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Anonimo Mexicano

Richley Crapo

Bonnie Glass-Coffin

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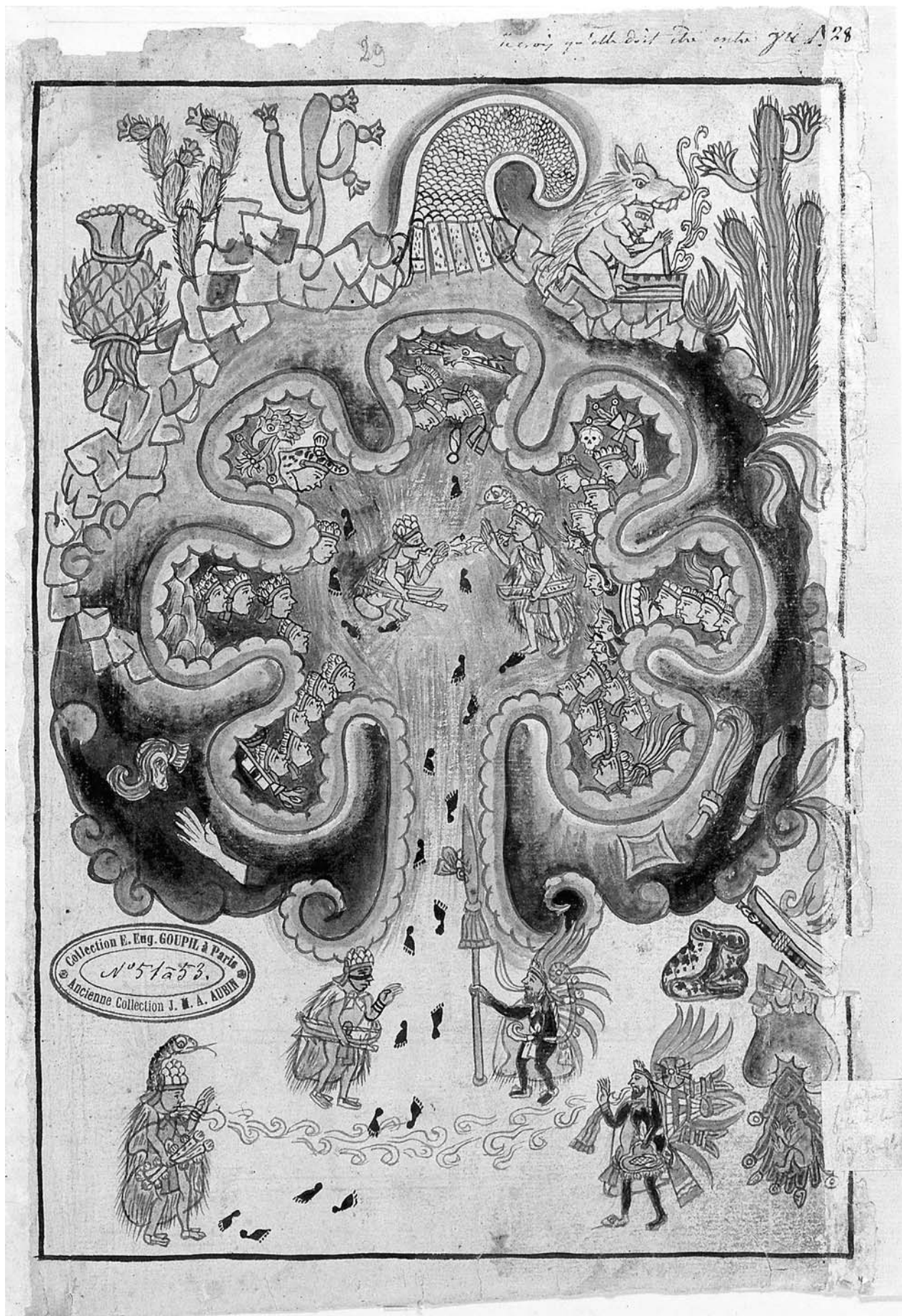


ANÓNIMO MEXICANO



EDITED BY
RICHLEY CRAPO AND
BONNIE GLASS-COFFIN

ANÓNIMO MEXICANO

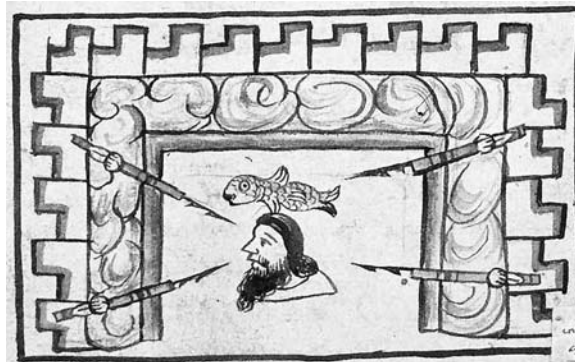


The island of Aztlan and its seven caves from which the Mexica, Tlaxcalteca, and other Chichimeca emerged.
(*"Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca,"* Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscript, Mexicain 51-53, fol. 28.)

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INTRODUCTION



When Hernán Cortés arrived in Mexico in 1519, the Mexica of the Valley of Mexico ruled an empire of three to four million people. A million of these lived in the Valley of Mexico, where the Mexica capital city of Tenochtitlan was located. The other two or three million people were made up of conquered tributary groups outside the Valley of Mexico. The Tlaxcalteca, who resided in the next valley to the east of the Valley of Mexico, were a traditional enemy of the Mexica; they had not been conquered and incorporated into the Mexica domain even though they were surrounded by peoples who were tributary to the Mexica. Cortés found in the Tlaxcalteca a powerful ally in his war against the Mexica. Although estimates of its size vary greatly, the Tlaxcalteca army that supported Cortés was formidable. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1552) estimated that there were 40,000 Tlaxcalteca warriors, while Cortés himself set the number at 100,000. Both the Mexica and the Tlaxcalteca were speakers of the Nahuatl language whose ancestors had migrated south from the high deserts of northern Mexico and adopted an agriculturally based, urban way of life in Mexico's high plateau. Both documented their histories in traditional "painted books" that were created and interpreted by specially trained scribes, but the history of central Mexico is dominated in popular imagination by the stories that the Mexica of the Valley of Mexico recounted about themselves and their ancestors, while relatively few are aware of the Tlaxcalan histories. *Anónimo Mexicano* is particularly valuable because it is one of the rare non-Mexica accounts of the history of ancient Mexico. It was preserved because the Franciscan friars who settled in Tlaxcala and converted the native population to their Christian religion taught some of their converts to read and write using the Latin alphabet also used for writing Spanish, and encouraged their students to preserve the traditions of their native books in this new system of writing by adapting it to the writing of their own Nahuatl language.

Two Franciscans accompanied Cortés when he arrived in New Spain in 1519. They baptized their first

converts, four Tlaxcalan caciques, in 1520. Three more arrived in 1522, and others—called the Twelve Apostles of New Spain—joined them from Spain in 1524 under the leadership of Martín de Valencia. The Franciscans were offspring of the Renaissance and its humanistic emphasis on the importance of education, and the socializing of the Indians into following Spanish customs, law, and religion was a high priority for them. To this end, they founded schools at San José de los Naturales and Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco in Tenochtitlan. In 1529, the Franciscans finished building a monasterial complex in Tlaxcala, La Catedral de la Asunción. In order to learn about those they hoped to convert, the friars sought out native books, but almost all of these had been destroyed by the Conquistadors, so they encouraged their students to record information about their native culture in books which were written with a Latin alphabet. One of these was the monumental work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, his twelve-volume *General History of the Things of New Spain* (1963). New codices were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries using contemporary knowledge of Indian scribes and students, including the *Mendoza Codex*, *Codex Mexicanus*, *Telleriano-Remensis* (1553–63), and the *Codex of Ixtlilxochitl*. A very few of the pre-Conquest native Nahuatl books were also preserved, notably those of the Borgia group of codices.

Most of what we know of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples of the high desert of Mexico comes from materials compiled in the Mexica capital city of Tenochtitlan in the Valley of Mexico, which was transformed after the Conquest into what is now Mexico City. The city of Tlaxcala had a population of 300,000 when Cortés arrived. It was situated in the next valley to the east of the Valley of Mexico and was the capital of an independent state that had not been conquered by the Mexica. Therefore, a Tlaxcalan perspective on the history of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples is a particularly important addition to the more well-known Mexica viewpoint. Tlaxcala was not only important in its role as ally of Cortés in the conquest of the Valley of

Mexico, but it also continued to have an important role in the ensuing history of New Spain. For instance, Tlaxcala became the first diocese in New Spain to function under the guidance of a bishop, the Dominican Fray Julián Garcés (whose arrival in Tlaxcala in 1527 is described in *Anónimo Mexicano*). The original diocese of Tlaxcala comprised the states of Puebla, Tlaxcala, Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Hidalgo, and Guerrero—all outside the Valley of Mexico. It was from the Franciscan monastery at Tlaxcala in 1541 that Juan Diego Bernardino, an Indian servant in the monastery, began his walk to visit his sick family in Xiloxotla during a plague of smallpox in the region, the journey on which he is said to have had his vision of Our Lady of Ocotlán, a story that has striking similarities to that of the similarly named Juan Diego of Tlatelolco in the Valley of Mexico from a decade earlier, but one that emphasized the piety rather than skepticism of the Franciscan religious leaders of Tlaxcala to whom the Indian reported his message.

Between 1581 and 1584, the historian Diego Muñoz Camargo—the son of a conquistador and a native woman—wrote his *History of Tlaxcala*, a work in both Spanish and Nahuatl as a gift for the Spanish king, Philip II. In 1615, Fray Juan de Torquemada published his *Monarquía Indiana*, a work that drew on various earlier sources, including the work of Muñoz Camargo, as well as Indian memories of their own native books. One of his Indian sources was most certainly *Anónimo Mexicano* itself, as documented by the extremely close parallels between Torquemada's Spanish text and the Nahuatl history preserved in *Anónimo Mexicano*.

The Nahuatl text of *Anónimo Mexicano* is a twelve-chapter document concerning the history of the Nahuatl Tlaxcalteca, who migrated from the northern frontier of the Toltec empire at its fall. It is housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris in the Aubin-Goupil collection, within which it is identified as document number 254 under the title, *Documents en nahuatl relatifs aux Toltèques, etc.* The acquisition was dated 5 August 1898. The manuscript was described as consisting of two notebooks with thirty folio pages. Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci visited Mexico from 1736 through 1744 and gathered the first important collection of native writings. In his catalog of July 1743, Boturini indicated that the manuscript was in his possession. He described the manuscript as consisting of eleven chapters that contained a history of the four cabeceras of Tlaxcala that had been copied on two cuadernos of European paper by the interpreter Francisco de Loaysa. In the September 1743 Balbuena catalog, the same manuscript is listed as inventory 5, number 22, a designation that also appears on the

verso of folio 30 of the Paris manuscript as “en^o ff os n^o 22 ynb^o ff 5^o” (bundled together as number 22 in inventory 5). This note was written in handwriting that Gómez de Orozco (1927) and, later, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (see Gibson 1952) identified as that of the Mexican lawyer and historian Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia (1718–1780). Balbuena described the manuscript as having been written in two memorandum books on twenty-nine leaves of Castilian paper. The discrepancy in the number of pages in the manuscript is likely a result of the fact that the thirtieth leaf was blank on the recto side and contained only Balbuena's inventory number on the verso, so was likely disregarded by Balbuena in his description. It should be noted that although the manuscript contains eleven full chapters as described above, its main body actually ends with the heading and introductory paragraph of a twelfth chapter which was intended to be a history of Tizatlan (later known as Xicotencatl), and that the manuscript now held in Paris has three more folios written on leaves that had been damaged prior to the time of the writing and that consist of copies by a second writer, in a clearly later style of writing, of parts of some of the chapters by the primary scribe.

According to Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (cited in Závala 1938), the director of the National Museum of Mexico, *Anónimo Mexicano* was written in a cortesana style script in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century hand (see also note 339). This suggested dating places the manuscript within what James Lockhart (1992) classified as stage two of a four-stage process of change in post-Conquest Nahuatl. Stage one was a short period from the arrival of Cortés in 1519 to about 1545, during which time there was relative stability in Nahuatl and the only known alphabetic documents were census records from the area of Cuernavaca. Stage two, the period to which *Anónimo Mexicano* belongs, was from that time until near the mid-seventeenth century. This period was one of a massive influx of Spanish loan words into Nahuatl, but little other influence from Spanish. This was the period to which Fray Alonso de Molina's Nahuatl dictionary belongs, a work that began to appear as early as 1555. This was a period of intense collaborative work by Franciscan friars and the native students who were being training to write Nahuatl in an adapted Spanish alphabet, and who were simultaneously serving as resources of knowledge about pre-Spanish native culture. Examples of Spanish loanwords that are found in *Anónimo Mexicano* include *mitxa* (mass), *Castilianos* (Spaniards), *Franciscanos* (Franciscans), and, of course, several personal and place names.

The author of *Anónimo Mexicano* is not known with certainty, but Boturini thought that the manuscript was an extraction from a history of Tlaxcala by a Tlaxcalan caci-que named Miguelé Tlacuitlocintli. On the other hand, in his inventory, Patricio Ana López ([1745–46] 1925), who undoubtedly knew Boturini's opinion and used Boturini's catalog identification, insisted that the work was anonymous. Rosa y Saldívar ([1847] 1947) believed that one section, chapter 5, was authored by Benito Itzcacmacuetzli (as the chapter itself suggests).

A full English translation of *Anónimo Mexicano* has never been undertaken. A Spanish translation of the first five chapters by Mariano J. Rojas is housed in the Instituto Nacional de Antropología, and another Spanish translation of the first three chapters by Padre Aquiles Gerste was published by Alfredo Chavero (1903) in the *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*. John A. Hasler (1958) also published an edited work, *Anónimo Mexicano: Paleographia* which presented both the Nahuatl and parallel passages of "Historia y fundación de la ciudad de Tlaxcala y sus cuatro cabeceras" which, like *Anónimo Mexicano*, has parallels with book 3, chapters 6 and 12–19 of Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana*, and which Gibson (1952) regarded as a translation into Nahuatl of those sections of Torquemada's work.

Gerste noted that the Nahuatl manuscript is difficult to interpret due to scribal errors, the paucity and equivocal nature of its punctuation, the spelling variations which it contains, and the presence of a number of terms not found in other sources such as Molina ([1571] 1966) and Rémi Siméon (1963). We handle the scribal errors by reconstructing the intended form, noting this in our end notes. Unfortunately, Gerste's transcription also introduced numerous errors. Gerste also regularized Nahuatl spelling to a more contemporary form in his transcription. For instance, he regularly rewrote initial *y* as *i*. Our own transcription returns to the original spelling of the Nahuatl text.

Our re-publication of *Anónimo Mexicano* is being undertaken in order to provide a full English translation of all twelve chapters of the Nahuatl text. It is also motivated by the fact that the manuscript contains not only a number of previously unattested Nahuatl words, but also because it contains heretofore unpublished information of historical interest.

Anónimo Mexicano is an important document because of its relationship to other early histories. Taken at face value, the manuscript portrays itself as recounting material from one or more native pictographic codices. Rosa y Saldívar, in his catalog of 1791, described what may be

the same manuscript as that examined by Boturini but cataloged it as "Legajo 2, Cuaderno 1." He interpreted it as made up of translations of parts of Torquemada's three-volume *Monarquía Indiana* on twenty-nine manuscript pages. Paso y Troncoso believed that it had been used by Alva Ixtlilxóchitl (1840), and noted that it contained data very similar to those reported by the sixteenth-century historian Muñoz Camargo ([1585] 1966), whose sources seem now to be lost. Rosa y Saldívar also noted that, with the exception of chapter 5, *Anónimo Mexicano* contains many parallels with Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana*. He asserted that *Anónimo Mexicano* was a translation of portions of Torquemada's history into Nahuatl. Similarly, Gibson (1952) has contended that *Anónimo Mexicano* might be a partial back-translation into Nahuatl by Torquemada. On the other hand, Jiménez Moreno (1938, pp. 575–76) viewed it as one of the sources that Torquemada drew upon, an opinion with which we concur for reasons which we give below.

Although each document contains information absent in the other, the history given by the anonymous writer does parallel that of Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* quite closely in many respects, including important similarities both of sequencing and phraseology. The parallels are more extensive than has been noted previously, and are particularly striking for book 1, chapters 14–21, 23–25, 27, 29, 33, 37, 41, 42–44, and 48; book 2, chapter 1; and book 3, chapters 6, 9–10, and 12 of *Monarquía Indiana*. The degree of parallelism is clearly suggestive of some connection between the two documents. Both writers may have drawn upon a common source. Jiménez Moreno (1938) has suggested that Torquemada may have drawn upon *Anónimo Mexicano*.

Torquemada began collecting material for *Monarquía Indiana* as early as 1595, and published his work in 1615. It is known that Torquemada used a variety of previous sources, including Diego Muñoz Camargo's *Historia de Tlaxcala* ([1585] 1966) and Gerónimo de Mendieta's *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* ([ca. 1596] 1870) as well as native codices or references to them. It is our opinion that *Anónimo Mexicano* predates *Monarquía Indiana* and that it is one of the various sources which Torquemada drew upon in the preparation of his history. Indeed, it may well have been written by scribes trained by Franciscan friars.

Anónimo Mexicano not only contains information such as details about the death of Tenancaltzin and the rule of his son Tecotlatlatzin that are absent from *Monarquía Indiana*, but it also contains information which was

apparently present in sources used by Torquemada but which he chose to withhold from *Monarquía Indiana*. For instance, *Anónimo Mexicano* declares the number of men who accompanied Nopaltzin to Nepoalco to have been 3,200,000, whereas Torquemada takes pains to justify his not declaring the unrealistically high figure found in his sources: "If I were to go on, without numbering the people who arrived in this place, I would do an injustice to the history (if I were to tell it without telling the number), but if I do refer to it, I fear that it would be viewed as unbelievable. But, if it is not a clever rationale that forms the opinion but rather things that are found written (if the ancient paintings are true and not mistaken) these say that the people who left these caves and regions numbered more than a million people, because in addition to the six kings and lords who came with Xolotl, there were more than twenty thousand subordinate leaders and captains who had more than a thousand persons each under their care, all of them being under Xolotl's command, as well as under that of the other six lords who had departed from their rulerships and province with him. And so that the ears of the prudent and the cautious reader might not be scandalized, since the number appears to be exaggerated, let me say that near the village that is now called Tenayuca (which at that time was the capital of this great kingdom) is a place where there are twelve little hills of small rocks. As told in the accounts, there are those that were gathered together there, each person carrying one [rock] and placing it on the multitude, such that in viewing these, it seems awesome. And considering that each one of these little rocks had been put there by each one of them, it may not be difficult to believe that the number of people was as large as has been said and that thus that place came to be named Nepoalco, which means Place of Counting."¹ Where Torquemada adds clarifications concerning Aztec history or geography for Spanish readers who would lack that information, these clarifications are not found in the parallel passages of *Anónimo Mexicano*. For instance, where *Anónimo Mexicano* simply refers to various cities by name, the parallel account by Torquemada frequently adds a statement indicating how far from Mexico City and in what direction they lie. Similarly, Torquemada's philosophical digressions are consistently absent from *Anónimo Mexicano*.

Several passages in the document suggest that it was written from the point of view of a Tlaxcalan author. Other aspects of the text suggests a writer who was working under the tutelage of the Franciscans. The writer of the manuscript appears to be drawing from one or more earlier sources,

possibly ideographic codices. The point of view of the text suggests that its source material was also Tlaxcalan—the information about Tlaxcala being the most detailed and elaborate. Internal evidence, including the handwriting of the manuscript, suggests a date for the original manuscript close to 1600.

The handwriting of five persons is found on the manuscript: (1) the primary scribe, (2) a secondary copyist who reproduced three folios of the original manuscript, (3) an early editor who made copyediting corrections of errors by the primary scribe, (4) a commentator who added occasional marginal notations at a later date, and (5) one possible notation at the end of the manuscript by Mariano Fernández de Echeverría. The Nahuatl dialect of the manuscript is nonstandard compared with the usual canons of Classical Nahuatl in a number of particulars. For instance, it includes the frequent use of the imperfect tense *-ia* as a suffix to the distant-past-as-past *-ca* in *catcaya*. The writer also formed *inahuachuic* (toward the vicinity of) by suffixing *-huic* (toward) to *inahuac* (in/to/from the vicinity of it). In several cases the preterit plural number dyad *-que* is suffixed to a pronoun, e.g., *inque*. The marginal commentator noted that Torquemada followed *Anónimo's* wording in chapter 2 concerning the death of the Chichimec leader Xolotl only to the word *ymixpan* and then omitted the ensuing material that added little to the history (see note 225). This, too, suggests that *Anónimo* predates Torquemada and was drawn on by him. The extraneous material in *Anónimo* does not support the back-translation position. To make characteristics of the original manuscript accessible to researchers, we have adopted a three-column format in which the first column reproduces the spelling, punctuation, and underlining of the original manuscript. In the second column we give our own rendition in a contemporary orthography, and in the third, our translation.

In our transcription of the original text we have not attempted to reproduce every characteristic of the original, such as errors that were corrected by the original scribe or emended by the editor. Since it is a characteristic of the scribe's writing that may be of interest to some researchers—that he frequently rested his quill in a manner that left what looks like a period but is not actually a punctuation mark—we have included these in our transcription. In such cases we do document the characteristics (such as a crossed-out letter or letters or the scribe's original spelling versus the editorial emendation) in the notes. Two conventions are reproduced but not annotated. When a hyphen or dash or sometimes an equal sign was used simply

to mark the end of a line (a convention analogous to what we might call keeping the text “right-justified”), we have reproduced that mark (even when it occurs when part of a word is written on one line and the rest on the next line) without commenting on this in the notes. Such marks will readily be recognized by the reader. (Except where it marked the division of a word, we have not attempted to note this “right-justification” when it merely involved lengthening the end of the last letter of a line, a convention that was frequently used by the scribe when certain letters such as *l*, *n*, and *e* were line-final.) The second nonannotated convention of the scribe that we have transcribed is that of words broken at the end of a line. We have maintained such non-hyphenated word breaks simply as a break within the word. We have maintained word-internal spaces when they are clearly larger than the scribe’s usual spacing between letters. This and other transcription conventions—such as distinguishing between an ordinary dotted *i* and a clearly accented *í*—sometimes involve a judgement call: for instance, the difference between a hurriedly dotted *i* in which the dot has been slightly extended and a hurriedly written accent mark in which the mark is not ended with its usual counterclockwise curve. We have followed Gerste’s lead in making the translation a literal one, and have appended notes that indicate problematic aspects of the translation. In order to place the narrative in a broader historical context, we have also included notes concerning the approximate times of the events described, and about the events themselves where other sources might add to the readers’ understanding of the history in question. To facilitate the reading of the translation and to make it easier to find the equivalent part of the Nahuatl, we have followed the convention of English punctuation and carried that punctuation over into the Nahuatl of the second column. There is one exception to this deference to English punctuation that needs to be noted. In lists of three or more nouns, Nahuatl does not use a word for *and* before the final noun in the list. In the case of such lists, we have inserted a comma at that location in the Nahuatl for the sake of consistency. We have transcribed the first letter of proper nouns and of each new Nahuatl sentence in upper case and have ignored the scribe’s use of upper case for non-proper nouns elsewhere. In some cases, the spacing conventions followed by the scribe create ambiguities or easy misreadings that we hope to help the contemporary reader to avoid. The most common of these changes involves the fact that the scribe consistently appends the pronominal prefixes *i-* and *in-* to the preceding article *in* instead of to the following noun. When the

pronoun prefix is plural, the resulting *inin* could be read either as *in in-* (“the their”) or as *inin* (“this/these”). Spacing is quite irregular and we maintain the original spacing only when we feel that it represents the meaning intended in the manuscript. Where there are lacunae in the manuscript, we have used bracketed ellipses. The number of periods shown indicates the approximate number of letters and spaces that may have been present in the manuscript before the damage occurred. Finally, we have chosen to follow academic conventions for the spelling of Nahuatl personal and place names. In some cases, this results in the name being notably different in the third column from the spelling in columns one and two.

The manuscript consists of a total of thirty-four leaves. The recto sides of the first thirty-three were numbered consecutively. The first sixteen folio numbers were centered at the top of each page. Folios seventeen through thirty-three were numbered at the top right. The primary text of *Anónimo Mexicano* is written on the recto and verso of twenty-nine leaves. Leaf 30 is blank on the recto, while the verso bears only a brief annotation (see note 703) and the accession stamp of the Collection E. Eug. Goupil à Paris, Ancienne Collection J. M. A. Aubin, with the accession number 254. Finally, there are three additional leaves. The first of these, written on both sides of manuscript folio 31, is titled “Commencario de la guere de Mexico” (beginning of the war of Mexico) and contains material that repeats the primary text’s narrative of the war between Huexotzinco and the Tlaxcalan Chichimeca (on pp. 38–39 of this publication). In the left margin at the beginning of this material, there is a marginal note that reads, “Capitulo 12. lib 3. Saltando gran parte pero dio fin” (chapter 12, book 3. jumping over the greater part but giving the end). The recto of this leaf contains the same accession stamp as the previous page, without an accession number. The ensuing page (manuscript folio 32) contains a repetition of the primary text’s narrative of the reigns of Teuctotolin and his son Tlacomihua (chapter 9, on pp. 49–50 of our translation). The upper right corner of the recto of this leaf is missing, but the writing was done after that damage. The third additional leaf (manuscript folio 33) continues the war narrative of the first duplicate leaf, and repeats what is found on pages 39–40 of our translation. The material in both of these repeated texts is nearly identical to that of the primary text. The handwriting of these two duplicated sections differs from that of the scribe of the primary text. The writer of the duplicate material appears to have copied from the manuscript pages of the text’s primary scribe, as indicated by:

dittography, in which the corresponding duplicated material correspond to words in the original text that are located at the appropriate point for such an error; haplography, in which the omitted text is the entire ensuing line of the original page; and the ending of the copied text with words that are page-end words in the original even though the copy page has remaining space in which a sentence might have been ended. The copyist follows slightly different spelling conventions from those of the original scribe, notably preferring initial *i* over *y* in words such as *in* or *ihuan*, and *m* rather than *n* before *p*, while the scribe follows the opposite preference. The copyist also omits the scribe's *h* after *t* in words such as *theotl*. A final blank page contains only the

stamp of the Paris museum, one different from the other stamps. This one appears simply to identify the document as a manuscript of the museum collection, and reads "BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE MANUSCRITS".

Special thanks are due to Jerry Offner for his helpful suggestions. The primary author is responsible for any weaknesses in the English translation of the Nahuatl text. The second author has responsibility for all translations from the Spanish. Finally, we wish to dedicate this work to the memory of maestro Charles Elliot Dibble, who was not only a leading figure in Nahuatl research but also a man of the greatest kindness and humility.

ANÓNIMO MEXICANO



Recto, Ms. Folio 1

ynic 1 Capitu[lo]²

Nícan Pehua ynic [quenin]³ ynaChtopa,⁴ o Altepe manacô nican yan[cuica M]exica tlalpan Tenochtitlan.⁵

Mítoa, motenehua cayehuantín
Yn Tolteca tlachueyaque yztac
ynintlaquen huehueyac ymic xíc
tlatlainiaynin tlaca yehuantin
Ynachtopa ohual azíco⁷ mítoa⁸
onpa hualaque tonalco⁹ ycalaquían:
yno quinhual yacanque, chicome
pipiltin yaotetequihuaque¹⁰ môto-
cayotiaya, inícçe tzâcatl, tlatcatzín
Ehêcatzín—¹¹ Cohuatzon, Tziccohu-
âtl, Tlapalmezotzin, Mezotzin; mítoa
ohualtotocoque ynonpa yn tlalpan
manaían,¹³ Ypanpa ynín tlacame-
cayo cenca mîequiaque yehuantin
ynînque yn achto oquihualhuicaque
tlaollí Yhcatl Yhuá mochi ynoccequí
achotl, mahuíztic chalchiuhte me,
coztic teocuytlatl, Yztac teocuitlatl,
ohualqu[iz-]que¹⁴ Huehuê tlalpal yn-
chanyocan mitoa xihuítl=ce tecpatl,
cayehuatl ynic opehuaia¹⁵ ý çecahuítl
[yntla]pohu-al,¹⁶ auh nohuian zan
nenque amo canpa motlalitiaque ye-
quine ôôázico tolantzinco, Yncanpa
oquipo uhque çe cahuitl, ca quipiaia
onpohuali yhuan matlactli omome
xihuítl, quitocayotiaya²⁰ toxihu-

Ini:c 1 Capitulo

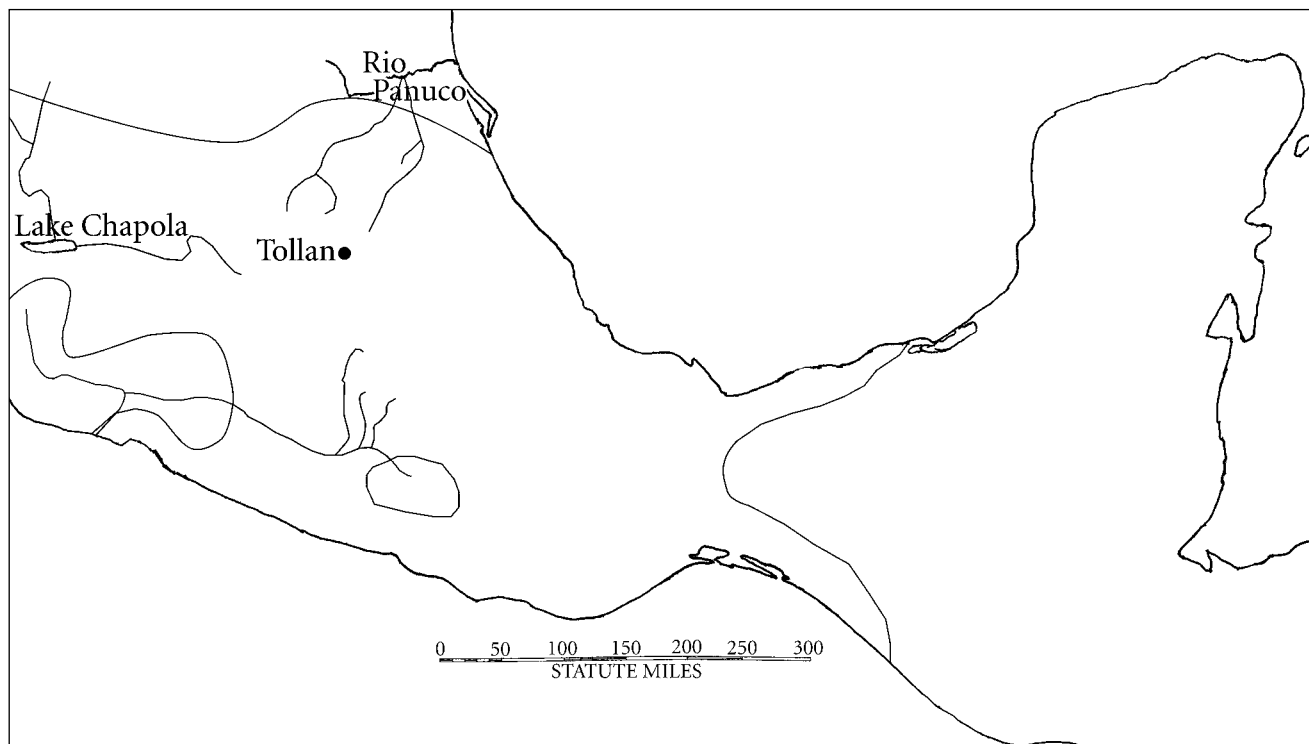
*Nican pe:hua que:nin in achtopa
o:a:ltepe:manaco nican yan[cuican
M]exica tla:lpan Tenochtitlan.*

Mihtoa, mote:ne:hua cah yehua:ntin
in To:lte:cah tla:chue:iyacqueh. Izta:c
in intlaque:n hue:hue:yac, imicxic
tlahtlamia. Ini:n tla:ca yehua:ntin in
achtopa o:hua:lahcico. Mihtoa o:mpa
hua:lla:queh to:natiuh i:calaquian, in
o:quinhua:lyaca:nqueh, chico:me pi:-
piltin ya:o:tetequihuahqueh moto:-
ca:yo:tiaya ini:c ce: Tzacatl, Tlaca:tzin
Ehe:catzin Co:huatzon, Tziccohuatl,
Tlahpa:lmezzohtzin, Mezzohtzin.
Mihtoa o:hua:ltoto:caqueh in o:mpa
in tla:lpan manaian i:pampa ini:n
tla:camecayo: cencah miaquiaqueh
yehua:ntin. Ini:nqueh in achto
o:quihua:lhui:caqueh tla:lli ichcatl
i:hua:n mochi inoc cequi achotl,
mahuíztic cha:lchiuhtemeh, co:ztic
teo:cuitlatl, izta:c teo:cuitlatl. O:hua:-
lqui:zqueh Hue:huehtlapal, i:ncha:-
nyo:ca:n ihto, xihuítl Ce: Tecpatl. Ca
yehhua:tl ini:c ope:huaia in ce:
ca:huitl [intla]po:hual. Auh no:huiya:n
zan nenqueh ahmo: ca:mpa motla:-
litiaqueh. Ye:queneh¹⁸ o:ahcico To:lla:-
ntzinco, in ca:mpa o:quipo:uhqueh
ce: ca:huitl, cah quipiyaya o:mpo:-
hualli i:hua:n mahtla:ctli omemeh
xihuítl, quito:ca:yo:tiaya Toxihu.²²

Chapter 1

*Here begins how the first ones recently
came to populate the city Tenochtitlan
in the new land of the Mexica.*

It is said, it is mentioned that they,
the Toltecs, were large of body. Their
garments were white and long,⁶ that
is to say they reached to their feet.
These people were the ones who
came here first. It is said that they
came from the west, led here by seven
nobles or captains who were named:
the first one was Tzacatl [and the
others were] Tlacatzin, Ehecatzin,
Cohuatzon, Tzihuac Cohuatl,¹² Tla-
palmetzotzin, and Metzotzin. It is said
they were exiled because they were
expanding throughout the land there,
and their lineages were growing very
large in number. Thus as they first
came here, they carried dried maize
kernels, cotton, and all other seeds,
marvelous turquoise stones, yellow
gold, and silver. They came from
Huehuetlapatl, their place of habita-
tion, it is said, in the year One Flint.
Thus with [that date] they started
the first era,¹⁷ their count [of a new
era]. And they lived only by wander-
ing, settling themselves in no place.¹⁹
They finally arrived at Tolantzinco,²¹
where they counted one cycle of fifty-
two years, which they called Our Year.



The city of Tollan and its sphere of influence.

Verso, Ms. Folio 1

[Oncan oqu]izque²³ yn tlalpan, oncan opanoque o[hualquizni]que²⁴ Tollan yncanpa oquipixque ynachto-pa Yntlátocauh²⁶ motocayotiy Chalchíuh tlanetzín opeuhltlatocati²⁷ ypan xihuitl chicome Acatl, ynic ome yntlátocauh motocayotí, yxtlil cuecuechahuac, ynic yey-yntlátocauh, Hueitzintotepeuh, ynic macuilli,³⁰ tlatoaní= Nacazcayotl, ynic chicuacentetl, Mitl, ynic chicome ôtlatacatl ce cihuatl ytoxa Xiuhtzaltzin, otlanhuyxiuh =quixti,³¹ ynic zatepan cemochintin³² ýteuctin quihui=cataque:³⁴ yn ce teuctli otlátocatia onpohualí, yhuá matlactliíó[mo]me³⁶ xihuitl, maçihui hoc nemízquía, zaníc omotzacua ía níman ocalaquía Ynihuecapan Piltzin no ce Yn⁴⁰ tlatôque, Ynic chicuey teuctlatoaní. motocayoti tec-pancaltzin. ypan ynín cahuitl oxixínque. omoxexeloque yntolteca

[Oncan o:qu]izqueh in tla:lpán. Oncan o:panoqueh o:[hua:lqui:zni]queh To:lla:n in ca:mpa o:quipixqueh. In achtopa i:ntlahto:ca:uh moto:ca:yo:-tiaya²⁸ Cha:lchiuhtlane:tzin. O:pe:-uh tlahto:ca:ti i:pan xihuitl Chico:-me A:catl. Ini:c o:me i:ntlahto:cauh motocayoti Ixtlilcuecuechahuac. Ini:c ye:i i:ntlahto:ca:uh Hue:itzin. Totepe:uh. Ini:c ma:cui:lli tlahto:ni, Nacazcayotl; ini:c chicuacentetl Mi:tl Ini:c chico:me o:tlahto:ca:tic ce: cihua:tl i:to:ca: Xiuhtzaltzin. O:-tlanhuyxiuhqui:xti, ini:c za:te:pan cenmochintin in te:te:uctin quihui:-cataqueh. In ce: te:uhtli o:tlahto:ca:-tia o:mpo:hualli i:hua:n mahtlac-tliomo:me xihuitl, ma:cihui oc nemizquia, zan i:c o:mozacuaia. Ni-man o:calaquia in i:huecapan piltzin, noceh in tlahto:queh. Ini:c chicuey te:uhtlahto:ni motocayoti Te:-cpancaltzin i:pan ini:n cahuitl

[Then] they left the land. Then they crossed over and came here to Tollan,²⁵ where they ruled. Their first king was called Chalchiuhtlanetzin. He began to rule in the year Seven Reed. Their second ruler was named Ixtlilcuechahuac. Their third ruler was Huetzin. [The fourth was]²⁹ Totepeuh; the fifth lord, Nacazcayotl; the sixth, Mitl. The seventh who ruled was a woman named Xiuhtzaltzin. She lasted four years in the government, and afterwards all the lords ruled together.³³ Each lord reigned for 52 years,³⁵ although if he lived longer, he resigned. Then immediately his firstborn³⁷ son took over,³⁸ or else the [other] rulers. The eighth ruler was named Tecpancaltzin,³⁹ in whose time the Toltec collapsed and scattered themselves continuously. And this Tecpancaltzin left two sons, one called Xilotzin, the other

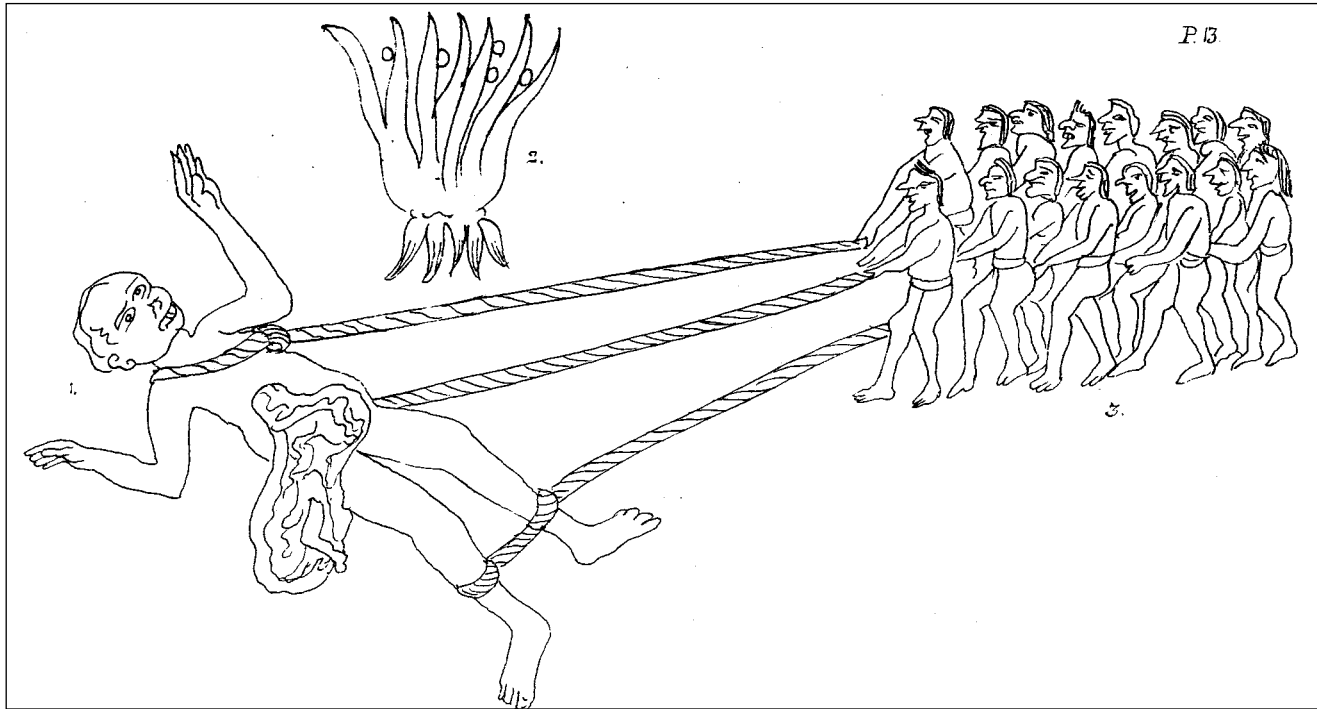


Illustration of the stinking corpse tale. (From Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 13, fig. 214; courtesy of Utah State University Special Collections and Archives.)

auh ynín tecpan caltzin, oquicauh ome,⁴² Ypilhuan ce ytoxa Xilotzin, ynocce Pochotl, omoca uhque⁴⁴ ynínque⁴⁵ oncan ahuelhuacán, ynín tlaca yzcaltique ca omotlalique pacaocoxcayotica ocacíc centzontli. yhuan macuipohuali xihuitl⁴⁷ auh yn zan onenque cuauh tla tepetla ocacíc macuipohualli Yhua⁴⁹ nahui xiuh tica, auh yníc otenpo liuhque mitoa ca yníc cenca- omayanaloc otlapoliuhuac⁵⁰ ayocle tlacuali⁵¹ omochiuh nocencan⁵² machiotoc; ca ce in⁵⁴ teuctlátocauh otzitzquiloc—

o:xixi:nqueh o:moxe:xe:loqueh in To:lte:cah. Auh ini:n Te:cpancaltzin, o:quica:uh o:me i:pilhua:n ce: i:to:-ca: Xi:lo:tzin, in occe: Po:cho:tl. O:-moca:uhqueh ini:nqueh onca:n A:hue:lhua:hca:n. Ini:n tla:ca izcal-tiqueh ca o:motla:liqueh pa:cca: o:coxayo:tica o:cahcic ce:ntzontli i:hua:n ma:cui:lpo:hualli xihuitl. Auh in zan o:nenqueh cuauhtlah, tepe:-tlah o:cahcic ma:cui:lpo:hualli i:hua:n na:hui xihuitica. Auh ini:c o:cenpoliuhqueh. Mihtoa cah ini:c cencah o:maya:naloc, o:tlapoliuhuac, ahyocle tlacua:lli o:mochi:uh. Nocencan machiotoc ca ce: i:nte:-uctlahtohcauh o:tzi:ztquiloc=

Pochotl.⁴¹ These [two] were left there in Ahuelhuacan.⁴³ These people built their huts, and they settled themselves⁴⁶ happily and peacefully for five hundred years, and [thereafter] they just wandered in the forests and the mountains for one hundred and four years.⁴⁸ But they used everything up. It is said that very many were hungry, and everything was used up, and they were not able to make anything to eat. Also, in one place, it is noted⁵³ that one of their lord rulers was imprisoned,

Recto, Ms. Folio 2

ca mochintín o:ce:títicatca⁵⁵ yn teot[in]. Ca tlapo-huali quitztotica⁵⁷ Mex^o,⁵⁸ axc[an . y . . . q . .]⁶⁰ qui-piaya ini⁶¹ theocal ynlimiztlaca, theohua⁶³ quinmo nex-tili yna Yectlí. quenamí cetlaca huey

cah mochintín o:ce:títicatca in teo:-t[in]. Ca tlapo-huali qui:ztotica Mexico, a:x[ca:n iuhquin], quipiyaya in i:nteo:cal in i:miztlaca teo:hua:n. Quinmone:xtili in ahye:ctli, que:namih ce: tla:catl⁶⁴

because all the gods were becoming united⁵⁶ [.....]. According to the story,⁵⁹ when they had espied Mexico,⁶² just as today they built their temple of their false gods. And a demon appeared to

The scribal rubric and attestation at the end of chapter 1. (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscript, Mexicain 254, fol. 2.)

ac ca ymatzoptica⁶⁵ oquinmimicti miequintin, moztla tica quitaque ypa ce tepetl huecapan yxiptla ce yztac piltzintli, cenca mahuiztic maci-huí Palanquí catquí Yni tzonecon, auh yca inípotonca miequintin, °mímique,⁶⁸ chichahu aliztica cantiaque yhuá quíhuíCaque⁶⁹ chaltitlan auh ý tlaco atitlan oyxpoliuh, oncan o quinmonextiliynnamo hiectli; auh quel⁷¹ quimíhui ma tlalcahuacan,⁷⁴ ma quízacan y pan y ni ntlalli- caytech huic ytalhui lo míquizque popolihuiz que, ma-quicautocatihiuan ca quimítquíz, occeCanpa. Yncampa químacahu-azquía paquí líz ocoxcaYotl. noma tica oquichihque; cequi-ntin tonallí yquizaían, hoccequintín tlazintlan tlalpá: Ynquenamí Yntlachialíz machíotl cece me químatia⁷⁹ ot-lalcauhque⁸² cequintin, otalmanato Coatemallan, Ynoc cequintín oyaquê Campech=

huei a:c cah i: ma:tzoptica o:quin-mimicti mi-equintin, moztlatica quitaqueh. I:pan ce: tepetl huehcapan, i:xi:ptla ce: izta:c piltzintli, cenca mahuiztic (ma:cihui pala:nquicatqui in i:tzonecon). auh i:ca in i:poto:nca miequintin o:mimiqueh, chicha:hua:liztica. Cantiaqueh, i:hua:n quihui:caqueh cuechahuac Cha:titlan, auh i:n tlahco a:titlan o:i:xpoliuh. Onca:n o:quinmone:xtili in ahmo: ye:ctli,⁷² auh quil quimilhui ma tla:lcahuican ma: qui:zacan; i:pan ini:n tla:lli, ca i:-techhuic italhuilo miquizqueh, popo:lihuizqueh, ma: quica:utocati-huian⁷⁶ cah quimitquiz occe: ca:mpa in ca:mpa, quimma:ce:huazquia paquiliz o:coxayo:tl nohmahtica⁷⁸ o:quichi:uhqueh. Cequi:ntin to:nalli i:qui:zayan. Oc cequi:ntin tlatzintlan⁸⁰ tla:lpan in que:namih in intla:chializ machi:yo:tl ce:cemeh qui:mamatia. O:tlalcauhqueh Cequi:ntin o:tlalmanato Co:a:te:mallan. Inoc cequi:ntin o:yaqueh Campech.

them, some kind of giant who killed many of them, grabbing them with his arms.⁶⁶ On the following day, high up on a mountain, they saw the body⁶⁷ of a white child, very marvelous (although his head was rotten), and many died from its stench; they succumbed because of its strength. They went to get him, and they took him to Chaltitlan,⁷⁰ but he disappeared in the middle of the lake.⁷³ There the evil one⁷⁵ revealed himself to them, and he surely told them that they must forsake and leave their land. It was told them that they would die and perish⁷⁷ in that land next to it, and that they should continue going so that they would carry themselves to another place, where they would achieve happiness for themselves. Some went to the east.⁸¹ Others went to the land below,⁸³ according to how each one understood the sign that they had seen.⁸⁴ They left the land.⁸⁵ Some went to live in Guatemala. Others went to Campeche.⁸⁶



Verso, Ms. Folio 2

[Ynic Capitulo II]⁸⁸

*nican motenehua⁸⁹ ynic ôme [.....
n]⁹⁰ oaltepe manaco nicá mexí-catlal
ytzmapan.⁹¹*

Zatepanian mochí yntlallí ocahualoc
yeo yaque intolteca ypan Yn tlatilan-
altin tlazintlan, Ypanceme Altepētl
quitocayo-tia⁹³ Amaquémê.⁹⁴ ocat-
caya⁹⁵ çe theuctlí-yntlatocauh ý chi-
chimeca ytocaCatca⁹⁶ Tlamacatzin,
auh y ni macehualhuá, mochí. cen-
petlauhtinemía, zantlaquentitinemia
Yca tecuan cuetlaxtín temamauh-
tique, cayncemitol yn Yaoyotl quipi-
aya tetotocamitl, mintli Yn tlahuitol,
quicauiya yn tlen cacia yolcame
papalome- omiquí Ynín theuctli
oquicauh o meme ypilhuan ceytoca
Achcauhtzin, Xolotl- ynachto pa,
oteuctic⁹⁹ ypantlatocayotl, Ynic ome
amo yolo motlallí ynic amo o teuc-
tia, Oquincētlallí. Yaoteyecanque,¹⁰²
tzontecomame quítoquínalquixtiz
Yntle in Ynecocol,¹⁰⁴ ochihualoc
y niachtonhuá Yni colhuan, catca
tonallixtlacuāpan,|| inicuac-¹⁰⁶

Ini:c 2 Capitulo

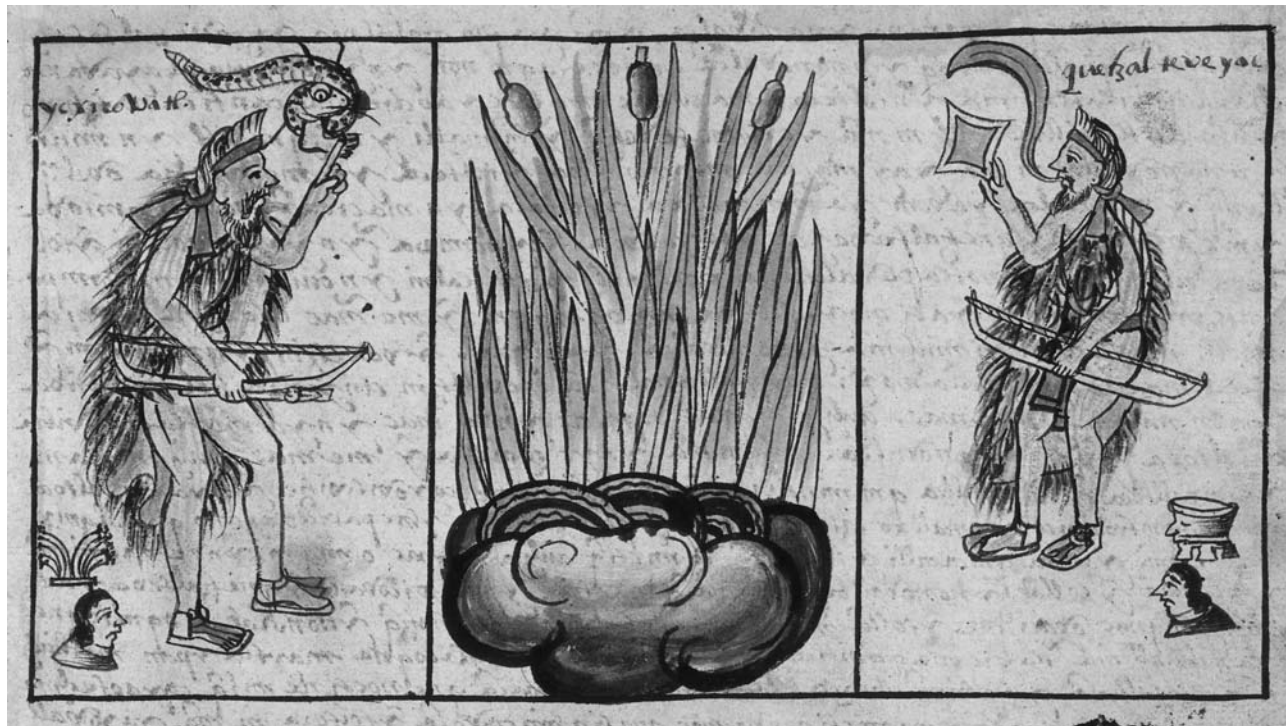
*Nican mote:ne:hua ini:c o:me [yehua:
ntin] o:a:ltepe:manaco nican Me:
xihcahtla:litzmapan.*

Za:te:panian, mochi in tla:lli o:ca:-
hualo:c, ye o:ya:queh in To:lte:cah i:
pan in tla:tilanaltin tlazi:ntlan. I:pan
ce:meh a:ltepe:tl quito:ca:yo:tia
A:maque:meh, o:catcaya ce: te:uctli,
i:ntlahto:ca:uh i:n Chi:chi:me:cah,
i:to:ca: catca Tlamacatzin. Auh in i:-
ma:ce:hualhuan mochi cenpetla:uh-
tinemia. Zan motlaque:ntitinemia⁹⁷
i:ca te:cua:ncuetlaxtin. Temam-
auhtiqueh, cah in ce: mihto:l in ya:-
o:yo:tl. Quipiyaya te:toto:camitl mi:-
ntli, i:ntlahuitol. Quicauiya in tlein
cahcia, yolcameh, pa:pa:lo:meh. O:-
miqui ini:n te:uhtli, o:quica:uh o:-
memeh, i:pilhua:n, ce: i:to:ca: a:-
chca:utzin, Xo:lo:tl. In achtopa te:-
uctic i:pan tlahto:ca:yo:tl; ini:c o:me
ahmo: yo:llo motla:lli ini:c ahmo:
o:te:uctia. O:quincētlalli ya:o:te:-
yaca:nqueh, tzontecomameh qui:to
quina:lqui:xtiz in tlein i:necocol
o:chi:hua:loc in i:achto:nhuan, in
i:colhuan catca to:nallixtlacua:pan in
ihcua:c

Chapter 2

*Here it is told [how] the second ones
came to live here in the plains of
Mexico.⁹²*

Finally, all of the land was aban-
doned, and the Toltecs had already
gone to the territory below. In
one town, which was called Am-
aqueme, there was a lord, the king
of the Chichimeca, whose name was
Tlamacatzin. And his vassals all went
completely naked. They simply
went about only dressed with tanned
animal skins. They were frightening,
because their avocation was con-
ducting war, and they carried their
hunting arrows, arrows, and bows.⁹⁸
And they ate whatever they found,
[even] insects and butterflies. The
lord¹⁰⁰ died, leaving¹⁰¹ his two sons,
one called Achcauhtzin, [the other]
Xolotl.¹⁰³ The first became the lord of
the rulership; the second was restless
at heart¹⁰⁵ because he had not been
made the ruler. He gathered the cap-
tains and the chiefs together and told
them that he wanted to depart¹⁰⁷ and
[take revenge]¹⁰⁸ for what had been
done to his ancestors, to his great-
grandfathers and his grandfathers
who were toward the south while



Two Chichimec warriors. ("Códice Xolotl," Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscript, Mexicain 54-58, fol. 24; photograph from Bibliothèque Nationale de France.)

