta (León 1933:pl. 32) and at the top of the Lienzo of Zacatepec (Peñafiel 1900:pl. III; Smith 1973a:Fig 89).

Ocotepc is located 20 km south of Tlaxiaco and, at the time of the Conquest, was one of Tlaxiaco's subjects. By the end of the sixteenth century, it had achieved a more autonomous status (and its own map) and appears as a separate community in the list of town names given at the end of the 1593 Mixtec grammar of Antonio de los Reyes (1890:89) and in the *Relación de los obispos* (García Pimental 1904:64, 75).

2. San Esteban Atlatluca is located about 25 km south of Tlaxiaco and, at the time of the conquest, was a subject of Chalcatongo. By the end of the sixteenth century, it had attained the status of a community on its own right (as well as its own map) and is included in the list of town names given in the 1593 Mixtec grammar of Antonio de los Reyes (1890:89) and in the *Relación de los obispos* (García Pimental 1904:64).
3. A third, still unpublished copy of the Lienzo is said to be in the collection of the Iberoamerikanische Institut in Berlin (*HMAI* 15:416).
4. The pictorial sign of Atlatluca has yet to be identified in the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos or in any other manuscript. The Mixtec name of the town is given in the 1593 Mixtec grammar of Antonio de los Reyes (1890:89) as *nuu quaha* or "lugar colorado" (Jiménez Moreno 1962:88) and as *nucuehe*, also translated as "lugar colorado" by Alavez Chávez (1988:106). The town's Nahuatl name is usually translated as "lugar de agua roja" (Jiménez Moreno 1962:88; Bradomín 1980:59-60; Alavez Chávez 1988:106). Martínez Gracida (1888:298) translated the Nahuatl name as "en la barranca de agua."

The Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos and the Lienzo of Ocotepc are not the only Colonial Mixtec manuscripts in which the central town in a map is shown as a building--either a Christian church or a native post-and-lintel structure--rather than as a prehispanic style of place sign. In the Codex of

Yanhuitlán, the town of Teposcolula in the Mixteca Alta is represented by a generic Christian church, even though its subject towns around the borders of this page of the codex are depicted as place signs (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera (1940:pl. XVIII). In Map No. 36 and the cognate maps from Huajuapán in the Mixteca Baja, both a Christian church and post-and-lintel building represent the central towns (Smith 1973a:194, Fig. 21; Smith and Parmenter 1991:94-95). In the Lienzo of Jicayán from the Mixteca de la Costa, the central town is a post-and-lintel building only (Smith 1973a:Figs, 146-147). Because a map that shows the boundaries of a single town was the community's land title (and two of these--the lienzos of Ocotepéc and Jicayán--are still in their towns' archives), the identity of the central town was not in question: it was "our town." The lack of a place sign for the central town(s) also seems characteristic of the low-relief Zapotec stone sculpture from the late Classic and early Post-Classic that depict dynastic marriages (Marcus 1983). These monuments, like the Mixtec maps of a single community, were very local statements, in that they were placed in family tombs and elite houses.

5. Alfonso Caso (1979:35) suggested that 11 Alligator may, instead, be 11 Serpent; but the head of the day sign lacks the forked tongue seen in the Serpent day sign that accompanies the date of the year 5 House, day 7 Serpent on the left side of the lienzo. He further postulated that the other man is named 6 Deer. But seven numeral dots are evident in both the Peñafiel and León copies, while the animal head of the day sign lacks the horn of the deer (seen in the 2 Deer date at top of the lienzo).
6. Other examples of the "ofrecimiento de la realeza" in Mixtec manuscripts include: the scene in the upper-right corner of the Lienzo of Zacatepec, in which the ruler of that town (Fig. 9, seated within a building and emitting speech scrolls) meets with a group of men before entering the lands of Zacatepec, and Codex Selden 3-III through 4-III, in which the first ruler of Jaltepec meets with a group of men from named places before assuming the rulership of his town.
7. The date of the year 5 House and day 7 Serpent appears on the Codex Vindobonensis on pages 49a, 46b, 43b, 5 (twice), and 2a. On page 45a, it is paired with the "in the beginning" date of the year 1 Reed, day 1 Alligator, as the first dates given on this side of the manuscript. Here and on 46b, these two dates are associated with a moon-shaped double-headed serpent with flowers. The serpent-flowers motif also occurs within a compound place sign on page 5; here, too, the principal date for this scene is the year 5 House and the day 7 Serpent. The reason that the double-headed serpent is

presented in the shape of the moon may be that the word for the day sign Serpent in the Mixtec calendrical vocabulary is *yo*, and the Mixtec word for moon is *yoo*. A suggested translation of this motif is "swamp of flowers" ("ciénega de las flores") because the Mixtec word for "swamp" is *co'yō*, a combination of *coo* or "serpent" and *yoo* or "moon" (Anders, Jansen, and Pérez Jiménez 1992a:88, n. 11).

On both pages 46b and 43d, the date is part of a litany of place signs given on pages 46a through 38b of the Vindobonensis. On page 43a, the date is associated with a place sign that consists of a ravine with a textile (loincloth?); within the ravine is an armed man wearing a turquoise mask. On page 5, in addition to the compound place sign and the date of the year 5 House, day 7 Serpent are the male deities 4 Serpent and 7 Serpent. As noted by Jansen (1982:283), this pair were considered to be the principal deities of the important Mixteca Alta town of Tilantongo in the 1579 *Relación geográfica* of that town (Acuña 1984, II:232). These two deities also appear earlier in the Codex Vindobonensis (51b, 33a, 30 a-b, 26) and in the Codex Nuttall (3-4, 36, 37, I-II).

Finally, in the concluding four pages of the Codex Vindobonensis that illustrate large place signs of ceremonial sites, the date occurs on page 2a in connection with a sign that consists of a walled enclosure with a jar of *pulque*. The male deity 4 Serpent, one of Tilantongo's gods, stands on this place sign, and Furst (1978a:258) suggested that the presence of his companion is implied because of the day date 7 Serpent and because 4 Serpent wears the *bezote* of 7 Serpent as well as his own *bezote*.

The date of the year 5 House, day 7 Serpent also appears three times in the Codex Nuttall, and in two of the three occurrences, it is associated with war-like activities much as it is in the boundary sign with a man holding a bow and arrow in the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos. On page 3-I of the Nuttall, the date is shown during the "War of the Stone Men" (Rabin 1979). The date also appears twice in a somewhat enigmatic passage on Nuttall 9-10 that deals with the Sun God and his devotees. On Nuttall 9-I, the date accompanies the emergence of a man named 4 Water "Cloud Mouth" from a crenelated circle with a quetzal bird. The event is preceded by another emergence with the date of the year 1 Reed, day 1 Alligator; so, here as in Vindobonensis 49a and 46b, the date is associated with the "in the beginning" date. Later, on Nuttall 10-I, the date recurs with the seated Sun God on whose extended arms are two armed men (one with bow and arrow) who confront one another. (Concerning this scene, see Caso 1979:295, 321, and Anders Jansen, and Pérez Jiménez 1992b:104-105.)

8. One notable example of a non-Mixtec year date in a Mixtec manuscript occurs on page VI-1 of the reverse or genealogical side of the Codex Vindobonensis, where a year date of 13 Owl is given. The Owl is a Classic Zapotec rather than a Mixtec year-bearer, and the reasons for this single appearance of a non-Mixtec date in the Vindobonensis are unclear (Caso 1950:26-28 and 1979:24; Jansen 1982:381-382).

9. In the case of the fourth boundary listed in Table 21, two Mixtec names are given for a boundary site between Atatlahuca and Ocotepc: "the plain of the flower of plants used to ferment the juice of the maguey cactus (*ochpatli*)" and "the plain of Spanish moss." The sign in the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos appears to depict the second Mixtec name because the vegetation within the rectangle has the amorphous quality of Spanish moss.

Even though the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos gives this site as a boundary of Atatlahuca with Ocotepc, it does not seem to appear in the Lienzo of Ocotepc. Indeed, as was astutely observed by Nicholas Johnson (personal communication, March 30, 1995), the only boundary site shared by the two lienzos is the place represented by a sign that includes a man with a bow and arrow. In the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, this site is on the left (or west) border of the map and, as noted earlier, is accompanied by the metaphorical date the year 5 House and day 7 Serpent. In the lower-left (or southeast) corner of the Lienzo of Ocotepc (Figs. 33-34) is a boundary sign that consists of a barranca containing a man with a bow and arrow. The Nahuatl glosses that accompany the two signs are slightly different: *tetleminaloya* in the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, translated by Peñafiel (1914:33) as "the place of the stone where arrows are shot," and *tlamimilcu amini* in the Lienzo of Ocotepc, which Caso (1966a:134) suggested may mean "the river of the arrows." Notwithstanding the variant Nahuatl names in the two manuscripts, the two signs probably represent the same boundary site.

10. The reason Caso considered this map to be from the Xochitepec is because a place sign in the center of the map is accompanied by the gloss "xochitepec." But this sign is shown as being conquered, and I do not believe that the main town of a community map would be shown as defeated--or at least this is not the case in any other extant Mixtec map. In all likelihood, the main town of this map is represented by the unidentified church building in the lower section of the map, much as Ocotepc and Atatlahuca are shown as church buildings in the Lienzo of Ocotepc and the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos.

Moreover, the manuscripts that are known to be from the Huajuapán region, such as the Codex Becker II and Map No. 36 and its cognates, have glosses in Mixtec only. Map No. 36 and its cognates may exhibit a drawing style that resembles that of the Valley of Mexico region (e.g., in the signs for stones), but no Nahuatl glosses appear in these maps.

The "Map of Xochitepec" is definitely from the Mixteca, however, because the prehispanic rulers are identified by glosses giving their Mixtec calendrical names and several place signs outside the boundaries are accompanied by Mixtec inscriptions.

11. In the early Colonial Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca from the western Mixtec Baja (Schmieder 1930), five of the six prehispanic native rulers are identified by Nahuatl names only; one (7 Flower) has a bilingual Mixtec-Nahuatl name.
12. Another Colonial manuscript that has multilingual glosses is the Lienzo Seler II from the Coixtlahuaca basin. This lienzo has glosses in both Mixtec and Nahuatl, as well as Chocho, the native language spoken in this valley (König 1984:258-261). The trilingual inscriptions undoubtedly appear on this document because this region is situated among groups that speak several languages and because the area shown in the lienzo extends northward to Mexico City-Tenochtitlan, encompassing Nahuatl-speaking towns.
13. The Colonial Mixtec maps in which the bases of the boundary signs are placed toward the center of the map are: from the Mixteca de la Costa, the Lienzos of Zacatepec 1 and 2 and the Lienzo of Jicayán (Smith 1973a:Figs. 85, 122, 143); from the Mixteca Alta, the Lienzo of Ocoatepec (Figs. 33-34 of this study) and the *Relación geográfica* maps of Tezacoalco and Amoltepec (Acuña 1984, II:131-151); from the Mixteca Baja, Map No. 36 and two cognate maps of the Huajuapán region (Smith 1973a:Fig. 21; Smith and Parmenter 1991:94-95). In addition, in a map of Teposcolula in the Mixteca Alta in the codex of Yanhuitlán, four signs of this town's subjects are drawn with the base facing the center of the map (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:pl. XVIII). This format also occurs in early Colonial maps from the Coixtlahuaca basin, such as the Lienzo of Coixtlahuaca (Glass 1964:Figs. 123-124), the Codex Meixueiro (*HMAI* 14:Fig. 44), the Lienzo of Nativitas (*HMAI* 14:Fig. 48), and the 1580 Map of Ixcatlán (*HMAI* 14:Fig. 41). A similar format continues into the late Colonial period in eighteenth-century maps of Sinaxtla (Jiménez Moreno and Mateos Higuera 1940:4, Fig. 1) and Tamazulapán in the Mixteca Alta, as well as the maps of Xoxocotlán in the Valley of

Oaxaca (Smith 1973a:Figs. 162-163; Oettinger 1983:48-49). Moreover, in late colonial "written maps" added to genealogical manuscripts, the inscriptions in Mixtec that give boundary names are often arranged so that the bottoms of the glosses face toward the center of the manuscript, as the glosses with boundary names on the Codex Muro (Smith 1973b). The references given above are for the most accessible reproductions of the manuscripts listed.

