

A STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE *CODEX COZCATZIN*: ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF POST CONQUEST AZTEC MANUSCRIPTS

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Introduction

For many years it has been generally assumed that the Aztec native tradition of manuscript illustration died out soon after the Conquest. (Kubler, 1961). The works produced in Mexico City and at the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco exhibit at best isolated elements of the native style. Only the documents produced in Texcoco seem to retain their "Aztecness". One reason for this view stems from the focus on Tlatelolcan works produced under the auspices of the Franciscan Friars. When purely secular documents from this area are examined however, a different picture emerges. One such manuscript is the *Codex Cozcatzin*, currently housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.¹ This paper analyzes the *Codex Cozcatzin* from historical and stylistic perspectives in order to gain insight into its purposes and assemblage and to derive information concerning manuscript production in the Valley of Mexico toward the end of the sixteenth century.²

¹ Since 1890, just three articles have been published which deal directly with the *Codex Cozcatzin*. Boban describes the codex with the illustration of ten of its pages as well as publishing some of the Spanish texts. Barlow provides an incomplete commentary on pages dealing with the rulers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco. Finally Barlow and McAfee transcribe and translate some of the codex's Nahuatl texts.

² I am most indebted to Professor N. C. Christopher Couch for his suggestion of the *Codex Cozcatzin* as the subject of this paper and for all his help and encouragement during the initial stages of codical analysis. I would also like to thank the staff of the Oriental Reading Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris for permission to view the original document in June, 1988. Without their help this analysis would not be possible. All illustrations are published by the kind consent of the Bibliothèque Nationale and any reproduction without their permission is prohibited. In addition, Professor Mary Elizabeth Smith of Tulane University was

The *Codex Cozcatzin* was a document submitted to the Spanish Court of New Spain in 1572 as part of a claim by the Indians of San Sebastian for repatriation of their land. (Barlow, 1946: 416) Indian land claims were quite common in the Mexican courts soon after the conquest. Most cases were known to incorporate documents that were pertinent to the inhabitants of a town and its surrounding areas. This case was assembled by Don Luis Cozcatzin, mayor of Coyutlan. (Barlow and McAfee, 1946: 188) It can be presumed that the document was compiled under the direction of Cozcatzin and that some, if not all, of the codex was created with his guidance. In land claims, the official court documentation was likely to be in Nahuatl since this was the accepted genre for public legal discourse when Indians were involved. (Karttunen, 1982: 395). Each village had an Indian notary whose main job was the transcription of statements for later court use.

Internal textual evidence indicates that at least part of the *Codex Cozcatzin* was created around 1572. Pictorial evidence indicates a similar date for most of the rest of the manuscript. It is also clear that part of the document is missing.

Contents

The *Codex Cozcatzin* is presently comprised of 17 leaves with text or illustration on both sides. Each leaf is a separate half sheet of European paper, 29 by 22 cm. There are no watermarks discernable when individual sheets are held up to the light. The pages are generally intact, with only small pieces missing around the edges. Some pages appear to have been torn and subsequently repaired, and there is discoloration due to water contact. However, for the most part the painting is undamaged and the text is readable.

Spanish script fills the upper half of page 2r. It describes the distribution of land by the Aztec ruler Itzcoatl in 1439 and states that the people retained the land through cultivation, but lost their claims soon after the Spanish conquest. The displaced Indians are now (1572) attempting to reclaim the land lost by their parents and grandparents. This text is followed by a small cartouche-like empty space.

There is a small amount of Spanish text on page 2v, within a rectangle at the top of the page. (Plate 1) It recounts how one Don Diego

most generous in taking the time to read and comment on the original document. I found all her suggestions most valuable. Of course, any errors are my sole responsibility.

married the sister of Motecuhzomah Xocoyotzin and later traveled to Spain. The majority of the page is taken up by an illustration. Prince Motecuhzomah sits, identified by his glyph, next to a nopal growing from a rock surmounted by a royal crown, the symbol of Tenochtitlan. Before the prince is his sister and a man seated upon a low stool. Below this group is a piece of land surrounded by water in which ducks and other animals swim. On the "island" is depicted a structure and a hill with water flowing from it.

The next page, 3r (Plate 1), is divided into four horizontal sections. The sections are subdivided by a vertical line, creating a small square on the left and a large rectangle to the right. Each square contains the Nahuatl name in Spanish text and the glyph for a specific piece of land. In the corresponding large rectangle there is the profile of a seated Indian with his name glyph. To the right of the figure in Spanish is the description of the land: location, acreage, and so forth. Boban (1891: 41) interprets this as a list of Indians displaced from their lands.

Page 3v (Plate 2) is divided into two sections. In the top left is a drawing of the Emperor Itzcoatl, the fourth Aztec ruler. He is accompanied by text in Spanish recounting, as on page 2v, the distribution of lands in 1439. The allocation followed the first defeat of Tlatelolco by Tenochtitlan during Itzcoatl's reign. Below Itzcoatl is a depiction of Axayacatl, the sixth emperor. The accompanying text deals primarily with the succession and military campaigns of this ruler. Axayacatl presided over the second defeat of Tlatelolco in 1473. Like page 3r, pages 4r through 9r contain the four horizontal divisions as well as similar land information. Two additional property descriptions are placed in the upper half of 9v. The rest of the page is covered with Spanish text which continues onto page 10r. The text recounts how Don Diego appropriated the land from the plaintiffs' families through torture, incarceration and exile. This is followed by a small profile depiction of the fifth Aztec ruler Motecuhzomah Ilhuicamina seated on a throne, identified by his accompanying name glyph.

Below the figure of the emperor there is additional writing, also in Spanish. This text briefly recounts how the land was distributed to the ancestors by Itzcoatl, but taken away after the Conquest. It concludes with the statement that this text was written by Juan Luis Cozcatzin as *alcalde* of Sebastian. Although this statement would provide a logical end for the list of land claims, the back side of the leaf (page 10v)

contains five additional divisions, indicating land and previous owner. Except for the fifth partition, 10v resembles the previous listings.

Pages 10bisr through 14r contain a king list for the rulers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco. (Plate 3) Each page is divided into four quadrants, which contain the traditional profile depiction of an individual seated upon a throne and accompanied by a name glyph. These individuals are recognizable as rulers, not only by their individual glyphs, but also since each wears a royal crown and is seated on a low throne with a back. The kings face each other with the pages rotated so that the top figures look down and the bottom figures gaze upward. Some of the rulers have accompanying script in Nahuatl; however, the majority are accompanied by a large blank space.

The king list is followed by a discussion and depiction of the defeat of Tlatelolco by the forces of Axayacatl in 1473. (Plate 4) It covers two pages (14v and 15r) bound side by side. The illustrations are placed around the outer edges and bottom of the leaves; a depiction of the actual defeat extends across the page separation. The unpainted areas are covered by a description of the causes and events of the battle written in Nahuatl. The format which transverses two pages is also used in the next depiction.

Pages 15v and 16r display a map of the properties in the area of Xochimilco. (Plate 5) Xochimilco is indicated by its glyph, a *tepetl* or hill sign, with flowers. The map is similar to the *Mapa de Santa Cruz* (Robertson, 1959). Indications of a canal as well as several roads cross the inter-page boundary. Land plots are indicated through rectangles and villages via structures. The genealogies associated with this land are depicted in two ways. The first utilizes the designation of individuals only as profile heads, with their names in European script written beside them. The second type of depiction is the profile seated figure already encountered earlier in the codex. The names of individuals so indicated are written in Spanish script, Aztec glyphs, or both. The relationship of these figures is represented by connecting lines.

The *Mapa* is followed by three pages (16v through 17v) also listing specific parcels of land. (Plate 6) The pages are divided into ten rectangular areas via horizontal lines with a single vertical, marking off sub-sections on the left. The small squares created by the use of the vertical contain land glyphs. This is basically the same format utilized in the land claims at the beginning of the codex, with a greater number of fields and thus less room for each. However, in this case the text is generally limited to the name of the land placed next to the

glyph. The larger area to the right invariably contains a series of colored dots with occasional additional information composed of human and plant depictions.