Recto, Ms. Folio 3

hoctlein machiztíticatca, oq[ui . . .
] ¹¹⁰ ynaíemo quízaia, tlachían[
 tizYxquizalo] ¹¹¹ Yan cuícan Vízcaya
 caxtolpohualí, mecatlapoallí, auh
 ohuالمocuepque tlanahuatico, ca
 mochí yntlallí, ámo aca quipíai, ycel-
 toc- ca oquitziaque yn tetepanzoltin
 + calchihuali catcâ # ¹¹⁴ chichnahui
 tlapoalpan cahuitl ¹¹⁵ oquizquí Ynic
 cenmochtín yní macehualhuan, ca
 ohuallaya chi-cuaceme tlatoque auh
 yn nahuachuic ¹¹⁶ ohuallaya 25 ¹¹⁷
 xiquipilli yn yáotlya teayacanque;
 cace me yehuátin ¹¹⁸ oquihualhuic-
 aya onzontli Yhuá macuípóalli ¹²⁰
 oquichtin; auh oquicauh yn theuctli.
yniuh ytoca Achcauhtzín, ¹²³ cano
 ynahuac quicentlallí, ynimacehual-
 huá, yepohua lli yhuá ome xiquipilli
 yhuá tláco, amo omo pouh cicihuà
 pipiltzin yVh ¹²⁴ neztoc ynimamauh
machío, ¹²⁶ ce xiuhtica ¹²⁷ oacíco ce y
 eiantli qui to- cayo ti que chocoay-

oc tlein machiztíticatca ¹⁰⁹ o:q[ui
] in ayamo: quízaia
 tlachíyan[tiz i:xquí:zalo] Yancuica:n
 Vízcaya, caxto:lpo:hualli mecatlapo:-
 hualli. Auh o:hua:lmocuepqueh
 tlanahuatico cah mochí in tla:lli
 ahmo: acah quipiyaya, i:ce:l toca o:-
 quitziahqueh in tetepanzoltzin cal
 chi:hualli catca. # Chiucna:hui tlapo:-
 hualpan ca:huitl o:quizqui pana ini:c
 cenmochtín in i:ma:cehualhua:n. Ca
 o:hua:llaya chicuaceme tlahtoqueh
 auh in na:huachuic o:hua:llaya 25
 xiquipilli in teya:o:yaca:nqueh ¹¹⁹, cah
 ce:meh yehuantín o:quinhua:lhui:-
 caya ¹²¹ o:ntzontli i:hua:n ma:cui:lpo:-
 hualli oquichtin. Auh o:uica:uh in
 te:uctli i:cni:uh i:to:ca: A:chca:uhtzin
 ca:no i:na:huac quicentla:li. In i:ma:-
 cehualhua:n ye:po:hua:lli i:hua:n o:-
 me xiquipilli i:hua:n tlaco, ahmo:
 o:mopo:uh cicihua:, pi:piltzin. Iuh
 neztoc in ina:mauh machio: ¹²⁸ Ce:

they were still known [.
 .], before they left to search wander-
 ing from Nueva Viscaya, ¹¹² three
 hundred leagues away. ¹¹³ And they
 returned with the news that within
 all of the land there was nothing
 but fallen buildings and crumbled
 walls of houses. In one hundred and
 eighty days time all his vassals left
 together. Indeed, six governors came
 along, and a hundred and twenty
 thousand captains came, some of
 them with nine hundred men. And
 the lord [Xolotl] left his brother lord,
 who was called Achcauhtzin, resid-
 ing in that place. His ¹²² vassals [num-
 bered] five hundred thousand, not
 counting women or children settled
 near him. Thus it was told quite
 clearly in their papers of knowl-
 edge. ¹²⁵ One year later they arrived at
 a place they called Chocoayan. From
 there they went to Coatlicamac, ¹²⁹

an,¹³⁰ oncan opanoque, Coatl ycamac, oncan opanoque, tepenenetl.¹³¹ caaxcan nômatiyuh mo tocayo-tia yvhquí;¹³² oncan opanoque tollan caoncan ocazique calzontin, tetepá-tin, ymachio ca ocalpixque occeme tlaca, auh opanoque, mizquí Yahualan, amo cana omo-

Verso, Ms. Folio 3

[... quetzque au]h¹³³ omotalico ypan ce tepetl ca [quicual]ytac,¹³⁴ oquitocayoti yni noma Toca Xolotl, auh nomatica axcan catquí yni Toca, auh nican oquititlan y niPiltzin Nohpal-tzin, otlaltamachihuazquia, ca nomatica oyazquia quitemotiuhtlalyeiantlí, yna huachuic¹³⁶ oacico ypan tetepe cempohuallá, yhuá tépeapolco,¹³⁷ niman omocuep Yncá-pa Yancuican omocehuí ypá tepetl, Xolotl auh yni Piltzin opanoc cuautlalpan¹³⁹ catquí ynahuachuic tetzco otlachix¹⁴⁰ cemix tlahuacan neztoia, ca otocitCatca tlaolli, opanoc cuauhtlahuic Popocatepec. yncanpa quitac otlapopotzaia, onpa ynahuachuic coyo huacan, Yhuá¹⁴³ chapoltepetl. vnehuac,¹⁴⁴ oquí nahuatito Yni Tatzin, ynochí-copanoc Ynin oquizque cequintin Yaotecanque# oazito ypan tepetl tenanyocan, ca quicualytaque yn¹⁴⁸ yeiantli, omoquepque, quinahuatito y ni¹⁵¹ tlatocauh, auh omocentlali que quicemito Yn Nôpaltzin oquicahuaz quiaya Yntepetl Xolotl, ynic Yazque

Recto, Ms. Folio 4

Tenanyôcan,¹⁵³ auh omocentl[.....]¹⁵⁴ tlaca

xiuhtica o:ahcico ce: yeya:ntli quito:-ca:yo:tiqueh Cho:cohuaya:n. Onca:n o:panoqueh Co:a:tl:camac, onca:n o:panoqueh Tepe:nenetl (cah a:xca:n nomati iuh moto:ca:yo:tia iuhqui). Onca:n o:panoqueh To:lla:n cah onca:n o:caziqueh calzontin, tetepantín i:machiyo: ca o:calpixqueh occe:meh tla:ca. Auh o:panoqueh Mizquiyahua:-llan ahmo: canah o:mo-

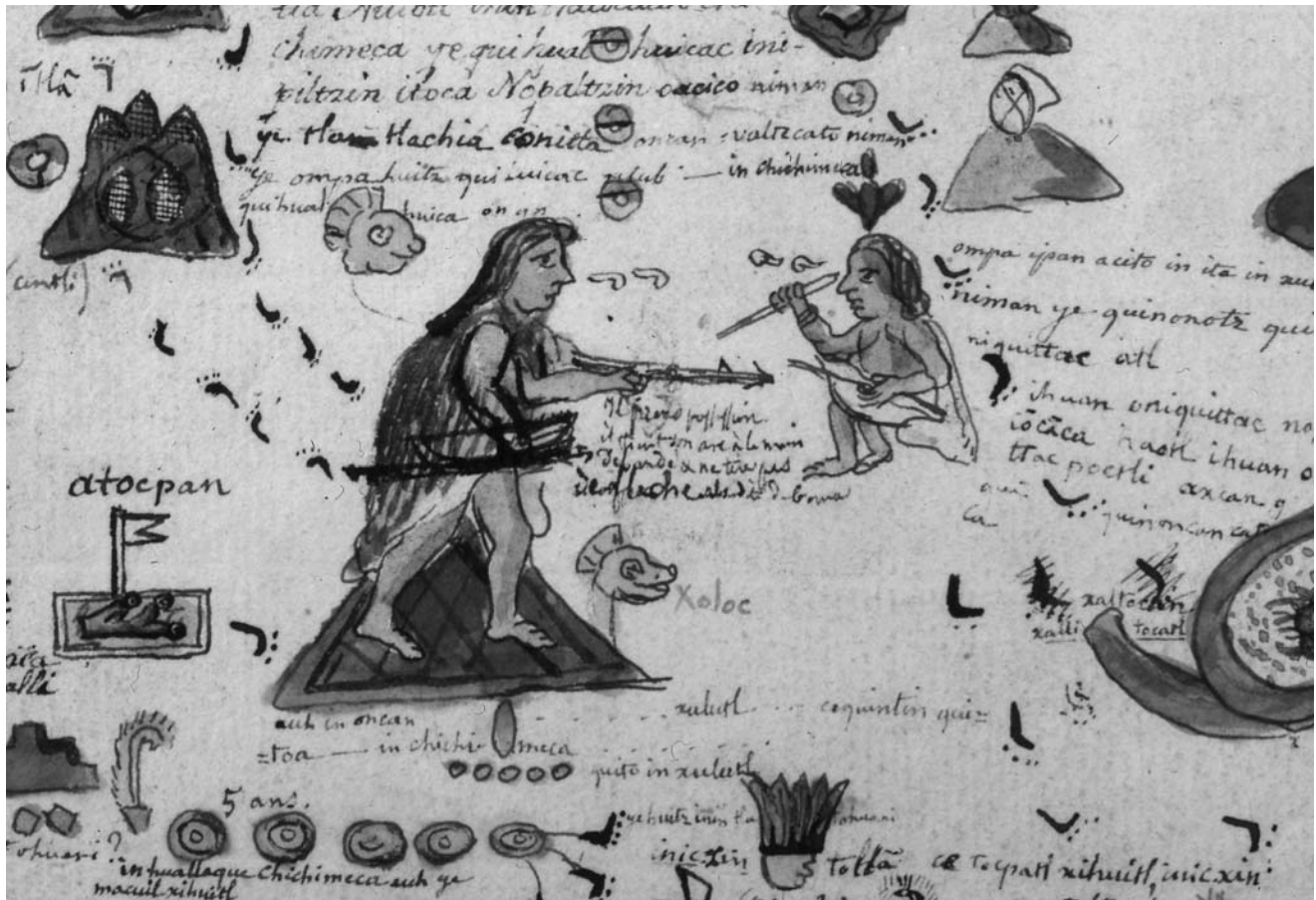
[... quetzque au]h o:motla:lico i:-pan ce: tepe:tl c[a quicual]ittac, o:quito:ca:yo:ti in o:matoca Xo:lo:tl (auh nohmahtica a:xca:n catqui in i:-to:ca:). Auh nican o:quiti:tlán in i:piltzin Nohpaltzin, o:tlaltamachi:-huazquia, ca:n o:matica o:ya:zquia quite:motiuhtlalyeya:ntli in na:-huachui:c. O:ahcico i:pan tete:pe Cenpohua:llan i:hua:n Tepe:a:polco. Niman o:mocuep in ca:mpa yancuica:n o:moce:hui i:pan tepe:tl Xo:lo:tl. Auh in i:piltzin o:panoc cuauhtlalan catqui in na:huachui:c Tetzcohuco. Otlachiz cemixtla:huacan neztoia ca o:to:cticatca tlaolli. O:panoc cuauhtlahuic Popo:catepe:c. In ca:mpa quitac o:tlapopo:tzaia, o:mpa i:na:huachui:c Coyo:huacan, i:hua:n Chapoltepe:tl. Onehuac o:quina:-huatito in i:tahtzin, in o:cic o:panoc ini:n o:quizqueh cequi:ntin ya:o:te:-caqueh.¹⁴⁹ O:azito i:pan tepe:tl Tena:nyocan, cah quicualitaqueh in yeya:ntli. O:moquepqueh quina:huatihto in i:ntlahtohca:uh, auh o:mocentla:-liqueh. Quicemihto in Nohpaltzin o:quica:huazquiaya in tepe:tl Xo:lo:tl, ini:c ya:zqueh

ena:nyocan. Auh o:mocent [echicoqueh] tla:ca o:hua:llaya.

and from there to Tepenenetl (as it is believed to be named today). From there they went to Tollan, where they found only ruins and signs of walls, and [only] stewards and a few men. They went on to Mizquiyahualan without

stopping anywhere and settled themselves on a mountain that pleased them. They named it with the name of Xolotl (and apparently it still has that name today).¹³⁵ And from here he sent his son Nopaltzin so that he would survey the land there and so that he could go knowledgeably seeking other places round about. Then he arrived at the land near the mountains of Zempoala¹³⁸ and Tepeapulco. Then he returned to where he had recently established himself¹⁴¹ on Mount Xoloc. And his son went beyond the forests that are near Tetzco.¹⁴² He observed all the flat fields where maize had been planted. He therefore went toward the wilderness of Mount Popocatepetl.¹⁴⁵ From there he saw smoke rising¹⁴⁶ near Coyohuacan and Chapultepec.¹⁴⁷ Immediately he reported it to his father, who had gone the other direction.¹⁵⁰ Some of these captains left and they went to the mountain of Tenayuca,¹⁵² which they saw that it was a good dwelling place. They returned to tell their commander, and they gathered themselves together. It was the judgment of Nopaltzin that they should leave Mount Xoloc, that they should go to

Tenayuca. And they gathered together . . . [the people] who had



Xolotl on Mount Xoloc with his son Nopaltzin pictured to his right. ("Códice Xolotl,"
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscript, Mexicain 10BIS, fol. 1.)

ohualaya otlanhuaú, cece[n . . .
. quipana]notazquia¹⁵⁵ quitlalitz
ce tetl, tlatlamanpan Yéinco auh
omochiuh matlactli omome tetepe-
toton tetl caaxcan nômatica mohtâ,
âuh y nin Yeyan tlí motocayotí,
nepoalco, auh¹⁶¹ mihtôa caoqui-
pouhque centzontli xiquipilli, tlatatl.
auh za nic omoyeyantí Ynteuctli
Xolotl onpa Yn tennanyocan.¹⁶³
Yccen mochi yniteyaoquizcahuan¹⁶⁵
oquixéxelo ynítlatilanal. çecenteûctlí
ca chiquaçeme ôhualáia ynahuac—¹⁶⁶

Maciuhý pacticatca Xolotl, ycaínyan-
cuicantlal cuiliztlí,¹⁶⁹ amo híc Yollo
motlaliaya, cui xcana- quipiaia¹⁷⁰
hoccequintin tlaqueque tlatma-
ceuhque, hueliz oquitzacuilizquia;

O:tlana:huati ce:ce[n . . . quipana]
notazquia quitla:litiaz¹⁵⁶ ce: tetl o:-
mochi:uh mahtlactliomo:me te:te-
peto:to:n tetl cah a:xca:n ohmahtica
mohta. Auh ini:n yeya:ntli¹⁵⁹ moto-
cayo:ti Nepohualco. Auh mihtoa cah
o:quipo:uhqueh ce:ntzontli xiquipilli
tla:catl. Auh zan i:c o:moyeya:nti in
te:uhtli Xo:lo:tl o:mpa in Tenna:-
nyocan i:c cenmochi¹⁶⁴ in teya:o:qui:-
zcahuan, o:quixe:xelo in i:tlatila:nal
ce:cen te:uhtli, cah chiquace:meh o:-
hua:llyaya i:na:huac.

Ma:cihui pa:cticatca¹⁶⁸ Xo:lo:tl i:ca in
yancuica:n tla:cuiliztlí, ahmo: i:c yo:-
llo motla:liaya, cuix canah quipiaia,
oc cequi:ntin tla:lequeh tla:lma:ce:-
uhqueh hueliz o:quitzacuilizquia.

come. They were told at that time
that on going by,¹⁵⁷ they should each
. . . place a stone in different places,
forming thereby¹⁵⁸ twelve moun-
tains of small rocks¹⁶⁰ that you see
there now. And this place is called
Nepoalco. And it is said that they
counted 3,200,000 men.¹⁶² And after
lord Xolotl had established himself
as lord there at Tenayuca with all
the captains, he distributed pieces of
land to one each of the lords, those
six who had come with him.¹⁶⁷

Although he was pleased with the
new lands, Xolotl was not content,
because perhaps there might be oth-
ers, landowners or farmers, who kept
guard, who might watch carefully,

auh ní-man oquititlan. Yn, Acato-
matl ceme yn chicuacentin PiPiltin
y¹⁷³ nahuachuic ohualaque, yca
tlaCa¹⁷⁴ itzcuahuitl, mintlí, auh
oncan ô nahuatiloque yncanpa
oquihtac tlapopo-tza Yn Nopaltzin,
oncan ocacíc, ce toltecatl ytoca
Ezitzin, ynahuac catca y nicihuauh
A-xochiatl, yhuan ce y Piltzin, oncan
quilhuí. que

Verso, Ms. Folio 4

[ca yazque, auh]¹⁷⁶ omotlatí, yehu-
atl, yhuan hoc cequintin caocatca
Chalco Atencoahuic, amo-quineque
Yazque incepá Ynicnihuá, ca yeo-
tlalcauhcá, opanoc Colhuacan auh
oncan ocacíc oc omome, Ynnahuac
yPilhuá Yhuá ycihuahuá, xiuhtematl,
yhuá Y cihuauh, ozelo-xochitl,
Cozauhtlí, Yhíoxochitl y huá
yninpilhuá- Coyotl, Acxocuahuítl,
auh atencoahuic Chalco- oquimacíc
occequintin amomiequintin, Ô-
quipanahui ynpopocatepetl, auh
oncan te-pe Xoxoma, oquinmacíc
occequintin yncayn pilhuan¹⁸¹
yhuá Ycihuahuan, ynin oquilhuí-ca
chololam, ocatcaya ome theopixque
Chal-chiuhteme. auh Zanoncan¹⁸²
omocuep. oqui-monahuatilito yn
theuctli Xolotl, auh za-tepanían Ye
omo Pilytac ayac macequí- topehua,
oquinxexelhuí¹⁸⁵ ý tlalli, auh ynoca-
chi¹⁸⁷ Pipiltin oquinyeíantli, mahuiza
uhcan oquixelol yn macehualtin.
Inonpa tlatzintlan- Zacatlan,¹⁸⁹
cuauhchinanco- Totopec, Atotonilco,
ca motocayotia chichime

Recto, Ms. Folio 5

ca tla:lpan) #¹⁹⁴ auh ynoc cequí[tin . .
.....]¹⁹⁶ atencoahuic omo
xixini taque, yt[o c a y o c a n i

Auh niman o:quititlan in A:catonatl,
ce:meh in chicuacentin pi:piltin in
na:huachui:c o:hua:llaqueh, i:ca tla:-
ca, itzcuahuitl, mi:ntli. Auh onca:n
o:na:huatiloqueh in ca:mpa o:quittac
tlapopo:tza in Nohpaltzin. Onca:n
o:cahcic ce: To:lte:catl i:to:ca: Ezitzin
i:na:huac catca in i:cihua:uh A:xo:-
chia:tl i:hua:n ce: i:piltzin. Onca:n
quilhuiqueh

[cah ya:zqueh. Auh] o:motla:ti
yehhua:tl i:hua:n oc cequi:ntin
cah o:catca Cha:lco A:te:ncohuic
ahmo: quinequi ya:zqueh in cepa:n¹⁷⁸
in icni:huan ca ye o:tla:lca:uhca:n.
O:panoc Co:lhuacan, auh onca:n o:-
cahcic oc omo:me in na:huac i:-
pilhua:nhua:n i:hua:n i:cihua:huan:
Xiuhtematl i:hua:n i:cihua:uh O:ce:-
lo:xo:chitl Co:zauhtli Ihyo:xo:chitl i:-
hua:n in i:npilhua:n Coyo:tl, Acxocu-
ahuítl. Auh a:te:ncohuic Cha:lco,
o:quimahcic oc cequi:ntin (ahmo:
miequintin). O:quipanahui in
Popo:catepetl, auh onca:n Tepe:-
xoxo:ma o:quinmacic oc cequi:ntin
in cah i:npilhua:n i:hua:n i:cihua:-
huan. Ini:n o:quilhui:ca Cholo:la:n
o:catcaya o:me teo:pixqueh Cha:-
lchiuhtemeh. Auh zan onca:n o:-
mocuep, o:quimona:huatilito in
te:uctli Xo:lo:tl, auh za:te:panian ye
o:mopilittac ayac ma cequi: tope:-
hua, o:quinxexelhui i:n tla:lli. Auh
in ocachi pi:piltin o:quinyeya:nti,¹⁹⁰
mahuizauhca.¹⁹¹ O:quinxelo¹⁹² in
ma:ce:hualtin in o:mpa tlatzintlan
Zacatlan, Cuauhchina:nco, To:to:-
tepe:c,¹⁹³ A:toto:nilco (cah moto:ca:-
yo:tia Chi:chi:me:-

catlalpan, auh in oc cequi:ntin [tin .
.....] a:te:ncohuic o:moxi-
hxi:nitaqueh, i:[to:ca:yo:can . ya]uh

who might take back¹⁷¹ [the land].
So¹⁷² he sent Acatomatl, one of the
six nobles who had come to the
vicinity with him, with spears¹⁷⁵ and
piercing arrows. And then they were
discharged to the place there where
Nopaltzin had seen signs of smoke.
There they found a Toltec named
Ezetzin, who had his wife Axochiatl
and one of his children with him.
There they said

that [their people] had gone.¹⁷⁷ But
he and some others who were near
Lake Chalco had hidden themselves.
They did not want to go with their
friends when they left¹⁷⁹ the land.
[Acatomatl] went on to Culhuacan,
and there they found two others
nearby with their¹⁸⁰ children and
their wives: Xiuhtematl and his wife
Oceloxochitl, and Cozauhtli and [his
wife] Yhíoxochitl and their children
Coyotl and Acxocuahuítl. And near
the Chalco shore he found some
others (not many). He crossed Po-
pocatepetl, and there in Tepexoxoma
he found others with their children
and wives. These said that in Cholollan
there were two Chalchiuhteme¹⁸³
priests. And after he arrived there, he
went to report to his lord Xolotl.¹⁸⁴
And when finally the noble saw
that no one was encroaching,¹⁸⁶ he
distributed the land to his followers.
And while giving the best¹⁸⁸ places
to the lords, he undertook to split
up the commoners there below
Zacatlan, Cuauhchinanco, Totopec,
and Atotonilco (the region that was
called Chichime-

catlalpan),¹⁹⁵ and others [. . .] were
spread out thereabouts along the
edge of the lake,¹⁹⁷ a place named . . .

a]uh¹⁹⁸ tenanyocan motzatzauh yn ialtepeuh, caza quicuitlahuititoc yntlatlamaliztli, auh Ynic ye caxtolí ome xihuitl oqui man Yn Altepeltetzco, ca oquixtamachih ca Yní-Piltzin Nopaltzin—.

Ynic²⁰¹ yeopanoc chicuey xiuhtica o acico y nXo-lotl, teuctlí; ohuala que chicuaceme Pipiltin tlatlamanpan. yntlatol. amo miec tlacalquí.²⁰² hualhuicaya Ynícequin nahuátita canicanmocencahua, auh ynintotoca ce tecuantzin, tzontehua, Helzacatitechcochí; huahuantzín, tepotzotecua; Ytzuincuaní; mazi-hui mitoa yntechquiza ynoTomime Tlaxcalteca, mizteca, Popolocame, ca hueliz melahuac yeZ, mazoyhuí amo Yntlanhuic mopohua Yntlaxcalteca cazatepan ohua laque;——

Ypan onpoali²⁰⁶ yhuá chi come xihuitl oazico yn Pilli. Xolotl, ohualaque hoc yeintin tlatoque qui hual ytquique miequintin Yao quizque chalchiuhtihuize, Ynquin Yacanaya Ytoca catca. Acolhua; ynic oquicuic ynitoca ynitla ca mecayo Ynipiltoca Citzin cahuey

Verso, Ms. Folio 5

[.....Au]h²⁰⁹ pacayotica oquicelique Yn teu[ctli X]olotl,²¹⁰ Yhuan y ni Piltzin Nopaltzin.#-²¹¹ auh oquin na mictí yn nahuachuic omé tñ yníhpochuan quipiaía. Yn Acolhua oquicihuati ynahuac y cuetlax Xochitl- yhuá quimacac yn pilotl Azcapotzal co, auh yn chícon cuavhtli, oquí cihuati quimacac yn Çihuaxochitl, yhuá y npilo tl Xaltocan; auh ynic yeí Ymon ytoca Tzontecomatl, quimacac ynpilotl tlatocayotl CoatlYchan; tetzco; auh zanic o quin namictí ynyeime ichpoch huan

Tena:nyocan. Motzatzauhti¹⁹⁹ c in i:-a:ltepe:uh, cah zan cuicuitlahui:ltitoc in tlatlamaliztli. Auh ini:c ye caxto:-lli o:me xihuitl o:quiman in a:ltepe:tl Tetzco, cah o:qui:xtamachi:-uh cah in i:piltzin Nohpaltzin.

Ini:c ye o:panoc chicue:xiuhtica o:ahcico in Xo:lo:tl te:uctli, o:hua:-llaqueh chicuace:meh pi:piltin tla:-tlatlamanpan in i:ntlatol ahmo: miec tla:ca quihua:lhui:caya, ini:c ye quina:huatita cah nican mocenca:-hua. Auh in i:ntotoca ce: Te:cua:-ntzin, Tzontehua, Helzacati:techcochi, Huahua:ntzin, Tepotzotecua, Itzcuincua:ni. Ma:cihui mihtoa i:ntech qui:za in Otomimeh, Tlaxcalte:cah, Mizte:cah, Popo:locameh cah hueliz mela:huac yez, ma:zoihui ahmo: i:-ntla:nhuic mopo:hua in Tlaxcalte:-cah (cah za:te:pan o:hua:laqueh).

I:pan o:mpo:hualli i:hua:n chico:me xihuitl o:ahcico in pilli Xo:lo:tl, o:hua:lla:queh, oc ye:intin tlahto-queh quihua:litquiqueh miequintin ya:o:quizqueh cha:lchiuhtihui:tzeh. In quinyaca:naya i:to:ca: catca A:co:-lhua. Ini:c o:quicuic in i:to:ca: in i:tla:camecayo: in i:pilto:ca: Cihztzin, cah hue:i.

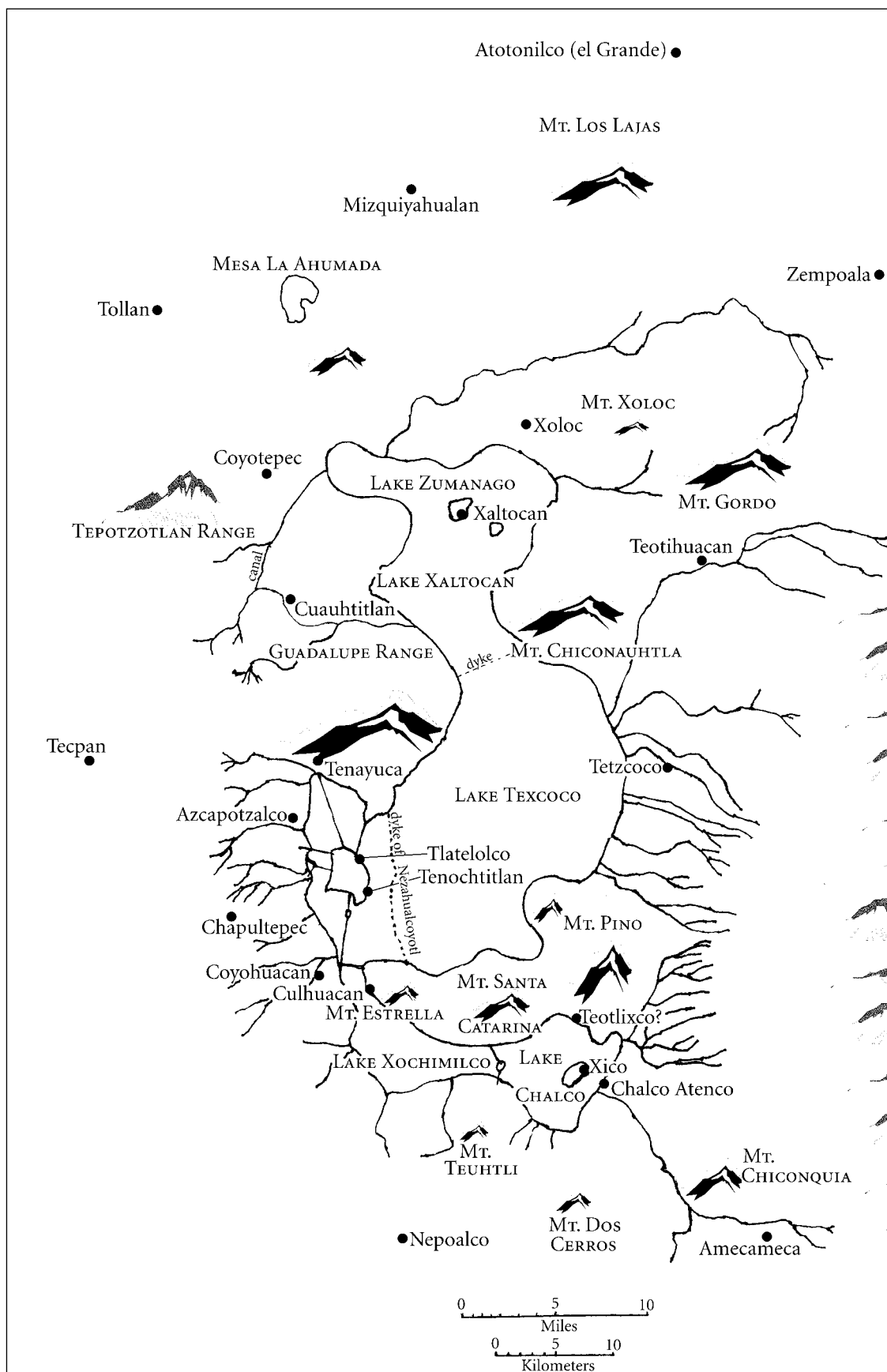
[Auh]h pa:cca:yo:tica o:quiceliqueh in te:u[ctli X]o:lo:tl, i:hua:n in i:piltzin Nohpaltzin. # Auh o:quinna:micti in na:huachuic o:metin ichpo:chuan quipiyaya. In A:co:-lhua o:quicihua:ti i:nahuac i:n Cuetlax Xo:chitl i:hua:n quimacac in pillo:tl A:zcapo:tzalco. Auh in Chico:ncua:uhtli o:quicihua:ti in Cihua:xo:chitl, i:hua:n quimacac in pillo:tl Xaltocan. Auh ini:c yei i:mo:n i:to:ca: Tzontecomatl, quimacac in pillo:tl tlahtohca:yo:tl Co:a:tl:ca:n, Tetzco. Auh zan i:c o:quinna:-

Tenayuca. Then he remained ruler in his city, Tenayuca, so that he alone took care of the land. And thus in the seventeenth year he moved to the city of Tetzco, which had been surveyed by his son Nopaltzin.²⁰⁰

Eight years later, after lord Xolotl arrived, six nobles of different languages came bringing [just] a few people with them, so that they could first observe whether they might establish themselves here.²⁰³ And their names were first Tecuantzin, then Tzontehua, Helzacatitechcochi, Huahuantzin, Tepotzotecua, and Itzcuincuaní.²⁰⁴ While it is said the Otomi, the Tlaxcalteca, the Mizteca, and the Popoloca derived from them, it possibly could be true, except that the Tlaxcalteca (who came later) should not be counted among them.²⁰⁵

In the forty and seventh year after the noble Xolotl arrived, another three rulers²⁰⁷ came, bringing many well-adorned warriors. He who led them was called Acolhua, so that they took the name of his lineage.²⁰⁸ It was the noble title of Citzin, who was great.

And . . . happily lord Xolotl and his son Nopaltzin received them, and he gave them in marriage the two girls whom he guarded.²¹² He gave Cuetlaxochitl to Acolhua as wife, and he gave him the nobility of Azcaputzalco. And to Chiconquauhtli²¹³ he gave Cihuaxochitl as wife, and he gave him the nobility of Xaltocan. And so to his third son-in-law,²¹⁴ Tzontecomatl, he gave the nobility and rulership of Coatlichan and Tetzco.²¹⁵ And then after he gave the two²¹⁶ girls in marriage, he tried



Anahuac, the well-watered lands of the Valley of Mexico.

:²¹⁷ niman nentlama quina:miçti Y
ni Piltzin Nopaltzin yca ce Tolte-
catl, Ych poch yn pilteuctli Pochotl.
Yxhuihu, yn tlatoaní- Topiltzin;²¹⁹
ca oquízcaltica Tlaximaloyan Yní-
Nantzín Huítzilzilin. ychtaca, auh
ynitoca ynín çí hua pilli ychpochtli
Azca Xochitl#²²⁰ Zatepanian Yehu-
eyata yníntlatlucyotl yca caxtoltin
Pipiltin, chicuacen meohua-laque
ynahuac ý teuctli Xolotl, chiac-
acenme Zatepanian o hua laque

Recto, Ms. Folio 6

Yhuá ynic yeíntin oazíco; a[uh
. o]²²² hualaque ynitoca catca
Acato[nalli aquin oqui]macac²²³ Yn
altepetl²²⁴ yhuá mochi yn itlatilanal
Yn Coatepec, auh yn cuatlapal. oquí-
macac, Yn Altepetl Mamalhuasco,
auh yn Cozcacauh tli ytehuícal,
auh yn yztac mitl. ynoquí-yczaltí yn
Nopaltzin, oquimac yntepeíecac ca
axcan motocayotí²²⁵ Huadalupetzin:
auh yn Tecpan, yhuán yztac cuauhtli,
Ynpilotl Mazahuacan——

Niman²²⁸ zanicoacic ynteuctli Xolotl.
ococoxtatíç omíç #²²⁹ ymixspan²³⁰
mochintin ynín Pilhuá hicní-huan.
yhuá ytlacahuan ye matlacpohualli
xiuhtica ynemilizpan;²³¹ auh oquipix
Ynte uctlatoca yeyautli macuil-
pohuali. yhuá mâ-tlactliomomey
xihuitl; ²³³ yhuán chicuacenpoalli-
yhuá ome xihuitl opoliuhque Yn
toltecâ- omocauh²³⁴ ynípiltzin#²³⁵
Nopaltzin, quimaceuh yhuicopa
quihuicac ý tlatocayotl'yhuá²³⁷ Yni²³⁸
yxhuitzin Toltzin ipiltzin Yncihua-
pilli toltecatl omocauh tlatoaní,
tetzçóco. auh ynic ome ipiltzín
ytoca Cuauhtiquihuale, oquipilcauh
Zacatlan

micti in ye:imeh ichpo:chhuan,
:niman nentlamah quina:micti in
i:piltzin Nohpaltzin i:ca ce: To:lte-
catl ichpo:ch, in pilte:uctli po:cho:tl,
ixhui:hu in tlahto:ni Topiltzin; cah
o:quizcaltica Tlaxi:maloya:n. In i:-
na:ntzin Hui:tiziltzilin ichtaca, auh in
i:to:ca: ini:n cihua:pilli ichpo:chtli
A:zcaxo:chitl. # Za:te:panian, ye hue:-
iata in intla:lte:ucyo:tl i:ca caxto:ltin
pi:piltin (chicuace:nmeh za:te:pan-
ian o:hua:llaqueh

i:hua:n ini:c ye:intin o:ahcico). A[uh
. o:]hua:llaqueh in i:to:-
ca: A:cato[nalli ahquin o:qui]macac
in a:ltepe:tl i:hua:n mochi in i:tl:-
tilanal in Co:a:tepe:c, auh in Cuatla-
pal o:quimacac, in a:ltepe:tl Mamal-
huasco (auh in Co:zcacauhtli
i:te:hui:cal), auh in Iztacmi:tl in
o:quizcaltic in Nohpaltzin o:quimac
in Tepe:yecac, cah a:xca:n moto:ca:-
yo:tia Huadalupetzin auh in Te:cpan,
i:hua:n Izta:c Cuauhtli, in pillo:tl
Maza:huacan.

Niman zan i:c o:ahcic in te:uctli Xo:-
lo:tl, o:cocoxca:tic, o:mic. # i:mi:xpan
mochintin ini:n pilhua:n, icni:huan,
i:hua:n i:tlacahuan ye matla:cpo:-
hualli xiuhtica i:nemilizpan. Auh
o:quipix in te:uctlahto:ca: ye yautli
ma:cui:lpo:hualli i:hua:n mahtla:ctli
omo:me xihuitl | i:hua:n chicuace:n
po:hualli i:hua:n o:me xihuitl
o:poliuhqueh in To:lte:cah o:moca:uh.
In i:piltzin Nohpaltzin quima:ce:uh
i:hui:ccopa quihui:cac in tlahto-
hca:yo:tl i:hua:n inin i:ixhui:tzin
Tlohtzin i:piltzin in cihua:pilli To:-
lte:catl o:moca:uh tlahto:ni Tetzco-
hco. Auh ini:c o:me i:piltzin i:to:ca:
Cua:uhtiquihua:le o:quipilcauh
Zacatlan.

to marry his son Nopaltzin to a
Toltec girl,²¹⁸ daughter of the noble
lord Pochotl and granddaughter of
the ruler Topiltzin, who had reared
her secretly in Tlaximaloyan. Her
mother was secretly Huitzilzilin,
and the name of this noble girl was
Azcaxochitl.²²¹ Finally, this rulership
had grown, with fifteen nobles (six
who came with lord Xolotl, and six
who came afterwards,

and three [more] who arrived [after
that]). And [one of the three who]
arrived who was named Acatonalli,
to whom he gave the city and all the
territory of Coatepec. And to Cuat-
lapal he gave the city Mamalhuazco
(and its companion Cozcacauhtli),
and to Iztacmitl (who had reared
Nopaltzin) he gave Tepeyecac, which
is called Huadalupetzin today,²²⁶ and
to Tecpan and Iztac-Cuauhtli he gave
the nobility of Mazahuacan.²²⁷

After lord Xolotl arrived at this
point, he got sick and died in this
way at this place, with all his chil-
dren, friends, and his subjects, when
he was 200 years old.²³² And he had
held the lord rulership 112 years.
And it had been 122 years since
the Toltecs had been destroyed. He
left behind his son Nopaltzin, who
inherited²³⁶ from him and carried
the rulership, and this one's grand-
son Tlotzin,²³⁹ the son of the Toltec
noblewoman, became²⁴⁰ the ruler of
Tetzçoco. And he left his second son,
who was called Quauhtequihuale,²⁴¹
as ruler of Zacatlan.

Verso, Ms. Folio 6

[ynic y]etetl²⁴² YPiltzin Pôpozoc
oquí-Pilcau[h y]tech²⁴³ yn tenami-
htic.²⁴⁴ auh omacoque Y ni²⁴⁵
maçehualhuan tolantzincá, yhuan
occequin tin, Ynomatica, oya qui
quintla za cuiltito Yhuan pacayotica
oquincauh, auh ypan cen pohuali
y huá chi co me xi huitl ytlato-
caliz- omiquí,²⁴⁸ auh oteutic yni
Piltzin Toltzin (achtopa)mitohuaya
Pochotl, ca teuctia Yni- Pan tez-
coco²⁵⁰ Yhuá oquímaçehuh yni Piltzin
Cuinatzin, cayometoca tlaltecatzin,
amo mitoa ma ytla Ytlachihual.
Ynín teuctlatoaní, ca zan paquiliz
nen Ylhuitlá Pacoáian ahahuizoian
ca iníc cenpoali, Yhuan caxtolí²⁵⁴
yhuá ce xihuitl otlatocatic omomi-
quillí, yhuá oquimaceuh yni Piltzin
Cuinatzin=²⁵⁷ ynic ometoca tlalte-
catzin tlatoani tetzôco, auh onpa
quipanolti Ynitlá tocayo, ca íehuatl
ynachtopa ohuícoc ypan ma huízauh-
quí tlapech maytl ymacolpan
nahuintin Píiltin, amo omotlatoca
pohuaya, Yhuá ytlanhuc ohuicoya
ce ecahuil maytl, auh yntla come.²⁵⁸
oquinhuicaya yntlatoque omopa-
pa²⁶¹ tlataya mochintin #²⁶² oquicauh
ynonpa Yn

Recto, Ms. Folio 7

Tenanyôcan motlacuitlahuíaya,
[campa it]oca²⁶³ Tenan Cacaltzin
yoquichtíuh. yn i[Nantzin].²⁶⁴ Ypan
ynín cahuitl o hual Azico yn Mexica
nican Yancueca tlalpan, auh oqui-
míxnamíc ynín tlatoaní oncan otlí²⁶⁸
ypan onpa quimaxitito- chapoltepec.
#²⁷⁰ canpa²⁷¹ axcan celilo yn tla-
toque omomiquillí yepoal xiuhtica,
ye tlatocatia; ca Yeín yn achtopa,
oquitémitíque yca ahua ca Pa-
haatl, oquitlalílique miec ytlahuitol,
ce cuauhtlí tlacuicuítl, ce ozelotl

[Ini:c y]e:iteltl i:piltzin Popo:zo:c,
o:quipilca[uh i:tech] in Tena:mitic.
Auh o:mahcoqueh in i:mahce:hua:-
lhua:n To:lla:ntzinca:n i:hua:n oc-
cequi:ntin. In o:matica o:ya:queh
quintla:za cuiltito. i:hua:n pa:cca:yo:-
tica o:quincauh, auh i:pan cempo:-
hualli i:hua:n chico:me xihuitl
i:tlahtohcá:liz o:miqui, auh o:te:utic
in i:piltzin Tlohtzin²⁴⁹ (achtopa) mi-
htoaya Po:cho:tl cah te:uctia in i:pan
Tetzcohco. I:hua:n o:quimahce:uh in
i:piltzin Quinatzin, cay o:me to:ca:
tla:lte:catzin. (Ahmo: mihtoá ma
itlah i:tlachi:hual ini:n te:uctlahtoa:-
ni—ca zan pa:quiliz ne:n ilhuitla
pa:cohuaya:n aha:huyaloya:n.²⁵⁵ Ca
ini:c ce:mipo:hualli i:hua:n caxto:lli i:-
hua:n ce: xihuitl o:tlahtohcá:tic
o:momiquilli i:hua:n o:quima:ce:uh
in i:piltzin Quinatzin ini:c o:me to:ca:
Tla:lte:catzin, tlahtoa:ni Tetzcohco,
auh o:mpa quipanolti in i:tlahtohcá:-
yo:. Cah yehuatl in achtopa o:huicoc
i:pan mahuizauhqui tlapechmaitli:-
macolpan nahuintin pi:piltin, ahmo:
o:motlahtohcá:po:huaya. I:hua:n
i:tlanhuc o:hui:co:ya²⁵⁹ ce: ehcahuil-
maitl. Auh i:ntla:comeh o:quinhui:-
caya i:ntlahtoqueh o:mopa:patlataya
mochintin. # O:quica:uh in o:mpa
Yn

Tenanyocan motlacuitlahuíaya, [ca:-
mpa i:t]oca Tena:ncacaltzin yo:-
quichtíuh in i:[na:ntzin]. I:pan ini:n
ca:huitl o:hua:lahcico in Mexihcah
nican yancueca tla:lpan, auh o:-
quimixnamic ini:n tlahtoa:ni onca:n
ohtli i:pan. O:mpa quimaxitito
Chapoltepe:c. # Ca:mpa a:xca:n
celilo in tlahtoqueh, o:momiquili ye:
po:hual xiuhtica. Ye tlahtohcá:-tiaya
cah ye:in in achtopa o:quite:-
mitiqueh i:ca ahhuicapahaatl. O:-
quitla:liliqueh miec i:tlahui:to:l, ce:

He left his third son Popozoc as
ruler over Tenamihtic. And then his
vassals, the Tolantzinco²⁴⁶ and oth-
ers, rebelled. When he learned this,
they²⁴⁷ went quickly to punish them,
and he left them pacified. And in the
twenty and seventh year [of] his gov-
ernment he died, and it was his son
Tlotzin who was first called Pochotl,
who reigned and governed at Tetzco-
co. And he was succeeded by his son
Quinatzin, whose second name was
Tlaltecatzin.²⁵¹ (Nothing at all is said
of what this lord ruler²⁵² did, except
that [he spent his days] pursuing
happiness with wasteful,²⁵³ joyous
festivities and pleasures.²⁵⁶) After he
had ruled for thirty-six years, he died
and he was succeeded by his son
Quinatzin, whose second name was
Tlaltecatzin, ruler of Tetzco-
co, and he transferred his rulership there.
He was the one who was first to be
carried on a litter on the shoulders
of four nobles, who were not called
rulers. And he was carried under a
shade, which they each carried in
turn.²⁶⁰

Then in Tenayuca his mother's older
brother, who was called Tenan-
caltzin,²⁶⁵ took control. At that time
the Mexica arrived here in the new
land,²⁶⁶ and this ruler intercepted²⁶⁷
them there on the road. He drove
them away to Chapultepec.²⁶⁹ Then
he died, sixty years from when he
received the rulers.²⁷² He was the
ruler who was the first whom they
embalmed²⁷³ with unguents. They
buried him with very many of his
things: his bow, an eagle carved of

ycxitlan; yceútlapanhuic tetocamítl,
mintlí ymatzalan; cayehuatl onoquítl-
lallí mîque tecallí yn canpa hocce-
quineque omotocatíaque;²⁷⁴

Auh niman ocalac ce ypiltzín tecoatlalatzín auh ynic oquítenuehque onpa tetzôco; auh zan hic oquitac pacacatqui, Ynitlatocayo, oquinx-exelo Yni Macehualhua²⁷⁷ nauhcan tlamápá- âcolhuaque, Metztecacza.²⁷⁸ chimeca, Tecpanneca²⁷⁹ col-huaque, Ynoquintecpan cenpoalli yhuá chicuacentaloca Altepeeme, ynic quipalehuízquia Ytech yntlá toca tequítl, no çenpoalli yhuá caxtol-lion nahuí tlamame Altepeeme onpa quinpanoltí- Pipiltin, Ca²⁸⁰ cenmochi mochihua yepohuali yhuá

Verso, Ms. Folio 7

[macuiltin tl]atoque²⁸² yhuá Pipiltin, oquícuitiaya²⁸³ quen[nami tlal]tlatouní,²⁸⁴ ce tlamachiliztlí²⁸⁵ Ylna mícoca quípíx, oquinxexeloaia-ya, tlaca altepepá- Ca Yntla ypan-cealtepe maytl, tepanecatl ocatcaya chicnavhtzontlí²⁸⁸ tlatatl; oquiquixtia macuiltzontli- yhuá oquin pan-oltiaya ypan Altepepan chichimêcâ, auh onpa oquinhualhuicaya ocno Yx-quích, ynnahuac yntepaneca, yn canpa oquin quixtíca. Ynocce-quintin; ca noyuh quichiuhua ynic, cemochí ynoc cequíntin tlaca izcaltique ypanpa intla oquinequízquia ynnoccequintin mehuazque áhuel²⁹¹ omonecoc cetilizquia Yn nahuac,—

cuahtli tlacuihcuitl, ce: o:ce:lo:tl i:cxitlan; i:cuitlapanhuic te:tocami:tl, mi:ntli i:ma:tza:lan. Ca yehhua:tl ono:quitla:lli miqueh tecalli in ca:-mpa oc cequi:n quinecqueh²⁷⁵ o:-motocatiaqueh.

Auh niman o:calac ce: i:piltzin, Teco:huatla:latzin, auh ini:c o:quite:-neuhqueh o:mpa Tetzcohco. Auh zan i:c o:quittac pa:cca:catqui, in i:tlahtohcayoc:, o:quinxe:xelo in i:-ma:cehualhua:n na:uhca:n tlampana A:col:lhuaqueh, Me:tztecacza Chi:-chi:me:cah, Tepane:ca, Co:lhuaqueh. In o:quinte:cpan ce:mpo:hualli i:hua:n chicuace:n tlahtohcayoc: a:-ltepe:meh, ini:c quipale:huizquia (i:tech in tlahtohcayoc:tequitl), no: ce:-mpo:hualli i:hua:n caxto:lli onna:-hui tlamameh a:ltepe:meh o:mpa quinpano:lti pi:piltin cah cenmochi mochi:hua ye:ipo:hualli i:hua:n

[ma:cui:ltin tl]atohqueh i:hua:n pi:piltin o:quicuitiaya que:n[namih tla:l] tlahtohcayoc: Ceh tlamachiliztlí ilnamicoca quipix. O:quinxe:xeloaiaya tla:-ca a:ltepe:pan cah intla: i:pan ce: a:ltepe:ma:itl Tepane:catl o:catcaya chiucna:uhtzontli tla:catl; o:quiquixtia ma:cui:ltzontli i:hua:n o:quinpanoltiaya i:pan a:ltepe:pan Chi:chi:-me:cah. Auh o:mpa o:quinhualhuicaya ocno: i:xquich in na:huac in Tepane:ca in ca:mpa o:quiquixtica:n in occequi:ntin, ca no: iuh quichi:-uhta ini:c, cemochi in occequi:ntin tla:ca izcaltiqueh i:pampa intla o:quinequízquia in occequi:ntin me:huazqueh ahuel o:moneco:c ce:tilizquia in na:huac.

wood, a jaguar at his feet, on his back a bow, and arrows in his hand. For his burial a sepulcher of stone was established, a place others would use to be buried.

And later one of his sons, Tecoatlalatzin,²⁷⁶ entered [to rule], and thus they proclaimed him king there at Tetzco. And after he saw his rulership pacified, he divided his vassals into four groups: the Acolhua, Metztecacza Chichimec, Tepaneca, and Culhua. He established twenty-six governing cities, so that they would help him (being next to him in authority), as well as thirty-nine provinces and cities into which he transferred nobles,²⁸¹ who in all were sixty-

five governors and nobles who recognized him as sovereign once and for all, and he made them their domains. This one ruled wisely.²⁸⁶ He scattered²⁸⁷ the people in each city, so that if there were 3,600 men in a Tepaneca town, he took 2,000 and removed them²⁸⁹ into a Chichimec town. And from there he would take together the same number to near the Tepaneca place, from which he had taken some of the first ones²⁹⁰ to another place, so that by doing thus they were all together with different people who had been reared elsewhere.²⁹² Thus if they wanted others to rebel, they would not be able to do it, because they revealed themselves if they would conspire²⁹³ with those near them.²⁹⁴



Ynic III Capitulo²⁹⁵

Nican Motenehua yn- Zatepanian ohualaque nican Yan cuicantlalpan;²⁹⁶ cayehuantin Ynohualquízque Aztlan, Yncanpa ohuala que Ynachtopa tolteca, nicá otlalpixque Mixicatlalpan=²⁹⁷

Ini:c III Capitulo

Nican mote:ne:hua in za:te:panian o:-hua:llaqueh nican yancuica:tla:lpan. Ca yehua:ntin in o:hua:lqui:zqueh A:ztla:n. In ca:mpa o:hua:llaqueh in achtopa To:lte:cah, nica:n o:tla:-lpixqueh Me:xicahtla:lpan.

Chapter 3

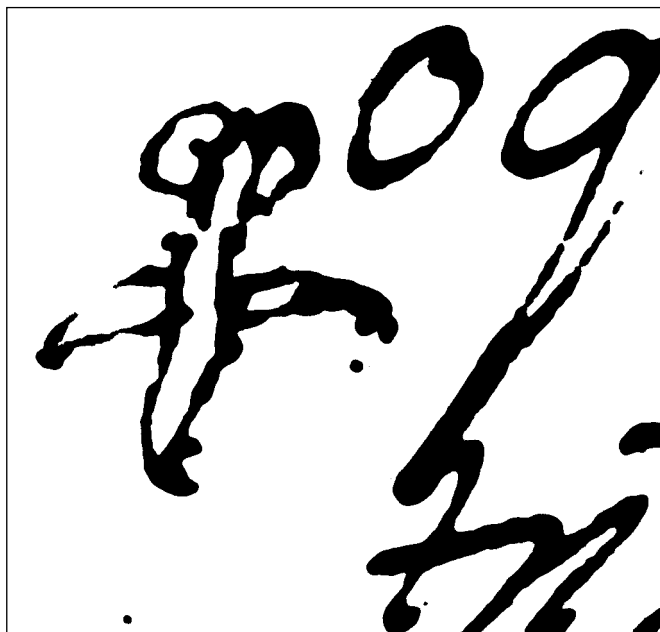
Here it is recounted who came here last to this new land. It is indeed they who came out of the place Aztlan. The first who came from there were the Toltecs, who ruled here in the land of Mexico.

Recto, Ms. Folio 8²⁹⁸

Mitoa ca yn onpa ypan Altep[ehuei maitl]²⁹⁹ tlá- cenca otlaca izcaltiloc ca Yciuhca yopan moxe loque, omocecan³⁰⁰ quixtique, hualaque³⁰¹ Anahuac, Auh ý huitzinton ceme yno cachi atlama chileque qui hualhuicaya inon tlaca necochotl oquícac. Yhuá cacicatzíc³⁰⁵ Ynic ocuícaya ce totoztintlí,³⁰⁶ ca quítoaya, tihuy, tihuy,, oquinmil-huí ynic oquicac. yn ahuac yn tecpantzin auh ýxquich ohuelit ynic oquintlatlacihiuíq. ynín omentin, yn cemíxquich tlatcatl Azteca³⁰⁹ quimixpantiaya, ca ínícúic Yn totzotzintlí³¹¹ huel Machiliz Yecyotl ynic huicoca,³¹³ maquicahu-acan ynin tlalpan, Ynic ye nenentíazque occecanpa tlalpan, quintlatlaluiliaya,³¹⁴ oquizque Yn nahuachuic chicnahuy tlamantlí, tlaca, mochintín cetlaca-tiliz-pan quizque, omoxexeloque Ynizquícan chachanecayotl, (occequin quítoa ca zan na huí tlamátin,

Mihtoa ca in o:mpa i:pan a:ltep[e:-hue:i ma:itl] tla: cencah o:tla:caizcaltiloc, ca ihciuhca:yopan moxe:-loqueh. O:mocecca:nqui:xtiqueh, o:hua:laqueh A:na:huac. Auh in Huitzinton ce:meh in ocachi ahtlamachiloqueh quihua:lhui:caya ino:n tla:ca necochotl o:quicac. I:-hua:n cahcic a:zic ini:c o:cui:caya ce:to:toltzintli, ca quihtoaya *tihui, tihui*. O:quimilhui³⁰⁸ ini:c o:quicac i:nahuac in Tecpantzin. Auh ixquich o:hue:lit ini:c o:quimihcihuitiqueh³¹⁰ ini:n o:mentin in cemi:xquich in tla:cah³¹² A:ztecan Quimi:xpantiaya ca in i:cui:ca in to:toltzintli hu:el machiliz ye:cyo:tl ini:c i:hui:ccoca ma:quica:huacan ini:n tla:lpan, ini:c ye nenentiazqueh occe: ca:mpa tla:lpan. Quintla:lia:huia:ya o:quizqueh in nahuachuic. Chiucnahui tlamantli tla:ca, mochintin cetla:catilizpan, qui:zqueh. O:moxe:xeloqueh in izquica:n

It is said that there in the great city the people were most plentiful, because they scattered themselves rapidly.³⁰² They withdrew completely and came to Anahuac.³⁰³ And Huitzinton was one of the more learned and astute³⁰⁴ among those who led them. So he asserted to them that a bird had sung thus and said “*Let’s go! Let’s go!*”³⁰⁷ He told Tecpantzin what he had heard. And these two were very effective in hurrying all the Azteca. They interpreted the bird’s song effectively, as a good omen that they should go together and abandon this land, and that they should already be migrating to some other land. They organized them to depart from the region. Nine parties of people, all from the same lineage, left with them. They separated themselves into an equal number of residential groups. Some said that it



Scribe's little drawing of the bird in *Anónimo Mexicano*. (*Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscript, Mexicain 254, fol. 8.*)

Mexicâ tlaco chalca, chal meca, Yhuá
Calpitzco,³¹⁵ auh melahuac

cha:cha:nehca:yo:tl. Oc cequi:n quih-
toa cah zan na:hui tlamantin—Me:-
xihcah, Tlahcocha:lca, Cha:lmeca,
i:hua:n Calpitzca—auh mela:huac

was only four groups—the Mexica,
the Tlacochalca, the Chalmeca, and
the Calpiltzca—but truly

Verso, Ms. Folio 8

[ohualaque ynahuachi]uc³¹⁶ nahuí
tlamátli, chalcá. Matlatzincan,³¹⁷
Tepanecâ,³¹⁸ Malinalcâ Xochimilcâ
(cuítlahuacan³¹⁹ chichi-meca),
caynintin yehuantin yn tlaxcalteca;
Mízquitecâ; tenochcâ-auh ceme
yninque, oquitoca cuíque, ynínne
tlalil.yny³²¹ maltepeuh,——

[o:hua:llaqueh i:nahuac chi]ucna:-
hui tlamantli—Cha:lca, Ma:tlatzinca,
Tepane:can, Mali:nalcan Xo:chimi:-
lcan, Cuitlahuahca Chi:chi:me:cah
(cah ini:ntin yehua:ntin in Tlaxcalte:-
cah), Mizquite:cah, Teno:chcah. Auh
ce:meh ini:nqueh o:quito:ca:cuiqueh
ini:n netla:lil³²² ini:n a:ltepe:uh.

nine groups came to this region: the
Chalca, the Matlatzinca, the Tepan-
eca, the Malinalca, the Xochimilca,
the Cuitlahuaca, the Chichimeca
(who are the Tlaxcalteca), the
Mizquica, and the Tenochca.³²⁰ And
some of these thus took the names
of these cities they settled.

ohual yacanalogue Ypanpa ý
tecpanztin³²³ Yhuá- yn huitzin-
ton,^{#324} yn achtopa³²⁵ xihucahuítli,
motenehua tochtli;³²⁷ mopohuaya
Ontzontlí, cax-tolli yhuá nahuípoal-
lí; y huá matlactli on nahuy, xihuitl,
ynon pa ohual quizque Ypá- yntlallí
mo tocayotia Aztlan,^{#328} auh zanic
oazique chimozcoc,³²⁹ omoxexelo-
tiaque Y-nocce quintin nepapant-
laca,³³⁰ tlacachihque, onpa quin

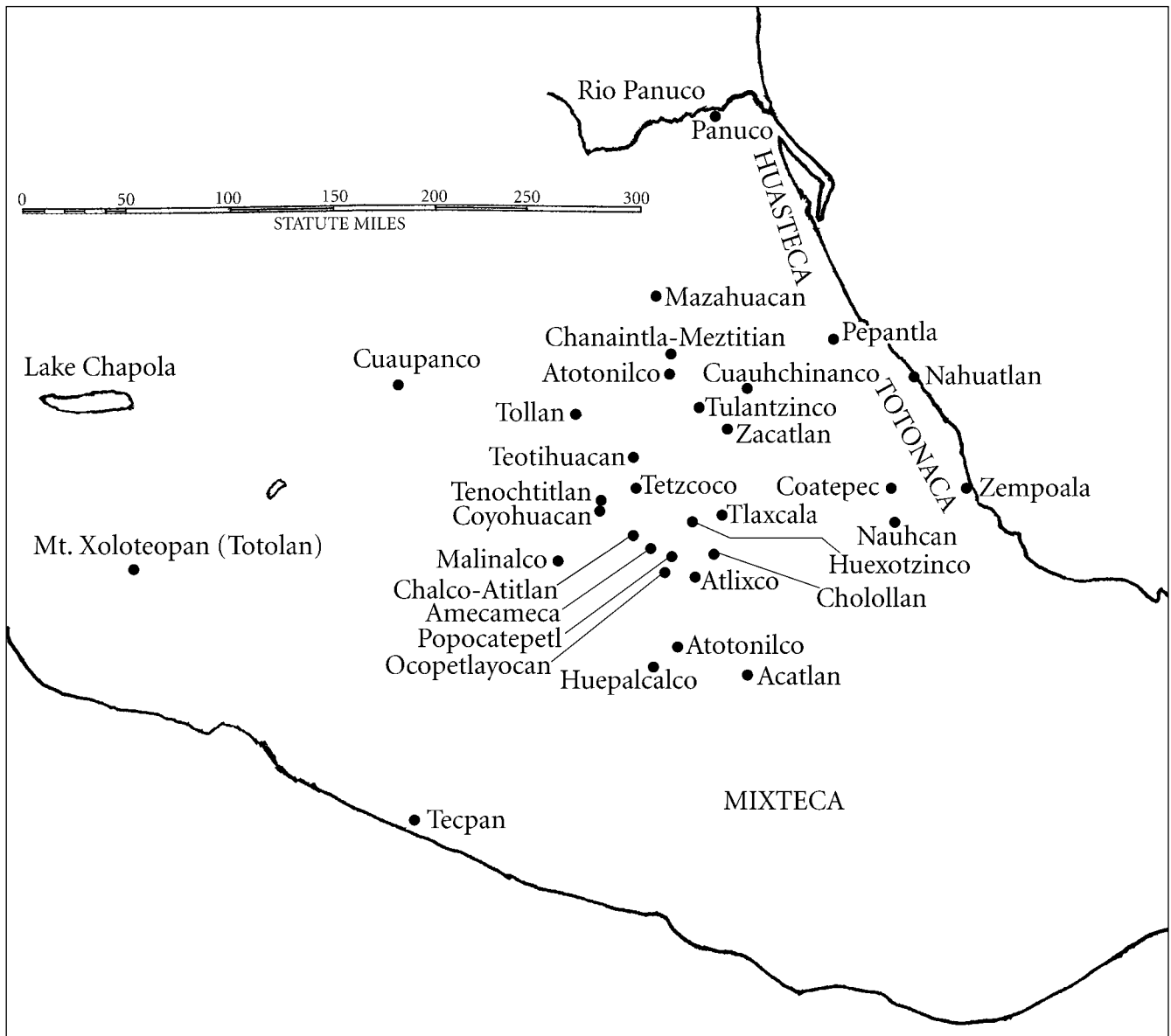
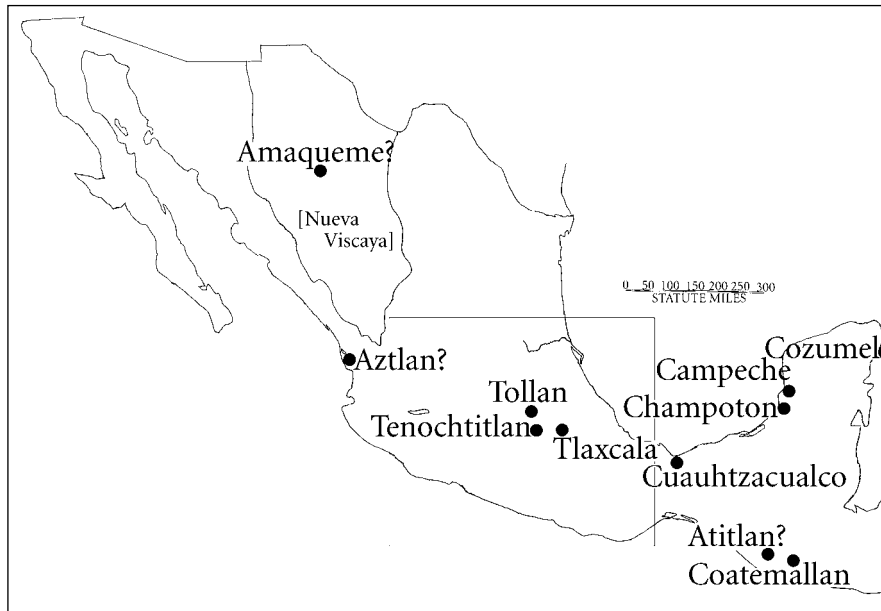
O:hua:lyacanalogueh i:pampa in
Tecpanztin i:hua:n in Huitzinton, in
achtopa xihuca:huitl mote:ne:hua
Ome Tochtli. Mopo:huaya o:ntzontli
caxto:lli i:hua:n na:hui po:hua:lli
i:hua:n mahtla:ctli on na:hui xihuitl,
in o:mpa o:hua:lquizqueh i:pan in
tla:lli moto:ca:yo:tia A:ztlan, # auh
zan i:c o:aziqueh Chimozcoc o:-
moxe:xelotiaqueh in oc cequi:ntin
nepapan tla:ca. Tlacachihqueh

They came from there, led by Tec-
pantzin and Huitzinton, in the first
year that is called Two Rabbit.³²⁶
Eleven hundred and ninety-four
years had been counted when they
left the land called Aztlan. But after
they arrived at Chicomoztoc, they
divided up into different popula-
tions. They multiplied there. They
left behind the Mexica and the
Tenochca, although it is said that the

hual cauhtiâque Yn Me-xicâ y huan
Yntenochca, [macihui mitoa achto-
pa ocalaque yn mexica]³³² yn amo
Yno-hual tlayacanque——

o:mpa. Quinhua:lca:uhtiaqueh in
Me:xihcan i:hua:n in Teno:chcan,
ma:cihui mihtoa achtopa o:calaqueh
in Me:xihcah, in ahmo: in o:hua:-
ltlayacanqueh.