14. I am extremely grateful to Dana Leibsohn for patiently discussing the intricacies of the Cuauhtinchan manuscripts with me and for suggesting some of their similarities to the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos.
15. Among the manuscripts that have a similar type of patterning in the hill signs are: the Codex Xolotl from Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico (Dibble 1980); the Lienzos of Tuxpan, Veracruz (Melgarejo Vivanco and Álvarez Bravo 1970); and the *Relación geográfica* maps of Cempoala, Veracruz (Robertson 1959:pl. 80) and Mizquiahuala, Hidalgo (Glass 1964:Fig. 17).
16. A place sign in the Codex Bodley (25-IV) consists of an ocelot within a rectangle with a red ground and a yellow border. Even though the form of the rectangle in the Bodley sign is the same as that of the rectangles in the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos, it is not certain that the rectangle in the Bodley sign represents the word *yodzo* or "field, valley."
17. The lienzo had been published earlier, as black-and-white photographic illustrations with no commentary other than the plate captions, in Mason (1943:Fig. 15) and Dockstader (1964:pl. 30).
18. In three of this couple's appearances in other manuscripts, they are associated with river signs: a river with a tree and human hair (Nuttall 16-III), the river of Apoala (Vindobonensis 341d-33a), and a river with a mound of ashes, the sign for the direction West (Vindobonensis 16a; on the signs for the four directions in the Vindobonensis, see Nowotny 1958; Jansen 1980:31 and 1982:228-232). It has been suggested that the female 1 Grass may be the "grandmother of the river" (*sitna yuta* in Mixtec) mentioned in the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Juxtlahuaca in the Mixteca Baja (Anders, Jansen, and Pérez Jiménez 1992a:125-126, n. 3).
19. None of the other four places occupied by pairs of ancient ancestors in the lower half of the lienzo can be surely identified, although some of them may appear in other manuscripts. As pointed out by Caso

(1964b:140), the barranca with a building containing a cobweb, connected with the man 6 Reed and the woman 8 Monkey in the Lienzo of Philadelphia, seems to be the same as a sign showing a cobweb within a barranca in Vindobonensis 7b (also discussed in Parmenter 1966:17-18). Caso (1964b:140) also compared the stone with a black-and-white checkerboard, associated with the man 5 Flower and the woman 11 Flower in the Lienzo of Philadelphia, with a hill with black-and-white checkerboard sign on pages 45 and 21 of Codex Vindobonensis.

However, the signs in the Vindobonensis represent the direction North, *yucu naa* ("dark hill") in Mixtec, whereas the checkerboard pattern in the Philadelphia lienzo is enclosed within a stone (*yuu*) rather than a hill (*yucu*), and this is made explicit by a small stone sign that is appended to the upper-right corner of the main stone sign containing the checkerboard pattern. The hill with a ring or necklace, inhabited by the man 1 Grass and the woman 1 Eagle in the Lienzo of Philadelphia, is very different from the river signs with which this couple is associated in the codices Nuttall and Vindobonensis (discussed above in note 18). The hill with the ring seems similar to a hill with an appended ring representing a collar gives one of the names of the town of San Pedro Cántaros Cozcaltepec in the Mixteca Alta, but none of the rulers in the Codex Muro is in the Lienzo of Philadelphia. The sign in the lower-right corner of the lienzo, allied with the male 6 Lizard and the female 9 Serpent, was described as "the feather mat with arrow" by Caso (1964b:141). But appended to the feather mat motif that represents "plain, valley" is not merely an arrow, but the calendrical date 1 Reed, so this sign is "the Valley of 1 Reed" (*yodzo co/ca huiyo*) in Mixtec. This place does not seem to occur in any other Mixtec manuscript.

It is tempting to speculate that the four signs with identifying features at the bottom of the lienzo may represent the four directions, because they are four in number, because the couple associated with the Hill of the Collar is shown as the deities of the direction West in the Vindobonensis, and because the black-and-white checkerboard, when it occurs with hill signs, represents the direction North. However, I think that this is one of those "it doesn't really work" situations. As mentioned, the Lienzo of Philadelphia seems to be a very local manuscript, but its locale would have to have had variant representations of the four directions for them to be represented by the four signs in the lower section of the lienzo.

20. In the Lienzo of Zacatepec, the first ruler of Zacatepec apparently brings the two deities into his town from outside. In the beginning of the historical narrative that reads from left to right across the top of the lienzo, Zacatepec's first ruler travels to four sites following his meeting with 4 Wind "Fire

Serpent" and before entering the lands of his town. Within the buildings at all four sites are the calendrical signs of the two deities 7 Deer and 9 Motion, and these same calendrical signs later appear within a building at Zacatepec itself (Smith 1973a:113, 115). All the sites visited by Zacatepec's first ruler before entering the territory of his town are probably in the Mixteca Alta (Jansen 1982:253-254), but the lienzo does not seem to relate the two deities to Acatlán in the Mixteca Baja.

21. Villaviciencio was associated with the Dominican monastery at Chila in southern Puebla in the seventeenth century. A nineteenth-century copy by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso of his "Arte, Prontuario, Vocabulario y Confesionario de lengua mixteca" is in the Archivo Histórico, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City (Colección Antigua, no. 3-60 bis). The list of Mixtec place names, many for towns in the State of Guerrero, on fols. 59v-60v of the copy has been published by Smith (1973a:177) and König (1979:199). A variation of the *yoso nuni* name for Tototepec provided by Villaviciencio is given is *snóni* by Leonhard Schultze-Jena (1938:103).
22. In Mixtec, "mogote de salitre" would be *cuiti ñu ñii* (*cuiti* = "mogote" or "mound"; *ñu* = "place where something exists"; *ñii* = "salt").
23. Other sites, most of them outside the Tlaxiaco region, that are named "Hill of the Serpent" are listed below. The Spanish translations are those given in the documents that provide the Mixtec names.

cahua coo "serro de víboras"

boundary, Santa María Acaquizapan, Mixteca Baja (1783)

AGN-RT 1097-6, fols. 10v ff.

saha ("at the foot of") *yucu coo*

boundary, San Andrés Lagunas and Cañadaltepec, District Teposcolula, Mixteca Alta (1898)

Mapoteca, Dirección de Geografía, Meteorología e Hidrología,

Tacubaya, México (D. F.), Colección General 3371

yucu caa coo "el monte que está la culebra"

boundary, San Juan Mixtepec, San Juan Ñumí, and the lands of Domingo de Guzmán (1758)

AGN-RT 3544-3

<i>yucu coo</i>	boundary, San Andrés Dinicuiti and Santiago del Río, Mixteca Baja (18th century) SRA Comunal 276 1/892, 1475, 1476, 1638 (late 19th to mid-20th centuries)
<i>yucu coo</i>	"sierra de culebras" hill south of Tamazola, Mixteca Alta (1579) <i>Relación geográfica</i> of Tamazola (Acuña 1984, II:246)
<i>yucu cu</i>	"serro de víboras" hill between Jamiltepec and Tututepec, Mixteca de la Costa (1676) AGN-RT 1877-6, fol. 11

As can be seen in lower-right corner of Fig. 16, a Cerro de Culebrón or "hill of the large serpent") is located outside the District of Tlaxiaco in lands formerly controlled by Teozacoalco. This site may be represented in the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Teozacoalco (Acuña 1984, II:lower plate opposite page 146), but whether this place is the same as the Serpent Hill in either the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos or the Lienzo of Philadelphia is unknown.

24. Outside of the Codex Becker II, the principal Mixtec screenfold that has the *ihuitl* motif in platforms and place signs is the Codex Bodley, in which this element appears at least eleven times (3-IV, 4-IV, 6-II, 11-II, 12-II, 16-IV, 20-II, 39-V, 29-V, 21-I, 22-I). Other than the Lienzo of Philadelphia, the colonial cloth manuscript with the most *ihuitl* signs is the Lienzo of Zacatepec, which--in general--has the most elaborately decorated platforms of any extant Mixtec manuscript. The motif occurs four times in the Zacatepec lienzo: as a panel in the building associated with 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" and his wife (Peñafiel 1900:pl. I; Smith 1973a:Fig. 87), in a building at one of the sites visited by the first ruler of Zacatepec en route to his town (Peñafiel 1900:pl. IV; Smith 1973a:Fig. 91), in a platform that is part of the sign of Zacatepec (Peñafiel 1900:pl. VIII; Smith 1973a:Fig. 94), and in a platform connected with a Hill of the Butterfly or San Vicente Piñas (Peñafiel 1900:pl. XXIII; Smith 1973a:Fig. 109).
25. For example, during the famous mid-1540s idolatry trial in Yanhuitlán in the Mixteca Alta, one witness testified that a *cacique* of that town requested that some Indians who were painters come from Tilantongo to his town (AGN-Inquisición 37-7, fol. 29r).

26. For example, in the center of the Map of Xochitepec is a horizontal row of twenty enthroned male rulers. The first sixteen men are identified by glosses giving their Mixtec calendrical names, and the final four are accompanied by glosses giving the rulers' Spanish names, such as "don Pedro," "don Juan," and the like (Caso 1958:464-465).
27. Don Gerónimo de Rojas died soon after the presentation of the drawing in the opening round of litigation on September 30, 1597. In the second round of proceedings that took place on February 17, 1598, he is said to have died about two months earlier (AGN-RT 59-2, fol. 17). In the early seventeenth century, a Juana de Rojas is named as the wife of Pedro de Alvarado II, *cacique* of Zacatepec and Chayucu in the Mixteca de la Costa (AGN-RT 1359-2; see also Smith 1973a:86-87). The hometown of this Juana de Rojas is not given, so we cannot determine if she is the same woman involved in litigation over the Tlazultepec *cacicazgo* in the closing years of the sixteenth century.
28. In a 1707 document that sets forth the boundaries of Tlacotepec (AGN-RT, 3690-6, fol. 10), the town's Mixtec name is given as *tixihi*, probably the equivalent of *tidzihi* of the Alvarado dictionary and meaning "sparrow" (*gorrión*). Because Tlacotepec is shown in the Genealogy as a horizontal rectangular platform rather than as a prehispanic style of place sign, it is not possible to confirm this translation.
29. Ronald Spores (1967:135, fig. 3) presents the genealogy of three generations of the rulers of Tamazola and Chachoapan in the early Colonial period. Presumably the don Juan de Guzmán y Velasco involved in the Tlazultepec litigation was a subsidiary offspring of the Velasco family shown in the Spores chart and not the principal heir to Tamazola, because he left this town to marry a woman at Tataltepec.
30. Included in the documents delineating the Tlazultepec litigation is the will in Mixtec of María López, dated April 25, 1571 (AGN-RT) 59-2, ff. 47-48). Only the short section of the will dealing with the *cacicazgo* of Tlazultepec is translated into Spanish (Ibid., f. 46; published in Smith 1973a:179).

In this section of her will, María López leaves Tlazultepec to both Juan de Guzmán and Inés de Zárate, presumably his wife (Spores 1964:27); this couple is said to have had four children in 1571. Inés de Zárate may well have died between the 1571 will and the litigation in which Juan de Guzmán was involved in the late 1590s, because she is not named elsewhere in the Tierras document

nor, as mentioned, does her name appear in the Tlazultepec Genealogy next to the wife of Juan de Guzmán at Tataltepec in the lower-left corner. Indeed, in an earlier, less accurate translation of the paragraph of the López will dealing with Tlazultepec, the name of Inés de Zárate is absent (AGN-RT 59-2, f. 44). And nowhere in the document is it explained precisely how Juan de Guzmán could claim to be "the nephew" and "closest surviving relative" of María López. Ultimately, the court believed that the claim of Juan de Guzmán was tenuous because, even though he had been installed as *cacique* of Tlazultepec prior to the 1595-1598 litigation, this *cacicazgo* was given to Juana de Rojas in 1599.

In his study of the rulers of Yanhuitlán, Alfonso Caso (1966b:332-333) presented an extensive genealogical chart that focuses on the rulers of Tilantongo in the prehispanic and early Colonial periods. A woman named Inéz de Zárate (called Inés de Osorio from Teposcolula by Spores [1967:135, Fig. 3]) is the first wife of Felipe de Austria or Felipe de Santiago of Tilantongo. She apparently died before producing heirs to Tilantongo because, according to Spores (*ibid.*), the next ruler of Tilantongo was the son of Felipe de Austria and his second wife. It seems unlikely that the Inés de Zárate said to have been married to don Juan de Guzmán y Velasco of Tamazola in the Tlazultepec dispute is the same person as the Inés de Zárate/Osorio who was the first wife of Felipe de Austria of Tilantongo.

31. The Mixtec name of Tlazultepec is also given as *yucu cuihi* in the Mixtec texts in the comments dealing with the Tlazultepec litigation (AGN-RT 59-2, ff. 47v, 48). By the early eighteenth century, Tlazultepec was known as San Pedro el Alto (AGN-RT 3690-5, fol. 10). In the late nineteenth century, the Mixtec name of the town was said to be *yucu cuí*, translated as "green hill" (Martínez Gracida 1888:292).
32. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the towns in the State of Oaxaca that have San Martín as a saint's name are: Huamelulpan and Itunyoso (District of Tlaxiaco), Mexicapan (Valley of Oaxaca), Zacatepec and Río San Martín (District of Huajuapán).
33. The one platform-with-throne that is shown with rulers occurs in the Codex Bodley 28-I, where it is combined with a river containing a rodent-like quadruped. Other platforms with thrones appear on the opening page (52) of the Vindobonensis obverse and in the upper-left corner of Nuttall 15-II (within a hill with red scrolls).

