

UCLA

UCLA Historical Journal

Title

The "Original Conquest" of Oaxaca: Mixtec and Nahua History and Myth

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7fw385vg>

Journal

UCLA Historical Journal, 12(0)

Authors

Terraciano, Kevin
Sousa, Lisa M.

Publication Date

1992

Copyright Information

Copyright 1992 by the author(s). All rights reserved unless otherwise indicated. Contact the author(s) for any necessary permissions. Learn more at <https://escholarship.org/terms>

Peer reviewed

The "Original Conquest" of Oaxaca: Mixtec and Nahua History and Myth

Kevin Terraciano and Lisa M. Sousa

Once upon a time, or in the 1520s, four Nahua warriors from central Mexico responded to a call for help from the great "Noblewoman of the Zapotec" in distant Oaxaca. She complained that the cannibalistic Mixtecs were threatening her children and had eaten members of a previous war party sent to help her. The warriors appeared before Hernando Cortés, the "Ruler of the Children of the Sun," and sought to convince him by staging a mock battle that they could succeed where others had fallen. Impressed by this show of force, Cortés sent them to war. They fought their way through the mountainous Mixteca and descended into the Valley of Oaxaca, where they confronted and defeated the voracious Mixtecs amid a windstorm and earthquake. In victory, they were given a place for their descendants to settle. Then Cortés himself came to Oaxaca and as the uneasy alliance disintegrated, the Spaniards and Nahuas prepared for war. As the battle commenced, the Nahuas frightened and confounded the Spaniards by unleashing a flood of water from underground. When the humbled Spaniards sued for peace, the Nahuas proudly proclaimed that they had defeated everyone, and had even captured a few black slaves. These "famous Mexicans" called their victory the "original conquest."

But there are two sides to every story. The Mixtecs naturally found this Nahua version of the "original conquest" a little distasteful. Their own account of these events differed considerably. They claimed to have welcomed and honored Cortés when he came

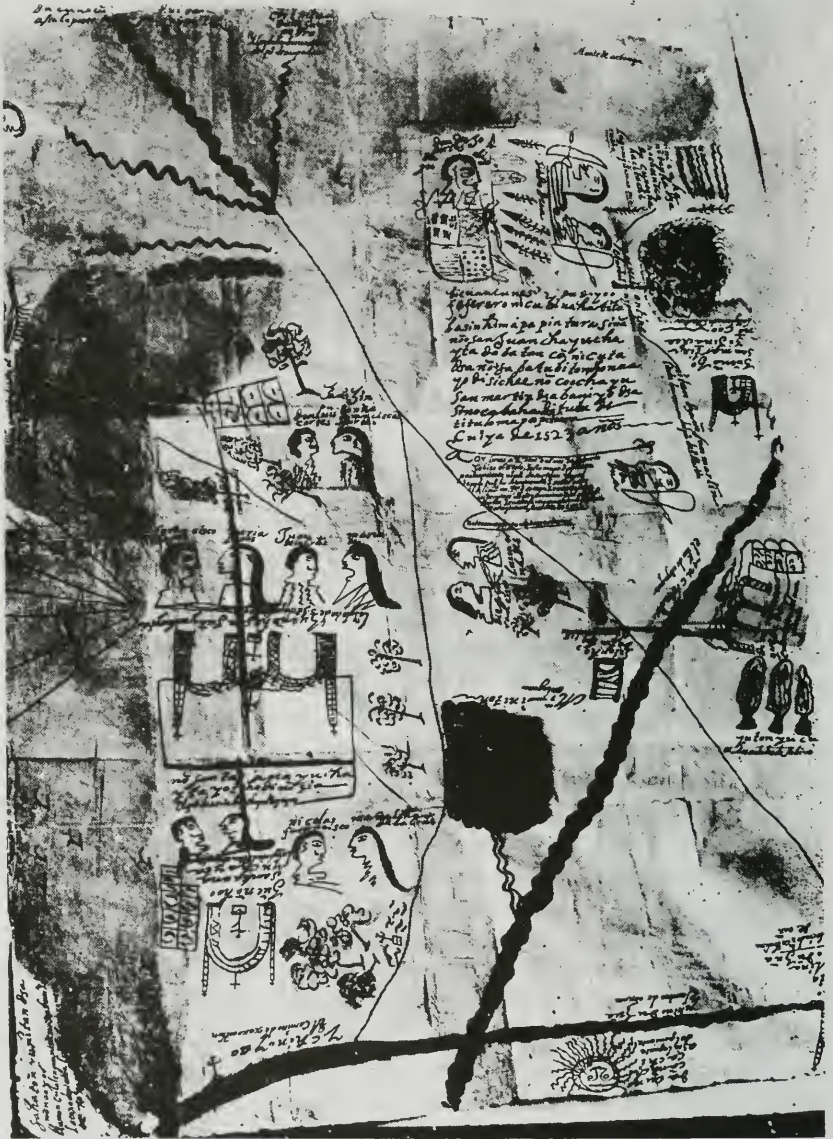


Figure 1: Mixtec map and painting of San Juan Chapultepec.

to Oaxaca, and to have given him and his men some land to settle when they were in need. All was well until he returned with a group of Nahuas from central Mexico, with whom they began to fight. The Spaniards intervened and the Mixtecs forced the Nahuas to surrender. The Mixtec ruler cooperated with Cortés and accommodated everyone's interests, even giving the Nahuas a place to settle. Thereafter, Mixtecs, Nahuas, Zapotecs, and Spaniards coexisted peacefully in the Valley of Oaxaca.

These two versions of the Conquest appeared in the 1690s, when a Mixtec and a Nahua community from the Valley of Oaxaca presented "titles" in their respective languages as claims to disputed territory. The documents were fraudulently dated from the time of the Conquest, almost two centuries earlier; representatives of the communities purported to have just found them before submitting them to Spanish officials. Both present interpretations of events surrounding the Conquest, relating how they came to possess the land which they claimed at the end of the seventeenth century.

In this chapter, we translate and explicate sections of the two lengthy manuscripts, written entirely in the Mixtec and Nahuatl languages. The Nahuatl version is ostensibly dated 1525 and consists of twenty-four pages; the eleven-page Mixtec document bears the date of 1523 and is accompanied by a simulated preconquest-style map.¹ Our transcriptions and translations of the titles are among the first to be published in either language. In fact, the Mixtec title is the only such document in that language to be identified to date; the Nahuatl text represents the only known title to be written by a Nahua satellite community outside of central Mexico. This chapter addresses several issues relevant to the little-known titles genre, as well as more specific questions concerning the interaction of indigenous groups in the colonial period. The titles from Oaxaca attend to the complex topics of Mixtec and Nahua ethnic identity and historical consciousness. Our chapter begins by describing this eclectic genre of indigenous writing from colonial Mexico.

The Titles Genre

The titles genre constitutes one of the most discursive, unpredictable forms of indigenous writing found in local and national Mexican archives. Indeed, very few historians who have encountered such documents, and can read them, have known what to

make of them. Titles have only recently been recognized as a distinct genre, though their conspicuous claim to early colonial dates and bizarre pictorials have beguiled historians for some time. Stephanie Wood recently remarked that "the study of primordial titles is still in its infancy."² James Lockhart confirmed that there have been very few studies of titles "first because only a small portion of the probably extant corpus has been discovered and second because of the enormous difficulty of the texts."³

The titles are in many respects unlike other indigenous-language sources. Rather than local records written for an internal audience, like most mundane documents, titles were aimed at a mixed indigenous and Spanish readership. Judging by language, handwriting, and dates of presentation, no known example predates the mid-seventeenth century. However, most purport to be early sixteenth-century accounts of the arrival of Cortés and the subsequent settlement and possession of lands. Many are accompanied by contrived preconquest-style pictorial components. Some modern scholars have adopted the term *títulos primordiales* (primordial titles) to refer to them: "título" denotes that the document is essentially a claim to land; "primordial" was added later by scholars in reference to the antiquated origins to which the titles usually lay claim. They were in some shape or form based on officially sanctioned Spanish land titles, though they rarely fooled Spanish officials and were usually promptly rejected.⁴ We refer to them here as simply "titles" or "false titles."

Some of the best known documents associated with false titles are the so-called "Techialoyan Codices" from central Mexico. These manuscripts are predominantly pictorial with glosses and short texts in Nahuatl, painted on native paper.⁵ Though the authors or artists intended to apply an ancient veneer to the manuscripts, European stylistic conventions abound.⁶ False titles customarily contain fewer pictorial elements than Techialoyans and were usually done on European paper.

Both the Techialoyan codices and the false titles belong to an oral and written Mesoamerican tradition of asserting and documenting claims to land, and the tendency of indigenous communities and caciques to dispute boundaries *ad infinitum*. The documents may have been designed for local audiences as well as tools for litigation.⁷ Some titles are little more than a founding leader's testament, with none of the more fantastic features associated with the genre; indeed, testaments accompanied both the Mixtec and Nahuatl titles presented below.⁸ Though the written testament in

colonial Mexico was based on a European model, the indigenous will evolved to become a title to individual lands and proof of hereditary succession; it had never been such an all-encompassing legal document in Spain. Both testaments and titles, like many other genres of postconquest indigenous writing, fulfilled many pre-conquest written and/or oral functions and retained remnants of ancient discourse.

Some of the falsified documents were produced in response to Spanish demands of title verification. The *composiciones* (legalization of land titles) resulting from this program date from the 1690s until the 1720s. Leaders of communities who failed to submit legal titles were forced to produce some record of their claims for the surveyors, whether maps and paintings or other written materials. Community representatives were frequently consulted to substantiate territorial boundaries.⁹ Official papers concerning land were prized and guarded possessions throughout the colonial period; those who had none would often suddenly "find" some. Retention of community landholdings was unlikely in the absence of such documents.¹⁰

The title verification program reflected changes in early Mexican society itself. It was not until the late seventeenth century that the need for producing such titles arose, when indigenous demographic renewal and an expanding Hispanic sector exerted new demands for lands. The program attempted to repossess all "vacant" land, which was legally royal domain, occupied without formal grant or proper title. Consequently, in the proceedings and subsequent sale of genuine titles, the Crown and its officials gained additional revenue.¹¹ Many indigenous communities were forced to respond to these increasing pressures, but few had the requisite Spanish legal documentation from the early colonial period. Some were tempted to produce their own titles, not fully aware of a legitimate title's format, content or language, and passed the manuscripts over to Spanish authorities as early colonial documents.