Mexica arrived first, not those who
went before them.³³¹



Places mentioned in Anónimo Mexicano.



Recto, Ms. Folio 9

Yníc³³³ IV Capitulo

Nican mi[toa, moten]ehua³³⁴ yní huey liz tláto cay.o oquipixque y Pipil-tin Azca Potzalco, ca tzontecoma Altepctl-catcaia. Ynícen mochi³³⁵ ynacolhuâ, Y huâ tepanecatl, ynicuac Ypan tlatocatiâ y Huehue tezô=zomocltl, ca oquimicti yn yxtlilxochitl yn teuc tlatocau³³⁶ cenmochí tlatatl yçel tlatocatia, Yhuâ motenehua. y ninetlaliloca, ynín huey Altepctl.³³⁸

Quíphohua yn ípan ynín zazanil Amauh yn Az-capotzalco tlaça, ynic achto opeuh. yníc otzintic ynín Altepctl. ypan achtopa cahuitl, cenca huey. ynic tlaçayohuac. amo cana macic. ynínenehuiloca yní- chamauhca; Yninetalil mopohua centzontlí chicua cenpohuali, yhuân matlactlí xihuitl.³⁴⁰ yuh qui machiotitacue yní Altepahuâcahuan, Ynachto-pa ohualtlatocatitacue. Ynçe, Hueytzin teuctlí- ynícome Acolhuacâ teuctlí. ymon y teuctlí- Xolotl; avh mi to a nel oqui pix Yntlatocayotl, macuil-poalli xiuhtica³⁴³ paca, hiecyopan³⁴⁴

Verso, Ms. Folio 9

Z[atapanian ye]³⁴⁵ Acolhua oquícic . ynítlatocayo, Ynít-Piltzin, Cuecuch,

Ini:c IV Capitulo

Nican mi[toa, moten]ehua in i:hue- iliz- tlahtohcayo: o:quipixqueh i:n pi:piltin A:zcapo:tzalco, cah tzontecoma a:ltepe:tl catcaya, in iccen mochin in A:co:lhuan i:hua:n Tepane:catl inihcua:c i:pan tlahtohca:tia i:n hue:hueh Tezozomocltl. Ca o:quimicti in I:xtili:lxo:chitl inte:uctlahtohcauh, cen mochi tla:catl i:cel tlahtohca:tia. I:hua:n mote:ne:hua in i:netla:liloca ini:n hue:i a:ltepe:tl.

Quipo:hua in i:pan ini:n zahza:ni:l a:mauh in A:zcapo:tzalco tla:ca, ini:c achto o:pe:uh ini:c o:zi:ntic ini:n a:ltepe:tl i:pan achtopa ca:huitl. Cenca hue:i ini:c tla:çayo:huac. Ahmo: cana mahcic ini:n eh nehui:loca: in i:chama:uhca. In i:netla:lil mopohua ce:ntzontli chicuace:npo:hualli i:hua:n mahtla:ctli xihuitl. Iuhqui, machiyo:titaqueh in i:a:ltepe:huacahuan. In achtopa o:hua:ltahtohca:titaqueh in ce: Hue:itzinte:uctli, ini:c o:me A:co:-lhua:hca:nte:uhtli, i:mo:n in te:uhtli Xo:lo:tl. Auh mihto a nel o:quipix in tlahtohca:yo:tl ma:cui:lpo:hualli xiuhtica pa:cca: ye:cyo:pan.

Z[atapanian ye] A:co:lhua, o:quicuc in i:tlahtohca:yo: in i:piltzin

Chapter 4

Here is told, is recounted, the greatness of the rulership of the nobles who guarded Azcapotzalco, which was the chief city, the first among all the Acolhua and Tepaneca, when the great Tezozomocltl was made ruler in it. Because he slew Ixtlilxochitl, their noble sovereign, he fully ruled all the people as the supreme ruler.³³⁷ And it is told how this great city was established.

In this book of stories it is told about the Azcapotzalco people, who first undertook to establish their city in the first era. They were a very great multitude. Certainly the density of this one was nowhere equaled. Its settlement lasted five hundred and thirty years.³³⁹ Thus they set an example with their cities. The first who came to rule was one Hueitzin Teuctli,³⁴¹ the second was Acolhuaca Teuctli, the son-in-law³⁴² of the lord Xolotl. And it is said that he held the rulership peacefully in goodness for one hundred years.

After Acolhua, his son Cuecux³⁴⁶ took the rulership, but it is not

auh amo mítohuaquezuí xi-huitl
 ôtlátocatic. maciyhuí huecauh
 yn oquipix- ynín tlátocayotl, auh
 zaníc omíc ôquitlali çe y Piltzin.
 ynín tlátôanicatca³⁴⁷ ytoca Cu-
 auhtzinteuctlí, yxhuyuh yntlatôaní
 acolhua, auh ynitlachihual- ynín
 tlatoani, amo ômíchcuílo yeica
 ynopolíuh yní-itlal amahúan, Ytech ý
 tlátocayotl niman ocalac yn Ylhuíca
 míná; zanicomíc, ôquí cantocac
 otlatocatic Matlacohuatl, zani co mic
 y nín tlatoaní, oquimaceuh yn tlato-
 cayotl çe Pillí- ytoca Tezca coatl,³⁴⁹
 zaníc omíC³⁵¹ ynín tezcacoatl otla-
 tocatic quiYcantocan Tezcapoctlí,
 zanic omo miquilli ynín Tezca poctlí,
 o quícantocac ynteuctlí Teotl ehuac,
 auh mochintín ynín que teteuctín
 amo omazicamat ynín tlachi-hualiz.
 Ypanpa inícuac ocalla que yncax-
 tilteca mochí opolíuhque ynín
 tlacuilol Amahuan: auh zani comíc
 ynín tlatoaní theotl ehuac, ô.qui cuic
 yn tlátocayotl. yn tzihuac-tlatonac,³⁵⁴
 ynín oquipix Yntla tocatyotl yepo-
 huatl xiuitl.³⁵⁵

Recto, Ms. Folio 10

ypán ynín teuctlatôani í nemiliz, o[
 y]n³⁵⁶ Mexíca Atitlan
toltic, Acatitlan [Yn]³⁵⁷ tlaca
 zanicomíc y ninteuctlí oquimaceuh
 ý tlátocayotl çe y Piltzin cainícuac
 omíc yni thatzín yequin o-quipi-
 aia tz³⁵⁹ çexihuítl, auh ýtoca tezo-
 zomoctlí- cayno quic ohueíatá,
 ypanpa otlatocatic, yní Nantzín- yni
 toca Cihua xochitl, nahuí xiuhtica
 quihuíac yn yntequitl auh zate-
 panían omotlatocatlatlí³⁶² yni- Piltzín
 caoquínótzque, neçentlaliliztica
 mochintín yní maçehualhuan y
 nicuac omíc Ynitatzín, auh amo
 mitoa tlei nic âhocmo tlátocatic yni
 Nantzín zanío³⁶⁴ ca momatí ynic
 yenuhuixiuhtica quipiaia yn Piltzintli

Cuehcue:ch, auh ahmo: mihtoa que:-
 zqui xihuitl o:tlátohcatic, ma:cihui
 huehc:auh in o:quipix ini:n tlahto-
 hcayo:tl. Auh zan i:c o:mic, o:quitla:li
 ce: i:piltzín in i:n tlahtoa:ni. catca i:-
 to:ca: Cuauhtzinte:uctli, i:xhui:uh in
 tlahtoa:ni A:co:lhua. Auh in i:-
 tlachi:hua:li ini:n tlahtoa:ni ahmo: o:-
 michcuilo yeica in o:políuh in
 i:tlalamahuan i:tech in tlahtohca:yo:-
 tl. Niman ocalac in Ilhuicami:na.
 Zan i:c o:mic, o:quicantocac o:tlah-
 tohcatic Ma:tlahco:a:tl. Zan i:c
 o:mic ini:n tlahtoa:ni, o:quima:ce:-
 uh in tlahtohca:yo:tl ce: pilli i:to:ca:
 Tezcaco:a:tl, o:tlátohcatic quican-
 tocan Tezcapo:ctli. Zan i:c o:momi-
 quilli ini:n Tezcapo:ctli, o:quican-
 tocac in te:uctli Teo:tlehua:c. Auh
 mochintín ini:nqueh te:te:uctín
 ahmo: o:mazicamat ini:n tlachihua:-
 liz i:pampa. (In ihcua:c ocallaqueh
 in Caxtilte:cah mochín opolíuhqueh
 ini:n tlacuilol amahuan.) Auh zan i:c
 o:mic ini:n tlahtoa:ni Teo:tlehua:c,
 o:quicuic in tlahtohca:yo:tl in Tzi-
 huac Tlahtohnac. Ini:n o:quipix in
 tlahtohca:yo:tl yepohua:lli xihuitl.

I:pan ini:n te:uctlahtoa:ni i:nnemiliz,
 o: [hua:lqui:zaque i]n Mex:ixhcah
 A:titlan to:ltic, a:catitlan. [In . . .
 .] tla:ca. Zan i:c o:mic ini:n te:uctli,
 o:quima:ce:uh in tlahtohca:yo:tl
 ce: i:piltzín, cah in ihcua:c o:mic
 in i:tahtzín ye quin o:quipiyaya ce:
 xihuitl. Auh i:to:ca: Te:zohzo:moctli
 cah in o:qui:c o:hue:íata' i:pampa
 o:tlátohcatic. In i:na:ntzín in i:to:ca:
 Cihua:xo:chitl. na:hui xiuhtica
 quihui:cac ini:n tequitl. Auh za:te:-
 panían, o:motlahtohca:ti in i:piltzín.
 Ca o:quino:tzqueh, necentla:liliztica
 mochintín in i:ma:ce:hua:lhuan in
 ihcua:c o:mic in i:tahtzín. Auh ahmo:
 mihtoa tleini:c aocmo: tlahtohca:tic
 in i:na:ntzín zan i:c cah momatí ini:c

said for how many years he ruled,
 although he had the rulership for a
 long time. After he died, he installed
 one of his sons as their ruler. He was
 called Cuauhtzinteuctli, grandson of
 the ruler Acolhua. And so he made
 himself the ruler. And this ruler's
 accomplishments were not writ-
 ten, because the books about his
 rulership perished.³⁴⁸ Then he was
 succeeded by Ilhuicamina. After he
 died, Matlaccoatl followed behind
 him and was made ruler. After this
 ruler died, a son called Tezcacoatl³⁵⁰
 received the rulership. After this
 Tezcacoatl died, one named Tez-
 capoctli ruled. After this Tezcapoctli
 died, the lord Teotlehuac followed
 him. But the accomplishments of
 all these lords are not found in
 the painted books.³⁵² (When the
 Spaniards entered, they destroyed all
 these books.³⁵³) And after this ruler
 Teotlehuac died, came the rulership
 of Tzihuac Tlatonac, who ruled the
 nobility for sixty years.

In the life of this lord-ruler, the
 Mexica [arrived in this land of]
 grassy lakes among the reeds.³⁵⁸ [The
] people. After this lord died,
 one of his sons received the nobility,
 and he began to rule just one year af-
 ter his father died. And he was called
 Tezozomoctli, who was great when
 he was ruler.³⁶⁰ His mother's name
 was Cihuaxochitl. Four years later he
 took this office.³⁶¹ And afterwards,
 his son was installed as ruler.³⁶³ So
 they summoned the assembly of all
 his vassals when his father died. And
 it is not said why his mother did not
 make him ruler until he was known
 thus already for four years. The
 revered noble ruled and was more

yequitlacamataya mochintin Yn
 Pipiltin. cenca huey ixtlatquí catca,
 ynic yéhue yatíuh, auh mítoa ocuícac
 ý tlatocayotl. nápohualixí-utl, #³⁶⁵
 ypan ini tlatocayo, oquititlanili ý
 teuctlí tex-calticpac . ce Acaxítl yztac
 cenca mahuízauhquí o qui huen-
 tillí yca íteuc tlaughtiloca, oceliloque
 yntetzô-co tlatla ypanpa Yncolhua-
 cateuctli cuanex. caye tlatocatia ypan
 tlax calteca tlalpan, huel paca ocox
 cayotica quín mocelilí ínîn tetitlan-
 tîn, huel quin mocnellilí, necehui-
 liztica. _____³⁶⁹

ye na:hui xiuhtica. Quipiyaya in
 piltzintli ye quitla:camataya mochin-
 tin in pi:piltin. Cencah hue:i
 i:xtlatqui catca. Ini:c ye hue:iyatiuh.
 Auh mihtoa o:cuicac in tlahtohca:-
 yo:tl na:uhpo:hualli xihuitl. # I:pan
 in i:tlahtohca:yo:, o:quiti:tlani in
 te:uctli Texcalticpac, Ce: A:caxitl Izta:c,
 cencah mahuizauhqui o:quihue:ntilli
 i:ca i:te:uctlauhtiloca. O:celiloqueh
 in Tetzcohco tlatla i:pampa in Co:-
 lhuacahte:uctli Cuanexcaye. Tlahto-
 hca:tia i:pan Tlaxcalte:cah tla:lpan.
 Huel pa:cca: o:coxayo:tica quin
 mocelili ini:n te:ti:tlantin, huel quin-
 mocne:lili nece:huiliztica.

prosperous than all of the lords. He
 had very many possessions, so that
 he continued to grow with honor.
 And it was said that he held the rul-
 ership for eighty years. In his reign
 the lord in Texcallan,³⁶⁶ Ce Acaxitl
 Yztac, sent him much honor because
 of his lord-rulership.³⁶⁷ They received
 Culhuacateuctli Cuanexcaye³⁶⁸ into
 the midst of Tetzcoco. He was the
 ruler of the Tlaxcalteca land. Very
 happily, their envoys were admitted
 readily and looked after very well
 and calmly.



[Inic]³⁷⁰ V Capitulo.

*ypan mopohua yníc omo yeíantíco
Poyauhtlan y Tlaxcal-teca, Yhuá
Yn yaoyotl ôquí chiuqhue. ynicuac
míxnamíque ýnahuac yn Mexíca
tepaneca³⁷¹*

Mopohua³⁷² mitohua ynípan ýnin
zazanił Amauh yntla xcaltecá, [oqui
ma y cuilo cepilli ytoca Be-nito
ytzcac macuechtli,³⁷³ çeme ynach-
topa ômachtiloque ypanpa yntheo-
pixque franciscanos- ynmatica
ôquíçellí ynnecuayatequiliztlí]³⁷⁶
Y huanpehua qui toa; totlacuilol
âmapá ôtechhual machtitaque yn
tachtohuan, tocolhuan, totahuan ca
y pan ýhueytlallí Aztlan.³⁷⁸ olol-
huitoya Yn Mexíca, tlaxcaltecá. oto-
mime totonactín. auh onpa o mo xe-
xelotiaque. ynmexíca ohualquizque
achtopa cempohuali yhuá matlactli-
on³⁸² na hui xiuhtíca; zatepanian³⁸³
yeo catcaya ín tlaxcaltecá chicomoz-
toc, ô quin hualycantocataque,³⁸⁵
oquihualycanaya³⁸⁷ çe Yaoíecanqui³⁸⁸
ytoca Cetecpatl ocone-netl, ohuala-
zico mexico atencohuíc yemanticatca
Yn cequintin atitlan, acaític, tolític
ynizquitlaca macá,³⁸⁹ auh zano quin
hual panahuitiquizaco,³⁹⁰ amo-

[Ini:c] V Capitulo.

*I:pan mopo:hua ini:c o:moyeya:ntico
Poya:uhtlan in Tlaxcalte:cah, i:hua:n
in ya:o:yo:tl o:quichi:uhqueh in
ihcua:c mixna:miqueh i:nna:huac in
Me:xihcah Tepane:ca.*

Mopo:hua, mihtoa in i:pan ini:n za:-
zanil a:mauh in Tlaxcalte:cah, o:-
quima:ihcuilo ce: pilli i:to:ca: Benito
Itzcac Ma:cue:chtli, ce:meh in ach-
topa o:machtiloqueh i:pampa in
teo:pixqueh Franciscanos³⁷⁵ in ma-
tica o:quicelli in necua:a:te:quiliztli.
I:hua:n pe:hua quihtoa: totlahcuilol
amapan otechhua:lmachtitaqueh in
tachto:huan, tocolhuan, totahuan:.
Ca i:pan in hue:i tla:lli Aztlan, o:lol-
hui:to:ya in Me:xihcah, Tlaxcalte:cah,
Otomime, Totonactin. Auh o:mpa
o:moxe:xelotiaqueh. In Me:xihcah o:-
hua:lquizqueh aktopa cempo:hua:lli
i:hua:n na:hui xiuhtica. Za:te:panian,
ye o:catcaya in Tlaxcalte:cah Chico:-
moztoc o:quinhua:lyacantocataqueh.
O:quinhua:lyaca:naya ce: ya:o:yaca:-
nqueh i:to:ca: Ce: Tecpatl Oconenetl.
O:hua:lahcico Me:xihco a:te:ncohuic,
ye manticatca in cequi:ntin a:titlan,
a:caitic, to:litic. In izquitla:ca ma:ca:n.
Auh zan o:quinua:lpanahuiti qui:-
zaco, ahmo:

Chapter 5

*In which is recounted how the Tlax-
calteca occupied Poyauhtlan and
[about] the war they made when they
disputed among themselves near the
Mexico (and) the Tepaneca.*

It is recounted, it is told in this
Tlaxcalteca book of stories, which
a nobleman named Benito Itzcac
Maquechtli³⁷⁴ wrote by hand, that he
was one of the first who were taught,
because he received baptism by the
Franciscans.³⁷⁷ And herewith he
begins to tell what our great-grand-
fathers, our grandfathers, and our
fathers went along handing down
to us in teachings³⁷⁹ in our painted
books.³⁸⁰ In the great land of Aztlan,
that the Mexico, the Tlaxcalteca, the
Otomi, and the Totonaca used to
live together.³⁸¹ And there they went
their own ways.³⁸⁴ First the Mexico,
who left to come here twenty-four
years later.³⁸⁶ Afterwards, those who
there were the Chicomoztoc Tlax-
calteca followed them here. A fir tree
idol named One Flint that they car-
ried brought them here. When they
arrived here at Mexico, some [oth-
ers] were already settled³⁹¹ along the
shore, which was reedy, grassy. It was
possessed by many people. And also
they finished crossing this way; they
did not settle at one place. [Instead]
they crossed over this way,

Recto, Ms. Folio 11

yntlan omo tlálique, o hualpano[que
yhuan om]o-cehuíco³⁹² yancuican
chalcohuic ate[nco, . . . y]a,³⁹³ theo
Poyauhtlan,³⁹⁴ Ynin teuh oncan oquí
quetzque quito-cayotiaí³⁹⁵ Camaxtli
mixcohuatl.³⁹⁷ auh ynín iztlaca theotl
.nel tentzone. Yxhuítzaltic, ycpac
qui manilia ya Yni cua eca huil.
quenami ynaxcan mitxa⁴⁰² quí-tlalia
ý theopixca tlatoque, tlaquentitoc
yca Yztac-tilmatlí, oqui piaia yca Y
tlahuitol, chicnauh- mamalhuiztlí,
tetotocamitl. mintlí, acallí, mochí-
hícxitlanhuic manticatca, oncan
yecate paca yotica . necehuilzítica,⁴⁰⁵
atlan, cuauhtla, tepetlan , o-yaia⁴⁰⁶
tlatamihue, hey tlamínque yuhqui-
totine mía canel Yn tlahuítol.
ocualhuicay, xicomítl tetotocamítl
mintlí, onca:ncanaía, tepe Zolime.
totochtin, cuauhtotolim, Mazame,
oze lome, cuamíztin, tecuanímê,
yníc omotlayecol-tiaya. auh amo
yxnezquí yníc ye mixnami-quí⁴¹¹ yn
nahuac ynacollhuaque, yhuá Tepan-
eca ynic Yepeuhquí quilnamíquí
Yaotl, yníc tlal pan, Atl ytíc quin hual
yahualoque ynchichimeca oquice-
mito y nacollhua yhuá Tepanecatl
mochín.

intla:n o:motla:liqueh. O:hua:-
lpano:[queh i:hua:n o:m]oce:huico
yancuica:n Cha:lcohuic a:te:n[co, .
. . y]a, Teo:poya:uhtlan, in i:nte:uh.
Onca:n o:quiquetzqueh quito:ca:yo:-
tiaya Camaxtli Mixco:a:tl. Auh ini:n
iztlacateo:tl eh nel te:ntzoneh ixhui:-
tzaltic. Icpac quimaniliaya in ihcua:c⁴⁰⁰
cahuil que:namih in a:xca:n *mitxa*
quitla:lia teo:pixcatlahtoqueh.
Tlaque:ntitoc i:ca iztac tilmahtli, o:-
quiapiaya i:ca i:tlahui:to:l, chicna:uh
mamalhuiztlí, te:toto:camitl, mi:ntli,
acallí. Mochi i:c xitlanhuic manti-
catca, onca:n ye cateh pa:cca:yo:-
tica nece:huilzítica a:tlán, cuauhtlah,
tepe:tlán o:ya:ia tlamati. Huehhue:i⁴⁰⁷
tlami:nqueh. Yuh quitotinemia—cah
nel i:ntlahui:to:l o:cualhui:caya⁴⁰⁸
mi:co:mitl,⁴⁰⁹ te:toto:camitl, mi:ntli.
Onca:n canaia tepe:zo:limeh, to:to:-
chtin, cuauhto:tolim, maza:meh,
o:ce:lo:meh, quauhmiztin,⁴¹⁰ te:cua:-
nimeh. Ini:c o:motlayecoltiaya. Auh
ahmo: i:xne:zqui. Ini:c ye mi:xna:-
miqui i:nnahuac in A:co:lhuaqueh
i:hua:n Tepane:ca. Ini:c ye pe:uhqui
quilna:miqui ya:o:tl. Ini:c tla:lpan
a:tlitlic, quinhua:lyahua:loqueh in
Chi:chi:me:cah. O:quicemitto in A:-
co:lhua i:hua:n Tepane:catl mochin:

and moved on recently toward Chalco, on the shore of the lake. There at Mount Teopoyauhtlan they set up their god there. They named him Camaxtli Mixcoatl.³⁹⁶ And this false god was truly a bearded one,³⁹⁸ and one who had narrow eyes.³⁹⁹ Before him⁴⁰¹ they spread out offerings, that in the past was in the manner of the present-day mass that the priests⁴⁰³ perform now. He sat garmented in a white cloak.⁴⁰⁴ They guarded him with his bow, six litters, hunting arrows, piercing arrows, and a boat, all near his feet. When it was all completed, they were happily resting together there near water and an abundance of trees, among the mountains. They lived by their wits. They consumed much. They lived in this way—truly they carried their bows and their quiver, hunting arrows, and their hunting arrows, and piercing arrows. There were partridges, rabbits, fowl, deer, jaguars, mountain lions, and savage beasts; thus they sustained themselves. But they did not proceed to live in a convivial way. Thus they continually quarreled⁴¹² among themselves, near the Acolhua and the Tepaneca.⁴¹³ Thus they continuously engaged in combat, and thinking about war.⁴¹⁴ Thus, in this wet land, the Chichimeca came, going all around. The Acolhua deliberated in the company of all the Tepaneca inhabitants:

Verso, Ms. Folio 11

[. . . yahua]lozque⁴¹⁵ yníc cueci-
uhque chichi-meca, amo cualli
nican totlan onozque, matí-quin
pehuacan, onpa in theotl yxco; Ynic
yequin Yaomani loque. cenca huey
mí qui liztli.⁴¹⁹ omotac Yncepan

“[I:nic yahua:]lozqueh, Ini:c⁴¹⁶ cue-
hciuhqueh Chi:chi:me:cah. Ahmo:
cualli nican totlan onozqueh Mati,
quinpe:huaca:n o:mpa in Teo:tli:xcó.”
Ini:c ye:qui:n ya:o:maniliqueh.⁴¹⁸
Cencah hue:i miquiliztli o:mottac,

“[Thus] the Chichimeca [are spread-
ing] all around.⁴¹⁷ Thus the Chi-
chimeca are rushing around. It is not
good for them to have spread here
among us. Indeed, let us vanquish
them there at Teotlixco.”⁴²⁰ Thus

huic ýnon tla man pan. momic
tiani. ||

mitoa. cayno míque Pipiltin Mexíca
yei xiquí pillí, auh yn Macehual-
tin ámo-opohualo qué, auh yni
mezo Yno míque nelompa ocal-
laquíto amanaloían Chimal huacan,
miequintin yn otzizquiloque mexica
oquimelteque in chichimeca yxpan
y nitheuh- *Camaxtli*,⁴²⁴ ôquin⁴²⁵
huen manilique. ynic Ye can⁴²⁶ oquin
maquíxti. ypan Ynín Yaotl; Ynúh
opanoc quí milhuí yníntheuh.⁴²⁸
maaoque Yn tzalan, ynnahuachuic
tiecan yn Mexicâ ma tí huían onpa
Yntheotl yxco, aioc mo Ynpan
tlaneçiz⁴³⁰ tonaz, tlathuiz, Yehualquí-
za Yn theo. Poyauhtlan opanoque
Amaquemêcan, oquí-yehualoque
Ynpopoca tepetl, oquizaco híc o
cope=

Recto, Ms. Folio 12

tlayôcan, Atlíxco. teyecac, ca[lpitzco
. . . . \O. . .]co⁴³⁵ oncan omocauht-
láque cequintin, yhuá hoc cequin tín
oyaque *Chololan*,⁴³⁶ totomihuacan,
cuauhtitlan Tecalco. Óztoticpac, auh
yno hualaque mítoa mo-tenehua⁴³⁷
Texcalticpac, oncan oazíco Xochíte-
catítlá,- tetenan yôcan Mítzco huepal-
calco, Ynic yetleco Ypan yntetepe
Yztaquê, oncan ye manticate omote-
caque ynychichime ca. omocentlal-
lique ynic yetozque. paquiliz tica
ynaoque aca quín cuecihuitiz, oqui-
hualhuica ia chicnauh mamalhuíztli
yníc oquiquixtiaya yn tletl ycotla-
chinoaya zanoquimatíloaya ynín.
mapíltzalan, ||⁴⁴³ oncan Yemantícate,
omotlayecoltiaya yca yntlen oqui-
mamayâ, ||⁴⁴⁵ opeuhque ye quítlalía

in ce:panhui:c ino:n tlananpan
momictiani. ||⁴²¹

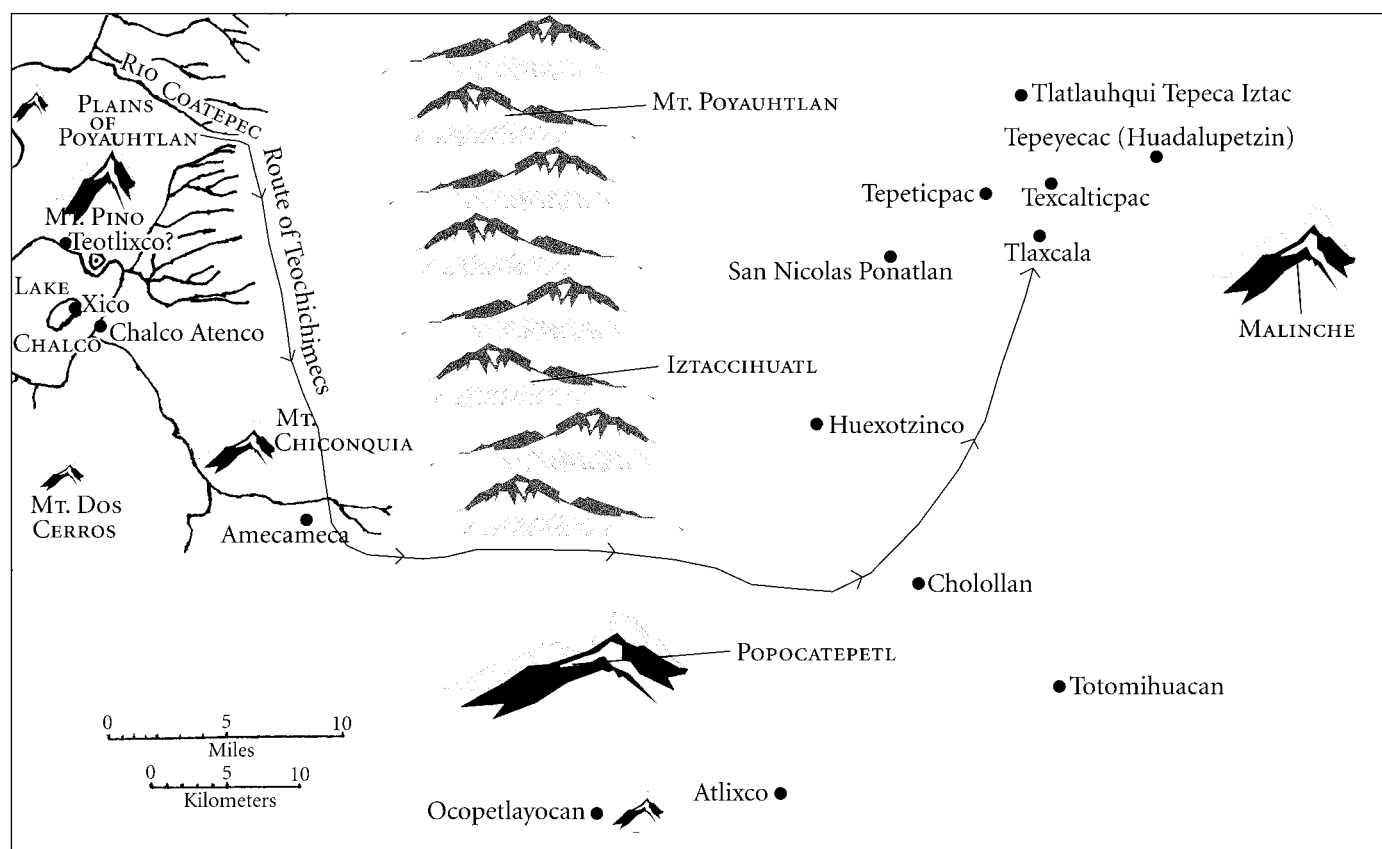
Mihtoa ca in o:miqueh pi:piltin Me:-
xihca ye:i xiquipilli, auh in ma:ce:-
hua:ltin ahmo: o:pohua:loqueh. Auh
in i:mezzo: in o:miqueh nel o:mpa
o:calaquito a:manaloian Chi:mal-
huacan. Miequintin in o:tzizquilo-
queh Me:xihca o:quimeltequeh in
Chi:chi:me:cah I:xpan in i:nteo:.
Camaxtli, o:quinhuemaniliqueh.
Ini:c ye:cca:n o:quinma:qui:xti i:pan
ini:n ya:o:tl. In iuh o:panoc: quimil-
hui in i:nteo:, “Ma aoqueh⁴²⁹ i:ntza:-
lan i:nna:huachuic tiecan in Me:-
xihcah. Ma tihuiya:n o:mpa in Teo:-
tli:xco ayocmo: i:npan tlaneciz, to:-
naz, tlathuiz.” Ye hua:lqui:za in Teo:-
poa:uhtlan. O:panoqueh A:maque:-
mehcan. O:quiyehua:- loqueh in
Popo:catepetl, o:quizaco i:c Ocope

tlayo:can, A:tli:xco, Teye:cah, Ca-
[lpitzco,]co. Onca:n o:-
moccauhlahqueh cequi:ntin, i:hua:n
oc cequi:ntin o:ya:queh Chololan,
Totomihuacan, Cuauhtitlan, Tecalco,
Oztoticpac. Auh in o:hua:lloqueh
mihtoa, mote:ne:hua Texcalticpac.
Onca:n o:ahcico Xochitecatitlan, Tet-
enyocan Mitzco, Huepalcalco. Ini:c
ye tlehco i:pan in te:tepe yztaqueh
oncan Yemanticate, o:motecaqueh in
Chi:chi:me:cah, o:mocentla:liqueh.
Ini:c yetozqueh paquiliztica. In aoc
eh⁴⁴⁰ ac ahquin cuecihuitiz. O:-
quihua:lhui:caia chicnauh mamal-
huiztli. Ini:c o:quiqui:xtiaya. In tletl
i:c otlachinoaya. Zan o:quimatelo:-
ia⁴⁴⁴ in i:nmapíltzalan. Onca:n ye
manticate o:omotlayecoltiaya i:ca in

finally they prepared for war. Death
was very much seen, and throughout
that region they were killing each
other.

It is said that twenty-four thousand
Mexico nobles and uncounted com-
moners died. And in truth, the blood
of those who died flowed all the way
there⁴²² to the place where the water
is dammed up at Chimalhuacan.⁴²³
The Chichimeca eagerly sacrificed
many Mexico who were taken
prisoner. Before the face⁴²⁷ of their
god *Camaxtli* they spread them out
as offerings. Thus, at an opportune
time, he delivered them from this
war. In this way they crossed over
[the mountain]; their god revealed
to them, “Be no longer among them
at the place of the Mexico. Let us
depart from Teotlixco⁴³¹ before⁴³² it
dawns, before it is sunny, before the
sun sheds light.” They left Teopoy-
auhtlan, coming this way.⁴³³ They
went past Amecameca.⁴³⁴ They came
over Popocatepetl. They left Ocope

tlayocan, Atlíxco, Teyecac, Ca-
[lpitzco, and]co. Then some
remained at Calpitzco, and some
others went to Cholula, Totomihua-
can, Cuauhtitlan, Tecalco, and Oz-
totitpac. And it is said, it is told that
they came to Texcalticpac.⁴³⁸ There
they arrived at Xochitecatitlan, Tet-
enyocan, Mitzco, and Huepalcalco.
By ascending the snow-covered⁴³⁹
mountains, the Chichimeca already
spread out and completely settled
the land there. Thus they were agree-
able with happiness. No longer did
anyone harry them.⁴⁴¹ He⁴⁴² led them
with nine litters. Thus the fire [of
the volcano] burned off the land.
They bruised their feet and burned
their fingers.⁴⁴⁶ They were already



Chalco, Amecameca, and Popocatepetl: the region of the war of Teopoyauhtlan.

huey tetzacuali yníc nohuíanpa ytlal-
tamachíuhpan, tepetitla⁴⁴⁸ yxtlahuac
huíc,⁴⁴⁹ âtlauhtzalan, ynicye quich-
icahualo-titacue ynín netlalitoca,
oapanquetztaque.. quauhtza cualli
quimantíaque, ypan hueyotlí, yeccan
cat ca Y níc⁴⁵⁰ oquichiaya ynaquine
yaotl, quilnamiquiz quía yniuh
yeopeuhca, auh neli melahuac. yninte
tzacuali tepantli. amo oquichiuhque
hic mopalehuiz quía; oquichiuhque
Ypanpa Ynaquineque oqui=

tlein⁴⁴⁷ o:quimamayan. i:c o:pe:-
uhqueh ye quitla:lia hue:i tetzacuali,
ini:c nohuianpa i:tlal:ltamachiuhpan
tepe:titla itla:huachui:c a:tlauhtzalan,
ini:c ye quichicahua:lotitaqueh in i:-
nnetla:litoca. O:apanquetztaqueh cu-
auhtzacualli; quimantiaqueh; i:pan
hue:i ohtli ye:ccan catca. Ini:c o:-
quichiyaya in a:quin eh ya:o:tl, quil-
na:miquizquia in iuh ye o:pe:uhca,
auh nelli mela:huac ini:n tetzacualli
tepantli. Ahmo: o:quichi:uhqueh i:c
mopale:hui:zquia. O:quichi:uhqueh
i:pampa in aquin necqueh o:quit-

spreading out there and providing
for themselves by means of whatever
they carried on their back; they be-
gan and set in order the great stone
temple. Thus they brought con-
struction rock to the plain among
the gullies from everywhere on the
surveyed land, and fortified it so that
they established their reputation.
They built ditches; they finished
great roads among the forests where
there were good places. Thus they
prepared for whoever was an en-
emy.⁴⁵¹ They would anticipate him as
if he had already attacked. And it was
certainly true that they made this
great temple. They did not act by this
means to fortify themselves. They

Verso, Ms. Folio 12

t[jaque c]achtizqué⁴⁵² íca iní
 Mahuizauhca tlachi-hua[l],⁴⁵³ [y]nin
 [h]uelítílíz ynín tlacâ; Yn yehuantín
 huel yn cen yolo Pachiuhticatca yno-
 químlhuyaia ynín theû- Camaxtle,
 cacemicac tlaca xicoque yezquía,
 nican y pan ynín Yeiantlí opehu-
 azquia Ynintlá tocayo #⁴⁵⁵ Y pan ynín
 cahuítl. Ye tlatocatia Huexotzinco.⁴⁵⁶
 Ynín Yao Yecancauh ytoca xiuh tle-
 huí. Yníc y equímitac yntlaxcalteca,
 yemotza tzacâ, tetzacualan. Cenca
 híco- momotzahuíá yní Yollo, oncan
 huallay. Innahuac- miec tlacá tlatla
 mapan. Oquincetilitaya íntlaxcal
 tecatl tlatoaní, amo Maoquilcauh
 yntlen quil na mic tinenca. Oncan
 omo centlali . oquítlacuauh Ytô- yníc
 Yaotl quinchihuilíz Yntexcalticpac⁴⁵⁸
 chichí-meca, oquintitlan yziuhca
 tiacahuá. Onpa ynahuac yn Mexicatl
 tepanecatl, cayetlatocatia yn huitzil
 yhuítzín,⁴⁵⁹ quimonahuatili quil-
 huí, cainchi chí meca, cat-ca, theo
 poyauhtlan, yni necocol ycníhuan
 .yoquimaxcatí-taya mochi Yntlallí,
 cenca hueycayotl necocolí, ynic mo-
 chintín quinquixtilitaya . Ynimaxca.
 y nintlat-quí, ynínhuelí⁴⁶⁵ cay e
 mochi yntlen oquitaya oqui-

[taqueh c]achtizqueh i:ca
 i:mahuizauha tlachihua:l, in i:nhue-
 litiliz in i:ntla:ca. In yehua:ntin huel
 in cen yo:llo pachiuhticatca in o:-
 quimilhuyaia in i:nteo: Camax-
 tli. (Ca cemihcac tla:ca xi:coqueh
 yezquíá nican i:pan ini:n yeya:ntli
 o:pe:huazquia ini:n tlahto:ca:yo.) #
 I:pan ini:n ca:huitl ye tlahtohca:tia
 Huexo:tzinco. In i:nya:o:yeca:ncauh
 i:to:ca: Xiuhtlehui. Ini:c ye quimittac
 in Tlaxcalte:cah. ye motzatzacan te:-
 zacualan. Cencah i:c o:momotza-
 huia in i:yo:llo. Onca:n hua:llay
 i:nna:huac miec tla:cah tla:tlamapan.
 O:quince:tilitaya in Tlaxcalte:catl
 tlahto:ni. Ahmo: ma o:quilca:uh. In
 tlein quilna:mictih ne:ncah. Onca:n
 o:mocentla:li. O:quitlacua:uh, itto:
 ini:c ya:o:tl. Quinchi:huiliz in Texcal-
 ticpac Chi:chi:me:cah, o:quintitlaniz
 iuh ca tiahca:huan o:mpa i:na:huac
 in Me:xihcahtl Tepane:catl. Ca yetla
 to:ca:tia in Hui:tzilyhuitzin. Qui-
 mona:huatili, quilhuiy ca in Chi:chi:-
 me:cah cat-ca Teopoyauhtlan⁴⁶¹ in
 i:nnecocolycnihuan ye⁴⁶³ o:quimaxca:-
 titaya mochi in tla:lli cencah hue:-
 ihca:yo:tl necoco:lli. Ini:c mochintin
 quinquixtilitaya in i:maxca in i:ntlat-
 qui. Ini:n huelih cah ye mochi in
 tlein o:quitaya, o:qui-

[.] so that everyone would
 want to see their awesome
 accomplishment.⁴⁵⁴ They themselves
 were very satisfied, with their whole
 heart, that they were strengthened
 by their god Camaxtli. (In fact, the
 people perpetually suffered, living
 here in this way so they could found
 their kingdom.) At this time there
 already was a ruler of Huexotzinco.
 Their leader was called Xiuhtlehui.
 Already the Tlaxcalteca watched
 him. They already surrounded and
 enclosed him. Because of this, he
 was greatly disturbed. Then many
 people came into his territory from
 other regions. The ruler of the Tlax-
 calteca⁴⁵⁷ united them. Do not forget
 what he foolishly brought about.
 They settled themselves there. He
 strengthened it, and thus he watched
 the enemy. Since the Texcalticpac
 Chichimeca might attack them, he
 had sent ambassadors⁴⁶⁰ there near
 to the Tepaneca Mexica, who indeed
 was named Huitzilihuitzin.⁴⁶² He
 himself responded and said to the
 Chichimeca,⁴⁶⁴ with great dignity
 and anger, that at Teopoyauhtlan
 their ancestors had already appro-
 priated all the land. Thus he caused
 them all to leave their property and
 their possessions. This one was able,
 so that already all that he saw and

Recto, Ms. Folio 13

nequíá quí maxcatízque, Ynice[n
]ni-⁴⁶⁶ yntla líl, huel
 yncamatíca nonochi pa omo-
 caquíá auh caâmo y tla nequiliz Yn,
 tlátoaní, quincahu=yílz quía ynitla
 l, ynic Yolchichique tlahueleq^{h=469}
 Zaníc oquimo caquiti Yn theuctla-
 toani, Huí= tzily huitzin, Mexicatl,
 tepanecatl. Ynitlaitla- nilíz Yníc oti
 tlanoqueYnítítiacahuan ŷ xiuhtle
 huy tlatoani Huexotzinco, omo-

nequíá, o:quimaxcatizqueh. Yn i:-
 cce[n]ni in tla:lli huel
 in ca matica nonochipa o:mocaquia.
 Auh cah ahmo: i:tlanequiliz, in tlah-
 toa:ni quincahuilizquia in i:tlal,
 ini:c yolchichiqueh tlahuelequeh.
 Zan i:c o:quimocaquiti in te:uctlah-
 toa:ni Hui:tzilyhuitzin Me:xihcahtl
 Tepane:catl in i:tlai:tlaniliz. Ini:c
 o:titla:no:queh in i:titiacahuan in
 Xiuhtlehuy, tlahto:ni Huexo:tzinco.

desired was to enrich himself. Once
 and for all the [.]
 land, there were indeed many plots
 heard.⁴⁶⁷ And it was not the ruler's⁴⁶⁸
 desire to relinquish his lands to
 them, so they became bitter at
 heart and enraged.⁴⁷⁰ Repeatedly,
 the monarch Huitzilihuitzin of the
 Mexica and the Tepaneca was told
 his request. Thus the envoys of Xi-
 uhtlehui, the ruler of Huexotzinco,

cuiltono yca ínitchí-hual, huel
melahuac quimaticac ca cemíac
ayc omix-namíca, ayc omo coco lica
ýnín mochtin cepá tlaca Nômatíca
oquí ohuicamat . Yníc cualpale-
huízquía Yo lo quimaltoya cenca
huey ca yeque, ynomomahuilia⁴⁷²
ya mopolozquía ypan Ynin yaoytl,
macíYhuí amo- nel oquin cemixna-
huatí. yntitia cahuan, ycaíní- ytlani-
oca, yninepa lehui loca, oquínna-
ti omeyotitíuh caniman oconnelti
lizquia yni tlatoltzin. ohualaz quía,
qui pa lehui quiuh, inic quí mixna-
huatí yntitia- ca huan Huexotzínco::
occecanpa oquinhualtítlan hoc
cequintin ytetlan nencahuan oqui-
nahuatito Yn tlaxcaltecá; texcalticpac
catca, yntlen ymicahuic

Verso, Ms. Folio 13

[oq a]⁴⁷⁷ ý Huexotzínco
tlatóaní, mela huac quíncaquíz⁴⁷⁸
tilique, yntitia cahuah. Tepaneca Yuh
quín mo nahua tilique ——— —

Ynamehuantzitzín Pipiltin, tlal ma-
ceuhque ypan Ynhuecapan Tetepe
tlaxcalanhuic , maxic momachítí-
can, catititlano, tititia⁴⁷⁹ cahúa
Ynhuey⁴⁸¹. Pilli mo matzin, mo
ampotzin Huítzil Yhuítzin ynhuelqui
mo Pilpialía. Ynhuey atl, chalco atl,
te nochtitlan, auh yehuatzin mitz
mo nahuatilía, que na yn macehu-
altin Huexotzínco, y huá Yní yaote
yecancauh xiuhlehuí, otlati tlan,
quimitlaní- lía yníc quipalehuíz
.amo huicopahuictzínco. ytech yn
Yaoyotl quilnamíquí. Amech mochi
huí liz nequí- yníc⁴⁸⁴ amech moco-
Colía,⁴⁸⁵ caquitlatlavhtía ynintotla-
toca⁴⁸⁶ tzín,⁴⁸⁷ amo tlacopahuictzínco

O:mocuilto:no i:ca in i:tlachi:-
hual. Huel mela:huac quimaticac ca
cemihcac ai:c o:mi:xna:mica. Ai:c
o:mococolica. Ini:n mochtin ceppa
tla:ca nohmahtica o:quiohuihca:mat,
ini:c qualpale:hui:zquia. I:yo:l⁴⁷¹ o:-
quimattoya cenca hue:i, ca yequeh
in o:moma:huiliaya⁴⁷³ mopolozquia
i:pan ini:n ya:o:yo:tl. Ma:cihui ahmo:
nel o:quincemi:xnahuatí i:ntitiahca:-
huan icah in i:htlaniloca in i:nep-
ale:hui:loca. O:quinna:huatí o:mey-
otitíuh caniman o:conneltilizquia
in i:tlatoltzin o:hua:llazquia quipale:-
hui:quih. Ini:c quimi:xna:huatí inti-
tiacahuan Huexotzínco:. Oc ceca:npa
o:quinhua:ltitlan oc cequi:ntin i:tit-
lannencahuan⁴⁷⁴ —o:quina:huatito in
Tlaxcalte:cah Texcalticpac catca in
tlein i:micca:hui:c

[o:qui a] in Huexo:tzínco
tlahto:ni. Mela:huac o:quíncaquíz-
tiliqueh in titiacahuan Tepane:ca iuh
quinmona:huatilikueh:

“In amehuantzitzin pi:piltin, tla:-
lma:ce:uhqueh i:pan i:nhuecapan
te:tepe Tlaxcalanhuic, ma xicmoma-
chitican, ca tititlano totitiacahuan⁴⁸⁰
in hue:i pilli momatzin moampotzin
Hui:tzililhuitzin in huel quimopilpi-
alia in hue:i a:tl, Chalco a:tl, Tenoch-
titlan. Auh yehuatzin mitzmona:-
huatilia, que:na in macehua:ltin
Huexo:tzínco i:hua:n in i:ya:ote:-
yeca:ncauh Xiuhlehui o:tlatitlan
quimitlanilia ini:c quipale:hui:z
amohui:ccopahuictzínco. i:tech in
ya:o:yo:tl quilnamiqui, amechmochi-
huiliznequi. Ini:c amechmocolia
cah quilatlatlauhtia ini:n totlahtohca:-
tzin, amotlaco:pahui:ctzínco

were sent. Thus he was well off,
because of his accomplishments. He
was completely convinced that they
would never have confrontations
with them. They had never wished
one another harm. On many occa-
sions this one, knowing it was dan-
gerous, would go to help someone.
He was very greatly skilled, so that
he himself would defeat those who
were feared in this war. Although
he did not actually command their
warriors, he indeed finally dismissed
their warriors on the occasion of his
request for his aid. He commanded
them to go where his words would
be verified, that they would come
to help him. Thus he dismissed
the warriors of Huexotzínco.⁴⁷⁵ He
sent some of his other envoys⁴⁷⁶
to another place—he sent them to
Texcalticpac Tlaxcala, which was the
place against which

the ruler of Huexotzínco had [sent
them to do] his killing. The Tepan-
eca warriors explained the truth to
them, exhorting them in this wise:

“You respected nobles and possess-
ors of the land of the high moun-
tains near Tlaxcala, be informed
that the great noble, your sovereign
and patron Huitzilihuitzin,⁴⁸² who
guards well the the great waters of
Lake Chalco and Tenochtitlan, has
sent our ambassadors so that you
may understand that. And he sent us
to you to advise you how the vassals
of Huexotzínco⁴⁸³ and its war leader
Xiuhlehui sent to ask for help in the
war that he is planning, and that he
wishes to wage against you. Thus in
his enmity against you, he entreated
this one, our ruler, who has sent us to
you, and he [also] sent a person here

Tontitlano, . quihual Titlaniliz tlatcatl.
Qui pale hui qui hué ytech Ynin
neçentlallí, auh niman qui mo ne
toltí lí, Y huan quinequiquitlaniliz,
mazo neli y hui amo- tlen intech-
copa tenmachialoz ynin hualyaloca-

Recto, Ms. Folio 14

Zan necayahualiz tica. Yetozque
[zquia tz]que,⁴⁹⁰
amo tlen quilnami quizqu[e
amoquihuicazqu]^{e491} ynitzcua-
huítl, ynitiz te maytl, amo
tla[copanhuítz]inco-⁴⁹² ca ye Ynin
ý tlanahuati lílí amech hual mo ti
tlanilia.⁴⁹³ ynic melahuac amo yo-
lotzin cenyetoz . cayehuatzin . noce
yni mace hual huan, amo amech
moyol Ytla cahui litzinozque, yhuá
amech mo⁴⁹⁴ tla ní líl, amech mo
tlatlauh tilia, macamo inhuicopa an
mo cuep-tzinnozque, cayn Yehuátin
amo yaoyeco qui hue amo amech
mo to lí ní lizque, cazan yoca yc
Yn Yo-lopachihuiz y huexotzinc-
atl, yehuatl yn iníc tinahuatiloque,
otamech mo lhuilico.ynan yoltla-
paltiquê, chichimecâ; no Ynicuac
an qui mochihuílizque yna mo
nahualotzin. ma camo ytla necocolí,
xicmolna míquilian, ýtla co-pahuic
YnTepaneca, Ynque na mí onan qui
mo-chi huilique, ynicuac y huey
Yaoyotl. Poyauhtlá-chalco atitlan,—

Zanic o concac yn tlatollí yn
Colhuaca theuc- tli Cuanex. Pillí
texcalticpac chichinecâ-

Verso, Ms. Folio 14

[oquitlani]⁵⁰¹ yao tetequihuacahuá,
cenca miec- t[li]a[macehual]iztli,⁵⁰²
o qui cuepillí, ynic qui mo-nahuatili
cenca quicnelil matía yehuatzin,
yhuá yniáltepehuacahuan, caoqui-
mopalehuí-Liaya, oqui mo lhuí
lizquia, cemicac quicuep- cayo:

tontitlano, quihua:ltitlaniliz tla:catl
quipale:hui:quihuen i:tech ini:n ne-
centla:lili. Auh niman quimonetoltli,
i:hua:n quinequi quititlaniliz, mazo
nelli ihui ahmo: tlein intechcopa ten-
machialoz-ini:n hua:lyaloca

zan necayahua:liztica. Yetozqueh
[zquia]queh, ahmo:
tlein quilnamiquizqueh. [Ahmo:
quihui:caz]queh i:nitzcuahuitl, i-
nitztamaytl, ahmo: tla[co:panhui:ctz]
nco. Cah ye ini:n i:ntlana:huatilli
amechhua:lmotitlanilia, ini:c mela:-
huac amoyo:llotzin cen yetoz, ca ye-
hua:tzin noceh in i:ma:cehualhua:n.
Ahmo: amechmoyo:l itlah ca:huil-
itzinozqueh ihuan amechmotlanilia,
amechmotlatlauhtilia, ma:camo: i:-
nhui:ccopa anmocueptzinozqueh, ca
in yehuantin ahmo: ya:o:yecoqui:-
huih ahmo: ame:chmotoli:ni:liz-
queh, ca zan iyohca: i:c in yo:lo:pach-
ihuiz in Huexo:tzincatl. Yehua:tl
in ini:c tina:huatiloqueh, o:tame:-
chmolhui:lico in anyo:ltlapaltiqueh
Chi:chi:me:cah. No inihcua:c an-
quimochihuilizqueh in amonahua:-
lotzin, mahcamo: itlah necoco:li,
xicmolnamiquilian in tlaco:pahui:c
in Tepane:can⁴⁹⁶ in que:namih o:nan
quimochihuiliqueh inihqua:c in hue:i
ya:o:yo:tl Poyauhtlan Chalco.