34. The Mixtec word for "throne," *tayu*, is also given in the Alvarado dictionary as meaning "ciudad," "pueblo," "palacio," "provincia." Thus the word may be a metaphor similar to "the seat of government" in Western cultures.
35. A different Mixtec name for Ocotepéc is provided by Alavez Chávez (1988:101): *yucu mina*, translated as "hill of the owl."
36. In the Alvarado dictionary, *ite* is given as meaning "candela, vela," with the phrase *yutnu ite* for "pino" (*yutnu* = "tree").
37. For other occurrences of the Ocotepéc sign, see note 1 of this chapter.
38. The Tierras 876-1 map is published in Archivo General de la Nación, *Catálogo de ilustraciones* (Mexico, 1979), vol. 2, p. 128, entry no. 867, and the Tierras 3556-6 map in the same *Catálogo*, vol. 5, p. 142, entry no. 2463. The former map has been published and discussed by Smith (1973b:162-171, Fig. 133), and the latter map has been discussed by Leibsohn (1991).
39. This pasted-on square seems to cover an earlier drawing below, only part of which is visible beyond the upper-right corner of the square: a group of vertical rectangles on top of a black base with a *talud*-like profile.
40. For example, the opening folios (1-11) of Tierras 876-1 set forth the boundaries of Cuquila in 1584.
41. Cuquila may be the "Santa María" referred to in the mid-sixteenth-century *Suma de Visitas* (PNE I:282; Table 15 of this study) as one of eight satellite communities of Tlaxiaco. At that time, Santa María is said to have had nine *estancias* and, including the *estancias*, 380 adult male tributaries. By the end of the sixteenth century, Cuquila (as well as Ocotepéc and San Esteban Atlatlahuca) seemed to have established itself as quasi-independent *cabecera*. It is included in the list of Mixtec towns at the end of Antonio de los Reyes' Mixtec grammar (1890:89) and in the *Relación de los obispos* (García Pimentel 1904:64, 75).

42. In some respects, the Tierras 3556-6 map of Cuquila is reminiscent of the 1579 *Relación geográfica* map of Texupan in the eastern Mixteca Alta (Acuña 1984, II:223) because the latter map also includes a prehispanic place sign representing the name of the town, a post-and-lintel building, and an ecclesiastical structure, in this case Texupan's Dominican monastery. According to Bailey (1972:466), the prehispanic place sign in the Texupan map represents this town's *pueblo viejo*. One difference between the Texupan and Cuquila maps, however, is that in the Texupan map the post-and-lintel building is placed in front of the place sign, with the monastery complex shown on the opposite side of the town, whereas, as noted, in the Cuquila map the post-and-lintel building and Christian church are paired, while the place sign of Cuquila is literally on the other side of the road and oriented in the direction that is opposite to that of the two structures. Bailey (1972:457) postulated that the post-and-lintel structure in the Texupan map represented a temple rather than a civil building and noted that the earliest, unfinished Dominican church was built on the same site. (The Dominican monastery depicted in the map was a structure being planned when the map was painted, but by no means completed.) The very standardized post-and-lintel structures in prehispanic and colonial Mixtec manuscripts serve both civil and religious functions (Smith and Parmenter 1991:59), and the only way to determine the function of any given building is either by a gloss in European script that accompanies the building or by its context. That is, if the building contains a seated ruler, it is most likely a palace; if it contains a sacred bundle and a human figure offering incense toward the interior, it is most likely a temple. In the case of the Tierras 3556-6 map of Cuquila, the post-and-lintel structure seems to me more likely to be a civil building than a temple.

The major difference between the Cuquila and Texupan maps is that the Cuquila manuscript lacks the landscape and urban details seen in the Texupan map. In the Cuquila map, the church, post-and-lintel building, and place sign are arranged in a triangular configuration with the apex at the bottom, almost resembling a heraldic shield.

43. As mentioned earlier, the Tlaxiaco sign is the sign Alfonso Caso called "Observatory" in his various commentaries on the Mixtec codices (Fig. 24). It consists of crossed sticks with a star or eye, representing Tlaxiaco's Mixtec name, *ndisi nuu* or "visible eye" (Smith 1973a:58-60; Jansen and Pérez 1983). The Achiutla sign was identified by Jiménez Moreno (summarized in Jansen and Gaxiola 1978:12-13) as a frieze with a flame (Fig. 23c), representing this town's Mixtec name, *ñuu ndecu* or "the town that burns" (*ñuu* = "town"; *ndecu* = "to burn").

44. According to the correlation of Mixtec and Christian dates of both Alfonso Caso and Emily Rabin, Tlaxiaco ruler 8 Grass was born in 1435 and thus would have been 84 years old when Hernán Cortés arrived in Mexico in 1519. Jiménez Moreno (in Jansen and Gaxiola 1978:12) postulated that 8 Grass as the same person as the "Malinal" mentioned by Torquemada (1975:196-197, 215) as ruling Tlaxiaco during the 1503-1520 reign of the Aztec ruler Moctezuma the Younger. (The day name Grass is *Malinalli* in Nahuatl.) The first mention of Malinal of Tlaxiaco occurred in the years 1503-1504 when this ruler refused to send a flowering tree known as *tlapaquixochitl* in Nahuatl that was requested by Moctezuma. As a result, Malinal was killed (Torquemada 1975:195-197). At this time, the 8 Grass of the Codex Bodley would have been 68 or 69 years old. Torquemada (1975:215) also mentions a "Malinal of Tlaxiaco" at a time about eight years after the first one was killed. In 1511-1512 the Aztecs attacked Tlaxiaco, destroying it and taking prisoner "Malinal, Señor de aquella Provincia," who was sacrificed among the 12,210 prisoners captured from this region. By this time, the 8 Grass of the Codex Bodley would have been 76 or 77 years old. For other discussions of the Aztec conquests of Tlaxiaco, see Anderson and Barlow (1943:414), Dahlgren (1954:70), Hassig (1988:223, 232-235), and Berdan and Anawalt (1992, 2:110-111).
45. On the Bodley reverse, roughly six screenfold pages are devoted to the lifetime of 4 Wind. On the Bodley obverse, the lifetime of 8 Deer "Tiger Claw," whose biography is depicted in detail on pages 42-84 of the Codex Nuttall and in the Codex Colombino-Becker I, is covered in only four screenfold pages plus four-and-one-half registers.
46. The towns shown as controlled by 8 Tiger on the Bodley reverse include a Split Hill with a Wind God Mask (Bodley 27-II) and a compound sign consisting of a Platform with a Throne and a River with a Rodent-like Quadruped (Bodley 28-I). The place at which 8 Tiger does battle with Tezacoalco ruler 13 Eagle "Rain Deity-Copal" (Bodley 28-I) is a hill that has two crevices containing white dots against a black ground that Caso (1960:68) considered to be stars; appended to one of these crevices is a human jaw with a beard (suggestive of the Wind God?). The building on the hill in this sign has stars appended to the left side, and on its roof seems to be the crossed sticks of the Tlaxiaco sign.
- It is possible that the conflict between 8 Tiger "Blood-Coyote" and Tezacoalco ruler 13 Eagle "Rain Deity-Copal" may be the result of events that began a generation earlier. In the scene just prior to the battle between the two men, 7 Water "Red Eagle," 13 Eagle's father and his predecessor as ruler of Tezacoalco, is shown seated on a sign that is not that of Tezacoalco (Bodley

28-III). Rather, this sign consists of a hill with a blackened top and interior fringe and with a human jaw with a prominent tongue. This sign is not exactly like the various signs of places discussed above that were controlled by 8 Tiger "Blood-Coyote"; but, if the place were considered to have been part of 8 Tiger's domain and was occupied by a Teozacoalco ruler, then this occupation might have motivated the conflict between 8 Tiger and the son of the occupier.

47. Although 9 House "Tiger-Torch-Visible Eye" is by no means as well known as the earlier rulers 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" and 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," he was, in his own way, "a mover and a shaker" (Caso 1979:87-88). On pages 11-13 of the Codex Selden, he plays a prominent role as a surrogate brother to a ruler of Jaltepec named 9 Lizard "Flames-Face with Black Diagonal Lines" and helped him re-establish the genealogy of that town after a period of confusion (Smith 1983c). Although 9 House is shown as the ruler of Teozacoalco in the codices Nuttall (32-II) and Selden (13-III) and in the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Teozacoalco, he appears as the ruler of Tilantongo on the Bodley obverse (17-V), even though Tilantongo was the town of his wife, 3 Rabbit "Earth Figure-Cobweb."

As for 7 Rain "Flames-Earth Figure," the ruler of the Hill of the Gold Mask who is sacrificed by 9 House in the prominent scene on Bodley 22, I-II, his only other appearance in the codices is on the obverse of the Codex Bodley (16-IV), where he is seated at the Hill of the Gold Mask with his wife 4 Monkey "Jewel-Fire Serpent." According to the Bodley obverse, this woman was the aunt (mother's sister) of 9 House "Tiger-Torch-Visible Eye."

48. Of the eleven prehispanic rulers of Teozacoalco depicted in both the Codex Nuttall (27-III through 33-II) and the 1580 *Relación geográfica* Map of Teozacoalco, nine appear in the Codex Bodley, but they are often shown as "walk-on performers" rather than as part of a complete genealogical line. For example, two Teozacoalco rulers appear briefly on the reverse--13 Eagle "Rain Deity-Copal" (28-II) and his father 7 Water "Red Eagle" (28-III)--but they are not shown with the traditional Teozacoalco place sign nor are their wives named. On the Bodley obverse, the second ruler of Teozacoalco, 4 Dog "Reclining Coyote," is depicted as born as a son of 8 Deer "Tiger Claw," but no other information is given about him (his marriage, his offspring, and the like). On Bodley 16-I, the fifth Teozacoalco ruler, 8 Rabbit "Motion-Flames," is represented as the husband of a woman from Tilantongo, but he is not directly connected with his antecedents or his offspring. His son, 12 House "Fire Serpent-Sky," makes a cameo appearance as an in-law in Bodley 15-III. The Teozacoalco rulers who are given the

most complete genealogical treatment are those who were also considered to be rulers of Tilantongo: 9 House "Tiger-Torch-Visible Eye" (Bodley 17-18, V) and his son 2 Water "Fire Serpent-Torch with Stars" (Bodley 18-V, 17-IV).

49. Not only does the Bodley obverse give a complete delineation of the Tilantongo rulership, it also goes into detail about some of the changes that affected this rulership. Specifically, on pages 5 through 8, this codex provides the longest extant account of the mysterious death at the age of 21 of Tilantongo heir 2 Rain "Ocoñaña or Twenty Tigers," and the assumption of the Tilantongo rulership by 8 Deer's father, 5 Alligator "Rain Deity-Sun." (On this transition, see Jansen 1982:370-385.) Indeed, next to 4 Wind "Fire Serpent" and 8 Deer "Tiger Claw," 5 Alligator is given more space in the Codex Bodley than any other individual.
50. An indication that Flint Frieze may be the town of 4 Wind's wife (8 Deer's daughter) is given in the Codex Selden (8-IV), where this woman is seated on the Flint Frieze sign at the time of her marriage to 4 Wind. In the representation of the marriage of 4 Wind and 8 Deer's daughter on the Bodley obverse (11-III), the couple is seated on a platform with the flint sign between them. In the extensive biography of 4 Wind on the Bodley reverse, this ruler is shown as seated on Flint Frieze (31-III) four years prior to his marriage to 8 Deer's daughter (29-IV).
51. The brief description of the pictorial manuscript is: "...vn lienço de algodón en q[ue] viene pintado el tributo q[ue] le [h]an dado así de esclavos como de oro..." (AGI-Justicia 107, legajo 2, ramo 4, f. 8). Although Martín Vázquez was temporarily jailed during the litigation and heavily fined at its conclusion, he continued to be accused of maltreatment of the indigenous nobility. In 1542, he was further fined for detaining the *cacique* and *cacica* of Cuquila in Chichahuaxtla (AGN-Mercedes 1, exp. 28; published in Spores 1992:1, no. 1).
52. "...los libros e figuras e pinturas que los yndios tienen..." (AGI-Justicia 134, legajo 2, ff. 243v-244). The long and acrimonious litigation between Vázquez and Maldonado between the years of 1538 and 1541 is delineated in 550 folios of AGI-Justicia 134, legajo 2. An earlier phase (1531-1533) of the same dispute is found in AGI-Justicia 115, legajo 3 (71 folios). In 1564, Atoyaquillo was described as having "poco pueblo" (Scholes and Adams 1955:53).