In addition to the verification program, other titles were produced to support claims to territory in disputes with neighboring indigenous communities. Though Hispanics were involved in the case presented below, the main issue concerned a dispute between Mexicapan and Chapultepec which may have originated around the time of the Conquest or even before. Internal conflicts also stimulated a demand for titles. The titles from Oaxaca involved a *cacique* (Spanish term for indigenous ruler derived from an Arawak

word) from Cuilapan who competed with both communities for lands; part of the dispute hinged on the question of whether the lands were held communally by Chapultepec, a subject settlement of Cuilapan, or belonged to the cacique's estate. Land disputes arising from an unclear distinction between private and public domain within indigenous communities were endemic in the late colonial period. Internal conflict is further betrayed by the fact that many titles were apparently conceived outside of local power structures. Wood has suggested that titles did not always serve the interests of the greater community, but rather often catered to the concerns of caciques or competing groups, documenting private as well as community landholding.¹² Factions which were outside of existing official power structures would have been more likely to rewrite history to their own advantage than nobles with official *cabildo* (indigenous Spanish-style municipal council) sponsorship.

Thus, most titles seemed to have been produced in an "underground" fashion. Accordingly, many of the documents were written not by the skilled notaries of the community but by relatively untrained hands.¹³ The official Spanish format is either unknown, misrepresented, or combined with indigenous forms to create a new synthesis. As unofficial manuscripts, they tend to present a more unadulterated image of indigenous expression than genres which adhere closely to a Spanish model. They depict a popular, local impression of events, relying on stereotypes and vague remembrances of symbolic things past.

Many of these documents have been preserved in cases involving land disputes. Nahuatl-language titles are notorious in central Mexico, where a growing Hispanic population stimulated demand for land. The titles from Oaxaca originated in two neighboring communities across the river from the Spanish city of Antequera, the most densely settled part of the Valley in colonial times. The titles cannot be understood outside of the context in which they were written, and so we turn to the Valley of Oaxaca.

The Setting: The Valley of Oaxaca

Oaxaca stands at the crossroads of central and southern Mesoamerica, cradling over a dozen indigenous cultures and languages. The three major language groups of Mesoamerica (outside of the distant Maya and Tarascans)--the Nahuas, Zapotecs, and Mixtecs--converged, and bordered one another in the Valley of Oaxaca. In the centuries before the Spanish Conquest, Monte Albán

had declined as a classic site and was succeeded by myriad communities, united or disunited by shifting and unstable alliances and engaged in sporadic warfare. The Zapotecs were predominant in all three branches of the valley, while Mixtec and Nahuatl communities were clustered in the center; there were also some Mixtec groups scattered in more distant sections of the western branch. The Mexica and their central Mexican allies came to Oaxaca in various waves in the century before the Spanish Conquest, especially in the reigns of Ahuitzotl and Moctezuma II, and founded a tribute and trade post called Huaxyacac at the valley's intersection. Though they represented a very small minority, Nahuatl influence through intermarriage, third-party politics, and empire was considerable. In the sixteenth century, Dominican friars in the valley spoke Nahuatl as an intermediary language, employing bilingual Zapotec nobles as interpreters. The Dominican chronicler, fray Francisco de Burgoa, reported that many of the valley's caciques were fluent in Nahuatl at the time of the Conquest.¹⁴ Nahuatl appears to have also served as a *lingua franca* among indigenous groups living in Antequera.¹⁵

According to the *Relaciones Geográficas* of Teozapotlan and Cuilapan, the first Mixtecs came into the Valley some three centuries before the Spanish Conquest by way of intermarriage. It is said that a lord from Mixtec Yanhuitlan married a sister-in-law of the cacique of Zapotec Teozapotlan, and Cuilapan was given to the couple as a gift. Cuilapan became one of the largest settlements in the valley by the late postclassic period (ca. 1300-1500). Teozapotlan (called *Zaachila* in Zapotec and *Tocuisi* in Mixtec) had been so prominent that the Mixtecs named the whole region *Tocuisi ñuhu* or "land of the white nobles."¹⁶ Cuilapan eventually went to war with Teozapotlan, and the Zapotec lord fled to Tehuantepec.¹⁷ The Mixtecs then subjugated many Zapotec sites which had owed allegiance to Teozapotlan. Later, a tentative arrangement between Mixtec Cuilapan and Zapotec Tehuantepec against Nahuas from central Mexico was undone by another pact between the Zapotecs and Nahuas, crowned by the marriage of the lord Cosijoeza and a relative of Moctezuma. With Nahuatl support, Zapotec lords eventually regained control in the valley by the time of the Spanish Conquest.¹⁸

The Spanish Conquest was relatively brief in most of Oaxaca. Francisco de Orozco and Pedro de Alvarado led small groups of Spaniards and a central Mexican contingent into the Mixteca, the coastal region and the Valley of Oaxaca with little incidence of

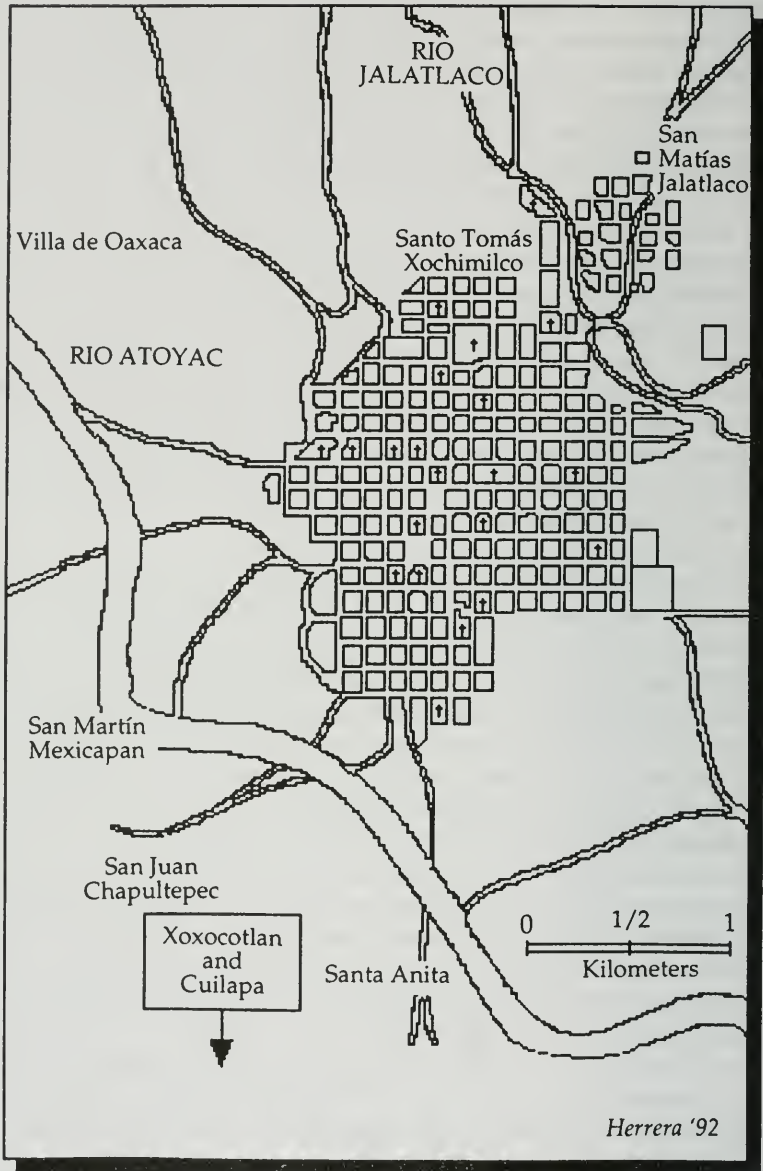


Figure 2: Map of Colonial Antequera and Indigenous Environs (Based on Chance 1976)

conflict. Indigenous alliances dissipated upon their arrival. Spaniards encountered effective resistance only along the perimeter of the region. After the Conquest, Nahuas who had accompanied the Spaniards, roundly estimated at four thousand, settled in and around Antequera, in San Martín Mexicapán to the southwest, in Villa de Oaxaca to the northwest, Jalatlaco to the northeast, and Santo Tomás Xochimilco to the north [See figure 2: Colonial Antequera].¹⁹ The Spanish city of Antequera, located just east of the Nahuatl garrison at Huaxyacac (later Hispanized to Oaxaca), eventually subsumed the settlement to the northeast called Jalatlaco and relegated it to an urban barrio. Its residents included Nahuas from various central Mexican *altepetl* (local, sovereign Nahuatl state), Mixtecs from Cuilapan and nearby areas, Zapotecs from the Valley and Sierra, and even Guatemalans. Nahuatl culture was confined to a very small area, but Nahuas apparently played a dominant role in the indigenous sector of Antequera.²⁰ Across the Atoyac river, San Martín Mexicapán maintained its separate status, and was also divided into barrios representing various central Mexican *altepetl*.

Cuilapan remained the largest native community in the valley throughout the colonial period. Cortés attempted to move many smaller Mixtec settlements to Cuilapan in the early decades. By the time the *Relaciones Geográficas* were written in the 1570s, Cuilapan had seventeen subject settlements, including Santa Cruz Xoxocotlán and San Juan Chapultepec (called *Ñuhuyoho* and *Yuchayta* in Mixtec, respectively).²¹ In 1696, Chapultepec produced the Mixtec-language title in response to the claims of the cacique of Cuilapan, and the Nahuatl title of their neighbor, San Martín Mexicapán.

The Proceedings

Like many other cases in the *Tierras* section of the Archivo General de la Nación, this *expediente* is little more than a bundle of papers irregularly organized and haphazardly renumbered. Furthermore, some of the evidence was not preserved. Since the lengthy *expediente* contains many confusing and contradictory statements, we have done our best to reconstruct the proceedings. Typical of many legal disputes in New Spain, decisions were immediately appealed and the suit seems to have continued indefinitely. After at least two separate rulings and appeals, it is unknown how or when this case was ultimately resolved.

