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Rewriting Native Imperial History in New Spain: The Texcocan Dynasty

Alena Johnson

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**REWRITING NATIVE IMPERIAL HISTORY IN NEW SPAIN:
THE TEXCOCAN DYNASTY**

by

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M.A., Spanish Literature, Kent State University, 2004

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The pre-Hispanic capital of the Acolhua kingdom was the sovereign city-state of Texcoco in the northeastern region of central Mexico. Texcoco along with Tlacopan and México-Tenochtitlan later comprised the Aztec Triple Alliance or Aztec Empire (formed c. 1429-1431). As explained in the introductory Chapter 1, throughout sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century New Spain, Spanish authorities and the Nahua aristocracy recorded many versions of native imperial history using a range of official discourse and other media. This dissertation explores only a selection of the diversity of genres and texts elaborated under the new colonial order that pertain to the dynastic history of Texcoco and its illustrious line of rulers. It begins with colonial Mexican Inquisition proceedings and then moves on to the genre of colonial, native-style painted maps or cartographic histories. The discussion explores how the texts rewrite and renegotiate native imperial history within the discourse of their respective genres and to what end,

when Latin letters began to replace pre-Hispanic, oral-pictorial systems of writing in New Spain.

Chapter 2 employs an historical-literary analysis to examine the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal* (1539) or criminal proceedings against don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-39), a royal descendant of the Texcocan dynasts. Chapter 3, in turn, applies an historical-literary analysis to explore the native testimonies in the *Proceso criminal*, and the ancestral discourse or speech attributed to don Carlos as captured or transcribed in the proceedings. Chapter 4 offers an art-historical analysis, and reads the pictorial, dynastic history of Texcoco as a colonial, elite Nahua discourse of images in three native-style painted maps known as the *Codex Xolotl* (c. 1540), *Mapa Tlotzin* (c. 1542-46), and *Mapa Quinatzin* (c. 1542-46). While there are no known, extant pre-Columbian codices from the Acolhua region that record Texcocan history, these cartographic narratives derive from ancient Mesoamerican models of writing, yet were commissioned for both the Nahua communities as well as for Spanish authorities.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Throughout sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century New Spain, Spanish authorities and the Nahuatl aristocracy recorded many versions of native imperial history using a range of official discourse and other media. Recent trends in colonial Latin American criticism now account for native discourses and literacies, or systems of writing, in the New World. This scholarship approaches the entirety of colonial productions as *texts* to account for all the material sign inscriptions of a given culture, and the more inclusive term *colonial discourse* allows for the incorporation of indigenous works and forms of representation previously excluded from the established literary canon. This dissertation explores only a selection of the diversity of discourses elaborated under the new colonial order that pertain to the dynastic history of Texcoco and its illustrious line of rulers. The discussion attempts to illustrate how Nahuatl and Spaniards rewrote native imperial history as it developed across the different genres in use in early colonial New Spain, as the Aztec system of writing and tradition of manuscript painting began to fade with the introduction of Roman alphabetic letters.

The 1539 record of the *Proceso criminal* transcribes the inquisitorial proceedings against don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-1539), a noble lord and royal descendant of the Texcocan dynasts. Of the numerous idolatry accusations against natives brought before the Holy Tribunal by Franciscan Bishop Juan de Zumárraga (1468-1548), don Carlos was the only one sentenced to death for heresy during this period of the Mexican Inquisition, known as the Indian Inquisition (1536-1543) (Greenleaf, *Zumárraga* 75 and Lopes Don, “Franciscans” 27). Immediately ensuing his trial and execution, his noble relatives and siblings, the Texcocan lords, commissioned three painted maps known as the *Codex*

Xolotl (c. 1540), *Mapa Tlotzin* (c. 1542-1546), and *Mapa Quinatzin* (c. 1542-1546), which record the imperial history of Texcoco.

Texcoco and the Aztecs

The pre-Hispanic capital of Acolhuacan or the Acolhua kingdom was the sovereign city-state of Texcoco in the northeastern region of central Mexico, south of the Teotihuacan Valley (see **Fig. 1.1**). Texcoco was the administrative and cultural center of the region and controlled numerous tributary provinces. After the Tepanec War (1427-1428), Texcoco allied with Tlacopan and México-Tenochtitlan in the Aztec Triple Alliance or Aztec Empire (formed c. 1429-1431). The founder of the Texcocan dynasty was Chief Xolotl (r. 1115-1232), a somewhat mythological personage as his reign lasted for 117 years according to Aztec documents (Marcus 7). Around AD 1200 the Acolhua-Chichimecs of Xolotl migrated from Aztlan and/or Chicomoztoc in the north to the ancient Anahuac valley. Xolotl's ruling successors and their descendants intermarried with the remaining Toltec inhabitants there and adopted their customs.

The use of terminology here may need some preliminary explanation. The term "Aztec" collectively encompasses all the Nahuatl-speaking peoples of Anahuac, the ancient valley and lake basins of pre-Hispanic central Mexico (see **Fig. 1.1**). It is not known what dialect the Nahuatl-speaking tribes spoke when they first arrived in the valley around 800 BC, but they eventually came to be known as Chichimec (Aguilar Moreno 70). Aztec can also refer to the different ethnic migrations of northern peoples

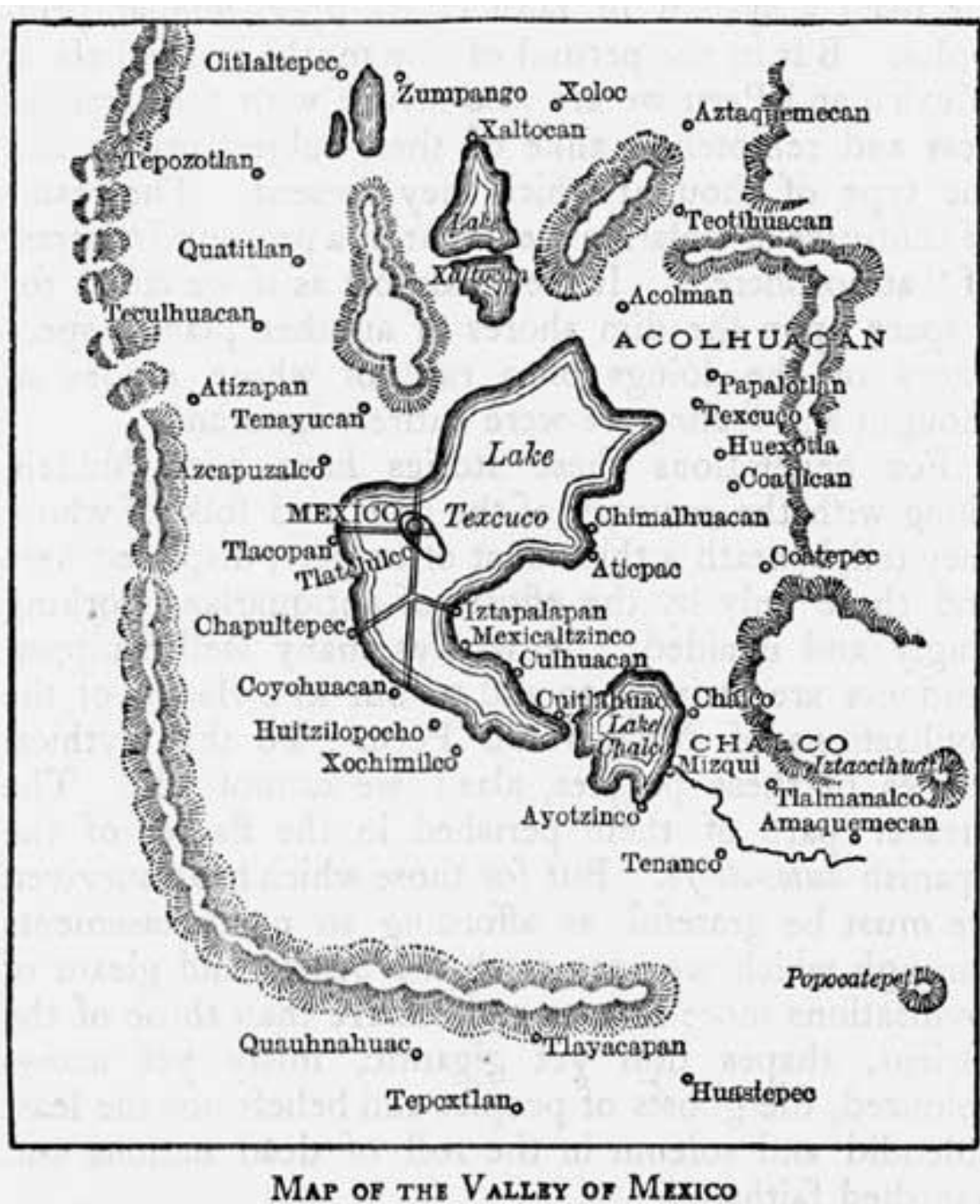


Figure 1.1. Map of the pre-Hispanic Valley of Mexico, illustration from Lewis Spence, *The Civilization of Ancient Mexico* (Cambridge, 1912) n. pag.; reprint in Lewis Spence, *The Myths of Mexico and Peru* (New York, 1913) 330.

from the legendary, semi-mythical place of Aztlan [the Land of White Herons or the Place of Whiteness] and/or Chicomoztoc [Seven Caves], sometime between the Late Classic (AD 550-900) and Early Postclassic periods (AD 900-1200). Specifically, “Aztec” may indicate the Mexica group in the Aztlan migrations who went on to eventually found México-Tenochtitlan, now modern-day Mexico City. Finally, it identifies the members of the Aztec Triple Alliance (formed c. 1429-1431) between the Mexica in Tenochtitlan, the Acolhuas in Texcoco, and the Tepanecs in Tlacopan (Aguilar Moreno 18-19; see also Smith, 1996). James Lockhart distinguishes between “Aztecs” and “Nahuas,” as the former “is attached specifically to the preconquest period,” while the latter describes “the central Mexicans at the time of European contact” and following thereafter (1).

According to native historical sources, the great migration of northern peoples into Anahuac included both Chichimec and Nahuatl-speaking ethnic groups (Smith, “The Aztlan Migrations” 156-57). The term “Chichimec” [the inhabitants of Chichiman or Area of Milk] is also a collective or generic name for the Nahua peoples, and particularly describes the various non-sedentary, semi-nomadic populations who migrated from the areas that are now northern Mexico and the southwestern United States to the northern region of central Mexico (Morritt 21 and Smith 156). In reference to Texcocan history, Chichimec is synonymous with the Acolhua peoples, who spoke some type of Otomí or Oto-Manguéyan language, and were “the early, pre-Nahuatl migrants to the Acolhua area on the eastern shore of Lake Texcoco” (Smith 163).

The word “Chichimec” could have negative and positive connotations in Nahuatl as “barbarous” or as “noble savage.” The Nahuas originally used “Chichimec” to

historically identify themselves as nomads, hunters, and gatherers in pre-historical times and in contrast to their later assimilation of ancient Toltec culture, civilization, and society (Morritt 21). The Aztecs esteemed the Toltecs and other advanced civilizations of early Mesoamerica as their cultural predecessors. Tollan [In the Place of the Reeds (or Cattails)] was the legendary capital, the throne or seat of Toltec society. The city flourished during the Early Postclassic era (c. AD 900-1200) and was regarded by the Aztecs as a divine place of creation, also synonymous with the concepts of city and civilization in Mesoamerican tradition.

Provenance of the Corpus

The printed, first edition copy (1910) of the proceedings against don Carlos comprises a total of forty-six documents. The manuscript title reads *Proceso criminal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición y del fiscal en su nombre contra don Carlos, indio principal de Tezcoco*. I offer here an English translation of this title, *The Criminal Proceedings of the Holy Office of the Inquisition and of the Public Prosecutor in His Name Against Don Carlos, Native Lord of Texcoco*.

Don Carlos was a noble lord and royal descendant of the last pre-Hispanic Texcocan monarchs, a grandson to the poet-king Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72), and son to Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516; see **Table 1**). He was among the first generation of Nahuatl nobles after the fall of México-Tenochtitlan (1521) to learn Castilian and Catholic doctrine, and received lessons from Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) himself in Latin letters and a Christian upbringing. When the Spanish missionaries arrived (c. 1523-24), Texcoco established one of the first monastic schools and became a native capital of

Table 1
Chichimec and Acolhua Rulers of Texcoco, 1115-1582

Order	Ruler	Reign
1.	Xolotl	1115-1232
2.	Nopaltzin	1232-1263
3.	Tlotzin Pochotl	1263-1298
4.	Quinatzin Tlaltecatzin	1298-1357
5.	Techotlaltzin	1357-1409
6.	Ixtlilxochitl Ometochtli	1409-1419
Tepanec Interregnum		
7.	Nezahualcoyotl	1431-1472
8.	Nezahualpilli	1472-1516
9.	Cacamatzin	1517-1519
10.	Fernando Tecocoltzin	1520-1521
11.	Pedro Alvarado Cohuanacochtzin	1521-1525
12.	Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl	1525-1531
13.	Jorge Alvarado Yoyotzin	1532-1533
14.	Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin	1534-1539
15.	Antonio Pimentel Tlahuilotzin	1539-1545
16.	Hernando Pimentel Ihuan	1545-1565
17.	Diego Teutzquitzin	1565-1577
Vacancy		
18.	Don Cristóbal	1579-?

Partially reproduced from Cline (83).

Franciscan evangelization.¹

As Spain began the process of christianizing the native masses in its new colonies, two intellectual currents played a central role in the emergence of the Indian Inquisition: “Spain’s perceived historical imperative to compel religious orthodoxy within its empire, in order to secure the empire,” and “the practical reality of converting people whose willingness and capacity to convert were in question” (Lopes Don, “Franciscans” 28-29). The Spaniards admired the administrative hierarchy and government of the Aztec Empire, and recognized the Nahua ruling class and nobility as allies to the Crown. Texcoco, for example, supplied military alliance to Cortés in the overthrow of México-Tenochtitlan (1521), and the colonial descendants of the Texcocan dynasts became *caciques* [noble clan leader or chief], “powerful for a time in the immediate area but with a dwindling influence” (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 166). For a time after the conquest, the Spanish state maintained the pre-Hispanic structure and organization of the Nahua city-states, comprised of *cabeceras* [head towns] and *sujetos* [subject towns], primarily to assess tribute. Native government above the *cabecera* level, however, was not permitted, and *caciques* “were only temporarily useful in this respect” (166).²

The Franciscans concentrated their diplomatic and evangelical efforts on the conversion of native rulers and their sons, “as potential candidates for the Christian priesthood” (Schwaller 94). The intention was to have native rulers act as missionaries to their subjects, the native masses, in hopes that they would embrace them as leaders of the

¹ The Imperial College of Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlatelolco was later established in 1534.

² As Charles Gibson explains, the reduction of *cacique* political power after the mid-sixteenth century was “consistent with a second phase of political Hispanization, a phase in which elected Indian officers filled town offices patterned on those in Spanish municipal government” (*The Aztecs* 166).

new Christian faith, and live with the friars in the new monastic settlements (Lane and Restall 93; cf. Williams and Davis 20-39).

It was the Texcocan lords who attended the first organized church services and received the first official baptisms administered by the friars on June 12, 1524. This formal Mass was celebrated in the Palace of Nezahualcoyotl, which became one of the first Catholic churches in Mexico.³ However the evangelizing campaigns soon created an antagonism between some of the native nobility and the friars (Lopes Don, “Franciscans” 28). On January 1, 1525, the Franciscans banished the Texcocan priests from their sanctuaries, destroyed their temples, sacred objects, and royal palace archives of manuscripts, launching the first systematic crusade to eradicate idolatry among the Nahuas.

For Franciscan friars Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590) and Alonso de Molina (c. 1514-85), who were the interpreters of don Carlos’s Preliminary Hearing or Arraignment [*Proceso* 1; doc. i, *Auto*], Mesoamerican cultural traditions were barbarous and pagan. Sahagún and Molina taught together at the Imperial College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco (est. 1530s), where the sons of Nahuatl lords and nobles received instruction in Franciscan ideology and the Humanist Renaissance, taught in Castilian, Latin, and Nahuatl. Though Sahagún’s intention was to eradicate idolatry, he preserved the knowledge of indigenous cultural practices for posterity. His pioneering ethnographic

³ Cline 92, 113n39, 114n50; Douglas 289-90, 305n47; González Obregón in *Proceso* ix-xi; and Gruzinski 48, 51-52. Baptismal status and Christian marriage soon became markers for identifying natives. Baptismal names indicated the baptized status of natives, and were a way to distinguish between individuals, though it is not known whether they were an individual choice or assigned to the natives by the friars. While many baptized natives shared the same Spanish names, such as Domingo or Francisco, which might reflect current fashions of the time, less common names could “indicate a friar with a favorite saint at work, naming his parishioners, showing the effect of individual priests in native communities” (Schwaller 94-95).

project, the *Florentine Codex* or *General History of the Things of New Spain* (c. 1545-90), comprises twelve volumes on different topics of Nahua culture. Molina's dictionary, *Vocabulary in Castilian and Mexican Language* (c. 1555-71), is one of the first systematic approaches to indigenous language and grammar in the New World, apart from the work of Fray Andrés de Olmos (1485-1571).

While the *Proceso criminal* has recently received historical attention in colonial Latin American scholarship, a more thorough analysis of this document regarding its discourse and textual meanings is still lacking from a critical literary perspective. The original, transcribed manuscript of the inquisitorial proceedings against don Carlos was stored for centuries in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación [General and Public Archive of the Nation]. There it remained unknown and unedited until the archive was reorganized, which allowed for the 1910 printing of its first edition in Mexico City, with comments and preliminaries by Mexican historian and chronicler Luis González Obregón (1865-1938) (*Proceso* vii-xiv). Other noteworthy publications by early historians of colonial Mexico that exposed new sources of inquisitorial manuscripts from archival documentation are the first printing of the 1530 criminal trial or *Proceso contra Tzintzicha Tangoaxán El Caltzontzin*, by Frances V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams (1952), and Richard E. Greenleaf's *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536-1543* (1961), and *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century* (1969), which are among the first studies in English to examine in detail various inquisitorial trials in New Spain.

It is possible that don Carlos's noble relatives and siblings, the Texcocan lords, submitted the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps as documentary evidence in Spanish legal proceedings. Before and after the arrival of the Spaniards, native-style maps were

an effective means by which Nahua communities defended their claims to land ownership. In the Spanish legal arena, the former Nahua ruling class and nobility implemented them as mechanisms of litigation and submitted them as evidence to secular tribunals. If this was the case with the three Texcocan maps, then it was most likely Fernando de Alva Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (c. 1578-1650), a *mestizo* historiographer of royal Texcocan and Spanish descent, who recovered them from early colonial archives.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl later composed his own written version of Texcoco's imperial history which he derived from the Texcocan maps and other sources (c. 1600-40). In his dynastic account he refers to an earlier, pre-Hispanic model or possibly the original prototype of the Texcocan maps, created by two painter-scribes, Cemilhuitzin and Quauhquechol (c. 1429), during the reign of Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) (*Historia chichimeca* 144, 144n1; ch. XXIX). He claims the *Xolotl* manuscript that he had in his possession was the "original y antigua historia" [original and ancient history] (*Sumaria relación* 371), although it was probably a copy reproduced from the 1429 prototype.

The *Codex Xolotl* is more traditional in native style than the *Mapas Tlotzin* and *Quinatzin*, which suggests an earlier date of elaboration (c. 1540). It most certainly postdates 1428, as the narrative focuses on historical events involving Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72). The *Mapa Tlotzin* belonged to don Diego Pimentel Teutzquitzin (r. 1565-77), according to an inscription found on its reverse panel (see **Table 1**). The 1541 date of elaboration for the *Mapas Tlotzin* and *Quinatzin* is based on Nahuatl alphabetic glosses and pictorial temporal markers found in the *Mapa Quinatzin*. Other preferable dates for both manuscripts are 1542, 1545, and 1546.⁴

⁴ Refer to Aubin 63, 91; Barlow, "Una nueva lámina" 262; Dibble, *Codex* 3, 9; Douglas 305n46, 307n81; Radin 17; and Robertson 135, 138-39, 143.

Alva Ixtlilxochitl bequeathed his private library and collection of native painted manuscripts to his son Juan de Alva Cortés (c. 1611-unknown), who in 1650 gifted it to creole scholar Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700). Sigüenza y Góngora in turn later donated a large anthology (of approx. 470 documents and twenty-eight volumes) to a Jesuit college in Mexico City. Italian collector Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci (1702-51) acquired a portion of the anthology as documented in his 1746 *Catalogue*. His interest in writing the history of the 1531 apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which supposedly occurred on the hill of Tepeyac, now a suburb of modern-day Mexico City, aroused suspicion from viceregal authorities for the monetary donations he sought out as a foreigner in order to acquire a gold crown for her image (see Ballesteros 1947). They confiscated and impounded the manuscripts in Boturini's possession and deported him from Mexico in 1743.

Mariano Veytia (1718-80), Antonio de León y Gama (1735-1802), and Father José Antonio Pichardo (1748-1812) among other scholars copied several of the archived documents, a selection of which Archbishop Francisco de Lorenzana (1722-1804) removed in 1768 that later resurfaced in various locations, including the Biblioteca de la Real y Pontificia Universidad, the Secretaría de Cámara del Virreinato, and the Convento de San Francisco de México. Baron Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) inherited and donated several items to the Royal Library in Berlin (c. 1802). In 1823 they were deposited in the Palace of the Government of Mexico City as property of the Ministry of Relations. French antiquarian and cartographer Jean-Frédéric M. de Waldeck (c. 1766-1875) then recovered some of the manuscripts from further neglect and disintegration.

It was French collector Joseph Marius Alexis Aubin (1802-1891) who obtained many of the pictorials from convents and repositories (c. 1830), which he relocated to France (c. 1840). Aubin subsequently published the *Mapa Tlotzin* and *Mapa Quinatzin* for the first time in 1849. He later sold his collection (c. 1889) to a Creole Parisian named Eugene Goupil (1831-1896), who commissioned French scholar Eugene Boban (1834-1908) to catalogue the manuscripts in 1891. It was only after the National Library of France procured the Aubin-Goupil collection (c. 1898), that French librarian and archivist Henri Omont (1857-1940) inventoried the Texcocan maps in the *Catalogue of Mexican Manuscripts* (1899) as *Codex Xolotl* or *Histoire Chichimèque*, Fonds Mexicain Nos. 1-10; *Mapa Quinatzin*, Fonds Mexicain Nos. 11-12; and *Mapa Tlotzin*, Fonds Mexicain No. 373.⁵

A comprehensive glance at the corpus of scholarly discussion on the maps reveals the various schools of discipline that have treated these texts and their different methodological approaches, including anthropology, art history, ethnography, and history. More recent studies of the Texcocan maps now commonly establish the trial of don Carlos as the colonial, politico-historical context for their elaboration (Cline 91-92). Scholars now identify these and other similarly structured, native-style maps from central Mexico as historical narratives or cartographic histories, such as Donald Robertson's ground-breaking study of native pictorial style in *Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period* (1959), Barbara E. Mundy's *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (1996), and

⁵ Refer to Works Cited for the publications of Boturini, Aubin (1849), Peñafiel, Boban, and the *Catalogue* prefaced by Omont. On the historical ownership of the Texcocan maps, see Dibble, *Codex* 3-4; Douglas 303n4; Mohar Betancourt, *Códice* 94-99; Mohar Betancourt and Fernández Díaz 14; and Nicholson 37-40.

Elizabeth H. Boone's discussion of the narrative content and structure of Mexican pictorial histories in *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (2000). However, an interdisciplinary, comparative analysis of the discourses that govern the *Proceso criminal* (1539) of don Carlos Ometochtzin and the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps (c. 1540-1546) from within their respective genres, as the former discourse elicited the latter, is still lacking in the scholarly exploration of this particular corpus of documents.

Historical Significance of the Acolhua/Texcocan Manuscripts

In the surviving corpus of Mesoamerican pictorial documents only a few are pre-Columbian in origin, and of the approximately 160 painted histories from central Mexico there are none with undisputed pre-Hispanic dating (see Boone, *Stories* 10 and *Glass* 11-13, Table 1). The group of early colonial manuscripts pertaining to the Acolhua Empire and dynastic history of Texcoco are valuable historical sources for understanding the Aztec past. Traditionally, the history of Texcoco and of other ethnic localities in the Valley of Mexico has been marginalized, both by the pre-Hispanic imperialist histories of the Mexica-Tenochca – who formed the most powerful faction of the Triple Alliance (formed c. 1429-1431), comprising both Mexico-Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco as the seat of the Aztec Empire at the time of the Spanish Encounter – , as well as by modern scholarship of Aztec history, which has also privileged the Mexica-Tenochca perspective, for example, in discussing the great Aztlan migrations (Quiñones Keber, “Tlailotlaque” 85). This focus on the Mexica-Tenochca in Aztec history has overshadowed the cultural traditions and documentary practices for recording history from other groups in the

Valley of Mexico, each of which “maintained its own cultural identity, as expressed, for example, in local gods and religious practices as well as in the history of the specific community, which encoded its particular point of view” (86). Current scholarly discussion of the Aztec past now recognizes the community histories of these formerly marginalized groups as valuable, alternative perspectives to the imperialist Mexica-Tenochca, while it also accounts for their partisan nature: “Information from sources describing individual city-states, such as those of the Triple Alliance capitals, must be evaluated critically to determine biases of the writers, who often were promoting their own, local interests” (Hodge 116). In documents pertaining to the Acolhua Empire and dynastic history of Texcoco, for example, the textual emphasis given to Xolotl and his ruling descendants obscures the less-detailed subnarratives of rulers in other ethnic localities mentioned – and in the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* accounts these polities further occupy marginal locations on the pictorial, cartographic landscape, usually in the lower edges or western region of the maps; conversely, non-Acolhua sources deemphasize Texcocan history.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

To understand how these texts negotiate different representations of the Texcocan dynasty in the first century after the Spanish encounter, it is important to consider their discursive form and function. *Discourse* in this context follows Martín Lienhard’s definition, as the specific way in which a collective – or one of its members – situates itself in the world, in history, and in society (*Disidentes* 17). The alphabetic and oral-pictorial texts in the present analysis operated within different classes of genre or

discursive frameworks and in accordance with different ideological and institutional viewpoints. However there is intertextuality among these documents, as the inquisitorial proceedings of don Carlos and the Texcocan maps commissioned by his relatives all pertain to the imperial history of Texcoco, its dynastic line of rulers, and their royal colonial descendants, the Texcocan lords. The following discussion attempts to illustrate some of the ways in which Spaniards and Nahuas rewrote and negotiated native imperial history to their advantage, which also reveals for us the chronological recontextualization of this theme as it arose out of and developed across the various discursive genres of early colonial New Spain, as Latin letters began to replace the oral-pictorial systems of Aztec writing and recording history.

To examine how the discursive genres of the *Proceso criminal* and Texcocan maps each inform their representation of the Texcocan dynasty and of the native historical tradition in general, this investigation will engage with recent trends in colonial Latin American criticism.⁶ Essentially, most scholarship in earlier colonial discourse theory failed to account for the diverse, discursive interaction that occurred between the Latin alphabet and the native writing systems in the colonial New World, such as that of Mesoamerican picto-ideographic writing, or the Andean *quipus* made of colored, knotted thread which kept historical records of calendrical information, tributary obligations, etc. Yet these glyphic, pictorial, and Romanized works offer a profundity of information on the Mesoamerican world before, during, and after the arrival of the Spaniards.

⁶ This scholarship now questions the applicability of Postcolonial Theory to Spain and its colonies, specifically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for this discourse developed in the context of the British empire and is more concerned with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century written works from India, Asia, and Africa (see Adorno 1993 and Rabasa 1993).

This has led contemporary scholars to refine former discursive expectations of what constituted a literary work with the more inclusive term *colonial discourse*, and to consider diverse cultural productions as *texts*. These terms surpass traditional European notions of books and the written, alphabetic word to encompass all material sign inscriptions. *Text* is here defined as: “the idea of the object on which graphic signs are inscribed as conceived by the culture producing and using it” (Mignolo, “Signs” 260-61). The application of this approach is especially evident in the series of discussions comprising *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Eds. Boone and Mignolo, 1994), including Dana Leibsohn’s “Primers for Memory: Cartographic Histories and Nahua Identity” and John M. D. Pohl’s “Mexican Codices, Maps, and Lienzos as Social Contracts”; in Walter D. Mignolo’s *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (1995), and in Galen Brokaw’s “*Khipu* Numeracy and Alphabetic Literacy in the Andes: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*” (2002).

Significantly, the discursive reconceptualization of colonial Latin American cultural productions has made possible the incorporation of indigenous forms of representation previously excluded from the established literary canon, such as the works of Fernando de Alva Cortés Ixtlilxochitl (c. 1578-1650), a *mestizo* historiographer of royal Texcocan and Spanish descent. Alva Ixtlilxochitl composed written versions of the imperial history derived from the Texcocan maps and other native sources. His accounts or *Relaciones* (c. 1600-1640) provide elaborate, alphabetic transcriptions of the dynastic record pictorially represented in the *Xolotl*, *Plotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps, yet also draw from native and European discursive frameworks to negotiate a distinct image of imperial

Texcoco. Similarly, the Peruvian work of native Quechua nobleman Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (c. 1535-c. 1616), titled *Primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* [(*The First New Chronicle and Good Government*] (c. 1615), is an historical account of the Andes and formation of the Inca Empire up to the Spanish conquest, a portion of which is a critical denunciation of the problems brought on by the establishment of colonial government and rule over the natives in the region. Like Alva Ixtlilxochitl's *Relaciones*, the *Primer nueva corónica* adopts many conventions of European literacy, but is also influenced by Andean forms of numeracy and the textual tradition of the *quipu*.