53. Núñez Mercado stated: "...çiertos yndios...trayan çierta pintura y dezian que el d[ic]ho Juan Griego [h]avia muerto vn yndio prinçipal hermano del señor de achiutla pueblo del d[ic]ho maldonado..." (AGI-Justicia 134, legajo 2, f. 189).

10. CONCLUSIONS

The lost codex described in 1898 by Mariano López Ruiz is typical of early Colonial manuscripts from the Mixtec-speaking region of southern Mexico. It commences with a section that deals with the early quasi-mythic origins of the Mixtec genealogies (his Chapter I), followed by a brief *entr'acte* that is transitional between the mythic beginnings and human history (Chapter II). A multi-generational dynastic history is presented in his Chapter III, with Chapter IV containing what seem to be isolated vignettes that are outside of the principal ruling line described in Chapter III.

The material presented in the manuscript appears to begin as early as the first half of the twelfth century. The reason for postulating this date is because of the appearance toward the beginning of the genealogical Chapter III of the well-known Mixtec ruler 4 Wind "Fire Serpent," who lived from 1092 to 1164. Moreover, he is described as being in the presence of a woman named 6 Wind "Feathers-Blood," who married the famous 8 Deer "Tiger Claw" shortly before his death in 1115. The genealogical material goes up to and beyond the time of the Spanish conquest because Spanish baptismal names of native rulers are among the glosses transcribed in Chapter IV. One of these, Pedro de Sotomayor (447, lines 24-30), is known from other documents to have lived in the second decade of the seventeenth century, although he may only appear in the codex as a gloss in European script rather than as a painted figure.

The information given in the glosses indicates that the codex was originally from the region of Tlaxiaco in the western Mixteca Alta. Tlaxiaco and several towns in the vicinity of Tlaxiaco are mentioned in the text of López Ruiz (Table 13). As well, those Mixtec names of boundaries that have been located in other Colonial documents enclose the town of Tlaxiaco (Table 14; Fig. 22). Moreover, the Colonial native rulers with Spanish names who can be identified from other documents are from the District of Tlaxiaco. Finally, the dialect of the glosses on the lost codex is that of Tlaxiaco.

If the codex was in the Tlaxiaco region in the 1890s when it was described by López Ruiz, how did he learn of it and have the opportunity to see it? My feeling is that he knew of the pictorial manuscript through his mentor Manuel Martínez Gracida, who was briefly in Tlaxiaco in the mid-1890s as Administrador del Timbre (Brioso y Candiani 1910:12). Tlaxiaco is well-documented as being an important administrative and market center in the twentieth century (Marroquín 1957; Castellanos R. 1978), and this was undoubtedly the case in earlier centuries, as well. Perhaps the now lost codex was brought into Tlaxiaco from an outlying town for the purposes of litigation, and at that time Martínez Gracida and Mariano López Ruiz had an opportunity to study the manuscript. We know that the two men collaborated on gathering material for the only partly published magnum opus "Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos" (Martínez Gracida 1986)

and on the legendary Mixtec history entitled *Ita Andehui* (Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz 1910). Moreover, Martínez Gracida wrote an introductory note to the published López Ruiz paper on the lost manuscript, which immediately follows a paper signed by Martínez Gracida on Mixtec religion. What may have happened is that both Martínez Gracida and López Ruiz examined the lost manuscript while it was in Tlaxiaco, and then Martínez Gracida asked López Ruiz to write a description of it.

Today, almost a century later, does the codex seen by López Ruiz still exist? If so, where might it be? And what is its format?

I conjecture that the nobility whose genealogies were delineated in the codex were *principales* of a town that was formerly a subject of Tlaxiaco. First of all, the majority of Mixtec calendrical names transcribed by López Ruiz have the syllable *ñu-* as a prefix. This prefix may be used to names of secondary nobility or *principales*, with the prefix *ya-* or *yya-* used for the *caciques* who ruled *cabeceras* or major towns. Secondly, none of the persons whose calendrical names are included in the López Ruiz paper relates to the names of rulers of the *cabeceras* of Tlaxiaco or Achiutla recorded in the codices Bodley and Selden. Moreover, because so few of the persons in the Codex López Ruiz appear in other extant manuscripts, the lost codex is a very local document and from a community from which we have no other genealogical manuscripts.

One possibility is that the codex may have originated in one of the towns controlled by the native rulers of the Colonial period whose Spanish baptismal names appear in the glosses on the codex. Two of these, Juan de Sotomayor and his son Pedro de Sotomayor, were the native rulers of Ocotepéc, southwest of Tlaxiaco, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As we have seen in Chapter 9, Ocotepéc produced a map of its town on cloth around 1580 (Figs. 33-34). But, if the codex were still in Ocotepéc, it seems possible that it would have been shown to Alfonso Caso at the same time he saw the town's lienzo (Caso 1966a). Nonetheless, even if the Codex López Ruiz had been in Ocotepéc during the lifetime of Pedro de Sotomayor in the early seventeenth century, it may later have been taken to another community because of a marriage alliance between Ocotepéc and this other town. As noted in the discussion of "Persons with Spanish Surnames" in Chapter 6, doña María, the daughter of Juan de Sotomayor of Ocotepéc, supposedly married Angel de Villafañe of Juquila in the Mixteca de la Costa and Zentzontepéc in the southern Mixteca Alta. Hypothetically, if María had eventually become the only surviving heir to Ocotepéc, the lost codex may have been ceded to her and left the Tlaxiaco region. Especially by the eighteenth century, many of the *cacicazgos* in the Mixteca, owing to lack of heirs, were consolidated under the aegis of a few surviving *caciques*. Because of this, pictorial manuscripts often ended up a long way from the region for which they were painted. For example, the Codex Tulane was apparently created in the 1560s for the native nobility of Acatlán in the southern Puebla region of the Mixteca Baja; but, by 1802, it was over 100 km away in the Mixteca Alta,

where it served as a "map" for the town of San Juan N̄umí in the District of Tlaxiaco (Smith and Parmenter 1991:65-68).

Another possible town of origin for the Codex López Ruiz is Cuquila, also southwest of Tlaxiaco. Cuquila was a subject of Tlaxiaco at the time of the Conquest (Table 15), and the name of Cuquila is mentioned three times within the text of López Ruiz (Table 13)--that is, it is mentioned more frequently than any other former subject of Tlaxiaco. Moreover, as we have seen in Chapter 9, two of the maps that still preserve elements of native style and were drawn as late as the 1590s are from Cuquila (Figs. 38-39), implying that at least one artist/scribe was available in this town in the late sixteenth century.

If the Codex López Ruiz still exists, what might its format be? My impression is that it is large "single sheet" manuscript, as are the other extant manuscripts that are assuredly from the District of Tlaxiaco: the Lienzo of Ocotepc (Figs. 33-34), the Lienzo Córdova-Castellanos (Fig. 35), the Genealogy of Tlazultepec (Fig. 37), and the two maps from Cuquila (Figs. 38-39). My guess is that the Codex López Ruiz is a lienzo, or a manuscript on woven cloth. Another possibility is that it may be on native paper, although--coincidentally or not--most of the surviving Mixtec manuscripts on native paper are from the Mixteca Baja, the northernmost Mixtec-speaking region (Smith and Parmenter 1991:97). I believe it less likely that the lost codex would be on European paper because this material was usually used for manuscripts made specifically for Spanish patrons, such as many of the *Relación geográfica* maps made at the request of the Spanish Crown (Robertson 1972; Mundy 1996), as well as the Genealogy of Tlazultepec and the two Cuquila maps from the District of Tlaxiaco.

One reason I believe that the Codex López Ruiz is a "single sheet" manuscript is that the Mixtec glosses that give names of boundaries are clustered within his description of the manuscript. Specifically, the boundaries north and northeast of Tlaxiaco are presented in the opening pages of the López Ruiz paper; those to the south and southeast of Tlaxiaco are on page 443; those to the east are primarily on page 446; while most of those to the west and northwest appear on page 446, where they are identified by López Ruiz as boundaries (Table 14). This implies to me that the boundary names were written around the edges of the single sheet manuscript and were transcribed by López Ruiz when he was considering the pictorial genealogical material in the same general area as the added glosses.

In many respects, the Codex López Ruiz may resemble the Lienzo of Philadelphia (Fig. 36), even though this lienzo is not assuredly from the Tlaxiaco region. Chapter I of the López Ruiz paper describes early mythic history and beginning migrations, the type of material depicted in the lower section of the Philadelphia lienzo. The short Chapter II of the López Ruiz paper is a transition between quasi-mythic and dynastic history and probably deals with early "ancient ancestors." This subject matter may be represented

in the Lienzo of Philadelphia by the two figures at the Hill of the Dead Man in the upper-left quadrant of the lienzo, who are probably the parents of the woman who comes to the place with a corn plant to marry its first ruler. As well, as suggested by Caso (1964b:142), the couple directly below the corn plant place, who are associated with a barranca or slope with no other pictorial sign, may be the parents of the first male ruler of the corn plant place and, hence, also "ancient ancestors." The longest section of the López Ruiz paper, his Chapter III, is devoted to genealogical material and is similar to the five columns of male-female pairs at the top of the Lienzo of Philadelphia. The genealogies of Chapter III of the López Ruiz narrative seems to be divided into four segments (Tables 7-10), and these segments may be comparable to the separate columns of marriage pairs in the Philadelphia lienzo. The concluding Chapter IV of the López Ruiz article is episodic, and the relationship of the material in this chapter to the main genealogical line set forth in Chapter III is unclear. In all likelihood, the material in Chapter IV was placed on the lost manuscript outside of (and not obviously connected with) the genealogical columns of figures, and it may consist of isolated figures or separate short genealogies or merely glosses without figures. Most likely to be glosses without figures are the paired Mixtec calendrical names given at the end of Chapter IV (Table 12).

If the original manuscript described by Mariano López Ruiz should surface in the future (and I sincerely hope that it will), it will be instantly recognizable because of the careful description of its contents that López Ruiz wrote almost a century ago. His words of the 1890s bring the codex alive to us in the 1990s.

APPENDIX A

[Reproduced below is the "Estudio cronológico sobre la dinastía mixteca" by Mariano López Ruiz as it appeared in Volume XI of the *Memorias de la Sociedad Científica "Antonio Alzate"* (1898). Added to the left side are numbers for each line to facilitate the references made in my text, tables, and indices to specific words and phrases in the López Ruiz paper. The note by Manuel Martínez Gracida that precedes the paper is quoted in note 5 of Chapter 2.]

ESTUDIO CRONOLÓGICO

SOBRE

LA DINASTÍA MIXTECA

POR MARIANO LOPEZ RUIZ.

Nota presentada por el Sr. Manuel Martínez Gracida, M. S. A

I

1 El origen de los primeros gobernantes de la mixteca, se pier-
2 de en la noche de los tiempos.

3 La tradición más autorizada nos refiere que en el monte *Yu*
4 *cuyuxi*, próximo á los montes de la plata, del águila, del maguey
5 y del ocotl, en el año *nishayú*, día *nixayú*, vino acompañado de
6 pequeña tribu, un personaje de relevantes cualidades, nombra-
7 do *Yucuncoho*, descendiendo al atardecer de los montes del águi-
8 la y de lado. Este personaje ejercía un influjo poderoso en sus
9 compañeros, aunque sin ningún carácter gubernativo; pues se
10 encargaba de dirigir y gobernar á los que creían sus consejos
11 como un oráculo, tanto por su ancianidad, como porque era el
12 guía más seguro que tenían en su vida nómada y legendaria

1 En ese año, después de permanecer poco tiempo en las cuevas
2 y selvas del *yucuyuxi*, arribaron á un terreno áspero y pedregoso
3 situado en una agreste montaña que nombraron *yucuñuñuhu*
4 ó monte que se vá, para significar sus frecuentes peregrinacio-
5 nes. En ese mismo año, los ancianos de la tribu comenzaron á
6 deliberar y á pensar en el modo de establecer un gobierno sóli-
7 do y respetable, obedeciendo á las revelaciones de un anciano
8 nombrado *Yusañuñute*, quien les dijo, que en sueños había visto
9 á sus dioses, y que éstos le habían aconsejado que era llegado
10 el tiempo en que debían regirse por un gobierno más sabio y
11 prudente, y que para conseguirlo, nombraran cacique ó señor de
12 la tribu al anciano Yucuncho, quien por su probidad y buen
13 criterio era más digno que nadie de gobernarlos.

