

## DON DIEGO GARCÍA DE MENDOZA MOCTEZUMA: A TECHIALOYAN MASTERMIND?

STEPHANIE WOOD

One of the most puzzling aspects of the unusual Techialoyan manuscripts of colonial Mexico is the question of authorship. Thanks to the painstaking work of Donald Robertson, who made a catalog of all known Techialoyan codices and published it in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* in 1975, we do have a sound knowledge of the basic features of the genre.<sup>1</sup> But scholars are still asking precisely when were these manuscripts made? By whom? Were they composed and distributed by a school of forgers? Were they prepared with the express purpose of fooling the courts into believing they were ancient and legitimate corporate land titles in the native tradition? Or were they made primarily for the sake of the communities they served, to fill the void of missing titles and strengthen the collective memory of age-old claims? How much local input do they contain? Can the town histories and genealogical and territorial claims be substantiated? How accurate were those claims?

This study will provide evidence that a cacique who made his living at least partly as a muleteer and who was residing in Azcapotzalco at the opening of the eighteenth century was apparently involved in the manufacture and/or distribution of Techialoyan codices and possibly caciques' genealogies, grants of privilege, and coats of arms. The story of his activities and family ties provides some tentative answers to the questions posed above, raises new questions, and sheds light on an additional purpose for the codices—to substantiate the role of various cacique families in founding towns in central Mexico. The legal records surrounding the arrest of this possible Techialoyan author, don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma, implicates him in what seems to have been a virtual title manufacturing business. The intricate web of evidence that entangles him is more circumstantial than conclusive,

<sup>1</sup> Robertson, 1975.

but it is impressive. Perhaps this presentation will enable others to supply the definitive proof.<sup>2</sup>

Don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma was arrested and jailed in 1705 for forging a Nahuatl "mapa or título" of "maguey" paper for the community of San Pedro Totoltepec in the Valley of Toluca. In the legal investigation Indian witnesses from Totoltepec told how they had gone to Mexico City in search of their town's titles. Someone they met there in the corridors of the Royal Palace took them to see don Diego. The latter acknowledged having their town's titles and offered to produce them for a fifty-peso fee.<sup>3</sup> Another community, San Miguel Tarimoro, presented a record of payments amounting to nearly two hundred pesos made in small installments to don Diego and some accomplices for a set of titles he was to provide them. Besides Totoltepec and Tarimoro, combined witness testimony points to five more communities alleged to have acquired titles from don Diego. Observers described these towns as needing the titles to aid them in their struggles with competitors for landholdings in several central Mexican jurisdictions.<sup>4</sup>

The witness with the greatest prestige who testified against don Diego was don Joseph de Luna, an attorney for the Audiencia who claimed to have translated several of these suspect documents from the Nahuatl to Spanish. Of don Diego and the titles he was charged with making, Luna declared, "se entretiene y ocupa en este haviilidad haciéndolos para los indios que se los piden." Luna further described the manuscripts he had translated as being all of the same style and all composed on maguey paper that was made to look more than a hundred years old. Luna was certain they were all false, as "el mismo papel lo manifiesta".<sup>5</sup> The fact that the paper impressed Luna so much is significant, for the unusual paper of the Techialoyans is one of their most immediately distinguishable features. The distinctive paper used in the composition of the Techialoyan manuscripts, characterized by Donald Robertson as "coarse-grained, unsized, dark brown amatl paper," could easily fit Luna's description, especially since amatl paper has often been confused with maguey paper.<sup>6</sup> Techialoyan 739, from

<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that there are many slightly different styles represented in the Techialoyan manuscripts, suggesting that they were made by different hands.

<sup>3</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>5</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, f 2r and 5 vta.

<sup>6</sup> Robertson, 1975:254. See a discussion of these papers in von Hagen, 1944: 61-65.

San Pedro Zictepec, was once believed to have been made from maguey, and that of San Pablo Huyxoapan, number 717, has been known as the "Azcapotzalco Maguey Manuscript."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, don Diego himself admitted that the titles he gave the people of Totoltepec were "painted and written on ancient paper that looked like it was made from maguey" —suggesting that he knew it was not maguey but that people could easily be fooled.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, none of the titles made from the "maguey" paper translated by Luna and associated with don Diego are included in the litigation, nor have any of these particular titles been identified in twentieth-century scholarship. These two crucial facts bar the definitive identification of don Diego as a Techialoyan manufacturer. On the other hand, the translation and description of the Totoltepec titles attributed to him are not only included in the records and both they are quite incriminating. In format and content, they are strikingly reminiscent of the known Techialoyan codices.

Before taking a closer look at the Totoltepec titles, it seems prudent to review the basic Techialoyan type. The Techialoyan manuscripts were primarily written and painted on single sheets (in single or double folio, large panel, and long strip formats) of the thick, dark amatl paper. The texts and glosses are in Nahuatl and are written in large, scrawling, unattached letters. An examination of the most notable letters, such as h, y, q, and z, reveals slight variations in handwriting from one manuscript to the next, suggesting that many scribes were involved in their production. The ink is of a late colonial European type that fades. Illustrations were apparently painted with a dense watercolor and depict landscape, architecture, and animal and human forms. Typically, the Techialoyan texts narrate the founding of a town and its subdivisions, the establishing of boundaries, the Spanish conquest, church construction, the selection of a patron saint, the formation of the town council, and they often recount the prehispanic genealogy of the native rulers. A major portion of the codices is usually given over to the description and measurement of the town landholdings. This latter component seems to highlight their primary purpose, to substantiate corporate territorial claims.<sup>9</sup>

The Totoltepec document today consists of four folios of Spanish text. The corresponding *mapa* or illustrations mentioned by the translator are only described, not reproduced in any artistic form. A sum-

<sup>7</sup> Robertson, 1975:271 and 277; Gates, 1935.

<sup>8</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, f 9 vta.

