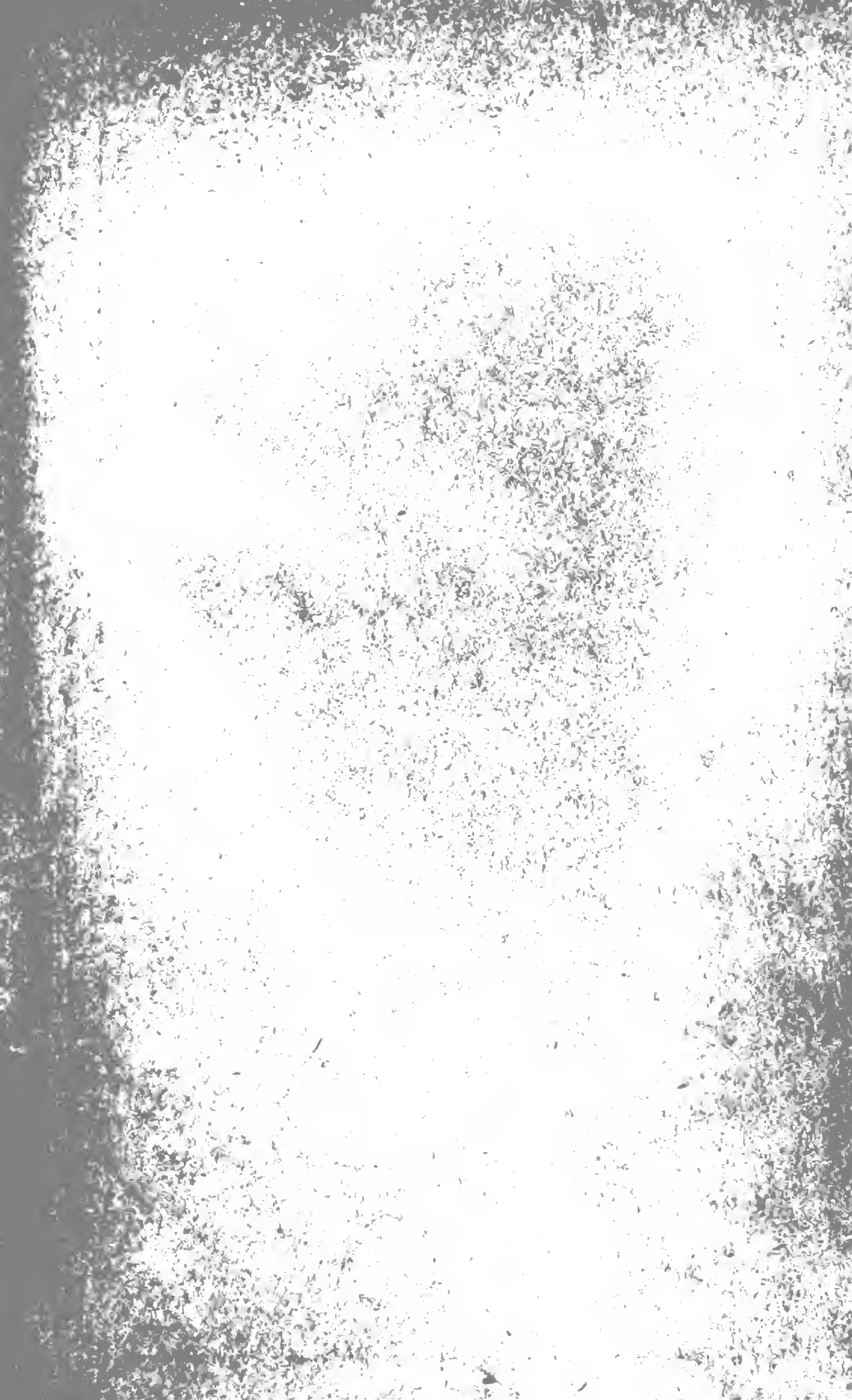


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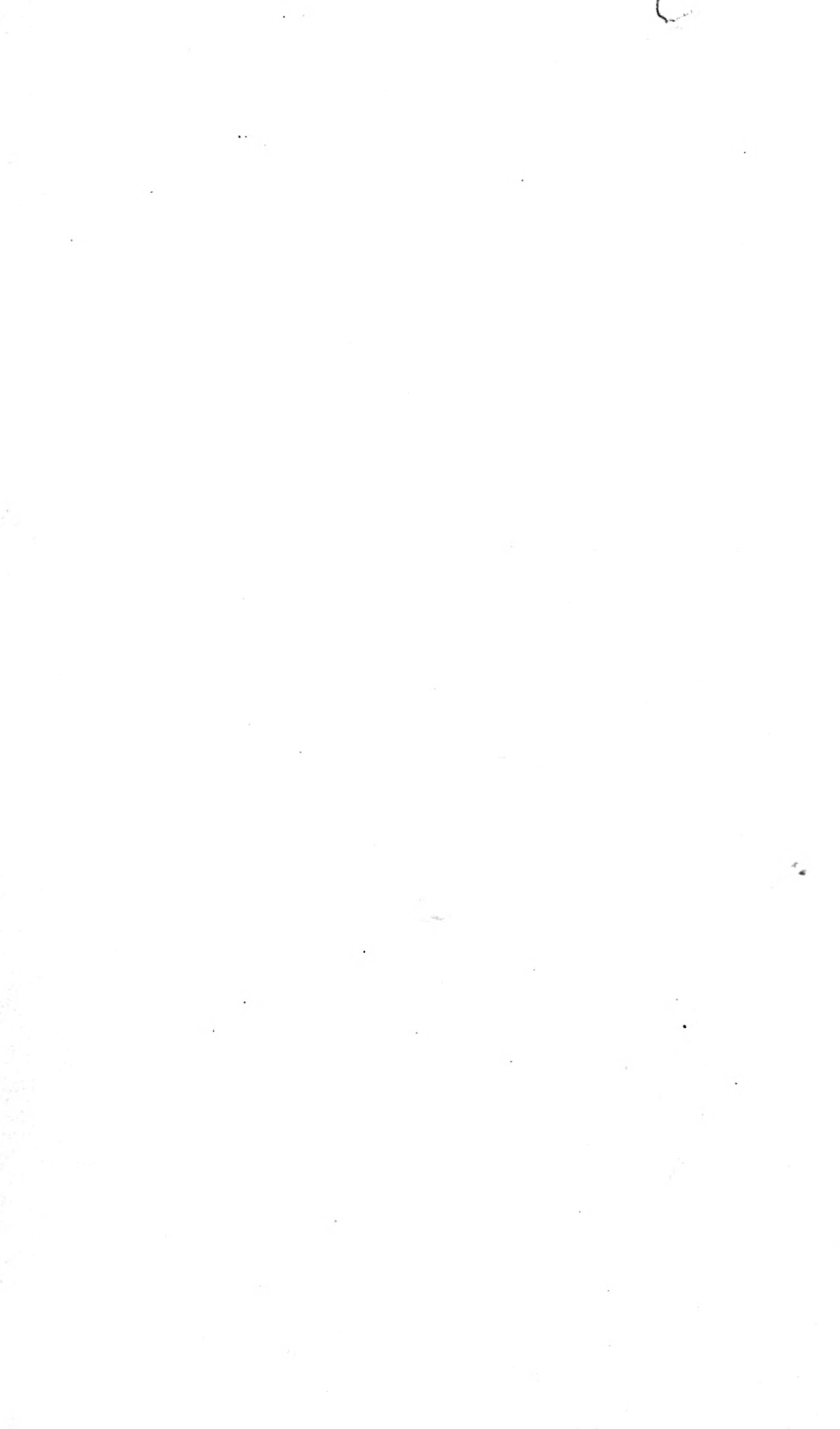


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THE SOURCES AND AUTHENTICITY
OF THE HISTORY OF THE
ANCIENT MEXICANS

BY
PAUL RADIN

University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
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BY
PAUL RADIN

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PART I. INTRODUCTION

The value of the unwritten historical legends of primitive peoples has been frequently discussed by ethnologists without any specific attitude being formulated. The legends were approved or rejected either without any reasons being advanced at all, or with the vaguest reference to their being generally accepted beliefs. As a rule most of the historical legends used by students dealt with migrations, and the general assumption seemed to be that primitive peoples remember such occurrences with fair accuracy. No proof had ever been brought forward to substantiate this feeling, yet so definitely fixed was this impression in the minds of most people that it was something of a shock when a well-known ethnologist questioned the historical value of all migration legends which could not in some manner or other be corroborated. Dr. Lowie's¹ contention was, in brief, that since so many clearly mythological elements were to be found in these so-called historical legends, and since it could be clearly shown that definitely controlled facts, such as the introduction of the horse, for instance, had either been forgotten or hopelessly misinterpreted, no reliance of any kind was to be placed on such accounts.

It is of course only too true that in the absence of confirmatory evidence of a fairly satisfactory kind, certainty is never to be attained. If we know that Indians have forgotten occurrences that have taken place within the last two hundred years, that they have woefully misrepresented happenings of even a hundred years ago, how can we place the least faith in statements relating to migratory movements that occurred possibly five hundred years ago, or put credence in historical reconstructions of specific aspects of their culture, such as religion or social organization? There is no question but that the possibility of error will always be present to an alarming degree, and that hypotheses built upon such uncontrolled material will be extremely shaky.

It can, however, be justly claimed that a certain amount of confirmation may be obtained from internal evidence, from linguistic comparisons, and from archaeology. Given detailed knowledge of a certain culture there is frequently an inherent probability that certain facts mentioned in semi-historical legends actually took place. Errors

¹ R. H. Lowie, *Oral Tradition and History*, Journ. Am. Folk-Lore, xxx, 1917.

and extraneous matters will unquestionably creep in, and the order of the facts may be wrong, but it is quite justifiable to assume that a certain amount of truth will be contained in them. Even if, for example, we were to grant that a marked mythic-literary tendency has manifestly been at work in the Polynesian accounts of migrations or in the descriptions of the journeys of the Nahua peoples from the north to the valley of Mexico, no one conversant with the cultures of these peoples would doubt for a moment either that some events similar to those described took place or that they may have played an important part in the development of these respective cultures. What attitude, however, shall be taken towards the details of any given migration myth, in which, as in the case of the Nahua peoples, there is a marked insistence upon a northern home and frequent stops, often of considerable duration? Many purely mythical episodes are imbedded in this account; it is, in all probability, a reconstructed and reinterpreted version of certain episodes; and yet, archaeological and linguistic evidences make it extremely probable that the Nahua did actually migrate from the north to the valley of Mexico and that they did make stops of unequal duration at a large number of places. Even if such confirmatory evidence were not at hand, it would not be possible to explain either the existence of such accounts or their specific peculiarities of detail except on the assumption of a certain likelihood of their representing events that actually occurred.

It does not seem justifiable, therefore, to reject oral traditions *in toto*, merely because a number of manifestly absurd episodes are contained in them. On the contrary, a certain value should be attached to their very presence.

No one would, for a moment, credit primitive peoples with a highly developed historical sense, yet I think that all ethnologists would agree that certain occurrences are likely to be remembered in every tribe, and that a few individuals are to be encountered, even in the simplest of primitive cultures, who remember a good deal more than the others and who make a definite effort to do so. This subject has been given very little attention by ethnologists, although all will probably agree that family histories are frequently remembered with considerable accuracy for a respectable number of generations, and that in these family traditions a number of matters of general importance to the tribe are included, such as clan affiliations, membership in societies or ceremonies, the introduction of new cultural elements, and the history of family heirlooms and sacred possessions. Examples

will doubtless occur to every ethnologist. Such knowledge, however, rarely becomes general, rarely becomes of social value, and only infrequently touches upon the broad and fundamental phases of a given culture. It would be vain to look for a general account of social organization, religion, or art. Their origins are generally shifted back to the remote legendary past and credited to culture heroes or deities. The general notion of a development is absent. This does not mean that primitive peoples are unaware of the fact that institutions and customs change. Indeed, they seem to have a keen realization of this, although only in a few cases does it appear to have become of cultural importance to them to trace the development of a given institution. At any moment, however, family records might have been elevated to a position of general social import and the foundation thus laid for institutional history.

An example may suffice. The Winnebago Indians of Wisconsin some time ago borrowed the Central Algonkin ritual known as the *Midewiwin*. The account of its borrowing, the order in which the elements were borrowed, the tribes from whom it was borrowed, the individual circumstances under which this occurred—all this is minutely set down in an account that has become firmly associated with the ritual. The ceremony was originally the possession of a few individuals. It subsequently became popular, and at the present time three quarters of the tribe adhere to it. We are on the very verge here of an interest in institutional history. It never materialized because the interests of the Winnebago were centered not on the idea of growth but of origins, and they chose to expend their intellectual energies in developing another, very elaborate and entirely mythical, account of the origin of the ceremony. The same thing happened under my very eyes in connection with the Peyote cult of the same tribe. Its history was known to practically every member, yet they chose to develop an origin myth for the ceremony, or, to be more accurate, to adopt a mutilated mythical version of its origin from some other tribe. In tracing the growth of the cult itself they seemed to take very little interest.

Are we then to assume that an interest in the developmental history of culture is entirely absent among primitive peoples? If this be true, how are we to interpret the isolated cases where such an interest is found, as among the Nahua and the Maya? We can of course put it all down to Spanish influence. But while that might conceivably account for the histories written after the Conquest, like those of

Duran, Tezozomoc, Ixtlilxochitl, and Sahagun, it would hardly explain the true historical sense shown in the pre-Columbian *Codex Boturini*, *Codex Xolotl*, or *Mapa Tlotzin*, nor would it explain why the post-Columbian Spanish authors should have insisted upon referring to numerous records that clearly exhibited a marked tendency toward emphasizing the development of institutions. We are consequently forced to the conclusion that the ancient Mexicans did have a true historical sense; that, indeed, this may be regarded as one of the significant traits of their culture.

This being granted, what reliance are we to place in their records? The very fact that the Mexicans were interested in tracing the growth of their culture must, in a general way, have made for accuracy. Such a criterion is, of course, too vague to be of great value. Fortunately we do not have to rely upon it to any marked extent. The Nahua people had a complex calendar system and a rude system of writing, and while an accurate chronology of events was out of the question, a good approximation to the true order of happenings was quite possible. The tendency to keep family records, we noted before, is quite widespread among primitive peoples. In many parts of the world, and in America in particular, there was a well-developed tendency to represent selected events pictographically on bark and on skins. All that we would have to assume then is that such personal records became of social importance among the Nahua and that, stimulated by the elaboration of the calendar, and, very likely, by specific events, a type of record developed which dealt with tribal affairs as such. External tribal political history had of course been treated before by many of the Plains tribes of the United States. Every account of a tribal war party or hunt must be considered as such. It was therefore no very great advance that the Nahua made when they arranged these tribal events chronologically. Yet it was a fundamental step, and one which contained the germs of a true historical method. The Sioux and the Kiowa had in their records emphasized mainly the events in the lives of individuals, not because they had any policy in this regard, we may surmise, but because their social organization and their historical development had, possibly, called for nothing else. They therefore never got beyond simple annals. That the Nahua went farther is only in part due to their more accurate method of reckoning. That assuredly was essential, but their type of social organization and, unquestionably, such historical occurrences as their contact with the more civilized tribes of the valley of Mexico, were probably of far greater importance.

We find then among the Nahuatl a chronologically arranged account of tribal happenings. What selection did their historians make? The documents which have been preserved and others mentioned give us the answer. A glance at the *Codex Xolotl*, the *Mapa Tlotzin*, or the *Codex Boturini* shows only too clearly that they were most frequently concerned with the fortunes of chiefs and their families. Yet other matters were not entirely neglected. The whole process of the gradual borrowing by the Nahuatl of the culture with which they came in contact, as well as their conquest of ruder tribes, is emphasized again and again. Much depends upon the type of record, for there were many kinds. Siméon has very conveniently grouped them in the following way:

General histories (*tlatolli*).

1. Ancient history (*ueue tlatolli*).
2. Contemporary history (*quin axcan tlatolli*).
3. Year counts. Those on paper were called *xiuhlapohualamatl*, and those painted *xiuhltlacuilolli*.
4. Annual accounts, year by year. Those on paper were called *cexiuhamatl*, and those painted *cexiuhltlacuilolli*.
5. Specific painting of each year (*cecemilhuiltlacuilolli*).
6. Book of each day (*cecemilhuiamoxtli*).
7. Count, day by day (*cemilhuiltonalpohualli*).²

There really is an amazing variety of types of histories and a still more astounding variety of matter contained therein. Only a fairly large number of specially trained men could possibly have written them. And indeed the Nahuatl records frequently speak of a guild of writers, even mentioning when this guild was first organized.

We have left for the last the really crucial point. How, in the absence of a true system of writing, did the Nahuatl historians remember what the various paintings meant? At bottom, after all, the accounts were handed down orally, notwithstanding the fact that numerous mnemonic devices were invented to aid the memory. Even if a specially selected and specially trained group of men handed down the information to men similarly selected and trained, the chances of error were nevertheless great. Agave paper and animal skins do not last forever; paintings become illegible; some are de-

² *Anales de Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, publiées par Rémi Siméon (Bibliothèque linguistique américaine, XII, 1889).

stroyed, others lost; and last, but not least, the viewpoint of each generation changes despite all conservatism. Contemporary sources always retain their value, but general histories, naturally, are always written from particular viewpoints, and are bound to reinterpret and misinterpret past events. It is, for instance, quite clear that most of the specific Mexico-Tenochtitlan accounts are written from the viewpoints of the people of Izcóhuatl's (1427-1440) and Montezuma the Elder's (1440-1469) time, and the accounts of Tezcoeo from that of Nezahualpilli's time. Internal historical evidence makes it quite clear that there is considerable justification for selecting the names of these particular rulers. A certain exaggeration is bound to have taken place in the accounts mentioned above. We must assume that the historians of each particular ruler interpreted past events in terms of his reign. But, granting all this, and granting further that the memory of men like Izcóhuatl, Tlácael, the two Montezumas and Nezahualpilli has become enshrouded to a certain extent in popular legend, why must that interfere hopelessly with the value of the accounts connected with their achievements?

In short, the efforts made by the Nahuatl to preserve a fairly accurate record of their history justify us in approaching their records with a certain confidence, and there is no reason for believing that, with the proper caution, with the proper evaluation of internal evidence, they should not yield us a fair picture of the course of Nahuatl history, and more specifically of Aztec history, from approximately the year 1100 A.D. to the time of the Conquest.

In order to enable the sceptically inclined ethnologist to judge for himself as to the justifiability of the preceding remarks concerning the historical sense of the Aztecs, some of the more important of the sources that bear on Aztec history proper are incorporated in English translations in this monograph. An effort has been made to include as large a variety as possible of historical documents. A brief discussion of the nature and value of the sources precedes the translations. The translations were all made by the author and adhere as strictly as possible to the original.

PART II. NATURE AND CRITIQUE OF THE PRIMARY SOURCES

Two types of sources for the history of the ancient Mexicans exist: the actual old Indian codices, of which there are but a few extant, and the works of Christianized Indians and Spaniards. Neither type can be accepted uncritically. But just as it would be quite unjustifiable to claim that because the documents of the first group antedate the Conquest all they contain is necessarily correct, so it would be ridiculous to undervalue the latter group merely because they happen to have been written at a time when the culture of the ancient Mexicans was disappearing and because their authors introduced a Christian viewpoint into their works. In most cases it is a comparatively easy matter to make the proper discount for prejudices and when that is done many of the Christianized Indians will be found to be more objective than their pre-Columbian ancestors.

The vast majority of the old manuscripts have disappeared, as well as the copies made of them. As late as 1746, however, Boturini³ was able to gather together a surprising number of original manuscripts dealing with all aspects of the ancient culture. To give an idea of the nature of these documents and the scope of the matter covered by them I will list a few of the most important. Some of these have been lost, some preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and a few have been published.

(1) A history of the Chichimecs. This record recounts the succession of Chichimec and Mexican rulers and the events that took place under these two monarchies . . . from the years *3 flint* to *2 rabbit*. Painted on Indian paper. (*Codex Xolotl*.)

(2) A manuscript recounting the history of the Emperor Nezahualpiltzintli and his sons. Painted on Indian paper.

(3) A painting of the city of Tetzcucio with indications showing its extent in ancient times. Painted on Indian paper.

(4) Map showing the lands belonging to the pueblos of Tepoztlan, Panhuacan, Ayapanco and Tlanahuac. . . .

(5) Description of the coming of the Mexicans from the island of Aztlan and their arrival on the continent of New Spain, together with

³ Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, "Idea de una nueva historia general de la America septentrional fundada sobre material copioso de figuras, símbolos, caracteres y groglíficos, cántares y manuscritos de autores Indios." Madrid, 1746.

[an account of] the stops they made and the duration of each . . . and, finally, the wars they waged when in the service of Coxcoxtli the king of Culhuacan. Painted on Indian paper. (*Codex Boturini*.)

(6) Map showing the journeys of the Mexican nation and the sojourn at Chapultepec.

(7) Description of the lagoon of Mexico and the surrounding pueblos.

(8) Description of the location of the imperial city which, it is claimed, was beautified in the reign of Itzcohuatl; containing the royal *acequias* and details concerning the *barrios* and houses.

(9) Map of the lands conquered in war by King Itzcohuatl and which he distributed [among his followers]. . . . An account in Nahuatl of the war which took place between Axayaca, the King of Mexico and Moquihuix, king of Tlatilulco. On European paper.

(10) An account, in Nahuatl, of the coming of the Mexicans [to the valley of Mexico] and what happened thereafter . . . beginning in the year 1066 and ending in the year 1316.

(11) A chronological list of the ancient kings of Culhuacan and their successors the kings of Mexico, written by the lords of Culhuacan. . . .

(12) An account of the coming of the Mexicans to the city of Tollan in the year 1196 and what took place up to the year 1406.

Quite a number of these documents found their way to the Bibliothèque Nationale and were published in the monumental work by Boban.⁴

PRIMARY CODEX SOURCES FOR THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Under primary sources we shall include only the so-called picture writings dealing with historical events. Three of these—namely, the *Codex Boturini*, the *Codex Aubin*, and the *Mapa de Sigüenza*—deal with the migrations of the Aztecs. According to Lehmann⁵ the *Histoire Mexicaine* in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a close parallel to the *Codex Boturini*. The other primary sources which have come down to us are: the *Mapa de Tepechpan*, a history of Tepechpan and Mexico from 1298–1596; the *Codex Xolotl*, the *Mapa Tlotzin*, the *Mapa*

⁴ Eugène Boban, "Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique." Paris, 1891.

⁵ W. Lehmann, "Methods and Results in Mexican Research," 1905, p. 12, note 6. In order to avoid needless repetition of bibliography I refer my readers to this useful résumé.

Quinatzin and the *Codex Mendoza*, the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, and the *Codex Vaticanus A*; the latter three preserved in copies only. Besides these may be mentioned the *Codex en Croix*, this being the annals of Tezeueo and Mexico from 1402 to 1557; and the *Codex Cozcatzin*, 1439-1594.⁶

1. *The Codex Boturini*

This document, of which part is here reproduced (plates 1-11),⁷ has been interpreted twice, first by Ramirez and then by Orozco y Berra, who, it seems, relied largely on Ramirez's notes. We have followed Orozco y Berra's interpretation as given in his *Historia Antigua y de la Conquista de Mexico*.⁸

The *Codex Boturini* covers but a small portion of the Aztec migrations and according to the dates given by Orozco y Berra covers a period commencing before 649 and continuing to about 831. To adequately understand it reference has frequently to be made to the *Codex Aubin*, which, while it was copied after the Conquest, is of considerable value on account of the Nahuatl explanation accompanying it. No historical value need be attached to the dates, for it is quite clear that the Mexicans had no way of accurately remembering them during this period of their history; certainly they had no complex calendar and no system of rebus writing then. Taking 1100 A.D. as the very earliest date for the introduction of writing among them (although even this may be too early), we shall have to assume that everything before that date rested on ordinary oral tradition without any elaborate mnemonic aids. How much of it can be trusted? There is no way of telling. However, it seems unlikely that their migrations lasted as long as the *Codex Boturini* claims.

The details of the migration period raise a very perplexing question. What is their meaning? We are clearly not dealing with mere fiction. It seems reasonable to assume that an extended migration took place, that stops were made, and that these were of unequal duration. Everything else seems doubtful. The account certainly did not attain its present form until many hundreds of years after the events narrated. It seems likely indeed that it was not given a definite form until the reign of the elder Montezuma (1440-1469). Mexico-Tenochtitlan was then in the first flush of its power and was extending

⁶ Cf. Boban, *op. cit.*

⁷ Taken from Lord Kingsborough, *Mexican Antiquities*, I. London, 1831.

⁸ Mexico, 1880, III, 67-87.

its conquests in all directions. Historians like Duran, Tezozomoc, and the anonymous author of the *Codex Ramirez*, claim that the ruler began to manifest an unusual interest in the past history of his people and it may very well be that current legends and semihistorical traditions were then woven into a coherent whole.

The translation of this codex is given on pages 33–35.

2. *The Mapa de Siguenza*⁹

This document (reproduced in plate 12) has been subjected to a number of interpretations. The earlier explanations of Clavigero and Humboldt have practically no value. That of Ramirez, which is followed by Orozco y Berra, is certainly the most reliable so far as the reading of the document is concerned.¹⁰ A little more credence may perhaps be placed in the events ascribed to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, because the Aztecs may by that time have already possessed their elaborate chronology and their system of writing, and because the records and traditions of the other Nahua tribes who had preceded them in the valley of Mexico in part corroborate their statements.

The *Mapa de Siguenza* is, according to Orozco y Berra, supposed to cover approximately the years 880–1299. It is clearly not an annual account set down year for year, but, like the *Codex Boturini*, shows unmistakable evidence of systematization. It differs from the latter document in that it is not so exclusively concerned with the names of the towns passed through nor with how long the Mexicans remained in each pueblo, but gives also significant details about battles and about servitude to other peoples. Although the historical accounts of all the Nahua peoples are thoroughly saturated with what might be called the "migration theme," there are clear indications of its weakening as we approach the eleventh century. In the *Codex Boturini* one has the general feeling that events and facts are being fitted into the concept of migration, whereas in the *Mapa de Siguenza* this holds its own as a theme fairly well at the beginning, but then weakens, to crop out again every now and then but never to dominate what has all the earmarks of being an attempt at recounting actual occurrences.

Both documents stop at definite dates—whether they be authentic or not is immaterial. The *Codex Boturini* terminates with a war

⁹ Kingsborough, IV.

¹⁰ *Historia Antigua*, III, 131–153. Mexico, 1880.

exploit which has been distinctly subjected to legendary and literary influences. No possible political significance can be attached to this particular event. The *Mapa de Sigüenza*, on the contrary, ends at a definite and important epoch. The Aztecs have been defeated and have sought refuge in that particular portion of the lagoon where they were shortly to found the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. This event was clearly recognized as a fundamental one in practically all the old documents that have come down to us. It was the beginning of the existence of the Aztecs as an independent nation. Like other events, it was probably used either as the termination or the starting point of historical accounts. This particular occurrence is still apparently connected, in the eyes of the scribes, with the migrations, although in all accounts of Aztec history there seems to have been a special grouping of the events which took place after the Aztecs had definitely settled in the valley of Mexico, *circa* 1450. That no separate accounts of this latter period existed, I would attribute to the fact that the elaborate calendar and the system of rebus writing did not form an integral part of the culture of the Nahua peoples of the valley until the middle of the twelfth century, nor of that of the Aztecs until the middle of the thirteenth. The oldest documents that Duran, for instance, used were contemporaneous with Acamapichtli (1376-1396), or antedated him but slightly. There is no reason, therefore, for assuming that the *Mapa de Sigüenza* is any older than 1299, just as there is no inherent reason for believing that it is not so old.

3. *The Codex Aubin*

This codex, which dates from 1576, differs fundamentally from the first two in that it consists clearly of two parts, one dealing with the migrations and ending with the foundation of Mexico-Tenochtitlan (1325), and the other continuing to 1576. In spite of the fact that our particular copy carries us to a period after the Conquest, there can be no doubt that up to 1519 it must be considered a primary source. It is really an historical document consisting of two or more older documents united and continued to 1576.

The first part covers the same ground as the combined *Codex Boturini* and *Mapa de Sigüenza*. Orozco y Berra was of the opinion that the *Codex Aubin* is really an unsuccessful attempt to combine the former two, and one which led to considerable confusion. There is a good deal of justification for this assumption. There are three

types of histories for the period preceding the fourteenth century: one covering the epoch of the migrations *par excellence* (*Codex Boturini, Histoire Mexicaine*), one covering the period of the struggles in the valley (*Mapa de Siguenza*), and one covering both (*Codex Aubin*). The latter is not so much an attempt to combine the *Codex Boturini* and the *Mapa de Siguenza* as an endeavor to write a connected account of the period up to 1325, for which doubtless the former two, or documents of their type, were utilized. The Nahuatl commentary accompanying it substantiates such a view, for it consists mainly of the speeches ascribed to the various personages of the migration period and other explanatory data such as are to be met with in post-Columbian histories of the entire period based on native sources like the *Codex Ramirez*, Duran, Tezozomoc and Ixtlilxochitl.

4. *The Atlas of Duran and the Codex Ramirez*

The skeleton for Padre Duran's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme* and for the anonymous *Codex Ramirez* (cf. pp. 67-123) was furnished by a series of paintings covering the entire history of the Aztecs. The first plate of the Duran and the first four of the *Ramirez Atlas* deal with migrations. It is rather interesting to note what portions of the migration period were selected for incorporation in such a general pictographic record. The *Codex Ramirez* has the following four:

(a) The seven legendary caves from which the Nahua started.

(b) The arrival of the Aztecs at Cohuatepec, in the cerro of Tula, described as a place abounding in game and fish. The picture also represents the natives of the place, the Otomi.

(c) The arrival of the Aztecs at the cerro of Chapultepec.

(d) The lagoon of Mexico.

Aside from the first, which is without any real significance, the selection of illustrations indicates clearly that the Aztecs regarded three events of paramount importance in their early history: their first contact with the peoples around the valley of Mexico, their first strong foothold in the valley at Chapultepec, and the founding of the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the lagoon of Mexico. Since this is so definitely borne out by the documents discussed above and by all later accounts, and since it is confirmed by the histories of the older Nahua states as described in the Tezcoean records (*Codex Xolotl*, etc.), the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, and lastly by the accounts.

of the Indian-Spanish historians obtained later on, we are forced to the conclusion that these are probably all historical events and that a determined attempt must have been made to remember them so clearly. We have deemed it safest, until proper archaeological studies shall have been made, to put no great credence in the specific details of the migration record, but the manner in which the early facts of Aztec history have been grouped indicates an historical instinct and is a good augury for the correctness of part of these wanderings, even if we shall be compelled to materially shorten the actual duration of their journey.

PRIMARY CODEX SOURCES FOR THE POST-MIGRATION PERIOD

For the period from the founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan to the second Motecuhzoma, there were two main varieties of documents: special monographs on particular families, reigns, and individuals, and those attempting connected accounts of past events up to the time each document was written. As a rule, only the history of a particular city was given, but as relations with other cities became more intimate, through war or trade, or as confederacies were formed, a third type of record came into existence: that which attempted to give the history of two or even more cities at the same time. Such accounts as these were probably never numerous. A number of originals of this group have been preserved, such as the *Mapa de Tepechpan* and the *Codex en Croix*. Nahuatl commentaries, as, for example, the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, those of *Chimalpahin*, and others, belong to this same class. Practically all of those concerned with the history of Mexico-Tenochtitlan have disappeared, except copies of a number of general histories such as the *Atlas of Duran*, the *Codex Ramirez*, the *Codex Mendoza*, the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* and the *Codex Vaticanus A*. A few of the first variety covering special periods have also come down to us, like the *Codex Cozcatzin* or those in the form of anonymous interpretations of hieroglyphic records now lost, such as the *Anales Mexicanos* (*Anónimo número 5*) and the *Anales Mexicanos* (*Anónimo número 6*) mentioned by Chavero.¹¹ That there were a number of such contemporary records men like Duran and Torquemada amply attest. The former, for instance, speaks of a painting concerning Ilancueitl, the wife of Acamapichtli, of numerous records concerning

¹¹ Alfredo Chavero, in "México a través de los siglos," México, 1889, Introducción, xxiv.

the second ruler of Mexico, of one concerning the fourth ruler, and of one relating to the fifth.¹²

We are much better off in connection with the history of the so-called Chichimecs, so far as the preservation of original documents is concerned, for three important sources are still extant that were used by Ixtlilxochitl in writing his histories: the *Codex Xolotl*, the *Mapa Tlotzin*, and the *Mapa Quinatzin* (sections 8, 9, 10, below).

A. Manuscripts Covering Special Periods

5. The *Codex Cozcatzin*

This document covers the years 1439–1572. It may be identical in part with Chavero's *Anales de Mexico y Tlatelulco*.¹³ Since, however, the latter begins with the year 1473, it seems better to regard it as another account of approximately the same period.

The *Codex Cozcatzin* consists of a number of colored paintings depicting twenty-three personages, the rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tlatelulco and their descendants well down into the Spanish period. However, the essential portions are concerned with the war between Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tlatelulco under their rulers, Axayacatl (1469–1482) and Moquihuix, respectively. This occurred about 1473, the year in which the *Anales de Mexico y de Tlatelulco* begin. From the Nahuatl glosses accompanying the pictographs, and from other documents written after the Conquest, we know all the petty details of this war, how it arose through the jealousy of Moquihuix and how it came to a head when, in imitation of Axayacatl, he also built a new temple and finally, at the head of confederates, tried to surprise Mexico-Tenochtitlan. The Tlatelulcans were detected and driven back to their city where their wives hastened to their aid. The latter portion of these occurrences is pictured in one of the paintings. The main painting represents Axayacatl's final fight with Moquihuix and the latter's defeat and death.

Both in Duran's Atlas and in the Atlas of the *Codex Ramirez* a number of the incidents of this bitter war are depicted. It was an important period in the history of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, for it marked the complete ascendancy of this city over its most persistent and dangerous rival. Probably owing to this, as well as to the fact that

¹² Cf. E. Beauvais' illuminating study of Duran as an historian in his article, "L'histoire de l'ancien Mexique," in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, xxxviii, 109–165, 1885.

¹³ "Mexico a través de los siglos," Mexico, 1889, Introducción, xxiv.

the details of the war were still comparatively fresh in the minds of the Mexicans when the Spaniards arrived, we are exceedingly well informed about them.

6. *The Mapa de Tepechpan*

This document narrates in a series of paintings the history of the district of Tepechpan and of the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan from 1298-1596. The first fourteen paintings take us as far as 1510. It begins with the arrival of the Chichimecs at Colhuacan and of the Aztecs at Chapultepec and gives us the hieroglyph dates of these important events. It then continues picturing events: now those of Tepechpan, now those of Mexican history. All important occurrences are generally provided with dates.

7. *The Codex en Croix*

This portrays the history of Cuauhtitlan, Tezcuco, and Mexico from 1402-1557. It is divided into four quarters, subdivided into thirteen compartments, each one containing one specific scene connected with the destinies of the states just mentioned. Dates are liberally supplied so that one can have no doubt about the events mentioned.

8. *The Codex Xolotl*

This famous manuscript covers a fairly long time, embracing the period between the coming of the Chichimecs to the valley of Mexico under their half-legendary leader Xolotl (963) to the reconquest of Tezcuco by Nezahualcoyotl (1428). The extensive detail with which the reign of Ixtlilxochitl, Nezahualcoyotl's father, as well as the struggles of Nezahualcoyotl, his flight and romantic adventures, are chronicled, demonstrate clearly that the document was written from the point of view of the latter and is therefore no older than 1428. It seems also clear that the early chronology of the document is quite untrustworthy and has been unduly extended. Apparently the conquest of the valley by the invading Chichimecas played the same role for the Tezucans that the migration period did for the Aztecs and was embellished with mythical details. Just as we were compelled to assume, however, that the fondness with which the Aztecs treated the subject of their migrations, has a certain historical meaning, so

we are compelled to assume that the excessive detail encountered and the apparent pleasure the Tezucans seemed to find in narrating their conquest of the valley, are of significance for their history. An approach to an accurate chronology begins fully a hundred to a hundred and fifty years before that of the Aztecs, which is exactly as was to be expected.

The *Codex Xolotl* and the two documents to be mentioned afterwards—the *Mapa Tlotzin* and the *Mapa Quinatzin*—were utilized by the historian Ixtlilxochitl for his famous *Historia Chichimeca* and his *Relaciones* and we are thus in a position, in this particular instance, to control one of the most important of the secondary sources for early Mexican history and to form some idea of the manner in which a man living but a short time after the Conquest was able to interpret the old manuscripts and what information he was still able to obtain from original sources known to him and from the oral information of the Indians.

9. *The Mapa Tlotzin.*

This document, herewith reproduced (plates 13, 14, 15), which we give below with the commentary of Aubin and with his unduly schematic arrangement of events,¹⁴ deals with the rulers of the states of Acolhuacan. The document seems to discuss a number of separate things, first giving the names of towns near Tezeuco, then of those around the lagoon of Mexico. After that it suddenly shifts into a discussion of the early period of Chichimec history, when the Chichimec were still nomads; then narrates in detail the manner in which their early leader Tlotzin, the founder of Tezeuco, was found by the Chalcans and gradually introduced to their superior manner of life, and, finally, we have a very rapid summary of the events from that time on to the rule of Nezahualpilli, the son of Nezahualcoyotl. Glosses in Nahuatl, written after the Conquest, explain a number of important matters, especially the approximate time of the arrival of the Aztecs and other tribes.

Whether or not we are dealing here with a document of an historical nature in the same degree as the others treated above, it is extremely difficult to say. Aubin was of the opinion that the *Mapa Tlotzin* was used for pedagogical purposes in connection with the Tezucan system of instruction. This theory seems rather far-fetched.

¹⁴ J. M. Aubin, "Mémoires sur la peinture didactique et l'écriture figurative des anciens Mexicains." Paris, 1885.

There is no reason why there may not have been quite a variety of documents, some of which were not mere chronicles but compilations similar to this one.

10. *The Mapa Quinatzin*

This document (reproduced as plates 16, 17) is translated with Aubin's commentary and over-schematic manner of presentation. It begins with the rule of Quinatzin, the son of Tlotzin, and ends, in a general way, with that of Nezahualpilli. Like the *Mapa Tlotzin* it is a manuscript of composite nature, partly historical, but dealing, on the whole, with the favorite Tezucuan topic of their gradual cultural acclimatization. Part II gives, in the main, a description of the social organization of the Tezucueans after the restoration of Nezahualcoyotl.

The *Mapa Quinatzin* belongs to a type mentioned by Boturini of which there are other examples to be found in his catalogue of manuscripts.¹⁵

B. *Manuscripts Covering the Entire Period of Mexican History*

All these were either wholly written after the Conquest or consist of earlier accounts continued until after the Conquest. The Nahuatl glosses so often found accompanying them are, of course, post-Columbian, but it is often difficult to tell whether the paintings are originals or copies. In the case of those given in the *Atlas of Duran*, the drawings show only too clearly that European influences have been at work, and we know this to have been so in the case of the *Codex Mendoza*, the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* and the *Codex Vaticanus A*. In other instances the fact of European influence is difficult to determine. However, it smacks of antiquarianism to lay too great stress, as a number of Mexicanists have done, upon the fact that we are dealing with copies. If internal evidence justifies us in assuming that the copies are faithful ones, no more need be asked.

11. *The Histoire Mexicaine*

This manuscript, which was written after the Conquest, consists of two parts, one dealing with the migration of the Aztecs from Aztlan and continuing until the captivity of Huitzilihuitl the Elder, an

¹⁵ Idea de una nueva historia, etc. Cf. footnote (3), p. 9.

event which is also depicted in the *Codex Boturini* and which is supposed to have taken place in the year 1332-1333. This is the codex which Lehmann considers related to the *Codex Boturini*. Apparently he is speaking only of the first part, for the second portion deals with the history of Mexico-Tenochtitlan from Huitzilihuitl's captivity to the Conquest. The date of the latter's captivity is certainly erroneous, for we know definitely that it took place before the founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

The second portion depicts the history of Mexico-Tenochtitlan from the election of Acamapichtli to the Conquest. Certain events concerning the neighboring city of Tlatelulco and Tezcuco are likewise mentioned, but only incidentally, although the Tepanecan war, on account of its connection with the destinies of Mexico, received rather full treatment.

This is certainly one of the most important of our early sources and, in its selection of events, demonstrates again what true historical insight the Mexican writers had.

12. *The Atlas of Duran*¹⁶

This atlas has been referred to before, under heading 4, in connection with the Aztec migrations. It is either an early copy or an original that has been made to conform to European ideas of draughtsmanship. Even if it be of post-Columbian date, there is no reason to suppose that the paintings are not faithful copies of the originals. Duran had access, according to his own testimony, to innumerable originals and seems throughout his work to show a marked preference for going back to sources, instead of relying upon the aid of contemporaries. He uses oral tradition only to fill out his story. How much could be obtained in the latter way, however, the size of his history shows, especially when it is compared with the small number of paintings upon which it was presumably based.

Owing to the primary importance of the work I will give a description of his fifty-two drawings. They are supposed to illustrate certain chapters, or, rather, the chapters are written to elucidate the illustrations which, of course, always contain far more than an uninitiated person could possibly tell. The paintings themselves, listed as plates in Duran, deal with single events, as follows:

¹⁶ Published by Ramirez in his edition of Duran's "Historia de la Nueva España," etc., Mexico, 1867-1880.

- (1) The islands and the mainland from which it is believed these Indians came.
- (2) How the aborigines set out from their homes in the seven caves to come to this country.
- (3) The arrival of the Mexicians in the country of Mexico and the things that happened to them before they reached this place.
- (4) What happened to the Mexicians after they reached Chapultepec.
- (5) How the Mexicians, at the instigation of their deity, went to look for the *tunal* and the eagle, and how they found them and agreed to erect a building there.
- (6) The first king of Mexico, named Acamapichtli, and what happened during his reign.
- (7) The second king of Mexico, named Vitzilihuitl, and his great deeds and acts of prowess.
- (8) The third king of Mexico, named Chimalpopoca, and of what happened in his time.
- (9) The election of the king Itzcoatl and how he freed the city of Mexico, and of other things that happened during his reign.
- (10) How the Tepanecans of Cuyuacan decided to wage war against the Mexicians and how they were defeated.
- (11) Of the great enmity that developed between the people of Xochimileo and the Mexicians, which resulted, after intense fighting between the two, in the total defeat of the Xochimileans after great injury and slaughter had been inflicted upon them.
- (12) How, after the people of Xuehimileo and the Tepanecans had constructed the highway, Izcoatl, the king of Mexico, ordered that the land of the Xuehimileans should be distributed (among his people).
- (13) How the people of Cuitlahuae rebelled against the Mexicians during the reign of Izcoatl and how they were conquered.
- (14) The election of the fifth king of Mexico, Ueue Motecuzuma, the first of that name, and of the treaty of friendship into which he entered with Nezahualcoyotl, the king of Tezueco.
- (15) Of the terrible battle that took place between the Mexicians and the Chaleans, between the towns of Amecameca and Tepupula, where the latter tried to avenge the cruel sacrifices that had been made of some of their people. Here three of the brothers of Motecuzuma were killed, but finally the Chaleans were conquered.
- (16) Concerning the feasts and the sacrifices that were made upon the stone called Cuauhxicalli, made in the form of the sun, the prisoners from Coaixtlaueac being used for this purpose.
- (17) Concerning the terrible famine that raged over the land for a period of three years, during the reign of Motecuzuma the first, and of the aid extended to the poor people of Mexico to prevent them from dying and the city from being depopulated.
- (18) How the king Motecuzuma had certain figures cut into a rock in the cerro of Chapultepec, and of his end and death.
- (19) Concerning the election of the king Axayacatzin, and of the things that took place during his reign.
- (20) Concerning the ferocious battle that took place between the Tlatelulcans and the Mexicians.
- (21) Concerning the second battle that took place between the Tlateulcans and the Mexicians and how the latter were victorious.

(22) How the people of Tenantzinco asked the Mexicans for aid against the people of Toluca and those of Matlatzinco and how this help was given and the latter peoples destroyed.

(23) How the two stones were placed and how the people of Matlatzinco were sacrificed upon them at the feast.

(24) Concerning the long and elaborate obsequies which were observed by the Mexicans in connection with those who were killed in war, especially the nobles.

(25) The election of the seventh king, called Tizozicatzin, and the presents the lords brought for the deceased king, and the speeches that were delivered.

(26) How the Mexicans determined to make war upon the people of Metztitlan in order to bring men for the coronation sacrifices of the king, and of how he was anointed.

(27) How after the (final) acts of Tizozicatzin, the king of Mexico, a younger brother was elected ruler, and of the great discussion that took place on that occasion.

(28) How the king Ahuizotl completed the erection of the temple and how a solemn feast was held in honor of that occasion and many people sacrificed.

(29) How the festivities and sacrifices began and how Ahuizotl ordered that all the people of the country, men and women, old and young, should be sought out and brought before him, so that his memory should be eternal.

(30) How the Mexicans waged war against the people of Tehuantepec, Izhuatán, Miauatlán, and Amaxtlán, a very famous province, and how they were conquered.

(31) How the king Ahuizotl, after his return from the war, visited all the temples, and of the great offerings and sacrifices he made in gratitude for his victories, and also of the thanks he rendered to his vassals.

(32) Concerning the death of Tlaacaelle; and also how the king Ahuizotl asked the lord of Cuicuacon for the water of Acuecuexco and of the excuse that he gave, which led the king to order his execution.

(33) How the water entered the city of Mexico and of the great joy with which it was received; and how it submerged Mexico and forced the people to flee from the city.

(34) How news reached Mexico that the people of the provinces of Xoconochco and Xolotla and the Mazatecs were maltreating the people of Tehuantepec, because they had submitted to the Mexicans, and of the war which the Mexicans waged in consequence.

(35) Concerning the death of Ahuizotl and of the solemn obsequies that were performed on that occasion and the great pomp with which he was buried.

(36) Concerning the solemn meeting that took place in connection with the election of a new king of Mexico and how the great and powerful lord Montezuma, the second of that name was elected; and of his great and splendid qualities.

(37) Concerning the order and precision which the king Montezuma brought into his personal household and of other matters that he ordained, worthy of so great a ruler.

(38) Concerning the solemn feasts which were given on the occasion of the coronation and public anointment of the king Montezuma, and of the great number of people who were sacrificed then.

(39) How Montezuma conquered the provinces of Cuatzontlán and Xaltepec and how he ordered that all the old men and old women should be killed and only the young people allowed to live.

(40) The reasons for which Montezuma began war upon the people of Quetzaltepec and Tototepec and of the great resistance they offered to his efforts at conquest.

(41) About the terrible battle that the people of Vexotzineo had with the Mexicans in the valley of Atlixco, in which the flower of the Mexicans and Tezucoans perished and in which the Vexotzineans remained victors.

(42) How Montezuma ordered that a temple to Coatlán be erected, to be included in that of Uitzilopuehtli, and to be called Coateocalli, that is the temple-of-the-snake . . . and of the elaborate feast that was celebrated upon its completion and the large number of men who were sacrificed.

(43) How the people of Cholula sent some persons to defy the Mexicans on the road of Atlixco, and how a battle took place between (the two parties) within three days after the defiance.

(44) Concerning the enmity and the war which arose between the Tlaxcaltecs and the Vexotzineans and how the Vexotzineans came to the king of Mexico for aid, which he gave.

(45) Concerning the cruel sacrifice that was made of the Tlaxcaltecs on the day of the feast of the goddess Tozi, and how the Vexotzineans, angered when they found this out, burned the temple of that deity.

(46) How the king of Tezeuco, Nezahualpintzintli, informed Montezuma of the near approach of the Spaniards and of how few victories against their enemies were still in store for them.

(47) How a comet appeared in the heavens and the worry this caused Montezuma and how he sent for the king of Tezeuco to have him explain its meaning to him.

(48) Concerning the death of Nezahualpilli, king of Tezeuco, and of the election of a new king named Quetzalaxoyatl.

(49) How the people of Coixtlahuaca who were bringing their tributes to Mexico, were assailed and robbed by the people of Tlachquiauheco on the highway, and of the war which Montezuma waged with the latter on this account and of how, afterwards, many people were sacrificed.

(50) How Montezuma ordered that a very large stone should be sought, upon which the sacrifice by decapitation should be performed, and of what happened when this stone was brought to Mexico.

(51) How Montezuma decided to leave the city and hide himself where he could not be found, how he set out to do this, and the bad omen that appeared.

(52) How Montezuma commanded that all the old men and women of the city should be brought before him and that they should tell him all the dreams that they had had concerning impending events, and about other prognostications touching him; and of the large number of people he ordered killed because their dreams were contrary to what he wished.

A glance at the descriptions of these illustrations will suffice to show that it is not merely the birth and death of kings which have been selected for treatment, but often events of fundamental importance, as, for instance, the details of the election of rulers, the completion of public edifices, the planning of public undertakings, the distribution of the lands of the conquered, the changes introduced by different rulers in the management of affairs, etc. There is no reason to

believe that Duran possessed any unusual historical acumen or that the selection he has given us was made entirely by him, and there is ample justification, both from what he himself has told us and from other sources, for believing that the selection of events for treatment and the manner of their treatment reflects the notions of the old Aztec historians. One thing we know definitely—that Duran did not by any means make use of all the manuscripts that were known in his time, or, for that matter, all that he had at his disposal.

13. *The Atlas of the Codex Ramirez*

The subjects of the paintings are given on pages 21–23 of this monograph. It will be noticed that they are only in part identical with those of the *Atlas of Duran*. Like the latter, the drawings have been worked over by artists influenced by European ideas of draughtsmanship. The *Codex Ramirez* is probably an abridged account of Mexican history taken from fuller sources (for detailed discussion, cf. pp. 29–30), and for that reason there is a likelihood that a more conscious selection took place than in the case of the *Atlas of Duran*. However, some of the main differences in selection and in emphasis can be safely ascribed to differences in viewpoint, either between the later authors or between the original sources from which they drew. The *Atlas of Duran* lays special stress upon three rulers—the elder Montezuma, Ahuitzotl, and the younger Montezuma, especially the latter—while the *Atlas of the Codex Ramirez* stresses the figures of Itzcoatl and Tlacaellel. Indeed, from the exclusive importance assigned Tlacaellel one almost gets the impression that the document was written by some partisan of the latter.

The three codices that we come to now, differ in some fundamental ways from the two Atlases described above. In the first place we know definitely that all of them were compiled after the Conquest and for specific purposes, so that a certain amount of artificial selection of sources is to be assumed; secondly, that they form but portions, and apparently unimportant ones, of much larger treatises designed to give Europeans a complete account of the old Aztec culture. So far as the selection of historical pictures is concerned, a glance for instance at the *Codex Mendoza* shows clearly that the compiler was interested mainly in giving an account, very much after the manner of the mediaeval chronicles, of the births and deaths of rulers, their conquests, and the peculiar events which happened during their reigns.

Consequently the picture which the author draws of Aztec history is anything but satisfactory. He does, however, give far more detail than either of the two Atlases about the conquests of the various rulers, and his work is, therefore, of exceptional value in this connection. The large number of details which it was possible to obtain on one particular aspect of Aztec history, namely, their conquests, demonstrate again the richness and the variety of the sources which must have been at the disposal of the native historian.

The other two codices, namely the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* and the *Codex Vaticanus A*, which are clearly related to each other, are of far more value than the *Codex Mendoza* and appear to be fairly faithful copies of originals.

14. *The Codex Mendoza*

The commentary accompanying the paintings is translated on pages 50-56 of this monograph. There are hardly any distinctive characteristics about it, except, as we have indicated before, that the conquests of the different rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan are given in considerable detail. No ruler is stressed in particular and no specific viewpoint is manifested by the compiler. We can gauge the importance of the different rulers only by the size of the list and by the names of the different cities they are credited with capturing. Certain cardinal points in the history of the Aztecs are, nevertheless, brought out, such as their early subjection to the people of Culhuacan and their successful revolt, the long and persistent struggle which the Chalcans made against all attempts on the part of the Aztecs to conquer them, the frequency with which towns which had been apparently conquered rebelled, the approximate date for the first attempts of the Aztecs to carry their conquests beyond the valley of Mexico proper, the rather irregular distribution of the cities conquered, etc. Apart from such general indications, however, it must be confessed that this codex is utterly unreliable and misleading. It is inaccurate concerning details where full and accurate knowledge was easily available, full of unnecessary mythical detail and bears on every page the unmistakable signs of being a hasty concoction for the consumption of Europeans. It is rather remarkable that the other parts of the codex should be so far superior to the historical section.

So far as the paintings themselves are concerned, they too, show clearly that all the author or compiler sought to do was to obtain

anything he could lay his hands on, and that he went about his work in an absolutely uncritical manner. Sometimes it is an important event that is illustrated, sometimes important individuals whose portraits are given, but just as often we get gossip or mythical detail.

15. *The Codex Telleriano-Remensis*

The historical portion of this codex, like the former, is part of a compilation made for a definite purpose, but apparently it was the work of people with considerable discrimination and of individuals who had access to excellent material. While it also over-emphasizes the conquests of the Aztecs, it gives other events in their proper perspective. The paintings are judiciously chosen, if indeed they do not represent an aboriginal series that has been but slightly altered, and the Spanish commentary, while it leaves much to be desired and shows traces of the mediaeval annalistic tendency still so frequent at that time among the Spaniards, is, nevertheless, a vast improvement over that of the *Codex Mendoza*.

16. *The Codex Vaticanus A*

The historical portion is unannotated. Its relationship to the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* is unmistakable. This, in addition to the fact that the events are well dated, makes it a comparatively easy task to interpret the codex. The paintings are in the main the same as those of the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, except that a number, beginning with the captivity of Huitzilihuitl, are identical with those in the *Codex Boturini* and that the divergences between it and the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* become more marked as we approach the end of the fifteenth century.

17. *The Codex Aubin*

This was mentioned before in connection with the Aztec migrations. The historical portion, that is, the part devoted to the history after the founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, is quite inadequate, sketchy, and of no particular value except for chronology. One gets the impression throughout that the real kernel of this manuscript was the detailed account of migrations and that the events after the termination of the migration period were put in by some rather incom-

petent Indian long after the Conquest, perhaps as late as 1607, the year with which the codex terminates.

The last nineteen pages of Aubin's reproduction of this codex contain the pictures of all the Aztec rulers from Tenoch (the legendary founder of the city), to those of the Spanish period. While this manuscript is not of very great significance, it probably gives us some idea of what the old genealogies were like, for that is what it really is.

PRIMARY SOURCES PRESERVED IN COMMENTARIES ONLY

In addition to these original historical manuscripts and copies of originals there are numerous subsidiary documents of fundamental importance for the reconstruction of ancient Mexican history. The most valuable are the tribute lists, containing the names of the pueblos subject to Mexico at the time of the Conquest and the nature of the tributes they paid, maps of the different cities, land titles, genealogical lists, historical chants, etc. An example of the last is given on pages 130-131. The most famous of the tribute lists is that preserved in the *Codex Mendoza*. It is, however, to be used with caution for it does not contain all the towns that were subject to Mexico-Tenochtitlan and does include some that are doubtful, and, above all, it does not indicate to what extent these pueblos were subject in part to Mexico-Tenochtitlan, in part to Tezeuco, and in part to Tacuba. The list given by Motolinia,¹⁷ although smaller, is far more accurate in this regard.

18. *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas*

This is a general account of the creation and of the development of the Aztecs from the legendary period to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is clearly based on a series of paintings that have disappeared, but which were probably similar to those of the *Codex Boturini*, the *Codex Ramirez*, and the *Atlas of Duran*. The author is unknown but he could not have been a person of any extensive knowledge or great discrimination, to judge from the haphazard and unintelligent manner in which he has presented his material. Some of the really salient facts of Aztec history are brought out, as well as the story of the migrations, which is given at some length, but both are told in a rather confused way. The close relation between the paintings and the explanations seems to be lost. We are not dealing

¹⁷ *Memoriales*, Mexico, 1903, 353-356.

any more, as in the case of the *Codex Ramirez* and the *Atlas of Duran*, with explanations centered around the paintings, but with details which are only vaguely connected with the pictures. Its similarity to the contents of these two documents is however quite apparent. No indication is found in the manuscript that a painting accompanied such and such an event, as in the case in the two works cited above. For that reason, in spite of the insistence of the title that the description is based on paintings, one feels inclined to consider this document almost in the nature of a secondary source, a description based upon inadequate knowledge of the meaning of the illustrations and upon hearsay evidence accepted in a rather uncritical and unintelligent manner. It is nevertheless of considerable importance.

Anales Tepanecas, *Anales Mexicanos*, and *Anales de Mexico y Tlatelulco* (anónimo número 4, 6 and 7) of Chavero.¹⁸ All of these, with the exception of number 6, are unpublished. According to Chavero they are definitely known to have been interpretations of hieroglyphs.

SECONDARY SOURCES

It is not our intention to discuss these in this preliminary paper. They have been frequently dealt with by Mexicanists, although in a rather inadequate manner. The best account, although very unequal, is that of Weber.¹⁹ The most important secondary sources are Duran,²⁰ Ramirez (cf. pp. 67-123), Tezozomoc,²¹ Ixtilxochitl,²² Sahagun,²³ Torquemada,²⁴ Clavigero,²⁵ Boturini,²⁶ and Veytia.²⁷ All of them relied upon original sources, some to a lesser, others to a greater extent. Duran, the *Codex Ramirez*, perhaps Ixtilxochitl, may really be considered expanded commentaries and explanations of the paintings themselves, while the others are of a more ambitious nature and are intended to be histories written on the basis of all the available material.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxiv-xxv.

¹⁹ Beiträge zur Charakteristik der älteren geschichtsschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika, Leipzig, 1911.

²⁰ Historia de los Indios de Nueva España, circa 1579. For full title of this and following works cf. this series XII, 277-282.

²¹ Crónica Mexicana, edition of Orozco y Berra, Mexico, 1878.

²² Historia Chichimeca, and Relaciones Historicas (1608-1616). Edited by Chavero, Mexico, 1892.

²³ Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, Mexico, 1829.

²⁴ Monarquía Indiana, Madrid, 1723.

²⁵ Storia antica de Messico, Cesera, 1765.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*

²⁷ Historia Antigua de Mexico, 1836.

19. *The Codex Ramirez*

This codex, of which we give a complete translation on pp. 67-123 (except for the small section after the Conquest), has been the subject of considerable discussion. Most Mexicanists, especially Ramirez, Orozco y Berra, Garcia Icazbalceta, and Chavero, were convinced that Duran, Tezozomoc, Acosta, and Torquemada had practically incorporated it in their accounts, for they found passage after passage practically identical with the *Codex Ramirez* in the works of these writers. Some have even deemed it possible to correct sentences in Duran by reference to the *Codex Ramirez*. Other Mexicanists, although acknowledging the remarkable similarities of the above-mentioned authors to this codex, have been inclined to explain them as due to the fact that Duran, Tezozomoc, Acosta, and Torquemada had made use of the same source. This seems the more probable alternative and one might go even further and claim that the common source was nothing more nor less than the pictures that now accompany the codex and the information probably traditionally connected with these pictures and known to their keepers. The variations in the five accounts can then be explained in part by the assumption, quite intelligible to ethnologists, that some of the keepers of the original hieroglyphs knew more, some less than others, and in part by the differences in the interests of the various historians.

The main characteristic of the *Codex Ramirez*, from an historical viewpoint, is its intense Aztec partisanship and its tendency to exalt the power of Mexico-Tenochtitlan at the expense of all the other towns of the valley; its distortion of some fundamental facts, such as the founding of the confederacy of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tezeuco, and Tacuba, and its attempt to whitewash all the acts of the Aztecs. The Aztecs could do no wrong and were always provoked before they began war against anyone, is the insistent theme of the work. To such an extent is this attitude maintained that the work makes the impression of a political pamphlet written in the interests of Mexico-Tenochtitlan proper. Two other tendencies are, however, also markedly developed: first, the religious sanction that is given to everything, the role of the priests and the god Huitzilopochtli in particular, and the place Tlaacahuel occupies in its pages. We may, indeed, have before us an account written by one of the priests of this deity and the exaltation of Tlaacahuel may be due to the fact that he was an ardent worshipper of Huitzilopochtli. On internal evidence one is inclined to regard

the work as written from the viewpoint of such a priest, and to conclude that it represents a conscious attempt to interpret Aztec achievement as due to the guidance of Huitzilopuchtli at the beginning, and to the ability of his priests and followers after the founding of the city. This it is which gives the document so great a value, in spite of its manifest one-sidedness, for the priest-authors have incorporated a large number of details which would otherwise have been lost. It is likewise of extreme importance to be able to see the nature of the distortions that a special plea or viewpoint can bring into an account.