Zan i:c oconcac in tlahto:lli in Col-
huacate:uctli Cuanexpilli Texcal-
ticpac Chi:chi:me:cah

[o:quin titlan]i ya:o:tetequihuaca-
huan. Cencah miec tla[ma:ce:hua]
liztli o:quicuepilli. Ini:c quimona:-
huatili cencah quicne:li:matia
yehuatzin i:hua:n in i:a:ltepe:huaca:-
huan, ca o:quimopale:hui:liaya, o:-
quimolhuilizquia. Cemihcac

to help at this gathering.⁴⁸⁸ And then
he vowed that he wanted to send
him, even though such was not truly
what it appeared to be concerning
them—these⁴⁸⁹ only came

as a deception. They [would be]
civil. They [.], but it is
not what they intend. They [do not
carry] their swords and their war
clubs against you, not against you.
Indeed, this is their command that
he sent us to inform you, so that
you would be completely informed
about him and his vassals. Do not
be disheartened. They respectfully
left something, and request you and
entreat you not to turn yourselves
against them, because they do not
come to conclude war. They do not
cause you suffering, because they
are only just secretly fooling the
Huexotzinca. It was he who thus
ordered us to speak to you and to
take counsel with you, who are
courageous Chichimeca. And also
when you make your sorcery, let it
not be⁴⁹⁵ from anger, because you
remember what the Tepaneca did
towards you during the great war⁴⁹⁷
of Poyauhtlan,⁴⁹⁸ near Chalco.”⁴⁹⁹

After he listened to the speech with-
out interruption, Culhuacanteuctli
Cuanexpili⁵⁰⁰ of the Texcalticpac
Chichimeca

sent war leaders. He responded to
them with very great remorse.⁵⁰³
Thus he answered them, that he and
his city were greatful, because they
helped them and would strengthen
them. Always he would give his good
will in return. He himself would in-

tizquia Ynⁱ cualmachoca, qui mo
tequipanil huiz. intlein zazo Ytequi-
pano lo catzin, mayuh ce micac qui-
momachietoquilítazquia:⁵⁰⁴ niman
oquin titlan ynti tiacahuan⁵⁰⁶ cenca
paquilizpan——

Hoccecanôpeuh tlaca mana ynicpe
huaz Yao chí-huaz; ma:zo yhuí
yntlen zazo pehua amo hiec tzinti,
yntlacamo theo tlatla tlautiliztica,
ý tlanô- ynⁱ ne ltoquilizpan amo
quimatia cah in intheuh, Camaxtli.
catca Yztlacatiní, tlahueli loca theotl;
oya que yn theo pan canpa catca Y ni
xip-tla, cenca qui mo tlatlauhtilique,
inne palehuiloca oqui mo⁵⁰⁹ ytla ni
lique . ynic quinpalehuiz quia Yn
huíco pa iní coco l hicniûan; niman
qui hualhui- Caque; Acatl, tehuatza-
íatl||⁵¹¹ tlacotl, tlaco tlat tla huatza lli
Yca ý mitl,⁵¹³ yztzítl, maza nelhuatl.
ýhuítl

Recto, Ms. Folio 15

Ynic ochíhua lozquia, mítl.
Yxpa[n oquitlalque]⁵¹⁴ ynⁱ oqui
huen manató, oncan oqu[in
nahuaticaq]uin⁵¹⁵ palehuízquia,
çenca huey tziuhcno liz tica,
[ch]ocaque⁵¹⁶ ymixoío tlapán qui no
quiquê. çenca tla tla tla uh ti liztica
quimo tla tla uhti líque, yecan qui
zazquia yni huí cpa Ynⁱ netequí
pachollí ypan catca ya oquimatia
ynaxcan ocachí, y na yc cemihcac.
yntech huyc omonequia, cay panpa
yniayachi hual.huan, ca mochintin ý
huayolcahuá yncotoncahuan. manel
yntla co pahuíc amo cue pCa⁵¹⁸ caa
mo tlein y ntlatlacol Ynpinahuiz.
maci Yhui acualli yntlaytlaniliz,
Yca inin Choquiz. yhuá ý tziucnolíz,
ca quezqui Yl= huitl qui pí xque ne-
zahualiztica; niman tlahuê-manque
nepapan Yo lca me, Pipiltzítzín.
Zani-⁵²¹ Contlan y nin tlaytlani líz,
Ynmoyo ltequípa. Choque Chi-

quicuepcayo:tizquia in i:cualma-
choca, quimotequipanilhuiz in tlein
zazo i:tequipanolocatzin. Ma iuh ce-
mihcac quimomachietoquilítazquia:
Niman o:quintitlan i:ntitiauhcahuan
cencah paquilizpan.

Oc cecan o:peuh tla:camana ini:c
pe:huaz ya:o:chihuaz, ma:zo ihui in
tlein zazo pe:hua ahmo: hiec tzi:nti,
in tlacamo teo:tlatla:tlautiliztica.
(In tlano ini:n nelto:quilizpan ahmo:
quimatia cah in i:ntheuh, Camaxtli
catca iztlacatiní tlahuelilocateo:tl.
O:ya:queh in teo:pan ca:mpa catca
in i:xi:ptla. Cencah quimotlatlauhti-
liqueh in nepale:hui:lo:ca.) Oquimit-
lanilique ini:c quinpale:hui:zquia
i:nhui:ccopa in i:cocolhicni:huan; ni-
man quihua:lhui:caqueh; A:catl,
Tehuatzayatl || Tlaco:tl, Tlaco:tlat-
lahuatzalli. I:ca in mi:tl itztitl, ma-
zanelhuatl, i:huitl,

ini:c o:chihua:lozquia mi:tl. I:xpa[n
o:quitla:liqueh] ini:n o:quinhuen-
manatoh. Onca:n oqu[inna:huati ca]
quinpale:hui:zquia, cencah hue:i
tziuhcnoliztica. Chocaqueh i:mi:xo:-
yo: tla:lpán. Quino:quiqueh cencah
tlatlatlauhtiliztica. Quimotlatlauhti-
liqueh, ye:cca:n qui:zazquia in i:hui:-
cpa ini:n netequipacho:lli i:pan
catcaya. O:quimmatia in a:xca:n
ocachi—in ai:c cemihcac—i:ntechhuic
o:monequia, ca i:pampa in yaia ya:-
o:chihua:lhuán⁵¹⁷ (ca mochintin i:-
nhuayo:lcahuan, i:ncoto:ncahuan,
ma:nel in tlahcopahui:c ahmo:
cuepca cah ahmo: tlein i:ntlatlacol
i:npi:na:huiz. Ma:zo⁵¹⁹ ihui ahcualli
in i:ntlaitlaniliz. Icah in i:ncho:quiz
i:hua:n i:ntziucnoliz ca que:zqui
ilhuitl quipixqueh nezahua:liztica.
Niman tlahuenmanqueh nepapan
yolcameh. Pipiltzitzin zan i:c ontlan
in i:ntlaihtlaniliz. In moyoltequipa-

crease whatever his obligation is. He
would always be seen drawing near
to serve. Then he sent back their
valiant ones⁵⁰⁵ in happiness.

Now they began to prepare thus to
begin to make war,⁵⁰⁷ even though
what started did not begin propi-
tiously, lacking divine supplication.
(In following him, they did not
know that their god Camaxtli was an
imposter, a villain god. They went to
the temple⁵⁰⁸ where his image was.
They prayed much for their being
helped by him.⁵¹⁰) They requested
him so that he would help them, for
the sake of their ancestors. Then they
brought him Reed, Dried Staff, and
Dessicating Staff.⁵¹² With the obsid-
ian arrow, deer root, and feather
down,

in order to make the arrow. They
set it down before him, and this
one spread out the offering. There
it was requested, with very great
sobbing, that he would help them.
They threw their divining things on
the ground. They spilled them with
much supplication. They prayed to
him, that it would be a propitious
time to finish this penitence before
him. He informed them that for a bit
longer—not forever—it was neces-
sary for them, because of the war-
riors who went before him (that is,
all their relatives and their parents,
even though they did not return to
the center,⁵²⁰ because of their fault
and their shame). For some time
they presented their evil petition,
by means of their weeping and their
sobbing for many days while they
had been fasting. Then they made an
offering of various insects. Nearby,

chimeca, Ynin tlhuelí loc, quimil-
hui⁵²² caoquípíaya iní hueliti líz
Yca quinpale huíz, ôquin nanqui li
Ycamatíca. Yní tlhuelico xiptla⁵²³
Camaxtle, amo xi mo Yo lmaah ti
can mayxquích amo yollo⁵²⁴ amotlá
pal .xicchi ca

Verso, Ms. Folio 15

[.]quitzon qui xtizquê,
auh axcá y[n anquich]ihuaz quia
ce Żazanillí yztla cah=liztlí, oquin
nahuatí oqui temozquía ce Yeh
pochtli tlazotli, oquipiazqui, ce yni
chi chi hual huey Y huan ce tepiton,
ni man cual hui quí-hualhui quiliz
quia oncan yni theo pa ncal Otemo-
loto Ynin Ych pochtli híc no huian
yhuá zanic o cazique qui hual hui
ca queh ynitheopan Camaxtlé, no
matica otlanahua tí ca qui tiz quia ce
Pahtlí ynic yezatepan oconic, quipatz
quilizque ini chi chi hual yhuá quí
quetz⁵²⁹ qui Xzquti lizquia⁵³⁰ Ynichi-
chihuala yotl. Ca omonequia yca
inin yntlai tlaniliz, Zaníc oq ui patzi-
hui lique ini chi chi hua ôquíz⁵³¹ Çé
tlachipinalí⁵³² chi chi hua latl niman
Oquí tecaque Ytic çe tecomatl ytoca
Teó Caxitl. Caocatcaia Yehualtic⁵³⁴
ytzintlan Patlahuac, tlacô to lontíc,
Yhuá-

Recto, Ms. Folio 16

Yníc hueca páhuic, quenam[ih . . .
.]⁵³⁵ Cacemolictli ynic
huecapan, [chichihualatl]⁵³⁸ tli liuh-
quí; Zaníc o qui teca que [Yt]ec⁵⁴⁰ .
Ynin chalchiuh Tecomatl, ý chi chi
hual áyotl, oqui Huen manaTo; auh
yn ácatl, tlacomê, yhuá Ytz-temê.
Mazanelhuatl, çenneli uh toc, oquitla
pachoque yca . Eh capatli, o qui
cauh que Yuh quí Yn; y huá miéc
qui hué má que, amatla tlacocoton-

choqueh Chi:chi:me:cah. In i:-
ntlahuelililic quimilhui ca o:quipi-
yaya in i:huelitiliz i:ca quinpale:hui:z.
O:quinna:nquili i:camatica in i:tla-
huelico xi:ptla Camaxtle: “Ahmo:
ximoyolmauh-tican. Ma i:xquich
ahmo: yo:llo amotlahpalxic chica:-
huacan ca

[. n an]quitzon,⁵²⁶
quixtizqueh. Auh a:xca:n i[n
anquich]ihuazquia⁵²⁷ ce: za: zani:lli
iztlacatiliztli. O:quinna:huati o:quite-
mozquian ce: ichpo:chtli tlazohtli,
o:quipiyazqui, ce: in i:chi:chi:hual
hue:i i:hua:n ce: tepito:n. Niman
cua:lhui:qui, hua:lhui:quilizquia
onca:n in i:teopancal. O:te:moloto
ini:n ichpo:chtli i:c No:huiya:n i:-
hua:n zan i:c. O:cahziqeh quihua:-
lhui:caqueh in i:teopan Camaxtle.
Nomatica o:tlana:huati caqui:tizquia
ce: pahtli. Ini:c ye za:te:pan o:conic
qipa:tzquilizqueh in i:chi:chi:hual
i:hua:n quiqui:xtilizquia in i:chi:chi-
huala:yo:tl, ca o:monequia i:ca ini:n
i:ntlaihtlaniliz. Zan i:c o:quipatzihui-
liqueh in i:chi:chi:hual⁵³³ o:qui:z
ce: tlachi:pinalli chi:chi:hual- a:tl.
niman o:quite:caqueh ihtic ce: teco-
matl i:to:ca: Teo:caxitl. Ca o:catcaia
ye:hualtic. Itzi:ntlan patla:huac,
tlahcotolo:ntic, i:huan

ini:c huehcapahui:c que:nam[ih . . .
.] Ca cemolictli ini:c
huehcapan. [chi:chi:huala:t]l tlili-
uhqui. Zan i:c o:quitecaqueh i:tech
ini:n cha:lchiuhtecomatl, in chi:chi-
huala:yo:tl. O:quinhuenmanato. Auh
in a:catl, tlaco:meh, i:hua:n itztemeh,
mazanelhuatl, cenneliuhtoc. O:quit-
lapachoqueh i:ca ehcapatli, o:qui-
cauhqueh iuhqui in. I:hua:n miéc
quihuenmanqueh, a:matlahtlahco-

the nobles repeatedly made their
requests. The Chichimeca were anx-
ious at heart. Their rage increased
in intensity, because he maintained
his power in order to help them.
Camaxtli replied to them through
the mouth of his enraged image:⁵²⁵
“Do not be afraid. May you all aspire
to be courageous, that

[. you] will see them,
make them leave. And now you
should make a storied deception.”
He commanded them to seek a
special girl whom he would take care
of. One of her breasts was large and
one small. Then when they found
her,⁵²⁸ they should carry her there to
his temple-house. Having gone to
seek this girl thereby everywhere and
ceaselessly. Having taken hold of her,
they led her to Camaxtli’s temple.
It was thought that he had revealed
that he would tell them a medicine.
So afterwards they squeezed out
her milk, and her breast milk would
emerge, because he himself accepted
their request by this means. After
squeezing her breast, a drop of breast
milk came out. Then they put it into
a clay pot called Teocaxitl. Indeed it
was of some age. Its base was large,
and thus its middle was cylindrical,

and towards the top [it was shaped
like a chalice].⁵³⁶ It⁵³⁷ was eighteen
inches tall.⁵³⁹ [The breast milk]
became black. They kept putting the
milk into the turquoise pot. They
spread out the cut papers, then the
reed, the staves with the obsidian
stones, the deer tendon,⁵⁴¹ and the
exemplary dried ear of maize. They
covered it with wind medicine, and
they left it like that. And very often

allí, tzopotl, huítzilin , Yhuá Pizietl
Co pallí , Xochí ocoztotl. áhuí altic,
totoch tin coamê, Zolimê; camochí
ynin cenca míc quin mictiaya .y
huá Yxpan qui hue n manaya ynin
theoú Camaxtlé, niman, ⁵⁴³niman
otlatla tlahuatiyâ Ynín tlahueli ca
theo pixca huan ynteo pixca Yecan-
quí tlamacaz achcauh tlí, ynin mochi
qui po poch huíáia, yntla manallí,
yca ahhuíaca popochtlí, Yhuá Ynchal
chiu h teco-matl, ynic ocatcaya ínchi
chí hualayotl. O—quizca, ytech y ní
chí chí hual huá y nich poch tlí: Yno
tlapopoch huiaya yo huatzinco

Verso, Ms. Folio 16

[.....] tlâ Co Yohual
pan, Yei tonal [y] tlein
quitaya, y tech y n acatl tetotocamítl,
ítztetl, chichihualatl, yni na huallo,
yhuá; Yncen tlachipínalli chichíhu
alayotl, ôhuactaya. ynic moyol-
mauhtí que tlaocoyaia; ohual azíc yn
tonallí, yequí- Zaz que Yaoytl, maci
huí amo ochico yo- hua ya. yca inin
nepa le huiloca ynin theû- Omi x tí,
quítac, ínín Theo pixcauh tlatocauh
yn theo Caxítl; y huá Yn Acamê, tla
chichtli- tla l huayotl, Ytztêtl, oncan
ocazíc Ca mochi Ye ómo zazaloca yn
Acatl, y huá y Ytztetl, yeca⁵⁵¹ tetotoca
mintlí; auhin theo Caxitl ye oteten
yníc opozon, quenamí,⁵⁵² chí chí tl;
hueyata pozo-tíuh zanono quíuhti
uh. yxpan yn the o tl, caque na mí
yni Cuac co mi tl Pozo ni, y nícuac
ynin, Ynhue xotzinca ymace hual-
huá Yao quizcahuan; omoxêxelocâ
mocececan manca; Ynimaceh⁵⁵⁴ ca
hua n

tonalli, tzopo:tl, hui:tzilin i:hua:n
pizietl copalli, xo:chiocotzotl a:hui:-
altic, to:tochtin, co:a:meh, zo:limeh
—ca mochi ini:n cencah miec quin-
mictiaya i:hua:n i:xpan quihuen-
manaya in i:nteo:uh Camaxtle. Ni-
man o:tlatlatlauhtiayan ini:n tlahue:-
lica teo:pixcahuan, in teo:pixcaye:-
cca:nqui, tlamacazacheauhtli. Ini:n
mochi quipopochhuiaya i:ntlama-
nalli i:ca a:huiaca popo:chtli, i:hua:n
in cha:lchiuhtecomatl. Ini:c ocatcaya
in chí:chí:huala:yo:tl o:qui:zca, i:tech
in i:chí:chí:hua:lhuan in ichpo:chtli
in o:tlapopo:chhuia:ya yohuatzinco,

[tlacohto:natiuh i:hua:n]⁵⁴⁶ tlahco
yohualpan, yei tonal. [Ini:c ahzo
i:tlal]tlein⁵⁴⁷ quittaya, i:tech i:n a:catl
te:toto:camí:tl, itztetl, chí:chí:hua:la:-
tl in inahua:llo, i:hua:n in cen tla-
chipi:nalli chí:chí:huala:yo:tl. O:-
huactaya, ini:c moyolmauhtiqueh
tlaocoyaia. O:hua:lazic in to:nalli, ye
quizazqueh ya:o:yt, ma:cihui ahmo:
o:chico:yohuaya. I:ca ini:n nepale:-
hui:loca, in i:nteuh o:mi:xti. Quittac
ini:n teo:pixcauh tlahtohca:ua i:hua:n
in a:cameh, tlachichtli tlahuayo:tl i:-
tztetl. Onca:n o:cahci:c ca mochi ye
o:moza:zalo:ca in a:catl i:hua:n in i:-
tztetl, ye ca te:toto:camí:ntli. Auh in
teo:caxitl ye o:te:ten. Ini:c o:pozo:n.
Que:namihi chí:chí:tl hueyata pozon-
tiuh, zan o:no:quitiuh i:xpan in teo:tl,
ca que:namihi in ihcua:c co:mitl
pozo:ni. In ihcua:c ini:n in Huexo:-
tzinca i:ma:cehualhua:n, i:ya:o:qui:-
zcahuan⁵⁵⁵ o:moxe:xe:locan. Mo-
cececca:n manca in i:ma:chcahuan.

they spread out the midday cut pa-
per offering— buzzard,⁵⁴² humming-
bird, and tobacco incense, liquid
nectar, rabbits, snakes, and quails—
for they killed all these together and
spread the offerings out before their
god Camaxtli.⁵⁴⁴ Then right away
these malicious priests, the leading
priests, and the chief priest prayed.
These incensed it all—their offer-
ings⁵⁴⁵ with liquid incense, and the
turquoise pot. Thus it was that they
brought out the breast milk of the
breasts of the maiden, incensing it in
the morning,

at noon, and at midnight for three
days. Thus without doubt he
watched, with his whole attention on
his reed and obsidian pursuit arrow
and his breast-milk sorcery, in the
company of his dried maize and the
dripped breast milk. It dried, so they
were afraid, they were sad.⁵⁴⁸ The
sun descended, and they stopped the
battle, although night had not fallen
completely. In order to help,⁵⁴⁹ this
one lord sacrificed someone.⁵⁵⁰ Thus
these priests and lords watched the
sacred chalice, and the reeds and the
fletching. Then they took hold of
it, because they had indeed already
glued all the reed and the obsidian
stone [points] to the pursuit arrows.
And the Teocaxitl was already full
because it frothed up,⁵⁵³ vigorously.
The manner in which the milk went
on boiling vigorously, it was just
spilling over before the god, when
the pot boiled in this way. Then
these vassals of Huexotzinco and his
soldiers scattered⁵⁵⁶ themselves in
several directions.⁵⁵⁷ His followers⁵⁵⁸
had dispersed.



Recto, Ms. Folio 17

Principio de la Guerra Mexicana 8^[o /]⁵⁵⁹

Ynic pehuaz Ynyaoyotl, ynamo quin mocatit-iaia.⁵⁶² Ynquin Yehualhuique, ynic quimatia cen ca huey ininhueliti liz quihual huica ya, íca í-nin nepalehuiloca ýnin Coanotzalhual, tealte pepan ehuà, auh ynmacehualtin omololoque omocetilique ca çenca miec caintetepè oquíque. miâ; y huan ynixtlahuamé; ýcanpa opanohuaya ynatentli atl qui tlamiay inic oconíâ; yno hualne nentoaya, omoxexeloay. cequintin yxtlahuacan ynoc cequin tetepepan Xo lo theo pan, ca axcan mo thene hua, totolân⁵⁷⁰ Xinticatca . Ynhualpehuaya Cuapanco, Sannicolas⁵⁷¹ Panotlan. Hiccen mochi theo. tlalpan. Y huan Contlantzinco, çacen qui Ya hua lo que⁵⁷² qui quenque, Yncuah tlalí; tetepepan ayoc motleyn motaya, ynicua c Yn nomatica ohual azíco⁵⁷³ Yninnepalehui loca, ý Mexicâ Tepaneca caquinchiaaya in Huexo tzíncâ; auh zaníc o tlapizque ýntepaneca yuhquin na huatí ca Y nin yaotlato-cauh, omocecan manque, Ynic

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Yotlecôque cuauhtlalpan, tlac panhuíc,. Yncanpa motocayotia tlama-

Principio de la Guerra Mexicana 8^[o /]

Inic⁵⁶⁰ pe:huaz in ya:o:yo:tl. In ahmo: quinmocatitiaya in quin ye:hualhuiqueh. Inic quimatia cenca⁵⁶³ huei in i:nhuelitiliz quihua:lhui:caya i:ca in i:nnepale:hui:loca. In i:nconno:tzalhua:l tea:ltepe:pan. E:huan auh in ma:ce:hualtin o:mo-loqueh. O:mocetiliqueh, ca cenca miec. Ca in te:tepe o:quique:mian i:hua:n in ixtla:huameh in ca:mpa o:panohuaya. In a:te:ntli a:tl quitlamiay. Inic o:conia:n in o:hua:lnehnentoaya. O:moxe:xeloaya cequi:ntin i:xtla:huacan inoc cequi:ntin te:tepepan Xo:loteo:pan, ca a:xcac:n motenehua To:tolan xinticatca. In hua:lpe:huaya Cuapanco, San Nicolas Panotlan i:ccen mochi Teo:tlalpan i:hua:n Contlantzinco. Za cen quiyahua:loqueh quiquenqueh, in cuahutla:lli te:tepepan. ayocmo: tlei:n motaya. Inihcua:c in nohmahtica o:hua:lahcico. Inic nepale:hui:loca, in Me:xihcah Tepaneca, cah quinchiaaya in Huexo:tzincan; auh zan i:c otlapizqueh in Tepaneca, iuhquin na:huatica in i:nya:o:tlahthoca:uh. O:mocecanmanqueh. Inic

yotlecoqueh cuauhtla:lpán, tlacpanhuic in ca:mpa moto:ca:yo:tia

The Begining of the Mexican War 8th/ [Chapter]

Thus the battle began.⁵⁶¹ They did not confer with those they had brought with them just then.⁵⁶⁴ Thus they thought their very great act would bring their aid.⁵⁶⁵ These finished⁵⁶⁶ conferring at the⁵⁶⁷ city. They⁵⁶⁸ departed, and the commoners united themselves. They united themselves, so that together they were very many. Indeed, they crossed the mountains and they filled the plains⁵⁶⁹ there. Thus they went there, wandering this way. Some were scattered to the savannas, others onto the mountains of Xoloteopan, that is now called Totolan, where it is flat. They were beginning to come to Cuapanco, and San Nicolás Panotlan, throughout Teotlalpan to Contlantzinco. Thus some went around, covering⁵⁷⁴ the forest on the mountains. Not again was the like seen. Then they freely came this way. The Huexotzinca were awaiting the aid of the Tepanecan Mexica; and after the Tepaneca undertook this,⁵⁷⁵ they sent their commanders of war and they assembled themselves together. Thus they

ascended the forests towards the front,⁵⁷⁶ in the place named

cazcatzincó, cuauhtzalan ynicamo qui nequí, quin yo cualanilti z que yn chichimeca, yeoquin yehua lol tzacâ; auh yn yeoinmalitic ynyao-iotl. Oqui quiztique yn Huexotzinca yhuá ynin coanotza lhuan. Yca huey tlahuelli, tzatziliztli çenmantih, oquin hual namique ý chichimeca.⁵⁸⁰ tlaixco quintle coltique, auh inchi-chimeca⁵⁸¹ ycamochí ynintlâpal tiliz. Ynachtopa o mo na mique, oquitiz qui que ceme yniyao huan, yhua n quiciuhca hui caque quihuen manilitô Ynin theoŷ Camaxtlé, zazan niman quihual elchiquih tlapôque, quiquixtí-líque yní Yollo.⁵⁸⁴ qui huen manilique y ni tla hueli loca, tlatel chi hual theoŷ, nima no quixí-peuhque. y huan ceme yehúa tîn oqui moquen tí. Y nin y cue tlaxo, omolpi yca iní cuy tlaxo l,- tlaplan qui huy huí lantiuh ynicí huá, Yni ma huan, o mi xpantí . huenti liztica. Y ni tlahue li loca theú. omecuep.⁵⁸⁶ Xípe, ca yuhquin⁵⁸⁷

Recto, Ms. Folio 18

quintocayotiaía⁵⁸⁸. ynomo cuetlax quenti aya, Yno-quíc yequí pitzaía, quitzonaya yn tepo naz tlí- Yhuá cololí; cuauh coyolím, yhuá hocce-quine Yaotlatquítl ycamiec tzatziliztli, tla huelecayo tíca cayúh, Ozelomê, mimiztín⁵⁹⁰ ômozepan xí co-ayâ, inaquín huel achtopa o tla xicoz quia, nocece quintin híemopalehuizquíâ, ynicamo xicahuilozquia yuhquiyn omozepan tzatzaíanaya, necocchicahua liztlí ý huelitiliz ocaçía, ynín tlahuel oquin Comoníaya, cequi ntí n ycatematl, tetl quitlaza ya, cequí quenamí Poctli oquitlazaíamíntlí-ynic cen mochí omo netech mí mí c t i ayá, y nime zo quino quiaya inyemíquí, yhuá quimíxílca ca ynic

Tlamacazcatzinco Cuauhtzalan, ini:c ahmo: quinequia quinyocual-aniltizqueh in Chi:chi:me:cah. Ye o:-quinyehua:loltzacan. Auh in ye o:-inma:litic in ya:o:yo:tl, o:quiquiztiqueh in Huexo:tzinca:n i:huan in i:ncoanotzalhuan i:ca hue:i tlahue:lli, tzahtziliztli cenmantih, o:quin-hua:lnamiqueh in Chi:chi:me:cah. Tlaixco quintlehcoltiqueh, auh in Chi:chi:me:cah i:ca mochi in i:ntlan-paltiz in achtopa o:monamiqueh. O:quitizquiqueh⁵⁸³ ce: meh in i:ya:-o:huan. i:hua:n quiciuhca hui:caqueh quihuenmanilitoh in i:nteo:-ton, Camaxtle. Zazan niman quihua:le:lchiquih tlapoqueh. Quiquixtiliqueh in i:yo:llo:. Quihuenmaniliqueh in i:ntlahue:li:lo:ca:- tlatelchi:hual teo:uh.⁵⁸⁵ Niman o:quixipeuhqueh i:hua:n ce:meh yehua:ntin o:quimoque:nti ini:n i:cuetlaxo:. O:molpi i:ca in i:cuitlaxcol, tla:lpán quihuyhuilantiuh in i:cxihuan, in i:mahuan. O:mi:xpanti huentiliztica in i:tlahuelilocateo:uh. O:mocuep Xipe. Ca iuhquin

quinto:ca:yo:tiaya, in o:mocuetlaxque:ntiaya. In oqui:c ye quipitzaia, quitzonaya in tepona:ztli i:hua:n cololi, cuauhcoyolin,⁵⁸⁹ i:hua:n oc cequi:ne ya:o:tlatquítl i:ca miec tzahtziliztli, tlahue:lehcayo:tica ca iuh o:celo:meh, mimi:ztin. O:moce:-panxi:coa:yan in a:quin huel achtopa. O:tlaxi:cozquia noceh cequi:-nti:n yeh mopale:hui:zquian, ini:c ahmo: xicca:huilozquia. Iuhquiyn o:moce:pan tzatzayanaya. Necocchica:hua:liztli i:nhueli:tiliztli o:cahcia. In i:ntlahue:l o:quincomo:nia:ya. Cequi:ntin i:ca tematl tetl quitla:zaya. Cequi que:namih po:ctli o:quitla:-zaya⁵⁹³ mi:ntli. Ini:c cen mochi o:-monetech mimictiaya, in i:mezzo:

Tlamacazcatzinco Cuauhtzalan,⁵⁷⁷ because⁵⁷⁸ they did not want to anger the Chichimeca. Already, at the beginning of the war, they⁵⁷⁹ drove off the Huexotzinca and their allies with great fury and shouting. They spread out and engaged the Chichimeca. They ascended the slope, and the Chichimeca with all their allies were met first. The Chichimeca captured one of his⁵⁸² warriors, and immediately they went together and made an offering to their god, Camaxtli. Then right away they eagerly cut open his chest here. They removed his heart. They offered it to their malicious, cursed god. Then they flayed him, and they dressed one of them in this one's skin. He draped himself with his intestines, and he went along dragging his feet and his hands on the ground. He presented himself as an offering to his villainous god. He was transformed into Xipe. It was thus that

he was giving them honor, by making their skin a garment. All the while they played, they beat the lateral log drum and trumpets, wooden bells, along with other war property, with much furious shouting, like coyotes, jaguars, and mountain lions. Those who were at the very front were themselves collectively deceived. They would endure it, or some of them would be encouraged,⁵⁹¹ and thus would not be left out. In this manner they cut him to pieces. On both sides they reached the fullness of their strength. Their fury became inflamed.⁵⁹² Some threw down rock with slings. Others shot down some sort of smoking

tla i xco tepetla, ototocaya ynimezzo.
yni-uh huetzi Ylhuicac hueyatla, caa-
mo Yuh y nní- quítōa⁵⁹⁴ ynque namí
Omochiuh, ynicuac zoneuh ticatca,
mo huey chihticatca inin yaoyotl, yn
theopix-ca yacanquí quimo tlatlavhti
li li ticatca,⁵⁹⁵ iniy ztla ca theoŵ, ynic-
qui⁵⁹⁶ mí tlani li to ia tziucno liztica,
ma⁵⁹⁷ hiee nalquiza Yní Altepeuh;
zanic qui tlamí. ynitla=

Verso, Ms. Folio 18

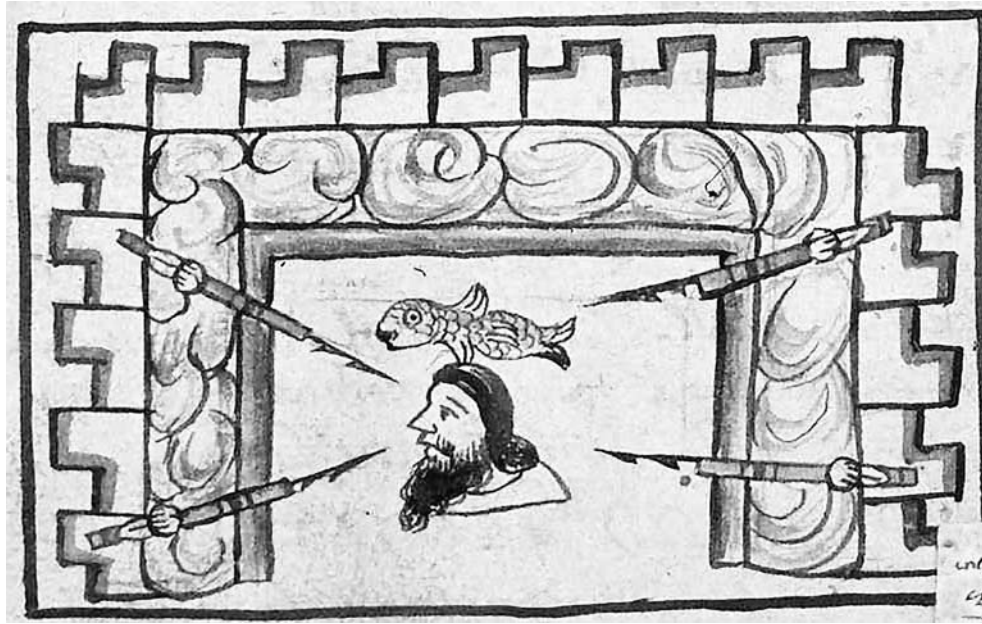
ytlaniliz;⁵⁹⁹ oquizqui Ynahuati liztica
ynítlahue li loca theôŵ,⁶⁰⁰ ymac acti
uh yn.theo caxitl, ycaínchi chihual
ayotl, ihuan quin yoleuh quimilhuy,
maixquich Ynamo Yollehuilíz inax-
can. Yaoquíza nimé chi-chimeca, ê,⁶⁰¹
ynaic anxiconí, ynaic anyol cuetlaxi-
huy macamo Ximo mauhtican, cay
eínma inan⁶⁰² tla xí-Cozque, ipanpa
in to theoŵ. Camaxtlé. y eto tech hic
hicnoyohuá. Ynoquic oqui to ay inin
ynecentla liltlatol, oquino qui ynchi
chihualatl, y pan Yno quí moquentí-
toía .yn mique cuetlaxtlí, ocanquí
· niman Ce mintli, ynmicniuh yno
mozazalôca- nahualotica quimá,
oqui tlaz y pan Ynte⁶⁰⁵ Yaohuá- ycuac
yn oqui quiz ti quizque ynoc cequi
mintli catca theopan, chicahuac
motlazâto, ynpan Yn Hue xotzinca
miee tlatatl tlapán qui tepehua=ya,
Ynic nimá⁶⁰⁷ ome huetequetz çe mix
ayahuitl tliliuhquí caahuel ynmo
noma yttaía, amo omonex tiaya, iníc
mo cepan mímictiqué, ynteoyao hua
n y na mo ma o qui matia hac qui
mictiaya, ypanpa

quino:qui:aya. In ye miqui, i:hua:n
quimihxilca, ca ini:c tlaixco tepe:tla,
o:toto:ca:ya in i:mezzo:. In iuh huetzi
ylhuicac hue:i a:tl. Ca ahmo: iuh ini:n
quihto: in que:namih o:mochi:uh,
in ihcua:c zo:ne:uhticatca, mohue:-
ichi:uhticatca ini:n ya:o:yo:tl. In teo:-
pixcayacanqui quimotlatlauhtili-
atia catca, in iztlaca theo:uh. Ini:c
quimihltlanilitoia tziucnoliztica, ma:
ye:cna:lqui:za in i:a:ltepe:uh. Zan i:c
quitlami:n in

i:tlaihtlaniliz, o:qui:zqui i:na:huatil-
iztica in itlahueliloca teo:uh: I:ma-
cactiuh in teo:caxitl i:ca in chi:chi:-
huala:yo:tl i:hua:n quinyo:le:uh qui-
milhuy, “Ma i:xquich in ahmo: yole:-
huiliz in a:xca:n, yao:qui:zanimeh
Chi:chi:me:cah. Yeh in ai:c anxiconi
in aican, yo:lucuetlaxihui. Ma:camo:
ximomauhtican, ca ye in manin.
Antlaxi:cozqueh i:pampa in toteo:uh
Camaxtle. Ye totech i:c icno:yo-
huah.”⁶⁰³ In o:qui:c o:quihto:y ini:n
i:necentla:liltlahto:l, o:quino:qui in
chi:chi:hua:la:tl i:pan in o:quimo-
que:ntitoia in miqueh cuetlaxtli.
Occa:n quin niman ce: mi:ntli, in
micni:uh in o:mozazaloca na:hua:-
llo:tica. Quiman,⁶⁰⁶ o:quitla:z in i:pan
in te:ya:o:hua:n. Ihcua:c in o:quiqui:-
ztiqui:zqueh in oc cequi mi:ntli catca
teo:pan. Chicahuac motlazato i:npan
in Huexo:tzinca miee tla:catl. Tla:-
lpan quite:pe:huaya. Ini:c niman
o:me:hua-tequeh ce: mixa:yahuitl
tliliuhqui ca ahhuel in monohma-
hittaia. Ahmo: o:mone:xtiaya. Ini:c
moce:panmihmictiqueh in te:ya:o:-
hua:n. In ahmo: mah o:quimatia ac
quimi:ctiaya i:pampa,

arrows. Thus all together they killed
each other, they spilled one another's
blood. Already they died, and it
awakened them, so that thus their
blood ran down the surface at the
bottom of the mountains. It was as if
floods of water were falling from the
sky. This was not as if these said how
it happened to them, when they were
exaggerating and aggrandizing them-
selves regarding this war. The leading
priest was petitioning the villainous
god. Thus he begged him with great
sobbing, that they would completely
triumph.⁵⁹⁸ Just when he ended

his prayer, his villainous god
emerged with his command: the
sacred chalice with the milk would
enthrall and vitalize them. He said,
“Do not be worried at all now,
Chichimec war leaders. That one
never deceives you at any time, that
he withers in vitality. Be not afraid
that they are already preparing. You
will endure it for the sake of our god
Camaxtli. That one is someone com-
passionate to us.” In addition to this
one saying his unifying⁶⁰⁴ words, he
spilled the breast milk onto the one
dressed in the dead one's skin. Then,
in two places, a pursuit arrow and
its companion were stuck together
with sorcery. He spread them out, he
flung them down before the war-
riors. When they finished making
them come out, there were still some
arrows before the god. Many men
threw themselves down onto the
many Huexotzinca warriors. He scat-
tered them on the land here. Then
they raised up a black fog, so that it
was hard to be seen readily.⁶⁰⁸ They
were not revealed. Thus, the warriors
were killing one another. It was as if
they could not even recognize who
they killed there,



The glyph sign for Tlaxcala. The arrows indicate that the city is being besieged. ("Códice Xolotl,"
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Manuscript, Mexicain 46–50, fol. 38V.)

Recto, Ms. Folio 19

ayocmo⁶⁰⁹ mīxmatía, aocmo omo-
cepan yttaya, zaYo ca oqui machi
liayaí, ynic mo cepan xixíliaya
omazique miec aocmo tla ma to que.
yeoyxpopoio-ti que, ynce quintín
atlauhco omo tepexi huíaía, amo-
qui ma tia Canpahícoyaía, cequin
omocuacha Laniaya texcalco, ynic o
miquia, ca yeíneayahual chihualíz
Ynamo hiectli, amo hocceampa
omotac quiteneuhque yno quit-
taque, ca ín atlauhtin o teten que
omixmá que. Yca íno miqué; Yhuan
y n chichimeca ý çihuahuhuan,
ynin Pilhuan, Zatepanían oquizque
oquintzitzquiaya. ynomo-cauhcá
tlaca; auh yn huexotzincatl yca inin
tlachí-huallí, amo çe⁶¹² omo palehuí,
mochí, otzitzquiloc, ôâ-noc, noce
omictiloc; inquezquintin ocholoque
ô-oquinnahuati to ynín huailcahuá,
oyolticatca o quin mil huitaque
inic otlachiuhtiaque,. Auh inicuaç
oquicaquí Ynin nican ôpanoc,
omomauh títaya; auh ý Tepan-

ayocmo mi:xmatia. Aocmo: moce:-
panittaya za:yohca: o:quimachiliaya
in. Ini:c moce:panxi:xiliaya, o:mah-
ciqueh. Miec aocmo: tlama:toqueh.
Ye o:i:xpopoyo:tiqueh, in cequi:ntin
atlauhco o:motepe:xihuiaya. Ahmo:
quimatia ca:mpa i:c o:ya:ia. Cequi:n
o:mocua:chala:niaya texcalco. Ini:c
o:miquia, ca ye in ehca yahua:lchi-
hua:liz in ahmo: ye:ctli. Ahmo: occe:
ca:mpa o:mottac quiteneuhqueh in
o:quittaqueh, ca in a:tlauhtin o:tete:-
queh o:mi:xmanqueh i:ca in o:mi-
queh. I:hua:n in Chichimeca i:nci-
huahuan,⁶¹¹ in inphilhuan za:te:pan-
ian o:qui:zqueh, o:quintzi:zquia:ya in
o:moca:uhcan tla:ca, auh in Huexo:-
tzincatl i:ca ini:n tlachihua:lli, ahmo:
ce: o:mopale:hui. Mochi o:tzi:tzqui-
loc. O:a:no:c noceh o:mictiloc. In
quezquintin o:choloqueh o:quinna:-
huatito ini:n huailcahuan.⁶¹³ O:-
yolticatca, o:quinmilhuitaqueh. Ini:c
o:tlachi:uhtiaqueh, auh in ihcua:c
o:quicaquia ini:n nican o:pano:c,

because they could not be seen. They
were no longer seeing everything
together,⁶¹⁰ but just acting indi-
vidually. Thus they were all being
trampled and being grabbed. Many
just felt around by hand. Already
they dashed their faces, and some al-
ready fell into canyons. They did not
know thereby where they went. Thus
some cracked their heads against the
volcanic outcrops. Thus they died,
because already that evil one made
them wander around. Not since then
has been seen what they told that
they saw, because they filled the gul-
lies level with those who died. And
the wives and children of the Chi-
chimeca afterwards came out and
took hold of the men who remained,
and by means of these deeds, not
one of the Huexotzinca were helped.
All were taken prisoner.⁶¹⁴ They were
seized or killed. However, many who
fled reported these lost ones.⁶¹⁵ They
reported that they were alive. Thus

ecatī zanicoqui tac yni n yaoyotl,
omocueptaque ynin chayocan,
mocacui ti li z tica, cenca pactihui,
ynicamo omo çetili que yn

o:momauhtitaya. Auh in Tepane:catl
zan i:c o:quittac ini:n ya:o:yo:tl, o:-
mocueptaqueh in i:nchayocan, moca
cuitiliztica, cencah pactihui. Ini:c
ahmo: o:mocetiliqeh in

they had caused something to be
done, and when they heard this they
left and were afraid. And after the Te-
paneca leader had seen this war, they
returned to their place of habitation
completely informed and very paci-
fied. Thus they did not join

Verso, Ms. Folio 19

nahuac y Huexotzinca: y tech mitoa
ynin huey Ya oyotl, ca ce huey teya
yacanqui ytoca catca; tecua-nitzin ca
o quimaman cuicaliztica, ininyaotl
qui pixque yn theo Chichimeca. Y
nachto pa, oal-tepe manque nican tla
tocayo pá tlaxcalan, no-qui tenehua.
yn Yao yotl, qui chi uhque theo Poy-
auh tlan. Ynna huac huic y nahuac⁶¹⁷
y acolhuaque, te panecca chalco huic
atenco—

na:huac in Huexo:tzinca. I:tech mih-
toa ini:n hue:i ya:o:yo:tl, cah ce: hue:i
teyaya:canqui i:to:ca: catca Te:cua:-
nitzin, ca o:quima:ma:n cui:caliztica
ini:n ya:o:tl quipixqueh in Teo:chi-
chimeca. In achtopa, o:a:ltepe:-
manqueh nican tlahtohca:yo:pan
Tlaxcalan. Noquitenehua in ya:o:-
yo:tl quichi:uhqueh Teo:poyauhtlan
in na:huahui:c i:nna:huac in A:co:-
lhuaqueh, Tepane:ca Cha:lcohui:c
A:te:nco.

with the Huexotzinca. Concern-
ing this great war, it is said that
there was a great war leader whose
name was Tecuantzin, and that they
memorialized⁶¹⁶ him in song. The
Teochichimeca waged this war. They
first established cities here in the
ruling place of Tlaxcala. They say
they [were the ones who] made war
at Teopoyauhtlan with the Acolhua,
and Tepaneca near Chalco Atenco.



Yníc. VII ⁶¹⁸ Capitulo.

nican mo tenehua yní-cepan tlachihual, quípixque yntlaxcalteca, Yn nahuac y Huexotzincâ; iníc ynna-huachíc, ô=mozetililique ynoccequin-tin tlati la naltín. ye- híco, âltepemá taque nohuíanpa. tlaltecpá=

Ynin yaoiotl quipixque cate ma mauhti y na cazpan ino quicaquia, qui matíâ, yncequi n tí n amo quineltoacia yntheo chichimeca cui x-miquini catca, quimatia at⁶²¹ theotlatlaca catca ynic ce Yeo mahuiztilo quê, ynic cenmochí Ynal tepehuacan, tlana huati li oacíco yn nahuac huíc mochintin quinequia yca ín yo llo mocetilizque,=

Recto, Ms. Folio 20

ynic nonochipa pacâ o coxcai tica yetoz qui a, cauh o qui teneuhque inin tlâtol, ynachtopa o hualaque cay ehuantin ynchichimeca catca Huexo tzinco y huan yno mo Yo leuhca y hua Yolquê, tlaxcalteca Pipil-tin, zano matica yuh qui hual y lnamique Yn Mexíca tepaneca. Yca inin tlâ tla co l quimilhuí to y ní te ya y ecanca huan ynic omíco hua c tlaxcala n Zan nômatica mocentlilique yn colhuacá, Y huan acolhuâquê; manel cemicac ocatcaya Ymic nihuan

Ini:c VII Capitulo

Nican mote:ne:hua in i:ce:pantlachi-hua:l, quípixqueh in Tlaxcalte:cah in na:huac in Huexo:tzincâh; ini:c in na:huachui:c o:moc:tiliqueh in oc ce-qui:ntin tlatila:naltin ye i:c o:a:ltepe:-mataqueh no:huiya:npa tla:ltecpan.⁶¹⁹

Ini:n yao:yo:tl quipixqueh ca temam-aulitiy nacazpan in o:quicaquia, quimatian. In cequi:ntin ahmo: quineltoacia in Teo:chichimeca cuix miquini catca, quimatia ahteotla:-tlacah catca. Ini:c ceh ye o:mahuiztiloqueh. Ini:c cenmochi in a:ltepe:-huacan tlana:huatili o:ahcico in na:-huachui:c, mochintin quinequia i:ca i:nyo:llo: moce:tilizqueh.

Ini:c nonochipa pa:cca: o:coxcaitica ye tozquia. Cah iuh o:quiteneuhqueh in i:ntlahtol. In achtopa O:hua:lla:-queh ca yehua:ntin in Chi:chi:me:-cah catca Huexo:tzinco, i:hua:n in o:moyo:leu:hca in hua yo:lqueh Tlaxcalte:cah pi:piltin. Zan o:matica iuh quihua:lylna:miqueh in Me:-xihcah Tepane:ca i:ca in i:ntlahtlaco:l, quimilhuito in i:teyaya:ca:ncahuan⁶²³ ini:c o:micohuac Tlaxcalan. Zan, nohmahtica, mocentla:liqueh in Colhuacan, i:hua:n A:co:lhuaqueh

Chapter 7

Here it is mentioned the accomplishments of the Tlaxcalteca in the region of the Huexotzinca; how they united themselves with the rest of the provinces when they established cities everywhere as royal lands.

They waged⁶²⁰ this war that was frightening to the ears of those who heard it and knew about it. Some did not believe the Teochichimeca were mere mortal men, but believed them to be demons.⁶²² Thus they were surely revered. Thus when the news [of the war] arrived in their vicinity, all the inhabitants of the cities wanted to be united with them.

Thus they would agree to be forever at peace with them. So it was that they endorsed their proposals. It was they, the Chichimeca who were at Huexotzinco, who first came together with those who were kin to the Tlaxcalteca nobles. Thus the Tepaneca just remembered it because of the confessions of their war leaders, who told them of the dying at Tlaxcala. Just as freely the Culhua and the Acolhua also united themselves (although they always

Ynchololteca, yhuan Ynte peyecac
tlaca, Cuauh quecholteca, ytzocan,
cuauhchinanca, toto-mi huacán,
cho chomê, Pinomê, tecamachalca,
aca tzinca, tehuacanecâ Cozca teca,
Teo teca, ynín tlati-Lanal. ý holmeca
xicalancan, tlatlahuquí tepeca⁶²⁵
yztac ymaxitlan, tetelâ, Zaca tepeca,
y'huan no huían ynín tlati lanal ca-
mochintin yecan huala que, omo ceti
lique in na huac yn tlaxcalteca tlaca
camiec xihuitl atle neco li lí ômopix,
I ni ceoab yec notzaia, omotlapati
liaya, zanic o mo ce ti li que â Yoctle
machiaya Yaoyotl. Oqui má tíaque

Verso, Ms. Folio 20

Miec Altepe Yntlalpan, motepan-
titaque, qui mo xexelhuique ynín
tlâtlal quí piazquia, Yn cuahutlal-
tin, yhuá ynixtlahuamé. nochí te
tzacuali ceceacanpa ý tlatilanalli
oqui macehu=aya noce canpa oqui
cualytaya; y huan y ni n nahuatil,
ynnnetlaliloca, hic o hueyataque, omi
equía taque cay ca caxtol Po huali
xihuitl, mito- a caoteten tlatatl ypan
ynín mexicá tlalpan= ynic nauhcan
theoatitlan, tlapatzco, chanpoton
Campech, acozamelco, cuauhtzacu-
alco, cenpoallá= Nauhtlan, Cozâpan,
Papantlan, chacha lintlá= meztit-
tlan, huasteca, Panoco, cayehuá
oqui xixini-que Ynintlaca mecaío
y nín chi chimeca, Yhuá- aco lhua
que míto ohualaque⁶²⁹ tonalco Ycala
Quían, Hue huecalco=

(ma:nel cemihcac ocatcaya i:nicni-
huan⁶²⁴). In Chololteca i:hua:n in
tepe:yecactlaca, Cuauhquecholteca,
Itzocan, Cuauhchinanca, Totomi-
huacan, Chochomeh, Pinomeh,
Tecamachalca, Acatzinca, Tehuacan-
ecah Cozcateca, Teoteco, in
i:ntlatila:nal in Olmeca Xicalancan,
Tlatlahuquitepeca Izta:c I:maxtitlan,
Tetelah, Zacatepe:ca i:huan no:hui-
ya:n in i:ntlatila:nal—cah mochintin
ye:cca:n hua:laqueh. O:mocetiliqueh
in na:huac in Tlaxcalte:cahtla:cah, ca
miec xihuitl atle neco:lili o:mopix.
O:mocet:panyecno:tzaia, o:motlapa-
tilia:ia zan i:c o:mocetiliqueh. Ahye:-
ctli⁶²⁶ machia:ya ya:o:yo:tl.
O:quimantiaqueh

miec a:ltepe: i:ntla:lpan. Motepan-
titaqueh. quimoxexelhuiqueh in in-
tlahtla:l. Quipiyazquia in cuauhtla:-
ltin⁶²⁷ i:hua:n in i:xtlahuameh, nochí
tetzacuali cececa ca:mpa. In tlatila:-
nalli o:quimma:ce:huaya, noceh ca:-
mpa o:quicualytaya, i:hua:n
in i:nnahuatil, in netla:liloca, i:c
o:hueyataqueh. O:miequiataqueh ca
i:ca caxtol pohua:li xihuitl mih-
toa ca o:te:ten tla:catl i:pan ini:n
mexicahtla:lpan. Ini:c Na:uhca:n,
Teo:a:titlan, Tlapatzco, Chanpoton,
Campech, Acozamelco, Cuauhtzacu-
alco, Cenpoalla Nauhtlan Cozapan,
Papantlan, Chachalintlan Meztitlan,
Huasteca, Panoco—ca yehuan o:quix-
ixiniqueh. In intlacamecaio ini:n
Chi:chi:me:cah, i:hua:n Acolhuaqueh
mito o:hua:laqueh tonalco i:cala
i:uian huehuecalco.

had been their friends). The Cho-
lolteca and the people of Tepeyecac,
the Cuauhquecholteca, Itzoca,
Cuauhchinanca, Totomihuaca,
Chicome, Pinome, Tecamachalca,
Acatzinca, Tehuacanecan Cozcateca,
and Teoteco, the territories of the Ol-
meca Xicalanca, the province of the
Tlatlahuqui Tepecayztaca, Tetetlaca,
and Zacatepeca, together with their
territory everywhere, so that all of
them came. They assembled them-
selves near the people of Tlaxcala, so
that for many years they controlled
whatever enmity they had. They ne-
gotiated and traded with each other,
because only thereby they would
unify themselves. They knew war
was not good. The founded

many cities in their land. They
themselves built walls. They shared
their plans. They would guard their
forest lands and their fields, and each
of all the enclosures. They peopled
the territory, or where it looked
good, and their law was that it could
be settled if they grew. They multi-
plied and expanded, so that by three
hundred years, it is said that they
spread throughout the land of the
Mexico. Thus Nauhcan, Teoatitlan
Tlapatzco, Champoton, Campeche,
Cozumel, Cuauhtzacualco, Zempoala,⁶²⁸ Nauhtlan, Cozapan, Papantlan,
Chachaintla-Meztitlan, Huastec, and
Panoco—they were settled. It is said
that the lineages of these Chichimeca
and Acolhua came from where the
sun entered its home in the west.⁶³⁰



Yníc VIII Capitulo⁶³¹

Yníc o Alte pe tecácatque ytech ynín tlatocáíotl, tlaxcalan yhuá ynico momā Yníc nahuy Ycpal tla tocayo-ytoca; cabeseras——⁶³²

Yníc cuac Paca ocoxcaiotica qui macehuaia yntlax-calteca ynimaltepeuh, quí piaia Zan Yoca ce

Recto, Ms. Folio 21

Ynín tlatocauh, amo maâca otla-calaquil manaya ynín thevctli. Ytoca catca Colhuacateuctli, cuanex— ynín oquipix ce yteycauh. Motocayo-tiay Teyohualmin qui chichimeca teuctlí, cazatepan omê toca yohuac, Cuícuítzcatl theo chichi mecatl, Zaníc ômotac Ye huehuetíc, zenca tlat qui hua. íno miec Ymacehual huan quin mo cuitlahuiaya, oquito quí ocan Xe loz intlatôcayotl. ynahuac yniteycauh Teyohual minquí, auh níman Yn Colhuacateuctlí oquí-notz ínin yteícauh, Yhuan mochintín, ymíxpan, ô-qui macti cen tlaco, yní mace hualhuanoquin mo-Cuitlahuiaya, oncan quitlatlauhti químícno Y tazquía, ca moto linicatzitzintín, caoquin píazquia quenami Y Pilhuan; ní mano quin cellí y nTe⁶³⁴ yohual min quí Yca míec necuiltonolí, o q uí n mócníuhtlac mochintín;

Ini:c VIII Capitulo

Ini:c o:a:ltepe:tecacaque i:tech ini:n tlahtohca:yo:tl Tlaxcalan, i:hua:n in i:co:moman ini:n na:hui icpaltlahto:ca:yo: — i:to:ca: cabeseras.

In ihcua:c pa:cca: o:coxayo:tica quimma:ce:huaya in Tlaxcalte:cah yn i:na:ltepe:uh. Quipiyaya zan iyohca:ce:

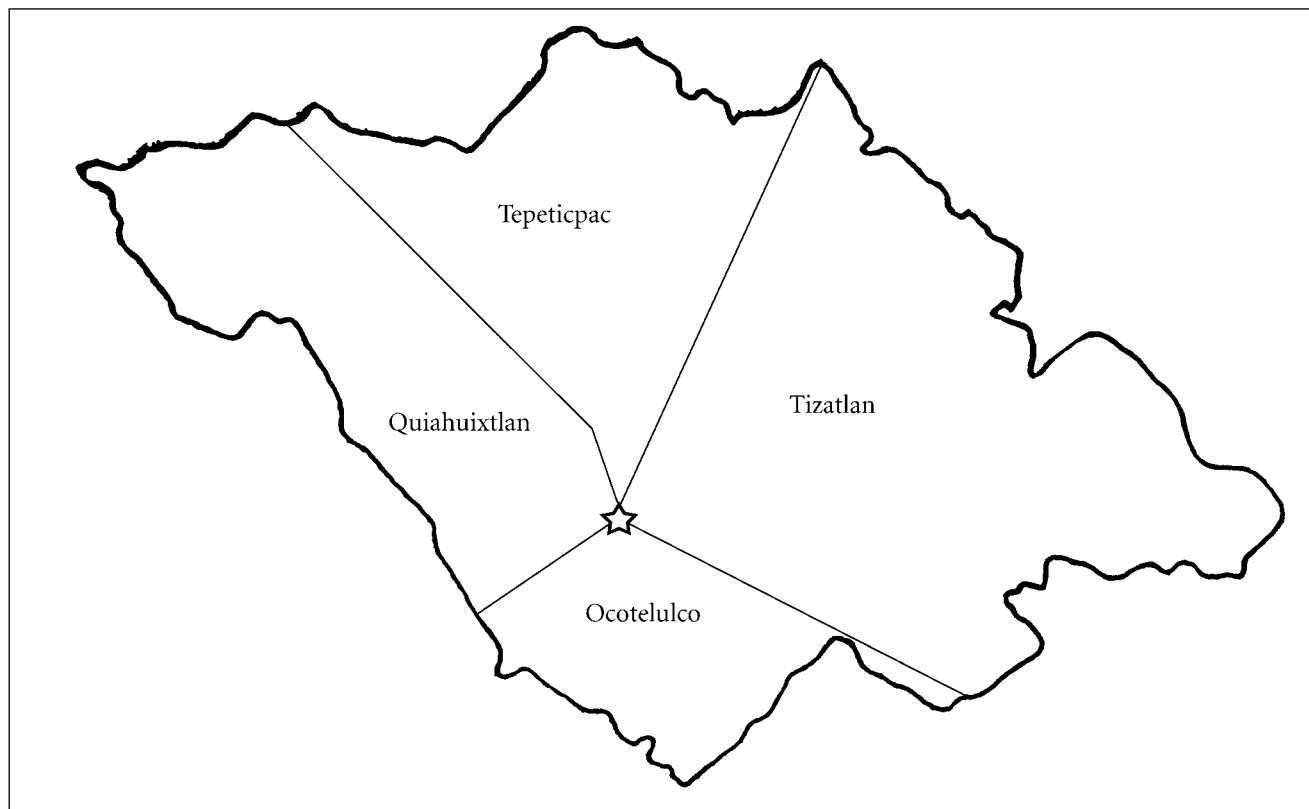
ini:n tlahtohca:uh. Ahmo: matica o:lacalaquilmanaya ini:n te:uctli. I:to:ca: catca Co:lhucate:uctli Cua:nex. Ini:n o:quipix ce: i:te:ica:uh moto:ca:yo:tiay Teyohualmi:nqui Chi:chi:me:cahte:uctli, ca za:te:pan o:me to:ca:yo:huac, Cui:cui:tzcatl Teo:chi:chi:me:catl. Zan i:c o:mottac ye hue:huetic, cencah tlatquihua in no: miec i:ma:cehualhua:n quinmo-cuitlahuiaya, o:quitoquiocaneloz i:ntlahto:cayo:tl na:huac in i:teycauh Teyohua:lminqui. Auh niman in Colhuacate:uctli o:quinotz ini:n, i:te:icca:uh, i:hua:n mochintín in i:xpan, o:quimacti centlahco in i:ma:cehualhua:n o:quinmocuitlahuiaya. Onca:n quitlatlauhti quimicnoit-tazquia, ca motoli:nica:tzitzintín, ca o:quinpiyazquia que:nami i:pilhua:n. Niman o:quincelli in Teyohua:lminqui i:ca miec necuilto:no:lli,

Chapter 8

How they populated this kingdom of Tlaxcala, and when they spread out these four seats of rulership that were called cabeseras.