14 El sol se había perdido tras los montes, las tinieblas de la
15 noche comenzaban á enseñorearse de la tierra y en la espesura de
16 la montaña reinaba un prolongado silencio. Los ancianos en-
17 cendieron varias fogatas con las chispas producidas por el cho-
18 que de dos pedernales, el ocatl comenzó á chisporrotear, y á su
19 rojiza claridad, se veía un grupo de indígenas sentados en cu-
20 cullas, que con el mayor orden exponían su opinión. El viejo Yu-
21 sañuñute se incorporó y tomando la palabra con gravedad, dijo:
22 “Los dioses que nos protegen y en particular el Gran Espíritu
23 que todo lo gobierna, han dispuesto queelijamos una autoridad
24 que rija nuestra tribu: en sueños se me reveló que el más acepto
25 á los ojos de la Divinidad, es el anciano *Yucuncho*. ¿Aceptareis
26 las disposiciones del gran Dios?” “Sea como lo quieren nuestros
27 dioses,” replicaron los ancianos.

28 En ese momento, un grito unánime de alegría que repercutió
29 en la montaña, fué la señal de que la tribu mixteca tenía un
30 cacique probo y digno de gobernarla, dos ancianos se agrupa-
31 ron en derredor de su jefe, le declararon su determinación y le
32 suplicaron aceptase el mando supremo por ser un mandato del
33 Dios de sus mayores. El cacique aceptó su delicado encargo,
34 dándoles paternales consejos.

1 Poco después se internaron en el Monte del Tigre, donde un
2 diestro cazador mató un tigre hermosísimo y le despojó de su
3 piel. Por mandato divino subieron al Monte del Sol, en donde
4 invistieron á su jefe con la piel del tigre, siendo éste el distin-
5 tivo de su poder supremo: este hecho se verificó en el año *Thi-*
6 *qua*, día *Thiquaa*.

7 Aun no terminaban las ceremonias de la investidura del ca-
8 cique, cuando el anciano *Yusañuñute*, abriéndose paso por entre
9 la multitud, se aproximó al cacique y le dijo con gran respeto
10 y veneración: "Los dioses me ordenan que te diga: que mar-
11 ches con la tribu que gobiernas hacia el Monte del Sur, donde
12 te espera tu hermana *Yaquecuñi* y que permanezcas con ella,
13 hasta nueva orden suprema." "Hagamos lo que mandan nues-
14 tros dioses, dijo el cacique.

15 En el año *nijayuhu*, día *nijayuhm* arribó la tribu mixteca al
16 Monte del Sur, en donde encontró á su hermana, hermosa mu-
17 jer que á todos admiró con su belleza. Entonces el cacique di-
18 jole á su hermana: "Nuestros dioses me ordenan que venga á
19 residir á tu lado, hasta que me comuniquen su soberana volun-
20 tad: esto me han revelado en el Monte del Sol por conducto del
21 anciano *Yusañuñute*."

22 La hermosa *Yaquecuñi* respondió: "Sé bien venido: obedez-
23 camos la voluntad de nuestros dioses: permanece á mi lado y
24 al de mi hermana *Yacuncuy*."

25 Pasado algún tiempo, el cacique y *Yacuncuy* se amaron y el
26 primer fruto de sus amores, nació en el año *yicumjé*, día de *jicó*,
27 permaneciendo en el Monte del Sur poco tiempo.

28 En el año *Thicun*, día de *jacua* regresaron al monte *yucuñu-*
29 *ñuhu*, en donde el cacique *Yucuncoho*, jefe principal de tigres,
30 tuvo una batalla con otra tribu errante que llegó por último á
31 quedar sujeta al esposo de *Yacuncuy*, dándole como botín de
32 guerra una gran cantidad de gallos.

II

1 Después de la batalla y cuando el cacique disfrutaba de los
2 laureles del triunfo, como para coronar sus alegrías, nació el
3 cacique *Ñucuhoco*, quien mitigó el dolor que habían experimen-
4 tado sus padres con motivo de la muerte de su primer hijo.

5 Este cacique, desde su primera edad, manifestó un espíritu
6 guerrero y durante su juventud combatió con ahinco á las tri-
7 bus que merodeaban en los montes cercanos, siendo su pasión
8 dominante conservar incólumes los derechos que había hereda-
9 do de su ilustre padre.

10 Pasaron algunos años durante los cuales el cacique acarició
11 la idea de declarar guerra á una tribu que se asentaba en el pa-
12 raje *Nuñumee*, hasta que puso en práctica su idea, armando á sus
13 subordinados con cuchillos de pedernal, destruyendo á sangre
14 y matanza á los que él creía sus enemigos.

15 La fama de este hecho cundió por varias partes y llegó á
16 oídos de la bella *Ñucabacoho*, cacica de sangre, quien vino al
17 campamento del vencedor y le ofreció ser su esposa.

18 El cacique, en vista de tan rara hermosura, á pesar de que
19 pertenecía su prometida á sus enemigos, depuso todo rencor,
20 hizo alianza con los restos de la tribu vencida y celebró sus
21 bodas con la mayor pompa, declarándose señor de las dos tribus.

III

22 El tiempo pasó bonancible para los desposados, sin que tu-
23 vieran un hijo en quien recayera el poder de sus padres; pues
24 el gobierno de la dinastía era hereditario, y ya los caciques lle-

1 gaban á una edad avanzada y se encontraban amagados por va-
2 rias enfermedades.

3 El cacique convocó á una asamblea á los ancianos y les dijo:
4 "Hijos míos: el término de mi vida no está lejano; porque mi
5 ancianidad y enfermedades me lo anuncian. Quiero dejaros un
6 sucesor digno de nuestro nombre, y á nadie juzgo más á pro-
7 pósito para ejercer el elevado puesto que pronto abandonaré
8 que al cacique *Ñucuncahoo*, señor de Chacaltongo. Id y comu-
9 nicad á la tribu y á nuestro futuro señor mi determinación."

10 "Sea como lo deseais, señor," replicaron los ancianos.

11 Pasados los funerales del cacique y á pocos días del falleci-
12 miento de su esposa, fué aclamado señor de la tribu mixteca el
13 cacique *Nucuncohoo*, quien comenzó á distinguirse por su pru-
14 dencia y sabiduría. El primer acto de su gobierno fué enviar
15 una comisión de ancianos á Tonalan, para conquistarse á *Nuji-*
16 *cum*, quien casó con él.

17 Estos tuvieron sucesión, y su hijo primogénito se llamó *Ja-*
18 *cuy*, quien nació en el Llano de la lumbre y fué el heredero del
19 gobierno de su padre. Todavía en la vida de sus padres, casó
20 con la cacica *Nucunjiy*, quien fué traída de la loma nombrada
21 *Ytuhuy-yñi-yñu*. De este matrimonio nació el cacique *Nucun-*
22 *chyahuiy*, á quien dieron el sobrenombre de Tigre por su valor
23 y fiereza. Este personaje casó con la bella *Ñucocuiñi*, quien
24 vino del paraje nombrado *Sitidy*. Estos tuvieron dos hijos nom-
25 brados *Ñucanja* y *Ñucunun*, heredando el primero por su edad
26 y buenas inclinaciones el gobierno de la tribu á la muerte de
27 sus padres. *Ñucanja*, cacique bueno, gobernó con equidad, su
28 tribu, y más, cuando casado con la cacique *Ñuquecuiñe*, descen-
29 diente de las familias nobles de México y nacida en el Llano de
30 la lumbre, obedecía los sabios consejos de su consorte. Verifi-
31 cado este enlace, dispusieron los caciques y ancianos de la tribu
32 emprender una tercera peregrinación, la que se verificó en el
33 año *Jajayuhuu*, día *naquiti*, y al fin de ella se establecieron en
34 una loma llamada *Ytunñaña* en el pueblo de *Ñundaco*. En este

1 lugar tuvieron un hijo llamado *Nucumé*, nacido en el Llano del
2 cielo y quien recibió por tona un lobezno, según las prácticas
3 nahualísticas que bogaban entonces.

4 Cuando la muerte de sus padres, el cacique *Nucumé*, heredó
5 el gobierno y casó á poco tiempo con *Januchi* en el Llano de san-
6 gra y en el año *Cquecuí*, día *Cunoo*, quienes tuvieron por hijo á
7 *Yaqchi-coyavuiy*, quien murió á la primera edad.

8 Los caciques dispusieron emprender la cuarta peregrinación,
9 obedientes á un mandato del cielo, y al cabo de algunos dias-
10 arribaron al espeso Yucutnoo, desde donde avistaron otra tribu
11 mixteca establecida en un llano feraz ubicado al N. del hermo-
12 so cerro. Ambas tribus se aprestaron al combate y después de
13 reñida batalla, quedó el triunfo por la primera, declarándose los
14 vencedores soberanos de las dos partes contrincantes y gobier-
15 nándolas desde entonces con equidad. En este lugar nació el
16 cacique *Yucunmaa Yushy*, á quien confiaron el gobierno de la
17 tribu, separándose después sus padres á un lugar donde se esta-
18 blecieron, dándole por nombre *Nucubacoho*, que lo recibió en
19 memoria del segundo hijo de los caciques vencedores y bajo
20 cuyo dominio se emprendieron nuevas guerras con Yucutnoo,
21 El cacique *Nunesucuy* y su hermana *Nujicun-Yayusihy* salie-
22 ron á batir á los rebeldes; pero al fin de la victoria que obtu-
23 vieron, se casaron y regresaron á Yucutnoo, donde tuvieron un
24 hijo á quien nombraron *Nuxiqui* y una hija llamada *Nunecuiy*,
25 frutos de sus incestuosos amores. El nacimiento de ésta fué ce-
26 lebrado con fiestas suntuosas y después de pasar parte de su
27 juventud en el Llano de la lumbré, pidió á los ancianos que la
28 cuidaban permiso para ver á su hermano que era cacique de
29 Yucutnoo. Visitaba al cacique en esa época el señor de otra tri-
30 bu llamado *Nucahuaacoo*, hombre rico, bueno y poderoso, el que
31 al ver á la hermosa joven, corrió á abrazarla, le mostró su opu-
32 lencia y concertaron su enlace, sin que *Nunecuiy* pudiera re-
33 gresar á su cabaña predilecta. El hermano de la joven aceptó
34 gustoso el contrato de los pretendientes y dió permiso para la

1 celebración de las bodas. Allí tuvieron tres hijos nombrados
 2 *Ñucaviyo*, *Ñucunjaa* y *Ñucocoo*. El primero, apellidado Cabeza de
 3 tigre se unió con la cacica *Ñuqueviyo*, establecieron su morada
 4 en el monte *Yucucoo* ó monte de camellones, ó *yucuyiji* en el año
 5 *Ñuhuiyo*, día *cajaa*. El segundo nombrado *Ñuunjaa* que vivía en
 6 la cañada de *Ñucoocoo*, caso con *Ñuita*, estableciendo su vivienda
 7 en la loma *ytnuumaku* ó loma de tejón en el año *jacushi*, día *co-*
 8 *hacoo* y el tercero llamado *Ñucocoo* casó con *Ñushicushi*, quien
 9 vino de Tixaa, estableciendo su morada en la loma *Cuetivuan-*
 10 *dhuiy* ó loma de sombra en el año *jadcushi*, día *neco* Estos úl-
 11 timos tuvieron sucesión, siendo uno de sus hijos el cacique *Nu-*
 12 *qhushayañaña*, primer cacique de Nochixtlán ó *Andugh* quien
 13 casó con una linda joven nombrada *Ñushuiya*, y quienes tuvie-
 14 ron un hijo nombrado *Nucahuiyo*. Estos tuvieron que pasar por
 15 el Monte de camellones, monte azul ó *Yucucoo* y *Yucuyaxi*. *Ñu-*
 16 *cahuiyo* casó con la cacica *Ñuxucuxi* ó cordon de rosas, quien vi-
 17 no de *Maninaltepec* y establecieron su residencia en la loma lla-
 18 mada *Cuaticuanduhui* y tuvieron por hijo al cacique *Cuatuteña*
 19 *ña*. Este salió de la loma *Ytnudeyu* y se unió con la cacica *Eyh-*
 20 *ñunú* y no tuvieron sucesión durante su matrimonio, hasta que
 21 á la muerte del cacique vino á su residencia otro cacique, nom-
 22 brado *Ñunuxayu*, cacique de sangre, con quien *Eqhuñuñu* se
 23 unió en matrimonio y tuvo un hijo llamado *Ñucoxayú* quien na-
 24 ció en el Llapo de la lumbre, creció en el Llano del águila y allí
 25 se unió con *Ñucucuahatucu* y tuvieron un hijo nombrado *Ñuqhyo*.
 26 Este personaje vino del Oriente y nació en el mismo instante
 27 en que el gallo canta por primera vez en la noche, casó con *Ñu-*
 28 *neqk-yayuxi* y tuvieron un hijo á quien nombraron *Ñuxachi* del
 29 águila, quien casó con *Ñuñuhizu* y tuvo un hijo llamado *Ñu-*
 30 *qhgh*, cacique muy guerrero, nacido en el Monte del calor. Cu-
 31 só con *Ñuquexayu* y tuvieron por hijo á *Ñucoxayu*, quien casó
 32 con *Ñuxaquee*, conocida por Flor de Oriente, prodigio de belleza
 33 en su tiempo. Tuvieron por hijo al cacique *Nuxicuaa* que esta-
 34 bleció su residencia en los camellones de *Ñuñumee*, adonde vi-