From another point of view this document is of supreme interest to us because it contains an excellent assortment of speeches skillfully placed in the mouths of public characters at critical moments. Now whether these speeches were actually delivered in the form in which they have been handed down to us, or whether they were ever delivered at all, is of far less importance than the fact, which a casual glance will confirm, that they are not scattered through the work in a haphazard manner but that they are placed with considerable adroitness, so as to heighten the dramatic effect of certain situations and to emphasize the importance of certain events. And so it is frequently from these speeches that we obtain our best clues concerning internal changes. It cannot, for instance, be entirely ascribed to chance that it is only in speeches delivered by Itzcoatl and Tlacaellé that we hear for the first time of a division of peoples into definite classes, or that the younger Montezuma goes into such considerable detail about the justification of changing the management of his household, and of giving offices only to the nobility. The viewpoint he sets forth with such a show of skill is not encountered among any of the earlier rulers; a fact which is called to his attention by his favorite priest, who warns him not to depart too radically from the customs of his predecessors. The priest is finally persuaded, not because the argument is unanswerable, but because Montezuma the Younger apparently did change and reorganize the management of his household affairs and of the court radically, and all that the speech put into his mouth serves, is to indicate in a semiliterary way that such a change occurred.

20. *The Anales de Cuauhtitlan*

We have left for the last two documents, the *Anales of Cuauhtitlan*²⁸ and the *Anales of Chimalpahin*.²⁹ Both were written in

²⁸ *Anales del Museo Nacional de Mexico*, III, Appendix, 1885.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*

Nahuatl after the Conquest. The first deals with the history of creation and the world, taking up in detail the legendary history of the Toltecs, the destruction of their civilization by the Chichimees, and the development of the Chichimee civilization upon the ruins of that of the Toltecs. Historical importance can be ascribed only to those portions which deal with the period after the eleventh century. The nature of the details given seems to justify the assumption that the sources were then becoming more numerous and more reliable. It cannot be mere chance that these details take upon themselves a greater degree of verisimilitude just at the time when, according to the narrative we are justified in assuming that these nations had adopted the system of writing they found among the people they had conquered; just when, in other words, the means for preserving an accurate account was provided. From that point on we get a running account of three cities, the space devoted to Mexico-Tenochtitlan increasing in size as we proceed from the fourteenth century on. The record then becomes full and important, giving particulars that are not met with anywhere else and that corroborate those found in other documents. There are no direct statements to the effect that the *Anales of Cuauhtitlan* was based upon original picture manuscripts, but internal evidence and the excellence and accuracy of the facts it presents, as soon as it passes from the purely mythical and legendary epochs, make such an assumption almost certain. This is further strengthened by its general similarity to the *Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas*. By some historians, notably by Orozco y Berra, the *Anales of Cuauhtitlan* is regarded as the fundamental source for the history of the ancient Aztecs. This is perhaps overestimating its value considerably, but it will always remain, if critically used, one of our foremost sources.

Two Spanish translations exist, both of them of little value according to the testimony of well-known Nahuatl scholars. That of Sanchez Solís, given in the third of the columns of the printed work, looks usable. One of the crying needs is, of course, a reliable translation of this noteworthy document.

21. *The Anales of Chimalpahin*

The second of the two documents just mentioned is confessedly an artificial concoction. It is arranged in the approved annalistic style of the Middle Ages and some of its material is of the type which

one customarily finds in such annals, but which the old Aztec sources laid no stress upon. However, when deductions are made for this and for a marked Christian tendency, the work is of considerable value, for it is based upon original documents and written by an Indian who was exceptionally well-informed. It gives the impression, upon closer examination, of being a modification of the old Aztec annual records, mentioned on page 7, to which certain details from fuller records have been added. Its description of the external events of the smaller towns, of the gradual extension of Aztec influence and conquests, and of the resistance the Aztecs encountered in many cases, is of great importance, in spite of the fact that, in imitation of the mediaeval annals, it is inclined to impute most events to small causes and is rather gossipy throughout.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have thus passed in review the majority of the available sources for the history of the ancient Mexicans. Many documents of vital importance are still unpublished and lie in the archives of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris or in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico and others will undoubtedly be recovered from monasteries in Spain and Spanish America. That which is available, however, is not so despicable as one might have imagined. What is necessary is a critical study of the available sources in an intensive manner.

All the available picture writings of historical importance should be gathered together in a convenient volume and compared, first with the object of determining how many exist, and, secondly, in order to discover how often the same pictures or series of pictures were used by different authors, and in how far their interpretations coincide, or, if they differ, how this difference is to be accounted for. Only in this way can a safe and adequate foundation be laid for future historical studies.

The next step would then be a study of the primary sources of the second class, namely, those which have come down to us without the hieroglyphs they were clearly dependent upon, and, lastly, an intensive and exhaustive study from a critical-historical viewpoint of that great mass of secondary sources, often of as great importance as the primary ones themselves.

PART III. TRANSLATION OF CERTAIN ORIGINAL SOURCES

CODEX BOTURINI³⁰

The commentary on the *Codex Boturini* herewith given is taken from Orozco y Berra and has been discussed on pages 11-12. The description of each plate follows Orozco y Berra literally. The separate figures are referred to by the numbers which designate them in the plate itself. These are the same as in the *Codex Boturini*.

The *plate* numbers are the same in our reproduction as in the Codex itself; i.e., plate 1 in the Codex is reproduced herewith as *Plate 1*, and so on.

Plate 1

In the initial picture (fig. 1) one distinguishes a lake and an island . . . and in the middle a temple. . . . At the foot of the temple two figures are reposing, a man without a name and a woman called Chimalma. . . . They cross the water between the island and the shore in a rowboat. This island is Aztlan.

We remember . . . that the Aztecs left the island and set out for Colhuacan (fig. 3), as the footprints tell us. . . . In a cave under the mountain, over a grass altar is placed their divinity Huitzilopochtli. . . .

The god placed in the grotto repeatedly spoke [to the people] as the commas [speech symbols] indicate. . . .

In Teoculhuacan the Aztecs encountered eight other emigrant tribes; the Matlatzinea, Tepaneca, Chichimeca, Malinalca, Chololteca, Xochimilca, Chalca, and Huexotzinea [represented in Plate 1, lower left-hand corner, from above down]. . . . Leading the column are Tezeacoatl (fig. 4), Cuahecoatl (fig. 5), Apanecatli (fig. 6) . . . and Chimalma (fig. 7).

Plate 2

Coming to the foot of a large tree (upper left corner) they erect a tabernacle for their god (figure below tree). There the Aztecs begin to eat quietly (fig. 8), when they hear a tremendous noise and the tree is split in the middle. This they take as a bad augury and the chiefs leave their meal and surround their deity imploring him with tears in their eyes (fig. 9).

Aacatl [figure above the group numbered 9] is charged with telling the chief of the Chololtecas (to the left of Aacatl), what the god has said, namely, that the people of the eight barrios [seen above Aacatl] should not accompany them.

They remained five days in this place as the black dots indicate. . . . Representation of human sacrifice [group lower left-hand corner]; Aacatl [reading from right to left] is depicted cutting out the heart of a victim stretched on a *biznaga* (*Ichinocactus cornigera*). . . . He is a member of the tribe. The other two victims, as the black marks over their faces prove, are strangers. . . .

The figures above the last group refer to a legend described by Torquemada [lib. II, cap. II].

³⁰ Cf. note 8, p. 11.

Plate 3

Without stopping at Cuextecatlichocayan (fig. 10) they hastened on to Coatlicamae (fig. 11), where they settled and remained for twenty-eight years, from the year 2 *calli* to 3 *tecpatl* (649-676 A.D.) [lower half Plate 3]. Near the sign 2 *acatl* (675 A.D.) one notices the cyclical annotation of *xiuhmolpilli*.

Plate 4

In the year 9 *acatl* (695), they left Tollan and turning eastward, settled at Atlicalaquian. Here they remained from 10 *tecpatl* (695) to 6 *calli* (705).

Plate 5

Then they proceeded eastward to Tlemaco, where they stayed from 7 *tochtli* to 11 *tochtli* (706-710 A.D.) [upper left quarter]. From there they went to Atotonilco, where they remained five years, from 12 *acatl* to 3 *acatl* (711-715 A.D.) [upper right quarter]. Then, turning, they again proceeded westward, and continuing in that general direction they came to Apazco, where they remained twelve years, from 4 *tecpatl* to 2 *acatl* (716-727 A.D.). Here they completed another fifty-two year cycle, as the *xiuhmolpilli* above 2 *acatl* shows [lower left quarter]. Then they proceeded to Tzonpanco, near the lake of Mexico, remaining there four years, from 3 *tecpatl* to 6 *acatl* (728-731 A.D.) [lower left quarter].

Plate 6

They stayed at Xaltocan from 7 *tecpatl* to 10 *acatl* (732-735 A.D.) [upper left quarter], and at Acalhuacan from 11 *tecpatl* to 1 *acatl* (736-739 A.D.) [upper right quarter]; at Ehecatepec, from 2 *tecpatl* to 5 *acatl* (740-743 A.D.) [lower left quarter]; and at Tulpetlac from 7 *tecpatl* to 13 *acatl* (744-751 A.D.) [lower right quarter and upper left quarter of plate 7].

Plate 7

Then they passed on to Coatitlan, remaining there twenty years, from 1 *tecpatl* to 7 *acatl* (752-771 A.D.) [upper right quarter and lower left quarter]. The figures near the sign 7 *acatl* refer to the introduction and planting of the maguey and the extracting of the juice contained in the maguey. The sign near 5 *calli* denotes Chalco, and the footprints proceeding from it signify that the maguey culture was borrowed from the province of Chalco.

Then they went to Huixachtitlan, where they remained from 8 *tecpatl* to 11 *acatl* (722-775 A.D.) [lower right quarter].

Plate 8

From there they went to Tecpayocan, where they remained from 12 *tecpatl* to 2 *acatl* (776-779 A.D.) [upper left quarter]. The neighboring tribes declared war and the Mexicans lost three principal chiefs in the ensuing battle; Tetepantzin, Huitzilhuilitl, and Teepantzin (the three figures in the upper left quarter). Driven out from the above-named town they went to Pantitlan, where they remained from 3 *tecpatl* to 6 *acatl* (780-783 A.D.) [upper right quarter]. The naked figure with closed eyes and exhausted appearance near the day sign 6 *acatl* signify that a plague swept over the land during this period.

The Mexicans took refuge in Amalinalpan, where they stayed from 7 *tecpatl* to 1 *acatl* (784-791 A.D.). From there they passed through Atzcaputzalco, where Tezozomoc was then reigning (figure below sign 1 *acatl*), and then returned to Pantitlan, where they remained from 2 *tecpatl* to 5 *acatl* (792-795 A.D.) [lower right quarter].

Plate 9

Then they proceeded to Acolnahuac, staying there from 6 *tecpatl* to 9 *acatl* (796-799 A.D.) [upper right quarter]. Then they proceeded to Popotla, where they remained from 10 *tecpatl* to 13 *acatl* (800-803 A.D.) [upper right quarter]. Then they proceeded to Techeatitlan, staying there from 1 *tecpatl* to 4 *acatl* (804-807 A.D.) [lower left quarter]. From there they went to Atlacuiyayan, remaining at that place from 5 *tecpatl* to 8 *acatl* (808-811 A.D.) [lower right quarter].

Plate 10

Finally they arrived at Chapultepec, where they remained from 9 *tecpatl* to 2 *acatl* (812-831 A.D.). Below the ideograph for Chapultepec we again see the sign for war. The Mexicans were apparently compelled to flee to Acocoleo, where they remained from 2 *tecpatl* to 4 *calli* (832-833 A.D.).

In the lower half, toward the left, we see Chimalaxoeh and Huitzilihuitl (figs. 21 and 22) as captives brought before Cozcoxtli (fig. 23) at Culhuacan (fig. 24). For two years they remained in servitude to Culhuacan, from 5 *tochtli* to 6 *acatl* (lower right quarter).

Plate 11

This plate refers to certain details connected with the aid the Mexicans had given Colhuacan in its war against Xochimilco. In the first line, to the left, they are represented bringing Cozcoxtli the bag containing the ears of the Xochimilcans they had slain. Farther on they are inviting Cozcoxtli to their dance. At the end of this first line their prisoners are seen dancing. In the second line we see one of their victims thrown down the steps of the temple after having been sacrificed before Cozcoxtli.

MAPA TLOTZIN³¹

The translation that follows reproduces Aubin's commentary literally. The figures mentioned refer to the figures in the *Mapa Tlotzin* itself. The various personages, towns, and objects portrayed are all numbered as in the original document. Plate 1 of the original is reproduced as *plate 13* and contains the figures 1-2, 12-17, 37-39; plate 2, reproduced as *plate 14*, contains the figures 3-4, 9-11, 16-17, 26-36, 40-44; plate 3, reproduced as *plate 15*, contains the figures 5-8, 16-24, 45-55.

History of the Kings and the Sovereign States of Acolhuacan

At the top of the map are to be seen six caverns surrounded by vegetation, and some hills from right to left and slightly north to south; and on a gradual slope one sees the towns and villages that have replaced (these caverns).

(Fig. 1.) 1. Tzinacanoztoc, "in-the-cavern-of the bats": a recreation place of the kings of Tetzeuco. It is indicated (in the picture) by the grotto and the bat. The Nahuatl inscription reads: "Tzinacanoztoc: here Ixtlixochitzin was born." There is no question but that this is Ixtlixochitl, the last of the Acolhuacan kings whose supremacy was recognized in Anahuac.

³¹ Translated from Aubin, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note 1.

(Fig. 2.) 2. Quauhyacac, "at-the-end-of-the-trees," a hamlet near the forests that enclose the mountains to the east of Tetzcuco.

The writing underneath, which we translate farther on, gives the names of the following three localities:

(Fig. 3.) 3. Oztotipac, one of the quarters of Tetzcuco. . . .

(Fig. 4.) 4. Huexotla, "willow," a town at one time important and whose ruins, still of interest, may be seen today at San Luis Huexotla, near Tetzcuco.

(Fig. 5.) 5. Cohuatlichan, "the-place-of-the-serpent": the old capital of the civilized Acolhuas. . . .

(Fig. 6.) 6. Sixth cavern, or Chichimec settlement, ending the descending series of points placed at intervals from north to south, then turning to the west, from Tzinacanoztoc to a point intermediary between Cohuatlichan (fig. 5), the frontier of the Chalcas (figs. 22, 23, 24) and Colhuacan (fig. 7). This geographical location, the presence of Iepacxochitl, "crown-of-flowers" (wife of Tlotli, fig. 17) and of a son, still in the cradle, who is named Quinantzin, "bellowing," by his father Tlotli . . . ; all these circumstances and the enclosed form of the oztotl clearly indicate the name Tlallanoztoc, near Tlatzalan, which, very likely, was found on the margin of the badly damaged portion of the painting. . . .

Towns of the Lagoon

(Fig. 7.) Culhuacan, "Place of the Culhuas." . . . To the left of the curved *atepetl* (fig. 8) are found Coxcox and his wife. . . .

(Fig. 9.) Tenochtitlan, name of an islet in the Mexican lagoon, together with the island of Tlatelolco, the name of the Mexicas associated with both of them . . . (A rebus) expresses the name of the king of Mexico Huitzilihuitl, who is represented placed between his wife and Tenochtitlan.

(Fig. 11.) Azcaputzalco, "on-the-ant-hill."

Historical Explanation—Chichimec or Nomad Life

In the midst of plants and animals still used as food by the aborigines, the following Chichimec chiefs are seen: Amacui (fig. 12), Nopal (fig. 14), and Tlotli (fig. 16), and in the same order, but below, their wives, Malinalxochitl(?) (fig. 13), Quauhcuatl(?) (fig. 15), and Iepacxochitl. Advancing diagonally from below upward and from left to right toward Quauhyacac (fig. 2) we again find them: Amacui and Malinalxochitl at the end of the grotto; Nopal and his wife to the right of Malinalxochitl, and Tlotli and Iepacxochitl to the left of Amacui. There is no question but that they were coming from the principal Chichimec settlement of Tenayocan and separated at Quauhyacac to divide, as the following gloss tells us.

"All came to establish themselves there, at Quauhyacac; they were still together. Then Amacui left, and with his wife went to Cohuatlichan; there Nopal left, and with his wife went to Huexotla; then Tlotli left, and with his wife went to Oztotipac."

Civilization of the Chichimecs

We are no longer concerned here with Amacui, Nopal, and the nomadic life (of the Chichimecs) in this picture, but with their first agricultural, industrial, and religious education which they received from the Chalcas-Toltecs in the person of

Plotli, the founder of Tetzcuco. This one learns from a gloss beginning under Plotli (fig. 16), continuing to Oztotiepac-Tetzcuco (fig. 3), and ending near Cohuatliehan and Tlallanoztoc (figs. 5 and 6).

"Oztotiepac was the real residence of Plotli. Plotli, going out to hunt at Cohuatliehan, was found by a Chalcian named Teepoyoachcauhtli. The latter was frightened at seeing Plotli with his bow drawn and said to him, "My son, should I stay with you?" But Plotli did not understand him for he was a Chichimec. After that Teepoyoachcauhtli accompanied Plotli on the hunt. He brought him deer, hares, snakes, and birds which he shot with his arrows. The former roasted the game of Plotli and made him eat these things roasted for the first time, for Plotli had up till then eaten the game he killed, raw.

Teepoyoachcauhtli lived with Plotzin a long time. Finally he took leave of him and said, "My son, should I go to see your servants, the Chalchans, the Cuitlatecans? Shall I tell them that I have seen you and lived with you?" By that time Plotzin understood a little of the language and he sent hares and snakes in a *huacal*.

Teepoyoachcauhtli came near Plotzin again and said to him, "My son, do you not wish to see your vassals, the Chalchans?"

Plotzin then followed him and Teepoyoachcauhtli went ahead: he carried deer and hare, for the first time. After Plotzin's arrival the Chalchans came to be introduced to him. They made him sit down and served him tamales and *atole*. He did not eat the tamales and he did not taste the *atole*. Then Teepoyoachcauhtli conferred with the Chalchans. He said that Plotzin was not yet converted to their customs and beliefs(?). Then the Chalchans³² . . . for the Chalchans worshipped the devil. Plotzin, as a Chichimec, spent his time hunting only the deer and hares which he desired to eat. They (the Chichimecs) worshipped the sun, which they called their father. To worship it they cut off the necks of snakes and birds. Then they hollowed out some earth, took off the grass and soaked the earth with blood. They also worshipped the earth and called it mother. So greatly did the devil deceive them on account of their sins. . . .

Teepoyoachcauhtli, on seeing his relatives, presented to them some hares and snakes. Then he told them of the time he had passed with Plotzin and how he had followed him on the hunt. . . . In (figs. 18 and 19) one sees Teepoyoachcauhtli roasting for Plotli (fig. 16) and his wife (fig. 17) a hare on the spit. Farther on he makes them drink *atolli* . . . (fig. 20) . . . At one side (fig. 21) they support the *comalli* over burning embers. . . .

(Fig. 22.) Above this last cavern Teepoyoachcauhtli gives an account of his sojourn among the Chichimecs.

(Fig. 23.) Immediately above one sees him carrying some other game, a roebuck on his shoulder and snakes, whose rattles are visible, hanging down from his shoulders. Finally, opposite the Chalcian lord and placed under the flag, one sees the Chichimec chief who is being introduced; and Teepoyoachcauhtli brings him the tamales refused by Plotli. The latter's wife is emptying *atole*. . . .

Chichimec-Tetzcuacan Dynasty

We see Oztotiepac-Tetzcuco (fig. 5) again. The cradle between Plotli and his wife (figs. 16-17), in the rear of the grotto, is that of Quinatzin (fig. 26), born at Tlallanoztoc (fig. 6), later married to Quauheihuatzin (fig. 27). . . .

A gloss tells us the following: "Quinatzin married Quauheihuatzal, the daughter of Tochin at Huexotla."

³² Lacuna in the text.

Between Quinatzin and his wife is to be seen the cradle of Coxcox Tochtolala. The gloss adds: "Tochtolala married Tozquentzin (fig. 29) the daughter of Acolmiztli of Coatlican."

A still older gloss tells us the following: "Under Techotlatzin the following four nations arrived: the Mexicans, the Colhuas, the Huitznahuas and the Tepanecas."

A gloss has the following: (figs. 30 and 31) "Ixtlixochitl married Matlahiuatl, the daughter of Huitziluhuitl of Tenochtitlan."

Another gloss tells us Nezahualcoyotl married the daughter of Temietzin of Tenochtitlan.

Another gloss gives the following: "Nezahualcoyotl brought together the idols, gave an asylum to the four nations, and assembled in quarters of the city the artists and artisans."

One sees in fact behind the princess a painter and a sculptor, a worker in enamel, a goldsmith with his kiln, a surveyor, a woodcarver, etc., all occupied with the work of their professions. . . .

(Fig. 33.) Nezahualpilli, the son of the preceding. . . .

The last two monarchs still retain the Chichimec bow lost by their successors. . . .³³

MAPA QUINATZIN³⁴

The description of the Mapa Quinatzin follows Aubin's commentary literally. The figures mentioned refer to the figures in the original document. Plate 1, reproduced as *plate 16*, contains figures 1-28; plate 2, reproduced as *plate 17*, contains figures 29-78.

Part I. Time Antecedent to the Tepanecan War

Savage Life of the Chichimecas.—The upper third of the picture represents the nomadic Chichimecas living on the proceeds of the chase (figs. 1, 2, 3, 4), mainly birds, snakes, hares (fig. 5), and on wild plants here figured. They live in caverns (fig. 6) and carry their children in portable cradles (fig. 7), serving sometimes as game bags. The head of a hare and the spiny cactus (fig. 8) show quite well what their customary nourishment was, and, perhaps, also . . . to what sort of tribute these unfortunate people were subjected. They are clothed with the skins of fallow deer, and the men wear crowns of *pachtli*. The use of fire has already been introduced for a woman is seen broiling a serpent (fig. 9).

Fig. 10 shows that the dead were buried in caves. . . . Fig. 11 is a hieroglyph of Quinatzin, the king who closes the nomadic period and with whom the sedentary life of the Chichimecas begins. . . .

Sedentary Life of the Chichimecas.—Fig. 11, Quinatzin; the mat upon which he sits, as well as the three words coming from his mouth, inform us that he is a "grand seigneur."

Gloss.—During the time of Quinatzin the Tlailotlaques and the Chimalpanecas arrived. That was a hundred and sixty-two years ago.

³³ Figures 34-55 give the names of various individuals and are omitted.

³⁴ Translated from Aubin, *op. cit.*, p. 23, note 1.

One sees, in fact, by a single word placed at his mouth, that the Tlailotlaques (fig. 12) and the Chimalpanecas (fig. 13) were received by Quinatzin. . . . (Fig. 14). We find here the molehill in which the lazy Chichimecas commenced to plant their corn and the other grain brought by the Colhuas. Below one reads. . . .

“At the time of Techotlalatzin the Colhuas arrived; they took their seeds of corn, beans, *blettes*, *chia*; they sowed these seeds in the molchills; from these sprang forth stalks, the *xilotl*. The first people made themselves fields and cleared the earth. They carried their gods with them; the dead were burned.”

In fact the personage number 15 (fig. 15) receives from the mouth of Techotlala (fig. 21) the order to receive the Colhuan (fig. 16) and his wife (fig. 17) peacefully. . . . An *atlAtl* . . . placed above the haversack which is at the feet of the envoy of Techotlala may indicate either the submission of the stranger who puts down his arms or the protection which is offered him. The foot imprints come from Culhuacan (fig. 25). . . . The *metl* (agave) indicates a tribe of Mexicas established at Tetzeuco.

Fig. 19, the Huitznahuatl, and fig. 20, the Tecpan (district of Tetzeuco).

Techotlala (fig. 21) is a great monarch. His words are stronger, and more numerous, and have greater weight than those of his son Quinatzin. He is no longer dressed in skins, as is the latter, nor seated like him on a single mat, but upon a “seat with a back” (*icpalli*).

Fig. 22. This figure, placed between Techotlala and Ixtlixochitl, is quite effaced. [It probably represented the Toltec custom of burning bodies.]³⁵

The great parallelograms with the traces of plants (fig. 24) represent the enclosures, gardens, and model farms constructed by Quinatzin and developed by his successors.

Fig. 25 probably represents the Colhuan neighbors.

Figs. 26, 27, 28, and 29 possibly indicate the progress of the arts and of industry . . . under Techotlala.

[Summing up, the Tetzeucan population consisted of: first, Chichimecas, speaking a dialect different from that of Tetzeuco, and still uncivilized under Quinatzin in spite of the efforts of the Chalca-Culhuas or Toltecs to civilize them; second, Tlailotlacas and civilized Chimalpanecas, worshippers of Tezcatlipoea and of Toltec origin, who arrived under Quinatzin; third, Culhuas, Mexicas, Huitznahuas, and Tepanecans civilized and possessing agriculture.]

Part II. The Acolhua Government After the Tepanecan War

[The consequences of such admixture (of peoples) were not long in showing themselves. After the reign of Quinatzin the insurrection of the Chichimecan nobility imperilled the nascent civilization. The destruction and expulsion of the majority of these barbarians gave to the civilizing Toltec element a preponderance to which, however, religious quarrels, civil wars, and strangers put an end. Tetzeuco fell under the blows of the Mexicas united with the Tepanecans of Azcapotzalco. But in spite of terrible upheavals, followed, among other calamities, by the destruction of the historical paintings by the order of Itzcohuatl, king of Mexico, the civilization did not perish. It flourished again under Nezahualcoyotl, after the Tlaxcallans freed Tetzeuco and reestablished the balance of power. The destruction of Azcapotzalco and the admission of the Acolhuas to the Tepanec-Mexican league consolidated the new order of affairs. It is to this second epoch, relatively prosperous, that our second part belongs.]

³⁵ Bracketed portions represent the comments of Aubin.

Restoration of the Monarchy.—Fig. 30: Tetzcuco.

Gloss.—It is seventy-eight years since Nezahualpilli was born. . . . [The painter has proposed among other things to describe a certain number of public services by the representation of objects which are brought here.] These objects are arranged around a large square, . . . the most important of them is that of Teocipalpan (throne of rulers), where, under the direction of the king, the great feudal lords of the kingdom presided. It is placed immediately below Tetzcuco. . . . One sees on the chair (fig. 31) Nezahualcoyotl.

Gloss.—Nezahualcoyotl ruled forty-two years.

Fig. 32 represents Nezahualpilli.

Gloss.—Nezahualpilli ruled forty-four years.

In the center two burning *rechaudes* represent the permanently-burning fireplaces. . . . These ever-burning fireplaces indicate also the servitude which was imposed on thirteen towns.

Gloss.—Thirteen towns took care of the fire here this year. For the fireplace on the left thirteen other towns were responsible.

Gloss.—Thirteen towns took care of the fireplace all the year round.

Figs. 34 and 35 represent foot imprints starting from the passage way (fig. 35), ending in (fig. 34) (year 4 *cane*—1431 A.D.)

Gloss.—The year 4 *cane*. Nezahualcoyotl came to Tetzcuco.

Court, Council-House, Supreme Tribunal, etc.—Figs. 36-49 represent the fourteen persons who composed the council of state. Fig. 36: the brother-in-law of Nezahualcoyotl and commander in chief of the armies. As president of the tribunal of nobles he occupies the first place and (fig. 37) the ruler of Otompan, as president of the tribunal of plebeians, occupies the second place. [The others are the lords of Huexotla, Coahuatlichan, Chimalhuacan, Tepetlaoztoc, Chiauhitla, Tezonyocan, Acolman, Tepechpan, Chicuhnahutla, Tollantzinco, Quauchinanco, Xicotepac.]

Central Administration: War, Finance, Justice, Academy, etc.—Fig. 50 represents the agent in charge of the war depot (arsenal).

Gloss.—He is the one who received and delivered shoe coverings (*chausseures*), food, shields, corselets (armor). This official has neither seat nor mat. Before him is the armory.

Gloss.—Here they store the shields, breast-armor, etc.

Fig. 51. The hall of the finance council. . . . One sees in the central room shoes, socks, cord, and, attached to the *atlatl*, an ornament which seems to be the tuft called *tecpilotle*.

In one of the rear rooms is an *achcauhtli*, an Acolhuan messenger from Tetzcuco, chosen from among the commissary judges . . . and entrusted with the second summons in the name of the true chief of the Mexican-Acolhuan-Tepanecan confederation, before the declaration of war.

Gloss.—The Achecauhtins waited here; their office was perhaps to go outside and compel rebels to submit(??).

Fig. 52. There are two divisions in this number. The one to the right holds shields, armor, or parts of the military equipment and appears to be a division of the council of finance. . . . To the left one sees, beside a person, a *rondache* and foot coverings. It is "the hall of the war council" where the six bravest warriors of the town of Tetzcuco—three nobles and three common citizens—together with fifteen captains born in the principal towns of the kingdom, assemble.

Fig. 53 shows the Tepanecans, one of the two nations allied with the Tetzcucans. To the left a figure represents Tenochtitlan, the other ally of the Tetzcucans.

Fig. 54 represents Xochiquetzal, son of Nezahualcoyotl; according to Torquemada (lib. iii, cap. xli) president of the assembly of poets, historians, artists, and musicians. In the center (fig. 55) a musical instrument, or *huchuetl*, and the ideographic character for song, between the two inscriptions, sufficiently indicate music. . . . Xochiquetzal carries a flytrap like that which one sees in the warriors' room . . . (fig. 54).

Justice: Tribunal of Nauhpoallatolli.—Nauhpoallatolli has jurisdiction over all cases: theft, adultery, . . . calumny[???].

Fig. 57. Represents the tribunal of Otompan, one of the capitals of the Otomi.

Figs. 58–66. The towns comprised in the jurisdiction of Teotihuacan.

Fig. 68. Tribunal of Teotihuacan.

Fig. 70. Cuauhtlatzineo. This town and its twenty-seven villages furnished food to the king's household for sixty-five days.

Fig. 71. Ahuatepec. This town and its eight villages furnished food for forty-five days.

Fig. 73. Axapocho. This town and its thirteen villages furnished food for forty-five days.

Fig. 75. Tepepoleo. This town and its thirteen villages furnished food for seventy days.

RÉSUMÉ OF THE CODEX XOLOTL³⁶

None of the plates of this codex are reproduced. The résumé that follows is a literal translation of Boban's résumé.

Plate 1

Arrival of the Chichimecs on the plateau of Anahuac, in the region of the lakes.

Commanded by the great chief Xolotl, who is accompanied by his family, and helped in particular by his son Nopaltzin, they take possession of the country.

The Chichimecs occupy at first Tenayocan and its environs in the western part of the lake Tezcoco; Xolotl establishes himself there.

They afterwards take possession of the places situated to the east. The principal one of these later took the name of Tezcoco and became the capital of the Chichimecs or Acolhuas. They also invade the north, Atocpan, Totoltepetl, Quauhechinanco, Tenamitec, etc.

The civilized populations of Nahuatl origin seem to have taken refuge to the south and occupied towns named Chollolan, Tlaxcalla, Quechollan, Temalacoyan, etc., behind the chain of mountains to the east.

Plate 2

The emperor Xolotl sends his son, the prince Nopaltzin, at the head of an army, against the inhabitants of Colhuacan, who had refused to recognize him as the supreme chief of the country and to pay him tribute.

The Colhuas, commanded by their king Nauhyotl, are conquered and forced to submit.

³⁶ This is Boban's résumé, translated from *op. cit.*, p. 10, note 4.

The arrival at Tenayocan of the three chiefs, at the head of a new series of immigrants; they come to demand of the emperor Xolotl the authorization to establish themselves within his territory.

The first of these chiefs is Acolhuatzin, commander of a division of the Tepanecs; the emperor gives him the domain of Azeapatzaleo.

The second is named Chiconcuauhtli; he has under his command the Otomi. These were hunters, and less civilized than their companions. The emperor assigns them places in the provinces of the north to prevent them from having easy access to the surrounding tribes. He gives them Xaltocan as leader. Acolhuatzin and Chiconcuauhtli were given the two daughters of the emperor in marriage.

The third chief received Tzontecomatl, the domain of Coatliehan.

The marriage of prince Nopaltzin with a Toltec princess Azeaxochitl, sister of the vanquished king Nauhyotl.

Beginning of matrimonial alliances between the Chichimec nobles and the Toltec families that occupied the country before the arrival of the Chichimec tribes.

Genealogies of Toltec and Chichimec noble families.

Plate 3

War against the half-savage people who inhabited the north, and who rebelled, having at their head a chief named Yacanex. The causes of this war were of a private nature, so far as Yacanex was concerned, of a public nature so far as the people who accepted him as chief were concerned. Yacanex had asked for the beautiful princess Atototzin in marriage, who, being the daughter of the king of Colhuacan, Aчитomítl, was of Toltec origin. The princess, disdainíng Yacanex, married the prince Huetzin. The rejected suitor, his *amour-propre* hurt, took advantage of the discontent caused among the hunting people of the north by the excessive tributes which had been imposed upon them, and incited them to revolt against the emperor. Then Yacanex put himself at their head.

Yacanex was conquered and compelled to abandon the country immediately. He left, accompanied by many other rebellious chiefs.

Death of Chiconcuauhtli, chief of the Otomi in the town of Xaltocan.

The large spaces of land, destined for the culture of maize and diverse other plants, are enclosed by walls and are found on the outskirts of Tezcoco. In this way were laid out the extensive parks given over to the royal hunts.

Death of the emperor Amaeui-Xolotl, his son the prince Nopaltzin ascending the throne.

The son of the latter and his future successor, the prince Tlotzin-Pochotl then resided at Tlallanoztoc.

Death of Aчитometl, king of Colhuacan. He had been called to that place by the emperor Xolotl when Nauhyotl was replaced.

Plate 4

New wars in many provinces of the empire. The revolters of the north, again having Yacanex at their head, take the offensive. Acotochtli and many other chiefs, among them the sons of the emperor Quinatzin, help Yacanex. They draw into the revolt the inhabitants of Metztitlan, Tototepec, and Tepepolco and form the project of attacking the city of Tezcoco.

Yacanex, defeated and put to flight, is pursued by the general Tochintecuhtli and is slain.

The imperial troops were commanded by Quinatzin, Huetzin, and a young prince named Nopaltzin-Xuetlachihuitzin, son of Tlotzin-Pochotl. This young prince, after having routed and killed with his own hand the old rebel chief, Acotochtli, puts the enemy to flight.

Carried away by his courage and his rage, he falls into an ambush and is taken prisoner by the soldiers of the city of Tollantzinco.

Death of the emperor Nopaltzin at Tenayocan.

Aculhuatzin, the king of Azcapotzalco, also dies; his son Tezozomoc replacing him on the Tepanecan throne.

War between the Tepanecans and the Colhuas.

Tenancaacaltzin, the bastard son of Nopaltzin, makes war upon the Tenochcas or Mexicans, who had come to the valley of Mexico a short time before and who were about to found their capital Tenochtitlan, in the midst of the lakes.

Plate 5

War of the Tepanecans (Azcapotzalco) against Tzompantecuhtli of Xaltocan.

Death of the king of Tenochtitlan, Acamapitzin.

Tezozomoc, king of the Tepanecs, makes war after a short interval against the Otomi.

Death of his brother, Tlepecoatzin, lord of Tlatelolco.

Techotlalatzin occupies the Chichimec throne at Oztotipac (one of the quarters of the city of Tezcoco).

He receives kindly immigrants driven from Colhuacan by the king Coxcox after troubles caused by religious questions.

The Colhuas, divided into four tribes, obtain permission to establish themselves in the city of Tezcoco.

At this time the Huitzinhuaucas under the command of Tlacomihua arrive.

It is under the rule of king Techotlalatzin that the rites and religious ceremonies of the Toltecs begin to prevail among the Chichimecas.

Birth of prince Ixtlilxochitl.

In the reign of Quinatzin a tribe from the region of the Mixteco is admitted into Tezcoco. This tribe is composed of *tlailotlacas*, people skilled in the art of writing or painting the facts relative to their history.

Plate 6

Death of king Techotlalatzin at Oztotipac.

His son Ixtlilxochitl succeeds him and marries the princess Matlalcihuatzin, sister of Chimalpopoca, later king of Tenochtitlan.

From this marriage were born two children, the elder being Acolmixtli-Nezua-hualecoyotl, one of the greatest figures in Mexican history.

Death of the king of Tenochtitlan, Huitzilihuitzin, son of Acamapitzin. His brother, the prince Chimalpopocatezin, succeeds him on the throne.

Marriage of this prince with Mataltazin, daughter of the king of Tlatelolco.

Death of Quaquauhpitzauiac, king of Tlatelolco, his son Tlaccateotzin succeeding him.

Plate 7

War between the Chichimecas (the Acolhuas) and the Tepanecans. This conflict is provoked by Tezozomoc, king of Azcapotzalco, who, without any adequate reason, offends the Chichimec monarch. Tezozomoc envied Ixtlilxochitl and formed the project of conquering him and seizing his empire.

During this war many localities in the vicinity of Tezcoco were abandoned by their inhabitants who retired to the mountains.

Ixtlilxochitl, after many reverses, is seized with inquietude about the future, and calling together his lords, he presents to them his son, Nezuahualcoyotl, as the heir to the throne. The latter was but twelve years of age when this ceremony took place (1414 A.D.).

Ixtlilxochitl sends many ambassadors to the Tepanecans, the majority of whom are mercilessly murdered.

After a long and valiant resistance to his enemies, the Chichimec monarch is compelled to abandon his capital and seek refuge in the surrounding mountains.

He is pursued and surrounded by the Tepanecans who take him prisoner and murder him before the eyes of his son, Nezuahualcoyotl, who is concealed in the thick foliage of a tree in the vicinity.

Now begins a series of trials for the latter prince which bring into relief both his courage and his prudence. Proscribed by the enemies of his family, condemned to certain death if met by any one of the numerous bands of Tepanecans who have invaded the territory of his ancestors, he flees, accompanied only by some faithful friends. Now under one name, now under another, having recourse to all sorts of disguises, living in the mountains, far from the towns, he spends many of the best years of his youth in fear and poverty, waiting for the time when his throne will be returned to him.

Plate 8

Death of the tyrant Tezozomoc. Before his death the king has terrible visions in which prince Nezuahualcoyotl appears to him, first as avenger and then as conqueror.

Maxtla succeeds his father Tezozomoc on the throne of Azcapotzalco.

Chimalpopoca, king of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, falls ill in his cage prison and asks that he be allowed to die of hunger.

Attempt to assassinate the prince Nezuahualcoyotl.

Maxtla has Chimalpopoca killed in his own palace at Mexico. He also has Tlacateotzin, king of Tlatelolco, killed in the middle of the lake of Tezcoco.

The prince Nezuahualcoyotl, who, under a disguise, had entered Chalco, killed a noble lady because he found her selling the forbidden *pulque*, an intoxicating drink. Drunkenness, as well as the sale of intoxicating beverages, was punishable by death according to the laws of the country.

Plate 9

The prince Nezuahualcoyotl is recognized, arrested and enclosed in a cage. He is condemned to death but succeeds in escaping, thanks to one of the guards who takes his place. The unhappy guard pays with his life for the devotion he has shown to his legitimate king.

Maxtla sends troops to Tezcoco with orders to arrest Nezuahualcoyotl and put him to death. The young prince is concealed in his shell palace (*palace des coquillage*). Forewarned in time, he disappears through a subterranean passage and takes refuge in the mountains where the Tepanecans track him again.

Nezuahualcoyotl, feeling that the time for his revindication has come, asks for men and food from the old allies of his father in order that he may reconquer his kingdom.

Plate 10

Maxtla sends orders to his allies to pursue Nezuahualcoyotl without relaxation and to refuse to give him help. He makes threats against all those who may take the part of the proscribed prince, and promises a fine reward to all those who will aid in killing him.

The tyranny of Maxtla having become patent to everyone, rebellions break out in every part of the country.

Nezauhualcoyotl has only to speak in order to find friends and allies ready to help him reconquer the throne of his ancestors.

Nezauhualcoyotl puts himself at the head of a considerable army. The Chalchans, his allies, besiege Coatlichan, whose chief Quetzalmaquitzli is killed, together with his principal officers, on the steps of a temple (*teoalli*).

Nezauhualcoyotl reconquers a part of the empire of his ancestors, reënters Tezeoco, and then sends his allies back to their country, the latter taking along with them a considerable amount of booty obtained from the pillage of towns that had supported the Tepanecan domination. The houses of the most cruel of the enemies at Tezeoco are razed to the ground.

The war being apparently terminated, Nezauhualcoyotl lives in peace in his capital at Tezeoco, which he fortifies and restores completely.

CODEX TELLERIANO-REMENSIS, PART IV³⁷

Plate 1

In the year *11 cane* according to their computation and 1399 A.D. according to ours, the Mexicans elected Acamapichtily. They had been made subject to Culhuacan, a condition in which they remained for one hundred years after the war of Chapultepec. Then they determined to free themselves from the subjection in which they were living and they rose in rebellion and marched out against (the people of Culhuacan) under Acamapichtily. And it is affirmed that they set fire to the temple of Culhuacan. This was the first war which they waged against other peoples.

Illustrations: 1. Chuluacan. 2. Acamapichtily.³⁸

Plate 2

In the year *5 rabbit* (1416 A.D.) Acamapichtily died and Vitzilihuitly was elected ruler. This Acamapichtily had given his two daughters in marriage, one to the ruler of Coatlichan and the other to the ruler of Choluchan. When Acamapichtily died the Mexicans determined to go to Azcapualco, which was one of the principal cities, and ask for a ruler to govern them. However, they suddenly decided to retrace their steps and to select a ruler from among themselves. This they did, and Vitzilihuitly was elected as their first ruler.

Illustration: 1. Acamapichtily.

Plate 3

This Vitzilihuitly married a granddaughter of Acamapichtily, the daughter of Coatlichan, who bore him no sons. He had also two slaves as wives, one called "the painter" and the other "the embroiderer" (*mosqueadora*), and these women bore him sons.

Illustrations: 1. Mexicans about to go. 2. Vitzilihuitly. 3. The painter.

³⁷ The historical portion actually begins with the year 1197 A.D., but there are no comments upon the pictures until 1399 A.D. Translated from Lord Kingsborough's edition.

³⁸ These entries give the actual facts represented in the plates. None of the plates of the codex are reproduced.

Plate 4

In the year 13 *rabbit* (1414 A.D.) Vitzilihuitly died and Chimalpopoca, his son, was elected.

Illustrations: 1. Vitzilihuitly. 2. Chimalpopoca. 3. Smoking-shield (translation of the last name).

Plate 5

In the year 12 *rabbit* (1426 A.D.) Chimalpopoca died and Ytzeohuatl was elected ruler. During the reign of this Ytzeohuatl the Mexicans rose in rebellion, not wishing any longer to be under the subjection of those of Azcapualco; and thus they were freed from being under the subjection of these two important cities. The captain who conquered Azcapualco was called Maxtle. There was an eclipse of the earth (?).

Illustrations: 1. Chimalpopoca. 2. Ytzeohuatl. 3. Maxtle, and an eclipse of the earth.

Plate 6

In the year 13 *flint* (1440 A.D.) Ytzeohuatl died and Huehuemouteuhcoma was elected. None of the rulers of Mexico before or afterward wore a crown (of such greatness) as this (veritable) god of abundance; not even the ruler of hell possessed such a crown. Only that Motecoma whom Cortez found when he conquered the country (was so powerful) and had such a crown. It was a sign of their being great rulers.

Illustrations: 1. Ytzeohuatl. 2. Huehuemouteuhcoma.

Plate 7

In the year 7 *cane* (1447 A.D.) there was so much snow (in Mexico) that the people died. In the year 1 *rabbit* (1454 A.D.), there was such a famine that the people died. In this year Tezcuco rose in rebellion. It was a barrio subject to Coatlichan. This revolt was brought about by the Mexicans. In this year the Mexicans brought the people of Tacuba under their sway and from that year on they remained the rulers of all the pueblos of the lagoon. Tezcuco, Tlacuba, and Mexico, which at a former period had been subject to some of the other states, dominated from that time on the entire land, and the Marquis found them in the principal cities of the realm when he came to the country.

Illustrations: 1. Snow. 2. Hunger. 3. Necaualcuhutly.

Plate 8

In this year (1456 A.D.) the people of Guaxocingo seized the land of Atlixo and banished the people of Guacachula, to whom the lands and pueblo belonged.

Illustrations: 1. With this figure they represent the "binding of the years" every fifty-two years. 2. The year 2 *cane* (1445 A.D.) was a fertile one, as indicated by the green branches.

Plate 9

In the year 5 *rabbit* (1458 A.D.), after the Mexicans were masters of the land, they subjected to their rule the province of Chicaoque. This province is to the north of Mexico near Panico. It was the first province they subdued.

In the year 7 *flint* (1460 A.D.) an earthquake occurred. It might be added that they believed that the world was to be destroyed by an earthquake. For that reason they painted (in their records) each year the omens that occurred.

Plate 10

In this year the Mexicans subjected the province of Coatlxactla, which was situated twenty leagues from Vera Cruz, having conquered all the remaining pueblos that lay in the rear. This was in the year *8 house* (1462 A.D.) (namely that this province in the rear of the first mentioned one, was conquered). It was called Guacacualco and it was there that the Spaniards found the Indian maiden named Malinala whom they always call Marina.

In the year *9 rabbit* (1462 A.D.) the Mexicans fought a battle with the Coyxiquipilco, who live in the valley of Matalcingo. In this year there was an earthquake.

Plate 11

In the year *12 house* (1465 A.D.), while the province of Chalco was waging war against the provinces of Tlascala and Guaxocingo, the Mexicans got in their rear and conquered them and from that year on this province remained subject to the Mexicans. The old people say that from the year 1465, in which this war between the Mexicans and the Chalcoans took place, the former began to make use of men captured in war for sacrificial purposes; that up to that time they had sacrificed animals and drawn blood only from certain parts of the human body.

Plate 12

In the year *1 cane* (1467 A.D.) there was a great battle between the Mexicans and the Tlaxcaltecs, on the borderline between Tezcuco and Tlaxcala on a mountain called Tiluquetepec, which means black mountain.

In the year *3 cane* (1469 A.D.) Huehuemouteuhccoma died and Axayacatzin was elected ruler.

Illustrations: 1. Earthquake. 2. Huehuemouteuhccoma. 3. Axayacatzin.

Plate 13

In the year *17 flint* (1472 A.D.) the Mexicans began to wage war with the people of the valley of Matalcingo, this being their first entrance into the land of Toluca.

Plate 14

In the year *7 flint* (1473 A.D.) the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans were at war. The Mexicans conquered them and thereafter they remained subject to the power of Mexico and never again had an independent ruler.

Plate 15

In the year *10 cane* (1475 A.D.) the people of the province of Coatlxactla, whom the Mexicans had conquered some years before, rose in rebellion but they were reduced to subjection (in a short time).

In the year *10 flint* (1476 A.D.) the Mexicans subjugated the province of Oquila. In this year there was an eclipse of the sun.

Plate 16

In the year *1 flint* (1480 A.D.) there was an earthquake.

Plate 17

In the year *12 rabbit* (1478 A.D.) the Mexicans subjugated the people of Xiquipilco.

Plate 18

In the year 4 *cane* (1483 A.D.) Axayacatzin died and they elected Ticocic ruler. In this year the first stone was placed for the building of the great temple which the Christians found when they came to the land.

In the year 5 *knife* (1484 A.D.) the people of Cinacantepec, who were subject to the Mexicans, rose in rebellion. The Mexicans marched against them and caused such ravage that hardly a man remained alive. They brought them to the temple and sacrificed them before the great *Cu* (temple), which was not yet finished at that time. All the old people say that this was the first human sacrifice which took place in their country and that up to that time they had sacrificed only animals and birds. This punishment and chastisement (namely sacrificing their enemies) was begun to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies, so that while they were subjugating the country the people (whom they had conquered) might fear (to rise in revolt).

Illustrations: 1. Ticocic. 2. Face of water. 3. Axayacatzin.

Plate 19

In the year 7 *rabbit* (1486 A.D.) Ticocic died and Ahuitzotl was elected ruler.

In the year 8 *cane* (1487 A.D.) the great *Cu* (temple) of Mexico was completed. The old people say that they sacrificed in that year four thousand men brought from the provinces which they had conquered in war. For every black twig above (in the picture) is to be understood the number four hundred.

Illustrations: 1. Ticocic. 2. Ahuitzotl.

Plate 20

In the year 9 *knife* (1488 A.D.) the Mexicans subjugated the pueblo of Thiapa, which is Cabellilotepec, and the pueblo of Cuzcaquatenango.

In the year 10 *house* (1489 A.D.) a very large comet was seen falling. It was called *xihuitl*.

Plate 21

In the year 12 *cane* (1491 A.D.) the people of Tlacuba sacrificed a captured chief of Huaxotzingo named Tototacaque.

In the year 1 *house* (1493 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the provinces of Atlizapa, Yoxico, and Chimaleo.

Plate 22

In the year 2 *rabbit* (1494 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the pueblo of Mictla which is in the province of Huaxaca.

In the year 3 *cane* (1495 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the Pueblo of Teutzapotlan, which is the capital of the province of Huaxaca. In this year there was an earthquake.

In the year 4 *knife* (1496 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the pueblo of Cultepec where the mines are now to be found. In this year there was a great eclipse of the sun.

Plate 23

The daughter of Montezuma, after she had borne the ruler of Tehuantepec sons, informed her husband that her father had not given her to him in marriage (because he loved him) but merely to bind the two kings together in friendship, and that now he was about to enter the country with the purpose of conquering

it. When he (the ruler of Tehuantepec) heard this, he saw to it that no Mexican thereafter was allowed to enter the country. This lasted until the Christians came and conquered him.

In the year *10 rabbit* Ahuitzotl died and Montezuma was elected ruler, he whom the Marquis found when he came to this country.

In the year *11 cane* (1503 A.D.) a heavy snow fell in Tlachiquiaco in the province of Mixteca.

Plate 24

In the year *13 house* (1505 A.D.) there was a great famine in the province of Mexico and the Mexicans went as far as the province of Pango to get bread.

In the year *1 rabbit* (1506 A.D.) there was a plague of rats in the province of Mexico. The rats ate all that was sown and the people consequently were obliged to get up at night with torches and walk through the sown fields (to protect them). In this year Montezuma caused a man to be shot with arrows³⁹ to placate the gods because, for a period of two hundred years, they had always been afflicted with famine in the year *1 rabbit*. In this year it was their custom to finish their year period, according to their method of reckoning, and it had always turned out to be a severe one. For that reason Montezuma changed it to *2 cane*.

Plate 25

In the year *2 cane* (1507 A.D.) there was an eclipse of the sun and an earthquake. Eighteen hundred warriors were drowned in the river Tucaca, which is beyond Ytzuca, on the road to Mixteca, as they were proceeding to subjugate that province. In this year the temple of *the new fire* was completed. They always kindled a new fire at the end of fifty-two years. This temple was on the mountain Visastli, four leagues from Mexico, called Cabeculihuacan and from there they carried the new fire over the entire land, for they said that he who on that day had fire in his house would meet with a thousand misfortunes.

In the year *4 house* (1509 A.D.) they saw a light by night which lasted forty days. Those who saw it said that it was to be seen over all New Spain, that it was very large, and very brilliant, that it was in the east, and that it came out of the earth and ascended to the sky.

In this year the pueblo of Cocola, which was six leagues from Huaxaca, rose in rebellion against the Mexicans. The latter marched against them and (utterly destroyed them), not a man being left alive there, the old people said. The strange occurrence mentioned above was one of the marvels that the people of this country saw before the Christians came here. The people thought that it referred to Quecalcoatli, whom they expected.

Illustration: 1. Mexpanitli.

Plate 26

In the year *5 rabbit* (1510 A.D.) there was an eclipse of the sun. The people never paid any attention to the eclipse of the moon, but only to eclipses of the sun, for they said that the sun ate the moon whenever an eclipse of the moon took place.

In the year *7 cane* (1511 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the pueblo of Yopaltepec, climbing up by means of ladders, for it was on a steep rock. In this year there were severe snowstorms and three earthquakes.

³⁹ One of the methods of sacrifice.

In the year 7 *flint* (1512 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the pueblo of Quimichintepee, and Nopala, which was in the direction of the province of Tototepee. In this year the stones steamed to such an extent that (the steam) seemed to ascend to the sky.

Plate 27

In this year (1513 A.D.), the Mexicans conquered Tototepee, a province eighty leagues from Mexico and near the Pacific Ocean. In this year there was such an earthquake, the old people who were there say, and so great was the number of birds that flew from the east to the west, that they hid the sun. Some of these birds were captured and they were found to be without entrails and to have nothing but dirt in the cavities of their bodies.

In the year 9 *rabbit* (1514 A.D.) the Mexicans conquered the province of Hayocingo, which is the one which had held out so long against them. For that reason it is claimed that they came to serve the Mexicans with collars of gold.

In the year 10 *cane* (1515 A.D.), the Mexicans conquered the Ytzaquetla-loca. . . .

CODEX MENDOZA, PART II⁴⁰

Here begins the history and foundation of the capital of Mexico, which was founded and peopled by the Mexicans who at that time were called Mecitiz. Their origin, their rulers, their lives and actions, these matters are briefly and truly set forth in their history as explained by the pictures and figures that follow.

In the year thirteen hundred and twenty-four after the advent of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ the Mexicans arrived at the site of the city of Mexico. The locality suited them. They had journeyed for many years from place to place, stopping sometimes for a number of years in the course of their travels. Not being content, however, with the places where they had stopped they continued until they finally came to the site of Mexico at a time when it was a complete marsh, overgrown with briars and rushes, called *tule*, and full of very tall flags (reed grass), making it almost resemble a thicket. . . . After exploring the country in all directions they found it fertile, supplied with ample game, birds and fish, and likewise those products found in swampy lands upon which they could sustain themselves; and they felt that it also afforded them a means of livelihood through trade with the neighboring pueblos. The security afforded by the water, which their neighbors could under no circumstances ever cut off, together with other motives and reasons, induced them to go no further in their travels. Having therefore made up their minds upon this point, they strengthened their position by utilizing the waters and clumps of *tule* and reed grass for their walls and bulwarks. Having thus laid the foundation for their settlement and nation, they decided to give a name to the place, calling it Tenuchtitlan, on account of the *tunal* growing upon the stone.

The Mexican army had ten men as their chiefs, named: Acaetitli, Ocelopa, Quapa, Aquexotl, Tecincuh, Tenueh, Xomimitl, Xocoyol, Xiuhequi, Atototl (who are also shown in the painting), and these having selected a site elected as their head and leader Tenueh, a person especially fitted to rule over them and in whom

⁴⁰ Translated from Lord Kingsborough's edition. None of the plates of this codex are reproduced.

were united talents and abilities necessary for the exercise of leadership. The other chiefs were in a measure under his command (*hazedores*) and were captains of the common people.

After some years had passed, and the city had developed and the people had increased in number, the same city became Mexico, the name signifying the place and habitation of the Mexicans.

When the people had increased somewhat in number, being a brave and warlike nation, they began to direct their attention toward conquering their neighbors, and they distinguished themselves to such an extent by their warlike achievements that they reduced to the condition of vassals and tribute-paying peoples two cities near Mexico named respectively, Colhuacan and Tenayucan (indicated also in the paintings). These events occurring in the course of the leadership of Tenuch which lasted fifty-one years and at the end of which period he died. . . .

Plate 1

(Names of the ten leaders given above and of the cities of Colhuacan, Tenayucan and Tenochtitlan represented by their symbols.)

Plate 2

Illustrations: 1. Acamapich. 2. By this shield and arrows are signified weapons of war. 3. Quauhnahuac. 4. Acamapich. 5. Mixquic. 6. Cuitlhuac. 7. Xochimileo.

The four pueblos figured and named in the plate are those conquered by the arms of Acamapich during the time he was chief of Mexico. The four heads shown and figured above are those of persons who were captured in the wars against the four pueblos and whose heads were cut off. Number of years of his reign, twenty-one.

In the year 1370 A.D. Acamapichtli succeeded to the said command and government, and during his rule he conquered by the force of arms the pueblos shown in the pictures. . . . They became tribute-paying communities and acknowledged their vassalage (to Mexico). During his rule the said Acamapichtli showed a marked inclination for the possession of many wives, all of whom were daughters of the chiefs of Mexico. Consequently he had many children and this was the reason for the existence of so large a number of *caciques* and captains, all addicted to war and through whose exertions the city of Mexico developed into a great power. All of these will be shown in the course of this history, represented by the figures with their explanations.

The two figures with the title and name of Acamapichtli are in reality the same, for the first picture shows the beginning of his reign, and the second year after his succession, when he began to conquer and subject the four pueblos mentioned.

Plate 3

Illustrations: 1. Toltitlan. 2. Quauhtitlan. 3. Chalco. 4. Huicilyhuil. (Shield and arrows signifying the conquest of the above named and pictured figures.) 6. Tulanceico. 7. Xaltocan. 8. Otumpa. 9. Tezeuco. 10. Acolma.

In the year 1396 A.D. Huicilyhuil, son of Acamapichtli, succeeded to the said command, and during his rule by the force of arms he conquered the eight aforementioned pueblos . . . who then paid tribute to the Mexican state and acknowledged their vassalage. The said Huicilyhuil was of martial disposition, and he also possessed many wives. These bore him many sons and thus the power of Mexico was augmented. The rule of the said Huicilyhuil lasted twenty-one years, at the end of which he died. . . .

Plate 4

Illustrations: 1. Tequixquiaç. 2. Chimalpupuca. 3. The picture of a shield and arrows signifying war. 4. Chalco. 5. Chimalpupuca dead. 6. Five heads signifying five Mexicans killed by the inhabitants of Chalco. 7. Four canoes. 8. A figure signifying that a part of the inhabitants of Chalco revolted against the Mexicans, inflicting losses upon them and breaking four canoes, as shown by the stone in their hands. . . . 9. Ten years.

In the year 1417 A.D., on the death of Huicilyhuitl, Chimalpupuca succeeded to the said command of Mexico. Chimalpupuca was the son of Huicilyhuitl and during his rule he subjected by the force of arms the pueblos of Tequixquiaç and Chalco, the latter a powerful people. They acknowledged their vassalage and paid tribute to the state of Mexico, as the pictures show. They held the said pueblos in subjection, but after a number of years the aforesaid powerful pueblo of Chalco rebelled against the Mexicans, and in this rebellion the Mexicans suffered losses, five people being killed and four canoes being broken, as is indicated further on by the pictures with their explanations.

The rule of Chimalpupuca lasted ten years, at the end of which he died. . . .

The same Chimalpupuca had, in the course of his life, many wives, who bore him many children. The possession of many wives was considered as indicative of power.

Plate 5

Illustrations: 1. Azcapuzala. 2. Coyuacan. 3. Teocalhueyan. 4. Yzeoaci. 5. Shield and arrow signifying the weapons with which the towns named and figured above were conquered. 6. Quaguacan. 7. Tlacopan. 8. Atlacinhuan. 9. Mixcoac. 10. Quauximal. 11. Quauhtitlan. 12. Teepan. 13. Acolhuacan.

Plate 6

Illustrations: 1. Mizquie. 2. Cuitlahuac. 3. Xodjimileo. 4. Chalco. 5. Quauhtlatoa died. 6. Tlatilulco. 7. Huizizilapa. 8. Quauhnhuac. 9. Cuezalan. 10. Zaqualpa. 11. Yztepec. 12. Xiuchtepec. 13. Yoalan. 14. Tepequacina.

In 1427 A.D., upon the death of Chimalpupuca, Yzeoaci, a son of Acamapichtli who had been one of the rulers of Mexico, succeeded to that dignity. During his rule he gained and conquered, by the force of his arms, twenty-four pueblos. . . . These people he conquered in a single campaign and they were subjected to the state of Mexico. The said Yzeoaci was valiant and brave, and a man of sound judgment, and it was through his energy and force of character that they were enabled to subject these peoples and compel them to acknowledge their vassalage to Mexico and to pay tribute. The said Yzeoaci had many wives who bore him sons and daughters. His rule lasted thirteen years, and at the end of this he died. . . .

