

THE CODEX OF SAN CRISTÓBAL COYOTEPEC
AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS FOR THE PRODUCTION
OF TECHIALOYAN MANUSCRIPTS

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ABSTRACT

The codices that have been grouped under the name of "Techialoyan" are a far less homogeneous group than has been alleged by some. One subgrouping of the larger category is that of "double-register" codices, which bear two scenes painted on each page, one above the other, rather than the more common single scene. At least ten of these are known, as compared to over thirty single-register examples. Most studies of the genre as a whole have been based upon the single-register examples, and many upon only a small subset of those. The double-register codices, although still clearly Techialoyans by any definition of that name, are quite divergent stylistically. Within the group of double-register codices, three bear an even greater resemblance to each other. Numbers 727, from San Cristóbal Coyotepec, 721, from San Miguel Cuaxochco and San Miguel Tepexoxouhcan, and 732, from San Nicolás Totolapan or Coyoacan, all contain scenes copied from a fourth, model manuscript. In the case of 721 and 727, these scenes were copied onto the folio leaves before they were bound, so that each congruent page occurs with the same page on the other half of the leaf. These leaves were then bound with no apparent regard for the order of the scenes, and captions were written on each page. Although some of these captions refer to historically accurate places, others appear in both codices and are clearly creations of the scribe based on the accompanying image. The congruent scenes in 732 do not appear to be laid out in the same way; it is unclear what this entails for the production of the three codices. Clearly, all three codices were produced within a single workshop over a fairly brief period of time. What relation this workshop bore to that which produced the other Techialoyan codices is not yet known. Equally clearly, one cannot judge the accuracy and historicity of a single Techialoyan codex without reference to others.

Introduction

The Techialoyan codices are a group of Nahuatl manuscripts from Central Mexico, written on *amate* paper with illustrations in a peculiarly distinctive, late Colonial style. Since Federico Gómez de Orozco (1933) first identified the group, scholars have located over fifty examples of the genre.¹ Although originally attributed to the sixteenth century, the codices are now generally accepted to have been produced in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century by a central workshop, or broader school, for communities in and around the Basin of Mexico that were attempting to justify their traditional land claims in the colonial courts. H. R. Harvey (1986, 1993) feels that they were created as a response to the *composición* of 1643, a survey and recording of all indigenous lands for taxation purposes.² As most of the sources of Techialoyans are within the territory dominated by the city of Tlacopan (modern Tacuba) before the Spanish conquest, he suggests that this center played a central role in their production. Rather than forgeries, they were recordings, for native use, of the oral traditions about history and geography of each individual pueblo. This view of the Techialoyans, as documents originally compiled by Indians for use within the community, which may later have served a secondary role within the courts, is supported by Galarza (1980) in his analysis of Codex 705 from Zempoala. It has been challenged by James Lockhart (1992) and Stephanie Wood (1984, 1989). Lockhart argues that the hyperarchaic Nahuatl in the texts and the choice of paper indicate a conscious effort to falsify the age of the documents.³ Wood (1984) provides evidence that native communities did not take part in the program of *composiciones* until the early eighteenth century. In addition, she has identified a possible author of some of the Techialoyan corpus, Don Diego de García de Mendoza Moctezuma,

¹ The standard references for Techialoyans are the article and census in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robertson 1975; Robertson and Robertson 1975), although several other codices have surfaced since then (e.g., Horcasitas and Tommasi 1975, Wood n.d.a, Archivo General de la Nación 1996). The best recent survey of Techialoyan literature is that of Borah (1991).

² Two particular examples of Techialoyan style catalogued by Robertson and Robertson (1975) with a later date, the *García Granados Codex* (Techialoyan 715) and the murals of the cathedral of Cuernavaca (Techialoyan 745), are in deviant formats, and, according to Harvey, merely indicate the survival of the art style over time.

³ Within the broader category of "primordial titles," or *títulos*, which *do* seem to be fairly accurate records of native oral tradition from about the same period, Techialoyans are the only texts written in this falsely archaic Nahuatl, while the others are in the contemporary, colonial language, full of Spanish loan words. For primordial titles, see especially Lockhart 1992 and Gruzinski 1993.

who was convicted and jailed in 1705 for forging a título (Wood 1989). Although the forged documents are not extant, their description and the surviving Spanish translation suggest that they were Techialoyans. Wood has no doubt that the majority of the Techialoyan corpus was produced with the aim of deceiving the Spanish courts. She does, however, allow that the Techialoyans contain a view of history that is important to study, even if it is not "true" in the absolute, Western historical sense.

The question of forgery or fraud raises the broader issue of manuscript production. Although Robertson (1960: 111) claimed that one artist might have painted all of the Techialoyans, few modern scholars would accept this. However, this remains largely a matter of opinion, as no studies since his have carefully examined a large portion of the corpus. Most studies of the Techialoyan genre as a whole have been based largely upon single manuscripts (e.g., Béliand 1993, Harvey 1993). A few broader studies referring to multiple codices have been made, but they generally rely upon either the texts (e.g., Wood n.d.b.) or the images (e.g., Robertson 1959), with little examination of the correspondences between the two. Few or no specific comparisons between separate Techialoyans have been made, other than those intended to re-connect disjointed fragments of the same original codex (e.g., Robertson 1960). To some degree this is because too few codices have been published in the detail necessary for such a comparison, and because too few people have seen a broad selection of the originals, which are scattered in repositories throughout Mexico, the United States, and Europe.

There is clearly much variety subsumed within the Techialoyan designation, and several distinct subgroups of manuscripts can be identified. The precise significance of these groupings in artistic and temporal terms remains unclear, but as a first step they must be defined. The largest broad class is that of single-register codices, ca. 25cm tall with a single scene painted on each page. Most studies have been based solely upon this class, and have taken it as representative of the whole genre (e.g., Harvey 1993). The second largest category is that of double-register codices (Table 1), which are generally about twice as tall as the single-register ones (ca. 50cm), with two distinct scenes painted on most pages (occasionally a single scene will span the whole page). Ten of these are listed in the *HMAI* census (Robertson and Robertson 1975), but only one (732) has been fully published (Monroy Sevilla 1964).⁴ A subjective

⁴ Codex 735, one of the three fragments of the *Codex of Huixtla*, has been reproduced in its entirety without commentary in *Teléfonos de México* 1992.

Table 1
DOUBLE REGISTER TECHIALOYAN CODICES

<i>Number</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Height(cm)</i>	<i>Width(cm)</i>
702-717-735	San Pablo Huyxoapan	10 ff.	45	23
706	Ixtapalapa	8 ff.	60	37
710	Santa María Calacohuayan	3 ff.	47	27
716	Santiago Chalco Atenco	10 ff.	48	25
721	San Miguel Tepexoxouhcan and San Miguel Cuaxochco	8 ff.	51	23
725	San Simon Calpulalpan	6 ff.	47	22
727	San Cristóbal Coyotepec	9 ff.	42	27
732	San Nicolás Totolapan	11 ff.	unknown	unknown

appraisal of the limited reproductions available suggests that this group is quite distinct both artistically and palaeographically from the single-register examples, but this cannot be confirmed without more extensive publication and comparison. As a minor beginning to this process, in this paper I shall carefully describe one double-register codex and make some observations about its relationship with two others which are available to me in their entirety.

The first of these codices is that of Coyotepec Coyonacazco, numbered 727 by the *HMAI*, which has been in the Brooklyn Museum since 1938 (Christensen 1996). Originally from San Cristóbal Coyotepec, in the northwest Valley of Mexico, it contains numerous apparently accurate geographical references to that area. This codex consists of four and a half folio leaves, folded down the middle and stitched to form eighteen pages. The outer two pages on either side are wholly textual, the inner fourteen illustrated.

The second codex is 721, identified by the *Handbook* as being from San Miguel Cuaxochco and San Miguel Tepexoxouhcan in the southern Valley of Toluca. This manuscript was last reported in a private collection in Ireland (Robertson & Robertson 1975: 272; Stephanie Wood, personal communication February 1995). It consists of four folio leaves that were once bound into a book of sixteen pages, all illustrated. Although only four pages of this have been published in an auction catalog (Parke-Bernet 1957), the Newberry library possesses a facsimile painted by Aglio for inclusion in an unpublished volume of Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*. Two pages are missing from this facsimile, but fortunately they were among those published by Parke-Bernet. At some point

between the production of the facsimile and the sale of the manuscript, it was disbound.⁵

The third codex is 732, from Coyoacan or San Nicolás Totolapan in the modern Federal District. It consists of eleven leaves: the first four bear text on both sides, the latter seven, images. It is unclear how these leaves are bound, but one is presumably a half-leaf. When published in 1964, it was in the Museo Agrario, Departamento de Asuntos Agrarios y Colonización (Monroy Sevilla 1964). This edition includes various land documents associated with the codex and an 1866 facsimile of the codex itself. Unfortunately, the quality of the reproduction is not high.