Whereas earlier scholars theorized the dissolution of native cultural elements in Latin America as the result of colonialism (e.g., Kubler 1961), this new understanding of *colonial discourse* and *texts* to include non-alphabetic discourses has allowed current scholarship to demonstrate, among other findings, a considerable continuity of pre-Hispanic traditions in native colonial society along with a dynamic process of transcultural innovation. Such studies include Mary Louise Pratt's "Arts of the Contact Zone" (1991), and Tom Cummins' and Joanne Rappaport's "The Reconfiguration of Civic and Sacred Space: Architecture, Image, and Writing in the Colonial Northern Andes" (1998). Emergent interdisciplinary studies are also careful to account for the representational form of colonial Latin American *texts* in relation to their larger institutional context of production, multifaceted potential in meaning, and range of possible communicative functions, such as Roberta H. Markman's and Peter T. Markman's *Masks of the Spirit: Image and Metaphor in Mesoamerica* (1989), Dana Leibsohn's "Mapping Metaphors: Figuring the Ground of Sixteenth-Century New Spain" (1996), and Eduardo de J. Douglas's analysis of the pictorial discourses of the Texcocan

maps as image texts in “Figures of Speech: Pictorial History in the *Quinatzin Map* of about 1542” (2003).

Drawing from this basic premise that all sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin American cultural and material sign inscriptions are essentially *texts*, a second theoretical model informing this overall discussion concerns the genres or discursive frameworks of the manuscripts under analysis here. Walter D. Mignolo explains the relationship between the recording of history and the form by which it is recorded in terms of genre restrictions: “The organization, evaluation, and transmission of a *set* of events as *historical* events are in large scale dependent on the rhetorical restrictions of narrative genres as well as on the skill of the person narrating them, in oral or graphic form” (*The Darker Side* 178). A comparison, for example, between Mexica painted histories and Western alphabetic narratives reveals “that both kinds of narrative have, among others, the important function of identity building” (133). For this reason, Mignolo maintains, “Discursive frames (or genres) are a necessary condition for constructing knowledge, as they depend both on regional cultural traditions as well as on the means of communication (e.g., oral or graphic)” (178).

My understanding of the intertextual relationship between the *Proceso criminal* and the Texcocan maps involves the concept of representational genres, which presupposes

that works and their component parts are interrelated. Two works may be linked to one another by concrete shared features, such as shared reference to some object or event, mutual reference to one another, elaboration (whereby one work amplifies another or complements it), or contradiction of one by the other. Any

two works that belong to the same genre are, to that extent, intertextually related. .
 ..

Intertextuality in many cases links different works in a single generic category, formulated within a single code. It may also link works in different codes, across different semiotic channels, such as written discourse and pictorial representation, material form (ceramic, architectural) with glyphic, written, or pictographic inscriptions, and the production and layout of ritual offerings with the spoken performance by which they are presented (Hanks 17)

Within this theoretical context, the intertextuality present in the manuscripts under analysis here allows a comparison of their quite dissimilar discursive frames or genres, including alphabetic, oral, and pictorial modes of organizing the texts. In this way we can analyze the native testimonies of the *Proceso criminal* of don Carlos – as translated by the interpreters from Nahuatl into Spanish and transcribed from oral speech into written, alphabetic letters by the Inquisition scribes – together with the visual images of the three Texcocan maps. It is also possible to compare the maps with the oral performance and interpretation of their image texts, which was subsequently documented in numerous native, *mestizo*, and European accounts, all of which relied on the maps as well as information from native informants – most notably the *Relación geográfica de Tezcoco* (1582), by *mestizo* chronicler Juan Bautista de Pomar (c. 1535-c. 1601), also of royal Texcocan and Spanish descent; the *Relaciones* (c. 1600-1640) of *mestizo* historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (c. 1578-1650); and *Monarquía indiana* (1615) by Franciscan missionary Fray Juan de Torquemada (c. 1562-1624), a contemporary and friend of Alva Ixtlilxochitl.

In accordance with their chronological order of elaboration, my discussion first treats the discursive framework of the *Proceso criminal* as separate from the other genres of texts herein. Also, as Martín Lienhard has noted, colonial bureaucratic texts such as inquisition proceedings should be studied foremost in reference to the rhetorical genre to which they belong (*Disidentes* 25n16). The inquisitorial genre of the proceedings thus establishes the intertextual basis for comparing it with the oral-historical text of the native testimonies, and the oral-pictorial texts of the Texcocan maps or cartographic histories, both of which the *Proceso criminal* ultimately elicited in condemning the Texcocan lord to death for heresy. By analyzing the different variable features of native imperial history in these texts as governed by their respective discursive genres, we can better understand how the pressures or exigencies of contemporary genre restraints, together with Spanish and Nahua standards and expectations for recording and transmitting historical events, affected the overall colonial representation of Texcoco's imperial history in this particular corpus of manuscripts.

Chapter 2, titled "Native Imperial History Considered as Heresy in the Inquisitorial Discourse of the *Proceso criminal*" gives a historico-literary analysis of the 1539 criminal proceedings against don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-1539). It examines how the *Proceso criminal* legitimates and promotes the eradication of native ancestral traditions that contradicted the teachings of the Catholic Church in order for the Holy Tribunal to convict don Carlos of idolatry. The discussion illustrates some of the ways in which the *Proceso criminal* recontextualizes native imperial history within the discourse of the Mexican Inquisition to construe Nahua socio-religious practices as heretical, sinful deviations from Christian orthodoxy.

When reading with the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal*, the text represents the cultural customs and practices of don Carlos and the Texcocan dynasts as idolatrous deviations from Christian orthodoxy. Conversely, Chapter 3, “Don Carlos as Heretic or Hero? Native Discourse and Aztec Imperial History in the *Proceso criminal*” explores the discourse attributed to don Carlos in the native testimonies, which evidence an underlying subtext, or subversive counter discourse attributed to don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-39) interpreted as critical of the colonization of New Spain, as identified and interpreted by Martín Lienhard in the Introduction and Chapter 1 of *Disidentes, insurgentes, rebeldes: resistencia indígena y negra en América Latina; ensayos de historia testimonial* (1992). The chapter gives a historico-literary analysis to illustrate some remnants of the pre-Hispanic oral-historical tradition, as captured or transcribed in the Chiconautla testimonies and preserved in the elite discourse of the early colonial Nahua aristocracy. The discussion reveals how these texts inadvertently vindicate rather than incriminate don Carlos as a steadfast advocate of the ancient Nahua order.

Chapter 4, “Native Imperial History as Colonial Nahua Discourse in the Texcocan Maps,” conversely, offers an art-historical analysis to explore the native, pictorial discourse of the *Codex Xolotl*, *Mapa Tlotzin*, and *Mapa Quinatzin*, commissioned soon after the trial and execution of don Carlos. The discussion details how the maps recontextualize the pre-Hispanic, imperial history of Texcoco as colonial, elite discourse intended for the colonial Nahua aristocracy, while also resituating it within the early colonial legal discourse of New Spain. The analysis illustrates how the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*,

and *Quinatzin* maps draw from ancient Mesoamerican models of writing to idealize or glorify the Acolhua Empire.

CHAPTER 2: NATIVE IMPERIAL HISTORY CONSIDERED AS HERESY IN THE INQUISITORIAL DISCOURSE OF THE *PROCESO CRIMINAL*

This chapter examines the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal* (1539) or criminal proceedings against don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-1539). It discusses how the *Proceso criminal* recontextualizes Nahua imperial history within the discursive framework of the Mexican Inquisition, in order for the Holy Tribunal to accuse and convict don Carlos of idolatry. The chapter illustrates some of the ways in which the text of the *Proceso criminal* portrays the ancestral traditions of don Carlos and the Texcocan dynasts as diabolical behavior and heresy, which discursively undermines the legitimacy of the Nahua aristocracy.

The Mexican Inquisition in New Spain

For the Church and the Holy Office of the Inquisition (est. AD 1184), Catholic doctrine was the expression of God's divine will for man. In the Old World, the Inquisition was first created to protect Catholic doctrine and faith from heretical perversion and apostasy. For the Inquisition and civil authorities, heresy was a crime and a sin and heretics were religious and civil criminals. A *heretic* was a baptized adversary, "a deviant 'insider' who had become a member of the Catholic Church through baptism and religious instruction but who chose to rebel against these teachings, either implicitly or explicitly" (Chuchiak 3). The Inquisition did not have jurisdiction over Jews, only rights of prosecution over baptized members of the Catholic Church, and thus sought to eradicate crypto-Jewish practices among baptized *conversos*, though it did not execute heretics. Convicted heretics (of offenses that involved personal property) were the

responsibility of secular authorities who delivered them to the executioner (Brauner 34; Chuchiak 4-5; and Seignobos 99).

Concerns of heresy involved the regulation of the circulation of ideas in spoken and written discourse. The inquisitorial manual originated in the thirteenth century to distinguish inquisitorial theory from censorship law. The writings of St. Augustine (AD 354-430), a famous Latin polemicist of the patristic Church, were a standard rubric for inquisitorial authorities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. According to St. Augustine, the dichotomy of faith and heresy was based on internal thought and external profession: “Where salvation required faith (an internal act) and confession of faith (an external act), heresy would require the opposite: doubt and persistent rejection of the faith” (Nesvig 19, 45). By the mid-fifteenth century, the inquisitorial manual emerged as a discursive genre, and functioned as “a specific type of treatise written by and for inquisitorial authorities on procedure, jurisdiction, and philosophy of ecclesiastical prosecution of heresy” (34, 37). In the New World, the Holy Office relied on European precedents such as the Augustinian treatise as “templates of the highest theory of inquisitorial authority” (35).

The primary objective of the Mexican Inquisition in New Spain was to defend Spanish religion and Spanish-Catholic culture from indigenous practices that Europeans considered idolatrous. In the sixteenth century one of its particular functions was to enforce the orthodox conduct and faith of the newly evangelized natives. Of primary importance for the Mexican Church was the issue of eradicating religious syncretism between the Nahua and Spanish-Catholic cultures. The Holy Office or Tribunal of the

Mexican Inquisition was a result of ecclesiastical opposition to this syncretism or nativism.

The Spaniards' experience with heretics, apostates, and non-Christians in Europe did not prepare them for their encounter with the advanced city-state polities of central Mexico (see **Fig. 1.1**), as there was no historical precedent for social and political control in the Old World that could be duplicated in Aztec society, not even their knowledge of "the far less socially integrated tribal and chiefdom communities in the circum-Caribbean area" (Klor de Alva 10). Whereas in Europe the problems which ethnic diversity posed for the Holy Office mostly affected civic unity, in central Mexico they challenged the political stability and cultural viability of the colony, along with "religious resistance, demographic ratios, language barriers, cultural distances, and extensive geographic spaces" (10). Consequently, this ambivalence about the Holy Office restricted its efficiency as an instrument for the domination of natives" (3). A controversy soon developed over the nature of heresy among the natives and the appropriate punishment for it. The dynamics of this type of discourse are evident in Inquisition proceedings throughout colonial Latin America.

The first decade of the Mexican Inquisition involved a political struggle between Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) and his adversaries, the Church and State, and the Dominican and Franciscan orders.⁷ After his initial encounter with the Aztecs (1519), Cortés introduced the punishment of blasphemy in 1520, and prohibited human sacrifice between 1521 and 1525. Archival records date the first official activities of the Mexican Inquisition against heretics to 1522 under authority of the monastic friars; prosecutions of

⁷ Martin Austin Nesvig traces the different inquisitional trends in early Mexico over a period of one hundred years (2009).

natives in the central valley for heresy, paganism, and minor deviations from orthodox behavior followed. During this monastic or missionary Inquisition (1522-32) the friars were inquisitors with episcopal powers, until first Bishop Juan de Zumárraga's (1468-1548) appointment to the Mexican see as ecclesiastical judge ordinary (1527).

The episcopal or apostolic Inquisition in central Mexico (1535-1571) began with Franciscan Bishop Juan de Zumárraga's (1468-1548) appointment as apostolic inquisitor in 1535, conferred by the Archbishop of Seville and General Inquisitor of Spain. Previously, in 1528 Charles V (1500-1558) had requested that Zumárraga personally oversee a witch trial in his homeland of Vizcaya, in the Basque of northern Spain (Lopes Don, "Franciscans" 33). Gradually, the Mexican Inquisition controlled more crimes by extending the definition of heresy and heretical practice. By 1536 it regulated two types of heresy in New Spain: crimes against the faith (apostasy and heretical propositions); and crimes against Christian morality (blasphemy, bigamy, superstitions [e. g., witchcraft, divination, sortilege, and idolatry]) (Chuchiak 5-6, "Table 1 Jurisdiction of the Inquisition in New Spain over Crimes against the Faith, 1536-1820"). On June 2, 1537 Pope Paul III (1468-1566) issued the papal bull *Sublimus Dei* (or *Sublimus Deus*), condemning the enslavement of the indigenous American peoples and declaring them to be rational beings with souls. It was still the duty of the colonizers to convert the natives (see Falkowski 5-29; Maxwell 50-67; and Stogre 77-92).

Out of the 152 proceedings acted upon by the Holy Office during the period of the Indian Inquisition (1536-1543), only nineteen were charges brought against natives. The most notorious of these was the trial of don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecateatl (r. 1531-1539), who was the only native sentenced to death by Zumárraga for paganism or

idolatry, among other charges.⁸ The other natives who were tried and prosecuted for heresy suffered less severe punishments like flogging, imprisonment, and banishment (Greenleaf, *Zumárraga* 75; Klor de Alva 3-5, Fig. 1; and Lopes Don, “Franciscans” 27).

Among the formalities of inquisitorial procedure⁹ were the issuance of an *edicto de fe* [edict of faith] or proclamation requiring the denunciation of all offenses against the faith, under penalty of excommunication; admission of denunciations by the faithful, lest they also become suspect of harboring similar offenses, after which they were sworn to secrecy; meticulous examination of witnesses; confiscation of properties of the accused; testimony of the accused; accusation by the prosecution; sentencing by the Tribunal; proclamation announcing the punishment the night before, and anathema of *excomuni3n mayor* for those who do not attend [i.e., the active and passive deprivation of sacraments as a form of punishment]; ritual of an *auto-da-f3* or public penance of the condemned, who is made to walk through the procession wearing the *sambenito* [penitential garment], *coroza* [long conical cap], and holding a lit candle; and delivery of the heretic over to secular authorities, who executed the sentences imposed by the Holy Office in the public square or central plaza of the city.¹⁰

⁸ For *procesos* of natives during the monastic or missionary Inquisition (Nesvig 122-32), cf. the 1530 Inquisition proceedings (1997) brought by Nu3o de Guzm3n (c. 1490-1558), president of the first Royal Audience of Mexico (1528-1530), against native Tzintzincha Tangaxoan II, the *calzontzin* or last native emperor of Michoacan in western Mexico, executed for stealing tribute, hiding gold and silver, and sodomy, among other charges (his baptized, Christian name was don Francisco). In the pre-Hispanic era this region was the seat of the Pur3pecha Empire, rival to the Aztec Empire seated in Mexico-Tenochtitlan upon the arrival of the Spaniards.

⁹ The formal judicial process of Inquisition trials is given in detail by Chuchiak (34-56).

¹⁰ George Zurcher explains how the tendency of the Inquisition outside of Spain was not to execute heretics, but to “harass them with contumely fines, imprisonment, torture, or exile” (407). After the trial and conviction they were transferred to the secular arm of the Church so as not to break with Canon law: “Priests connected with Inquisition tribunals, did not care to be too closely identified with the execution of its criminals, for fear of incurring irregularity, which would have unfitted them to exercise ecclesiastical functions. Canon law provides that any priest who commits homicide . . . [etc.] incurs irregularity. Although the Inquisition did not execute criminals, it made ample provision for their execution” (405-406).

The Criminal Proceedings of Don Carlos

The criminal proceedings against don Carlos occurred over several months, from June 22, 1539 through November 30, 1539 (1, 83). Investigations were conducted in Mexico City and the Texcocan area, and several natives were summoned before the Inquisition as witnesses. In order to find don Carlos guilty of heresy, the Holy Tribunal relied on a Eurocentric discourse to legitimate and promote the eradication of native cultural customs deemed contradictory to the teachings of the Church. In the *Proceso criminal*, this discourse is evident in the representation of Nahuatl socio-religious practices as sinful deviations from Christian orthodoxy.

Denunciations from the Native Witnesses

The *Auto cabeza de proceso* [Order (or Decree) Setting Preliminary Hearing or Arraignment] dated June 22, 1539 is the first of forty-six documents in the proceedings, in which Bishop Juan de Zumárraga authorizes the investigation of don Carlos's alleged heresy.¹¹ The *Auto* contains the first testimony taken from don Carlos's nephew Francisco, a native of Chiconautla who came forward to "denounce and tell what he knew of don Carlos" (1; doc. i). In the pre-Hispanic era, Chiconautla was an *altepetl* or sovereign city-state in the northeastern region of central Mexico. After the formation of the Aztec Triple Alliance or Empire (c. 1429-1431), it became a tributary town of Texcoco under Emperor Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72). Apparently some twenty days prior to June 22, 1539, don Carlos had gone Chiconautla to see his sister, the "wife of the

¹¹ The document headings of the *Proceso criminal* do not exist in the original manuscript, and were added with the first publication to facilitate the reading of the proceedings (1n1).

Ruler of said city.” There the Church had organized “procesiones é rogativas é disciplinas” [public processions, rogations, and disciplines], as exhorted by the “Padre Provincial” [provincial superior] due to drought, famine, and death (1-2). According to Francisco, don Carlos scolded him before a group of native lords from Chiconautla and Texcoco for participating in the processions:

‘quieres tú hacer creer á estos [indios] lo que los padres predicán é dicen . . . ; ¿qué son las cosas de Dios? no son nada: por ventura hallamos lo que tenemos, lo escrito de nuestros antepasados: pues hágote saber que mi padre é mi agüelo fueron grandes profetas, é dixieron muchas cosas pasadas y por venir, y ninguna dixieron cosa ninguna de esto, y si algo fuera cierto esto que vos é otros decis de esta doctrina, ellos lo dixieran, como dixieron otras muchas cosas, y eso de la doctrina xpiana no es nada, ni en lo que los frailes dicen no hay cosa perfecta . . .’
(2; doc. i)

[‘do you want to have these (Indians) believe what the priests are preaching and saying . . . ; what are God’s matters? they are nothing: by chance we find what we have, what is written (in the painted manuscripts) of our ancestors: well, I will have you know that my father and my grandfather were great prophets, and they predicted many things past and yet to come, and never did they say anything about this, and if there were something true (in) this what you and others are saying about this doctrine, they would have prophesied it, just as they (fore)told many other things, and that matter of Christian doctrine is nothing, nor is there anything perfect in what the friars say . . .’]

In response to these words Francisco testifies that he professed his faith:

‘cómo dices eso, no sabes que estas cosas son de Dios . . . y no conoces ni te acuerdas de lo que el Padre Provincial nos ha dotrinado y predicado . . . pues yo tengo é creo lo que la iglesia tiene y cree, porque es santo é bueno . . .’ (3; doc. i)

[‘how can you say that, do you not know that these are God’s matters? . . . and do you not know nor remember what the Provincial Priest has indoctrinated us (with) and preached . . . well, I have and I believe what the church holds (as true) and believes, because (the Provincial Father) is holy and good . . .’]¹²

Francisco’s profession of faith conforms to the inquisitorial discourse that informs the proceedings against don Carlos. Christian indoctrination required individuals to internalize their faith so as to render external force unnecessary: “This intrusive strategy sought to constitute . . . a fear of divine retribution nourished by a scrupulous consciousness of one’s wrongdoings” (Klor de Alva 16). Indoctrination also allowed “pious neighbors” to encourage proper behavior among sinners by spying on them, reporting questionable behavior to the Inquisition, and threatening to expel them from their “moral and civic community” (16).

Though the *Proceso criminal* gives many legal guaranties of authenticity, the extent to which the native testimonies have been modified is unknown – through translation by interpreters, and through transcription into a handwritten account by scribes (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 23, 25). According to the record Francisco closes his testimony swearing to the truth of his statement, not from

¹² All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

‘malicia ni por odio ni enemistad que tenga al dicho Don Carlos, sino porque pasó así en hecho de verdad, y por descargo de su conciencia, é porque le pareció muy mal lo que el dicho don Carlos decía, por ser como es contra Dios é contra nuestra santa fee cathólica’

[‘malice nor hatred nor enmity towards said don Carlos, but rather because that is what really and truly happened, and so that he could relieve his conscience, and because to him it seemed very wrong what don Carlos was saying, for being as it is against God and against our holy Catholic faith’] (3; doc. i)

Francisco is portrayed as a model convert whose morality demonstrates his assimilation of Christianity, while his devotion to “what the church has and believes” exculpates him from any suspicion of heresy. His overt profession of faith in the Church recalls the affirmations of an individual’s integrity and Christian character in the traditional discourse of the conquest.¹³ Francisco’s pious testimony (whether sincere or not), contrasts with the alleged scolding or sermon of his uncle, which emphasizes the failure of don Carlos as a Texcocan lord to internalize the new religion, and his disregard for divine retribution in the afterlife. Effectively, the other men who heard this conversation “quedaron escandalizados de lo que el dicho don Carlos decía” [were shocked by what don Carlos was saying] (3; doc. i). Francisco also testified that don Carlos was conspiring to kill him and two of his brothers, “porque estaban muy adelante en las cosas de Dios” [because they were very presumptuous in the matters of God] (3).

¹³ See for example the writings of Fernando Colón (1488-1539), son of Cristóbal Colón (1451-1506), in *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus* [. . .] (Madrid, 1892). See especially Document X, “Testimonio de Fernando Colón.”

The *Auto cabeza de proceso* characterizes the alleged sermon of don Carlos as blasphemous. He is portrayed in an antithetical relationship to Francisco, the scrupulous, pious neighbor, because his sinful discourse “is against God and against our holy Catholic faith” (3; doc. i). Francisco’s testimony serves to substantiate the extrication of don Carlos from the Nahua community of successfully indoctrinated native converts, and to publicly denounce elite Nahua values and customs as evil. By extension it also undermines the illustrious history and traditions established by don Carlos’s dynastic forefathers, the Texcocan monarchs, before Inquisition law.

Francisco’s denunciation was sufficient evidence for Zumárraga to authorize don Carlos’s arrest (4; doc. ii, “Prison Sentence”). On July 2, 1539 Zumárraga summoned a native named Cristóbal as witness to the events in Chiconautla. Cristóbal’s testimony is consistent with that of Francisco; both infer the alleged speech of don Carlos was blasphemy, at least according to the interpreter Father Juan González, who maintains that for Cristóbal “the things he told them, seemed very wrong” (6; doc. iii).

The opening statement of Cristóbal’s testimony guarantees interpreter González was “sworn in under oath as set forth, by which he promised to interpret and declare clearly and faithfully in all that he could and was understood” (4; doc. iii). However, as the trial progresses González adopts a hostile attitude towards don Carlos (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 34). His biased interjections and commentary emphasize the “subversive and threatening nature” of his alleged discourse, which construe, for example, don Carlos’s allusions to Nezahualcoyotl and the Texcocan dynasts in terms of the biblical prophets (41-42). Moreover, the Inquisition scribes modified the direct discourse of the native testimonies with indirect discourse, “reducing it to what [they] deemed essential, and

imposing upon it the accustomed rhetoric and lexicon proper” to the genre of Inquisition proceedings (25).

According to Cristóbal don Carlos was apparently criticizing the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian friars for their inconsistent teachings and customs, since they dressed in different habits and employed different methods and materials for indoctrinating the natives. Cristóbal states that don Carlos argued with Francisco,

persuadiendo á que no enseñase la dotrina xpiana ni les quitase ni estorbase á los indios sus vicios é costumbres antiguas, sino que les dexase vivir como á sus antepasados . . .

“veamos donde se dixo que tuvo principio la ley de nuestros antepasados que dexaron ¿por ventura comenzose en el cielo ó en el infierno aquello?” sea dando á entender que aquello habían de goardar é no otra cosa; (6-7; doc. iii)

[persuading him not to teach the Christian doctrine nor take way or hinder the Indians from their vices and ancient customs, but rather that he let them live as their ancestors did . . .

“let us see where it was said (in the painted manuscripts) that the law of our ancestors originated (and) that they bequeathed (to us). By chance did it begin in heaven or in hell?” That is to say [don Carlos] was implying they should uphold that (of their ancestors) and nothing else;]

Don Carlos tries to dissuade Francisco from professing Christian doctrine to the natives, referring to their “vices” as “ancient customs.” He infers they should only worship “the law of our ancestors,” as it was “bequeathed” to them, and because it was

not conceived “in heaven or in hell.” His criticism of the Christian doctrine is construed as religious disbelief of divine retribution in the afterlife (“in heaven or in hell”), which emphasizes his utter failure to internalize the new religion.

The testimonies of Francisco and Cristóbal indicate a latent antipathy towards the Church in the words attributed to don Carlos, which Zumárraga deemed substantial proof to authorize the confiscation of his property two days later on July 4, 1539. Among other things on his estate

se hallaron cuatro arcos de palo, y diez ó doce flechas, y un libro ó pintura de indios, que dixeron ser la pintura ó cuenta de las fiestas del demonio que los indios solían celebrar en su ley (7; doc. iv, “Confiscation of the Property of Don Carlos”)

[they found four wooden bows were found, ten or twelve arrows, and a book or native painting, which they said was the painting or account of the festivals of the demon that the natives used to celebrate in their law].

Zumárraga then ascertained don Carlos had another property in Texcoco, where they also discovered “dos adoratorios que dixieron ser de ídolos, . . . é figuras de ídolos de piedra” [two temples they said were for idols, . . . and stone figures of idols.” Zumárraga ordered the confiscation of these objects and their submission to the Tribunal in Mexico City as evidence, “para hacer sobre ellos justicia” [to submit them to judgement] as well (7-8; doc. iv).

After four more interrogations of Texcocan witnesses (9-15; docs. v-viii), Zumárraga was still lacking sufficient evidence to convict don Carlos guilty of idolatry.

At this point the Holy Office began to investigate the appearance of pagan offerings to the Mesoamerican rain god Tlaloc which had been found across the area – in a clandestine effort by natives to relieve the drought, famine, and death spreading throughout the region in the weeks preceding the trial of don Carlos. The Church had also organized processions with the same objective; and it was in Chiconautla where don Carlos allegedly reprimanded Francisco for participating in the Catholic activities. During this historical moment: “Zumárraga and the ecclesiastical authorities had struggled mightily to eradicate persistent idolatry in the Indian communities of the Mexico Valley. This included the banishment in April [1539] of pagan festival dances and rituals and an expedition in July [1539] to the mountains surrounding the valley in order to uncover and destroy buried statues of *Tlaloc*, the Aztec rain god. Numerous additional Inquisition *procesos* of various Indians from across the social strata of indigenous communities followed, accompanied by several episodes of iconoclasm in which zealous Spaniards broke into the homes of unsuspecting Indians, searched for pagan votive objects, and robbed the graves of Indian nobles” (Lopes Don, “Carnivals” 17).¹⁴

¹⁴ From the fourteenth- to the seventeenth centuries in Europe, the textual authority on the hunting and inquisitorial execution of women (esp. female lay healers) denounced as witches was *The Malleus Maleficarum* or *Hammer of Witches* (1484). Written by the Reverends Kramer and Sprenger under Pope Innocent VIII (1432-92), the primary objective of the *Malleus* was to establish disbelief in witchcraft as heresy, describe the diabolical characteristics of witches, and to outline proper trial procedures including torture (Byfield 107). Witch hunting was a “calculated ruling class campaign of terrorization” against the female peasantry, as witches “represented a political, religious, and sexual threat” to the Church and State (Ehrenreich and English 33, 36, 39). One section of the *Malleus* on judicial proceedings gives instructions for initiating a witch trial, which was “to be performed by the Vicar (priest) or Judge of the County, who was to post a notice to: ‘direct, command, require and admonish that within the space of twelve days . . . that they should reveal it unto us if anyone know, see or have heard that any person is reported to be a heretic or a witch, or if any is suspected especially of such practices as cause injury to men, cattle, or the fruits of the earth, to the loss of the State.’ Anyone failing to report a witch faced both excommunication and a long list of temporal punishments. If this threatening notice exposed at least one witch, her trial could be used to unearth several more (37-38). For the testimonies of the Texcocan lords regarding the deity cult to Tlaloc, see *Proceso* 16-24, 25-27; docs. ix(a)-x, xii(a)-xii(c).

On July 5, 1539 Zumárraga summons the native governor and lords of Texcoco, admonishing them to denounce any person, including themselves, who was in possession of idols and who had temples for idols in their houses (15-16; doc. ix). With the intention of proving the idolatry of the common natives in the region (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 36), Zumárraga interrogated the Texcocan lords regarding the deity cult to Tlaloc. Their testimony states they unearthed ritual offerings to a stone figure of Tlaloc, “an idol of the very ancient kind in all the land,” on the mountain dedicated to Tlaloc [*Tlalocatepetl*], where in ancient times “they made sacrifices and offerings to the god of water.” They also found sacrificial offerings in the vicinity of Guaxocingo [or Huejotzingo]. The testimony is careful to inventory the valuable items they confiscated, including copper, jade, and especially gold tied to the statue, which the Texcocan lords smelted themselves into “seven round, palm-size bars.” The lords presented these “and other sacrificial things” to Zumárraga as incriminating evidence against the local natives of the region, particularly the Guaxocingo inhabitants, who were long-standing rivals of Texcoco in the pre-Hispanic era since “the ancient wars” (22-24; doc. x; see also Lienhard, *Disidentes* 37-38).

According to their testimony, the Texcocan lords were “determined to search for and find all [the idols] there were and that they could find . . . in all the sierra of Texcoco,” which they did with Zumárraga’s “license and faculty” (24; doc. x). On July 7, 1539, the Texcocan lords and their servants accompanied Zumárraga to Tetzcotzinco, a polity outside the city of Texcoco where Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) once enjoyed his recreational palace and gardens. Zumárraga had been informed of the existence of many suspicious stone carvings and sculptures at this site, one of which was the likeness of

Nezahualcoyotl on the hill's summit (Coy 546-47 and Hicks 236). Zumárraga ordered the Texcocan lords to:

deshacerles las figuras y quebrallas, y á las que no se pudiesen quebrallas, que les diesen fuego, para que después de quemarlas se pudiesen quebrar y deshacer; é por su mandado los indios que iban con los principales los comenzaron á quebrallar y á quitarles las formas é figuras de las caras, . . . y su Señoría les mandó que todos se deshiciesen de manera que no quedase memoria de ellos . . . (29; doc. xv, "Proceeding in Tetzcotzinco")

[destroy the figures and break them, and those that could not be broken, that they be set on fire, so that after burning them they could be smashed and destroyed; and by his order the natives who went with the (Texcocan) lords began to smash them and remove the forms and figures from the faces (of the idols), . . . and his Lordship ordered that all (of the idols) be destroyed so that no memory remained of them . . .]