Plate 7

Illustrations: 1. Atonal, Coayxtlahuacan. 2. Mamalhuaztepec. 3. Tenanco. 4. Huehue Moteczuma. 5. Weapons. 6. Teteuchtepec. 7. Chiconquiuhco. 8. Xiuchtepec. 9. Totolapa. 10. Chalco. 11. Quauhnhuac. 12. Atlatlahuca. 13. Huaxtepec.

Plate 8

Illustrations: 1. Yauhtepec. 2. Tepuztlan. 3. Tepatzinco. 4. Yacapichtlan. 5. Yoaltepec. 6. Tlachco. 7. Tlalcozauhtitla. 8. Tepequacina. 9. Quiyauhteopan. 10. Chontalecatlan. 11. Hueypuchtla. 12. Atotonilco. 13. Axocopan. 14. Tulan. 15. Xilotepec. 16. Yzeuineuitlapileo. 17. Atotomileo. 18. Tlapaeoyom. 19. Chapolyexitla. 20. Tlatlahuquitepec. 21. Cuetlaxtlan. 22. Quauhtocho.

In the year 1440 A.D., upon the death of Yzcoaci, Huchuemotecuma, the son of Huicilyhuitl, the late ruler of Mexico, succeeded to the said dignity, and during his reign he conquered and gained by the force of his arms, thirty-three pueblos. . . . This Huehuemotecuma was a grave and generous ruler, virtuous, a man of fine qualities and good judgment and an enemy of corrupt practices. By reason of his natural inclinations, he introduced law and order into his own state as well as into his vassal states. He imposed heavy fines, which he put into force and never remitted, against those who broke the laws. He was not cruel, but on the contrary kind, always anxious for the good, the father of all his vassals. He was not particularly addicted to women and had two sons. He was temperate in drink, never in the entire course of his life having been seen intoxicated, although the native Indians are, in general, extremely inclined to drunkenness. On the contrary, he ordered that those who became intoxicated should be censured and punished. On account of his generosity and the good example he showed in his manner of living he was feared and respected by all his vassals, throughout the length of his life, (his rule) lasting twenty-nine years, at the end of which he died. . . .

Plate 9

Illustrations: 1. Tlatilula. 2. MoquihuiX left Tlatilula. 3. Atlapula. 4. Xalatlan. 5. Axayacaci. 6. Weapons used in war. 7. Tlacotepec. 8. Metepec. 9. Capuluaec. 10. Ocoyacaec. 11. Quauhpanoayan. 12. Xochiacan. 13. Teotenanco. 14. Caliymaya. 15. Zinantepec.

Plate 10

Illustrations: 1. Tuluean. 2. Xiquipileo. 3. Tenanzineo. 4. Tepeyaca. 5. Tlaximaloyan. 6. Oztoma. 7. Xocotitlan. 8. Ocuilan. 9. Oztotipac. 10. Matlatlan. 11. Cuezomatlyyacaec. 12. Tecaleo. 13. Cuexlaxtlam. 14. Puxcauhtlam. 15. Ahuilizapan. 16. Tlaolan. 17. Mixtlan. 18. Cuezaloztoc. 19. Tetzopotitlan. 20. Miquiyetlan. 21. Tamuoc. 22. Tanpatel. 23. Tuchpan. 24. Tenextiepac. 25. Quauhtlan.

In the year 1479 A.D., upon the death of Huehuemotecuma, Axayacaci, the son of the late Teococomoctli and grandchild of the late Yzcoatzi, who had been a former ruler of Mexico, succeeded to that dignity. During the time Axayacaci was ruler, he conquered and gained by the force of arms thirty-seven pueblos. . . . Among those he subjected to his rule was the pueblo of Tlatilula, this conquest being one of great importance. The ruler of Tlatilula at that time was MoquihuiX, a man of great power and importance. He was of a haughty nature and gave the ruler of Mexico a pretext and occasion for strife and war, although the two had at first been friends. In this war great engagements and battles took place, and finally the said MoquihuiX, ruler of Tlatilula, died by throwing himself from a high temple, when he saw himself beaten in battle. Seeing himself conquered, he entered the temple to escape capture. There he met a priest of the temple, who upbraided him for his action, and, when the priest repeatedly upbraided him with raised voice, he threw himself down as mentioned above. There the Mexicans were victorious and from that time on the pueblo of Tlatilula, even up to the time of the coming of the Spaniards, was a vassal of the rulers of Mexico, acknowledging its servitude and paying tribute.

Axayacaci was very brave and valiant in war. He was also addicted to women and had many wives and children. He was haughty and impetuous, and on that account his vassals feared him greatly. He kept and approved the laws and ordinances of his predecessors.

Plate 11

Illustrations: 1. Taonalimoquezayom. 2. Toxico. 3. Ecatepec. 4. Zilom. 5. Tecaxic. 6. Tuluca. 7. Tizozicatzin. 8. Shield and arrows signifying that the pueblos named and figured above were conquered. 9. Yamanitlam. 10. Tlapan. 11. Atezcahuacan. 12. Mazatlán. 13. Xochiyetla. 14. Tamapacha. 15. Ecatty-guapecha. 16. Miquetlam.

In the year 1482 A.D., upon the death of Axayacaci, Tizozicatzí, son of the said Axayacaci, succeeded to the rule of Mexico. During his rule he gained and conquered, by the force of arms, fourteen pueblos. . . .

The said Tizozicatzí was extremely brave and valiant; and before he succeeded to the said rule he had performed great deeds in war, on account of which he obtained the rank of *tlacatecatl*, which was a title of great honor and dignity. The man who possessed this honor and title immediately succeeded to the said rule when the office became vacant. His predecessors and his brothers, to be mentioned afterwards, as well as his father and grandfather, had taken the same course, possessing the title and dignity, until they were finally elevated to the position of rulers of Mexico.

The said Tizozicatzí, as a mark of authority and state, had many wives, and they bore him many sons. He was a brave man, strict in his commands, and feared and respected by his vassals. He was inclined to, and applied himself to, virtuous and good actions and was a good friend of the state. He protected and approved all the laws and ordinances which his predecessors had observed and augmented from the time of Huehuemotecuma. He was zealous in pursuing and punishing corrupt practices and crimes which his vassals committed and thus the state of Mexico was well governed and taken care of during his rule. The length of his rule was five years, and at the end of this period he died.

Plate 12

Illustrations 1. Tzicoac. 2. Tlappan. 3. Molanco. 4. Amaxtlan. 5. Zapotlan. 6. Xaltepec. 7. Chiapan. 8. Tototepec. 9. Ahuizozin. 10. Weapons. 11. Xochtlan. 12. Xolochihyom. 13. Cozcaquauhtenanco. 14. Cozohuipilecan. 15. Coyuca. 16. Acatepec. 17. Huexolotlan. 18. Acapulco. 19. Xiuhhuacan. 20. Apancalecan. 21. Tecpatepec. 22. Tepechiapa. 23. Xicochimileo. 24. Xiuh-tezcatlan.

Plate 13

Illustrations: 1. Tecuantepec. 2. Coyolapan. 3. Yztactlealocan. 4. Teocnitlatla. 5. Huehuetlan. 6. Quauhxacatitla. 7. Yzhuatan. 8. Comitlan. 9. Nantzintlan. 10. Huipilan. 11. Cahualan. 12. Yztatlan. 13. Huitzlan. 14. Xolotlan. 15. Quauhnaeastlan. 16. Mazatlan. 17. Ayauhtochcintlatla. 18. Quauhtlan. 19. Cuezalcintlapila. 20. Mapachtepec. 21. Quauhpilola. 22. Tlacotepec. 23. Mizquitlan.

In the year 1487 A.D., upon the death of Tizozicatzí, Ahuizozin, brother of his predecessor Tizozicatzí, succeeded to the rule of Mexico. During his reign, by the force of arms, he gained and conquered forty-five pueblos. . . . The said Ahuizozin was the equal in valor and arms of his predecessor and brother Tizozicatzí, and on that account he obtained the title of *tlacatecatl*, which signifies commander in chief (*gran capitán*), and from that dignity he advanced and succeeded to the said rule of Mexico.

The said Ahuizozin was a person of naturally good inclinations, addicted to virtue, and, for that reason, during his life and rule the state was well governed and administered. He observed, and caused to be observed by others, the ordinances and privileges which his ancestors had maintained and observed from the time of Huehuemoteceuma. Now the Mexican state had grown in a remarkable manner and had subjugated the greater part of New Spain. These people all acknowledged their vassalage, and paid to Mexico rich and varied tributes. This power reached its culmination during his life. He was a powerful and magnanimous ruler and gave expensive entertainments to his people. Being of a temperate and kindly disposition his vassals and captains loved him exceedingly and showed him great reverence. He had numerous wives who bore him many children, this being regarded as something that appertained to the dignity of the ruler of so great a state. He was of a happy disposition and his vassals consequently gave themselves up to festivities in his honor. They had many and varied feasts and the singing and the music of the instruments was heard all day and all night. In his houses singing and music never stopped. The duration of his rule was seventeen years.

Plate 14

Illustrations: 1. Achiotlan. 2. Zozolan. 3. Nochiztlan. 4. Tecutepec. 5. Zulan. 6. Tlaniztlan. 7. Huilotepec. 8. Motezcuema. 9. Weapons. 10. Yepatepec. 11. Yztaetlalocan. 12. Chihihualtatacala. 13. Tecaxic. 14. Tlachinoltic. 15. Xocochoeco. 16. Zinacantan. 17. Huiztlan. 18. Piaztlan. 19. End and death of Motezcuema. . . .

Plate 15

Illustrations: 1. Molanco. 2. Caquantepec. 3. Pipiyoltepec. 4. Hueyapan. 5. Zulan. 6. Tlaniztlan. 7. Huilotepec. 8. Motezcuema. 9. Weapons. 10. Yepatezauh-tla. 11. Teochiapan. 12. Zacatepec. 13. Tlachquiyahuco. 14. Malinaltepec. 15. Quimichtepec. 16. Yzeuntepec. 17. Zenzontepec. 18. Quetzaltepec. 19. Cuezeomayxtlahuacan. 20. Huexolotlan.

Plate 16

Illustrations: 1. Xalapan. 2. Xaltianquizeo. 3. Yoloxpuecuila. 4. Atepec. 5. Mictlan. 6. Yztitlan. 7. Tliltepec. 8. Comaltepec.

Plate 17

Illustrations: 1. Zitlaltepec. 2. Quauhtochto. 4. Tzonpanco. 5. Xaltocan. 8. Huaca. 9. Yzteyocan. 10. Acalhuacan. 11. Coatitlan. 12. Huixaetitlan. 15. Zozolan. 16. Poetepec. 17. Coatlayauhcan. 18. Aeolnahuae. 19. Puputlan. 20. Yztaecalco. 21. Chalcoatenco.

Plate 18

Illustrations: 3. Oztoma. 6. Atzacan. 8. Atlán. 10. Xocochoeco. 12. Teapotitlan.

In the year 1502 A.D. Motezcuema succeeded to the rule of Mexico after the death of Ahuizozin. By that time Mexico had attained great majesty and authority. He succeeded to the said rule on account of his great seriousness and he

succeeded in increasing the power and extent of his state, so that his power was even more extensive than that of his predecessors. Moteczuma was the son of Ahuizozin, who had preceded him in the rule of Mexico.

Before he succeeded to the said position, he had obtained a reputation as a valiant warrior and leader and on account of this he had received the dignity of *tlacatecatl* and thus (upon the death of the chief) succeeded to the latter's position, as has already been mentioned. As soon as he had obtained that position he increased the power and prestige of Mexico in every direction, ruling over all the pueblos of New Spain, so that they gave and paid him tributes of great value and wealth. He was greatly feared by all his vassals and his captains and the leaders looked up to him with great respect. Indeed, no person, when he had business to transact with him, would dare look him in the face, so great was the respect in which he was held. On such occasions people always fixed their eyes upon the ground and bowed their heads to the ground, showing also other marks of respect and veneration, due him on account of the majesty which he represented, and of which a description is not given here to avoid length. . . .

After Moteczuma had succeeded to the rule, he conquered forty-four pueblos . . . and he subjected them to his power, and in acknowledgment of their vassalage, throughout the length of his rule, the subject peoples paid him rich and numerous tributes.

Moteczuma was by nature a wise man, an astrologer, a philosopher, and generally skilled and versed in all the arts, both of war and peace. On account of his great seriousness and state it was during his rule that the development toward empire(?) began, for which reason his subjects revered him as well as his power, since, compared to his predecessors, no one had ever possessed a character of such dignity and majesty.

The ordinances and laws of his predecessors from the time of Huehuemoteczuma to his own day he caused to be observed and kept in their entirety with great care. And since he was naturally wise himself, he enacted and made other ordinances and laws, such as appeared to him necessary to complete the former without, however, at the same time, repealing any of the older ones. All this was done for the advantage and better government of his country and his vassals.

He was inclined to women and had many households. His wives were the daughters of nobles (*señores*), of his vassals, and of his confederates, and these women all bore him many children. He had this large number of wives to show his majesty and power, for so it was considered. . . .

The quantity and number of tributes his vassals paid him, will be seen and understood later on. . . .

He was very strict in regard to the tributes paid him, which were appraised by him personally, so that he could be certain that they were paid in full. For this purpose he had *calpixques* and *hazedores* (under-officers) placed in all the subject pueblos and these ruled in the manner of governors, giving commands and governing in general. He was so greatly feared that no one dared transgress nor exceed his wish or command, and for that reason his orders were entirely observed and obeyed, for (it was known) how inexorable he was in punishing and chastizing those who disobeyed.

HISTORIA DE LOS MEXICANOS POR SUS PINTURAS⁴¹*Chapter X*

. . . As has been already narrated, on the eastern side of the river they represent the city of Culuaacan, a very large city with many populous places around it, on account of which the inhabitants determined to seek a country to settle in, and being united they took for captain and war chief one named Ynqualtlatlauqui, and they took the names of the old towns and places they had left and gave them to new ones in the country to which they migrated. It is said that the following peoples went with them and that each took the god it worshipped and its own type of temple ceremonial, for in each one the service was different, no one being identical with another, for which reason they are also painted dissimilarly.

So there went forth with them those of Culuaacan, that being their principal city. This town was placed in the new settlement about two leagues distant from the place where they first settled (in this country), and of which more will be said afterward.

They took with them their god, called Cinteul, son of Pincetecli: those of Suchimileo started out and took with them their god called Quelazeli, who was called the stag of Mixeoatl. The Atitlabaca and their god Amimieli, who was (called?) a rod of Mixeoatl, whom they revered as a god, and the rod they kept in memory of him. Then there sallied forth those of Mizquique who took along as their god Tezcatlipuca Napatecli. Then those of Tacuba, Culuaacan, and Ascaputzaleo, called Tenpanecas; and these took along with them their god Ocoetecli, that is, the fire, and for that reason it was their custom to throw into the fire as sacrificial offerings, all those whom they captured in battle. These, and no other peoples, the Mexicans claim started out with them, although the peoples of Tazcueo, Tazcala, and Guejocingo boast that they too came with the Mexicans and that they (came from) the same country. All these started out in the first year, called *tecpatl*, and they came organized in bands.

Chapter XI

After they had all set out they came to two high mountains in whose midst they remained for two years. As, however, they did not paint the number of days it took to come to that place, nothing can be definitely said except that from their departure to the time of their settling in these mountains they reckon one year and that they spent two years in these mountains sowing what they needed for sustenance then and what they had to take along with them (on future journeys). There they erected their first temple to Uchilobo, building it like the one in the city (from which they had started).

These two mountains were opposite each other and their settlement lay between.

Three years after their departure from Astla, the place from which the Mexicans originally started out as we have indicated, they left the place between the two mountains where they had lived two years and where, we said, they erected a temple to Uchilobos, and came to a place where they found many trees and which was called Quaustieaca because there were so many pines there. There they remained a year and this made four years since their departure from their native country. From here they started out and came to a pueblo which they called

⁴¹ Translated from Garcia Icazbalceta's edition in *Nueva Colección de documentos para la historia de Mexico*, III, Mexico, 1891.

Chicomuxtoque and in which they settled and lived nine years, this making thirteen years since their departure from their old home. When they left this last place they laid it waste. Here were born Tlacuxquin, Manzamoyagual, and Minaqueciguatle, two men and one woman, people of great importance. Here they completed the first thirteen-year period of their exodus and began to count the second thirteen-year period.

After leaving Chicomuztoque they came to a plain, at the present time occupied by the Chichimecas, situated opposite the Panuco, and there they stayed three years. They called this valley Cuatlicamat. This place they left at the end of three years and arrived at a ranch which they called Matlauacala, where they stayed three years and where they erected a temple to Uchilogos. Here they completed eleven years of the second thirteen-year period since they had left their home.

From this place they went to a mountain on this side of Tula, called Coatebeque, where they stayed nine years. When they arrived there they found the macehuales holding in great veneration the mantle of the five women whom Tezcatlipuca had created and who were killed on the day on which the sun was created. As we have explained, these same five women came to life again from these mantles, and wandered around in this mountain doing penance and drawing blood from their tongues and ears. After four years of penance one called Cuatlque, a virgin, took some white feathers and put them in her breast, after which she conceived, although not having known man, and gave birth to Uchilogos again. This was in addition to the other occasions on which he was born for as a god he did and could do as he wished. At that place were also resuscitated the four hundred men whom Tezcatlipuca had made and who had died before the sun was created.

When the people saw that Cuatlque was pregnant they wished to burn her, but Uchilogos was born of her fully armed and killed all of the four hundred people. The feast of his birth and that of the death of the four hundred is celebrated every year as will be recounted in the section on feasts. Before the feast those who wished fasted for eighty days, eating only once (during that time).

The inhabitants of the province of Cuzeo burnt the four hundred whom Uchilogos had killed and accepted them as their gods. They so regard them up to the present day, and on this mountainside they celebrate the first feast, of the birth of Uchilogos and the feast of the four hundred whom he killed.

After thirty-three years had elapsed since their departure from their home, they left Coatebeque and came to Chimalcoque where they stayed three years, and where they erected a temple and where they placed the ark of Uchilobos. There, the thirty-ninth year since their departure having been completed, they took the ark of Uchilobos and gave it to Vingualti that he might take it along with him during their journey and keep it in great reverence.

Then they came to Tlemaco, close to Tula, and here they erected a temple to Uchilogos and stayed there twelve years. At the end of these twelve years they departed and entrusted the ark of Uchilogos to the care of Cacici. After this had taken place they came to Atlitlalaquia, a well-known pueblo near Tula, where they stayed two years and where, during this time, they erected a temple to Uchilogos. After two years the Mexicans arrived at the town of Tula, which at that time was inhabited by the aborigines of the country, the Chichimecas. When they arrived at the aforementioned place they erected a temple to Uchilogos and placed before it the candelabra which are still used at the present time, and they offered before the temple *copal* and other sweet-smelling objects.

Immediately after the arrival of the Mexicans Uchilogos appeared to the aborigines clothed in black, and when the latter heard Uchilobos crying below the earth they inquired why the god of the Mexicans was crying below the earth. In answer they were told that it was because all those living in Tula would (soon) have to die. Within four years of this time an old woman, a native of Tula, went around the country handing to each native a bundle of paper placed in a wooden box(?) in which it was made manifest to them that they were to make preparations for the death they were soon to meet. Shortly after that they were all thrown upon the stone used by the Mexicans for their human sacrifices. He who was in charge of the temple they had erected in Tula, a man named Tequipuyul, who was a stranger and who, it is believed, was the devil, did the sacrificing. Before the Mexicans erected a temple there, that stone had been used by the people of Tula as a temple. Thus did all the people of Tula meet their death, not one being left alive, and the Mexicans became the lords of Tula.

Soon they left Tula and came to where today the pueblo of Atotoniltengo stands, where they stayed one year. From there they went to where the pueblo of Tecuquiaie now stands and where they stayed four years. From there they went to the pueblo of Apazeo, and from Apazeo they went to Zumpango, where they stayed three years. As they came near the pueblo of Zumpango they encountered a Chichimecan chief(?) named Tlavizealpotongui, who, when he saw the Mexicans coming, went out to meet them, and there a Chichimecan who had been taken prisoner in war was sacrificed to Uchilogos, god of the Mexicans. They afterwards placed his head on a pole and it is from this fact that the pueblo received the name Zumpango, which means pole-on-which-they-transfixed-human-heads.

Starting out from there after three years they came to Tlillae, where they remained seven years. After they left that place, while on their journey, and before they came to Cuautitlan, the Chichimecans captured a Mexican woman and carried her off to Mechoacan. From her are descended all the people of Mechoacan. Before them (this country) was occupied by the Chichimecas. (The Mexicans) continued their journey to Cuatitlan, where they stayed a year. Departing they went to Ecatebeque where they likewise stayed a year. From Ecatebeque they went to Nepopualeo, which means "a-narrow-passage," and here they made an enumeration of all those who had come along; but it is not known nor is there any indication in their picture writings of how great that number was.

There they erected a house for Cipan and one for Xineaque, for these were the men who had made the census of the people who had accompanied them. Three Mexicans left them at that place: one named Navalei, another Tenaei, and the third Chiautotol, and these three went to settle Marinalco, a pueblo still existing today.

At this place the Mexicans remained, erecting a temple to Uchilogos at Cimalpal, two leagues from the city of Mexico. The Mexicans immediately gave a name to the mountain near Chimalpa, calling it Tlatlatevique. Then they went to another mountain called Cuatitlan, which is two leagues from Mexico, and there they stayed four years. From there they went to a mountain called Visaehichitlan, where, at the present time, the people belonging to the barrio of Santiago have their *suchiles*(?). From there they went to the mountain called Teubulco, and from there to Tenayucan. At that place one of the Mexican chiefs died, and for that reason they changed (the name of that place) to (?) Tepayuca or Teepayuca, that having been the name of the chief who had died there. They put in his place a Chichimecan lord named Tloci. At that place they erected a temple to

Uchilogos and they sacrificed a woman, bringing her there gayly attired and with great festivities, for such was their custom when they brought forth a woman to be sacrificed.

After this feast to Uchilogos, they departed again and settled on a mountain which they called Tepexaquilla, where they stayed nine years. When these nine years were over they descended the mountain and took up their abode near the rock from which a hot spring took its rise, a spot that today is called "the little rock" and that separates the barrios of Mexico and Santiago.

At that time everything was dry as far as the aforesaid rock, and at that place the water of Chapultepec passed through. Then they made a kind of enclosure with lime and stone through which it might be conducted. They stayed at this rock place four years. From there they went to Chapultepec, where they controlled the flow of the water and placed around it many capsules (?) (Spanish, *banderas*) like those the old woman gave to the inhabitants of Tula when they wished to make their sacrifices, and which from then on ceased.

The Mexicans were at that time in Chapultepec, and from there proceeded to Tlachetongo, where San Lazaro now stands near the market place of the Mexicans, and from there they proceeded to the barrio called Agualcomac, near the aforementioned market place. From there they went to Vetetlan, then to Ixocan, on the road to Cuyacan, and from there to Teuculuacan, where they now manufacture salt. Thence they proceeded to a mountain called Tepetocan, near Cuyoacan, and from there they came to the road of Uchilobusco, not quite two leagues from Mexico, the pueblo being called Ciavichilat in the language of the Chichimecas, for it was settled by them.

These Chichimecas had as their god Ubuchilti, who was the god of water. Now this god of the waters met the Indian carrying the ark and mantle of Uchilogos, and, as he met him, he gave him some weapons. These are the weapons used to kill ducks with. And he also gave him an arrow. The man was left-handed, like Uchilogos the god of waters, and for that reason the latter told him (the man), that he must be his son. They became good friends and they changed the name of the place where they met from Uichilat, its former name, to Uchiobusco, by which it was known from that time on.

Chapter XII

From there they went to Culuacan, where they found Achitometl as ruler, and then they proceeded to the *sierra* near Estapalapa called Vizachitla, and from there they went to Quexumalc, where they stayed three years. From there they went to Capuleo, and, turning aside, came to Tacuxcalco, on the road to Talmaleo, where they erected a temple to Uchilogos. At that place, called Tacuxcalco, they came together, the leaders being Xiuteza, Caley, and Escualt, and they said to all the people that since the Chichimecas, the aborigines of the *sierra*, had not attacked them, they were to divide into separate groups and in order not to be recognized, they were to cut their hair, each in a different fashion. This was done. They did this, it was said, because Uchilogos had so directed them. Each one of those who thus went off carried weapons and those who remained there took their *mantas* and the deerskin of Micoalt, as well as some arrows for weapons, and a bag in which they could put their *tunas*, for that was the only thing they ate at that time. From there they proceeded to some lands near by and there the leaders informed the people that they were to stay scattered and hidden for four years and that after that time had elapsed they were all to go together to Zacaquipa; and that after another four years had elapsed, they were

to proceed together to the mountain and spring of Chapultepeque. There they were immediately to take Copil, the son of the woman whom the Chichimecans had captured and from whom the people of Mechoacan are descended, and offer him up as a sacrifice, giving his heart, torn out, to the sun. In the aforementioned Chapultepeque they remained fifteen years.

Chapter XIII

When they settled in Chapultepeque the Mexicans had three leaders: one called Clautiqueci, the son of the leader who had brought them there and who had the same name, as has been said; Acipa, son of Cipayavichiliutl, son of Tlauizcal Potongui. This latter person they selected as their ruler and he governed over them throughout the fifteen years that they stayed in Chapultepeque. This Vichiliutl had two daughters, one named Tuzasuch and the other Chimalasuch. We mentioned above, in connection with their sojourn at Chapultepeque, a son of the woman whom the Chichimecans had captured and carried off to Mechoacan, and from whom all the natives of Mechoacan were descended. At that time it was said that this son of the aforementioned woman had come from Mechoacan to visit the Mexicans and when they wished to sacrifice him he said that he could only be sacrificed in Mechoacan where his mother was and, for that reason, took up his arms at the command of Vichiliutl and fought with Cuatliqueci. He was conquered and then sacrificed and his heart was buried at the place now named Temestitlan, where afterwards the city of Mexico was founded. The head was buried at Tluchitongo.

Chapter XIV

After nine years had elapsed another twenty-five years were spent in peace and quiet, Vichiliutl ruling over them. On the mountain of Chapultepeque they built a large temple to Uchilogos. Here the Mexicans remained at noon, and the inhabitants of that country, who were all Chichimecans, united and fell upon them near Chapultepeque, subsequently attacking them at night. They killed all the Mexicans with a few exceptions. These latter fled, and escaping hid themselves in the brakes and canes of the lagoon near by. They burnt the temple that the Mexicans had erected. The people of Saltoea took the two daughters of Vichiliutl prisoner. Vichiliutl himself was taken prisoner and afterwards killed by the people of Culuaacan. Those who fled and escaped remained concealed in the canebreaks for eighty days and ate nothing but herbs and snakes. However, they had managed to take Uchilogos with them.

Chapter XV

We mentioned before how the heart of Copil, the son of the woman who had been carried to Mechoacan, was buried at Temestitlan. The reason for this was that Coatlquezi had been seen standing under the foliage of a tree by Uchilogos, who told him to bury the heart there, for this was to be their final resting place. For that reason the heart was interred there.

Chapter XVI

The above-mentioned facts having taken place, the Mexicans who had been hidden among the grasses and canebreaks, on account of the great hunger they were experiencing came out and proceeded to Culuaacan in search of food. And

they told the people of Culuaacan that they had come to be their servants and that they should not kill them; that they would beg Uchilogos to see to it that they should not be killed. Then they gave to the people of Culuaacan the wrappings and the ark of Uchilogos and they remained in servitude to them (the people of Culuaacan). At that time the ruler of Culuaacan was Achitomel and Chalchiutlatonae was the chieftain. Then they built a temple, a very beautiful one, there and the people of Culuaacan held a feast in it, a feast in honor of Ciguacoalt, the mother of the god of the nether world, whom the people of Culuaacan worshipped as their deity.

Chapter XVII

For a period of twenty-five years the Mexicans lived in servitude to the people of Culuaacan. At that time the latter were waging war with the people of Suchimileo, and in order to find out whether the Mexicans were real warriors they told the latter to aid them. The Mexicans, believing that this was said because the people of Culuaacan considered them women, sent ten Mexicans along with them to the war, the others remaining in their houses at Tizapaa, now the site of Culuaacan. They told these ten men who thus went along not to kill any of the Suchimileans, but to cut off the ears of those whom they captured. The ten Mexicans were so successful that they captured not ten but eighty Suchimileans and cut off their ears, thus demonstrating to the people of Culuaacan that the Mexicans were real warriors.

Chapter XVIII

At the end of twenty-five years, the Mexicans abandoned the temple they had erected to Uchilogos in Culuaacan, which was built so that they might place (the image of) Uchilogos in it, and erected a larger one at Tizapaa; and when the people of Culuaacan saw such a large temple they asked the Mexicans who was to be in the temple and what they were going to place in it. They answered, "hearts," and when the people of Culuaacan heard this they threw straw and dirt into the temple and made fun of the Mexicans. Then the Mexicans (took a woman) called Aveni and sacrificed her to Uchilogos, and with one of her bleeding legs they bespattered the walls with blood. When this sacrifice was beheld by the people of Culuaacan, astonished and indignant, they rose against the Mexicans, who fled to the neighborhood of Catitlan, a river which flows close to Culuaacan. They were pursued as far as Nextiquipaque where, at the present time, there are twelve houses that are subject to Mexico. Coxcoei, the chief of the people of Culuaacan, favored the Mexicans, and because the former had attacked the Mexicans he killed many of the people of Culuaacan.

Chapter XIX

After these things had taken place and when, in addition, the twenty-five years already mentioned had elapsed, from that time it is that the first year of their entrance into the confines of Mexico-Tenustitan and the beginning of its settlement is to be reckoned. Then they came to Istacalco, a place near Mexico. From there they went to Mixiuacan, where a woman was confined, and for that reason they called the place by that name, which means, confinement-place. There they settled in the barrio called Temazcaltitlan, which means barrio-of-the-bath, which today is the benefice and barrio of San Pedro and San Pablo. It was here that some Mexicans exclaimed that the place to which Uchilogos was to take them was lost, and mutterings of discontent arose about it. Then Uchilogos told them in

dreams that the events were to have taken place in just that manner and that they were near the site where they were to have their home and rest; that those who had muttered against him were guilty of the sin of being two-faced and liars, and in order to be forgiven they would have to construct a head with two faces and two tongues. After they had made this figure out of the seeds they were accustomed to eat, they shot at it with arrows. Then, after blindfolding the eyes of those who had shot at it with arrows, these were to hunt for the figure, and when they found it they were to eat it, dividing it among the others. This was accordingly done and these people settled in Tatiluleo, which was then a little island and which today is known under the name of the barrio of Santiago.

In this first year after the Mexicans had come to the above-mentioned place, Uchilogos appeared to a person called Teunche and told him that in this place was to be his home and that the Mexicans were to wander no longer. He was telling him this, he continued, because on the following day he (Teunche) was to look for a person from Culuaean, seize him, sacrifice him, and offer him to the sun, because the people of Culuaean had treated the Mexicans so badly. Then Xomemitleut started out, and capturing a person from Culuaean named Chichilquautli, they sacrificed him at sunrise. They called this town Quannixtlitlan and afterwards it was called Tenustitan because they encountered there a *tuna* growing out of a stone, the roots of the *tuna* emerging from that part of the ground where the heart of Copil had been buried, as mentioned before.

Chapter XX

The second year after the foundation of Mexico the Mexicans began to lay the foundations for a large and augmented temple of Uchilogos. This temple increased in size constantly, for each of the rulers who from that time on held sway in Mexico added to it a wall as broad as the preceding one erected by the earlier inhabitants. Thus the Spaniards found a very high, strong, and broad building grand to behold.

At that time the Mexicans had as their ruler Illancueitl, a leading chieftainess. She was the wife of Acamapichi, he being from Culuaean and she from Coatlixan. Although he was from Culuaean he was descended from the people of Mexico, for his mother was a Mexican and had married a chief from Culuaean. After marrying, by the advice of his mother he went to Mexico. There they spoke to him and said that as he was a member of a chief's family and as the Mexicans had no ruler, they would take him as their ruler. Thus he became their first ruler. When his wife died, in the twenty-fourth year after the foundation of Mexico, he was taken as their ruler (*señor*). During the life of his wife he had been regarded only as their chief (*principal*).

Three years before this, in the twenty-first year after the foundation of Mexico, the Mexicans made war upon the people of Culuaean and burnt their temple. The following year, the twenty-second after the foundation of the city, the people of Culuaean, seeing that in the twenty-two years following the foundation of their city the Mexicans had greatly increased in power, fearing them, carried their gods to Suchimileo in a canoe. Near the town of Cuautleaxetan the sun shone upon them with such splendor that it blinded them and they did not see anything until they found themselves close to Mexico. When they were aware of this they placed their gods in Mexico and erected there a small temple a little in front of the place where the slaughterhouse now stands.

Twenty-eight years after the foundation of the city, when the fifty-two-year period was completed, there was a general feast. All the fires in the land were extinguished and when this had been done they went to obtain *new fire* from the

sierra of Estapalapa. This feast was celebrated every fifty-two years, whenever thirteen four-year periods had elapsed, this making fifty-two years.

Thirty-one years after the foundation of the city fire emerged from the volcano. In the year forty-seven the Mexicans conquered Tenayuca and burnt their temple which was of straw. The people of Tenayuca were Chichimecans.

Fifty-two years after the foundation of the city the people of Tatilulco asked Tezuxomutli, the ruler of Escapuzalco, to give them a ruler, and he gave them Teutleuac as ruler. However his rule did not last more than forty days, for they had thought he was brave and they found that he was nothing of the kind. Tezumutli was a Mexican and had been taken as ruler by the people of Escapuzalco, that is, as one of the two they had and that they have always had up to the present time.

Cuaquapuaque was the second of the rulers of Tatilulco given them by the ruler of Escapuzalco. He ruled for forty days, after which he fled from them. He is pictured with claws on his feet. Fifty-three years after the foundation of the city Acamapichi was made ruler of the Mexicans. In the year fifty-seven the Mexicans made war upon the people of Suchimilco and burnt their temple, and in the year fifty-nine Acamapichi conquered Mezquique. Sixty-three years after the foundation of the city forty Mexican men and women left for Guaximalpan and there they were found by the Otomi of Matalcingo and treacherously killed at Cuitralauaea.

Seventy years after the foundation of the city Acamapichi conquered Cuitralauaea and burnt the temple. Seventy-three years after the foundation of the city their ruler Acamapichi died and they made Viciliuci, the son of Acamapichi, their ruler. In the year seventy-five Mieiucixiuci, the daughter of Escoaci the ruler of Cuernavaca, mother of Viciliuci, gave birth to Mutizuma the Elder, who was first called Iluicanminazi and afterwards Mutizuma. Because his father was ruler against the wishes of many people his son changed his name to Mutizuma, which means the-angry-lord. In the year seventy-nine a sister of Viciliuci married Istlisuchilci, ruler of Tezucuo, and she bore Nezavalcuyuci, who became ruler of Tezucuo. In the year eighty-one the Mexicans conquered Cuaximalpan from the Otomi.

In the eighty-fifth year after the foundation of the city the Mexicans conquered Capisela, and in the same year conquered Cuauximilco in the province of Chalco. Then in the following year they waged war against the above-mentioned places (again) and in the same year conquered them. In the ninetieth year after the foundation (of the city) they conquered Tezquiaque. In the year ninety-two the Mexicans sent seven of their principal men to find out whether the people of Puchitlan were at war with them and they passed through Xaltocan, where three were treacherously captured and slain while the other four escaped. In the following year they conquered the province of Tazeuco and they started for Tepepan, although the ruler did not wish it and when he saw them he left and went to Tezumulco, a town of Suyocingo. The father (of the ruler) was dead and they therefore made peace with the Mexicans.

In the following year, the ninety-fourth, Viviliucin died, and his brother, named Chimalpupueaci, was selected as their ruler. In the year ninety-seven the people of Tuzucuo were brought to Chimalpupueaci, and in the same year they conquered Tulancingo. The Mexicans had to spend a whole year in conquering the latter town. In the year ninety-nine the people of Tatilulco went to Tula. (Many of them) had been killed and having left their god behind, a god called Tlaacuepan, they brought him to Tatilulco. In the year one hundred and five after the foundation of Mexico, Tezozoboc died. He was ruler of Escapuzalco. Maxtlato, the son

of Zozumoc, had been ruler of Cuiuacan during his father's lifetime. When his father died he became ruler of Esecapuzaleo.

This ruler ordered that all should rise against the Mexicans and when Ximalpucacai, ruler of Mexico, saw that the people were rising against him, he killed himself, and dying, the people of Mexico raised his brother called Izeuacai to the position of ruler.

When Tlacateulti, ruler of Tatiluleo, saw the great force which the ruler of Esecapuzaleo had, he fled. However it was of no avail, for he was overtaken near the bridge of Saltoea and there killed. This was done (it is said), because the ruler of Tatiluleo had previously had intercourse with the wife (of Maxtlato); that is why it was ordered that he should be killed. In the same year Nezagualcuyuei fled from Tezeuco, for the people of Tezeuco rose against the Mexicans. In the following year, one hundred and six after the founding of Mexico, the people of that country were urged to make war against Mexico, at the instigation of the ruler of Esecapuzaleo. But a noble of Esecapuzaleo, called Totolayo, tried to make peace with Mexico in the year one hundred and eight. The Mexicans, however, refused unless they would agree to kill the ruler of Esecapuzaleo. Realizing that if they wanted peace they would have to do that, they planned his death and this was accomplished.

(In the year one hundred and nine Tatiluleo rose in revolt) and in the year one hundred and twelve they gave themselves up to the Mexicans. In the next year, one hundred and thirteen, Cuatlatoacai, the ruler of Tatiluleo, again rose against the Mexicans. Then one night one of their gods appeared to him and told him in dreams that he had done wrong, and for that reason he delivered himself up to the Mexicans, who, not desiring to kill him, turned him over to his own men for death and they killed him.

In the year one hundred and seventeen the people of Mexico conquered Guautitlan, and in the following year Ixcoacai died and the Mexicans raised Mutizuma the Elder to the position of ruler.

In the year one hundred and twenty-five after the foundation of the city of Mexico the temple structure to Uchilogos was renovated.

In the year one hundred and twenty-eight hail fell in Mexico to such a degree that the houses collapsed and the lake was frozen over.

In the year one hundred and thirty-two there was an intense frost and a famine. So great was the famine that in the following year it was ordained that whosoever should take an ear of corn, even if he took it from his own cornfield, should be punished with death.

In the year one hundred and thirty-six Motezuma the Elder made a stone wheel which Rodrigo Gomez disinterred from the door of his house, where it had been buried. It had a hole in the middle and was very large. To this hole those who were captured in war were tied so that they could only move their arms. They were given a shield and a wooden sword, and three men, one dressed in the skin of a tiger, the second in that of a lion, and the third in that of an eagle, approached and fought with him until they wounded him. Then they took a large knife and cut out his heart. They sharpened their knives on the stone below this large round wheel. After that the succeeding rulers of Mexico constructed two other stones and put them one upon the other. One of these was saved and is now underneath the baptismal font. The other was burnt and broken when the Spaniards entered the city. Those who first used this stone were the people of Cuaistrauaca.

In the year one hundred and thirty-nine the Mexicans conquered Cuaistrauaca and brought many jewels to Mutezuma. In the year one hundred and forty-one, the Mexicans conquered Vuetlastla.

In the year one hundred and forty-seven, Mutezuma died and his son Axayacacin was made ruler. In the year one hundred and fifty-one, Mochuei, the ruler of Tatilulco, gave himself up to Mexico.

In the following year the people of Cuetlasta rose in revolt because they had sent twenty men as a tribute (to Mexico) and these had been placed in a box full of red pepper which was set on fire. However, they were soon subjugated in the year one hundred and fifty-three.

In the following year Axayacaci made Citlaleoaci ruler of Malinalco. In the year one hundred and fifty-five, Axayacaci took three men prisoners with his own hand. He was wounded but thus he conquered Matalcingo by his own prowess. In the following year, one hundred and fifty-nine, Axayacaci died and his brother Tizzocicaci was made ruler of Mexico.

In the following year, one hundred and sixty, it was decided to increase the size of the temple to Uchilobi and even the children worked on it. In the following year they celebrated the feast of the temple of Uchilobi with the bloody sacrifice of the people of Matalcingo and the people of Tlaula and many were killed.

In the year one hundred and sixty-four Tixocicaci died, and his younger brother Auizoci was made ruler of Mexico. In the following year the temple to Uchilobi was finished by Auizoci, and he killed many people in consecrating it.

In the year one hundred and seventy-six, the water of the lagoon rose to such a height, especially the river of Cuiuaean, that all the houses were submerged and the water actually came as far as the first wall of the temple of Uchilobi. Those houses made of adobe collapsed. It is said that the water was black and full of snakes and that this was regarded as a miracle.

In the year one hundred and eighty, Auizoci died, and his brother Mutezuma, the last ruler, became ruler. In the year one hundred and eighty-two Mutezuma built a temple to Quizalecoatla, where the house of the bishop now stands, and he covered the roof with straw. In the following year it was struck by lightning and burnt. It is said that lightning is sent by Tlaloque, the god of water. He erected a very large temple in honor of Cintelil, the son of Picitutel.

In the year one hundred and eighty-four the people of Mexico killed many of the people of Zozola whom they had captured in war. Placed as on a cross between two piece of wood they were killed with arrows. This feast was celebrated every year.

In the year one hundred and eighty-five after the foundation of the city of Mexico, the fifty-two-year period was completed and Motezuma celebrated the last of these feasts.

In the year one hundred and eighty-nine a figure appeared in the sky, arising apparently from the volcano and then passing over the city. It was white and twelve feet wide. Motezuma tried to find out what it was and the wise men told him that it portended his death in that year. It is a fact that this was the very year in which the Christians were about to come to this country.

In the year one hundred and ninety-three the people of Tascala approached those of Guaxoecingo and informed them that they were suffering from hunger. Mutezuma helped them and brought some of them to Mexico, while he placed some (of his own people) there for their defense. Then he asked them for their god Camastle and because he had asked them for their god, they rose against them. Then the Mexicans came and freed those they had taken to the city. Then the people of Guajocingo killed the women of the Mexican race to whom they had been married.

In the following year Nezagualpilciti, ruler of Tezcuco, died, and for a year Tezcuco was without a ruler. Then they selected Cacamaci, son of the deceased, as their ruler. . . .

CODEX RAMIREZ⁴²

An Account of the Origin of the Indians who inhabit this New Spain, according to their Histories.

The Indians of this New Spain, according to the general account of their histories, sprang from two different peoples; one called Nahuatlaca, that is to say, people-who-explain-themselves-and-speak-distinctly, in contradistinction to the second group who led at that time a very savage and barbarous existence and who lived by hunting. The Nahuatlacaes gave them the name of Chichimecas, which means hunters; they were a people who supported themselves in this above-mentioned rude and wild manner and they are also known under the name of Otomí. The first name was given them because they inhabited the most dangerous and inaccessible places in the mountains, where they lived like animals, without any government, and dressed in animal skins. They spent all their time in hunting deer, hare, rabbits, weasels, moles, wildcats, birds, snakes, lizards, rats, locusts and worms, upon which, together with herbs and roots, they sustained themselves. They were very skillful in the hunt and were so interested in it that for the sake of killing a snake or obtaining a grub, they would squat down, twisting themselves into a knot, behind some bush in order to waylay their prey, and during this time they would not worry about their harvesting and cultivating. They slept in the mountains in caves and between bushes. The women took part with their husbands in the latter's pursuits, leaving their little children, who were placed in baskets made of rushes and supplied with plenty of milk, tied to the branch of a tree, until they returned from the hunt.

These people were few in number and so scattered that there was little intercourse between their various bands. They did not know each other, they had no treaties, no chief who ruled over them, no deities, and no rites of any kind. All they did was to spend their time hunting without worrying about anything else, each one living for himself, as has just been remarked. These Chichimecas were the aborigines of this country, who, because they were few in number and lived on the mountain tops, left all the valleys and the better places unoccupied. These places were found by the Nahuatlacaes, coming from another country, situated in the north, where now there has been discovered a kingdom called New Mexico. In this country there are two provinces, one called Aztlan, that is to say, the-*place-of-herons* and the other Teuculhuacan, that is to say, the-*land-of-those-who-have-divine-ancestors*. In this latter district there were seven caves, from which sallied forth the seven chiefs of the Nahuatlaca, who populated this New Spain, according to the old tradition and the picture writings.

Now it is to be remarked that although it is said that they came from seven caves, that does not necessarily mean that they lived in them. As a matter of fact they had houses, and fields planted in proper order. They had a republican form of government, their own rites and ceremonies, and their own gods. They were a people with a marked sense for government as one can easily see by glancing at the manners and customs of those peoples living in New Mexico (at the present time), that being the place from which they originally came and to all of whose customs they conformed. In these provinces it is the custom for each group of common lineage to have its own recognized place and village. They set apart a cave, for example, as the cave of such or such a group, of common lineage or descent, just as we say in Spain, the house of the Velascos, of the Mendoza, etc.

⁴² Translated from the edition in Orozco y Berra's edition of Tezozomoc's *Crónica Mexicana*, published by Vigil in his *Biblioteca Mexicana* LXIX.

They have a picture of the seven caves given in the following form (in their Atlas):⁴³

The Nahuatlaca thus setting out from the seven caves in the year of our Lord 820, took more than eighty years to come to this country (Mexico). The reason (for its taking them so long) to come to this land is that they explored it and looked for those signs which their idol-gods, at whose persuasion they had left their own country, had bade them seek before settling anywhere (permanently). Thus they went on discovering good sites and settling in them, planting and then gathering the products of the soil. As they went on seeking out better places, they abandoned those which they had settled before, leaving behind only the old people, the sick, and the weary. They left in those sites and places which they had once inhabited, many beautiful buildings which today are found there in the form of ruins, these being the indications of the road which they had taken in their travels. It was on this account that they took so long to make a journey that can really be made in a month. Finally they came to this New Spain in the year 902.

The seven tribes left the seven caves in the following order: first the Xuchimilcas, that is to say, the-people-of-the-flower-plantations, the word being composed of *xuchil*, flower, and *milli*, plantation, together meaning flower-plantation, and from this is derived the name Xuchimilca, meaning possessors-of-flower-plantations. The second tribe was that of the Chalcas, meaning people-of-the-mouths because *challi* means a hollow like a mouth and for that reason we call *camachalli*, composed of *camac*, mouth, and *challi*, hollow, the hollow of the mouth. From this word *challi* and the participle *ca* is composed *Chalca*, the entire word meaning those-who-are-the-possessors-of-the-mouths. The third tribe was that of the Tepanecas, that is to say, the people-of-the-bridge or stone-passageway. The name of Tepanohuayan, meaning stone bridge, is derived from this word. It is composed of *teti*, stone, and *panohua*, to-wade-in-the-water, and the particle *yan* which means place. From these three syllables comes the word *Tepanohuayan*. From this name they took the "tepano" changing the *o* to *e* and adding the *ca*, thus giving *Tepaneca*.

The fourth tribe was that of the Culhuas, that is to say, the-people-of-the-windings-or-curves, because in the country from which they came there was a mountain with a twisted peak. The entire word consists of *coltic*, which means a curved object, and of the particle *hua* which denotes possession; thus we get *Culhuas*.

The fifth tribe was that of the Tlahuicas, the name being derived from *tlahuic* which means toward-the-land and is composed of the word *tlalli*, land, and the participle *huic*, meaning toward. Taking this name *tlahuic* and adding the participle *ca*, they got *Tlahuica*, the people-toward-the-land.

The sixth tribe was that of the Tlaxcaltecas, which means corn-people, composed of *tlaxcalli*, corn, and the particle *tecatl*, together giving *tlaxcalteca*.

All these names and titles of dignity are taken from past events, some derived from places, others from leaders, and others again from deities, for such was the custom of the Indians in giving themselves names.

I have stopped to explain their etymologies because farther on it will be necessary to repeat these terms very often, and because many of the names which are to appear in the course of this account will not have their etymologies given in such detail. For these reasons we shall let those names we have given suffice for understanding the general type of names and the manner in which they were imposed, the number of names being very large.

⁴³ This and subsequent entries of the same kind refer to the plates which accompany the *Codex Ramirez*.

These aforementioned six lineages did not all set out together nor all in one year, but some went first, and others afterwards, and thus in succession they left their own countries, their lands or caves. The first tribe to leave was that of the Xuchimilcas, then followed that of the Chalcas, then that of the Tepanecas, then that of the Culhuas. After them came the Tlahuics and then the Tlaxcaltecas. There remained consequently only those of the seventh cave, the Mexicanos, of whom it is said that they had been, by divine guidance, destined to be the lords of this country, after extending their control over all the other six tribes mentioned above. These last six tribes came to New Spain thirty-two years before the Mexicanos and were in possession of the land for sixty-two years, the tribe of Xuchimileo having started from their ancestral home first. The Mexicans, who were the last to come, were in possession of the land for three hundred and one years, reckoning from the time that they came to it.

These people now having arrived in this country, the Xuchimilcos, who were the first, settled in a very extensive valley surrounded by mountains, in the midst of whose steep sides there was a large lagoon of salubrious and sweet water, where, at the present time, stands the great city of Mexico. These Xuchimilcas settled on the shores of this lagoon, towards the south, spreading without any resistance through the valley toward the mountainside, over a very large country in which, at present, stands the province of that nation, with many large towns and villages and sites, the principal city being Xuchimilco, that is to say, the-place-of-the-flower-plantations, the name being derived from the people who planted these flowers.

Not much later the Chalcas arrived and united with the Xuchimilcas, and, agreeing upon the boundaries (of their respective lands) they lived there quietly and peacefully. The latter called their province Chalco which means place-of-the-mouths, because it was settled by the Chalcas, whose name has that derivation.

After them came the Tepanecas, who likewise settled quietly and peacefully on the shores of the lagoon. These took the site that lies to the west, and spread so extensively over that part of the lagoon and increased in number to such an extent that they called the capital of that province Azcaputzalco, which means ant-hill, in reference to the large number of people living there. For that reason it came to be the greatest and most important of all the six countries (of the six tribes).

After them came those who populated the great province of Tetzcucó, that is, the Culhuas. These occupied the eastern part of the lagoon and spread over the country to such an extent that they completed what was still lacking to encircle the lagoon (with inhabitants). These last-mentioned people had a marked aptitude for government and were very courteous, their language being of such perfection that it might compete in eloquence with any that exists in the world, at least so far as their idioms and explanations (i.e., metaphorical expressions) are concerned. The capital of their province is called Tetzcucó, having been given that name because an herb exists that is called *tetzculli*, and from this word and the particle *co*, which means place, we get *Tetzcuco*, meaning the place-of-the-herb-*tetzculli*.

The lake having been now entirely encircled by these four divisions (*parcialidades*), and the boundary lines having been decided upon, some proceeded towards the mountain which surrounded the valley in which the lagoon was situated. Then the Tlahuicas, who were the roughest of these six tribes, arrived and, finding the whole valley in which the lagoon lay occupied, even as far as the mountainsides, they proceeded to the other side of the mountain slopes, toward the south, where they found a large piece of land entirely unoccupied. This land was hot because it was enclosed on the north by the mountain slopes in front of them,

but, on this very account (namely, because of the heat), the soil was very fertile and the country abounded in all that was necessary for life.

So greatly did the population increase that soon the land was filled with large and numerous towns, possessing sumptuous buildings, and there were also many villages and hamlets. The province was called Tlahuic because it was settled by Tlahuicas, the name of the capital being Quauhnahuac, which means place-where-the-voice-of-the-eagle-is-heard. This province is now called the Marquesada.

Following them came the Tlaxcaltecas, and seeing that the places around the lagoon were occupied, they crossed the *sierra* which is called *nevada*, because it is covered with snow all the year round, and came to the other side of the mountain slopes, to the east, near where the volcano is situated that lies between Mexico and Angeles (Puebla). There these people found very large unoccupied sites, and (soon) they spread out and increased in number to such an extent that a person would never come to an end if he tried to enumerate the names of all the towns, *estancias*, hamlets, and villages that were to be encountered there and the cities as sumptuous in their buildings and in everything as those cities found in the other provinces. They called the capital of that province Tlaxcallan, that is to say the-land-of-corn, this name being taken because the Tlaxcaltecas had settled the country. This is the province that was freed from paying tribute to the Spaniards, because their people aided in the conquest of New Spain by the Spaniards.

At the time that all these peoples settled in the unoccupied places, the Chichimecas who lived in the mountains, the people to whom we have referred as the aborigines of this country, did not show any annoyance and offered no resistance to the newcomers, merely wondering, and marvelling, and hiding themselves in the most inaccessible places of the mountains. The Chichimecas who lived on the other side of the *sierra nevada* where the Tlaxcaltecas had settled, it is claimed, were giants, and wished to defend their land, but as they were so rude a people it was easy to deceive them and to reassure them by feigning peace. Then when they had been persuaded of the peaceful intentions of the newcomers a feast was given in their honor by the latter. Some Tlaxcaltecas were placed in concealment while others stole the weapons of the Chichimecas, consisting of sticks with knobs at the ends, shields, wooden spears, and arms of divers kinds. Then, when they were entirely off their guard, the Tlaxcaltecas, who had been concealed, fell upon them suddenly and left not a single person alive. Some tried to defend themselves and, as they could not find their weapons, it is said they tore off the branches of trees with as great ease as if they were pulling up radishes and protected themselves in this way. Finally all were killed. As a proof of these happenings may be offered the numerous large bones of giants, found in that part of the country up to the present day.

After this the Tlaxcaltecas became peaceful and they and the other tribes lived tranquilly and at peace with one another, erecting cities, villages, and hamlets, establishing boundaries between one another's possessions and lands, so that they might be recognized without there being any disputes. When the Chichimecas saw this, they began to devise some form of government, and, to cover their bodies with garments, and they became ashamed of the life they had led until then. Then they began to associate with the other people (the newcomers), losing the fear which they had previously had. After a while they intermarried with them. They began to erect houses and straw huts where they would all assemble, and they adopted a form of government, electing leaders and recognizing them as their superiors. In this way they abandoned forever their former savage life in the mountains and came down from the *sierras* which separated them from the habitations of the other peoples.

The Chichimecas having adopted a form of government, the land now being occupied by the six above-mentioned tribes, and three hundred and two years having passed since they had left their caves and lands, the people of the seventh cave, that is, the Mexican nation, arrived in this country. They, like the others, came from the countries of Aztlan and Teuculhuacan and they were a very warlike and brave people who undertook without fear great deeds and actions, (being at the same time) courteous and possessing a sense for government.

They carried with them an idol called Huitzilopochtli, that is to say, the-left-limb-of-a-bird, a bird to be found there possessing rich plumage and out of whose feathers they make images and gorgeous objects. The name is composed of *huitzili*, the name of the bird, and *opochtli*, left-hand, together giving the name *huitzilopochtli*. They affirm that it was this idol that had commanded them to leave their own country, promising them that they would be the rulers and chiefs of all the provinces which had been settled by the other six tribes; of a land greatly abounding in gold, silver, precious stones, feathers, and rich shawls and every costly thing conceivable.

Thus did the Mexicans set out, just as the children of Israel had done, in search of the promised land, taking with them their idol enclosed in an ark, made of rushes, just as the others had taken with them their Ark of the Covenant. They took along with them four principal priests, who made their laws and instructed them in their rites and ceremonies and in the most superstitious, cruel, and bloody sacrifices ever known, as will be seen farther on in this account, where the sacrifices are described in detail. Under no conditions did the Mexicans ever move an inch without the advice and command of this idol, and never did a demon exist who conversed with his people as much as this one did. Thus in all their customs, and the cruel sacrifices in which these unfortunate people indulged, it is quite clear that they were guided by this same enemy of mankind.

They traveled with their ark wherever their idol bade them go, raising to the chieftainship a man named Mexi, from whom is derived the name Mexicanos, composed of *Mexi* and *ca*, thus giving *Mexica*, the-people-of-Mexico. They traveled in the same slow manner as the other six nations, settling the country, sowing and gathering the harvest in different parts of the land. Of these travels there are certain indications and ruins extant even to the present day. They encountered great dangers and difficulties.

The first thing they did whenever they wished to stop at a particular place, was to erect a tabernacle or temple to their false god for the duration of the time they expected to stay there, and they built this temple in the middle of the site on which they had established themselves, the ark being placed upon an altar such as is used in a church, for the idol wished to imitate our religion in many ways, as we shall afterwards show.

The second thing they did was to sow corn. The seeds had indeed to depend for their nourishment upon dew and storms, for to everything (connected with agriculture) they were so indifferent that they harvested their crops only when their god ordered them to. Had not their leader ordered them to gather their crops, they would have remained there and furnished sustenance and maintenance merely for the sick and aged, who, being exhausted, were always left behind at any place where a temporary stop had to be made, for it was also their purpose to populate the entire earth with Mexicans. Such was their main intention. Proceeding in this manner on their journey, they finally came to the province of Michoacan, which signifies the land-of-those-who-have-fish, on account of the fact that there were so many fish in that place and because many beautiful fresh lakes were found there. Being very much satisfied with that place, the

priests consulted their god Huitzilopochtli, feeling that if this was not the place he had promised them, it ought at least to be populated by the Mexicans. Their idol answered them in dreams, saying that he was pleased with what they asked. And so it happened that after a great many had begun to bathe in a lake in the place named Pazcuaro—men as well as women—he told those who remained outside to steal the clothes of the bathers in such a way that they should not know they were being deserted. This they did and the others did not notice the trick that was being played on them, in their delight in the bathing, until they came out and found themselves deprived of their clothes, ridiculed and forsaken. They were so incensed that they entirely rejected the idea of proceeding in search of the others, changed their manner of dress and their language, and thus became different from the Mexican people or tribe.

The others proceeded with their leader, being accompanied by a woman called the sister of the god Huitzilopochtli. She was so great a sorceress and so evil a woman that she was very harmful to the band (she was accompanying), inspiring them with fear by her imprecations, her irritations, and a thousand evil tricks. She tried to make them adore her as a goddess. They permitted all this because she was a sister of the idol. Not being able, however, any longer to stand her boldness, the priests complained to their god who answered them in dreams, telling them how angry he was at his sister for causing so much harm to his people, that he had not given her this power over the wild animals to enable her to take vengeance on human beings and kill those who annoyed her, she who had power over the snake, the scorpion, the millepedes, and the poisonous spider.⁴⁴ In order, therefore, to free them from this affliction, and on account of the great love he bore his people, he ordered that on that very night, shortly after their first sleep and while she was still slumbering, they should all leave her there and secretly go away with their priests and leaders, without anyone remaining who might be able to tell her of the road they had taken or of the name of their chief. Such was his wish.

Her coming among them (the god said) was not to have been for the purpose of bewitching them and casting enchantments over people in order to draw them to her worship, but she was to have been a spur and an encouragement to their hearts and arms, he, the god, thinking that in such a manner he would be able to increase the prestige of the Mexicans and raise the Mexican nation to the clouds, making them lords over gold and silver, over all manner of metals, over rich plumes of diverse colors, and over gems of great price and value; that then they might erect for themselves and in his name, in the land to which he would finally conduct them, houses and temples, made of emeralds and rubies, for they were the lords of precious stones. They were to become the lords of the cocoa that grew in this land, of shawls richly worked with which they might cover themselves. Such was their happy future. He would put himself to the trouble of bringing them to this region himself, he assured them, so that they might there enjoy rest and the reward for the suffering they had endured until then; and in this place (to which he would conduct them finally) they were to remain.

The priest told this speech to the people and they were greatly consoled and grateful and did what their idol had requested, leaving the sorceress behind them. Thus the leader took his family and went forward, and, guided by their god, they reached a place called Tula.

The sorceress, the sister of the god, when she awoke and saw the trick that had been played upon her, began to weep and to complain to her brother Huitzilopochtli. At last, not knowing to what part of the country the leader had gone, she deter-

⁴⁴ This passage is somewhat obscure.

mined to remain in that place and she founded a city called Malinalco, it being given that name because it was founded by the sorceress who was named Malinalxochi. From that name and the particle *co*, is derived *Malinalco*, meaning the-place-of-Malinalxochi. The people of that city are, to the present day, still regarded as being powerful sorcerers, because they are the children of such a mother.