It is not known whether any of these codices are whole or not. All are of approximately the same length, which is within the range of the examples thought to be complete. Most likely, 721 originally had textual pages as well—these seem in all cases to be the most vulnerable, both because they often occur on the outside of the codices and because they lack the market value of the illustrations. 732 was actually preserved within a pueblo, and therefore seems the most likely to be complete. 727 was probably originally associated with a *mapa* that is now in Mexico City (720). While it does have four pages of text, it lacks both the signatures found in some other codices and some of the characteristic subject matter, such as dates in the text and scenes of the coming of Christianity. It also has one half-leaf in the middle, suggesting that another may have been cut out at some point.

The Codex of Coyotepec Coyonacazco

In their census of Techialoyan manuscripts, Robertson and Robertson (1975) were unwilling to assign a specific provenance to number 727. Throughout the text, the name of the pueblo is given as Coyotepec Coyonacazco. Although there are several examples of the former place name in Mexico, the latter is known only as the name of a *barrio* of Tlatelolco (Barlow 1987: 29). The Robertsons do state that "[p]artly obliterated text (f. 9r) may refer to San Cristobal Coyotepec Coyonacazco" (1975: 274). A recent examination of the manuscript upholds this reading. In fact, San Cristóbal Coyotepec is the only Coyotepec of any significance within the area in which Techialoyans were produced. The mention of the neighboring

⁵ Apparently the original manuscript is accompanied by Spanish and English translations and commentary, but I do not know anyone who has seen these

towns of Huehuetocan, Tepotzotlan, and Tula, and of several modern *barrios* of Coyotepec in the text of 727 confirms the identification.⁶

There is one other Techialoyan from a Coyotepec, and it explicitly states San Cristóbal Coyotepec, in the modern state of Mexico. It is one of the two large maps listed in the *Handbook*, number 720 (Robertson and Robertson 1975: 272). The Coyotepec map is currently in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico, where it is accompanied by an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century copy (Glass 1964: 145-6). These pieces were sold to the Museo in 1936 by the same Emilio Valtón who sold The Brooklyn Museum the codex two years later. It seems likely that the codex and map were originally associated. Although the texts of both the original map and the copy are much damaged, they further confirm this association by the occurrence in 720 of at least one place name, Xalpan Xaxalpan, also found in 727.

The internal organization of Techialoyan 727 conforms well to the general standards of Techialoyans. Those codices that appear to be complete generally commence with one or more folios of text, narrating the history of the pueblo and the putative circumstances of the document's creation. This is followed by a larger number of folios dominated by illustrations, but with some text. The codices generally conclude with one or more wholly textual folios. Some of the longer examples, such as that of Tzictepec, have textual folios in the middle as well (Horcasitas and Tommasi de Magrelli 1975). Although the order of the constituent sections follows no particular order, their content is fairly consistent: an account of a sixteenth-century meeting in the town hall, often with the viceroy present, to settle the boundaries of the town (Robertson 1975: 255-6). This is accompanied by pictorial depictions of history, both pre-Hispanic and colonial, and by a lengthy description of the bounds of the pueblo.

The first and last folios of 727 (Figures 1 and 10) contain only text, narrating the history of Coyotepec, while the intervening ones present a list of land claims. Human figures appear in almost every one of the scenes. Most are men, although two women appear in a subsidiary role on the upper half of fol. 6v. (Figure 7). Most of the men wear white tunics and some form of knee-length pants, while

⁶ The modern *municipio* of Coyotepec lies in the state of Mexico, north of the Distrito Federal. Its population is 31,128, and it adjoins the municipios of Huehuetoca, Zumpango, Teoloyucan, and Tepotzotlán (Secretaría de Gobernación 1988: 125). It is rarely mentioned in pre-Columbian chronicles, appearing only three times in the *Anales de Cuauhtlán* with dates of 1395 and 1430 (Bierhorst 1992).

the kneeling women are garbed to their feet. Some of the men's clothes are looser-fitting than others, and sleeve-length seems to vary as well, so several distinct costumes may be depicted. Many of the men have moustaches, and some have goatees, both of which are clearly anachronistic in a purportedly sixteenth-century Indian context. Several men wear pre-Hispanic dress as well: the two largely obliterated figures at the top of fol. 4v. (Figure 5) were probably in warrior costume. The portrait of Axayacatl below them is dressed as a jaguar warrior, bearing a *macuahuitl*, while the three lords atop fol. 6r. (Figure 6) wear feather suits and have some element, possibly of their own hair, extending up from their heads.

The human figures are engaged in various every-day activities, such as talking, tilling fields, digging a ditch (Figure 5), fishing (Figure 6), or carrying burdens on their backs (Figure 8). Solitary figures seem to be addressing the reader. Several one- and two-story buildings appear. Maguey plants and trees both occur. Backgrounds also contain mountains, fields, and roads. Donkeys appear on fol. 2r. and fol. 7r. (Figures 2 and 7), although the face of the latter seems almost rodent-like. Birds appear in three scenes, always without humans.

These illustrations occasionally bear some relation to the text, but often they seem to be standard figures that are repeated in other Techialoyans, an issue that will be addressed below. While the illustrations may be somewhat standardized, the content of the text is clearly linked to the pueblo of Coyotepec itself. Besides the historical framework, the main information concerns the size and location of the town's corporate land-holdings. The total amount of land claimed in 727 is 16,400 cords. Using the equation proposed by Harvey (1986), in which 400 cords equal one count, or 2,500 square *varas*, and thus 1,764 m², this is equivalent to 7.23 hectares.⁷ This is well within the range claimed in other Techialoyans: codex 724 claims 16,780 cords, or 7.39ha, for Huixquilucan, while 705 claims 19,640 cords, or 8.66ha, for Zempoala, and Tzictepec and Ocoyacac claim 6.5ha and 4.5ha respectively in their titles (Harvey 1979:115, 1986:159, 164; Galarza 1980: Table 8). If Harvey's conversion equation is correct, it is notable how small the areas of land in question are. Harvey further suggests the application of the "ten *vara* rule", according to which each tributary received ten *varas* to cultivate. This would indicate a population of 1,025 tributaries for

⁷ This figure depends upon the seemingly high figure of 6,000 cords which has been reconstructed on fol. 8v. The fact the total fits within the range of other Techialoyans suggests that this figure may be accurately reconstructed.

Coyotepec. If this is accurate, it would indicate an almost five-fold growth since the 1560s, when the population was recorded as 241 tributaries (Cook and Simpson 1948: 50-51). However, in some cases Techialoyan land claims have been shown to be exaggerated, and neighboring pueblos may claim the same piece of land, so not all of these claims can be accepted at face value (e.g., Harvey 1966 and Wood n.d.a. on the "false Techialoyan" from San Cristóbal and Santa María).

One of the most basic questions raised by Techialoyans is the date of their manufacture. Harvey has connected them with the *composición* of Tacuba that began in 1643, and provides concrete evidence for their existence prior to 1688 (Harvey 1986: 162). Although Harvey's case for associating Techialoyans with *composiciones* is sound, more recent evidence suggests a later date. In the Toluca valley, there is only one documented case of an Indian pueblo participating in the *composición* of 1643 (Wood 1984: 113-4). It was not until the 1690s, and, most importantly, the 1710s, that most pueblos there sought *composiciones* (*ibid.*: 117-8). This aligns with the dating of the murals in the Cathedral of Cuernavaca, the *García Granados Codex*, and the trial of don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma in 1705. This last correlation may help provide a specific date for the *Coyotepec Codex*, as its author identifies himself on the first page as "don Miguel de Santa María Motecçoçomatzin."⁸