The testimony of the Texcocan lords emphasizes their iconoclastic participation in the idolatry campaigns. This was probably their attempt to avoid any heresy accusations and "ingratiate themselves with the Inquisition" (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 38). On the one hand, while the *Proceso criminal* does not clearly establish the relationship between the Tlaloc investigations and the trial against don Carlos, the inclusion of these documents in the manuscript insinuates that both litigations were actually one proceeding. In this respect, Zumárraga's focus on the mysterious offerings to Tlaloc in the midst of don

Carlos's trial had the objective of incriminating him with the diabolical customs of the common natives (see *Disidentes* 38-39).

On the other hand, one primary means of income for the Mexican Inquisition was the appropriation of funds and goods from suspected heretics; if they were found guilty the fiscal office completely or partially confiscated the proceeds (Chuchiak 186; see also Klor de Alva 11). The documentation of appropriated funds and goods confiscated from convicted heretics by the Tribunal reveals the Mexican Inquisition was functional as an institution in this regard, an objective which is manifest in the Tlaloc investigations, during which Zumárraga repeatedly questions the Texcocan lords as to whether or not "they found gold or silver" or precious gems on their expedition for idols, and anything else of value as well as "the quantity of it" (25-27; doc. xii[a]-xii[c]). Their testimony concludes with the Tribunal's appropriation of the seven gold bars, and instructions they be revalued and entrusted to the Inquisition treasurer (24; doc. x; see also 31-32; doc. xviii, "[The] Smelting of the Gold Bars").¹⁵

After the Tlaloc investigations, Zumárraga inquires into the charges of polygamy and adultery against don Carlos (32-39; docs. xix-xxiii). Then on July 11-12, 1539 he recalls the Chiconautla witnesses to repeat and confirm their testimonies, respectfully: Francisco Maldonado, nephew of don Carlos; don Alonso, ruler of Chiconautla and brother-in-law of don Carlos; Cristóbal, "Indian, neighbor of Chiconautla"; and Melchor

¹⁵ Document 4, "The Confiscation of the Property of Don Carlos," inventories the valuable commodities in his possession, including "a cultivated estate with a wheat field, and many other kinds of trees, enclosed next to said house"; and items like his bed and some blankets which were "of little importance," as well as the idolatrous objects found on his estate, "all of which said figures were [made of] stone, except one that was [made of] fired clay" (7-8). Later in Document 11, the "Deposit [or Entrustment] of the Property of don Carlos," Zumárraga names don Lorenzo, governor of Texcoco, as the official trustee of the entire estate, including his home, surrounding land, and other property where said idols were found. The document explicitly states don Lorenzo was to "make use of the wheat and everything else on said inheritance" or *heredad* (24-25).

Aculnauacatl, noble of Chiconautla. The ability of the Chiconautla witnesses to recollect the alleged speech of don Carlos in such detail is questionable (39-54; docs. xxiv-xxvc); they often disclose “revelation[s]” that also nullify their own testimonies (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 42, 44). The repetition and consistency in their individual allegations is probably due to the “leading questions” or suggestive interrogation of Inquisitor Zumárraga, which forced the native witnesses of the *Proceso criminal* to identify the alleged events involving don Carlos as heresy or deviation from Christian orthodoxy.¹⁶ Zumárraga proceeds with Francisco who, in the *Auto cabeza de proceso*, stated he would provide the Tribunal with an expanded, written version in Nahuatl of his testimony (3; doc. i). On July 11, 1539 he submitted his “Amplification of the Denunciation” (39-44; doc. xxiv).¹⁷

It is noteworthy Zumárraga neglected to summon either of the Texcocan lords who witnessed the alleged exchange between don Carlos and his nephew. Apparently there were three Texcocan witnesses to this conversation: two rulers named Zacanpatl and Coaunochtezi, and a man named Poyoma (5; doc. iii). Moreover, the Texcocan lords and other natives who did testify were not recalled to expand on their initial testimonies. They were excluded from this second phase of the proceedings, probably for their

¹⁶ *The Malleus Maleficarum* (1484) provided inquisitors with extensive material for leading questions to convict women accused of witchcraft. Many of these precepts were based on passages from the Bible, such as Exodus 22:18, “Thou shalt suffer a witch to live” (*The King James Study Bible* [1604-11]). The authors of the *Malleus* insisted that the death penalty for convicted witches was “the only sure remedy against witchcraft. . . whose unprecedented evil justifies capital punishment” (Brauner 34). As such, the *Malleus* was regarded as “almost divinely inspired,” in which “the doctrine of Satanic agency . . . was further developed, and various means of detecting and punishing it were dwelt upon” (White 352). Leading questions, the admission of denunciation as valid evidence, and torture were inquisitorial practices “designed to achieve swift results” in the prosecution of witches (Brauner 34). Consequently, confessions of satanic activity by the accused were prompted by the leading questions themselves (Byfield 107).

¹⁷ Francisco is one of the educated natives in the *Proceso criminal* who signs his name to his testimonies (3, 44; docs. i, xxiv), as do some of the Texcocan lords (17, 20; docs. ix[a], ix[d]); the other natives who testified “did not know how to write” (25-28; doc. xii[a]-xiii).

solidarity with don Carlos and because their testimonies were contradictory to the accusations (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 43-44). This antagonism may relate to an ancient rivalry that developed between Texcoco and Chiconautla (48), probably during the reign of Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) when Chiconautla became a tributary town of Texcoco. All of this suggests the Holy Office established an alliance with the lords of Chiconautla, who attack don Carlos as a heretic and polygamist while the Texcocan lords emphasize his innocence (44, 47-48; discussed in second section of this chapter).

Declaration of the Accused

On July 15, 1539 Zumárraga summons “the accused don Carlos Chichimec Lord” (55-61; doc. xxvi, “Declaration of the Accused”) to interrogate him on every instance of heresy, idolatry, polygamy, and adultery denounced by the native litigants in their testimonies. This verbal exchange between Zumárraga and the alleged heretic is an arbitrary and asymmetrical dialogue designed to extract a confession of guilt from don Carlos, who systematically denies each allegation (see Lienhard, *Disidentes* 24, 28, 45). Disregarding his claims of innocence, the Holy Office proceeds to indict don Carlos with the charges.

The Accusation

On August 5, 1539 notary public and prosecutor Cristóbal de Canego presents the definitive Accusation or Affidavit of Indictment to the Tribunal. This document succeeds the native testimonies and summarizes the details of the charges against don Carlos. In his opening statement Canego addresses don Carlos as “ruler of the city of Texcoco,

detainee in the prison of the Holy Office” (63; doc. xxviii). He names Apostolic Chair Father Paulo III, King Charles V, and Inquisitor Archbishop Zumárraga,¹⁸ then proceeds with the charges against the defendant:

el dicho Don Carlos, por mi acusado, que en lengoa de indio se dice Chichimecatecotl, con poco temor de Dios y en grande peligro de su ánima y conciencia, y en mucho menosprecio de las justicias de los dichos señores, siendo como es xpiano bautizado, y criado, enseñado y dotrinado en la iglesia de Dios, olvidando á Nuestro Señor Dios y á su fee y dotrina santa, ha idolatrado y sacrificado y ofrescido á los demonios; (63; doc. xxviii, *Acusación del Fiscal*)

[said don Carlos, accused by me, who in native tongue is called Lord of the Chichimecs, with little fear of God and in great danger of his soul and conscience, and in much contempt of the authority of the aforementioned judges, being as he is a baptized Christian, and raised, taught, and indoctrinated in the church of God, forgetting about Our Lord God and his faith and holy doctrine, he has idolized and sacrificed and offered to the demons;]

Canego accuses don Carlos of dishonest and insincere faith, “with little fear of God.” In the Old World, the Inquisition prosecuted baptized Christians for two principal crimes. The first was heresy, or deviance by a member of the Church from Catholic orthodoxy, through ignorance, confusion, or pertinacity. The second type of crime was

¹⁸ This formulaic language is standard to colonial Inquisition proceedings of the Americas. Cf. the *Acusación* of Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca (c. 1488-1558) (in Markun, Justicia 05); and the *Acusación* in manuscript 87 of *Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts Formerly Belonging to the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Canary Islands* (1499-1693).

apostasy, or the renunciation of Christianity by a convert to embrace another pagan religion (Moreno de los Arcos 26; see also Lane and Restall 93).

One primary objective of the Mexican Inquisition was to prevent native subjects accused of heresy from observing and practicing their ancestral traditions, “the guiding memory of the ancestors” (Klor de Alva 16). For ecclesiastical and secular officials, colonial order required “the eradication from Indian life of the myriad of seemingly banal deviations from Spanish cultural habits and social customs.” In their writings, the friars argued all aspects of native culture, “from those associated with sexual life and domestic practice to the magical and empirical procedures employed in agriculture, the crafts, and social relations, had to be disciplined, restrained, and rechanneled, so as . . . to serve the interests of those who wielded power in the colony” (Klor de Alva 14, 16). Spaniards thus deemed natives to be idolators to justify the colonization of the New World in Spanish historiography (Moreno de los Arcos 28).

While don Carlos and other native nobles embraced the waters of baptism to escape the ferocity, viciousness, and mistreatment of the conquistadors, both his “soul and conscience” are under suspicion of heresy, for his religious insincerity and for his stubbornness before the Tribunal, “in much contempt of the authority of said judges” (63; doc. xxviii). Canego charges don Carlos with rejecting Catholicism, “being as he is a baptized Christian, and raised, taught, and indoctrinated in the church of God, forgetting about Our Lord God and his faith and holy doctrine.” He is suspect of apostasy for adhering to pagan ancestral traditions and having “idolized and sacrificed and offered to the demons” (63).

The *Acusación* states that don Carlos:

thenía en el dicho pueblo de Tezcucó, en una casa suya, dos adoratorios de sus ídolos y demonios que antiguamente solían adorar; con goardas puestos en la dicha casa, para que los goardasen y los reverenciasen, adonde el dicho Don Carlos iba y entraba muchas veces, de noche y de día, solo y acompañado, adorar y á reverenciar y á ofrescer y sacrificar á los dichos ídolos, que eran muchos y de muchos nombres, y de diversas maneras, puesto que en los dichos adoratorios, dentro de las paredes y encalados por encima porque no se viesen; (63-64; doc. xxviii)

[had in said city of Texcoco, in one of his houses, two temples for his idols and demons that they used to worship long ago; with two guards stationed at said house, so that they could protect and revere them, where said don Carlos went and entered many times, at night and by day, alone and accompanied, to worship, revere, make offerings, and sacrifice to said idols, which were many and of many names, and of different kinds, because in said temples, (they were) inside the walls and whitewashed over so they could not be seen;]

Don Carlos is charged with the crime of idolatry “in one of his houses,” probably on his property of Ocotepéc; his other estate was Oztoticpac (Cline 87). Before the formation of the Aztec Empire or Triple Alliance (c. 1429-1431), the main temple of Texcoco was dedicated to the city’s patron deity, Tezcatlipoca (Umberger 250); other Nahuatl imperial cities maintained similar temples, as in México-Tenochtitlan, Tlaxcala, and Chalco. Among the “idols” of “many names, and of different kinds” (63; xxviii) that Zumárraga confiscated from don Carlos’s property were two stone figures of

Quetzalcoatl, and a *cue* [temple-pyramid] which “they said . . . was the house of Quetzalcoatl” (7-8; doc. iv); though there is no specific mention of Tezcatlipoca.

In Nahua cosmology Tezcatlipoca [Dark (Obsidian) Smoking Mirror] was a major focus of Mesoamerican ritual activity. He was a son of Ometeotl the Supreme Being, “Sometimes compared to Jupiter and Lucifer, as well as to the Mayan god Hurakan . . . he is one of the four creators of the universe . . . the patron of royalty, sorcerers, and criminals, and is a prototype for other war deities . . . he advocated and encouraged human sacrifice” (*Mythology* 488). Tezcatlipoca’s brother Quetzalcoatl [Feathered Serpent] was the lord of the wind and patron of priests: “associated with a creator god, the Venus deity, a merchant god, and a mythical feathered serpent”; and “honored as the archetypal priest and patron of the temple schools” (Quiñones Keber, *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* 165). He was also associated with Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl (c. AD 923-47), the last Toltec king of Tula. One version of the Aztec creation myth recounts that Tezcatlipoca deceived Quetzalcoatl, who “sailed off to the east on a raft made of serpents promising one day to return,” which was prophesied to occur in the year 1-Reed [*Ce-Acatl*], or 1519 in the Christian calendar (*Mythology* 487). Together Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl represented the cosmic “dualities of the universe – night and day, light and dark, good and evil, creation and destruction – the opposing forces” (488; see **Figs. 2.1-2.4**).¹⁹

¹⁹ **Figs. 2-3** are Europeanized illustrations from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* [c. 1553-63]. Dominican friar Pedro de los Ríos (d. 1563-65) and possibly a native writer authored the glosses, several of which allude to Quetzalcoatl as the son of God, while others to Tezcatlipoca as the Devil (Quiñones Keber 165-66; 188-89). These annotations embellish the cult images of Quetzalcoatl, Tezcatlipoca, and other Nahua traditions with Christian allusions, especially “when a patron like Quetzalcoatl . . . can be related to a Christian-European exemplar” (160-62).



Figure 2.1. Tezcatlipoca [Dark (Obsidian) Smoking Mirror], pictorial image from the *Codex Telleriano Remensis* (c. 1553-63; folio 23r); reprint in Quiñones Keber (1995).



Figure 2.2. Quetzalcoatl [Feathered Serpent], pictorial image from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (folio 8v); reprint in Quiñones Keber (1995).



Figure 2.3. Tezcatlipoca, pictorial image from the *Codex Borgia* (c. 1500; plate 17); reprint in *The Codex Borgia* (1993; facsim.; 61, 75). See also *Códice Borgia* (1993; vol. 2, facsim.; 84, 87, 117-19).



Figure 2.4. Quetzalcoatl, pictorial image from the *Codex Borgia* (c. 1500; plate 9); reprint in *Codex Borgianus* (1904-09). See also Anders, et. al., *Códice Borgia* (facsim. 92; vol. 2).

In Christian doctrine, a baptized person committed idolatry by “offering *latria*, or worship and service owed solely to God . . . to an idol, an image created by human beings” (Moreno de los Arcos 26). For don Carlos to have these pagan figures in his possession as a baptized Christian and Texcocan lord was “[p]articularly damning from the Franciscan viewpoint,” as he apparently had “secretly kept, and worshipped, a large collection of images of the old gods” (Lane and Restall 93). In Christian doctrine, good and evil were not units of a complementary duality as were Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca in their capacity for the cycles of creation and destruction. While the Devil was the incarnate of evil and opposed to God and humankind, God was recognized as the ultimate Judge. The Devil was a fallen angel, demon, and trickster that lured humans into temptation and sin or Hell – his primary role was that of an “adversary” to God, as translated from the Hebrew *ha-satan* (*KJB*; Num. 22:22, 1 Sam. 29:4; see also Russell 1977).

For the Catholic Church, the Devil or Satan was associated with heretics and infidels, and has been attributed many names in the Bible and throughout history, including Dark Lord, Lucifer or “the bringer of light” and “the illuminator” – in reference to the Morning Star or planet Venus in Greek and Roman mythology, Mephistopheles or “he who avoids the light,” and Prince of Darkness (Russell 1984; see also 1981, 1986). In The Book of Apocalypse or Revelation, the Devil is identified as a “dragon” or “serpent”: “And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the devill and Satan, which deceiueth the whole world” (*KJB* 12.9; see also 12.2-17).

Similarly, the figure of Tezcatlipoca – which has precedence in the Mesoamerican pantheon of deities as early as the Preclassic (1500 BC-AD 300) Olmec and Classic (AD

200-950) Mayan civilizations – has various dark and arcane connotations like the Devil in addition to Venus, including the night sky, night winds, and “the spirit of darkness”: “More than anything [he] appears to be the embodiment of change through conflict” (Miller and Taube 164). One primary attribute was “his role as the nocturnal sun of the underworld, the black Tezcatlipoca [. . . and his] opposition to Quetzalcóatl, the morning star” (Markman and Markman 138). In all of these facets Tezcatlipoca was associated with death or night. He was the antithesis of the zenith, “the nadir position of the sun, which in turn symbolized the subterranean realm of the spirit,” and the “mystery enshrouding the essence of divinity.” These cosmological metaphors defined the relationship between man and god in Nahua culture, which can be understood as “the same order of mystery as the Christian Trinity” (137-38). Similarly, the Nahua cosmos was a tripartite division of *Tlalticpac* [Earth], *Omeyocan*, [Heaven, “the Place of Duality”], and *Mictlan* [the Underworld]; heaven consisted of thirteen levels upward from earth, and the Underworld comprised nine levels below the earth’s surface (see **Figs. 2.5-2.7**).²⁰

Yet the Spanish conquistadors and monastic friars did not conceive Mesoamerican cosmology in terms outside of Christian dogma. They misunderstood the profundity of the Nahua cosmos and multifaceted conception of the divine. For Franciscan friars Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590) and Alonso de Molina (c. 1514-85), who were the interpreters of don Carlos’s Preliminary Hearing or Arraignment [1; doc. i, *Auto*], Mesoamerican cultural traditions were thus barbarous and pagan. For Sahagún, the Aztec gods were devils. He writes how “The god, called Tezcatlipoca: was

²⁰ See Fernández 1983; Markman and Markman 137-38; and *Mythology* 483.

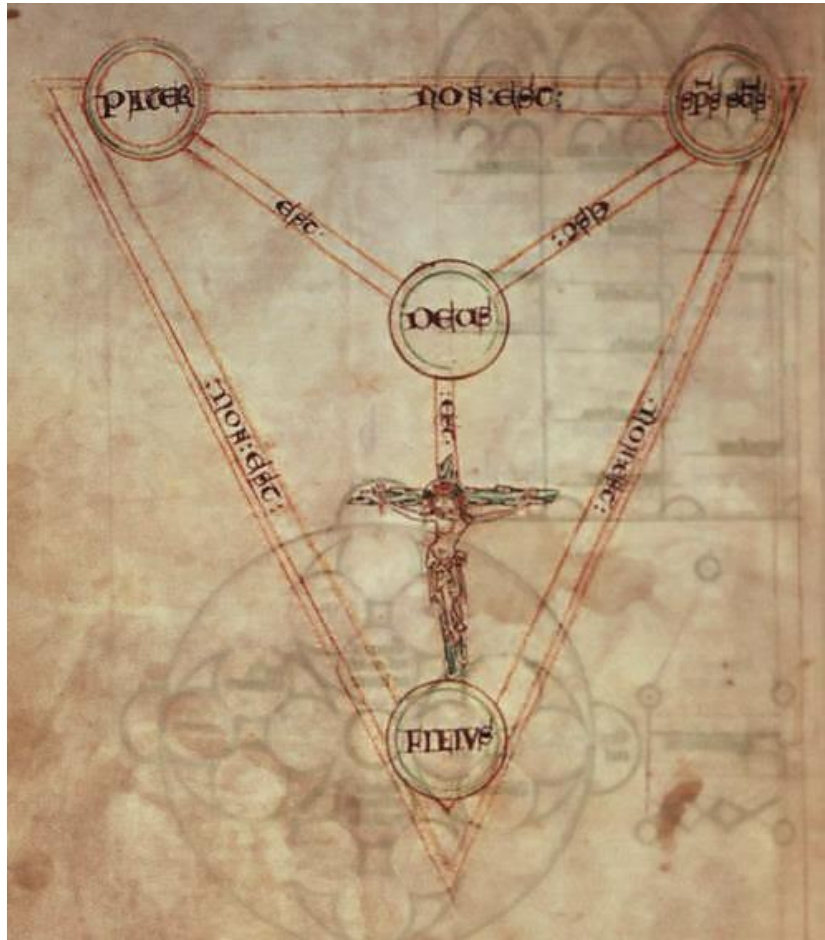


Figure 2.5. Diagram of the Christian Holy Trinity, illustration from Peter of Poitiers (or Petrus Pictaviensis; c. 1130-c. 1215), *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* (c. 1210; Cotton Faustina MS B vii; folio 42v).

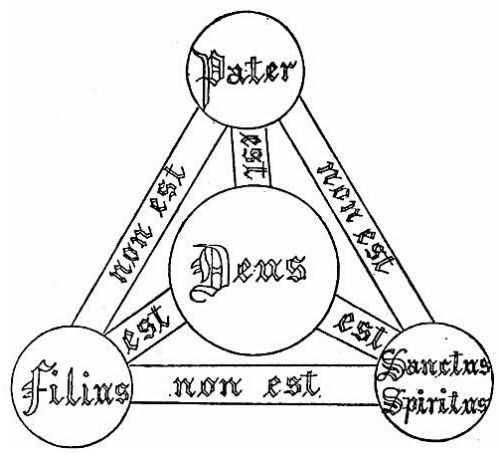


Fig. 2.6

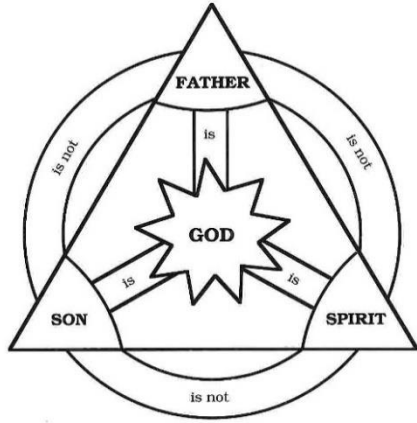


Fig. 2.7

Figure 2.6. Schematized diagram of the Christian Holy Trinity, from Sarah Cazneau Woodward, *Embroidery for Church Guilds: A Manual for Beginners; with Suggestions for Stoles and Altar Hangings* (New York: James Pott & Co., 1896; plate xiii). **Figure 2.7.** Schematized diagram of the Christian Holy Trinity, English translation from Latin, from Paul P. Enns, *The Moody Handbook of Theology* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1989; 205).

feared by the true god, and invisible: who was, everywhere: in heaven, on earth, and in hell. And they feared, that when he was on earth, he induced wars, enmities, and discords” (*Florentine Codex*; Book 1, folio 1v). Sahagún believed the refusal of the natives to completely internalize Christianity was the work of the devil, and that Tezcatlipoca was “none other than Lucifer himself” (Sáenz 58).²¹ The natives were sinners because rational and “natural reason could have told them that they were worshipping a devil” (58). Sahagún’s demonization of Aztec deities advocates Zumárraga’s campaign to eradicate pagan religious beliefs, practices, and the worship of pre-Christian images or idols among the natives through Christian orthodoxy. In Molina’s *Vocabulario* the Spanish misconception of Nahua cosmological thought and the Divine is also evident as noted below.²² This interpretation of Nahua culture as a “satanic invention” was used to justify the persecution of Nahua religious and sociocultural practices as criminal (Klor de Alva 8; see also Cervantes 5-74).

In the *Proceso criminal*, the Inquisition employs this discourse to demonize the ancestral traditions of don Carlos and the Texcocan lords and prosecute them for idolatry. The *Acusación* alleges don Carlos practiced devilry, emphasizing he had “two temples for his idols and demons,” that he entered them “many times, at night and by day,” as if

²¹ Elaine H. Pagels illustrates the biblical precedent for this Christian demonization of pagans as the offspring of Satan in the Book of Matthew (12:45, 13:19, 13:38), for example, when Jesus identifies his opponents as the offspring of Satan: “the weeds are the sons of the evil one, and the enemy who sowed them is the devil” (83).

²² The *Vocabulario* gives one entry in Castilian for the word “god” in Nahuatl [*Dios. teutl. teotl*]; an entry below gives the plural form [*Diofes. teteo. teteu*] (46). Two entries appear for “demon” and “to have a demon” [or to be possessed] (38). Four entries appear in relation to “devil”; “diabolical thing”; “diabolical woman”; and “diabolical man” (45). Five entries appear in relation to the concept “idol”: “to idolize”; “idolatry”; “idolator”; “idol”; and “Idol carved from wood, or carved stick” (74). Conversely, there are 211 recorded entries in Nahuatl that appear in semantic-like relation to the word for “god” [*Teotl. Dios*] (see 100-01), the first of which is “in the divine books [or painted manuscripts]” [*Teoamuxpan. en los libros diuinos*]; the last is “fine and precious turquoise” [*Teoxiuitl. turquefa fina y preciofa*] (100-01), which demonstrates the Nahuas had an affluent lexicon for expressing conceptions of the Divine in Nahua cosmological thought.

by rational and natural reason, and that he had willing accomplices with whom he sometimes entered the temples. There he made offerings and sacrifices inside the temples to “idols, which were many and of many names, and of different kinds,” inferring that all were devils (63-64; doc. xxviii).

Similarly, seventeenth-century Nahua historian Chimalpahin (1579-1660) from Chalco, a pre-Hispanic kingdom to the southeast of central Mexico, also demonizes the deity figures confiscated from don Carlos’s property:

así [en el cadalso] terminó [don Carlos] su carrera de idólatra porque, según se sabe de fijo, él no abandonó el culto a los dioses antiguos, sino que, por el contrario, siguió prestando adoración a los diablos que cada uno de ellos estaba dentro de un envoltorio. . . . Dicen también que a todo alrededor de su huerta había puesto en hilera estas siniestras y antiguas figuras . . . (259)

[this is how (don Carlos) ended his profession as an idolater (in prison) because, according to what is known for sure, he did not abandon the cult to the ancient gods, but rather, on the contrary, continued placing adoration in the devils each of which was (wrapped) inside a shroud. . . . They also say that all around his garden he had placed in a line these sinister and ancient figures . . .]

This recalls Book 1 of the *Florentine Codex* (1545-90), Sahagún blames the sins of all the native inhabitants in New Spain on the traditions of their cultural forebears: “all of you have lived in a great darkness of infidelity and idolatry bequeathed to you by your ancestors, as it is clear in your writings and paintings and idolatrous rites by which you have lived until now” (folio 36v; trans. Sáenz 58). He believed the eternal damnation of the natives as idolators would be especially severe if after hearing the word of Christ they

persisted in their “literally diabolical rituals and beliefs” (58). Yet the concept of “idolatry” was insignificant to native cultures because visual and material manifestations of the sacred were omnipresent in sixteenth-century colonial Latin America (Lane and Restall 94). To the natives the sacred was indistinct from the Baroque-Catholic cult of images “widely understood to be sanctified representations and even containers of holiness” (94). Consequently, many baptized natives did not completely abandon their former cultural traditions. Rather, they continued to practice the rituals and ceremonies of ancient deity cults “within their temples or destroyed *teocalli*, . . . disguising the adoration of their false deities beneath the simulation of Christian images and crosses” (González Obregón in *Proceso* ix).

Document iv of the *Proceso criminal* (“What they found buried at the bases of the crosses”) attests to this religious amalgamation of Nahua and Christian religious practices by natives in the central valley, particularly in the region of Texcoco (28-29). Yet the Church ignored the risk of a cultural *mestizaje* when it replaced native pre-Hispanic sanctuaries with its own emblems and buildings. This resulted in an inconsistent investigation and application of inquisitorial procedure by the Holy Office into charges of idolatry (Lane and Restall 94 and Lienhard, *Disidentes* 38). The *Acusación* attributes the sin of don Carlos to “his idols and demons that they used to worship long ago.” His frequent visits to the temples, which had guards stationed “to protect and revere them,” and the placement of said idols inside the whitewashed temple walls “so that they could not be seen,” all suggest he was guilty of persistent and clandestine devil worship (63-64; doc. xxviii).

The *Acusación* goes on to accuse don Carlos of diabolical motive and thought (“con diabólico pensamiento”) for impeding and disrupting the proclamation of Christian doctrine, calling it “all a farce” (“que toda ella es burla”), and persuading everyone que ninguno fuese á la iglesia á oír la palabra de Dios ni nadie pusiera su corazón en la palabra de Dios, porque no tenían ninguna certidumbre, y que no amasen á Dios y dotrina xpiana, porque su padre y agüelo habían sido muy grandes profetas; y que habían dicho que la ley que ellos goardaban era la buena, y que sus dioses eran los verdaderos; domatizando públicamente como hereje, queriendo introducir la seta de sus pecados y volver á la vida perversa y herética que antes que fuesen cristianos solían tener; (64; doc. xxviii)

[not to attend church to hear the word of God or place their faith in the word of God, because they had no obligation to honor it, and that they should not worship God or (the) Christian doctrine, because his father and grandfather had been very great prophets; and they had said the law they upheld was the virtuous one, and that their gods were the true ones; he was publicly dogmatizing like a heretic, wanting to introduce the poisonous fungus of his sins (back into society) and return to the perverse and heretical life that they (the natives) were accustomed to having before they were Christians;]

The *Proceso criminal* formally charges don Carlos with heresy and for rejecting Spanish customs and practices, as well as for propagating heresies – that is, the ancestral values, knowledge, and traditions of the Nahuatl ruling class and nobility (see Lienhard, *Disidentes* 45-46). The *Acusación* is consistent with St. Augustine’s (AD 354-430)

treatise on faith and heresy and relationship between the sacred and profane. In heresy proceedings this distinction is often characterized by a “dichotomy of reverence and mocking, of belief and agnosticism, of subservience and resentment, of conformity and alienation of the individual” (Greenleaf, *The Mexican* 2).