The last two pages (18r and 18v) consist only of Spanish text. These appear to deal with descriptions of the stars and planets and constitute the final section within the manuscript as it exists today.

Physical and Conceptual Divisions

Based on the above description and page separations, the *Codex Cozcatzin* can be divided into three sections. The first is concerned with the distribution of land in 1439, its appropriation by Don Diego soon after the conquest, and the present (1572) appeal for repatriation to the Court of New Spain. The basic facts of the case are presented along with a list of the lands ceded to certain individuals and a precise description of that land. The language used in the text is Spanish. It would appear that this section was produced under the direction of Cozcatzin and is comprised of pages 2r through 10v. At this point there is a change in subject matter as well as a physical page break; there is no page with illustrations from both the introductory section and the second segment.

The second section is composed of pages 10b_{isr} through 17v and can be physically separated from the land claim segment. The language used here is Nahuatl instead of Spanish. This section begins with the Tlatelolcan and Tenochtitlan king list. The list is followed by pages dealing directly with the defeat of Tlatelolco by Tenochtitlan. Besides a tentative concept and subject link between the king list and the battle, there is a physical bridge. The left-hand page of the battle scene is the back of the last page of the king list (ie., 14r and 14v).

A similar physical connection exists for the Tlatelolcan defeat and the Xochimilco map. Page 15r shows the aftermath of the battle, 15v is the left hand side of the map. In addition, the right hand side of the *Mapa* (16r) is backed by the first of the land lists. While the leafs of section two are grouped physically and through the use of Nahuatl for the written texts, their conceptual linkage is not at first evident.

A possible conceptual tie appears when a map of the area south of the great lake of Mexico is consulted. Tlatelolco, Xochimilco, and the lands mentioned in the final glyphs (Culhuacan, Iztapalapa, Mexical-zinco, Ixtacalco and Tenochtitlan) all are clustered in the territory

southwest of Lake Texcoco. However, this connection via location also applies to the first section of the codex so its value as an subset unification element is weakened.

The lack of geographical reference and the return to the use of Spanish separates the final section from the rest of the *Codex Cozcatzin*. Part three is comprised of the astrological information contained on pages 18r and 18v. The celestial material is unique to the third section of the manuscript, as well as the total lack of any illustration. Page 18 is physically smaller than the other leaves which comprise the codex. Also, the text begins in mid-sentence, indicating that there is missing material. From both a physical and conceptual viewpoint, these pages are a complete anomaly when compared to the rest of the manuscript and were probably not part of the original document.

The subject matter of the *Codex Cozcatzin* focuses on land rights in the area southwest along Lake Texcoco. While this theme unites the majority of the pages, it does not explain why this document contains those specific elements nor provide insight into the logic of their sequencing. In order to further elucidate the structure of the manuscript, it will be necessary to analyze the style of the handwriting, the pictorial elements and the ratio of the information contained in the text versus the painting.

Handwriting Analysis

The script can be initially divided into two parts, Nahuatl and Spanish. Three different hands were determined for the Spanish text found in section one, the land claim documents. Most of the text was written by Hand A: the land claims, and the large areas of text between them. In comparison to other handwriting, Hand A's work is more geometrical and precise. The tail formation in letters such as p, q and y, as well as the upward extensions of l and h, tend toward the vertical. In addition there is great consistency within any sample of Hand A's work. Each small letter "a" is just like every other small letter "a", as well as extreme precision of lineation. The writing by Hand A on pages 3v and 4r (Plate 2) nicely accommodate the irregularities in the paintings, indicating that the text was added after the illustrations were applied to the page.

In contrast to Hand A, the Work of Hand B is much more elegant and elongated. There is a greater tendency to slant extensions as well

as a propensity for adding decorative touches to the letters. For example, the tail of each y ends in a ornamental dot. Overall, Hand B's writing appears more like script when compared to Hand A's blocky forms.

Hand B is found on the introductory page 2r and on page 2v in the small rectangle above the three seated figures. (Plate 1) The rectangle overlaps the illustration and was added after the drawing. Given the small ratio of text to illustration and the later addition of the cartouche lines, it is reasonable to assume that the text was added after the painting was rendered.

The location and content of a second sample of Hand B also indicates that the text was added after the illustrations and after Hand A's writing. Hand B appears on page 10r after the small figure of the Emperor. Here the profile drawing marks the end of the major text by Hand A. Below this, Hand B again summarizes the major details and then states that this was written by Juan Cozcatzin. Since it is known that Cozcatzin oversaw the case for the plaintiffs, it is reasonable to assume that he signed and added some of his own comments to the document when it was completed. It also appears that Cozcatzin was not the only one to add to this first section of the codex.

A third handwriting is discernable in the first section. Hand C appears in only one place, the third partition of page 8v. This is the only land claim which carries information in pictorial form other than the afore mentioned land and owner glyphs. Hand C's writing is heavy, with thick lines and a great deal of variation from letter to letter. Also, the lines of text are uneven and do not always stay along the horizontal established at the beginning of each sequence. The area around this writing is discolored and indicates that the original text was obscured and Hand C inserted the current passage instead. The appearance of text in the area normally reserved for the name glyph supports the idea of an intentional obliteration of the original writing and the subsequent additions by Hand C. With the determination of three Hands it is quite clear that three individuals wrote the Spanish text in the first section of the *Codex Cozcatzin* with Hand A being the initial writer and the work of Hands B and C being later additions.

The second section is written in Nahuatl and appears to contain the work of two writers (Hands D and E) in the major passages: the King list text (Plate 3) and the description of the conflict between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco. (Plate 4) This determination was based on the style and line-width characteristics of the capital letters, the overall spacing and slant of letters within lines of text, the precision of the

lines and the consistency of letter formation within each sample. However, the differences between the two hands are much less drastic than those exhibited within the Spanish text. The manner in which the text accommodates the illustrations in this Nahuatl section of the manuscript indicates that the writing was added after the painting. Another writer, Hand F, prepared the Spanish text in the final section.

Although the work of several individuals is evident in the *Codex Cozcatzin*, the analysis of handwriting style indicates that each writer is limited to one of the division which arose from the previous conceptual and physical evaluation of the document: the land claims, the king list with battle scene and map, and the final Spanish text. This supports the treatment of such areas as distinct elements within the larger corpus which today embodies the manuscript.

Presentation of Information

Although several parts of the codex contain no images, it is possible to analyze the information in the written text relative to that found in the illustrations on the painted pages. The text to image information ratio varies throughout the folio and does not always correspond to the physical or conceptual divisions discussed above. Thus, it is necessary to look at the codex essentially page by page. The content of page 2r is all text, with the exception of the empty cartouche. In contrast to this, the greater volume of page 2v is taken up by illustration. (Plate 1) The text, although related to the illustrations, conveys different information: Don Diego is the primary subject of the writing but not in the painting. This corresponds to Baird's (1979) classification of "Informative" images in European book illustration. It is also the same basic concept utilized by Pre-Conquest manuscripts; the data is carried by the painting. The illustrations on this page are to be read sequentially; however, this does not appear to be a temporal sequence and may be cartographic. The eye is led from the hillside cave at the lower right, along the flowing water and up to the three figures grouped at the top. This type of "meandering" sequence is similar to early Mixtec historical documents like the *Codex Nuttall*. The ducks and otters function in much the same way as the little foot prints in earlier historical manuscripts such as the *Codex Boturini* (Pasztory, 1984: 200), but appear to have lost any information carrying capacity beyond this. Ultimately, the information in both the text and illus-