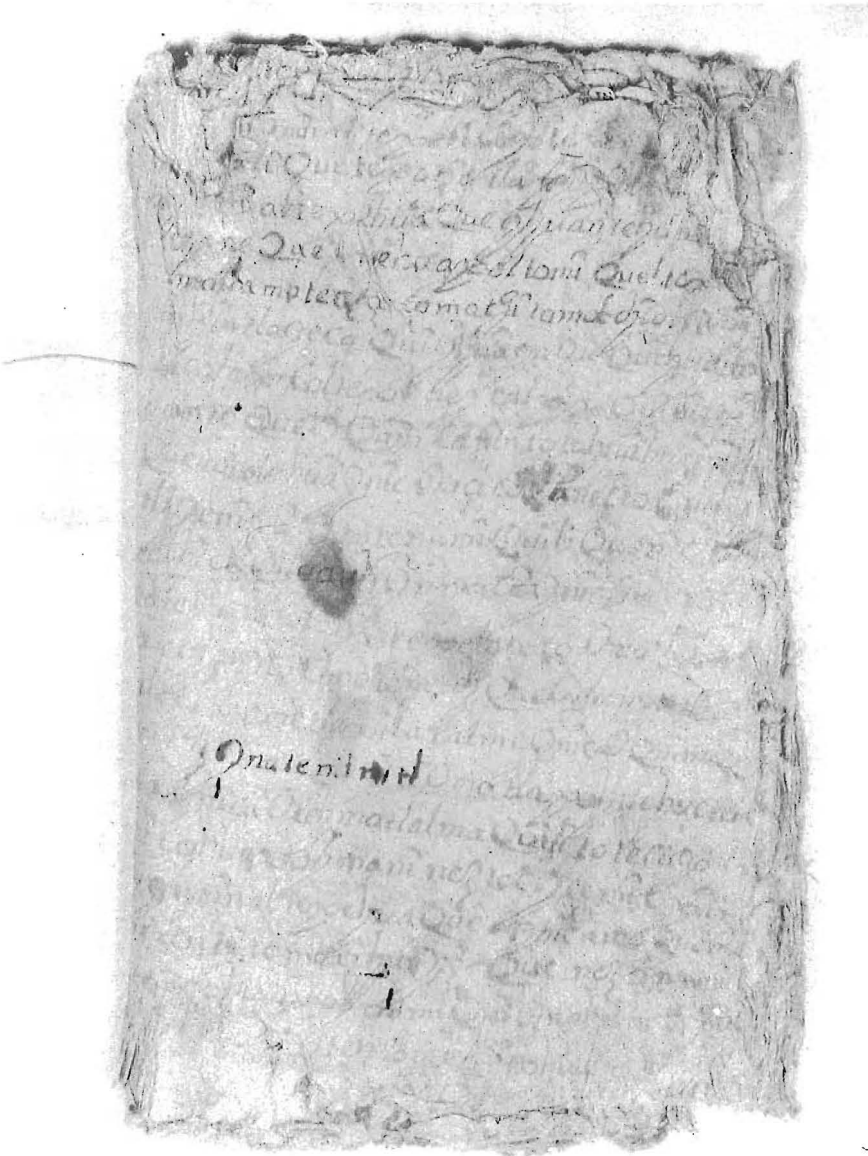
Although no *composición* of Coyotepec has been located, there was one of Ixtapalapa in 1711.⁹ Ixtapalapa is the source of Techialoyan 706, one of those most closely related to 727.¹⁰ Tepotzotlan, the southern neighbor of Coyotepec and source of another Techialoyan, also has an extant *composición* (Neri 1996: 146-52). Although initial proceedings began in 1644, the majority of the text dates to 1708. All of this evidence is circumstantial, but it suggests that the inhabitants of Coyotepec prepared this codex, and perhaps the map in the Museo Nacional as well, for a *composición* of their pueblo around the year 1710, and that they went to the same workshop, probably in Azcapotzalco or Tacuba, that their brethren in Ixtapalapa did.

Although outsiders probably made the codex, the elders of Coyotepec seem to have provided at least the background information. This information was probably oral, but some may have been

⁸ The surname is a version of Moctezuma; this, in turn, relates to don Diego's claim to belong to the same family depicted in the *García Granados Codex*.

⁹ AGN Tierras vol. 2700 exp.25; *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 7(n.s.):1108.

¹⁰ Like 727, it is a double-register codex, and the artist's hand is very similar.



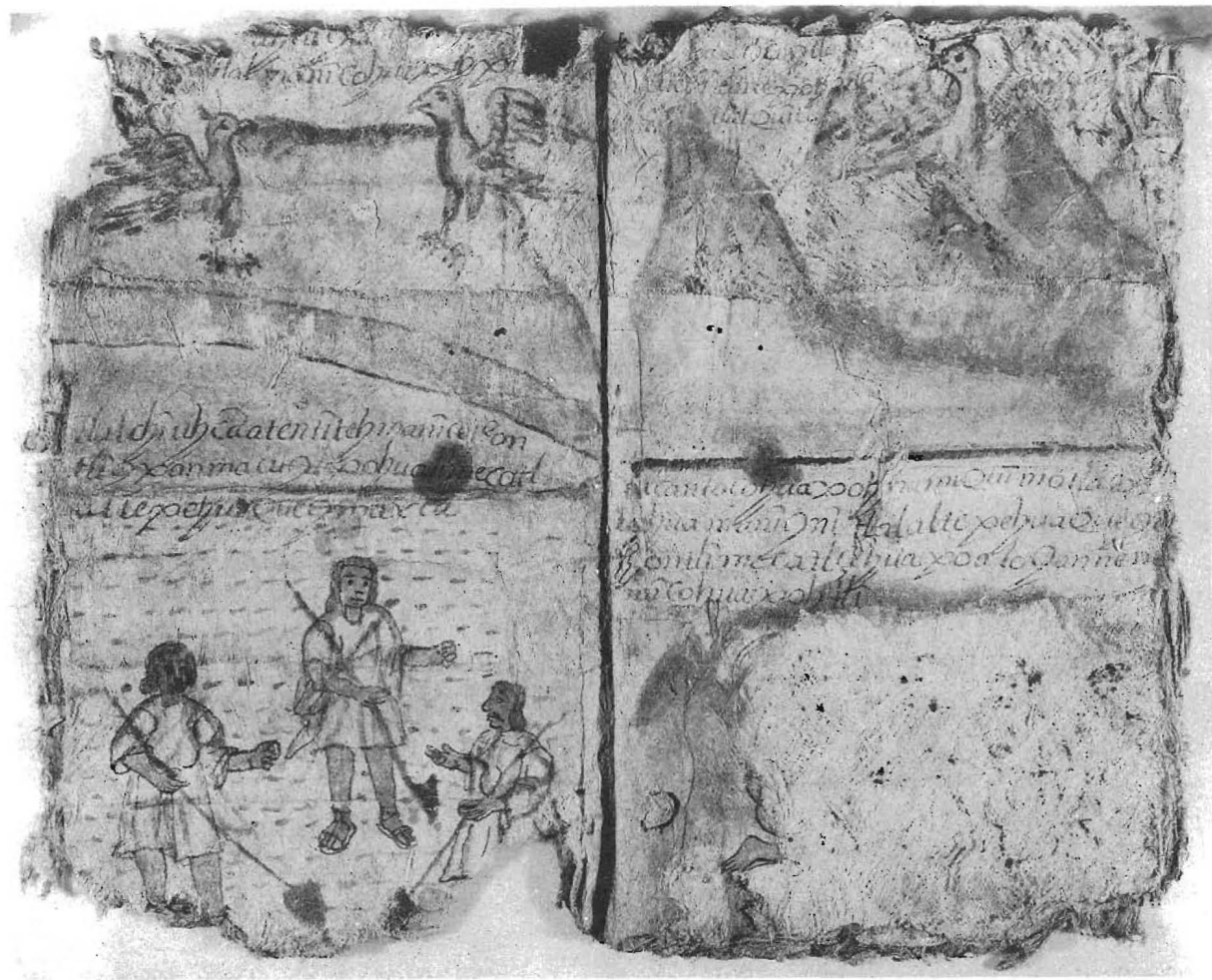
1. Folio 1r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