This was the second division of the Mexican community, the first one being the one previously referred to as having taken place in Michhuacan, not reckoning, of course, the sick and the old and the tired who were left behind in the various places where temporary settlements were made, as we have indicated before.

The remainder of the community with their chief and their ark, arrived at the town called Tula, quite diminished in numbers on account of the divisions that had taken place. There they remained some time, replenishing their provisions and increasing their number, living in a cerro called Cohuatepec, that is to say, the-snake-mountain. Here, in dreams, their idol ordered his priests to deflect the water of a very full river that flowed through that region so that it might spread over the whole valley and then be brought to the middle of the mountain on which they were living, for he wished to show them the appearance of the land he had promised them. They constructed the dyke and the water spread out and extended over the whole valley, turning it into a very beautiful lagoon lined with willows, poplars, and sables. In the lagoon grew many rushes and reeds, and on that account the place was called Tula, meaning the-place-of-the-rushes (*junca*) or reeds (*espadaña*).

The place soon abounded in fish and waterfowl, such as ducks, herons, *gallareta*, with which, together with many other species of birds, the entire lagoon seemed to be completely covered. And to the present day the lagoon of Mexico abounds in these animals. The place was thickly covered with rushes (*carrizales*) and marine flowers, and inhabited by differently colored thrushes, some red, others yellow, which were accustomed to gather at the place and which harmonized with the songbirds in the trees, of which there were quite a number; all this making the place delightful and pleasant, and as such it was painted in their books:

This is the cerro of Tula called Cohuatepec, which means cerro-of-snakes and which was surrounded by water containing rushes and reeds and many different kinds of highflying birds that could be hunted, and fish, etc. The people who are represented in the painting, near this scene, are the original inhabitants, called Otomies. The idol of these people (the newcomers) was Huitzilopochtli.

The Mexicans, quite oblivious to what their idol had told them, namely that this place was merely an imitation and pattern of the land they were to be given, stayed in this delightful place (a long time) and began to feel that it was quite satisfactory, some even saying that they desired to stay there permanently, and that this was really the place selected by their god Huitzilopochtli; that it was from that place that they were all to follow their desires, being the rulers of the four parts of the world, etc.

Their idol, seeing this, waxed so angry that he said to the priests, "Who are these⁴⁵ who thus wish to transgress and put obstacles in the way of my orders and commands? Are they perhaps greater than myself? Tell them that I will take vengeance before tomorrow and that they should not dare to give advice about matters which are for me to determine. Let them know that all they have to do is

⁴⁵ Word supplied from Duran.

to obey." Having said this, those who saw assert that the idol looked so ugly and frightful, that all were terrified and frightened. On that very night, it is said, when everything was quiet, a loud noise was heard in part of the camp and when the people rushed there in the morning, they found that all those who had spoken in favor of remaining in this place were dead with their breasts torn open and their hearts torn out. In this way it was that they were taught that most cruel of sacrifices, a custom they always practiced after that, which consisted of cutting open a man's chest in order to tear out his heart and offer it to their idols. (The reason they did that) they claimed was because (their god) ate only hearts.

Having thus punished them, Huitzilopochtli ordered his priests to tear down the dykes and repairs they had made when they deflected the course of the water to form the lagoon and instructed them to make the river take its former bed. This they did, and the entire lagoon being thus emptied of water the place became as dry as it had been before. When the Mexicans, after some time, saw how sterile the place had become, and realized also that their god was incensed at them, they consulted him, raised their camp, and set out from the neighborhood of Tula in the year 1168 A.D.

They continued marching toward the great lagoon of Mexico in the same order and manner as has been noted, making occasional stops and sowing and gathering their crops without encountering any opposition of importance on the part of the people whom they met. Proceeding always with caution and prepared for all eventualities, they finally reached the little hill called Chapultepec, that is to say, the-hill-of-the-locusts, where they encountered great opposition as we will soon narrate and which they paint in their pictures in the following manner:

The cerro of Chapultepec, that is to say, the-cerro-of-locusts. Their god is called Huitzilopochtli.

Having come to the hill of Chapultepec, which was quite near the great lagoon of Mexico, they pitched their camp there, not without some fear and trepidation for they were near the confines of the Tepanecas, a well-known people, who at that time held sway over all the other nations and whose principal city and court was Azcaputzalco, which means ant-hill, a name given on account of the large number of people to be found there, as we have previously explained.

As soon as the Mexicans came to the place they put up their huts, making them in the best way they knew how, and consulted their god as to what they were to do next. He answered that they were to await eventualities; that he knew what he was going to do and that he would inform them at the proper time. However they were to remember this,—that this was not the place he had selected for their permanent settlement; that they were, indeed, near it, nearer in fact, than they probably suspected, but that they would first have to encounter the resistance of two nations, so that they might thus strengthen their hearts.

The Mexicans, frightened at the answer of their idol, elected as captain one of their most illustrious men, one who had come along with them and who was named *Huitzilihuitl*, which means the feather of the bird which was then and is still called *huitzitzili*. He was elected because all recognized that he was a man of great industry, a man of brave heart, and one who had done much toward enabling them to put themselves in a state of defense. He was elected captain-general, and, all having sworn obedience to him, he commanded them to fortify the boundaries of the hill by means of some terraces called *albarradas*, and they built on the top of the mountain a spacious patio where all might gather and be protected. He placed a sentinel and a guard there for the day and the night, and these were to watch and be on guard. Then putting the women and children in

the middle of the army, he began to have arrows prepared, as well as wooden spears, slings, and other weapons necessary for war.

The Mexicans, being surrounded by innumerable peoples who none of them evinced any good will toward them, remained constantly on their guard in their misfortune.

Now at that time the sorceress, the so-called sister of their god, had given birth to a son named Copil and when he was of mature age his mother told him the injury which Huitzilopochtli had done her, and this caused Copil so much pain and augered him so greatly that he promised his mother he would avenge, so far as was within his power, the evil usage to which she had been subjected. It was about that time that Copil heard that the Mexican army was in the cerro of Chapultepec, so he began to visit all the different nations to instigate them to destroy and kill that generation of Mexicans, informing all the people that they were evil men, warlike, tyrannical and possessing bad and perverse customs, for he knew them well. Upon hearing this, all those people became quite wrought up and indignant at the Mexicans and determined to kill and destroy them all.

Copil, having thus accomplished his object, ascended a little hill near the lagoon of Mexico at a place where there were some hot springs and which the Spaniards today call El Peñol. From there Copil wished to survey the result of his vengeance and presumption. Huitzilopochtli, however, exceedingly wroth at all this, called his priests and told them all to go to El Peñol, where they would find the traitor Copil, posted as a sentinel for their destruction, and that they were to kill him and bring his heart back. They did what he had advised and finding Copil off his guard they killed him, tore out his heart, and presented it to their god, who ordered one of the priests to go into the lagoon and throw it into the middle of the canebreaks that were to be found there. This they did, and from his heart, it is claimed, there grew the *nopal* upon which the city of Mexico was afterwards built. It is also said that as soon as Copil had been killed in the place called El Peñol, there suddenly appeared, in the same place, the hot springs that now arise there, and that, for this reason, they call it *Acopileo*, which means place-of-the-water-of-Copil.

Although Copil, the prime mover of these dissensions, was dead the Mexicans nevertheless did not feel secure, because they had now been defamed and rendered odious. They were not surprised therefore when the armies of the neighboring communities soon approached, fully armed. With them there came even the Chaleans, desiring to fight them at any place, in the hope of destroying and killing the Mexican nation. The women and children, seeing so many enemies, commenced to shriek and to utter terrible cries, but this did not dismay the Mexicans, who, taking new courage, went forward to fall on all those of the enemy who were near. At the first encounter, Huitzilohuitl, the captain-general of all the Mexicans, was captured. But even this did not dismay them, for calling upon their god Huitzilopochtli, they broke through the army of the Chaleans, and taking in their midst all their women, children and aged, they escaped, fleeing until they reached a village called *Atlacuihuayan*, which they found deserted and where they fortified themselves.

The Chaleans and the others, seeing themselves dispersed by such a small number of people, did not care to follow them, for they were ashamed, and contented themselves with having captured the chief of the Mexicans whom they killed in the city of the Culhuas, called *Culhuacan*.

The Mexicans repaired their strength and replenished their arms in this village. There they invented a weapon like a harpoon which they called *atlatl*, and for that reason that place is called *Atlacuihuayan*, that is to say, the place-where-they-adopted-the-weapon-atlatl.

Having furnished themselves anew with these weapons they proceeded to march toward the shore of the lagoon until they came to Culhuacan, where their idol Huitzilopochtli spoke to his priests and addressed them as follows:

“Fathers and elders, well have I seen your trouble and affliction; but be consoled, for you are going to show your courage and your ability against your enemies. Send your messengers to the lord of Culhuacan and without prayers or compliments ask him to designate a site and place where you can reside and rest; and do not fear to enter into his presence boldly, for I know what I am telling you and I will soften his heart so that he will receive you. Take whatever site he gives you, be it good or bad and settle in this your country, until its purpose shall have been fulfilled and everything shall have been arranged for your comfort and peace.”

With confidence in their idol they immediately sent their messengers to the lord of Culhuacan. The (Mexican) embassy told him that they had come to him because he was very kind, with the hope that not only would he give them a site for a city, but even lands upon which they could sow their crops and harvest them so that they might have food for their women and children. The king of Culhuacan received the messengers of Mexico very kindly and had them sit down, treating them with great consideration, while he discussed the matter with his chiefs and councillors, who were so much opposed and adverse, that had it not been the king's desire to favor the Mexicans, under no condition would they have been received. Finally, however, after discussing the question pro and con with his council, after many conflicts, requests, and answers, they agreed upon a site called Tizapan, that is to say, the place of the waters. Nor was there an absence of malice on the part of the people of Culhuacan (in giving them the place), for it was at the foot of a mountain where many vipers, snakes, and poisonous insects abounded which had come down (from the mountain above). The place was infested with them and for that reason it had not been inhabited. They gave the Mexicans this site, expecting that these poisonous animals would soon put an end to them.

When the messengers returned with their answer to the Mexicans, they accepted the place with good grace and took possession of it. When they began to settle there they found so many insects that they were in great discomfort and fear, but their idol gave them a remedy whereby they captured these animals, tamed them and used them as food. So it came to pass that they sustained themselves on snakes and vipers, and so savory were these that in a short time they finished them.

Soon a goodly population grew in that place, with temples, farms, and well-worked plantations. They were quite content and increased greatly in population. After many days, the people of Culhuacan, hearing that little by little they had consumed all of these insects, were addressed by their king and he said, “Go and see how the Mexicans are getting along and give those who still remain my greetings and ask them how they are prospering in the place I gave them.” When the messengers arrived, they found the Mexicans quite happy and contented, with their fields well-cultivated and orderly arranged, a temple raised to their god and the people themselves in well-ordered houses; the roasting-pot and the ollas full of snakes, some roasted and some cooked. The embassy of Culhuacan delivered their message from the king and the Mexicans thanked them greatly, telling the members of the embassy how satisfied they were and how they appreciated the kindness the king had done them. So great, indeed, was their gratitude to the king that they begged him to vouchsafe them two things: that they should be allowed to enter and transact business in his city and permission to intermarry with his people.

The messengers returned to the king with the news of the power and the number of the Mexicans, telling him what they had seen and what the Mexicans had answered. The king and his chiefs were full of admiration at so marvellous an achievement, so unheard of a thing. They were again assailed with fear of the Mexicans, the king saying to his people, "Did I not tell you that this people was greatly favored by their god? They are an evil people with evil designs. Leave them alone and do them no harm, for if we do not anger them, they will remain quiet." From that time on the Mexicans began to enter Culhuacan and to carry on business freely, intermingling with them and treating them as brothers and relatives.

Everything being at peace and tranquil, Huitzilopochtli, the god of the Mexicans, seeing the little profit that would accrue for his intentions (of giving the Mexicans a permanent home) by such a peace, spoke as follows to his elders and priests:

"We must seek a woman, one whom we are going to call the woman-of-discord, and this one is to be called grandmother of the place where we are to go and remain, for this is not the site where we are to make our own habitation. That is farther on, the place I have promised you, and it is necessary that a cause should be found for leaving this place, (some cause) like war or murder; so (it is about time) that we should begin to raise our weapons, bows, arrows, shields, swords, and give the world to understand the valor of our people. Begin then to prepare the things that are necessary for your defense and give your enemy a cause to attack you, so that we can leave this place. To do this, go immediately to the king of Culhuacan and ask him to give his daughter for my service, and he will immediately give her to you. This will be the woman-of-discord as you shall see hereafter."

The Mexicans, who were always obedient to their god, immediately went to the king of Culhuacan, and the king, thinking that what the embassy-proposed was really a request to make his daughter the queen of the Mexicans and grandmother of their god, on account of his covetousness agreed without difficulty and the Mexicans carried the girl off with all possible honor, much to the satisfaction and contentment of both parties, the Mexicans and those of Culhuacan, and they placed her on the throne. That very night the idol spoke to his elders and priests and said as follows:

"I told you that this woman would be the cause of discord between you and the people of Culhuacan. Now, so that what I have determined may be fulfilled, kill this girl and sacrifice her in my name, and from this day on I will take her as my mother. After that flay her, and let one of your nobles dress himself in her skin, and on top of this, place the other dresses of this girl. Then invite the king, her father, to come and worship the goddess, his daughter, and offer her sacrifices."

All this was accomplished, and she is the person whom the Mexicans afterwards took as a goddess and who is called in the book of sacrifices *Toei*, which means, our grandmother.

Then they immediately called the king, her father, to come and adore his daughter, as the idol had commanded. The king accepted the invitation, and, joined by his leaders and chief, he told them to bring together many gifts and presents to offer to his daughter who was the goddess of the Mexicans. Feeling that this request was quite justifiable, they brought together many and diverse objects customary for offerings and sacrifices, and with all these objects they started out with the king and finally came to the settlement of the Mexicans.

These received them and treated them as well as they knew how and thanked them for having come. After they had rested, the Mexicans put the Indian who was dressed in the skin of the king's daughter in the room of the idol Huitzilopochtli and then placing him at one side, went out to call the king of Culhuacan, the father of the maiden, saying, "Sire, you will be glad to enter and see our god and our goddess, your daughter, and to do them reverence, extending to them your offerings."

"The king, thinking it correct, rose and entered the room of the idol and commenced to perform great ceremonies, cutting off the heads of many quails and other birds that he had brought to sacrifice, placing before the deities great quantities of food, incense, flowers and other objects pertaining to sacrifices. As the room was very dark, he could not see to whom and before whom these sacrifices were made, until taking a lamp in his hand, which they, in their treachery, had given him, he struck a light. As the lamp began to burn the flame lit up the place where the idol and the skin of his daughter stood. As he realized the terrible cruelty (that had been practiced on his daughter) he covered his face in horror and fright, dropped the lamp from his hand and rushed out, shouting, "Come here! Come here, vassals of mine! Protest against the terrible crime these Mexicans have committed! They have murdered my daughter, flayed her and dressed in her skin a youth, whom they have made me adore. Let such evil men, of such evil customs, be killed and utterly destroyed, that no trace or memory of them may remain on the face of the earth! Let us put an end to them, my vassals!"

The Mexicans, hearing the cries of the king of Culhuacan and the tumult which he was causing among his vassals, placed their hands on their weapons, and, having by this time become prudent, retired, putting their women and children (on the land) in the middle of the lagoon, whose waters they likewise used as a defense against their enemies. However, the people of Culhuacan notified their fellows in the city, and they, well-armed, sallied forth to attack the Mexicans and pushed the latter so far into the lagoon that the Mexicans almost lost their footing in the mud, and the women and children seeing this, raised a loud cry. However, not even then did the Mexicans lose their courage, but taking heart, they commenced to shoot many darts, fashioned like harpoons (*atlatis*), against their enemies, and this caused the people of Culhuacan such great losses that they began to retire. Thereupon the Mexicans began to come out of the lagoon and to gain firm land again and they proceeded to a place on the shore called Ixtapalapan, to recuperate.

From there they went to a place called Acatzintitlan where a large river enters the lagoon, a river so deep that they could not wade through it, so that they were compelled to construct balsas out of the throwing-sticks, shields and reeds that they found there and upon these the women and children passed to the other side of the river. Then, having taken the latter across, they betook themselves to one side of the lagoon, between some canebreaks, reeds, and grasses, where they passed the night in great anxiety, work, and trouble, for the women and children began to wail and pleaded with them not to let them die there and weeping they said that they did not wish to suffer any longer.

The god Huitzilopochtli, seeing the great anxiety of his people, spoke that very night to his priests and told them to console their people and to give them courage to endure their suffering, for this was all intended to make them stronger and feel all the more contented afterwards (when they came to the end of their journey). They were to rest in the place where they were. The priests consoled the people as well as they could and they were somewhat calmed by these exhortations, spending the whole day drying their clothes and shields and building a bath

called *temazcalli*, which consists of a narrow space with a small oven at one side in which they build a fire, by the heat of which the room becomes hotter than the stone. This is their method of bathing.

They prepared this bath in a place called Mexicalizineo where they were accustomed to bathe and amuse themselves sometimes. From there they passed to another place called Iztoacalco where they stayed a few days and which is very near the city of Mexico. From there they went to another place at the entrance of the city where the hermitage of San Antonio now stands. From there they entered a barrio where the city called San Pablo stands. At this place the wife of one of the leaders was delivered of a child, on which account the site is called Mixiuhitlan, which means place-of-birth. In this manner and in this way their idol brought them nearer and nearer to the place where he had decided they should build their great city, which was very near that location.

It so happened that those there began to look around to see if there was any place in that part of the lagoon fitted to found and people a city, because on the dry land there would be no way of establishing themselves as it was all inhabited by their enemies. Running about and wandering from one place to another among the reeds and grasses, they found a spring where they saw many beautiful things which they greatly admired, all of which their priests had previously prophesied, telling them that this would be the city designated by their idol. The first thing they found at that spring was a white and very beautiful *savin* from the foot of which flowed a brook. Soon they saw that all the willows which were around what they thought was the spring were entirely white and without a single green leaf, and that all the canes and reeds were white. Standing and looking at these with great attention there began to come out of the water absolutely white and beautiful frogs and the water that issued from two rocks was so clear and limpid that they were very well satisfied. The priests, remembering what their god had told them, began to weep with joy and gladness and gave full vent to their feelings of pleasure, saying, "Now we have found the place which we were promised; now we have seen the place of comfort and rest for the weary Mexican nation. We have nothing else to ask. Be consoled, sons and brothers, for what our god has promised us we have now found. However, be quiet and do not say anything, but let us return to the place where we were staying, where we will await what our god Huitzilopuehtli commands us (to do)."

So they returned to the place they had left and on the following night Huitzilopuehtli appeared in a dream to one of his ministers and said, "Now you are satisfied that I have not told you anything that did not turn out to be truthful and you have seen the thing that I promised you would find in the place where I was going to take you. However, wait, for there is even more for you to see. You will remember how I commanded you to kill Copil the son of the sorceress who claimed to be my sister, and how I ordered you to tear out his heart and throw it away in the canes and reeds of this lagoon, which you did? Know now that the heart fell upon a rock and from it there sprang a *nopal* tree and this was so large and beautiful that an eagle built his home in it and there on the treetop he maintained himself, eating the best and finest birds to be found there, and there he spreads out his large and beautiful wings and receives the warmth of the sun and the freshness of the morning. Go there in the morning and you will find the beautiful eagle on the *nopal* tree and around it you will see a great quantity of green, red, yellow, and white feathers of the elegant birds on which the eagle sustains himself. To this place, where you will find the *nopal* with the eagle above it, I have given the name Tenuchtitlan." This name the city of Mexico has retained up to the present day, calling itself Mexico, which means place-of-the-

Mexicans, because it was settled by the Mexicans and Tenuchtitlan on account of the situation, for *teti* means stone and *nochtli*, *nopal*, and from these two is composed *tenochtli*, which means *nopal* and the stone upon which it grows, and adding the particle *tlan*, which means place, we get Tenuchtitlan, which means place-of-the-nopal-upon-the-rock.

On the morning of the following day the priest had all the people, old and young, men, women, and children, gathered together, and standing before them he began to tell them about the revelation he had received, dwelling on the great manifestations of regard and the many acts of kindness they had received day after day from their god. After a long harangue he concluded, saying, "The site of this *nopal* will be the place of our happiness, peace, and rest. Here we will increase in numbers and add prestige to the name of the Mexican people. From this home of ours, shall be known the force of our valorous arms and courage;⁴⁶ our undaunted hearts by means of which we shall conquer all the nations and countries in the world, subjecting even the remotest provinces and cities, extending our rule from sea to sea. And we shall become the rulers of gold and silver, of jewels and precious stones, of rich feathers and shawls, etc. From this place we are to start to become rulers over all these people, their fields, their sons and daughters. Here shall they be compelled to serve and pay tribute to us and in this place there shall arise a famous city, the queen and ruler over all the other communities, where kings and lords shall be received in court, where all shall congregate, and a city to which all shall look up as to a supreme court. For that reason, my children, let us walk between these canebrakes, between these reeds and grasses that grow in the thicket of this lagoon and let us seek for this site of the *nopal*, which undoubtedly is to be found here, since our god has said so, for up to the present all he has told us has come true."

After the priest made this speech all the people knelt and rendered thanks to their god. Then, separating into different groups, they entered the thicket of the lagoon and looked in every place until they came to a brook which they had noticed the previous day, but which had then contained water that was clear and limpid. Now the water that flowed from there was quite reddish, almost like blood, and the brook seemed to flow into two arroyos, in the second of which the water was so blue and thick that it inspired them with fear. Although they felt that there was something mysterious about it, nevertheless they went farther, looking for the sign of the *nopal* and the eagle. Proceeding in this way they finally came to the site of the *nopal* on top of which was perched the eagle with wings spread out to the rays of the sun, absorbing its heat and holding in its claws a gorgeous bird that had very precious and gleaming feathers. When they beheld this, they knelt down and did reverence as to a divine object. The eagle saw them and he also knelt, lowering his head in the direction in which he saw them. When they noticed that the eagle was kneeling before them having now seen what they had so earnestly desired, they all began to weep and utter shouts of joy and happiness. Then as an expression of gratitude they exclaimed, "How have we merited this? Who is it who has made us worthy of so much excellence, greatness, and grace? We have beheld that which we so earnestly desired and we have now obtained that which we were seeking. We have found our city, our abode. Let us give thanks to the lord of creation and to our god Huitzilopochtli." Then, desiring to rest for that day, they marked off the place, which they painted in the following manner:

This is the lagoon of Mexico whose god was the aforementioned Huitzilopochtli. This is the coat of arms of Mexico.

⁴⁶ Supplied from Duran.

Immediately on the following day the priest spoke to all the members of the band: "My sons, you have good cause to be grateful to our lord for all the good he has done you. Let us all now go and build in the place of the *nopal* a little structure where our god may rest. Since we cannot, at the present time, build one of stone, let us make one of turf with mud walls until we can enlarge it as much as lies within our powers."

When they heard this they went willingly to the place of the *nopal* and cutting out pieces of sod, as thick as they possibly could, from among the reeds, they made a square plot near this same *nopal* for the foundation of the structure. In this they built a small, poor niche, like a shrine, covered with straw obtained from the same lagoon, not being able to (get anything else), since they could not go any further because they were living in a strange place and on foreign soil, on land lying within the confines of Azcaputzalco and Tetzeuco, for that was the boundary line between the two. They (the Mexicans) were so poor, so hedged in, and so fearful that even this little structure they had erected to their god (would be destroyed) that they built it with great fear and trepidation.

On one occasion when they were all assembled together in council, some there were who were in favor of going, in all humility, to the people of Azcaputzalco and to the Tepaneceans, who are the people of Tacuba and Cuyuhuaacan, to present themselves as friends, and to express their willingness to put themselves under subjection (to the latter people), and then to ask them for stone and wood for the building of their city. However, the majority were of the contrary opinion, for besides being too degrading, they would be taking the risk of being received badly, of being even abused and maltreated, and that a better method would be to go to the pueblos and cities around the lagoon on market days, they and their wives carrying fish and frogs and all kinds of beetles found in the water, as well as the waterfowl which abounded in the lagoon, (and selling these) they could then purchase the stone and the wood needed for building their city. This they could then do freely without recognizing anyone as superior to themselves or subjecting themselves to anyone; since, after all, their god had given them this site.

This seemed to all the best method so they put it into execution. Going among the canebrakes, the reeds and the rushes of the lagoon, they caught a large number of fish, frogs, shrimps, and other crustaceans (?), capturing likewise many ducks, geese, widgeons, cormorants and other kinds of waterfowl, and, waiting for the market days, they sallied forth disguised as hunters and fishermen and bartered what they had for wooden building-blocks, small planks, wood, lime, and stone. And although the wood and stone were small, nevertheless they began to build the temple of their god with them as best they could, covering it with wood and putting on the outside, above the earthen walls, a coating of mixed pebbles and lime; and small and poor as the structure was, it obtained in this way a certain splendor and elegance. Soon they began to lay out, step by step, the foundation and plan of the city-on-the-waters, sinking many stakes (into the water) and filling the spaces between these stakes with earth and stone.

After they had finished repairing their temple as described above, and after they had filled a large part of the lagoon with piles which were to serve as the foundations of the city (to be built upon them), Huitzilopochtli spoke one night to one of his priests and ministers in the following manner:

"Tell the Mexican assemblage that their chiefs should divide them, according to their relationship to one another or according to whether they are friends or allies, into four principal barrios, putting into the middle of each barrio the house they have erected for my repose, and each division (*parcialidad*) should erect one shrine in its barrio as he sees fit."

These are the barrios that exist to the present day in the city of Mexico, and that are now called San Pablo, San Juan, Santa Maria la redonda, and San Sebastian.

After the Mexicans had divided themselves into these four barrios their god ordered them to distribute the gods he had designated for them, and each principal barrio of the four might name and designate other special barrios, where their gods were to be revered. Thus each of the four principal barrios was subdivided into many smaller barrios, depending upon the number of idols which their god had made them worship, and to these they applied the name *capultetes*, which means gods-of-the-barrios. Although this division was made with the consent of their dioceses (*colaciones*) and idols, some of the old men and patriarchs, feeling that they had not been given the honor they deserved in the division of the places, as people aggrieved mutinied, and together with their relatives and friends went to seek a new place. Wandering along the lagoon they finally found an enclosure or terrace which they called Tlatelolli, where they settled and to which they gave the name Tlatelulco, which means place-of-the-terrace.

This was the third division of the Mexican nation, for, as shown above, the splitting off of the people of Michoacan was the first, and that of the people of Malinalco, the descendants of the sorceress, the second. History tells us that those who made the third division were a restless, revolutionary, and evil-intentioned people. For that reason they were very poor neighbors to have, for from the day they left (the Mexicans) there was no peace, nor did they get along well with their brothers, the Mexicans. Even up to the present time there are disagreements and enmities between them.

When the Mexicans of the main settlement at the *nopal* saw the boldness and license of those who had seceded to Tlatelulco, they appointed a council and a chief for the protection of the city and as a guard for their persons, not feeling secure (from the attack) of those who had separated from them, for these latter were increasing in number and spreading over the country, and they feared that they would attack them. They also feared that they would elect a king (of their own) and form a separate state and make attempts to obtain the leadership. Now since the latter were rebels and had wicked intentions, there was little left for the Mexicans to do (but to protect themselves). To gain the ascendancy over them they acted promptly and made the following proposals after a consultation.

“Let us elect a king who shall hold sway both over the Tlatelulcos and ourselves and thus shall be prevented any annoyances and surprises that might otherwise follow. If not from our midst, let us go outside to Azcaputzalco (to select one) which is near and in whose territory we are living, or let him be from Culhuacan or from the province of Tetzeuco.”

Then they recalled to their minds the fact that the Mexicans were related to the people of Culhuacan and that they had, among the latter, sons and daughters. The chiefs and the others therefore determined to elect as king, a youth name Acamapichtli, son of a great Mexican leader and a noble woman, the daughter of the king of Culhuacan. Having made their selection, they decided to send and petition the king of Culhuacan, whose grandson Acamapichtli was. For this purpose they prepared rich presents, and selecting two old men who were gifted as orators, they sent their gifts to the king, whom their ambassadors addressed as follows:

“Your majesty, we the Mexicans, your servants and vassals, enclosed and confined among the reeds and rushes of the lagoon, alone, and deserted by all peoples, have come to this place because we were so directed by our god. This place (where we live) is within the jurisdiction of your kingdom and that of

Azcaputzalco and Tetzcuco. Since this is so (our presence among you), and since you have permitted us to enter your realm, it would not be right if we did not have a chief and head, to command us, correct us, guide us, and teach us how to live, as well as how to defend and protect ourselves against our enemies. For that reason we have come to you, knowing that among you there are sons of ours who are also related to you, sprung from both your loins and our loins; from our blood and your blood. We have heard of Acamapichtli, your grandson and our own, and we beg you to let us have him as our chief and we will honor him as he deserves to be honored, for he is of the lineage of the Mexican chiefs and of the kings of Culhuacan."

The lord of Culhuacan, hearing the petition of the Mexicans, and also realizing that he would lose nothing by sending his grandson to reign in Mexico, answered them as follows:

"Honored Mexicans, I have heard your just request and am very well impressed by it, for besides its being an honor to me, (I might rightly say) of what value is my grandson to me here? Take him and carry him off with you whenever it suits you and may he serve your god and remain in the country of Huitzilopochtli, to rule and govern over the subjects of him through whom we live, the Lord of the night and day and of the winds; he who is the Lord of the water and of the land on which the Mexicans live." Then he recalled to the minds of the ambassadors how the daughter of the preceding king had been flayed and said: "Remember this, that were it a woman and not a man (that you ask for), under no conditions would I have given her to you. However now take my congratulations and take him with you and treat him as he deserves to be treated, and as becomes a son and my grandson."

The Mexicans, appreciating the king's liberality, thanked him repeatedly and begged him to give them likewise a woman whom the king might marry and of the same line. Thus Acamapichtli was married to a very noble princess. Then they led them home with all possible honor, and the Mexican nation, men and women, large and small, came out to receive their sovereigns, whom they took to the royal rooms they then possessed which were very poor. After Acamapichtli and his wife sat down on the royal seats, one of the elders arose and spoke as follows:

"My son, our lord and king, we are glad that you have come to this your poor house and city among these reeds and rushes, where your poor fathers, grandfathers and relatives, the Mexicans, have done what the lord of creation is well aware of. My lord, you have come to be the protection, the shelter, and the refuge of the Mexican nation, for you are the image of our god, Huitzilopochtli, through whom this honor and your high position have been given you. You will doubtless realize that we are not in our own country and that what we now possess is not ours and that we do not know what will be ours tomorrow or the day after. You must also remember that you have not come to take a rest or to enjoy yourself, but to shoulder new troubles, and to take up a heavy burden and that you will always have to work, that you will, indeed, be the slave of all this multitude to whose fortunes you are now bound; and the slave of all the surrounding peoples whom you will have to keep kindly disposed towards us and satisfied, for you must know that we are living in their country and their territory. For all these reasons it is difficult for me to impress upon you how welcome you and your queen are."

In his answer he (the king) thanked them, accepted the responsibility of the kingdom, and promised to defend it and take care of it and to take into consideration all that was necessary for the state. After that they swore him in as king of Mexico and promised to obey him and to be subject to him, admitting him into

the full *jus regis*. Thereupon they immediately put on his head a royal crown, which was somewhat like that of the crown of the señoría of Venice, embellished as we have painted it here.

Thus was elected the first king of Mexico, who, as we have said above, was named Acamapichtli, which means, reed-in-his-hand, from *acatl*, reed or cane, and *mapiqui*, to close the palm of one's hand and make a fist, together giving *Acamapichtli*, a-handful-of-reeds or reeds-in-the-clenched-hand, just as they say in Spanish, lances-in-a-clenched-hand. Others call this first king Acamapich, which is the same name. To express the name in hieroglyphs, they use the sign of a clenched hand with a bunch of reeds:

This is the first king of Mexico called King Acamapichtli, son of a Mexican nobleman and a prominent princess, daughter of the king of Culhuacan.

At the election of Acamapich those people who had seceded and gone to live in Tlaltelulco were not present, nor did they come to take the oath of obedience, and so they remained without a king, thus showing again that they were rebels and a people without respect for anything, a people who wished to live just for themselves. Although the Mexican group was very angry at them, they dissimulated their anger at the time, feeling that it would be better to put into force their real intentions at some later time, for their real desire was to destroy them again and again (which they did) as we shall see later on.

Acamapichtli began to reign in the year thirteen hundred and eighteen after the birth of our Lord, Jesus Christ, being at that time, twenty years old. At this period the Mexicans began to build their city of Mexico and (gradually) improved their lot and gained some prestige. They were at peace and increased in numbers, mingling in business and social intercourse with the surrounding peoples. Some of the older people who had taken part in the long journey and the trip that they had made from their old country were still alive and these people were their leaders, holding the positions of trust and honor and they were looked up to as patriarchs and as the guides of the nation.

According to the histories, the queen was sterile, so the nobles and the leaders of the kingdom therefore decided to give the king their daughters (as wives). These bore him sons, men of great valor and great courage, some of whom became kings, while others became captains, and others again, held other high positions. Among these sons of the king there was one called Izoatl, the child of one of his slaves, who afterwards became the king. He was a man of great generosity and valor as we shall afterwards see in the proper place.

Everyone was quite satisfied with the reign of Acamapich, with its peace and quiet, and the Mexican nation began to increase in numbers and to develop a fine city.

When the Tepanecas, whose capital was Azcaputzaleo, where the ruler of this country lived and where his court was held and to whom likewise the Mexicans were paying tribute, saw this (the prosperity of the Mexicans), they met in council, and the king, calling together his vassals and the lords of his court, said: "You have doubtless noticed, Azcaputzalcans, how well the Mexicans are getting along. After having occupied our country they elected a king and now have a head of their own. What ought we to do? That we have put up with one evil (that of having permitted them to come here), does not mean that we have to put up with another (namely, that of permitting them to stay). For it may happen that when we are dead these people will want to subjugate our sons and our descendants, and making themselves our lords, they may insist that we are

their vassals and that we must pay tribute to them. Should they carry out their designs, it seems to me that little by little they will become emboldened and haughty and place themselves at the head (of all the nations). In order to prevent them from becoming too bold, it seems to me that we should go and command them to pay double tribute as a sign of their vassalage and subjection.”

This seemed quite right to the council of the king of Azeaputzalco, so putting it into execution they sent two messengers to Mexico to inform the king of the decision of the king of Azeaputzalco, namely that the tribute they were paying was too small, and that he wished it increased, for he had often to repair and beautify his city. They were also to bring, together with this increased tribute, *savins* and willows, already full-grown, to plant in his city. They were also to construct, on the surface of the lagoon, a planted field, which was to move like a balsa and in which they were to sow the seeds of the various vegetables they were accustomed to use for their sustenance, such as maize, chili, beans, some wild amaranth called *huautli*, calabashes, sage, etc.

When the Mexicans heard this they began to weep and to give vent to great sorrow. But that night their god Huitzilopuchtli spoke to one of the priests and said, “I have seen the afflictions of the Mexicans and their tears. Tell them not to be too heavy of heart, for I will deliver them peacefully and safely from all their troubles; and that they should pay this tribute. Tell my son Acamapich to be of good heart and to take the *savins* and the willows which they ask for and to construct the balsa upon the water and to plant therein all kinds of vegetables and all the things they ask for; and (tell them finally) I will make it easy and simple.”

When morning came the priest of the idol went to Acamapich and told him of the revelation. This consoled the king greatly and he commanded that no delay should take place in accepting the terms, namely, the additional payment of tribute, and that they should set to work (immediately) to fulfill them. They found the *savins* and the willows with ease and carrying them to Azeaputzalco, they planted them where the king had commanded. Then they also constructed the field that was to be like a moveable balsa upon the surface of the water and in it were sown ears of corn, chili, tomatoes, wild amaranth, beans, calabashes and many roses, all mature and in season.

When the king of Azeaputzalco saw this he marvelled very much and said to those of his court, “It seems to me, brothers, that this is more than human, for when I ordered them to do this work, I regarded it as impossible of accomplishment. So now you know that I did not deceive myself in what I told you (about their being protected by a god). Call these Mexicans here, for I wish you to understand that these people are favored by their god and for that reason are destined to rule over all these nations.”

Then they called the Mexicans, and the king said to them as follows, “Brothers, it seems to me that everything is easy to you, that you are very powerful, and for that reason it is my wish when you bring the tribute which you are supposed to pay, that on the moveable plantation or balsa, among the vegetables, you also bring a heron and a duck, each one sitting on her eggs and that exactly on the day that they are brought here, their young shall be hatched. Now this is to be done exactly (as I say) upon pain of death.”

It appeared very difficult to the Mexicans to do this and the embassy came back and told the king of Mexico what the king of Azeaputzalco had asked. When this became known throughout the city, there was great anxiety and anguish. However, the king Acamapichtli, putting his trust in his god Huitzilopuchtli, ordered that there be no uneasiness about the matter and gave the people to

understand that they were not to show any cowardice or sadness, but that, externally at least, they were to appear of good cheer in public, however downcast they might be inwardly.

That night, desiring to console the people, the idol spoke to one of his oldest and closest priests as follows, "Father, do not have any fear and do not get frightened at their menaces. Tell my son, the king, that I know what is proper and what ought to be done and to let me manage this matter. Let him do what they ask and order and (let him remember that, some day) all these things are going to be paid for with the blood and the lives of his enemies, and let him also realize that we are going to purchase them with these things (i.e. future revenge), and that they are going to be either dead or our captives before many years. Have my sons, therefore, bear (with patience) and submit (to the present humiliations) for their time (to triumph) will soon come." The old priest gave this information to the king and, on that account, he and his people were comforted and had great confidence in their god.

When the time for carrying the tribute arrived, there appeared in the balsa, without anyone knowing how, a duck and a heron hatching eggs, and taking them along on their journey, they came to Azcaputzalco where the eggs were immediately hatched. When the king of Azcaputzalco saw this he was all the more astonished, for this further confirmed what he had previously said to his nobles and of this he thus again reminded them.

The Mexicans continued to pay this kind of tribute for fifty years, dissimulating their hatred and hiding the extent of their suffering until they had increased in population and possessed more strength. About this time the king Acemapichtli died. He was sixty years old and he had reigned forty years in the city of Mexico, having lived in peace and tranquility and leaving his city full of houses, streets, and *acequias*, in short, with all the accommodations necessary for the well-being of an ordered state. He had been very zealous and careful of its welfare.

At the time of his death, he called all his nobles together and delivered to them a long and extended address, turning over to them all the affairs of the state, as well as his wives and sons, although he did not designate any one of the latter as the heir to his kingdom. The State, he said, should select from among their own number, the person whom they cared to have govern them, for in this matter he wished the State to have complete liberty. This custom has been retained ever since among these people. The sons of the deceased ruler do not reign by inheritance, but by election, as will be seen later on.

Then he died, leaving all his vassals exceedingly sad and disconsolate. They made his burial rites and obsequies as fine and solemn as they knew how, as was the case with all their ceremonies. However, at that time, these ceremonies were not performed as they are today, with great profusion of wealth and the sacrifice of slaves, for then they were very poor. In order to avoid too much repetition, we will postpone the account of their method of burial to some later portion of this work, where it can be better described.

When the obsequies of the dead king were over, the Mexicans, in order to elect a new king, had their leaders meet in council. At this council, however, many of the common people were also present. The oldest and most honored man thereupon arose, and bringing up the question, spoke as follows:

"You are aware of the fact, Mexicans, that our king is dead. Who, is it your wish, shall be elected in his place? Who is to be the head of your city; to reverence your aged; to reverence your widows and orphans, to be the father of your state, of whom we are to be as the feathers of his wings, the eyelashes of his eyes, the hair of his face? To whom do you incline to give the command of your

city? Whom do you wish to put upon the royal throne of this kingdom, to defend you and to protect you from your enemies, for to be brief and frank, according to what our god has said, we shall need both our hands and a stout heart. For that reason (I ask), whom do you regard as of such valor that he will strengthen our arms; fill our breasts with the desire of liberty; prevent us from becoming cowards, and make us ready to defend our city and our persons? Whom do you regard as the one who will not minimize or make small the glory of our god, but on the contrary, being his likeness, will defend him and spread his name afar, and make known to all the world that Mexicans are valorous and that they really have the strength to subject (the rest of the world), and to make (the other nations) their vassals?"

Then the old man put the question to those assembled and they all inclined to the son of the late king, a man named Huitzilihuitl, and he accordingly became king, to the great satisfaction of the people of the city who were all congregated outside waiting for the result of the choice. (When they heard it) there arose among all these people, a noise and shouts and exclamations, (that) were equivalent to "Long live the King," in our language.

After the election the lords arranged everything and went to where the newly elected king was staying. They took him away from his brothers and relatives and placing him in their midst, carried him to the throne and the royal seat, where, after he was seated, they placed the crown upon his head and anointed his entire body with the ointment they were accustomed to use for kings and which is called divine ointment, for it is the same with which they anointed their god Huitzilopuehtli. Then they put the royal vestments upon him and one of them delivered the following speech:

"Valorous youth! King and Saviour! Be not frightened! Do not allow this new office of guardian of the state to interfere with your rest or intimidate your spirit. This state is, indeed, placed upon sharp canebrakes and reeds and cypress, this state where we live under the protection of our god, Huitzilopuehtli, whose likeness you are. You know well, indeed, in what dread we live, what troubles we endure through being on strange soil and paying tribute to the people of Azcapotzalco. Bear this in mind, not that I think you have forgotten it, but that you may take renewed courage. Do not think that you will be able to rest at ease in the position you have accepted for, on the contrary, you will be compelled to labor. You see that we have nothing to offer you, nothing with which to regale you except that same poverty and misery over which your father reigned and which he suffered and bore with such great courage and equanimity."

When this speech was over they all came and did him homage, each one greeting him. Thus was elected the second king of Mexico who began to reign in the year 1359 A.D. His name was Huitzilihuitl, as above mentioned, which means rich-plume, because huitzili means bird with the richest plumes to be found (in the world), from the word *ihuitl*, meaning plume and together giving Huitzilihuitl, the plume of that beautiful bird.

This is the second king of the Mexicans, the king called Huitzilihuitl, which means the plume of that beautiful bird.

This king was a bachelor when he began to reign and (the people) immediately began to arrange for his marriage, thinking that this would be a good means of lessening the heavy tribute and bondage in which the king of Azcapotzalco held them. So they decided to ask for one of his daughters for their king. Determining to put this scheme into operation (immediately) they went to the king of Azcapotzalco with their request which they put to him in the following manner:

"Your lordship, we have come here to prostrate ourselves before your greatness and with all due humility to ask and beg of you a great favor. To whom, indeed, my lord should we go if not to you, since we are your vassals and your servants, to await your royal commands, to pluck from your mouth the words you utter, so that we may fulfill all that your heart desires? Such being the case, my lord, you behold before you the embassy of your servants, the old lords and sages of the Mexicans, come (to speak to you). They feel that it is a pitiable spectacle that your servant, the king of Mexico, of those Mexicans who are constrained to live among the reeds and the thick rushes (of the lagoon), that he, ruling and governing there, looked up to by his vassals, the king Huitziluhuitl, should be unmarried. We beg that you give him the hand of one of your jewels, one of your beautiful plumes, one of your daughters. She would not be going to a strange land (if she came to us), but really to her own country, and she will come to rule over us. For that reason, my lord, we beg of you not to refuse us that which we so keenly desire."

The king listened very attentively to the request of the Mexicans. He was well disposed toward them and inclined to grant them their prayer, and for that reason he answered them in a kind and friendly spirit, saying, "Your words and your humility have so completely convinced me, O Mexicans, that I do not know how to answer you except to tell you that here are my daughters, all that I have, brought up by the Lord of Creation. I grant you your request and I would like to have you select that one of my daughters named Ayauhcihuatl. Take her with my congratulations."

The Mexicans prostrated themselves before him and thanked the king again and again, and leading the princess, accompanied by many people of Azcaputzalco, they carried her to Mexico where she was received with great rejoicing and festivity by all the inhabitants of the city. They took her to the royal palace and addressed her in long rhetorical speeches of welcome, after which she was married to the king, the ceremonies generally used on such occasions being performed. These consisted of the tying of the shawls of both people in a knot, this being a sign of marriage, as well as other rites to be described later on.

Some time after the marriage of the daughter of the king of Azcaputzalco to the king of Mexico a son was born to them and this news was received with great joy and satisfaction throughout the city as well as by the king of Azcaputzalco, who sent the name that was to be given to the child as determined by the horoscope cast by the diviners. The name was Chimalpopoca, which means smoking-shield. Together with the giving of the name, the entire courts of Azcaputzalco and Tepaneca, that is the people of Tacuba and Cuyuhuaean, came (to Mexico) bringing rich presents to the new mother and taking to her their offerings and congratulations, which they presented in detail. Both sides were very well satisfied. The queen of Mexico, feeling that this was a propitious occasion for ridding the Mexican vassals (of her father) of considerable vexation and for freeing them from the paying of tributes, proposed to the latter, the king of Azcaputzalco, that since he now had a Mexican grandson and since she was queen of the Mexicans, it was not fair to subject them to the payment of so heavy a tribute. The king, convinced by what his daughter begged of him, called together his council and after discussing the matter for some time it was decided to release the Mexicans from the payment of the tribute and from their bondage, but that as a sign that they (the Mexicans) still recognized the supremacy which the Azcaputzalcoans possessed over the entire land, the former should be compelled to give to the latter, each year, two ducks, some fish and frogs and other *cosillas* (?) which were easily obtainable in the lagoon. The Mexicans were quite relieved and content at this.

A few years later the queen, their protector, died, leaving the child Chimalpopoca, then nine years old. The entire city was disconsolate and sad at her death, for they feared that the heavy tributes and the bondage in which they had been held by the Azeaputzaleans would again be imposed upon them. However, they were consoled by the fact that she left a son, Chimalpopoca.

Their consolation was not of long duration, for a year after the death of the queen the king Huitzilihuitl, the second king of Mexico, also died. He had not reigned more than thirteen years and he was a young man when he died, for he was only a little more than thirty years old. He had ruled and governed during a time of great tranquility and peace and had been beloved by all. He left the state in excellent condition and provided with new laws. He had been particularly careful concerning the cults of the various deities. In this matter the kings and rulers especially vied with each other for, since they regarded themselves as having been created in the likeness of their idols, they felt that whatever honor they were bestowing upon the gods, they were bestowing upon themselves. For that reason they regarded as the (two) important matters, the enlargement of their temples and the liberty of their state.

To this end, through the diligence and industry of their king, the Mexicans not only perfected themselves in building vessels to navigate the entire lake, carrying their fish and game to considerable distances and trading with all the neighboring peoples, thus filling their city with provisions, but they all constructed their barks and canoes so as to make them fit for naval warfare, realizing that after a while it would be necessary for them to be well-skilled and prepared for war (on the lakes); for they still kept before them the ideal of liberating their city by the force of arms.

With this object in view they made great efforts to gain the good will of their neighbors, with whom they always acted in concert, so that their city was filled with the peoples living in the vicinity. They attracted these other nations and became related to them through marriage, doing all this for the purpose of augmenting the importance of their city so that they might, (at some future time) accomplish their purpose (of freeing themselves). Such was the state of Mexico with respect to its relation to its neighbors at the death of Huitzilihuitl. As mentioned above, he left his people sad and disconsolate, for he had been beloved by all. His obsequies were performed in the very solemn manner to which the Mexicans were accustomed.

While still mourning for their late king, the Mexicans assembled to consult about the election of a new king. They were still lamenting the fact that a king like Huitzilihuitl, who had possessed so strong a desire and inclination to free the city and to augment it, had had so short a reign. He had desired to procure heritable lands and plantations for the sustenance of the state, for he was keenly aware of the fact that (under the circumstances) provisions would always have to be brought to them from outside, since they were living in a lagoon and consequently could not cultivate a single field, and that it was in the power of their neighbors to attack the road (on which provisions were brought) and prevent them from entering. (He realized that) it was within the power of the enemy to command their vassals not to sell the Mexicans any maize or beans or other foods upon which they lived. They were consequently always in a state of worry and anxiety.

The Mexicans finally came to a decision as to what sort of a person was to be elected as ruler. He was to be one who would adhere to the principles and desires of the previous king and one who would not only protect the city but also obtain their liberty for them, since they felt that they now had the strength to arm themselves if necessary and that all that was lacking was an inspiring

person to lead them. After a long discussion they decided to name the son of Huitziluhuitl, Chimalpopoca, who was then only ten years old. This they did in order to make the king of Azcaputzaleo, whose grandson Chimalpopoca was, propitious and to make him well-intentioned so that then they could accomplish their purpose later on, as will be shown in its proper place.

Third king of Mexico called Chimalpopoca, grandson of the king of Azcaputzaleo.

Chimalpopoca having been elected with the general consent of all the Mexicans, to the great joy of the city, they put the child on the royal throne and anointed him with the divine ointment, placed the crown upon him, a shield in his left hand and a sword with blades, according to their custom, in the other, and they gave him a weapon like the one (possessed by) the deity whom they wished him to represent, this symbolizing that he promised to protect the city and even to die in its defense. Thus armed, they elected him king, because the Mexicans were now prepared to free themselves by the force of arms (from their bondage), and this they did as we shall soon see.

After Chimalpopoca had reigned for a few years, greatly beloved by his grandfather the king of Azcaputzaleo, the Mexicans got into the habit of going to Azcaputzaleo frequently and they became quite familiar figures there. Then the lords of Mexico persuaded their king, since he was so greatly beloved by his grandfather, that he should send someone to ask for water from Chapultepec, a mountain mentioned further back, for the water of the lagoon could not be used for drinking water. Chimalpopoca sent messengers to his grandfather the King of Azcaputzaleo, who, feeling that nothing would be lost by this move, and that it would be no detriment to his state—for they were making no use of it—gave them permission to use it, after having obtained the consent of his people.

The Mexicans, very happy and satisfied at obtaining this water, began carefully and quickly to clear the lagoon of grass and by means of stakes and reeds and other materials had the water brought to Mexico in a short time, although it necessitated considerable labor, because pipes had to be sunk in the lagoon. On account of the force of the water which came down the pipes, which were merely made of mud, broke and were smashed into many pieces. On this occasion the Mexicans decided to provoke the enmity of the people of Azcaputzaleo, for they wished to break with them entirely so that they might finally obtain the liberty they so greatly desired.

Accordingly, they decided to send messengers to the king of Azcaputzaleo and inform him that his grandson and the other Mexicans were not able to enjoy the water which he had given them, because the pipes which they had constructed for carrying it, being merely of mud, had broken. They, therefore, asked him to do them the favor of giving them wood, stone, lime, and stakes, and also to send his vassals to aid them in making a new pipe of lime and stone.

The king and his court at first hardly understood the embassy, for it seemed to them a rather impertinent and daring thing for the Mexicans to make such a proposition to Azcaputzaleo, for the latter was the greatest power recognized by the whole world. Although the king wished to dissimulate, on account of the love he bore his grandson, his court became so enraged that, taking great liberties, they spoke to him as follows, "Lord and Ruler, what are your grandson and those of his council thinking of? Do they think that we are going to be their vassals and servants? Was it not enough that we took them here, admitted them to our land, consented to their founding and inhabiting a city

and gave them the water for which they asked? And now, being without a sense of shame or of respect for your royal crown, do they ask that we, you, and all of us, should serve them and build the aqueduct for conveying their water? It is not our desire nor do we wish to lose our lives about this matter, yet we must see who these are who dare to act with such presumption, so shamelessly, and with such daring."

Having said this, they left the presence of the king and took council among themselves, and finding that the rulers of Tacuba and Coyuhuaacan who were of the Tepanecan nation likewise had little affection for the Mexicans, they decided not only to refuse their request but to go immediately and stop the water which they had given them; and since the Mexicans were such impertinent people, to destroy and make an end of them, so that not a man should remain alive nor any indication be left of the place called Mexico.

Having come to this decision they began to incite the people of their city to anger in order to arouse their indignation and to induce them to arm themselves against the Mexicans, saying that the latter wished to enslave them and reduce them to servitude and make them pay tribute. In order to make even more manifest their anger, and to show that war must take place, they ordered that no one in the city should treat or trade with the Mexicans, nor give them supplies or other merchandise upon pain of death; and to enforce this law they placed guards on all the roads so that no one from the city of Mexico could enter Azcaputzalco, nor anyone from Azcaputzalco enter Mexico. They forbade at the same time all access to the mountain, which until then had been free, and finally they forbade all trade and commerce with the Tepanecans.

The king of Azcaputzalco, seeing his people thus wrought up, and so bent upon making war with Mexicans and upon killing them all, although he was quite disturbed, realizing that it was impossible to stop them, begged his vassals before giving vent to their anger to kidnap his grandson, the king of Mexico, so that he might not suffer with the rest. Some agreed to this proposal, but the older people claimed that it should not be done, for, although he came from the caste of the Tepanecans and, for that reason, was related through his mother to them, he was on his father's side the son of a Mexican and would consequently always be more favorably inclined towards them. For that reason, it seemed to them that the first thing they should try to do was to kill the king of Mexico. This so worried the king of Azcaputzalco that he soon thereafter fell sick and died. Upon his death the Tepanecans were confirmed even more in their proposal, and they decided among themselves to kill the king, Chimalpopoca, because of the great harm they would thereby inflict upon the Mexicans. In order to do this and thus intensify even more the enmity between the two peoples, they very traitorously set forth, one night when all was quiet, entered the royal palace of Mexico, the guards being unsuspecting and asleep, and taking the unsuspecting king, killed him. Then, after the crime, they returned without being noticed. When the Mexicans, on the following morning went to greet their king, as was their custom, they found him dead and his body covered with deep wounds. The Mexicans were so wrought up and so grief-stricken, upon the discovery of this murder, that, blind with anger, they all immediately seized their arms to avenge their king. However, they were appeased and placated by a man who spoke to them as follows:

"Be calm, and quiet your hearts, O Mexicans; remember that things done without preparation are never done well. Repress your grief, for, although your king is dead, that does not mean that all those of the generation and lineage of the great lords are dead. There are sons of your late king who may succeed

him in the government of our state, and under whose protection you may perhaps become even greater than you now are. Indeed, whoever may be your leader or whoever may be your chief, even though he guide you in your determination (to avenge the death of the king), do not proceed too blindly. Restrain your valiant hearts and first elect a king and lord to guide you and give you strength, to give you new courage and to be a bulwark against your enemies. While you are doing this, hide your feelings carefully, and perform the obsequies of your late lord and king, so that you may then await a better opportunity and a better occasion to take your revenge.'

The Mexicans, calmed by these words, disguised their feelings and performed the obsequies and funeral rites for their king according to their use and custom. They invited all the people of Tezeuco and Culhuacan to whom they related the wickedness and treachery with which the Tepanecans had treated their king. This was condemned by these people to whom it seemed indeed a dastardly crime. Finally, after a number of conversations, the Mexicans said to these lords, that they had invited them there in order to beg them to remain neutral (in case of war), and not become their enemies or aid the Tepanecans. They, the Mexicans, desired the favor and aid of none but their god, the lord of creation, and the valor of their arms and their own courage, for they had decided to avenge this insult or die, and to destroy the people of Azcaputzaleo utterly.

The neighboring lords promised that they would do nothing inimical to the Mexicans nor aid or favor any scheme against them; and that, since the people of Azcaputzaleo had closed the road, thus preventing all trade and traffic in the city and the mountains and on the water, they would throw open their city to the Mexicans for the entire duration of the war, so that their women and children might go and travel over the water and the land and provision the city with all necessary food.

The Mexicans thanked them greatly, and then, with great show of humility, begged them to remain for the election of their new king and the latter, acceding to their request, remained.

The Mexicans immediately called a meeting and council to elect a new king and one of the oldest men arose and began the oration customary at such elections. Now among these people there are always great orators and rhetoricians, and on every occasion and meeting they deliver long speeches full of eloquence, with the most delicate metaphors, and with many great and profound thoughts. At least, those who understand this language claim and affirm this. In spite of the fact that it takes many years to learn these orations carefully they yet always find new things to add. The style and language used in the oration by the old man on this occasion was truly excellent, but this is also true of some of the orations which will be found later on, as we shall be able to determine for ourselves.

The old orator began his oration before all the people present as follows: "It is true, O Mexicans, that you have been deprived of the light of your eyes, but not of the light of your hearts, and although you have lost him who was the light and the guide of this Mexican state, remember that if one person has been killed, there still remain others who can fill most advantageously the gap that he has left. The nobility of Mexico has not come to an end, nor has the royal blood been annihilated. Turn your eyes and look around you and see whether, among the Mexican nobility ranged about you, there be not one or two or even many, and most excellent, princes, sons of Acampichtli, our own true lord. From among them do you select at your discretion and be frank

with yourselves saying, 'This one I want, That one I do not;' and if you lose a father, you may still be able to find his parents. Remember, O Mexicans, that for a brief time your sun was eclipsed and Mexico was darkened by the death of its king. But now it is time for the sun to come out again, and therefore do you elect another king. Look where you cast your eyes, toward whom your heart inclines, after whom it hankers, and that one will be the person your god, Huitzilopuchtli, selects.' Continuing thus further, he concluded to the great satisfaction and delight of all.

The result of the vote was the election of Itzcohuatl as king of Mexico, the name meaning knife-snake. As we have said before, he was the natural son of King Acamapichtli by one of his slaves. Although not legitimate, he was elected king on account of his character, his valor, and his strength, surpassing all the others. Everyone was satisfied and overjoyed at this selection, especially the king of Tetzcuco, for the latter was married to a sister of Itzcohuatl. He was immediately seated upon the throne and crowned, all the usual ceremonies being performed.

After he was crowned and seated upon the throne one of the orators, turning to him with great reverence, addressed him as follows: "Son, Lord and King, take courage and be comforted! Let not your heart be dismayed nor do you lose the strength so necessary for your royal office and for the duties with which you have been entrusted. For if our head were to be dismayed, who do you think would remain to inspire us with the strength and courage necessary for our government and for the defence of your kingdom and state? Do you, perchance, think it possible to bring to life again those valorous men of the past, your predecessors, your father and your grandfather? These, O most powerful king, have passed away and not a shadow of their memory remains; not a shadow of the memory of their valorous thoughts and the strength of their arms and breasts, with which they met trouble and affliction. The Great Lord of Creation has hidden them from our view. For that reason remember that we are today all the more dependent upon you. Are you going to permit the state to collapse and perish? Are you going to permit the burden that has been placed upon you to slip from your shoulders? Will you, most valorous prince, allow the aged to perish, the orphan, the widow? Why, indeed, should you lose your courage and spirit? See how the other nations are watching us, despising us, scoffing at us? Have pity upon the children who crawl upon the ground, who will perish if our enemies prevail against us. My lord, open and extend your cloak over the shoulders of your children, for they are poor and lowly and have confidence in the protection of your cloak, and in the frankness of your benign countenance. The city of Mexico-Tenuechtitlan is proud and overjoyed at having your protection. Remember that she is widowed, that a new spouse and husband has arisen who shall give her again the necessary sustenance and care. My son, be of good cheer and do not fear hardships nor your burden, for the god whose likeness you are will favor you and help you."

This is the fourth king of Mexico, called Itzcohuatl, that is to say, knife-snake. He was the son of the king Acamapichtli, by a slave. He was a brave man.

Having finished his oration all the vassals felicitated the king upon his election, and the foreign nobles after doing the same departed.

When Itzcohuatl began to reign, in the year 1494, the Tepanecans had showed their enmity against the Mexicans to such a degree that no course was

left open to the latter but to take up arms and meet them. For that reason the new king began to make military preparations and to provide for all necessary things, since he saw that the people of Azcaputzaleo were making hasty preparations to destroy the Mexicans.

At the same time the common people met, and realizing that they were few in number and poorly prepared for war, while the Tepanecans on the other hand were numerous, besides being a strong and warlike people, they began to feel that victory would be impossible. Thus they became frightened and exhibited great cowardice, beseeching the king and his leaders with tears to maintain peace.

Their attitude greatly worried and disturbed the king and his nobles. The former asked them what it was they wanted, and they replied and said that the new king of Azcaputzaleo was a merciful man and they were of the opinion that they ought to take their god Huitzilopuchtli to Azcaputzaleo, and there, with due humility, put themselves into the hands of the king and do what he desired. He would pardon them and give them a place in Azcaputzaleo where they would be his neighbors. They even proposed other measures, such as offering themselves as slaves to the people of Azcaputzaleo, a proposition which did not seem proper to any of those who had the least spirit.