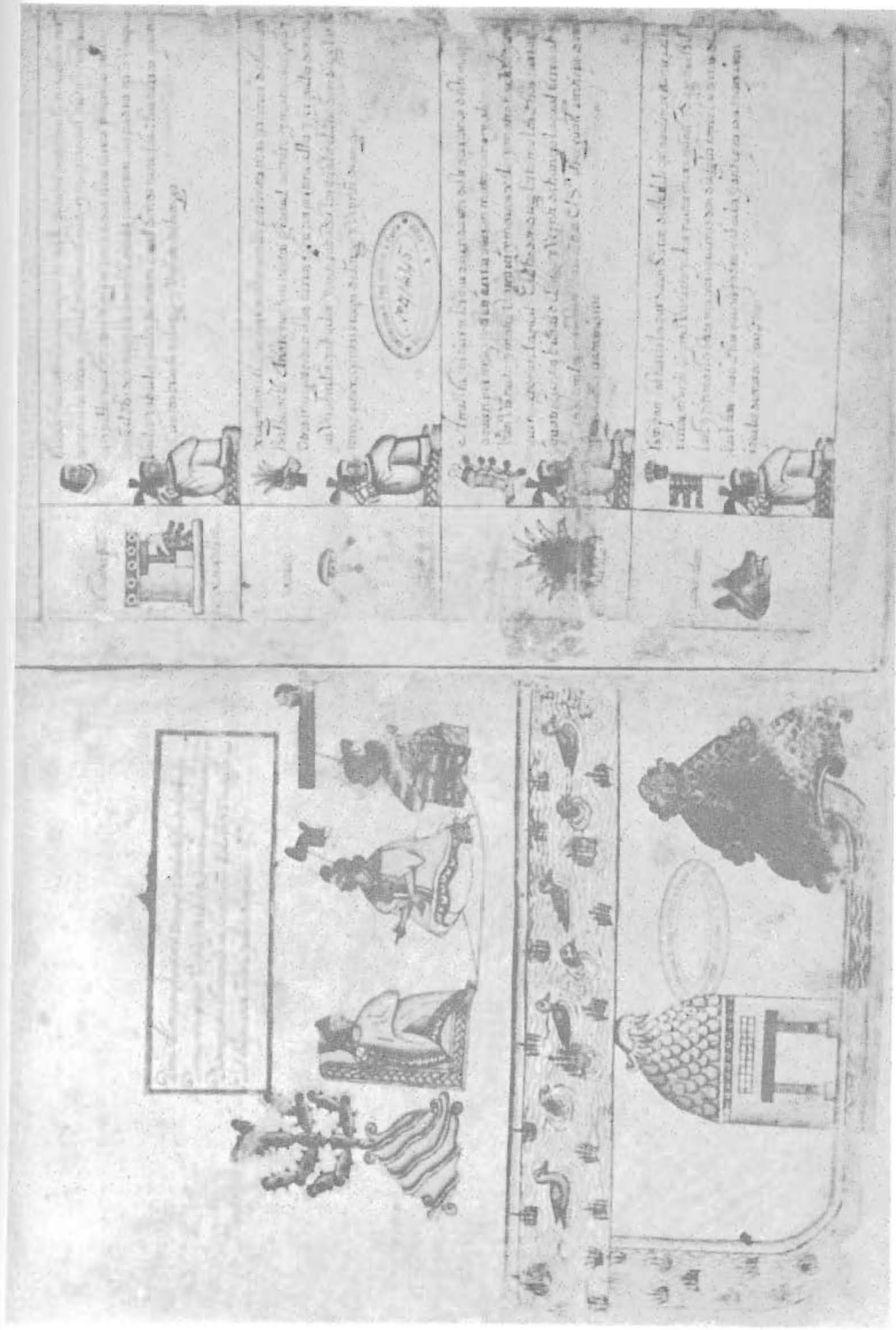


PLATE 1: 2v-3r, Introductory Page-Land Claims

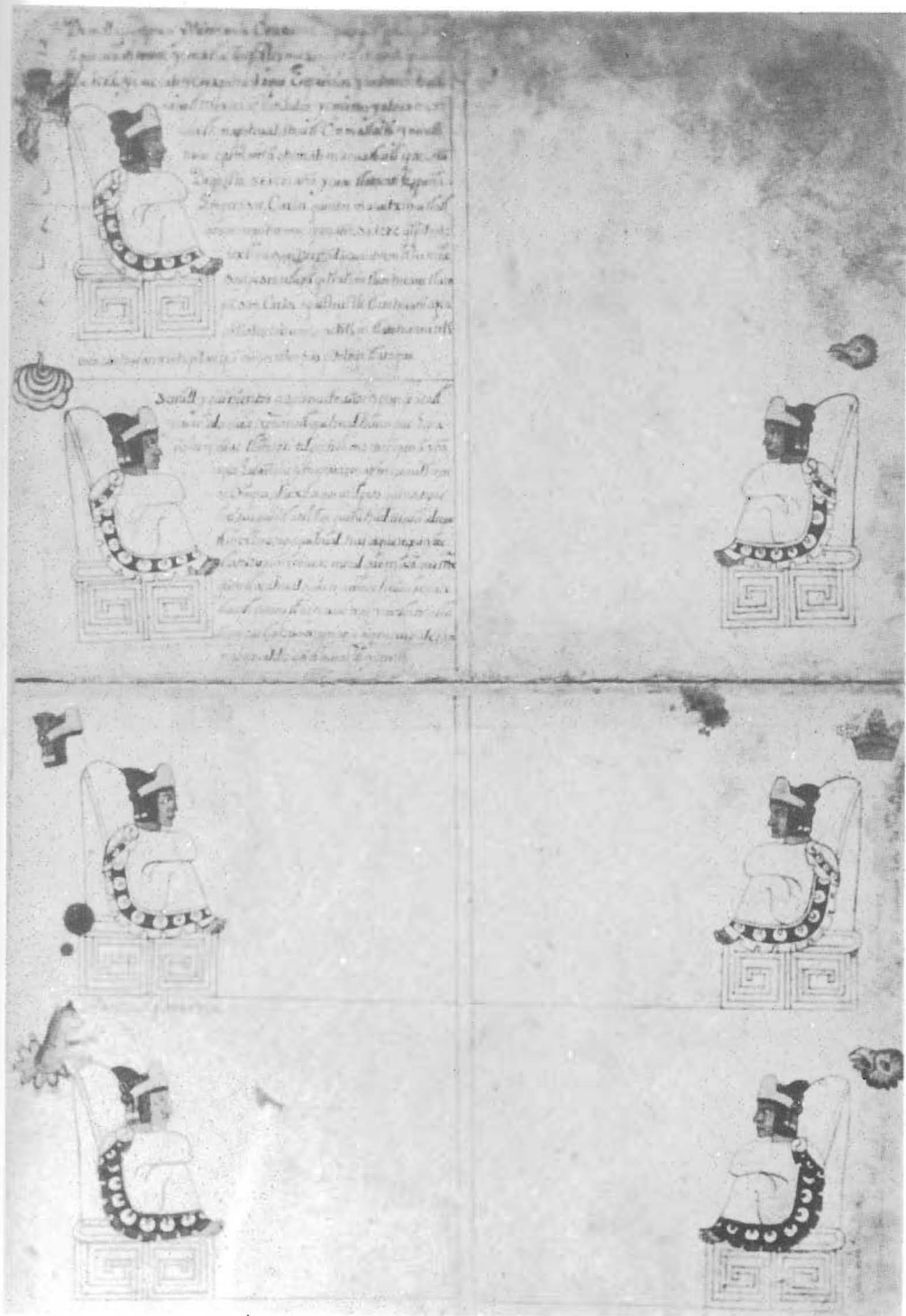


PLATE 3: 11v-13r, King Lists

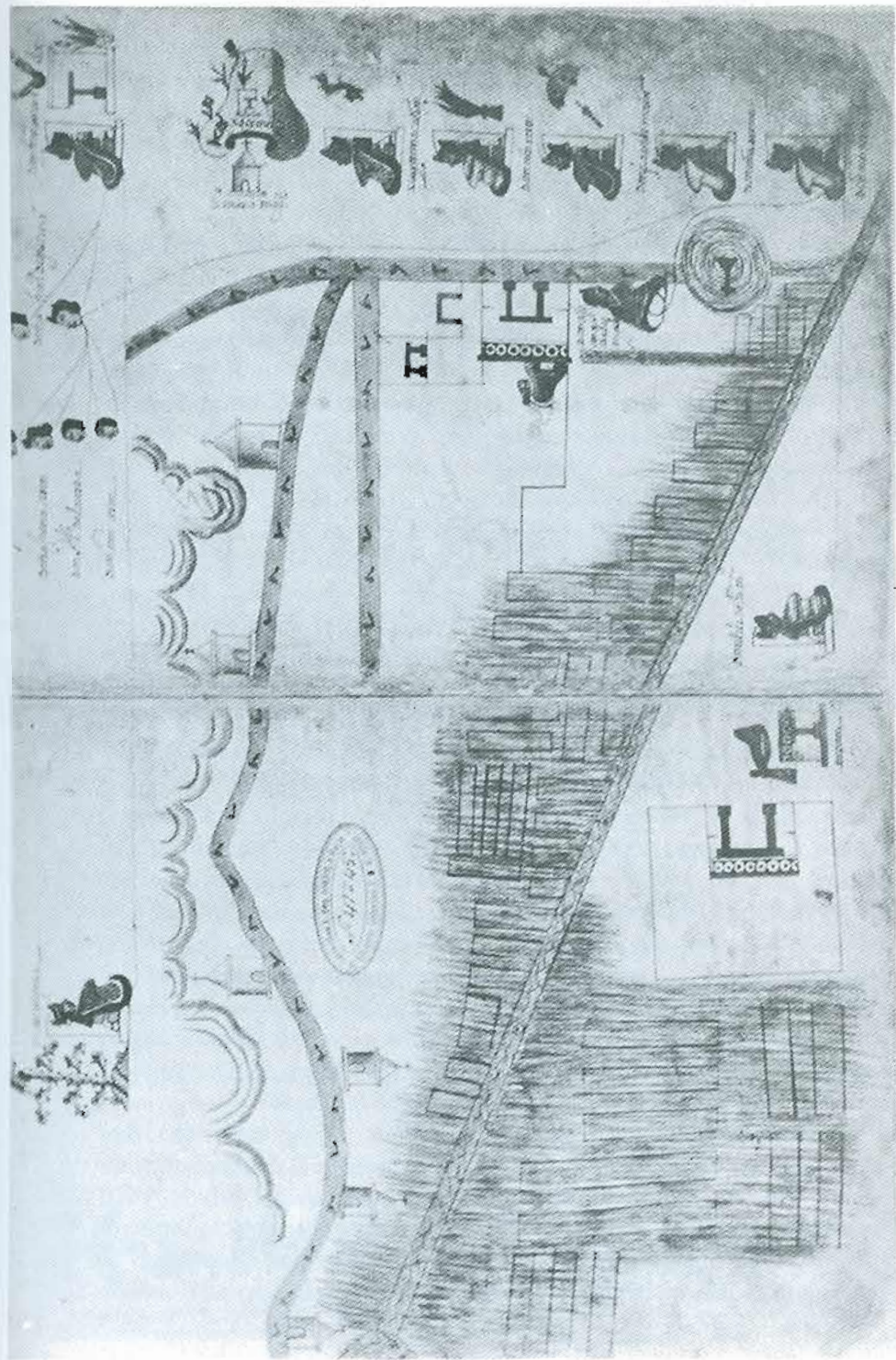


PLATE 5: 15v-16r, Mapa de Xochimilco

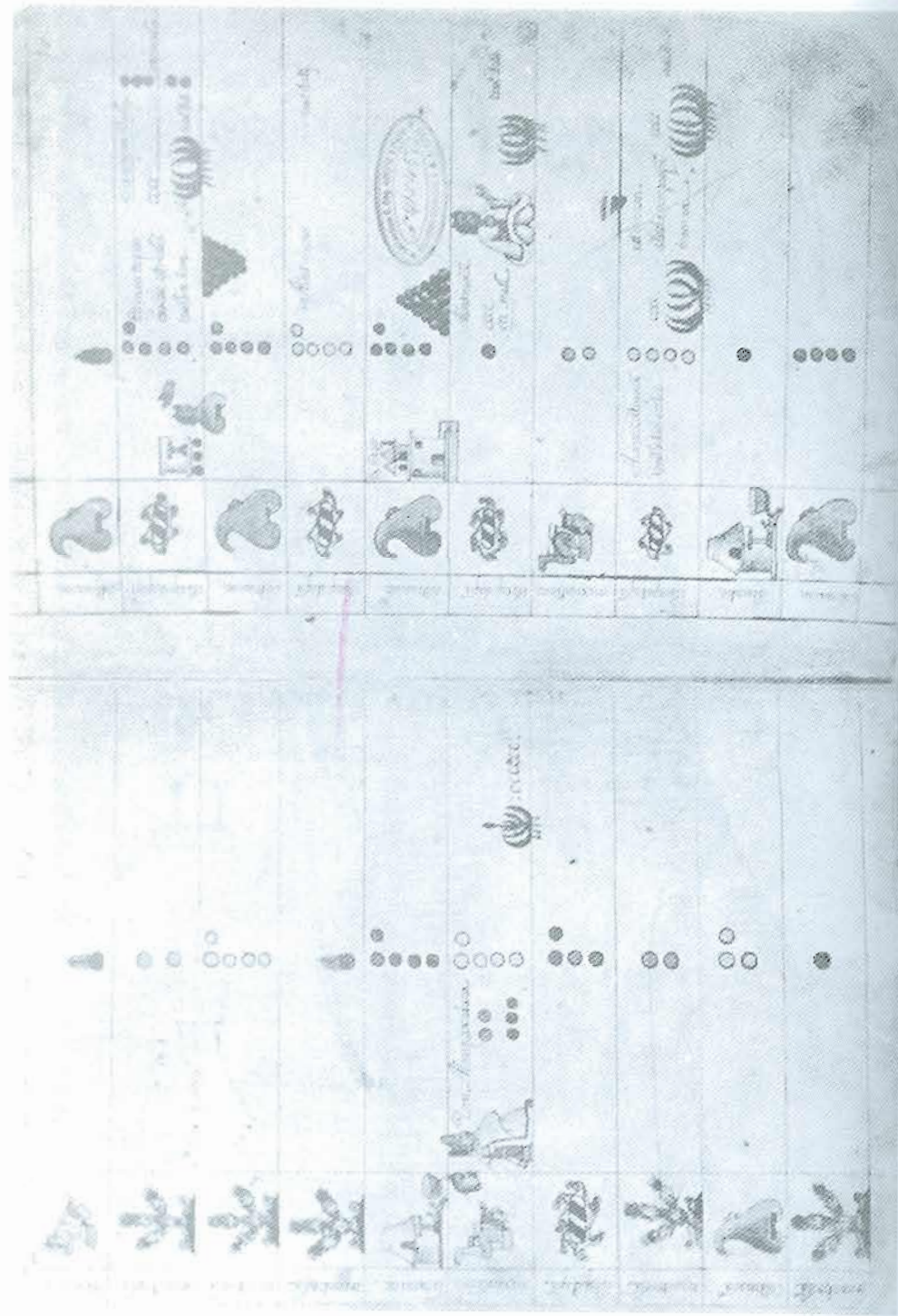


PLATE 6: 16v-17r, Land Lists

trations on page 2r, serves to introduce the major characters and pivotal events relative to the ownership of the properties under consideration.

The central theme of land ownership is further elucidated the list of property grants claimed to have been given in 1439 (pages 3r, 4r-9r; Plates 1 and 2). In these entries, the primary information is conveyed in the text. Even the data carried by the glyphs, the individual and place names, is duplicated through the inclusion of written translations. If one again follows Baird's analysis, these images are "illustrative"; the pictures give information analogous to the text without changing or amplifying it.