<sup>9</sup> Robertson, 1975.

mary of the substantive matter reveals how well the manuscript conforms to the Techialoyan genre. The text begins by announcing the townspeople's assembly at the *casas reales* (municipal palace- —probably *tecpan* in the original Nahuatl version) in 1545. Presiding is don Antonio de Mendoza, "repartidor de tierras" —apparently a reference to the viceroy (1535-50), the single most ubiquitous Spanish official in the Techialoyan texts, typically appearing in the capacity of land distributor.<sup>10</sup> The purpose of the assembly that instigated the document, according to the narrator, is to tell of the foundation of the town and describe its landholdings, including the properties of its subordinate communities. This immediately becomes the focus of the narrative. Interspersed are occasional comments about prehispanic land divisions under the central Mexican rulers Axayacatl and Montezuma, the arrival of the Christian faith, a visit from Viceroy Mendoza to found the town and give it a land grant, the construction of the church, the designation of land for the support of the church, and fighting between the Aztecs and Matlatzincas. The final part of the manuscript appears to be a list of what may have originally been glosses for maps or illustrations, describing the size and location of all the properties claimed by the town of Totoltepec. Entries in the list read in the following manner, "Here is the place called . . . , measuring . . . , and pertaining to such-and-such a settlement."

In short, the similarity between this format and that of the identified Techialoyan codices is striking —a brief historical text followed by illustrations of properties glossed with toponyms and land measurements. Five of the seventeen parcels pertaining to Totoltepec and its sujetos measure the usual eight hundred *cordeles* (cords —a likely translation of *mecatl*). All the other parcels are of a size similarly divisible by four and found in most Techialoyan manuscripts. The *corde*l, incidentally, is said in the text to be equivalent to five *varas matlatzincas*. (In a translation of the codex for San Antonio Techialoyan, the *corde*l is said to equal fifty Spanish *varas* when being used to measure major land extensions and as little as five Spanish *varas* for short distances.)<sup>11</sup>

There are further links between the Totoltepec manuscript and the substance of many Techialoyan codices. Black ink is referred to in the Totoltepec translation seven times in the short space of three and a half pages. Where this manuscript reads, "señalamos con tinta

<sup>10</sup> Mendoza is found in at least manuscripts 701, 703, 708, 712, 713, 716, 717, 722, 723, 724, 731, 733, and 744. Robertson, 1975: *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> Olaguibel, 1975-176.

negra", one may assume that the Nahuatl verb *tīlmachiotia* so ubiquitous in the Techialoyan corpus was originally used. The construction "tictīlmachiotia," "we write it" or (literally) "we manifest it in black," can be found in Techialoyans 701, 718, 722, 724, 733, and surely others.<sup>12</sup> The phrase "en este papel de palma" substantiates that the Totoltepec titles were composed on native paper. One suspects that "papel de palma" was the translator's confused equivalent of "amatl." Finally, and most crucially, the translator consciously preserved the original orthography of two of the placenames: Xanta Malia Conxepxiontzi (Santa María Concepción) and Xan Mateotzin (San Mateo). These are highly reminiscent of the renditions of saints' names found in many and probably all of the known Techialoyan codices as can be seen in the table below. Furthermore, while this is standard orthography for placenames in the Techialoyan manuscripts, it is very irregular and nothing quite like it has been seen in the Nahuatl primordial titles outside the Techialoyan group.<sup>13</sup>

An additional element in the text of the titles of Totoltepec merits examination here, for it may help to fix this manuscript and its origin in a verifiable slot in the ethnohistory of the Toluca Valley. At one point in the text there is mention of "el gran Prinsipe axaxayatzin," (sic? Axayacatl, conqueror of the Toluca Valley in the 1470s?) and later, "axaxayatzin Motezumatzin, el menor del gran monarca Motezuma su Ultimo hijo el gran Prinsipe."<sup>14</sup> The second reference is coupled with a mention of fighting among the Matlatzinca. The historical account from which this information was gleaned is said to be recorded on some folios in the possession of "los Toluqueños." Those papers in Toluca, the elders of Totoltepec claim in their titles, provide proof that they have always been faithful vassals. Elsewhere in the titles there is a reference to a visit made to Totoltepec by the great monarch Montezuma.

The historical record of the prehispanic Toluca region referred to in the Totoltepec titles may actually have served as a source for its references to Aztec leaders and preconquest territorial divisions. That record may encompass the Nahuatl documents left by don Pablo Gonzalez, an Indian noble from Tula who was appointed *juez* by Viceroy

<sup>12</sup> Gómez de Orozco, 1948; McAfee Collection, Microfilm, Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles (hereafter, UCLA/SC); Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms Amerika No. 7; "Hemenway Codex", Tozzer Library, Harvard.

<sup>13</sup> James Lockhart, personal communication, 1983; Wood, 1984:312-313.

<sup>14</sup> AGN Tierras 1795, exp. 4, f 83.

TABLE 1

## EXAMPLES OF TECHIALOYAN ORTHOGRAPHY FOR SAINTS' NAMES

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SAN ANTONIO:	Xan Antoniotzin (724)
SAN BARTOLOMÉ:	Xa Paltolome (705); Xan Paltolome (703, 724);
SAN CRISTÓBAL:	Xan Paltolomentzin (724) Xa Clixtopal (724)
SANTA CRUZ	Xata Clox (705)
SANTO DOMINGO:	Xato Tominco (703)
SAN FELIPE:	Xa Peliipe (712)
SAN FRANCISCO:	Xa Palazizco (724); Xan Palacizco (725)
SAN JERÓNIMO:	Xa Xelonimo (703)
SAN JUAN:	Xa Xihua, Xa Xihuan (724); Xa Xihuan (703, 705)
SANTA MARÍA:	Xate Malie (701); Xanta Malia (703); Xate Malia (705); Xate Malietzin (708); Xante Malia, Xata Malia, Malie (724); Xate Maliatzin, Xanta Malie- tzin (733)
SAN MARTÍN:	Xan Maltin (717, 722, 746); Xa Maltin (703, 724, 733); Xa Maltintzin (703, 724, 733)
SAN MATEO:	Xa Mateo (703)
SAN MELCHOR:	Xa Melhiol (724)
SAN MIGUEL:	Xa Miquel (724)
SAN NICOLÁS:	Xan Nicolax (703)
SAN PABLO:	Xa Papolo (703, 717)
SAN PEDRO:	Xa Petolo (703); Xan Petolo (746)
SANTIAGO:	Xantiaco (724)