Don Carlos is portrayed as anything but a moral Christian, for his blatant disbelief and blasphemous mockery of Christian doctrine, since he called it “all a farce” and “was publicly dogmatizing like a heretic.” The *Acusación* undermines the “virtuous” law and adoration of the “true” gods upheld by don Carlos’ dynastic ancestors Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516), inferring this was the “perverse and heretical [way of] life” the natives “were accustomed to having” before they were baptized. The heresy don Carlos was allegedly propagating in Chiconautla is a “poisonous fungus,” a metaphor with which the *Proceso criminal* demonizes the persistence of elite Nahuatl values and customs by reducing them to a social contagion. By extension, don Carlos is the vector or carrier that threatens to contaminate the Spanish colony with his heretical “dogmatizing” (“queriendo introducir la seta de sus pecados”) (64; doc. xxviii). The *Acusación* further states don Carlos was saying

que no era pecado tener muchas mujeres y mancebas, ni emborracharse, antes aprobando que aquello era lo bueno . . . , y desciendo que él, aunque era casado *in facie ecclesia*, no por eso dexaba de tener otras mujeres é mancebas, y que una sobrina suya thenía por manceba, como la ha thenido y tiene públicamente y tiene hijos en ella; y desciendo que él goardaba y thenía lo que sus antepasados tuvieron é goardaron, y persuadiendo á todos que lo mismo habían de hacer, y que goardasen la ley de sus antepasados; y desciendo y enseñando otras muchas

proposiciones falsas y heréticas y erróneas y muy escandalosas . . . (64; doc. xxviii)

[that it was neither a sin to have many wives and concubines, nor to get drunk, but rather asserting that it was good . . . , and saying that he, although married *in facie ecclesia* (within the Church), did not for that (reason) stop having other wives and concubines, and that one of his nieces was his concubine, as he has had and has her publicly and he has children with her; and (he was) saying that he honored the law that his ancestors had and honored, and persuading everyone that they should do the same; and was saying and teaching many other false, heretical, erroneous, and quite scandalous propositions . . .]

The *Proceso criminal* demonizes the alleged conduct of don Carlos as pagan heterodoxy to alienate the cultural values of the Nahua ruling class from how Spaniards idealized proper social and religious practices. However the dynastic founders of Texcoco were of both ancient Toltec and Chichimec lineages. While monogamy was an ancient Chichimec custom and intermarriage between relatives was forbidden, in Toltecized Nahua society polygamy was a practice restricted to the upper social strata. After the formation of the Aztec Empire (c. 1429-1431), Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) was the first in Texcoco's line of dynastic rulers to institute the practice of polygamy (Aubin 78). Yet in 1530 the Spanish Crown issued a royal *cédula* [decree] to enforce monogamous marriage among the native aristocracy, requiring them to choose only one legitimate wife from their various consorts and concubines; and the Franciscans publicly

punished those native leaders who defied the new marital laws (Lopes Don, “Franciscans” 32-33).

The *Acusación* alleges don Carlos was proclaiming the “law his ancestors had and honored” was not “a sin . . . but rather asserting that it was good” (64; doc. xxviii). J. Jorge Klor de Alva explains the Spanish demonization of Nahua culture “was implemented as an apparatus of control by turning social customs and beliefs, acceptable in the native moral register, into sins, subject to temporal and symbolic punishment, according to the Spanish criminal/canonical code” (8, 10). The *Acusación* distorts the ancestral traditions of don Carlos as inconsistent with Christian orthodoxy and therefore sinful, reducing them to the criminal offense of polygamy especially because he was married “within the Church or faith” yet had “many wives and concubines” (64; doc. xxviii). The metaphor of don Carlos’s public “dogmatizing” as a “poisonous fungus” is further developed here, in that his many “false, heretical, erroneous, and quite scandalous propositions” and teachings contaminate society by “persuading everyone that they should do the same” (64; doc. xxviii). The metaphorical comparison continues as the *Acusación* concludes the charges:

ha escandalizado y alborotado mucha gente desta Nueva España, especial en los lugares en que ha residido, porque parece el dicho Don Carlos quererlos domatizar, volver y restituir á las idolatrías y sacrificios antiguos, herejías y errores suso dichos, toda la gente desta Nueva España . . . ; y que si Dios por su misericordia no tuviera plantada y arraigada tan bien su santa fee cathólica y preceos della, en los corazones de algunos de los que han oído al dicho Don

Carlos . . . , pudiera ser haber perturbado mucha parte desta tierra . . . (64-65; doc. xxviii)

[he has shocked and disturbed many people of this New Spain, especially in the places where he has resided, because it seems said don Carlos wants to dogmatize, return and restore to the aforementioned idolatries and ancient sacrifices, heresies and errors, all of the people of this New Spain . . . ; and that if God by His mercy did not have his holy Catholic faith and its precepts so well-planted and deep-rooted, in the hearts of those who have heard said don Carlos . . . , he could have perturbed much of this land . . .]

The closing accusation incriminates don Carlos as an enemy of God and Catholicism. In this dichotomy the dogmatic character of don Carlos is antagonistic to God's "mercy." The ancestral doctrine of "idolatries and ancient sacrifices, heresies and errors," which don Carlos was allegedly attempting to restore, is figuratively construed here as the antithesis of God's "well-planted and deep-rooted" Catholic faith. Don Carlos is dissociated from "all of the people of this New Spain" as if he were a contagion or virus in society, "especially in the places where he has resided," and "shocked and disturbed many people."

The final passages of the *Acusación* conclude that don Carlos debe ser castigado . . . haciendo en su persona é bienes todos los autos, comparecencias é castigos que en tal caso se requiere y este Santo Oficio suele y acostumbra hacer;

porque á Vuestra Señoría pido é suplico, que . . . mande executar y execute en el sobre dicho Don Carlos todas las sobre dichas penas, y le mande confiscar todos sus bienes, pues de derecho por los dichos delitos están confiscados, y los mande aplicar al fisco deste Santo Oficio . . . porque soy informado que pasa así y por alcanzar cumplimiento de justicia, el cual pido con costas. (65; doc. xxviii)

[should be punished . . . executing upon his person and property all of the decrees, subpoenas, and punishments that in such case is required and (that) this Holy Office is used and accustomed to doing;

because I ask and beg that Your Lordship, . . . motion to execute and execute upon the aforementioned don Carlos all of the aforesaid penalties, and authorize that all of his property be confiscated, since by right because of said crimes they are confiscated, and move they be allocated to the Treasury of this Holy Office . . . because I am informed that it occurred as such and so that I may attain due provision, which I request with costs.]

The *Acusación* petitions Zumárraga to sanction the punishment of don Carlos and the legal transferral of his property to the Holy Tribunal. As such the conviction of natives denounced for heresy also inherently involved the removal of their “temporal property” (see Klor de Alva 16). Effectively, the *Acusación* contends the appropriate punishment for the crimes committed by don Carlos must encompass both “his person and property . . . that in such case is required.” By this judicial decree the Inquisition authorized the “liquidation” of don Carlos (see Lienhard, *Disidentes* 28, 46).

Over the next few weeks the Tribunal denied the initiatives taken by the public defender only to ratify the accusatory testimony and consult the Viceroyalty of don Antonio de Mendoza (1495-1552) as to the final sentencing (66-83; xxix-xliii). On the morning of November 30 1539, don Carlos was subjected to a public *auto-da-fé* performed in the central plaza of Mexico City. Taken from the Holy Office prison wearing the inquisitorial *sambenito* and *coroza* with candle in hand, he received the final sentence of the Tribunal translated into Nahuatl, was turned over to secular authorities, and hanged in the scaffold or gallows (83-84; docs. xlv-xlvi). The “Definitive Sentence” of the Tribunal concludes as follows: “declaramos al dicho Don Carlos ser hereje domatizador y por tal le pronunciamos, y que le . . . remitimos al brazo seglar de la justicia ordinaria de esta cibdad” [we declare said don Carlos to be a dogmatizing heretic and we pronounce him as such, and that we . . . remit him to the secular arm of ordinary justice of this city] (82; doc. xliii).

Zumárraga condemned don Carlos for his alleged idolatry even though he repented his sins. According to the interpreters, in his last words

dixo á su Señoría que él rescibía de buena voluntad, en penitencia de sus pecados, la sentencia contra él dada por su Señoría, y que estaba presto é aparejado de morir porque merecía más que aquello, segund sus maldades y culpas y errores en que había estado; é pidió licencia á su Señoría para hablar á los naturales en su lengoa para que tomasen ejemplo en él, y se quitásen de sus idolatrías, y se convirtiesen á Dios Nuestro Señor, y no los tuviese el demonio ciegos como á él lo había tenido; (83-84; doc. xlvi, “Public Penance of the Condemned Performed in the Plaza of México[-Tenochtitlan]”)

[he said to his Lordship that he willingly received, in penitence of his sins, the sentence against him given by his Lordship, and that he was ready and prepared to die because he deserved more than that, in conformity with the wickedness, sins, and errors in which he had been (living); and he requested permission from his Lordship to speak with the natives in his language so that they would take example from him, and rid themselves of their idolatries, and convert themselves to Our Lord God, and that the devil not have them blinded as he had (blinded) him;]

For the Holy Office to condemn a convicted heretic, inquisitorial procedure required a penalty or punishment and full confession as a sin (Chuchiak 5). According to the interpreters don Carlos confessed his sins and inferred “the cause of his penitence and condemnation” were his ancestral customs and practices, “the wickedness, sins, and errors in which he had been [living].” He cautioned the natives to “rid themselves of their idolatries” or ancient traditions and to embrace Catholicism, lest they succumb to the devil and suffer his own unfortunate fate.

The extreme nature of don Carlos’s punishment and execution was a scandalous warning to the native masses, which forced native leaders who opposed the colonial order underground (Klor de Alva 11, 4-17 and Lopes Don, “Martín Ocelotl” 128-41). It also betrays the ulterior intent or attitude of the Holy Tribunal towards the Nahua aristocracy – to eliminate them both as royal descendants of the pre-Hispanic monarchs and as potential political adversaries.²³ Read against the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso*

²³ Martín Lienhard argues the [‘ultimate truth’] of the criminal proceedings against don Carlos is not in the declarations of the witnesses nor in those of the accused, but rather in the [attitude manifested by the Holy

criminal, the native testimonies also contain an underlying subtext that vindicates, rather than incriminates, the ancestral traditions and imperial history of don Carlos Ometochtzin and the Texcocan dynasts.

Conclusion

This chapter addressed the inquisitorial discourse of the 1539 criminal proceedings against don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-39), a royal descendant of the Texcocan dynasts. It examined how the *Proceso criminal* legitimates and promotes the eradication of native ancestral traditions that contradicted the teachings of the Church in order for the Holy Tribunal to convict don Carlos guilty of idolatry. More specifically, the discussion illustrated some of the ways in which the *Proceso criminal* recontextualizes native imperial history in the discourse of the Mexican Inquisition to construe Nahua socio-religious practices as heretical, sinful deviations from Christian orthodoxy. The next chapter explores the discourse attributed to don Carlos as recorded in the native testimonies of the *Proceso criminal*.

Office: its ‘deafness’ before the protestations of innocence of the accused and the ‘insolent’ incoherent argument that it utilized to prove the capital ‘offense’ – the ‘heretical’ proselytism – of the *cacique*. This attitude reveals the ulterior intent of the Holy Office to [put an end to the Lord of the Chichimecs] as well as [the concerns or fears which the indigenous nobility, insufficiently assimilated, continued to inspire in colonial authorities] (see Lienhard, *Disidentes* 28).

**CHAPTER 3: DON CARLOS AS HERETIC OR HERO? NATIVE DISCOURSE
AND AZTEC IMPERIAL HISTORY IN THE *PROCESO CRIMINAL***

Contemporaneous with the trial and execution of don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-39), the preservation of political sovereignty, land ownership, and social privileges for the Nahua aristocracy were controversial topics of debate in New Spain, particularly in Texcoco. As previously mentioned the unyielding, insolent attitude of the Holy Tribunal towards the possible innocence of don Carlos and his execution for idolatry forced nonconformist native leaders underground. It also discloses the ulterior intent or desire to eliminate the Nahua aristocracy as royal descendants of the pre-Hispanic monarchs and as potential political adversaries.²⁴

The Counter Discourse of Don Carlos

Whereas the previous chapter investigated the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal*, which portrays the Texcocan dynasts and their colonial descendants as heretics, this chapter explores the native testimonies and the ancestral discourse or speech attributed to don Carlos as captured, recorded, and transcribed in the proceedings. These texts also recontextualize native imperial history within the framework of Inquisition proceedings, as they contain remnants of the pre-Hispanic oral-historical tradition still preserved by the colonial Nahua ruling class and nobility (see González Obregon in *Proceso* vii). When read against the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal*, the native testimonies evidently preserve an underlying subtext or counter discourse that

²⁴ Klor de Alva (“Colonizing Souls” 11, 4-17 and “Martín Ocelotl” 128-41); and Lienhard (*Disidentes* 28).

vindicates rather than incriminates the ancestral traditions and imperial history of don Carlos Ometochtzin and the Texcocan dynasts.

Scholar Martín Lienhard identifies in the native testimonies of the *Proceso criminal* – in the direct and indirect speech attributed to don Carlos – an insurgent, *rebel discourse* opposed to the European socio-political system established in the American colonies (*Disidentes* 15, 17). Lienhard proposes the *testimonial history* as an historical method for reading indigenous/African rebellion in the Inquisition proceedings of colonial/slavish Latin America. The basis of this approach is the oral history of native and African societies, which official history has persistently forgotten or neglected to include. The principal source of oral history is the collective memory as manifested in the individual testimonies (21, 23). Oral history opposes the history of the victors with the *other* history (Walter Benjamin [1976] qtd. in *Disidentes* 28). Based on the tradition of the oppressed or vanquished, oral history is therefore a form of *counter-history* (28).

In this respect, the Nahua oral tradition is a means for reading a testimonial history – for elucidating a discourse of native resistance – in the *Proceso criminal*. Read “against the grain” of colonial conventions, the native testimonies expose the politics adopted by the rulers of Texcoco and other local communities in response to the Spanish occupation (*Disidentes* 17, 30-31). Furthermore, rebel protagonists of testimonial histories like don Carlos all defended a freedom “from which they – or their ancestors – had been banished by their oppressors” (19-20). They promoted a utopian cause or lost paradise to which they longed to return. For don Carlos this cause was the ancient Nahua order (20); particularly the worship of his ancestors and the ancient laws, customs, liberty, and independence of his forefathers (see González Obregón in *Proceso* xi).

The Texcocan Testimonies

As noted in Chapter 2 the antagonism between the Chiconautla and Texcocan litigants of the *Proceso criminal* may originate from a pre-Hispanic rivalry between the two polities, when Chiconautla became a tributary town of Texcoco under king Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72).²⁵ This disaccord also suggests an unofficial alliance between the Holy Office and the lords of Chiconautla, who attack don Carlos as a heretic and polygamist. Conversely, the Texcocan litigants emphasize their solidarity with don Carlos and his innocence to the charges. Their testimonies contradict and fail to corroborate the Chiconautla denunciations, for which they were excluded from the second phase of the proceedings and denied the opportunity to expand on their initial statements. This inconsistency may also be attributed to internal disputes among the Texcocan and Chiconautla lords as to “how accommodating they should be to the Franciscan intrusions in their communities” (Lopes Don, *Bonfires* 146).

After the confiscation of don Carlos’s property (doc. iv), Zumárraga interrogates three Texcocan natives who witnessed the discovery of idolatrous objects in his house: his elder servant Pedro, a neighbor named Gabriel, and his uncle Bernabé Tlalchachi, whose testimonies are more or less identical (9-14; docs. v-vii). Zumárraga first inquires into the occupancy history of the house where said idols were found. According to the first witness Pedro, “Indian of Texcoco”:

la dicha casa era de su agüelo del dicho Don Carlos, y al presente es del dicho Don Carlos, que sucedió en la dicha casa;

²⁵ See Lienhard (*Disidentes* 43-44, 47-48).

. . . que desde que fué niño es suya la dicha casa, porque siendo niño, el dicho Don Carlos, le dió su padre de este testigo aquella casa, y después acá hasta agora siempre la ha tenido é poseído el dicho Don Carlos por suya é como cosa suya la dicha casa;

. . . que su padre de este testigo vivió en las dichas casas mucho tiempo, que fué agüelo del dicho Don Carlos, porque eran suyas las dichas casas, y él las dió al dicho Don Carlos su nieto, y después de muerto su padre de este testigo, las goardó cierto tiempo Bernabé Tlachiachi, el cual murió puede haber ocho años, poco más ó menos, y después vivió en ellas cierto tiempo el dicho Don Carlos, y de dos años á esta parte, ha estado é vivido este testigo en las dichas casas, por el dicho Don Carlos é con su licencia, y porque el dicho Don Carlos le mandó que fuese á vivir allí para goardar las dichas casas, porque nadie no se las deshiciese; (9-10; doc. v, “Declaration of Pedro, Native of Texcoco”)

[said house belonged to the grandfather of said don Carlos, and right now it belongs to said don Carlos, who succeeded to said house;

. . . (and) that since he was a child said house is his, for as a child, said don Carlos, (Pedro’s) father gave him that house, and since then until now said don Carlos has always had and owned said house as his and his alone;

. . . (and) that (Pedro’s) father lived in said houses for a long time, that he was don Carlos’s grandfather, because said houses were his, and he gave them to said don Carlos his nephew, and after (Pedro’s) father died, Bernabé Tlachiachi watched over them for some time, who died almost eight years ago, a little more or less,

and then said don Carlos lived in them for some time, and within these last two years, (Pedro) has been and lived in said houses, because of don Carlos and with his permission, and because said don Carlos sent him to go and live there in order to guard said houses, so that no one would ruin or destroy them;]

Pedro states don Carlos is the owner of the property in question because he “succeeded to said house.” His testimony reiterates that don Carlos came into rightful possession of the property through legitimate succession.

In pre-Hispanic Nahua society, only rulers, lords, and nobles possessed land with full right of sale or inheritance (see Keen 278). The “Declaration of the Accused Don Carlos *Chichimecatecutli*” addresses and identifies the alleged criminal as [Supreme Ruler or Lord of the Chichimecs] (55; doc. xxvi). Don Carlos was a royal descendant of the Texcocan dynasts (see **Table 1**). A grandson to Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and son to Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516), he was a *cacique* [noble clan leader or chief], of lordly rank or *tecutli*, although Nahua historian Chimalpahin (1579-1660) maintains he was *tlatoani* [ruler] of Texcoco from 1531 to 1539 (Gruzinski 49). As a member of the Texcocan royal family, don Carlos may well have succeeded to high office if not for his unfortunate encounter with the Mexican Inquisition; however he was never a ruler (Cline 86; Harvey 183; and *Proceso* x).

Upon the arrival of Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) to México-Tenochtitlan on November 8, 1519, the factionalized descendants of Nezahualpilli were engaged in a fratricidal struggle for dynastic succession to the throne, as no legal heir had been designated to the realms of Texcoco on the emperor’s death. Don Carlos was considered a half-brother to this legitimate group of lords [*señores*], who “[a]fter ousting two natural

sons who ruled from 1517 to 1521, . . . successively grasped the reigns of rule, drawing their power from their legitimate lineage, but even more, from their newly developed relationships with the conquering Spaniards” (Cline 86). It was Ixtlilxóchitl II (r. 1525-31), a principal native ally and agent of Cortés in the Conquest (1519-21), who then succeeded to rulership of Texcoco. After the fall of México-Tenochtitlan (1521), Cortés gifted the Texcocan lords with lands as compensation for their alliance with the Spaniards.²⁶

The large estate of Ocotepc [or Octicpac] don Carlos received from his late uncle or half-brother, don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin (r. 1534-39). The palace grounds and land parcels of the Oztoticpac estate belonged to the seigniorship or lordship of Texcoco, and had been assigned to don Carlos for his personal use. The fourth ruler of the Texcocan dynasty, Quinatzin Tlaltecaczin (r. 1298-1357), initially constructed the Oztoticpac Palace for the Texcocan monarchs and their courts. Until the arrival of the Spaniards it served as a royal council hall for the lords of Texcoco (Cline 91-93). According to the *Oztoticpac Lands Map* [1540], his total landholdings were acquired from various sources and comprised twelve named parcels of land in addition to the estates of Ocotepc and Oztoticpac. As such the properties of don Carlos all held a certain noble “status in terms of the mode of acquisition, whether by gift, by purchase, by inheritance, or by usufruct (seigniorial)” (Harvey 179; see **Fig. 3.1**).

The house in which Zumárraga discovered the idols was thus probably the estate of Ocotepc (Cline 87). In the *Proceso criminal*, Pedro’s testimony repeatedly states the

²⁶ Cortés awarded rulership over northern Acolhuacan to his godson (Fernando Cortés) Ixtlilxóchitl II, and bestowed the southern provinces of the kingdom to his ranking brother, don Pedro de Alvarado Cohuanacohtzin (r. 1521-25). Cortés also presented lands to don Carlos who then purchased adjacent plots as his private property. Don Carlos likewise obtained property from his half-brother Ixtlilxóchitl II.

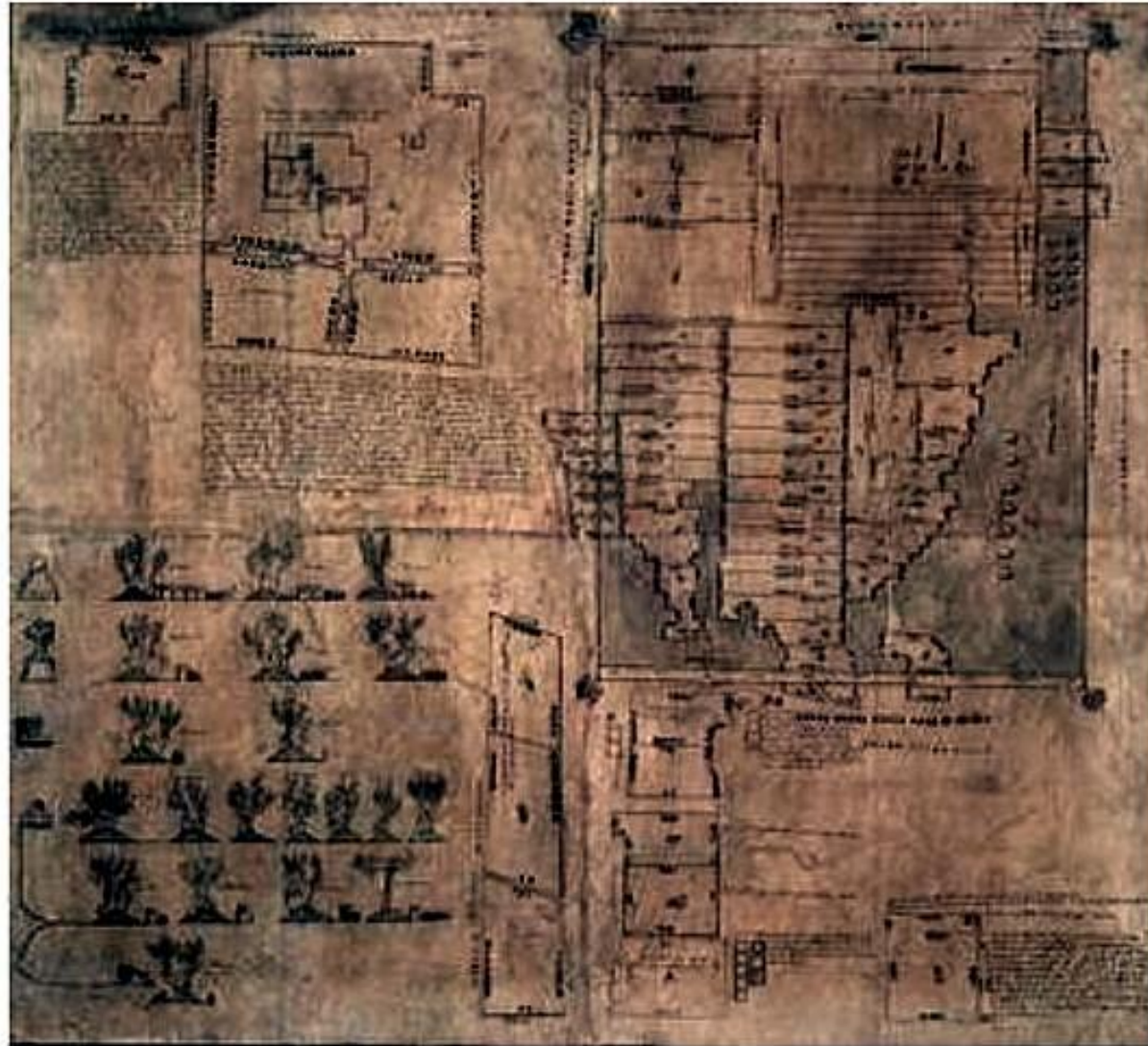


Figure 3.1. The *Oztoticpac Lands Map* of 1540, pictorial image from World Digital Library (2012).

previous, deceased owner don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin (r. 1534-39) bequeathed the property to don Carlos. Thus in the pre-Hispanic Nahua system of land classification, Ocotepc may have held the status of *pillalli* and *tecuhtlalli* [noble or lordly lands].

Ownership of houses was also classified by function, status, or architectural style. While pre-Hispanic monarchs of Texcoco lived in the *tecpan* [royal palace] at the politico-religious center of the city, their subsidiary polities were administered by royal princes installed in their own palaces, each of which was also a *tecpan*. Other *pipiltin* [nobles] of these lineages either lived in or by the *tecpan*, or administered separate palaces of their own (Hicks 237). During his reign, Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) ordered the construction of more than four hundred houses and palaces for the lords and nobles of royal lineage who attended his court, each one constructed “conforme á la calidad y méritos de su persona” [according to the quality (or degree) and merits of the person] (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Historia* 187; ch. xxxviii). Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516) subsequently ordered additional palace construction as monarch. Texcoco’s fourth dynastic ruler Quinatzin Tlaltecatzin (r. 1298-1357) also erected various *tecpancalli* or palaces for the Acolhua nobility.

Pedro’s testimony confirms that the property of don Carlos in question concerns the ancestral lands of the Texcocan dynasts. He states don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin (r. 1534-39) “vivió en las dichas casas mucho tiempo” [lived in said houses, i. e., the Ocotepc estate, for a long time]. Yet there was an interim of time in which a certain Bernabé Tlalchachi Coatecoatl, deceased eight years prior, occupied the property before don Carlos even lived there (9-10; doc. v).²⁷ Nevertheless, Pedro asserts “que desde que

²⁷ Bernabé Tlalchachi Coatecoatl, deceased, is not to be confused with the Texcocan witness Bernabé Tlalchachi, don Carlos’s uncle (*Proceso* 13; doc. vii).

fué niño es suya la dicha casa . . . siempre la ha tenido é poseído el dicho Don Carlos” [that since he was a child the house has been his . . . don Carlos has always had and owned said house] (9; doc. v). He names don Carlos as the lord of the noble house in question – as only nobles were authorized to control land and have servants, “by virtue of their birth into a noble lineage” (Hicks 232). Pedro further maintains he lived there as a servant with don Carlos’s “permission,” who “ordered” him to go and protect the property two years ago (9, 10; doc. v).

Pedro’s testimony therefore establishes that the Ocotepc estate was either a pre-Hispanic-style noble headquarters palace or a noble house or lordship, which don Carlos administered as a noble of lordly rank – as did the previous owner don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin before him, who coincidentally was the last legitimate descendant of Nezahualpilli. Apparently before the arrival of the Spaniards, Nahua descent and inheritance were bilateral practices (Kellogg 125-26 and Lockhart 103). In fact, Molina’s *Vocabulario* (c. 1555-71) defines “land” as “inheritance” [*Tlalli*. tierra, o heredad] (124). In Pedro’s testimony, this reciprocity between noble descent and land ownership is evident, in that he establishes the ancestral lineage of don Carlos in relation to his rightful inheritance and possession of the property.

After Inquisitor Zumárraga ascertains the ownership and occupancy history of the Ocotepc estate, he interrogates Pedro as to the idols discovered “in said houses”: who placed them there and how long ago; if Pedro has actually seen the idols in said houses; if don Carlos frequently went there, whether or not he entered “said temples to see said idols,” and what he offered to them; and who else entered there to see the idols and make offerings (10; doc. v). To this Pedro responds:

que no lo sabe, porque cuando este testigo fué á vivir á las dichas casas, ya estaba así como su Señoría lo halló el dicho día;

. . . que los [ídolos] que estaban fuera en la pared sí veyá y los miraba como á piedras, pero no sabía otra cosa, porque este testigo tenía aquella casa para dormir nomás y que de día no estaba allí;

. . . que la dicha casa era del dicho Don Carlos y se acordaba de ella, y muchas veces iba allí á verla, y se andaba por ahí mirándola, y luego se volvía, é que no le vido ofrescer ni hacer otra cosa;

. . . que no entraba nadie, é que con el dicho Don Carlos iban algunas veces, Gabriel Xaltemo, y Juan Mixcoatl, y Pablo Nantle, y Pablo Chochocoatl, y Andrés Aculoa, y que no iban otros ningunos; é que estos todos andaban por toda la casa, é que así mismo han entrado en las dichas casas, algunas veces Antonio Tlatuxcalcatl, y Bernarbé Tlalchachi, y Tacacoatl, é Juan Tlaylotlac, y Lorenzo Mixcoatlaylotlac, y Antonio Azcametl, y Tlacuxcaltl Xiuimito, porque todos éstos son tíos del dicho Don Carlos, pero que ninguno de ellos no ofrescía á los dichos ídolos más de que los vían allí; y que es verdad que antes que viniesen los Xpianos, era aquella casa, casa de oración, y allí se juntaban á hacer sus fiestas y á rogar á sus dioses lo que querían, pero que después que vinieron los xpianos, nunca más lo han hecho[;] (10-11; doc. v)

[that he does not know (who placed the idols there), because when (he) went to live in said houses, it was already like that (, just) as his Lordship found it (on) said day;

. . . (and) that those (idols) that were outside on the wall he did see and thought they were stones, but did not know anything else, because (he) only slept in the house and that by day he was not there;

. . . (and) that said house belonged to said don Carlos and he remembered it, and many times he went there to see it, and he walked around over there looking at it, and then he would come back, and that he did not see (don Carlos) make offerings or do anything else;

. . . (and) that no one entered (said houses), and that with said don Carlos, Gabriel Xaltemo, and Juan Mixcoatl, and Pablo Nantle, and Pablo Chochocoatl, and Andrés Aculoa sometimes accompanied him, and that no one else went; and that all of them walked all around (and through) the house, and that sometimes Antonio Tlatuxcalcatl, and Bernarbé Tlalchachi, and Tacacoatl, and Juan Tlaylotlac, and Lorenzo Mixcoatlaylotlac, and Antonio Azcametl, and Tlacuxcaltl Xiuimito likewise have entered said houses, because all of them are uncles of said don Carlos, but that none of them made offerings to said idols rather they just observed them there; and that it is true that before the Christians arrived, that house was, a house of worship, and they gathered there to have their festivities (or celebrate) and pray to their gods what(ever) they wanted, but that after the Christians arrived, they never did it again;]

Pedro demonstrates his solidarity to don Carlos in an attempt to plea his innocence and disprove the idolatry charges. He constantly minimizes the evidence with which Zumárraga sought to convict the Texcocan lord as a heretic. Though his testimony does not explicitly confirm the presence of idols on don Carlos's property, he indirectly admits

to the fact that there were some objects on a wall outside said houses, but “that none of them made offerings to said idols rather they just observed them there.”