Nevertheless, the main contentions are reasonably clear and are highlighted by three indigenous-language documents which were preserved: a Mixtec-language title and painting dated 1523 from San Juan Chapultepec, a *sujeto* (subject municipality) of Cuilapan; a Nahuatl-language title and a testament dated 1525 and 1602, respectively, from San Martín Mexicapan. A fourth document exists only in translation--a Mixtec testament dated 1565, presented by don Andrés Cortés de Velasco and don Juan Manuel de Velasco, caciques of Cuilapan. The two titles from Oaxaca have been utilized by historians in the past, but none has acknowledged their spurious nature.²²

In brief, the Mixtec community of San Juan Chapultepec, the Nahua community of San Martín Mexicapan and the Mixtec cacique of Cuilapan and Chapultepec, don Andrés Cortés de Velasco, all claimed the same land. The people of Mexicapan maintained that their Nahua ancestors came from the Valley of Mexico to Oaxaca in the 1520s, preceding the arrival of Hernando Cortés or any other Spaniard. They initiated the civil suit in 1688 and presented a Nahuatl testament of don Francisco de los Angeles y Vasquéz, ostensibly dated 1602.²³ This was the first of many attempts by the feuding factions to produce documents, authentic or forged, to substantiate their claims to the land.

In 1693, after the cacique of Cuilapan responded with documents to protect his *estancia de ganado menor* (sheep or goat ranch), Mexicapan submitted additional papers and paintings.²⁴ When the *alcalde mayor* (Spanish official in charge of a district), the representatives of Mexicapan, and the cacique of Cuilapan walked the borders together, it was clear that the documents provided by don Andrés made some impossible claims. In his defense, he could muster only "frivolous responses" to the *alcalde mayor's* questions.²⁵ Consequently, Mexicapan was awarded the land and the officials proceeded to "pull up grass, throw stones and perform other acts of true possession."²⁶ The cacique immediately appealed the decision.

At the same time, a faction from San Juan Chapultepec staked its own claim to the disputed land, challenging Mexicapan's possession as well as the cacique's pretensions to community lands. When they demanded that don Andrés Cortés de Velasco present his proof of ownership, he responded with the 1565 "title and testament" of cacique don Diego Cortés, which was translated into Spanish. Not to be outdone, the residents of Chapultepec retaliated with their own Mixtec title and painting, dated two years be-

fore the Nahuatl title and several years before the cacique's testament. The title of Chapultepec will be discussed below; the original version of the cacique's testament is missing from the expediente.²⁷

By 1701, Chapultepec's title had failed to unseat Mexicapan from the land. They bitterly complained that despite the "obvious falsehood of the title" and its "insane contradictions and defects," Mexicapan still managed to maintain possession of lands to which they clearly had no right. Furthermore, they pointed out that the title from 1525 and the testament from 1602 were written by the same hand, a highly unlikely feat. Chapultepec accused a certain Juan Roque, an "intrusive, notorious Indian who had produced similar false titles" of forging the documents.²⁸ Juan Roque was a resident of Mexicapan, married to Tomasa María of the barrio Analco in distant Villa Alta, another Nahua satellite settlement in the Zapotec Sierra. He testified that the controversial documents belonged to the community of Mexicapan and that Nicolás Miguel, a native of the Nahuatl-speaking barrio of Jalatlaco in Antequera, had been temporarily released from jail to translate the title. Roque admitted to translating the Nahuatl testament. Incidentally, his signature on an affidavit matches the handwriting of the title from 1525 and the testament from 1602. Juan Roque, then, appears to have written these falsified Nahuatl documents.

Simultaneously, Mexicapan's grant came under attack from the cacique of Cuilapan, who refused to accept the untenable grounds of the title and insisted that Juan Roque had obviously forged the documents.²⁹ Despite the fact that Mexicapan's title had been fully discredited, they retained possession until 1707. After reviewing the evidence, a new alcalde mayor ruled in favor of Chapultepec and the heirs of don Andrés, thereby overturning the decision of a previous Spanish official in 1693. Predictably, Mexicapan challenged the decision. They acknowledged that even though the new alcalde mayor considered their titles "null and void of either value or effect," they had still retained "ancient and actual possession" for the past fourteen years, with houses and worked fields in the disputed territory.³⁰ In 1709 Mexicapan petitioned the *Audiencia* (viceregal court and governing body) in Mexico City. As far as we know, the case dragged on throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.³¹ Similar disputes between the two communities apparently persist to the present.

The protracted proceedings between Mexicapan, Chapultepec, and the cacique of Cuilapan involved a number of separate but re-

lated charges, implicating Spaniards and other outsiders. For example, don Andrés Cortés de Velasco complained in 1674 that a certain don Diego de Ábalos owed him seven years of rent for using some of his *cacicazgo* (the estate or institution of cacique rule) lands. Alternately, Mexicapan, Chapultepec, Santa Ana, and Santo Tomás Xochimilco filed a joint complaint in 1691 against don Andrés Cortés de Velasco for usurping community lands and Cristóbal Barroso, a Spaniard, for damages caused by grazing animals. In 1696, Mexicapan accused Tomás Alonso, a mulatto *mayordomo* (estate custodian) of doña Margarita de la Cueva's hacienda, of allowing his animals to enter their land. Mexicapan claimed that the *mayordomo* had no title and attempted to deny them access to the entrance of the forest, where they gathered wood and pastured their animals, and which they had enjoyed since "time immemorial." Juan Roque, the alleged forger of Mexicapan's title, was among those who filed the complaint. Finally, a nearby estate owner named doña Margarita de Castillo filed a complaint in 1700 against a judgment in favor of Mexicapan. The assortment of related conflicts, to mention only a few, illustrate the dizzying complexity of land tenure near Antequera at the close of the seventeenth century. These were the circumstances under which indigenous communities were forced to present the following titles.

The Nahuatl Title

The "Noblewoman of the Zapotec" narrates the opening of the Nahuatl title, appealing to Cortés and the Nahuas for help in fighting the Mixtecs. This episode may be based on the historic rivalry between Zapotec and Mixtec contingents for control of the valley. The reference seems to mix preconquest and postconquest events, since the Nahuas arrived in the valley about a century before the Spaniards, and had temporarily allied with the Zapotecs against the Mixtecs. Her testimony legitimates Mexicapan's presence in the valley. She serves as both narrator and witness, introducing the Nahuatl characters and lending credence to their story. The noblewoman even advises the Nahuas to write these events on paper for posterity's sake.

Atomatipolhua ca pto qui qui mo machi... a
Mexica...
qui to p... p... ~ mo...

Kalacatlanque otah topa... qui...

Clauche para...
tonal...
mal...
nono...
e y...
Ishua...
li...
qui...
Ca...
na...
to...
ti...
ya...
o...
ni...
chi...
que...
Ca...
na...
qui...
a...
qui...

Figure 3: The third page of the Nahuatl title, introducing the four warrior-rulers.

Nehuapol nisichuapile tzapotecal ca onicnotlatlanilito ca huey tlatoani tonati pilhua ytocayoca cortes ytechcopa huel nehcocolia oc sentlamantli tlacame nehmo-yaotia yca mochte nopilhuantzitzi ca quinequi nehquixtilis notlal yhua tlen notlatqui ca melahuac onihualasito ynahuactzinco toeytlatoani tonati pilhua ytocayoca cortes onicnotlatlanilito ma nechmopalehuilis quimotitlanilis ypilchua para nehmpalehuilisque yca yni tlacame mixteco cani oquimocaquiti toeytlatoani tonati ypilhua ytocayoca cortes oquimotitlanili ypilhuantzitzi chicomenti yehuanti ca melahuac ca opoliucqui yca opa oquimotitlanili oc nachunti aqui onehmopalehuilique ca melahuac mexicatla ca yoqui quimatisque yteh yni notlaquetzal ca melahuac onicnomaquili cani motlalisque yhuan ypilhua ytechcopa amo aqui quimoyaotis ypilhua ca yaxca ytlatqui yes ca yoqui onicnonahuatili mexicatla ca yehuanti quiamatlacuilosque san quen oquimomaquilique yca oquitlanque ca yca yaoyotica oquitlanque omotemacque ynin tlacame misteco aqui nexmoyaotia ca melahuac omotemacaque yoqui quimotlaquechilisque yehuantzitzi mexicatlaquenin oquimomaquilique cani motlalisque ypilchua ca melahuac ycuac otehpaleuiqui yni tlacame ca yca yno oticlatlanique motlalisquiaya tonahuac ayac oquinequique yni yehuanti mixtecos yca yno oquinemactique yn itlal canpa yaea motlalisque ytocayoca acatepel ca melahuac yca yno oticahuaque ca ya quimopielia yaxca ytlaqui yoqui oquimotlanilique ca yoqui quimotlalilisque quenin oquimotlanilique ca tonati ypilchua quimomachitia quenin oasisico canatiuc teponastli chimali macuahuil tlaminalli omochiuc ahuiyol yaoyotica yoqui motlatlanilisque yca moyectias ca oquiximatique ca melachuac yehuanti moteneuctica mexicanes ca melahuac yoqui omochiuc quenin onicmotlatlanilito toeytlatoani tonati ypilhua ca melahuac oquimictique nopilhua yhua oquicuaque sano yoqui sa can quinamiqui-aya nopilhua quiquexcotonaya ynin tlacacuanime mixteco yca yno onicnotlatlanilito tonati ypilhua ma nehmpalechuilis ca melahuac notlal amo nehquixtilisque ca omochiuc ca tlen onicnotlatlanilito toeytlatoani tonati ypilhua ca yoqui quimomachitia mexicatla yhua motlaquechilisque yoqui topan opano --- omochiuc

I, the Noblewoman of the Zapotec, went to ask the Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun named Cortés about the people who hate me and make war on me and all of my children, and who want to steal my land and property. It is true that I went before our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun named Cortés, and asked him to assist me by sending his people to help with the Mixtec people. When our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun named Cortés heard [our request], he sent seven of his children, who perished. The second time he sent four more, who helped me. It is true that the Mexican people likewise will know of my tale. It is true that I gave them and their children a place to settle, so that no one would make war on their children. It will be their property. Thus, I advised the Mexican people to write on paper exactly how it was given to them, because they won it. The Mixtec people who waged war on me surrendered because they [the Mexican people] defeated them. It is true that they surrendered, for the Mexican people will tell you in stories how they were given a place for their children to settle. It is true that when these people helped us, we asked if they would settle next to us. None of the Mixtecs wanted to accept them [the Mexican people], so they gave them a portion of their land to settle called Acatepetl. It is true that we left them with that and they now have their property. Thus they won it and have settled it. As to how they won it, the Children of the Sun know how they came bearing log drums, shields, obsidian-blade clubs, and arrows. It was happily done through war, as they wished. They were recognized as the truly famous Mexicans. It is true that it happened as I requested it of our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun. It is true that they [the Mixtecs] killed my children and ate them. Likewise, my children who encountered these Mixtec cannibals were beheaded. Because of that I went to the Children of the Sun and asked: Help me. It is truly my land and no one will steal it. That which I requested of our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun was done. Thus, the Mexican people know it and will tell others in tales what happened to us and what transpired.