However, in spite of everything, some of the lords insisted that this was not so bad a method, and, to a certain extent at least, gave in to the demands of the people. All consequently agreed upon this plan and began to put it in operation. Calling the priests of Huitzilopuchtli, they got ready to lift the god upon their shoulders. While the Mexicans were thus preparing for their journey to Azcaputzaleo there appeared a valorous young man named Tlacaellel, a nephew of King Itzcohuatl, and the man who afterwards became the commander of all the armies. He was the bravest and most valiant of men, a man of great knowledge and wisdom in matters of war, one of the greatest leaders ever known among the Mexicans as will be seen further on in more detail. This man stepped forward among them and said as follows:

“What is this, Mexicans? What has happened to you? Have you been deprived of all reason? Wait, stop, and let us come to some better understanding about this matter. Who would be such a coward as to have us go and surrender ourselves to the people of Azcaputzaleo?” Then, turning to the king, he said: “My Lord, what is this? How can you permit such a thing? Speak to these people! Find some method of defending yourself and your honor so that we do not put ourselves thus wildly into the hands of our enemies.”

Then the king, turning to the people, said: “You seem still determined to go to Azcaputzaleo, an act of great baseness, it seems to me. Let me give you advice which will be more to our honor and not so dishonorable as this action that you wish to take. Here we are all princes and leaders, my uncles, my brothers, and my nephews, all people of honor and esteem. Which one of you would dare go before the king of Azcaputzaleo to find out his decision and that of his people? If it is an irrevocable decision that we must die, that we are to be destroyed, let one of you rise and go.”

Seeing that no one arose he spoke again, “What is this, Mexicans, have you all died of fear?” Although he tried to persuade them many times, no one among these people dared go, for they feared that they would be killed as soon as they were seen by their enemies.

Tlacaellel, seeing that no one had the courage, spoke out in a loud voice with great bravery: “My Lord, and King, let not your heart fail and do not lose courage, for here are present all these lords, your brothers and mine, and all

our relatives. Since no one of them responds to what you have asked, glancing around from one to another, I tell them that I offer to go and carry this message to whatever place it is to be delivered without fear of death; and I would go with the same willingness even if I had the alternative of gaining immortality. Since I assume that I am going to die some time it makes very little difference to me whether it be today or tomorrow, and while awaiting it, how can I better employ my time than in this way? When, indeed, shall I die with greater honor than in the defense of my country? For that reason, my Lord, I wish to go."

The king, Itzcohuatl, answered him, saying: "You have given me great pleasure, nephew, by your courageous heart and your determination, and in payment of it I promise to make you one of the nobles of my kingdom and to bestow upon you numerous honors. Should you die in your undertaking, I will bestow the same honors upon your sons, so that your memory and the memory of your deeds shall never perish; for you are going to die in the defense of your country and for the honor of the Mexicans."

To no one did this daring proposal of Atlacaellel's appear sensible, for they thought it temerity and that he was in manifest danger of losing his life. However, the king, although he felt sad, thought that to risk the life of one person in order to save the lives of all was of more importance. He ordered him to go, and the courageous Atlacaellel, preparing himself as best he could, left the city of Mexico and with great boldness set out to where the guards of Azcaputzalco were stationed.

There he found only a shield bearer and some other men without arms who spoke to him: "What good visitor is this? Are you not Tlacaellel, nephew of Itzcohuatl, the king of Mexico?" He answered that he was, and then they asked him: "Where are you going? Do you not know, my lord, that we have been especially commanded not to permit any Mexican to enter the city, but to kill him immediately?"

Thereupon he answered them: "I know what you have been ordered to do, but you know that messengers are never guilty of wrong actions. I have been sent to speak to your king as representative of the king of Mexico and of the people and the leaders and I therefore beg of you to let me pass, promising to return here by this gate and if you then desire to kill me I will deliver myself over to you. Let me, however, bring my mission to a conclusion, and I assure you that you shall not receive any punishment for it." He finally succeeded in persuading the guards and they permitted him to enter.

He went to where the king was standing and pausing before him paid his due respects. When the king saw and recognized him, he said in admiration, "How have you entered the city without the guards killing you?" Thereupon the former told him all that had happened, and the king then asked him what his errand was. Atlacaellel told the nature of his mission and tried to persuade the king to maintain peace, begging him to have pity on the city of Mexico, upon the old and the young. Finally he pointed out to him all the damage that would result through war. He besought him to placate the anger of the nobles and the princes and assured him that the Mexicans were willing to serve him as heretofore.

The king was quite convinced and favorably inclined toward the words of Atlacaellel and assured him that all he said was quite true and that he would speak to the nobles of the court and try to find out whether there was any way of appeasing their anger; that if he did not succeed, then he would know that it no longer lay in his power to do anything.

Then the courageous youth asked the king when he should return for his answer, and the latter said the next day. Atlacaellel then asked for a safe-conduct so that he might pass the guards without being killed, but the king said that the only safe-conduct he could give him was the fact that he (Atlacaellel) was able to appear before him.

Seeing how little the king would do for him in this matter, Atlacaellel took leave of him and started to return to the city. When he came to the guards, he found them better prepared for war and together with other armed people. Going up to them he said, greeting them: "My brothers, I have just come from talking to your king and I bring a request from him that you let me pass. If you do so I shall be very grateful to you, for since I am negotiating about peace and deceiving no one there is no reason why I should receive any hurt. If, however (I am to be killed), I agree to return to you after receiving an answer and after the determination of this matter. It can be of little consequence to you whether you kill me today or tomorrow and I give you my word that I will return and deliver myself into your hands." This being a fair promise, the guards permitted him to pass.

When Tlacaellel returned to the city of Mexico unharmed, the king and the entire city came out to welcome him with joy. He told them what had happened and that he would have to return on the following day to find out the decision in this matter.

On the following day he went to ask the king for permission to go to conclude the matter and the king spoke to him as follows: "Nephew, I thank you for the care and dispatch you have shown in this matter and for the manner in which you took your life in your own hands. What you have now to do is to find out from the king of Azcaputzalco whether they are still determined to turn a deaf ear to our entreaties and abandon us, or whether they wish to admit us again to their friendship and grace. If he answers that there is no recourse now, and that they intend to destroy us, take this ointment with which the dead are anointed and anoint his entire body. Then decorate his head with plumes as we do our dead, as a sign that he is going to die, and finally give him a shield and sword and these ornamented arrows which are the insignia of a ruler and tell him to look at them, for we are going to use all our power to destroy him."

Then Atlacaellel dressed and departed for the city of Azcaputzalco, where the guards permitted him to enter, for they regarded him as a man of his word and they were willing to let him enter the city then and kill him on his return. When Atlacaellel came before the king he told him the purpose of his mission, and the latter answered: "My son, what do you wish me to tell you? Although I am king, the people of my kingdom wish me to wage war, and how can I prevent it? Even if I wanted to prevent it, I should thereby merely risk my life and the lives of all my children, for my nobles are furious and greatly incensed against your people and insist that you be destroyed."

Then Atlacaellel answered him with great boldness: "Sire, your servant the king of Mexico sends you a message of encouragement and begs you to be of good cheer. I am entrusted to tell you to prepare yourself, for from this day on we defy you and your people, and to inform you that we are your mortal enemies and that either my king and his people are to die in battle or be your slaves in perpetuity, or else you and yours are to suffer a like fate. However, it will be on your head that the blame will fall for having commenced a war from which you shall not emerge alive. Now my king orders you to anoint yourself with this ointment for the dead and to prepare yourself for death." Then, after giving him the other insignia (he had brought along), the king

permitted himself to be anointed and dressed by Atlacaellel. After he had finished, the latter told the king that he brought him the greetings of Itzcohuatl.

Then before taking leave of Atlacaellel, the king, detaining him, said: "Atlacaellel, do not leave by the gate of the city, for they are waiting to kill you there. Now I have had a little gate made beyond my house through which you may leave and return in safety to your city. And since you ought not to go without my thanking you for the friendship you have shown me and without some acknowledgment of your valorous deed, take this shield and these arms and sword with which to defend yourself."

Atlacaellel thanked him and left by the little gate which had been made, and hiding himself in secret paths finally passed beyond where the guards were stationed. When he was in the confines of Mexico, he showed himself to the guards and said to them: "Ah, Tepanecans, Azcaputzalcans, how poorly have you fulfilled your duties of guardians of the city. Be prepared now, for before long Azcaputzalco shall no longer exist; not a stone shall be left standing upon another and every man, woman and child, all of them shall perish. This I tell you in the name of the king of Mexico, Itzcohuatl, and the people of Mexico. I defy you all!"

The sentinels hearing these words of Atlacaellel and frightened at his having escaped without their seeing him, rushed forward to kill him, but he, facing them all, killed some before others could come forward. Then seeing (many) other people coming to their aid, he retired valorously toward the entrance of his city, where the enemy gave up.

When Atlacaellel returned to Mexico he notified the king of all that had happened, how he had defied all and how war was now inevitable. When the common people heard of this they began to worry and to show ordinary signs of cowardice, asking the king and the nobles to let them leave the city. The nobles and the king, in person, tried to console them and said, "Do not fear, my sons, for we shall free ourselves without any harm coming to us." Then they answered, "And if we do not emerge victorious, what will become of us?" The king thereupon responded: "If we do not emerge victorious, we will deliver ourselves over to your hands and you may use our flesh as food. Thus you may avenge yourselves upon us; you may eat us, cut up and fatty and placed in earthen pots. Thus you may treat us in that disgraceful manner."

Then they answered and said: "Well and good. Now we promise to do and fulfill the following and you yourselves may carry out the sentence upon us. If we emerge successful from this battle we agree to serve you, pay you tribute and be your serfs; to build your houses and serve your fathers and your sons as our lords, in every capacity. When you go to war, we promise to carry your burdens, your food and your arms, upon our backs, serving you on all the roads through which you pass. Finally, we agree to sell ourselves and put our persons in subjection to you and to put our wealth at your disposal forever."

The king and his nobles, seeing what the common people offered and what they obligated themselves to perform, accepted all the conditions and took an oath, swearing to keep their agreement.

These various matters having been settled, the king ordered Atlacaellel to get the people ready immediately and to have everything in readiness. This he did with great dispatch, giving captaincies to all the sons of the late kings and to the brothers and the near relatives of the king. When all was in proper order and the people divided into squadrons the king addressed the whole army, encouraging them either to die or to conquer, telling them of the noble origin and the valor of the Mexican people and recalling to them that this was the

first of their battles and that it would be an excellent occasion to emerge with honor and to make their neighbors fear and tremble; that no one was to lose heart, for the numerous divisions of the Tepanecan nations possessed nothing but masculine vigor. Then he expressly commanded that each person should follow his captain and go wherever he was most needed and that no one should advance unless told to.

Then they began to march against Azcaputzalco in perfect order and precision to the place to which the king and the brave Atlacaellel, the commander-in-chief, led them. When they approached the Azcaputzalcans the latter deserted them and immediately came down in good order for the encounter. The latter were loaded down with great riches, gold, silver, jewels, and feathers; they had rich devices on their shields and weapons as became a powerful people who at that time held sway over all that country. The Mexicans, although poorly dressed, were full of courage and confidence in the valor and subtlety of their general.

The brave Atlacaellel, seeing that the enemy was advancing with such vehemence, before they actually came to blows, ordered that all the captains and the leaders and young men who showed great intrepidity and desire for battle be put in the wings of the army and that when the signal was given these were to rush upon the enemy, while the common people and soldiers of lesser courage should remain where they were (in the center), the king placing himself at the head of them for the time being. If the enemy were defeated these latter should not break rank but together in one mass they were to enter the city of Azcaputzalco.

The enemy was quite near as he said this, so (those specially selected) placed themselves in the wings as Atlacaellel had ordered and the king Itzcohuatl struck a small drum suspended from his shoulders and as he thus gave the signal the Mexican army sprang forward with such great shouts and shrieks that the enemy was seized with fear. Then, attacking with impetuosity and with an invincible spirit, striking desperately to right and left, in no particular order, they began to shout, "Mexico! Mexico!" and so greatly did this disconcert the people of Azcaputzalco that they began to lose their order and were defeated, many of the common people being killed. The Mexicans, keeping up their courage, captured great prizes and showed remarkable dexterity in wounding and killing the enemy.

The people of Azcaputzalco began to retreat to their city and the Mexicans, gaining upon them, followed them. The Mexicans had exhibited no fear throughout the fighting, and now when they saw themselves victorious they rushed with great boldness upon the enemy. Then the Mexican king, seeing this, urged on his forces, the king of Azcaputzalco doing the same. However, the Mexicans were so fired with enthusiasm that the people of Azcaputzalco could not resist them and fleeing from the field they retired to their city.

Then the spirited Atlacaellel, the general of the Mexican army, let loose tremendous shouts of "Victory! Victory!" and closing in upon the enemy killed and wounded them most piteously. The king, Itzcohuatl, then ordered that part of the army under him to pillage the city, burn the houses and sack whatever they found there, and to spare neither man nor woman, young nor old. This was done pitilessly and mercilessly and not an object was left standing upright nor a person alive, except those who succeeded in escaping and who fled to the mountains. Even these the Mexicans did not spare, for they followed them like wild lions raging with fury and anger and even pursued them to the most inaccessible parts of the *sierras*. There the people of Azcaputzalco pros-

trated themselves, surrendered their weapons and promised to give (the Mexicans) their lands, to work on their houses and plantations, to pay tribute to them forever and even to supply them with stone, lime, and wood for their houses. They also promised to give them all necessary seeds and vegetables for their support. The general, Atlacaellel, taking pity upon them, ordered the pursuit to cease and gathering his people together he made the Azcaputzalcans swear that they would fulfill what they had promised. Then the Mexicans returned victorious and happy to their city, laden with great riches and spoils which they had found in Azcaputzalco, for since it had been the court, all the wealth of the Tepanecan nation had centered there.

The great battle that the king Atlacaellel had with the people of Azcaputzalco, in which he killed almost all of them and seized the enormous riches that this town contained, for it was the capital of the Tepanecans.

On the following day King Itzcohuatl of Mexico ordered all his chiefs to come together and told them that they no doubt remembered that the common people had obligated themselves to perpetual service if the Mexicans were victorious, and that therefore it might be well to call them and ask them to fulfill their promise. He put this proposition before the common people assembled there, and the latter admitted that they had promised all this; that the lords and leaders by their great bravery and valor had indeed merited victory and for that reason they were quite willing to accept their fate and keep their promise. So there they took the oath binding themselves to all the conditions mentioned before. And this was kept from that time on.

Then they went into the city of Azcaputzalco, where they divided the lands among themselves, giving the largest and the best portion to the royal crown; the next, to the captain-general Tlacaellel, and the remainder to the other leaders and nobles of Mexico, each one receiving land according to the manner in which he had distinguished himself in battle. To the common people they gave no land, except to those few who had shown spirit and courage. To the others they paid no attention at all and reviled them for their cowardice and their lack of courage, telling them that they were people who lacked the imagination to look ahead of them. Finally they gave lands to the barrios so that they might use what they harvested from these lands for the service of their gods and the embellishment of their temples. This is the method to which they ever after adhered in apportioning lands gained by conquest.

From that time on the people of Azcaputzalco had such narrow and small strips of land that they hardly possessed a place sufficiently large to grow (the food they needed). After this apportionment the king of Mexico summoned all the people of Azcaputzalco and imposed tributes upon them as well as personal service, both of which they had obligated themselves to when they surrendered. Then he issued and had circulated a public edict to the effect that from that day on there should be no king of Azcaputzalco and that they should all owe allegiance to the king of Mexico. Should they profess allegiance to or name any other king they were to be annihilated. From that time on Itzcohuatl became king of both Azcaputzalco and Mexico.

The people of Coyuhuaacan, the second city of the Tepanecans, seeing their capital city destroyed and forced to pay tribute, sent messengers to tell the people of Azcaputzalco the great grief they felt at their loss and misfortune, offering, at the same time, their persons and whatever else was necessary to restore their power and to avenge the wrongs which the Mexicans had inflicted

upon them. The people of Azcaputzalco thanked them, but answered that it was too late for such offers now; that all they wished was to be permitted to mourn over their disastrous and unfortunate fall; that it would indeed be many years before they again were in a position to make up for all that they had lost. When the people of Coyuhuacan heard this answer, wild and full of anger and fear, they exclaimed: "Never shall the Mexicans treat us in this manner. Never shall they take away our lands and compel us to pay tribute. Let us put ourselves in a state of defense, lest they in their presumption and emboldened by their success attack us."

They were unfair in making this statement, for the Mexicans, being a noble people, never had the slightest thought of inciting people to anger or of making war upon them, unless they were justly provoked, as will be shown later on. However, the Tepanecans of Coyuhuacan ran about so excitedly and with so rabid a desire to destroy the Mexicans that, blinded by their passion to offer battle, they immediately began to annoy the Mexicans in order to provoke them. They would burst upon the roads and mob and insult the Mexican women who went to the market of Coyuhuacan. For some time the king of Mexico suffered this, but when he saw how shameless they were becoming, he forbade all Mexican women to go to the markets of Coyuhuacan, or to enter into or have any intercourse with that city upon pain of death. The people of Coyuhuacan, noticing that the Mexicans did not come to their markets, as was their custom, became greatly frightened, for they realized that the Mexicans must have been informed of what they were doing. Fearing that they would immediately declare war, they therefore began to get their men in line and prepare them, admonishing them to be strong, and, above all, to remember that they were going to fight, not an indifferent nation, but the Mexicans, a warlike, strong, and astute people. Their fear increasing even further, they tried to incite all the neighboring kings against the Mexicans, sending their messengers around to circulate falsehoods and slanders, in order that they might thus induce them to combine with them to destroy the Mexicans. However, none of the kings wished to join or listen to the kings of Coyuhuacan. On the contrary, they reprimanded these senseless and overbold people. For the Mexicans were now highly respected for having conquered Azcaputzalco, a city which had been the capital of all the countries. The Tepanecans of Coyuhuacan became quite cowardly, but their chief, seeing them sad and behaving like cowards, said: "Tepanecans, we cannot withdraw now. Where are we to hide ourselves? We have now angered the Mexicans, and nothing further remains for us to do but to die or conquer. Be of stout heart, therefore, for that is the best remedy, and this, it seems to me, will also make the Mexicans realize that we do not fear them. Come, let us play a trick on them."

Some suggested that they invite the Mexicans to a feast and during the meal fall upon them unaware and kill them. To this the lord of Coyuhuacan answered, "That would be a most dastardly act, appropriate for common and low people." Not for a moment should anyone think of such a treasonable and evil act, because they would then assuredly be regarded as cowards and the neighboring nations would be offended. "Let me give you a more honorable suggestion and one that will make us feared by the Mexicans. Let us invite the Mexicans, at a time to be specified, and then when they are inside let us play a trick on them and thus they will be prepared and warned."

On the occasion of one of their feasts the Tepanecans invited the Mexicans, all of whom accepted. However, all except the leaders went with some misgiving. Before leaving Mexico the brave Atlaacellel, who accompanied them,

said to the king, Itzcohuatl: "My lord, we do not wish you to go to this feast, for it is not proper for you to hold your royal person in such low esteem as to accept the invitation of a minor lord. You would be lowering your royal person and the greatness of your majesty and that of the kingdom of Mexico. Moreover, we do not know how this feast will terminate, and for that reason we ought not to go carelessly; we should not neglect to make provision for defending our persons, should it be necessary to do so and should they attempt any act of treachery." This advice of Tlaacaellel seemed very much to the point, and the king therefore remained in the city and only the chiefs went.

When those who started out arrived at Coyuhuacan they extended their greetings to the ruler of the place and to all his chiefs, paying them great compliments and offering them all kinds of gifts, fish, frogs, ducks, vegetables, indeed large quantities of everything to be found in their city. The ruler and the chiefs of Coyuhuacan showed great pleasure and satisfaction in receiving them, falsely extending to them all imaginable courtesies and quartering them in the principal houses of the city. Then they took a drum and when it was sounded they began to perform before their guests a dance with its accompanying music. After the dance they gave them a good dinner with many dishes which they highly esteemed. When the meal was over, instead of roses and other sweet-smelling remembrances which it was customary to give to guests, the lord of Coyuhuacan sent to each of the Mexican leaders the robes and dresses of women. The messengers in placing these before them said: "My lords, my master has ordered us to dress you in these female clothes, because you were men who came so guilelessly among us, when you have known that for some time we have been trying to incite and provoke your people to war."

As there was nothing that they could very well do, they permitted themselves to be dressed in the degrading garments of women and thus they were sent back to their city. There they presented themselves to the king of Mexico and told him everything that had happened. The king consoled them and said that the insult would redound to their honor and that, in addition, they should not feel badly about it, for he was going to avenge it in a very short time by killing and destroying all these people. He then and there declared mortal enmity against the Tepanecans, closing the roads to them and placing guards there so that no one could pass into the city without being immediately (seen) and killed. Then he spoke as follows:

"Since they have played this trick upon us, it might be well before starting war to pay them back by playing even a worse trick upon them. You all know how extremely fond these people are of the food that is found in our lagoon. Have the guards catch fish, ducks, geese and all the game that abound in our lagoon, which they can not now obtain and which they would so greatly desire to have. Let these be roasted and toasted and cooked at their very gates and in such a manner that the odor will enter their city, so that upon smelling it their women may miscarry, their children abjure their parents, and the old people become weak and die of envy and desire to eat what is being withheld from them."

Accounts tell us, with great exaggeration, how the order of the king of Mexico was put into execution; how the Mexicans carried great quantities of the above-mentioned food to the boundaries of Coyuhuacan, and how the odor entered and spread through the streets of that city, making the pregnant women miscarry, confining others to their beds, and inflating the faces and hands and feet of those to whom the former misfortunes did not happen, until they died.

The ruler of Coyohuacan, seeing the harm that was being caused, called a councillor named Cuecux and said to him: "How are we going to prevent them from destroying us since we have so great a desire for the food that they eat and they have caused these very pleasant odors to drift into our city causing the women to miscarry and the other people to endure untold suffering?" Then Cuecux answered: "There is nothing for us to do but to take our fate into our own hands and sally forth to battle. I shall be the foremost!" Saying this, he quickly put on his armor, and taking a sword and a shield, alone, unaccompanied, he went to the place where the foremost guards of Mexico were stationed and there he defied the Mexicans and told them, in a loud voice, that he had come, unattended, to destroy them. And to this defiance he added many insulting words. He toyed with his shield and his sword, brandishing it now at one and now at another person. Not a man would sally forth, the Mexicans fearing an ambushade.

Then at somebody's command the Mexicans erected a high scaffold, which they made in a very short time, and the general Tlacaellé ascended it and looked around in all directions, carefully scrutinizing the country in all directions for a possible ambushade or for people in hiding. There he saw a small streak of smoke ascending from some reeds (in the distance). As he knew the Tepanecan army quite well he descended and ordered the tower-guards to ascend the scaffold and carefully examine the horizon to see whether any of the army of the Tepanecans had separated from the others and, if so, in what direction. Then he ordered the captains to hold in readiness all the warriors and commanded them not to leave that place, nor indeed to move a foot until he returned.

After giving this advice, he went to the canebrakes—hiding himself as well as he could, and being well armed with his spear and shield—where he had seen the smoke, and finally emerged near some earth-ridges within the confines of Culhuacan. Looking around among the rushes which he found there, he saw three soldiers, very well armed, although quite off their guard. Recognizing by their speech that they were of Culhuacan and not Tepanecans, he went up to them and asked them who they were. They, not averse to talking, answered him: "Sir, we are from Culhuacan and we come to seek our fortune. We will be glad to put ourselves at your service for war and to do whatever you wish us to do."

Tlacaellé said to them, "At first I believed you were spies from Culhuacan who had come to reconnoitre our army in order to take us in the rear." The three youths smiled and said, "My lord, the people of Culhuacan are not treacherous, but are men of great honor and frankness." He then asked them for their names and they gave him three names, not their own, for they wished to hide their identity. They were really chiefs desirous of gaining honor and of distinguishing themselves in battle, so that they might be able to recount their exploits (among their fellow-men).

Then Tlacaellé said to them: "Brothers, I am the general of the Mexican army, and since you wish to gain war honors, I wish to ask you to do one thing for me and that is, not to leave this place nor to move from here but to guard this spot until I return; and if, by chance, soldiers from Coyohuacan should come here kill them without pity. In that way you will be able to remove the suspicion in which I at first held you." This they promised, and he went back to his army, where he found the king Itzcohuatl encouraging the captains and the soldiers.

When he arrived in the presence of the king he told the latter that he had found three natives of Culhuacan, well disposed youths, and after narrating what conversation he had had with them, he told how he had asked them to wait there and guard that particular spot and how they had promised to do so.

At this juncture the tower watchers came to advise the king that the army of Coyohuacan was approaching in good order. Then Atlaacaellel asked the king whether he could take some men along with him and go to meet the enemy and present a bold front to them, and said that he also wished to go, in company with some soldiers and two captains, to the place where he had left the three soldiers to see if they had remained faithful. If they had, he would then return with them immediately to the army. In this way he would also most certainly discover whether there was any ambush. The king answered that he might go, commending at the same time his valor, and adding that he expected much from his courage and cunning.

So he went to the canebrakes, taking with him a handful of people, and when he came to the place where he had left the three youths he found them waiting there for him as they had promised. Having brought along weapons with Mexican devices, he then furnished them with new shields and swords and they then began to march toward Coyohuacan secretly, in order to take the enemy in the rear.

The king of Mexico now gave battle, beginning the conflict with great violence and inflicting as much damage as he was able. So great were the shouts from the different sides of the battlefield that one could hear them at a great distance. While the Mexicans and the Tepanecans were in the heat of the battle, neither of them feeling that they had gained the advantage, Tlaacaellel, with those accompanying him, fell upon them in the rear at an unexpected moment, and so quickly, shouting at the same time "Mexico! Mexico! Tenochtitlan!" that the enemy were thrown into panic and fear. Then beginning to strike blows (right and left) he wounded and killed so mercilessly that the enemy retreated. The Tepanecans, seeing themselves thus assaulted, abandoned the field of battle, and Tlaacaellel and his three companions, going in pursuit, performed such acts of daring and valor that no one was able to stand up before them. They pursued the enemy like enraged lions.

The Tepanecans retired in great haste, intending to fortify themselves in their temple. Tlaacaellel, however, and his three companions got ahead of them, and before the enemy came to the temple they forced an entrance and burned the *teocalli*. The Tepanecans, seeing their temple on fire, lost courage so completely that they left the city and took refuge in the mountains. The Mexicans, however, being ahead of them, captured and killed them as they came.

The Tepanecans, seeing how badly the day had gone for them, climbed a very high mountain and from there, crossing their hands, began to plead and beg the Mexicans to stop killing and wounding them, promising to give up their arms and to acknowledge themselves as conquered. They said that they were exhausted from fatigue and from their recent hardships and that they wished rest and a chance to catch breath and that the revenge the Mexicans had already taken ought to suffice.

The Mexicans answered them: "We will not pardon you, traitors, until nothing be left of the land called Coyohuacan. This day we shall annihilate you and level your city to the ground so that no vestige of it shall remain, no vestige of the traitors who conspired, provoked, and incited other nations to destroy us!" To this the latter replied: "What have you to gain by annihilating us? Let what you have done suffice. You will have slaves and people

paying tribute in perpetuity, people to give you houses, clothes and food as you desire and command."

The Mexicans insisted that there should be no quarter given and answered resolutely that they remembered the female clothes they had been forced to wear and that this insult and affront could never be forgiven. The Tepanecans upon hearing this said that they realized their guilt and asked the Mexicans with tears in their eyes to pardon them, and to have pity upon them, promising to serve them and to work for them until death. Then the Mexicans lowered their arms and stopped the carnage. Atlaacaellel immediately ordered the Mexican people to retire, for they had been very much wrought up against the Tepanecans, having pursued the enemy for more than ten leagues from the city, over rocks and crags.

United the Mexicans returned with their general to the city of Mexico, victorious and laden with rich and magnificent spoils: slaves, gold, jewels, shields, objects made of rich feathers, dresses, and many other objects of great price and value. Tlacaacaellel and his three companions first made use in this war of a new artifice, namely, the cutting off of a lock of hair from each of the prisoners captured and the taking of these (war trophies) to the common people to have them well guarded by them. This they did in order to determine the number of people they had captured single-handed. It was twice the number captured by all the other people together.

On account of their achievements in this war the above-mentioned men received so much honor and such a reputation for bravery that their fame alone was a sufficient guarantee and guerdon of their deeds. They themselves seemed quite content with this, but King Itzcohuatl, in addition, rewarded them and singled them out from among others in the apportionment of the land and spoils of Coyohuacan, always showing most favor to the valorous Tlacaacaellel, whom he justly regarded as the real cause and author of the prosperity and expansion of the nation. The Mexican nation was always particularly careful to reward, in full, its valorous men, those who distinguished themselves in war and those who devoted their lives to deeds of virtue, as we shall be able to indicate on many an occasion in the progress of this account.

With this last victory and that over Azcaputzaleco the Mexican people occupied a position of great importance and were feared by all the others. For had they not conquered and subdued the Tepanecan nation, which, as mentioned above, was regarded as the strongest power (in the land), a people who had ruled over all the land? For this reason the Mexicans became very haughty and developed mighty ambitions. They began to discuss the question of titles and patents of nobility equivalent to what other people call dukes, counts, marquises, governors, admirals, etc. To put into execution this new development, Tlacaacaellel took the matter in hand and proposed to the king Itzcohuatl how he was to act in this matter, for Tlacaacaellel besides being courageous was likewise skillful and ingenious, and while he lived all the kings followed his advice, relying upon him as the oracle and coadjutor of their government.

After listening to the request of Tlacaacaellel, the king acceded quite willingly, and taking his advice he created seigneurs and nobles for his kingdom in the following order: first it was commanded that the statute they were about to make be in perpetual force. The statute was to this effect, that after electing the king they were to elect four seigneurs, the nearest brothers and relatives of the said king, and that these were to have the titles of princes. The titles to be given to these four were as follows: the first to be *tlacoachcalcatl*, composed

of *calcatl*, which means the-owner-of-a-house, and *tlacoctli*, dart or pointed staff. The second title was to be *tlacatecatl*, composed of *tlacatl*, a person, and the verb *tequi*, to cut or pare, so that *tlacatecatl* would mean, the-cutter-or-parer-of-men. The third title was *Ezhuahuacatl*, composed of *eztli*, blood, and the verb *huahuana*, to scrape or scratch, so that together *ezhuahuacatl* would mean, prodigal-of-scraped-or-scratched-blood. The fourth title was *tlillancalqui*, composed of *tlilli*, a kind of grime, and of *calli*, house, so that *tlillancalqui* means lord-of-the-house-of-grime. This was a title of great honor, for they used soot and grime in their idolatries and even had a god presiding over it, as will be described in its proper place.

After deciding who were to be the people with the titles of princes, they were to establish a supreme court, without whose approval nothing was to be done. On the death of a king, his successor was to be selected from among four princes and from among no others, for, as above indicated, the sons of kings never inherited the latter's position. That position was determined by election and was given to one of these four princes. Again, never did any of their sons inherit their respective titles and dignities, but upon the death of any one of them a person was elected who appeared competent to fill the place. Thus there were always plenty of people in the state competent to rule, for the bravest were always elected. After electing these four princes they gave other titles to the remaining leaders and captains according to each man's valor and courage. However, in order not to overburden these pages with too much detail, I shall omit them here, for from those I have mentioned the nature of the other titles can be inferred. Through these changes the Mexican kingdom became highly organized and also came to occupy a high position.

While the Mexicans were thus prospering, the people of Xuchimilco, a very large province, populous and abounding in food and riches, seeing their friends and neighbors, the Tepanecans, conquered and subjected, feared that it would not be long before they too would meet with the same fate. Thus without any justification, so far as the Mexicans were concerned, and solely through fear, they began to worry, although the Mexicans always treated them with great affection, frequenting their markets in the most friendly way and always showing themselves frank and open in their intercourse with them. However, this did not apparently reassure the Xuchimilcans, for their uneasiness increased every day, an uneasiness due entirely to the working of their own imaginations.

Finally they called a meeting of their people. Some were in favor of adjusting matters with the Mexicans without war, while others were opposed and favored a declaration of war. At this juncture a man arose who spoke with so much fire and arrogance that he finally persuaded the entire assemblage to declare war.

Having thus determined upon war, the people of Xuchimilco began to show by words and deeds their intense enmity. The king of Mexico at first overlooked it, treating them always in a peaceful and friendly manner. Finally, however, the arrogance of the Xuchimilcans reached such a height that the brave Itzcohuatl decided to go forth and meet them in battle. The valorous captain-general Tlacaelliel notified all his soldiers and captains, arranged everything in proper order, and delivered a speech to them in that elegant manner which only he possessed, giving them advice and telling them of the important stratagems of war, matters in which he was exceedingly ingenious and astute. Then, receiving permission from the king, he set out.

The enemy, knowing that the Mexican army was on the move, did not delay in making preparations and in putting their army on a fighting basis. Then

their lord and principal chief delivered an address to them, saying that it was a shame that men like the Mexicans, a people of low birth and with little standing, should have prevailed against the greatest people and the most enlightened of the world, their allies and relatives; and that these Mexicans, in their presence and before them, should glory in their deeds; that consequently they, the Xuchimilcans, were to invest themselves with the courage and the hearts of wild animals and destroy the whole Mexican nation.

The people of Xuchimileo, spurred on by this speech, marched forward with the greatest bravery, dressed in their gorgeous war attire, for they were a very wealthy and valorous nation. Both armies clashed on an enormous plain at the boundary of each other's territory. There the valorous Tlacaellé began to distribute his captains with great discretion and judgment.

The enemy, relying upon their large numbers, were grouped merely in a rough way, no particular organization being observed. The Mexican army therefore broke through them in a short time, with little loss to themselves and inflicting terrible slaughter upon the enemy. The latter, seeing the field full of their dead, began to retreat hastily with the Mexicans in pursuit, who pursued them until the people of Xuchimileo took refuge in their city. The Mexicans followed, continuing their carnage and slaughter and seized the temple, to which they immediately set fire. The Xuchimilcans then fled again and were pursued as far as the mountains.

There the captains and lords of Xuchimileo, quite exhausted, decided to surrender and ask for clemency. They appeared before the Mexicans, coming down the mountain with their hands crossed, and promised to surrender their lands and to accept bondage in perpetuity. At first, in order to frighten them more, Tlacaellé appeared rather obstinate and deaf to their entreaties, but finally, realizing how weak they were, he took pity upon them. He immediately sounded a signal on a little drum which he carried suspended from his shoulders and all the soldiers lowered their arms and ceased fighting.

They returned to the city, quite satisfied and proud, laden with great spoils and captives. There their king Itzcohuatl came out with great pomp to receive them, accompanied by all the dignitaries and priests of the temple, some of the latter playing upon flutes of different kinds, while others sprayed Tlacaellé and his captains with incense, as they entered at the head of the army, accompanied by many prisoners and spoils. Together with the king they went to the temple to render thanks to their god, to whom, at the same time, they made great offerings of slaves, clothes, and jewels for the victories he had granted them. That night the city was illuminated so that it looked like midday and feasts and dances were given everywhere.

The following day Itzcohuatl went to Xuchimileo with all his captains and soldiers and there he was received in great triumph by the conquered people. Then having eaten and rested, he apportioned the lands of Xuchimileo among his own people, giving the best always to the great captain Tlacaellé and the rest to the others according to their deserts, as we have indicated above.

Then the people of Xuchimileo began to weep, admitting that they had merited being dispossessed and that they were now justly paying for their arrogance and madness in having gone out of their way to provoke a people who had never offended them. Then they all swore obedience to the king and the lords of Mexico, and he, seeing them so sad, consoled them and spoke kindly to them. On this account the people of Xuchimileo were very grateful.

On leaving, the king ordered them to build a highway through the middle of the lagoon, covering the four leagues between Mexico and Xuchimileo, so

that thereby the trade and commerce between these two peoples might be facilitated. They did this with such good grace and loyalty that the king Itzcohuatl began to cover them with honors and even admitted some of them as nobles of his court. Indeed, so well were they treated that the people of Xuchimileo considered themselves fortunate in having been conquered by such a good king. This war is represented in the following manner:

A great battle between the Mexicans and the people of Xuchimileo under the command of the king of Mexico, Itzcohuatl, and the great captain Tlacaettel, in which the people of Xuchimileo were forced to yield to the Mexicans after an enormous number of Xuchimilcans had been killed.

To such a point had the Mexicans now risen by the capture of Xuchimileo that all the other people were afraid to provoke them, although there were many relatives and neighbors of the conquered people who were evilly enough disposed toward the Mexicans, and who were doubtless trying to devise some means by which they could injure them. However, an evil fate generally befell them, such as befell the people of Cuitlahuac, the neighbors of the Xuchimilcans, whose city was on the lagoon. Because they lived on the lagoon these people were expert in all things pertaining to the water. They ventured to provoke the Mexicans, thinking that the latter were only valorous on land and that on the water they would be able to prevail against them.

They began to show their enmity to the Mexicans in the accustomed manner, interfering with the trade of the merchants and with their intercourse with Mexico as mentioned before. Their neighbors, seeing this, admonished them not to be so rash, but they with their silly notions continued their annoyances until they provoked the Mexicans. The king, noticing that the people of Cuitlahuac had unfriendly intentions, told Tlacaettel, his captain-general, to get together his captains and his soldiers and to make war upon Cuitlahuac. But the latter merely laughed, confident in his strength, and said: "Most powerful king, why should you let a skirmish of such little importance worry you? Why should you think that the entire strength of the Mexican army is necessary to attend to it? Do not worry; be at your ease and I, with the boys of our city, will settle this matter."

Thereupon Tlacaettel together with the king entered the retreat of the youths in the temple and from among the boys there took some of their relatives and some of the sons of the chiefs who showed desire for such an exploit. They also took all the youths between the years of seventeen and eighteen who knew how to manage a boat, and when these were brought together they were armed and instructed. Then Tlacaettel accompanied them and, going in the direction of Cuitlahuac, they attacked this place by land and by sea with such cunning and skill that before the enemy could come forward he and the young men were upon them and in a few hours they were put to flight and many of them captured.

The king of Cuitlahuac, seeing this, reasoned that if his people could be conquered by a handful of boys, it would be foolhardy to wait for the main Mexican army to strike, for then they would most assuredly be wiped off the face of the earth. He therefore determined to surrender to Tlacaettel and make his obeisance to the crown of Mexico. Provided with rich presents, he sallied forth just when Tlacaettel was furiously marching at the head of his troops. The ruler of Cuitlahuac, on meeting him, prostrated himself, beseeching him to soften his wrath and recalling to him that they were all one now, since

he had of his own free will surrendered and offered himself and his people as vassals of his Mexican majesty and as servants of their great god Huitzilopuchtli. Tlacaellé had perforce to be appeased by this and he realized that he was obliged to accept, with good grace. For that reason he honored and acceded to the king's petition.

Then Tlacaellé returned to the city with the young men, laden with riches and gifts and with numerous slaves for the sacrifices. This exploit became known all over the land, particularly because it had been achieved by young men who, in addition to being young, were quite inexperienced in warfare. For that reason the whole world went to see them enter the city. They entered in great triumph, accompanied by their captains. The king and his court received them with tears of joy, embracing them and praising them. Their parents and those relatives who had come to see them did the same. Then the priests, according to the ancient customs, came forward at the king's command, playing on their flutes and spraying incense (in all directions) and celebrating in songs the victory of the young men. Many trumpets were blown and many shell instruments and drums resounded in the temples and thus, so received, did they all enter and give thanks to their idol. There before him they performed their usual ceremonies, bowing, taking earth from the ground in their fingers and eating it, and drawing blood from their shins, and from the calves of their legs and from their ears. This was the manner in which all those who returned from victorious battles were received and such was the adoration they paid to their deity.

The whole land was so filled with admiration at the achievement of these youths that even the powerful king of Tetzcucó became thoroughly frightened and decided to subject himself to the king of Mexico, without having been vanquished in battle, in order that he might become a member of the latter's court. All his councillors agreed with him when he made this suggestion and a number of people, chiefs and well-known orators, were selected as ambassadors (to go to Mexico). This latter nation, as we said before, excels in its orators. As representatives of the king of Tetzcucó they went to the king of Mexico provided with valuable gifts and presents. Arrived before King Itzcohuatl, they presented the gifts sent by their king and said as follows:

"Supreme and powerful ruler, so manifest is your fortune and destiny, and also the fact that the creator of the world has selected you to be the monarch and ruler of all the world that there is no person with the slightest understanding who does not realize that this cannot be prevented, so clearly has it been shown by the more than human victories which the all-powerful has vouchsafed you. The wise men of our house and the kingdom of Tetzcucó, realizing this, have decided to obey the wish of the supreme creator and (so we have come) to profess allegiance to you and (to inform you that) we accept your king as our emperor and supreme lord."

King Itzcohuatl was more than satisfied with the words of the embassy and answered graciously. He ordered the messengers to be seated and honored them and treated them like his own person, telling them that they should rest and that on the following day he would give them a reply. That night he called his great captain Tlacaellé, for he never did anything without his advice, and laying the matter before him asked for his opinion. Tlacaellé, somewhat puffed up by his great victories, told the king that his answer would be war, for just as they had conquered the others so they would be able to conquer all the peoples of the world.

As a matter of policy, however, (he was of the opinion) that the Tetzucans should feign war upon the Mexicans and that the latter should proceed to battle with all possible war-like preparations; that there they should feign fighting and, without inflicting any injury upon one another, the Tetzucans should surrender to the Mexicans. This was done as Tlacaellel had suggested. From that time on the people of Tetzucoco were befriended and loved by all the Mexicans and were regarded as relatives and brothers. Nothing ever came between them. The ruler of Tetzucoco became the councillor in perpetuity of the king of Mexico, and to such a degree was this true that the latter would embark on no enterprize of importance without his advice. The king of Mexico granted the Tetzucans great privileges.

After the submission of the king of Tetzucoco, the king of Mexico, Itzcohuatl, was established as the ruler of all the districts around the lagoon. To such a height was the kingdom of Mexico now raised. About this time the valiant king Itzcohuatl fell ill and died, after a reign of twelve years.

All the people of the realm felt great sorrow at the death of their valiant king. They had loved him and been attached to him, for he had governed them gently. The burial and funeral ceremonies were performed in the manner we shall describe later in the book in the section on rites and ceremonies.

After weeping and mourning for their kind king the valiant captain Tlacaellel called together the members of the supreme council and the kings of Tetzucoco and Tacuba—the latter now also one of the electors—and all proceeded to the election of a new king. One of the electors then arose in the midst of the senate and discussed the purpose for which they had come together with great positiveness and eloquence, speaking as follows:

“The light that illumined our lives has been extinguished. The voice whose breath moved our state has become mute, has joined the dead. The mirror into which we all gazed has become darkened. Yet, my illustrious colleagues, it is not fitting that this realm should remain in darkness any longer. It is about time that a new sun should emerge to shed its lustre upon us.

“Do you therefore cast your eyes about among our princes and nobles, those who have sprung from our late king. There you will find many from whom you may choose. But who shall it be, O Mexicans? Who will follow most surely in the footsteps of our late good king? Who will conserve for us what he has gained, imitate him in protecting the orphan, the widow, the little ones and the poor? Tell us those of the princes whom you have particularly noticed and thought of?”

Such words, to which others are frequently added, are always used at elections and any other state affairs that come up.

After this speech, Muteuczoma, the first of that name and cousin of Tlacaellel, was elected without any difficulty. He was a valiant prince, wise and spirited. At his election new ceremonies and feasts were held and a greater display and show took place than had been the custom with any of the past rulers, for the Mexican realm was now rich and powerful. Immediately upon his election Muteuczoma, accompanied by a great throng, was carried to the temple, and before the sacred brazier he was dressed in the royal vestments and presented with the royal regalia. Then, taking some needles made of tiger and deer bones, he offered sacrifices of blood to his idol by pricking his ears, the calves of his legs, and his shins. The elders, priests, nobles, and captains were all present and delivered speeches and offered up prayers. They all congratulated the newly elected king upon his election.

Upon the election of their kings great rejoicings generally occurred. Day and night great banquets were given and dances performed, and at night there were splendid illuminations.

It was during the reign of this king that the custom was introduced of having the newly elected king go in person to wage war and bring home captives who were to be used in the solemn sacrifices. From that time on such was the law and it remained an inviolable statute. The king in question performed this duty excellently. At the head of his troops he went to wage war upon the province of Chalco, which had declared its hostility to the Mexicans. There he fought valorously and brought back with him many captives, who were solemnly sacrificed on the day of his coronation. He did not at that time conquer the people of Chalco, for they were the most powerful and valiant people whom the Mexicans had hitherto encountered. They were only conquered with the greatest difficulty, as will be shown afterwards.

Everyone in the kingdom and many visitors from distant lands generally came to witness the coronation of a king. Numerous splendid feasts were given, and sacrifices made, and abundant and expensive food was given to everyone. All, especially the poor, were clothed. On that day, likewise, all the tributes of the king were carried, in great pomp, through the city. These tributes were numerous and valuable and consisted of clothes of all kinds, cacao, which was used as a kind of money and greatly esteemed there, gold, silver, rich feathers, great quantities of cotton, chili, melon seeds, and many other products of the land, different species of fish, shrimps from the seaports, large quantities of fruit, and game without number, in addition to innumerable presents which the neighboring kings and nobles brought to the new king. All these tributes were brought by groups of carriers and arranged according to the provinces. They were taken before an official, a collector of imposts and before *mayordomos* of different grades. Such was the quantity and such the orderly arrangement in which these tributes were brought that their entry (into the city) was as great a sight as the feasts themselves. Now that was the order of proceedings observed at the coronation of the Mexican kings.

After this powerful king had thus been crowned, he conquered great stretches of the country on the other side of the *sierra nevada* and other sections of the country extending from sea to sea, performing great deeds deserving of remembrance, through the efficiency of his general Tlacaellal, for whom he always entertained the deepest affection.

The war which caused him most trouble was that against the province of Chalco, for, as we have said before, the people of that province were almost as brave as the Mexicans, and for that reason much time was required in subjugating them. In this war many important events took place and deeds of great valor were performed, among which one is especially worthy of preservation. It happened that a number of Mexicans were captured by the Chalcoans, among them a brother of the king. They recognized his rank by the manner in which he bore himself and by his authoritative air. After taking him prisoner they wished to elect him king, and when the embassy (which was to offer him this position) arrived he received them graciously and answered that if they wished him to be their king they should pile up wood as high as they could and on the summit of the pile they should erect a scaffold.

The Chalcoans, thinking that this was a method of elevating him to the kingship, obeyed him and built in their plaza a very high pile of wood, placing on the summit a scaffold (as directed). Below at the foot of the woodpile were placed the other captives, while the brother of the Mexican king ascended

the structure. Arrived at the top, he took some flowers in his hand while the Chalcoans stood intent upon what he was preparing to say. Then he began to sing and dance and spoke as follows to his companions: "Brave Mexicans, they wish to make me their king. Yet the gods will not permit me to go to a foreign country and to become a traitor to my own country. I was not raised on the soil of Chalco nor am I of their blood. For that reason before the enemy kills us let us destroy ourselves. So do ye behold me, for I will give you the example." So speaking he threw himself from the summit and fell, crushed to pieces, below. The Chalcoans stood aghast and dazed. Then immediately seizing their Mexican captives they killed them, shouting, "Let them die, let a people with such demoniac hearts perish!" This event is painted in the following manner:

The people of Chalco, having captured some Mexicans in battle, among them a brother of the king Itzcohuatl, wished to elect him king; and he not desiring to be (their king) and become a traitor, threw himself from a high wooden structure and was dashed to pieces. It was a very painful sight.

The Chalcoans regarded this happening as an augury that they were to be conquered by the Mexicans, for it is said that even on that very night two owls appeared and hooted to each other in the Mexican language to the effect,—that Chalco was going to be destroyed. In fact, the king of Mexico (afterwards) conducted the war in person and using his complete power destroyed that valorous nation and, as we have mentioned before, crossed the boundary of the *sierra nevada* and subjugated all the peoples living in that region; then turning south he proceeded to conquer all the peoples of the *tierra caliente* called Tlaluicas. He extended his power over almost all the nations (of the land).

It was on the advice of Tlacaellé that he never expressed any desire to subjugate the province of Tlaxcalla, which he could have done with the greatest of ease. The reason Tlacaellé gave was that he wished to retain a frontier where the young warriors could exercise (their war-like proclivities), receive instruction and become efficient in the art of warfare for conquests of greater importance, and also that they might obtain, whenever needed, captives for sacrifices to their gods. This last custom had become a permanent one.

Tlacaellé had by this time become a man of great wisdom and experience. It was through his advice and by his work that the king Motecuzuma, first of that name, brought order and control into all parts of the state. He established almost as many councils as there were in Spain. He established consistories that were like *audiencias* of judges (*oidores*), court judges (*alcaldes*), and other subordinate officials such as *corregidores*, *alcaldes mayores*, *tenientes*, *alguaciles mayores* and *inferiores*, all of these so admirably unified that each one specializing in different matters was subordinated to the others, so that there were no obstructions and no confusion, in spite of the great diversity of matters treated.

The highest tribunal was the council of the four princes who met with the king. (The lower courts) rendered decisions in matters of small importance and always presented a memorial about the matter to the higher council and these latter notified the king of it (and of) whatever else had taken place and been done in the kingdom. Thus did the king, on the advice and under the direction of the wise Tlacaellé, bring order into his house and court; appointing officials to serve as *mayordomos*, porters, and lackeys without number and *mastresalas*, and (for affairs other than these) he appointed for his kingdom

agents, treasurers and land officials. All these were charged with collecting the tributes, and these they were to bring to him at least once every month, as indicated above, together with everything that came from the land and the sea, material for garments as well as food.

A similar arrangement, with an equally large number of officials, was observed in the church hierarchy connected with the worship of the idols. There were indeed so many priests of the highest and lowest rank that some of them (afterwards) assured me that for every five people there was one priest who instructed them in the law and rites of their religion. . . .

This king, Motecueczuma the first after having put his state in the best of order, seeing how great was the prosperity of Mexico, decided to build a very sumptuous temple for his god Huitzilopuchtli, and for that purpose he convoked all the people of his kingdom and told them of his intention. Then he planned the temple and assigned to every province the quota (of material and work) it was to furnish. In a short time everything was assembled and because of the large amount of material at hand and the large number of people (working at it) it was completed in a short time.

So desirous was the emperor of distinguishing himself in the building of this temple that into the cement holding the stones together it is affirmed many jewels and precious stones were thrown. Upon the completion of the temple even greater feasts than those given at the coronation took place. Numerous captives that this valorous king had brought home were sacrificed and great wealth was donated to the temple, as was consistent with the importance of so great an empire.

The king governed with such gentleness that he was greatly esteemed and loved by all his vassals and even those peoples who had until then been the enemies of the Mexican state became his friends and entered into confederation with him. In the midst of this peace and contentment he fell seriously ill and soon after died, leaving his entire kingdom disconsolate and in mourning. He had reigned twenty-eight years. In great sorrow they buried him, solemnly performing the obsequies as mentioned before.

*The first king named Motecueczuma, elected by the great captain Tlaca-
ecll. The god Huitzilopuchtli was his idol. He reigned twenty-eight years.*

After the funeral the captain-general Tlacacll, who was still alive, called together the supreme council and the two royal electors of the empire, the rulers of Tetzeuco and Tacuba, who—particularly the ruler of Tetzeuco—had the right to crown the kings of Mexico. After they had assembled they again gave expression to their grief at the loss of a king they had so greatly loved and then proceeded to the election of a new king. All turned to the brave Tlacacll, but, as upon other occasions, he refused, giving as his reason that it would be more useful to the state to have a king and a coadjutor who would aid the former as he had done, instead of simply having one king. He was quite right in this respect, for with his ability he could do more without being king, since he could then give his attention to many things which, as king, he would not be able to do. However, he had as great, if not greater, authority than the king himself, for he was respected and honored and served and had tributes paid to him just as if he were the king. He was regarded with even greater fear (than the king), for no authority in the whole kingdom was superior to that which he exercised. He used the tiara and insignia of a king and wore them publicly as often as the kings did. Consequently it was really

not necessary for him to reign, for as it was he was regarded with even greater reverence and esteem than the king.

Since he did not care to accept the position himself, they all asked him who he thought should reign, and he gave his vote to his nephew, a very young man named Tizoc, son of the late king. It was pointed out that he was still young and that his shoulders might be too weak for so heavy a burden as that of the Mexican empire. Tlacaellé answered that he was still there and that he would direct and instruct him as he had done the preceding kings. They were quite satisfied with these words and all then agreed upon the election of this youth.

Taking him they carried him with great pomp to the sacred brazier and there he performed the accustomed sacrifices and was addressed (by the elders) and given the accustomed admonitions. Then they pierced his nostrils and inserted an emerald and clothing him in his royal garments seated him upon the throne in the manner above described. (To provide captives) for his coronation he made war upon a certain province that had rebelled against Mexico, but he showed himself somewhat timorous and in the battle more of his people were killed than there were captives taken. Thereupon he showed a certain amount of cowardice and returned to Mexico, saying that he had now enough captives for the sacrifices to be made at his coronation feast.

Upon his return to the city he was received with great solemnity and crowned amidst the accustomed feasts, although the Mexicans were discontented with him because he was not very warlike. He reigned four years without anything memorable happening to him and without showing any fondness for war. Finally, on this very account, the Mexicans hastened his end by poisoning him. Thus died this king and he was interred with the accustomed rites and obsequies. His picture is that which follows.

On the death of the king Motecuczoma the captain-general Tlacaellé, the king of Tetzcucó and the king of Tacuba, whose office it was to crown the kings, elected as second king a nephew of Tlacaellé named Tizoc, son of the dead king Motecuczuma. He reigned four years; his death was precipitated (by poison).

The council and the royal electors met again for the election of a new king with Tlacaellé, who was still alive, although a very old man and who had to be carried in a chair on the shoulders of servants to the consistory where the election was to take place. After discussions for and against as was their custom, they elected Axayáca, the son of the first Motecuczuma. They carried the latter to the consistory in great pomp, and then to the sacred brazier, where they performed the accustomed ceremonies and delivered the customary orations.

This king was very brave and much inclined to warfare and from no war or combat had he ever returned without the rank of captain. Before the newly elected king could be crowned the famous and wise captain Tlacaellé fell sick and died. On his deathbed he called for the newly elected king and especially charged him with the care of his sons, particularly the older one, who had given evidence of great valor and performed remarkable exploits.

The new king, in order to console him, addressing him affectionately and with tears in his eyes, had the members of the royal council called and then, as they all stood around (the sick man's) bed, the king summoned the eldest son of Tlacaellé and there in the presence of his father and the council bestowed upon him the same office which his father bore, that of captain-general,

the second in importance in the realm, and all the other honors which his father had possessed. Seeing this, the old man, quite contented, died. For him the most solemn of obsequies were performed and the most sumptuous of burials given; greater than those for any king, for he had been the protection, the strong rampart of the great Mexican nation. His death was greatly regretted and the entire empire was thrown into deep mourning. So great indeed was the depression that the king found it necessary to bring joy into the land by having his coronation celebrated.

The new king, in order to obtain prisoners for the sacrificial ceremony and for the feasts, after making great preparations set out for a very populous and great province called Tequantepec, where some Mexican merchants and *mayordomos*, going there to collect tributes for the great king of Mexico, had been maltreated, and in some instances killed. In addition to these (misdemeanors), these people had rebelled against the royal crown. So the king went in person to restore the province, taking with him a large number of soldiers from all over his kingdom and carrying along with him large quantities of provisions. Great *fiestas* were celebrated and great banquets with the richest of foods given to them by all the cities and towns through which they passed.

Finally he arrived at the place where the Mexicans were to attack the enemy. They were prepared for them, although greatly astonished at seeing the Mexican king himself (at the head of the army) and so large a number of soldiers come so quickly to a country so far removed from their own. Although the number of troops of that province was very great, not reckoning the neighboring tribes that had come to their help, the king was not in the least dismayed, but arming himself in his accustomed fashion, with sword and shield in his hand, he placed himself at the head of his army and gave battle valorously. Thus fighting there fell upon him and his men an innumerable mob of people, shouting and shrieking, and the air became thick with arrows, throwing-sticks, javelins, and other missiles. He feigned flight and was followed by this multitude until he came to a place where many of his soldiers lay concealed, hidden and covered by straw. These allowed the people of Tequantepec to pass them in pursuit of the king, and then, suddenly bursting out from under the grass and forming into the shape of a half-moon, they fell upon the rear. Then the king turned and returned to the fray with his men on another part of the field and fell upon the center of the enemy, inflicting very great slaughter. They took a sufficient number of prisoners for the coronation sacrifices.

Then he immediately turned with great fury upon the city and the temple, all of which he devastated and destroyed. Not content with this, he took vengeance upon the neighboring provinces that had been incited to war (by the enemy) and that had aided them. Thus he inflicted great punishment upon all the provinces he had conquered, and he did not cease until he reached Guatusco, a port of the southern oceans, for up to that point did his kingdom extend.

He returned home with great triumph, the whole world filled with admiration for him. Great *fiestas* were held and banquets given all along the road. He entered his court in the midst of universal applause. All the priests and the young men of the temple, the colleges and the children's schools went out to meet him and performed the customary ceremonies, as mentioned before under the reign of Motecuczuma.

Having arrived at the temple, he made his adoration and obeisance before his god Huitzilopuchtli, thanking him for his victory and offering him many

spoils of great value and rarity which he had brought with him; extremely large seashells with which he was to make new musical instruments for his temple, and trumpets, and flutes and other such objects.

Then they proceeded immediately to the coronation celebrations and these were so marvelous that people from all parts of the world came to witness them, even their enemies. (These also came to see the) tributes piled up in the royal plaza in the order mentioned before, but in far greater numbers than were ever known among preceding kings.

This king won great victories, for, in person, he extended the limits of his kingdom as far as the south sea and as far as the other side of Cuertlaxtlan and those other provinces that border on the ocean. He triumphed and conquered everywhere with great bravery and with little loss of his own men.

He was also the person who punished the effrontery of the people of Tlatelulco, who, as we have already mentioned, were Mexicans, but who wished to have an independent state of their own with a king of their own, and who did not wish to recognize the real king, the king of Mexico. They had by this time increased greatly in number, these people of Tlatelulco, the place we now call Santiago, and had spread in all directions. They happened to have a ruler and chief at that time who was very brave, a man of forceful character, and quite proud. He dared to provoke the anger of the Mexican state by sending a messenger to tell them that it was time to recognize him as their lawful ruler and that he would otherwise reduce the Mexican empire. He used discourteous words and spoke defiantly and prepared himself for war. The king of Mexico, realizing that he too would have to arm himself, took his squadrons under his own command and went in person to fight the leader of Tlatelulco, ordering the captain-general, the son of Tlacaellel, and the other captains to proceed with the remaining people.

The captain of the Tlatelulcans had planned a stratagem, namely, to have a large number of his people enter the lagoon and hide themselves among the rushes, dressed in the various garbs of birds, such as crows, geese, frogs, etc., and suddenly spring upon the Mexicans and seize them as they passed along the road and the streets. The king Axayaca, hearing of this, avoided the snare and entered by another road, and when the captain of Tlatelulco saw this he went out to meet him. Then the king fought with him, commanding his captain-general to proceed and fall upon those of the enemy who lay in concealment. The king of Mexico and the king of Tlatelulco continued to fight with each other, each one at the same time commanding his troops not to give way. The kings fought man to man for a long time. Finally the advantage inclined to the brave king of Mexico and the king of Tlatelulco began to give way. Seeing this his men became dismayed and did the same thing. The king of Mexico followed up his enemy, who climbed to the top of the temple, and then the former also ascended and threw the king of Tlatelulco with great force from the temple and cut to pieces the others he found there. The soldiers of the king pursued the enemy, capturing and killing many, and at the end they set fire to the temple and thus destroyed the city completely.