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SOURCES: Gómez de Orozco, 1948, appendix (701, 703, and 705); *Catálogo de Ilustraciones* vol. 5, 1979: 174-180 (703); Robertson, 1959 (705); Galarza, 1980 (705); McAfee Collection, "Oversize Package," UCLA/SC (708); Barlow, 1947b: 277 (712); Gates, 1935 (717); "Hemenway Codex," Tozzer Library, Harvard (724); Robertson, 1960: 129; Robertson, 1975: 279 (725 and 746) and figure 86; Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms Amerika No. 7 (733).

don Antonio de Mendoza in 1547 or 1551—in accordance with the early colonial custom of employing native authority figures as mediators—to settle a dispute over tribute and territorial divisions and to distribute land to Indian individuals in the immediate vicinity of Toluca.<sup>15</sup> The complete record of Gonzalez' *visita* is now lost, but some remnants of it do exist today in the National Archives. These documents were presented as evidence in litigation spanning the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries concerning which pueblos were a part of the Marquesado del Valle and which paid tribute as royal subjects. The defense presented by towns desirous of being recognized as part of the royal domain (which meant a tribute reduction) called upon prehispanic divisions created by Axayacatl and Montezuma. It included a lengthy history of the governing dynasties of Toluca, their conflicts, the Aztec conquest of the Toluca Valley, Matlatzinca resistance, the designation of pueblos by Axayacatl as tributaries of Mexico, Tlaxelolco, Azcapotzalco, Tacuba, and Texcoco in turn, the subsequent allotment of lands to each pueblo by Montezuma, the Spanish incursion, the territorial rearrangement by the Marques del Valle, and the excessive demands the Marques made upon his subjects.<sup>16</sup>

The question of royal versus Marquesado dominion apparently touched Totoltepec. San Pedro Totoltepec was a sujeto of San Mateo Atenco until it became independent in the eighteenth century, and Atenco was one of the pueblos which had fought hard to be excluded from the Marquesado. Atenco became a stellar example to its neighboring pueblos when, in 1575, it succeeded in becoming a town of the royal tribute domain.<sup>17</sup> The elders of the community of Totoltepec probably had access to the litigation records or knew its oral history, and may have sought to reassert their own connection to the royal domain. In addition to the prehispanic historical matter which it includes and the actual reference to papers in Toluca, the Totoltepec manuscript contains an unusually high number of allusions to matters of the royal jurisdiction. Nine times in the first three and a half pages of the translation the authors humbly dedicate themselves to "los reales servicios" or "los reales tributos." Thrice they call themselves "leales vasallos." While not conclusive evidence, such phrases certainly give the flavor of the sixteenth-century jurisdictional dispute, and may in-

<sup>15</sup> Zorita, 1963:200; Reyes, 1980:346. On Indian mediators, see Wood 1984:384.

<sup>16</sup> AGN Hospital de Jesús 277; Reyes, 1980.

<sup>17</sup> Gerhard, 1972:330.

dicare that the Totoltepec community was still insecure about its jurisdictional affiliation.<sup>18</sup>

The relationship suggested by the Totoltepec titles between the Techialoyan codices and the sixteenth-century visita of don Pablo Gonzalez, is highly intriguing. A search in the texts of other Techialoyan manuscripts from the Toluca Valley for further links might produce some much-needed keys for answering questions about local input. Could the visita have served as a source of ethnohistorical information for the broader, Toluca-vicinity Techialoyans? Perhaps it also served as one of the sources behind the *García Granados Codex* (Techialoyan 715) —which makes assertions about prehispanic dominions— or vice versa.<sup>19</sup> Some of don Pablo's papers were apparently in the hands of one of his alleged descendents, a doña Margarita Villafranca Gonzalez de la Cruz, in the mid-eighteenth century. These were not untainted hands, either; her father was the then-famous Spanish land grant forger, Pedro Villafranca.<sup>20</sup> It may be that various generations of caciques had made use of Gonzalez' visita records, including don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma himself.

Don Diego was certainly in the right place at the right time and also made controversial claims about his noble Indian heritage. While he never admitted actually making the suspect titles, he did admit to distributing some of them. He claimed that he found these titles next to an old wall in his house. He asserted that this alleged discovery had occurred a few months prior to his arrest —or sometime in the spring of 1705— when he was entangled in a suit by the ecclesiastical court regarding the cacicazgo of his ancestors. This perjury never became an issue, but it soon became clear that his involvement with the titles went back not just a few months but, rather, a number of years. His protestations, similarly, did not preclude his imprisonment that summer.

Don Diego admitted accepting thirty-five pesos from the pueblo of Totoltepec for the titles he gave them. But that money, he implied, was not for their manufacture; rather, it served as compensation for the "costs and labor" incurred during his litigation with the ecclesiastical court.<sup>21</sup> Don Diego more vigorously contradicted the charge about the manuscript from San Miguel Tarimoro. This, he claimed, was not

<sup>18</sup> If such is the case, it would give this Techialoyan manuscript deeper local roots than I have discerned for others, such as the one from Ocoyacac (733). See Wood, 1984:308-313.

<sup>19</sup> This codex will be described in more detail below.

<sup>20</sup> Wood, 1984:343-355; Wood, n.d.; Fernández de Recas, 1961:137-145.