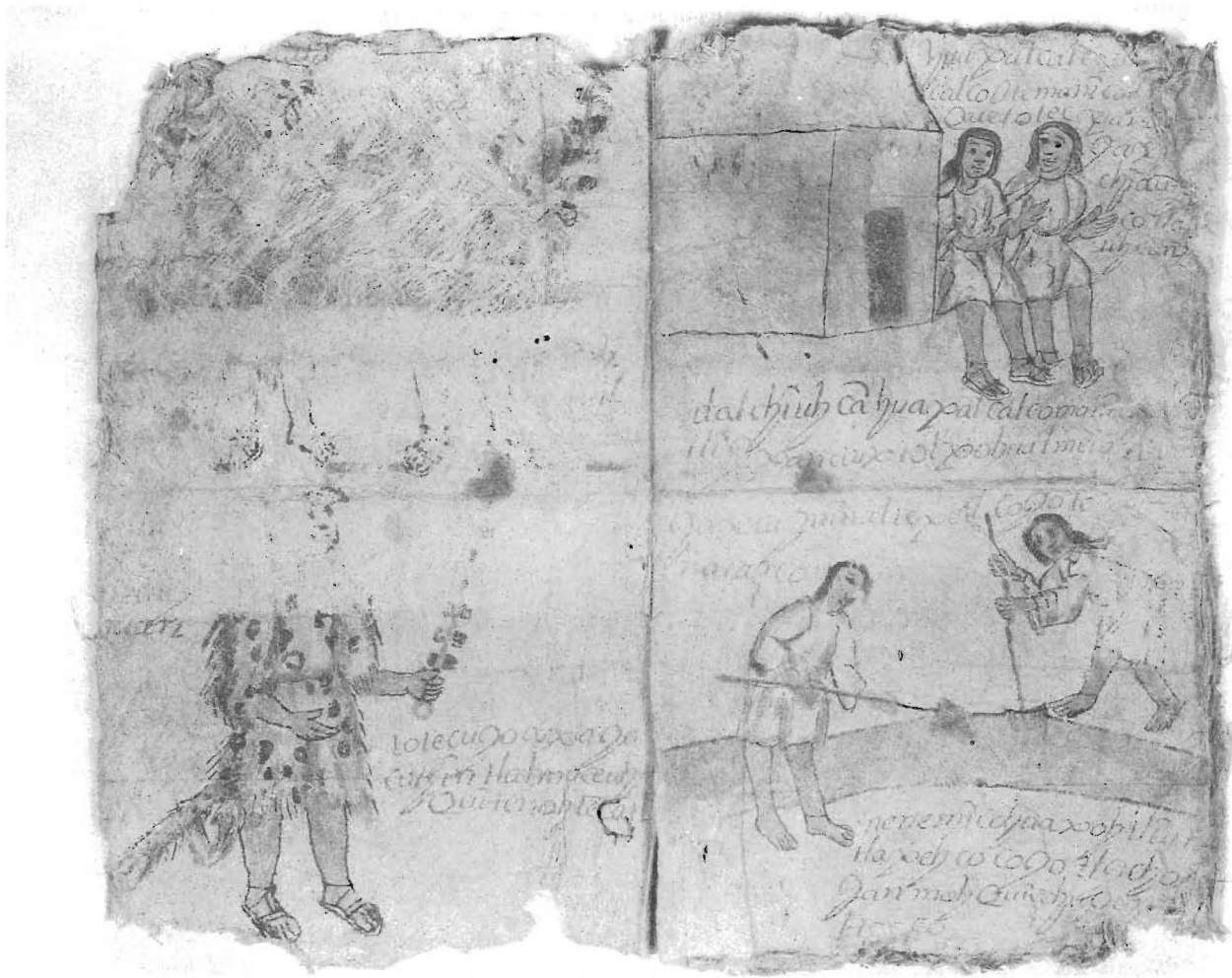
2. Folios 1v. and 2r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



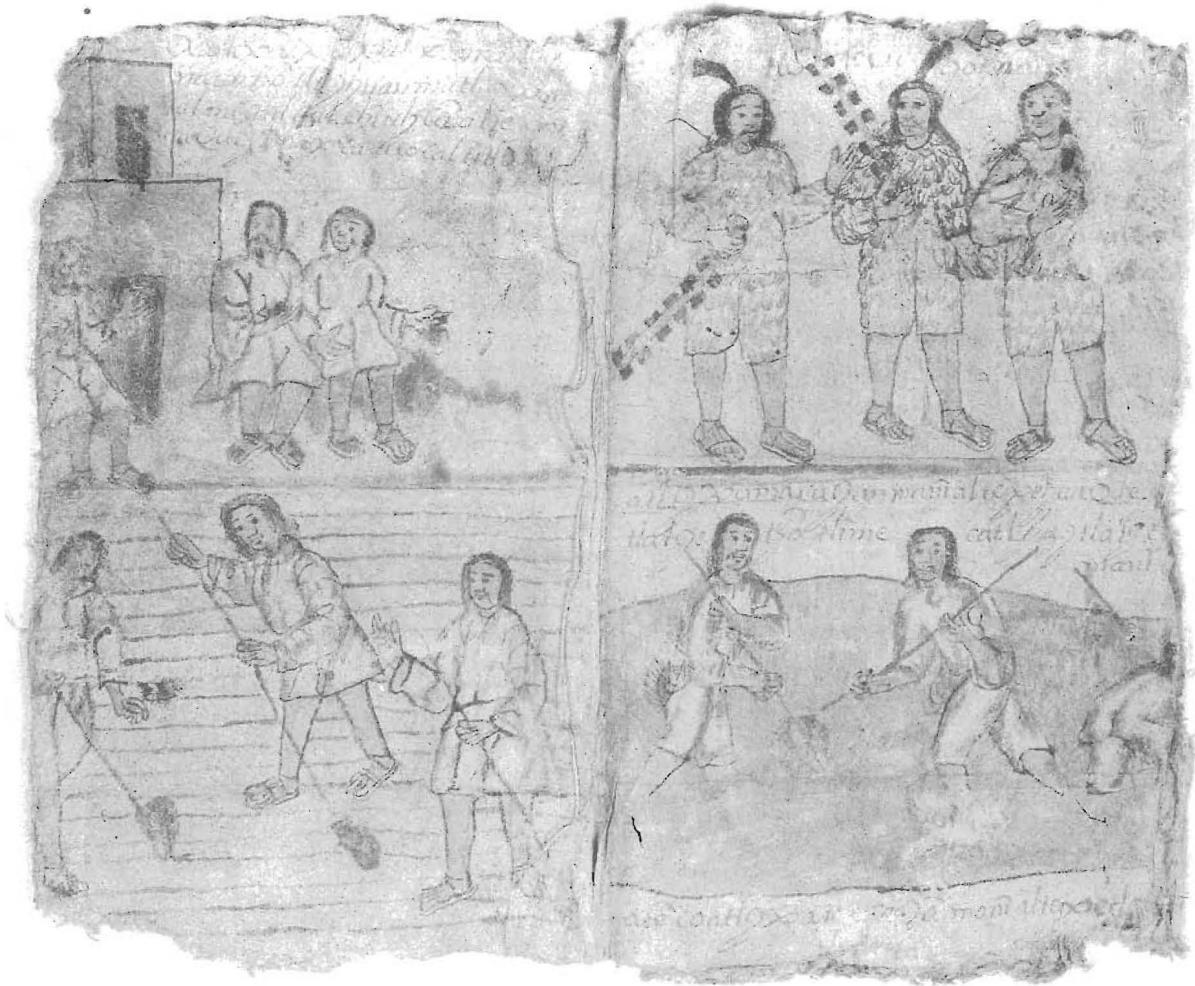
3. Folios 2v. and 3r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



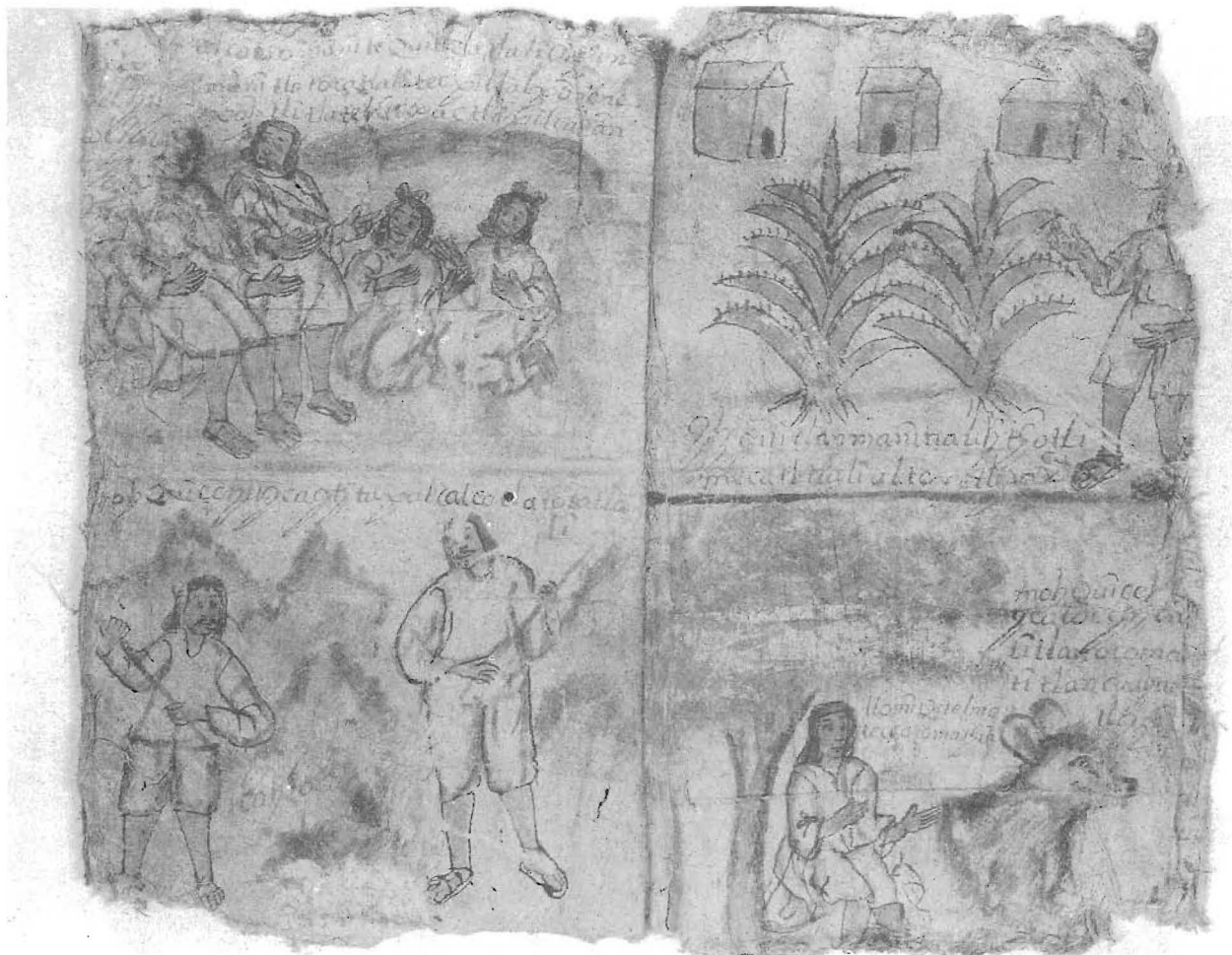
4. Folios 3v. and 4r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