The Zapotec noblewoman's exposition sets the stage for the four Nahuatl ruler-warriors of the second scene.³² The setting flashes back to the noblewoman's plea to Cortés for help. This section evokes the elaborate ritual and accouterments of preconquest warfare. A mock battle before Cortés suggests an ancient war song and dance, accompanied by the beating of the log drum.

tlacayacanque oc ahtopa oquitlanique

tlacachuepantzi ca nehuapol yhua normano tonalye-
yecatzi noprimo omenti chimalpopoca atxayacatzí ca
tehuanti otimononotzque quenin oticmotlatlanilito toey-
tlatoani tonati ypilhua quenin yni sihuapile tzapotecal
oquimotlatlanilico quititlanisquiaya ypilhua para qui-
palehuisque ca oquimotitlanili chicomenti yni yehuanti
yey ocualoc oc nahuinte ca opoliucque yca yno otonasto
yxpanctzinco tonati pilhua cortes otictlatlanque timochti
tinahuante ca ma tehtitlanis ca tehuanti timotlapaloo
timoyaotisque ynahuac ynin tlacame mixtecos otehma-
nanquili tonati ypilhua queni huelitis techuanti sa
tinahuanti yhua chicomenti opoliucque ca oticnanquiliqui
ca tehuati tinahuante ca yaoyotica tictlanis ca otehma-
tlatlanili tonati ypilhua queni huel ticchihuasque auyli-
ca otictomacahuaque yxpan tonati ypilhua otocontlalique
otehnahti ma nacalaquisque ytec ahuiocali ma canasque
ahuiol ca oticalaquique oticanaque teponastli otictilan-
que chimali macuahuil tlaminalli ca oticonanque tecactli
otiquisque otictonahuatilitique toeytlatoani tonati ypil-
hua otechmonquili aso ya cuali tlen oticanque aso yca yno
ya cuali yca timahuiltisque ca oticnanquilitique ca ya cuali
ca ycuac yno otehmotlatlanili quenin tichihuasque ahui-
yol aso melauac nanquitlanisque tlali para mopilchua ca
ycuac yno otictlalique oticnahuatitque tonati ypilhua amo
momauctis tlen ticchihuasque ca oquinitalhuiaya como
nimomauctis ycuac yno otipeucqui otimahuiltique yca
chimali macuahuit tlaminalli ycuac yn oquimitalhui
tonati ypilhua ma sa yxquich ca melachua quitlanisque
tlali oquineltoaca eyca yno otehtitlani otiquisque
tinachuante

First, the leaders requested it.

I, Tlakahuepantzin, along with my brother, Tonalzeyecatzin, and my two cousins, Chimalpopoca and Axayacatzin, conferred as to how we would go to ask our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun, and how the Noblewoman of the Zapotec came to request that he send his children to help her. He sent seven, of which three were eaten and four others perished. On account of that we went before the [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun Cortés and all four of us requested that he send us, for we dare to wage war on the Mixtec people. The [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun responded: How will it be possible with just four when seven have perished? We answered him that we four would win it through war. The [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun asked us [to demonstrate] how we would be able to do it. We joyously consented to put it on [a mock battle] in the presence of the [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun. He ordered us: Enter the fortress and wage war. We entered with the log drums, wielding shields, obsidian-blade clubs and arrows and wearing stone sandals. We emerged and sought the approval of our Great Ruler of the Children of the Sun. He responded that what we assembled was good, perhaps it was enough to entertain him. We responded: Good. Then he said to us: If you do it joyfully, perhaps you will truly win land for your children. Then we put it on [the mock battle] and advised the [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun not to be frightened by what we would do. He said: I will not be frightened. And then we started to play with shields, obsidian-blade clubs and arrows. The [Ruler of the] Children of the Sun said: That's enough, it is true that they will win the land. He truly believed it for he sent us.

When the four warriors leave Cortés, the title abruptly shifts location for the third time. They fight their way through the Mixteca en route to the Valley of Oaxaca. The Nahuas arrange a time and place to fight the Mixtecs, and the leaders inform the women and children of the event. Overwhelmed by Nahuatl military superiority and natural forces, the Mixtecs surrender to the "famous Mexicans." The Nahuas, then, claimed to have conquered

Oaxaca before the Spaniards. By elevating their status to that of conquerors, rather than aides or secondary allies, their tale bolsters all subsequent claims. The references to "our land next to the Zapotec" suggests a heavy price exacted for their "help." The section concludes with an amiable agreement among all parties which promises to last forever.

otihualaquí otonasico oc achtopa mixtecapa otictlanico
 tepiton tlali yaxca topilhua ca nima otiquisque
 tinahuixti otichualasito can yaoyo titlamachticayaya
 yni sihuapile zapotecal y tihualasico totoltepel can
 onahuati toteponas oquimatique mixtecatlaca otla-
 tlanque tlen onahuatiuc oquilique quenin mexicatlaca
 oalaque oquitoque tlen quitemoa oalaque ca ma ti-
 quitatihui ca oalaque otehtlatlanico tlen ca otihualaque
 tlen tictemoa ytic nanquillique queni otiquitaco total
 ynahuac tzapotecal aqui quimoyaotia quinequi qui-
 quixtilis tlen totalqui ca ycuac yno otehnanquili ca
 tehuanti mixtecal quen nanquinequi can yca auyol ca
 oticnanquillique ca yca auiyool ycuac yno otehnahuati
 canpa timonamiquique tlen tonati para timahuiltisque ca
 quinahuantis ypilhua tle tonatiuc yes auiyol ca otehn-
 ahuauiuc tlen tonatiuc otonpatlanque tepet iteh
 ytocayoca mexicatepelyan ca tomayec canpa canpa
 otepinia teponastli oquicaquiqui omonechicoque cantion
 catca para auiyol ca ycuac yno ome chicoque auiyol
 sihuame pipiltoton temachtí auiyo quinzotzayaya ca
 ycuac oasiso canpa tioneate otipeuqui yca ahuiyol opeuc
 yeyecal tlali omoliniuc tel omomictique can otic-
 tlanpatlanque ycuac yno oquitlatlanque ynin tlacame
 mistecos yca melahuac ma yuc ties ca melahuac
 namehuantin motenehua mexicatlaca ca timitzmacaque
 canpa no motlalisque yca mopilhua ca ycuac yno otech-
 macaque total asta can tlantica otechmacaque ycuac yno
 oticnanquillique queni yni yehuanti tzapotecal timo-
 tlalisque sase caca ycuac yno oquitoque mixtecal ca amo
 huelitis ma moncahuasque ynahuac tzapopotecal to-
 nahuac tehuantin ma mocahaque yca ya timitzmacaque
 canpa timotlalis ca melahuac oticnanquillique quenin
 timotlalisque ynahuac topilhua ypanpa amo quemania
 aqui momiqtis tiquitasque yoqui totalqui ca ycuac yno
 otehnanquillique ma tel yectie ca ycuac yn otimocaque ca

otimononotzque ynahuac tlatoani mistecal timotlalisque
 yoqui ermanos amo quemani tlen timomictisque amo que-
 mania ycuac yno oticnanquilique ca ma yoqui mochihuas
 ma no necmacasque canpa motlalisque nopilhua hualosque
 canpa oticchiasque ca tehuanti acmo timocuepasque canpa
 niquimitzties nopilhua amo oc sepa yes auiyol ca ycuac
 yno otehmaca canpa timotlalisque ytoca acatepel y timo-
 cauique tinahuante canpa oticchiaque topilhua oalaque

First, the four of us left and arrived in the Mixteca [where] we won a little land for our children. Then we four emerged and went to war. The Noblewoman of the Zapotec and we enriched ourselves. We reached Totoltepetl where our log drums sounded. The Mixtec people heard it. They asked: What's that sound? They were told that the Mexican people had arrived. They [the Mixtecs] asked: What are they looking for? Let's go see. So they came to ask us [the Mexican people] why we came and what we sought. We responded that we came to see our land next to the Zapotec, and to see who is fighting with them and wants to steal our land. Then they replied: We are the Mixtec. What do you want, war? We responded: War it will be. Then they instructed us where and which day to meet them, so that we could play. They will advise their children which day to wage war as they informed us. We flew to the hill near the place called Mexicatepelyan, on the right hand-side, where we beat the log drums. They heard, and they assembled to the war song. Then on both sides the war leaders summoned the women and children. When they came to where we were, we started the battle; the wind blew and the earth moved and they were killed. We withdrew only when the Mixtec people said: Let it be, for you are truly the famous Mexican people. We will give you a place where your children can settle. Then they gave us our land, up to where it [now] ends. They gave it to us. We responded how we and the Zapotec people would settle once and for all. Then the Mixtec people said: It will not be possible. Let the Zapotec stay next to us and we will give you another place to settle. It is true that we said we would settle next to our children, so that none of them would be killed, and we would regard it as our

property. Then they replied to us: It will be all right after all. We left and consulted with the Ruler of the Mixtec people in order to live as brothers, so that we would not kill each other. Then we said: Let it be done. Let them also give us a place to wait for our children to be brought to settle. We will not turn back; we will be awaiting our children. Never again will there be war. Then they gave us a place to settle called Acatepetl where the four of us went and waited for our children to come.