<sup>21</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, f 9 vta.



a corporate land title but a record of cacique lineage, which he did not make and which was not false. That elaborately illustrated record in Otomí is included in the proceedings of the case against him. Granted, this manuscript does not conform whatsoever to the Techialoyan type. The paper, handwriting, and illustrative style are more in keeping with the known examples of *titulos primordiales*.<sup>22</sup> While don Diego may not have made this cacicazgo record, he did translate it in 1703, and that translation is included in the proceedings, too.<sup>23</sup>

Don Diego claimed that the cacicazgo record pertained to his ancestors but it had only recently come into his possession as collateral for a loan he made to a don Matias de Sausedo Toro y Moctezuma.<sup>24</sup> Don Matias may have actually made this document, which would explain its different style. Don Matias was a cacique who was at that time entangled in a conflict with some other Indians of his community, El Charco Azul, apparently near Aguascalientes.<sup>25</sup> It is instructive that don Matias used the surname Toro (among others) and the central hero of the Tarímoro titles is the conqueror don Pedro Martín de Toro. El Charco Azul is also mentioned in the titles as one of the conquered sites.<sup>26</sup>

While don Diego may not have made this cacicazgo record, there is evidence that he was in collusion with don Matias. First, he also claimed it to be relevant to his ancestry. Second, in this century a scholar specifically attributed it to him, calling him "Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma, Señor y Cacique de Tezontepec."<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, on several occasions, don Matias was in the home of don Diego when people from the community of Tarímoro came to make payments toward obtaining the titles, which they believed to be relevant to their corporate land claims. Also present, at least some of the time, was a don Gaspar Montezuma, another probable cousin of don Diego's, who may have had a similar vested interest in the noble heritage it conveyed.<sup>28</sup>

The titles pursued by the pueblo of Tarímoro and claimed as caci-

<sup>22</sup> Lockhart, 1982; Wood, 1984:322-343.

<sup>23</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, ff 16r-32r. If the charges against don Diego were correct, he must have been trilingual.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, f 10r.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, f 14.

<sup>26</sup> Fernández de Recas, 1961:237-245.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, 237.

<sup>28</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, f 4r. One wonders if this don Gaspar Montezuma was the namesake of the elder man who appears in other records associated with the Mendoza Moctezuma family.

cazgo records by don Diego have been published in part by Guillermo Fernández de Recas, who also compiled and reproduced several other documents relevant to this case. Included in these papers is an appeal made by don Diego in 1702 for some missing records that would substantiate his family's claim to the remnants of a vast encomienda and other privileges once granted to his ancestors. His tie to this heritage of wealth and status had been unintentionally severed sometime around 1670, when a don Pedro Ximenez de Mendoza Moctezuma had died intestate. In this appeal, don Diego outlined an elaborate genealogy that connected himself, his children, and his brothers to a don Diego de Mendoza Austria Moctezuma, supposed son of Cuauhtemoc.<sup>29</sup> His relationship with the elder don Diego was of paramount importance to him. This may have even been the reason he often dropped the "García" in his name and instead went by "don Diego de Mendoza," an appellation closer to that of the elder.<sup>30</sup>

The Mendoza Moctezuma genealogy, which circulated in several versions or copies, has been studied and, not being substantiated by other records, is considered false.<sup>31</sup> Our don Diego's connection with that now famous genealogy incriminates him even further as a possible manufacturer of contrived titles. And new evidence more clearly links the genealogies to the Techialoyans. A recently surfaced and previously unidentified Techialoyan manuscript from Tolcayuca, Hidalgo, has on its cover a nearly exact copy of the painting of "Diego de Mendoza Austria Moctezuma Huichiguil" on the version of the Mendoza Moctezuma genealogy held in the Archivo Histórico of the Museo Nacional de Antropología.<sup>32</sup> A more thorough analysis of the new manuscript shall be forthcoming.<sup>33</sup>

Besides the suspect genealogy, at least two mercedes supposedly granted to the elder don Diego, have been considered spurious.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the younger don Diego was involved in their production or knew someone who was, such as the predecessor to the grant forger Pedro

<sup>29</sup> Fernández de Recas, 1961:237-247.

<sup>30</sup> For several examples, see AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, ff 4r-7r.

<sup>31</sup> Pérez Martínez, 1945(?):262-3; Barlow, 1945:477; Glass, 1964:49. Glass (1975a:161-162) gives a fairly thorough bibliographic history of genealogies. Additional relevant documentation is found in AGN Tierras 1593.

<sup>32</sup> The version in the Archivo Histórico has been published in *Los códices de México*, 1979:132-133.

<sup>33</sup> This new manuscript and others, including the original version of Techialoyan 744 and a Techialoyan manuscript for a Santa María Iztacapan, are currently owned by H. P. Kraus Rare Books and Manuscripts in New York.

<sup>34</sup> Barlow, 1946:424n; Castillo, 1906:544-546; and Riva Palacio, (n.d.): 110-114.

Villafranca. One also begins to wonder if the coats of arms published by Fernández de Recas, pertaining to a don Diego de Mendoza, the family Mendoza Austria Moctezuma, and other Mendozas, will also prove to be of our don Diego's hand (or that of one of his relatives).<sup>35</sup>

The timing of don Diego's appeal for missing records in 1702 and the sudden appearance of suspect titles over the next few years, is also suggestive. The translation of the Totoltepec titles was made in 1703.<sup>36</sup> Techialoyan 744, from San Cristobal Texcalucan and Santa María Magdalena Chichicarpa in the hills east of Totoltepec, was also translated in that year. Ordered burned in 1707, it apparently survived that fate, for it (or another Techialoyan copy) has recently surfaced in the company of the Tolcayuca Techialoyan mentioned above.<sup>37</sup> The Tarimoro titles were also translated —by don Diego himself— in 1703.<sup>38</sup>