He was probably referring to “the two temples they said were for idols” that Zumárraga discovered, next to which was “a stone pillar, attached to a wall” with “certain faces, and figures of stone idols” (7-8; doc. iv, “Confiscation of the Property of Don Carlos”). Inside another temple, “there was a little house in the style of an ancient chapel.” Two other stones “in the style of a little chapel, sculpted, they said were *Cues* [temple-pyramids] and that one of them was the house of Quetzalcoatl.” Apparently, Zumárraga discovered more than fifty “stone figures of different kinds” inside the temples and pillar (7-8; doc. iv), “each of which was [wrapped] inside a shroud. . . . They also say that all around his garden he had placed in a line these sinister and ancient figures” (Chimalpahin 259).

Pedro minimizes the fact that he saw any idols on the property at all. He first claims it was the responsibility of the former owners, don Pedro and Bernabé, for the property’s condition at the time Zúmarraga confiscated it; they preserved it as such since “it was already like that” when don Carlos sent him to live there. He and the other two native Texcocan witnesses, Gabriel and Bernabé, “did not know what they were called or [even] what they were” (7-8; doc. iv, “Confiscation of the Property of Don Carlos”). Pedro states he saw them and simply “thought they were stones, but did not know anything else” because he only slept in the house and was not there during the day (10; doc. v). Notable is the native testimony of Lorenzo Mixcoatlaylotla from a neighboring locality of Texcoco, which later corroborates the above claims made by Pedro. Lorenzo maintains

que puede haber diez é siete años, que oyó decir . . . que Tlachachi, tío de Don Carlos, había puesto allí aquellos ídolos en la casa donde su Senoría los halló, y que no los puso sino de burla, como eran de piedra y á falta de piedra; . . . preguntado, por qué no los descubrió al cabo de tanto tiempo que sabía que estaban allí: dixo, que porque no lo tenía en nada, y porque pensó que era cosa deshechada” (27-28; doc. xiii, “The Idols from the Property of Don Carlos”)

[that about seventeen years ago, he heard . . . that (Bernabé) Tlachachi, don Carlos’s uncle, had placed the idols there in the house where his Lordship (i. e., Zumárraga) found them, and that he only put them there as a joke, as they were made of stone and (Bernabé was) lacking (or needed) stone; . . . asked, why he never noticed them before after knowing they were there for so long: he said, because he didn’t think anything of it (the idols), and because he thought it was refuse (or debris)]

Pedro’s testimony also belittles the alleged actions of don Carlos and characterizes them as commonplace, if not mundane affairs. He maintains that although don Carlos “walked around” and contemplated his house a lot, “he did not see him make offerings or do anything else” suspicious. He asserts “that no one entered” except for don Carlos and his twelve uncles, who sometimes went with him to see the houses, but “none of them made offerings to said idols rather they just looked at [or observed] them there” (10-11; doc. v).

Then Pedro confesses the Ocotepc estate was the location of a pre-Hispanic temple of worship used to celebrate and pray to native deities, “but that after the

Christians arrived, they never did it again.” He first indicated the property was probably a palace or noble house, with lands in the immediate vicinity reserved for the establishment and its noble beneficiaries. Here his testimony reveals the estate of Ocotepc also served a politico-religious function similar to Nahuatl *teotlalli* [lands reserved for the temples and gods]. The Spaniards destroyed many pre-Hispanic pagan temple sites, however temple lands were not systematically converted into colonial church properties; they were worked by local communities, the proceeds of which were reserved for the temple establishment (see Gibson, *The Aztecs* 257-59). In Molina’s *Vocabulario* the entry for *teotlalli* reads [valley, or desert of flat and extensive land] (101), while *teocalli* appears as [house of god, or worship, church] (100); (the entry for *tecalli* [lit. house of stone] means [burial house, or crypt, tomb]) (92).

This indicates the Ocotepc estate may have been a *teocalli*-like royal shrine or pantheon of deities, for the alleged temple-pyramids or structures Zumárraga discovered when he confiscated don Carlos’s property are also described as “ancient chapels” (7-8; doc. iv), which infers there was a main altar area and burial vault.²⁸ Martín Lienhard observes that while colonial native testimonies, of rulers and lords in particular, may assume a submissive role to Christianity and the Spanish monarchic institution, they also conceal native resistance and insubordination to the system and values imposed by the European colonizers (Preface, *Testimonios* xxv). Though Pedro declares in his opening statement “que es Xpiano bautizado” [that he is a baptized Christian] (9; doc. v), he exculpates don Carlos from the idolatry charges and underplays the reason why he and his uncles made frequent visits to these temples, as well as their goings-on there. Perhaps

²⁸ The Nahuatl “Testament of Don Julián de la Rosa, Tlaxcala, 1566” also mentions a *tecalco* [stone tomb] before a crucifix in a church (Anderson, et. al. 44-45, 45n6).

the Texcocan aristocracy did not want the ancient shrine of Ocotepc destroyed and converted into a church. If convicted of heresy and sentenced to death, the Spanish Crown (and its viceroyalty in Mexico) would have inherited don Carlos's wealth, just as it had confiscated all the gold and precious gems from other native sanctuaries in the idolatry campaigns (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 47).

In concluding this interrogation, Zumárraga further questions Pedro as to when don Carlos last heard mass, how many concubines he had, and if his niece doña Inés was his mistress, to which Pedro replied "he did not know" (11; doc. v). Thus as a subtext of the Texcocan testimonies, certain statements and utterances can therefore be discerned that manifest a native collective memory of Texcoco's imperial history. For example, when Pedro confesses the Ocotepc estate contains a temple of worship where they would celebrate and pray to the ancient deities, "but that after the Christians arrived, they never did it again" (10-11; doc. v). Reading against the inquisitorial discourse of the text and Zumárraga's line of questioning, Pedro's testimony masks a dialogue of native resistance in the *Proceso criminal*. In his defense of don Carlos, Pedro exposes the Texcocan lord as an avid, yet clandestine practitioner of ancestral traditions and rituals. J. Jorge Klor de Alva explains that such cultural deviations by natives from the colonial system were not noticeable to Spaniards because they only occurred in the private or local sectors of native society: "they helped to reinforce and legitimate *sociocultural and political alternatives* to the habits and practices necessary for the formation of a homogenous, predictable, and submissive population" ("Colonizing Souls" 11, 14-15; emphasis added). Moreover, the Franciscan morals campaign presented a cultural means by which "alternative native views could be expressed more forcefully" (Lopes Don,

Bonfires 161). In this respect, Pedro's testimony latently exposes the utopian cause or ancient Nahua order upheld by don Carlos as a legitimate alternative to the cultural customs and values of the colonizers. In Molina's *Vocabulario*, it seems the concept in classic Nahuatl for *order* was synonymous with *tecpan* [royal palace] and other semantic derivatives – *Tecpana. nite* [to place in order], *Tecpana. nitla* [to establish order], etc. (93) –, which inherently conveys the idea of civilization.

Don Carlos was prosecuted for advocating the ancient Nahua order, particularly the practice of bigamy and other Aztec noble customs (Greenleaf, *Zumárraga* 13). This pre-Hispanic, elite morality was a philosophical view common to the members of his socio-political sector (Gruzinski 42 and Lienhard, *Disidentes* 48), as can be inferred from Pedro's testimony. In 1536-37 the Nahua shaman-priest and self-proclaimed prophet Martín Ocelotl (1496-1537?) was also tried and condemned by Zumárraga for heretical proselytizing and banished from central Mexico, as was his disciple and successor Andrés Mixcoatl (?-?), accused of sorcery in 1537. The political argument of cult heroes like Martín Ocelotl and Andrés Mixcoatl opposed the Franciscan teachings in favor of the ancient Nahua order. Their discourse resonated with the Nahua aristocracy, dissatisfied with new restrictions the Franciscans enforced which prevented the *macehualtin* [commoners] from fulfilling their traditional tributary obligations to the elite.²⁹ For nobles like don Carlos, the Franciscan interference “had deprived his long-awaited rule of its prestige, privileges, and honor” (Lopes Don, *Bonfires* 165). Apparently, it was after Martín Ocelotl's trial when don Carlos began encouraging his fellow nobles to ignore the

²⁹ Class stratification in pre-Hispanic Nahua society basically comprised *tlatoque* [monarchs or kings; sing. *tlatoani*], *tecuhtin* [rulers, high lords, and other dignitaries; sing. *tecuhtli*], *pipiltin* [nobles; sing. *pilli*], and *macehualtin* [commoners; sing. *macehualli*].

Franciscans and their Christian doctrine (Burkhart 140 and Lopes Don, “Franciscans” 46-47).³⁰

The Chiconautla Testimonies

The counter discourse or utopian cause of don Carlos is also evident in the Chiconautla testimonies of the *Proceso criminal*. Martín Lienhard discusses how the nonconformity of native rulers and lords to European hegemony often manifests in native testimonies in a veiled or digressed form that questions the details or inner workings of the colonial system (Preface, *Testimonios* xxv). Francisco’s handwritten “Amplification” of his initial testimony (39-44; doc. xxiv) and the derivative statements from the other Chiconautla witnesses, don Alonso, Cristóbal, and Melchor Aculnahuacatl (44-54; doc. xxv a-c), detail the politico-theological argument of don Carlos and denounce him as a heretic and polygamist before the Holy Tribunal. The texts unwittingly preserve his alleged speech or sermon. Essentially, they recontextualize the ancestral discourse of don Carlos as a legitimate alternative to the teachings of the Franciscans. Furthermore, the Chiconautla testimonies inadvertently vindicate the Texcocan lord as a steadfast advocate of the ancient Nahua order, as Lienhard has noted in this second phase of the proceedings: “hacen del acusado un defensor acérrimo de los valores ancestrales y el dueño de un discurso diabólicamente coherente que cuestiona, punto por punto, la legitimidad de la conquista y la colonización española” [they make of him an avid supporter of (native) ancestral values and the master of a discourse diabolically coherent

³⁰ On cult heroes Martín Ocelotl and Andrés Mixcoatl, see also Gruzinski 45-76; Klor de Alva, “Martín Ocelotl” 128-41; and Lopes Don, *Bonfires* 52-110.

that questions, point by point, the legitimacy of the Spanish conquest and colonization of New Spain] (*Disidentes* 43).

The indirect discourse of don Carlos, as transcribed in the Chiconautla testimonies, conserves traditional Nahua modes of narration and orality maintained by the colonial Nahua aristocracy (see González Obregón in *Proceso* vii). According to don Alonso, ruler of Chiconautla, don Carlos gathered Francisco, Cristóbal, and the Texcocan lords around him and asked the other natives present:

quiénes eran, si eran principales; é mandó que los que no eran principales se salieran fuera, y salidos los que no eran principales, el dicho Don Carlos llamó cabe sí al dicho Francisco, indio, y comenzó á decir: “no digáis á qué viene éste aquí, pues no vengo sin cabsa, que á algo vengo, y por ventura por la mañana me iré . . .” (45; doc. xxv-a)

[who they were, if they were nobles; and he ordered those who were not nobles to go outside, and (once) those who were not nobles had left, said don Carlos called said Francisco, Indian, close to him and began to speak: “do not say why he has come, because I have not come without a cause, I came for something, and I will probably leave tomorrow morning . . .”]

Similarly Melchor Aculnahuacatl, noble of Chiconautla, affirms that:

el dicho Don Carlos mandó saliesen ciertos indios *maceguals* que alumbraban en el aposento donde estaban é dixo que los que no eran principales todos se saliesen, y este testigo se levantó para salir, y el dicho Don Carlos le preguntó á este testigo: ‘¿tú no eres principal?’ y los que estaban presentes, dixieron que era

principal, y el dicho Don Carlos le dixo que se asentase, pues era principal, y este testigo se asentó; y después de salidos los que no eran principales, . . . delante destos, el dicho Don Carlos, comenzó á hacer una plática segund la costumbre antigua de sus antepasados, encareciendo mucho lo que les quería decir, y diciéndoles que era cosa grande; y deste razonamiento vino á decir . . . (52; doc. xxv-c)

[said don Carlos ordered some of the common Indians (*maceguales*) who were lighting the chamber where they were to leave and he said that all those who were not nobles leave, and (Melchor) stood up to leave, and said don Carlos asked (Melchor): ‘are you not a noble?’ and those who were present, said that he was a noble, and said don Carlos told him to be seated, since he was a noble, and (Melchor) sat down; and after those who were not nobles had left, . . . before them, said don Carlos, began to make a speech in accordance with the ancient custom of his ancestors, exhorting a lot what he wanted to say to them, and telling them it was something profound; and for this reason he came to speak . . .]

The Chiconautla witnesses convey the speech of don Carlos was private in character since he pronounced it before a select group of nobles only after ascertaining they were not in the presence of native commoners; and because the nature of his speech falls “in accordance with the ancient custom of his ancestors” (52; doc. xxv-c).

Apparently, they were accustomed to the tradition of formal speaking before a strictly noble audience that excluded commoners (Lopes Don, *Bonfires* 167). While the ability of the Chiconautla litigants to remember don Carlos’s alleged speech or sermon in such

detail is questionable, Melchor explicitly states that don Carlos “comenzó á hacer una plática segund la costumbre antigua de sus antepasados” [began to speak in the ancient way of his ancestors], which emphasizes the traditional character of his words. This suggests the Chiconautla litigants were already familiar with the form and contents of don Carlos’s address, which Martín Lienhard identifies as *huehuetlatolli* or “ancestral discourse” (*Disidentes* 44).

The discursive genre of *huehuetlatolli* generally refers to the wisdom and words of the elders or ancients. *Huehuetlatolli* were delivered on numerous ceremonial and ritual occasions, and had an important function in the socio-political and religious aspects of Nahua culture (Abbott 29 and Sullivan 108). In these orations, religious, moral, and social values were passed through generations in the form of traditional or rhetorical language. Characteristic of this rhetoric was rich metaphorical expression, among other attributes of Nahua orality (Sullivan 82, 98-99).

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590) collected many of these *pláticas* in the *Florentine Codex* (1545-90).³¹ The *huehuetlatolli* recorded in Book 6, titled “Of the Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy and Theology of the Mexican people, in which there are many niceties with respect to the elegance of their language and many fine things with respect to the moral virtues,” indicate the informants of Sahagún were *principales*, including nobles, priests, high-ranking dignitaries, former rulers, and wealthy merchants. Only this social sector was knowledgeable in the formalities of ancestral discourse to have remembered it with such accuracy (Sullivan 82, 85).

³¹ Franciscan priest, grammarian, and Nahua historian Fray Andrés de Olmos (c. 1491-1570) also included a selection of *huehuetlatolli* in “Speeches of the Ancients” (c. 1540-45), appended in his *Arte de la lengua mexicana* (1547). For other primary sources of *huehuetlatolli*, see Abbott 27-28.

The pre-Hispanic arts of public speaking and manuscript painting (see ch. 4) were a profession and enterprise exclusive to the native elite and nobility. Mesoamerican rulers restricted the lower social strata from access to this discourse so as to monopolize historical truth (see Marcus 7-9, ch. 4). The history of empires was maintained by philosopher sage-priests and painter-scribes, who collaborated to manifest and articulate the oral-pictorial language of imperial narratives. This official discourse was preserved as ancestral knowledge in the collective memory of the native ruling class.

In the first generations after the arrival of the Spaniards (1519-ca. 1545-50), the former ruling class maintained their discursive control over Aztec imperial history through the oral-pictorial tradition of record keeping. By the mid-sixteenth century (ca. 1545-50-ca. 1640-50), the lettered members of native society were those sons of the Nahua elite who had been educated by the Franciscan missionaries in monastery schools (**Table 2** illustrates the evolution of Nahuatl in contact with Spanish, in Lockhart 428, “Table 10.1 The Three Stages and Some of Their Implications”). Entitled and accustomed to negotiating with power, they formulated a discourse both political and vindicatory in nature, often representative of the entire indigenous collective. The incorporation into their discourse of historiographic, ethnographic, poetic discourse, etc. served to reinforce the primary objective of a political argument (Lienhard, Preface, *Testimonios* xxix). While Lienhard refers here to the “scriptural formation” and genre of early colonial indigenous letters or epistolaries, the native testimonies of the *Proceso criminal* also evidence a political and vindicatory argument. In many instances of his alleged speech to Francisco, don Carlos speaks on behalf of the Nahua aristocracy as a whole.

Table 2
 Three Stages for the Evolution of the Nahuatl Language in Contact with Spanish

TABLE 10.1
The Three Stages and Some of Their Implications

Category	Stage 1 (1519 to ca. 1545–50)	Stage 2 (ca. 1545–50 to ca. 1640–50)	Stage 3 (1640–50 to 1800 and after)
Language	Essentially no change	Noun borrowing; no other change	Full range of phenomena of bilingualism
Temporary labor mechanisms	Encomienda (whole indigenous state assigned long-term to one Spaniard)	Repartimiento (small parties divided among Spaniards for short periods of time)	Informal, individual arrangements between Spaniards and Indians
Government of the local states	Tlatoani (king) and nobles as always	Hispanic-style town council, cabildo (manned by tlatoani and nobles)	Fragmentation of local states and more idiosyncratic forms of officeholding
Terminology of noble rank	No change	Terms applied to members of the cabildo	Terms disappear, replaced by ↓
Naming patterns	Christian (first) names	Complex stepped naming system gradually develops	Mature naming system, precisely locating every individual in society by rank
Kinship	No change	Spanish marriage concepts and terminology adopted	Terms for siblings, cousins, nephews/nieces, and in-laws change to conform with Spanish
Songs	?	Genre mixed preconquest-postconquest in content, preconquest in form, with verses indicated by vocables, pairing of verses, and symmetrical arrangement of pairs	Rhyme, meter, line length, indefinitely continuing set of verses with no numerical pattern
History	?	Annals divided equally between pre- and postconquest	Annals almost exclusively postconquest: syncretizing, atemporal legends called "titles" appear in written form
Records	Pictorial/ideographic-oral	Pictorial/ideographic-alphabetic (latter dominant)	Primarily alphabetic
Art and architecture	?	Great idiosyncratic monastery complexes built; frescoes and decorative carving in mixed Hispanic-indigenous idiom	Small Spanish-style parish churches built; art mainly European in style
Religion	God, baptism	Saints proliferate, one per sociopolitical unit	One saint, Guadalupe, takes on national significance

Reprinted from Lockhart, 428.

According to the *Proceso criminal*, the Church had organized public processions to relieve the drought and famine plaguing the central valley region; and it was in Chiconautla where don Carlos reprimanded Francisco for his participation in the Catholic activities. In his defense of the accusation charges submitted by the public defender on August 22, 1539, don Carlos states the Chiconautla witnesses denounced him because of the:

mala voluntad é odio que me tienen, é porque yo no sea señor del dicho pueblo é gobernador, lo cual me viene por legítima sucesión é por tal legítimo heredero mi hermano señor que fue del dicho pueblo me nombró en su testamento al tiempo que falleció, é porque siendo gobernador del dicho pueblo les tengo de castigar é corregir á esos que contra mí han depuesto sus excesos é malas costumbres, como ellos lo saben que lo he hecho . . . (66-67; doc. xxx, “Defense Presented by Vicencio de Riverol”)

[ill-will and hatred they have for me, and because I am not the ruler or governor of said village, which comes to me by legitimate succession and as the legitimate inheritor my brother (don Pedro) who was ruler of said village named me (as his successor) in his testament upon his death, and because being the governor of said village I have to punish and correct those who have deposed against me (or dishonored me) (with) their excesses (i. e., overindulgence, intemperance) and bad customs, as they (well) know that I have done it . . .]

On the one hand, the Inquisition inherited don Carlos’s wealth and eliminated him as a legitimate successor to the Texcocan throne, for his high social rank was a potential

political threat to the Spanish crown. On the other hand, the Chiconautla lords and factionalized descendants of Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516), who were to precede don Carlos in office, probably denounced him for his pretension to the succession of his late half-brother or uncle don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin (r. 1534-39) as ruler of Texcoco. Or they themselves may have aspired to and pursued the *cacicazgo* [chieftanship], and scorned his harsh capacities for governing his subjects:

[and very soon false nobles, *principales* who monopolized the (colonial governmental) offices and collected the tribute . . . were usually at the service of the Church, as collaborators of the religious (fathers) or of the bishop, they denounced concubines before the ecclesiastical judge and turned in (native) sorcerers and suspicious shamans] (Gruzinski 27)

In effect, his accusation “had more to do with familial rivalries and the struggle for power than any ‘genuine’ concern for political and religious orthodoxy” (Douglas 296-97). Yet there is no evidence in the *Proceso criminal* that justifies his sentence to death for the idolatry and bigamy charges. Rather, the proceedings indicate don Carlos and his compeers, the Aztec ruling class, “were defending above all their prerogatives as ‘rulers’” (González Obregón in *Proceso* x-xi; and Lienhard, *Disidentes* 45-48).

The elocution and oratory of don Carlos alleged speech or sermon conforms to a “rhetoric of behavior,” which Robert T. Oliver has generally identified within the genre of *huehuetlatolli* orations as a “language intended to induce individual conformity to traditional values” (ctd. in Abbott 29-30). The discursive character of his words specifically recalls the *huehuetlatolli* admonitions from elders to youths (or adolescents) (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 34, 42, 44). The subject of appropriate behavior in society is a

central theme in *huehuetlatolli* discourse, particularly in admonitions from parents to their offspring (Abbott 30). These concerns are also evident in don Carlos's formal oration. It would therefore be safe to argue that in Molina's *Vocabulario*, the Nahuatl term *tenonotzaliztlatolli* also categorizes the ancestral discourse of don Carlos as an "amonefacion, platica, reprehēfion o fermon" [admonition, speech, reprehension, or sermon] (100).³² These orations dictated moral precepts, or "the subject of appropriate behavior in society" (Abbott 29). Additionally, there were courtly addresses delivered by nobles or kings "at a variety of state functions" (29), which suggests yet another discursive precedent to the premises of don Carlos's politico-theological argument.

The *Florentine Codex*, Book 10 reads the ancients or ancestral elders "were called the 'possessors of the books' . . . / [. . .] They took with them the writing, the books, the paintings, / [. . .] the learning, / they took with them all the books of song [and] the flutes" (folio 190r; qtd. in *A Scattering of Jades* 109). In the pre-Hispanic era, royal orators acquired the wisdom of the ancients or ancestral elders in *calmecac* [formal schools], where the sons of the nobility became religious and civil functionaries. Another oration in Book 6 reads that in the *calmecac*: "(like gold, like jade), the sons of nobles are cast, are perforated . . . / From there come our lords, the lords, the rulers, / those who watch over the city" (folio 213v; 110). The discourse of rulers preserved through *huehuetlatolli* were also regarded as metaphorical "jewels: precious jades, turquoises, and quetzal feathers": "This was said of a royal orator, who gives good council to the people. After he spoke, after the oration had been delivered, They understood its truth, and they told

³² María José García Quintana discusses the terminology of *huehuetlatolli* and *tenonotzaliztlatolli* in detail (123-33).

him: The people have been enriched, they have become wealthy, there has been a sowing, a scattering of jades” (Book 6, folio 205v; 110).

In the pre-Hispanic genre of Nahua *cuicapicque* [*cantares*, song-poems], the “scattering of flowers” is another metaphor for the oral-pictorial elocution of ancestral wisdom, as in the *Canto de primavera* [Song of Spring] by king Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72), renown philosopher-sage-priest (in León-Portilla, *Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 52-55). In *Soy rico* [I Am Wealthy (or Abounding)], Nezahualcoyotl refers to his companions the Aztec princes as “los jades, / las ajorcas preciosas” [the jades, / the precious (gold and silver) bangles”] (58-59). In the song-poem *He llegado* [I have arrived], he expresses nostalgia for “la amistad, la nobleza, / la comunidad. / Con cantos floridos yo vivo” [friendship, the nobility, / the community. / With flowered songs I live” (100-03). Young orators of the *calmecac* memorized these ancestral addresses from the school priests. Their faithful transmission was maintained through the generations, although Nahua orators probably adapted new orations from traditional themes and commonplaces to accommodate new situations (Abbott 29-30; see also Sullivan 83-84).

Don Carlos effectively opens his exhortative monologue with an invocation to Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516), who never mentioned the arrival of the Spaniards in their doctrine, for they were prophets who could foresee the past and future: “mi agüelo Nezahualcoyotl y mi padre Nezahualpilli . . . sabían lo pasado é por venir . . . que profetas fueron mi agüelo y mi padre” [my grandfather Nezahualcoyotl and my father Nezahualpilli . . .they knew the past and the future . . . they were prophets my grandfather and my father] (40; doc. xxiv, “Ampliación”). The speech or sermon of don Carlos was probably fashioned after a similar oration formulated by

Nahua elders after the conquest of México-Tenochtitlan, in order to convey their initial discontent towards the education of the native ruling class and nobility in European ways (see Lienhard, *Disidentes* 44). However, there is a song-poem dedicated to Nezahualcoyotl by an anonymous author which reads: “Sobre la estera de flores pintas tu canto, tu palabra, príncipe Nezahualcóyotl. En los libros de pinturas está tu corazón, con flores de todos colores pintas tu canto, tu palabra, príncipe Nezahualcóyotl” [On the throne of flowers you paint your song, your word, prince Nezahualcoyotl. In the painted books is your heart, with flowers of every color you paint your song, your word, prince Nezahualcoyotl].³³ Similarly, Miguel León-Portilla describes the words of don Carlos as an “appeal to the proverbial knowledge of Nezahualcoyotl [and Nezahualpilli],” who symbolized the reaffirmation and revindication of ancient native values and cultural traditions (*Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 8). It seems the text is both an admonition to his nephew, as well as a formal oration to the group of native lords in his presence. The opening invocation to Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli indicates the contents of his admonition also boasts the discourse of rulers. Reading from this perspective, the accusations of heretical proselytizing in the Chiconautla testimonies are mitigated by the formal rhetoric of don Carlos as an alternative, counter discourse. His alleged speech or sermon is therefore recontextualized in the *Proceso criminal* as ancestral discourse, for it approximates a formal exhortation of Texcocan monarchs to future generations of rulers; as though he were scattering the jades of ancestral, imperial wisdom to Francisco and the select group of noble witnesses.

³³ León-Portilla, *Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 13-14; see also León-Portilla, “El proceso” 82-83.

After invoking Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, don Carlos warns them not to put their faith in “this law of God” or Christian doctrine. He then “chastises” Francisco for his participation in the Catholic processions:

¿qué es esta Divinidad, cómo es, de dónde vino? ¿qué es lo que enseñas, qué es lo que nombras? . . . sino pecar y en hacer creer á los viejos é viejas y á algunos principales en Dios: . . . que eso que se enseña en el colegio, todo es burla . . . que yo he vivido y andado en todas partes, y guardado las palabras de mi padre y de mi agüelo; . . . que los dioses que ellos tenían y amaban fueron hechos en el cielo y en la tierra, por tanto hermano sólo aquello sigamos que nuestros agüelos y nuestros padres tuvieron y dixieron cuando murieron; (40-41; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”)

[What is this Divinity, what is it like, where did it come from? What is it you are teaching, what is it you are proclaiming? . . . but sinning and in making elder men and women and some lords and nobles (*principales*) believe in God: . . . what is taught in the college, is all mockery . . . because I have lived and been everywhere, and have upheld the words of my father and of my grandfather; . . . that the gods they had and loved were created in heaven and on earth, therefore brother we only follow that which our grandfathers and our fathers had and pronounced on their deaths;]

The *huehuetlatolli* orations collected by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún and others make evident that in the pre-Hispanic era, the art of public speaking was implemented by Nahua rulers as an instrument of social control and socialization (see Mignolo, *The*

Darker Side 209). Don Carlos admonishes Francisco for causing other native *principales* to deviate from or abandon the ancestral doctrine of their forefathers, the last Texcocan monarchs. He inverts the Franciscan interpretation of Nahua culture as a satanic invention and argues the real sin is the proclamation of Christian doctrine by the native ruling class and nobility. His reference to Franciscan colleges like Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco as “all mockery” infers Francisco should only adhere to the teachings of the *calmecac*. Here don Carlos alludes to the *huehuetlatolli* oration that probably inspired his own noble admonition, in asserting that despite his many years and places visited, he has still “kept [and upheld] *the words* of my father and of my grandfather” (emphasis added), as well as “the gods they had and loved.”³⁴ His sermon goes on to dispute the instruction and customs of the monastic friars:

¿qué dicen los padres? ¿qué nos dicen? ¿qué entendéis vosotros? Mira que los frailes y clérigos cada uno tiene su manera de penitencia; mira que los frailes de San Francisco tienen una manera de doctrina, y una manera de vida, y una manera de vestido, y una manera de oración; y los de Sant Agustín tienen otra manera; y los de Santo Domingo tienen de otra; y los clérigos de otra, como todos lo vemos, y así mismo era entre los que goardaban á los dioses nuestros, que los de México tenían una manera de vestido, y una manera de orar, é ofrescer y ayunar, y en otros pueblos de otra; en cada pueblo tenían su manera de sacrificios, y su

³⁴ Discussed in Chapter 2 are the idolatrous figures Zumárraga confiscated from don Carlos’s property and his investigations throughout the sierra of Texcoco into the deity cult to *Tlaloc*, the Aztec rain god. One type of *huehuetlatolli* recorded in Book 6 of the *Florentine Codex* are “prayers to the gods,” seven of which are dedicated to Tezcatlipoca as the creator deity “Lord of the Near, Lord of the Close” [*Tloque Nahuaque*], among his other names, and one oration to the deity *Tlaloc*, “asking for rain in time of severe drought” (see Sullivan 86-88, 98-99). It is noteworthy that King Nezahualcoyotl also composed various song-poems to *Tlaloc*. One of the central concerns in his discourse was the metaphysical theme of “the enigma of man before the Giver of life” [or God] (see León-Portilla, *Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 29-42, 44-45, etc.).

manera de orar y de ofrescer, y así lo hacen los frayles y clérigos, que ninguno concierta con otro; sigamos aquello que tenían y siguían nuestros antepasados, y de la manera que ellos vivieron, vivamos, y esto se ha de entender así. (41; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”)

[what are the priests saying? what are they telling us? how do you (all) comprehend (or perceive) it? Notice how each one of the friars and clerics have their own way of penitence; notice how the friars of San Francisco have their own doctrine, and way of life, and way of dress, and way of prayer; and those of Saint Augustine have another way; and those of Saint Dominic have another; and the clerics another, as we can all see, and it was just like that among those who kept and upheld our gods, for those of México(-Tenochtitlan) had one way of dress, and a way of praying, and making offerings and fasting, and in other communities another; in each community they had their own way of sacrifices, and their own way of praying and making offerings, and the friars and clerics do just that, not one concurs with the other; we will follow that which our ancestors had and followed, and the way they lived, we will live, and this is how it should be understood.]