At that time, the Tlaxcala were peacefully governing their cities.

This sovereign ruled by himself. This sovereign did not know vassalage to anyone. His name was Culhuacateuctli Cuanex. This one took care of a younger brother who was called Teyohualminqui Chichimecteutli, who was later called Cuicuitzcatl Teochichimecatl. Afterwards he was seen to be already great, and had many properties and was taking care of many of his vassals. He divided their rulership with his brother Teyohualminqui. And then Colhuacateuctli summoned this one, his younger brother, and, in front of all,⁶³³ he gave him half of the vassals whom he was ruling. He implored him to have pity on them, to be a revered impoverished one for them, and who should take care of them like his sons. Then Teyohualminqui received them with much wealth,



The four cabeseras of Tlaxcala.

auh za nico mo tac, Ye tlaco yaxca
Ynt tlaxcalteca tlattôca⁶³⁵ yotl, oqui
te mohuí yní teccal, oncan ocatelo
lco, y huanocuí tocatyoti Colhuacan,
Ylnamíco ca yn theo—

o:quinniocniuhltac mochtintin. Auh
zan i:c o:mottac, ye tlahco ia:xca: in
Tlaxcalte:cah tlattohcayo:tl. O:quite-
mohui in iteccc onca:n Ocotelolco,
i:hua:n o:quito:ca:yo:ti Colhuacan
ilna:micoca in Teo:-

and from then on saw himself as
sovereign of half of the Tlaxcalteca.
He brought down his palace there to
Ocotelulco, and he named it Colhua-
can in remembrance of Teo-

Verso, Ms. Folio 21

Colhuacan y canpa ohualquizque
yníntlaxcal teca: no hoc ce Ytocayo,
ô qui pix. Tecpancalli,- auh zanico
mo Piltlali, omo huey tilita, omo ma
huizti litâ, ynquena mí aquín yancuí
can quí cuí Yntequitl, cayuhqui yn
quin yollehua Yn mace hualtin yca
íní ma huíz tililoca, ca zan quezqui
Ylhuitl y no mo pil tlalli. oquimax-
cati yntlatocayotl, quí pa na huó yni
Achcauhtz in Colhua ca te uc tli, Pi
llí Tepe tícpac, inic qui l cauhtaya
í ní mac e hual huá. Yca⁶³⁸ ynicual
tlachihual, tlanemactli. oquiceliaya

Colhuacan⁶³⁶ i:n ca:mpa o:hua:-
lquizqueh ini:n Tlaxcalte:cah. No oc
ce: i:to:ca:yo: o:quipix: Te:cpancalli.
Auh zan i:c o:me piltla:lli. Ahmo:
hueytilita. O:momahuiztilitan. In
que:namih a:quin yancuica:n quicui
in tequitl, ca iuhqui in quinyo:lehua
in ma:ce:hualtin i:ca in i:mahuiztili-
loca, ca zan que:zqui ilhuitl. In o:me
piltlalli o:quima:xcati in tlahtohca:-
yo:tl quipanahuo in i:achcauhtzin
Colhuacate:uctli, pilli Tepe:ticpac.
Ini:c quilca:uhtaya in i:ma:cehual-
hua:n i:ca in i:cuallachihua:l.

culhuacan, from which the Tlaxcalte-
ca came. Also it kept another name,
Tecpancalli. And after that there were
two royal lands. He did not aggran-
dize himself. They hon-ored each
other. In this manner, he who was
the new one took tribute, because he
thereby encouraged his vassals as a
means for his being honored, instead
of having many festivities.⁶³⁷ The sec-
ond noble land exceeded in wealth
the rulership of his older brother
Culhuacateuctli, noble of Tepet-
icpac. Thus his vassals remembered

Ymatica yn Teyohualminquí,⁶³⁹ mazo y huí y ninomé ntin tlatoque. Amo ma mococo lique, mixnamique, caoquicepan huíca que ynín tlâ-toca tequítl, oquinmacac tlanahua-tili ynicce mí-cacpaca yezque ytec ynintla to ca yo—— Zaníco mo miqui li Yn Teyo hua lminqui tla toaní Ocotelo lco. O tla toca tic ce y Piltzin, Ytoca tlaylotlac tetz pantzin, y nico me Yto ca

Recto, Ms. Folio 22

Papalotl, yezatepan motocayoti, tlaca teuctlí, oquí-ycantocac yni cua l hui coca y ni Tatzín, o quin mo cui tla huí yni mace hual huan⁶⁴⁰. Y natle macic ne yxnamictlí, maci y huí⁶⁴¹ y panynitlatocayo omo ehuate-quetz⁶⁴² miec yaoyotl auh nícán mo tenehua. Ynquenami motecpanq^{eh} ynnahuí tlatoca yotl, tlaxcalan Ynach topa oquin pachó ycel ce teuctlí yt toca tetzpantzin Zani co mi c oquicauh cypiltzin ytoca Colhua teyohualminquí, caamo o huecauh yninemiliz, ynín teyohual minqui quí cauhtehuac ytech yni tlatocayo cey pil- tzin ytoca Acatentehua, ynicuac yninyemo-tocayotiaya ynín tlatocayotl, Colhuacan, Tecpan, oco telolco, ynín Pilli tlatoaní, yolchama-huac catca ynic qui mahuitzi lique y pan ynón cahuítl, ynic Za tepanían quimo Cuitla huí yntlátocayotl qui ca huili teuhque yní coltzin, y ni Tatzín, Ycai ni tla machiliz oqui n cuíc, oquin chan tlalli miec tla catl, camochtín quí tlacamataya, amo aca tlen ôqui chihuaía yntlacamo Yten-copa, ytlanequili-tzin, Ynín Acat-entehua, oqui n tla xexelhuí. ô-Qui n Má⁶⁴³ mamac tlattquitl,⁶⁴⁴ hueli ti liztlí, ynic

Tla: nemactli o:quiceliaya i:matica in Teyohua:lminqui. Mazo ihui, ini:n omentin tlahtoquēh ahmo: ma mo-cocoliquēh, mixna:miquēh ca oqui:c ce:pan hui:caquēh in i:ntlahto:ca:. Tequitl o:quinmacac tlanahuati:li. Ini:c cemihcacpa cah yezquēh i:tech in i:ntlahtohca:yo:. Zan i:c o:mo-miquili in Teyohua:lminqui, tlahtoa:-ni Ocotelolco, O:tlahtohca:tic ce: i:piltzin, i:to:ca: Tlaylotlac Tetz-pantzin. Ini:c o:me i:to:ca:

Papalotl. Ye za:te:pan moto:ca:yo:ti tlcate:uctli. O:quicantocac in i:cual-huicoca in i:tahtzin. O:quinmocuitlahui in i:ma:cehualhua:n. In atle mahcic nei:xna:mictli, neehua:-liztli. Mahci ihui i:pan in i:tlahtohca:yo: o:moe:huatequetz miec ya:yo:tl. Auh nican mote:ne:hua in que:-namih motecpa:nquēh ynnahui tlahtohca:yo:tl Tlaxcalan. In achtopa o:quinpacho ycel ce: te:uctli i:to:ca: Tetzpantzin. Zan i:c o:mīc, o:quicauh ce: i:piltzin i:to:ca: Colhua Teyohua:lminqui, cah ahmo: ohuecauh in i:nemiliz. Ini:n Teyohua:lminqui quica:uhte:huac i:tech in i:tlahtohca:yo: ce: i:piltzin i:to:ca: Acatentehua. Inihcua:c ini:n ye moto:ca:yo:tiaya ini:n tlahtohca:yo:tl, Colhuacan, Tecpan, Ocotelolco. Ini:n pilli tlahtoa:ni yo:lchama:huac catca. Ini:c quimahuiztiliquēh i:pan yno:n ca:huitl. Ini:c za:te:panian quimocuitlahui in tlahtohca:yotl quicahuihteuhquēh in i:coltzin, in i:tatzin. I:ca i:n i:tlamachi:liz o:quincūic, o:quincha:ntla:li miec tla:catl, cah mochtin quitla:camataya. Ahmo: A:catlan o:quichihuaia in tla:camo: i:te:ncopa, i:tlanequihltzin, ini:n Acatentehua o:quintlaxixelhui. O:quinmahmacac tlatquitl, huelitiliztli. Ini:c

him because of his grand achievements. Teyohualminqui received the inheritance deftly. Even though these two rulers did not hate one another, they contended with one another; so that for as long as they were together in their rulership, the law was to give them both tribute. Thus for forever they were united in their rulership. After Teyohualminqui, king of Ocotelulco, died, one of his sons named Tlaylotlac Tetzpantzin ruled. His second name was

Papalotl. Finally, he was named Tl cateuctli. He followed in the direction of his father's goodness. He took care of his vassals. He instigated no confrontations or rebellions, although many wars arose in his rulership. And here it is mentioned how they set some of the four dominions of Tlaxcala in order. First, a ruler named Tetzpantzin governed alone. After he died, a noble named Colhua Teyohualminqui entered, whose life was not long. This Teyohualminqui left a noble named Acatentehua in his rulership. Then this one was already ruling this rulership (of Culhuacan, Tecpan, and Ocotelulco). This noble king was generous, so they honored him in that era. Thus afterwards he took care of the rulership as that his grandfathers and his fathers had left behind. In his wisdom, he settled many men down, he colonized them, so that many obeyed him. If Acatlan did not do as he ordered, at his desire, then this Acatentehua scattered them throughout the land. He divided up their property and authority. Thus

Verso, Ms. Folio 22

huel quin yol Poxauh quin cuic yn-
tech⁶⁴⁵ huic Ynic otlatocatic Ónpo-
huali, y huan Ma tlac tli- xihuitl. ynic
Zanquimíctique, Ynic hoc cecampa
opanoc yntlá tocaíotl, caye inomo-
cetilique ynic qui mictique c a yun ni
can mo-Pohuaz==————

huel quinyolpoxauh quincuic
i:ntechhui:c. Ini:c o:tahtohca:tic on-
pohua:li i:hua:n mahtla:ctli xihuitl.
Ini:c zan quimictiqueh. Ini:c oc ce:-
ca:mpa o:panoc in tlahtohca:yo:tl,
cah ye in o:moce:tiliqueh ini:c qui-
mictiqueh cayun nican mopo:huaz.

he successfully softened those whom
he took next to them. Thus he ruled
for fifty years. But they finally killed
him. So the rulership crossed over to
yet another one, because they united
themselves and killed him, as it will
be recounted here.



Yníc VIII Capitulo

mo pohuaz Que nin⁶⁴⁶ omíctiloc yn acatentehua Pillí. O co-telolco; no mihtoa quenín ocalaquí co yn tláco ômihua, tlahuele, cacalaquí, huale hua chololan tlalpan, yníc hualtzintí. Yn Ocotelolco tláto cayotl———⁶⁴⁷

Yníchuel melahuac mazicamatiz
Ynipe uhca, ini tlátocaio. ypilló⁶⁴⁸
ynic pal y eiantlí ô-Co telolco catla
cui tlapán onhualpehuaz mo Po-
huaz, iniuh occecan tíc teneuhque
cayuh mazícamatiz. Ynúcuac Ynchi-
chimeca. Oalte pemanque. Ypeuhca.
Poyauhtlan, atenco chalco, México,
Zatepanian yn yaoyotl oquí pixque
in nahuac, yn acolhuaquê, yhuán
Tepanêca, yníc yeonpa oquizque quí
hual

Recto, Ms. Folio 23

Yahualotaque yn Popoca tepetl,
ohual tlaca man taque ôaltepe
tlalique, Yníc quin cauhtaque Pipil-
tin, oquín mo cuí tla huiz quía, omo
cauh tiquízaco chololam miequintín
macehual tin, Pipiltin, mo mahuíz
ti líaya. yníc yehuecaû-tica onpa
catcayaia; Zaníco panoc yn yaoyotl
oquil namí que yn Huexotzincá,

Ini:c VIII Capitulo

Mopo:huaz que:nin o:mictiloc in Acatentehua pilli Ocotelolco. Nomih-toa que:nin o:calaquico in Tlahcoo:-mihua tlahue:leh ca calaqui hualehua Chololan tla:lpán. Ini:c hua:ltzi:nti in Ocotelolco tlahto:ca:yo:tl

Ini:c huel mela:huac ma:zica matiz
in ipeuhca in itlahto:ca:io i:pillo.
I:nicpal yeya:ntli, O:cotelolco Cat-
lacuitlapan. Onhua:lpe:huaz mopo-
hauz, iniuh oc cecca:ntic teneuhqueh
majzica:matiz: i:n ihcua:c, in Chi:-
chi:me:cah o:a:ltepe:manqueh i:-
peuhca Poyauhtlan, Atenco Chalco,
Mexico. Za:te:panian, in ya:o:yo:tl
o:quipixqueh in na:huac in A:co:-
lhuaqueh i:hua:n Tepane:cah. Ini:c ye
o:mpa o:quilqueh quihua:l-

yahua:lotaqueh⁶⁵⁰ in Popocatepetl,
o:hua:ltlacamantaqueh o:a:ltepe:tlá-
liqueh. Ini:c quinca:uhtaqueh pi:pil-
tin, o:quinmocuitlahuizquia. O:mo
cauhtiquizaco Cholo:la:n miequintin
ma:ce:hualtin, pi:piltin. Momahuiz-
tiliaya. Ini:c ye huehca:uhtica o:mpa
catcayaia. Zan i:c o:panoc, in ya:o:-
yo:tl o:quilnamiqueh. In

Chapter 9

It will be recounted how the Acatentehua noble of Ocotelulco was killed. It is told how the fierce one Tlacomihua who entered coming from the land of Cholollan. Thus originated the Ocotelulco rulership.

Thus it is truly difficult to know the beginning of his rulership, his noble domain. Their seat of residence was Ocotelulco Catlacuitlapan. They began to migrate; it is recounted like this. Still, in one place they mention that thus they mastered it, when the Chichimeca were settling cities in the beginning at Poyauhtlan, on the shore near Chalco in Mexico. Afterward they carried out⁶⁴⁹ the war in the vicinity of the Acolhua and Tepaneca. Thus already there they said that they

came around Popocatepetl, and they came dividing up the land and settling cities. Thus nobles relinquished them, so that he would take care of them. He himself left many vassals and nobles at Cholollan. He was respected. Thus already he was old there. After they had crossed over, they remembered the war. The

yhuan y nin chololtecā ynic çe n
mochi nti n, y no meuhca, yn-
tech copahuic yn tla xcalteca, auh
Zanic⁶⁵¹ omo centla lique nequi liz
cepancatca, yeoquilcauh ca Ynī-neco
co lopanoc; cequintin ynin tlaca
quilnamique panozquia y pan a lte-
petl tlaxcalan, ynic onpa ocat ca ynīn
huayolque, ceme ynin que huala
que chololan y toca catca theuc toto
lim,⁶⁵² ca huey Pillī, cuali Eztli, y ni
tech hual quízca, Ynin omo chany-
otica Ypan Yn tlaxilacallī, cuītltiz-co,
Ynic oncan omocnomat. Ycaínī
tlanequi litzin yn teuctli, Aca tente-
hua, Tlatoanī Ocotelolco, - Zatepanian
y e panotihuh cahuitl, ye mo tlacauuh
chicauhtihuh . ynic quima huiztiliaya
. Zanīco motac yuhquin quinequia
quin nextiliz⁶⁵⁴ yn mace hual=

Verso, Ms. Folio 23

tīn caytech opohuā yn tlatocayotl.
Mazo y huī- aīac⁶⁵⁵ qui mo catia ya,
ypanpa atley inīhuelitilīz- hicqui-
maxcatiz quīa, quine quia canaz
yntequitl cemicac oqui tlaca matta
y ntlātoanī cat ca Yno quīc ôquin
yocuī taya⁶⁵⁷ mochi tlatatl, ynic
azō qui en ma ni an hue litilīz mo
Yōllēhuaz, yca ynin ytlatlane qui li
z omīc yn Teuc to to lim oqui cauh
y ti c yni chanyo, y ni ca llo cey
piltzin⁶⁵⁸ ytoca Axoch hua meme loc,
cay ni n ame⁶⁵⁹ huecauh onen; oqui
cauhtehuac qui mo cui tla huy Yn
y chanyo. oquimacehu ynī Piltzin
tlaco mihua auh zaquezqui xiuhtica
ye qui mo cuitla huī ti cca Yni tla xi
lacial, amo hic opac, Yc yepiltic yca
i ni tla llēca huan ynī Cō co l, ytha
tzīn, oquica huī li taque, ca za n ni
man o qui l namīc ytic ynī Yo llo,
yn tlen achto pa huīc oquil namic
ti nenca ynī Cō col catca Teuc-toto
li m, ynic o quinec teuctīz. Y pan
mochi- yn tlatoca Pilotl tlaxcalan.
Tlalpan, y nicye ôpeuh quintlā tol
maca tihuez,⁶⁶⁰ ynana-⁶⁶¹

Huexo:tzinca i:hua:n ini:n Chololte-
ca ini:c cen mochintin, in o:me:uhca
i:ntech copauic in Tlaxcalte:cah. Auh
zan i:c o:mocentla:liqueh, nequiliz
ce:pan catca. Ye o:quilca:uhca in i:-
nnecoco:l o:panoc cequi:ntin ini:n
tla:ca quilnamiqueh panozquia i:pan
a:ltepe:tl Tlaxcalan. Ini:c o:mpa o:-
catca ini:n huayo:lqueh. Ce:meh ini:-
nqueh hua:laqueh Chololan i:to:ca:
catca Theuctotolim, cah hue:i pilli,
cualli eztli. In i:tech hua:lquiza,
Ini:n o:mocha:nyo:tico i:pan in i:-
tlaxilacal, Cuitlitzco. Ini:c onca:n o:-
mocnomat i:ca in i:tlanequiliztin⁶⁵³
in te:uctli, Acatentehua, tlahto:ni
Ocotelolco. Za:te:panian ye panotihuh
ca:huitl, ye motlacua:h chicauhtihuh.
Ini:c quimahuiztiliaya. Zan i:c
o:mottac iuhquin quinnequia quine:-
xtiliz in ma:ce:hual-

tin, cah i:tech o:po:huia in tlahto-
ca:yo:tl, ma:zoihui aya:c quimoca-
tiaya i:pampa ahtleh in i:huelitiliz i:c
quima:xca:tizquia. Quinequia canaz
in tequitl cemihcac. O:quitla:-
camatta in tlahto:ni catca in o:qui:c
o:quinyocuitaya mochi tla:catl. Ini:c
ahzo que:nmaniya:n huelitiz moyo:-
lle:hua:z i:ca ini:n i:tlatlanequiliz.
O:mic in Teuctotolim, o:quicauh i:-
tic in i:cha:nyo; in i:callo ce: i:piltzin
i:to:ca: Axochhuamemeloc, cah ini:n
ahmo: huecauh o:nen. O:quica:-
uhtehuac quimocuitlahui in i:cha:-
nyo:. O:quima:ce:uh in i:piltzin Tla:-
co:mihua. Auh zan que:zqui xiuhtica
ye quimocuitlahuitic ca in i:tlaxila-
cal, ahmo: i:c o:pa:c, i:c yeh piltic i:ca
in i:tlale:cahuan, in i:co:col, i:tahtzin
o:quicahuilitaqueh, cah zan niman
o:quilnamic itic in i:yo:llo, in tlein
achtopahui:c o:quilnami:ctinenca in
i:co:col catca. Teuctotolim, ini:c o:-
quinec teuctiz i:pan mochi in tlahto-
hca:pillo:tl Tlaxcalan tla:lpan. Ini:c
ye o:peuh quintlahto:l macatihuez,
i:nana

Huexotzinca and these Chololteca,
thus all together, emigrated to go
next to the Tlaxcalteca, and after
they gathered themselves together,
they wanted to be together. Already
they forgot their anger. They crossed
over. Some of these men thought to
go over to the city of Tlaxcala. Thus
they were there. One of these who
came was a person from Cholollan
called Teuctotolin, who was a great
noble of good blood. They were
coming this way next to it, these who
resided at his home in the district of
Cuitlixco. Thus there they submitted
themselves to the will of the ruler
Acatentehua, king of Ocotelulco. Af-
terwards as time passed, he himself
was strong and lived to old age. Thus
he was honored. He was only seen as
wanting to teach the vassal-

s who belonged to the rulership.
Even though no one at any time
was satisfied,⁶⁵⁶ in nothing thereby
would he give authority. He wanted
to seize their tribute forever. All men
obeyed the king as long as he lived.
Thus perhaps some day he would
be able to enjoy himself with this
wealth. When he died, Teuctotolin
left his home to a noble whose name
was Axochhuamemeloc, but this one
did not live long. He made his will
and took care of himself. He gave his
home to his son Tlacomihua. And
for however many years he had al-
ready been taking care of his district,
still he was not happy by his being a
noble, because of what his landmen,
his grandfathers, and his fathers had
left him—he remembered with his
heart what at first his grandfather
had gone along intending. Teuctoto-
lin thus appeared to rule over all the
royal nobility at the land of Tlaxcala.
Thus already he was beginning to
advise

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caz pan yntlaca maçehualtin, ynic
quin tla to l macaia; qui mi lhuí ay
a, y nteuctlí yehuehue cat qui. Ynic
âô que cualli mo tla cuitla huía
ynquenin opeûca achtopa, zatlatol
cueçî-huí, ayocmo quin mo tlazô
ti lia ynínPil-huan, quenami quin
tlazo tla ce cuali Te Tâtzin mochi
ynín qui mi lhuíaya Yn tlâco ômíhua
ynic o qui lnamiquiâ quin Yol cuêzoz
ynaltepe tlacâ ycancopa I ninteûc
tlatocâtzín, y nic quin cen tla liz y
tlanequi lizpan cacachícâ qui mil
hui thâ⁶⁶³ ya. ynintlâtollí, canecia
ý panpa ochíco-yohuaya ycaínin
yecti liz, tziuc noyaia. y nicquí acual
y toayá yn teuctli, toatoaní, oquin
yolcúep ynín tlanequi liz. Y huicopa
ynamo ycuallalna mi quiliz. Ynic
oqui mic tiz quia Yn theûc tla toaní:
auh niman yn macehua ltin o q
uicen tlalique ynic qui mic tizque
amo omachiaz quia ý nahuac⁶⁶⁴ yni
huayolque; Ynín Pili teuctlí:- oya que
Ytec⁶⁶⁵ yní Teccal chí chi uhtí ahque,
quihotí huí qui mo tlâpalhuilitihue,
tzatzitzli qui manqué

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amo. Mimaticatca ynic Ychtaca
quimicti que. y nic y ciuhca yaque
iníc amo omachiaz quia ynîteichtaca
tlachihual, opanoque ynín châchan
yní huayolque ynín teuctlatoani-
mo to li ni ca tzintli auh ynquezque
Ymític oquimaciquic oquin mî mí
ctíque hiccen mo chi ynín Pilhuan,
yn machhuan, yn huayolque y co-
toncahuan, ynic amo ce omo cahuaz
quia Yni tlaca mecayo. Ynín mahuíz-
tica tlaca may tl y panpa amo noce
qui en manían, acay Cotonca o quin
tlatzacuilitizquia cayuh qui yn o mic
ynín teuc tlatoaní, cenca tlazotlalc,
o mo huiz tili-loc y nic cen mo chi
yni mace hualhuan, catca- za hue

cazpan in tla:ca, mahce:hua:ltin. Ini:c
quintlahto:lmacaia: quimilhuiaya in
te:uctli yehuehue catqui. Ini:c aoc eh
cualli motlacuitlahuia in que:nin
o:pe:uhca achtopa. Za: tlahto:lcue-
hchui. Ayocmo: quinmotlazohtilia
ini:n pillhua:n que:namih quintlazot-
la ce: cualli te:tahtzin. Mochi ini:n
quimilhuiaya in Tla:co:mihua. Ini:c
o:quilna:miqui aquin yo:lcuehzoz in
a:ltepe:tla:ca icancopa in i:nte:-
uctlahto:ca:tzin, Inic quincen:liz
i:tlanequilizpan ca cachica:n quimil-
huia:ya ini:n tlahtolli, ca ne:cia
i:npanpa. O:c i:c o:yohuaya i:ca in
i:nye:ctiliz. Tziucnoyaia inic, qui-
ahcualitoaya in i:nte:uctli, tlahto:ni
o:quinyolcúep in i:ntlanequiliz i:-
hui:ccopa in ahmo i:cual tlalna:-
miquiliz inic o:quimictizquia i:nte:-
uctlahto:ni. Auh niman in ma:ce:-
hualtin o:quicentla:liqueh ini:c qui-
mictizqueh. Ahmo o:machia:zquia
i:n na:huac in i:huayo:lqueh. Ini:n
pillite:uctli-o:ya:queh i:tech in i:tec-
cal. Chi:chi:uhtiyahqueh, quih-
totihui. Quimotlahpale:huititihue
tzahtzitzli quimanqueh.

Ahmo mihmaticatca. Ini:c i:chtaca
quimictiqueh. Ini:c ic iuhca ya:queh,
ini:c ahmo o:machia:zquia in i:nte:-
chtacatlachihua:l. O:panoqueh in
i:ncha:chan in i:hua: yo:lqueh in i:-
nte:uctlahto:ni motolini:catzintli.
Auh in que:zqui i:mitic o:quima:ce:-
queh o:quinmimictiqueh i:ccen mo-
chi ini:n pillhua:n, in machhuan, in
hua:yo:lqueh i:cotoncahuan, ini:c
ahmo ce: o:mocahuazquia in i:tlaca-
mecayo. Ini:n mahuiztica tla:ca ma:-
itl i:pampa ahmo: no:ceh que:-
nmaniya:n, acah i:cotonca o:quint-
latzacuilitizquia. Ca iuhqui in o:mic
ini:n te:uctlahto:ni, cenca tlazoht-
lalc, o:mohuiztililic ini:c cenmochi

the men and vassals of his vicini-
ty. Thus the lord warned them and
said that he was already very great.
Thus he did not still take care of
them well as he had done at first.
He just talked fast.⁶⁶² He no longer
held these nobles in high esteem,
as a good father who loves them.
Tlacomihua reported all this. Thus
he remembered whichever men of
the city were dissatisfied concern-
ing their revered lord ruler. Thus
he gathered them together on his
property, where he made this speech
to them, so that it appeared to them
that he supported them. Still, when
night fell, he finished this. Sighing
thus, he spoke evil against their lord.
He moved their will against the king,
towards his evil intention, so they
would kill their sovereign lord. And
then the vassals agreed thus to kill
him. He would not make known to
them his intent. These noble lords
went with him to his palace. They
went as if to be civil. Raising a shout,
they attacked.

He was not prepared. Thus secretly
they killed him. Thus when they
left there, their secret deed would
not be known. They crossed over
to the homes of their poor sover-
eign lord's kinsmen. And however
many were involved killed the sons,
nephews, kin, and all his close kin
with their arrows, so that not one of
his lineage would remain. Because
of it, someone of his faction might
punish these honored men from
time to time. It was in this way that
this much-loved sovereign lord died,
who was greatly loved and respected.
Thus he was just to every one of his
vassals. And when he died, they were

hue tlatatl, auh y nic omic omachiac
hic hohuian yn Altepepan, cenca hic
mo Yolco- monique, omo chi chi
uhque, yna quin a mo qui matque
xolalpan ochpan pan,. Nenentine
mía, cho quiztli cenmantícatca,
cicihua. Y huan, Pipiltitzin, ca huel
huey tlaocoli yno motaya inic oquin
mictilica y ni n teuc Tlatocazín; auh
y no qui pehua

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yei ntlá co pa huic mocuepaz nequí,
maço Yhuí, omo xiptlatique . Inic
atle y cual quizCa⁶⁶⁶ cai n tla mo
chintin y ntlátlaco lo que o mi quí
zquia yn tepilhuan oquin mimic-
tizquia y ntetá huan, ynteicnihuan,
nenca ono qui huiz quía Y ní mezzô,
ynoquic ooctley Pâtli, o-quí piaya;
tlaco mihua ,ca huel yehuatl y no
quil inin teichtaca nemí cti li ztlí,
niman qui l na mic Piltiz y pan
Yni cpalli, tlatocayotl, o cote lo lco;
manel yhui amo oquinequia Ce qui
ntin ynic o mi⁶⁶⁷ qui zquia Ynacto
pa Yntlá tocauh amo no qui ne qui â
Ynic tlâto catiz Yní n Pilli, nôma que
nín huel mieque Yuquí Ycan to caya.
yn the yao Yecancauh, oquiceli que
y nic ô quin mo cuitlahuizquia,; ma
zo y huía amohuel omocenca⁶⁶⁹ ínt-
lanhuic Yní maçe hualhuan hac huel
yehuatl qui macehuazquia .oca laquíz
quia Ytech y nin tlâto cayotl ocote
lo lco, cay panpa yn tla toaní teuctli.
Acatentehua, o quí-pix miec çihuapi
piltin. Y chpoch huan, o qui n

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oquin⁶⁷⁰ namic tica. Ynnahuac Pipi-
ltin ma Huizti lo ní, auh mo chintin
ynín móhuan yoltoneuhtícatca, ca
çecen quinequia tlatoca-tíz, ayac qui
cahuaía y n tlâco omihua teuctiz; ma
zo y hui y ni tlal namiquiliz Y ni ntlá

in i:ma:cehualhua:n, catca za huehue
tla:catl. Auh ini:c o:mic, o:machia:c
i:c no:huiya:n in a:ltepe:pan. Cenca
i:c moyolco:moniqueh, o:mochi:chi:-
uhqueh in ahquin ahmo quimatqueh
xolalpan ochpanpan, nenentinemia.
Cho:quiztli cenmanti catca cicihua:
i:hua:n pipiltitzin, ca huel hue:i
tla:co:lli in o:motaya. Ini:c o:quin-
mictili cah in i:nteuctlahto:ca:tzin.
Auh in o:quipe:hua

ye: in tla:cohpaui:c mocuepaznequi,
mazoyhui, o:moxiptlatiqueh ini:c
atle i:c hualqui:z, cah intla mochi:-
nti:n yntlan tla:coloqueh o:miquiz-
quia, in tepilhuan o:quinmimic-
tizquia in tetahhuan, in teicni:huan.
Ne:ncah o:no:quihuizquia in i:-
mezzo:, in o:qui:c oc tlein pahtli o:-
quipiyaya. Tlacomihua za:huel ye-
hua:tl i:nequilin in teichtaca nemic-
tiliztli. Niman quil namicpiltiz i:pan
in icpalli tlahto:ca:yo:tl Ocotelolco.
Ma:nel inhui ahmo o:quinequia
cequi:nti:n ini:c o:miquizquia in
achtopa in tlahto:ca:uh ahmo no:-
quinequia ini:c tlahtocatiz ini:n pilli
nohmah que:nin huel mieqeh iuhqui
i:can tocaya. In ya:o:yaca:ncauh⁶⁶⁸
o:quiceliqueh ini:c o:quinmocuitla-
huizquia: mazo i:huia ahmo huel
o:mocenca:uh intlanhui:c in i:mace:-
hua:lhuan ac huel yehua:tl quimma:-
ce:huazquia, o:calaquizquia i:tech
ini:n tlahto:ca:yo:tl Ocotelolco, cay
pampa in tlahto:ca:nite:uctli. A:cate:-
ntehuah, o:quipix miec cihuapipiltin,
ichpo:chuah o:quin-

na:mictica in na:huac pi:piltin, ma-
huiztiloni. Auh mochi:nti:n in
i:nmo:huan yolto:ne:uhti catca cah
cecen quinequia tlahto:ca:tiz. Aya:c
quica:hua:ia in Tlahcomihua
teuctiz. Mazo ihui in i:tlalna:miquiliz

afraid everywhere. In the city, many
became agitated and did not know
about the conspiracy. They armed
themselves and went about most
disturbed, with all the women and
children, so that there was very great
confusion. The crying of the women
and children was great, so there was
very great mourning. Thus they
killed him who was their sovereign.
And those who began

already nearly slaves wanted to
avenge themselves, desisted because
it appeared to them that to do so
would give evil, because if they
would kill all the guilty, they would
be killing someone's children and
someone's fathers and friends. They
would spill their blood in vain so
long as they carried out such a reme-
dy. It was just possibly Tlacomihua
whose desire was the secret killing.
Then it is said that he became the
noble on the throne of the rulership
of Ocotelulco. Although it was not
that some who had agreed that the
first ruler should die, they did not
want this noble to rule, still in this
manner many were able to follow
him because many had participated
in this manner conspiracy. The war
leaders had accepted him, so that
he would govern them, but in spite
of this, it was the duplicity among
his vassals, that he would be the one
who would obtain it and would en-
ter into this rulership of Ocotelulco,
since Acatentehua had many noble
wives and daughters who were

married to nearby nobles and
respected ones. And all of their
sons-in-law were mutinous,⁶⁷¹
because each one wanted to rule.
None relented for Tlacomihua to
rule. But although his thoughts were

huele, caoquí nequía ye motaz Piltiz, amo hic quin mocatí ynín Pipiltin, yhuan quenín y ní huelitiliz ocachi hue y catca, çan cuél hic oquina-matzauc, mochintín, auh yúhquin omo calaquí Y tech ý tlatoca yotl oquimaceuh yecyopan miec xí huítl. auh zanic omic oquicahui litehuac ce y Piltzín Ytoca Xipincoltzín tlíltzcatl, auh y ní Zanic omíc, o quima-ceuh ý ní tlā to cayo. Atlāpaltzintzín Huítlitzcatl, caamo hueca ultzica onen, ypanpa ce híc niuh y toca Tlepapalotzín. Oquichta ca mictí- auh zaní co míc Ocalac ytech ý tlatocayotl, Y ní-Piltzín Maxyxcatzín, yní cuac ý ohual azíco yntheyaoyacanquí Dⁿ Hernando Cortes- marques, o qui moceli lí yntlaneltoquiliztlí-

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Quintlazotlac qui npa le huí, y n cax ti lteca cayuh mací po hua y tech y nín tlācuí loli, tlatocayo tl tla-xcallan, zanico pe uh o mo ceçe can celo ynintlato cayotl ynceanpan y no me hicnimé, mo ce Can⁶⁷² xe lo- y ní tla to cayotl, yuh y tech oa zi co y n Maxyx catzín cayuh tíqui-toquí ynpanpa cequin tín qui to hua amo pipilti n y tech Povhque, ca nel nellí cemi cac hiechtli eztlí. Y tech o hualquí=que camo chintín ce tla-ca me cayotl y nicto-contzonqui x tizque. ynic opa noc tlatocayotl ocote lo lco, mitoa ca zaní co míc ychtaca y ní-tlatocauh Acatentehua, o mo cauh que o meme ypilhuan tzocotetzitín yhuan Ynci hua me o quí míz cal tíaya oquín pa le, huí que, quín ma quíx tí que o quín- quen tíque huí pí lí, Cueztlí tata patí que, ní man quía huac o quí míz caltito ne to ló ní líz pan tla-xíla cal pá, híc quí n pa le huí tí nè que ín pí piltzítzín ca ín cuac o quí po lo

in intla: hueli ca o:quinequia ye motazpiltiz, ahmo i:c quinmocati ini:n pí:piltin, i:hua:n que:nin in i:-huelitiliz ocachi hue:i catca zan cuél i:c o:quincamatzauc mochi:nti:n. Auh iuhquin o:mocalaquí i:tech i:n tlahtohca:yo:tl, o:quima:ce:uh ye:cyo:-pan miec xihuitl. Auh zan i:c o:míc, o:quicahuilitehuac ce i:piltzín i:to:ca: Xipincoltzintliitizcatl. Auh ini:n zan i:c o:míc, o:quima:ce:uh in i:tlahtocayo: Atlāpaltzintzín Huitlitzcatl, cah ahmo huecaultica o:nen, i:pampa ce: icni:uh i:to:ca: Tlepapa:lo:zin. o:quichtacamicti. Auh zan i:c o:míc, o:calac i:tech i:n tlahtohca:yo:tl in i:piltzín Ma:xi:xcatzín. In i:cuac in o:hua:lahcico in teya:o:yaca:nqui Dⁿ Hernando Cortez Marques. O:quimocelili intla: nel to:quiliztli

quintlazotlac, quinpale:hui: in Caxtilteca, cayuh mahcicapohua i:-tech ini:n tlaucuiloli tlahtohca:yo:tl Tlaxcallan. Zan i:c o:pe:uh o:mocececanxelo ini:n tlahtohca:yo:tl. In ce:pan in o:me i:cnimeh mocececanxelo ini:n tlahtohca:yo:tl. Yuh i:tech o:-ahcico Ma:xi:xcatzín. Cayuhti quito:-qui i:pampa cequi:nti:n quihtoa ahmo pí:piltin i:tech po:uhqueh, cah nel nelli cemihcac yiechtli eztlí. I:tech o:hua:lquizqueh cah mochi:nti:n ce:tlacamecayo:tl. Ini:c tocontzonqui:-xtizqueh. Ini:c o:panoc tlahtohca:yo:-tl Ocotelolco. Mihtoa ca zan i:c o:míc, i:chtaca in i:tlahtohca:uh Acatentehua, o:mocauhqueh omemeh i: pilhuan tzocotetzitín, i:hua:n i:ncihua:meh o:quimizcaltíaya, o:-quinpale:—hui:queh quinmaquix-tiqueh o:quinque:ntiqueh huipili cueztlitatapatiqueh. Niman quiahuac o:quimizcaltito netolinilizpan tla-xí-lacalpan i:c quinpale:hui:tinequeh in pipiltzítzín,. Ca in ihcua:c o:quipo-

that it was not possible, he desired to see himself made ruler. He did not pay attention to these nobles. And as his power was greater, he was able to shut their mouths. And thus he entered himself into the rulership. He enjoyed it in peace for many years. And having died, his son named Xipincoltzintliitizcatl succeeded him. And this one also died, and Atlāpaltzintzín Huitlitzcatl succeeded in his rulership. But he lived just a short time, because his brother named Tlepapalotzín killed him. And having died, his son Maxixcatzín succeeded him in dominion. Then Don Hernando Cortés Marqués arrived. Toquiliztli-

Quintlazotlac drew near, approaching him, and he received and helped the Castilians, as we have recounted elsewhere in these writings about the rulership of Tlaxcala. After that he began to divide this rulership. Together the two brothers divided the rulership. Thus Maxixcatzín came next. Unlike many accounts in which it is said that they were not nobles, in this one they recount that indeed it is true, that they were always of good blood. In it, they came out indeed from one lineage. Thus they withdrew. Thus they went over to the rulership of Ocotelulco. It is said that after his sovereign Acatentehua died, he left two small sons, and their women dressed them in dresses to help them escape. Then they took them to be reared among the poor, in isolated places, so the boys would be safe. Indeed, when they lost their father, it was already said that they were still very young.

que inínta tzín yeo mí to, huel hoc
te pí tzi tzín auh amo o quí mat que
manel no amo quí nel to ca ía o quí
píaía hoc ce Y ta tzín Y nan tzín, Zan
yoca Y no quí míz cal tí que Zaníc
O huéy ata que Y e quez quí xíuh
tíca mo ta, ya ín tlan⁶⁷³ tla le que, ma
ce hual tín, â mo o Cual ne mía ýna
huac cay ca íntla to ca éz tlí o quí ne
quía— Cual Cà yeliz⁶⁷⁴ tli, a mo te quí
tl⁶⁷⁵ yxtla hua ca y co quin tê te quiuh
ti a í a Ynín nan huan quí míz ca l

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tíaya , o quin tla tla u htî que quin
huicazquía huey- Altepepan, canpa.
qui tazquía, qui chihuazquía yao
quíza liztlí, no ce y ntlá I nín âmo
y ntlane qui li z mao qui nhuicaní
ychan acâ; Pillí - Canin O qui tequí
panoz quia; Yca huey môca yotl quin
hui ca que ynic amo oyx machoz
quía Cani ma n qui n míc tizquía , o
quin tlaca mat que oquin huicaque
Ychan ce Pilli Ytoca Tozco pi lli, ynic
tlaocox Yntechpa, oquin celli, inic
Zatepanian qui mat Ynpilhuan, Yn
teuc Tlatoaní, cao qui n palehuica
Ynin Nan huan, cenca quin mo
cui tlahuí, quin mo mahuiztí lí lí ,
manele ahuelit, o q ui ncuep-ytech
yn tlâtocayotl, onpa quintlalí, .oquin
yecchiuh ynic quin mamacazquía,
ce qui Ynin Tlalpillo, manel yhui ce
mí cac omo cauh, teuctli-tlatoaní
yntlaCo mihuatzin, ynín o mo Pipil
tin Mazo Y hui y Pilhuan yn teuctlí,
Yma cehual huan o mochiuhque y ni
n tla huele yníc atley in hue li ti liz o
qui pí xque Ynic

Recto, Ms. Folio 27

Yaoyotl oqui macazquía: y ni n ne
tlalil. tla Toca yotl Catqui Tlai xco

queh in i:ntahtzin, ye o:mito, huel oc
tepititzin. Auh ahmo o:quimatqueh
ma: nel no ahmo quineltoacaia
o:quipoaia. Occe: i:tahtzin, i:na:-
ntzin, zanyoca in o:quimizcaltiqueh.
Zan i:c o:hueiyataqueh, ye que:zqui
xiuhtica motaya in i:ntlantla:lequeh
ma:ce:hualtin. Ahmo o:cualnemía
in na:huac ca i:ca i:ntlahtoca:etzli
o:quinequia. Cual ca yeliztli, ahmo
tequitl ixtla:huaca i:c o:quintetequi-
uhtia:ia in i:nna:nhua:n quimizcal-

tiaya. O:quintla:tlauhtiqueh quin-
hui:cazquia huei a:ltepe:pan ca:mpa
quitzazquia, quichi:huazquia ya:o:-
quizalitzli, noceh yntla ini:n ahmo
i:ntlanequiliz ma o:quinhui:cani
i:chan acah pilli canin o:quitequi-
panozquia. I:ca hue:i mocayo:tl
quinhui:caqueh ini:c ahmo o:i:-
xmachozquia ca: niman quinmic-
tizquia, o:quintla:camatqueh, o:quin-
hui:caqueh i:chan ce: pilli i:toca Toz-
copilli. Ini:c tlaocox, i:ntechpa
o:quinceli. Ini:c za:te:panian quimat
in pilhua:n in te:uctlahtoa:ni, ca
o:quinpalehuica in i:nnanahuan.
Cenca oquinmocuitlahui, quin-
momahuiztilili, ma:nel eh ahueliz,
o:quincuep i:tech in tlahtohca:yo:tl.
O:mpa quintla:li, o:quianyecchi:uh
ini:c quinmamacazquia cequi in i:-
ntla:lpillo, ma:nel ihui cemihcac
o:mocauh, te:uctlitlahtoa:ni, in
Tlaco:mihuatzin. Ini:n o:me pi:piltin,
mazo ihui i:pilhuan in te:uctli, i:ma:-
cehualhua:n o:mochi:uhqueh ini:n
tlahue:leh, inic ahtleh in hueliti:tiliz
o:quixqueh ini:c

ya:o:yo:tl. O:quimacazquia: in
i:nnetla:liltlahtohca:yo:tl catqui

And even though they did not know
their father—already it was said that
another one was their father, and his
mother who raised them. When they
were older, already for many years
they were seen as their field workers.
They did not live well, because their
royal blood wanted to take them
out of the work fields to which their
mothers who had reared them had
entrust-

ed them. They implored them that
they might be taken to the great city,
where they might see and might do
the learning of war. Or, if not this,
then their desire was to be taken
to the home of some noble, where
they might serve him. Although they
were greatly afraid that if they took
them that they might be discovered,
and then they might be killed, they
heeded them, and they brought
them to the home of a noble named
Tozcopilli. Thus it was that he had
compassion and admitted them.
Afterwards he knew that they were
the sons of the lord ruler, and their
mothers that had rescued them. He
invited them to many feasts, and was
adored by them, although he could
not return them to their place in
the rulership. He settled them there
and arranged it so that they would
be given some of their noble lands,
which were on the slopes of the
mountain. Thus, although he always
remained lord ruler, Tlacomihua.
These two boys, although they were
sons of the lord, had become the vas-
sals of this tyrant, because they were
not able to wage

war against him. He would give
them their seat of rulership, which

tepepan tlazocāAltepe pan y ni c
motta tlaçpan huic, nican ý huel miec
tl, ocatcayaia . Y nicuac ni can o hual-
laque Yn tlax caltecā, nican mito hua
ocatcayaia cehuey ti an qui ztlí .ycan-
pa omo nemacaya mīec ne papan :
cualoni, xochitl, chalchi huitl; yna
xcan yeoc çe can tla lapechco oquí
cuaní que, caqui Ye hual hui toque
miec tlazotli caltín, y techceme ynque
oqui tlalique ý Theo pi xque Francis-
ca nos Ynin teo cal ,achtopahuíc, yei
xi u htica Zatepan. oquimanque Yn
monasterio; nonícan oquicellí-
yni⁶⁷⁶ theopixca tlatoca tequiuh
ynachtopa obispo Dⁿ Julian Garces.
Ytocayocan Sta Maria Concepcion

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tlai:xco tlazohca:na:ltepe:pan, ini:c
motta tla:cpanhui:c nican in huel
miectl o:catcayaia in ihcua:c nican
o:hua:llaqueh in Tlaxcalte:cah nican.
Mihtoa o:catcayaia ce: hue:i tian-
quiztli in campa o:monemacaya
miec nepa:pan cualoni, xo:chitl,
chalchihuitl. In a:xcan ye oc cecca:n
tla:lapechco o:quicuaniqueh, caqui
ye hua:lhuitoqueh miec tlazontli cal-
tin, i:tech ce:meh i:nqueh o:quitla:-
liqueh in teo:pixqueh Franciscanos
in i:nteo:cal, achtopahui:c. Ye:i
xiuhtica za:te:pan, o:quimanqueh
in monasterio. No: nica:n o:quicelli
in i:teo:pixca tlahtohca:, tequiuh in
achtopa, Obispo Dⁿ Julian Garces.
I:to:ca:yocan S^{ta} Maria Concepcion.

was at an attractive city situated on
the slope of a mountain, so that it
was visible from the side here from
afar when the Tlaxcalteca came here.
It is said that it had been a great
market, where many different car-
nivorous animals, flowers, and pre-
cious stones were exchanged. Now
they have moved it to a place of flat
land, so it is already still surrounded
by lovely houses, and one of them
that is situated at it is the church of
the Franciscan friars who came here
first. Three years afterwards, they
moved to the monastery. Also, it
was here that they received its ruling
priest, the very first bishop, Fray Ju-
lián Garcés.⁶⁷⁸ The name of the place
is [now] Santa María Concepción.⁶⁷⁹



Yníc X. Capítulo⁶⁸⁰

*nican moténehua, yníc oyata Ynítla-
toca hicpal. Tepetic pac, Za tepanían,
O qui xelo yn Colhuacateuc tli- y
nahuac Ynitéy cauh tey oh ual mín-
qui;*——⁶⁸¹

Verso, Ms. Folio 27

Zaníc oquícelo⁶⁸² yntlatocayotl .
yncolhua Catheuctlí, ynahuac y nì
tey cauh tey ohual mínquí, onpa
omocahu tlapahuic texcaltic pac,
achtopaian ôqui pepenca, oquima-
ceuh ti catcay ca miec paquiliztli,
ynic oque cenca huey ini tlamemel,
ytech yntequitl, quezqui- xihuitl
yeopanoc. yníuh⁶⁸³ omitô , Zatepan-
ian omíc, mahuizauhtica otococ,
Ynic oqui ma ceuh yni tlatocayo cey
Piltzin Yto ca Texcalli y⁶⁸⁴ huehue
auh ypanpa amo omítoynitlachi-
hual amo no ni can ti c tenehua; yuh
míto a zazaníoca ynyeomíc oquicauh
ceypil-tzin Ytoca Pantzín Teuctlí.,
auh ynín zan nico mic otlatocatic
ce yPiltzin o motaca yoti Cocôtzín .
Zanico mo miquili ynín Pilli- otlat-
ocatic ý ni Piltzin Teyztlacua Tz i
n Niman o tla tocatc, Omeacatzin
, yni n amo ohuecauh ypan tla
tocayotl , huel mo-Zomâquí ocatca,
caaycopacticat ca cemicac

Ini:c X Capítulo

*Nican mote:ne:hua ini:c o:yata in
i:tlahtohca:icpal tepe:ticpac, za:te:pan-
ian, o:quixelo in Colhuacate:uctli i:-
na:hua in i:teycauh Teyohua:lmin-
qui.*

Zan i:c o:quicelo in tlahtohca:yo:tl.
In Colhuacate:uctli, i:na:hua in
i:teycauh Teyohua:lminqui, o:mpa
o:mocauh tlapahui:c Texcalticpac,
achtopaian o:quiehpencia. O:quim-
ma:ce:uhticatca i:ca miec paquiliztli.
Ini:c o:quecenca huei in i:tlamemel,
i:tech in tequitl, quezqui xihuitl ye
o:panoc in iuh o:mitoh. Za:te:panian
o:mic, mahuizauhtica o:to:coc. Ini:c
o:quima:ce:uh in i:tlahtohca:yo: ce:
i:piltzin i:to:ca Texcallihuehue. Auh
i:pampa ahmo o:mito in i:tlachihua:
l ahmo no nican tictenehua. Iuh
mihtoa za:zanyoca in ye o:mic,
o:quicauh ce: i:piltzin i:to:ca: Pan-
tzinte:uctli, auh ini:nýzannic o:mic.
O:tlahtohca:tic ce: i:piltzin o:mota-
cayo:ti Cocohtzin. Zan i:c o:mo-
miquili ini:n pilli, o:tlahtohca:tic in
i:piltzin Teitztlacuatzin. Niman
o:tlahto:ca:tic Omeacatzin. Ini:n
ahmo o:huecau i:pan tlahtohca:yo:tl,
huel mozomahqui o:catca, ca aic
o:pacticatca cemihcac

Chapter 10

*Here it is mentioned how Culhuaca-
teuctli went to the throne of Tepet-
icpac, and afterwards divided the
region with his brother Teyohualmin-
qui.*

After he received the rulership,
Culhuacateuctli divided the region
with his younger brother Teyo-
hualminqui. He retained the high
part, Texcalticpac, that he chose
first for himself. He was resting
with much happiness. Thus relax-
ing greatly his burden and his duty,
he already passed some years. So it
was already said. After he died, he
was buried with honor. Thus one
of his sons, named Texcallihuehue,
succeeded him in his government.
And about him his accomplishments
are not told, nor are they mentioned
now. So it is only told that when
he was already dead, a son named
Pantzinteuctli succeeded him, and
when this one died, a son of his
who was called Cocohtzin. After this
noble died, his son Teitztlacuatzin
ruled. Then Omeacatzin ruled. This
one did not live long in the govern-
ment, because he was a very bellicose
man, who was only happy always

Recto, Ms. Folio 28

Yaoyotl quilnamictinenca onpa
oyaochihuale Ynahuac yn Mexicatl
tepanecatl.⁶⁸⁵ onpa omi quito y ehua
tl y huan mochí y nimacehu-al-
huan, Zanicomí Ocalac ytech yn tla
tocayotl Çeypiltzin ytoca Tlehue xo
lotzín ynic Omey toca tlacazzcali⁶⁸⁶
teuctlí, auh ynYe tlatocaitía.⁶⁸⁷ nahuy
x iuhtica, omocalaqui⁶⁸⁸ nican Tlax-
calan⁶⁸⁹ Yn Cappitan DñHernando⁶⁹⁰
Cortes- ynicuac omo tlan ynín tla lli,
ynic ohualtzintic ono mo teneuh ,
oco telo lco, texcalticpac———

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ya:o:yo:tl. Quilna:mictinenca o:mpa
o:ya:o:chihua:le i:na:huac in Mexi-
hcahtle Tepane:catl o:mpa o:miquito
yehua:tl i:hua:n mochi in i:ma:cehu-
alhua:n. Zan i:c o:mic, o:calac i:tech
in tlahtohca:yo:tl ce: i:piltzin i:to:ca:
Tlehuexolotzin ini:c o:me i:to:ca:
Tlacazcaliteuctli. Auh in ye tlah-
toca:tia na:hui xiuhtica, o:mocala-
qui nican Tlaxcalan in Capitan Dñ
Hernando Cortez ini:cuac o:motlan
ini:n tla:lli. Ini:c o:hua:ltzintic
o:nomoteneuh Ocotelolco

at war. He went out to contend, there
to make war in the region of the
Mexica people, where it was he who
died, along with many of his vassals.
After he died, one of his sons named
Tlahuexolotzin, whose second name
was Tlacazcaliteuctli, succeeded him.
When he had ruled for four years,
Captain Don Hernando Cortés
arrived⁶⁹¹ at that time in Tlaxcala,
when this land was conquered. Thus
ended what was said about Ocote-
lulco Texcalticpac.