In the meantime the Mexican captain-general, with equal valor, threw himself upon those in ambush and created great havoc among them, dyeing the lagoon with blood. Those who were left decided to surrender and begged for mercy, and the captain-general, in order to have a little amusement with them, and also to insult them even more, spoke as follows: "We will not pardon you unless you cackle and sing in the manner of those whose disguises you are wearing. Since you have come dressed like crows, caw like them." Some began

to do this out of pure fright, and when these were finished he said, "Now croak like frogs." And thus there was heard a great diversity of noises, of caws and croakings according to the manner in which the different people were disguised, much to the amusement of the whole army. The Tlatelulcans were greatly incensed over this and their hatred has lasted up to the present time. The king upon his return from razing the city of Tlatelulco found his captain-general occupied in playing this prank in the lagoon and he joined him in laughing at the joke.

The king entered the city and was received in the usual triumphant manner. As was their custom, he was taken to the temple to perform the usual rites.

Thus did they destroy the unruly people of Tlatelulco.

This king increased the prestige of the Mexican realm greatly. He was greatly beloved by all on account of his courage and nobility. He reigned eleven years, at the end of which he died, leaving his entire realm in great sorrow. They buried him sorrowfully and performed the accustomed obsequies. His picture is painted as follows.

King Axayaca, son of king Motecuczuma, elected by the general Atlaellel and the council. After fulfilling this function the great captain Tlaacellel died. This king threw the king of Tlatelulco headlong from a high building; he died at the base.

The electors of the empire immediately elected Ahuitzotl, a youth of great endowments and promise, the chief of the four. His election greatly satisfied everyone. Amidst great rejoicing they carried him to the sacred brazier and afterwards to his throne, where were performed the accustomed ceremonies and where the orators delivered the customary speeches. The king was very brave and quite affable and on that account he was greatly beloved by all.

In order to celebrate his coronation feast he performed a very notable deed. Knowing that the people of Cuetlaxtlan, an extremely rich and remote province of Mexico, had attacked the *mayordomos* who collected the tributes of the Mexican king, killing many of them, he went in person to take vengeance. He arrived at a time when a large arm of the sea had cut the road through which they had to pass to the enemy in two. However, being as wise as he was brave, with the help of his soldiers he constructed a large balsa of faggots and earth and, placing it in the water as though it were an island, he crossed with many of his soldiers to the other side, where he engaged the enemy with great bravery and held them while his other troops crossed over the improvised island.

As soon as his whole army was on the other side he began to attack most valiantly and with such force that to see him fighting so bravely at the head of his troops was enough to put invincible courage (into his men). Thus with little loss to the Mexicans tremendous slaughter was wrought among the enemy. The whole province was subjugated. Throughout the combat the little improvised island served as a road for carrying off to the court of Mexico the people who had been captured.

By this campaign the empire was considerably augmented and the king returned from his victory laden with vast spoils. He was received with great rejoicing and celebrations throughout the places and provinces (he passed through). Finally he arrived at the city of Mexico and he entered in grand triumph, the civilians and the priests receiving him with the accustomed ceremonies. He proceeded directly to the temple to give thanks to his idol and to present the offerings he had brought and to perform those rites which we have described in another place. There he was crowned amidst the hurras of all

his realm and afterwards they held their magnificent coronation feast in the order and in the manner to which they were accustomed.

This king was so great a warrior that he extended his kingdom as far as Guatemala, which is three hundred leagues from the city of Mexico, and he did not stop until he had reached the last confines of that land which borders upon the south sea. For these achievements, as well as for his affability, he was greatly beloved by all.

He was so desirous of doing good that he created many knights, to whom he gave great gifts frequently. On the day when the tributes were to be paid he would go to some place of recreation to amuse himself, leaving orders that as soon as the preparations for the distribution of the tributes had been made all should come to meet him on the road as he was about to return to receive (the tributes). At that time and in that place all the needy in his kingdom would assemble and he would distribute among them the tributes, which were always great in number, clothing for the poor people and as much food as they could take. There he also gave part of the tributes as rewards to those of his captains and soldiers who had performed deeds of valor in war, presenting them, at the same time, with jewels and ornaments of rare stones, pearls, gold, silver, and rich plumes. (Thus distributing his rewards and bounties) he entered the city, having disposed on the road of all his tributes.

He was, at the same time, a man of democratic habits and he was continually tearing down and rebuilding the temples and the public places of the city. For instance, seeing that the great lagoon on which Mexico was situated had little water, he desired to increase it by having water brought from a large spring about a league from the city, situated in the territory of Coyohuacan. This water the ancestors of the Mexicans had, with many ingenious devices, forced into a new course so that it could run in a bed (different from its former one).

In order to attain his purpose the king had the chief of Coyohuacan, who was a well-known sorcerer, and one who was very well acquainted with demons of all kinds, called in, and when he was brought before the king the latter put the question to him and the chief answered: "Most powerful king, it would be a difficult matter to do what you desire, for with this spring whose waters you wish to carry to Mexico the ancients had very much trouble and ran the risk of being drowned. If again today you wish to divert the course and the regular flow of the spring, there is no doubt but that the entire city will be destroyed through its overflow."

The king believing that this man, presuming upon his knowledge of magic wished to be called in to help them, took his words in bad part and was, indeed, so angered that on the next day he sent one of his court *alcaldes* to seize him. However, when the latter came to the palace of the chief of Coyohuacan and ordered a servant to bring word to the chief that he was there with a message from his king and master, the chief of Coyohuacan, realizing that he had come to seize him, told the messenger to enter and when the court *alcalde* entered he found the chief converted into a very large and ferocious eagle. He returned to Mexico and told the king what had happened, and the latter commanded that he and others should go again the next day. Entering his room, they found there a very ferocious tiger, and when they tried to seize him he took the form of a serpent and this frightened all the messengers of the king. When the king heard of what had happened he became so angry that he sent a messenger to tell the people of Coyohuacan that they should bring their chief to him, and that if they refused he would destroy and burn their entire city.

The sorcerer, seeing the harm that would come to his people, gave himself up, and being brought before the king was executed.

Then the king immediately ordered that the course of the spring should be diverted and that the water should be conducted to the city of Mexico, and that an aqueduct of stone and cement should be constructed through which it might pass. This was all done in a short time. Finally the water was released and it burst forth and rushed in great quantities through the aqueduct. When it began to enter the city the people hailed it with great shouts of joy. Rites and ceremonies were performed and the priests went to the edge of the aqueduct burning incense and playing on their shell instruments, at the same time beheading quails and letting part of the blood flow into the water of the aqueduct while the remainder was poured over its sides.

The priest who headed the procession was dressed like the water deity. Everyone walked about saluting and speaking to the water with great joy, telling it that it was very welcome and greeting it in other ways, as though it were something that could understand. This they did because they regarded the elements, the mountains, and the other created objects as gods, though when directly asked whether they adored the mountains, the waters, etc., they answered that they did not adore these objects for themselves, nor did they regard them as deities, but they felt that their gods inhabited each place specially.

After the water of the spring had been conducted into the city it increased to such an extent that everything became submerged, the greater part of the city and many houses that were not very strong being overthrown. The king, working hard, immediately saw to it that a drainage was provided, and then the water subsided. On account of this accident the city was rebuilt on a stronger foundation and more quaintly, so that it rose out of the waters like another beautiful Venice.

After the king had thus rebuilt the city and made it more beautiful and after he had extended the boundaries of the realm, as before mentioned, he died, having reigned fifteen years. The realm was left in great sorrow at the loss of so brave and generous a king, a man who was called, among the poor, the father-of-the-orphans. His picture and a representation of how the above-mentioned spring was conducted to the city of Mexico is given below.

The king Ahuizotl carried his arms as far as the province of Guatemala. He reigned fifteen years. He was a brave man and the father of the orphans. He brought the water from Coyohuacan to Mexico.

After the obsequies and honors for the king Ahuizotl had been performed the electors entered the consistory and without much hesitation elected as king the great monarch Motecucuzuma, the second of that name, in whose time Christianity was introduced into the land, as we shall afterwards see. To differentiate him from the other Motecucuzuma they called the latter Huehue Motecucuzuma, that is to say, Motecucuzuma the Elder.

They elected Motecucuzuma the second without much discussion, as we have said before, because all were favorably impressed by him, since, besides being very brave, he was so serious and reserved that it was unusual to hear him even say a word, and, on the occasions when he spoke in the supreme council, he spoke with such deliberation and care that he was admired by all even before he was king. Indeed, he was greatly feared and revered. Ordinarily he kept to his own room, where he remained undisturbed. A room in the temple of Huitzilopuchtlī was assigned to him, and there it is said that he frequently

communicated with his deity and spoke to him. For this reason it was presumed that he was devout and religious.

After his election he went to hide himself in this room, and there the members of the court went to look for him and going along with him they carried him to the consistory. He came with such gravity that all claimed that his name Motecuczuma was well chosen, for the word means the-enraged-lord. When he entered the hall where the electors were stationed they made him a great obeisance and notified him of his election. They then carried him with great dignity to the sacred brazier, where he sacrificed in the accustomed manner and sprayed incense before his deities. This being done, they dressed him in royal garments, and piercing the gristle of his nostrils they inserted a very rich emerald and then, seating him on the throne, the orators and the old men delivered the customary orations. Among these there was a famous one delivered by the king of Tetzcuco, who, felicitating the newly elected king, spoke as follows:

“A great honor has been bestowed upon all the people of this realm, O illustrious youth, in having you at our head; we have been wise in selecting you immediately and in giving expression to our joy upon your election. Certainly this is true, for now the Mexican empire is so large and extensive that to rule a world like this, to lift upon one’s shoulders so heavy a burden, requires the firmness and force of just your strong and courageous heart, just your sedateness, knowledge, and prudence. And for that reason do I say that the omnipotent god loves this city, for he has given us the light to select just the man that the kingdom needs. For who could doubt but that a lord and prince who before his reign had investigated the nine falsehoods of heaven would not, if he were chosen as ruler, show an equally clear appreciation of earthly affairs in order thus to help the people? Who could believe that the great force you have always shown in matters of importance before you undertook the office (now bestowed upon you) would ever fail you? Who would for a moment doubt that, possessed of such courage, you would ever fail to give succor to the orphan and the widow? Who would not be persuaded that the Mexican empire had reached the culmination of its glory, seeing that the Lord has concentrated in your hands such power that by a mere glance at you one can see how you reflect (the glory and the greatness) of the empire? Rejoice then, O happy country, that the lord of creation has given you a prince who will be your mainstay in whatever you strive for, a father and a brother in piety and pity. Rejoice then, again, and with good reason, that you have a king who will not spend his time, at the expense of the state, regaling himself and stretching himself on a bed of vices and pleasures, but one who, that he may sleep the more peacefully, keeps his mind alert and remains awake all night, worrying how he can best serve you; one who hardly feels the taste of the most savory titbit, so absorbed is he in his solicitude for the welfare of his people! Remember then that I have good reasons for telling you to be happy and breathe freely, O happy kingdom! And you, most generous youth, our mighty lord, since the creator of all things has given you this office, he who in the past has been so kind to you in every way, do you take courage and do not deny those gifts he has given you in this state. May they be yours for many happy years to come!”

The king Motecuczuma listened to this speech very attentively and when it was finished he was so touched that he could hardly respond for some time. Finally, wiping away his tears, he answered as well as he could and said briefly: “I should, indeed, O righteous king, have to be blind if I did not realize and

feel keenly that what you have said to me and of me is but a kind favor you wish to bestow upon me. However, having such noble and generous men as you in the kingdom, (I beseech you) to aid me, for I myself have not sufficient wisdom. Certain it is that I feel little aptitude within me for this arduous undertaking, and I hardly know how it comes to me except it be the will of the Lord of Creation. He it is who has favored me and I beg all those present to help me as I appeal to and supplicate him." As he spoke he was overcome and wept. Then the other, older orators came and consoled him and delivered their orations. When these speeches were all over the king was carried to his royal palace and he retired and did not speak to anyone after that for a few days. The people, in the meantime, celebrated their *fiestas* with great dances and games, day and night, and with great illuminations.

A few days after he was elected the king began to show his aristocratic leanings. He first rearranged and readjusted his royal household. To do this (efficiently) he first had an old man called to him, a person who had been his (private) priest, and disclosed his thoughts to him privately, speaking as follows:

"You undoubtedly know, my father, that I have decided that all those who wait upon me shall be knights and the sons of princes and lords. Not only those who are to help me in my household but all who have any positions of importance throughout my kingdom are to be such. I am very much perturbed at the thought that all the previous kings permitted themselves to be served in such matters by people of low birth. For that reason I have decided to deprive all those of low birth of whatever office they happen to hold and to have my household and my kingdom served only by people of good birth, by such as are without any mixture of low blood."

The old man pondered over the matter for a moment and then answered: "Great lord, wise and powerful as you are and well as you may be able to do whatever beseems you, I do not believe that such an act of yours would be looked upon with great favor, for some might say that you wish to wipe out the laws of the preceding kings in thus proceeding; and by such an attitude you may possibly estrange the humble and poor *macehual* and he would then hardly dare to look upon you or come to you."

Then Motecueczuma said: "However, I insist upon this, that the man of low station is not the equal of the prince nor should such a man dare look upon the king. I wish to tell you my reasons (for so thinking), and when you and all the other people hear them I am sure that you will admit that I am right. You know very well how different is the manner of life of the nobles and of the low-born. If the leaders employ people of low birth, especially if kings do so, such men will undoubtedly cause them great embarrassment, for if the king were to send them to accompany his embassies and delegations the knight (on such occasions) would speak in a courteous and discreet manner, while the person of low birth would disconcert the latter by his vulgar language, and the world might say that we do not know more than the (low-born individual) we have allowed to go along. Finally, these country folks, no matter how well they may have been brought up, always keep the odor of their rusticity about them. Lastly, it is not right nor meet that the words of kings and princes, which are like jewels and precious stones, should find lodgment in such ignoble receptacles as the mouths of men of low birth. They should always be placed in receptacles worthy of them, such as the persons of lords and princes. There they are in their proper place. These people of low birth would only serve to cast odium upon us, for if you sent them to perform actions requiring a noble

and cultured mind they, with their vulgarity and lack of breeding, would but lower and demean our standards. You see then what would result if we were served by people of this type. Since I have, therefore, justified my viewpoint, I command you to bring together as many sons of princes as there are in the schools and outside of them and, selecting the abler ones, give them instructions for the service of my household and the kingdom; and that you deprive of whatever royal office they may possess those who are of lowly birth. Find out in every case who comes from the soil, and then tell my council that this is my desire and that I wish it to be put into force immediately."

The old man went to put into force what the king had commanded, admiring greatly the wisdom and imperiousness of Motecuecuzuma. His desires being considered wise by the council, they immediately put into operation what he had ordered.

After he had thus put his household and his kingdom in order, the king went to wage war in order to obtain the slaves necessary for his coronation sacrifices. He went to a very remote province which had rebelled against the Mexicans and he started out with a large number of soldiers and a great retinue, all of them well dressed and with shining apparel. They were feasted and well received along the whole road they traveled. When he came to the province where he was to fight, and which was near the sea, he conducted the war so bravely and with such system and precision that the enemy surrendered in a short time.

It was always with the same ease that the Mexican army conquered its enemies and it was only by a marvel that their army was defeated. This happened on two occasions, in Tepeaca and in Michhuacan, for these people were as brave as the Mexicans, especially the people of Michhuacan, who, as we have mentioned before, were descendants of these very Mexicans. The Mexicans made war upon them, without any justification, it seems, and the Lord permitted the people of Michhuacan to prevail against them.

After subjugating the province and taking many prisoners and capturing great spoils for the coronation celebration, the king Motecuecuzuma inflicted punishment of the most exemplary kind (upon them) and left the entire land so frightened that neither they nor any others ever dared to rebel against the Mexicans (after that). The king returned in great triumph and all along the road the lords of the cities and pueblos through which he passed brought him personally water with which to wash his hands and performed the duties of pages, a thing that no other king had ever indulged in before. Such was the reverence and fear in which he was held.

He entered the city with all imaginable pomp, accompanied by his prisoners and laden with spoils. He was received by a solemn procession of the kind referred to above, to the accompaniment of dances, trumpets, flutes, kettle-drums and other musical instruments, and joyfully conducted through various arches of triumph to the temple. There he made his adorations and gave the accustomed offerings of spoils he had brought. Then he retired to his retreat to rest.

After that arrangements were made for the celebrations connected with the coronation, and such a large number of people from all parts of the world crowded to see it that many people could have been encountered in the city of Mexico who had never been seen there before. The most marvelous *fiestas*, dances, comedies, and entertainments took place day and night and the illuminations at night were so remarkable that it appeared like midday. So enormous was the amount of tribute brought in and so many were the lords and leaders

who came with them, so resplendent, that the whole world stood in wrapt admiration (an admiration that increased) when they beheld the number of sacrifices made on that day.

To these *fiestas* there came even the mortal enemies of the Mexicans, the people of Michhuacan and the people of the province of Tlaxcalla. These the king bade sit down and he treated them as his own person. They had rich private galleries erected for them from which they could witness the celebrations, although hidden from view. They went around to the dances and the night celebrations with Motecuczuma himself, who treated them with great courtesy and tact, and they admired him for this and were very grateful to him.

The king was crowned with all imaginable pomp and solemnity, the king of Tetzeuco, whose duty it was to crown the king of Mexico, placing the crown upon his head. This coronation is painted in the following way:

The great king Motecuczuma, second of that name, in whose time Christianity was introduced. The other Motecuczuma was called Huehue Motecuczuma, the elder Motecuczuma. The king of Tetzeuco crowned him. He reigned fifteen years.

Throughout the reign of the king Motecuczuma he was more honored and revered than all the preceding kings, for he had such wisdom and aptitude for all things, his appearance aiding him not a little, that he gradually acquired such authority and dignity that he was almost adored as a god himself. He was so desirous of being honored by the common people that when he went out publicly had any person raised his eyes and looked at him it would have cost him his life. Ordinarily he lived in retirement, rarely going out in public except when he went to his orchards. In order to reach these he had streets built, all of which were provided with walls on each side, and he passed through these streets on the shoulders of his lords. Those who carried him when he went out in public were from the most aristocratic families. No other people ever accompanied him, the populace walking on the other side of the walls. He never placed his feet on the ground except when he wished to, and when he walked his feet were always on carpets and cotton coverings. He never put on a dress twice and each day he had a new one. Glasses and vessels (for food) were likewise never served on his table more than once, new and different ones being brought every day. All these rejected clothes and vessels constituted the salaries and perquisites of his servants, and these latter were in consequence so richly provided for that they had plenty of leisure and pleasure.

In his palace there were special rooms and halls where the courtiers gathered, each one having his place designated according to his rank, and if some one of low extraction or of lower rank than the knights dared to enter the palace of the nobles he was severely punished for it. The king put the orders of knighthood in excellent order and he instituted (other) orders, such as the *comendadores*, for those who distinguished themselves in war.

The most important of these were those who had (the right) to tie around the crown of their heads a red fillet with very rich plumage from which fringes of splendid feathers dangled down to the shoulders, with tassels of the same material at the end. There were as many of these tassels as the deeds of valor each individual had performed. To this order of knighthood the king himself belonged; and the king Motecuczuma was represented in the insignia of this order at his coronation.

There were other orders called the Eagles; still others, the Lions and Tigers. To these last belonged men who had distinguished themselves in wars, and they always went to battle with their insignia, and their pictures are shown in the representations of the wars.

There was another order called that of the Gray Tiger Knights, not of as much importance as the others. They had braids of hair tied up around and above the ear. They also went to war with their insignia just as the other knights did, but they were protected with armor only above the middle of the body, and in this way they were set off from the more distinguished orders.

All these knights mentioned above were permitted to use clothes and mantles of richly wrought cotton, and jewels of gold and silver, and moccasins, and were permitted to possess ornaments and painted vases (for water). The common people were permitted to wear clothes made of *nequen*, which is like rough hemp, and they were not allowed to wear moccasins of any kind nor to use any except clay vessels.

For each division of nobility there were provided in the royal palace reception rooms and halls in the order above mentioned; the first being the room or hall of the princes, the second that of the Eagles, the third that of the Tigers and Lions, the fourth that of the Gray Knights, etc. No one had the right to enter these except the people referred to, each one going to his own room. The laymen and servants of the nobility lived below in rooms suited to the duties which they performed.

The king was so zealous in seeing that the laws were observed and fulfilled that he frequently disguised himself and went about incognito, watching his officials. He would try to tempt them, approaching them with requests and bribes, to see whether or not they were forgetful of their duty and would succumb (to the bribe), and if anyone accepted a bribe he ordered him to be killed without appeal. He was indeed so excessive in his ardor about such matters that when he returned from a war he would feign fatigue and go to one of his places of recreation. He would send ahead his captains with the captives and the spoils and have them enter the city, issuing orders to the citizens to perform all the ceremonies and solemn rites customary on such occasions, and then, to see whether in any respect his orders were exceeded, he would later go incognito to visit them (the soldiers) and scrutinize everything that took place. If his orders were either exceeded or not entirely obeyed he punished the offenders severely, even if they were his own brothers, for in such matters he pardoned no one. . . .

THE ANALES OF CHIMALPAHIN⁴⁷ (SELECTIONS)

The year 10 *house*, 1281. Then died Xihuilemoe, king of Culhuacan, who had governed for 11 or 14 years; soon after, in the same year, Coxcoxtli was elected sovereign of Culhuacan. . . .

The year 6 *rabbit*, 1290. Then Illancueytl, lord *atlauhtecatl*, gave up his rule; he had ruled Atenco for 18 years; he left in order to have his son Itzeuauhtzin the Younger take his place in his kingdom, and he, in turn, became *atlauhtecatl*; it was in the year 6 *rabbit* that he assumed his power in Atenco; soon after he went to establish himself in Tzacualtitlan-Tenanco-Atlauhtlan of the Toltecs, where he had reigned before. Illancueytl repaired to Cohuatlychan. . . .

⁴⁷ Translated from Siméon's edition; cf. p. 6, note 2.

The year 13 *house*, 1297. In the year 13 *house*, 1297, (the people) left this place and went to settle in the valley of Tultitlan, where the king Yacahuetzcatzin, *teohuateuhctli*, Cuauhxihtzin, Quetzalcanahtli, and a woman named Xihuatlalpal met; soon after they left Tultitlan and arrived at Chapultepec in the year 1 *rabbit*, 1298.

Thus the Teotlixecas, Nonohualcas, and Tlacochealcas, our masters, arrived in the year 1 *rabbit* and stopped at Chapultepec. They were led by Tezcatlipoca, who possessed a valued standard, or *tlahtoltzin* or *porte-idole* (portable idol).

Immediately after there came to him king Yacahuetzcatzin, as well as Quetzalcanahtli and six other chiefs who arrived at Chapultepec, where they stayed that year; they came there after the Aztec-Mexicans, who had already settled in this place 19 years before and who had (appointed) Huitzilihuitl the Elder as their chief.

The year 2 *cane*, 1299. . . . Then Quetzalcanahtli conquered Tenantzinco and Aotlan; it was 20 years since the Mexicans had come to Chapultepec. That was the time when the Mexicans were surrounded and hard pressed at Chapultepec, and where they were attacked on four sides and their first sovereign, Huitzilihuitl the Elder, was taken prisoner by the Culhuas and carried to Culhuacan, where he was put to death. He had governed the Mexicans for 33 years.

(The people) then passed under (the rule) of the king of Culhuacan, Coxcoxtli, who had (at that time) already governed Culhuacan for 19 years. . . .

It was in this said year, 2 *cane*, that the Mexicans elected at Tizaapan-Culhuacan Tenochtzin as military chief; it is with this title that he commanded the Mexicans. . . .

The year 2 *cane*, 1325. Then the Mexicans-Chichimecas established themselves in the lagoon of Tenochtlan; it was 27 years since Tenochtzin had taken command of them; 57 years since the Amaquemecans had established themselves at Amaquemecan; 19 years that their sovereign, Huetehetli, the lord of the Chichimecas, had ruled over them. It was 3 years that Chichieupotzin, *teohuateuhctli*, reigned at Tlacochealco-Chalco-Atenco, and four years that Caltzin had governed as *tlatque* at Itzcahuacan. . . .

The year 1 *cane*, 1337. Then the Mexicans called Tenochcas divided, and one portion established themselves at Xaltilulco. . . .

The year 1 *cane*, 1363. . . . After the death of Tenochtzin no one ruled over Tenochtlan for 3 years. . . .

The year 5 *cane*, 1367. In this year Acamapichtli the Younger was installed as the first sovereign of Mexico-Tenochtlan and he established the monarchy in the lagoon; the Mexicans came to get him at Cohuatlychan, where he had been brought up, together with the king Aculmiztli. But Culhuacan was his country by birth; he was the son of a simple Mexican-Chichimec subject named Opohtli-Iztahuatzin and his mother was the princess named Atotozli, daughter of the sovereign of Culhuacan, Coxcoxtli; Acamapichtli the Elder was his uncle. It was now 32 years since Acamapichtli the Elder had died. . . .

The second of the princes who were installed in that year was Tezozomoctli the Elder, who was made king of Azcaputzalco-Mexicapan. . . .

The year 3 *rabbit*, 1378. Perhaps it was then that the Xochimilcas were destroyed (by those) under the king of Tenochtitlan, Acamapichtli. . . .

The year 4 *cane*, 1379. Coming of Quaquaupitzauac to Tlatilulco. Perhaps it was then that the Xilotepecs were conquered. . . . under the king Acamapichtli; but the Tlacochealcas-Chalcas affirm that it was under him. . . .

The year 6 *house*, 1381. Then the Tepanecs and the Chalcan undertook a Xoehiyaoyotl war; this the Tlacochealcas-Chalcan indicate in their annals. . . .

The year 9 *flint*, 1384. Then was installed Ixmactzin. He was the lord *tlatquic* of Itzehuacan-Tlacochealco-Chalco; for 3 years no one had reigned, the government having been entrusted to Miceacatl-Cuateotzin, *teohuateuhctli*, king of Opoehuacan.

The year 11 *rabbit*, 1386. Then the Chalcan made the Matlatzincas their vassals, according to the testimony of the Tlacochealcas-Chalcan. . . .

The year 12 *cane*, 1387. Then Acamapichtli II, first king of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, died; he had governed for 21 years. After his death no one governed at Tenochtitlan for 3 years.

The year 3 *cane*, 1391. Then Huitzilihuitl II was installed. . . . He was made king of Tenochtitlan; he was the son of Acamapichtli. . . .

The year 10 *rabbit*, 1398. (Moteuhocozuma I and Tlacaell born). . . .

The year 1 *rabbit*, 1402. (Nezahualcoyotl born at Tetzeuco). . . .

The year 2 *rabbit*, 1403. Then the Mexicans struck and chastised the Mizquicas and the Cuitlahuacas and caused them to be drowned in the lagoon called Tlatatacco and the Chalcan were as worried as though the Mexicans had defeated the Chalcan (themselves); though the Mizquicas and Cuitlahuacas were not all killed. The Chalcan, however, became frightened and repaired to Amohmolocco-Huitzilae. . . .

The year 6 *cane*, 1407. Then the Mizquicas, superintendents of the granaries of Amaquemecan-Chalco, repaired to Mexico-Tenochtitlan to treat with Huitzilihuitl II, king of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. He had with him as *tlacatecatl* the prince Itzehuatzin and as *tlacochealcatl* Cuatlecohuatzin; there were thus three to govern.

At that time the Amaquemecas-Chalcan were exclusively occupied in gathering the corn which belonged to Huitzilihuitzin and which the latter had entrusted to the protection of the three superintendents of the granary. . . . They deceived the king Huitzilihuitzin in their interview with him and accused the Chalcan chiefs, Quetzalmatzin, a Chichimec lord, ruler of Amaquemecan; Itztlotzin, *tlaylloctac*, king of Tzacualtitlan-Tenanco; Ecatzin, ruler of Huixtoco-Tecuanipan-Amaquemecan-Chalco; and Mactzin, lord *atlauhtecatl*, king of Tzacualtitlan-Tenanco-Atlauhtlan. It has not been said whether they also deceived the people of Mexico. But it was the chief of the Chalcan . . . whom they especially deceived. . . .

When the king of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Huitzilihuitzin, Itzehuatzin, *tlacatecatl*, and Cuatlecohuatl, *tlacochealcatl*, heard of this they immediately sent their commissioners to order the Mexicans to put the Chalcan chiefs to death. But the first of the (defaulting) lords learned that they intended to put him to death and exclaimed, "Has not my father still some land left?" So he went to seek refuge in a place called Totomihuacan. . . .

After the Chalcan chiefs had fled, the Mexicans started out in pursuit of the superintendents in order to kill them. They sought them everywhere, but could not find them. . . .

The messengers of Mexico having looked around in every direction without being able to find the Chalcan chiefs returned to discuss the matter with the king Huitzilihuitl, Itzehuatzin, *tlacatecatl*, and Cuatlecohuatzin, *tlacochealcatl*. After the chiefs discovered this they removed the keepers of the granary and installed at Amaquemecan a person as lord of the Chichimecas with the title of *teohuateuhctli*. . . . Toteociteuhctli was elected king of Chalco-Atenco.

The above-named guardians of the granaries who had cheated the lords of Chalco were full of fear; all the wise people—the commissioners, the box collectors, the chiefs, the lords, the nobles—all were united against them.

The year 9 *rabbit*, 1410. At that time, say the Cuyohuaques, Maxtlaton was installed and he became the first king of Cuyohuaacan. . . . Thus began this royal house for no one before had been king and the Cuyohuaques had only a principal chief. It was thirty-three years before that his elder brother . . . had ruled at Tlatilulco. He was also a son of Tezozomocli. . . . [Death of Quetzalmazatzin, sovereign of Itztlacozauhean-Amaquemecan-Chalco.]

. . . . For four years royalty was abandoned (there). No one ruled over Itztlacozauhean-Amaquemecan-Chalco and the old country of Chalco. Although the grain superintendents were in control, they were only simple subjects and had usurped their power. . . .

. . . . After this . . . the Chololtecas of Totomihuacan, the Tlaxcaltecas, the Tliluilquitepecas of Huexotzinco, the Quauhquecholtecas, the lords of Itztzocan, those of Tetzcucio, of Xochimilco, of Totollapan, of Quauhnhuac, of Culhuacan, of Tullocan, of Azeaputzalco, of Tenanyocan, of Quauhtitlan, of Teocallhuiaean, of Matlatzinco, of Mazahuacan and of Xiquipilco were very angry and said: "Let us ally ourselves against the Mexicans and declare war upon them for having put to flight the lords of Chalco. Are not the Chalcoans our protectors?" . . .

The Chalcoans at that time were numerous and they had lords installed in the twenty-five towns forming the Chalcoan empire. At that time the Mexicans had not raised themselves to any prominence; they had not conquered any country, nor forced any tribes into submission; they were of little importance. . . . [The Mexican leaders, frightened, explained the dishonesty of the grain guardians and their enemy desisted from attacking them. The dishonest guardians were pursued and captured.] . . .

The year 12 *house*, 1413. . . . The Ixmaccaltzin, *tlatquic*, sovereign of Itzcahuacan-Tlacochealco-Atenco-Chalco, died. For four years after that there were no sovereigns, and the guardians of the granaries ruled. . . .

The year 1 *cane*, 1415. Huitzilihuitl died. . . . Chimalpopoca installed as king of Tenochtitlan. He had at his side his uncle Itzcohuatzin, *tlacatecatl*, and the well-known Teuhtlehuac as *tlacochealcatl*. Then there took place the Atenean war. . . . According to an eye-witness of the Tlacochealco-Chalcoans, the war lasted only 35 years, as is indicated in their old book of annals. . . .

The year 4 *rabbit*, 1418. . . . In this year Ixtlilxochitl, sovereign of Tetzcucio, was assassinated. The Chalcoans and the Tepanecans assassinated him at the command of Tezozomocli.

The year 11 *house*, 1425. . . . Then the lords of all the Chalcoan countries refused the demands of the Mexicans; they would no longer obey them, nor let them come to their country, as this account has shown. . . .

The year 12 *rabbit*, 1426. . . . In this same year Chimalpopoca was assassinated. The Tepanecans killed him. . . .

The year 13 *cane*, 1427. . . . Itzcohuatzin was installed as king of Tenochtitlan. He had with him his nephew Motuehezoma, with the title of *tlacatecatl*, and . . . Tlacaoeltzin as *atepanecatl*.

Then the Tepanecans also undertook war and came to a hand to hand encounter with the Mexicans-Tenochcoans.

In this same year Tlacoateotzin, ruler of Tlatilulco . . . was assassinated . . . The Tepanecans-Tlacoapanecans were the ones who did it. . . . It was on account of these (two events) that war broke out between the Mexicans and the Tepanecans.

The year 1 *flint*, 1428. . . . Then began the terrible war between Tepanohuayan and Azcaputzalco. The Tepanecans were the victors. Maxtlaxochitl, the ruler of Tepanohuayan, was driven from his home. . . . The Tepanecans of Azcaputzalco had not yet been destroyed and the Mexicans had not yet made themselves masters of the town of Azcaputzalco.

In this same year the principal chief of Chalco put Moteuhezoma and Tepolomitzin into prison, as well as . . . the prince of Tlatilulco and another Mexican noble. . . . [They were to be put to death, but escaped with the connivance of the prison guardians, who paid for it with their lives.]

When the Azcaputzalcans succumbed, Tlacaeltzin took possession of the country of Azcaputzalco.

Then also Chimalpilli the Elder, ruler of Ecatepec, was installed. He was still in his cradle when he was installed.

The year 2 *house*, 1429. . . . The Mexicans did not wish to listen to the pleas (of the Azcaputzalcans), for they wished to destroy the town and divide the land of the Azcaputzalcans among themselves. [Maxtlatin tried to incite some of the towns, especially Cuyohuacan, against the Mexicans.] War was immediately declared . . . against Cuyohuacan, and part of the town was taken. Then the Mexicans began their war against the Xochimilcans.

The year 3 *rabbit*, 1430. . . . Then the Xochimilcans were conquered. It was under Itzcohuatzin that the Mexicans conquered them. The Cuyohuacans went to their residence at Texcalla. . . . In this year the Tlacopanecans and the Tlacahuitlahuas entered Tenochtitlan. . . .

The year 4 *cane*, 1431. . . . Then the Mexicans conquered the Tlatilulcans. . . . In this same year Nezahuacoyotl was installed as sovereign of Tetzeuco-Aeolhuacan. . . .

Then also the Aeolhuan-Tetzeucans were conquered. . . . The battle only lasted half a day. . . . The Tetzeucans retired to their own home. It was Nezahuacoyotl who caused their defeat and the Mexicans-Tenochcas were allies. . . . After having triumphed at Cuyohuacan, the Mexican lords returned and put themselves at the head of affairs and also gave themselves titles. Tlacaeltzin took the title of *tlacachcalcatl*; Moteuhezoma, that of *tlacatecatl*; Tlaca-huepan, that of *yezhuahuacatl*; Cuatlecouatl, that of *tlillancalqui*; these four princes were the assessors of the king Itzcohuatzin. Seventeen other princes, all great chieftains, each received a title for bravery.

The year 5 *flint*, 1432. . . . Then the Mexicans conquered the Quauhquecholtecas so completely that, after the battle, they disappeared as a people. Then the Mexicans also conquered the people of Mizquic and destroyed them. . . .

The year 13 *flint*, 1440. . . . Then Itzcohuatl died. . . . He had made war with the aid of his nephew Tlacaeltzin. Together they had conquered the Azcaputzalcans, the Cuyohuacas, Xochimilcans, and the inhabitants of Cuitlahuacan. Tlacaeltzin fought valiantly and with success, although he never tried to be powerful in the city of Tenochtitlan. But he governed nobly and lived in affluence and was happy. . . .

There were many great kings who inspired fear far and wide (afterwards), but the one who was the most courageous, the most illustrious in the state, was the great captain, the great warrior Tlacaeltzin. . . . It was he also who established the worship of the devil Huitzilopuchtli, the god of the Mexicans. . . .

When this prince (Itzcohuatl) was dead, immediately after in the same year his nephew Moteuhezoma the Elder was installed.

The year 3 *cane*, 1443. Then the sovereign of Opoehhuacan-Tlacochealco-Chalco-Atenco was assassinated, for some unknown reason. It was perhaps due to his friendship with Moteuhezoma, king of Mexico, and Nezahualcoyotzin, king of Tetzeuco. . . .

In this year Popocatzin, lord *atlauh-tecatl*, was installed as sovereign of Tzacualtitlan-Tenanco-Amaquemecan-Chalco. He was merely a great lord and not a prince, but he was very rich, and because of his riches he had been introduced into the palace by two princes.

In this year the Mexicans made war upon Tlalmanaleco and took possession of the country of Itzpompatepec. . . .

The year 6 *rabbit*, 1446. . . . In this year, as some Mexican elders say, the great war against Chalco began. For twenty years there had been peace at Chalco; the Mexicans did not enter Chalco and the Chalcans did not penetrate into Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Then Moteuhzcomatzin and the vice-king demanded that they (the Chalcans) should bring stones for the temple, for the Mexicans were going to raise a temple to their god Huitzilopochtli at Tepehualpan. It is for this reason that the Chalcans became angry.

The year 9 *house*, 1449. . . . In this year Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tetzeuco, conquered the inhabitants of Tullantzinco and the latter became his vassals.

The year 1 *rabbit*, 1454. . . . It is said that this year 1 *rabbit* was an extremely unfortunate one; there were many deaths. The people died of thirst. From Chalco came foxes, ferocious beasts, lizards, etc., and they devoured the people. The famine was so intense that the old Mexicans sold themselves; they took refuge in the woods, where they lived, unhappy and feeble. For four years there was nothing to eat in the country, so that the older Mexicans sold themselves, and two divisions, it is said, delivered themselves into servitude. It is for that reason that the Totonacs came to buy Mexicans with corn, and it was at Cuextlan that they brought corn to the Mexicans. Up to that time they had not as yet had the custom of using corn bread. They put themselves in holes and died in any place they found and the lizards devoured them, for there was no one to bury them. . . .

Then the Tetzucans began to construct the aqueduct to Chapultepec. It was the sovereign of the Acolhuas, Nezahualcoyotzin, who gave the order to do it, so that the water might reach Mexico-Tenochtitlan and be of service to his uncle, Moteuhezoma the Elder.

The year 2 *cane*, 1455. . . . Then took place the *tying of the year*; it was the eighth time that the ancient Mexican-Chichimecans "tied together their years" after their departure from Aztlan. It was at Huixachteatl, Itzta-pallapan Mountain that the sacred fire was renewed.

Then it rained a great deal and there was an abundance of food.

The Chalcans were conquered for the first time.

The year 3 *flint*, 1456. . . . The Mexicans (began) to conquer the country of Panohuayan and carried the war up to the entrance of Amaquemecan-Chalco; they afterwards returned to Panohuayan, not having been able to penetrate into the town of Amaquemecan.

Then the mouse devoured many things.

The year 4 *house*, 1457. . . . Then there appeared in the midst of the magueys the devil whom one calls Tezcatlipoca; he was the god of the Tlacochealcas-Nonohualcas-Teotlixecas, who guided them in the war.

The year 5 *rabbit*, 1458. . . . Then the Mexicans established the *temalacatl* upon which they afterwards immolated their captives. Then Moteuhezoma the Elder conquered Cohuayxtlahuacan. He also conquered the inhabitants of Tepozcollollan. . . .

The year 6 *cane*, 1459. . . . Then our ancestors named Necuametzin and Huehuetopoztli, the lords of Tlalmanalco, went to ask Moteuhzcoma the Elder, king of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, as representatives of the towns of the state of Chalco, to prepare the bread and the tortillas, i.e., to declare war. . . . But Moteuhzcoma the Elder would not make the bread or tortillas in order to protect the towns of the state of Chalco. . . .

The year 6 *flint*, 1460. . . . Then Xihuitlemoc was installed as sovereign of Xochimilco-Teepan. . . . Soon after (Quauhtlahtohuatzin's death) Moquihui was installed as the sovereign of Tlatilulco. The old Tlatilulcans say that he came to Tlatilulco, which was not his home, and that it was Moteuhzcoma the Elder who had him installed there because he was his nephew, being the son of his elder sister. Moquihui took possession of his power (office) on the thirteenth day of *ozomatli*. . . .

The year 12 *house*, 1465. . . . Then the Chalcons were destroyed. Those who survived left for the town of Amaquemecan, to which place the Mexicans crossed over after they had conquered us. The Chalcan lords who left went to Huexotzinco and took refuge in our town: . . .

The war now being ended, the people of Teepan and Tlacochealca sought to obtain their bread and their tortillas from Moteuhzcoma the Elder. It is for this purpose that our renowned ancestors, our chiefs, gave their first market to the Totolimpas and the woods to the people of Tempa, as it is narrated in the history of the Tlalmanalcans. Although the Tlalmanalcans had thus spoken, the Amaquemequas knew, they said, that there was another market place at Amaquemecan, which was the property of the Nonohualcas, the Poyauhtecas and the people of Panohuayan.

The year 13 *rabbit*, 1466. . . . Then the water of Chapultepec was brought to Mexico. The Tetzucans brought it there under the order of Nezahualcoyotzin. The aqueduct had been finished after thirteen years of work. Then also the people of Tepeyacac were conquered.

The year 1 *cane*, 1467. . . . Then the work on the construction of the temple of Huitzilophtli, which the Mexican-Tenochcas were erecting, was begun again.

The year 2 *flint*, 1468. . . . Then Moteuhzcoma the Elder died. . . . He had ordered that his younger cousin Axayacatl should reign before the latter's two elder brothers, Tizocic and Ahuitzotl, because he was a great warrior and an illustrious captain. . . .

The year 3 *house*, 1469. . . . Then Axayacatl was installed as king of Tenochtitlan. He gave offices to the two sons of Moteuhzcoma the Elder, named Machimalle and Iquehuac. But these princes did not reign. They hated Axayacatzin and opposed his collection of taxes.

[The king of Tlatilulco tried to induce the conquered Chalcons to aid him in a war against Mexico. They refused and they themselves were conquered.]

It was now four years since the installation of Axayacatzin, during which period our ancestors had governed the state of Tlalmanalco-Chalco. (The four chiefs) were to go to receive their orders from the monarch Axayacatzin according to the history of the Tlalmanalcans. . . .

The year 5 *cane*, 1471. . . . Then Axayacatzin conquered the inhabitants of Michuacan and the Mazahuacs. . . .

The year 9 *cane*, 1475. . . . From this time on the state of Tlatilulco ceased to exist. The *tlacochealcatl*, Itzquauhtzin, was installed as governor-general and not as king. No diadem was put upon him, but he had the power of a sovereign and in fact governed the Tlatilulcans. It was Axayacatzin who installed him. . . .

The year 13 *cane*, 1479. . . . Now for the first time the Amaquemecas and the Tlalmánaleas-Chaleas went to sing before the Mexicans. . . .

The year 1 *flint*, 1480. . . . Then the king Axayacatzin worked and cultivated the country of Amaquemecan-Chalco in the places called Xocoyoltepec and Oztotipeç; it was his property, the apanage of the lords of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and they governed from that time on. . . .

The year 2 *house*, 1481. Then Axayacatzin died. . . . Immediately after his elder brother Tizocicatzin was installed as sovereign of Tenochtitlan. Axayacatzin had had the places called Xocoyoltepec and Oztotiepac, in the country of Amaquemecan-Chalco, sown with seed; but it was not he who enjoyed the harvest, but Tizocicatzin. . . .

The year 7 *rabbit*, 1486. . . . It was now twenty-two years since peace had been made and there were no more sovereigns. Governors were installed at Amaquemecan and in four other localities, namely, Chalco, Tlalmánaleo, Tenanco-Tepopolla, and Xochimilco-Chimalhuacan. . . . No one ruled over the Chaleas. . . .

THE REIGN OF TEZUZOMOCTLI⁴⁸

(1) From the land of the *tzihuac* bushes, from the land of the mezquite bushes, where was ancient Chicomoztoc, thence came all our rulers hither.

(2) Here unrolled itself the royal line of Colhuacan, here our nobles of Colhuacan united with the Chichimecs.

(3) Sing for a little while concerning these, O children, the sovereign Huitzilihuitl, the judge Quauhxiolotl, of our bold leader Tlalnahuacatl, of the proud bird Ixtilxochitl, those who went forth, and conquered and ruled before God, and bewail Tezozomoctli.

(4) A second time they left the mezquite bushes in Hue Tlalpan, obeying the order of God.

(5) They go where are the flowers, where they may gain grandeur and power; dividing asunder they leave the mountain Atloyan and Hue Tlalpan, obeying the order of the Giver of Life.

(6) It is cause of rejoicing that I am able to see our rulers from all parts gathering together, arranging in order the words of the Giver of Life, and that their souls are caused to see and to know that God is precious, wonderful, a sweet ointment, and that they are known as flowers of wise counsel in the affairs of war.

(7) There was Tochín, with many boats, the noble Acolmiztlan, the noble Catocih, Yohuallatonoc, and Cuetzpaltin, and Iztaccoyotl, bold leaders from Tlaxcalla and Coatziteuctli, and Huitlalatzin, famed as flowers on the field of battle.

(8) For what purpose do you make your rulers, men of Huexotzineo? Look at Acolhuacan, where the men of Huexotzineo are broken with toil, are trodden upon like paving stones, and wander around the mountain Atloyan.

(9) There is a *ceiba* tree, a cypress tree; there stands a mezquite bush, strong as a cavern of stone, known as the Giver of Life.

(10) Ruler of men, Nopiltzin, Chicimec, O Tezozomoctli, why hast thou made us sick, why brought us to death, though not desiring to offer war and battle to Acolhuacan?

⁴⁸ This is Brinton's translation. Cf. Ancient Nahuatl Poetry, Philadelphia, 1890.

(11) But we lift our voices and rejoice in the Giver of Life; the men of Colhuacan and the Mexican leader have ruined us, through not desiring to offer war and battle to Acolhuacan.

(12) The only joy on earth will be again to send the shield-flower, again to rejoice the Giver of Life; already are discontented the faces of the workers in filth.

(13) Therefore you rejoice in the shield-flowers, the flowers of night, the flowers of battle; already are ye clothed, ye children of Quetzalmamatzin and Huitznahucatl.

(14) Your shield and your wall of safety are there where dwells the sweet joy of war, where it comes, and sighs, and lifts its voice; where dwell the nobles, the precious stones, making known their faces; thus you give joy to the Giver of Life.

(15) Let your dancing and banqueting be in the battle; there be your place of gain, your scene of action, where the noble youths perish.

(16) Dressed in their feathers they go rejoicing the Giver of Life to the excellent place, the place of shards.

(17) He lifted up his voice in our houses like a bird, that man of Huexotzinco, Iztaccoyotl.

(18) Whoever is aggrieved let him come forth with us against the men of Tlaxcallan, let him follow where the city of Huexotzinco lets drive its arrows.

(19) Our leaders shall lay waste, they shall destroy the land, and your children, O Huexotzincos, shall have peace of mind.

(20) The mezquite was there, the *tzihuac* was there, the Giver of Life had set up the cypress; be sad that evil has befallen Huexotzinco, that it stands alone in the land.

(21) In all parts there are destruction and desolation; no longer is there protection or safety, nor has the one only God heard the song; therefore speak it again, you children.

(22) The words may be repeated, you children, and give joy to the Giver of Life at Tepeyacan.

(23) And since you are going, you Tlaxcallans, call upon Tlacomihuatzin that he may yet go to this divine war.

(24) The Chichimecs and the leaders and Iztaccoyotl have with difficulty and vain labor arranged and set in order their jewels and feathers.

(25) At Huexotzinco the ruler Quiauhtzin hates the Mexicans, hates the Acolhuacans; when shall we go to mix with them, to meet them?

(26) Set to work and speak, you fathers, to your rulers, to your lords, that they may make a blazing fire of the smoking *tzihuac* wood.

(27) The Acolhuacans were at Chalco, the Otomies were in your cornfields at Quauhquechollan; they laid them waste by the permission of God.

(28) The fields and hills are ravaged, the whole land has been laid waste.

(29) To what remedy can they turn? Water and smoke have despoiled the land of the rulers; they have gone back to Mictlan, attaching themselves to the ruler Cacamatl. To what remedy can they turn?

PART IV. OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS

Before a really critical study of all the primary and secondary sources relating to the history of the ancient Mexicæans has been made no definite results are to be hoped for in tracing the development of their civilization. In a general way, however, some of the main facts of the evolution of their civilization stand out with such definiteness, even from the rather cursory study of the sources that has been made, that it seems possible to reconstruct the salient features with some degree of assurance. What we shall attempt here is such a reconstruction. It lays no claim to finality nor originality, and is concerned almost exclusively with Mexico-Tenochtitlan.

The history of the Axtæes divides itself naturally into three epochs, the early migration period, the period of contact with the peoples of the valley, and that from the founding of the city of Mexico-Tenochtitlan to the Conquest. The same threefold division holds for all the other Nahuatlán tribes who preceded them. We have generally been accustomed to regard the migration period as almost certainly more legendary than historical and to look askance at most of the details concerning the early contact with the civilizations of the valley. For a number of years, owing probably to the influence of Brinton, who regarded the Toltecs as unhistorical, and Bandelier, who was supremely critical of anything that seemed to credit the ancient Mexicæans with a high degree of culture, we in America have been uncritically sceptical of the historical authenticity of the sources relating to these people. A glance at the sources printed in this paper ought to do much to dissipate this erroneous impression.

The recent archaeological discoveries and the definite demonstration of the affinities of Nahuatl with the Shoshonean language have in the main corroborated the persistent assertions of these old documents about their migrations and about the highly developed civilizations they encountered when they entered the valley of Mexico.

The archaic stratum generally known to archaeologists as the Tarascan is found scattered over a very extensive area, from northern Mexico south to Guatamala, Salvador, and Nicaragua and was developed and disseminated by the Nahuatlán tribes. The journey through

Michoacan, the Tarascan area, occupies an important part in the migration legends.

The study of the stratification of remains at certain places in the valley also bears out a number of the details found in the sources regarding the nature and extent of the Toltec influence. At Atzacapotzalco, situated on the shores of Lake Tezeuco, the Toltecan layer is of lesser thickness than that found in Colhuacan and this can be correlated with the fact that the former city was not as thoroughly Toltecan as the latter and with the claims made that the Toltecs were not entirely destroyed everywhere, but actually found refuge in Colhuacan. It is an individual from Colhuacan who is instrumental, according to the accounts in the *Mapa Tlotzin* and the *Mapa Quinatzin*, in introducing the Chichimec leader, Xolotl, to the refinements of civilization.

We are consequently on safe ground in assuming an extensive and complex Toltecan culture. What its salient characteristics were, we know, in an external way, from the monuments and other archaeological remains that have been discovered. For other facts we have to rely upon such original sources as the *Mapa Tlotzin* and such late sources as the *Anales of Cuauhtitlan* and Ixtlixochitl. The latter, be it remembered, claimed to have based his statements upon original documents, of which a few have survived.

The *Anales of Cuauhtitlan* are dated and claim to go back to the year 635 A.D., but the internal evidence is against placing too much reliance upon any date as early as this. No facts that bear an historical impress are common until the death of Quetzalcoatl, and then they are not any too numerous. Nothing before the ninth century need be accepted as chronologically reliable. But there is no reason why we should hesitate about accepting the chronology as approximately accurate from that time on, for both the increasing mass of historical detail and other internal evidence make it quite plausible.

If Aztec sources seem reliable from the thirteenth century on and uncertain for the century before that, and if those relating to the Nahuatlán tribes preceding the Aztec can be trusted as far back possibly as the eleventh century, then we can justifiably assume that the Toltecan sources are to be trusted as far back as the ninth century. So here again we see that a significance attaches to the increase in facts that look historical at certain places in the old documents. Everything before the ninth century must have been hazy. The attempts at a reconstruction of this period show this very clearly in

the prominence given to purely mythical detail, and also in the fixity assigned the duration of the reigns of different rulers. There is a very suspicious recurrence of the number fifty-two, which, of course, is that of the Mexican time cycle.

All this is quite in consonance with other facts. The center of the great civilization or civilizations of which the Toltecan was but one phase is much farther to the south than any of the places assigned to the Toltecs by the old sources. They most assuredly did not invent nor even materially aid in developing the system of writing or the elaborate calendar of that area. All the available evidence points to the Zapotecs as the intermediaries between the great Mayan civilization where this great culture was probably centralized and the people to the north of them, the Toltecs. These Toltecs, we have even some ground for supposing, spoke a language that was intelligible to the Nahuatlán people and they may not have preceded them by many centuries. The peculiar distribution of the Nahua tongue⁴⁹ all over southern Mexico, which we now definitely know can not be ascribed to the planting of Aztec colonies in the fifteenth century, may perhaps be part of this great Toltec migration. Archaeology seems also to come to our aid, for the thickness of the Toltec strata increases as we go south from the valley of Mexico and becomes more and more similar to the culture strata of the Huastec to the east and the Mixtec-Zapotec to the south and southwest.

The Aztecs proper, coming so long after the so-called destruction of the Toltec kingdom, never refer to the latter, but the Nahuatlán tribes who preceded them, such as the Acolhuan, who founded, among others, the well-known pueblos of Tollantzinco, Cholula, Tlaxcalla, and Tehuacan; and later on the Tepanec branch of the Nahuatlán people, the founders of the pueblos of Atzacapotzalco, Tlacopan, and Coyahuacan—these peoples still remembered the contest with the Toltecs; and the people who are represented as the masters of the Aztecs in the early years of their history, the natives of Culhuacan, were very likely descendants of the Toltecs, although mixed with both Nahuatlán immigrants and with the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, probably the Otomi.

However it was not only the Nahuatlán tribes who kept the Toltec tradition alive. The Otomi, who certainly formed the main element among the settlers who founded such important towns as Xaltocan, Tenayucan, and lastly Tezcuco itself, came into very intimate touch

⁴⁹ Nahuatlán dialects are found near the Chinantecs of Tuxtepec and in the district of Poehutla, Oaxaca.

with the descendants of Toltec refugees and with the Acolhuans, who had themselves been in contact with the Toltecs before the final dismemberment of their empire. Indeed it is from Tezucan sources that we get most of the facts known to us about the Toltecs.

Even in early Tezucan or Chichimec sources like the *Codex Xolotl*, the *Mapa Tlotzin*, and the *Mapa Quinatzin*, the Toltecs have already become idealized, and this probably accounts for the fact that their rulers, especially Quetzalcoatl (this may very well have been the name of one of them) have become merged with the old prehistoric culture heroes.

We need not believe in an actual destruction of the Toltec nation to accept the fact that their power was definitely broken and their settlements dispersed. Even the hostile sources that have come down to us in Ixtlilxochitl, while they insist in one breath that the nation was wiped out, tell us in another that large remnants sought refuge in the more inaccessible parts of the country and were gradually absorbed and merged in Nahuatlan and Otomi settlements.

All the evidence at our disposal indicates that it would be erroneous if for one moment we unduly simplified the problem by imagining the ethnographic picture of the Toltec area as otherwise than very complex. The Acolhuans did not wait behind the scenes until the Toltecs had developed to a certain point, and then appear upon the stage. They very likely made their appearance not long after the Toltecs and their settlements probably began to flourish before the Toltec civilization was a thing of the past.

It should also be remembered that the aboriginal people of this region, the Otomi, were always an element of danger for the newcomers. To some degree the Otomi were undoubtedly absorbed into the general Toltec culture, but this absorption was apparently only sporadic. In the main the Otomi were a rude, warlike people who at any opportune moment were likely to develop sufficient strength to overwhelm the Acolhuans, as they eventually did. But apparently this only occurred after the Toltecs had transmitted enough of their culture to numerous other pueblos in the region to make a reversion to their old condition impossible. There was clearly a partial destruction of their civilization in certain places and this destruction was undoubtedly more complete in some pueblos than in others, but their culture soon reasserted itself and the "barbarians" became civilized.

The history of the Chichimecas as represented in the above named documents, the *Codex Xolotl*, the *Mapa Tlotzin*, and the *Mapa Quin-*

atzin, and in Ixtlilxochitl's works is an excellent case in point. It is also on some such assumption that we can perhaps explain what has always seemed an insoluble contradiction to most of us, namely, the fact that the Chichimec and other invaders are sometimes represented as utterly devoid of all but the rudest type of culture, while at other times they are pictured as possessing a fairly complex civilization.

What we must bear in mind above everything else is that some strong center of culture was always present in this area and that the various invaders who attacked it were successful only after many years of struggle and after they themselves had absorbed a large portion of the culture which they were destroying. Of Nahuatlan nations, the Acolhuans were the first to arrive and the first to completely absorb the old culture. Tollantzinco, above all Cholula and Tlaxcalla, developed cultures which were flourishing and important when the Spaniards arrived.

A little later the civilizing influences of the old culture were shown in the fact that three non-Nahuatlan pueblos arose to prominence, Xaltocan, Tenayucan, and Culhuacan, all of them of considerable importance in Aztec history.

Then another Nahuatlan group, the Tepanecans, appeared with their five principal pueblos, two of which were later to be the rivals of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and one her ally. The pueblos were Atzacapotzalco, Coyohuacan, Tlacopan, Atlaquihuayan, and Huitzilopocho.

Finally the Chichimecs of Xolotl appeared on the scene and after a comparatively short time, founded the city of Tezeuco.

While hostilities were frequent between these pueblos they were really never able to conquer one another, and we see different ones extending their influence in various directions, abandoning some sites and building new towns on others. They all had one trait in common, namely they had obtained their civilization from the same source, although some had absorbed it to a greater extent than others.

It was probably about the middle of the thirteenth century, if not earlier, that the Aztecs first came in contact with these civilizations.

But before entering the valley, they necessarily had to travel for a considerable time, since their original habitat, wherever it may have been, was certainly far to the north of the valley of Mexico. One phase of their wanderings, just before they entered the valley of Mexico, was apparently keenly remembered and this it is that we find incorporated in their early records.

There is no evidence to justify our believing that the migrations spoken of in these early legends and records are concerned with the

journey from an original home. It is far more likely that only the vaguest and haziest recollections of their original habitat was possessed by them and this knowledge was so inextricably interwoven with myths as to be of little value for historical purposes. The migrations the Aztecs speak of in the early sources seem to have taken place within an area of perhaps two to three hundred miles.

The second part of their migration record starts with their leaving Chapultepec, in the valley of Mexico itself, and not far from the place where they were afterwards to found their capital. They must have been in the valley for some time then. This leaves a comparatively short period of time for their long and arduous journey from New Mexico or California, or wherever it was that they claim in their records Aztlan, their original home, lay. In other words their records themselves demonstrate the preposterous nature of the attempts to find more than local migrations reflected in them.

At this point, however, scepticism must legitimately cease. There is no reason for believing that migrations from Michoacan could not be remembered. We may even assume that, while the Aztecs had no system of writing at that time, they did possess as great a proficiency in keeping counts and remembering journeys as some of the Plains Indians of the United States. That would have sufficed amply to fix in their minds some of the salient characteristics of their journeys, especially the places where they stopped, if they stopped at them long enough, the most important dissensions and the larger secessions from the tribe. Many oral migration myths give us such details, which not only look historical, but have so often been subsequently proved correct, that there is a certain presumption of their being correct whenever we find them.

What we mean then by the migration period in Aztec history is that period embracing their journey from Michoacan and their first contact with the civilizations in the valley of Mexico. We shall not here go into the rather unprofitable subject of trying to identify their route. Since, however, it has played so important a part in all discussions of Aztec history, I shall give the tabulated conclusions arrived at by Charencey,⁵⁰ in which he quotes the two important original sources, the *Codex Boturini* and the *Mapa de Sigüenza*, and the three most important secondary accounts, Tezozomoc, Torquemada, and Clavigero.