1 no una blanca doncella, nombrada *Ñucuixi*, nacida en el Oriente,
2 y casó con él y tuvieron un hijo llamado *Ñuñumé*, conocido por
3 Rayo de Sol, quien se unió con *Ñuxihuaco* y no tuvieron sucesión.
4 Estos vieron que el cacique *Ñucunuu* de Dixinú (Tlaxiaco) vivía
5 en *Ñundiyo*, lugar de escaleras, con el cacique *Nucunuuatimaño*,
6 cacique del sol, y fueron á él y le propusieron por esposa á *Xi-*
7 *vaco*, á quienes confirieron todo el poder que habían heredado de
8 sus padres. Los mismos caciques establecieron su residencia en
9 el monte *Ytnondosohuayu*, loma de bandera. En el año *qhuiyo* y
10 día *qheco* tuvieron un hijo llamado *Ñuñumeñe*, cacique del Orien-
11 te que vino del monte *Yucunuanucuiñe*, monte del tigre quien casó
12 con *Ñuqueqh*, cacica de Oriente y mujer de irascible carácter y
13 muy negros sentimientos. Tuvieron por hijo al cacique *Ñuco-*
14 *cuee* quien trasladó su residencia en el Monte del Sol en donde
15 casó con *Ñuxiyo* y tuvieron por hijo á *Ñuximaacueñe*, cacique de
16 tigres, ó mano de sangre, quien se estableció en *Ñuñume* donde
17 casó con *Ñuxivaco*, cacica florida, quienes tuvieron cinco hijos
18 que por orden de sucesión fueron heredando el gobierno de sus
19 antepasados. El cacique *Ñuquexayu* que vino del monte del Sol
20 casó con la cacica *Ñuquiquihui* ó princesa de rosas y estable-
21 cieron su asiento en el monte nombrado *Yueuyicanyí*, donde tu-
22 vieron un hijo nombrado *Ñucucui* quien, cuando llegó á la ma-
23 yor edad gobernó su tribu con equidad y casó con *Ñuneqh*, al
24 pie de la Cañada del Sol que está cerca del pueblo de Cuquila.
25 Su primer hijo fué el cacique *Ñucahuaco*, cacique de camellones
26 quien gobernó la tribu de Cuquila, donde casó con *Ñuqhcuy*.
27 venida del Oriente. El cacique nombrado *Ñuqhuitzen*, hijo de
28 los últimos se estableció en una hermosa hortaliza y alberca que
29 se situaban cerca de Cuilapa. El cacique *Ñucacuiy* se situó en
30 el Llano del águila, cerca de Tecomaxtlahuaca. El cacique *Ñu-*
31 *xiquihui* se situó en el histórico sitio donde, según sus tradicio-
32 nes, estuvo la cuna de los primeros hombres, es decir, en el pi-
33 cacho del cerro más alto de Apoala. El cacique *Ñucoqh* se unió
34 en Chicahuastla con el señor *Anauqh* y de allí emprendieron su

1 marcha á Nochixtlán, desde donde contemplaron temerosos la
2 total desmembración de la primitiva mixteca. El cacique *Ñu-*
3 *cahuaco* casado con la cacica *Ñuqhcuivy*, gobernó en Dixinú y
4 vieron los primeros albores del Cristianismo que comenzaron á
5 irradiar en todo el país, al mismo tiempo que se comenzaba de
6 una manera incua la destrucción de las razas de los valientes
7 pueblos que viera henchidos de oro en sus ambiciosos sueños
8 el más audaz aventurero del siglo 16.

IV

9 En el 1113, llamado en mixteco *Xacuxi* nació el cacique *Ñei*
10 *chuisu*, quien se estableció en la cumbre del monte *Yucutuuch-*
11 en compañía de los caciques llamados *Quchuiyu* y *Qhoiyo*, y al
12 ver las continuas revoluciones de sus tribus, pusieron siete pe-
13 tates y siete sillas en el paraje *Yucutnuchi* en espera de otro ca-
14 cique nombrado *Cahuiyo*. Entonces consultaron sobre la mane-
15 ra de evitar tantas revueltas y no quedando conformes dispu-
16 sieron celebrar una segunda conferencia en la laguna *Tixahui*
17 cerca del monte *Yucucuaño*. En esta vez, tomando la palabra el
18 cacique *Ñehuisu* dijo á sus compañeros:

19 “No podemos vivir con tantas cuestiones y es necesario que
20 haya una persona que nos gobierne y que sea superior á todos
21 nosotros: así lo exigen el bienestar y tranquilidad de nuestra
22 nación.”

23 Unánimes los otros caciques dispusieron que el hijo que tu-
24 viera cualquiera de los cuatro y que naciera en ese lugar, sería
25 el padre y señor de todas las tribus. Pasaron algunos años y
26 hacia la primavera del año 1115, ó *xavaxi*, día *ncoo*, nació el ca-
27 cique *Xixañuu*, hijo de *Ñehuisu*. Los sacerdotes y ancianos se

1 encargaron desde luego de la esmerada educación del joven
2 príncipe, quien adquirió con asombrosa rapidez los conoci-
3 mientos artísticos y científicos de su tiempo. Cuando se encontró en
4 aptitudes para gobernar, se reunieron los cuatro caciques, los
5 ancianos y nahuales y poniendo al joven en medio, lo invistieron
6 de la suprema dignidad gubernativa de su nación.

7 Terminada la gran ceremonia, el anciano *Nēhuiztli*, le dijo:
8 “Hijo mío: los dioses y los caciques de esta poderosa nación,
9 te han conferido la suprema dignidad sobre ella, esperan mucho
10 de tu equidad y justicia. Sé el padre de tu pueblo y obedece
11 los sabios consejos de estos ancianos que desde hoy formarán
12 tu consejo de gobierno.”

13 El primer acto de su gobierno fué establecer los linderos de
14 su pueblo en la forma siguiente: Desde el Llano de la encina,
15 mohonera *itnondasoyta*, loma sobre la que está una rosa y el
16 monte *Yucuyoco*, monte del panal, pasando por el llano colorado
17 en el paraje Yodzochize y Yodzocuaha hasta el paraje *Yodzo-*
18 *ñuita*, donde le esperaba ceremoniosamente el cacique *Yanaqñ*
19 Allí comenzó otra línea, principiando por la Peña colorada en
20 el sitio Totoxahaquaha ó mina de yeso hasta la Loma nombrada
21 *Xiquindicocoto*, terminando en el monte *Tnoquihui*, hoy loma de
22 San Pablo.

23 Esta determinación predominó muchos siglos y puede ase-
24 gurarse que fué la misma del tiempo de la conquista; pero te-
25 nemos que advertir que los dominios mixtecos se aumentaron
26 considerablemente, llegando á ocupar los extensos terrenos de
27 la Mixteca Alta y Baja.

28 En el sitio *tnoquihui*, fué donde arribó primeramente el R.
29 P. fr. Benito Hernández, vicario provincial y bautizó en la lo-
30 ma *Ytnotindaca* á un indígena á quien puso por nombre Juan de
31 San Pablo. Allí mismo bautizó á otro llamándole Bartolomé
32 de San Pablo, quienes llegaron á poseer los terrenos nombrados
33 *Yucucitu*, *tñondihuahu*, *itnutande* que quiere decir respectiva-
34 mente monte que se siembra, loma del coyote y loma cortada

1 Desde el momento en que los frailes dominicos comenzaron
2 á hacer la conquista en el orden religioso, los Señoríos mixtecos
3 fueron ocupados por los hijos de los antiguos caciques; pero
4 por la propagación del bautismo católico, tuvieron que adaptar
5 otros nombres y que ir perdiendo paulatinamente su antiguo
6 poder.

7 El primer cacique que fué bautizado solemnemente y con
8 gran asombro de sus súbditos fué *Yaqhgh*, tigre que vino del
9 Oriente y se llamó D. Pedro *Yaqhgh*, señor de Ñuñumé. Este
10 casó con la cacica *Quexayu*, quien bautizada se llamó Doña Ma-
11 ria *Quexayu*. No tuvieron sucesión.

12 El cacique D. Martin *Xicuaa*, lucero del monte del sol, que
13 vino de Dixinú, casó con *Ñuqhimy*. Estos tuvieron por hijo al
14 cacique *Ñuqheui*, cacique de tigre, quien bautizado se llamó D.
15 Lucas de Rosas y estableció sus dominios en *Tixaa*, en donde
16 casó con la cacica nombrada Doña María *Nucaxayu*, cacica de
17 rosas, y tuvo dos hijos.

18 El cacique D. Juan de Sotomayor, señor de *Yucuxatu* casó
19 con la cacica Doña Ines de Velasco y tuvieron una hija que se
20 llamó Doña María, quien se estableció en *Totoñuhuyaha*, peña
21 del águila de la cañada larga, ó monte de cuatrocientos picos, hoy
22 *Zentzontepac*. Allí casó con D. Angel de Villafañe sin tener su-
23 cesión.

24 El cacique D. Pedro de Sotomayor, señor del monte del sa-
25 bino, *Yodzonuyughnduchi*, casó con la cacica Doña Lucía de Guz-
26 mán, quienes no tuvieron sucesión por haber fallecido Doña
27 Lucía en los primeros meses de su matrimonio. D. Pedro con-
28 trajo segundo matrimonio con Doña María de Velasco, cacica
29 de *Yucuxatu*, quienes tuvieron un hijo llamado *Ñuqhquivi*, pie
30 de lobo. Este cacique estableció su residencia en *Yucutnoyyu*
31 y casó con *Nuquixayu-yayuxi*, quienes tuvieron por hijos á los
32 caciques *Nuqhmaya-ñaña*, *Ñuneqhxi*, y la cacica *Ñocucui*.

33 Los caciques *Ñucuzihuiyo* y *Ñuxiveyoita*, venidos de Malinal-
34 tepac, ocuparon después el trono mixteca y tuvieron por hijos.

1 á los caciques *Nuqhuse*, señor de *Nasahi Nuqhchi*, señor de *Nu-*
2 *numé* y *Nuxihuiza*, señor de Tezhuatlán. Este casó con la caci-
3 ca *Nuxacuy*, de *Nditacahua*, banda de cueva. El cacique *Nuxi*
4 *vaco* de la casa *Nduuxe* se estableció en Tonalá. El cacique *Ca-*
5 *cueñecacuiy* y su hijo *Xiqhqueyo* en *Nunumé*. El cacique *Qhchi*
6 *xacuiy* en Chacaltongo y los caciques *Qhcoqhemiy* y *Cuixiyo-*
7 *nehuizu* en Cuquila.

8 Cuando ya comenzaron á sentirse los terribles efectos de la
9 dominación española, el viejo *Cuixiyo-nehuizu* reunió á sus mace
10 huales y vasallos, les arengó largamente en la loma *Ytnuxiñu-*
11 *hu*, los condujo á *Nuñumé* y de ahí al monte *Yucutuno*, ocupado
12 por el valiente rey *Ocoñaña* y en imponente conciliábulo, deci-
13 dieron hacer el último esfuerzo, entregándose á encarnizada
14 lucha con españoles.

15 Perdida toda esperanza, la mixteca pasó al dominio del vi-
16 rrey de México y acabó el predominio de la dinastía indígena.
17 Este hecho se verificó en el año *Camaa* del siglo *xuxiyiquiñuu*.

Nochixtlán, Enero de 1898.

APPENDIX B

MIS RECUERDOS

by Mariano López Ruiz

[A typescript of this apparently unpublished reminiscence is among the material dealing with Mariano López Ruiz in the Van de Velde Collection at the University of New Mexico. The typescript was apparently made by Paul Van de Velde, and the location of the original manuscript is unknown. The typescript does not give a date for the original manuscript, but it seems to have been written over forty years after López Ruiz was in Tilantongo in 1889--that is, shortly before his death in 1931.]

Hace más de cuarenta años que para cumplir con la delicada misión cultural que me encomendó el Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, de llevar las nociones de las ciencias y de las artes a los apartados pueblos de la Mixteca que, como hasta hoy, vivían sometidos a la más crasa ignorancia, me ví obligado a establecer mi residencia en la antigua capital del país de los ñusabi, la antes populosa Tilantongo, que hasta nuestros días tiene en posesión un extenso territorio cubierto de una vegetación exuberante y prodigiosa.

Para realizar la obra meritoria que con entusiasmo había aceptado aún con el sacrificio de mi juventud ardiente y anhelante de impresiones, tuve que buscar el contacto de esos indios melancólicos y desconfiados que al principio me opusieron una tenaz resistencia, que aprender las nociones de su idioma materno con un trato continuo con ellos, que adaptarme a sus costumbres incultas y muchas veces supersticiosas y que captarme la confianza de los ancianos de esas tribus que habitualmente vivían en sus pobladas rancherías consagrados a las provechosas labores de la agricultura y al apacentamiento de sus rebaños.