Ynin⁶⁹³ XI. Capítulo

*nican motenehua ynic ohualpeuy y
tlatocayotl Cuiahuiztlan mo tocyotí,
tlapitzahuacan*

Ynin yeí tlato cayo tl cano nican
Povqui tec pan tla x callan,
omanaloc. O tlali loc. Ynpanpa
ynchichimeca, Pipiltin ohua l mox-
eloque yx-tlahuacan Teòpoyauhtlan.
Ynicuac oquimá que ynin tlatocayo-
tl, ynic nica n ohua lazico ynPopoca

Verso, Ms. Folio 28

tepetl, auh ynin Pipiltin chichimeca,
omo çecan xe lo que. ynic nican
cecapal huíc tezcôco, oncan o mo
tlali co ynahuac yn tepetla⁶⁹⁴ oztoc,
camiec huêhueyntin Oztome oncan
Catcaya inic oncan cochía quez quí
Ylhuitl niman opanoque. Yno hual
nenenquí oazí-Co nican Tecpan
tlaxcalan, auh za nic o qui-taque
ye mo chi tlaca mantoc, yequimo
xe xelhuica, ca ce ce a ca qui piaía,
ynimax ca, o-quimo ma ten namiqui
lique ynteuc tla to-aní Colhuaca-
teuctlí, cuanex, oquimitlani lí- que
quin ma caz tllálí, ytech yní tlatoca
Altepevé auh ni man y nCo⁶⁹⁷ lhuaca
teuctli, o quincelí, pa qui liztica. y nic
Yntech hual quizaia y ni coton ca-

Ini:c XI Capítulo

*Nican mote:ne:hua ini:c o:hua:lpeuh
in tlahtohca:yo:tl Cuiahuiztlan moto:-
ca:yo:tl Tlapitzahuacan.*

Ini:n ye:i tlahtohca:yo:tl ca no: nican
po:uqui te:cpan Tlaxcallan. O:mana-
loc, o:tlalilloc in pampa in Chi:chi-
me:cah, pi:piltin o:hua:lmoxe:loqueh
i:xtlahuacan Teo:pohyauhtlan in
ihcua:c o:quimanqueh ini:n tlahto-
hca:yo:tl, ini:c nican o:hua:lahcico,
in Popoca

tepe:tl. Auh ini:n pi:piltin Chi:chi-
me:cah o:mocecanxeloqueh ini:c
nican cecapalhuic Tezco:co, onca:n
o:motla:lico i:nauhuac in tepe:tloz-
toc, cah miec hue:huei:ntin oztomeh
onca:n catcaya. Ini:c onca:n cochia
que:zqui i:lhuitl niman o:panoqueh,
in o:hua:lnenenquil o:ahcico nican
tecpan Tlaxcalan. Auh zan i:c o:quit-
aqueh ye mochi tla:ca mantoc, ye
quimexexelhuica, ca ceceaca quipi-
yaya in ima:x, cah o:quimomatenna:-
miquiliqueh in te:uctlahto:ni Col-
huacate:uctli Cuanex. O:quimitlani-
liqueh quinmacaz tla:lli i:tech in
i:tlahthca: a:lpe:uh, auh niman in
Colhuacate:uctli o:quinceli paquil-
iztica. Ini:c i:tech hua:lqui:zaia

Chapter 11

*Here is mentioned how they founded
here the rulership of Quiahuiztlan,
that was also called Tlapitzahuacan.*

This third rulership was also here in
the high palace of Tlaxcala. It was
established and settled there by the
Chichimec nobles, who scattered
themselves here from the flatland
of Teopoyauhtlan when they who
founded this rulership arrived here,
as it is said, going around Popoca-

tepetl. And these Chichimec nobles
separated themselves, coming here
by way of Tetzco, where they settled
near Tepetlaoztoc, where there were
many great caves there. Thus they
slept there for many days, then they
went on and migrated here, where
they arrived at the heights of Tlax-
cala. And they just saw that already
many people occupied it and were
already populating it, so that each
one guarded his part,⁶⁹⁵ because they
had been confronted by the lord
ruler Culhuacateuctli Cuanex.⁶⁹⁶
They requested that he give them
land next to his governing city,
and then Colhuacateuctli Cuanex
received them peacefully. Thus he

huan, ytlaca mecaío, quince li li ynín
tlaytla nílíz yhuan quin macac yeían
tli y huan tla líl, hic altepe manazque
, caZan niman yuhquichihque. yníc
qui maxca ti que ynín Tlalli yeiantli,
Auh ynachtopa⁶⁹⁸

Recto, Ms. Folio 29

otehuctíc. Ytoca Mizquítzin, ye-
huatl yn oquin hual yacan, oqui n
manaco, auh Zani comic, o-teuc tíc
Tímalteuctlí, zani co mic yntimal
teuc tli, o calac Ytic yntlatocayotl .
Tozco Yo-huateuctlí; ni man qui ca n
tocan Cuatzín⁶⁹⁹ teuctlí, niman o tla-
tocati c Cuetzalxiuhtzin Zani co mic
ynín Tlatoaní yaoyotl, coco-lí mehua
tíquez . y ntlán yni nTlatocayotl
caceceaca, cecenpi piltin qui ne
quia tlatocatiz ynic ayc opactí catca,
omo y olcehui toya, y nic cen mayan
mochi n tin o mo xi xico taque
Zatepanian omo centlalique⁷⁰⁰ o
quipepenque ze Pilli y toca Zacatzín ,
huale huaya y tech yntlátocayotl ôco
telo lco. Pili catca y tech ce tla xila-
calli mo tocyotíaiá, Contlantzínco,
auh ynín Zacatzin, ynínantzin opo-
huiaytech Yn Tlatocayotl quiahuízt-
lan ca y ci huauh catca cepilli, y tech
po hui a ý contlantzínco, amo oquí
malhui que Yn Zacatzin, inic qui ta
yà moyolno no tzaia, yntlen co nil
namiquia

Verso, Ms. Folio 29

ytech y nin tlá tocyotl; hualaque y
huan o-qui mo hui qui li q ue yca
quin mo Cuí tla Huíz quia , auh yn
Zacatzin oquicelli Yn tlátôca tequi
tl ynoquic. ynico mo ce ti li taque
yntlanequilizcopa, omexiuh⁷⁰¹ca o tla
totic Auh ZaníCo míc Y yactzin
theoâtheuctlí, ca amo ohuecauh
ytech ynín tla to cay otl auh Za-

in i:c o:toncahuan, i:tlacamecayo:
Quincelili in i:ntlai:tlániliz i:hua:n
quinmacac yeya:ntli i:hua:n tla:lli, i:c
a:ltepe:manazqueh, cazan niman iuh
quichi:uhqueh. Ini:c quimaxcatiqueh
ini:n tla:lli yeya:ntli, auh in achtopa

o:te:uctic i:to:ca: Mizquitzin. Yehua:tl
in o:quinhua:lyacan, o:quinmanaco.
Auh zan i:c o:mic, o:te:uctic Timalte:-
uctli. Zan i:c o:mic in Timalte:uctli,
o:calacytic in tlahtohca:yo:tl Toz-
coyohuate:uctli. Niman quicantocan
Cuatzinte:uctli. Niman o:tlahtohca:-
tic Cuetzalxiuhtzin. Zan i:c o:mic,
ini:n tlahtoa:ni ya:o:yo:tl, cocolime-
huatiquiz i:ntlan ini:n tlahtohca:-
yo:tl caceceaca, ce:cen pi:piltin
quinequia tlahtohca:tiz. Ini:c ayc o:-
pacticatca, o:moyo:lce:huitoya. Ini:c
cenmanya:n mochi:nti:n o:moxixi:-
cotaqueh. O:quipehpenqueh ce pilli
i:to:ca: Zacatzin, hua:lehuaya i:tech
in tlahtohca:yo:tl Ocotelolco. Pilli
catca i:tech ce: tlaxilacalli moto:ca:-
yo:tiaya Contlantzínco. Auh ini:n
Zacatzin in i:na:ntzin o:tsohui:a
i:tech in tlahtohca:yo:tl. Quiahuízt-
lan, cah i:cihua:uh catca ce: pilli
i:tech pohuia in Contlantzínco.
Ahmo o:quimalhuiqui in Zacatzin.
Ini:c qui:ttaya, moyo:lnohno:tzaia in
tlein conilna:miquia

i:tech ini:n tlahtohca:yo:tl; hua:-
laqueh i:hua:n o:quimohuiquiliqueh
i:ca quinmocuitlahuizquia, auh in
Zacatzin o:quicelli in tlahtohca:-
tequitl in o:qui:c ini:c o:moce:-
tilitaqueh in tlanequilizcopa. O:me
xiuhtica o:tlahtohca:tic auh zan i:c
o:mic i:yactzinteo:ahte:li cah ahmo
o:huecauh i:tech ini:n tlahtohca:yo:tl.

came out to them as his kinsmen
and his lineage. Receiving their peti-
tion, and giving them a new place
and lands where they could settle
towns, so that they just did so then.
Thus they recognized this new land
as theirs, and the first

who ruled was named Mizquitzin.
It was he who led them here and
settled them. And after he died,
Timalteuctli ruled. After Timalteuctli
died, Tozcoyohuateuctli entered
the rulership. Then Cuatzinteuctli
followed him. Then Quetzalxiuhtzin
ruled after he died, there was this
war for rulership, and they had
enmity concerning this govern-
ment because each one of the nobles
wanted to rule. Thus they were never
content and calm. Thus all were
perpetually suffering. They elected
a noble named Zacatzin, who came
from the rulership of Ocotelulco.
He was the noble of a district called
Contlantzínco. And this Zacatzin's
mother grew up in the rulership
of Quiahuíztlan, because she was
the wife of a noble who was from
Contlantzínco. But they did not
rear Zacatzin. Thus he watched
and conversed about that which he
remembered

there at this rulership. They came
and took him⁷⁰¹ so he would govern
them, and Zacatzin accepted the
duty of rule as long as they thus were
united in will. He ruled two years,
and when he died, Iyactzinteoah-
teuctli succeeded, who also did not
live long in this rulership. And after
he died, a noble named Citlalpo-

nicomic o teu ctin yn Pili Çitla l
 Popocatzin caye oquitzonquixti Yn
 tla toca yotl ynicuac ocalac, Don
 hernando Cortes= nican tecpan
 Tlaxcalan—

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Auh zan i:c o:mic, o:te:uctin in pilli
 Citlalpopocatzin cah ye o:quitzon-
 qui:xti in tlahtohca:yo:tl in ihcua:c
 o:calac Don Hernando Cortes nican
 te:cpan Tlaxcalan.

pocatzin ruled, so that he finished
 the rulership when Don Hernando
 Cortés entered here at the palace in
 Tlaxcala.



Yníc Xii Capitulo.

*mítoa mo teneña ynic omoman Yntla-
tocayo tl tiza tlan moto cayo tia Xicô
tencatl~~~~~*

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Ini:c XII Capitulo.

*Mihtoa mote:ne:hua ini:c o:moman in
tlahtohca:yo:tl Tizatlan moto:ca:yo:tia
Xi:côtencatl.*

Chapter 12

*It is said, it is recounted, how thus
they expanded the rulership of Tizat-
lan, that was called Xicontencatl.*

*Recto, Ms. Folio 31*⁷⁰⁴

Commencir ' de la Guere de Mexico

Inic pehuaz in yaoyotl in amo quin
mo cati aia in quin yehual hui que
inic quimatia cen huey inin- huelti⁷⁰⁵
liz quihualhuicay a, ica inin nep-
ale hui lo ca- ýnin Coanotzalhual,
tealtepepan ehua auh in macehualtin
omololoque omocetili que ca çenca
miec ca in tetepe oquíque. miâ ihuan
inixtlahuamé; icampa opanohuaya
in atentli atl quitlamiay ini c oconíâ;
in ohualne nentoaya, omoxexeloay
cequintin- intlahuacan⁷⁰⁶ in occe-
quintin⁷⁰⁷ tetepepan Xolothepan, ca
axcan motene hua, Totolâ⁷⁰⁸ xinti-
catca in hualpehuaya Cuapanco Sⁿ
Nicolas⁷⁰⁹ Panotlan. hiccen mochi
theotlalpan ihuan Contlantzinco,⁷¹⁰
ça cen quiyahualoque quiquenque
in cuauhtlali ; tetepepan ayocmo
tlein motaya, inicua in nomatica
o hual acico⁷¹¹ inin palehuiloca,⁷¹² ý
Mexicâ⁷¹³ Tepaneca caquinchiaya in
Huexo tzínca ; auh zani c otlapizque

Commencir de la Guerra Mexicana

Ini:c pe:huaz in ya:o:yo:tl. In ahmo:
quinmocatitiaya in quin ye: hual-
huiqueh. Ini:c quimatia cen hue:i
in i:nhuelitiliz quihua:lhui:caya i:ca
in i:nnepale:hui:loca. In i:nconno:-
tzalhua:l tea:ltepe:pan. E:huan auh in
ma:ce:hualtin o:moloqueh. O:mocet-
tiliqueh, ca cenca miec. Ca in te:tepe
o:quique:mian i:hua:n in ixtila:hua-
meh in ca:mpa o:panohuaya. In a:-
te:ntli a:tl quitlamiay. Ini:c o:conia:n
in o:hua:lnehnentoaya. O:moxe:xelo-
aya cequi:ntin i:xtla:huacan inoc ce-
qui:ntin te:tepepan Xo:loteo:pan, ca
a:xca:n motenehua To:tolan xinticat-
ca. In hua:lpe:huaya Cuapanco, San
Nicolas Panotlan i:ccen mochi Teo:-
tlalpan i:hua:n Contlantzinco. Za cen
quiyahua:loqueh quiquenqueh, in
cuahutla:lli te:tepepan. ayocmo: tlei:n
motaya. Inihcua:c in nohmahtica o:-
hua:lahcico. Ini:n nepale:hui:loca, in
Me:xihcah Tepane:ca, cah quinchiaya

Beginning of the Mexican War

Thus the battle began. They did
not confer with those they had
brought with them just then. Thus
they thought their wholly great act
would bring their aid. These finished
conferring at the city. They departed,
and the commoners united them-
selves. They united themselves, so
that together they were very many.
Indeed, they crossed the mountains
and they filled the plains there. Thus
they went there, wandering this way.
Some were scattered to the savannas,
others onto the mountains of Xolo-
teopan, that is now called Totolan,
where it is flat. They were beginning
to come to Cuapanco, and San Nico-
lás Panotlan, throughout Teotlalpan
to Contlantzinco. Thus some went
around, covering the forest on the
mountains. Not again was the like
seen. Then they freely came this way.
The Huexotzinca were awaiting the

in Tepaneca yuh quin nahuatica inin
yaotlatocauh , omocecan manque ,
inic yotlecoque⁷¹⁴

Verso, Ms. Folio 31

cuauhtlalpan tlacpanhuic, in campa
moto cayotia- tlamacazcatzínco ,
cuauhtzalan inic amo quinequía,
quin y o cualan iltizque. in Chi-
chimeca, ye oquin - yehual oltzacá;
auh yn ye oin malitic⁷¹⁵ in yaoy-
otl. oquiquiztique in Huexotzinca
ihuan inin Coanotzalhuan ica huey
tlahuelli , tzatziliztlí cenmantih,
oquin hual namique in chichimeca
ica mochi⁷¹⁶ _ tlaixco ———⁷¹⁷
quintlecoltique , auh in Chichimeca
ica mochi inin tlápaltiliz in achtopa
omonamique , oquitizquique⁷¹⁸
ceme in iyaohuan,⁷¹⁹ ihuan quici-
uhca hui ca que ——— quihuen
manilitô inin theoŷ. Camaxtle ,
zazan niman quihualelchiquih⁷²⁰
tlapôque quiquixtilique inin⁷²¹ yollo
quihuenmanilique ini tlahuelliloca ,
——— tlatelchihual theoŷ⁷²², niman
oquixipeuhque. ihuan ——— ceme
yehuantin oquimoquenti. inin
icuetlaxo, omolpi ica inicuitlaxco l ;
tlalpan quihuihuí lantih inicxihua,
in imahuan , omixpantí huentializ-
tica. ynitlahueliloca theŷ . omecuep
xípe , cayuh quin ———⁷²³

Recto, Ms. Folio 32

Yahualotaque⁷²⁴ yn Popocatepetl,
ohual ——— tlacamantaque ô alte-
petlalique , inic quin cauhtaque Pipi-
ltin , oquin mo cuìtlahuìzquía, omo
cauhtiquizaco Chololan⁷²⁵ miequin-
tin ——— macehualtin , Pipiltin ,
momahuiztiliaya . inic ye huecaùtica
ompa catcayaia ; zanicopanoc in
——— yaoyotl oquil namique in
Huexotzinca , ihuan inin Chololteca
inic cen mochintin , in o meuhca, in

in Huexo:tzincan; auh zan i:c ot-
lapizqueh in Tepane:ca, iuhquin na:-
huatica in i:nya:o:tlahthca:uh. O:-
mocecanmanqueh. Inic: yotlecoqueh

cuauhtla:lpán, tlacpanhui:c in ca:mpa
moto:ca:yo:tia Tlamacazcatzinco
Cuauhtzalan, ini:c ahmo: quinequia
quinyocualaniltizqueh in Chi:chi:-
me:cah. Ye o:quinyehua:loltzacán.
Auh in ye o:inma:litic in ya:o:yo:tl,
o:quiquiztiqueh in Huexo:tzinca:n
i:huan in i:ncoanotzalhuan i:ca hue:i
tlahuelli, tzahtziliztli cenmantih,
o:quinhua:lnamiqueh in Chi:chi:-
me:cah. Tlaixco quintlecoltiqueh,
auh in Chi:chi:me:cah i:ca mochi in
i:ntlanpaltiliz in achtopa o:mon-
amiqueh. O:quitzi:tzquiqueh ce:meh
in i:ya:o:huan. i:hua:n quiciuhca
hui:caqueh quihuenmanilitoh in
i:nteo:ton, Camaxtle. Zazan niman
quihua:le:lchiquih tlapoqueh.
Quiquixtiliqueh in i:yo:llo:. Qui-
huenmaniliqueh in i:ntlahue:li:lo:ca:-
tlatelchi:hual teo:uh. Niman o:quixi-
peuhqueh i:hua:n ce:meh yehua:ntin
o:quimoque:nti ini:n i:cuetlaxo:.
O:molpi i:ca in i:cuitlaxcol, tla:lpán
quihuyhuilantih in i:cxihuan, in
i:mahuan. O:mi:xpanti huentializtica
in i:tlahuellilocateo:uh. O:mocuep
Xipe. Ca iuhquin

yahua:lotaqueh in Popocatepetl,
o:hua:ltlamacantaqueh o:a:ltepe:tl:-
liqueh. Inic: quinca:uhtaqueh pi:pil-
tin, o:quinmocuìtlahuìzquía. O:mo-
cauhtiquizaco Cholo:la:n miequintin
ma:ce:hualtin, pi:piltin. Momahuiz-
tiliaya. Inic: ye huehca:uhtica o:mpa
catcayaia. Zan i:c o:panoc, in ya:o:-
yo:tl o:quilnamiqueh. In Huexo:-
tzinca i:hua:n ini:n Chololteca ini:c
cen mochintin, in o:me:uhca i:ntech

aid of the Tepanecan Mexica; and after
the Tepaneca undertook this, they
sent their commanders of war and
they assembled themselves together.
Thus they ascended

the forests towards the front, in the
place named Tlamacazcatzinco Cu-
auhtzalan, because they did not want
to alert the Chichimeca. Already, at
the beginning of the war, they drove
off the Huexotzinca and their allies
with great fury and shouting. They
spread out and engaged the Chi-
chimeca. They ascended the slope,
and the Chichimeca with all their
allies were met first. They captured
one of his warriors, and they imme-
diately went together and made an
offering to their god, Camaxtli. Then
right away they eagerly cut open his
chest here. They removed his heart.
They offered it to their malicious,
cursed god. Then they flayed him,
and they dressed one of them in this
one's skin. He draped himself with
his intestines, and he went along
dragging his feet and his hands on
the ground. He presented himself as
an offering to his villainous god. He
was transformed into Xipe. It was in
this manner that

they came around Popocatepetl, and
they came dividing up the land and
settling cities. Thus nobles relin-
quished them, so that he would take
care of them. He himself left many
vassals and nobles at Cholollan. He
was respected. Thus already he was
old there. After they had crossed
over, they remembered the war. The
Huexotzinca and these Chololtecas,
thus all together, emigrated to next

tech copa huic in Tlaxcalteca , auh zanic omo centlalique nequilzcepan catca , ~~auh-zanic~~⁷²⁶ ye o quil cauhca in î necoco lapanoc ; cequentin inin tlaca quilnamiquepan ozquia ipan altepetl Tlaxcalan , inic ompa ocatca inin huayol que, ceme inin que hualaque—— Cholan itoca catca Theuctotolim ; ca huey Pilli , cuali eztli , in itech hual quiz ca , inin omo chanyotica ipan in tlaxilacalli⁷²⁷ , cuiltiz co , inic oncan omocnomat ica —— ini tlanequi litzin in Teuctli , Acatentehua, tlatoani Ocotelolco, Zatepanian ye panotiuah cahuitl ; ye motlacuah .—— chi cauhtiu. inic quim ahuitziliaya , Za nicomotac—— yuhquin quinequia quine:xtiliz in ma:ce:hual tin——

Verso, Ms. Folio 32

ca itech opohuia in tlatoayotl mazoihui aia⁷²⁸ quimo catiaya, ipampa atley in —— ihueliliz ic quimaxcatiz quia, quinequia canaz in tequitl cemi cac oquitlaca matta in tlatoani catca in oquic oquin-yocuitia⁷²⁹ mochi tlacatl, inic azo qui en manian hueliliz mo Yollehuaz , ica inin itlatlanequiliz omic in Teuctotolim⁷³⁰ itoca Axochhua —— memeloc , ca inin amehuecauh⁷³¹ onen ; oquicauhtehuac —— quimocuitla huy yn ichanyo oquimacehu in iPiltzin tlacomihua auh zan quezqui xiuhtica ye quim o cui tla huitica⁷³² initlaxilacal , amo ic opac , ic yepiltic ica in itlallecahuan in iocol, itatzin, oqui cahui lit aque, ca zan niman oquilnamic itic in iyollo , in tlen achto palhuic⁷³³ oquilnamictinenca in iocol catca , Teuctotolim , inic oquinec Teuctiz. ipan mochi in tlatoa —— Pilotl Tlaxcalan tlapan , inic ye opeuhquin tlatoa —— maca ti huetz, inana-⁷³⁴

copauic in Tlaxcalte:cah. Auh zan i:c o:mocentla:liqueh, nequiliz ce:pan catca. Ye o:quilca:uhca in i:nnecoco:l o:panoc cequi:ntin in i:n tla:ca quilnamiqueh panozquia i:pan a:ltepe:tl Tlaxcalan. Ini:c o:mpa o:catca ini:n huayo:lqueh. Ce:meh ini:nqueh hua:laqueh Cholan i:to:ca: catca Theuctotolim, cah hue:i pilli, cualli eztli. In i:tech hua:lquizca. Ini:n o:mocha:nyo:tico i:pan in i:tlaxilacal, Cuitlitzco. Ini:c onca:n o:mocnomat i:ca in i:tlanequilitzin in te:uctli, Acatentehua, tlahto:ni Ocotelolco. Za:te:panian ye, panotiuah ca:huitl. Ye motlacua:h chiauhtiu. Ini:c quimahuiztiliaya. Zan i:c o:mottac iuhquin quinequia quin nextiliz yn mace hual tin ——

cah i:tech o:po:huia in tlahto:ca:yo:-tl, ma:zoihui aya:c quimocatiaya i:pampa ahtleh in i:hueliliz i:c quima:xca:tizquia. Quinequia canaz in tequitl cemihcac. O:quitla:camatta in tlahto:ni catca in o:qui:c o:quinyocuitaya mochi tla:catl. Ini:c ahzo que:nmaniya:n huelitz moyo:-lle:hua:z i:ca ini:n i:tlatlanequiliz. O:-mic in Teuctotolim, [o:quicauh i:tic in i:cha:nyo:, in i:callo ce: i:piltzin] i:to:ca: Axochhuamemeloc, cah ini:n ahmo: huecauh o:nen. O:quica:-uhtehuac quimocuitlahui in i:cha:-nyo:. O:quima:ce:uh in i:piltzin Tla:co:mihua. Auh zan que:zqui xiuhtica ye quimocuitlahuitic ca in i:tlaxilacal, ahmo: i:c o:pa:c, i:c yeh piltic i:ca in i:tlale:cahuan, in i:co:col, i:tahtzin o:quicahuilitaqueh, cah zan niman o:quilnamic itic in i:yo:llo, in tlein achtopahui:c o:quilnami:ctinenca in i:co:col catca. Teuctotolim, ini:c o:quinec teuctiz i:pan mochi in tlahto:ca:pillo:tl Tlaxcalan tla:lpán. Ini:c ye he was beginning to advise

to the Tlaxcalteca, and after they gathered themselves together, they wanted to be together. Already they forgot their anger. They crossed over. Some of these men thought to go over to the city of Tlaxcala. Thus they were there. One of these who came was a Cholan called Teuctotolin, who was a great noble of good blood. Next to it, they were coming this way, these who resided in his home in the district of Cuitlitzco. Thus there they submitted themselves to the will of the ruler Acatentehua, king of Ocotelulco. Afterwards, time passed. Already he himself was strong, and lived to old age. Thus he was honored. He was only seen as wanting to appear before the vassals

who belonged to the rulership. Even though no one at any time was satisfied, in nothing thereby would he give authority. He wanted to seize their tribute forever. All men obeyed the king as long as he lived. Thus perhaps some day he would be able to enjoy himself with this wealth. When Teuctotolin died, he left his home and his residence to a noble whose name was Axochhuamemeloc, but this one did not live long. He made his will and took care of himself. He gave his home to his son Tlacomihua. And for however many years he had already been taking care of his district, still he was not happy by his being a noble, because of what his landsmen, his grandfathers, and his fathers had left him—he remembered what at first his grandfather had gone along intending. Teuctotolin thus appeared to rule over all the royal nobility at the land of Tlaxcala. Thus already he was beginning to advise,

Recto, Ms. Folio 33

quintocayotiaía⁷³⁵ in omo cuetlax-
quentiaya in oquic ye ——— quip-
itzaya , quitzonaya . in teponaztli
ihuan cololí ; ——— cuauh coyolin
, ihuan ho ccequine yaotlatquiltl ica
miec . tzatziliztli , tlahuelecayotica ca
yûh, ocelomê , mimiztîn . ômo cepan
xícoayâ , in aquin huel achtopa otlaxi
cozquia , nocecequintin hiempale-
huizquiâ , inic amo xicahuilozquia
yuh qui in omozepan⁷³⁶ tzatzaianaya
, necoc chicahualiztli ihuelitiliztli⁷³⁷
ocaciâ , inin tlhuel oquin comoni-
aya , cequinti icatematl , tetl quit-
lazaya , cequi quenamí ——— poctli
oquitlazaia , mîntlí inic cen mochi
omo netech mimictiaya inimezo
quinoquiaya in yemiqui , ihuan qui-
mixilca ca iníc tlaixco tepetla , ototo-
caya inimezzo . iniuh huetzi ilhuica
c hueyatl , caamo yuh in niqutoa
in quenami omo chiuuh , inicuac zo-
neuhticatca , mo- =huey⁷³⁸ chihticatca
inin yaoyotl , in teopixcayacanqui
quimotlatlauhtiliticcatca , in iztlaca-
teov, inic ——— quimitlanilitoya
tziuCnoliztica,⁷³⁹ ma hiecnalquiza

Verso, Ms. Folio 33

inialtepeuh ; zanic quitlamí init-
laitlaniliz ; oquizqui inahuatiliztica
- inítlahuelilocateoû , imac actiuh in
——— teocaxitl , ica in chichihual
ayotl , ihuan quinyoleuh quimilhui,
ma ixquich in amo yollehuliz in
axcan yaoquizanime ——— Chi-
chimeca , ê , in aic anxiconî , in
aic anyol cuetlaXihuy⁷⁴⁰ macamo
ximomauhtican , caye inmâ inan
tlaxícozque , ipampa in to theoû .
Camaxtle ye totech ic icnoyohua .

quinto:ca:-yo:tiaya, in o:mocuet-
laxque:ntiaya. In oqui:c ye quipitzaia,
quitzonaya in tepona:ztli
i:hua:n cololi, cuauhcoyolin, i:hua:n
oc cequi:ne ya:o:tlatquiltl i:ca miec
tzahtiliztli, tlahue:lehcayo:tica ca
iuh o:celo:meh, mimi:ztin. O:moce:-
panxi:coa:yan in a:quin huel ach-
topa. O:tlaxi:cozquia noceh cequi:-
nti:n yeh mopale:hui:zquian, ini:c
ahmo: xicca:huilozquia. Iuhquiyn
o:moce:pan- tzatzayanaya. Necoc
chica:hua:liztli i:nhueli:tiliztli o:cah-
cia. In i:ntlahue:l o:quincomo:nia:ya.
Cequi:ntin i:ca tematl tetl quitla:-
zaya. Cequi que:namih po:ctli o:quit-
la:zaya mi:ntli. Ini:c cen mochi o:mo-
netech mimictiaya, in i:mezzo:
quino:qui:aya. In ye miqui, i:hua:n
quimihxilca, ca ini:c tlaixco tepe:tla,
o:toto:ca:ya in i:mezzo:. In iuh huetzi
ylhuicac hue:i a:tl. Ca ahmo: iuh ini:n
quihitoa: in que:namih o:mochi:uh,
in ihcua:c zo:ne:uhticatca, mohue:-
ichi:uhticatca ini:n ya:o:yo:tl. In teo:-
pixcayacanqui quimotlatlauhtili-
atia catca, in iztlaca theo:uh. Ini:c
quimihltlanilitoia tziucnoliztica, ma:
ye:cna:lqui:za

i:tlaihtlaniliz, o:qui:zqui i:na:hua-
tiliztica in itlahueliloca teo:uh: I:-
macactiuh in teo:caxitl i:ca in chi-
chi:huala:yo:tl i:hua:n quinyo:le:uh
quimilhuy, “Ma i:xquich in ahmo:
yole:huiliz in a:xca:n, yao:qui:-
zanimih Chi:chi:me:cah. Yeh in ai:c
anxi:coni in aican, yo:lcuetlaxihui.
Ma:camo: ximomauhtican, ca ye in
manin. Antlaxi:cozqueh i:pampa in
toteo:uh Camaxtle. Ye totech i:c
icno:yohuah.” In o:qui:c o:quihitoa:y

he was giving them honor, by mak-
ing their skin a garment. All the
while they played, they beat the lat-
eral log drum and trumpets, wooden
bells, along with other war property,
with much furious shouting, like
coyotes, jaguars, and mountain
lions. Those who were at the very
front were themselves collectively
deceived. They would endure it, or
some of them would be encouraged,
and thus would not be left out. In
this manner he was completely cut
to pieces. On both sides they reached
the fullness of their strength. Their
fury became inflamed. Some threw
down rock with slings. Others shot
down some sort of smoking arrows.
Thus all together they killed each
other, they spilled one another's
blood. Already they died, and it
awakened them, so that thus their
blood ran down the surface at the
bottom of the mountains. It was as
if floods of water were falling from
the sky. This was not as if these said
how it happened to them, when they
were exaggerating and aggrandiz-
ing themselves regarding this war.
The leading priest was petitioning
the villainous god, that they would
completely triumph. Thus he begged
him with great sobbing, that

his city would not be completely
overrun. Just when he ended his
prayer, his villainous god emerged
with his command: the sacred
chalice with the milk would enthrall
and vitalize them. He said, “Do not
be worried at all now, Chichimeca
war leaders. That one never deceives
you at any time, that he withers in
vitality. Be not afraid that they are
already preparing. You will endure
it for the sake of our god Camaxtli.

In oquic oquitoay inin inecentlaliltlatol,⁷⁴¹ oquino qui in chi chihualatl , ipan in oqui moquentitoca in mique==cuetlaxtli⁷⁴², o can qui . niman cemintli , in micniuh ——— yn o mozazalôca nahualotica quimâ, oquitlaz ipan in tiyaohuan⁷⁴³ icuac in oquiquitziquizque in occequi ——— mintli catca teopan, chichahuac motlazâtó , inpan in Huexotzinca miec tlacatl tlalpan quitepehuaya , iníc ——— niman omehuatequetz çe mixayahuitl tliliuhqui ca ahuel in monoma ittaya,

amo omonextiaya , iníc m o cepan⁷⁴⁴ mîmictîqué, in teoyaohuan in amo ma oquimatia acquimictiaya , ipampa ———⁷⁴⁵

ini:n i:necentla:liltlahto:l, o:quino:qui in chi:chi:hua:la:tl i:pan in o:quimoque:ntitoia in miqueh cuetlaxtli. Occa:n quin niman ce: mi:ntli, in micni:uh in o:mozazalocah na:hua:llo:tica. Quiman, o:quitla:z in i:pan in te:ya:o:hua:n. Ihcua:c in o:quiqui:ztiqui:zqueh in oc cequi mi:ntli catca teo:pan. Chichahuac motlazato i:npan in Huexo:tzinca miec tla:catl. Tla:lpan quite:pe:huaya. Ini:c niman o:me:huatequeh ce: mixa:yahuitl tliliuhqui ca ahuel in monohmahit-taia.

Ahmo: o:mone:xtiaya. Ini:c moce:panmihmictiqueh in te:ya:o:hua:n. In ahmo: mah o:quimatia ac quimi:-ctiaya i:pampa

That one is someone compassionate to us.” In addition to this one saying his unifying words, he spilled the breast milk onto the one dressed in the dead one’s skin. Then, in two places, a pursuit arrow and its companion were stuck together with sorcery. He spread them out, he flung them down before the warriors. When they finished making them come out, there were still some arrows before the god. Many men threw themselves down on the Huexotzinca warriors. He scattered them on the land here. Then they raised up a black fog, so that they could not be seen readily.

They were not revealed. Thus, the warriors were killing one another. It was as if they could not even recognize whom they killed there,

NOTES



1. Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 3rd ed. (México, DF: Salvador Chávez Hayhoc, [1615] 1943), book 1, chapter 1, p. 44. Subsequent note references are to book, chapter, and page of this edition, hereafter cited as, e.g., “(1.1.44).”
2. A strip at the top of the first page and a larger section of the top right is missing. The missing strip had some writing at one time, but now only the bottommost portion of perhaps four letters are visible, not enough to determine even what those letters might have been with any confidence. The first readable line actually began *Nícan Pehua ynic 1 Capitulo quenin*, but we have chosen to reproduce *ynic 1 Capitulo* above the rest as a chapter heading. The final two letters of the word *capitulo* and all of *quenin* are missing, due to the lost corner, but can be reconstructed from the context. The indecipherable fragments of a line of writing at the very top of the page may have been an editorial comment in Spanish. A number of later pages have such editorial comments, similarly situated. Spanish editorial comments also appear on a number of pages at the left margin. This page has the following marginal entry: “Concuerda con el Capitulo 4, el libro 1º asta su fin solo en sus cia” (it corresponds with chapter 4 of book 1 up to its ending only in its [meaning unclear]). These entries are in a hand different from that of the scribe, but appear to be of a style that was contemporary with it. A circular library acquisition mark has been stamped over the first three lines of text following the introductory heading. It reads, “BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONAL” clockwise around the top two-thirds of its outer edge and “MANUSCRIT” counterclockwise around the bottom third. The center of the stamp is dominated by large letters, “RF,” for “Republique de France.”
3. This word, which is given in Gerste’s transcription, does not appear on the original document, perhaps because of deterioration of the manuscript since that date. It could have occurred in the upper right of the page, an area which is now missing. Gerste’s transcription appeared in Alfredo Chavero, “Anónimo Mexicano,” *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 7:115–132. Subsequent note references are to this publication.
4. The scribe began with what was probably *ynaz*, although the fourth letter is not decipherable with certainty, then immediately overwrote the final letter with a C, which was written as an uppercase letter simply so that it would more clearly be visible. The ink of the C ran together with the letter it overwrote.
5. The introductory material, which we italicize here, was written in normal script but set off from the body of the chapter by a line composed of what might be described as wavy equal signs.
6. According to Torquemada, “Outwardly, the Toltecs were persons of large body and clever (according to the histories of the Acolhua) and covered in the clothing of a large, white tunic” (1.14.37).
7. The scribe first wrote the z somewhat high, and then continued by using the lower stroke of the letter as the top stroke of another z that was run together with the one above.
8. The scribe first wrote *mítop* and then overwrote the final letter with an *a*.
9. The scribe wrote *tonalco*. The word has been underlined and superscribed as *tonatiuh* (also underlined) in an editorial hand different from that of the original scribe. Similar editorial emendations occur throughout the manuscript, in the same hand and in a style contemporaneous to that of the scribe. They include changes of word choice as well as of spelling, generally added by squiggly underlining of the original word or phrase and the addition of an underlined change, usually in superscript, occasionally in subscript. Entries in this hand will be referred to simply as “editorial”

- entries or as notes by the “editor” in notes that follow this one.
10. The original scribe first wrote *yaoquiza*, then overwrote the final two letters as an *h*, continued with *uaque*, and then inserted *tete* as a superscript.
 11. The dash is merely a line-ending place filler used by the scribe to right-justify the writing.
 12. We have followed Torquemada’s spelling of the name.
 13. No editorial comment or emendation accompanies the underlining by the editor.
 14. The *iz* is not visible due to a tear in the right edge of the paper, although the tail of the *z* is partly present on the page, making the reconstruction secure. The editor inserted the *quiz* above the torn area, indicating the same reconstruction.
 15. The scribe wrote *opehua* and then inserted the final *ia* in superscript, because he had already written the next word too close to allow the insertion of these two final letters on the normal line.
 16. The reconstructed letters have been obliterated by a hole in the manuscript. Only the tail of the *y* and, possibly, the right edge of a tic above the reconstructed *i* is visible. The scribe ended the line with *pohu-* and continued the last two letters *al* on the next line. The editor inserted *tlapohu* immediately before the *al*, and the underlining of the insertion and those two final letters is continuous. The literal reading is “with it they started their first era, their count [of years].”
 17. The noun *cahuatl* means “time, era.” Nahuatl has no term for century. Rather, the Aztec organized their histories into counts of fifty-two years but did not number these sequentially.
 18. The scribe wrote *yequine*. The scribe’s *i* has been underlined, emended by a later editor to *e* (also underlined) in superscript. We take this to be *yequeneh*, “finally, at last, moreover.”
 19. Literally, “sitting themselves down in no place.”
 20. The medial *yo* was inserted later, by the original scribe, as a superscript.
 21. About sixty-four miles east of Tollan.
 22. The recto of folio 1 ends here, with the hyphen which ends a line. The lefthand margin of this page bears the top half of the library’s oval cataloging stamp. Around the edge are the words, “Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris.” Below this in the top half of the center of the stamp is the manuscript number, “no. 254.” The bottom half of the stamp was stamped upside down in the bottom margin of the page. The inscription around the edge reads, “[An]cienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN.” Only part of the second of the first two letters shows on the page and part of the final letter is also missing at the bottom edge.
 23. The top left corner of the page is missing causing this lacuna as well as the next, which begins the second line on this page of the manuscript. The editorial hand inserted *oquizque* above the original word, immediately to the right of the lacuna. This placement suggests that the editor was not contemporary with the scribe, but was working after the damage to the manuscript. This English translation, both here and elsewhere, follows the editorial emendations. The space available would have accommodated *Oncan*. The reconstruction is speculative, but quite likely correct.
 24. The second word is only partly missing, due to the lost top left corner of the page. It is a preterit form, beginning with *o* and ending in *que*. The initial *o* is visible, as is the lower part of the following two characters. The first of these could have been an *a* or, possibly, the lower part of a *u*. The scribe corrected the second letter to an *h* or an *n*. Whatever the original was, the editor emended it to *omiquinique*, but this cannot be correct. An *m* is not possible as the second letter, since the character has only a single hump that ends in an upstroke, indicating either an *h* or an *n*. Of the remaining letters, too little is left to comment on, except that the *q* of the final *que* is partly missing, but enough of the letter is present for its identity to be secure. Here and elsewhere, where missing letters cannot be reconstructed, we indicate the approximate number of letters by the number of periods used as ellipses.
 25. Circa AD 770.
 26. The scribe began with *tl*, then overwrote this with *Y*.
 27. The editor inserted the bar to separate *opeuh* and *tlatocatí*, which had been somewhat run together.
 28. The final *-a* is absent in the manuscript.
 29. The scribe wrote only the name, omitting the rest of the sentence, which we have added to the English (in brackets) for clarity of reading.
 30. The scribe originally wrote this with a single *l*, then overwrote the final *i* as a second *l* and added a new final *i* above the original comma, adding a new comma at the end.
 31. The line ends after *otlanahuy*, and the next line begins *quixtí*. The editor underlined both and added the =

in the left margin before *quixí*, perhaps simply to note that this was a single word.

32. The scribe wrote *cemochintin*, and the editor corrected this by writing *cenmochintin* in superscript.
33. Literally, “thus afterwards all of the lords together accompanied her.”
34. The scribe wrote *quihuia*, then overwrote the *a* as *c* and continued.
35. Literally, “guarding/observing fifty-two years.”
36. All but the left leg of the *m* and all of the *o* are missing, due to a tear on the right edge of the page. The final *me* is on the next line. The reconstruction is certainly correct.
37. Literally, “his high/elevated son.”
38. Literally, “he entered,” which is idiomatic for “beginning to rule.”
39. Torquemada added, “for another name, Topiltzin” (1.14.37), indicating that Tecpancaltzin was also called Topiltzin.
40. The underlining of *no ce* and the beginning of this word is accompanied by no editorial comment.
41. Compare Torquemada: “These Toltecs, it is said, came from the region of the west, and that they were brought by seven lords and captains called Tzacatl, Chalcatzin, Ehecatzin, Cohuatzon, Tzihuac-Cohuatl, Tlapalmetzotzin, and the seventh and last, Metzotzin. (And they brought with them many people, women as well as men, were led with them) and they were exiled from their mother country and nation. And they say of them, that they brought maize, cotton, and other seeds and vegetables, that are in this land; and that they were great artisans who worked gold, and precious stones, and many other curiosities.

“They left their mother country (which was called Huehuetlapalan) in the year that they called One Flint, and they traveled for one hundred and four years wandering through diverse regions of this New World, until they arrived at Tulantzinco where they completed one Cycle that included all the time since they had left their land and mother country. And the first city that they founded was Tollan twelve leagues from this city of Mexico in the northern region, and more than fourteen others at the site of Tolantzinco, but it must not have pleased them even though it is good, and they left the East, and they entered into this aforementioned Tula in the west. The first king from this place that they had named Chalchiuhtlanextzin, and he began to govern

in the year Seven Reed. He died after governing for fifty-two years. And afterwards Ixtlilcuechahuac succeeded him in the same year, and he governed for just as many years, because those Toltecs held by law that their kings were not permitted to govern except for fifty-two years, neither more nor less, if they lived that long. And they wanted this because this number was their Xiuhtlāpile (as they called an Age) and once he fulfilled the fifty-two years the successor entered to govern and fulfilled fifty-two even if his father was alive and he died before fulfilling this number, the father governed the republic until he arrived at the said year, and then he would retire from governing, at which time his heirs would take over. After Ixtlilcuechahuac [died], Huetzin succeeded in the reign, and after Huetzin, Totepeuh, and after Totepeuh, Nacazxoc[uitl]. After him, another called Mitl, who erected the Temple of the frog god. After him, Queen Xiuhtzaltzin succeeded, who governed for four years. After her came Tecpancaltzin whose other name was Topiltzin, in whose time, the Toltecs were destroyed. This king, had two sons who were called, Xilotzin, and Pochotl, from which afterwards came the kings of Culhuacan” (1.14.37).

42. The word *ome* ends a line. On the next line, the scribe first continued with *me*, as if to have written *omome*, and then corrected himself by hatching out those two letters, allowing the first three letters to stand alone. They appear to be *ome*, not *omo*.
43. The mythological location means “Place that Tastes Like Water” (i.e., a “tasteless” or “insipid” place) or, if the spelling is taken to be Ahhuelhuanacan, “Impossible Place” or “Place of Bad Fortune,” since either could be derived from the scribe’s spelling. Either meaning would fit the context.
44. The tail of the *q* is missing, due to a hole in the manuscript, but the identity of the letter seems unquestionable.
45. The scribe first wrote *ynque*, then corrected this by adding *in* as a superscript. The word has been underlined by a later hand and annotated as *ininque* in superscript.
46. That is, they occupied the land.
47. The scribe appears to have written an incorrect letter after this word *xihuitl*, and then crossed it out. The letter is not identifiable.
48. Literally, “these men populated and raised themselves thereby still it happened 500 years; and alone living

- in forests and ridges, one hundred and four years.”
49. The initial *Y* is poorly formed or the scribe began with an *X*, then overwrote it as a *Y*.
 50. The second syllable is underlined, but no editorial comment is associated with this.
 51. The scribe wrote only one *l* in the final syllable.
 52. The scribe wrote *nocencan*. In a later hand, this has been amended to *nolceccan* in superscript.
 53. This phrase could also be rendered as “as it is said.” Gerste added the clarification “[in their picture writing]” (p. 117). The implication of *machiyo:tl*, “sign,” is that the author is referring to the ideogram of a codex.
 54. The scribe first wrote *ce teuctli*, then amended the *i* to an *a* and finished with *cauh*. He then inserted the prefix *in* in superscript before *teuctlátocauh*. The editor underlined the word *teuctlátocauh* and the superscripted prefix *in* to show that the *in* should be prefixed, and wrote the entire phrase *ca ce inteuhlátocauh* in subscript for clarity.
 55. The recto of folio 2 begins here with *ca mochintín ocatitcatca yn teot*. The next words are absent, because the upper right part of the page is missing, including the last part of the first line as well as part of the line below. Only two or three ensuing words could have been present in the rest of the lacuna, and may simply have been blank space if the paragraph originally ended here.
 56. The verb means “they were [in the process of] becoming one,” that is, unified in their resolve to banish the Toltecs.
 57. The scribe originally wrote *quitzotiq* and then overwrote the final *q* with *ca*. We take this to be a misspelling for *qui:ztotica*.
 58. The superscripted *o* indicates that the word has been abbreviated.
 59. Literally, “it is a read thing spoken,” that is, a story read from a codex.
 60. The *c* of *axcan* is almost complete, and the lower half of the following *a* is also visible. Below the missing section of the page, the tail of the indicated *y* is present, as is that of the ensuing *q*, which might also have been a *p*. The spacing would permit the number of letters indicated by the dots. What might be the lower half of a comma might precede the *y*. These letters might represent *ihquin*.
 61. We take the final *i* to be a mistake for *in*, and a prefix for the following noun.
 62. Tenochtitlan was named Ciudad de México in AD 1535.
 63. The scribe ran the first two words together, writing the *n* and *i* without lifting the quill from the page. The editor placed the upright *l* to divide the article *in* from the pronoun prefix *i* and added the underlining with no further comment.
 64. The scribe wrote *cetlaca*. The editor underlined *tlaca* and corrected it to *tlacatl* in superscript.
 65. The scribe wrote *ca imatzaltica*. This was emended in the later editor’s hand as *ca imatzoptica*.
 66. The term *i-ma-tzop-tica* literally means “his-hand-with,” and might be rendered as “his enpawing.”
 67. Literally, “image.”
 68. The *o* which begins the word is superscripted, and its placement is actually above the comma after the preceding word.
 69. The scribe first wrote *quihuiq*, then overwrote the *q* with an uppercase *C*, and finished with *aque*.
 70. Possibly Chalco Atitlan.
 71. The scribe wrote *quel*. In superscript, the editor corrected this to *quil*.
 73. That is, Lake Chalco.
 72. The scribe wrote *ynnamo hiectli*. In superscript, the editor wrote *amo yectli*.
 74. The scribe wrote *matlalcahuícan*. In superscript, the editor amended this to *ma tlalcahuacan*.
 75. The “evil one,” a Franciscan euphemism for “the devil,” applied here to the native apparition. During this time of the Primitive Inquisition, such comments were intended to make it clear that they did not condone the native beliefs.
 76. The scribe wrote *maquicautocatihuan*. The editor corrected this to *ma quicauhtithuian* in superscript.
 77. We translate *popolihuizque* as “disappear.” Gerste suggested “without leaving anything” (p. 117).
 78. The scribe wrote *nomotica*. This was editorially corrected to *nomati ca* in superscript.
 79. The scribe first wrote *quimacatiâ*, then overwrote the *c* as *m*.
 80. The scribe wrote *tlazintlan*. The editor corrected this to *tlatzintlan*, a correction followed herein.
 81. Literally, “[the] sun’s emerging place.” The abandonment of Tollan is traditionally identified as ca. AD 1168.
 82. The first letter of *ca* in the middle of the word was obscured by ink spatter, so the scribe rewrote the two letters above the originals, in superscript, for clarity.

83. *Tla:tzi:ntin* might also be understood to mean “the south.”
84. Literally, “the sign its observation.”
85. The abandoning of Tollan is traditionally dated as AD 1168.
86. Compare the similar story entitled “The stinking corpse,” reported in the *Codex Chimalpopoca*: “Now, in Tollan the people were no more.

“Huemac was ruler. The second was called Necuametl, the third was Tlaltecatzin, the fourth was called Huitzilpopoca. The four were left behind by Topiltzin when he went away. And the ruler of Nonoalco was called Huetzin . . .

“Now then, an omen came to him: he saw an ash-bundle man, a giant. And it was the very one who was eating people.

“Then the Toltecs say, ‘O Toltecs, who is it that’s eating people?’

“Then they snared it, they captured it. And what they captured was a beardless boy.

“Then they kill it. And when they’ve killed it, they look inside it: it has no heart, no innards, no blood.

“Then it stinks. And whoever smells it dies from it, as well as whoever does not smell it, who [simply] passes by. And so a great many people are dying.

“Then they try to drag it away, but it cannot be moved. And when the rope breaks, those who fall down die on the spot. And when it moves, all those who come in contact with it die. It eats them all.

“Well, now that it could be moved, all the young men, old men, children, and young women fixed it up. They tied it with eight ropes. Then they dragged it off.

“When they got it to Itzocan, it rose up. And those who were dragging it failed to let go of the ropes and were simply left hanging. Well, as for anyone who had grabbed a rope and just held on to it, it carried him aloft” (Bierhorst 1992, pp. 155–156).

Torquemada’s recounting of the story of the stinking corpse parallels this manuscript in also being preceded by killing by giants, and is followed by the migration of people to various sites, including Guatemala and Campeche: “In this way and by this means there was a vision of great killing on that day during the festivals. On another day, the demon appeared to them in form of another giant with very long and tapering hands and fingers, and dancing with them he was beguiling them. And in this way, the demon slaughtered them

on that day. Another time, as they continued their celebrations to their false gods, which they did for the purpose of hearing the desired oracle, the same demon appeared to them on a high hill (that in this region lies in the west) in figure and form of a very white and beautiful boy, sitting on a rock but with his head all rotting, and a great many died from the great stench emanating from it, being mortally wounded and poisoned, those present seeing it as great an evil as had ever been seen, they determined to take him, and dragging him along the ground, to take to him to a great lake which was a little distance from this place to the east (which is now called Mexico). And although they attempted it and tried it with all their might, it was not possible for them; because the strength of the demon was greater, whereupon he defended and resisted (in the midst of these efforts) the strength with which the Toltecs tried to remove the boy from that place, and to take him to the lake. And the demon appeared to them and said to them, that in any event it would be well for them to depart the land, if they wanted to save their lives; because as long as they held it, he did not promise them a time without deaths, ruins, and calamities, and that it was impossible to flee the dangers, unless they removed themselves; and he asked that they should follow him and allow him to lead them, that he would keep them safe, and he would lead them to regions where they would live at rest and in peace, The afflicted Toltecs, seeing that their calamities were growing with no end in sight, and that the most certain remedy was to take his counsel, they took the story as a good omen and departed the land and followed him, some going to the north and some towards the east, so that they distributed themselves according to how each one of them was shown in vision. And so they populated Campeche and Guatemala, according to the collected Acolhua histories, on which those ancients wrote in characters and figures” (1.14.38).

87. The scribe signed the chapter with his personal rubric. The abbreviation *CSTA.* stands for *consta*, meaning that he attests to the correctness of the document.
88. The verso of folio 2 begins here. The top left corner of the page is missing, and the chapter head is no longer visible. A later notation in the left margin starts at the first line of text after the introduction, and reads “Comenzo el Capitulo 15, y relató asta el 16 entre sacando algunas con asta llegan su fin en el panaje

- del Cempoala, y Tepcapulco" (beginning chapter 15, and continuing to 16, exchanging some things and ending in the passage about his arriving in the place of lodging at Zempoala and Tepcapulco).
89. The scribe wrote *motenehuac* and then crossed out the final *c*.
 90. The upper right corner of the page is missing, and only the final *n* of this word is fully present. Our reconstruction of *Yehuatin* is very likely correct and consistent with the small parts of the bottoms of six of the letters that are still visible: the lower, left-hand corner of the base of the uppercase *Y* is visible as are the bottom of the right-hand downstroke of the *u*, and the bottom of the *a*, *t*, and *i*.
 91. The words of this introductory section are double underlined. We render this here simply by italicizing this material.
 92. The reading "in the plains of Mexico" assumes *-itzma* to be derived from *ixmani*, "something level."
 93. The scribe first wrote *mo-*, then corrected the prefix to *qui-* by overwriting it.
 94. The || symbol may have been added by the editor as a point of reference to the marginal commentary given in note 88.
 95. The scribe used the imperfect tense *-ya* with the distant-past-as-past tense *-ca* here and elsewhere throughout the manuscript, a nonstandard usage. This will not be noted again.
 96. The scribe wrote *ytoal*, then overwrote the *l* as *c*.
 97. The scribe wrote *zantlaquentitinemia*. The phrase was corrected by the editor to *zan motlaquentitine-mia* in underlined superscript.
 98. Literally, "their commitment was of war, observing their pursuit arrows, arrows, and bows." Following the same sequence, Torquemada followed the previous material with: "Near the regions of the north of the City of Mexico and separated from it by the greatest distance were some in the provinces (which may still exist) whose principal city was called Amaqueme, and who, in common and generically were called Chichimeca, a naked people, who knew nothing of clothes of wool, cotton, nor other item being of linen cloth; but dressed in animal skins: ferocious in aspect and great warriors whose arms were bows and arrows. Their sustenance is their intent. They always pursue and kill" (1.15.38).
 99. The scribe first wrote *oteactic*, then overwrote the *a* with a *u*.
 100. Tlamacatzin.
 101. Literally, "he left/abandoned him/it." The referent of the singular object is unclear. It is, perhaps, a scribal error which should have been plural to designate the two sons, Achcauhtzin and Xolotl.
 102. The scribe began *yaoq-*, then overwrote the *q* with a *t*. The ink ran in the process, covering the original *o*, which the scribe reinserted in superscript. The scribe continued with *yecanque* which we take as a misspelling of *yacanqueh*.
 103. According to Brundage (1972), Xolotl was the younger brother of the Chichimec ruler of Oyome, a small client-kingdom beyond Tollan's northern frontier. Here the city is called Amaqueme, which may be the contemporary Mezquital, and the father of Xolotl is identified as Tlamacatzin. According to Brundage, Xolotl's real name was Amacui (He who has/takes paper), a term that has a religious connotation. The name Xolotl may be translated as "monster, beast, hunchback, page, dwarf, twin, or counterpart."
 104. The scribe omitted the initial *Y*, then inserted it in superscript.
 105. Or "he was dissatisfied."
 106. The scribe first wrote *cau*, then overwrote the vowels as *ua* and inserted the initial *ini* in superscript. The || symbol was inserted to separate this superscripted addition from the preceding word.
 107. The migration of Xolotl is traditionally set around AD 1246.
 108. Gerste noted that some words appear to be missing from the manuscript here. Torquemada's account contains a more complete account: "to take revenge for old insults, that their fathers, grandparents, and ancestors, have received from the nations, who inhabited the land, towards the regions of the south" (1.15.39).
 109. The scribe wrote *machixtíticatca*. The editor underlined the medial *xt* and corrected it to *zt* by inserting *machiztíticatca* in superscript.
 110. The recto of folio 3 begins with *hoctlein machiztíticatca, oq*. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The first two missing letters following *oq* are likely *ui*, but nothing of them remains to substantiate this.
 111. Gerste reconstructed *tlachantizque*. Enough of the first three letters after the *n* remain to confidently reconstruct them as *tiz*, but the lower part of the next letter is not the tail of a *q*. Fragments of the bottom portions of this and the next letters suggest that they might be *Yx*, and the tail of a *z* occupies the position of the fourth

- missing letter. The bottoms of the two final letters are consistent with *lo*. This suggests that the missing word might be *ixquizalo*, “wandered aimlessly.”
112. The use of the name Nueva Viscaya indicates that the manuscript was written after AD 1562, when the name came into use.
 113. That is, about 780 miles northwest of Tlaxcala, or roughly in the center of the modern state of Chihuahua. Nueva Viscaya was a desert province that comprised the modern states of Chihuahua and Durango. Torquemada’s version of the story of Achcauhtzin and Xolotl is as follows: “These Chichimec nations were guided and led by valiant, and skilled captains and lords among whom was one Icuahutzin, who governed his kingdom for one hundred and eighty years. After him, his son called Mocoquichtli, who died in the one hundred and fifty and sixth year of his reign. When he died, he was succeeded by Tlamacatzil, who governed for one hundred and thirty three years, and he died the same year that the Toltecs were destroyed and divided one from the other (as has been said). He had two children, one called Achcauhtzin and the other, Xolotl. Of these two brothers, some say that one, Achcauhtzin, entered the government; but others say that Xolotl did. And it could be that because of this, there might have been some conflict, and so to avoid this, the two were found to share the governance. Xolotl (per chance) was not content to share the power with his brother (because he who commands does not want an equal). As a courageous man and very spirited and ambitious; by nature he was not satisfied to simply sustain the current rulership, but desired to obtain land, to increase and extend himself, and to celebrate and glorify his name . . . With this natural ambition, and also to avenge old insults that his fathers, grandparents, and ancestors had received from the nations that inhabited the land in the regions to the south toward the sun (as opposed to those in which the Chichimeca had until then possessed) they placed themselves frequently at the borders and they bothered them with continuous wars, subjecting them to new treaties and difficulties” (1.1.39).
 114. The editor inserted a + symbol in the text after *tetepanzoltin* and a # symbol here, and placed both of these symbols in the left margin followed by a note that reads “para n^a aquí” (for noting here), suggesting the editor’s intention that something be added.
 115. The word was inserted as superscript by the scribe.
 116. The scribe’s use of *-huic*, “toward,” as a suffix to *nahuac*, “in/to/from the vicinity of it,” is a nonstandard usage that he followed throughout the manuscript. This will not be noted again.
 117. The scribe wrote *ome*, then inked this out and wrote 25 above it. Torquemada failed to report this extremely high number, consistent with his position (as reported in our introduction) that his Spanish-speaking readers would regard such figures as incredible. That the manuscript of *Anónimo Mexicano* gives figures that Torquemada was uncomfortable reporting suggests that the manuscript pre-dates Torquemada, and was used by him as one of his sources and was not, as Rosa y Saldívar believed, a back-translation of Torquemada’s history into Nahuatl.
 118. The scribe wrote an oversized *e* but used a lowercase form of the letter.
 119. The scribe first wrote what appears to have been *yn yáotlza teayaianque*, then heavily inked out *yáotlza teay* and wrote *teyao*, with an insertion mark above a *tea*. Above the *ai* of *yaianque* he first wrote *ai*, but then crossed out these superscripted letters and overwrote the *i* of the *ai* in the original line as a *c*, attempting to rewrite this as *yn teyaoyacanque*. In attempting to correct his original errors, he seems to have compounded them. In a marginal notation, the editor wrote *teiaoyeca’que*, to supply the correct form that should have been written by the scribe.
 120. The scribe wrote the fifth letter as either an *a*, *c*, or *e*, then overwrote it as an *i*.
 121. The scribe began with *oqui-*. The editor corrected this in superscript to *oquin*.
 122. That is, Achcauhtzin’s vassals.
 123. The editor underlined *auh oquicah yn theuctli ycnih ytocha Achcauhtzín*. A note in the left-hand margin reads, “capit. 16, del a pun-tes dho Lib.” (chapter 16 of the notes from the aforementioned book).
 124. The scribe wrote *yin*, then changed this to *yuh* by overwriting the last two letters with *Vh*.
 125. That is, in the pre-Conquest writings consulted by the author.
 126. The editor underlined *ynimamauh machío* and corrected this to *in imamachio* in superscript.
 127. The scribe underlined *ce xiuhtica*. A marginal note in the left-hand column reads “Cap^o 16 en pieza vien sigue aquí—” (Chapter 16 in part comes after here).