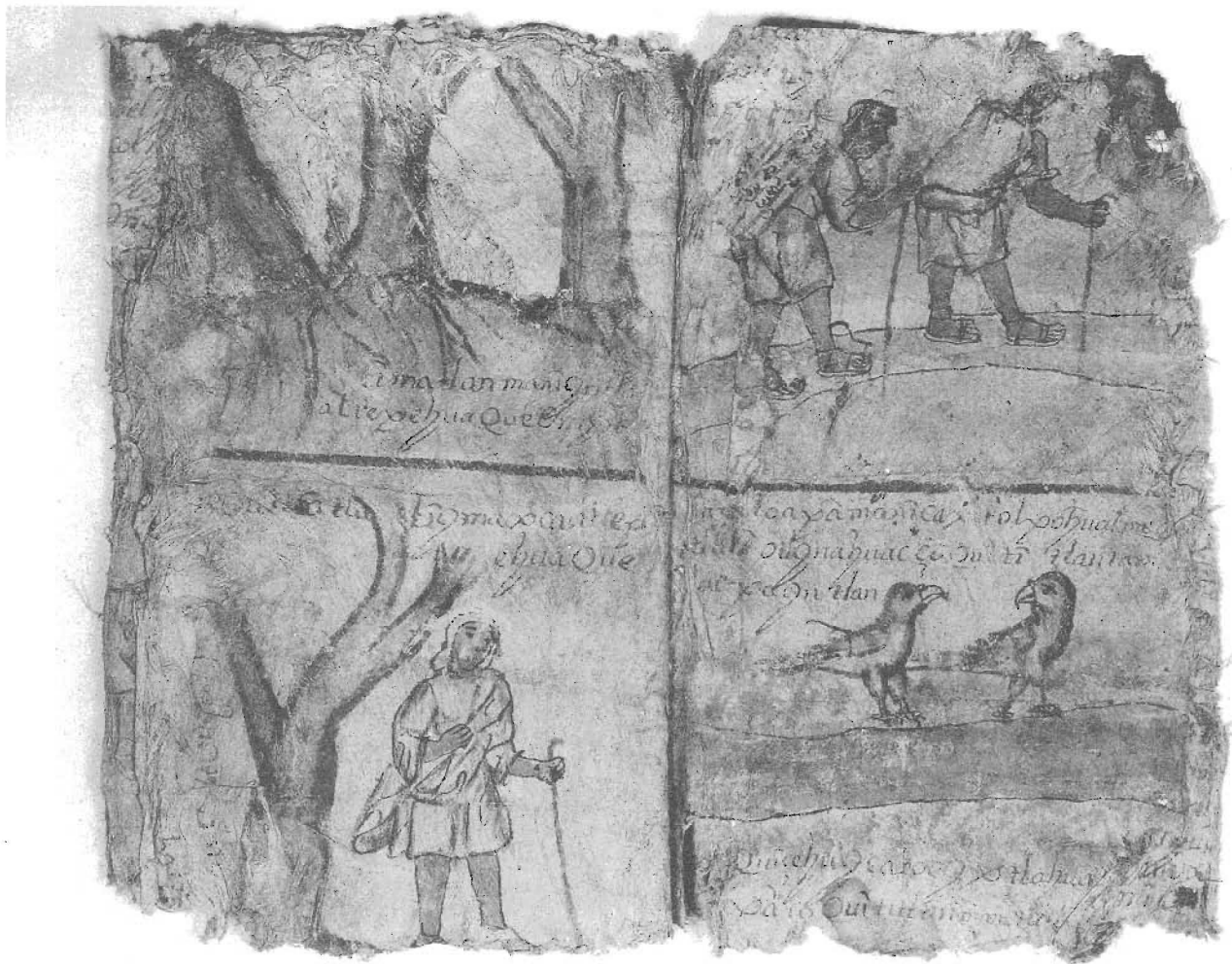
5. Folios 4v. and 5r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



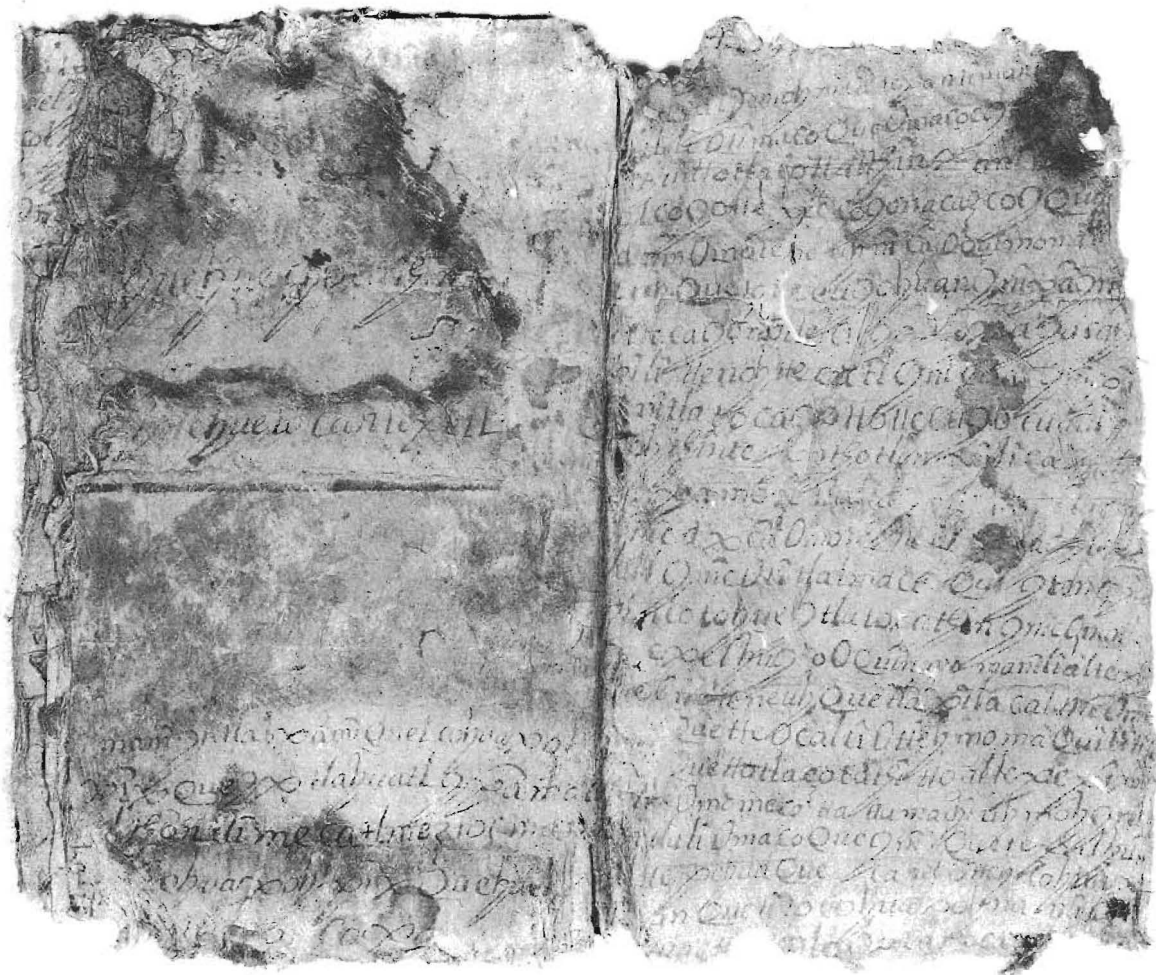
6. Folios 5v. and 6r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum).
This image appears in color in Christensen 1996:81