⁵⁰ Ch. de Charencey, "L'historien Sahagun et les Migrations Mexicaines," 121-138. Louvain, 1899.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE MIGRATIONS OF THE NAHUATLAN TRIBES AND THE AZTECS⁵¹

1. a,⁵² Chicomoztoc-Aztlan; c, Aztlan; d, island in a lake; e, island in a lake.
2. b, large river; c, Colorado river; d, e, man crossing lake.
3. c, Gila river (?) 35 n.l.
4. c, Casas Grandes (?)
5. a, Santa Barbara ?; f, either in Sonora 29 n.l. or district of Autlan, Jalisco 20-22 n.l.
6. a, San Andrés ?; f, district of San Pimas, Durango n.l. or district of Eztatlan, Jalisco 22 n.l.
7. a, Chalchihvites or Chalchignites ?
8. a, Guadalajara ?; f, Jalisco.
9. a, Xochipila; f, probably in eastern Jalisco.
10. a, Michaoacan.
11. a, Culiacan; b, Huey Culiacan; c, Huey Culiacan or south of the mountains of Tarahumare; d, e, Culuacan.
12. a, Jalisco; b, Chicomoztoc, seven grottoes; c, Chicomoztoc; e, place where the sacred tree was split.
- 13, 14. d, unknown localities.
15. d, Cincotlan.
16. d, Tocolco.
17. d, Oztolan.
18. b, Ameca; f, Jalisco, district of Eztatlan, on the shores of the Ameca river.
19. b, Cocula; f, Jalisco, 16-20 leagues south of Guadalajara.
20. b, Zayala; f, in district of the same name, Jalisco.
21. b, Zacatula ?; f, Guerrero, 30 n.l.
22. a, Ocopipitla.
23. b, Cohuatly-Camae; c, Coatlicamae; e, Coatlicamae; f, probably S.E. of Jalisco.
24. b, place where they stayed 3 years.
25. a, Malinalco; d, Malinalco; f, Patzcuaro, Patzcuaro (?) or valley of Toluca ?
26. b, Matlacahuallan; f, perhaps near the valley of Toluca (?)
27. a, Apanco; f, 5 leagues E. of Zayula.
28. b, Chimalco.
29. b, Pipitleomic.
30. a, Acahualtzingo; f, San Juan del Rio, Queretaro.
31. a, Coatepec, near Tonalan; b, Tula; c, Tula; e, leave Coatepec in the year 3 *tecpatl*; f, in district of Xocotitlan, about 14 leagues N.E. of Mexico City.
32. a, Atitlaquia; b, Atitlacuyan, 2 years; e, Atitlacuam, 10 years; f, about 21 leagues N. of Mexico City.
33. e, Tlemaco; f, near Atitlaquia.
34. d, Mizquihuala; f, about 18 leagues N. of Mexico City.
35. d, Xalpan; f, about 10 leagues N. of Mexico City.

⁵¹ Based on the table of Ch. D. Charencey in his "L'histoire Sahagun et les Migrations Mexicaines," Louvain 1899 (reprinted from *Muséon*). The table is given here because Charencey's little memoir is difficult to obtain.

⁵² a, Tezozomoc; b, Torquemada; c, Clavigero; d, *Mapa de Siguenza*; e, *Codex Boturini*; f, Charencey's identification. The Arabic numerals refer to the stations at which the various Nahuatlan tribes stopped during their migration.

36. d, Tetepanco; f, about 22 leagues N. of Mexico City.
37. d, Oxititlan.
38. d, Teozapotlan; f, 18-20 leagues N. of Mexico City (?)
39. d, Atotonilco; e, Atotonilco; f, 22 leagues N.N.E. of Mexico City.
40. b, Tepexic.
41. d, Ilhuicatepetl; f, 8-9 leagues N. of Mexico City.
42. d, Papantla.
43. b, Apasco; e, Apasco; f, between Atotonilco and Zumpango.
44. a, Tequisquiac; f, 11 leagues N. of Mexico City.
45. a, Atengo tzumpanco; b, Tzumpango; c, Zumpanco, 2 years; d, Zumpango, 5 years; e, Zumpanco, 6 years; f, on the shores of that lake about 10 leagues north of Mexico City.
46. d, Apasco.
47. d, Aticalaquian.
48. a, Cuachilo.
49. a, Xaltocan (between Cuachilo and Eyoatl). Here they remained many years; b, Xaltocan, between Tzompanco and Acolhuacan, 11 years; f, 6 leagues N. of Mexico City.
50. a, Eyoatl.
51. a, Cuauhtitlan; d, Cuauhtitlan, 3 years; e, Coatitlan; f, 4-5 leagues N.E. of Mexico City.
52. a, unknown place, 3 years.
53. b, c, Tizayocan; f, 4 leagues N.E. of Zumpango.
54. a, b, e, Ecatepec; f, Alcala, 6 leagues N. of Mexico City.
55. a, e, Aculhuacan.
56. a, Tultepetlac; b, e, d, e, Tolpetlac; f, 4 leagues N. of Mexico City.
57. b, Chimalman.
58. b, Coahuatlan.
59. a, b, e, Huixachtitlan.
60. e, Amalinalpan.
61. d, e, Azcapotzalco, 7 years; f, 3 leagues N.E. of Mexico City.
62. d, Chalco; f, nothing to do with the historical Chalco.
63. a, b, e, Tecpayucan.
64. a, Atepetlac.
65. b, d, Tepeyaca; f, N.E. of Guadalupe and 2 leagues N.N.E. of Mexico City.
66. a, Coatlayaucan.
67. a, Totepango.
68. b, d, e, Pantitlan.
69. d, Epcohuac.
70. d, Cuauतेpec.
71. d, Chicomoztoc.
72. d, Huitzquilocan.
73. d, unknown place, 4 years.
74. d, Xaltepozhuacan, 4 years.
75. d, Cozcauho, 4 years.
76. d, Tecachitlan, 5 years.
77. d, Azeaxochic.
78. a, Atepetlac; d, Tepetlapa, 5 years; f, probably Atepetla, $\frac{3}{4}$ league N. of Mexico City.
79. a, Coatlayauhean.
80. d, Pantitlan, 4 years.

81. d, Acolnahuac, 4 years.
82. d, Apan.
83. d, Teozomaco, 6 years.
84. a, e, Popotla; f, about 2 leagues E.N.E. of Mexico City.
85. e, unknown place.
86. e, Atlaculihayan (Tacukaya), 4 years.
87. a, Tehcatepec; b, c, d, e, Chapultepec.
88. d, Coluacan.
89. b, c, Tizaapan.
90. d, retreat of 4 years in Tezcuco lake.
91. b, Ocoleo; c, Acocolco; d, place of refuge in Tezcuco lake; e, Acocolco.
92. e, unknown place, 2 years.
93. d, Acatzinzintlan (Mexicaltzinco).
94. e, Tztaclaleo.
95. d, uncertain place.
96. d, 4 uncertain places at each of which 10 years were spent.
97. d, Mixiuhcan.
98. d, unknown place, 4 years.
99. a, Temacaltzin; b, c, d, e, Tenochtitlan.

A number of points seem to come out from a study of the two prime sources and the works of these later writers. The Aztecs apparently came in contact with the important cultural centers in the following order, namely, Xaltocan, Atzacapotzalco, Chapultepec, Culhuacan. Their fiercest encounters were with the Tepanecans; they appear to have been driven away from Chapultepec, and, after a considerable interval of time, to have returned to it; and finally they appear to have been under the domination of Culhuacan for some time both before and after the founding of their city and the inauguration of their so-called monarchy.

So much for the external points of contact. Tezozomoc and a number of other early writers represent the Aztecs as being, upon their first entry into the valley of Mexico, rude, warlike, and uncivilized, and as gradually adopting the culture of the tribes with whom they came into hostile or friendly relations. Duran and the *Codex Ramirez*, on the contrary, picture them as having brought a definite culture with them, one similar to that of the Indians of New Mexico. We have here the same contradiction as that found in the statements of Xototl regarding the early Chichimecs and the origin of the Tezcuacan culture. The picture writings preserved seem, in part, to bear out the first contention (cf. both the *Codex Boturini* and the *Mapa Tlotzin*), for the former shows us at different places the acquisition of certain cultural traits and possessions. In plate 7 we are, for instances, shown how the Aztecs, at Coatitlan, first obtained the

maguey plant and how it was brought to them from the province of Chalco. On the other hand, the distinctive features of the later Aztec culture are not pictured as having been borrowed, but are projected back into the mythical age, which perhaps bespeaks a considerable age for them. All the accounts of these early periods were written when the Aztecs had completely adopted the valley civilization and some of them are vitiated by the tendency which Mexico-Tenochtitlan, as well as the other towns, seems to have possessed, of investing their ancestors with the rudest type of culture and the Toltecs with a mythical magnificence. All the Nahuatlán tribes are pictured as Chichimecs, savages, and barbarians. During the time they lived in parts of Michoacán and gradually drifted down toward the valley of Mexico, it is, however, quite justifiable to regard them as being fairly civilized and as possessing all that the *Codex Ramírez* claims for them.⁵³

When the Aztecs founded Mexico-Tenochtitlan, and for a long period preceding that event, they were assuredly not wild barbarians bursting in upon civilized settlements, but people with a definite social organization, a systematized cult, and agriculture. Had they been untamed and ferocious warriors their traditions of the period before the founding of their city would not have been so replete with disastrous defeats, tales of servitude, and instances of the insults they had to suffer at the hands of their enemies.

The founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the marshes of the lagoon of Mexico is generally taken as the beginning of a new era. It is quite natural that the Aztecs, when looking back upon their past, in the days of their prosperity, should find it proper and necessary to have a definite starting point, and that they should thereupon have selected the founding of their city as such an initial point of departure to invest it, first with an undue amount of mythical detail, and then with an unjustified importance in their history.

One thing is quite clear, namely, that the settlement the Aztecs made near Chapultepec was of a rather independent nature and for that reason it is just as correct to assume that the Aztecs began their existence as a separate nation there as at Mexico-Tenochtitlan. They were, however, badly beaten in a battle near Chapultepec and compelled to flee from their settlement and they never succeeded in regaining it. The importance of the founding of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, as the later scribes saw it, lay in the fact that the Mexicans were never

⁵³ Pages 67-123 of this monograph.

compelled to abandon that particular site. This, however, was something that could not very well have been recognized until many generations after the actual founding of the town.

No great change apparently accompanied the founding of this new settlement. The servitude in which they were being held by Culhuacan, according to their records, continued for some time after, and the election of a ruler occurred some time later. The conditions under which the first ruler was chosen were not such as would indicate very much independence for the newly founded city.

In short, the documents at our disposal, in spite of the apparent attempt to invest with glamor the founding of what might be called the last and most permanent site by the Aztecs, do not warrant us in believing that this was an event of real importance or that it was associated with any fundamental changes in government. The Aztecs remained, as before, under the domination of Culhuacan and in mortal dread of their Tepanecan neighbors who had dealt them so overwhelming a blow at Chapultepec.

The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* begins its account by telling us how the first ruler of Mexico-Tenochtitlan succeeded in freeing the Aztecs from the rule of Culhuacan. This did not take place until the beginning of the fifteenth century, thus leaving a bare one hundred and twenty years for the full development of one of the most specialized cultures in America. Now if we are to accept the chronology of the records, the typical features of the social organization must be supposed to have matured in that length of time or, to be more precise, in seventy-five years at most.

The successful struggle for independence, if we can give it such a high-sounding title, is connected with a definite change in the form of government and the adoption of a ruler, apparently different in type from the rulers they had been accustomed to, call him king or chief as you like. Now the reasons given in the older histories, such as the *Codex Ramirez* and Duran, for the change bear all the evidences of rationalistic afterthoughts. The older chiefs like Huitzilihuitl, or Tenoch himself, the reputed founder of the city, seem to have possessed fairly extensive authority, but not even Tenoch was connected with any fundamental change of government, far less with so fundamental a one as the introduction of kingship.

But was there really so fundamental a change as the records claim? Not until Itzcoatl, the fourth of the rulers, did Mexico-Tenochtitlan rise to any prominence, and then on account of the

defeat of the Tepanecans by the Tezcucans under Nezahualcoyotl and the founding of the tripartite confederacy of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tezeuco, and Tlacopan. It was under Itzcoatl that really fundamental changes took place, and it is to him and his nephew, the hero soldier and statesman, Tlacaellal, that they are ascribed.

It seems a reasonable surmise, therefore, to consider the success of the Aztecs against Culhuacan,—the first decisive victory that they had,—as having led to the idealization of the chief who happened to be the leader of that enterprise, and his elevation to a higher rank in the eyes of future generations. No undue stress need be laid upon the fact that he is represented as belonging to the “royal” family of Culhuacan into which one of the former chiefs of Mexico-Tenochtitlan had married, nor that the Mexicans are represented in Duran and the *Codex Ramirez* as having gone to Culhuacan to ask for a ruler. This seems to have been a theme that later scribes were fond of using, for it appears again in connection with Acamapichtli’s successor. On that occasion, according to the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, the Mexicans at first decided to go to Atzacapotzalco to obtain a leader, but at the last moment desisted and selected one from among their own ranks.

Why should they in both instances have gone to hostile tribes for a ruler? Even the older sources like Duran felt that some explanation was necessary and volunteered the explanation that the Aztecs did it to increase their strength or because they felt that, living within the confines of Culhuacan and Atzacapotzalco, it behooved them, when they had resolved upon the new institution of “monarchy,” to select a ruler from among their masters. It is far more likely that this insistence upon the connection of Acamapichtli with the royal family of Culhuacan is the reflection of a later age that was trying to establish a pedigree, and may be connected with the elder Montezuma’s attempts in that direction, which Duran describes at some length in his book.

Summing up, it may be said that the evidence at our disposal speaks against any fundamental change in the form of the government having taken place toward the end of the fourteenth century, but suggests the possibility that the victory against Culhuacan may have enhanced both the importance and the authority of the chief; especially as regards his war powers. The typical social structure of the Aztecs, the chief ruler and the Cihuacoatl, the different ranks of warriors and leaders, the “electors,” the division of the population into different

classes, the land policy, etc.—all these things do not appear in our sources until the time of Itzcoatl, that is to say, about 1430.

In spite of their success in throwing off the yoke of Culhuacan, the Aztecs, under their first three rulers, are not represented as entirely free from the domination of Culhuacan or Atzacpotzalco. All the records, the original manuscripts as well as the secondary sources, agree in placing them under some kind of subjection to Atzacpotzalco, under their second ruler Huitzilihuitl. Little is said of Culhuacan after the death of Acamapichtli. We may consequently infer that Mexico, until the time of Itzcoatl, was struggling against the greatest of its early rivals, the capital of the Tepanecans. Even if we accept as accurate the claims of the *Codex Mendoza* that Huitzilihuitl conquered a number of pueblos and forced them to pay tribute to Mexico-Tenochtitlan—the latter part of which statement is doubtful—that would not interfere with the assumption that the latter city was under some sort of subjection to Atzacpotzalco.

War broke out between the Aztecs and Tepanecans under Huitzilihuitl's successor, Chimalpopoca, and the Aztecs clearly suffered a bad reverse, their ruler being captured and subsequently put to death. Their history, at this epoch, became merged in the greater struggle that was going on outside of their walls, the battle between the Tepanecans under Tezozomoc and his son Maxtla, and the Tezucans, or at least the older branch of the Tezucans, under Ixtlilxochitl and his son Nezahualcoyotl.

We have two sources for these events, the Aztec and the Tezucan, the first given in the works of Duran and Tezozomoc, and in the *Codices Ramirez, Telleriano-Remensis, and Mendoza*, and the second in Ixtlilxochitl and his primary source, the *Codex Xolotl*. Both are colored, as might be expected, in the interests of their own side. The Tezucan account seems to be far more reliable and better authenticated. If we accept it, the final conquest of the Tepanecans and the capture and destruction of their capital city was due to the Tezucans with the aid of the Aztecs. To the Aztecs, however, the achievement was particularly their own, and was hailed by future generations as one of the most significant events in their history. It was followed by the conquest of Coyuacan, the other center of Tepanecan power. This followed naturally, for the terrible blows dealt by Nezahualcoyotl to the Tepanecan rule destroyed whatever hegemony the Tepanecans possessed in that quarter of the valley, and the conquest of their cities must have then become a comparatively easy task for the Aztecs.

Then followed the war against Xochimilco, in which the Aztecs were again completely victorious. With that victory the Aztec power became firmly established.

The *Codex Ramirez* very naively reflects the general rejoicing of the Aztecs and their exaggeration of what had been achieved, and even distorts the nature of the alliance with Tezeuco, wishing us to believe that the Tezeucans asked to be the allies of the former and even submitted to a formal act of submission. This is so clearly contrary to well-authenticated facts, and besides is so clumsily motivated, that it can be dismissed without comment.

The external events which took place under Itzcoatl's rule were of fundamental importance because they freed Mexico-Tenochtitlan from all danger of serious attack in her immediate vicinity; and secondly, as the ally of the great Tezeucan state, gave her an opportunity for beginning that struggle outside of the valley proper that eventually led to her extensive "empire." But the great struggles in the valley were still before her and not before the final victory over Chalco and Tlatelulco can it be said that her hegemony was complete. Even then it was of a limited kind, one she had to share with the Tezeucans and Tlacopan, and one she had constantly to enforce and defend in the face of numerous revolts.

Accompanying these great external events, or perhaps as a consequence of them, internal changes of paramount importance for the future history of Mexico-Tenochtitlan took place. The social organization seems, then, to have finally crystallized into something of the aspect it had when the Spaniards arrived. Classes became more sharply differentiated and the power of the war leader was greatly increased. The chief of the tribe, if we may use parallels from other Indian tribes, was certainly not primarily a leader of war expeditions. Such leaders were generally selected for each occasion. Among the Indians to the north, in northern Mexico and the United States, great warriors frequently arose and exercised extensive influence in the tribe. This seems to have happened under Itzcoatl, and the warrior in question was his nephew Tlaacellel, the great hero of Aztec history. There is nothing to indicate that he held any office in his youth. Toward the end of his life and particularly on his deathbed, he is represented as being the *Cihuacoatl*, the vice-ruler, and desirous of having that office presented to one of his sons.

However, certain events had happened in the meantime which completely transformed the social organization of the state. The

wars waged by the Mexicans and the personality and genius of Tlacaellé raised the position of war chief to a rank almost as high as that of the tribal chief. There is nothing astonishing in that. A great and successful war leader frequently eclipses in reputation the tribal chief among many communities. Now it is well to remember that Tlacaellé never became the ruler of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Later generations in idealizing his figure felt that it was necessary to explain this apparent lack of appreciation on the part of their ancestors and represent him as refusing the office. However the reason for his not having been chief is simple enough. Chieftainship was apparently inherited in a very definite way, and a study of the genealogies of the rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan shows that Tlacaellé was never eligible.

Was his office inherited? One of his sons undoubtedly possessed it, but then it is distinctly stated that he possessed the qualifications necessary in the form of war achievements. After him our evidence is confused because the position of *Cihuacoatl* contains a number of features that are distinctly of European origin and force us to the conclusion that the descriptions are all late; and because with Montezuma the Elder the functions of the chief of the tribe are merged with those of the war chief on account of certain military requirements that each new chief had to fulfill as well as the necessity of personally controlling the "empire." When the sources speak of the person directly in line for the chieftainship always having the position of *Cihuacoatl*, it is quite clear that European notions about an heir apparent have crept into the documents.

The most we can say is that the office of the *Cihuacoatl* was probably old, that it rose into prominence toward the end of Itzcoatl's rule, probably through the influence of Tlacaellé's personality, and that subsequently it was at times held by men who afterwards became the rulers of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. It can consequently hardly be said to have been hereditary; for the number of possible candidates for the latter office, owing to the manner in which the selection was made, was by no means small.

Apart from the prominence suddenly assumed by the *Cihuacoatl*, the age of Itzcoatl witnessed another and even more far-reaching change, one consequent upon the new situation that arose in connection with the conquered territory of the Tepanecans. The *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* tells us that as early as the time of Acamapichtli towns were conquered and forced to pay tribute, but no claim is

made that the lands of the conquered people were distributed among the victors. Duran mentions specifically when this first occurred, comments upon it, and further on in connection with the conquest of a certain pueblo adds, as if to imply that it was not a very old procedure, that they then distributed the lands among the warriors, *as it had now become the custom to do*. Clearly we are here dealing with a new order of things. Now it is a significant fact that the custom of distributing the lands of the conquered pueblos was an old and established feature of the older civilizations of the valley of Mexico and a recognized procedure of the Tepanecans and the Tezcucans. It was, in other words, adopted by the Aztecs when Nezahualcoyotl brought his campaign against the Tepanecans to a successful completion, and when, with the aid of the Aztecs, he captured and destroyed Atzacapotzalco. It was from the Tezcucans, probably, that the Aztecs borrowed it.

To explain the differentiation of the Aztec people into definite classes, which is first explicitly mentioned as existing in Itzcoatl's time, is more difficult. In a general way, of course, such a division of peoples is by no means uncommon in other parts of North America. However, the specific features it possessed among the Aztecs, as the description of Zurita, for instance, shows, could hardly have developed between 1430 and 1519, as Duran would have us suppose, unless, indeed, we assume that the Aztecs borrowed this, together with a number of other elements of their social organization, from the Tezcucans, a rather untenable assumption. Agriculture and some form of land ownership was an old cultural possession of the Aztecs; a general division into nobility and commoners, of considerable age, is probably also to be predicated. The gradual development of the power of the chief of the tribe must have crystallized these older, perhaps not unduly accentuated divisions, and formed them into true castes.

The Tepanecan wars, with the consequent rise to supreme importance of the military class and its problem of taking care of newly distributed alien lands, did the rest. The lands were given to the men who had actually fought the battles. The first direct result was a perceptible inequality in the size of individual possessions. This naturally stimulated the growth of more and more marked differentiation between the large land owners and the rest of the tribe. That the latter were converted into anything like serfs it is absolutely unwarranted to assume. The interests of the tribe were still para-

mount, and even as late as the Conquest, we have good reasons for believing, to judge from Zurita, that individual possessions lapsed to the tribe when an individual left the community.

However, while it would be unjustified to believe that the picture Duran draws in his very naive manner of how the division into classes arose, and while it would be even less permissible to imagine that one group agreed to serve the other, the new order of things ushered in by the policy of distributing lands to the noble leaders of war expeditions and to the others who actually took part, did change the relative position of the two main groups of Aztec society; and from Itzcoatl to the second Montezuma that change became more and more accentuated. It was, to judge from our evidence, clearly a one-sided change, entirely in the interests of the governing "nobility." The most momentous official recognition of the deep-cut differences that existed took place under the second Montezuma, when he dismissed from office all except members of the nobility.

The successor of Itzcoatl, the elder Montezuma, brought further organization into the affairs of the state, "codified" the previous laws, and extended the limits of the "empire." Centralization had already gone far enough apparently to warrant an attempt at obtaining a pedigree both for the state and for the ruling family. This he set out to do.

The external events of Montezuma's rule were of considerable importance for the future development of Mexico-Tenochtitlan, even if they were not of such fundamental consequence as those that occurred under his predecessor.

The most important aspect of the wars Montezuma I waged was the fact that, for the first time in their history, the Mexicans succeeded in getting a firm foothold in the Mixteca and in part of the Zapotec country. These distant expeditions, together with the successful subjugation of many towns in the valley of Mexico and the conquest of the Tlahaica and the Tepeaca, apparently impressed Montezuma's contemporaries to such an extent that the records of the time are full of reference to them. This was perhaps natural, for Montezuma's war expeditions differed from those of Itzcoatl in being deliberate attempts to spread the rule of Aztecs, whereas those of Itzcoatl were primarily concerned with freeing Mexico-Tenochtitlan from the domination and the encroachments of powerful and hostile neighbors.

The attempt to conquer the Mixtecs and Zapotecs necessitated elaborate preparations, and once begun had to be continued. It was

apparently a comparatively simple task to overrun most of the territory of the Mixteicans and part of that of the Zapotecs, but to hold it against revolts was extremely difficult. We find, in consequence, that even at the time of the Conquest, the Aztecs had great difficulty in retaining what they had conquered in that region.

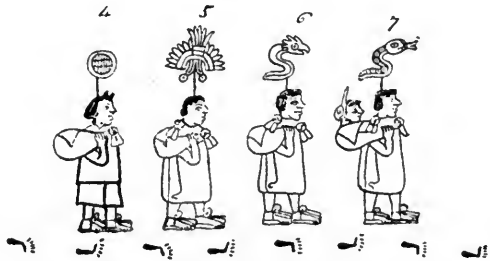
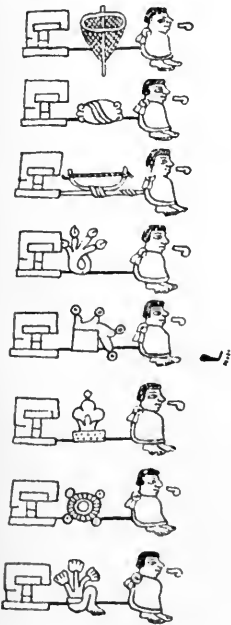
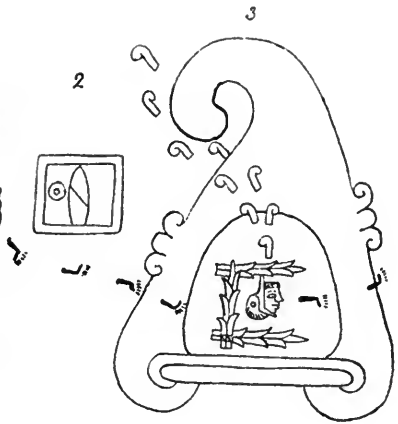
The successor of Montezuma I, Axayacatl, carried his conquests in all directions. The three great wars he waged were against the Tlatelolcans, the Totonacans and neighboring peoples, and the Tarascans. Not only was he successful in his attack upon Tlatelolco, but so complete was the victory that all danger of that city ever again making pretensions to contest the power of Mexico-Tenochtitlan was permanently removed. The attack upon the Totonacans and the other nations near the Gulf of Mexico was likewise quite successful, but the attempt to conquer the Tarascans met with complete failure, and the Mexicans suffered the most ignominious defeat ever inflicted upon them. Axayacatl then returned to Mexico-Tenochtitlan and died soon after.

Nothing of any consequence happened under the rule of Axayacatl's successor, Tizoc, but with the latter's successor, Ahuizotl, we come to one of the most virile figures in Aztec history. His conquests did not carry the Aztecs much farther than they had gone in the time of Axayacatl, but they apparently established control more firmly. Ahuizotl was even able temporarily to extend his conquest over the Zapotecs and his victory over the Tehuanos was one of the most famous of his rule.

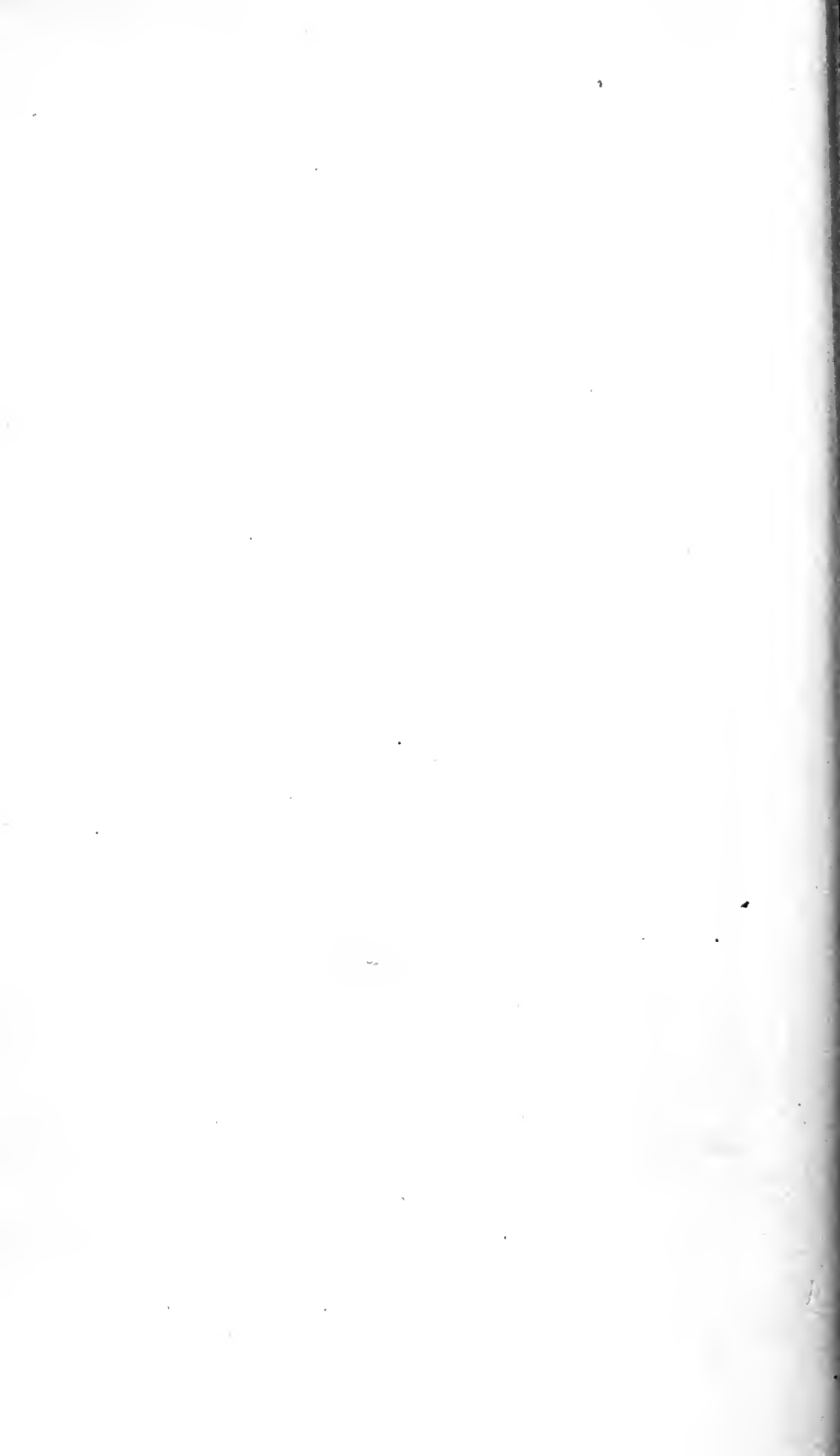
The internal development which Mexico-Tenochtitlan underwent under Ahuizotl was along the lines laid down by Itzcoatl and Montezuma I. The one important change was the power the ruler and his immediate following now possessed. If we are to trust the account concerning Ahuizotl's successor, Montezuma II, this power was not yet definitely sanctioned but it apparently required only the slightest impetus to give it this definite sanction, as Montezuma II himself demonstrated.

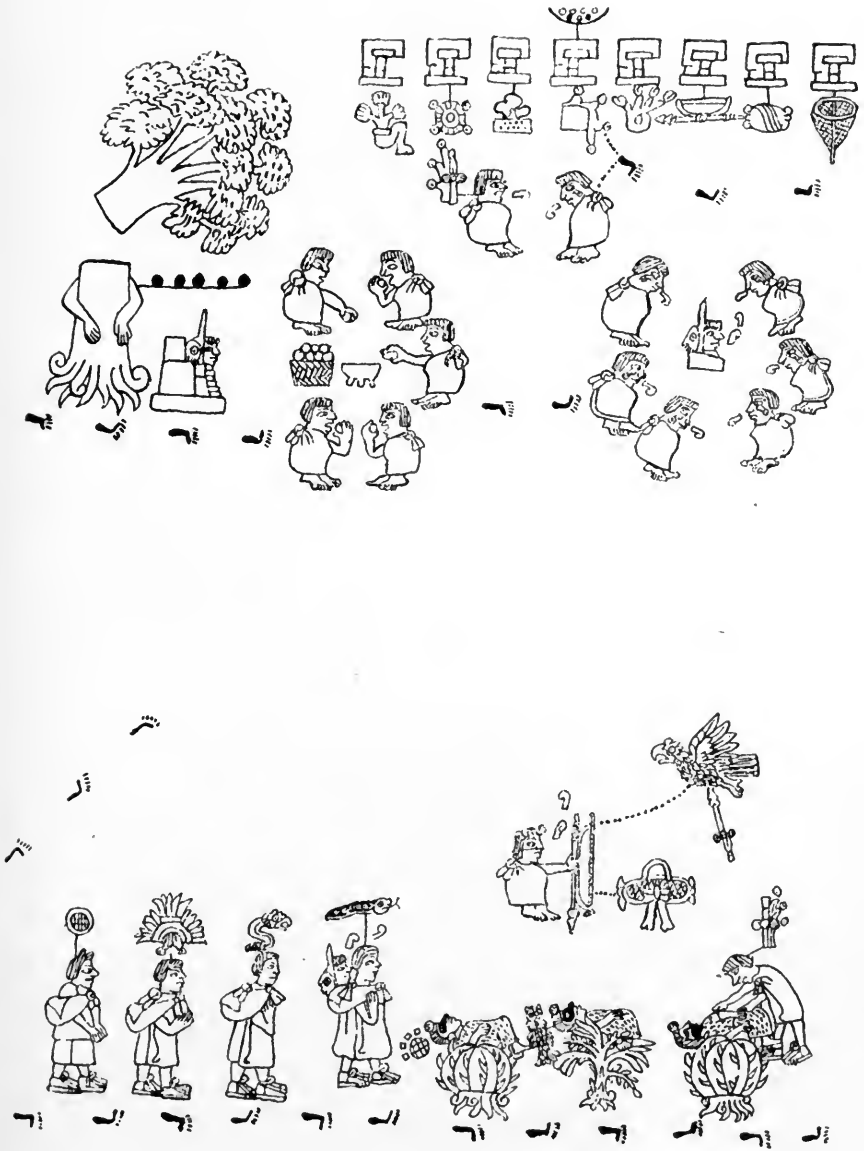
Montezuma II, the son of Ahuizotl, succeeded him. It was in his reign that Mexico was conquered by the Spaniards and consequently we probably have more accounts of him than of all his predecessors combined. How to evaluate them has always been difficult, for the Spanish chroniclers and the native historians brought under Spanish influence were naturally inclined to ascribe much of what they saw or had been told by the older Indians concerning the government and

customs of the time of Montezuma to the initiative of that ruler himself. We know now, of course, that this view is untenable and that the vast majority of the features of Aztec culture grew up and developed to maturity some fifty to a hundred years before Montezuma's time. There is, however, one change universally ascribed to Montezuma which it seems justifiable to accept as his—namely, the definite change of the ruler from an elected chief to what seems, to all intents and purposes, a king. To Montezuma is definitely ascribed, by all our sources, the dismissal from his immediate entourage of all servants and followers who were not of "noble" birth. The sources also make it quite plain that Montezuma was here breaking with custom and the accepted order of things. Of his elaborate court, his palaces, the different kinds of nobles who served him, nothing need be said except that our sources indicate that all Montezuma's predecessors from Axayacatl on possessed the same. Even this change from chieftainship to kingship is foreshadowed in Ahuizotl's reign.

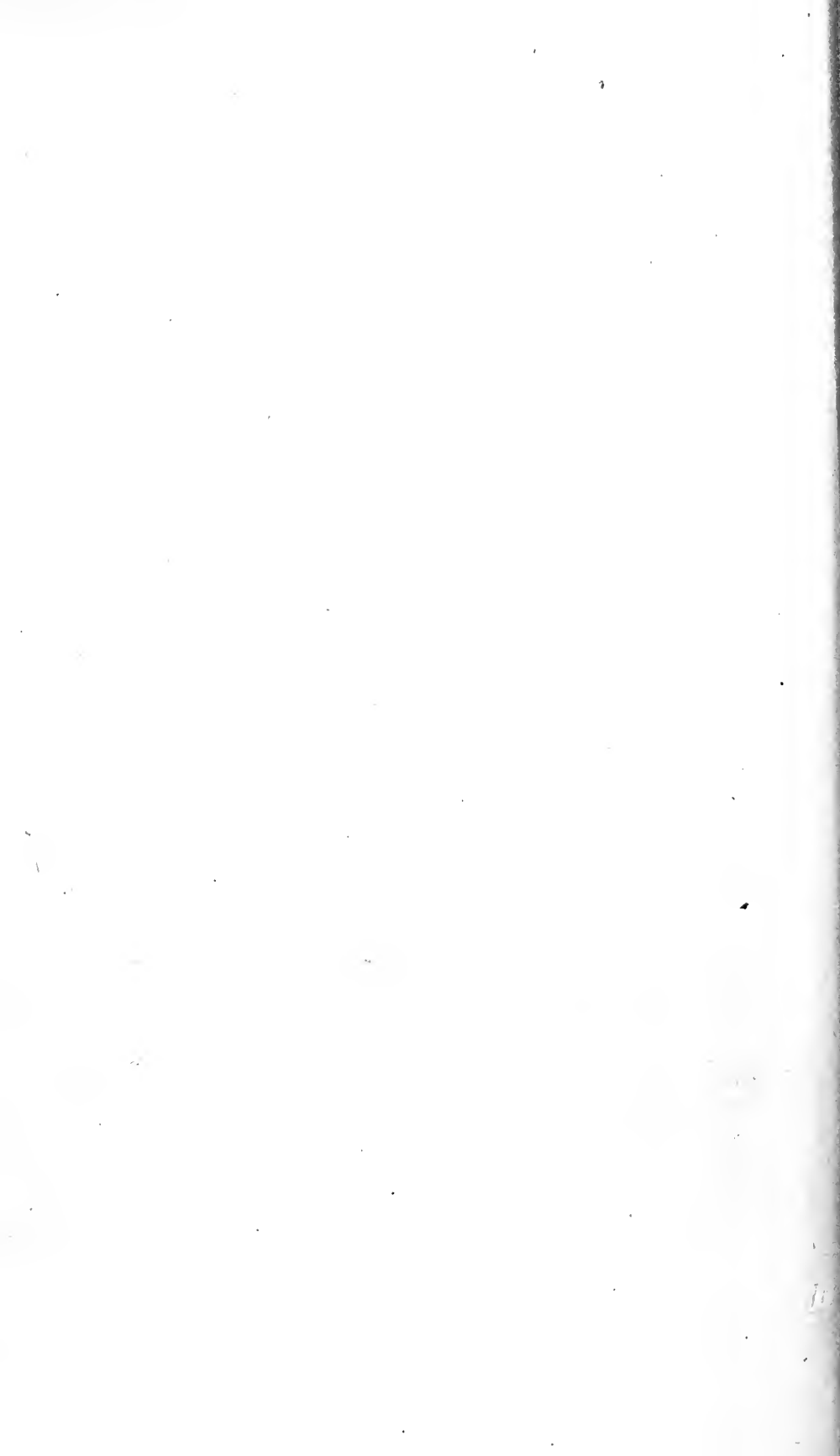


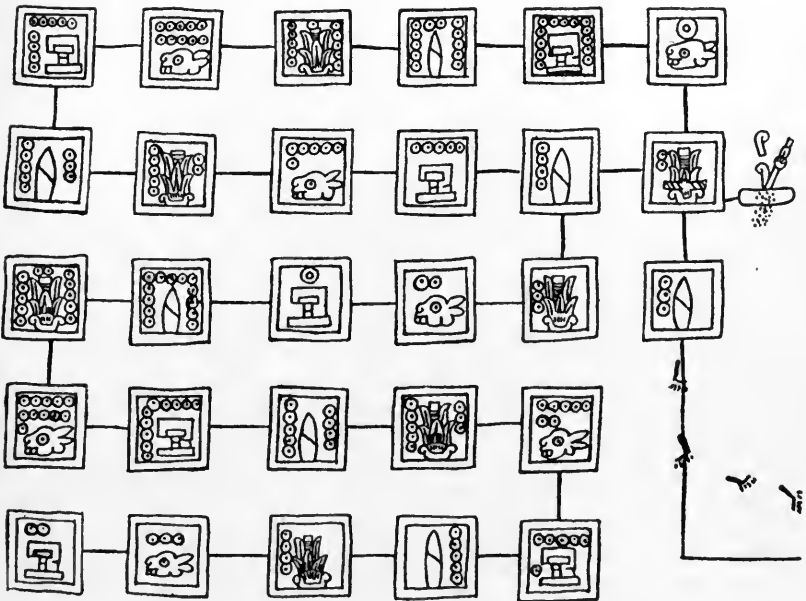
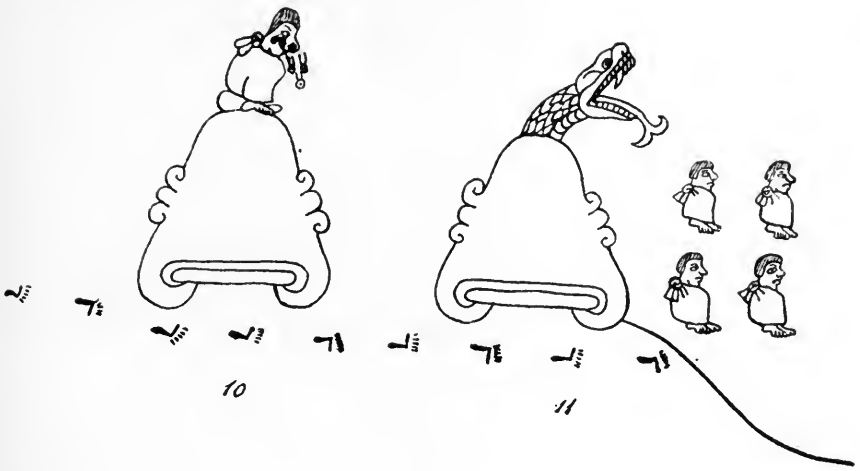
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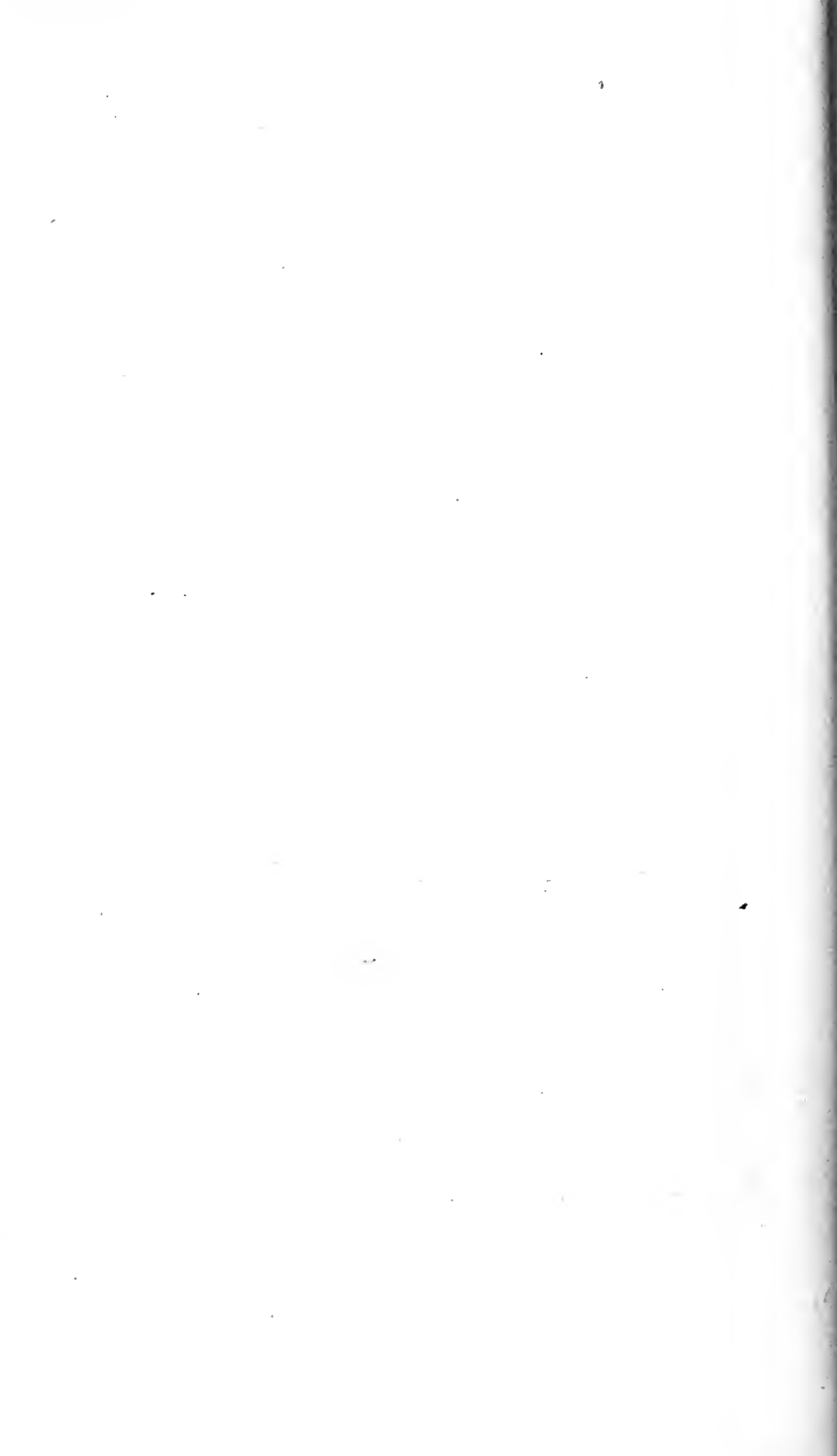


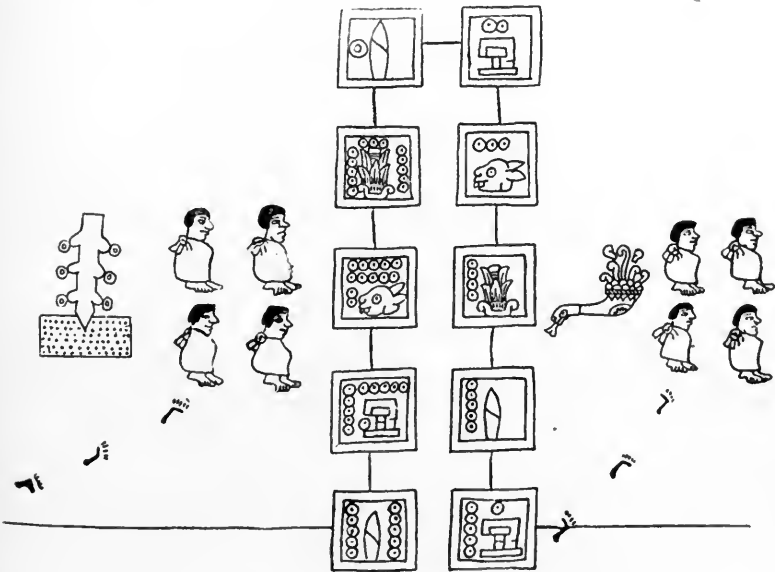
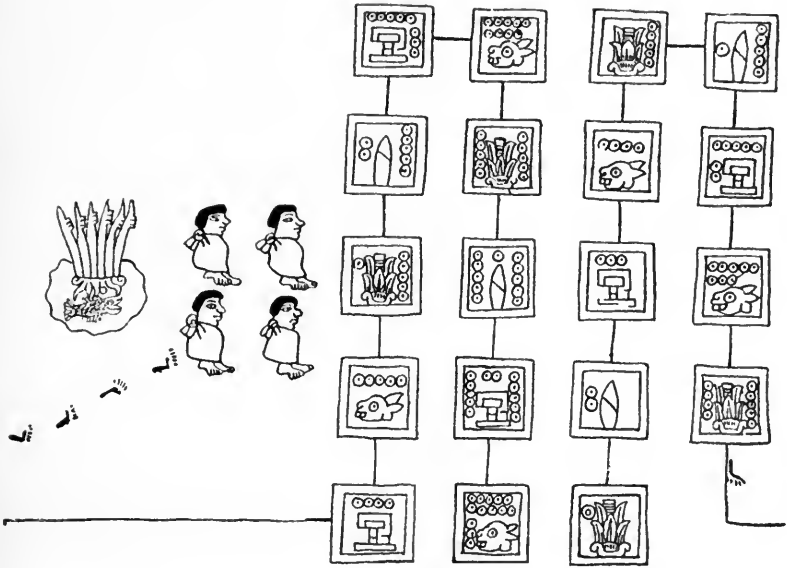
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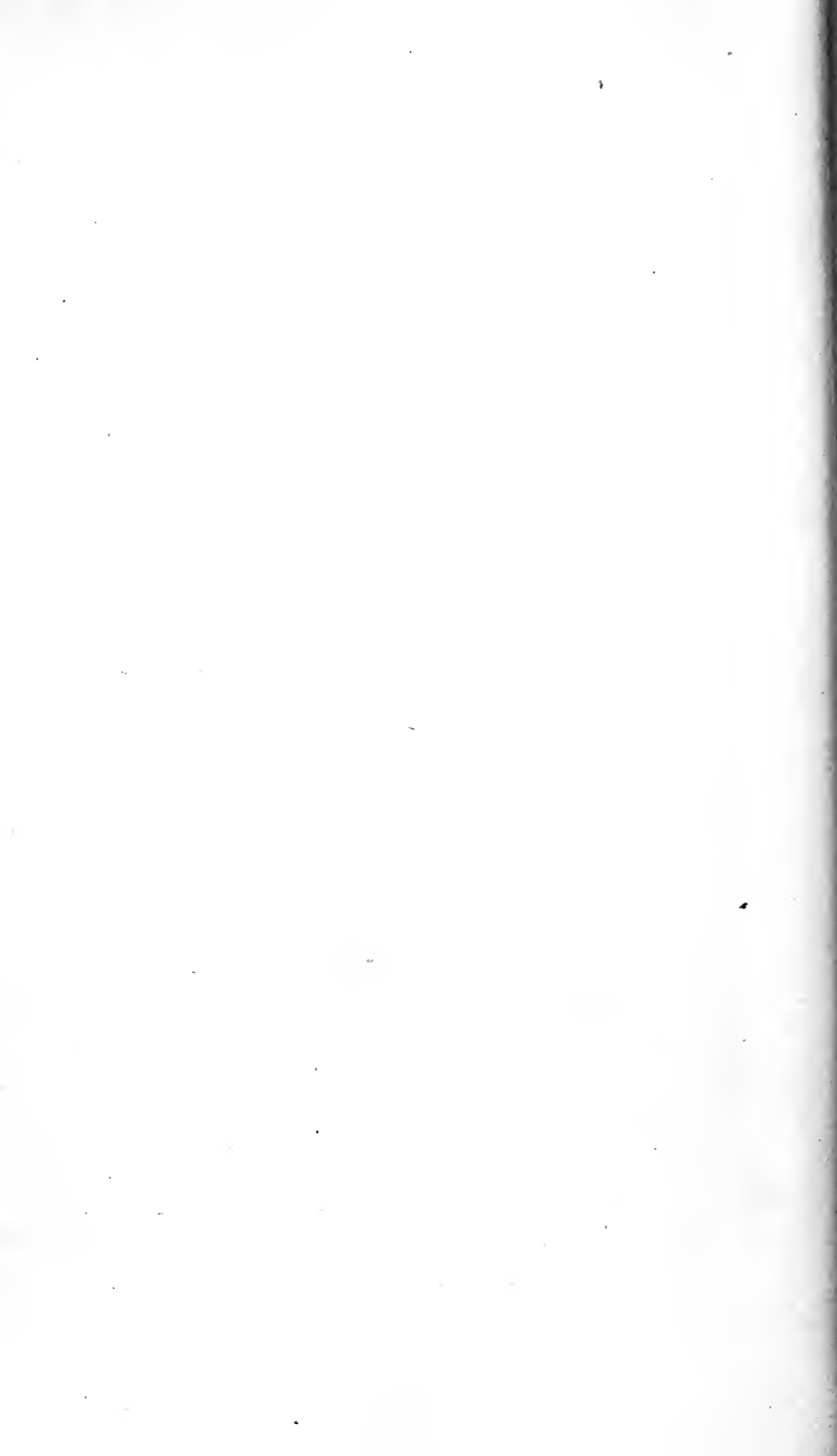


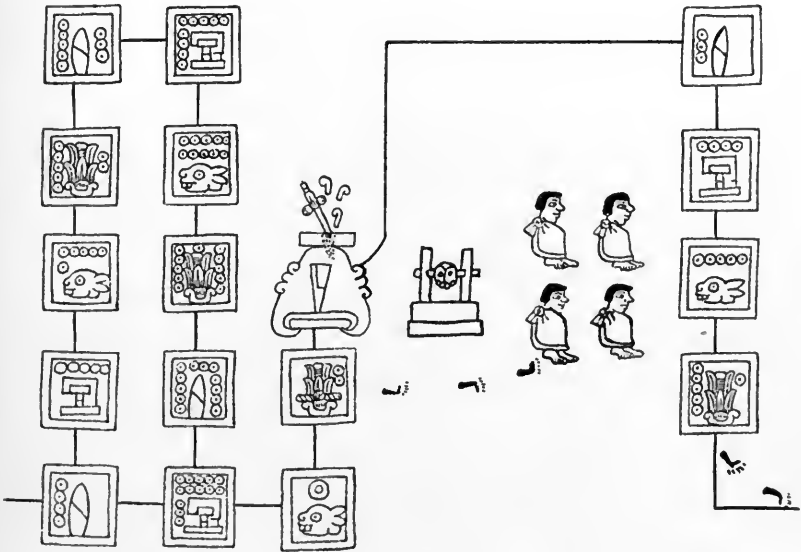
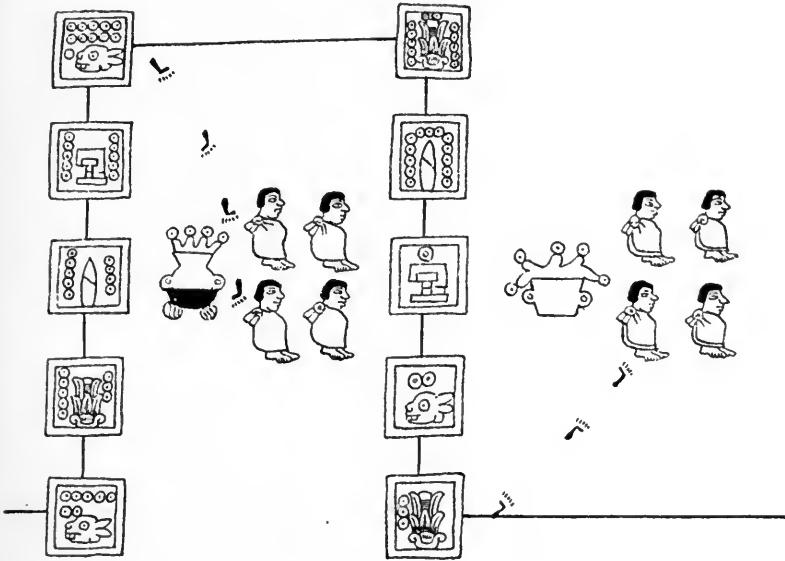
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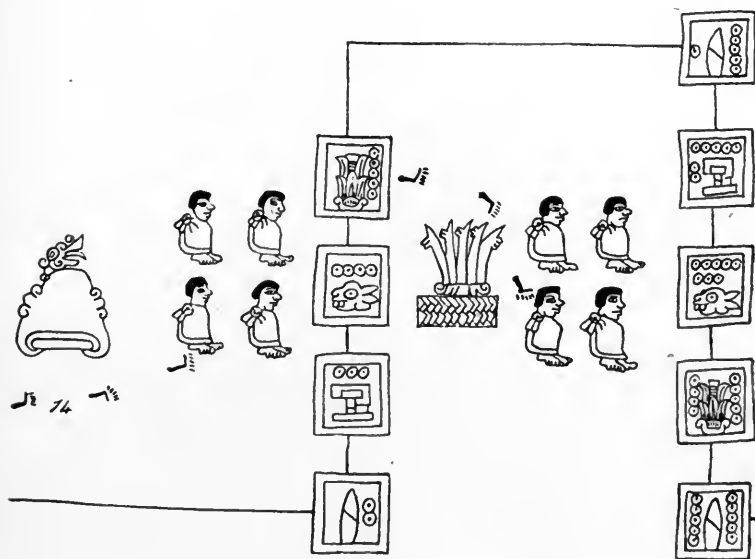
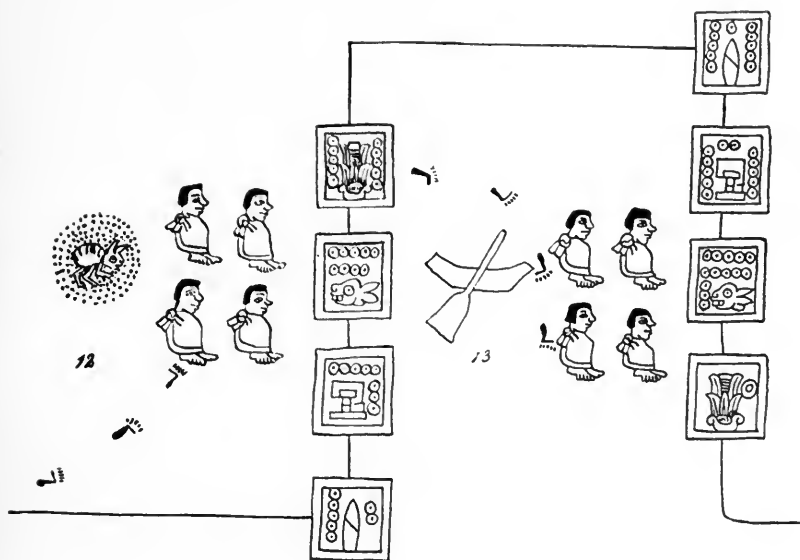
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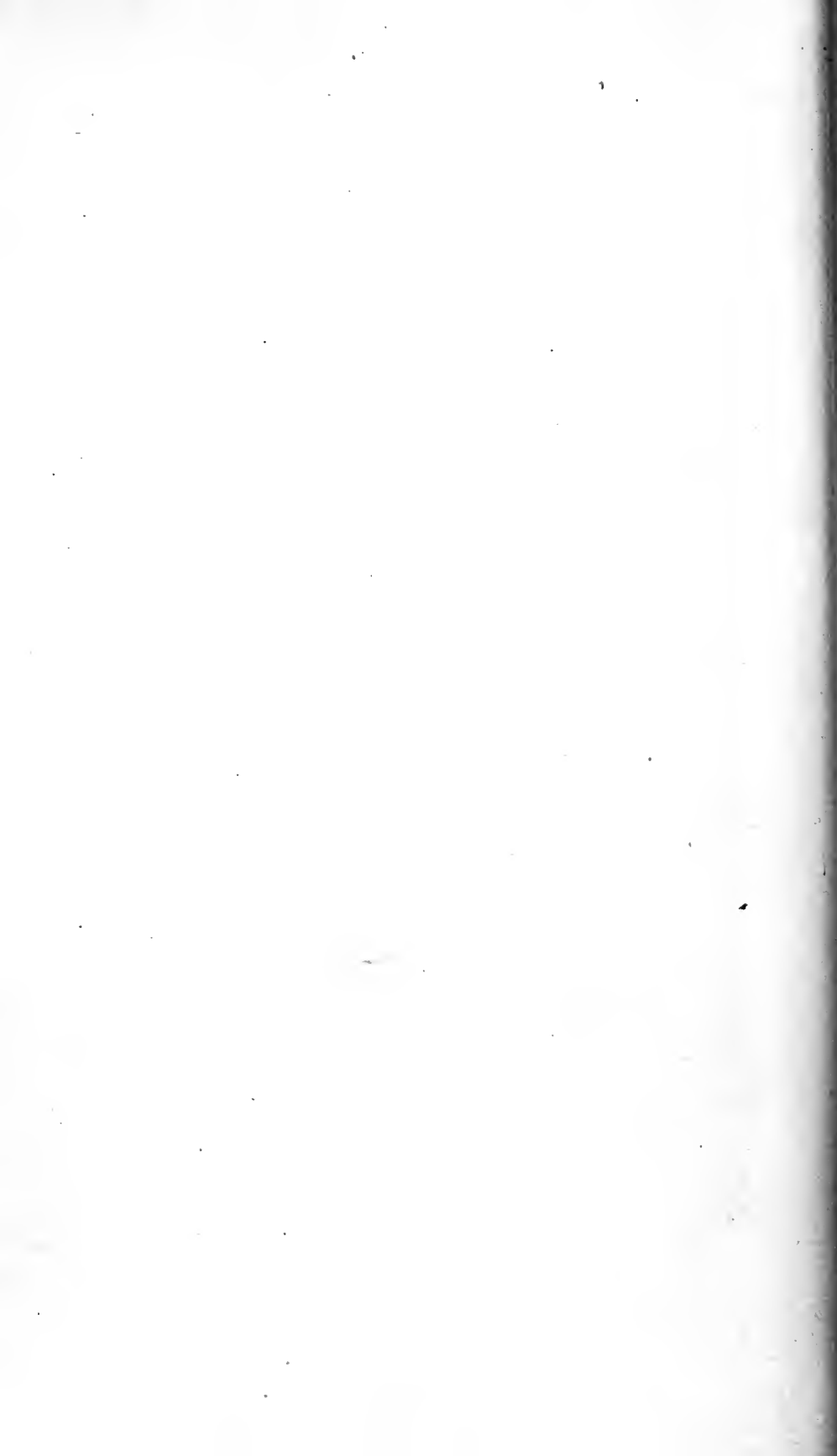