Among the remaining pages incorporated with the land claims the ratio of textual to illustrative information is greater or equal to that of the claims themselves with only a limited number of exceptions. The depictions of Itzcoatl and Axayacatl on page 3v serve to introduce the subject of the accompanying paragraphs. (Plate 2) Axayacatl is not presented as an isolated drawing; he is accompanied by an elaborate compilation of objects. At this point it is unclear just how this illustration relates to the text. Because the written text is so extensive, it is probable that more overall information is carried in the writing than in the painting. However, the two sets of informational data may be different in nature and therefore complimentary.

Variation in data content also exists for the atypical land claim on page 8v. This is the same segment written by Hand C. In addition to the unique penmanship, this claim also displays a series of plants painted in line across the bottom. The inclusion of such vegetation is seen in the land information at the end of the codex. Given that the Spanish text usually contains a physical description of the land endowed by the emperor, the plant drawings provide a different category of information.

Additional information is provided by a second figure appearing within a land claim on page 4r. This is the only instance in which paired individuals occur within the land claim section of the codex. Another unique aspect of the combination is the posture of the second figure: he is seated but with a raised arm holding a spear. There is only one name glyph, indicating that the two figures represent the same individual. The uniqueness of the presentation marks the singularity of the individual depicted; in some way he possessed greater importance than the other original landholders. However, the nature of the Spanish text is in no fundamental way different than the other claims. The type of textual information contained in the section imme-

diately following the land claims, however, conveys a different sort of information.

The text included as part of the King list of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco, is poetical homage to the individual depicted. (Plate 3) This is in marked contrast to the dry survey information contained in the majority of the land claim passages. Text exists only for the last six rulers depicted in the king list: six of the eight governors of New Spain after the Conquest. Where written passages are present, they convey a great deal more information than the illustrations. Like the Emperors on page 3v, the drawings in the king list serve to introduce the subject of the text, when it is present. Unlike any previous illustrations, however, the king list is oriented vertically rather than horizontally. That is, the codex must be rotated ninety degrees in order to view the figures in an upright seated position or to read any accompanying text.

The positioning of the king list reflects its derivation from a vertical tira. If the pages were separated and laid side to side, this extraction from the Pre-Conquest form would be evident. The figures would then read from top to bottom in a continuous progression of most to least recent. However, problems arise when the register is observed in its present order in the codex; once the kings are identified and numbered, their presentation does not reflect a systematic sequence.

The present pagination is in part the result of the removal of the list from the original document and subsequent shuffling. In addition, at least one page is missing from the sequence since two governors and the first Aztec king have been excluded from the middle of the list. Another difficulty is presented on page 10b1r, which contains the depictions of the second and third kings of both cities. The positioning of the figures is reverse that of all others in the sequence and these are the only monarchs in the series which have been painted. The kingly succession ends with the last two governors of Tenochtitlan. The verso of the page containing these administrators is painted with the left hand portion of the 1473 conflict between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco.

Like the king list, the recounting of the defeat of Tlatelolco is much more substantially covered by the Nahuatl text. Corresponding to the text, the illustrations focus on the battle itself. (Plate 4) The episodes are read sequentially from left to right. This is made clear by the small feet leading from the nopal/rock symbol of Tenochtitlan to the scene of the combat, a device used in Pre-Conquest Mixtec and post-conquest Aztec manuscripts. However, the placement of the illus-

trations around the margins is more closely related to the decorative images found in European illuminated manuscripts. In the framing of the text in Old World documents the images give added significance to the written word. However, this does not occur in the *Codex Cozcatzin*.

In the *Cozcatzin* pages, the painting is primarily clustered at the bottom and to the right and does not truly frame the text. In addition, the size of the illustration continually draws the eye away from the written area. The battle itself is given prominence through its placement at the bottom center. The viewer is then attracted to the right side of the page, which illustrates the events following the fall of Tlatelolco and occupies more than a third of the painted surface. By their proportions the depictions exhibit a greater interest in the aftermath of the conflict than does the written text.

For all intensive purposes, there is no written text for the Xochimilco map, although there are written names next to some of the figures. (Plate 5) All the information is carried by the illustrations themselves: the order of genealogical descent, the location of land plots and the social position of the individuals involved. It is a true map displaying canals, roads and village locations, the last through depictions of churches, Aztec temples or palaces. As in Pre-Conquest manuscripts, the visual characters, whether indigenous or European derived, function essentially as glyphs.

The heavy reliance on glyphs to impart information continues in the pages following the *Mapa*: 16v through 17v. (Plate 6) These pages are divided with horizontal and vertical lines forming a grid into which information is placed, as are the land claims. Instead of the individual represented in the property titles, various land glyphs are repeated in these later pages. While the significant information for the property claims in the first section is included in the Spanish, text, in these final land listings a greater emphasis is placed on glyphic data.

Each horizontal section contains the location glyph and a series of colored dots. In addition, occasional depictions of humans, plants, buildings and piles of round objects are found. The land glyph is accompanied by a written label, as are any humans or structures depicted, thus providing duplicate information. Numbers in the form of Roman numerals can be found with every plant. If the plants represent the crops produced on the land, the numbers render the yield, thus providing related but different information. The same information is presented in the drawing alone through the piles of round objects, giving both

kind and number. The sequences of pigmented circles are presented with no accompanying gloss.

Each land glyph is accompanied by a line of colored dots, varying in number and hue. These probably represent years and thus provide information outside the written text. The same function has been interpreted for similar forms in the *Codex Mendoza*. (Ross, 1978: 69) Although the drawings often parallel the information contained in the text, more information is carried in the land listings by 'glyphs' alone than in any section of the codex excluding the map. Although isolated parts of the *Codex Cozcatzin* have a marginal reliance on illustration to convey information, most of the data is conveyed in written glosses. The only major exception to this is the land list at the end of the codex. The reliance on written text is indicative of European influence and is to be expected in a document intended to be presented before the Court of New Spain. However, a significant amount of the text is paralleled by the visual presentation. Although the pictorial elements do not usually present fundamentally unique information, their importance to the creators of the codex is emphasized by the sheer area of each page which contains painted elements.

Stylistic Analysis

In a document such as the *Codex Cozcatzin*, it is fruitful to look at how things are depicted as well as information content, for the artists are often not the 'author' of the work. An artist's style is the result of his use of line, color, form, space, artistic conventions and the sources of his imagery. Therefore each of these will be considered in light of the illustrations in the *Codex Cozcatzin*. Differences in style allow for a determination of individual artists or artistic schools.

The first page containing illustrations is 2v, showing the seated group of three human figures and a small landscape. (Plate 1) In this scene there is a minimal indication of spacial depth indicated by the water flowing from the cave, the chair back and the positioning of the kneeling woman relative to the seated male on the left. However, for the most part the images visually exist on the surface of the page in comparison to European work.³ The flowing water utilizes the native

³ For an analysis of European illustration style see Baird. Although conceptually flawed in some respects, Baird's work still provides a useful summary of the European style from a visual perspective. For a discussion of what European books may have been available as visual prototypes for the artists of New Spain see, Couch 1987: 316).

convention of using positioning above to indicate behind. Additional Aztec elements can be seen in the flat outlining of the feet, the stylizations of the features and the iconography of certain elements, including the hill, throne and coiffure. The architecture is also depicted using some indigenous conventions: the frontal, post and lintel linear design. The line utilized in the development of architecture, glyphic signs, humans and somewhat in animals is also related to Pre-Conquest traditions.

In his work on the manuscripts produced in the Valley of Mexico, Robertson (1959: 65-66) defines three linear styles. The first of these is the indigenous frame line: a single, closed, unvarying border around color areas. The second line is European derived and more closely follows the form of the figure, utilizing controlled breaks to provide volume. The third line style is disintegrated frame line which exhibits the border qualities of frame line but without consistency of width, intensity and application. Although he does not give it an identifying term, Robertson also describes a fourth linear style. The characteristics of this line are purity and consistency with one edge bordering two forms: a frame line with delicacy, providing a three dimensional form via line direction. (1959: 137) The result is a synthesis of Pre-Conquest frame line with the European derived elements of contour and expression. This linear style can be termed expressive frame line and can be found in the *Mapa de Quinatzin* from Texcoco (Robertson, 1959). The utilization of expressive frame line in page 2v is most evident in the glyphic elements, the human and animal figures and the architecture. Even the toenails of each human figure are meticulously outlined. The small temple components are defined using expressive frame line while at the same time there is subtle shading to give the structure form. The use of this line, as well as other stylistic devices, allows for the determination of different artists.