This tale of war and peace with the Mixtecs is followed by a terse report that the alliance with the Spaniards has collapsed. Suddenly, a hostile Cortés invades the Valley of Oaxaca and begins to wage war on the Mexica. The Mexica retaliate by unleashing a torrent which bears a boat from beneath the ground, forcing the Spaniards to abandon their attack. Cortés appears startled and conciliatory upon this unexpected turn of events, but then becomes angry when the Mexica persist in raising the water. A furious battle ensues, and the Spaniards are forced to submit to the "truly famous Mexicans." The section closes with remarks and postscripts which herald their own victory within a specific Spanish context of war and conquest. Later, they boldly refer to their defeat of the Mixtecs and Spaniards as the "original conquest."

ca melahuac oasisco omoſeuc yn tepet itech ytocayoca
 huaxacatzi cano motlalique omoſequi cani omocues oc
 oquitemo yaiol tonahuac otimotlecotique ytech acatepec
 ca noca yo ye huel yehual aqui oquitlani tlali ca
 otehtzacuili al queni tehmicſisquia quenin quinequiaya
 tehchihuas tlacotli ca ycuac yno oticlecoltique al yca se
 acal ytzintla tlali oquitac cortes quenin ayac omotlapaloc
 tehmicſis ca ycuac yno otehnotza macamo panos ma ye uc
 tie auiyol ma timotlali ca yoqui ermanos ca yoqui
 noyolocacopa timotlaliſque ynahuac mexicanos yoqui
 ermanos ca ycuac yno ca ycuac oquitaque otleco al opehua
 omoxicoque eſpañoles caxtiltecal queni oticlecahuique al
 tepet itech opeuque auiyol huei chichahuac omochiuc
 tonahuac tehuanti mexicatlaca aſta otictlanique tonati
 ypillhua ycuac yno oquitoque ma yxquih ma ye uc tie ca
 melahuac motenehua mexical ca yoqui oquiteneuc yehuatzi
 melahuac tlatoani dios ca oticneltoſcaya

otitemoqui nica conquista timohinte mexical otimo-
mictique auiyol ca sano yoqui caxtiltecal chimali
macuahuil otictemoique

ome tliltic otiquilpique

ca sano yoqui caxtiltecal yca auiyol ycan tlequiquis tlali
otictlanique

It is true that we went to rest near the hill called Huaxacatzin; also, they [the Spaniards] sat down and rested. It was there that they first sought to fight us. We climbed up Acatepec where we met those who had won the land. He [Cortés] rebuked us: Who would kill us and who wants to make us slaves? At that very moment we raised the water and a boat from beneath the ground. Cortés saw how no one dared to kill us. Then he told us: Let there be no more war. Let us live as brothers, we shall willingly settle next to the Mexicans as brothers. When they saw the water [still] ascending, the Spaniards were angry that we raised the water over the hill. They began to battle with great strength and fought us until we, the Mexican people, defeated the Children of the Sun. Then they said: That is enough, let it be. You are truly the famous Mexican people. Thus he [Cortés] declared. We believe in the true ruler God.

Just like the Spaniards we died in battle and we sought war.

We captured two blacks.

Also like the Spaniards, with war and gunpowder we won it.

Victory secured, the warrior-leaders exit. The fourth setting marks a transition in the document from fantastic narrative to mundane legal concerns. After the Conquest, leaders of various central Mexican altepetl establish barrios and walk the borders of their new jurisdictions. Though the boundary-marking section is not without interest, it is lengthy and generally conforms to the standard of the time. Most importantly, the contested lands are strate-

gically included within this passage, giving the appearance that this central issue had been decided long ago. The founders also establish Spanish-style government, though the officers' responsibilities reflect both a combination of preconquest and postconquest concepts of officeholding. In addition to keeping vigil over the borders and other tasks, the *alguacil* must supply food and drink (most likely *pulque*) to the members of the cabildo. These events transpire in the absence of any Spaniards, yet they invoke Spanish institutions. According to the title, the community acted autonomously in compliance with God and the King.

ca tehuati otitlazontequique tieyxti titlatoanime timo-
 tocayotia oc ahtopa tlatoani marquesado don fabiab de
 serbantes de velasquez tlatoani mexicapa san martin don
 fran^o de los angeles basques = tlatoani xuchimilco = don
 marcos de los angeles ca melahuac ca sase ca otitla-
 zontequique yoqui dios motlanahuatilia yhua Rey ca
 sase alguasil mayor yhua alguasil quenin quimocuitlahua
 yexca xohmilco san martin marquesado ca yehual ytequi
 yes quirrondosos quitlatzacuiltis yhua quitzacuas
 telpiloya aqui amo cuali sese juebes ytequi yes tetlamacos
 yhua tehmahuistilis tehatlitis semicac sese juebes ca
 yoqui otitlantzontequi queni tocabildo ca melahuac amo
 quemania tlamis ca sano yoqui mochiu ties ca sa ysel yni
 alguasil mayor quipias cuenta mochi cuaxohilque quetza
 cruscan tlanti ca sese yacu ycuenta quitotonis pintura
 ycuac yno tetlamacas teatlitis quinotzaque tlacame san
 pedro san jasinto cual huicasque tlen monequis cual
 huicasque neutzintle monequis caya yoqui omochiuque
 obligar ----

ca san yxquih totlanahuatiz otictlali que tieyxti para
 quipiasque topihua toxuihua semicac ca nymac yes yni
 orixinal conquista yca yno otimofirmatique tieyxti yni
 altepel cabesera ca toyxpa tieynti otiquixtique
 toamatlacuiloca ca nehuapol nitlatoani yni altepel san
 mar año 1525

don Fabian de Serbantes y Belasquez [signatures]

don Fran^{co} de los Angeles Basquez

don Marco de los Angeles

We three rulers decreed it: first, the Ruler of the Marquesado, don Fabian de Cervantes; the Ruler of San Martín Mexicapan, don Francisco de los Ángeles Vásquez; and the Ruler of Xochimilco, don Marcos de los Ángeles. It is true that once and for all we decreed as God ordered, along with the King, as to how an alguacil mayor and an alguacil would be responsible for three places: Xochimilco, San Martín and the Marquesado. It is his duty to patrol, and to punish and jail those who are bad each Thursday. It will be his duty to respect us and serve us food and provide us with drink on every single Thursday. In this manner we established our cabildo. It is true that this way that it is done must never stop. It will always be the alguacil mayor alone who will keep a record of all borders that stop at places with crosses, and with his account he will shed light on the painting. Then he will serve food and provide people with drink, and the people of San Pedro and San Jacinto will notify him of what he should bring. They will bring a little honey that is necessary. Thus it will be done as obliged.

These are all of our orders that we three have set forth for our children and grandchildren to keep forever. This "original conquest" will be in their hands. We three provide our signatures in this altepetl cabecera. We three witnessed our written document. I am the tlatoani of this altepetl of San Martín [in] the year of 1525.

[signed]

*don Fabian de Cervantes y Velásquez
don Francisco de los Ángeles Vásquez
don Marcos de los Ángeles*

In summary, the Nahuatl title consists of five sections or scenes. The first three feature the Zapotec-Mixtec conflict, which affords the Nahuas sufficient pretext to establish a foothold in the region, sanctioned by Cortés himself. Thereupon, they defend their newly won land from the Spaniards and establish an enduring settlement and a lasting peace in the Valley of Oaxaca. In the two final passages, the borders are marked in detail and local government is implemented. Each successive episode legitimates the Nahuas' historical presence in the area and, specifically, Mexicapan's possession of the contested land. But the Mixtecs of

Chapultepec espoused a different version of this same period, and presented papers which documented their own historic claim to the territory. Now we turn to these papers.

The Mixtec Map and Title

In 1696 sixteen citizens of San Juan Chapultepec introduced a Mixtec title to Spanish officials and protested that don Andrés de Velasco, cacique of Cuilapan, was usurping their lands. The document also implicitly responded to Mexicapan's Nahuatl title. They had not presented their titles earlier because they could not find them and supposed that the papers were in the Mexico City Audiencia archive from a previous dispute. However, the nobles purported that they had only recently found a document and map in the Mixtec language dated 1523, antedating the Mexicapan title by two years. The nobles requested a translation of the papers into Castilian.

The "antique painting" constituted the first "page" of the title and was translated separately by Gerónimo Galván, an interpreter of Antequera, and Nicolás de los Santos, a bilingual noble of Atzompa. They remarked that some passages in the map contained "defective" letters and words which were incomprehensible. The remaining eleven pages of alphabetic text were translated by the cacique of Guaxolotitlan. His version is more of a summary than a translation, condensing or omitting parts that he could not read or understand; the cacique ignored the practically illegible second page. The paper was probably buried or water-stained to produce a convincing antiquated appearance.³³

The map was designed, in the words of the presenters, "to be viewed as one speaks with the said title."³⁴ The map does correspond loosely with a detailed border description in the text, serving as a guide for major landmarks. Chapultepec and its dependent are featured just left of center, defended at top by their cacique, don Diego Cortés Dzahui Yuchi. A brief text is located beneath don Diego's coat of arms announcing that the map and title belong to San Juan Chapultepec, and that the border agreement has been verified by the people of Mexicapan.

bichan lunes 8 dubi yoo
 feferero nicubiuaha titu-
 lo sinhi mapa pintura siña
 ñoo san Juan chayucha-
 yta daba tan ca ni cutu
 dsaño † sa batubi tonho naa
 yodisi chee ñocoo chayu
 san martin dsabani yodza-
 sinocabahadi tutudi
 titulo mapa pitura
 cuiya de 1523 años

Today, Monday, the eighth day of the month of February, the title and map/painting belonging to the ñuu and tayu of San Juan Yuchayta were made, concerning all the borders † agreed upon and recognized by the Mexican people of the tayu of San Martín. Thus we conclude our title and map/painting in the year of 1523.³⁵

The title fluctuates between the first-person narrative and dialog of the cacique of Chapultepec, and the third-person reporting of the notary. First, Hernando Cortés came to Chapultepec (*Yuchayta* in Mixtec) with a group of Spaniards and was treated as a high lord (*stoho*). He then renamed and baptized the nobles of Chapultepec beginning with the cacique, to whom he granted his own name and the honorific title of "don." The cacique's new name, *yya don Diego Cortés Dzahui Yuchi*, combined Spanish and Mixtec appellations and titles. The latter may be based on the ancient calendrical naming system, but employs two day signs (rain and flint) and no number--an unlikely arrangement. Moreover, the ritual Mixtec calendrical vocabulary used for naming was not employed.³⁶

Like the Nahuatl title don Diego's story attempts to portray an early-colonial consensus among the Mixtecs and Spaniards. The Nahuas are conspicuously absent, undermining their claim of rescuing the Zapotecs from the Mixtecs. On the contrary, the Nahuas appear as uninvited meddlers who disturbed a peaceful status quo. Like Mexicapan's account, the Chapultepec version emphasizes their indispensable cooperation with the Spaniards.³⁷