Encontraba un verdadero placer en cambiar impresiones con algunos ancianos de reconocida cultura en el medio en que vivían, a quienes interrogaba sobre sus plantas y sus propiedades y utilidades, sobre el cultivo de los cereales que eran su indispensable y principal alimento, sobre los risueños y variados paisajes que por todas partes ofrecían sus extensas posesiones, sobre los restos de su pasada civilización que aún se conservaban en su memoria por una arraigada tradición, sobre las creencias religiosas que profesaban como una herencia de sus antepasados, sobre las ceremonias más usuales en su vida social y sobre muchas cosas que en mi concepto no debían desaparecer por su importancia histórica y por el influjo que ejercían en la conciencia de esos pueblos que conservaban todavía muchos vestigios de una grandeza que se había extinguido al parecer entre los horrores de la conquista.

Allá por el año de 1889, cuando los vientos otoñales anunciaban la suspensión temporal de la vida vegetal y la época de la recolección de los frutos de los campos, fui invitado por mi buen amigo Domingo Cruz, el popular Tío Mingo, como cariñosamente era llamado en esas regiones, para una expedición cinegética a la que era muy afecto, a pesar de que llevaba sobre sus hombros el peso de más de noventa primaveras. Fué para mí una gran sorpresa encontrar en un viejo nonagenario actividades propias de un hombre en plena juventud; pero así son esos indios, hombres de acción que alcanzan una respetable ancianidad entregados a las más rudas labores, en las que encuentran salud, vigor y vida. Acepté su invitación no obstante que nunca había portado un arma de fuego, con la intención de conocer muchos lugares de que había hablado el buen anciano para ensanchar el radio de mis conocimientos geográfico-históricos para consignarlos en los apuntes que iba cuidadosamente coleccionando para utilizarlos más tarde en la formación de una obra que tenía proyectada para la educación de la juventud.

Las expediciones cinegéticas duraban regularmente varios días con sus noches. Reinaba en ellas la más franca camaradería con su respectiva confraternidad de intereses. En la primera noche de la expedición, nos situamos en una alta roca conocida entre los indios con el nombre de la "Peña Gris" que es uno de los picachos más altos del magestuoso cerro nombrado "Yucutnoo." Era mi compañero el buen Tío Mingo. En esas horas de la solemne calma, en que nadie podía interrumpir nuestras confidencias, suscitó una conversación sobre las sugestivas leyendas de nuestros antepasados, y entonces Tío Mingo con la naturalidad propia de su carácter me dijo:

--Mi pueblo es el país de la leyenda. Sus montes, sus rocas, sus corrientes y todos los objetos que encontramos a nuestro paso encierran recuerdos de un pasado que es nuestro lejítimo orgullo. El provincialismo mixteco se funda en las glorias de nuestra raza.

--Pudiera usted decirme algo de esas leyendas que circulan entre las familias especialmente en las veladas invernales?

--Lo haré con gusto por satisfacer su justa curiosidad; pero le recomiendo que las conservo como un tesoro porque encierran el alma de la patria chico, el alma de nuestros antepasados que todavía velan por nuestro bienestar.

--Las tradiciones de nuestra raza son hermosas e interesantes en verdad.

--Para los que cordialmente aman a nuestra patria, encierran esa sugestiva poesía que habla a las almas de cosas muy hermosas, resueñas y tranquilas.

--Refiérame alguna de ellas para entretener estas horas poéticas y bellas en que tenemos a la vista la magestad de Dios en la magnificencia de sus obras.

—Estamos en este momento sobre la Roca Gris que es el picacho más alto del imponente Yucutnoo que fué el primer lugar en que se situaron las tribus mixtecas al dar por terminada su peregrinación en estas tierras. Desde aquí seguramente el intrépido caudillo Mixtecatl, jefe de esas tribus, desafió al sol en singular combate para tomar posesión definitiva de estas tierras. Los dardos del caudillo, lanzados en la hora precisa en que el sol se perdía detrás de las montañas de occidente, fueron el signo del estupendo triunfo en el que los mixtecos hacen consistir los fundamentos de su grandeza y de su valor, en el que su caudillo alcanzó la más gloriosa victoria, venciendo al astro del día. Aquí en esta misma roca, estuvo la primitiva mansión de los mixtecos que tenían por costumbre elegir los sitios más elevados para libertarse de las agresiones de sus enemigos y para estar en constante observación de sus vecinos. Aquí se verificó uno de los hechos más portentosos que recuerdan nuestros anales, del que quiero ocuparme en este momento por ser muy poco conocido aún entre nuestros ancianos. Hace muchos siglos gobernó la Mixteca con prudencia y sabiduría un rey a quien los mixtecos han concedido atributos divinos, como recompensa de las eminentes virtudes que los adornaron y dieron un nombre respetable a nuestra nación. Ese rey se llamaba IUKANO, fuego grande, aliento, calor y vida de nuestra patria que siempre ha tenido al sol en gran veneración como prolífica de la vida. Se asegura que ese rey fué el primero que dió a la Mixteca una religión en que se reconocía como principio de todas las cosas al Dios verdadero que ha dado vida y sostiene todas las cosas en el universo; que ese rey sacó a su pueblo del estado salvaje en que se encontraba para asociar a sus hijos y cimentar las primeras agrupaciones humanas que en esas remotas edades se conocieron; que dictó leyes sabias y justas para el régimen de su pueblo, estableciendo los fundamentos de la justicia, y que sobrepujo a sus antecesores en la administración de su país al que dió envidable respetabilidad, señalándole los linderos que debía defender a costa de cualquier sacrificio. Cuando su administración se distinguía por sus asombrosos progresos, con estupefacción de sus súbditos, desapareció sin que nadie pudiera saber el punto que había elegido. Se hicieron las más laboriosas investigaciones para descubrir su paradero; pero todas las pesquisas fueron inútiles. Se enviaron emisarios por todas partes sin encontrar sus huellas. Después de algunos años de incesantes labores encaminadas a descubrir su paradero, cuando ya se había perdido toda esperanza de recobrarlo, un día se presentó ante la angustiada tribu una de las comisiones, informando que ese rey había penetrado las regiones de la inmortalidad desde donde velaba por la prosperidad de su pueblo. Esa comisión hizo saber a los altos dignatarios de la Mixteca, que ese rey, por disposición de los dioses protectores de su patria, les había asegurado que la Mixteca alcanzaría una edad de florecimiento envidiable en la que conquistaría una respetabilidad inmensa en el exterior; pero que después de muchos años de bienestar y prosperidad perdería todas sus glorias y se hundiría quizá para siempre en el mar de incontables desventuras. Dijo que llegaría un día en que el poderío de las naciones indígenas terminaría con la venida de unos hombres blancos y barbados que enseñorearían de estas tierras y cambiarían por completo nuestra forma de gobierno y

las costumbres de nuestros padres. Las predicciones de ese rey se cumplieron estrictamente. Los hombres del oriente invadieron nuestras tierras y las naciones poderosas y fuertes de nuestros antepasados fueron dominadas y se vieron obligadas a aceptar el dominio de unos hombres desconocidos que los sometieron a la más dura dominación.

--Esa tradición está suficientemente justificada?

--Por el testimonio de la tradición, sí; pero por el de la historia, no, en virtud de que nuestra historia antigua solo se ha desarrollado dentro de los límites de la leyenda. Aunque parecen fabulosas esas leyendas, han tenido su más extaco compliminetto, como lo demuestra la historia.

--Hermosa leyenda que encierra luminosas enseñanzas!

--Sí, amigo mío. Ella asegura que existe una potencia sobrenatural que dispone de las cosas de la tierra como conviene a su imponderable sabiduría.

Tío Mingo suspendió su relato, dejándome entregado a las más provechosas meditaciones. Sus interesantes narraciones me sirvieron para reconstruir muchos de esos episodios legendarios que los mixtecos conservan con veneración, como la dulce memoria de sus extintas glorias.

INDEX A: CALENDRIAL NAMES OF PERSONS IN THE STUDY OF LÓPEZ RUIZ

Listed below are the Mixtec calendrical names of persons that are included in the "Estudio cronológico sobre la dinastía mixteca" of López Ruiz (Appendix A). The twenty day signs appear in alphabetical order (from Alligator through Wind). Under each day sign, the calendrical names are given in numerical order (1-13). If López Ruiz added to the calendrical name a Spanish or Mixtec phrase that seems to be a personal name, this name follows the calendrical name and is enclosed by quotation marks and parentheses. The righthand column gives the pages and lines of the López Ruiz text on which the name appears. Following these references are the numbers of the genealogical charts of this study (Tables 7 through 12) that include the same names.

ALLIGATOR (*quevui*)

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Alligator

qhquivi ("pie de lobo") 447, line 29; Table 11

♀ 4, 5 or 9 Alligator

quiquihui ("princesa de rosas") 444, line 20; Table 10

♂ 10, 11 or 13 Alligator

xiquihui 444, lines 30-31; Table 10

DEATH *see* HOUSE or DEATH

DEER (*cuaa*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Deer?

cocuee 444, lines 13-14; Table 10

♀ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Deer (of Nochixtlán)	
<i>cucua (hatucu)</i>	443, line 25; Table 9
♀ 7 Deer?	
<i>xaquee</i> ("Flor de Oriente")	443, line 32; Table 9
♂ 10, 11 or 13 Deer	
<i>xicuaa</i>	443, line 33, Table 9
<i>xicuaa</i> (don Martín; "lucero del monte del sol")	447, line 12
EAGLE (<i>sa</i>)	
♂ 1, 2 or 12 Eagle	
<i>canjaa</i>	441, lines 25 and 27; Table 7
♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Eagle	
<i>cunjaa</i>	443, lines 2 and 5; Table 8
♂ 8 Eagle?	
<i>nesu(cuy)</i>	442, line 21; Table 8
♂ 10, 11 or 13 Eagle?	
<i>xixa(ñuu)</i>	445, line 27
FLINT (<i>cusi</i>)	
♂ 4, 5 or 9 Flint	
<i>qhcuse</i>	448, line 1; Table 12
♀ 6 Flint?	
<i>Nucunjiy</i>	441, line 20; Table 7

♂ 8? Flint?		
	<i>neghxi</i>	447, line 32; Table 11
♀ 10, 11 or 13 Flint		
	<i>shicushi</i>	443, line 8; Table 8
	<i>xucuxi</i> ("cordón de rosas")	443, line 16; Table 8
FLOWER (<i>huaco</i>)		
♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Flower?		
	<i>cuhoco</i>	440, line 3
	<i>cubacoho</i>	442, line 18; Table 8
♂ 1, 2 or 12 Flower		
	<i>cahuaaco</i>	442, line 30; Table 8
	<i>cahuaco</i> ("cacique de camellones")	444, line 25; Table 10
	<i>cahuaco</i>	445, lines 2-3; Table 10
♀ 1, 2 or 12 Flower		
	<i>cabacoho</i>	440, line 16
♂ 10, 11 or 13 Flower		
	<i>xivaco</i>	448, lines 3-4; Table 12
♀ 10, 11 or 13 Flower		
	<i>xihuaco/xivaco</i>	444, lines 3 and 6-7; Tables 9, 10
	<i>xivaco</i> ("cacica florida")	444, line 17, Table 10

GRASS (*cuañe*)

♂ 1, 2 or 12 Grass

cacueñe(cacuiy)

448, lines 4-5; Table 12

♀ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Grass

cocuiñi

441, line 23; Table 7

♀ 4, 5 or 9 Grass

quecuiñi

439, lines 12 and 22;

441, line 28; Table 7

♂ 6 Grass?

ñumeñe [= ñucuañe?]