Don Carlos criticizes the hypocrisy of the instruction of the monastic friars and clergymen, who wear different habits, and whose teachings are inconsistent with each other. He draws an analogy between the garments and customs of the friars, and the diverse attire of all native communities, specifically the Mexica philosopher-sage-priests and their ritual formalities. Because of these customary discrepancies in both the

monastic and native traditions, he advises Francisco to “follow that which our ancestors had and followed, and the way they lived,” for “this is how it should be understood.” Here don Carlos again alludes to the proverbial nature of his discourse as a *huehuetlatolli* oration in adding: “no digo más, que quizá entenderéis esto y quizá no, y lo recibiréis o no como yo os lo digo” [I will say no more, and maybe you will understand this and maybe not, and will receive it (this advice) or not as I pronounce it to you] (41; doc. xxiv).

Don Carlos admits “if by chance *the words of my father and grandfather and ancestors* conformed with the words of God,” that he would also participate in Church activities as Francisco does:

sino que no conviene que miremos á lo que nos predicán los padres religiosos . . . y que los padres hagan eso que dicen, en buena hora, que es su oficio, mas no es nuestro oficio eso . . . que ya son nacidos estos nuestros sobrinos, Tomás y Diego, hijos de Don Alonso, ellos que por niños lo enseñarán á otros; ¿qué es lo que tú enseñas hermano y lo que andas predicando? . . . en otro tiempo no había quien acusáse á mi agüelo ni á mi padre ni á Moctezuma ni al Señor de Tacuba, ni quien los riñese . . . que también yo me crié en la iglesia y casa de Dios como tú, pero no vivo ni hago como tú . . . (41-42; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”)

[but rather it is not in our interest to regard what the religious fathers preach to us . . . and (let) the fathers do what they proclaim (i. e., let them practice what they preach), in good time, because that is their office (or profession), but that is not our office . . . because these our nephews are already born, Tomás and Diego,

sons of don Alonso, they who as children will teach it to others; what is it that you teach brother and what you go around preaching? . . . in another time there was no one who would accuse (or denounce) my grandfather nor my father nor Moctezuma nor the Monarch of Tacuba, nor anyone who would reprehend them . . . because I too was raised in the Church and house of God like you, but I do not live nor act like you . . .]

Don Carlos's concern for the teaching of native tradition to future generations of noble children, who "will teach it to others," alludes to the obligation of the ruling class in continuing to preserve ancestral wisdom through *huehuetlatolli* discourse. His tone also recalls the exhortations from royal fathers to sons associated with counsel and correction: "instruct[ing] them in their duties as possible future rulers, exhorting them above all to be diligent in their devotions and in the propitiation of the gods, which will help them merit the kingship or else some high rank, for they were born to govern" (Sullivan 91, 108). These orations were intended as "unmistakeable warnings to nobles so they would not alter the balance of power" (see García Quintana 134). Don Carlos makes explicit the elite morality behind his political argument, as he counsels Francisco to disregard the customs of the monastic friars which were not in their best "interest," for this was not their "office."

His reference to the three pre-Hispanic Aztec emperors further establishes his formal oration is also premised on the speech of rulers, or imperial discourse. It evidently pertains to the Aztec Empire or Triple Alliance between the Nahuatl city-states of México-Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan (Tacuba) (formed c. 1429-1431). In this respect, it may be argued that another discursive precedent for his "pláticas" were

probably *huehuetlatolli* consisting of “court orations, addresses given by nobles or kings at a variety of state functions” (refer to Abbott 29). While don Carlos’s intention is to persuade Francisco to conform to traditional Nahua values, his oratory also conveys a rhetoric of behavior reminiscent of *huehuetlatolli* “designed to inculcate beliefs advantageous to the ruling elite” of Nahua society (refer to Abbott 31).

According to Francisco, when don Carlos learned of the Catholic “fasts and disciplines” in Chiconautla he was “annoyed and angry” and excluded himself from the procession, displeased with how “*todos los principales é maceguales del dicho pueblo fueron á la dicha procesión haciendo sus rogativas á Dios*” [all the *principales* and *maceguales* from said community went to said procession making their rogations to God] (39-40; doc. xxiv). After invoking the Aztec emperors, he admonishes Francisco for interacting with the native commoners for it “is not our office.” An account in the native *Cuauhtitlan Annals* [1570] relates that wise men or sorcerers prophesied the office and reign of Nezahualcoyotl. They ordained him into office as a young prince and appointed him ruler of Texcoco: “Y así le ordenaron, le dijeron: tú, tú serás, a ti te ordenamos, *este es tu encargo*, así, para ti, en tu mano, habrá de quedar la ciudad” [And they ordained him in this way, they told him: you, you will be, we ordain you, this is your commission, in this way, for you, in your hand, the city will remain] (León-Portilla, *Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 14-15; emphasis added). Don Carlos must have been well aware of the traditional responsibilities he held in his capacity or office as a royal descendant of Nezahualcoyotl. Scolding Francisco for breaking with ancestral tradition he argues “our ancestors” proclaimed and taught “que no es de nuestro oficio lo que tú haces, que así lo dixieron y enseñaron nuestros antepasados, que no es bueno entender vidas ajenas, sino estarse

como ellos solían estar en su gravedad y retraimiento, sin entender con la gente baxa”
 [that it is not good to sympathize with (or relate to) commoner’s lives, but rather be as
 they were accustomed to being in their gravity and reticence, without associating with the
 common people (*maceguales*)] (42; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”).

Turning to don Alonso, ruler of Chiconautla, don Carlos then implores:

‘ . . . huyámos de los padres religiosos y hagamos lo que nuestros antepasados
 hicieron, y no haya quien nos lo impida: en su tiempo no se asentaban los
maceguales en *petates* ni en *equipales*, agora cada uno hace y dice lo que quiere:
 no había de haber quien nos impidiese . . . en lo que queremos hacer . . . como
 solíamos hacer, mira que eres señor; y tu sobrino Francisco, mira que rescibas y
 obedezcas más palabras . . . ’; y después de hecha esta plática, como de suso está
 dicha, el dicho Don Carlos, con suspiro dixo, mostrándolos: ‘¿quién son estos que
 nos deshacen y perturban é viven sobre nosotros y los thenemos á cuestras y nos
 sojuzgan? Oid acá, aquí estoy yo y allí está el señor de México, Yoanizi, y allí
 está mi sobrino Tezapili, señor de Tacuba, y ahí está Tlcahuepantli, señor de Tula,
 que todos somos iguales y conformes y no se ha de igoalar nadie con nosotros,
 que esta es nuestra tierra y nuestra hacienda y nuestra alhaja y posesión, y el
 señorío es nuestro y á nosotros pertenece . . . ’ (42-43; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”)

[‘ . . . let us flee from the religious fathers and do what our ancestors did, and there
 is no one to hinder us from doing it: in their time the *maceguales* did not sit on
petates nor on *equipales*, now everyone does and says what they want: and there
 was no one to prevent us . . . from doing what we want to do . . . as we used to do,

consider that you are a ruler; and your nephew Francisco, ensure that you welcome and obey more (of these) words (i. e., *huehuetlatolli*) . . .’; and after having made this speech, as it is stated above, said don Carlos, with a sigh said, demonstrating to them (the rulers): ‘who are these (people) that destroy and disrupt us and live over and upon us and subjugate us? Listen now, I am here (in Acolhuacan, i. e., as ruler of Texcoco) and over there is the ruler of México, Yoanizi, and over there is my nephew Tezapili, ruler of Tacuba (Tlacopan), and there is Tlcahuepantli, ruler of Tula, and we are all equals and in agreement and no one is on par with us, because this is our land and our *hacienda* (personal property) and our treasure and possession, and the seigniory (or lordship) is ours and belongs to us . . .’]

According to Francisco, it was the interaction between native elites and commoners in the Church activities that incited the annoyance and anger of don Carlos, which provoked his formal address to the select group of nobles. Consequently, the *Proceso criminal* exposes the confusion which the campaigns to extirpate idolatry provoked among Nahua social class relations (Lienhard, *Disidentes* 48).

The socio-political integration between Nahua classes is also a general concern of the *huehuetlatolli* recorded in the *Florentine Codex*, which evidence how “the class distinctions were well known, publicly proclaimed, celebrated, and ritually affirmed” in Nahua society (Carrasco 55n19; see **Fig. 3.2**). One formal address given by priests, nobles, and dignitaries to legitimate the selection and accession of new rulers reads:

It is thou: he pointeth the finger at thee; he indicateth thee. Our lord hath recorded these, indicated thee, marked thee, entered thee in the books. Now



Figure 3.2. Book 6, "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy," Florentine Codex (folio 27v-r), pictorial image from World Digital Library.

verily it was declared, it was determined above us, in the heavens, in the land of the dead, that our lord place thee on the reed mat, on the reed seat, on his place of honor (Book 6, “Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy” 48; qtd. in Abbott 31)

In this oration it is the ruler’s responsibility to rule because his assension was determined by the gods and endorsed by the elders (31). Respectively, a primary concern of colonial Nahua discourse was to illustrate the divine basis of this social division and adapt it into the cosmovision (see Carrasco 55n19 and Sullivan 88-90).

Noteworthy in the citation above is the complementary phrasing or poetic couplet “on the reed mat, on the reed seat,” which is the Nahuatl equivalent of “throne” and refers to the *petlatl* [woven straw mat] of high rulers and nobles and the *icpalli* [royal throne of emperors]. These were symbols of high authority and important metaphors for rulership throughout Mesoamerica. Metaphor was also the primary trope of Nahua poetry and Nahua aristocratic language (Douglas 286, 289). In Nahua discourse the term *difrasismo*, complementary phrasing or parallelism, is a Mesoamerican grammatical construction in which a parallel couplet containing two separate words forms a single thought or metaphorical unit (Garibay K. 19, 65-67). Other discursive characteristics of the *huehuetlatolli* recorded in Book 6 of the *Florentine Codex* are the extensive use of metaphor, synonyms, and redundancy (Sullivan 98-99). Also noteworthy is that the metaphorical phrasing “to sit on the throne and mat” is listed in Molina’s *Vocabulario* under two completely separate entries, yet both entries have the same definition, [to hold the office of ruling and governing]: “*Icpalpan petlapan nica*. tener cargo de regir y gouernar. pre. *ycpalpan petlapan onicatca* (34); “*Petlapan ycpalpan nica*. tener officio de

regir y gouernar. Metaphora” (81). The *Vocabulario* even goes as far as to identify the latter entry as a [Metaphor].

In the *Proceso criminal* don Carlos articulates a similar complementary phrasing or poetic couplet – “en su tiempo no se asentaban los *maceguals* en *petates* ni en *equipales*” [in their time the *maceguals* did not sit on *petates* nor on *equipales*] (42-43; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”) – to express his nostalgia for the ancient Nahua order upheld by his dynastic predecessors, for now the native commoners presume themselves to be rulers and lords, and “everyone does and says what they want.” He identifies himself as the ruler of Texcoco (“Oid acá, aquí estoy yo”), and names his ruling relatives of the Aztec Triple Alliance (formed c. 1429-1431) in México-Tenochtitlan and Tacuba (Tlacopan). He also names the ruler of Tula-Tollan, the city of which flourished during the Early Postclassic era (c. AD 900-1200) and was the *throne* or *seat* of Toltec society, considered a divine place of creation and synonymous with the concepts of city and civilization in Mesoamerican tradition.³⁵

Note the distinct resemblance between don Carlos’s utterances above and Nezahualcoyotl’s *Canto* [Song] to Moctezuma I (c. 1398-1469):

. . . soy Nezahualcóyotl. Las flores se esparcen, de allá vengo, de Acolhuacan.

Escuchadme, elevaré mi canto . . . a Motecuhzoma. . . Donde están erguidas las

³⁵ A passage from the *Códice Matritense* (c. 1564), written by Sahagún using native informants, recounts how the ancestral Chichimec founders of the Texcocan dynasty became Toltecized and established the constituent city-states of the Acolhua kingdom: “Éstos, según se dice, / se nombraban a sí mismos chichimecas, / pero se llamaban ya ‘los dueños de casas’; / quiere decir que eran ya como los toltecas. . . / Entonces adquirieron vigor / los señoríos, los principados, los reinos. / Los príncipes, señores y jefes / gobernaron, establecieron ciudades. / Hicieron crecer, extender, / aumentaron sus ciudades” [These (people, The Texcocans), as they say, / named themselves Chichimecs, / but they were also called ‘the lords of houses’; / which means that they were already like the Toltecs. . . / Then they acquired vigor / the lordships, the principalities, the kingdoms. / The princes, rulers, and chiefs / governed, they established cities. / They expanded, extended, / they enlarged their cities] (folio 180r-v; ctd. in León-Portilla, “El proceso” 82).

columnas de jade, donde están ellas en fila, aquí en México . . . [i] oh
 Motecuhzoma! Por ellos [tus abuelos] tú guardas su estera y su solio (León-
 Portilla, *Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 90-99; emphasis added)

[. . . I am Nezahualcoyotl. The flowers are being scattered, from there I come,
 from Acolhuacan. Hear me, I elevate my song . . . to Moctezuma. . . . Where the
 jade columns are erected, where they are in a row, here in México(-Tenochtitlan) .
 . . oh Moctezuma! For them (your grandfathers) you uphold their mat and throne]

To legitimate their rule over the Acolhua Empire as Chichimec migrants to the Valley of Mexico, the early founders of the Texcocan dynasty assimilated the ideo-theological doctrine and socio-political institutions of Toltec culture, including the arts of public speaking and manuscript painting. Kings Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516) also advocated “the resurgence of Toltec culture” (León-Portilla, *Nezahualcoyotl: poesía* 18-19). During their reigns, the ancient Nahua order flourished in Texcoco and the city was restored to its former greatness as the politico-religious center of Acolhuacan.

Similar to the *huehuetlatolli* orations delivered on the succession of new rulers, the words of don Carlos as recorded in the *Proceso criminal* are utilitarian in tone. As a formal address before the select group of nobles, he evokes the ancestral doctrine of Nezahualcoyotl to criticize the discrepant customs of the monastic friars and exalt the consistent rule of the three Aztec monarchs for, as he claims, “we are all equals and in agreement.” (42-43; doc. xxiv, “Amplification”). In this way the Chiconautla testimonies recontextualize native imperial history in the form of a counter discourse to the

ecclesiastical teachings of the monastic friars. While the texts denounce his alleged speech or sermon as heretical proselytizing they also immortalize the political argument of don Carlos, which vindicates Aztec monarchical rule and the illustriousness of his dynastic forefathers to ultimately argue for his own legitimacy as the succeeding ruler of Texcoco, the office of which was deprived him by the colonizers.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the native testimonies of the *Proceso criminal*, which evidence an underlying subtext or counter discourse attributed to don Carlos Ometochtzin (r. 1531-39) and opposed to the colonization of New Spain. It further illustrated some remnants of the pre-Hispanic oral-historical tradition as captured or transcribed in the Chiconautla testimonies and preserved in the elite discourse of the early colonial Nahua aristocracy. The discussion demonstrated how these texts inadvertently vindicate rather than incriminate don Carlos as a steadfast advocate of the ancient Nahua order. Essentially, they recontextualize the denunciations against him as a political argument that delegitimizes the usurpation of the Aztec monarchy by the colonizers, and that exalts the illustrious, imperial doctrine of his ancestors the Texcocan dynasts. The next chapter explores the native, pictorial discourse of the Texcocan maps, which were commissioned soon after the trial and execution of don Carlos.

CHAPTER 4: NATIVE IMPERIAL HISTORY AS COLONIAL NAHUA DISCOURSE IN THE TEXCOCAN MAPS

As illustrated in Chapter 3 the formal address attributed to don Carlos in the Chiconautla testimonies of the *Proceso criminal* invokes the native oral-historical tradition to reprimand Francisco and address the Texcocan lords. This discourse resembles or is modeled after the pre-Hispanic *huehuetlatolli* orations of the Nahua ruling class and nobility. Similarly, many native-style painted manuscripts elaborated in early colonial New Spain appeal to pre-Hispanic, oral-pictorial modes of discourse to document the history of the Aztec Empire (formed c. 1429-1431).

Mesoamerican History as Native Elite Discourse in the Colonial Era

As previously mentioned, the pre-Hispanic arts of public speaking and manuscript painting were exclusive to the Mesoamerican ruling class, who used literacy as propaganda to maintain class distinctions and monopolize historical truth “those who knew the body of information best were also in the best position to alter or amend it in the relentless struggle over the right to rule” (Marcus 9). Philosopher-sage-priests and painter-scribes together articulated the history of empires, preserved as ancestral knowledge in the collective memory of the upper social strata. In the early colonial era (c. AD 1519-1600), the Nahua aristocracy rewrote these imperial narratives to reclaim their ancestral autonomy and prestige in the new world order.

Similarly, this chapter reads the dynastic history of Texcoco in three native-style maps known as the *Codex Xolotl* (c. 1540), *Mapa Tlotzin* (c. 1542-46), and *Mapa Quinatzin* (c. 1542-46) as colonial, elite Nahua discourse. In light of the unfortunate fate

of don Carlos and confiscation of his property by the Inquisition, these documents were commissioned by his relatives to forge a new image of the former imperial capital of Texcoco for the native community and for Spanish authorities. Respectively, the maps represent pre-Hispanic imperial history through a colonial, discursive monopoly on truth by the Nahua aristocracy, since the narratives recorded derive from or were modeled after ancient oral-pictorial models from the Mesoamerican era. Furthermore, many types of native pictorial manuscripts – including maps – were submitted in litigations as judicial records of evidence to secular tribunals in litigations and court proceedings. As such the maps also recontextualize or resituate native imperial history within the early colonial legal discourse of New Spain.

In 1540, when the General Inquisitor of Spain in Madrid learned of don Carlos's execution in Mexico he reprimanded Zumárraga for his prosecution of baptized natives, which eventually led to his removal as apostolic inquisitor and to the exemption of natives from the jurisdiction of the Holy Office (*Proceso* xiii, n2-n3). During Zumárraga's campaign or the Indian Inquisition (1536-43), the mass destruction of painted codices, temples, and sacred or religious objects thought to be pagan corruptions incited the native ruling class to also destroy or hide any such idolatries in their possession, including non-sacred or secular manuscripts. When Zumárraga sold to Spaniard Alonso de Contreras the confiscated lands don Carlos inherited from Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquitzin (r. 1534-39), the relatives of don Carlos contested ownership of the estate and claimed it as seignorial property of Texcoco. Litigations ensued over the *cacicazgos* [chiefdoms] and private estates of the Texcocan lords whose ownership of the lands is established in the *Oztoticpac Lands Map* [1540], a cadastral-style legal map for

recording the ownership of property that includes measurements of land in the Aztec metric system, commissioned by Antonio Pimentel Tlahuilotzin (r. 1540-45), a half-brother of don Carlos (see **Fig. 3.1**).³⁶

Contemporaneous with the idolatry campaigns were the Spanish Crown's requests for information on the economy, geography, and history of New Spain, primarily to exploit native tribute, labor, and land. In 1530 King Charles V (1500-1558) ordered by royal decree the joint submission of written reports with native tribute paintings that inventoried these resources. Another decree issued in 1553 charged the Royal Audience of Mexico (est. 1527) with consulting indigenous elders and securing all painted manuscripts and any other records for information (Boone, "Pictorial" 156-57). New colonial laws also required documental proof that legalized the collective possession of the land. Native painted manuscripts of an apparent secular nature, such as the historical *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps, were quickly redrafted from pre-Hispanic models, edited for content, and submitted as evidence in Spanish courts. For monastic friars and colonial authorities, such manuscripts were valid sources of information comparable to alphabetic documents (192). Before and after the arrival of the Spaniards, native-style maps were an effective means by which Nahua communities defended their claims to land ownership. In the Spanish legal arena, the former Nahua ruling class and nobility implemented them as mechanisms of litigation and submitted them as evidence to secular tribunals. Native-style pictorials including legal accounts, land records, tribute or taxation lists, histories, and genealogies "survived as types" in the first century after the

³⁶ Cline 77-115 and Harvey 163-85.

arrival of the Spaniards because they continued to serve a practical function for native communities (164).

Antonio Pimentel and other members of the royal family most likely commissioned the Texcocan maps in connection with the *Oztoticpac Lands Map* [1540] (Cline 91-92); with litigation involving the establishment of a Spanish-style, local native government in Texcoco by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza (1495-1552); and with a land grant submitted by Antonio Pimentel in 1540 that was disputed between the native commoners, Texcocan lords, and other alleged heirs of don Carlos.³⁷ The *Oztoticpac Lands Map* argues for the rightful heirship of Nezahualpilli's descendants to the estate and ancestral palace where don Carlos resided, which the fourth dynastic ruler Quinatzin Tlaltecatzin (r. 1298-1357) of Texcoco constructed for the Texcocan monarchs and their courts, and which served as a royal council hall until the arrival of the Spaniards (Cline 91-93). Additionally, Royal visitor Francisco Tello de Sandoval had been ordered by Church authorities "to inspect the realms of New Spain and to correct abuses (1544-47)," with specific instructions "to determine what had become of Don Carlos's estate and heirs" (Cline 94). If the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps were submitted as documentary evidence in legal proceedings, it was most likely *mestizo* historian and Texcocan noble Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (c. 1578-1650) who recovered them from early colonial archives.

³⁷ See Cline 77-115; Harvey 163-85; and McAfee and Barlow, "The Titles of Tetzcotzinco (Santa María Nativitas)" [1537].

The Colonial Nahua Discourse of the Texcocan Maps

Joyce Marcus discusses the Mesoamerican writing systems of the Aztec, Maya, Mixtec, and Zapotec civilizations, and how the ruling classes – in their competition for prestige and leadership positions – used literacy as a political tool to manipulate the official history of the state so as to serve the goals of rulers (xvii-xviii, 15). In these archaic societies “Only the true speech of the ruler was appropriate to carve in stone or paint in a codex” (7). Consequently, there was no distinction between myth, history, and propaganda, for writing and ruler speech combined all three types of messages (8).

Marcus identifies two types of propaganda in Mesoamerican writing. Vertical propaganda was “generated by the elite and aimed at influencing the attitude of commoners below them”; horizontal propaganda occurred “within the ruling stratum of society rather than between the elite and commoners” (11). Marcus explains that “integration propaganda” could be delivered vertically or horizontally, to elites and commoners, “when the message was aimed at stabilizing the current order” (11). The genealogies of ruling families preserved in painted manuscripts, for example, were a form of integration propaganda intended for the elite to settle disputes regarding the main line of royal succession: “The nature of integration propaganda is to maintain the current world order or social order. Groups not interested in maintaining that order might include usurpers, pretenders to the throne, or dynastic competitors who wished to be closer to the main line of royal descent ” (11-12).

The sale of don Carlos’s confiscated property by Inquisitor Zumárraga to Spaniard Alonso de Contreras provoked subsequent litigation involving all the lands claimed by the descendants of Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-

1516). To counter these controversial disputes and false property claims, and prevent further fragmentation of their *cacicazgos* [chiefdoms] and private estates, the Texcocan lords commissioned the repainting of their ancient histories, genealogies, and community maps. Such documents “held the necessary evidence for ethnicity, territory, and political independence through time” (Boone, “Pictorial” 186). In this respect, the Texcocan maps – (not to mention the *Oztoticpac Lands Map*) – deliver a colonial version of Mesoamerican propaganda as identified by Marcus, including integration propaganda, since the narratives are based on ancient oral-pictorial models of native imperial history.

Drawing from Marcus, as a type of colonial, vertical discourse the maps defend the Texcocan lords from any possible land disputes with commoners and subordinate towns who owed private tribute and service to members of the upper class, and who exploited the disunified system of land granting under Spanish authority in the early years of the colony. While pre-Hispanic Nahua society basically comprised kings, high lords, nobles, and commoners, colonial institutions confused these social relations among the Aztecs. As Charles Gibson explains, “The effect of Spanish colonialism on the class stratifications of Indian society was to equalize and compress, to move all classes toward a single level and condition” (*The Aztecs* 153). Similarly, the Nahua *altepetl* [city-state] and its constituent *calpolli* [subdivisions, tributaries] drew various kinds of revenue and other resources from the private noble estates and tribute-paying communities it administered (see Cline 84). In the first decade after the conquest, Spanish-style municipal governments of local or native self-rule reclassified the *altepetl-calpolli* structure into *cabeceras* [head towns] and *sujetos* [subject towns], which obscured the distinction between tribute-exacting and tribute-paying polities (see Horn 23). Moreover,

pre-Hispanic communal and private landholdings were complex and based on class, etc.; some “gave multiple groups of people rights to the same plots of land” (Kellogg 123). Yet Spanish authorities did not sanction or distinguish between the different classes of Nahua land tenure (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 264). Therefore it was not unlikely for commoners to assume false titles and identities as illegal *principales* [nobles], or make unlawful claims of heirship to lands otherwise forbidden to their class; while “[v]acancies left by the loss of local leaders in the conquest period were sometimes surreptitiously occupied by ambitious maceguals” (156, 267-68; see also Hodge 119-31).³⁸

As colonial, horizontal discourse, the maps defend the Texcocan lords from land disputes with nobles, siblings, and other possible heirs of don Carlos provoked by ongoing factional struggles and sibling rivalries within the Texcocan government. Like commoners, ambitious nobles abused the Spanish land granting system and “took advantage of the turbulence of the early colony to acquire new properties in compensation. They exploited weaknesses in cacicazgo tenure to seize land from caciques, and disputed with them over land possession” (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 265). In addition to the effects of early colonialism on Nahua society discussed above – the homogenization of the social strata; of different forms of land tenure; the dismantling of the central Mexican city-states and their division into civil (and ecclesiastical) jurisdictions – various forms of the Spanish title *señor* [lord] likewise supplanted the

³⁸ The colonial transmission of property upon death was likely also a major concern for Nezahualpilli’s descendants at the time they commissioned the Texcocan maps. Outbreaks of plague had occurred in 1519-20, 1529-34, and 1545-48 (and later in 1576) that decimated New Spain’s native populations (*The Cambridge History* 213). Consequently, large quantities of vacant lands were left available for Spaniards and Nahuas to claim. According to Nahua law, in the absence of legal heirs to deceased nobles and commoners, lands were escheated to the local ruler or town for redistribution of the property (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 268 and Mirow 5). Unlike the Spaniards however, Nahua practices of land inheritance seldom specified universal inheritors of property as evidenced in Spanish-style native wills, a custom encouraged by monastic friars in the early sixteenth-century (see Kellogg 121-59).

Nahua imperial title of *tlatoni* [pl. *tlatone*] traditionally reserved for Aztec kings or rulers, and *tlatoni* regimes were mistakenly identified with the term *señoríos* [seigniories, lordships]. Moreover, the titles of *señores*, *señores principales*, *señores naturales* or *caciques* [resp. lords; supreme or high lords; natural lords, or chiefs and clan leaders] were all used to designate Aztec *tlatone* [kings or rulers] (36). Furthermore, in each *cabecera* [head town] where the colonizers installed Spanish-style governments, the *cabildo* [municipal council] of native officers delegated to the task were also assigned Spanish titles, with the exception of the office of governor which accommodated the local dynastic ruler of the polity (see Horn 13, 25): “Through privileges and honors . . . Spaniards favored those Indian rulers who cooperated, assuring them of their positions, confirming their titles, and approving their possession of lands and vassals. Caciques and principales were quick to appreciate the policy of favoritism and to request benefits” (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 155). Consequently, this deterritorialization of the Aztec Empire also prompted former subsidiary rulers and their subject towns to claim a more independent status. The improper substitution of the *tlatoni* [king] title with *señor* therefore “meant that Indians might claim to be caciques, and that communities might claim to be cabeceras, without fulfilling the original criteria” – that is, of having been a pre-Hispanic *altepetl*, or the capital and administrative center of a community kingdom governed by a dynastic ruler of indisputable *tlatoni* [i.e., royal] lineage (36 and Horn 21-22).