128. We follow the scribe here rather than the editor.
129. Coatlicamac is also called Coatepec in some other sources, though Coatlicamac seems to be the older name. The location, if Coatlicamac is not purely mythological, is unknown. Coatepec is a rather common place name.
130. The scribe underlined *chocoayan*, perhaps to mark the end of the sentence to which the marginal note (given in note 121) pertains.
131. The scribe first wrote *tepenetl*, then inserted a second *ne* in superscript.
132. The scribe first wrote *yhquí*, then inserted *vh* in superscript.
133. The verso of folio 3 begins here. The bracketed material is now missing, due to the absence of the top left corner of the page, and is supplied from the Gerste transcription. It was perhaps lost after his work.
134. The missing material is supplied from a subscripted editorial emendation, *ca quiqualyttac*. The scribe had only one *t* in the final syllable, and possibly one or more other errors in the now-missing section.
135. Mount Xoloc is located near Xoloc (Place of Xolotl) at the northeast end of Lake Texcoco.
136. The scribe wrote *ynahuachuic*, running the article *yn* together with *nahuachuic*, and omitting one *n*. This occurs elsewhere and will not be noted again.
137. The scribe wrote *tepe apolco*. This has been underlined in the manuscript. An asterisk has been inserted after this word, and a notation in the left margin reads “o/ o En el captulo 1/7 del libro 1°. entre algunas palabras siguen do el 18 con el mismo metodo; y sigue—en el 19 dicho libro 1° con lo dho En el capitulo 2° del dicho lib° no—” (in chapter 17 of the 3rd book, among some words following the aforesaid chapter 18 with the same method, and it follows in the 19th of the aforesaid 1st book with the aforesaid in the 2nd chapter of the said book number). The underlining of *lo dho* may mark a break between two marginal notes. The ensuing note may refer to the material in the text in the line that begins with *áuh*.
138. This Zempoala is not the Gulf Coast city of the same name, but a smaller site located about twenty-nine miles east-northeast of Tollan and about sixteen miles west-northwest of Tepeapulco. This expedition might be thought of as having followed the Avenidas de Pachuco to Zempoala and then on to the regions of Tolantzinco, Tepeapulco, and Zacatlan. Zempoala and Tepeapulco are located south of Xoloc, traveling counterclockwise around the lake. Torquemada specified the direction and distance from Mexico City for both sites, while *Anónimo Mexicano* simply gives the names, a difference that suggests that the Nahuatl was not simply translated from Torquemada.
139. The scribe first wrote *cuatlalpan*, then inserted a *u* in superscript.
140. The scribe wrote *otlachix*, which we take to be *otlachiz*.
141. Literally, “where he recently rested.”
142. Tetzaco is south of Xoloc, traveling clockwise around the lake.
143. The scribe first wrote the final letter as a second *u*, then overwrote it as an *á*.
144. The scribe first wrote the initial letter as a *u*, then overwrote it as a *v*.
145. Literally, “he crossed to the mountain/forest at the Smoking Mountain.”
146. Literally, “he saw it was smoking,” that is, he saw smoke from habitations.
147. Coyohuacan was on the west shore, west of the end of the peninsula between Lake Xochimilco on the south and Lake Texcoco on the north. Chapultepec was northwest of Coyohuacan.
148. The scribe first wrote *ya*, then overwrote the second letter as *n*.
149. The scribe wrote *Yaotecanque*. The editor wrote *yaotecaque* in superscript. The only change in spelling is from an upper- to lowercase *y*.
150. Nopaltzin traveled clockwise around the lakes towards Culhuacan, while the others explored counterclockwise to Tenayuca. The commander is Xolotl, as is made clear in Torquemada’s version (1.17.43). Torquemada’s account of the journey from Amaquemecan to the Valley of Mexico says that Xolotl “came with a great number of people . . . They went plowing all the land and everywhere they passed, they were leaving people in the hospitable places but without building edifices of any notable size until they arrived at a place which is called Cuextecatl, and Chocayan in the vicinity of which they remained for the time of one year; and from there they passed on, following the desires of him who had taken them out of their land, (that was to look for the inhabitants) and they reached another place, called Cohatlicamac, and from there they passed on to another one, which they gave the name of Tepenenetl. And from there

they went to the site where the city of Tollan is now, twelve leagues from this City of Mexico, in which place and site, they found many ruins of buildings and old houses which they gave themselves to understand to have been inhabited by other peoples, predecessors. And among the houses, they found many cooking pots and flagstones of diverse kinds . . . And moving on, (with the desire to discover it) they arrived at another mansion called Mizquiyahualan. And from this, they went to Atocpa. From there they wandered to another place, which they gave the name, Xoloc, because there on high the great Chichimec Xolotl had had a stately home at an earlier time. Settling then, they stopped and built an edifice on this great hill that is called Cempohualtecatl next to the town of Cempohualla (twelve Leagues from the City of Mexico in the region of the north) and from there they went on to Tepeapulco (four leagues further on going from Cempohualla, towards the east) . . . He returned to the place of Xoloc, that he had chosen before as his dwelling. In the intervening time he had discovered better sites . . . and he arrived at the one of Coatlichan, which is a league from Tetzco, toward the south, and having demarcated and surveyed the land up to the mountain range called Popocatepetl, that is six or seven leagues distant . . . and in certain regions they saw smoke (as is known) in Tlatzalan, Coyohuacan, and Chapultepec, and without wanting to stop, to learn whose smoke it was that he had seen, he turned around with the people who had come and gave a warning and report to his father Xolotl, of the good beginning to his father's wishes that he had discovered; because he believed that the smoke would not have been other than that of the inhabitants of those places and that when it was scarce, it would account for what had happened; and to the others with this intelligence, he returned to Xoloc, where his father was anxiously awaiting his coming, to find out what was happening in the land" (1.17.42–43).

151. The scribe wrote *yni tlatocauh*. The singular prefix is an uncorrected scribal error, since the subject of the sentence is plural. We have therefore rendered this as *in i:ntlatocauh*.
152. Tenayuca is west of Mount Tepeyac, on the lake shore.
153. The recto of folio 4 begins with *Tenanyôcan*. An editorial note in the left margin reads "diche libro 1.º con lo dho. En el capitulo 2º del dicho lib.º no—" (said 1st book with the aforesaid. in the 2nd chapter book number).
154. The upper right corner of the page is missing. Gerste gave *omocentechicoque*, "gathered together in the same order that he had brought them." The first seven letters, *omocent*, are present followed by the lower half of what could be either an *e* or an *l*, and then the lower half of a *c* or an *a*. Thus, Gerste might be correct in what he gave, although *omocentlalique*, "they settled themselves together," would also fit the two partial letters. Perhaps more of the manuscript was undamaged when Gerste examined it. Nevertheless, this cannot be the entire missing text, since it is not sufficient to have filled the original lacuna.
155. Gerste omitted *cece[n]* but reconstructed *quipanotazquia* for the second half of the lacuna. Perhaps more was visible when he made his transcription.
156. The scribe wrote *quitlalitaz*. The editor corrected the final syllable to *tiaz* in a superscripted notation.
157. Literally, "passing which."
158. Literally, "and it was itself formed."
159. The scribe wrote *yeyan tli*. The editor corrected this to *yeyantli* in superscript.
160. That is, twelve stone pyramids.
161. *Nepoalco* is underlined in the manuscript, with no accompanying editorial comment. Many place names are similarly underlined in the manuscript. As shown, the underline continues through the first letter of the next word, most probably simply because the line was drawn in haste.
162. As noted in the introduction, the text gives the number of men who accompanied Nopaltzin to Nepoalco as 3,200,000, while Torquemada quite deliberately omitted this figure, explaining that he regarded it as too unrealistically high to be believable. This would seem to indicate that *Anónimo Mexicano* either predates, or relies on sources that predate, Torquemada's account, rather than being a translation of Torquemada into Nahuatl, as has been asserted by some scholars.
163. The struck out name ~~*Nepoalco*~~ is written in the left margin of the line that begins with this word.
164. The scribe wrote *Yccen mochi*. The editor underlined the word and corrected *mochi* to *mochin* in superscript.
165. The scribe wrote *yniteyaquizcahuan*, then inserted the *o* in superscript between the *a* and the *q*.

166. An editorial note in the left margin reads, “Qs///” (Quotes//).
167. Torquemada recounted the expedition to Nepoalco and Xolotl’s move to Tenayuca in this way: “When Xolotl sent his son, the Prince Nopaltzin, to explore the land (in the region of the southeast) he also dispatched certain other captains to the southwest and they arrived at a site (called Tenayuca) which is now a distance of two leagues from the City of Mexico, and considered the site, and having seen it to be good for their settlement, they returned there to lord Xolotl to give him a report of that which they had seen. His coming occurred at the same time that his son, Prince Nopaltzin, had also returned from his journey. . . and following this discovery, the families of that place called Xoloc moved, and in a few days arrived at this said Tenayuca, where the great Chichimec Xolotl, chose dwellings for them in the caverns of the place, and distributed the other sites to all those of his families” (1.18. 43–44).
168. The scribe wrote *maciuhý pacticatca*. The editor underlined part of the first word and corrected the two words to *macihui, pacticatca* in superscript.
169. A note in the left margin reads “cap^o 19 Lib^o. 1^o” (cha^oter 19; 1st book).
170. A note in the left margin reads, “haze mencion alguna a todo el cap 13. Lib 1^o.—” (mentioned together with chapter 13, 1st book.—).
171. Literally, “never was happy, for if in any place others guarded, owners of the land, laborers of the land, at some time had looked to enlarge themselves, to snatch it.”
172. Literally, “and.”
173. The scribe assimilated the final *n* to the initial *n* of the next word.
174. The scribe wrote *tlat*, then overwrote the last letter as *C* and finished the word.
175. Literally, “stick with points of obsidian.”
176. The top left corner of the page is missing. The verso of folio 4 begins with this lacuna. The reconstructed words are supplied from Gerste. They were perhaps visible when he made his transcription, but the visible text begins with *omotlati*.
177. The bracketed material is supplied from context. The Nahuatl simply says “they had gone.”
178. The scribe wrote *in cepá*. The editor changed this to *in cipan* in superscript.
179. Literally, “when they had already left.”
180. The text has “his sons and his wives,” but two families are actually discussed.
181. The scribe wrote *yPilhuá yhuá ycihuahuá*. We have pluralized the second, since the referent seems to be plural.
182. The scribe began *zan* with an *o*, then overwrote the *o* as a *z*.
183. This term may be read alternatively as “Precious Rocks” or as “Stones of Chalchihuitl.” Thus, the phrase might be rendered “two priests [and] Chalchiuhteme.” It is noteworthy that, in comparison, Torquemada said “two priests of their idols” (1.19.45).
184. Torquemada recounted the expedition of Acatomatl as follows: “He was not contented with what he had, not satisfied with the security he had in possessing it. For this reason, although Xolotl had seen that he was in possession of a good place and site that he had found for his dwelling, he lived with worry that he might lose it (or worse, enjoy himself in tranquility and be taken by surprise) in the event that there might be other previous possessors who might oppose him and wage war on him to reclaim it. And being careful to be wary and eager to secure it for the possession of his new population, he called on a lord named Acatomatl (one of the six major ones, who came with him), and giving him a good and abundant company of men, . . . and keeping in mind the news of the smoke that Prince Nopaltzin had seen . . . he arrived then to this place where he encountered one of the ancient Toltecs called Ecitin, whose wife was called Axochiatl, who was in that site among the reeds had had his help. He was living alone with his wife and a son of his. Acatomatl showed much satisfaction in seeing the Toltec, and desiring to know the cause of his loneliness and why the others no longer inhabited that land, he questioned him with signs (because in language, they did not understand one another, being of different nations). He was satisfied with what the Toltec said: the cause of his solitude was that he had hidden himself when the other inhabitants of those places had abandoned them, not fearing to go with them . . . Then leaving the Toltec in this place, Acatomatl passed on ahead and not very far from there (although it was farther into the reeds of the fresh water lake, in a place that now is called Culhuacan) he found only two more of the these aforementioned Toltecs with their wives and children. One was called Xiuhthemal and the other Coauhtli. The wife of

the first was Oceloxoch, and the one of the second was Yhuixoch. The children were called Coyotl and Acxoquauh . . . And he passed the volcano and snow-covered mountains and the region to the south (that corresponds to this volcano) at a place that is now called Tepexoxoma, he found another of these men with his wife and children, from whom he received the information that as there were no others in those regions, and that he only knew that in Cholula (a city which is now quite populated) that there were priests of their idols. Seeing that for so many leagues, he had not found any number of people and that those few whom he had seen living there gave him confirmation of their solitude and that the land was wilderness and abandoned, Acatomatl returned at once with his people to his lord, Xolotl." (1.19.44–45).

185. The words of the phrase *macequitopehua, oquinxexelui* are underlined in the style of the editor, but without further comment. The underlining, as shown, is not continuous and skips some letters of some words.
186. Literally, "pushing."
187. The scribe first wrote *ynpcachi*, then overwrote the *p* as an *o*.
188. Literally, "marvelous" or "honored."
189. The scribe wrote the *tz* of *tlazintlan* hurriedly, omitting the lower foot or a clear bar on the *t*; the result simply looks like a *z*. We take the hyphen here to be analogous to a colon, rather than an attempt to join *tlazintlan* with *zacatlan* as a hyphenated proper name.
190. The scribe wrote *oquinyeíantli*. The editor corrected this to *oquinyeyanti* in superscript.
191. The scribe wrote *mahuiza uhcan*. The editor corrected this to *mahuizauhca* in superscript.
192. The scribe wrote *oquixelo*. The editor corrected this to *oquinxelo* in superscript.
193. The scribe wrote *Totopec*. The editor corrected this to *tototepec* in subscript.
194. The # symbol was inserted here by a later hand to correspond with the notation "solo ap^{to} algo del Capit.^o 2^o, L.^o dhco" (only suitable something of the 2nd chapter, book 8, aforesaid) in the left margin.
195. These locations form a crescent around Tlaxcala in the contemporary states of Puebla and Hidalgo, suggesting again a Tlaxcalan perspective on the history. The reference to Tenayuca in the next sentence completes this pattern of listing areas surrounding Tlaxcala by listing a site to the west in the Valley of Mexico.
196. The upper right corner of the page is missing. Only the lower part of the reconstructed *t* is still present. There is room for about fourteen missing letters, including the reconstructed *tin*.
197. Lake Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico. Xolotl is credited with having distributed land outside the valley as well as around the lake.
198. The missing section of the upper right corner extends into this line. Following the *y*, the lower part of the *t* (including the left-hand portion of its bar) is still visible, making its reconstruction secure. The lower third of the next letter is also visible and is consistent with an *o* or an *a*. Only a tiny fragment is visible of the lower portion of the next letter, which we reconstruct as a *c*. The next letter is completely missing, but the one after that is reconstructable as a *y*, since its distinctive tail is still present. Finally, two lower fragments of the last letter of the lacuna are also present, and are consistent with the bottom of the loop and the tail of an *a*, a *u*, or perhaps an *x*. A later hand, which appears to be that of the editor, reconstructed part of the material as *itocayocan . . iauh* below the missing section. Since this insertion was made after the loss of this portion of the page, it indicates that the editor was working some time after the actual writing by the scribe. Yet the editor's willingness to introduce actual changes in the scribe's spelling and, in some cases, morpheme choice suggests the work is early, still contemporaneous enough with the scribe to be treating the manuscript as a work in progress rather than as an earlier document being studied by a later scholar.
199. The scribe wrote *motzatzaauh*. The editor amended this to *motzatzautic* in superscript, without the usual underlining of either the original or the insertion.
200. In Torquemada's account, Xolotl resided in Tenayuca for seventeen years, and the move occurred in the eighteenth year: "In this way, Xolotl was enjoying this aforesaid life with his people in that region of hills and mountain ranges and relaxed for seventeen years. And in the eighteenth, he departed that place to the other one that his son Nopaltzin had surveyed in the other region of the lake (that now has the name of Tetzaco, and that is the head and main city" (1.26.46).
201. Beginning at this line, a note in the left margin reads "En el capitulo 21. del dicho Lib^o. 10—lo tra deq^e Xolotl le repartio las tierras a seis S^{es}. Señores Otomites"

- (in chapter 21 of aforesaid book 10—Xolotl's report of the division of the land from six Otomi lords).
202. The scribe ran *tlaca* and *quí-* together. The editor inserted the line to separate the two words.
 203. The text appears to say, literally, "already they watched it that here they prepared themselves" which, according to Chavero (1903), could also be translated as "so that already he [Xolotl] advised them who remained here" (121). The assertion appears to be that they came with peaceful intentions, bringing only a few of their people with them, to determine whether the rest of their people would be welcome in the area.
 204. Torquemada explained that "there came another six lords, although not all together, but rather following one another, arriving after one another at some interval of time. And they arrived at the presence of Xolotl eight years after his arrival at Tenayuca. They were these six lords of provinces, that neighbored the one of Xolotl, and although they were neighbors, they were not of his language. The histories of those lords do not say anything except who they were, and that they were the very main ones, and that they came with very few people, only themselves and their own. They went on populating and taking sites . . . they paid tribute to Xolotl, recognizing him as chief and lord. They were called Tecuatzin, Tzontehuayel, Acatitechcochi, Huihuatzin, Tepozotecua, and Itzcuincua" (1.21.47).
 205. That is, the Tlaxcalteca are erroneously included in this list, since they arrived at a later time.
 206. A note in the margin to the left of this paragraph reads, "En el capitulo 23 del citado 16º no, trata nada" (in chapter 23 of the aforementioned 16th number treats nothing). This note would likely have been written parallel to the beginning of the paragraph, but the previous marginal note (see note 195) was long enough that it ended slightly below the first line of this paragraph. A line separates the two notes.
 207. Torquemada explained that they were brothers (1.23.51).
 208. Torquemada recounted the arrival of the Acolhua as follows: "Forty-seven years after the great Chichimec Xolotl took possession of the entire lands, and was their universal lord by virtue of there not being any in them who contended with him and because those who were with him recognized him as great, there came from the regions of the west three other lords with the title of kings, who brought following with them a greatly reinforced and powerful army of men who all appeared to be giants because of their greater numbers and fine presentation. These three lords carried a common first and last name, the name Acolhua, and they were of the lineage and blood of Zitzin, who was among those very ancient and noble houses" (1.23.51).
 209. The verso of folio 5 begins with a lacuna. The upper left corner of this page is missing. The lower-left onset of the first letter on the page is visible and is consistent with an A. Gerste did not comment on the gap, but simply began a new paragraph with *Auh*. This was either a reconstruction of the last word of that gap, or more of the word was visible when he made his transcription.
 210. The upper portions of the bracketed letters *ctli X* are missing, but enough of each letter remains to make their identification secure.
 211. The # symbol was inserted here at a later time to refer to a note in the left margin that reads "En el capitu 27 ~~En~~ lo Rey e dho 16º" (in chapter 27 of the aforesaid 16th). This note specifically connects the note with Nopaltzin. The hyphen is a line-ending mark.
 212. As Torquemada explained it (1.27.55), the three brothers approached Xolotl and promised their loyalty and service to him. Xolotl granted them lands, and his son Nopaltzin was charged with handling the details. Later, two of the brothers married daughters of Xolotl and were granted other favors.
 213. Chiconquauhtli was an Otomi chief.
 214. The text reads *ynicyei Ymon*, "his third son-in-law." The scribe made two errors in this phrase. Although there were three men, only two of them became sons-in-law. This would be in accord with the previous statement that *two* daughters (Cuetlaxochitl and Cihuaxochitl, who married Acolhua and Chiconquauhtli) were given in marriage. The *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) also indicates that the Acolhua chief Tzontecomatl did not marry a daughter of Xolotl. His wife is listed there as Cihuatetzin (elsewhere Cihuatzin), the daughter of Chalchiuhtlanextzin (elsewhere Chalchiuhtlatonac), the ruler of Tlalcomanalco. Torquemada explained that Tzontecomatl was somewhat younger than the two other Acolhua lords, and he was married sometime later to a woman named Coatetl, who was born in Chalco.
 215. Torquemada recounted the marriage of the two lords in this way: "Here both ladies were married to

- the two aforementioned lords, with Acolhua, who was the elder of the two, taking the older one called Cuertlaxochitl and the second, called Chiconquauh, married Cihuacxoch, and the weddings and the giving of the wives were celebrated, with greatest rejoicings, both by Xolotl as by those of his court and kingdom . . . Of Tzontecomatl, the younger brother of these two lords, we have also said that sometime afterwards he married Coatetl, who was a granddaughter of the lords of the Culhua and Tolteca, and who had been born in Chalco to the Culhua, and she was of the most noble blood of the lesser lords of the Chichimeca . . . To Acolhua, the eldest of the three brothers, who had been given his elder daughter as wife, he gave the population and kingdom of Azcapotzalco; and the second, called Chiconquauhtli, he made him the lord of Xaltocan, which was another kingdom that lies in front of Azcapotzalco in the region of the north at a distance of four or five leagues; to the third, called Tzontecomatl, he assigned the kingdom of Coatlichan, a league in front of his court, in the region of the south" (1.26.53–1.27.54).
216. The scribe continued his previous error (see note 208) in counting the number of marriages by writing *yn yeime ichpoch huan*, since the text refers to the marriage of *two*, not three girls.
217. This colon seems to reference the note "// Cap. 29" (chapter 29) in the left margin.
218. She is identified as Azcatlaxochitzin in the *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) which describes her as the daughter of Pochotl, the son of Topiltzin, Tula's final king. In that source, Pochotl's wife is listed as Tochochipantzin (variant spelling, Toxochipantzin), the daughter of Nauhyotl, who was the ruler of Culhuacan. *Anónimo Mexicano* identifies the mother as Huitzilzilin.
219. To the left of *Topiltzin*, in the left margin, is the symbol "o/o" (aforesaid).
220. The scribe inserted the # symbol to mark a note in the left margin, next to the sentence beginning with *zatepanian*. The marginal note reads "retrocede al 27" (move back to 27).
221. As Torquemada reported: "It is also said, as a very certain and true thing, that there had been of that Toltec nation, a girl called Azcat'xochitl [Azcaxochitl], daughter of Pochotl and Huitzitzilin, granddaughter of one of the aforementioned major Toltec lords and leaders, according to the sayings and tales, who was reared by her mother in the town of Tlaximaloya a little less than thirty leagues more or less from this City of Mexico, in the region of the west" (1.29.56).
222. The upper right corner is missing. Gerste included the now missing *uh* which was, perhaps, lost thereafter. He omitted mention of any missing material, but simply continued with *hualaque*, which is the first word on the next line.
223. The reconstructed material is in the missing corner of the page. Enough of the lower *n* and *a* of the name are visible to be secure. The rest of the name is by implication from other parts of the text. Gerste's transcription includes the rest of the missing section, which was perhaps still present when he made his transcription. The editor emended the last word to *quimacac* or *oquimacac* (the *o* now being lost) in nonunderlined superscript. Perhaps Gerste followed this emendation, since it implies that the scribe began the word in some other way.
224. The scribe began with *í*, then overwrote this letter as an *a*.
225. We take the scribe's final *o* to be an error for an *a*.
226. The shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe was erected at Tepeyecac about AD 1555–1556. By AD 1568, the name derived from the shrine was established as a name for the town, as indicated by Bernal Diaz del Castillo ([1568] 1942, vol. 2, p. 81, who refers in his history to the fact that Cortés sent Sandoval to "una pueblo que se dice Tepeaquilla, adonde agora llaman Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe" (a town which they call Tepeaquilla, where it is known as Our Lady of Guadalupe). Thus the writing of *Anónimo Mexicano* can be definitely placed as later than AD 1555–1568.
227. Torquemada recounted the division of lands as follows: "After giving his opinion to them, he convened this parliament, and discussed and named the Chichimec Acatonale, who was one of his most dear ones; as the lord of the city and province of Cohuatepec. And as the ruler of Mamalhuazco he appointed Cuhuatlapal and Cozcaquauhtli; and to the ruler of Tepeaca, Iztacmitl, who was the son-in-law of the prince heir named Nopaltzin; and he gave the governing of Mazahuacan, along with those regions around it, to Tecpa and Iztacquauhtli" (1.27.55).
228. A marginal note in the left margin beginning with this line reads "o/o Cap. 33" (aforesaid chapter 33).
229. A note in the left margin using # to reference the text at the word *omic* reads "#/de/se salta desde *jmixpan* y luego pasa al tiempo q^e vivio Señor Xolotl: sin q^e lo

- del mas comvenga con la historia.” (#/of/skips from *jmixpan* and later passes to the time of the life of lord Xolotl: without which it hardly agrees with the history).
230. The scribe wrote *jmiospan*, which has been underlined by the editorial hand, and the editor inserted *jmixpan* in superscript. This seems to indicate that the writer of the marginal notes did his work prior to that of the editor.
231. The previous four words are underlined, with no accompanying editorial comment.
232. Literally, “already 200 years in his life” (1.33.60). The year of his death was ca. AD 1304. Torquemada gave a longer account of the death of Xolotl, including a deathbed speech attributed to him in which he appoints Nopaltzin as his successor. He also asserted that “espiro el Gran Padre Xolotl, aviendo vivido, pocos menos, de ducientos Años” (the great father Xolotl expired, having lived a few less than two-hundred years) (1.33.60). Torquemada also identified the sons of Nopaltzin as Tlotzin, who ruled in Tetzco, Quauhtequihuale, who was also called Tochintecuhtli, and Poponoc (1.37.62–63).
233. The insertion mark connects to a superscript in the hand usually found in the left margin. It reads “*Capi^a 37*” (chapter 37), referencing the beginning of the parallel in Torquemada.
234. The word *omocau* is partially underlined. The underlining actually consists of two underlines. The underlining here is perhaps by the writer of the previous marginal note, marking the end of the material it references.
235. The # symbol was written in as a subscript, then inked out.
236. Literally, “he received.”
237. The vertical line is most likely simply an extraneous mark by the scribe.
238. Here the final accent appears to indicate nasalization, that is, the word is *inin*.
239. The scribe misspelled the name as *toltzin*. Tlotzin was the ruler of the Acolhua state, the capital of which was Teztco. According to Torquemada, he was also named Pochotl (1.58.73).
240. Literally, “remained behind.”
241. According to Torquemada (1.37.62), Quauhtequihuale was also named Tochintecuhtli.
242. The verso of folio 6 begins with a lacuna. The upper left corner is missing. The bracketed material is supplied from Gerste. None of this text is visible today, because of the missing top-left corner of the leaf.
243. The bracketed material is missing, because the lacuna at the top left of the manuscript page extends into this line. The editor supplied *pilcauh itech* in subscript. The choice of subscript here, below the missing corner, again suggests that the editor was working after the damage to the manuscript. Enough of the lower part of the missing material is present to confirm all of the original except the *h*, of which only the very bottom of the left-hand foot remains.
244. The name is underlined in the scribal hand, and there is no accompanying editorial notation.
245. A note in the left margin associated with this sentence reads “Cap.^o 43 L.^o 8d” (chapter 43, 8th book).
246. Torquemada (1.41.66) identified the Tolantzinca as inhabiting a major province “diez y ocho Leguas al Norte” (eighteen leagues to the north).
247. Nopaltzin and his warriors.
248. The scribe wrote a mark of indeterminant form after *omimiqui*, perhaps the beginning of a letter which he then crossed through with several strokes, although the identity of the initial letter, if there was one, is unrecognizable. No marginal note, superscript, or subscript accompanies this mark.
249. The scribe wrote *toltzin*, and the editor corrected this to *tlotzin*.
250. The scribe began the word with *tl*, then overwrote the *l* as an *e*.
251. The succession was ca. AD 1369.
252. The author is apparently still referring to Tlotzin-Pochotl, explaining parenthetically why the previous sentence includes nothing of historical import between the ascension of Tlotzin-Pochotl and the passing of rulership to his son Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin.
253. Literally, “vain” or “wasteful.”
254. The scribe first wrote *caxtolime*, then crossed out the *-me*.
255. The scribe wrote *ahahuizoian*. The editor corrected this to *ahahuialoyan*.
256. Or this might be rendered as “licentiousness.” Torquemada said, regarding Tlotzin, that he did not make war; that he ruled in moderation and clemency, and that everyone loved him.
257. The = sign was written by the scribe at the end of the name, before beginning the next word, and it has no associated marginal note, superscript, or subscript.

258. The scribe began with a *t*, then overwrote it with a *c*.
259. The scribe wrote *ohuicoaya*. The editor underlined this and emended it to *ohuicóya* in superscript.
260. Torquemado said, concerning Quinatzin: "After the death of emperor Tlotzin (also named Pochotl) whose wife was called Quauhcihuatzin, daughter of the king of Huexotla, his son Quinatzin entered into the inheritance of the empire. His coronation was not held in the imperial city of Tenayuca, as was the one of his father and grandfathers (as we have said of their coronations) . . . and he moved to his city Tetzaco. It was he who was carried on the shoulders of four of the main lords, who did not have the title of king, with an umbrella that covered his head, the handles of which were held by four kings. And since they were making stops, they were alternating, both as the principle ones and lords in taking turns carrying the litter while those who were kings carried the umbrella, and the layovers would not be just a few, as the road was more than seven leagues." (1.58.73).
261. The scribe began by writing *op*, then overwrote the *p* as an *m*.
262. The editor inserted the # symbol, but there is no accompanying marginal note, superscript, or subscript.
263. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The missing material is supplied from Gerste's transcription, which was possibly done before the damage to the line.
264. The letters in the torn section of the corner are partially missing, beginning with the *N*, but are almost entirely visible through the lowercase *n*. The lower part of the following *tzin* is only visible for the foot of each letter, except for the full tail of the *z*. The editor reconstructed the noun in subscript as *nantzin*, and this fits the existing fragments perfectly, leaving little doubt about the reconstruction. The damage was likely already present at the time the editor made his addition.
265. This is most likely the same person as the Tenancaltzin who is listed in the *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) as the younger brother of Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin's father. This would make him the *brother-in-law* of Quinatzin's mother, Pachxochitl, rather than "brother" as is indicated here. Torquemada (1.58.74) said, concerning Tenancaltzin: "Aora queda en este punto, con decir, que luego que el Emperador tuvo nueva de su Entrada, embió à Tenancaltzin, su Tio, a` que la reconociese, y supiese su intento, como lo hico, y dejò pasar" (now it ends at this point, saying that as soon as the Emperor had newly entered the rulership, he sent to his uncle Tenancaltzin, so that he would be recognized and his intentions known and so it happened and he was allowed to enter).
266. About AD 1250.
267. That is, from the time he intercepted the Mexica war party.
268. The base of the *l* and the *í* ran together somewhat, but the identity of the *í* is clear.
269. Literally, "he continued it until Chapultepec." He was preventing them from moving down the east side of the lake.
270. The commentator inserted the # symbol, added the superscript comment "Cap.º 6º. Lib.º 2º" (chapter 6, book 2), and placed the following note in the left-hand margin: "quando uno unos los Rey y lo llevaron Sepultar se busca el Capítulos parra lo Capit.º 8 Lib.º 2. In el principio y so dicho in lo mata p^r mayor y mui superfluo faltares lo muchas cosas" (When one of the kings was taken to be buried. Search the chapters towards chapter 8 of book 2. In the beginning and only in the treating of the major part and much superfluous missing of many things).
271. The scribe began with an *o*, then overwrote it as a *c*.
272. That is, from the time he intercepted the Mexica war party. Hence, about AD 1310.
273. Literally, "he was the first they filled him."
274. The commentator added "se encontro" (it was encountered) at the end of this line.
275. The scribe wrote *hoccequineque*. The editor inserted *oc cequin quineque* in superscript.
276. The *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) lists Tecotlatlatzin (there spelled Techoltlatlatzin) as the son of Quinatzin (there spelled Quinantzin) and as his immediate successor. Although he is here referred to as the son of Tenancaltzin, we have seen that Tenancaltzin was actually his father's uncle. Thus Tenancaltzin, who "took control" after the death of his hedonistic brother's son Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin, may have served simply as regent rather than as king himself until the rulership passed to Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin's son, Tecotlatlatzin.
277. The scribe assimilated the final *n* into the writing of the initial *n* of the next word.

278. The scribe wrote *metztecaz chimeca*, then inserted *ca* in superscript following *metztecaz*. We take the second word to be a misspelling of *Chi:chi:me:cah*.
279. The scribe wrote *tecpanneca*. We take this to be a misspelling for *Tepaneca*.
280. The scribe began with *oq*, then overwrote these two letters as *C*.
281. Literally, “towns to where nobles were caused to pass.”
282. The upper left corner of the page is missing, and only the bottom segment of the first letter is visible. Gerste’s transcription continues *yei tlatoque*. The *yei* was perhaps still present when his photographic copy was made, and the fragmentary segment of the first letter is not in the scribe’s style of the tail of a *y*. Gerste ignored the editor’s superscript, which begins at the right edge of the break as *macuilitin tlatoque*.
283. The *c* in the middle of the word was crossed through lightly, and an *h* was written above it in superscript but then crossed out. This appears to be in the hand of the editor, although it could, perhaps, have been done by the scribe in a smaller, less heavy style than normal.
284. The missing letters are on the lost portion of the corner. The upper half of the *n* of *quen* is missing, but the reconstruction is clear. The editor, in subscript, corrected the original text to *quenami tlaltlatoani*, which seems more likely. The scribe wrote *u* instead of *a* in *tlatoani*.
285. The scribe wrote *tlamachiliztlí*. The editor corrected this to *itlalnamiquiliz* in the left margin.
286. Literally, “this one governed his thinking with wisdom.”
287. Literally, “he shared.”
288. The scribe first wrote *chicuacei*, then corrected this to *chicnavh* by overwriting the *u* with an *n*, the *ce* with a *v*, and the *i* with an *h*.
289. Or “he divided.”
290. Literally, “the others.”
291. The grave accent above the *a* is different from the scribe’s usual form and may be simply an extraneous mark.
292. Literally, “away from it.”
293. Literally, “agree.”
294. In other words, they would fear that their new neighbors, being outsiders, might betray them if they showed agreement.
295. A note in the left margin reads “Capítulo 2º del libro 2º y no acabo” (chapter 1 of book 2 and not finished).
296. The scribe wrote *cuil*, then overwrote the *l* as a *c*.
297. The introduction is set off from the rest of the text by a series of curved equal signs across the bottom of the page.
298. There is a number “8” at the top of the page, identifying the page as the recto of the eighth manuscript leaf.
299. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The first four letters of *Altepehuey* are fully visible, along with the lower half of the second *e* and the bottom third of the tail of the *y*. Gerste supplied the missing text. Notably, there is no superscripted note by the editor, so this material was perhaps visible when Gerste made his transcription.
300. The scribe wrote *omocecan*, then added another *c* in superscript between the *e* and the *c*.
301. The scribe omitted the preterit prefix *o-*.
302. More idiomatically, this might be translated as “they reproduced rapidly” or “their population grew rapidly.”
303. Literally, “near the water.”
304. According to the manuscript, *mecochotl oquicac*, “he heard both sides”—which is to say he was astute.
305. The scribe wrote what appears to be *cacicaat*, then overwrote the *t* with a *z* and ended with *ic*.
306. The scribe spelled this *tototzintlí*, both here and below. In the left margin of this line is what may be a drawing of the bird.
307. In Nahuatl, the bird calls can be interpreted onomatopoeically as “Let’s go!” In other words, the bird of omen is impatiently urging their departure to a new land.
308. The scribe wrote *oquinmil- huí*. The editor corrected this to *oquimilhui*, in superscript, without underlining the original.
309. The scribe began the word with a lowercase *a*, then overwrote it as *A*. The word *Azteca* is generally thought to have been a post-colonial neologism. For instance, Miguel León-Portilla (2000) recently published an article in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* in which he dates the word to the late eighteenth century. Thus its occurrence here is likely the earliest example of the word. Although this was not a pre-Conquest, native term, and although it is likely correct that this innovation did not come into common usage until the late eighteenth century, it is found here in the scribal hand, attesting to at least its one-time occurrence in the early seventeenth century.

310. The scribe wrote *oquintlatlacihiuq*. The editor corrected it to *oquimicihuitique*, in superscript, without underlining the original.
311. The scribe wrote *totzotzintlí*. We take this to be a misspelling of *to:toltzintlí*.
312. The scribe wrote *tlacatl*. The editor corrected this to *tlacatl* in superscript, underlining the first word to emphasize that it had been omitted by the scribe.
313. The scribe wrote *huicoca*, and the editor emended this to *ihuicoca* in underlined superscript.
314. The scribe wrote *quintlatalhuiaya*. The editor corrected this to *quintlalahuiaya*, in superscript, without underlining the original.
315. The scribe placed an opening parenthesis at the beginning of the sentence (before *occe-quin*) but failed to provide a closing parenthesis in the text. We judge the entire end of the paragraph starting with *Occequin* and ending with *Calpitzco* to be a parenthetical comment by the scribe, although we have entirely omitted the parentheses surrounding this material for the sake of clarity of reading. Although the final letter of *Calpitzco* is clearly an *o* in the manuscript, we have treated this as a spelling error for *Calpitzca*, since the former is a place name while the other nouns are given in the list as ethnic groups.
316. The upper left corner of the manuscript is missing. Gerste transcribed the bracketed words without comment as *ohualaque inahuachu*, and interpreted the next two letters as *ic*. His reading of the two final letters (which are visible on the manuscript to the right of the lacuna) is incorrect, as they are clearly *uc*. The confusion may be because the right side of the *u* does have an ink mark above it that could be confused with the dot of an *i*. This is either simply an extraneous mark, or the dot of a preceding *i*, has been staggered to the right. We therefore reinterpret Gerste's final three letters of the lacuna as *chi*, the beginning of *chiucnahui*, "nine," which accords with the number of listed groups. Regarding the preceding material, there are two fragmentary letters to the left of the lacuna. Above and to the left is a very fragmentary mark that could be the lower left-hand quarter of the letter *o*. This might be the beginning of an editorial insertion and the basis of Gerste's *ohualaque*. The second appears to be the first letter of the line by the scribe, an *h* and may represent the beginning of *hualaque*, the scribe having once again omitted the initial pretente prefix, *o*, which the editor then corrected in superscript. Assumedly, the lacuna is larger today than it was when Gerste made his transcription and the first word and editorial correction may have been visible to Gerste.
317. The editor underlined the final *n* and began a note in superscript, but left only a single ink mark there. We omit the final *n*, treating it as a scribal error.
318. The scribe first wrote *Tecpanecâ*, then covered the first *c* with ink when crossing it out.
319. The scribe began to write *ca*, then overwrote the *a* as *u* and continued *itlahuacan*, *chichimeca*. Then the scribe made an editorial mark here that seems to indicate that the comma should be removed after *cuitlahuacan*. Finally, the scribe placed an opening parenthesis before *cuitlahuacan* and a closing parenthesis after *chichimec*. This seems to mean that he intended the two to refer to a single group of people, the Chichimec of Cuitlahuacan, rather than two groups, the Cuitlaca and the Chichimeca. This would change the number of groups listed from the scribe's count of nine to only eight. We believe that the scribe was confused, and the intended parenthetical statement was not to equate the Cuitlahuaca and the Chichimeca, but the Chichimeca and the Tlaxcalteca. We have therefore shifted the parentheses accordingly. This leaves the count of groups as nine, the number which is given at the top of the page by the scribe himself.
320. That is, the Mexica Aztecs of Tenochtitlan.
321. The scribe wrote *yna*, then overwrote the final letter as *y*, which we take to be a third-person possessive prefix for the next word, *maltepeuh*.
322. A note pertaining to the phrase *netla:lil in:in a:ltepe:uh* in the left margin is not clearly decipherable, but seems to repeat the phrase. The final word is overwritten, making decipherment of the small lettering problematic.
323. The editor underlined several words and wrote one or two words in superscript above *Ypanpa*. The words of the editor are indecipherable.
324. Although the # symbol follows *huitzinton*, it was probably intended to mark the word *tochtli* on the line below it (see note 317).
325. The scribe first wrote *ynan*, then overwrote the final *n* with *c* and continued with *htopa*.
326. The author gave the European date for Two Rabbit as AD 1194. Torquemada reported the story of the omen and the ensuing migration as follows: "and the

justification they had for making this long journey and for putting themselves in the position of walking so far is that it came to pass, quite incredibly, that a bird appeared to them on many occasions: It was singing, shrieking repeatedly a sound that they wanted to convince themselves was ‘Tihui’ which means ‘Let us go, already!’ And as this was repeated for many days and many times over, one of the wisest of that lineage and family, called Huitzinton, pondered it and considered the possibility and decided to take this song as the basis for his decision, saying that it was an omen that some hidden deity sent by means of the song of that bird. And he had a sympathizer and supporter in his efforts. He discussed it with the other one, called Tecpatzin, and said: ‘Perchance, did you not notice that which the bird says to us?’ Tecpatzin responded that he had not. To that, Huitzinton said. ‘What that bird commands to us is that we go away with him,’ and it is right that we should obey him and follow him. Tecpatzin attended as did Huitzinton to the song of the bird. He came to the same interpretation, and both together gave the people to understand it. They persuaded them that it was great luck that it called them. And because of their incessant urging, the people moved their houses and left that place and followed whatever fortune that awaited them in their future. But although all were of a same generation and lineage, all of them did not live underneath one single family, but, they were divided into four groups, the first of which was called Mexica. The second, Tlacochalca. The third, Chalmecca. And the fourth, Calpilco. Others say, that these families were nine, which correspond to those known as the Chalca, Matlatzinca, Tepaneca, Malinalca, Xochimilca, Cuitlahuaca, Chichimeca, Mizquica, and Mexica.

“Others say, that the screech, ‘Tihui,’ was only heard by Huitzinton and Tecpatzin; but that they did not see the bird that uttered it. But whether it was this way or the other, everything is just a fable that was made up here, and told so that all would agree on the departure and the motive for urging it. They left, then, the Aztecs, guided by Tecpatzin, and Huitzinton from their land, in the first year of their first Century, (because it was after this that that they commenced to count it) and they wandered some days in which they spent the space and time of a year” (1.1.78).

327. The scribe misspelled the word *tochtli* and unsuccessfully attempted to correct it, but the quill

ran at this point, so he then inserted a small *h* in superscript, probably after resharpening the quill. This correction proved inadequate, not just because of the blotched writing of *tochtli*, but because he also failed to include the year number before *tochtli*. So he then inserted a large # symbol above the word *tochtli*, and wrote *ome* in the right margin after *cahuatl* and *tochtli* in the left margin of this line, separating it from the line of text with a slash curved in the direction of a closing parenthesis to indicate that it should be inserted in place of the original word.

328. A note in the left margin intended, perhaps, as an insertion at the point where this # symbol was added, was crossed out after it was written (apparently by the same writer, perhaps the scribe). It is not decipherable with any certainty: *ta h.. quipana* or *ta h. aqui pana*. The final three letters are uncertain.
329. We assume the scribe’s *chimozcoc* to be a misspelling of *Chicomoztoc*.
330. The scribe first wrote *nepapantlal*, then overwrote the final *l* as *c* and continued with a final *a*.
331. That is, the Tlaxcalteca Chichimec led by Huitzinton and Tecpatzin left Aztlan before the Mexica, but the Mexica arrived in the Valley of Mexico before them (see Torquemada 3.6.252–253). Gerste’s Spanish translation ends here.
332. Someone, perhaps the editor, placed dotted square brackets around the material from *macihui* through *mexica*, but there are no associated editorial comments.
333. In the top left corner of the page, the editor wrote the notation “p 1. de Po” (page 1 of document). The scribe wrote the number “9” at the top center of the page, indicating that this was the recto side of the ninth leaf of the manuscript.
334. The upper right corner of the manuscript is missing. Gerste included the bracketed material without comment, and included *yhuan* between the two verbs, although the available space in the lacuna makes it more likely that the two verbs were simply separated by a comma. The editor underlined the first word and wrote *mitehua* in superscript. An editorial hand also inserted *motene* in front of the final part of the word, *hua*, which begins the second line of text. The editor continued the underlining under this syllable to connect his insertion to it. Again, this demonstrates that some deterioration of the text had occurred prior to the editors’ additions

- and corrections to the text. A note in Spanish in the hand of the second commentator reads “Capítulo 6. libro 3 noten cena sa no la encluye todo” (chapter 6 of 3rd book including everything).
335. The scribe began *mochi* with a *p*, then overwrote it as an *m*.
336. The scribe wrote *teuctlatoca*, then added an insertion mark after the final *a* and wrote a *u* in superscript.
337. Tezozomocli ruled Azcapotzalco from AD 1366 to 1426. Ixtlilxochitl was killed in 1418.
338. The introductory paragraph was separated from the next paragraph by a line of wavy equal signs.
339. Literally, “its settling counted five hundred and thirty years,” the count starting, perhaps, from the fall of Tollan in AD 1068. If so, this would suggest a date for the writing of *Anónimo Mexicano* of about AD 1598.
340. The number of years is underlined, beginning with *centzontlí* and ending with *xihuitl*; . The underlining appears to be in the lighter style of the editor, but there is no accompanying marginal notation, superscript, or subscript.
341. Torquemada said that the first lord was Acolhua. He noted that by some accounts the first lord was named Huetcintecuhitli, but he concluded that these two were one and the same person. However, the manuscript clearly says that Acolhua was the *second* ruler. In *Anónimo Mexicano*, the phrase containing the name of the first lord is *ce Hueytzin teuhitli*, which might also be translated simply as “a great lord.”
342. The *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) lists Acolhua as one of Xolotl’s sons-in-law: Acolhua, husband of Xolotl’s daughter Cuetlaxochitzin.
343. The underlining of *macuilpoalli xiuhtica* appears to be in the lighter style of the editor, but there is no accompanying marginal notation, superscript, or subscript.
344. The scribe finished the page with *Xolotl*; the next two lines of text, beginning with *auh* and ending with *yecyopan*, were written in the hand of the editor.
345. The upper left corner of the page is missing. Only the initial letter of the first sentence is visible. The remainder is supplied from Gerste. It was perhaps still visible when he made his transcription.
346. Cuecuex, a son of Acolhua, and also the name of the principal god of the Acolhua. Note the scribe’s use of *ch* for the final consonant.
347. The ink ran on the first *a*.
348. Having been destroyed in the Conquest.
349. The name is double-underlined in the lighter style of the editor, but there is no accompanying marginal note, subscript, or superscript.
350. Tezacacatl is not listed in Torquemada (see note 360 for Torquemada’s list of kings). Rather, his list skips directly from Matlaccóatl to Tezacapoctli. The “Genealogía de los Reyes de Azcapotzalco” of the *Anales de Tlatelolco* also lists a ruler between Matlaccóatl and Tezacapoctzin (Berlin-Neubart 1948, p. 21). This is undoubtedly the same individual, but this text gives him the name of Chiconquiauhtzin: “Cuando Matlaccóatl hubo muerto, se sentó su hijo Chiconquiauhtzin (como soberano). Después pidió en Xaltocan a la hija del chichimeca Upantzin, una muchacha llamada Xicomóyaua. Sólo engendró a los dos hijos: Tezacapoctzin y Acolnauacatzin” (When Matlaccóatl was dead, his son Chiconquiauhtzin was seated as sovereign. Afterwards in Xaltocan he asked for a girl called Xicomoyaua, the daughter of the Chichimec Upantzin. He only engendered two children: Tezacapoctzin and Acolnauacatzin). Neither are they listed in the *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955), which shows Tezozomocli as a son and the successor of Acolhua.
351. The scribe first wrote *omin*, then overwrote the final letter as a *C*.
352. Literally, “paintings.”
353. Literally, “papers.”
354. The scribe separated the two parts of the name with a space, but connected the two by running the onset of the *t* from the top of the preceding *c*. The hyphen here is not in the original, but is merely our means of noting this connection of the two parts of the name.
355. The broken underlining in this sentence is by the scribe and merely marks the end of the page.
356. The upper right corner of the page is missing. Gerste omitted this material without comment. A fragment of the lower foot of the onset of the first missing letter tail is present, and could be the bottom of an *i*, *h*, *n*, or *m*. The tail of the last missing letter, a *y* in the article *yn*, is also present. The missing word is unreconstructable, but given the space available, something such as *o:hualaqueh* or *o:hualquizqueh* is likely. The latter would conform to Torquemada.
357. Only the first two letters of the lacuna are reconstructable. The bottom of the first is the foot of an uppercase *Y*, and both legs of an ensuing *n* are also visible. All that remains of the final letter of the

missing material is a dot, the fragmentary end of the foot of the letter, which is insufficient to guess its identity. The words to the left of the lacuna (*to:ltic, a:catitlan*) were underlined (beginning with the final letter of the preceding word) in a style that could be either that of the scribe or the editor. No emendation or marginal note accompanies the underlining.

358. The two paragraphs were originally joined by a now-missing line. Its absence causes the current first paragraph to end with a four-word sentence fragment, “in the life of this lord-ruler,” and the next paragraph to begin with a similarly incomplete sentence, “Mexica Atitlan, grassy, among the reeds.” The missing words between *ynemiliz* and *Mexica* have been reconstructed, based on Torquemada’s rendition of this part of the account.
359. The scribe wrote *tz*, then crossed it out with three strokes.
360. Torquemada recounted the names of Acolhua, Cuecuex, and the ensuing kings who preceded Tezozomocli, although he omitted the name of Tezcacoatl: “The first [ruler] was Acolhua, son-in-law of Emperor Xolotl, or so it appears, according to what is said of him in the history of this same Emperor Xolotl. However, the Azcapotalca histories say that the first Lord, whom they had in that town was named Huetintecuhtli. So there is difficulty, about which of these it was. But to remove the doubt. I say, that it could be that he was called by both of these names, because the old people of those times had them (as is said in the Tlaxcalteca histories) and there were many who not only had one or two names, but also three and four, based on the events and memorable things that they did. And among men this is not a new thing, because in the sacred scriptures we know that the kings of Israel and others of other regions were named with two and three names. Similarly, our king of Azcapotalco, called Acolhua, might also have been called Huetintecuhtli by some, who accepted the diversity of these two names. Or it could be that those of his family, when they entered into this land, knew him by this name of Aculhuacatecuhtli, and then those of its kingdom and city of Azcapotalco knew him and named him as Huetintecuhtli, and it is quite believable that the one and the other name refers to the same person, because the histories of the Aculhua Tetzcoanas, attribute much life and many years to Acolhua, son-in-law of Xolotl Emperor, and those

of Azcapotalco say that this Huetin the first king of theirs lived for a little less than two hundred years, so that they agree one and the other, and about the life of this king the accounts concur.

“When Acolhua Huetintecuhtli died, his son Cuecuex entered in his place, of whom the number of years that he reigned is not said except that the time he governed his kingdom was long. Once he was dead, his successor was a son of his called Quauhtintecuhtli, grandson of king Acolhua Huetintecuhtli. That which he did and the years he ruled are not known because the papers of his history have been lost. After this one came Ilhuicamina, and after Ilhuicamina, Matlacohuatl. And after this one, another one, called Tezcapoctli; and after Tezcapoctli, another one, who was named Teotlehuac, whose histories and years of reign and governing have been lost and perished, perhaps because the ancient Indians hid these papers, so that the Spaniards would not take them from them when they entered the city and the lands, and they remained lost, by virtue of the death of those who hid them, or perhaps because the monks, and the first bishop Don Juan de Zumarraga burned them along with many others of great importance for knowing the antiquities of this land, because like all of them they had figures and characters, that portrayed known and unknown animals, plants, trees, stones, mountains, waters, mountain ranges, and others things of this type that they believed were a demonstration of superstitious idolatry. And so they burned all amounts they could get their hands on, so that had not some particular Indians been diligent in hiding part of these papers and histories, we would not now know of them, even the record that we have.

“After this, king Teotlehuac was succeeded in the kingdom by Tihuactlatonac, who was king for sixty years during which time the Mexicans arrived to this land and lake” (3.6.252–253).

361. Tezozomocli’s mother served as regent for four years before he took office, perhaps because he was still young when his father died.
362. The scribe wrote *omotlatocatlali*. We take this to be a misspelling of *o:motlahtoca:ti*.
363. His son was Maxtla.
364. The scribe wrote *zanío*. This is a scribal error for *zanic*.
365. The phrase *nápohualixi- utl* is underlined with no accompanying editorial comment and the # symbol

- was probably inserted to mark the marginal note “Cap°. 12 lib°. 3°” (chapter 12, 3rd book).
366. Texcallan is an alternative designation for Texcalticpac, the actual site of which lies a short distance north of contemporary Tlaxcala. According to Diego Muñoz Camargo ([1892] 1966), Texcalticpac was originally named Tepeticpac; this name was later changed to Texcallan, and finally to Tlaxcala.
 367. Literally, “by his being favored as a lord.”
 368. Culhuacateuctli Cuanexcaye was first king of the Tlaxcalan Chichimeca. He made his residence at the Tlaxcalan cabecera of Texcalticpac (also called Tepeticpac). Torquemada identified him as Culhuacatecuhtliquanez (3.12.265). According to Brundage (1972), he became the first lord of Tlaxcala after the Chichimec victories in the area. He was also known as Culhua Tecpannecatl Quanezteyaolminqui and Culhua Quanez. In chapter 5 (see page 34) of *Anónimo Mexicano*, he is also called Cuanexpili.
 369. A note subscripted at the bottom of the page is difficult to decipher, but appears to read “voy algun p. 2 coysi d P°: aqui y nada p. 12” (some goes on page 2 of the copied document: here and nothing on page 12).
 370. The top left corner of the page is missing. The first word of the title is reconstructed from the context. Only the very end of the pen stroke of the letter *c* is visible on the right edge of the lacuna.
 371. The scribe set off the introductory paragraph with a line of wavy equal signs.
 372. A marginal note to the left reads “o/o re busca” (search it[?]).
 373. The scribe has written the *u* close upon the preceding *c*, although the gap is visible. The *c* here is a single, distinct stroke, and the ensuing *u* begins at its top left with a distinct setting of the pen—that is, a slight upstroke at about a thirty-degree angle before the initial downstroke to form the left side of the letter.
 374. Rosay Saldívar ([1847] 1947) attributed the authorship of this chapter to Benito Itzacmaquechtli (who is referred to in the chapter itself as the source of the information), and contended that the contents of the chapter were invented by him. Although the material of this chapter does have some correspondences in Torquemada, they are not as extensive and detailed in form as are those of the previous chapters. Nevertheless, the parallels are more than merely the fortuitous result of the fact that the two documents happen to deal with some of the same historical material. For instance, it is possible to reconstruct the missing line between paragraphs one and two in *Anónimo Mexicano* from Torquemada’s account of Tzihuac Tlatonac’s reign. Such correspondence would be unlikely if this chapter of *Anónimo Mexicano* were a simple invention. Although Rosa y Saldívar may be correct in attributing this chapter to a different author than that of the rest of the manuscript, the contents should not have been so fully dismissed on that account.
 375. The name *franciscanos* is underlined in the text, with no accompanying editorial comment. The scribe frequently, though not always, underlined words of Spanish origin.
 376. The editor underlined this word and corrected it in superscript to *necuatiquiliztli*. He also inserted dotted square brackets around the preceding material. The opening bracket precedes *oquimaycuilo*, and the closing bracket comes after *necuyatequiliztli*.
 377. About AD 1519–1524.
 378. The name *Aztlan* is underlined in the lighter style of the marginal commentator, with no associated editorial comment. A number of place names are similarly underlined by the scribe throughout the manuscript.
 379. Literally, “they went along teaching it to us hither.”
 380. Literally, “painted papers” or “written papers.”
 381. Literally, “used to lie rolled together.”
 382. The scribe first wrote *matlactli on*, then crossed this out and continued with *nahuy*.
 383. The scribe first wrote only *zatepan*, *yeo* and then inserted *ian* in superscript above the comma, since there was insufficient space to insert it in the line of text.
 384. Literally, “separated themselves.”
 385. The scribe’s *o quin hualycantocataque* was a misspelling of *oquinhualyacantocataque*. However, the editor underlined this word and corrected it in superscript to *oquinhualcauhtocatiaque*.
 386. Brundage (1972) suggests that this was about AD 1168.
 387. The editor underlined this word and corrected it in superscript to *oquinhualyacanaya*.
 388. The scribe began the word with a *t*, then used it as the initial bar of an uppercase *Y*.
 389. There is an extraneous scribal mark above the semi-final *a*, as well as a nasalizing mark over the final one.