444, line 10; Table 10

("cacique del oriente")

HOUSE (*cuau*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 House

cuncahoo

441, lines 8 and 13; Table 7

HOUSE or DEATH (*mau; mahu/mahua*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 House or Death

cumé

442, lines 1 and 4; Table 7

♂ 4, 5 or 9 House or Death

("Mountain Lion")

qhmaya (ñaña)

447, line 32; Table 11

♂ 10, 11 or 13 House or Death ("Tiger")

ximaa(cueñe) (cacique de

tigres o mano de sangre")

444, lines 15-16; Table 10

LIZARD or MOVEMENT (*q[ue]; qhi*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Lizard or Movement

coqh

444, line 33, Table 10

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Lizard or Movement

qhqh

443, lines 29-30; Table 9

qhqh ("don Pedro")

447, lines 8 and 9

♀ 4, 5 or 9 Lizard or Movement

queqh ("cacica de Oriente")

444, line 12; Table 10

♂ 8 Lizard or Movement

naqh

446, line 18

♀ 8? Lizard or Movement

neqh(-yayuxi) ("cacica of turquoise')

443, lines 27-28, Table 9

neqh

444, line 23; Table 10

♂ 10,11 or 13 Lizard or Movement

xiqui

442, line 24; Table 8

♂ or ♀ 10, 11 or 13 Lizard or Movement

xiqh(queyo)

448, line 5; Table 12

MONKEY (*ñuu*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Monkey

cunun

441, line 25; Table 7

cuñuu

444, line 4; Table 9

cuñuu ("cacique del sol")

444, lines 5-6

♀ 4, 5 or 9? Monkey??
eqhñunú, eqhñuñu 443, lines 19-20 and 22; Tables 8, 9

♂ 7 Monkey?
(xi)xañuu 445, line 27

MOVEMENT *see* LIZARD or MOVEMENT

RABBIT (*sayu*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Rabbit
coxayú 443, line 23; Table 9
coxayu 443, line 31; Table 9

♀ 1, 2 or 12 Rabbit
caxayu ("doña María; cacica de rosas") 447, line 16

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Rabbit
qhushaya(ñaña) ("mountain lion") 443, line 12; Table 8
quexayu 444, line 19; Table 10

♀ 4, 5 or 9 Rabbit
quexayu 443, line 31; Table 9
quexayu ("doña María") 447, lines 10-11
quixayu(-yayuxi) ("cacica of turquoise") 447, line 31; Table 11

♂ 6 Rabbit
nuxayu ("cacique de sangre") 443, line 22; Table 9

♀ 6 Rabbit
ñushaya 443, line 13; Table 8

RAIN (*co*)

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Rain

cuhoco

440, line 3

cocoo/coocoo

443, lines 2, 6 and 8; Table 8

♂ or ♀ 4, 5 or 9 Rain

qhco(qhmiy)

448, line 6; Table 12

♀ 10, 11 or 13 Rain

jicum

441, lines 15-16; Table 7

jicun(-yayusihiy) ("cacica of turquoise")

442, line 21; Table 8

REED (*huiyo*)

♂ 1, 2 or 12 Reed

caviyo ("cabeza de tigre")

443, line 2; Table 8

cahuiyo

443, lines 14-16; Table 8

cahuiyo

445, line 14

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Reed

quchuiyo

445, line 11

♀ 4, 5 or 9 Reed

queviyo

443, line 3; Table 8

♂ 10, 11 or 13 Reed?

(cu)xihuiyo

447, line 33; Table 12

♀ 10, 11 or 13 Reed

xiveyo(ita) ("flower")

447, line 33; Table 12

SERPENT (yo)

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Serpent

qhyo

443, line 25; Table 9

qhoiyo

445, line 11

♂ or ♀ 4, 5 or 9 Serpent

(xiqh)queyo

448, line 5; Table 12

♂ 10, 11 or 13 Serpent?

(cui)xiyo

448, line 6; Table 12

♀ 10, 11 or 13 Serpent

xiyo

444, line 15; Table 10

TIGER (*huidzu*)

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Tiger

qhhuitzn

444, line 27; Table 10

♂ 6? or 8? Tiger

ñeichuizu, ñehuizu

445, lines 9-10, 18 and 27; 446, line 7

♀ 6 Tiger

ñuhuizu

443, line 29; Table 9

♂ 8? Tiger

(cuixiyo)nehuizu

448, lines 6-7 and 9; Table 12

♂ 10, 11 or 13 Tiger

xihuiza

448, line 2; Table 12

VULTURE (*cuii*)

♂ 1, 2 or 12 Vulture

cacuiy

444, line 29; Table 10

♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Vulture

cucui

444, line 22; Table 10

♂ or ♀ 1, 2 or 12 Vulture

(cacueñe)cacuiy

448, lines 4-5; Table 12

♀ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Vulture

cuncuy

439, lines 24, 25, and 31

cucui

447, line 32; Table 11

♂ 4, 5 or 9 Vulture

qhcu

447, line 14

("cacique de tigre; don Lucas de Rosas")

♂ or ♀ 4, 5 or 9 Vulture?

(qhco)qhemiy

448, line 6; Table 12

♀ 4, 5 or 9 Vulture

qhcu

444, line 26; Table 10

qhcu

445, line 3; Table 10

♂ 7 Vulture

jacuy

441, lines 17-18; Table 7

♀ 7 Vulture

xacuy

448, line 3; Table 12

(qhchi)xacuiy

448, lines 5-6; Table 12

♀ 8 ? Vulture		
	<i>necuiy</i>	442, lines 24 and 32; Table 8
♀ 10, 11 or 13 Vulture?		
	<i>jicum</i>	441, lines 15-16; Table 7
WATER (<i>tuta</i>)		
♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Water ("Mountain Lion")		
	<i>cuatute(ñaña)</i>	443, lines 18-19; Table 8
WIND (<i>chi</i>)		
♂ 1, 2, 3 or 12 Wind ("Fire Serpent')		
	<i>cunchi(yahuiy)</i> ("Tigre")	441, lines 21-22; Table 7
♂ 4, 5 or 9 wind		
	<i>qhchi(-coyavuiy)</i> ("Fire Serpent")	442, line 7; Table 7
	<i>qhchi</i>	448, line 1; Table 12
	<i>qhchi(xacuiy)</i>	448, lines 5-6; Table 12
♀ 6 Wind		
	<i>nuchi</i>	442, line 5; Table 7
♂ 7 wind		
	<i>xachi</i> ("del águila")	443, line 28; Table 9

INDEX B: PLACE NAMES IN THE TEXT OF LÓPEZ RUIZ

Listed below in alphabetical order are the Spanish, Nahuatl, and Mixtec place names given in the text of López Ruiz (Appendix A). The main listing for many of the Mixtec names is in the Teposcolula dialect of the sixteenth-century Spanish-Mixtec dictionary by Fray Francisco de Alvarado, followed in parentheses by the transcriptions made of the same names by López Ruiz. If López Ruiz translated a Mixtec place name into Spanish, his translation follows the name and is enclosed in quotation marks. In the righthand column are the page and line numbers of the López Ruiz text on which the place names appear. In the case of those Mixtec names that have been identified from other sources as boundary sites, references to Table 14 of this study that lists the locations of the boundary sites are added to the page and line numbers of the López Ruiz paper.

Anduqh	<i>see</i> Nochixtlán	
Apoala		444, line 33
Cañada del Sol (near Cuquila)		444, line 24
Chalcatongo		441, line 8; 448, line 6
Chicahuastla		444, line 34
Cuilapa		444, line 29
Dixinú	<i>see</i> Tlaxiaco	
Itnu maha (ytneumaha)	"loma de tejón"	443, line 7; Table 14
Itnu ñaña (yutunñaña)		441, line 34; Table 14
Itnu ndeyu (ytnundeyu)		443, line 19; Table 14
Itnu ndihuahu (ytnodihuahu)	"loma de coyote"	446, line 33
Itnu ndoso huayu (ytnondosohuayu)	"loma de bandera"	444, line 9; Table 14
Itnu ndoso ita (itnondasoyta)	"loma sobre la que está una rosa"; a boundary	446, line 15; Table 14

Itnu quihui (tnoquihui) a boundary	446, lines 21 and 28; Table 14
Itnu xiñuhu (ytnuxiñuhu)	448, lines 10-11
Itnu tande "loma cortada"	446, line 33; Table 14
Itnu tindaca (ytnotindaca)	446, line 30
Llano del águila	443, line 24; 444, line 30
Llano del cielo	442, lines 1-2
Llano de la lumbre	441, lines 18 and 30-31; 443, line 24
Llano de sangre	442, lines 5-6
Malinaltepec	443, line 17; 447; lines 33-34
Monte del águila	437, lines 4 and 7-8
Monte del calor	443, line 30
Monte de lado	437, lines 7-8
Monte del maguey	437, lines 4
Monte del ocotl	437, lines 4-5
Monte de la plata	437, line 4
Monte de sabino	447, lines 24-25
Monte del sol	439, lines 3 and 20; 444, lines 14 and 19
Monte del sur	439, lines 11, 16, and 27
Monte del tigre	439, line 1
Ndita cahua [= Santa Cruz Tacahua] "banda de cueva"	448, line 3
Nochixtlán (anduqh/atucu)	443, line 12; 443, line 25 (following calendrical name <i>Ñucucua</i>); 444, line 34; 445, line 1
Ñucuixi	444, line 1
Ñuita	443, line 6

Ñundaco, Santa Cruz	441, line 34
Ñundiyo "lugar de escaleras"	444, line 5
Ñuñumé [=Ñuñuma or Putla?]	440, line 12; 443, line 34; 444, lines 2 and 16; 447, line 9; 448, lines 1-2, 5, and 11
Ñusahi (ñasahi) [=Huajuapán de León]	448, line 1
Sitidy	441, line 24
Tecomaxtlahuaca	444, line 30
Tezoatlán (Tezhuatlán)	448, line 2
Tixaa [= San Pablo Tijaltepec?]	443, line 9; 447, line 15
Tixahui	445, line 16
Tlaxiaco (Dixinú)	444, line 4; 445, line 3; 447, line 13
Tonala(n)	441, line 15; 448, line 4
Toto ñuhu yaha "peña del águila de la cañada larga, ó monte de cuatrocientos picos, hoy Zentzontepec"	447, line 20
Toto xaha quaha "mino de yeso"; a boundary	446, line 20; Table 14
Xiqui ndico coto a boundary	446, line 21
Yodzo chize a boundary	446, line 17
Yodzo cuaha "llano colorado"; a boundary	446, line 17
Yodzo ñuita a boundary	446, lines 17-18; Table 14
Yodzo nuyugh nduchi	447, line 25

Yucu coo "monte de camellones"	443, lines 4 and 15; Table 14
Yucu cuaño [= Malinaltepec?]	445, line 17
Yucu ñaña cuiñe "monte del tigre"	444, line 11
Yucun coho	437, line 7; 438, lines 12 and 25; 439, line 29; Table 14
Yucun maa yushy	442, line 16
Yucu ñuñuhu "monte que se va"	438, line 3; 439, lines 28-29; Table 14
Yucu tnoo	442, lines 10, 20, 23, and 29; Table 14
Yucu tno yyu	447, line 30
Yucu tnuchi (yucu tuuch)	445, lines 10 and 13
Yucu tuno	448, line 11; Table 14
Yucu xatu [= Yucu satuta or Santa María Zacatepec?]	447, lines 18 and 29
Yucu xitu "monte que se siembra"	446, line 33; Table 14
Yucu yaxi [= Yucu yuxi?] "monte azul"	443, line 15; Table 14
Yucu yicanyí	444, line 21
Yucu yiji [same as Yucu yaxi and Yucu yuxi?]	443, line 4; Table 14
Yucu yoco "monte de panal"; a boundary	446, line 16; Table 14
Yucu yuxi	437, lines 3-4; 438, line 2; Table 14
Yuhui ini itnu (ytuhuy-yini-ytnu)	441, line 21
Yuta ñuñute (yusa ñuñute)	438, lines 8 and 20-21; 439, lines 8 and 21; Table 14
Zentzontepec	447, line 22

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REPRODUCTIONS

This section lists the most useful and accessible reproductions of the published pictorial manuscripts mentioned in the text and describes briefly the type of reproduction. Accompanying the name of the manuscript and its present location is the manuscript's number in the census of pictorial manuscripts in volume 14 of the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Glass and Robertson 1975). This census includes all pictorial manuscripts from Middle America known as of 1968 except for the *Relación Geográfica* maps, which are treated in a study by Donald Robertson in volume 12 of the *Handbook* (Robertson 1972). If the reproduction appears in a publication listed in the Works Consulted section, a short-form annotation is given below.

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AUBIN NO. 20. Paris, Bibliothèque National, Fonds Mexicains 20 (*HMAI* Census No. 14).

Lehmann 1966. Color photograph.

BECKER I, Codex. Vienna, Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. Nr. 60306 (*HMAI* Census No. 27).

Nowotny 1961a. Color photographic facsimile.

BECKER II, Codex. Vienna. Museum für Völkerkunde, Inv. Nr. 60306, and Hamburg, Museum für Völkerkunde (*HMAI* Census Nos. 28, 29).

Vienna portion: Nowotny 1961a; Jansen 1994. Color photograph facsimile.

Hamburg portion: Nowotny 1975. Color photograph; a black-and-white photograph appears in *HMAI* 14:Fig. 24.

BODLEY, Codex. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Mex. d. 1 (*HMAI* Census No. 31).

Caso 1960. Color photographic facsimile.

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Peñañiel 1914; also *HMAI* 14:Fig. 31. Drawings of lost original.
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Tulane University (*HMAI* Census No. 195). *Codex Meixueiro* 1931; also *HMAI* 14:Fig. 44, Redrawing
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TEXUPAN, 1579 Relación Geográfica Map of. Madrid, Library of the Real Academia de Historia.

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