Don Diego's possible involvement with the Techialoyan codices, *per se*, also becomes more probable as his family connections are pursued further. The elder don Diego and his alleged tie to Cuauhtemoc are clearly present in the Techialoyan *García Granados Codex* (715). In fact, R. H. Barlow, who recognized the association between the genealogy and the codex, believed that the elder don Diego was its "key figure." Tracing this man through other records, Barlow found that he was governor of Santiago Tlatelolco between 1549 and 1562.<sup>39</sup> Incidentally, according to Barlow the elder don Diego appears in the codex near one corner of an *escudo* (coat of arms), flanked by lions and flags. Escudos are also found in other Techialoyan manuscripts, such as that of Xonacatlan (723), and, as noted above, figure prominently as records left by the Mendoza Moctezuma family.<sup>40</sup>

The next three heirs in the line of rulership of Tlatelolco —don Baltasar, don Gaspar, and don Melchor de Mendoza de Austria Moctezuma— also appear in the *García Granados Codex*, and don Juan even appears in yet another Techialoyan.<sup>41</sup> In none of these manuscripts does the younger don Diego appear. He traced his lineage, however, not directly through don Gaspar and don Melchor, but through another son and grandson of don Baltasar. This could suggest that the *García Granados Codex* was made by or for one of his cousins —a suggestion

<sup>35</sup> Fernández de Recas, 1961: various plates.

<sup>36</sup> AGN Tierras 1795, exp. 4, ff 82-85.

<sup>37</sup> AGN Tierras 1798, exp. 1, ff 20-25. The date of 1707 comes from the left margin of f 20r.

<sup>38</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, ff 25-32.

<sup>39</sup> Barlow, 1945:477.

<sup>40</sup> Robertson, 1975: figure 87; Fernández de Recas, 1961: various plates.

<sup>41</sup> Barlow, 1947a:190-191.

that may be difficult to prove because the given names of the last two Mendoza de Austrias depicted in that codex are too mutilated to decipher.<sup>42</sup>

Barring any rival factions, if the claim to the encomienda and other privileges could be established for any one of the cousins, presumably they all might gain. At any rate, we do have further evidence that our don Diego was an interested party in the history of rulership in Tlatelolco. A witness who testified against him when he was arrested and jailed in 1705 asserted that one of the other communities he had serviced with a false set of titles was precisely Santiago Tlatelolco. This was one of those manuscripts made on so-called maguey paper—possibly a Techialoyan.<sup>43</sup>

Another witness in 1705 happened to mention that don Diego was the son of an Indian *principal* (noble) of Azcapotzalco.<sup>44</sup> This geographical tie is also important for showing a relationship between don Diego and the Techialoyan codices. In his own statement of 1702, don Diego asserted that his ancestors were among the kings of Azcapotzalco, Tacuba, and Santiago Tlatelolco.<sup>45</sup> The *García Granados Codex* contains the glyph of Azcapotzalco and possibly other images copied from the walls of the Tepanec palaces of Azcapotzalco.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, the *García Granados Codex* illustrates the extent of the Azcapotzalco domain including, among others, such Toluca Valley towns as Metepec, San Miguel Mimiapan, Tepezoyuca, Xonacatlan, Atlapulco, and Ocoyoacac, all of which had Techialoyan manuscripts of their own.<sup>47</sup>

The important role of Azcapotzalco and the Tepanec empire in prehispanic times is similarly evident in a series of three related Techialoyan fragments (702, 717, and 735) associated with San Pablo Huixtlan in the Valley of Toluca.<sup>48</sup> One of these manuscripts (717), actually pertaining to a town adjoining San Pablo called Santa Cruz Azcapotzalco, is the codex known as the "Azcapotzalco Maguey Manuscript." The ties between these communities and the Azcapotzalco of the Valley of Mexico were apparently strong in prehispanic times and endured long into the colonial period. Rosaura Hernández Rodríguez has found that oral tradition in the Toluca vicinity, at least through

<sup>42</sup> Barlow, 1946:427. Nahuatl wills of don Baltasar (1552) and don Gaspar (1630), found in AGN Tierras 1593, may shed light on the genealogy.

<sup>43</sup> AGN Tierras 1783, exp. 1, f 5r.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, f 1 vta.

<sup>45</sup> Fernández de Recas, 1961:246.

<sup>46</sup> Glass, 1964:94; Robertson, 1975:271.

<sup>47</sup> See Hernández Rodríguez, 1966:22; Robertson, 1975: *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> Wood, 1984:307-308.

the end of the sixteenth century, was antagonistic toward the Triple Alliance conquest of the Toluca Valley, and an identification with Azcapotzalco thrived.<sup>49</sup>

In summary, the links between don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma, the Totoltepec manuscript, and the Techialoyan codices are so numerous as to be more than coincidental. We have a man accused of fabricating various town titles and possibly one cacicazgo record. The translation of one of the town titles, for Totoltepec, sounds striking like a Techialoyan manuscript, and all of the others, except the Tarímoro cacicazgo record, are said to be in the same style. The Tarímoro manuscript, which he argued was a record of his ancestry, ties him to the fraudulent Mendoza Moctezuma genealogies, the *García Granados Codex* (Techialoyan 715), and other Techialoyans. He was a resident of Azcapotzalco, one-time seat of the Tepanec empire and of great importance in Techialoyan 715. He also apparently provided the town where his alleged ancestors reigned, Tlatelolco, with a false título —possibly another Techialoyan manuscript.

With this new evidence, it is even more compelling that the elder don Diego was the key figure of the *García Granados Codex*. His possible descendent, the younger don Diego, besides having been in the right place at the right time, also had sufficient motivation to manufacture and distribute this and other Techialoyan codices. It is easily conceivable that the younger don Diego was intent on expanding the importance of his supposed ancestors' royalty and their role as town founders all over central Mexico in order to increase his own status and capture some of their wealth and privilege. At the same time, he could make an income from title production by capitalizing on the need of communities struggling to uphold their territorial claims.