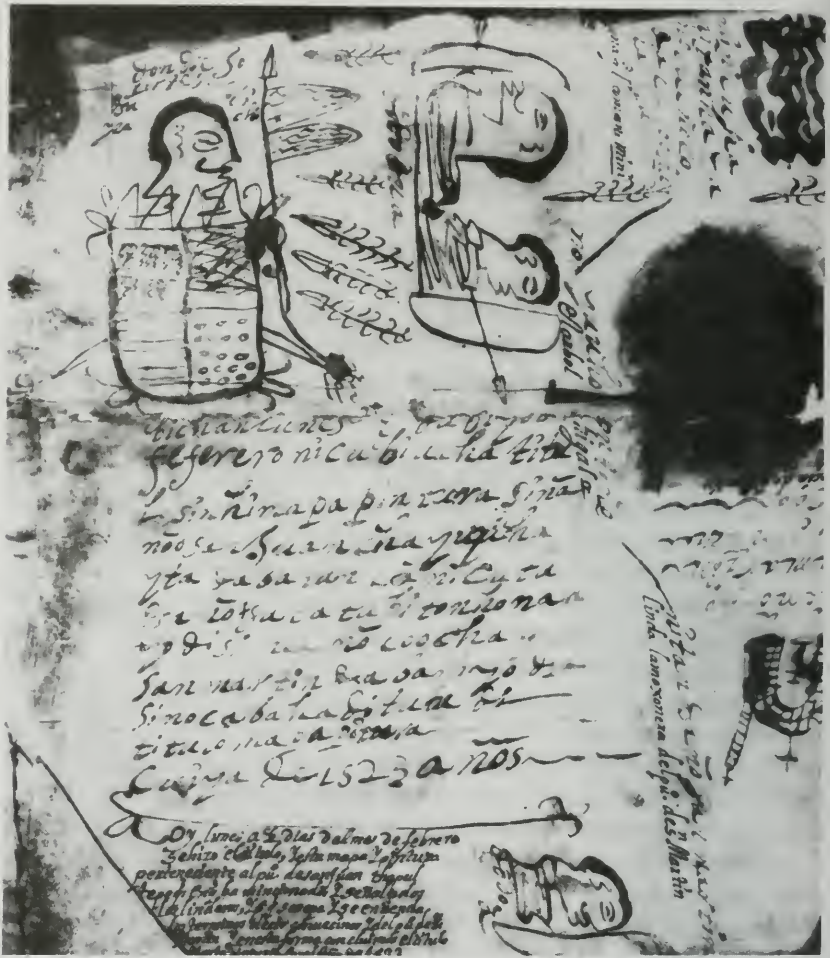


Figure 4: Detail of Mixtec text and don Diego Cortés Dzhahui Yuchi on Chapultepec's map.

titulo dn diego cortes ñoo sa ju^o yuchayta
sihi vario santa^a

saha dzahua tnaha nicuhui quihui niquisi dzina ñoo
stohondi cortes quihui nichacaya titni che cui si nisaaya
ñoo chayundi quihui dzahua niseenchatu niseedzihuindi
sihi yyandi niseenchatu niseedzihui yyandi don diego
cortes dzahui yuchi

...niseenducha yya don diego cortes sihi nicuhui uhui
niseenducha ndihi taca toho sihi nicuhui uni ñanchehe
niseenducha...ca noo ca dzina ñoo cui si nicahua siyudad
nicuhui cuachi huatuhui nducha cuhui ^{cha} ñe cua cuhui
nisica españole chee niquidzatnaño nani ñoho yutno
nduhua

quihui dzahua nidzahuidzo don diego cortes quehe tno
cuihi tno nani nisiya ndihi taca chee cuhui nano
nisahatahuiña yuhu yya don diego cotes quihui dzahua
ninocoondahuindi sihi chee cui si chee cuhui nano
nisahañahandi nocahua huehe ñoho cano

*Title of don Diego Cortés of the ñuu of San Juan Yuchayta
and the barrio of Santa Ana.*

*About the time when our lord Cortés first arrived, with a
crowd of white people; he came to our ñuuchayu, then he
came out to meet us and name us. He received and named
our cacique don Diego Cortés Dzahui Yuchi. [rain, flint]*

*...The cacique don Diego Cortés was baptized and second,
all the nobles were baptized and third, all the commoners
were baptized....Then, at first, he founded a city at the
place called Ñocuisi, because there was no water where
the Spaniards lived, those who made war at the place of
the guaxe trees. [Nunduhua, Huaxyacac, or Oaxaca]*

*And then don Diego Cortés responded in an elegant and
honorable manner before all the great ones: I, lord don
Diego Cortés, shall bestow unto you a gift. Then we lived
together in peace with the white people and the great
ones and we gave them a place to build the big church.³⁸*

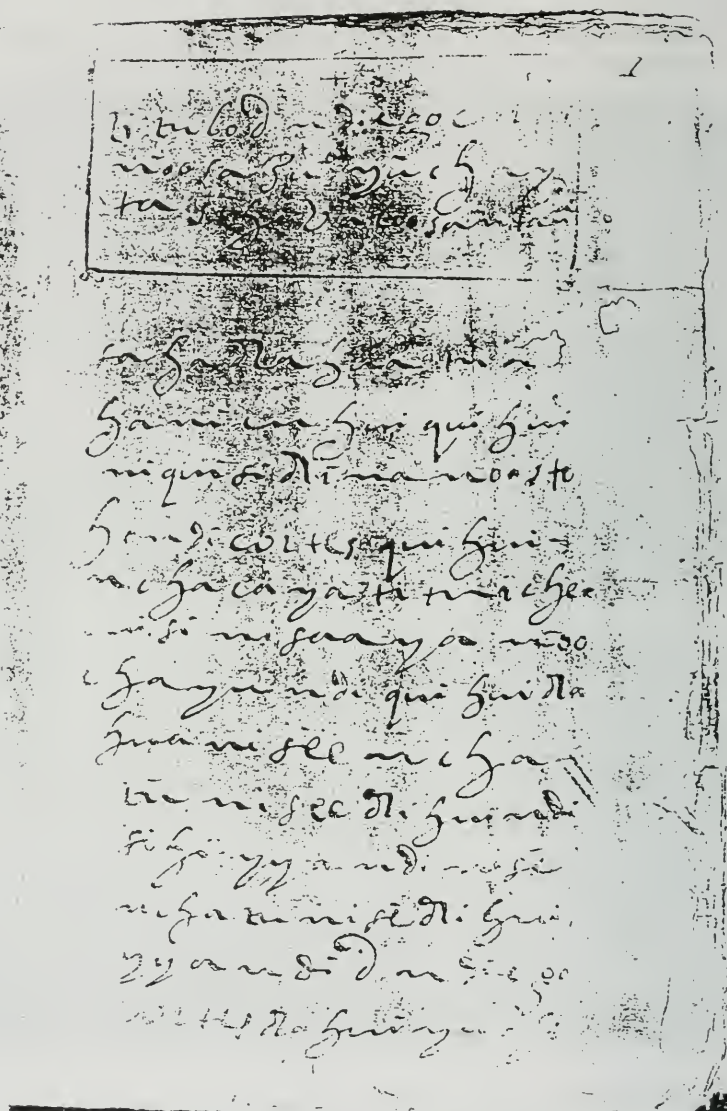


Figure 5: The first page of text of the Mixtec title recounting the arrival of Hernando Cortés.

All was well until Cortés came a second time with a group of Nahuas from central Mexico, with whom the Mixtecs promptly went to war. Chapultepec formed a Mixtec confederation with Cuilapan and Xoxocotlan to confront the Nahuas. Cortés intervened and then the Mixtecs "pacified" or helped defeat the Nahuas, acting on Cortés' behalf. In compliance with Cortés' decision, and *not* because they were defeated, they then gave land to the Nahuas as a gift. In serving Cortés, they demonstrated their allegiance, won his authorization, and controlled the terms of the exchange. The map's borders have frozen this early agreement which now must be respected. In contending that they accommodated the Spaniards and Nahuas by generously ceding half of their lands, an act resulting in the displacement of their people to other nearby Mixtec sites, the title's authors imply that Chapultepec has done its part and cannot afford to lose more land. In fact, reciprocity is in order. Furthermore, don Diego Cortés of Chapultepec independently arranged this settlement with no interference from the cabecera of Cuilapan or its cacique. Chapultepec attempts to portray itself as an autonomous entity rather than a subject of Cuilapan, and a faithful ally of Cortés. To the Mixtecs, the Nahuas were nothing more than bellicose intruders, and should have been grateful for what they had.

nacuhui uhui sito niquisitucu stondi cortes ñaha caya chee
ñocoo ninocuacañahaya dzini aniy ñocoyo nchacañaha
stondi cortes

nisacha ñoondi quihui dza ninaandi sihi chee ñocoo yucu
saminoo nisahatnahandi nduhua yuchaticaha noyoo
nicuhui ndihi sihindi quihui ninandi sihi chee ñocoo

quihui dzahua niquisi chee cuisi españole nisadzino
nocha ⁿ⁰ ninandi quihui dzahua nidzandeendi sihi chee
saminoo chee ñocoo saha dza yni stondi cortes marques
quihui dzahua nisahañahandi ñoho coo -- chee ñocoo
nduyu chee ñodzahui ñoo sa ju⁰ yuchayta si vario santana
sihi vario yucucuii yya uni vario siñaha yuhu do ndiego
cortes dzahui yuchi

dzahua dzaya dzana yucua noho dzini ñoo yuchaticaha
nisano sihi dzahua cadzaya yucua noho yu ñoo noyoo ño
cano nicaa yuhuichayu sa ju^o yuchayta sa nitahui dzahua

yuhu do ndego cortes ñoho nisahayu toho ñocoo saminoo
chayu ñoo sa martin ñoo cano usa vario nisaquicha
nchaqui saha si saha cumi sichi dzini ñoo marques
siñahandi siñaha stohondi marque

saha huicha yosaahayu dzaño noondi taca toho nisano sa
Ju^o yuchayta dzaño yuhu do ndego cortes saha ni...ni
yniyu yosahañahayu ñohoyu cucha cha sihi dzaya ñani
dzaya dzacuacha nica nicuhui

The second time that our lord Cortés came he brought many Mexicans from the head palace of Mexico City, all in the company of our lord Cortés.

When they arrived in our ñuu, we went to fight with the Mexicans at the hill called Saminoo [Mexicapan] and we were defended by arrows from Yuchaticaha [Cuilapan], and Noyoo [Xoxocotlan] also supported us when we encountered the Mexicans.

And then the Spaniards arrived. They put an end to our fighting and then we pacified the Mexicans. Only because of the wishes of our lord Cortés the Marqués, we then gave the Mexicans some land to settle and we, the Ñudzahui, of the ñuu of San Juan Yuchayta [Chapultepec], the barrio of Santa Ana, and the barrio of Yucucuii, were the three barrios belonging to me, don Diego de Cortés Dzahui Yuchi.