The use of shading to produce volume paired with expressive frame line is one of the characteristics of Artist X-1 and his school. This is most evident in the human figures. The lines are drawn and then shading is pulled away from the edges using subtly modulated colors. A similar use of light and color to model forms can be found in the Texcocan *Codex Ixtlixóchitl*. (Robertson, 1959: 154) This use of color is in contrast to much of the shading in Sahagun, which is accomplished through linear devices such as cross-hatching. The shades used on page 2v are muted grays and maroons. The colors and shading are also used in Artist X-1's depiction of animals.

If anything, the animals depicted on 2v are more naturalistic than the humans, especially the ducks. The greater degree of naturalism in animal forms is something postulated for Pre-Conquest Aztec painting and seen in native sculpture.⁴ The attempts at volume through shading in both animal and human forms may also have been more common in Pre-Conquest Aztec style than a comparison with Mixtec examples would lead one to believe. The use of modulated color for shading and the muted tonality also affiliates the painter of the subsequent land claims with Group X.

Although the land claim images are small isolated figures they show a great affinity with the figures on page 2v. (Plates 1 and 2) That is, the strong expressive frame line and the development of volume using modulated, muted coloring. This approach is combined with an indigenous stylization of various elements of the figures: overall body form, position, face, coiffure, pose and chair. A close examination of the painting in this area reveals that all the human figures were drawn by the same hand, Master X-1. However, at least three artists actually painted the figures. Since the application of paint is not as delicate and controlled as the drawing, it is postulated that these artists were apprentices working in group or workshop X.

The painters of the land claims are designated Apprentice X-1, X-2 or X-3. The work of Apprentice X-1 is characterized by brown shading within the figure lines which becomes lighter as it is drawn away from the border. In contrast, Apprentice X-2 utilizes blue coloring with little or no modulation. This results in a border effect rather than a delineation of form. The color application of Apprentice X-3 is similar to Apprentice X-2 except that this third artist uses gray tones. In addition each hand can be distinguished by the way in which cloak wrinkles were painted in after the washes were applied. Apprentice X-1 uses heavily drawn radiating lines while Apprentice X-2 paints in light parallel striations. The lines drawn by Apprentice X-3 are lightly applied with some radiating from a center while others are parallel. The work of each apprentice is grouped together on two or three consecutive pages and is not intermingled with other painters' examples. The elements which distinguish the Apprentices of group X from one another as well as from Master X-1 also differentiates them from Artist X-1.

⁴ For discussions concerning Pre-conquest Aztec style see Robertson and Boone. I agree with Boone that sculpture must be considered when reconstructing the Aztec pictorial style and not just pre-conquest Mixtec manuscripts. Thus, the greater relative naturalism and elongation evident in such post-conquest Aztec manuscripts as the *Codex Borbonicus* is not necessarily the result of European influence.

In comparison to the land claim style, Artist X-1 (group with landscape) shows a greater variety of poses in his figures and there is less reliance on shading, although the use of color to give solidity is present. The tendency towards pure line is also greater if one observes the female figure and the birds head at the temple top. This is in contrast to the land claim artists who rely more strongly on contour shading. In addition, the land claim figures are less elegant or elongated than those of Artist X-1. This distinguishes Artist X-1 from Master X-1. However, for both sections an increasing amount of naturalism is evident when the images depict organic forms. This is most evident in those elements which function directly or indirectly as glyphs.

Animal and plant glyphs often exhibit the shading and volume evident in the human figures. However, devices such as shields, temples and masks, as well as organic figures are constructed using form lines which surround areas of color, often with interior modulation. This approach results in a isolation of those elements which make up the image. In addition, there are formal elements in many of the non-architectural glyphs which correspond closely to the traditional forms found in the *Codex Borbonicus* and the *Tonalamatl Aubin*. (Boone, 1982: 166) The consistency of line and paint application indicates a glyph specialist working on these images, thus Master X-2. The creation of glyphs by a more experienced or talented artist, rather than the apprentices who painted the land claim humans, suggests the relative importance of the two subject matters. The designation of a glyph specialist also corresponds to the greater knowledge needed to correctly create the images. The existence of such a specialist also argues for a continuing tradition of training, several generations after the Conquest. As well as the correspondence of non-architectural glyphs with Pre-Conquest styles, architectural structures within the glyphs are presented utilizing indigenous devices such as the "T" elevation. Only two architectural deviations from the Pre-Conquest conventions exist in this section: the temple roof on page 2v already discussed and the temple depicted on page 3v opposite Axayacatl. (Plate 2)

In the group of images rendered alongside the Aztec emperor on page 3v, the most unusual is the palace. It is shown as if viewed from one corner and slightly above with almost no distortion in the form/depth relationship. At the same time, shading provides a feeling for aerial perspective. The illusionistic devices are expertly handled by someone who understands their use. The temple is a much more sophisticated utilization of European perspective conventions than will be seen

anywhere else in the *Codex Cozcatzin*. Yet, there is evidence to tie the artist of this page to Group X and more particularly the glyph Master X-2: the depiction of the nopal, the flat segmented shield, the expressive form line and the muted modulated colors including a large amount of maroon/brown tones. However, it is difficult to identify the actual palace depiction with any artist already discussed. At the same time it is not possible to completely separate this painter from Master X-2 since the temple is completely integrated into the larger nopal/clothes/shield image. Therefore, this painter is included in Group X, tentatively as Master X-2. A second, separate association of artists, separate from Group X, emerges when the remainder of the *Codex Cozcatzin* is examined.

The evidence for a second school of painters (Group Y) is first encountered when considering the king list. (Plate 3) The figures in this roll are quite linear in conception and do not exhibit the solidity of the forms produced by Group X. Even the three dimensional element of the throne back only serves to emphasize the two dimensional aspects of the human forms. As with the figures in the land claims, it appears that an experienced, talented master executed these drawings, Master Y-1.

There is evidence to indicate that the King list was not completed. Only four figures are fully painted while the majority lack coloring in all but the base of the throne, minor detailing in the attire and the head, crown, feet and name glyph. In addition, written text is limited to only a few kings. As in the land claims of Group X, the king list section appears to have been drawn by a master while the raiment painting was applied by one or more apprentices, in this case Apprentice Y-1. Apprentice Y-1 utilized rich purple, orange and green with heavy shading which was quickly drawn away from the edge. There is an inconsistency of application with paint overlapping the drawn lines and differing degrees of thickness. This variable elements is not found in the sections which are complete for each king: the heads, feet and name glyphs.

The painted glyphs and faces for each king exhibit a delicate controlled expressive frame line as well as subdued, elegant coloring. The use of pure, pale colors contrasts to the more earthy coloring and plentiful shading in the work of Apprentice Y-1 as well as Group X. The completed elements are attributed to Master Y-2. The name glyphs of Master Y-2 show less naturalism than those painted by Master X-2. Yet, for both groups of glyphs, paints are applied as a wash rather than

the intense flat tones of Mixtec manuscript paintings. As in the first section, the great importance of glyphic devices is emphasized through the limitation of their application to a master-specialist, rather than to an apprentice. In both the land claims and king list, the human body is painted by a less experienced artist. An exception is that the faces and feet of the Kings are painted by a master in contrast to the use of apprentices to create the exposed parts of less elevated individuals. The faces, feet and glyphs are painted using the more traditional, if expressive, form line and the more progressive shaded color areas. The traditional approach integrating some European elements indicates a strong evolving art style rather than a stagnant adherence to an archaic mode. The evolution of style is also evident in that part of the illustrations which describe the warfare between Tenochtitlan and Tlaxelolco. In the scenes depicting the culminating battle of 1473 (14v-15r) a greater emphasis is placed on the attire of the principal opponents than on their physical form. (Plate 4) This feature is evident in early Mixtec work. Each element of costume is outlined and carefully colored. Axayacatl is arrayed in flayed skin with the hands hanging free at the wrist. The feathers of his shield and banner are both outlined and given internal color details. Although Moquihuix is less elaborately dressed even the lacings on his shoes have been delineated. The fallen warriors at the base of the temple display similar stereotyped poses while the red feathers of their warrior costumes are meticulously detailed. There is a feeling of segmentation in the larger forms, the parts are additive rather than integrated. At the same time, colors are modulated washes. The hues are similar to those utilized in the name glyphs and the visages found in the king list, helping to unite the two sections. Individual glyphs also unify the list and battle images through their form. The image designations for Axayacatl and Moquihuix in the battle scene correspond in form, color and specific details to the glyphs found in the king list for these two rulers; appearing to have been painted by the same artist, Master Y-2. The similarity of style also identifies the painter of the battle scene itself as Master Y-2. One important link is the indigenous nature of the glyphs and the combatants. It is also reflected in part by the temple shown in the battle.