There is a second form of colonial, horizontal discourse in the Texcocan maps intended for Spanish authorities. In part they were designed to ensure and secure concessions granted to them by the conquistadors in compensation for Texcoco’s military

alliance with Cortés in the overthrow of México-Tenochtitlan (1521). Moreover, with the politico-territorial disintegration of the Aztec Empire (formed c. 1429-1431) and Nahua monarchy, the former ruling class and nobility avidly sought to defend their *cacicazgos* [chiefdoms, communal holdings] and private estates not only from native commoners and seizures by other nobles, but also from alienation of their lands to Spaniards, from confiscation by colonial authorities, and from conversion to *encomienda* [est. 1523], “a grant whereby a Spaniard received the tribute and labor of the people subject to an indigenous ruler” (Horn 11). The Spanish system of *encomienda* was already an established institution for regulating native labor in New Spain as early as 1523. Early colonial land laws also began to infringe on Nahua society when Spanish *encomenderos* resolved to declare that native claims to ownership of private landholdings within *encomienda* areas were illegitimate, unless the native proprietor(s) in question could demonstrate their pre-Hispanic inheritance of the property: “Cortés and other *encomenderos* interfered with succession rules, approved or disallowed particular cacique inheritances, and at times assumed full powers of cacique appointment. Spaniards seized lands, goods, and retainers by force (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 155). In litigations of ownership to chiefdoms, for example, the title of *cacique* [noble clan leader or chief] including the lands, houses, and personalty were granted to the victor as a legal Spanish confirmation of properties; rulers and high nobles who were denied confirmation could request individual holdings and/or towns through *mercedes* [land grants], which the Viceroyalty of New Spain also regarded as hereditary proof of possession (264-66, 272; see also Mirow 4-5).³⁹

³⁹ Around the same time the Spanish Crown issued a royal decree prohibiting *encomienda*, though Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) disobeyed the order. After defeating México-Tenochtitlan (1521), Cortés established

In this way painted manuscripts like the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps recontextualize native imperial history as a colonial, elite Nahua discourse for commoners and nobles, and as litigative documents intended for Spanish courts. While pictorial histories like the Texcocan maps ignore or suppress the Spanish presence in order to emphasize pre-Hispanic events, the early colonial native mapping of territory is still a direct product of conquest. These “maps of authority” were documents intended to adjudicate European-American relations because they “negotiated a place . . . imminently New Worldly” for the Nahua elite (Leibsohn “Mapping” 501). Elizabeth H. Boone explains how “Manuscript painting was always an elite enterprise directed upward toward, or used by, those in authority. With the Spaniards coming in and assuming positions of authority, the manuscript tradition easily embraced them and their administrative institutions” (“Pictorial” 165). In fact, native maps were commissioned throughout the sixteenth-century to communicate with native communities and colonial authorities, such as the *Relaciones Geográficas* [1579-85] from the Viceroyalty of New Spain – a group of sixty-nine maps painted around 1580 in response to a questionnaire dispatched by King Phillip II (1527-98) of Spain. According to Barbara Mundy, the maps “oscillate between how elite painters envisioned and depicted their own

the first *encomiendas* in the valley, many of which he granted to soldiers in his army (Gibson, *The Aztecs* 59-60). By the mid-sixteenth century the *encomienda* system began to decline, and was eventually replaced with the viceregal allotment of *repartimientos* or system of forced tribute-labor. By the 1550s Spanish officials had also implemented the policy of *congregaciones* or forced consolidation of scattered native populations into European-style settlements, along with a system of provincial administration through *corregimientos*, or division of the central Mexican provinces into large districts. In the early 1560s, “Spaniards divided the Acolhua area into *encomiendas*, regular and secular ecclesiastical jurisdictions, *corregimientos*, and *alcaldías mayores*, without reference to pre-conquest imperial boundaries”; and by the 1580s, many of the territories formerly subject to the ancient dominion of imperial Texcoco had become *alcaldías mayores* [mayoralties appointed by the king], administered by native representatives of the Crown’s royal jurisdiction over the districts and towns, “all separate from the authority of the Indian government of Texcoco. . . [and] the far-flung Texcocan hegemony of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli” (Gibson, “Llamamiento” 1, 25). See also Hicks 230-49; Hodge 116-19; Horn 11-43; and Lockhart 15-28, 44-47.

communities and how they saw fit to present them to the larger colonial world. . . . the native colonial artist's work was colored by his (or her) 'double-consciousness,' as he (or she) painted for the local community as well as for a Spanish patron (67, 72).

Elaborating on Mundy's concept, Eduardo de J. Douglas argues the phenomenon of native double-consciousness is what "accommodates the pre-Hispanic iconic form to the colonial social function of these manuscripts" (282). The Acolhua royal imagery in the *Quinatzin Map*, for example, locates the manuscript equally within native and colonial discourses and politics, "as such it anticipates distinctively colonial, Spanish-dicated cultural and social criteria. Nonetheless, metaphor, the primary trope of Nahuatl poetry as well as of Nahuatl aristocratic language, serves as the structuring principle for the new composite image" (286, 289).

Finally, as a form of colonial integration discourse, the Texcocan maps are intended to stabilize the current Nahuatl order and reclaim the ancestral autonomy and prestige of the Texcocan lords, as the royal colonial descendants and sole legitimate sons of kings Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516).

A Colonial Discourse of Ancient Landscapes in the Migration Accounts

With the decline of the Toltec civilization and abandonment of imperial centers like Teotihuacan and Tula-Tollan sometime between the Late Classic period (AD 550-900) and the Early Postclassic period (AD 900-1200), waves of various migrant populations moved into the Valley of Mexico from the north, probably due to climate deterioration and drought. Native historical sources identify these peoples as Chichimec and Nahuatl-speaking ethnic groups who departed from their legendary ancestral home of

Aztlan and/or the mythical Seven Caves of Chicomoztoc, which may in fact have been the same series of migrations (Smith, “The Aztlan Migrations” 156-57). The term Chichimec describes the various non-sedentary, semi-nomadic populations who migrated from northern Mexico and the southwestern United States to the northern region of central Mexico; in Aztec migration accounts it also refers to the immigrant populations in central Mexico whose ancestors were the northern Chichimec hunters and gatherers (156). The word “Chichimec” could have negative and positive connotations in Nahuatl as “barbarous” or as “noble savage.” The Nahuas originally used “Chichimec” to historically identify themselves as nomads, hunters, and gatherers in pre-historical times and in contrast to their later assimilation of ancient Toltec culture, civilization, and society (Morritt 21). In the context of the Texcocan maps, Chichimec is synonymous with Acolhua, that is, “the early, pre-Nahuatl migrants to the Acolhua area on the eastern shore of Lake Texcoco” (163).

The Texcocan maps are the primary surviving painted sources for the Acolhua migration period into the Valley of Mexico (Quiñones Keber, “Tlailotlaque” 84; see **Figs. 4.1-4.3**). They record the history of the Acolhua empire, with emphasis on the founding of the Texcocan dynasty, its royal genealogies, and the polities they administered. “Xolotl,” “Tlotzin,” and “Quinatzin” are the respective protagonists of each map who receive the most pictorial emphasis or attention.⁴⁰ Chief Xolotl (r. 1115-1232) was the first ruler of the Texcocan dynasty. He led one of the Chichimec migrations into the

⁴⁰ Resp. “Xolotl” [monstrous dog], “Tlotzin” [falcon], and “Quinatzin” [braying (deer)]. While the meaning of the name “Xolotl” is unknown, it should not be confused with Xolotl the Aztec god of monstrosities; in the Texcocan maps Xolotl’s pictorial name glyph is the head of a dog (see Aubin 64, 66-68, 70-72 and Lee n. pag., internet resource). The suffix *-tzin* in Nahuatl is an honorific or reverential form of address.



Figure 4.1. Folio 1, *Codex Xolotl*, the migration of Chichimecs under Xolotl into the Valley of Mexico and initial settlement in the territory, pictorial image, reprint in Dibble (1996).



Figure 4.2. Panel 1 *Mapa Tlotzin*, the Chichimec migration under Xolotl into the Valley, pictorial image, reprint in Aubin (1886).

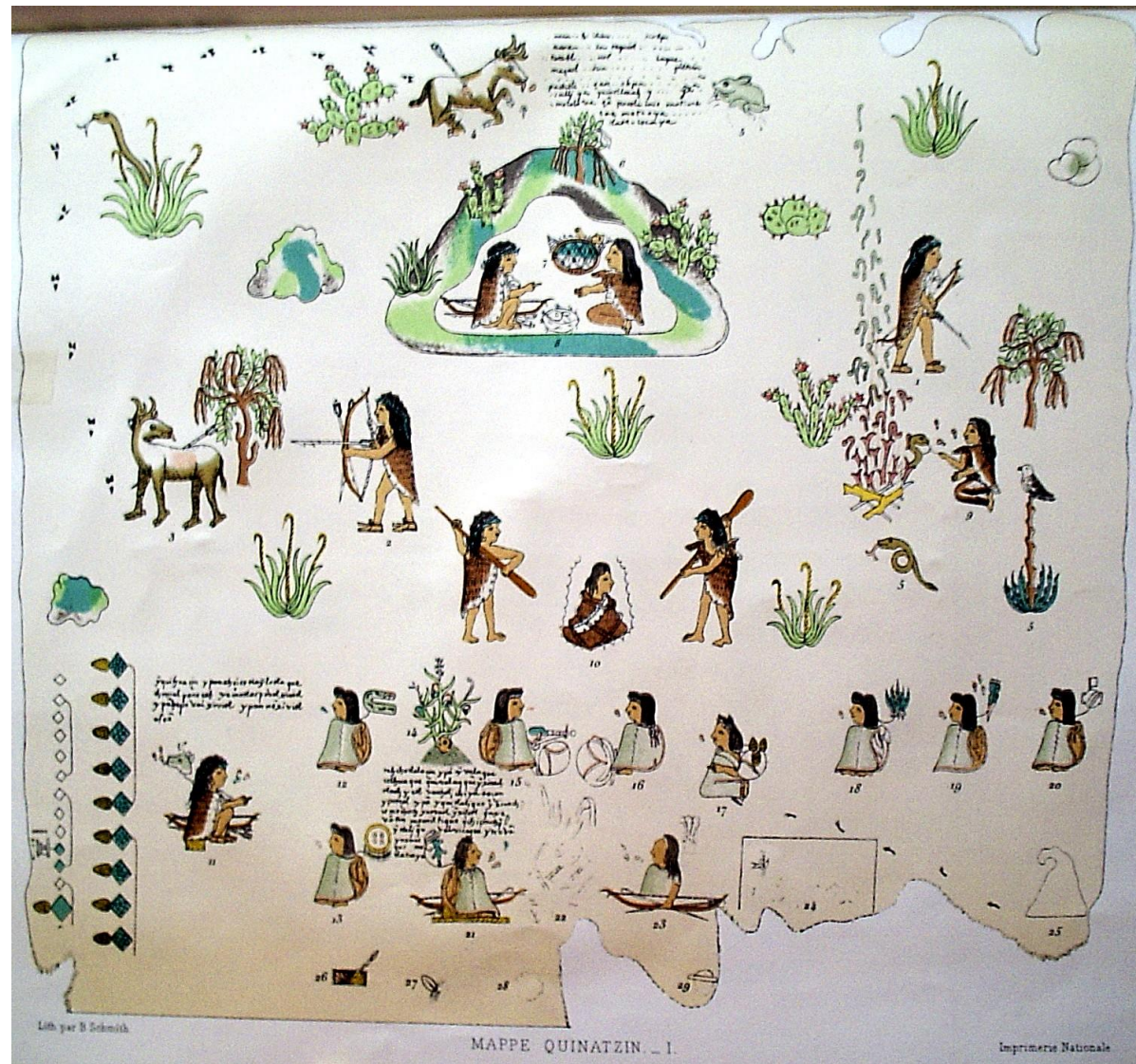


Figure 4.3. Panel 1, *Mapa Quinatzin*, the Chichimec migration under Xolotl into the Valley, pictorial image, reprint in Aubin (1886).

Table 3
Chronology of Mesoamerican History

Period and Date	Central Mexico	Gulf Coast	Oaxaca	Maya Area	
PRECLASSIC PERIOD	Tlatilco Chalcatzingo Oxtotitlán Juxtlahuaca	OLMEC		Kaminaljuyú Izapa	
					1500
					1300
					1100
					900
					700
					500
					300
					100 B.C.
					100 A.D.
CLASSIC PERIOD	Cacaxtla Xochicalco Cholula	EL TAJIN	MONTE ALBAN	Uaxactún Tikal Yaxchilán Copán Palenque Yucatec Sites { Uxmal Kabah Labná Sayil	
					300
					500
					700
					900
POSTCLASSIC PERIOD	Tenochtitlan (Aztec)		Mixtec States	Chichén Itzá Mayapán	
					1100
					1300
					1500

Chronological Table.

Valley of Mexico and later founded Tenayuca, the first capital city of the Acolhua kingdom, sometime between the Early (AD 900-1200) and Late Postclassic (AD 1200-1519) periods (see **Tables 1, 3**). According to native historical sources, Xolotl's brother Achcautzin had been appointed leader of the Chichimecs by their father Tlamacatzin upon his death (Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Sumaria* 292, second account). Apparently, it was due to sibling rivalry that Xolotl declared he would go and found a new kingdom in the Valley, three hundred leagues away (*Anónimo mexicano* 118, ch. 2). The *Codex Xolotl* comprises ten maps and two fragments on native paper (each measures approx. 41 x 49 cm.).⁴¹ Folios 1-6 record Acolhua history from the arrival of Xolotl in the valley to the fifteenth century. Folios 7-10 concern the exile of Nezahualcoyotl to the Tepanec War (c. 1427-28).

Xolotl's son Nopaltzin (r. 1232-63) married a noble woman of Toltec descent and granddaughter of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl (c. AD 923-47), the last Toltec king of Tula-Tollan. Tlotzin (r. 1263-98) was their first-born son. The *Mapa Tlotzin* comprises three attached panels on cured deer hide (the total length measures approx. 31 x 127 cm.). The narrative documents Acolhua history from Xolotl's arrival in the valley through the succession of Texcoco's last early colonial ruler, who according to this account was don Pedro Tetlahuehuetzquilitzin (r. 1534-39).

Tlotzin's son Quinatzin (r. 1298-1357) was the fourth ruler of the dynasty. The *Mapa Quinatzin* originally comprised two attached panels on native paper (each measures approx. 38 x 44 cm.). Panel 1 recounts Acolhua history from Xolotl's arrival in

⁴¹ Native paper was primarily made from *amatl* [figus fibers or fig-bark]. Aztec map-based histories were normally painted on *maguey* [*agave* cactus] paper and sometimes on cured animal hide (Albro and Albro 97 and Boone, *Stories* 162).

the valley through the reigns of Quinatzin (r. 1298 to 1357) and Techotlala (r. 1357-1409). Panel 2 refers to historical events occurred under the rulership of Nezahualcoyotl (r. 1431-72) and Nezahualpilli (r. 1472-1516), after the Tepanec War and formation of the Aztec Triple Alliance (c. 1429-1431) between México-Tenochtitlan, Texcoco, and Tlacopan (Tacuba). Panel 3 of *Mapa Quinatzin* originally surfaced as a separate document on native paper (measuring approx. 38 x 44 cm.). The narrative features different aspects of the Texcocan judicial system or Acolhua legal code established during the reigns of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli.

Joyce Marcus explains that Mesoamerican writing was selective, stressing only what served to reinforce the ideology of the ruling elite (11). History and propaganda were therefore inextricable in their inscriptions: “Propaganda draws on history, but it simplifies history by focusing attention on idealized models and stereotypes” (11). Similarly, the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps draw from ancient Mesoamerican models of writing to idealize or glorify the Acolhua Empire. This colonial Nahua discourse, manifests in multiple forms and on various textual levels of the Texcocan maps. However this discussion is limited to the cartographic representation of space that provides the discursive framework for the narratives, which exalt the historical antiquity of Texcoco and the illustrious reigns of the Texcocan dynasts. More specifically, the maps reproduce ancient Acolhua models of territoriality and elite ethnicity to assert the legitimacy of the colonial Texcocan lords by demonstrating, through ancestral and dynastic right, their pre-Hispanic entitlement to the land.

For example, the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps are native in style and retain pre-Hispanic pictographic conventions of cartography to render the historical narrative.⁴² As a discourse genre, native maps or cartographic histories document events and places from the distant, pre-Hispanic past, with a focus on geographic and topographic space to chart specific territories. Migration routes, the founding of territory, conquests and boundaries, biographies of rulers and their great deeds, and attention to noble genealogies that trace lines of descent and rule are all common themes among the eighty-seven extant cartographic histories produced in New Spain during the sixteenth century (see Boone, “Pictorial” 152-53 and Leibsohn, “Primers” 166).

The *Xolotl* maps record a series of area maps and panoramic views of Anahuac, the ancient valley and lake basins of central Mexico. Folio 1 records the migration of Chichimecs under Chief Xolotl (r. 1115-1232) into the Valley of Mexico and their initial settlement, the sedentary Toltecs they encountered thereafter, and Xolotl’s official occupation of the territory. The landscape is oriented eastward and follows the trajectory or rise and fall of the sun over the earth, with east at the top margin of the map, west at the bottom, north to the left, and south to the right (see **Fig. 4.1**; cf. the north-south orientation of the Valley in **Fig. 1.1**). For the Nahua and Maya cultures, cardinal directions were the fundamental basis for visualizing and describing land. The Nahuatl phrases for “east” and “west” translate as “toward where the sun comes up” and “toward where the sun goes down.” North and south were indicated by references to prominent places in those directions, such as “toward Mexico city” and “toward the great mountain”

⁴² See Robertson (“The School of Texcoco,” 134-54; ch. 7 and “Cartography and Landscape,” 179-89, ch. 10). Other native manuscripts of the period exhibit more elements of European style and influence than the Texcocan maps, such as perspective, proportion, and movement, as well as principles of landscape, land measurement, etc. (cf. “The School of Mexico Tenochtitlán: The Second Stage,” 94-133; ch. 6).

(Restall 190).⁴³ Other cartographic elements such as toponyms or place-names, lake system, mountains, and vegetation characterize specific regions of the landscape to locate the historical account in real space.

Movement across the landscape indicates narrative and temporal progression: “The presentation of history accommodates itself largely to the requirements of the map” and “onto the preexisting features of the land” (Boone, *Stories* 182-83). The geography of the map is more so a frame for the narrative action than a chart that conveys actual distance between the different localities and toponymic features depicted. Site and deed together determine the historical landscape: this “relationship between territory and narrative. . . . is part of the hermeneusis of place and event that organizes all cartographic histories” (Leibsohn, “Primers” 179). In scenes of migration and the founding of territory, this mode of discourse is prevalent when “movement through space is the principal message” (Boone, “Migration Histories” 123). Panel 1 of the *Tlotzin* and *Quinatzin* maps also record the migration saga of the Chichimecs under Xolotl (cf. **Figs. 4.2-4.3**).

Folio 1, *Codex Xolotl* situates the narrative onto the preexisting, ancient Mesoamerican landscape to record important historical events in the early formation of the dynasty (**Fig. 4.1**). The migration account identifies specific sites associated with the ancient Toltecs, ancestral places of origin, and legendary traditions in Nahua creation myths to culminate in Xolotl’s initial settlement of Chichimec polities in the valley and subsequent founding of the first imperial Acolhua capital, Tenayuca.

⁴³ Cardinal directions were a focus of Maya land descriptions throughout the colonial period, while the Nahuas began to adopt Spanish cardinal terms by the late seventeenth century (Restall 190).

The toponyms or place-glyphs at lower left chart their initial passage through several localities *en route* to the valley (**Fig. 4.4**). The first decipherable toponym is Tepenene, given the deterioration of the map's edges (Dibble, *Codex* 18, 26). Toponyms and personal name-glyphs (of

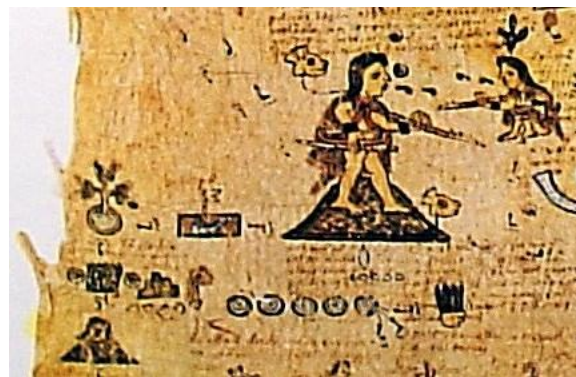


Figure 4.4. The initial passage of Xolotl, lower left.

rulers) appear in Mesoamerican writing as early as the Late Preclassic period (300 BC-AD 200). Toponyms often consist of basic mountain or hill glyphs qualified by common glyphic affixes and/or geographic referents that articulate the names of individual sites. In cartographic histories, conventionalized toponyms signal the names of places, communities, natural landmarks and features of the landscape, as well as events with historical significance for these localities.

A series of footprints between the toponyms in **Fig. 4.4** facilitates the narrative action as they advance along the migratory path. The next locality at lower left, symbolized by a bunch of reeds with a stylized eye flanking each side, receives narrative emphasis for the pyramid drawn next to it, with large stone blocks scattered below and a mound or bunch of grass to the right. These glyphs indicate Xolotl visited the fabled city of Tula-Tollan (see Dibble, *Codex* 18). The Nahuatl gloss reads “They came to reach Tollan. They looked...nothing therein...fragmented [rocks], replete with weeds, abandoned” (trans. Dibble, “The Nahuatl Glosses” 118).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ By 1540 alphabetic writing was “an integral mode of record-keeping” in native communities (Leibsohn, “Mapping” 504). The *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* manuscripts all contain alphabetic glosses in Nahuatl, which were added at a later date and are “subsequent and coincidental to the [pictorial] compositions” (Douglas 289). There is scholarly speculation as to whether or not Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (c. 1578-1650) authored the glosses (see Dibble, *Codex* 21 and Hoyo 343-44).

The scattered stone blocks and mound of grass indicate that when Xolotl migrated through Tollan, the temple pyramids were already in ruins and overgrown with weeds. According to Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (c. 1578-1650), when Xolotl learned the Toltec lands and kingdoms of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl (c. AD 923-47) had been destroyed he deemed it an ideal place to settle because it was desolate and uninhabited (*Sumaria relación* 291-92; second account). Effectively in **Fig. 4.4** the footprints bear right or south past two localities, where Xolotl stands above a toponym drawn in much larger scale than other sites mentioned in the migration account, a pre-Hispanic convention to indicate the significance this element occupies in the narrative. In cartographic histories, narrative action is significant for the geographic space it occupies on the map: “Events in these histories are subsumed by location, because what happens is less important than where it happens” and “the fact that it occurred in a certain location” (Boone, *Stories* 164). On folio 1, *Codex Xolotl* both the large-scale toponym and figure of Xolotl identify the Chichimec protagonists and signal the prominence of this locality as an important geographic and historic landmark in the migration account.

One primary function of Aztec maps was the delimitation of property and of collective space (Galarza 128-29). Territory was appropriated in the naming of places to signify their occupation and settlement. Toponyms were a cartographic means of reaffirming possession of the land. In Aztec maps, what mattered was the community or city-state whose toponym figures in a primordial location of the pictorial account (129-30). Joyce Marcus identifies specific themes concerned with the political manipulation of history in Mesoamerica, including territorial boundaries and map-making to the naming of nobles (152). Toponyms aided rulers in defining polities and delimiting the

politico-territorial boundaries of kingdoms through a series of natural landmarks. In Mesoamerican maps “the named landmarks are those on the borders of the territory, not places close to the capital; it was the territorial limits that concerned most rulers” (153).

In the *Codex Xolotl*, series of footprints and toponyms across folio 1 (**Fig. 4.1**) follow the pre-Hispanic convention of a tour, itinerary, or circuit path that advances the historical narrative in space and time, and that delimits the landscape as a sequence of place names and boundaries (Robertson 180). As elite Nahuatl discourse, one function of the toponyms in **Fig. 4.4** is that they give name to the specific places along the migratory route of Xolotl, an historical claim which reaffirms his arrival and initial exploration of the territory. Another message intended in the toponymic reference to the ancient Toltec city of Tula-Tollan is that Xolotl, his descendants, and vassals were the first migrant group of Chichimecs to occupy the northeastern region of the valley after the Toltec cities had been deserted.

However, ancient Mesoamerican representations of space also sought to determine and establish the boundaries of both the mythical and the real (Galarza 129). While this tradition characterizes the imperial history of México-Tenochtitlan, the Texcocan maps are not explicitly religious in content. Donald Robertson explains how “the Mexican divine revelation history oriented in time” is distinct from “[the] rational geographically oriented history of Texcoco” (115). Acolhua history is thus more “explicable in a rational context” rather than a mythical one (135). As previously mentioned, native manuscripts of a seemingly secular nature, such as the historical *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps, were redrafted from earlier models, edited for content, and submitted as documentary evidence in Spanish legal proceedings: “Because

of the fate of Don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecateatl, they had to and did sift out anything that could be explicitly read as idolatrous or seditious” (Douglas 290).

Still, it can be argued the migration accounts of the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps contain implicit references to ancient religious myth and the Mesoamerican divine. Walter D. Mignolo has noted how the native ruling class and nobility maintained the “ancient Amerindian model of territoriality” in the colonial New World to ensure their survival, through “acts of territorial depiction designed to maintain and protect their material possessions as well as the memory of their ancestors” (*The Darker Side* 303). In this respect the migration account of Folio 1, *Codex Xolotl* is a colonial Nahua form of integration discourse on various levels. For example, the ancient landscape of the Valley not only supports the imperial history but also fixes or stabilizes the world order of the narrative permanently in space and time. Moreover, the specific mention or inclusion of Tula-Tollan in the migration account is also an allusion to the mythical, historic world order of the ancient Toltecs.

Tollan [In the Place of the Reeds (or Cattails)] was the legendary capital of the Toltecs. The city flourished during the Early Postclassic era (c. AD 900-1200) and is thought by historians to be the archaeological site near modern Tula de Allende, state of Hidalgo, Mexico, a town located just south of the ceremonial center of the ancient city (see **Figs. 4.5-4.6**). For the Aztecs, Tula-Tollan was “a place of divine creation and the cradle of human civilization. . . . both a name and a concept: the city where civilized urban life first developed and civilized urban life itself” (Douglas 284, 304n19). The Aztecs esteemed the Toltecs and other advanced civilizations of early Mesoamerica as their cultural predecessors, whose cities like Teotihuacan (c. 100 BC-AD 600-700) (**Fig.**



Figure 4.5. Temple pyramid in Tula-Tollan, archaeological site near modern Tula de Allende, state of Hidalgo, Mexico, photograph from *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2015. Web. 6 June 2015. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/608609/Tula>>.



Figure 4.6. Columns depicting Atlantean figures of Toltec warriors on temple pyramid, Tula-Tollan, photograph from *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2015. Web. 6 June 2015. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/608609/Tula>>.



Figure 4.7. Pyramid of the Sun in the main temple complex along the Avenue of the Dead, Teotihuacan, thirty miles northeast of modern Mexico City, photograph from *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2015. Web. 6 June 2015. <<http://www.britannica.com/place/Teotihuacan>>.

4.7) and contemporaneous Cholula (c. 100 BC-AD 600-700) were closely associated with Tula-Tollan “because they were centers of urban civilization and political authority” (304n19). The great Toltec cities with their elaborately structured complexes of temple pyramids and ceremonial centers were artistic models for the Aztecs and their monumental architecture, heavily influenced by their explorations of these ancient ruins (see Pasztory 74). This archaism of Toltec culture characterizes arts made for the Aztec ruling elite. The imperial monuments of the Mexica-Tenochca, for example, sought to promote their own rule through legitimate succession by archaistic references to earlier monuments, which represents “a conscious response to the art of earlier civilizations, referred to generically as ‘Toltec’” (74-75, 91).

On folio 1, *Codex Xolotl* the archaistic reference to a mythical Tula-Tollan is comparable to other Aztec migration accounts. In the migration account of the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* (c. 1545-63),⁴⁵ the bunch of reeds has several levels of meaning: as a symbol of abundance and prosperity, and as a metaphor for city, civilization, and highly complex cultural life – all inventions attributed to the ancient Toltecs. It also evokes the mythological concept of an ideal place or a promised land, which can mutually refer to Teotihuacan, Cholula, and other ancient cities as Tula-Tollan (see Bernal-García 88). Furthermore, Tollan was “the model and touchstone of legitimacy for the Nahuatl cities of the Late Postclassic period” (Douglas 304n19). Joyce Marcus explains how Mesoamerican rulers “claimed descent from, or a relationship to, mythical personages”;

⁴⁵ The cartographic histories of the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* (c. 1545-63) were modeled after the *Mapa Pintado en Papel Europeo e Aforrado en el Indiano* (c. 1530-40), also known as the *Mapa de los linderos de Cuauhtinchan y Totomihuacan*, one of the earliest known representations of territory in New Spain (Leibsohn, “Mapping” 503, 505, 507, 519n14, 521n26). Other contemporaries with the Texcocan maps include the *Mapa de Sigüenza* (unknown, c. early 16thC.) and the *Mapas de Cuauhtinchan* (unknown, c. mid- to late 16thC.).

they ruled “because of their links to mythical beings” (15-16). Aztec rulers often sought to associate themselves with the divine lineage and supreme nobility of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl (c. AD 923-47), the last Toltec king. Their texts refer to a primitive Tula-



Figure 4.8. Nopaltzin encounters Toltec ruins, lower right.

Tollan where rulers went to receive the official investiture of power (see Hernández-Murillo, *Quinatzin* 9-15).

The migration account on folio 1, *Codex Xolotl* mentions various notable Toltec monuments and cities that Xolotl and Nopaltzin (r. 1232-63) encountered and

explored in their initial reconnaissance of the northeastern Valley. Footprints and the circular, stylized eyes above trace Nopaltzin’s route past three caves from where he saw Toltec ruins (**Fig. 4.8**, lower right). Below the pyramid, a bunch of reeds drawn above the lower half of a human face or jaw glyphically sign “Toltec” to distinguish them as Toltec temples (Dibble, *Codex* 18-20). Nahuatl glosses read: “Toltec temple. The Toltecs dwelled there. He climbed up to the cave on Cuauyacac, observed the Toltec temple” (trans. Dibble, “The Nahuatl Glosses” 118).