Half of the commoners will settle there in the cabecera of Yuchaticaha the old [Cuilapan] and the other half will settle there at the entrance of the ñuu of Ñuyoo [Xoxocotlan], the big ñuu which borders with the yuhuitayu of San Juan Yuchayta [Chapultepec].

I, don Diego de Cortés, have given half of the lands belonging to us to the Mexican nobles of the tayu ñuu of San

Martín. It is a large ñuu with seven barrios, which all together make up the four parts or cabeceras belonging to our lord the Marqués.

Today I mark the borders before all the nobles and elders of San Juan Yuchayta. I, don Diego de Cortés, willfully give my lands on which my grandchildren and great-grandchildren will live.

The remainder of the title enumerates the borders of Chapultepec. Finally, like many testaments, the document admonishes all those who attempt to interfere with the agreement. Though the lands are his, he entrusts them to Chapultepec and thereby lays the foundation for their present claim. By asserting that this final agreement was sanctioned by and served the interests of Hernando Cortés, the title explicitly warns that interlopers who challenged Chapultepec would pay a stiff penalty to the Marqués himself.

saha dza huicha yodzandaayu tutu titulo siñaha yuhu
 don diego cortes sihi mapayu yonachihyu ndaha ndihi
 taca toho ñoyu sa Ju^o yuchayta saha conducucha dziñoho
 ndaha sitohondi marques chatna ñana dzaya ñani dzaya
 dzucuayu tna ndacu nehe ndacu cachi sa situtu yya saho
 dzico pesos pena ñandee sanu stohondi marques saha
 titulo siñaha ñoo yonduhisi

Bi^o cortes noo yuhu do luysi de salazar chee chaa tutu
 huicha martes 8 nduhui yoo febrero 1523 a^s

Thus, today I guard the title which belongs to me, don Diego Cortés, and my map which I entrust to the hands of all the nobles of my ñuu, San Juan Yuchayta, so that they may acquire the tribute in gold for our lord Marqués, and for my grandchildren and great-grandchildren to keep and guard, to record and recount that which pertains to the lordly title. A 300 pesos penalty to he who attempts to interfere with our lord Marqués, for the title belongs to the ñuu. It is said and done.

Diego Cortés, before me, the notary, don Luis de Salazar. Today, Tuesday the eighth day of the month of February, 1523.

The Mixtec narrative is more condensed than the Nahuatl account. Chapultepec did not need to legitimate its presence in the area and thus did not raise some of the concerns addressed in the opening scenes of Mexicapan's title: the invitation by the Zapotecs; the appeal to Cortés for permission to fight the Mixtecs; and the dramatic entry into the Valley of Oaxaca. The cacique of Chapultepec simply forged an agreement from the Conquest that he bequeathed to his descendants in testamentary form. Above all, the Chapultepec version asserts autonomy from the cacique of Cuilapan while affirming a lasting settlement with Mexicapan. Similar to the Nahuatl title, it denies defeat, establishes an alliance with the Spaniards, portrays a consensus approved by Hernando Cortés, and carefully establishes the boundaries marked immediately after the Conquest.

We now proceed from translations and summaries of the two titles to an interpretation of their linguistic, stylistic, and thematic characteristics. First, we approach the documents as complex speech and writing genres from late seventeenth-century Oaxaca, with attendant linguistic conventions and forms.

Language, Writing, and Discourse

The fact that Nahuatl and Mixtec alphabetic writing did not even exist in the early 1520s proves the titles' impossible dating.³⁹ If genuinely dated 1523, the Mixtec title would predate the earliest extant example of Mixtec alphabetic writing by nearly half of a century. The language of these two documents confirms that they could not have been written in the early sixteenth century, or even the early seventeenth century; the orthography, vocabulary, and anachronistic content of the manuscripts also reveals that they are not copies of earlier sources. In both documents, the authors' vocabulary reflects a familiarity with Spanish, paradoxically combining late colonial Spanish loan words with remnants of archaic indigenous rhetoric and vocabulary.

The language of the titles exhibits many aberrant features which make them extremely difficult to translate. The unpredictable and unconventional orthography, grammar, and vocabulary are caused in part by the suspect training of the authors and by their conscious attempts to imitate an earlier style and language.⁴⁰ Perhaps most importantly, these two titles were written outside of central Mexico and the Mixteca Alta, the central areas of Nahuatl

and Mixtec writing. Thus, the Nahuatl contains expressions and conventions which had since gone out of practice in central Mexico. The valley dialect of Chapultepec diverges considerably from those of the Mixteca Alta. Lastly, the titles were written in the late colonial period, just outside the Spanish city of Antequera.

This example of Nahuatl from Oaxaca is unique in that it was written by migrants of central Mexico rather than non-Nahuas using Nahuatl as a second language, as is the case with most Nahuatl written outside of central Mexico. Still, the title's orthography is characteristic of other "peripheral" Nahuatl documentation. Peripheral Nahuatl diverges from classical central Mexican Nahuatl in grammar, syntax, vocabulary, and idioms.⁴¹ Though peripheral Nahuatl clearly deviates from the better-known central Mexican standard, these variations may constitute an authentic form of Nahuatl.⁴² Despite its differences, the title exhibits many of the same changes as central Mexican Nahuatl documentation in contact with Spanish. The use of Spanish verbs and particles in central Mexican Nahuatl texts did not occur regularly until the mid-seventeenth century.⁴³ In fact the rate of such change appears fairly homogenous; by the mid-seventeenth century Oaxacan Nahuatl had incorporated Spanish nouns, verbs and particles into its lexicon. All types of Spanish loan words are sprinkled throughout this document.⁴⁴

The language of the Mixtec title represents the Valley of Oaxaca dialect, which combines elements from older dialects of the Mixteca Alta and Baja. Influence from the Yanhuitlan area reflects a pattern of eastward migration from the Alta to Cuilapan in the centuries before the Spanish Conquest. The influence of the Baja dialect on Valley Mixtec is intriguing, considering the distance between the two regions.⁴⁵ Regardless of the dialect, the quality and complexity of the grammar and vocabulary does not compare favorably with seventeenth-century documentation from the Mixteca Alta.

Like the Nahuatl title, the Mixtec document employs loan words which did not enter the language until the later colonial period, such as *siyudad*, *españole*, *vario*, *título*, *mapa*, and *pena*. The language of the glosses on the Mixtec map/painting and the corresponding title indicates a separate authorship, as they exhibit different handwriting and orthographies.⁴⁶ Despite the presence of loan words in the Mixtec title and map, the writings do not contain nearly as many linguistic indications of their later production as does the Nahuatl document. Although clearly not written in the

early sixteenth century, the language exhibits only minimal Hispanic influence. For example, there are no loan verbs or particles, as in the Nahuatl title. A comparison of the Nahuatl and Mixtec titles, confirmed by a preliminary survey of documentation from the Mixteca Alta, suggests that Mixtec did not change as rapidly or as evenly as Nahuatl in contact with Spanish. Many more sources need to be examined to determine the comparative rates of cultural interaction and linguistic evolution.

The writing style of the titles also betrays their late-colonial date of production. Its handwriting attempts to imitate the flourish of sixteenth-century paleography, while the map strikes the eye as bizarre or simply badly done. Glass and Robertson declined to even include this "crude" pictorial in their catalogue of Native Middle American Manuscripts because it is "too removed from the native tradition for inclusion in the census."⁴⁷

Nevertheless, the documents evoke remnants of the form and function of preconquest writing. In function, preconquest and sixteenth-century codices painted on deer hide or native paper associated mythical and historical events with the genealogies of indigenous rulers in order to legitimate their power. The codices were mnemonic devices for speeches and performances before the local nobility.⁴⁸ In form, the pictorial portion of the Mixtec title reveals a conscious attempt to imitate preconquest style. The map portrays ruling couples viewed in profile and facing each other, like the codex and lienzo tradition of depicting dynastic couples seated in the same manner on a reed mat. This convention represents the Mixtec *yuhuitayu* (*yuhui* means *petate* or "reed mat"; *tayu* is "pair" or "throne"), one of two terms employed for the local state or sociopolitical entity. The *ñuu* was the term for the basic Mixtec "pueblo" in colonial documentation. The *yuhuitayu* (often simply *tayu*) was essentially a *ñuu* with a royal couple ruling by direct descent.⁴⁹ This "kingdom" or *cacicazgo* is akin to the Nahuatl *petlatl icpalli* (reed mat throne), though the Mixtec principle of direct descent bestowed greater authority to the female *cacica* (female cacique called *yya dzehe toniñe* in Mixtec).⁵⁰ In this painting, four *yuhuitayu* are depicted as considerably scaled-down versions of the older, ornate style [see figures 6 and 7]. Alphabetic glosses complement place name glyphs scattered along the edges of the map.⁵¹

However, this "pintura y mapa" obviously mixes preconquest and postconquest elements. The drawings appear to be distorted representations of an earlier art style and betray certain European



Figures 6 and 7: Depictions of the Mixtec *yuhuitayu*.
Above: from the Codex Columbino.
Below: from the 1696 map of Chapultepec.

influences. Unlike their ancient predecessors, men have mustaches and women wear their hair unbraided. They lack the detail and fullness of preconquest figures as well as their elaborate clothing and regalia. Besieged by Nahuas, don Diego de Cortés Dzahui Yuchi defends himself with a nondescript coat of arms instead of the traditional Mixtec *yusa* (*chimalli* or hand-held shield) and brandishes a lance instead of an obsidian-blade club. Though hills are still prominent features bordering the map, they are more shaded blobs than the stylized glyphs of the earlier period. A smiling sun, leafy trees, and an attempt to draw perspective are all European traits. Other features of the map are plainly anachronistic; the four churches conspicuously displayed in the painting could not have been built within two years of the Conquest. The church is an important structure depicted in both titles and early pictorials. In many sixteenth-century Mixtec lienzos and codices, the church is centered, adjacent to the lord's palace. Here, the ruling couples appear before the churches, just as the codices depicted rulers seated by or inside the preconquest temple. Incidentally, Chapultepec's church is twice as large as any other on the map.