The temple is a twin structure like the *Templo Mayor* in Tenochtitlan. The depiction of the pyramid and the temple facade does not differ significantly, in form, from native treatments. However, this artist (Master Y-2) indicates the staircase by receding lines. Like the painter in Book 11 of the *Florentine Codex*, (Book 2, Chapter 21,

Plate X, fig. 8) Master Y-2 does not understand the function of the various elements of the stairway, especially the *alfarda*. What Master Y-2 does accomplish is the feeling for spacial recession produced by converging lines. Thus, the temple at the top of the pyramid is not only higher but farther back, producing an unusual juxtaposition of European elements with more traditional: receding space with two dimensional figures in stereotyped postures, painted with form lines and modulated colors. The contrast is even more severe when the battle scene is compared with the figures directly to the upper right.

The two figures on the right hand margin of page 15r depict a costumed warrior with a prisoner and are thus concerned with events after the battle. What is striking about these individuals is the different approach taken in their depiction when compared to the major figures in the battle. There is a greater integration of elements although the expressive form line is still utilized. In these "more naturalistic" figures the linear style comes closest to Robertson's contour line than any other illustration in the *Cozcatzin*. The poses are less stereotyped with a greater turning of the body. The battle figures in contrast are more rigidly frontal with the stereotyped profile head, both more characteristic of Pre-Conquest depictions. Since the painting and drawing of these figures are so well integrated, the less traditional portrayals are attributed to Master Y-3.

The tendency toward a more Europeanized characterization is continued in the last episode on 15r. In this scene Master Y-3 not only renders figures in a variety of poses using elongated proportions, he includes architecture as well. Instead of Aztec forms this architecture is most clearly derived from European prototypes although representing the *temazcalli* or sweat house. The *temazcalli* here does not exhibit the post and lintel construction of native traditions but the roman arch and the domes that this device makes possible. In addition, note the round windows. Master Y-3 has provided some shading to give the buildings mass, something missing in the temple pyramid of Master Y-2. The pyramid is given depth through converging lines, the sweat house exists in a space defined by parallel lines moving back in space and figures which are placed along a receding plane. In this way the European depiction of space and forms exists on the same page and sometimes within the same image as the more indigenous frontal, two-dimensional constructs.

Fusion also takes place within the map of Xochimilco. This *mapa* is an elevation generated from a plan. (Plate 5) The area around Xo-

chimilco is laid out as if seen from above, but the structures indicating villages and towns are seen in frontal view, although oriented as if the observer were placed in the center. Again the combining of elements from both the European and the Aztec traditions is evident. The native structures are shown using native conventions: simple two dimensional frontal views and the "T" elevation forms. The churches representing other locations are presented differently; rounded shapes with shading to give depth and volume. The church form is not derived from architecture found in sixteenth century New Spain, for colonial churches at this time were not centralized. However, many European books and woodcuts at this time did include small tower-like buildings. The new elements, such as European architecture, are utilized in old ways: that is, as place glyphs. The treatment of European architecture is similar to that of Master Y-3 in the depiction of the sweat house. The native forms more closely correspond to the images employed by Master Y-2 (the painter of the battle scene). However, the genealogical figures show the hand of a different master, Artist Y-1.

The seated figures painted by Artists Y-1 exhibit the stereotypical, profile form derived from pre-hispanic traditions. The placement of the cloth covering the arm is different from that of similar figures in the land claims and in the king list; the angle and extension of the arm is diagnostic for different artists in its consistency. The conventions used in the map concerning how much of the squat body is revealed, vary from those previously seen. Here, the cloak does not completely envelop the body; the lower back and buttocks with loin cloth are exposed. In the figures painted by other artists, the body is almost invariably totally covered. In addition, the use of line and the application of paint to the figures on the Map differs again from what has been previously discussed. The expressive frame line, although present, is less sure with occasional breaks. Although the Map figures are on a smaller scale than earlier examples, this does not fully explain the lack of precision when compared with the Battle scene, for example. There is limited modeling via color and the pigments are heavily applied rather than in a wash. However, there are several stylistic elements which link this artist with Group Y.

Like both the king list and the battle scene, there is an elegance of design, as well as a sensitivity of line although some of the precision is missing. The pure coloring of Group Y is evident rather than the more muted tonality of Group X. The detailing in the Xochimilco figures is much greater than in the figures found in the land claims. The

Indians depicted in the first part of the *Codex Cozcatzin* are, for the most part, generic with the exception of their name glyphs. In contrast, the genealogical figures are individualized by their attire. This tendency toward particulars in human depictions via apparel can also be noted in the battle scene, is evident in Pre-Conquest Mixtec manuscripts, and is part of the Group Y style. The elegant mien of Group Y also dominates the final land listings in the manuscript.

The depictions in the area ledger correspond to the strong detailing, pure colors and decorative quality of Group Y. (Plate 6) In addition, certain elements link these pages to specific Group Y painters. The nopal depicting Tenochtitlan in the land lists is the same glyph found in the battle scene painted by Master Y-2. This is also true for the colors, faces and paint application. The drawing style and ability corresponds to the work of Master Y-1 who drew the King list, yet a seated female is more akin to the work of Master Y-3. The rendition of both native and European architecture types is in the style of Artist Y-1's village churches in the Xochimilco map. These pages complicate the determination of different artists within Group Y.

Several possibilities have already been suggested which would explain in part the overlap of different artists within Group Y. One is that different artists, with different specialties, worked on the same pages. Thus, the glyphs, as well as the faces and feet of the non-Map figures, were painted by an authority with the specialized knowledge required for them. Architectural form is another possible area of specialization, as well as "traditional" and "progressive" depictions of humans. Several artists would have worked on the various human forms found in the second section of the codex: the kings, the combat scene, the post victory events and the map figures. The human forms found in the land lists would have then been painted by any one of these last artists in their own style. Specialization would explain the divergent elements found in the land lists since it would appear that several masters worked on these pages.

A second possibility has been proposed; that Pre-Conquest artists were trained under an apprenticeship program. Given the stylistic elements within the *Codex Cozcatzin*, it is likely that both these systems were in force. That is, a school or workshop with Masters specializing in various aspects of painting and Apprentices in training who worked on the less important areas of any given work. In the case of this codex, it also appears that two separate schools worked on different major sections of the manuscript.

If the Group Y and Group X designations are accepted, the *Codex Cozcatzin* is divided into two pictorial sections. These correspond to the physical and conceptual divisions discussed above as well as the writing analysis segments.

Internal Interpretations

The implications of the physical, conceptual, textual and stylistic partitioning in the *Codex Cozcatzin* are that the pictorial sections were originally produced as separate documents, with separate schools of artists and scribes. The similarity of format in major portions of both segments argues for the premise that these documents were created under the direction of the man who we know guided the production of at least part of the codex, Juan Luis Cozcatzin.