The time frame in which he operated, probably the last years of the seventeenth and first years of the eighteenth centuries, coincides with an important wave of title verification in Indian communities in central Mexico. Indian town *composiciones* stemming from this program of verification date principally from the 1690s and 1710-20.<sup>50</sup> Leaders of communities without corporate titles may have been in a panic to procure some record of their claims to serve as a guide for the surveyors. In fact, surveyors from the earliest *composicion* programs onward routinely asked for any *pinturas* (native paintings) council officers might have to substantiate the territorial boundaries claim-

<sup>49</sup> Hernández Rodríguez, 1954:73.

<sup>50</sup> Wood, 1984:116-141.

ed. The people of Metepec, when queried on two different occasions earlier in the seventeenth century, admitted having no such records but offered to go home and make them.<sup>51</sup> It is not surprising, given this pressure, that the people of Metepec eventually acquired a Techialoyan manuscript (704) and two other types of contrived titles.<sup>52</sup>

Unlike their neighbors in Metepec, the people of Tepezoyuca were prepared when surveyors called in 1696. They presented a "map in the form of a book" with twenty leaves of "one finger's thickness," written in Nahuatl and illustrating the time of Moctezuma, the arrival of Cortes, the indigenous town founders in native costume, town leaders bearing staves of office, and the lands and churches pertaining to the pueblo and its dependencies. This description, found in the *composición* proceedings of that pueblo, no doubt refers to the Techialoyan codex (731) in twenty folios from Tepezoyuca. That codex and other "mercedes primordiales" were composed by the authorities in 1696 and legalized again in 1715 and 1720 despite the records' obviously questionable legality.<sup>53</sup> The success enjoyed by Tepezoyuca may have served as a great boon to don Diego's business.

Stronger charges may be flung at don Diego posthumously as more evidence surfaces to connect him with the false mercedes, coats of arms, and genealogies. When the texts of the Techialoyan manuscripts have been studied in greater depth, as well, they may also prove to contain blatant efforts to deceive the beholder into believing they were ancient codices.<sup>54</sup> The use of unusual native paper made to look at least a hundred years old already suggests this purpose.

Of course, some of the devious intent inherent in the concept of forgery might not necessarily apply in the case of don Diego, at least not initially.<sup>55</sup> Don Diego may have been as sincere in his beliefs about his ancestral heritage as he was in his understanding of prehispanic and early colonial central Mexican history. And most of the titles he seems to have made were not exactly copies of some concrete antecedent replete with forged signatures and the like. In keeping with the broader body of Nahuatl primordial titles known for this period, don Diego's works might also be described as "misguided" as much as "de-

<sup>51</sup> AGN Hospital de Jesús vol. 15.

<sup>52</sup> See Wood, 1984:92, 353-354.

<sup>53</sup> AGN Tierras 1873, exp. 2.

<sup>54</sup> See my analysis of the Ocoyacac Techialoyan (733) for evidence of this; Wood, 1984:311-313.

<sup>55</sup> I concur with Woodrow Borah's recent remarks (1984:31-33) about forgeries.

liberately contrived.”<sup>56</sup> Don Diego’s craft —if it is sustained in the long run as including Techialoyan manuscripts— does fall roughly within that well established written tradition intended to support both cacicazgo and corporate territorial claims. As such, the manuscripts may have been designed to serve as a reminder for an internal audience as much as a tool to use in *composición* proceedings and land litigation. Given the former purpose and the possibilities for comparison with other ethnohistorical records like that provided by the Totoltepec manuscript and the papers of the Toluqueños, there is still much worth pursuing in these fascinating records.

<sup>56</sup> Gibson and Glass, 1975:321.

A TRANSCRIPTION OF THE SPANISH  
TRANSLATION OF THE TOTOLTEPEC MANUSCRIPT,  
A TENTATIVE TECHIALOYAN

(AGN Tierras, volume 1795, expediente 4)

[F. 85 r.]

títulos tradusidos en la lengua castellana de la Mexicana; Pertenesientes al Pueo. de Sn. Pedro tolctepeque; desta Jurisdizon. de Sn. Josseph de toluca; Por Dn. Lucas Ximenez Motezuma ssno. de los Natues. Nombrado Por el Govor. del estado Dn. Alonso Morales del horden de Alcantara

Y En este tpo. Con memorazon. en este mes Y año q. se cuentan; mill quinientos y quarenta y sinco años = aquí en esta poblason; llamado tototepeque. Donde nos guarda Nro. pe. sn. Pedro y tambien estan puestas sus Poblasones. q. todas son pertenesientes ael dho Pueo. â quienes oy esta Governando. Dn. Antonio de Mendossa como repartidor de las tierras. y se nos dieron Para los Reales servisos por donde se fundo, y prinsipio esta Poblason q. a tanto tpo. la gosamos. y para que siempre se sepa, como nos dieron las dhas tierras aora y para siempre, en esta poblason de nuestras cassas Reales, donde nos Congregamos; y Juntamos todos los hijos de dha poblason y propietarios de las poblasones y todos los hijos y natues. de ellas se hallaron presentes. y se Ymprimio con tinta negra, este escripto de la poblason de ellos, y sus títulos, = e Yo me nombro Dn. Bernardino de Sta. Maria Nezagualcoyotzin; âquí se empeso Y prinsipio, el servo. nuevo por Su Magd. como sus leales Vasallos; sus capitanes; escuderos, y guías de las poblasones; E mandamos con grande fuerza, se escriva Con tinta negra, Y se hordenen estas hordenansas. deestos títulos. este âpuntado y señalado, lo q. es de los naturales, p<sup>a</sup> los servisos Reales de su Magestad, desdel Agua llamada, ametepotztitlan, donde se Junta el agua e senbravan

[F. 82 vta.]