Later in his expedition of the Valley, Nopaltzin visits two pyramids drawn above a cave and a stylized eye (**Fig. 4.9**). A Nahuatl gloss reads: “He came to arrive at the pyramids of Teotihuacan. Then he looked about, saw the pyramids, saw the caves. Then he left” (Dibble, “The Nahuatl Glosses” 118). The narrative emphasizes that Nopaltzin explored the archaeological site of Teotihuacan, the “Birthplace of the Gods,” distinguished by its two large pyramids dedicated to the sun and the moon and



Figure 4.9. Nopaltzin explores Teotihuacan.



Figure 4.10. Xolotl explores a Toltec city.

located in the main temple complex along the Avenue of the Dead, thirty miles northeast of modern Mexico City (22; see **Fig. 4.7**). Below the Pyramid of the Sun, a stairway descends to a lava-formed, subterranean cave-tunnel ending in a series of chambers at the center of the structure, which is revered in Nahua mythology as a place of creation comparable to the legendary “Seven Caves” of Chicomoztoc (see Heyden 131-47). The footprints returning from the upper left-hand corner of Folio 1 in **Fig. 4.10** also trace Xolotl’s separate expedition into the far northeastern sector of the region, where he explored the ruins of a large Toltec city distinguished by the “Toltec” glyph, large scattered stone blocks, mounds or bunches of grass, and a stylized eye at far left (Dibble, *Codex* 22).

Karl Taube has noted similarities between the painterly tradition of Teotihuacan mural art and Chichimec historical maps (e. g., *Codex Xolotl*), where individuals and events are featured “over broad and varied landscapes marked with toponyms” (32-33, 37). Teotihuacan writing is the earliest script of central Mexico, ancestral to the later Postclassic writing systems of the Toltec and Aztec (47-48). According to the doctrine of Topiltzin Quetzalcoatl (c. AD 923-47), to obtain divine knowledge or the wisdom of the gods one had to transcend the earthly realm and enter *Tlillan-Tlapallan* [The Land of Red and Black, or Place of the Black and Red Color]. This knowledge was sought after in the arts and other Toltec institutions attributed to Quetzalcoatl. In admiration of these achievements, later Mesoamerican civilizations referred to his legacy as *toltequidad* [Toltequity]. *Tolteca* [Toltec] can refer to a person from Tula-Tollan or to someone who is civilized, especially craftsmen, artists, and scribes: “The highest praise an artist could

receive was that he worked like a Toltec, and the word for artist was *toltecatl*” (Pasztory 91). In Molina’s *Vocabulario*, *toltecatl* is defined as [skilled in mechanical arts, or master]; and *toltecatoytl* as [mastery of the mechanical arts] (149; see also Sahagún, *Florentine Codex*, Book 10, ch. 8 and Hernández Murillo, *Quinatzin* 9-15).

When taken into account that myth, history, and propaganda were inseparable in Mesoamerican writing (Marcus viii-ix), it becomes significant that the colonial Nahua discourse of the migration account in the *Codex Xolotl* more or less commences the narrative with a toponymic reference to Tula-Tollan, as a metaphor for civilization and as the mythological concept of a promised land (**Fig. 4.4**). It can also be argued that this allusion to the ancient Toltec city also foreshadows the pictorial tone of the narrative. Following this interpretation, while the toponym establishes Xolotl’s passage through and exploration of the Toltec pyramids there, it may also be a metaphorical reference to the place from where Mesoamerican rulers received the investiture of power and divine Toltec rights to lordship. In this context, the other Toltec cities and monuments Xolotl and Nopaltzin subsequently encountered (e.g., Teotihuacan) during their initial expeditions of the Valley acquire a secondary interpretation, as a journey or pilgrimage of the Chichimec leaders to the ancient localities – as a Mesoamerican standard or formality in becoming rulers. Respectively, the archaistic, toponymic references to the Toltec ruins can therefore function as metaphors for the divine, which also locates the migration saga of Chief Xolotl within the temporal-spacial, historico-mythical realm of the Aztec cosmos.

Likewise, the maps give an idealized portrayal of Xolotl and his descendants as Chichimec migrants, warriors, and hunters, which must have served the colonial

Texcocan lords in (re)establishing their dynasty's Chichimec origins and lineage. While Mesoamerican rulers esteemed the ancient Toltecs as predecessors for their cultural advancements, the Texcocan maps make clear that Aztec rulers and their colonial descendants also regarded Chichimec heritage as essential to their royal, ethnic, and historical identities. In Aztec migration accounts, “Traits of both of these idealized ancestral cultures are . . . part of the dual conception of the cultural origins of the Aztecs, who believed themselves descended from both savage Chichimecs and civilized Toltecs” (Smith, *The Aztecs* 39). It can therefore be argued the colonial migration accounts of the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps rely on an elite discourse of images that recall ancient Chichimec themes of hunting rituals and mythological origins, and that also function as metaphors for the divine in the Aztec cosmos.

Such metaphorical images were important elements in painted migration accounts as they pertained to the elite ethnicity of Mesoamerican rulers. The *Mapas de Cuauhtinchan* (unknown, c. mid- to late 16thC.) and *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* (c. 1545-63), for example, record the migrations of the Tolteca-Chichimeca factions from Tlaxcala after the fall of Tula.⁴⁶ John M. D. Pohl discusses how these accounts “reflect a more traditional system of cognitive mapping, in which legends associated with particular geographical features were recounted by tribal chiefs in the course of seasonal hunting migrations” (147). Some



Figure 4.11. Chichimecs in deerskins with bows and arrows walking through the Valley of Mexico, pictorial image from *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* (MS 51-53; folio 7v, p13).

⁴⁶ Tlaxcala was an independent city-state in eastern central Mexico not subject to the Aztec Empire and an ally of Hernán Cortés in the conquest of México-Tenochtitlan (1521).

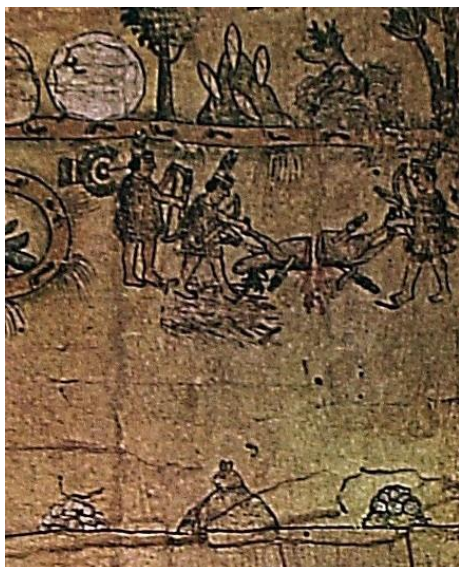


Figure 4.12. Chichimecs hunting deer intermingled with scenes of conquest, pictorial image from Keiko Yoneda, *Los mapas de Cuauhtinchan* (Map. No. 2).

allusions to this theme are metaphorically represented in the portrayal of Chichimec migrants moving through the valley as if on a hunting trip in the desert (146), as in the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*, where men in deerskins with bows and arrows make their way through the ancient Toltec valley (**Fig. 4.11**); and in the *Cuauhtinchan* maps scenes of deer hunting intermingle with the

conquests of rulers from other city-states (**Figs. 4.12-4.13**); moreover, in Classic Nahuatl the term

for a deer trap or snare also signifies the “road to Tollan,” the legendary capital city of the Toltecs (Pohl 146-47 and Ruiz de Alarcón 3).

In the pre-Hispanic era, migration stories also helped establish new concepts of elite Mesoamerican ethnicity for the ruling classes. Chichimec tribal legends had a propagandistic function, and were ideal for lords who sought to claim a common, migrant Chichimec origin and their rights to lordship as civilized Toltecs. As such, colonial migration accounts like the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* and the *Cuauhtinchan Maps*

likewise emphasize a legendary migration saga that leads to the founding of territory and principal *tecalli* [ruling houses] as political units. (153-55;



Figure 4.13. See above.

see also Florescano 335-36). As Pohl explains, “In the interest of emphasizing an ‘outsider’s’ divine right to rule, the Chichimec legends thereby became the legitimate means of conceptualizing a political landscape, . . . painted migration stories were the records that supported the political structure” (147). The imperial families of Tlaxcala, central Mexico, and Oaxaca all had distinct migration accounts, which furthermore exposes the “differing socio-political strategies and belief systems” of the Mesoamerican kingdoms, and their “[d]ivergence in terms of pictorializing the politics of landscape” (153, 156).

The migration accounts of the Texcocan maps also allude to Chichimec tribal legends through metaphorical representation. On folio 1, *Codex Xolotl*, Chief Xolotl and Nopaltzin are identified as nomadic migrants dressed in deerskins and carrying bows and arrows, typical attributes in Aztec migration accounts of their rustic character as Chichimecs. The bow and arrow pairing have many connotations; in the Texcocan maps they symbolize the Chichimec ancestry and lineage of Xolotl and ruling descendants, as well as allude to their nomadic lifestyle as migrant hunters and gatherers [cf. Panel 1, *Mapa Tlotzin* and *Mapa Quinatzin*, **Figs. 4.2-4.3**]. As discussed in Chapter 3, the formal address of don Carlos recalls the imperial *huehuetlatolli* orations of the Aztec monarchs, and employs poetic, complementary phrasing and metaphor to authenticate and legitimate his political argument, in which he expresses nostalgia for the socio-political order advocated by his dynastic predecessors Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli. Similarly, metaphor also structures the colonial, imperial Acolhua imagery of the Texcocan maps, as “the primary trope of Nahuatl poetry and Nahuatl aristocratic language” (Douglas 286,

289).⁴⁷ In the *Codex Xolotl* the bow and arrow pairing or couplet functions as an important metaphor for Chichimec rulership, “privilegio que . . . se limita a los jefes chichimecas” [a privilege that . . . is limited to the Chichimec rulers]” (Dibble, *Codex* 35-36).

The *Quinatzin* map also depicts the Chichimec migrants as nomads wearing deerskins or furs, carrying bows and arrows, and hunting a deer. Wounded by one of the



Figure 4.14. Allusions to Chichimec legends and ritual in the *Quinatzin* map.

arrows, the series of tracks indicate the deer fled and and died [near a cave] (**Fig. 4.14**). A Nahuatl gloss above barely reads “Hirieron a una bestia” [They wounded (or hunted) a wild animal] (Spanish trans., Aubin 89). This imagery also evokes a ritual deer-hunting scene or other similar event practiced or reenacted by the Texcocan dynasts in the pre-Hispanic era (see Lesbre, “Algunas” 107-09).

Moreover, the Nahuatl gloss concludes with an allusion to another ritual ceremony they

⁴⁷ The multivalency of Aztec symbolism compares to the complexity of meanings expressed through Nahuatl linguistic tropes: “As the Nahuatl language is richer in nouns than in verb inflections, Aztec art is richer in emblems than in actions. Meaning lies in the internal composition of the images, particularly the complex emblems, and in the placing of the motifs in relation to each other. This may be compared to the complex inflection of noun forms in the Nahuatl language. . . . The meaning of the individual motifs in art could have multiple associations and, as in poetry, the meaning of the whole included several messages simultaneously transmitted on different levels. Such multiple meanings and associations were admired by the Aztecs, whose rhetorical speeches and poems abound in metaphors” (Pasztory 72).

practiced involving smoke, which barely reads “así como ‘al humo con el que se idolatraba’” [as well as ‘to the smoke with which it was idolized’] (Aubin 90).

Similarly, the migration account of the *Tlotzin* map portrays Xolotl, Nopaltzin, and Tlotzin as migrant hunters with bows and arrows, as they move through the Valley together with their respective wives (**Fig. 4.15**). In the context of Chichimec tribal legends, this scene could also reference a deer-hunting ritual or ceremony, as there are wild, deer-like animals surrounding them, though they are not being hunted or wounded with arrows as in the *Quinatzin* map.

Other discursive images that evoke ancient Chichimec themes in the Texcocan maps can function as metaphors for mythological origins. On folio 1, *Codex Xolotl* as previously mentioned, after passing through Tula-Tollan the footprints bear right or south to where the large-scale toponym and figure of Xolotl indicate a significant event at this point in the narrative – the founding of the first Chichimec polity in the emergent Acolhua kingdom (**Figs. 4.1, 4.4**). Respectively, Xolotl’s personal name-glyph is affixed to his feet, which also signs the place-name Xoloque, named in his honor. Nopaltzin (r. 1232-63) is seated to the right identified by the *nopal* glyph [prickly pear cactus] (Dibble, *Codex* 18). A Nahuatl gloss also reads: “Xolotl came to arrive here. He named [the place] Xolotl. The ruler of the Chichimeca brought his son named Nopaltzin. When he came to arrive then he looked about, he beheld there where he went to settle. Then coming there



Figure 4.15. Allusions to Chichimec legends and ritual in the *Tlotzin* map.

Xolotl brought the Chichimeca” (trans. Dibble, “The Nahuatl Glosses” 118).

The toponym for Xoloque both occupies and symbolizes a primordial site in the narrative. This was a place of many caves and caverns, the principal dwellings of Chichimecs (Dibble, *Codex* 18). The Texcocan maps emphasize this customary preference by the Chichimecs of Xolotl for inhabiting caves early in the migration account. Nahuatl glosses on folio 1 also stress that during his exploration of the Toltec pyramids at Teotihuacan, Nopaltzin “climbed up to the cave on Cuauyacac. . . . He saw the caves at Huexotla. . . . He sought out the caves. . . . Then he looked about, saw the pyramids, saw the caves” (trans. Dibble, “The Nahuatl Glosses” 118).

Whereas the toponyms for Tula-Tollan and Teotihuacan allude to the concepts of great Toltec cities, civilization, and the divine seat of Mesoamerican authority from which rulers acquired their rights to Toltec lordship, the toponymic references to caves can also be interpreted as metaphors. Dana Leibsohn discusses the specific native identities organized by the *Cuauhtinchan Maps* (unknown, c. mid- to late 16thC.), and how they “comprised a visual discourse on history and geography” for the early colonial Nahua communities of the region (“Primers for Memory” 164-65). Leibsohn maintains that such painted maps represented geography and history as codependent entities, for “land took on meaning only when engendered with historical event. Cartographic histories made manifest a slippery hermeneusis: places were significant in memory because they were the sites of ancestral deeds, and ancestral deeds were worthy of remembrance because they occurred at significant places” (175).

In ancient Mesoamerica “claims to nobility were staked on the naming of specific earthly places, usually mountains with caves in them, as places of origin” (Tedlock 168).

Caves were closely associated with the mythical Seven Caves of Chicomoztoc revered by the Aztecs “as the place from which their ancestors



Figure 4.16. Toponymic references to caves in the *Tlotzin* map.

emerged”; and in the Texcocan maps they symbolize the founding of polities (Boone, *Stories* 194; cf. **Figs. 4.4, 4.16,** and **4.17**). Thus in **Fig. 4.4** the toponym for Xoloque can refer to the ancestral Chichimec custom of cave-dwelling while it also alludes to a mythical point of origin, which in turn locates the founding of the first Acolhua-Chichimec polity in Anahuac on a level of the divine in the Aztec cosmos.

Like the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* and *Cuauhtinchan Maps*, the Texcocan



Figure 4.17. Toponymic references to caves in the *Quinatzin* map.

maps emphasize a migration saga that leads to the founding of the first principal *tecalli* [ruling houses], a “crucial feature of all the Nahuatl accounts of the past” (Boone, *Stories* 164). Effectively, after founding Xoloque, the migration account tells how Xolotl made subsequent expeditions into the region after

which he performs the ritual *toma de posesión* [taking possession] of Toltec lands, and founds the cavernous capital of Tenayuca as the first *Chichimecatecuhtli* [Lord of the Chichimecs] of Acolhuacan (**Fig. 4.18**). From this point forward the Texcocan maps

begin to document the gradual assimilation by Xolotl and his successors of Mesoamerican (i. e., Toltec) culture. The former ruling families of the Aztec Empire thus repainted their imperial histories through a colonial, pictorial Nahuatl discourse. In the cartographic histories of sixteenth-century New Spain, this discursive imagery privileges the separate and individual migration accounts of the different elite ethnicities in the region before and after the arrival of the Spaniards, which ultimately asserts their “original and continual autonomy” in claiming their polities “have always, from the point of origin, been independent and self-reliant” (164).



Figure 4.18. Toponymic references to caves in the *Xolotl* map, the founding of the Acolhua capital at Tenayuca.

As previously set forth in this chapter, the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps were mostly likely commissioned by don Carlos’s relatives, the Texcocan lords, to forge a new colonial image of the former Acolhua capital of Texcoco, for both the native community and Spanish authorities. Indeed the maps address both audiences, for the Texcocan lords seem to have intended them as legal support

in order to preserve their patrimonial lands from usurpation by both natives and Spaniards. Following the sale of don Carlos’s confiscated lands by Bishop Zumárraga to Spaniard Alonso de Contreras, litigations arose over the *cacicazgos* [chiefdoms] and private estates of the Texcocan lords, who contested ownership of don Carlos’s lands in the *Oztoticpac Lands Map* (1540) commissioned by his half-brother Antonio Pimentel Tlahuilotzin (r. 1540-45), claiming his estate as seignorial property of Texcoco (see **Fig. 3.1**).

While the outcome of this suit is not known, it is clear from the *Oztoticpac* map, as Howard F. Cline explains, that in 1536 after don Carlos married and went to live on the Oztoticpac estate, he “purposefully set about to develop orchards, both by introduction of Spanish trees and more significantly, by using their scions to graft onto native stocks” (Cline 106). It is also known that by the time Spaniard Contreras filed his counterpetition for the land on January 15, 1541, “the Oztoticpac lands, or at least the orchards, had apparently passed from ancestral Texcocan noble Aztec hands into Spanish” (106-07). At this time don Antonio and the Texcocan lords allied with a Spaniard, Pedro Vásquez de Vergara, who had a business venture with don Carlos of European fruit trees and grafts which he had provided to him (Douglas 285). Cline links the *Oztoticpac* map with its cognate manuscript, Fragment VI (c. 1546) of the *Codex Humboldt* (c. 1500-1600), also a cadastral-style legal map that records the litigation of the Oztoticpac portion of lands of don Carlos and his relatives, and gives its dimensions with the Aztec metric system (94; see also Glass and Robertson 81-252, entry no. 150).

Apparently, don Antonio is associated with the production and patronage of this manuscript and several others, and “his involvement in their production or use attests to his active push for maintenance of the local nobility’s traditional rights and his ability to engage the viceregal government to that end” (Benton n. pag., internet resource).⁴⁸

Humboldt Fragment VI even depicts don Antonio’s participation in the colonial legal discursive arena as he acts out the process of litigation at center left (n. pag.; see **Fig.**

4.19).⁴⁹ Cline hypothesizes that both manuscripts “may have involved demonstration of

⁴⁸ See also the 1545 will of Antonio Pimentel Tlahuilotzin (r. 1540-45), in Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) Tierras, vol. 3594, exp. 2, 1v-6r, and transcribed in Horcasitas (1978).

⁴⁹ Cline also details pictorially the land litigants or principals in the litigation c. 1540 on *Humboldt Fragment VI* (see 107, Fig. 22).

other Texcocan pictorials such as *Mappe Quinatzin* and *Mappe Tlotzin* to support seignorial claims to lands sequestered by the Inquisition” (94). He further illustrates that in both the *Oztoticpac* and *Fragment VI* manuscripts “we find the ruling family seeking to show that Oztoticpac was never part of don Carlos’ personal holdings and hence could not be sequestered and sold, but that it should be returned to the town of Texcoco” (107).



Figure 4. 19. Don Antonio participates in the colonial litigative process at center left, pictorial image from *Humboldt Fragment VI*; reprint in Benton (n. pag), courtesy, Trustees of the British Museum.

Eduardo de J. Douglas contributes to the significance of Cline’s discussion in a paraphrase, where he explains how the plots of land identified in the *Oztoticpac* map are defined “as either transferable property or inalienable patrimonial land tied to the Acolhua royal palace and family,” and that the manuscript therefore “argues for an indissoluble link between royal blood and royal land” (285). He goes on to establish the intertextual relationship between the *Oztoticpac* map and the Texcocan cartographic

histories, for their shared or common focus on the city of Texcoco and its royal dynasty, particularly during the reigns of Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, and that while “The litigation of 1540 argued for the existence of inalienable royal patrimony; the *Quinatzin*, *Tlohtzin*, and Codex Xolotl established its historical genesis, and thereby the legitimacy of the royal family and its claims, in an insistently indigenous format” (286). All four maps, he maintains, had to meet with new colonial challenges, such as as “allay[ing] Spanish fears of apostasy and sedition” (286).

As Dana Leibsohn observes, while cartographic histories provide a reliable discursive framework for history, “the images they employ also support multiple, and perhaps conflictual, recitations. Hence these paintings were symbolic arenas, in which many identities and historical memories were negotiated over time” (“Primers for Memory” 164-65, 171). In this context, the Mesoamerican landscape or colonial discursive framework of *Codex Xolotl*, *Mapa Tlotzin*, and *Mapa Quinatzin* locates the founding of the Texcocan dynasty in a remote, pre-Hispanic history, by which the Texcocan lords negotiated their elite and legitimate entitlement to the land. In this respect, the maps are inherently colonial manuscripts and therefore they participate in two types of colonial discourse. Firstly, as a pre-Hispanic imperial narrative filtered through the colonial, discursive monopoly on native history by the Nahua aristocracy, since the new imagery derives from ancient Mesoamerican models of writing that privileged ruler speech; and secondly, as judicial, pictorial records of evidence submitted to secular tribunals in land litigations and court proceedings, which also resituates the dynastic history of the Texcocan maps within the colonial, legal discursive arena of New Spain.

As established in the introductory Chapter 1, earlier colonial discourse theory did not encompass nor address the relationship between European letters and native literacies in the colonial New World. The criminal proceedings of don Carlos and the cartographic narratives of the *Codex Xolotl*, *Mapa Tlotzin*, and *Mapa Quinatzin* concern the Texcocan dynasts and their royal colonial descendants, the Texcocan lords. This intertextuality between the manuscripts makes possible a comparison and contrast of the texts, despite their dissimilar discursive genres. Respectively, this discussion examined the rhetorical form and function of the discourses comprising the manuscript corpus in order to illustrate how Spaniards and Nahuas rewrote native imperial history to their advantage in early colonial New Spain.

The analysis began with the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal*, which establishes the intertextuality of the corpus, as don Carlos' conviction for heresy, execution, and the subsequent sale of his confiscated lands incited the oral-pictorial discourse of the Texcocan maps. The writings of St. Augustine (AD 354-430) were the rhetorical model for inquisitorial manuals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which was based on a dichotomy of internal faith and external heresy. In the *Proceso criminal*, this discourse is evident in the portrayal of Francisco and the Chiconautla witnesses who denounce don Carlos as model converts, as their morality attests to their internal assimilation of Christianity. In turn the pious testimonies stand in marked contrast to the speech attributed to don Carlos, which emphasizes his immorality and persistent, external rejection of the Christian faith.

Conversely, as a subtext or counter-discourse to the inquisitorial rhetoric of the *Proceso criminal*, the pre-Hispanic, Aztec oral-historical tradition informs the discourse

of don Carlos, as preserved in the Chiconautla testimonies. This tradition promotes the utopian cause of a return to the ancient Nahua order in Texcoco, as celebrated and upheld by his dynastic forefathers, the Texcocan kings [kings Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli]. In the *Proceso criminal*, this rhetoric is evident in his alleged speech, which recalls the elocution and oratory of Aztec *huehuetlatolli* or ancestral discourse, as both an admonition from elders to youths, and as a formal oration similar to those delivered on the succession of new rulers before the group of native lords in his presence. As a subtext, the discourse of don Carlos inadvertently vindicates Aztec monarchical rule and his own legitimate succession as ruler of Texcoco so unjustly deprived him by the colonizers.

Similarly, the Aztec oral-pictorial tradition, particularly the topography of the Mesoamerican landscape, forms the rhetorical model for the cartographic narratives of the *Codex Xolotl*, *Mapa Tlotzin*, and *Mapa Quinatzin*. The migration accounts of Chief Xolotl, for example, employ toponymic metaphors to claim the Texcocan dynasty's Chichimec origins and its Toltec rights to lordship and political autonomy. In this colonial, elite Nahua discourse of images, the toponymic references to Toltec ruins and Chichimec caves may also function as metaphors for the divine, which in turn locates the migration saga of Chief Xolotl within the temporal-spacial, historico-mythical realm of the Aztec cosmos.

In conclusion, the dissertation proposes an interdisciplinary, intertextual approach to better understand the dynamics of colonial discourse across a diversity of genres, particularly in the Texcocan corpus of manuscripts, and the different standards and

expectations which Spaniards and Nahuas conformed to for rewriting and negotiating historical truth.

Conclusion

This chapter proposed a reading of the dynastic history of Texcoco as colonial Nahua discourse in the native-style maps known as the *Codex Xolotl* (c. 1540), *Mapa Tlotzin* (c. 1542-46), and *Mapa Quinatzin* (c. 1542-46). It explained how the maps rewrote the pre-Hispanic, imperial history of Texcoco as an elite discourse of images, for the colonial Texcocan aristocracy as well as for colonial authorities in the legal discourse of New Spain. The discussion further illustrated how the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps draw from ancient Mesoamerican models of writing to idealize or glorify the Acolhua Empire. While this colonial elite discourse manifests in multiple forms and on various textual levels of the Texcocan maps, which merits much more analytical attention, this discussion was limited to the cartographic representation of space that provides the discursive framework for the narratives, which exalt the historical antiquity of Texcoco and the illustrious reigns of the Texcocan dynasts. More specifically, the analysis demonstrated how the Chichimec migration saga of *Xolotl* reproduces ancient Acolhua models of territoriality and elite ethnicity to assert the legitimacy of the colonial Texcocan lords by demonstrating, through ancestral and dynastic right, their pre-Hispanic entitlement to the land.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

A problem in traditional colonial Latin American criticism was that it did not account for native systems of writing and preserving historical knowledge. Recent scholarship has revisited this theoretical model and its applicability to colonial Latin America. While the concept of discourse reveals how different societies encoded knowledge and envisioned themselves in the world, the more inclusive term colonial discourse now accounts for native forms of representation as alternative literacies within the traditional canon of recognized works. In this diversity of colonial productions, the notion of texts as cultural, material sign inscriptions allows for a more ample comparison and interpretation of the cultural, discursive exchange that occurred between Europeans and natives in colonial Latin America.

This exchange must also be understood in terms of the discursive, rhetorical frameworks or genres that contain the texts or narratives, whether alphabetic, oral-pictorial, or other graphic form. This dissertation employs colonial discourse theory as a means for comparing the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal* to the native ancestral discourse of don Carlos preserved in the testimonies therein, and to the oral-pictorial discourse of the Texcocan maps or cartographic histories. As these manuscripts pertain to the imperial history of Texcoco and its dynastic line of rulers, the intertextual relationship between them further allows for a comparison of how each text rewrites or negotiates a representation of the Texcocan dynasty, each from within their respective discourse genres.

While the first publication of the *Proceso criminal* was not until 1910, it has received some recent historical attention in colonial Latin American scholarship, notably

Martín Lienhard's reference to a rebel discourse in the proceedings and his identification of a *huehuetlatolli* rhetoric in the speech of don Carlos. However a detailed analysis of the manuscript with respect to the different discourses it contains has been lacking from a critical literary perspective until now, which I have attempted to address in this study. Conversely, despite the long trajectory of ownership for the Texcocan maps and their 1899 inclusion in the *Catalogue of Mexican Manuscripts* at the National Library of France, various schools of discipline have interpreted these texts with a range of methodological approaches [to their meaning]. More recent studies consider their colonial genre as native-style historical maps or cartographic histories, and they also understand the trial of don Carlos to be the politico-historical context for the elaboration of the maps. Nonetheless, an interdisciplinary, comparative analysis of the discourses that govern the *Proceso criminal* (1539) and the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps (c. 1540-46) from within their respective genres, as the former discourse elicited the latter, is still lacking in the scholarly exploration of this particular corpus of documents.

This discussion began with the inquisitorial discourse of the *Proceso criminal* as the intertextual basis against which the native elite discourse or formal orations of don Carlos, and the colonial, oral-pictorial discourse of the *Xolotl*, *Tlotzin*, and *Quinatzin* maps can be compared. The historico-literary analysis demonstrated some of the discursive methods and strategies used by the Mexican Inquisition to convict don Carlos and other natives guilty of heresy, such as the demonization of Nahua cultural and religious practices. In this representation the Texcocan dynasts and their colonial descendants are deemed idolators for upholding ancestral traditions, a portrayal which ultimately served to justify colonization in Spanish historiography. The historico-literary

analysis of the native discourse preserved in the *Proceso criminal*, in turn, revealed some of the discursive strategies adopted by the rulers of Texcoco and other local communities in response to the Spanish occupation. As a subtext or counter discourse in the proceedings, this representation of Texcoco's imperial history promotes the utopian cause of the ancient Nahua order, which inadvertently vindicates, rather than incriminates don Carlos as an advocate of ancestral tradition. The art-historical analysis of the Texcocan maps illustrated some of the discursive means by which don Carlos's relatives rewrote the imperial history of Texcoco as a colonial, Nahua discourse of images to secure their patrimonial lands from both natives and Spaniards in the early colonial legal arena. In this representation, the ancient Mesoamerican landscape or discursive framework of the maps locates the founding of the Texcocan dynasty in a remote pre-Hispanic history, by which don Carlos's relatives negotiated their legitimate entitlement to the land.

As evidenced from the discussion above, the corpus of early colonial manuscripts pertaining to other native communities outside of México-Tenochtitlan, such as the Acolhua Empire and Texcocan dynasty, are valuable sources for understanding a more comprehensive history of the pre-Hispanic Aztecs and their colonial descendants, the Nahua aristocracy, in sixteenth-century New Spain. The analyses offered here focus on the discursive representation of native imperial history in these texts, as governed by the rhetorical capacities or limitations of their respective discourse genres.

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