The civil suit conducted by Cozcatzin in 1572 involved property titles alleged to have been distributed by Itzcoatl in 1439, explaining the depiction of this monarch in the land claim section. Itzcoatl was also the emperor to first defeat Tlatelolco, as well as Xochimilco. The text recounts how the emperor distributed the land under question and ends with the succession of Motecuhzomah Ilhuicamina in 1440.

The second ruler illustrated on the same page as Itzcoatl is Axayacatl who, like his predecessor, also conquered Tlatelolco, this time in 1473. In the text accompanying Axayacatl, attention is focused on war rather than land. The same is true of the battle scene pages which recount in textual and pictorial detail the conflict between Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco; no direct mention is made to land ownership or distribution. However, whenever a territory was defeated in battle there was a redistribution of land in an attempt to stabilize the area.⁵ Therefore, the inclusion of these two Aztec rulers in a document dealing with land ownership in the area south of Tlatelolco and Tenochtitlan is consistent with this practice. The emphasis on Itzcoatl and Axayacatl in the land claims is carried forward in the battle scene and indirectly by the map of Xochimilco, an area defeated by Itzcoatl.

With the exception of the astrological information contained on the last pages, all elements found in the *Codex Cozcatzin* can be tied to judicial attempts at land repatriation in the area south and west of lower Lake Texcoco including Tlatelolco, Tenochtitlan and Xochimilco among others. Since some of the manuscript is missing, it is difficult to reconstruct the exact connective details of certain elements such as the

⁵ Ross Hassig, Columbia University, personal communication.

king lists or battle scene. However, their general relevance is unquestionable. It is this relevance that provides a discernable logic to the construction of the document. In addition, the quality of workmanship exhibited in the *Codex Cozcatzin* has implications which transcend the manuscript itself and the legal system for which it was produced. The ramifications concern the production of painted manuscripts within what Robertson has called the School of Tlatelolco. (1959: 156)

Extra-document Interpretations

In Robertson's landmark study of the metropolitan manuscript painting schools on the Valley of Mexico, he investigates the work produced in the areas of Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and Tlatelolco. Various examples of each school are examined and a delineation of regional styles is proposed (1959: 166) The basic contrast is between the amalgamative style of Mexico city and the works of Texcoco which exhibit a greater preservation of identity as Aztec manuscripts. The school of Tlatelolco is considered in light of the work produced under the direction of the Colegio de Santa Cruz and that of a second, secular school. It is the stylistic characteristics of this non-ecclesiastical grouping of painters that is at issue.

The traits of the Tlatelolcan non-collegiate style exhibits the pale wash, sophisticated coloring of the Texcoco school as well as a delicacy and clarity of line which has been called here expressive frame line. These characteristics are coupled with a retention of earlier landscape conventions, stereotyped figural elements and attention to costume detailing as ways of distinguishing individuals. Since only one manuscript from Tlatelolco investigated by Robertson showed evidence of this style, the *Codex de Tlatelolco*, he concluded that the document was painted by an artist from Texcoco. (1959: 165) In doing so he rejected the concept of two localized schools (Texcocan and Tlatelolcan) developing along parallel lines. However, the evidence from the *Codex Cozcatzin* refutes this.

In the *Codex Cozcatzin* we have a second example of a work exhibiting stylistic traits akin to Texcocan work but produced in the region of Tlatelolco. The similarities are most evident in the second half of the *Codex Cozcatzin*: pale, pure colors, delicate line and sophistication of form, and in some human figures the lengthening of limbs. However, the retention of traditional elements in the first half of the codex and the delineation of the various glyphs also connect this work

to the same tradition which produced the *Codex de Tlatelolco*. Since two groups of artists, as well as the painter of the *Codex de Tlatelolco*, have been separately linked to the Tlatelolcan school, the suggestion of a Texcocan artist working in Tlatelolco can no longer be considered valid. Instead, the *Codex Cozcatzin* should now be viewed as deriving from a secular Tlatelolcan tradition of manuscript painting in the second half of the sixteenth century. This argues as well for a continuing tradition of training native artists in native traditions almost half a century after the Conquest. The various developments away from the Pre-Conquest style also indicate that the art of manuscript illustration among the native Nahuatl was not the reactionary recreation of an atavistic style as envisioned by Robertson (1959: 56), but a thriving and developing artistic tradition. The *Codex Cozcatzin* also provides possible evidence for the kind of system under which these painters were prepared, Master-Apprentice training. The existence of such a system provides strong evidence for a similar system in effect prior to Cortes, for it is unlikely that this method of training would be so quickly absorbed into schools still emphasizing a developing native tradition.

Conclusions

Much can be discovered through the investigation of a single manuscript. A step by step analysis can explain questions of intent and production. This is the case with the *Codex Cozcatzin*. The internal logic of its construction as well as the delineation of its component parts, indicates that the codex was produced as two separate documents with different illustrators and scribes, under the direction of a single individual. These different parts were then integrated in order to create a single whole which today lacks several of its pages.

The overall purpose of the *Codex Cozcatzin* was to present evidence in support of the land repatriation claim made by a group of Indians in the area around Tlatelolco. The evidence of property grants and modifications, as well as the circumstances of these events, is presented. Since parts of the manuscript are missing, it is not possible to elucidate the nature of the importance of specific events to the court litigation. This would entail a search of the numerous legal archives in which the remaining portion of the manuscript may be found. However, enough thematic ties are evident to explain in general the reasons for the inclusion of various apparently divergent elements within the codex.

The only exception to this is the astronomical information. However, evidence indicates that it was not part of the original document. Although the evaluation of the *Codex Cozcatzin* answers a great many questions, there are numerous difficulties remaining. These queries relate mostly to specific anomalies within the illustrations. However, the analysis of this document also has wider implications for the study of manuscripts produced in the Valley of Mexico.

An analysis of the *Codex Cozcatzin* provides evidence for a Pre-Conquest derived training system involving master artists and apprentices. The various stylistic elements also refute the concept of a sudden extinction of Aztec manuscript illustration with the early post Conquest suppression of the religious dominated ruling class. Although Aztec governmental and religious manuscripts ceased to be created, secular documents continued under the impetus of the imposed Spanish legal system. I propose that there was not a transition from one type of document to another, but only a decline of one Pre-Conquest institution with the subsequent emphasis on an already existing structure. The training of such secular artists within a master-apprentice system continued at least sixty years after the conquest as demonstrated by the *Codex Cozcatzin*.

Robertson has suggested a series of different stylistic schools producing manuscripts and centered around the major metropolises of the Pre-Conquest Aztecs. These include Mexico City, Texcoco and the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco. It is now necessary to add an additional school to this list. That is, the secular painting school of Tlatelolco. The style exhibited in Tlatelolco, instead of resulting from the emigration of one artist from Texcoco, must be viewed as an autonomous and native tradition developing from native Aztec roots in parallel with that which was produced in the city across the lake.

APPENDIX ONE

FIRST SECTION:

<i>Page</i>	<i>Hand</i>	<i>Artist (Group X)</i>	<i>Information/Depiction</i>
2r	B		Case Introduction
2v	B	Artist X-1	Group Scene
3r-9v, 10v	A	Master X-1 (line) Master X-2 (glyphs) Apprentices X-1,2,3 (different pages)	Land Claims
8v	A & C	Apprentices X-1,2,3 (different pages)	Land Claims
9v	a	Apprentices X-1,2,3 (different pages)	Land Claims and Historical Texts
10r	A & B	Master X-1	Ruler and Texts

SECOND SECTION:

<i>Page</i>	<i>Hand</i>	<i>Artist (Group Y)</i>	<i>Information/Depiction</i>
10bisr- 14	D	Master Y-1 (line) Apprentice Y-1 (color) Master Y-2 (glyphs) and exposed body)	King List
14v-15r	E	Master Y-2 (battle) Master Y-3 (aftermath)	Battle of Tlatelolco
15v-16r		Artist Y-1	Map
16v-17v		Masters Y-1,2,3? Artist Y-1?	Land Lists

THIRD SECTION:

<i>Page</i>	<i>Hand</i>		<i>Information</i>
18r-18v	F	(not part of Codex)	Astrological Text

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