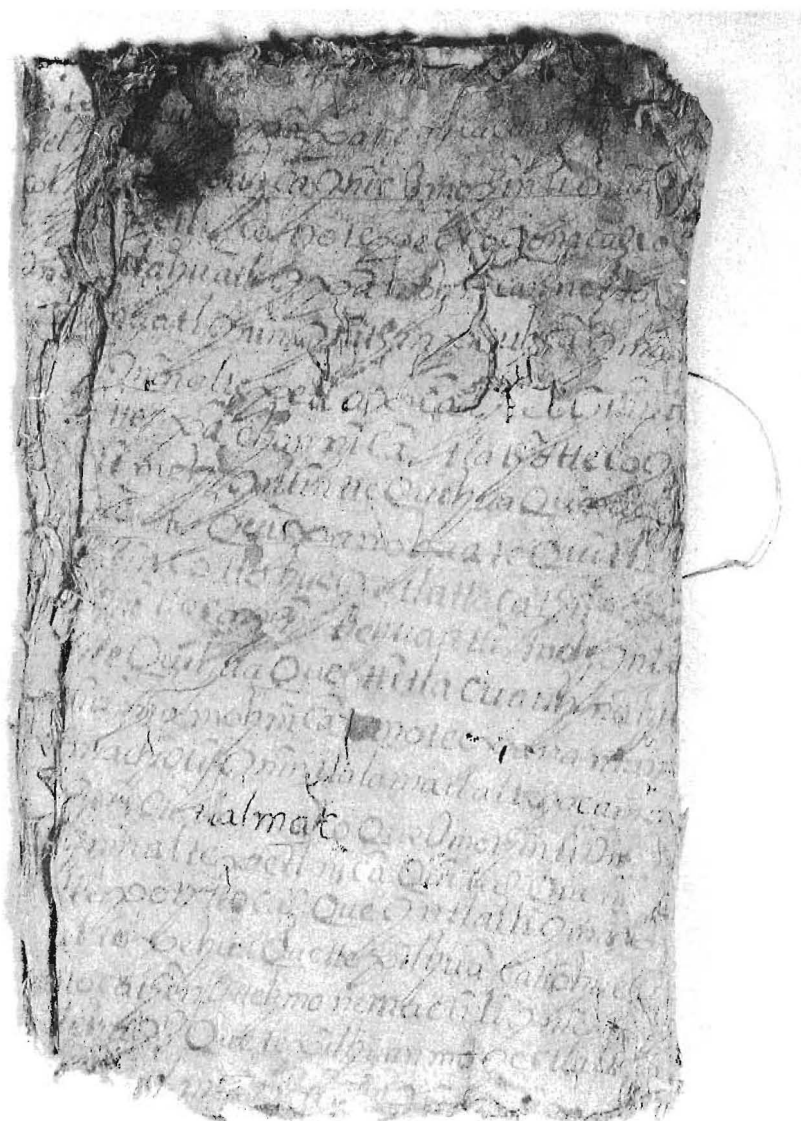
7. Folios 6v. and 7r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)
This image appears in color in Christensen 1996: 81



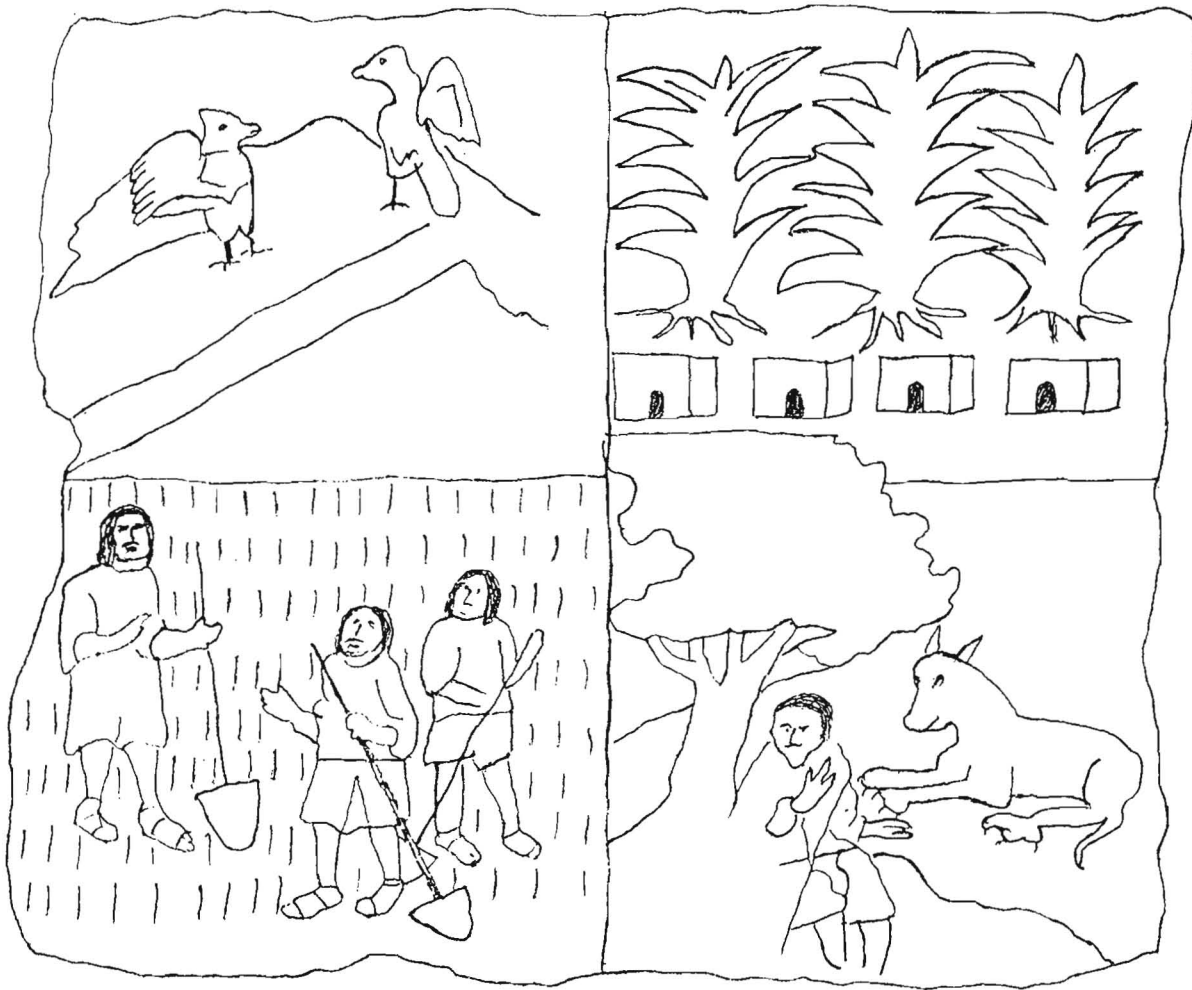
8. Folios 7v. and 8r. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



9. Folios 8_v and 9_r of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



10. Folio 9v. of Techialoyan 727 (Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum)



11. Pages 10 and 7 of Techialoyan 721 (redrawn after Parke-Bernet 1957)

copied from an earlier text. Wood has argued that the contemporary (1710) primordial title from Ajusco is "a composite of written fragments and oral tradition put together, then altered and augmented over time" (Wood n.d.b.: 11). The Coyotepec codex is internally coherent, both textually and graphically, but it too may have integrated multiple earlier sources of information. The language, text, art, and materials were certainly all directed at the appearance of great age. It is very difficult to explain this away without concluding that some form of fraudulent intent was present. Yet the information contained within contains enough verifiable data to suggest that it is a true reflection of one indigenous, locally constructed history.¹¹

Graphic Comparison

The Techialoyan genre has been defined on the basis of its artistic style. While some fragmentary specimens (e.g., 722) have no illustrations, they are assigned to the group on the basis of their relationship to other illustrated fragments. In addition to manner of painting, there is a fairly standard repertoire of scenes and images that reappear in many codices, such as scenes of evangelization, portraits of Precolumbian and colonial nobility, and tableaux of daily life in the town and fields. This standardization is to be expected, given the overall similarity in textual content.