Los Anzianos, y Caziques nuestros Padres; donde siempre an comido



y anduvieron, y las amojonaron, y llega a la poblason de los naturales, donde esta la gloriosa Virgen. sta. María de la compesesion [*sic*] y se dise en la Antigueda Xanta malia Conxepxiontzi donde se reconose ser Antigua, y que todo el llano se lo lleva; Y pertenesa hasta el Pueblo de sn. Lorenzo Pasada La sogería, hasta al torser del serrillo q. es el lindero; y linda con tierras del Pueblo de sn. Matheo, todo de halla en el llano; Y son puestos de nro. Padre sn. Pedro. Pazando La Bereda; de la poblason de sn. Lorenzo, llaman galexos los Antiguos, en este llano esta señalado, y para que se sepa siempre, sabiendo ellos y los hijos que viviesen en las poblasones, nuestros hijos donde estan puestas las tierras de su Magestad y de los natues. como menores, todo aquí lo disponemos, y señalamos con tinta negra para que siempre se sepa hasta donde se junta el agua al prinsipio â donde se pone la fundasion de las poblasones de nuestro Pe. San Pedro tototepec, y llegan sus tieras al serillo tototepec, y da la buelta hasta junto la poblason de sn. Matheo y se señala en este tpo nos toca pertenesa. de nuestros ansianos de las poblasones; Y nosotros estamos a los servicios Reales âcudiendo y a los mandatos de su magd. q. Dios gde; Y como sus Leales Vazallos por el Rey Nro. ssor. Y con el gran su poder nos ôtorgo Y consedio p<sup>a</sup> sus Reales servicios; estando el gran Prinzipe dn. Antonio de Mendossa aora lo hordenamos y señalamos con tinta negra, en este papel de palma para que lo Vean y guarde los hijos de nuestro pueblo, para que pague los Reales servicios no faltando a la ôbligazon. en el servo. de nuestro padre sn. Pedro y para q. se gobiernen y se corrijan. y sepan los puestos donde estan los parajes de las tierras de los naturales, tributarios para el buen Regimen y gobierno de los Reales tributos; por donde se favorezcan y tambien de las ôtras poblasones con paz Y quietud. a los Reales servicios, esto es quando se fundaron las demas poblasones, entonses se rrepartieron las tierras de los natues. por el gran ssor. Dn. Antonio de Mendossa; y por mandado suio se lo dio a nuestro Pueblo lo que es suio y perteneze, para q. siempre se sepa por los

[F. 83 r.]

Benideros tpôs. e futuros Y sepa nos hordeno este escripto para que siempre lo guarden los ôfisiales de la Republica, lo cuiden y nunguna Perzona, les estorve, ni perjudique al Pueblo lo que le toca Y perteneze para que lo bean y cuiden, lo que es del pueo. del sor. Sn. Pedro tototepec es de quando al gran Prinsipe axaxayatzin Resivio por merced las tierras, lo que les toco a los naturales y fue quando se le nombro. tototepec, es quando Vino Nuestro amo el gran monarca monte-

zuma como prinsipe, es â donde dejaron â nuestros padres y abuelos, y así que lo Ubieron oido, los ôfisiales de la republica; Dijeron que la Resivian, Por gracia Y donazon. de las tierras pertenesientes por mersed e aqui esta [*sic*] las hordenansas de los puestos, esto es quando llego la fee de Dios Nro ssor. Y aqui los Resivimos los santos sacramentos del ssto. Baupmo; estando presente el gran Prinsipe dn. Antonio de mendossa; nuestro amo Repartio dhas tierras; y fue quando se fundo y prinsipio el pueo. de Nrô. Padre sn. Pedro, tototepec y tambien las demas poblasones é aquí las hordenamos y ponemos para q. siempre esten savidas, las tierras y donde estan sus parajes. y para q. se sirvan los Natues. de dho pueblo y lo cuiden para sus servisios. y Con buen Regime Y gobierno de los ôfisiales de la Republica, para que lo esten mirando Y cuidando en este papel, es en que se nos dieron las tierras; Y es por mandado de los ssres. Referidos arriva, y esta [*sic*] los linderos de nos y de nuestro pe. San pedro para que se le haga Y se âcave su Yglesia; a de tener lo que toca y pertenesa para su comunidad Y para las cossas nesasarias de lo que amenester dha yglesia para sus menesteres, se le dio treinta y sinco cordeles de a sinco bar. matlasingas tendido de llano en derecho del sor. sn. Matheo llama ellos Xan mateotzin. e aquí todo lo hordenamos Y señalamos con tinta negra lo que les toca y pertenesa a nuestro pueo. tototepec, e Aquí todos los Puestos âquí sello con tinta negra oy en este tpo. aquí en nuestro Pueblo dentro de nuestras Reales cassas donde se Pronunsian las Sentensias; Y nos Juntamos Y se Juntaron

[F. 83 vta.]

los demás Naturales de todas las Poblasones: los capitanes Reales; Sirvientes; guías; guardas Reales caios (?) de los susdhos y todos se hallan presentes; Y sellamos con tinta negra este papel escripto todo âquí y ban apuntados los bienes del Pueo. Y señalados los puestos; Yo soi el gran Guarda Rl. lo mando con grande mandamiento se pomga [*sic*] para el buen Regimen Y gobierno lo que se nos dio de Mersed; y comp se rrepartieron dichas tierras e todo âquí se selle y señale para q. este siempre este en favor de los hijos desta Poblason y todos se hallaron Presentes como se nos Dieron Por Mersed ya tanto tpô. donde estamos Puestos desde âbenisio. del sielo donde nos dejaron Y nos pusieron y se hallaron nuestros Padres y abuelos y ansianos Y aquí nos dejaron Puestos nuestros prinsipes; y señores los Referidos, flechados sus almas Para el sielo y tambien axaxayatzin Motezumatzin, el menor del gran monarca Motezuma su Ultimo hijo el gran Prinsipe Como se pleitearon los natues. Matlasingas yoyopitzintzin todo esta