- The first of these was possibly written as a nasalizing mark, and then stricken through by the scribe when he realized that only the final *a* should be so marked. Gerste treated both as nasalizing marks, and transcribes this as *ynizquitlacamanacan*.
390. The underlining is by the editor, but there are no accompanying marginal notes, superscripts, or subscripts.
391. Literally, “spread.”
392. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. A later hand, possibly the editor’s, inserted *omo-* in the left margin immediately before *cehuíco* (which begins the next line).
393. The lacuna extends into the second line. The lower legs of the first missing letter are visible, and are clearly those of an *n*. In subscript under the *aten* at the start of the break, the editor wrote *atenco*. Most of a comma at the appropriate place to follow the scribe’s *atenco* is visible below the lacuna. The editor did not place a subscript below the rest of the missing material, so the page likely deteriorated more after the editor’s insertion. We suspect this occurred before Gerste made his transcription. Gerste’s transcription gives the last letters of the missing material as *onpa*. However, this cannot be correct, since the next to the last missing letter has the tail of a *y*, not that of a *p*. Enough of the last letter (from its bottom center point through its right leg) remains to reconstruct either a *u* or an *a*. The latter is more likely.
394. *Poyauhtlan* has been underlined in the style of the marginal commentator. There is no accompanying editorial comment.
395. A note in the left margin, beginning at this line, reads “Que salio hombre barbuos 255 lib° 3° no con todos los señas se traer aqui” (who departed bearded man, [page] 255, 3rd book, not with all signs brought here). This note has been crossed through from top to bottom with two lines. Beneath it, the commentator wrote “Cap°. 9 libr° 3°” (chapter 9, 3rd book).
396. Camaxtli was the tutelary god of the Teochichimecs. He was commonly equated with Mixcoatl, the Mexica god of the hunt.
397. This combines the names of the Tlaxcalan hunting god Camaxtli with that of Mixcoatl, the god of the hunt of the Mexica Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico. Underlined in the style of the editor. The marginal note given in note 395 may refer to this name.
398. Literally, “a beard owner.”
399. The word *ixhuitzallachia* contains *ix-*, “eye,” and *-lachia*, “to look, to see.” Simèon lists *ixhuitzallachia*, “to see little and weakly, because of having small eyes.” Mixcoatl, however, was a god of hunting, so we would expect the opposite.
400. The scribe mistakenly wrote the final *c* as an *e*.
401. Literally, “at the top of his head,” idiomatic for “in his presence” or “before this very person.”
402. *Mitxa* is the Nahuatalized form of the Spanish word “misa” (mass).
403. Literally, “priestly rulers,” i.e., priests rather than friars.
404. Literally, “he sits having clothing by means of a white cloak.”
405. An accent over the *i* of the semi-final syllable either ran when the accent was made or, more likely, was deliberately crossed out by the scribe and the ink ran.
406. The scribe first wrote *yait*, then overwrote the final letter as an *a*.
407. The scribe wrote *tlamatihue*, *hey*. The editor corrected the last three letters in superscript to *huey*.
408. The scribe wrote *ocualhuicay*. The editor underlined the final two letters of this word and the correction . . . *aya* in superscript.
409. The scribe wrote *xicomítl*. The editor corrected this to *micomítl* in superscript.
410. The scribe wrote *cuamíztin*. The editor corrected this in superscript to *quauhíztin*.
411. A note in the left margin, beginning at this line, reads “Geta Geurra. del Poyahutlas–/259 Lib°. idem” (war of Poyauhtlan–/259 the same book). The “259” is most likely a page number.
412. Literally, “thus already they themselves quarreled.”
413. The Acolhuas were the people whose dominant city was Tetzaco. The Tepaneca’s principal city was Azcapotzalco.
414. Literally, “thus they were always conquering and reflecting on war.”
415. The top left corner of the page is missing. The editor reconstructed the last word in superscript above *ozque* as *ya hualozque*. The beginning word of the page can only be guessed at. *I:nic* would fit the available space, but no direct evidence remains.
416. The scribe first wrote *ynin*, then overwrote the final letter as a *c*.
417. The infiltration of the Chichimeca was of great concern, due to their bellicosity.

418. The scribe wrote *Yaomani loque*. In superscript, the editor entered *yaomanilique*. This differs from the scribe's entry in only three particulars: the scribe's initial capitalization, a space left between the *i* and the *l*, and—the probable reason for the entry—two ink spatters that cross the final four letters and that might have been mistaken for deliberate pen strokes without the editorial superscript that makes it clear that those letters should not be stricken.
419. In superscript above the line-ending hyphen, the scribe wrote what might be *li*, perhaps to clarify the final two letters of the line, since the final letter is poorly written and could be confused with an *n*. Alternatively, and more likely, the marks may have been nothing more than a clearing of excess ink from the quill.
420. The location of Teotlixco is not known, though the text places it near the Plains of Poyauhtlan, below Mount Poyauhtlan. Torquemada explained the term as idiomatic for “ends of the earth,” but Sahagún treats it as an actual place “toward the southern sea” (1963, vol. 11, p. 25), which is descriptive of Lake Chalco. This would place the location south of the location where Torquemada and *Anónimo Mexicano* place the battle—on the plains between Chimalhuacan and Coatlínchan. Teotlixco may have been the main center of Teochichimec occupation—somewhere near Lake Chalco, and therefore mentioned here as the place to defeat them—even though the actual battle occurred ten or more miles from that center.
421. The || symbol was inserted by the editor, apparently to signal a paragraph break. We have introduced the break on that basis, and have done so in both the first and second column to maintain parallelism, although it is not present in the original manuscript.
422. Literally, “truly there.”
423. The reference here may be to a dam on the Rio Coatepec, which entered Lake Texcoco just two miles north of Chimalhuacan. Thus the fighting would have occurred, as reported by Torquemada, “between Coatlinchan and Chimalhuacan” (3.9.259) on or near the headwaters of the Rio Coatepec and the Rio de San Bernardino, between those two locations. This war, known as the Chichimecayaoyotl or Chichimeca War, began about AD 1376. It resulted in the Texcala Chichimeca, who had been settling in the region of Teopoyauhtlan in the kingdom of Chalco, being driven out of the Valley of Mexico by the Tepaneca.
- They crossed into what is now Puebla, where they founded cities such as Huexotzinco and Texcala, which is now known as Tlaxcala.
424. The name has been underlined in the style of the scribe. Various proper names are similarly underlined in the manuscript.
425. The editor underlined *oquin* and inserted *oqui* in underlined superscript, then crossed out his correction.
426. A note in the left margin reads “*tlahuiz tonaz tlanecíz*” (to shed light, to be sunny, to dawn). These are the same words found in the text four lines lower, although the order differs.
427. Literally, “on the head.”
428. The scribe first wrote *theo*, then overwrote the final vowel as a *u*.
429. The scribe ran *maaoque* together. The editor wrote *ma aoc* above this to indicate that the first two letters should be separated from the rest.
430. A note in the left margin, to the left of *tlanecíz*, reads “Cap 10” (chapter 10).
431. By some accounts after the battle, the Chichimeca divided into two or three groups. One migrated east by way of a northerly route, while the larger group traveled south to Amecameca and then crossed Mount Popocatepetl into the next valley, passed north by way of Cholollan, and settled at Texcalticpac.
432. Literally, “that not again.”
433. This suggests a southern migration, as does the reference to passing Amecameca (see note 429).
434. Torquemada said they went to Teotlixco, which suggested a southern route from the battle. The Nahuatl text could mean that, or also a migration from their seat at Teotlixco. The migration is past the vicinity of Chalco and Amecameca, towards the Puebla Valley, by the Pass of Cortés on the northern side of Popocatepetl and south of Iztaccihuatl. The point of view adopted by the scribe supports a Tlaxcala or Huexotzinco origin for the manuscript.
435. The scribe wrote the number “12” and centered it at the top of the page, indicating that this is the recto of the twelfth manuscript leaf. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The first partial letters in the lacuna, *l* and *p*, are missing only part of their tops, and their identification is unquestionably correct. Only a small fragment of the tail of the *z* is still present, but it doesn't match any alternative tailed letter, and the spacing between it and the preceding *p* is right for the

- it* to have preceded it. There is enough space left in the gap before the visible *co* for it to have included a comma, a space, and seven or eight other letters. The missing word is likely another city name, but there is no way of reconstructing it from the manuscript.
436. Underlined in the pen style of the marginal commentator.
437. The two lines beginning with *tin* and ending with *mo-* have had a vertical line drawn at their left and a note in the left margin reads “Cap°. 18” (chapter 18).
438. By some accounts there were three groups, and the one that came to Texcalticpac by way of Amecameca, the Tlaxcalteca, was the largest group.
439. Literally, “white.”
440. The scribe wrote *aoque*, which we take to be *aoc eh*, “no longer.”
441. Literally, “hurried.”
442. Camaxtli.
443. The editor inserted a || symbol, but there is no accompanying marginal note, superscript, or subscript. The same symbol also occurs in the next line (see note 438). Perhaps the two occurrences were at first intended to set off the material between them, but then the editor decided to add no comment.
444. The scribe wrote *oquimatiloaya*, “injure by rubbing or abraiding.” The editor changed this in superscript to *oquimateloaya*, “bruise the foot (by stepping on a stone)” or “strike with the hand.”
445. This second insertion of ||, like the previous one (note 443), has no accompanying comment.
446. The meaning is problematic. Perhaps this is idiomatic for something. Alternatively, this might be read as “at Mapiltzalan.” We have selected a reading that accords with Torquemada.
447. The scribe consistently spelled this *tlen*.
448. The scribe first wrote *tepetla*, then inserted *ti* in superscript.
449. The scribe’s use of *-huic*, “toward,” as a suffix to *yxtlahuac*, is a nonstandard usage, like his use of that suffix with *nahuac* elsewhere.
450. A notation in the left-hand margin reads “aqui /a . . . / entro MS. 2 rubas” (here /here[?]/ enter into the manuscript 2).
451. That is, for any potential enemy.
452. The upper left corner of the page is missing. Most of the lower half of the reconstructed initial *t*, including the letter’s bar, is visible. The bottom of the tail of the *q*, two or three letters later, is also visible. The reconstructed *aque* is speculative. The lower half of the last reconstructed letter at the end of the lacuna is present, and could be either an *i* or a *c*.
453. The lacuna extends into the second line. Only the bottom of the *l* is visible, but its reconstruction is secure. Similarly, only the bottom half of the initial letter of each of the next two words is visible, but in each case enough of the letter is present to make the reconstruction certain.
454. Their impressive building projects functioned, in part, to demonstrate their power to potential enemies.
455. The # symbol may reference the notation in the left margin on the next line. It reads “Cap.º 12” (chapter 12).
456. The place name is underlined in the style of the marginal commentator, with no accompanying comment.
457. Torquemada identified the Chichimeca leader as Colhuacatecuhtliquanez (3.12.265).
458. The place name is underlined in the style of the marginal commentator, but there are no associated comments or emendations.
459. A note in the left margin reads “o/o piden amparo del Gente” (aforesaid asked protection of the lords).
460. Literally, “valiant ones.”
461. Teopoyauhtlan (literally, Divine Poyauhtlan) can be understood as “the *original* land of Poyauhtlan” or “the *true* land of Poyauhtlan.”
462. Huitzilihuitzin ruled the Mexica from about AD 1391 to 1418. Torquemada and Muñoz Camargo ([1892] 1966) identified the Mexica ruler as Matlalihuitzin, who was identified by García Granados (1954) as the same as Matlacoatl, the ruler of Azcapotzalco, the Tepaneca capital (see pages 25–26 and note 350). The date of the battle is AD 1384, and Huitzilihuitzin had not yet been coronated as *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan at that time. It is possible that Huitzilihuitzin was involved in the 1397 war as Tenochtitlan’s war leader and a subordinate of Tezozomocli, but the name may simply represent a confusion between the names Matlalihuitzin and Huitzilihuitzin on the part of the scribe.
463. The scribe wrote *yoquimaxcatitaya*. We assume that he intended to precede the verb with *ye*, and omitted the *e*.
464. The ambassadors from Tlaxcala.
465. The final two letters were individually underlined by the scribe, the *i* with a straight underline and the *h*

- with a semicircular underline. He made no further emendation.
466. The upper right corner of the manuscript is missing. The feet of the reconstructed *n* are all that are visible, but this is likely correct.
467. That is, it was heard that the Huexotzinca were preparing themselves for war against the aggression of the Chichimeca, who would take their lands.
468. The ruler of Tlaxcala.
469. The suffix *queh* is abbreviated as *q^h*.
470. That is, the Huexotzincas emotionally prepared for war.
471. The scribe wrote *Yol*. We assume the *i:-* was simply assimilated to the *y* of *yolli*. This accounts for the absence of the suffix *-li*.
472. The scribe wrote *ynoma*, then inserted the *mo* in superscript.
473. The scribe first wrote *omahuiliaya*, then inserted *mo* in superscript.
474. The scribe spelled the beginning of the word as *ytetlan*. We take the *e* to be a misspelling and have changed it to an *i*.
475. That is, the warriors sent as ambassadors.
476. Again, the envoy warriors.
477. The upper left corner of the page is missing. The top half of the initial *o* at the beginning of the lacuna is missing, but the identification is secure. The tail of the next letter is visible and is that of a *p* or a *q* (more likely a *q*, considering the spacing between the tail and the preceding *o*). The final *a* is missing the left-hand portion from 8 o'clock to 1 o'clock, but its identification is secure.
478. The scribe first wrote *quincau*, then changed the *u* to a *q*.
479. The circumflex (^) that follows the *a* was likely intended to be above the letter, but was written hastily and so follows it slightly.
480. The scribe wrote *tititiacahuan*. We assume that the scribe intended to begin with *to-*.
481. The circumflex between the first two letters is simply a connector that indicates that the two letters are not intended to have a space between them.
482. Huitzilihuitl, son of Acamapichtli, fought the battles with Chalco before he became *tlatoani* of the Tenochca in AD 1391.
483. The statement suggests that the scribe was writing from a Tlaxcalan perspective, since Huexotzinco is referenced as the third party.
484. The scribe first wrote *ynec*, then overwrote the *e* as an *í*.
485. The scribe wrote *amech moColía*, then added the first *co* in superscript.
486. The scribe wrote *ynintlatoca*, then added the *to* in superscript.
487. The scribe wrote *tzía*, then overwrote the *a* as an *n*.
488. Huitzilihuitl sent a leader ostensibly to coordinate the Mexica support for the Huexotzinca. However, the liaison with the Huexotzinca is only a sham. Huitzilihuitzin has falsely promised the Huexotzinca that he will send warriors in support of their cause against Tlaxcala, but actually intends, as his envoys have explained to the Tlaxcalteca nobles, to support the Tlaxcalteca.
489. The Mexica warriors.
490. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The tail of the missing *z* is visible, making its reconstruction secure. The next four letters are inferred. The final *tz* is reconstructed from the visible tail of the *z*, which is in the style used by the scribe for this sequence of letters.
491. The lacuna extends into the second line. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. He transcribed this with no comment about a break in the page, so perhaps this part of the page was still present at the time. The absence of an editorial notation also suggests that the lacuna was not an early one.
492. The lacuna extends into the third line here. The material from the missing corner is supplied from Gerste. This part of the page was perhaps still present when he made his transcription (see note 481). What he supplied conforms to the lower parts of the letters that are still visible: the lower half of the *co*, almost all of the *pa*, and the bases of the ensuing letters, including the tail of the *z*, which is written in the style of the *tz* sequence.
493. Again, the circumflex may have been intended to be above the preceding vowel, but was shifted to the right because the scribe was writing rapidly.
494. The scribe wrote *mō*, but then added a downstroke above the barred *o*. This last stroke may have been an unintentional mark.
495. Literally, "if only not if."
496. The scribe omitted the final *n*.
497. The great Chichimeca War that was fought when the Chichimeca were living at the plains of Poyauhtlan, near Mount Tlaloc in the Valley of Mexico.

498. Poyauhtlan (The Colored Land) is a region below the west side of Mount Tlaloc, north of Chalco, from which the Chichimeca had been driven in the Chichimeca War. The battle near Chalco took place ca. AD 1376, under the command of Huitzilihuitzin, during his father's tenure as leader of the Tenochca while the Tenochca were vassals of the Tepaneca ruler Tezozomocli.
499. Torquemada recounted the speech to the Texcalticpac lords as follows: "To you the lords and possessors of the high summit of Tlaxcala, you know that we are the messengers and ambassadors of the great lord, your nephew and relative Matlahuítzin he who rules and has in his care the waters of the great lake of Tenochtitlan. That one has sent us to warn you and to say that as the people of Huexotzinco and their captain who is called Xiutlehuítl has been sent to him to request his aid against you in the war that he does to you in the enmity that he has for you. And he has begged—our great lord who is the one who sent us to you—to send people and to favor him in that request. And in response he has promised it and intends to send it, but in such a way that its coming is not of benefit nor effect, but only to pretend to be delivering aid without intention to fight or to move arms against you. He sends you this warning so that his intent is certain and revealed to you: that neither he nor any of his people come to attack you. And therefore he requests you, and he mightily entreats you that you do nothing against his people, since they do not come to fight, nor to anger you, but just to make an appearance of commitment towards the Huexotzinca. And for this we are sent, to tell you what we have said to you, the strong Chichimeca; and also, that when you do your spellcasting, that you keep the Tepaneca safe in these, and you do not make any sorcery against them, as you did, during the great battle of Poyauhtlan at the borders of the lake." (*Monarquía Indiana* ([1615] 1943), 265). Muñoz Camargo's earlier version of the same speech is slightly different: "To you lords and possessors of the high summit of Tlaxcala, you know that we are the messengers and ambassadors of the very great lord, our sovereign and relative, who has ruled over and who has in his care the waters of the great lake of Tenochtitlan. He who is called *Matlahuítzin* has sent us to say and to warn you that with the people behind Huexotzinco and their leader, *Xiutlehuítecuhtli*, has been sent to him to request help, because he intends to come over you and wage a very beastly war, and he begged our great lord, who has sent us, to favored him with a great crowd of people to come to his aid against you, which he has promised him and thinks to send. And he will do it so that it will not benefit him in any way except to give a response that appears to aid him, and not for making combat against you. He sends us to give you this warning so that you will know that neither he nor any of his people come to attack you. And therefore he requests you, mightily entreats you that you do nothing against his people; for they do not come to fight, but to make some kind of commitment to *Xiutlehuítecuhtli*, lord of Huexotzinco. And for this we are sent in order that we should tell the Chichimeca, and that when you cast your spells, you reserve them from the Mexica, that you do not make any sorcery, as you did it during the great battle of Poyauhtlan on the shores of the lake" (1986, pp. 106–107).
500. The ruler of the Chichimeca at Texcalticpac who in chapter 4 (see page 27) was called Colhuacateuctli Cuanexcaye.
501. The verso of folio 14 begins with a lacuna in the top left corner of the page. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. It was likely visible when he made his transcription. This would be consistent with the same observation from the previous side of the leaf. Part of the last letter is still visible and appears to have been an *I*.
502. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. It was likely visible when he made his transcription. The first three and last six letters are still sufficiently visible to make them secure.
503. Literally, "he returned very great penitence for them." That is, he expressed regrets about any doubts he may have had concerning their motives.
504. The scribe first ended with *quí*, then added a final *a* over the comma and added a new comma. He then crossed out the comma and added a colon in its place.
505. That is, warriors who, in this event, are serving as envoys.
506. The scribe began to write *yntitiah*, but finished only the downstroke of the *h*, and overwrote this as a *c*.
507. This war may have taken place ca. AD 1384. It was the last of a series of conflicts between Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco. The Huexotzinco ruler sought support

- from the Valley of Mexico against Tlaxcala in this battle. The Tlaxcalteca ruler, having been informed that the Mexica will support him, begins to prepare for war.
508. Literally, the “god site.” The temple of Camaxtli was at the top of Malinche, where the shrine of San Bartolomé was established by Fray Martín de Valencia after he destroyed the temple during his tenure as guardian in Tlaxcala (AD 1527–1530).
509. The scribe wrote *oqui mo*, then overwrote the *o* as an *i*.
510. The aid referred to is the magical intervention of Camaxtli. Torquemada described the carnage that resulted from this magic: “and as many others were without knowledge of who killed him; because they were neither informed nor had they seen him, but they only felt the pain of the blows that occurred. They found themselves blind and more greatly baffled and with this great confusion that overcame them, some fell from cliffs, not knowing where they were going, others ran into stones and were killed by these and many other things—being schemes and tricks of the Devil. And it seems to be the case that never had such a thing been heard nor seen in the world, and in such great excess was this loss of life and ridding of enemies, that it is recounted, in truth, that the ravines and great gorges that were in the regions of the mountain range were full of dead bodies, and that the wives of the Chichimeca, their sons and daughters, and all the disabled ones, who had been excluded from the field, not to be in the war, were left to plundering the bloody reaches, and they captured and took prisoner truly whatever people they wanted who were left among the Huexotzinca, and all of the other ensorcelled ones of this diabolical act from which almost none escaped death or capture and the few who could flee, took the news, that they had to tell not just to the present generation but also to many other future generations and those to come so that on hearing what happened to them, they would remain aghast and afraid” (1.3.268).
511. A || symbol was written here by the editor, perhaps merely to indicate a separation between the two words which the scribe had written closely together.
512. Or perhaps better, the “Staff of Weakening,” that is to say, a magical staff that is used to cast spells to weaken someone.
513. The scribe began the word with *ie*, then overwrote these two letters with an *m*.
514. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The bracketed material is taken from Gerste. The page has likely deteriorated since he made his transcription.
515. The missing material is supplied from Gerste’s transcription.
516. The missing letters are supplied from Gerste’s transcription. The lower half of both letters is still visible, and their identification is secure.
517. The scribe wrote *yniaya chihualhuan*. We believe the scribe intended *in yaia ya:o:chihua:lhuan*, based on the parallel version in Loysaga’s *Ramo Historia* (1981), that the scribe omitted the *yao-* prefix due to its similarity to the preceding word.
518. The scribe also placed a mark, not shown here, shaped like a large comma above the *C*.
519. The scribe spelled this *maci*.
520. That is, to their mythic homeland.
521. The scribe first began this word with *Y*, then overwrote it as *Z*.
522. The ink ran and obscured most of the *u*, but its identity is secure.
523. A notation in the left margin reads simply “236.” This perhaps references a page in volume 3 of Torquemada’s 1615 edition of *Monarquía Indiana* that deals with the same material, although in the 1715 edition, the reference is to material on page 266 of that volume.
524. The middle of the *y* is obscured by a drop of ink, but its identity is clear.
525. According to Brundage (1972), the god spoke through his *texiptla*, or “impersonator,” a priest who wore the mask and clothing of the god, thereby becoming his image or embodiment. According to Torquemada: “with this he dispatched the Ambassadors, and ordered his people for the onset of the battle; but as all things have no good beginning, if first they are not entrusted to God, whence they are guided, by His divine hand, these idolaters, who acknowledged being of their great Camaxtli, did not believe that he was a false demon, and liar, but they came to pray to the altar where his image was and to ask to be favored against their enemies” (1.3.266).
526. The upper left corner of the page is missing. Without comment, Gerste simply transcribed *nanquitzon*. The first three letters were likely still present when Gerste made his transcript. We assume a word division between *n* and *an*. The first visible writing on the verso side of manuscript folio 15 is *quizon*.

527. The bracketed letters are now missing and have been supplied from Gerste's transcription. The onset and upstroke of the left side of the *n* are visible, as are the bottom portion of the tail of the *q* and the lower half of the final *h*, in the now-missing section. Gerste's transcription is probably correct.
528. Literally, "when they reached/arrived to her."
529. The scribe wrote *quetz*, then crossed it out with several strokes of the quill across it.
530. The scribe wrote *quí quilizquí*, then overwrote *li* with an *x*, crossed out *zqu*, and overwrote the *i* with *ti*, yielding *quiquixtilizquia*.
531. There is an ink spill over the *i* that continues down into the space between the lines, but the lower right of the foot of the *i* is visible, and that plus the accent mark make its identity clear.
532. Either the ink ran slightly when forming the *c*, or the scribe started to make the bar of a *p* and then overwrote it as a *c*. In either case, the identity of the *c* is clearly recognizable.
533. The scribe omitted the final *l*.
534. The scribe first wrote *Ya*, then overwrote the vowel as an *e*.
535. The upper right corner of the page is missing. No fragments remain of the original line. Gerste's transcription has the final *e* of *quenname*, which was likely lost after he made his transcription. He failed to comment on the missing material, but simply began a new paragraph with the first word from the next line.
536. The reconstruction is based on Muñoz Camargo's description of the cup or "Vaso de Dios" as follows: "The base was round and wide and in the middle a round finial like a baton, at the top, which was the bowl of the goblet. It was like that of a chalice that had the height of eighteen inches. It was of very burnished wood, of dark ebony color, although others say that it was of jet black stone that was very subtly worked, that in this native land they call Teotetl, which means 'Stone of God'" (1986, p. 108). See also Torquemada's description in note 539.
537. The entire *teocaxitl*.
538. Parts of the first two letters are still present. The first is most likely a *c* and the second, for which only the feet are present, could be either an *h* or an *n*, probably the latter. Most of the final letter of this line is present and is clearly an *l*. The reconstruction fits the available space, matches the remnant letters appropriately, and fits meaningfully into the text. *Chichihualayotl* is also possible, but would not fit the available space quite so readily.
539. Torquemada described the event in this way: "The afflicted Chichimeca did this and the Demon, to show that he had the power to free them, his infernal image responded to them by mouth that they should not fear, and that they should take heart, that the end would find them well and that it was appropriate that they make use of a superstition and trick which is that which follows. He commanded them to look for a very beautiful girl whose chest had one large breast but the other small, and to take her to his house and temple. They looked for this girl with great earnestness and alacrity, and they found her and she was taken to the temple of Camaxtli. There the idol commanded that they give her a potion of certain medicinal herbs to drink, and that after having drunk it, they should express her breast. And they removed milk that was necessary for that act. Thus truly, they squeezed her breast, and removed from it a single drop of milk, which was received in a cup, that was called the *Teocaxitl*, which means, "Chalice of God" which had the following form: The base was round and wide, and in the middle was a finial like a baton, and the bowl of it was like that of a chalice, and all the cup, from the bottom to the top measured eighteen inches high" (1.3.266). The term *teocaxitl* translates literally as "divine cup" or "sacred chalice."
540. Only the top of the uppercase *Y* is missing, as well as the top curve of the *t*. Enough of both letters remains so that there is no question about their identification.
541. Literally, 'deer root.'
542. We take *tzopotl* to be buzzard, although it possibly could be taken as modifying hummingbird, to indicate a specific type.
543. The duplicate word is lightly stricken through with three diagonal strikeouts (the last two being two quick strikes each), probably by the editor, since the quill used had very little ink at the time, while the lettering throughout the page is much heavier.
544. As Torquemada had it: "They removed this milk, and placed it into the cup, and on the foot of the altar a bundle of reeds, staves, and harpoons, knives, points, and deer tendons. They covered it all together with laurel branches, and they left it. With this they were offering many sacrifices, among others, of cut

paper, thorns and thistles, and an herb that resembles henbane, which they call *picietl*, and other odiferous perfumes, snakes, rabbits, and quails—which animals, and birds they killed in great amount, and offered them before the image of Camaxtli” (3.12.266). Muñoz Camargo’s description is: “They removed this milk and put it in the cup, and a bundle of reeds, harpoons, blades and points with the deer tendons, all together in the altar and shrine of Camaxtli, covered with branch laurel and finding themselves in this state, their sacrifice and diabolical superstition, they offered him, cut paper, thorns, thistles and *picietl* [tobacco] that is an herb that is similar to henbane. In that era, the Chichimeca did not draw blood, nor sacrifice meats, but only offered cut white paper, odoriferous perfumes, quails, snakes and rabbits that they killed and sacrificed before their idol Camaxtli. And on some occasions they offered thistles and tobacco to him also” (1986, pp. 108–109).

545. Literally, “spread-out things.”

546. The verso of folio 16 begins with a missing upper right corner. The first visible word is *tlâco*. The missing material is taken from Gerste. It was, perhaps, still present when he made his transcription.

547. The lacuna continues into the second line. The missing material is taken from Gerste. He transcribed the final word as *itlalten*, although the last syllable is still visible on the manuscript as *tlein*.

548. They were concerned that the drying of the milk signified failure. According to Torquemada, “after all this, the infernal priests, and high priests made their prayer. Once finished, the principle priest, who was called Achcauhtliteo Teopixqui, and also by another name, Tlamacazcaachcauhtli, incensed all the offering with great perfumes and smudges, most especially the cup or chalice in which was the milk that they had distilled from the breast of the girl. They made this ceremony of incensing in the morning, at midday, and at sunset and midnight. They did this for a period of three days in a row and watched the cup and the arrows and cane bundle with great attention to see if something arose in it; but seeing that nothing new nor of consequence occurred as they desired and that the drop of milk was almost dry and desiccated and very reduced and shrunken, they showed affliction and unease” (3.12.266). Muñoz Camargo described the same events in this way: “The Chichimeca having carried

out this superstition, the priests of the temple and the greatest one of them who was called the *Achcauhtli teopixque tlamacazcuachcauhtli* commenced to pray and to incense with great perfumes before the tabernacle of Camaxtli and there where was found the vessel of milk which had been distilled from the maiden. And they began from the morning to the midday until sunset and at midnight to perfume and incense it, which they did for three days successively, always examining the vessel of the arrows to see if something was happening in it. They did not see that their sorceries had any effect. Rather, the drop of milk had dried up, wilted, and withered. The Chichimeca were very distressed, having committed themselves to give combat on the following day” (1966, p. 109).

549. Literally, “at some time thus someone’s alleviating.”

550. Torquemada reported this sacrifice of a captured Huexotzinca soldier in greater detail: “At this time the Tepaneco aid arrived, that the Huexotzinca awaited, and inspecting his troops, as his king had commanded, he left the hill and ascended a very high mountain range, that is called Tlamcazcatzinco Quauhticpac, trying neither to arrive with the aid nor to wage war against the surrounded Chichimeca; and determining at that time to begin battle, the Huexotzinca and all the other participating warriors undertook with greatest energy and with very great shouts and howls to fight the Chichimeca and to drive them up the edge of the mountain range. The Chichimeca who were waiting, did not only wait in a group for them in their kingdom and field; but with greatest force and boldness they went out to receive them, and in the first blows and encounter of their combat the Texcalteca caught one of those of the opposite field, and as guarantee of their victory, they took him with great alacrity to offer and to sacrifice to the idol Camaxtli, before which they opened the chest and they removed the heart from him. And they put it, as a gift and offering to the awful and horrible idol Camaxtli. And skinning the miserable captive, one of them put on his skin and hide, and fitted with his own guts, dragging the feet and hands of the sacrificed one on the ground. In this way they truly presented it before the infernal god, Xipe (as he was now called by those that did this ceremony and diabolical spectacle)” (3.12.267).

551. The scribe wrote *yca*, then inserted the *e* in superscript between the *y* and *c*.

552. The scribe first wrote *quena*, then inserted the *mi* in superscript above the comma.
553. Or perhaps 'boiled'
554. The scribe wrote *YnimacCh*, then overwrote the *C* with an *e*.
555. The scribe wrote *Yao quizcahuan*. We assume an initial *i*:- that he assimilated to the *y*.
556. Or "spread themselves out in a single direction."
557. "In several directions" is implied by the verb *xexeloa*.
558. Literally, "his nephews."
559. The Spanish title "Guerra Mexicana 8º" was written across the top of the page, probably before the scribe began work on this page (and perhaps as a direction to the scribe about what to write). Because it occupied the space in which the scribe usually wrote the number of the recto side of the leaf, he wrote the page number, 17, on the far right of the page and slightly lower than this title. In fact, the "7" of the page number extends down into the first line of text between *mocatí* and the page-end dash that follows it. There is a slight tear on the top of the page near the right corner. It extends down far enough that the top right-hand quarter of the º that follows the "8" and the top half of the slash that comes next are missing. Indeed, the upstroke might be something other than the beginning of a forward slash, perhaps the beginning of the line with which the scribe normally underlined the page number, the top onset of which is also missing because of this small tear. The two are, however, somewhat distant from one another, so we have simply used a forward slash to portray the first incomplete mark. A final unusual feature of this line is that the scribe wrote the page number to the right of, instead of above, the curve he usually used to underline the page number.
560. From this page on, the damage to the upper outside corner of the leaf is minimal and does not obscure the Nahuatl text, except for the particulars noted in note 559. That a Spanish title was written across the top of the page raises the possibility that this section on the war was intended to have been an independent chapter, perhaps anticipated to be numbered as chapter 8 by whomever wrote the title in Spanish. Although no chapter number or introductory paragraph is present, the previous chapter was numbered as 5 by the scribe, and the next chapter, which begins on the same page that this section ends (on the verso of folio 19), is identified by the scribe as chapter 7. Had this material

been intended to be an independent chapter (chapter 6 where it currently falls), then the jump from chapter 5 to chapter 7 could be explained as a simple omission of the chapter number and introductory paragraph. This page also has two other notations in Spanish, in the hand of the marginal commentator. To the right of the Spanish title is "8 º . . . 17." The missing word of perhaps four letters has been lost, due to a small tear at the top of the page. The "17" is the manuscript's folio number. The second notation is a note in the left margin that reads "Capitulo 12, libro 3º, salestando se gran p^{te} przco dio fin" (chapter 12, 3rd book, being the greater part [*parte*, abbreviated *p^{te}*] It seems to me [*pareSCO*, abbreviated *przco*] it ends here). The material beginning here with *Inic* and continuing through the end of the verso of manuscript folio 17 also occurs as duplicated material by a second scribe (the "copyist") on the recto and verso of manuscript folio 31. The duplicated text has a slightly different heading, "Comenzir de la guere de Mexico" (beginning of the war of Mexico), a title that may have been added after the manuscript was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

561. This battle occurred in AD 1384. According to Kirchhoff et al. (1976, p. 208), *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca* records that in the year Nine Tecpatl (the date also given by Muñoz Camargo for this battle), "en èl fueron flechados los muros del tlaxcalteca cuando los iban a destruir los uexotzinca y los acolhua. Los tolteca, los totomiuque y los quauhtinchantlaca los ayudaron, los fueron a salvar, por eso no fue destruido el tlaxcaltecatl" (in him the arrows pierced the walls of the Tlaxcalteca when the Huexotzinca and the Acolhua came to destroy them. The Tolteca, the Totomihuaca, and the Quauhtinchantlaca who helped them went to save them, so the Tlaxcalteca were not destroyed), the Nahuatl being paragraph 336, folio 38v, MS 46–50, p. 34). The *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehman 1938, p. 119; Velázquez 1945, p. 17) reports the same battle, but with a different outcome: "En el Año 9 *tecpatl* asaltaron los muros de los tlaxcalteca; ellos lo hicieron, los uexotzinca; cuando gobernaba Miccacalcatl, y los acolhuaque cuando gobernaba Acolmiztli" (in the year Nine Flint the walls of the Tlaxcalteca were assaulted. Those who did so were of the Huexotzinca, when Miccacalcatl ruled, and the Acolhua when Acolmiztli ruled). Compare also Muñoz Camargo (chapter 6), who also portrayed

- Huexotzinca as the aggressor and the Tlaxcalteca as the victors.
562. The word is divided after the last *t*, with the rest beginning the next line. The scribe omitted the *i*, which should come next, but it was later written on the left margin as an underlined addition before the *a*.
563. The copyist omitted *ca* in the duplicate section on the recto of folio 31 of the manuscript.
564. They did not confer with the Mexica, whom they assumed would help them.
565. That is, the Mexica's aid.
566. That is, the Tepaneca and the Tlaxcalteca finished.
567. Literally, "someone's city."
568. The Huexotzinca and the Tepaneca departed. Gerste's transcription ends here.
569. Or "fields" or "savannas."
570. The scribe first wrote *Totolan*, then changed this to *Totolâ*.
571. The settlement of San Nicolás received that name in AD 1503. The Spanish name was underlined by the scribe, and there is no accompanying notation.
572. The scribe wrote a large comma in the left-hand margin just to the left of *que*, then crossed it out.
573. In the left-hand margin is an oval library manuscript catalog stamp. Around the top half are the words "Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris." Around the bottom edge are the words "Ancienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN." In the center the entry, "N° 254." has been written. The stamp occupies the margin next to the last four lines of the page.
574. Literally, "clothing."
575. Literally, "guarded it."
576. Literally, "towards on front."
577. The place name literally means, "revered place of young priests of the path among the trees."
578. Literally, "thus."
579. The Tlaxcalan Chichimeca.
580. On the verso of folio 31 of the manuscript, the copyist followed *chichimeca* with the dittography, *ica mochi*, from the line below it in the manuscript, then crossed out these two words.
581. The scribe first wrote *chimeca*, then inserted the second *chi* in superscript, with an insert mark after the first *chi*.
582. The Huexotzinca war leader.
583. The duplicate material on the verso of folio 31 has *oquitizquique*. We take the word to be *o:quitzi:tzquiqueh*, "they took him captive."
584. The duplicate material on the verso of folio 31 of the manuscript has *inyollo*, "their hearts."
585. The scribe misspelled this as *theû*.
586. The scribe misspelled this as *omecuep*. The copyist corrected the spelling in the duplicated section on the verso of manuscript folio 31.
587. The first duplicate section (folio 31 recto and verso of the manuscript) ends with *iuquin*.
588. The scribe placed the folio number "18" on the upper right corner of the page, without underlining. The third duplicate section (manuscript folio 33 recto and verso) begins here and continues to the end of the verso of manuscript folio 18.
589. The scribe spelled *cuauhcoyolin* with a final *m*. The copyist used a final *n* on the recto of page 33 of the manuscript.
590. The scribe first wrote *mimiztl*, then overwrote the *l* as an *í* and added the final *n*.
591. Literally, "would be aided."
592. The verb *comonia*; "become enraged, enflamed," is typically said of a group of people.
593. The scribe followed with *oquitlazaya* with an insertion mark and, in superscript, wrote "^. The copyist simply has a comma after the word.
594. The scribe appears to have written *quîtōa*. The tilde could also be a poorly drawn circumflex, his more usual mark above an *o*. The copyist spelled this *quítoa* on the recto of folio 33.
595. The scribe wrote *quimo tlatlavh ti li liticatca*. We amend this to *quimotlatlauhtiliatia*. The final three letters were obscured by an ink splatter, but are reconstructable from parts of the letters that are still visible. They are also present in the copyist's duplicated section on the recto of folio 33.
596. The scribe began writing *yh*, then overwrote the *h* as an *n*.
597. The scribe first wrote *mi*, then overwrote the *i* as an *a*.
598. Literally, "come out beyond, go right through." The root, *quiza*, means "emerge, come out, finish, conclude." The prefix *nal-* is used with verbs that indicate crossing, traveling through, or being at a distance. Thus, the sense would seem to be asking that they conclude the war successfully, without hindrance.
599. The scribe first ended with a comma, then overwrote this as a semicolon.
600. The scribe first wrote *theû*, then overwrote the *u* as *o* and added a final *û*. There is also a dot under the

- u*, perhaps the beginning of a comma the scribe had begun before he recognized the need to correct the spelling.
601. Both the scribe and the duplicate section used the spelling *ê*.
602. The scribe wrote *ina* followed by the top half of an *l*, then stopped forming that letter and wrote an *n* beneath it, since the half-letter did not intrude into the space where the *n* belonged.
603. The duplicate material on manuscript folio 33 has *icnoyohuâ*.
604. Literally, "gathering people together."
605. The scribe first wrote *Yni*, then overwrote the *i* as a *t* and continued.
606. The scribe wrote *quimâ*. The duplicate page has *quinian*.
607. The scribe wrote *nimâ*. The copyist wrote *niman*.
608. Torquemada's description of the priest's ritual and its effects is instructive: "Being, then, in this fury, fighting together, and all wounding one another, the damned Priest was praying to his false god and petitioning him with great sighs for the victory of his people. After having made his enthusiastic oration, he departed, moved by the Demon, with the cup of milk in hand, and said to them: 'You valiant warriors, invincible Chichimeca, do not think to fear, for it is the time of victory, and the victory has arrived. And our great god Camaxtli, has pity on us.' And saying these and other exhortational reasons, he spilled the cup of milk that he carried in his hands, on him who was dressed, with the skin and hide of the sacrificed captive. Then he immediately took an arrow, which they had forged by diabolical art and, putting it on a hook and a poorly formed bow, he threw it towards the enemies. And then at the same time, the arrows which were at the foot of the altar of the idol began to move and to leave the temple with great fury and to wound them. On this same occasion, there arose a very thick and dark fog" (1.3.267–268).
609. The scribe wrote the number 19 above the first line on the right side of the page.
610. That is, they weren't able to perceive the entire battle as a coordinated action.
611. The scribe wrote *incihuahuahuan*. We have dropped the reduplicated syllable.
612. The cedilla is actually under the *e* instead of the *c*, perhaps because the scribe was writing in haste.
613. The scribe wrote *huailcahuâ*. We take this to be a misspelling (or dialect variant) of *huayo:lcahuan*, "relatives."
614. Literally, "taken hold of by hand" or "gripped."
615. Literally, "forgotten ones."
616. Literally, "carried him."
617. The scribe began with *ie*, then overwrote these two letters as *n*.
618. A note in the left margin reads "Concuerta con el capitulo 13, libro 3º.— aungº omitias de muchas Palabras" (corresponds with chapter 13 of book 3, although it omits many words).
619. The introductory paragraph is set off from the following text with a line composed of a series of hyphens, which become equal signs after about a quarter of the length of the line.
620. Literally, "guarded."
621. We take this to be the negative prefix *ah-*, the *t* being in anticipation of the first letter of *theotlatlaca*.
622. We interpret *ahteotlatla:ca* as "demons" by analogy with *ahtla:catl*, "bad, inhumane person."
623. The scribe spelled this *iteyayecancahuan*.
624. We take *Ymic nihuan* to be a misspelling of *i: nicnihuan*.
625. The scribe extended the bottom curl of the *c* to the edge of the margin, then wrote the *a* somewhat smaller than normal and above that extension.
626. The scribe wrote *âyoctle*.
627. The scribe spelled this *cuahutlaltin*.
628. In this context, the location is likely Zempoala on the Gulf Coast.
629. The scribe wrote *oc*, then overwrote the *c* with *h*, and continued with *ualaque*.
630. Literally, "entered its distant home."
631. The scribe ended the previous chapter with a long dash to the end of the line, then continued the next chapter on the same manuscript page on the next line. The chapter heading does not occupy a separate line above the introductory paragraph, but is simply left-justified, with the introductory paragraph beginning on the same line that it occupies. To the left of the first word of the chapter title, a note in the left margin reads "concuerta con el capitulo 14 del libro 3º asta su fin" (corresponds with aforesaid with chapter 14 of the 3rd book to the end).
632. The introductory paragraph ends with a long dash to the end of the line, and the text of the chapter begins on the next line.
633. In front of all his nobles.

634. The scribe first wrote *y nte*, then overwrote the *t* as a capital letter. The rest of the name begins the next line.
635. The *ô* has a small tail similar to a comma in shape, perhaps simply an unintentional mark.
636. Teoculhuacan was the mythological ancestral home of the Tlaxcala in Aztlan. The scribe divided the word after *theo-* and the verso of folio 21 begins with *Culhuacan*. The prefix *teo-* before a place name refers to the group (in this case, the Culhuateca) before they settled permanently and established an *altepetl*. The prefix may refer to the *teotl* bundle that the god-carrier carried as they migrated.
637. Literally, “because then he thereby encouraged his vassals by means of his being held in respect, rather than much holiday.” In other words, he required them to work to produce wealth for him rather than to enjoy days of leisure.
638. The scribe first wrote *yn*, then overwrote the *n* as a *C*.
639. The scribe began with a lowercase *t*, then added the superior bar to make it uppercase.
640. The scribe ended the word with *hual*, then overwrote the last letter as *n*.
641. The staff of the *h* descends vertically below the line as far as one would expect the tail of a *p* to descend, although the line is more vertical than the one the scribe typically used for that letter, so that may not have been his intent. This vertical line also has a crossbar at the level of the base of the foot of the *h*. None of this matches any other letter, but the scribe clearly had a false start at this point and corrected it to an *h*.
642. The scribe did not bar the *t*.
643. Either the accent over the *a* was poorly formed because the ink ran, or the scribe intentionally covered it.
644. The scribe first wrote *tlatlí*, then rewrote the *lí* as *tq*.
645. The scribe wrote *yntl*, then changed the *l* to an *e*.
646. A note in the left margin reads “Concuera con el cpitu- lo 15// asta su fin libro 3º//” (corresponds to chapter 15// to the end of the 3rd book//).
647. The introductory paragraph is set off from the ensuing text with an extended dash to the right margin, and underlining of the text by two rows of hyphens. We have used italics for this material.
648. The scribe wrote *ypili*, then overwrote the second *i* as an *l* and added a final *o*. The quill dot is under the *o* rather than after it.
649. Literally, “guarded.”
650. The material beginning here with *yahua:lotaqueh* and continuing through the end of the verso of manuscript folio 23 also appears as duplicate folio 32 (recto and verso) of the manuscript.
651. On the recto of page 23 of the duplicated material, the copyist inserted the dittography *auh zan ic* from the line above this one and then crossed it out.
652. The ink ran in the *l*, but the letter is clearly recognizable. The scribe spelled the name with a final *m* here and in ensuing occurrences.
653. The scribe failed to bar the *t* in the *tz*.
654. The scribe wrote *quin noxtiliz*, then overwrote the *o* as an *e*.
655. Both the scribe and the copyist spelled this *aic*, and added a superscripted *a* above the *c*. We take this to mean that *aya:c*, rather than *aic*, was intended.
656. Literally, “made full.”
657. The copyist spelled this *oquinyocuitia* on the verso of folio 32, omitting the scribe’s semi-final *a*.
658. The copyist haplographically omitted the entire line, *O:quicauh i:tic in i:cha:nyo:, in i:callo ce: i:piltzin*, following *Teuctotolim*.
659. We take *ame* to be a misspelling of *ahmo*.
660. The scribe wrote *maca tz*, then overwrote the last two letters as *tí*.
661. The scribe divided the word and ended the verso of folio 23 with *ynana-*. The copyist ended the verso of folio 32 at the same point, in the middle of the word, even though there was remaining space on the line to have finished the word. This indicates that he was copying from folio 23 itself, and not some other copy.
662. Literally, “speech hurried.”
663. The scribe wrote *tlâ*, then changed the *l* to an *h*.
664. The scribe began with *hu*, then overwrote these as *na* and continued with *huac*.
665. We take this to be a misspelling, in which the scribe omitted the final *h*.
666. The scribe first wrote *q*, then overwrote it as *C*.
667. The scribe wrote *mo*, then overwrote the *o* as an *í*.
668. The scribe wrote *yao Yecancauh*. We take this to be *ya: o:yaca:ncauh*.
669. The scribe omitted the final *û*, then added it in superscript.
670. The scribe ended the previous page with *o qui n*. When he began the next side of the leaf, he repeated these two syllables.
671. Literally, “enflamed at heart.”
672. The scribe began with a lowercase letter, possibly a *u* or an *a*, then overwrote it with an uppercase *C*.

673. The ink ran between the *a* and the *n*, but their identities are not obscured by that.
674. The scribe wrote *yet*, inked out the *t*, and continued.
675. The scribe wrote *te*, then overwrote the vowel as an *l*.
676. A marginal note in the left column reads “~~fn~~ finaliso con dho capitulo—con cuerda con el capitulo 16 asta su fin. Libro 3^o” (finishing with the aforesaid chapter—corresponds with chapter 16 to the end. 3rd book).
677. The end of the chapter is marked by dashed lines to separate it from the next chapter, which begins on the same manuscript page.
678. Bishop Garcés took possession of the see at Tlaxcala in February of 1529.
679. The episcopal cathedral of Santa María de la Concepción was established and named by Bishop Julián Garcés at the palace of Maxixcatzin, the location of the first Franciscan monastery, after he took up residence there in 1527, when the three friars left that location for their new monastery in the barrio of Cuitlixco in Tlaxcala. The cathedral was located north of modern Tlaxcala, across the Rio Zahuapac and beyond the marketplace, in the cabecera of Ocotelulco. Mendieta ([ca. 1596] 1858) says that the name was still in use in the second half of the sixteenth century, although it was then transferred to the principal cathedral of Tlaxcala, which at that time was at the monastery called Asunción de Nuestra Señora—the third Franciscan monastery that had been completed in 1540, and that was also known as San Francisco Tlaxcala.
680. The chapter title does not occupy a separate line. Rather, the text of the introductory paragraph simply follows the title on the same line.
681. The introductory paragraph ends near the bottom of the manuscript page, with *mínquí*;——— being centered on the bottom of the page, with flourishes to its left and right and underlining beneath.
682. The scribe first wrote *omi*, then overwrote the *m* as *qu*.
683. The scribe first wrote *yu*, then overwrote the *u* as an *n*.
684. The scribe wrote what appears to have been a *y*, then scratched it out with several strokes.
685. The scribe wrote *teq*, then overwrote the *q* as a *p*.
686. The scribe wrote *tlacay*, then overwrote the *y* as a *z*, continued with a second *z*, and finished with *cali*.
687. The scribe wrote *tlatocai*, then overwrote the *i* as a *t*.
688. The scribe wrote *ocalaquí*, then placed a coma shaped insertion mark between the first two letters and added the *mo* in superscript.
689. A note in the left margin reads “dic/Lib fin con dho capitulo combiene con la fundacion el a cabecera y señorio e Guiahiuztlan llama pⁿ o la Tlapitzzahuayan asta su fin Libro 3^o” (said/book ends with the aforesaid chapter combined with the founding of the capital and dominion of Cuiahuiztlan currently called Tlapitzahuacan to the end. 3rd book). The note laps over into the section of the margin occupied by the beginning of chapter 11, which deals with the founding of the cabecera of Guiahistla.
690. *D^rHernando* is all written together, with no space between the title and the name. In fact, the scribe did not lift the quill between the superscripted *n* and the *H*. The superscripted *n* has a comma-shaped insertion mark beneath it, at the level of the bottom of the preceding and following letters.
691. Cortés arrived in Tlaxcala in AD 1519.
692. The underlining separates the end of chapter 10 from chapter 11, which begins on the next line of the same manuscript page.
693. We take this to be a misspelling of *Ynic*.
694. The scribe first wrote *tepa*, then overwrote the *a* as an *e*.
695. Literally, “guarded his [own] breechclout.”
696. Literally, “It happened that they were confronted by Colhuacateuctli Cuanex.”
697. The scribe first wrote a lowercase *c*, then overwrote it as an uppercase *C*.
698. The ink ran in the *t* and *o*, but not enough to obscure the identity of these two letters.
699. The scribe began with *o*, then overwrote it as *C*.
700. The scribe ended with *qui*, then overwrote the final *i* as an *e*.
701. Literally, “they took care of him.”
702. The underlining separates the end of the text of chapter 10 from the title of chapter 11, which begins on the next line of the same page.
703. The history ends here. A note written below, in the hand of the later commentator, reads “V. Pagina 18 dch Aqd aqui redi . . . , dcho p^o, fr 18” (go to page 18, aforesaid, here . . . aforesaid page 18). The recto of folio 30 is blank, but the verso has the words “enl^o_{tf} os n^o 22 ynb^o_{tt} 5^o” (bundled together as number 22 in inventory 5). According to Rosa y Saldívar ([1847] 1947) and, later, Gómez de Orozco (1927), this gloss is in the hand of Mariano Fernández de Echeverría

y Veytia, who made the first important collection of Indian manuscripts in Mexico between the years 1718 and 1780. This description corresponds to Boturini's July 1743 characterization of the manuscript (see Introduction) as consisting of two notebooks with thirty folio pages. The recto of folio 30 also bears a stamp that reads "Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris ancienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN"; the manuscript number "254" has been written in the center of the stamp. Folios 31 through 33 of the manuscript contain a copy, in a different scribal hand, of parts of chapter 5. The few differences that do occur are noted in the footnoting of the primary text.

704. The recto of manuscript folio 31 is a copy of the recto of manuscript folio 17. Both pages have a Spanish notation at the top. The folio number "32" occupies the upper right corner of the page, and the copyist wrote the page number "17" that is centered at the top of the page. This makes it clear that manuscript folio 31 is the copy, not the original. On folio 17, it reads "Principio de la Guerra Mexicana 8[º /]" ("Beginning of the Mexican War"). Here, the Spanish notation reads, "Commencer ' de la Guere de Mexico" (beginning of the war of Mexico). To the right of this, the manuscript has an oval, inked acquisition stamp that reads "Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris" on the top half and "Ancienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN" on the bottom. The writing on the page is double spaced, and enough space was left blank between the Spanish notation at the top and the first line of text for another double-spaced line to have occupied the blank space. In the left margin, beginning in the center of this blank space before the body of the text, the marginal commentator wrote "Capitulo 12. Lib. 3. Saltandos gran parte pero dio fin" (chapter 12, book 3, skipping over for the most part but giving the end). The copyist's handwriting differs from that of the scribe. He wrote with a lighter press of the quill, leaving finer lines, usually wrote vowels without any diacritical marks (e.g., with simply dotted *i*'s), used *i* where the scribe preferred *y* in words such as *in* and *inin*, and *m* where the scribe preferred *n* before *p* in words such as *ipanpa*. He was also more consistent than the scribe in using an initial uppercase letter in place names. Where the scribe uses spellings such as *hic*, the copyist omits the initial *h*. Similarly, the copyist frequently omits the scribe's *h* in words such as *theotl*. Finally, the copyist almost always leaves a full space between a word and an ensuing comma, semicolon, or period.

Some of these differences suggest that the copyist may have been a more mature or practiced writer, since he was more consistent in spelling than was the scribe, introduced fewer word-internal spaces, and made fewer spelling corrections. The ensuing notes will note changes that the copyist introduced when he reproduced the scribe's pages, with the exception of the use of lowercase initial letters where the scribe used uppercase letters, spelling differences of the kind noted above, and differences in spacing within words. These may be found by a simple comparison of the two texts by researchers who may be interested in such differences.

705. The copyist omitted the *i* in *huelitiliz*.
 706. The copyist changed *ixtlahuacan* to *intlahuacan*. We take this to be an error.
 707. The copyist added a *tin* suffix that is not in the original manuscript.
 708. The copyist began the name with an uppercase letter, while the scribe did not, and omitted the scribe's final *n*.
 709. The copyist omitted the underlining and changed *San* to *S*".
 710. The copyist began the name with a lowercase *c*, then overwrote it with an uppercase *C*.
 711. The copyist substituted *c* for the scribe's *z*.
 712. The copyist omitted the scribe's *ne* prefix.
 713. The copyist began the word with a lowercase *n*, which was likely just the first part of an *m*, then overwrote this letter with an uppercase *M*.
 714. The copyist ended the page with the first word on the scribe's ensuing page.
 715. The copyist wrote *oin mau*, then overwrote the *u* as *li*.
 716. The words stricken out by the copyist are a dittography, in which the copyist mistakenly copied two words in the next line of the scribe's text, noticed his error, and crossed them out. The underline after the strikeouts is merely a resting of the quill.
 717. The copyist frequently uses long dashes to right-justify end of lines.
 718. The copyist omitted the scribe's *z* after the first *t*. We take the word to be *o:quitzi:tzquiqueh*, "they took him captive."
 719. The copyist wrote *iyaoy*, then overwrote the *y* as an *h* and finished with *uan*.
 720. The copyist wrote *quihualelu*, then overwrote the final vowel as a *c* and then completed the word.
 721. The copyist has added a final *n* that is not in the original manuscript. We take this to be an error for a

- singular pronominal prefix and, in keeping with the context, do not translate it as plural.
722. The copyist wrote *tla*, then overwrote the last two letters as an *h*.
723. By ending the line with a long dash, the copyist was able to end the page on the same word as the final word that the scribe did, even though there was room for another word or two.
724. The recto of manuscript folio 32, which reproduces the recto of manuscript folio 23, was badly torn before the copy was made. A relatively large section of the upper right corner was missing—from more than a third of the way from the right edge of the page at the top down through the right edge of the eighth line of writing—more than a third of the height of the page. That this damage was present before the copyist used the page is clear from the fact that there is no missing material in the copy. Each line simply ends at the tear. The purpose of making the copy is unclear. For instance, the use of a torn page indicates that the copyist was not likely to have intended this to be a finished product, or even to be used to replace the corresponding page by the scribe. Nor does the copyist's practiced penmanship suggest the copy was simply done as practice.
725. The copyist changed the scribe's final *m* to an *n*.
726. The two words that the copyist wrote, and then struck out, are another dittography, this time of words that are in the line above in the scribe's text.
727. The copyist wrote *tlaxicalli*, then inserted the *la* in superscript, using two insertion marks, a carat beneath the word, and a superscripted carat with a dot under it, followed by the *la*.
728. The copyist wrote *aic*, then inserted the *a* in superscript.
729. The scribe ended the verb with *taya*, while the copyist wrote *tia*.
730. The copyist omitted the entire line following this name. The scribe gave this line as "*oqui cauh y ti c yni chanyo, y ni ca llo cey piltzin*."
731. We take the initial *ame* to be a misspelling of *amo*.
732. The scribe wrote *qui mo cuitla huiti cca*. The copyist changed this to *quim o cui tlauhuitica*.
733. The copyist wrote *pahuic*, then inserted the vertical line.
734. Again, the copyist ends the page at the same point as the scribe's page of text, despite the available room for more material.
735. The copyist cleaned his quill in the left margin, and crossed out the marks. The copy is paginated, as the recto of manuscript folio 33, in the upper right corner. The material corresponds to the scribe's text on manuscript folio 18, and the copyist placed this number, centered, atop the page. The material in this final copied material actually continues the copied material on manuscript folio 31, even though the intervening copied material on the recto and verso of manuscript folio 32 comes after this material, though the material here does not match that copied on manuscript folio 33.
736. The copyist wrote *omocepan*, then overwrote the *c* as a *z*, so that the spelling corresponded with that of the scribe.
737. The copyist added the absolutive suffix to the noun, despite the presence of the possessive pronoun prefix and even though it is not present in the scribe's text. This might suggest that the copyist was not a native speaker of Nahuatl.
738. The dash after *mo* marks the end of a line. The copyist began the next line with an equal sign, to indicate that he was continuing the same word.
739. The copyist wrote *tziuh*, then overwrote the *h* as a *C*, and then finished the word.
740. The copyist wrote *cuetla*, plus a following incorrect letter or possibly two letters, the identity of which cannot be determined, because he inked out the error completely and overwrote it as an *X*.
741. The copyist wrote *inecentlalia*, then overwrote the last vowel with an *l* and continued with *tlatol*.
742. The copyist ended the previous line with an equal sign, and repeated the sign at the beginning of the next line, to indicate a word division.
743. The copyist miscopied the first vowel as an *i*.
744. The ink ran and filled the eye of the *e*. To clarify the letter, the copyist wrote (*ce*) in superscript.
745. Again, the copyist ended the page on the same word as did the scribe, even though there was room on the copyist's page for one or two more words. An ensuing, unnumbered leaf follows this last page of the manuscript. It is blank, except for a circular stamp from the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. The reproduction is very faint, but the writing around the circumference of the stamp appears to read "BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONAL" clockwise around the top two-thirds of the stamp, and "MANUSCRITS" counterclockwise across the bottom third. The center of the stamp has the two large letters, R. F. for "République Française." The same stamp occurs on the recto of folio 1 of the manuscript.

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