The three codices considered here, however, include some images that seem more similar than would be called for by the simple illustration of similar text. The clearest example is that of 727 fol. 7r. and 721 p. 7 (Figures 7 and 11).¹² In each case the top panel bears a row of houses and a row of maguey plants, while the bottom panel depicts a man and an animal sitting under a tree. There are clear differences between the images. In 727, the three houses appear above two plants and a human; in 721, three plants appear above four houses, which lack the peaked roofs of their counterparts. The tree appears to rest atop a small rise in 721, but not in 727. The seated human figures are in approximately the same position, with their hands in the same gestures, but their faces look

¹¹ This is not to suggest that there were not multiple, contemporary, histories available.

¹² This was first brought to my attention by Diana Fane (personal communication, 1992). For the sake of consistency, folio numbers should be used for 721 as well, but the Aglio facsimile is numbered by page, and that is how previous citations have been made to the codex (Robertson and Robertson 1975).

quite different and in different directions. The animals are even more different, looking towards the human in 721 and away in 727. While that in 727 resembles more than anything an overfed mouse, with perky round ears, that in 721 appears to be a donkey with long claws or talons.¹³

These images are so congruent that some form of copying seems evident. Taken on their own, the resemblances between each pair of images—especially the upper ones—could be put down to pure chance. But because each page of a double-register codex bears two independent scenes, if similar scenes appear in the same relationship in two or more codices it is unlikely to be fortuitous.

Chance is further negated by the adjoining pages. As illustrated in the Parke-Bernet catalog, 721 has been disbound, and one can see that pages 7 and 10 were painted on the same folio leaf (Figure 11). When one examines the binding of 727, it turns out that fol. 3_{v.}, painted on the same leaf as fol. 7_{r.} above, bears a scene congruent to that on 721 p. 10. Two birds face each other above a road in the upper panel, while three figures with digging-sticks converse in a planted field in the lower. In this case, not only are the figures and their relationships different, but the delineation of the furrows in the field is quite distinct, vertical in 721 and horizontal in 727.

Does this correspondence mean that these folios were painted as flat sheets before they were bound? This certainly seems to be the case. There are seven pages in 721 that have counterparts in 727 (Table 2). Six of them were painted facing each other on the sides of three folio leaves, and appear in the same relationship in 727. The one other page is duplicated on 727 fol. 5_{v.}, which is a half leaf. If it was cut like this after the codex was produced, one side of the missing page could be tentatively reconstructed to match 721 p. 9. Yet the copying procedure did not extend to a higher level than the side of an individual leaf. The paintings on either side of one leaf of 727 (fol. 3/7) are duplicated on two different leaves of 721 (p. 3/14, 7/10). And when the leaves were bound, the painted scenes seem to have been irrelevant to the order of binding. In the example above, p. 7 of 721 corresponds to 727 fol. 7_{r.}, p. 10 to fol. 3_{v.}—a reversal of order.

While 732 has several scenes that appear in the other two codices, the relationship is not as clear-cut. For one thing, it is unclear

¹³ Richard Andrews (personal communication, 1993) has suggested that this animal resembles those found in medieval European bestiaries. This idea bears further investigation. Although widely acknowledged, the European roots of the Techialoyan art style have been little studied.

how it is bound, and therefore which pages are attached to each other.¹⁴ However, no matter how the pages are bound, it seems impossible for any of them to be connected as in the other two codices. Only five of the pages have possible parallels in the other two, and none of the scenes connected to them in the other two appear in 732. For instance, 732 fol. 11r. may be related to the earlier scene of a man and a beast below a tree, although the relationship is not as clear—the nineteenth-century copy is quite free. But there is no analog in 732 to 727 fol. 3v./721 p. 10. There is one similarity in location, although of a different sort. The two sides of 727 fol. 4 appear congruent to 732 fol. 8, although both have suffered some damage. Yet neither side of 727 fol. 6, connected to fol. 4, has a counterpart in 732. This suggests a different copying process, perhaps of a manuscript that was already bound. Coincidence seems nearly as likely a cause, however, given the irrefutable evidence that the other two were painted before their binding.

Over all, in the 43 surviving illustrated pages of the three codices, only thirty distinct page designs appear (Table 2). Nine of these appear in two codices, two in all three. It is clear that none of these manuscripts could have been copied directly from another in their current state, as each shares images with each other that do not appear in the third. The Coyotepec and Tepexoxouhcan codices, at least, were copied before being bound. Therefore, there seems to have existed a "master" Techialoyan for the group, composed of at least fifteen folio leaves painted on one side each with four apparently unrelated scenes. There are similarities in the execution of these copies, as one would expect for works painted in the same shop, but it is difficult to be sure of the same painter's hand in all three, given the variety of reproductions available. Only four pages of 721 are available photographically, for example, and while it seems possible that the same individual painted it and 727, minor discrepancies such as the orientation of the furrows in the fields suggest otherwise.

Whether or not only one painter was involved, a single workshop produced all three codices, probably over a very brief period of time. By "workshop" I here mean something smaller than the school that produced the entire genre of Techialoyans. The variation among the group as a whole may have been the result of

¹⁴ On analogy with the other two, text pages should be attached to text pages, images to images, but if this is the case with 732, the first four folios must be bound together, separately from the rest. The manuscript should be examined to determine whether this is the case.

Table 2

IMAGES IN TECHIALOYANS 721, 727, AND 732			
<i>Scene</i>	721	727	732
1		f. 2 ^r	
2	p. 6 (part)	f. 2 ^v	
3	p. 3	f. 3 ^r	
4	p. 10	f. 3 ^v	
5		f. 4 ^r	f. 8 ^r
6		f. 4 ^v	f. 8 ^v
7		f. 5 ^r	
8	p. 8	f. 5 ^v	
9		f. 6 ^r	
10		f. 6 ^v	
11	p. 7	f. 7 ^r	f. 11 ^r (part)
12	p. 14	f. 7 ^v	
13	p. 11	f. 8 ^r	f. 10 ^r
14	p. 1		
15	p. 2		
16	p. 4		f. 9 ^v
17	p. 5		
18	p. 9		f. 9 ^r
19	p. 12		
20	p. 13		
21	p. 15		
22	p. 16		
23			f. 5 ^r
24			f. 5 ^v
25			f. 6 ^r
26			f. 6 ^v
27			f. 7 ^r
28			f. 7 ^v
29			f. 10 ^v
30			f. 11 ^v

diachronic or synchronic variation; I think a combination of the two is most likely. A sub-grouping this tight implies a minimum of both sorts of variation. While it seems likely that all double-register Techialoyans were produced at approximately the same time by the same people, no others that I have seen contain any of the scenes found in these three.¹⁵ Perhaps they were produced by the same workshop, but their artists did not happen to copy any of the

¹⁵ I have seen photocopies, kindly provided by Stephanie Wood, of (apparently) the whole text of 716, 725, and 735. Color photographs of 735, the two leaves from the *Codex of*

same scenes— suggesting a rather large set of master drawings. A careful study of the double-register group as a whole is needed to define their relationship. One artistic trait that links several of the double register codices (702-717-735, 706, 721, 727) to the apparent exclusion of others is the occurrence of footprints on road surfaces (Robertson 1975: 262n.). A finer examination would undoubtedly reveal other traits that can be used to distinguish subgroups within the Techialoyan corpus.

Textual relationship

The relationship between the texts of the three codices is nowhere near as clear as that between the images. Intertwined with this issue are those of the relationship between the text and image, and of the actual historicity and specificity of the information contained in the text. Again I will rely most heavily on 727, to a lesser extent on 721, and least of all on 732.¹⁶

Codex 727 contains four pages of pure text in addition to its captions. Most of the "historical" information is contained within the whole text pages. As indicated above, there has been much debate about the historicity of Techialoyans. The *Coyotepec Codex* seems to support a position somewhere in the middle, between innocent oral tradition and fraudulent forgery. While it includes no dates, it does refer to various historical events, such as the viceroyalty of don Luis de Velasco (1549-64) and the commencement of the Desagüe, the great canal to drain the Basin of Mexico, which ran near Coyotepec. In that particular case, it alleges a false contemporaneity between the man and the event (1607). However, at least one authentic local historic tradition may be preserved. The founding of the town is attributed to Cuauhnochtzin, the king of Tepotzotlan. The only mentions of this name in more formal historical records suggest that it may have been a title, applied to a Tenochca lord during the reigns of Moteuczoma Ilhuicamina, Axayacatl, Ahuitzotl, and Moteuczoma Xocoyotzin (García Granados 1925: 180-2). However, the name does appear in the Techialoyan codex from Tepotzotlan

Huixoaapan in the MNA, appear in Teléfonos de México 1992. I have also examined the original manuscript of 706. None of these codices contain any of the images found in 721, 727, or 732. There is one other instance of a duplicated scene, but it is within one manuscript. *Codex 733*, from San Pablo Huixoaapan, appears to have one pair of images painted on either side of the same folio leaf.