sellado Y señalado en las foxas q lo tienen los toluqueños para q siempre esten en sus leales saveres como nos lo fuimos y seremos leales Vazallos; y estamos a los Reales servicios es por boto nuestro se haga este dho escripto de Nuestro Pueo. aquí nos nombramos y los firmamos de nuestro nombre en este escripto aquí se pone por mano de nuestro escrivo. los nombre [*sic*] de todos los caziques y anzianos y ban puestoz en este lugar = los nombres de ls caziquez q se hallan presentes Primer guarda Rl. = Dn. Estevan de sn. Miguel = Segundo guarda Rl. Dn. Simon de n. Andrez nesagualcoyotzin = tlaxolincatzin = Dn. Estevan Miguel Alguasil mor. de la Yglezia = Dn. Diego Mazatetzin guía = Dn. Domingo aquiyatzin = Melchor de sta. María grande guarda Rl. = Juo. Miguel guía = Dn. Salvador de la cruz capn. de la guerra = Dn. Juo. thomas = e Yo Dn. Estevan de sn. Miguel escrivo. nombrado

[F. 84 r.]

Lo escriví Por Mandato de los Casiquez del Pueo. de tototepec, en este tiempo = .....

Primer Paraje de los Linderos de las tierras  
de sn. Pedro tototepeque

Aquí En este llano del Camino que sale de toluca estan Puestas y tendidas ôchosientas Varas Matlasingas y tierras de los naturales las quales pertenesen y son del Pueblo de s. Pedro tototepec. Por la parte del Poniente Y se llevan todo El llano == .....

Segundo Lindero

Aquí esta el Puesto por el sur q. llaman Cuesillo que Consta Y tiene quinientos Cordeles de las Baras Matlasingas q. estas tierras y puesto es para Nuestra Comunidad de Nuestras Reales casas. Corre el Lindero y mojoneras Antiguas Por Un camino q. ba de tepesingo q. llama cuesillo, y lindan Con tierras de los cortesés .....

Terzero lindero

Aquí en este Paraje y puesto se llama Donde se Juntan Las Aguas y son las tierras de los naturales del Pueblo de Sn. Pedro y son mill y dosientos Cordeles de las baras matlasingas por el levante todo llano y linda con el rrío grande .....

## Quarto lindero

Aquí esta el Paraje Donde mana Un ojo de Agua Y tiene ôchosientos Cordeles que llaman tlasingas [sic] Por levante .....

[F. 84 vta.]

## Quinto Lindero

Aquí en este Puesto llamado; Mazatlan Por la parte del levante estan las tierras de dhos Naturales y son ôchosientos Cordeles de las Varas Matlazingas y estan tendidos Los linderos .....

Aquí es El sitio y Paraje Donde esta la Yglesia de la gloriosa Virgn. María de la Compsezion [sic] Y estan las tierras de sus naturales q. son mill y seissientos Cordeles de las Varas Matlasingas a Un lado del Sur Como Al Poniente .....

Aquí Donde anduvo El Aguila Rl. estas tierras Son ochosientos Cordeles de las baras matlazingas y son de los hijos del Pueblo de tototepec Por El levante, Aquí llaman tototlan y en este Paraje ay tresientos Cordeles Por el norte. y son las mojoneras en el llano y toca al Pueblo de Sn. Pedro de llano â llano corren [sic] los cordeles Pertenesientes a dho Pueo. de Tototepec .....

Los fundadores destas Poblaciones Son Dn. Bernardino, y D. Thomas Tlaltacasín que fueron los que prinsipiaron dhas Poblaciones y los señores aquí donde nos guarda Nuestro Padre sn. Pedro tototepec en este llano donde se fundo su Yglezia del sor. sn. Pedro

Aquí llama totomoxco pueblo de xoxocan estan ôchosientos Cordeles de nuestro P. San Pedro tototepec

Aquí llaman Yzquazingo de dho Pueo. estan Dosientos Cordeles de los naturales del Pueo. de sn. Pedro

Aquí llaman los Pedregales estan Puestos Dosientos Cordeles de los natures de dho Pueblo .....

[F. 85 r.]

Dn. Juan de Santamaría — Dn. Alonzo de la cruz Nesagualcoyotzintzin Aquí en las Conejeras estan tresientos Cordeles de los naturales Corre el lindero .....

Aquí en tepetzingo tecuantitlan estan quatrosientos Cordeles de los naturales .....

Aquí en âcolco Sacatlan Son las tierras de los Yndios .....

Aquí en Cacaloapa estan Puestas Las tierras q. son Dosientos Cordeles de las Varas Matlazingas .....

Aquí esta en este llano Sien Baras de tierra de los naturales del Pueo. de Tototepec. ....  
 Aquí en este llano estan Sesenta cordeles de tierra de dhos naturales lindan con los del Pueblo de Sn. Matheo .....  
 Yo Dn. Lucas Ximenez Montezuma essno. nombrado por el Sr. Dn. Alonso de Morales administrador; Governador de las Rentas del Exmo. ssor. Marques. del Valle; y cavallero de la horden de alcantara, en conformidad de dho nombramto; saque Y traduje de la Ydioma mexicana, en la castellana; a mí leal saver Y lealtad. Sin quitar ni Poner Cossa alguna en estos títulos y mapa de los Yndios del Pueblo de Sn. Pedro tototepec de esta Jurisdision de Sn. Josseph de Toluca donde lo soi Vezo. y saque el prezte. siendo testigos Dn. Simon lucas, Dn. Juan Cortes Mestissos y Vezinos desta dha ciudad de toluca donde es fho en Veinte Y quatro de maio de mill setescientos y tres años y lo firme = Dn Lucas Ximenes Motezuma

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