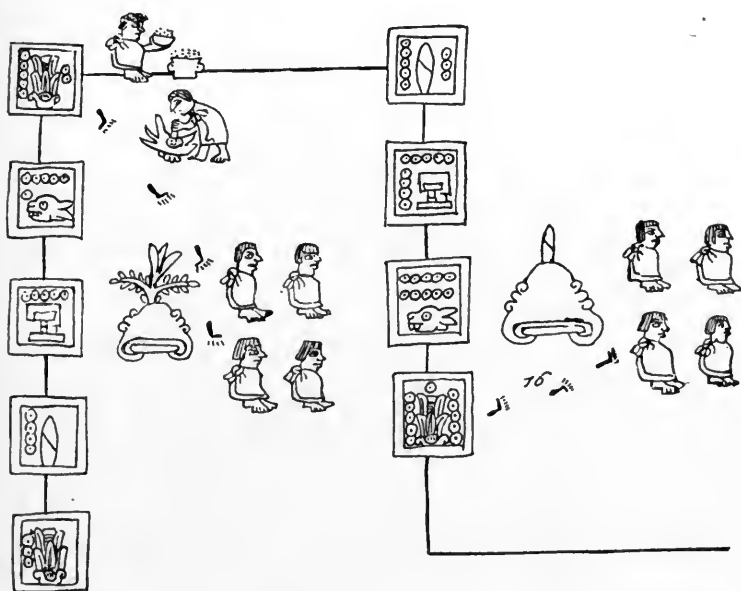
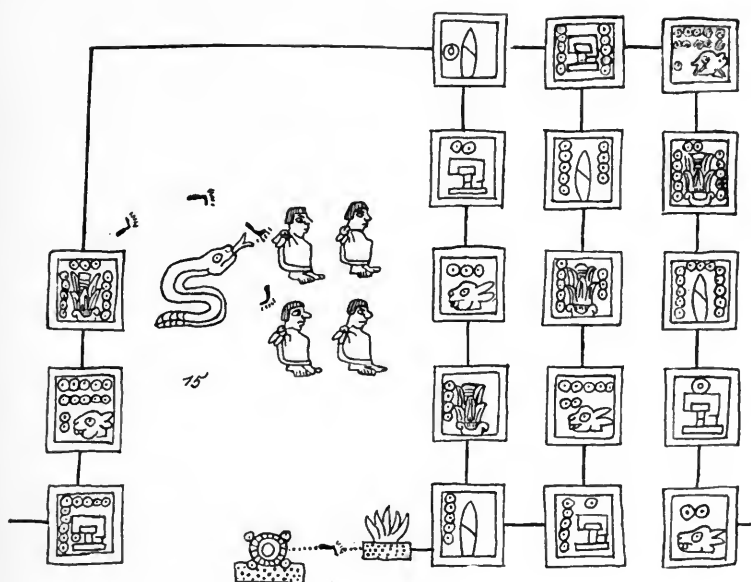
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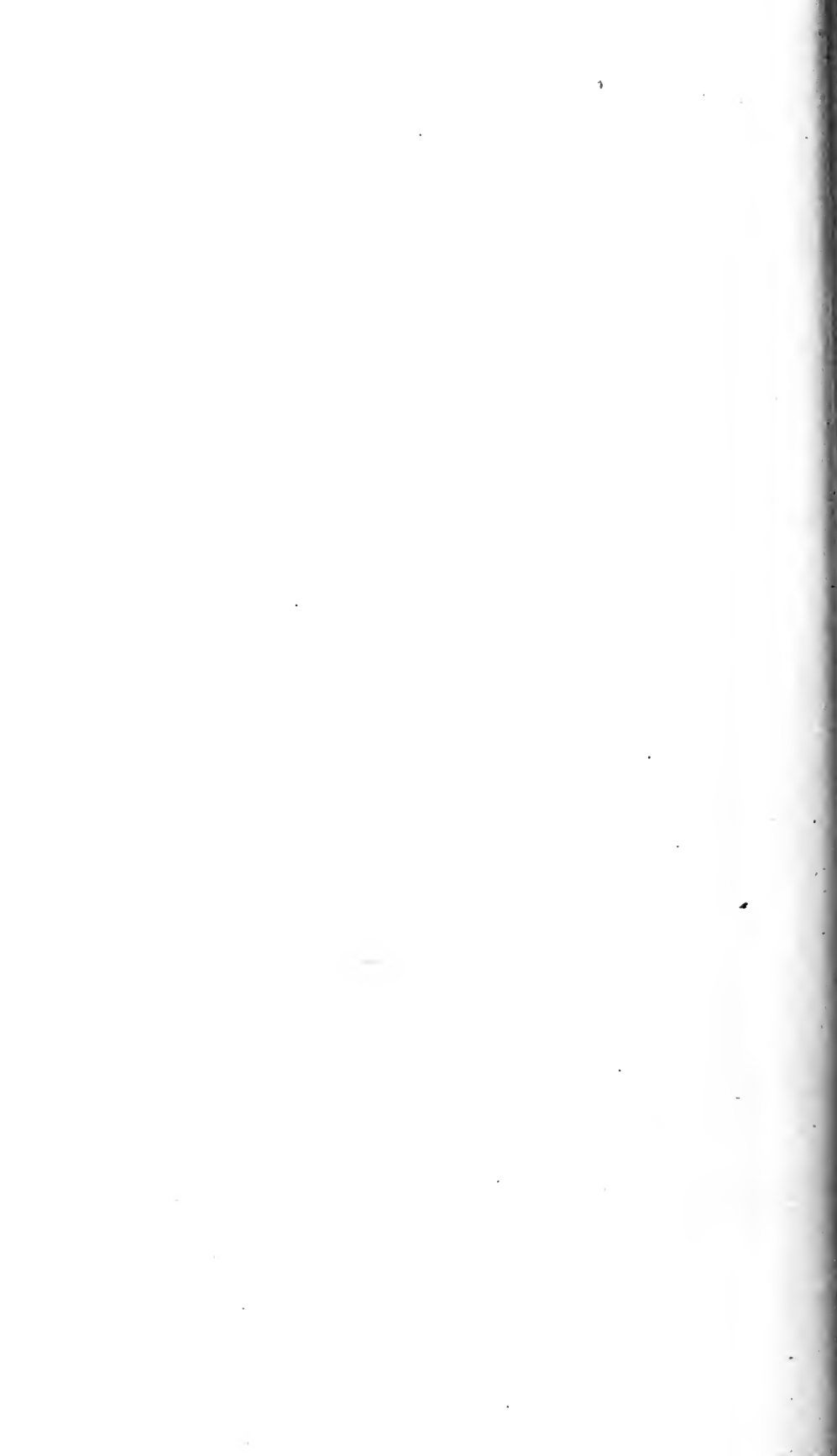


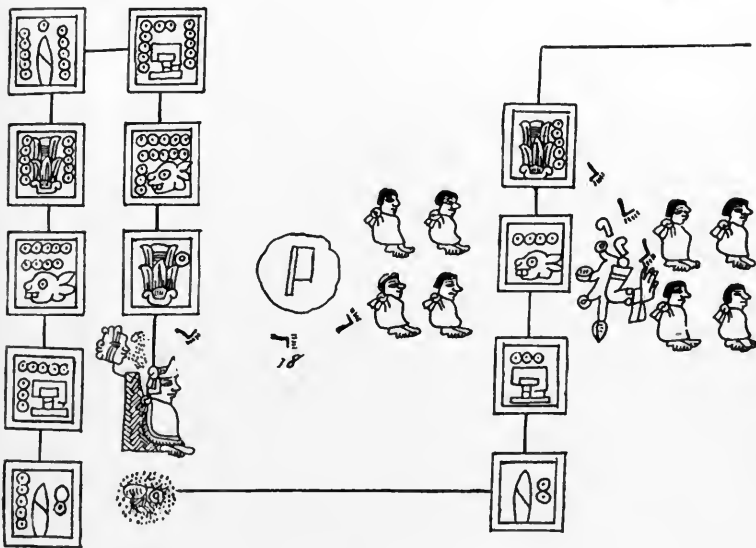
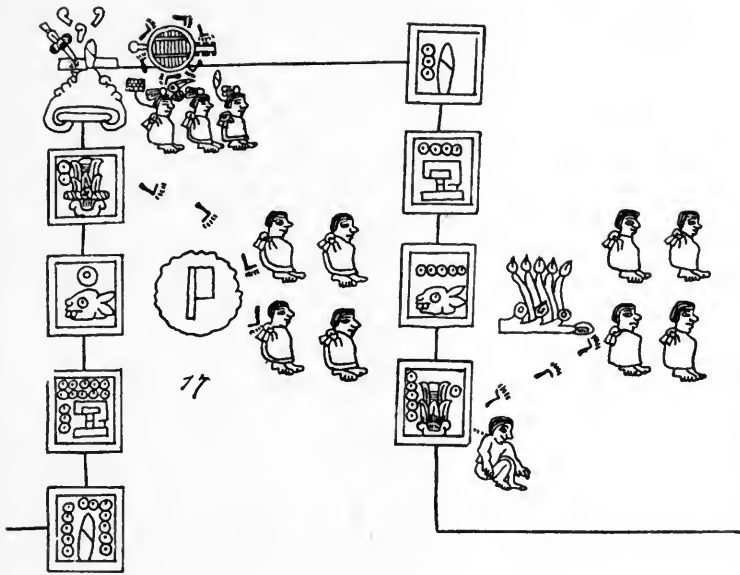


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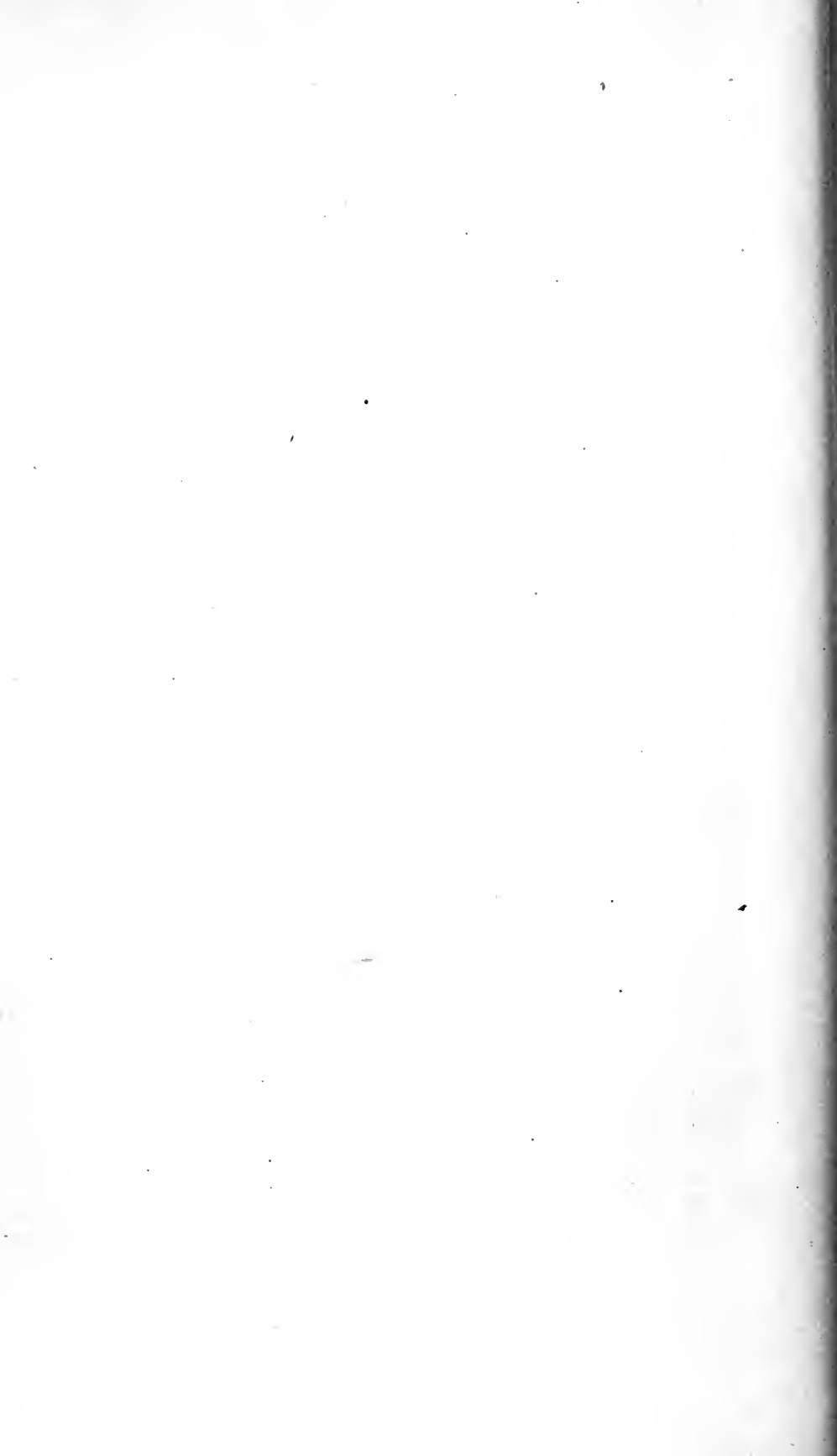


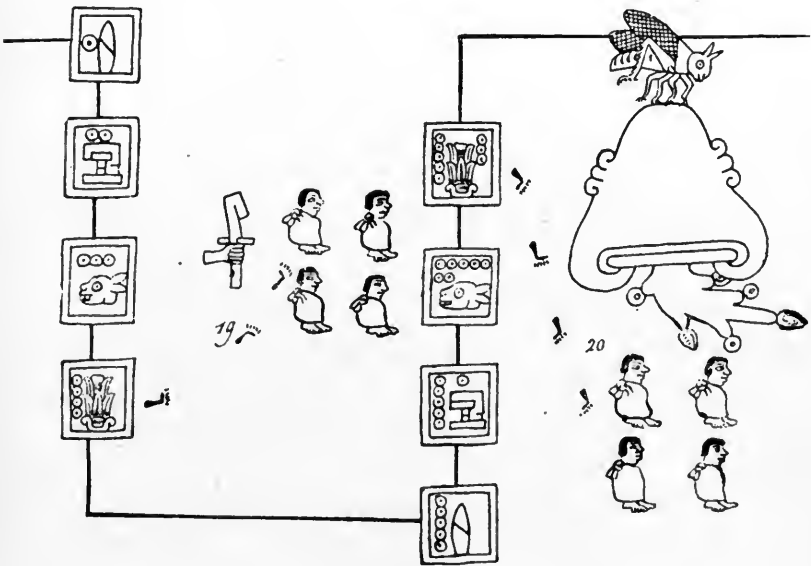
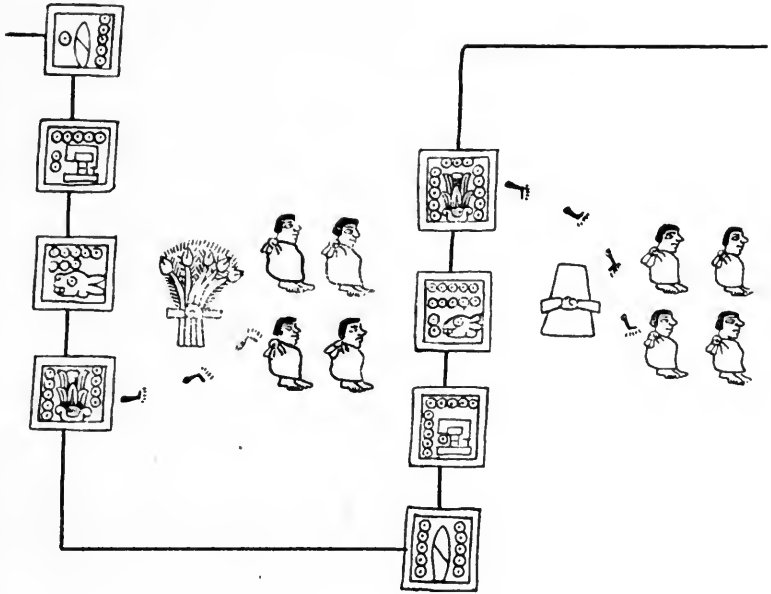




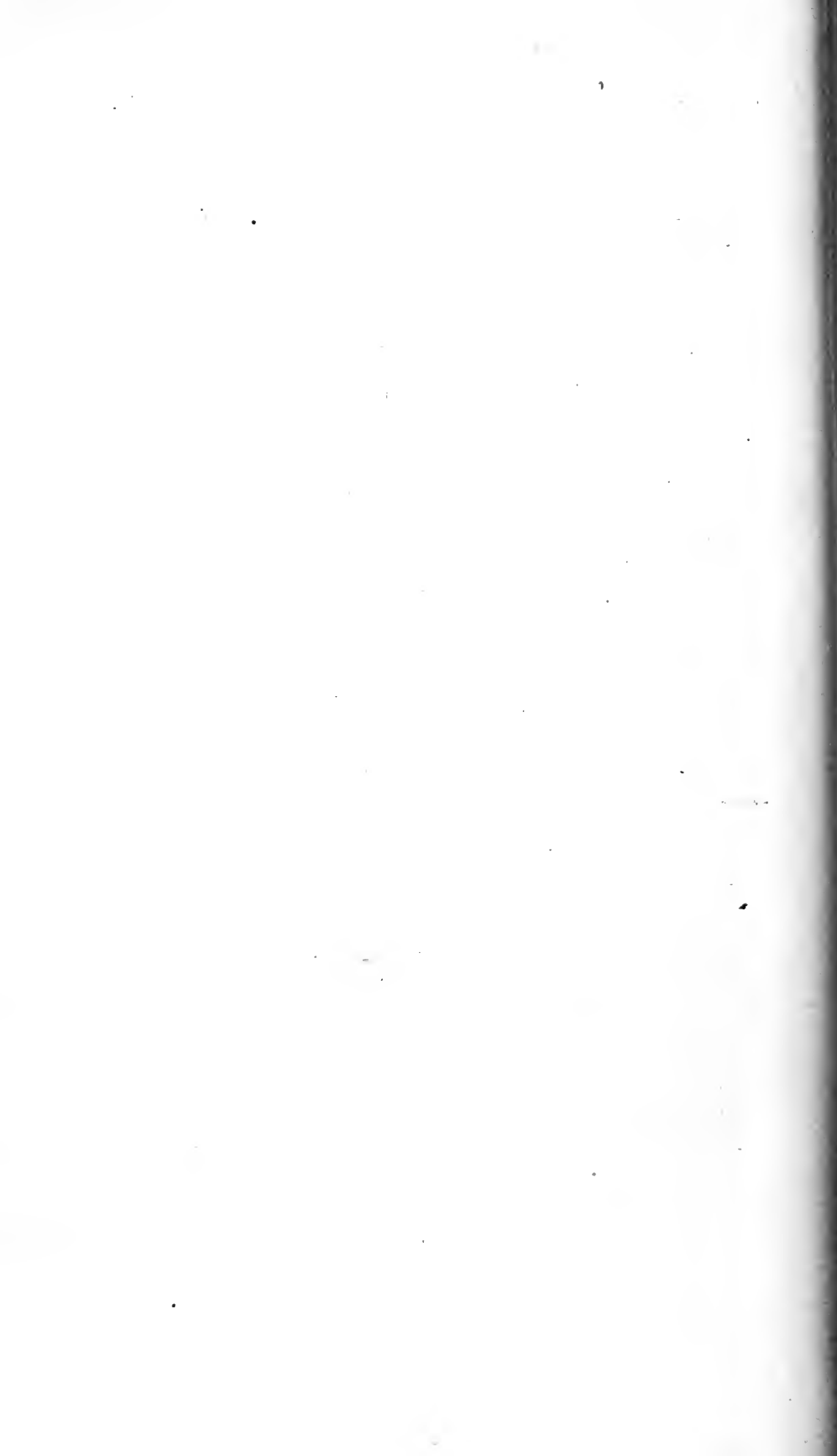


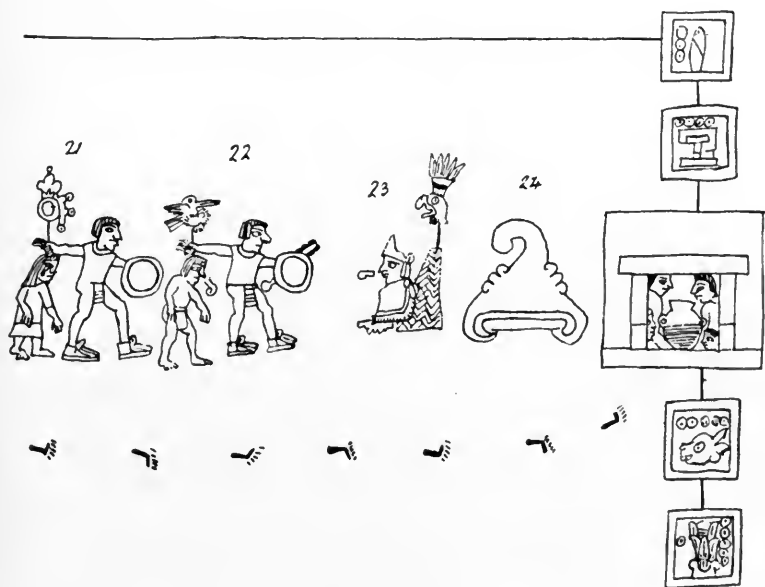
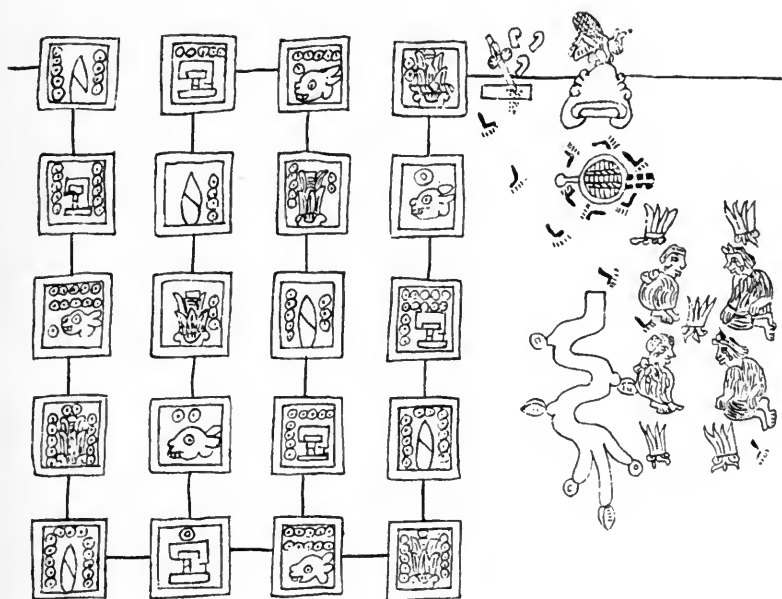
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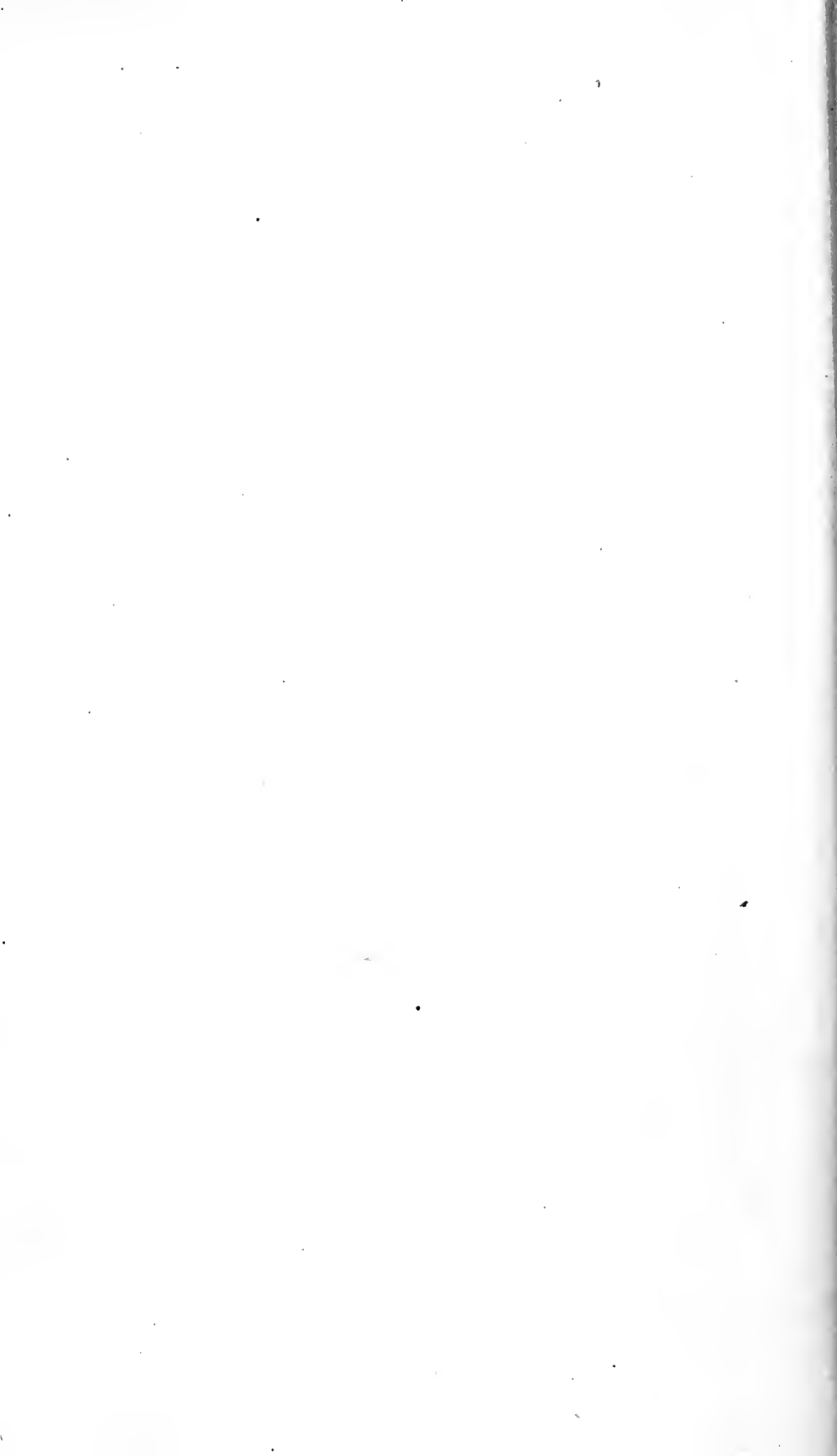


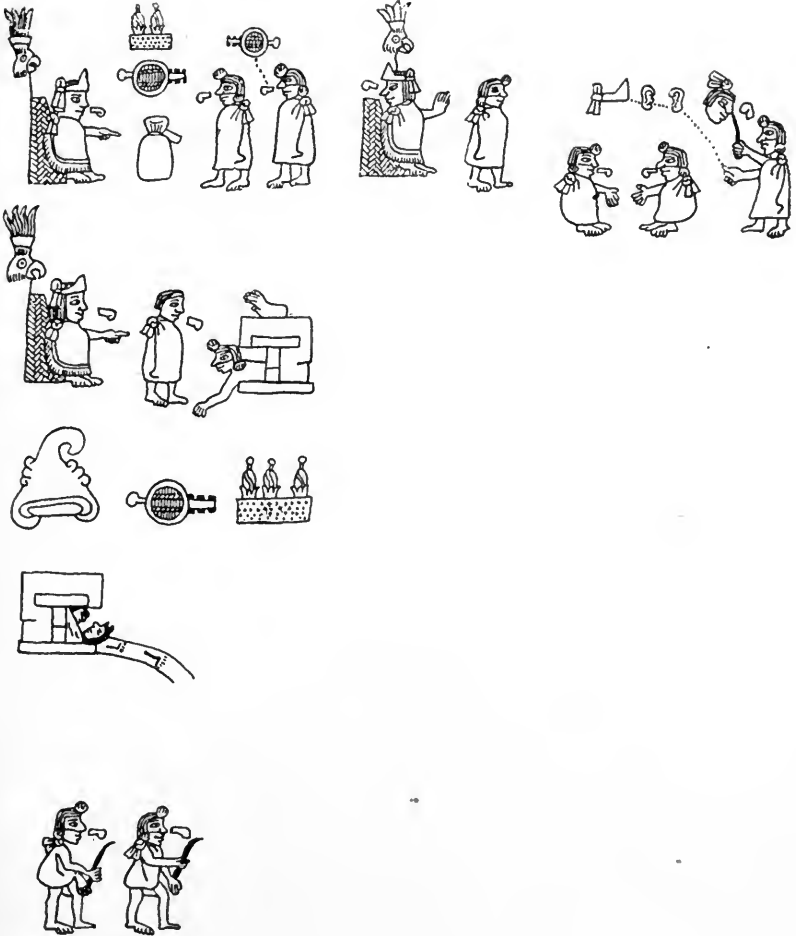


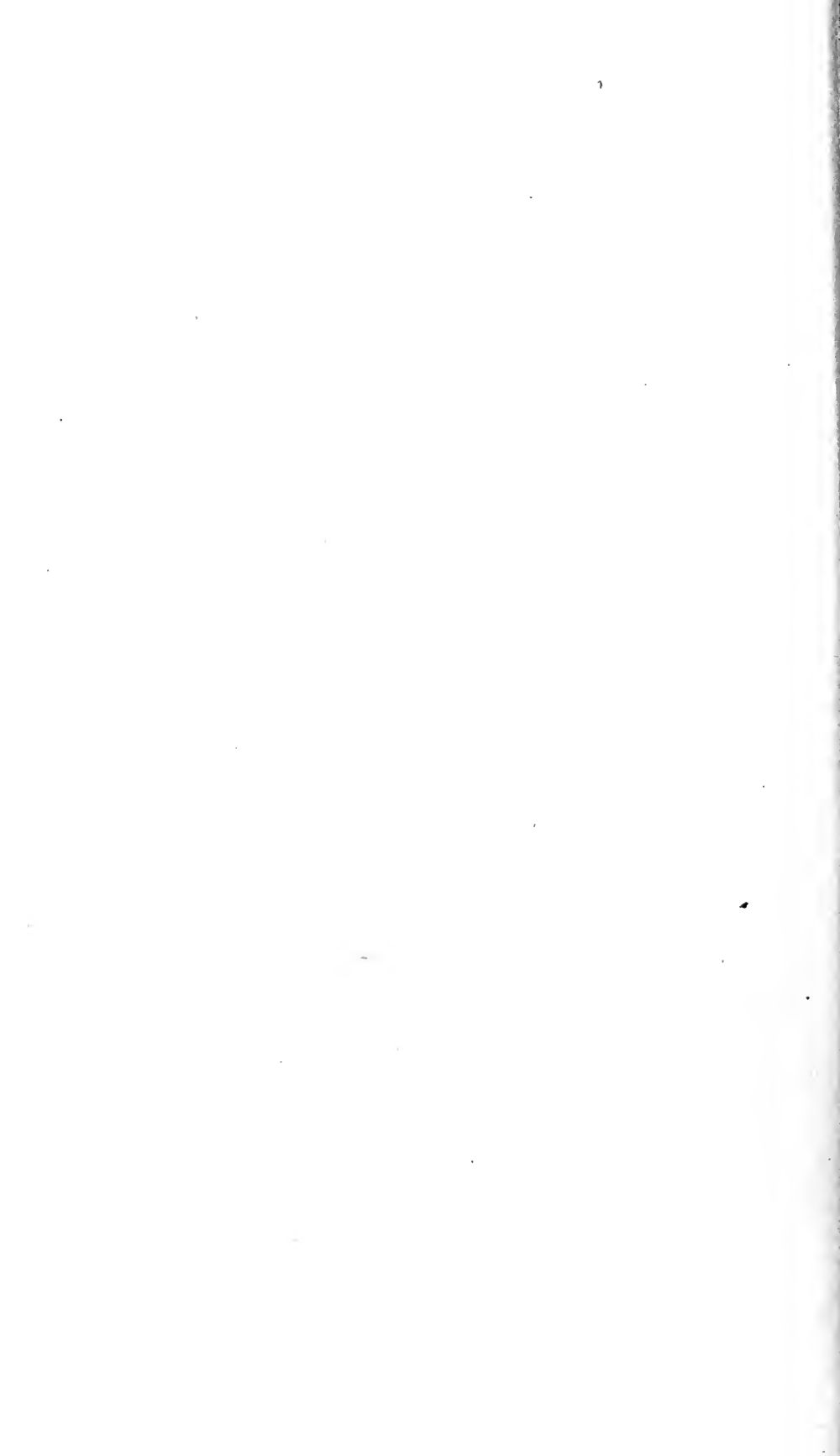
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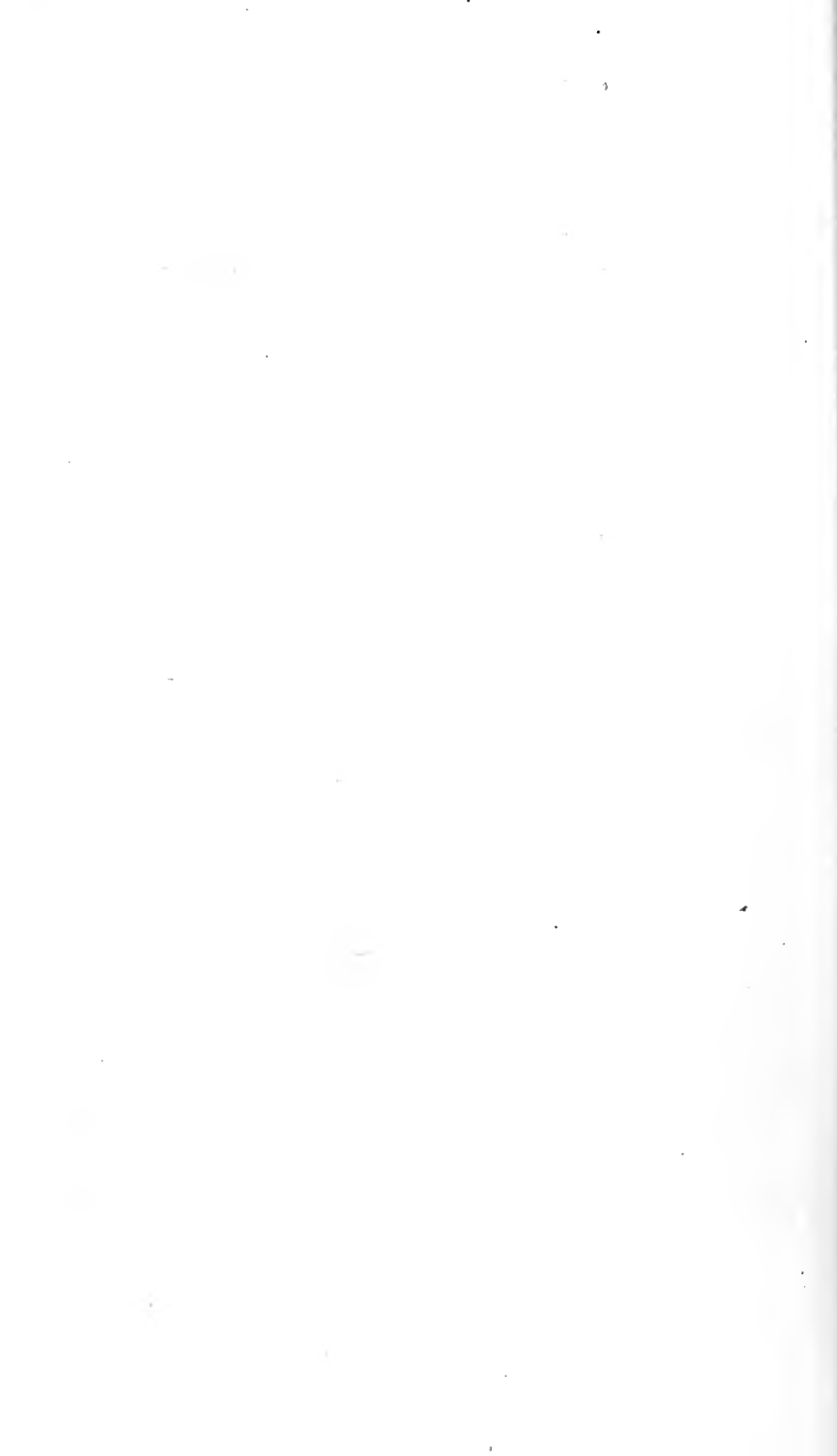


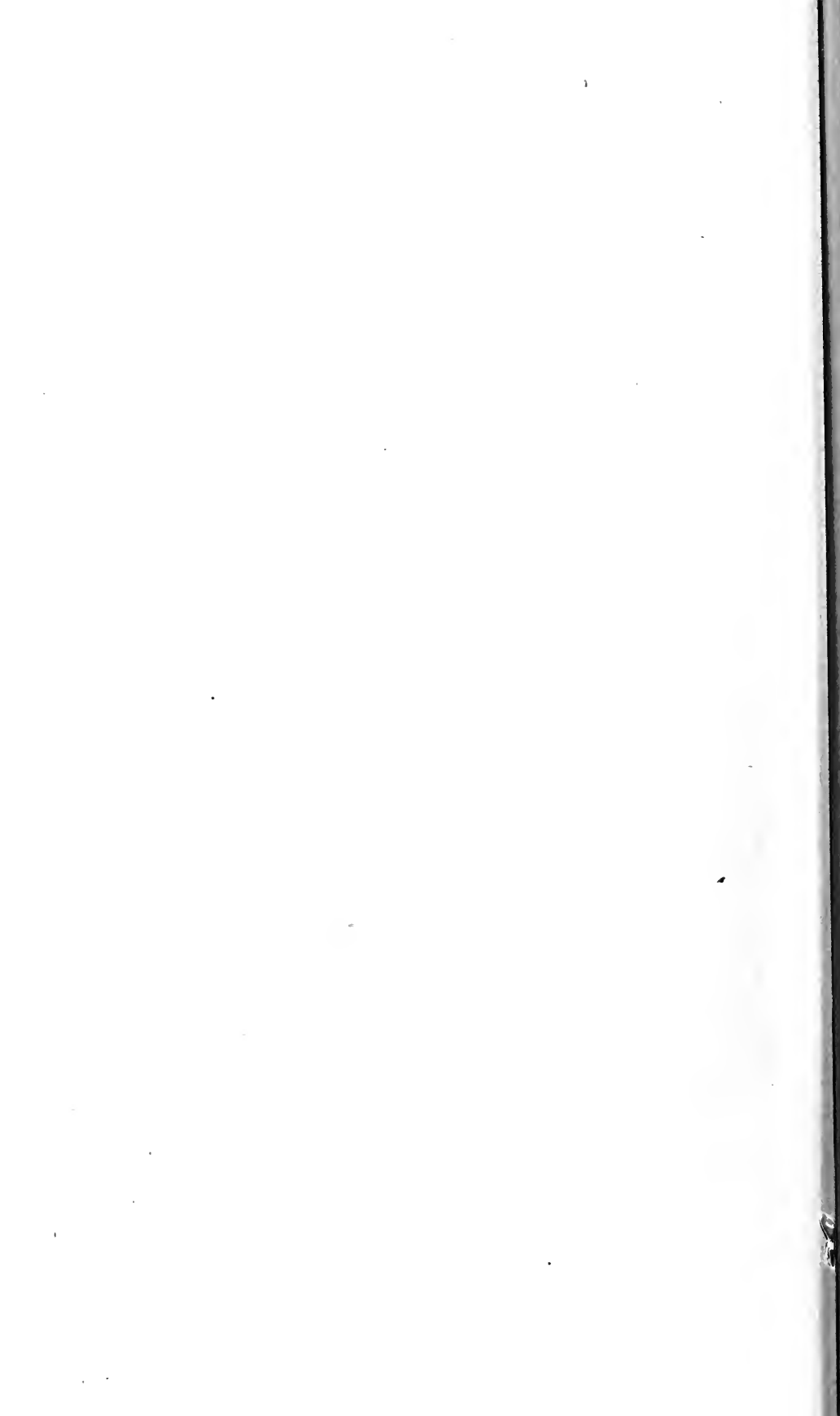


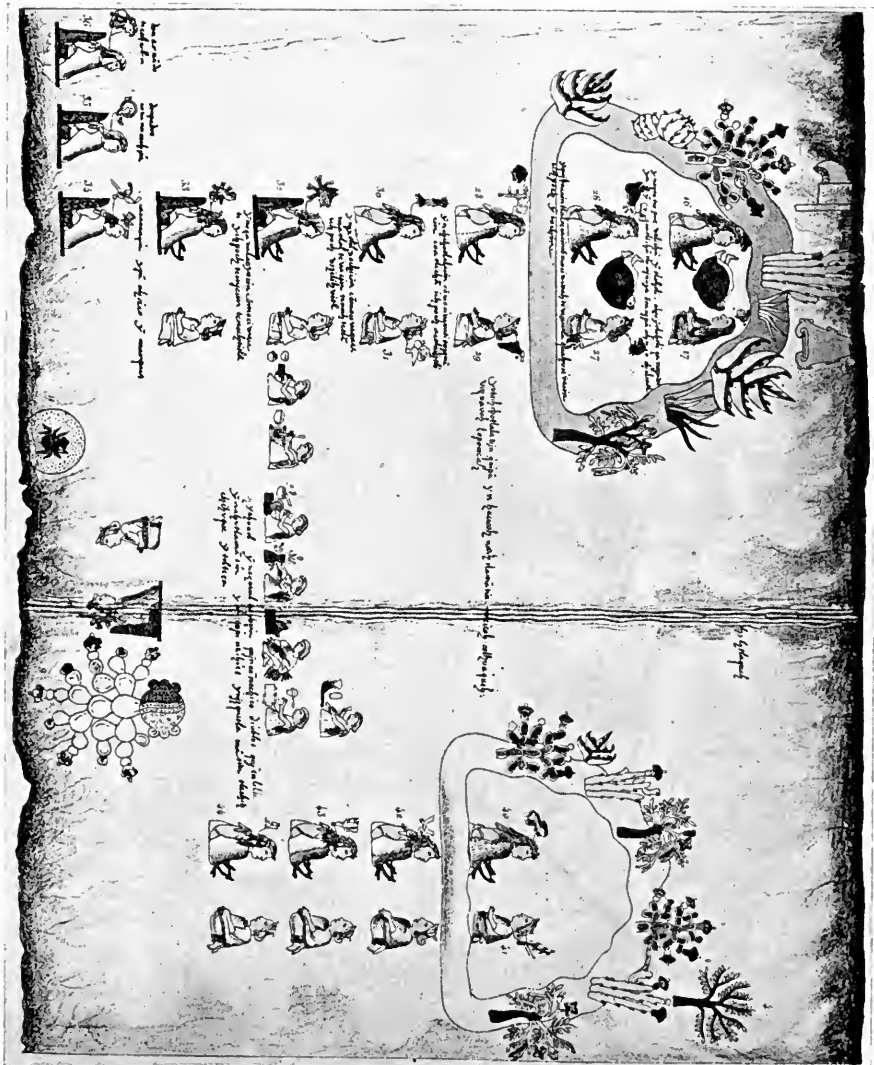




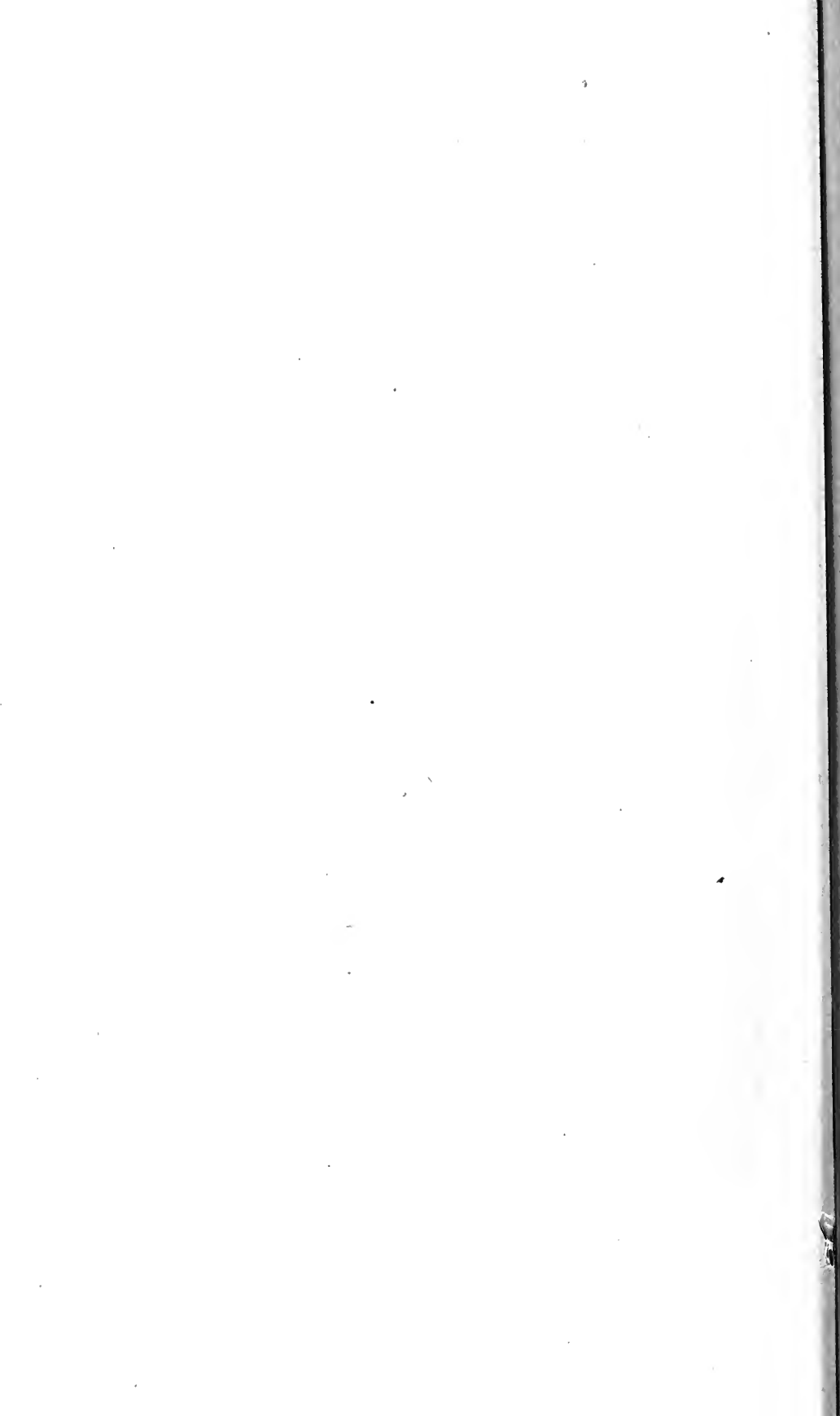


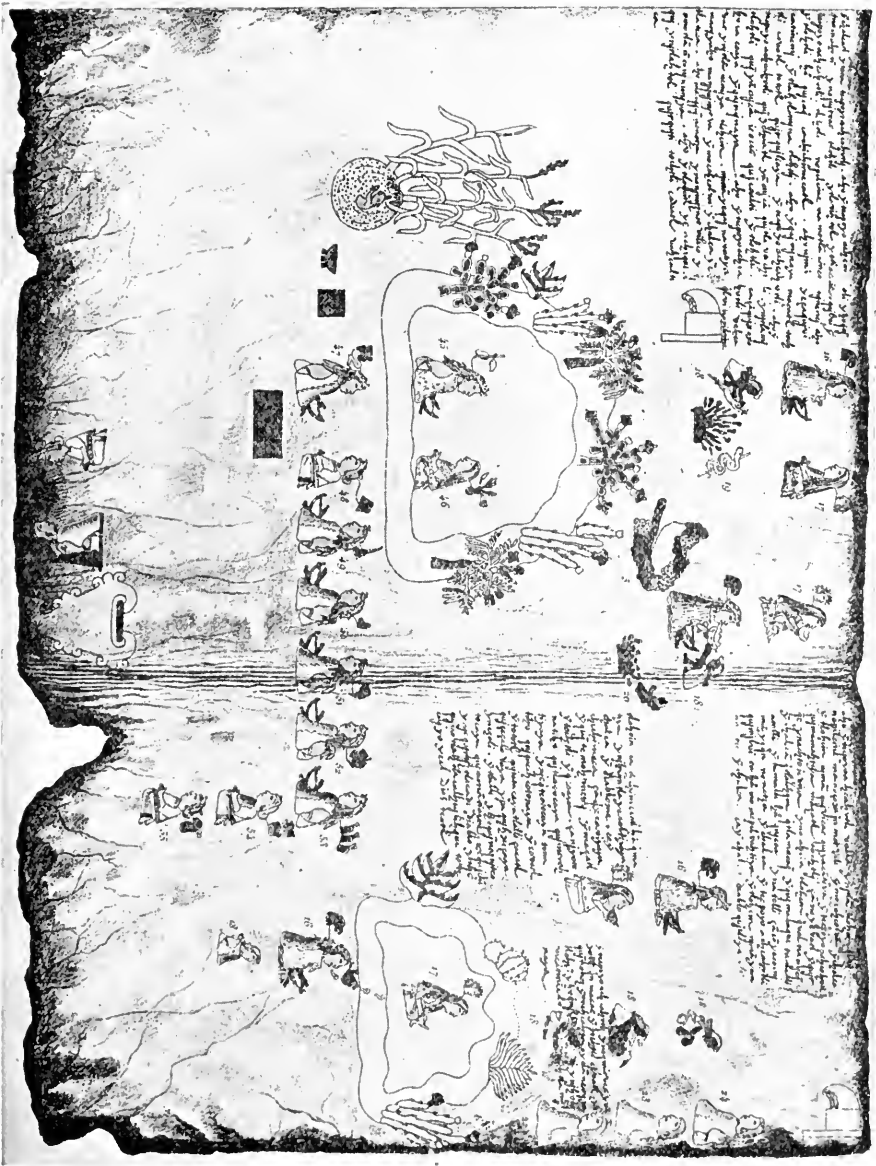




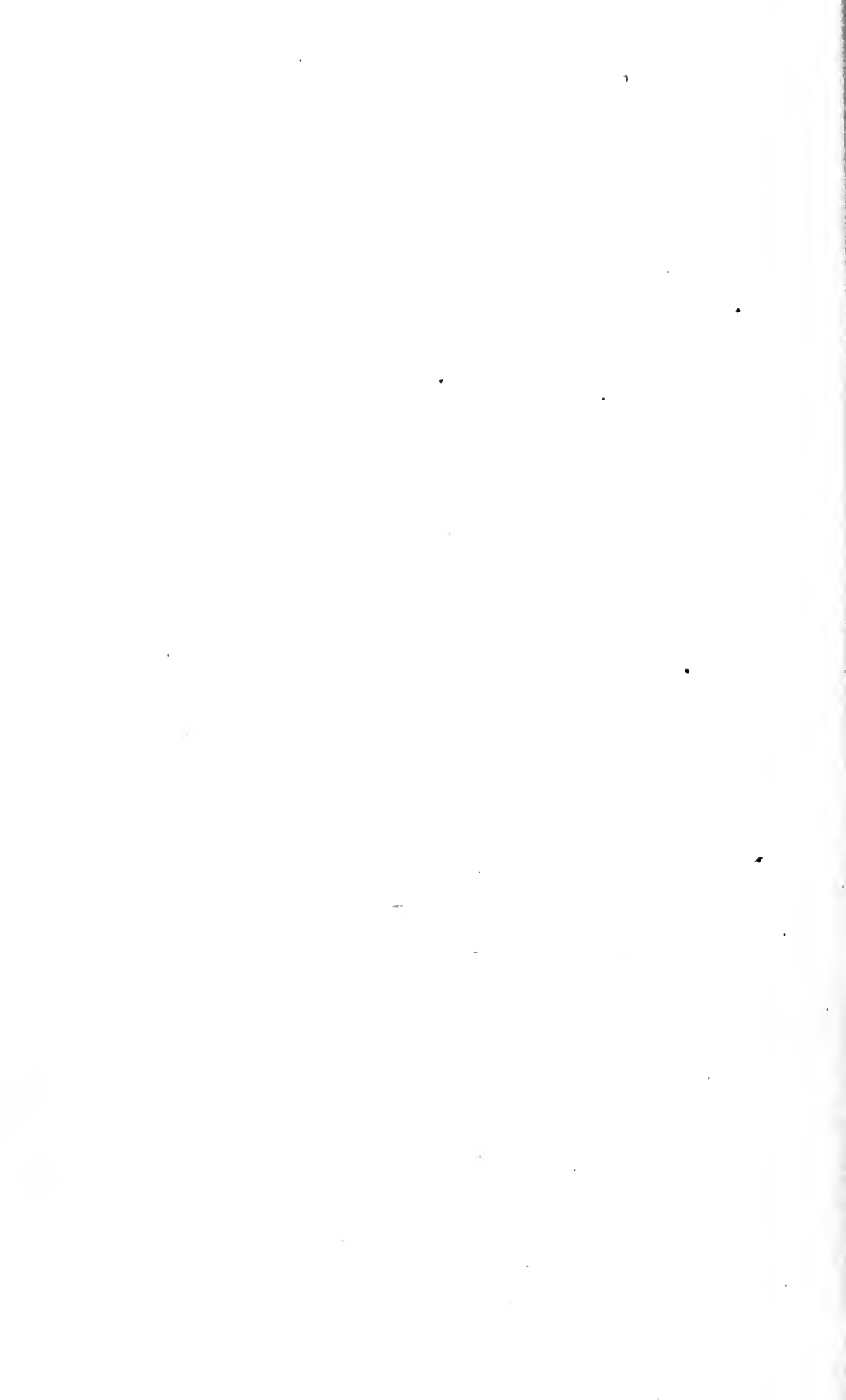


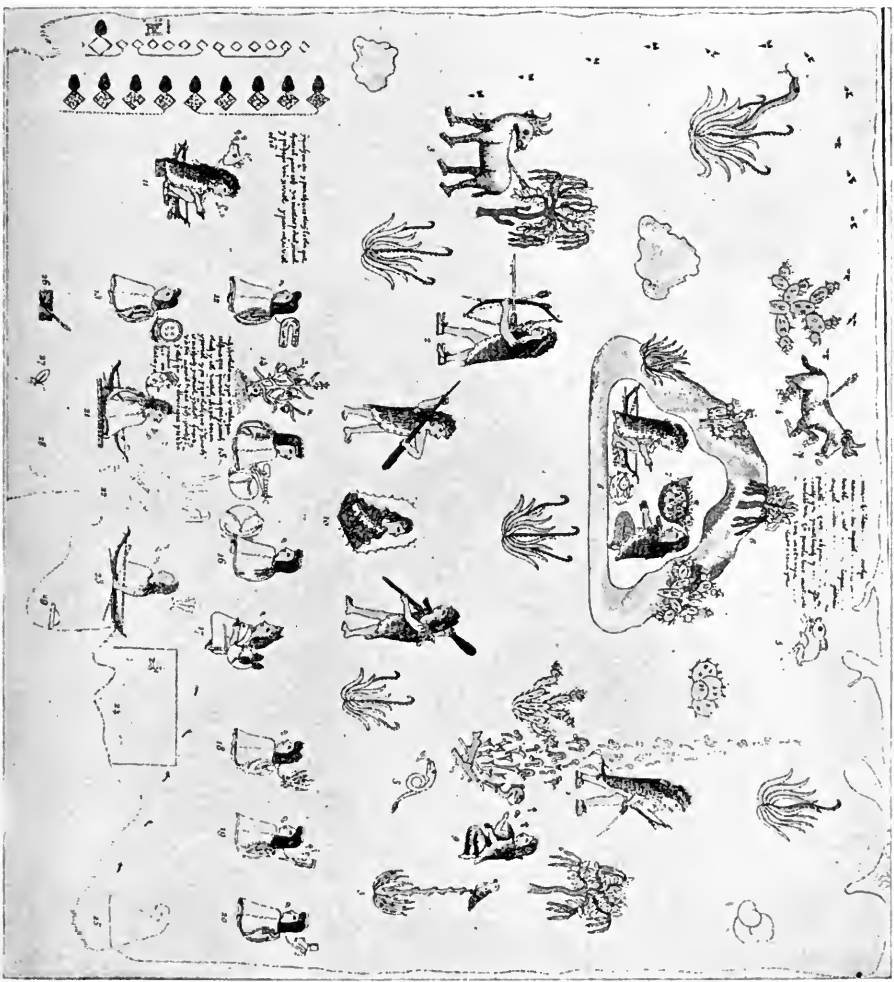
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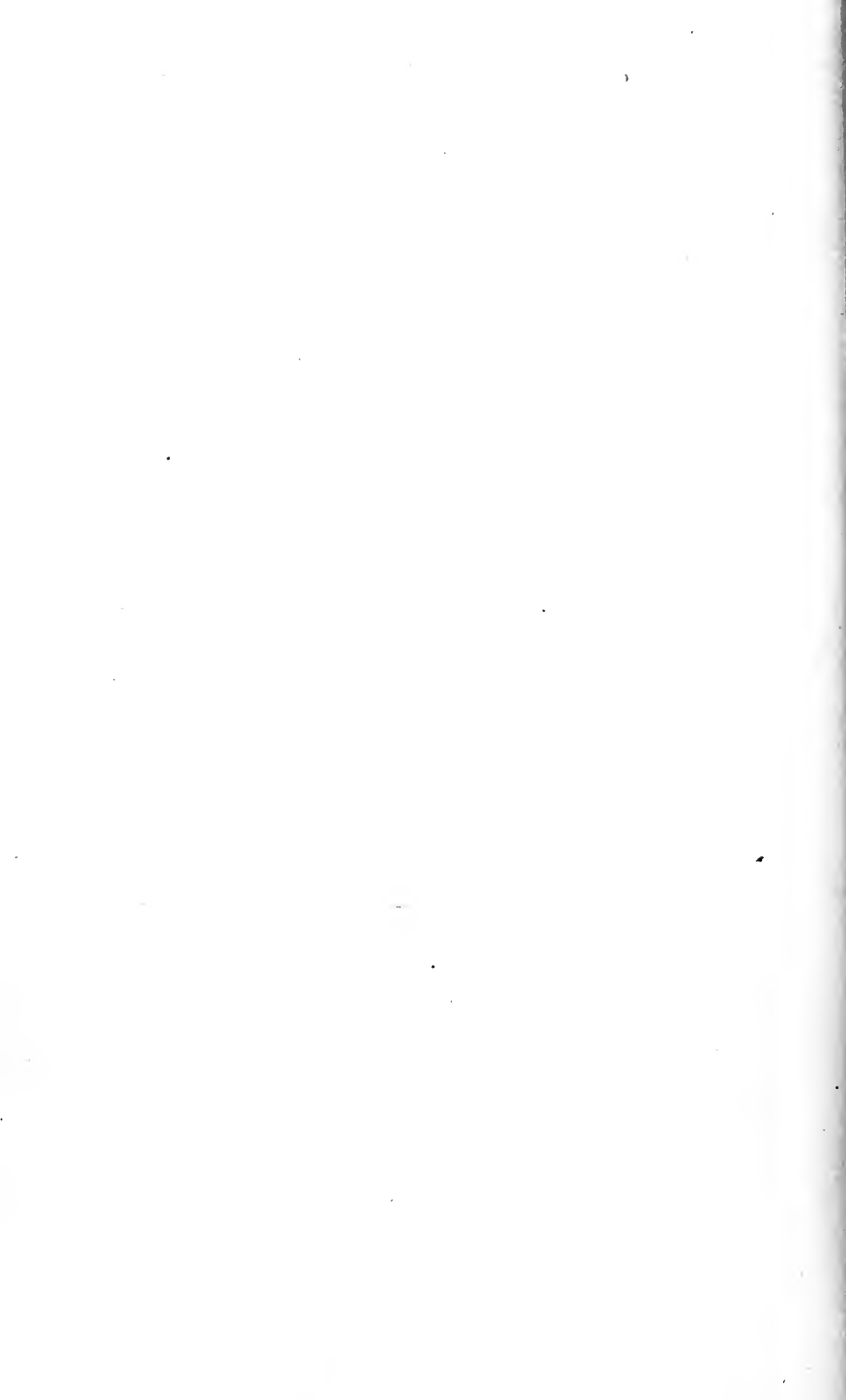
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