¹⁶ While 732 has the most text of the set, its study is hindered yet again by poor reproduction quality.

(Robertson 1960). The fact that the name Cuauhnochtzin is associated with Tepotzotlan in both Techialoyans does suggest that a local oral tradition may be reflected in the text.¹⁷ There are great stylistic differences between 727 and 718-714-722, the (single-register) Tepotzotlan codex: although both are clearly Techialoyans, they are about as different as any two of that name can be. They were clearly not produced by the same scribe or artist, and this lessens the chance that Cuauhnochtzin is a coordinated fabrication in both.¹⁸

The geography is a similar mix of real and dubious. Several of the place names that appear in the codex are those of actual modern barrios of Coyotepec, while others seem to be variations (such as "Acocaltitlan" for Acocalco). The road to Tula, the Tepotzotlan River, and the hacienda of Xalpa are likewise real places that show some grounding in local geography. Others do not survive today, but may well have existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, especially since they were probably field-names of limited use and easily changed (see Dyckerhoff 1984 for a preliminary typology of Nahuatl place names). As mentioned above, Xalpan or Xalpa also appears in 720, the map of Coyotepec.

Many of the captions in 727 seem to make a clear reference to the images. For example, on fol. 7r. (Figure 7), the individual seated beneath the tree is labelled as don Miguel Motecçoçomatzin (a more correct Nahuatl spelling of the Hispanized "Moctezuma"), who has already been claimed as the scribe of the codex. Similarly, figures in pre-Hispanic dress are labelled as "Axayacatl" and "our lords". More subtly, some pages record the existence of town lands at places whose names play off the illustrations. Thus Huapalcalco, or "plank-house-place", accompanies a house (fol. 5r.; Figure 5). Atenco Atl-Ipahmacayan, or "Water's-medicine-giving-place-by-the-edge-of-the-water", accompanies an apparent fishing scene (fol. 6r.; Figure 6). Cihuapohualoyan, or "Place-where-women-are-counted", shows four kneeling women (fol. 4r.; Figure 4). "Near the road to Zoquititlan" appears on a page with scenes of two roads, the upper with two human burden-bearers on it, the lower with two birds (fol. 8r.; Figure 8). Clearly the scribe was conscious of the scenes he was captioning, but whether he simply selected the most appropriate combinations or created his text to accompany the pre-existing pictures is less clear.

¹⁷ However, Cuauhnochtzin does not appear in Neri (1996), a recent community history of Tepotzotlan.

¹⁸ Coyotepec actually appears in 714, as one in a series of pages bearing single place names, simple drawings, and not much more.

A similar situation is present in 721. The illustration of a sweat-bath is captioned as "temascalçacapanco", with the root *temascal-li*, or "sweat-bath" (p. 9).¹⁹ The place name Tecuantitlan, or "By-the-beast", occurs with something that seems most like a cross-breed between a lion and a mule, while a more clearly feline face appears in the lower corner (p. 5). But what about the pages shared by both codices? Two place names, Ichcatitlan and Oçomatitlan, appear on 727 fol. 7r., along with the portrait of don Miguel Moctezuma and his macrocephalic mouse. On 721 p. 7 appear San Miguel and Oçomatepec. As there is nothing in the scene itself to provoke thoughts of a monkey (*ozomatli*), this coincidence seems suspicious. Support for this suspicion is provided by 727 fol. 3v. and 721 p. 3: "tecpan Icxititlan" and "Icxititlan". Here the name "Vicinity-of-feet is at least suggested by the illustration, which contains a road with a line of footprints down it. 727 fol. 5v. and 721 p. 8 each have multiple place names, but both include Tlalchiuhcan among them. This may be suggested by the planted fields below ("Place-of-farmers"). Similarly, Tlalchiuhcan appears on both 727 fol. 3v. and 721 p. 10. which also have planted fields in the lower register. Aside from Oçomatitlan and Oçomatepec, the other pairs bear some relation to the images in question. Tlalchiuhcan, especially, may be used as a general locative phrase, not a specific place name.²⁰

Numerous other place names occur in more than one member of the group, but they are not paired with congruent images. Perhaps most notable is the appearance of Coyotepec on 721 p. 3 (one of those that does appear in 727), although the context is unclear. Other names that are shared are somewhat more obscure, such as Atl-Inechoayan ("Water's-gathering-place") in both 727 (fol. 1v.) and 732 (fol. 10r.). Place names that are shared may refer to either the same place or to different places; the distances between the three pueblos in question make the former unlikely on the face of it, yet I do not know of another Coyotepec, for example, in the area of Techialoyan production. Other names in the codices, such as Tlamimilolpan, are independently attested from multiple locations (Teotihuacan and the southern Valley of Toluca), and seem to have been fairly common local names.²¹

¹⁹ I do not give an exact translation because I am unsure of it. Both *-pan* and *-co* are distinct locative suffixes and should not occur jointly as they do here; if *pan* is from *pan-tli*, or "flag", I am bewildered as to the sense of the name. "At-the-place-of-grass-flag-sweatbaths"?

²⁰ Andrews (1995) mentions this distinction in toponyms.

²¹ More work needs to be done on classes of Nahuatl place names; Dyckerhoff (1984) provides an interesting start.

Palaeography is also indicative of the relation between these texts. These three codices have very similar handwriting in comparison with all of the single-register examples I have seen, with far more regularity in the size and placement of the letters. This trait seems to be consistent throughout the double-register codices. Yet there are differences. 727 contains circumflex accents over many of its vowels, placed in a scattershot manner that bears no apparent relation to linguistic reality. Neither 721 nor 732, nor any other codex that I have seen, follows this practise.²² More than any characteristic of specific letters, this seems to indicate a different scribe. Bankmann (1974; reproduced by Harvey 1993) provides a table of comparative paleography of several Techialoyans, but this comparison needs to be greatly expanded.

The texts of these three codices show a more complex and uncertain relationship than the images. While 721 and 727, especially, do share some place names, the latter, at least, also contains many accurate ones. Perhaps the scribes supplemented the geographic information supplied to them with stock names and locative phrases that they associated with certain images. Whether or not scribe and artist were the same individual, the palaeography indicates that different scribes were involved.

Conclusion

I have suggested above that double-register codices form a distinctive subgroup of the Techialoyan genre as a whole. Within this subgroup of ten codices, three bear an even stronger relation to each other. For ease of reference, perhaps a name should be given to this group of three, and to whatever others may prove to belong to it. My tentative suggestion is the Coyonacazco group: this place name is applied to San Cristóbal Coyotepec in the codex from that place, but is not elsewhere known in the Colonial period. The only other occurrences that I have located are as the name of a *barrio* in Tlaxelolco, and in a riddle posed by Sahagún in Book VI (Sahagún 1950-82: 7: 234). Images in all three codices were copied from the same source, and the loose folios were then bound with no apparent reference to page order. Either before or after binding, captions were written that clearly refer to the paintings. At the same time, the captions include some geographic information specific to the pueblos

²² *Codex 706*, from Ixtapalapa, does use a few diacritics, but the manner of use seems to be distinct.

in question. This production process has many implications. It suggests that studies which emphasize the accuracy of individual drawings, or the integration of individual pages into an overall structure, are somewhat misguided. While the text within the captions may be specific and, possibly, accurate, its relationship to the images and to other text in each codex is somewhat arbitrary. Text that does seem to refer to the associated drawing is, in fact, more likely to be fabricated, a creation of the scribe based on the pre-existing drawing, not actual geography or history.

These three codices come from pueblos that between them cover a good portion of the geographical area from which Techialoyans are known. Other double-register codices which have not been examined proceed from the furthest reaches of the Techialoyan area, including one from Tlaxcala (725). These distances are not excessive, and travel would not have been a great problem, but they do indicate that this sub-group of Techialoyans cannot be delineated on geographical grounds. It has generally been argued that Techialoyans were produced in a centralized workshop in either Azcapotzalco or Tacuba. It now seems that separate workshops may be distinguishable within this broader school. Whether the distinction was diachronic or synchronic is unknown given the current rough chronology for their production. At at least one workshop within this school, it seems that standardized codex leaves were painted from a model set. They were then assembled and captioned by a set of scribes according to information, either oral or written, provided by the pueblo seeking a title of its own.

Is this a forgery or not? The answer depends on what intent one attributes to the elders of the pueblo and to the artist and scribe (whether or not they were the same person) who produced the codex. They merely wanted to lay claim to what they believed to be their ancestral lands. To defend these lands against Spanish incursions, they needed documentation. They also recognized the premium that the Spanish courts put on older documents, and therefore made their evidence as aged and impressive as possible. In the eyes of the Spanish, these efforts constitute forgery, but what else were the Indians to do?

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