Whereas the Mixtec map and title are vaguely reminiscent of preconquest pictorial practice, the Nahuatl title has all the flavor of indigenous speech and performance. As products of an oral tradition, titles retrieve events from the collective memory of local myth, where they are reshaped by each succeeding generation. The narrative of titles recounts past events real or unreal to suit present needs, just as the codices had combined myth and history to legitimate rulership. The Nahuatl title especially relies on dialog, narrative, and characters, like a drama or oral performance. The first three sections exhibit the most archaic and dramatic language and content because this part was most likely based on an older oral tradition. A specific style and language is adapted to each changing context; the straightforward language of the Nahuatl land survey, for example, diverges considerably from the rhetorical style of the mock battle before Cortés. Sections of quoted speech within the narrative make the title appear more intimate and believable, as if it were the product of "on-the-scene" reporting. The frequent assertion of truth (*ca melahuac*, "it is true") imparts the character of a legal deposition to the narrative, if not plain propaganda. The fact that witnesses sign their names further "officializes" the title as an authentic document authorized by prominent community representatives.⁵² According to the Nahuatl title, the Zapotec noblewoman advised the Nahuas "to write exactly how it happened

on paper," thus providing a convenient motive for creating this would-be objective history.

Titles are like Nahuatl songs and annals in that they were often concerned with history and the altepētl.⁵³ Immortalized culture heroes narrate titles just as they perform songs. The rhythmic and repetitive qualities of titles further associates them with song and discourse.⁵⁴ León-Portilla has observed that chronicles and histories "contain a certain rhythmic style which undoubtedly helped in memorizing." In the Nahuatl title, the Noblewoman of the Zapotec speaks in rhythmic verse by prefacing each statement with *ca melahuac*. Similarly, the Mixtec text uses *saha dzahua* and *quihui dzahua* ("when" and "then") to pace the narrative. Semantic parallel phrasing and repetition of words or morphemes contribute to the titles' lyrical style. The titles are as difficult to follow as indigenous song because they violate temporal and spatial conventions, and lack the linear organization and conventions for encapsulating dialog of Western song and drama. They frequently shift back and forth from narrative to dialog, from the historical past tense to the active present. The non-linear narrative could be based on an indigenous cyclical conception of time, but it is more likely that the precise chronology and timing of events were either misconstrued or condensed by myth and speech conventions. The "telescoping" and layering of events is typical of the oral tradition.⁵⁵ The elusive nature of titles is also due to the simple fact that this speech genre was not easily reduced to written form. Though titles were not exactly meant to be spoken or performed before an audience, they share many characteristics of song and drama because they are drawn from the oral tradition.⁵⁶

The variant metaphors and flowery speech of the Nahuatl title parallels the Hispanized Mixtec pictorial component, signaling both retention and loss of ancient traditions. The Nahuatl employs an altered version of a metaphor for war, *chimalli macualli* (instead of *mitl chimalli*), revealing a faint familiarity with the conventions of high speech. The Mixtec portrays the cacique speaking elegantly, occasionally using words from the distinct lordly (*yya*) vocabulary. But the titles are a far cry from the reverential, eloquent forms characteristic of preconquest and early colonial discourse.

The most striking difference between the two titles is that the Mixtec version of the Conquest exhibits few of the more fantastic features of the Nahuatl title's shifting narrative, dramatic dialog and supernatural events. It remains to be seen whether these char-

acteristics, which have been observed in several other central Mexican Nahuatl titles, are singular to the Nahuatl title genre. In this sense, the Mixtec title resembles the Maya chronicles more than some of the fanciful versions from central Mexico. One may consider whether the shared characteristics of Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Maya titles represent the diffusion of a colonial genre or a common Mesoamerican oral and written tradition, or both.

Though far removed from the intended model, the style and language of the titles leave an impression of how some Mixtecs and Nahuas perceived early colonial writing. The painting demonstrates the extent to which alphabetic writing had supplanted the ancient pictorial tradition by the end of the seventeenth century. As a distinct genre, titles appear rather late in the evolution of indigenous-language writing (especially for Nahuatl), when literacy had spread far enough to reach non-nobles, such as the alleged authors Juan Roque and Nicolás Miguel. By this later period, Spanish had exerted considerable influence on indigenous language and writing, reflecting the overall interaction of Hispanic and indigenous society. If it is clear how writing and language were perceived nearly two centuries later, and reshaped within this new discourse genre, it is less clear how the titles' content reflects a general historical consciousness. In other words, what did they *really* think happened?

Historical Consciousness and Myth

Titles intertwine local history, oratory, myth and propaganda. In describing their content, both Woodrow Borah and Wood have evoked the image of a tapestry interwoven with "myth, fantasy and falsehood."⁵⁷ Charles Gibson described the typical title as representing "an individual or collective memory of lands possessed or once possessed and endangered...[which] might be misguided or deliberately contrived to support a claim."⁵⁸ And Lockhart demonstrated in a study of four titles from the Chalco region that the documents were in some cases "deliberately falsified."

Falsification was clearly intended in many titles, especially considering the aging process, the impossible dating, and the intentional archaic language and pictorials. In central Mexico, an underground network of writers producing Nahuatl-language false titles functioned in the late seventeenth century, as well as a Spanish-language title-forging business in the second half of the eighteenth

century.⁵⁹ The issue of fraud and forgery raises the unsavory prospect that indigenous groups or individuals may have knowingly lied to obtain their goals. The scholars who first examined such manuscripts often denied the possibility of falsification.⁶⁰ Only recently, in fact, have they been acknowledged as spurious.⁶¹ Wood has defended their false nature by calling them "the product of reasonable people trying to meet an impossible demand--to produce a written and/or pictorial record that they either never had or had lost."⁶²

If duplicity is suspected in a title's origin, how reliable is its content? The lack of distinction between how the authors genuinely perceived the past and what they contrived in order to achieve their immediate goals further complicates this question of historical accuracy. An understanding of traditional behavior and custom may have led authors to consciously distort historical events. Most central Mexican titles deny military defeat either at the hands of the Mexica or Spaniards, since such an admission would have been tantamount, in preconquest terms, to renouncing one's claims to disputed territory. The same phenomenon can be observed in the typical response to question fourteen of the *Relaciones Geográficas*, concerning preconquest tribute arrangements; practically every place claims that it never gave tribute to anybody, even when evidence plainly points to the contrary. The Nahuatl title claims that they were "invited" to Oaxaca and subsequently defeated both the Mixtecs and Spaniards. Similarly, it seems an affected Mixtec view of the Conquest when the Spaniards are cordially welcomed and their Mexican allies are "given" land in the spirit of cooperation. Such interpretations are likely based on an awareness of the relation between conquest and tribute in pre-Hispanic times. Titles are not simply empowering myth or confused history; by their nature, they manipulate and reinterpret events of the past to serve present and future concerns.⁶³

Nevertheless, a title's fabrication need not totally compromise its historical value; though submerged in fiction, fable, and deceit there is a factual residue to be gleaned from these versions of the past. In spite of their false nature, many titles were based on actual historical events distorted and reshaped as they were passed along orally from one generation to the next. The resulting concoction is a blend of the mundane and fantastic, an anachronistic account mixing preconquest and postconquest elements. As Miguel León-Portilla observed: "Although it is often difficult to separate legend from history, in some ways fantastic accounts may be consid-

ered historical, since they show traces of ancient forms of thinking and acting."⁶⁴

Indeed, titles preserve many traces of the ancient past. The Nahuatl title features four ruler-warriors who were preconquest Mexica *tlatoque* (Nahua caciques) and/or warriors especially known for their martial prowess. Three of these characters are mentioned in the *Florentine Codex* and the *Cantares Mexicanos*.⁶⁵ The recollection of historical/mythical figures attests to the retention of central Mexican lore in Nahuatl satellite communities nearly two centuries after the Conquest. The Zapotec noblewoman of the Nahuatl title could also be an historical figure, since women appear to have ruled more frequently in Oaxaca than in Nahua society.⁶⁶ Furthermore, her presence may represent a marriage alliance between Nahua and Zapotec nobles, such as the historic union between Ahuizotl's daughter and the Zapotec lord Cosijoeza. The beleaguered Zapotec's tale of reliance upon the Mexica for protection may also have an historical basis. According to sixteenth-century sources, the Zapotecs forged an alliance with the Nahuas against the Mixtecs and other groups surrounding the Valley of Oaxaca.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the two hills on which the Nahuas first confronted the Spaniards according to their title, Huaxacatzin and Acatepec, were sites of Mexica garrisons in the years before the Conquest.⁶⁸

The first part of the Nahuatl title focuses on war and subsequent tribute arrangements as a result of the so-called "original conquest." Yet this alliance between the Nahuas and the Zapotecs was created before the arrival of the Spaniards, and could not have been sanctioned by Cortés. The Nahuas exploited the Mixtec-Zapotec rivalry to establish a foothold in the area; implicit in Nahua aid to the Zapotecs was the promise of new lands and tribute. Similarly, "helping" the Spaniards on expeditions guaranteed the Nahuas land to settle and favored status in the conquered region. Clearly, fundamental preconquest conceptions of conquest and alliance dictate titles' content.

The Nahuatl title pays special tribute to preconquest warfare, its paraphernalia and protocol. War is depicted as ritualistic play, symbolized by the sounds of log drums, dramatic displays of arms and authentic battle accouterments like shields, obsidian-blade clubs, arrows, and stone sandals. The attention to detail is reminiscent of the ritual recorded by Sahagún's informants in Book Twelve of the *Florentine Codex*. Supernatural events such as earthquakes and floods round out the Mexica arsenal, wielded to defeat

both the Mixtecs and Spaniards. Women and children were invited to witness the fighting, perhaps according to preconquest protocol. The derogatory allusion to the Mixtecs as cannibals is probably an oblique reference to preconquest sacrifice directly linked to ritual warfare; in this context it appears as a barbarous act of the past, and a further justification of Mexica conquest. This indictment of the Mixtecs demonstrates an aspect of the Nahuatl title's appeal to a Spanish audience's sensibilities. The Nahuas attempted to validate their own conquest in Spanish terms. They affirmed at the end of the narrative that they wanted to fight, died (and killed) in battle, fought with gunpowder, and captured black slaves--"just like the Spaniards." This process of "regulation," whereby the speakers/writers strategically appeal to the ethical values of the addressee, is typical of this genre and has been observed in the Maya chronicles.⁶⁹

In reference to better-known versions of this period, León-Portilla asserted that "native records of the Conquest are dramatic proof of the persistence of what can be called a deeply rooted historical consciousness."⁷⁰ This assertion applies equally to the titles, which testify to the monumental effect of these apocalyptic events on all subsequent discourse. Yet this consciousness is tempered by a healthy disregard for the Conquest's negative repercussions; in both titles the actual Spanish Conquest is either denied or completely ignored.⁷¹

Once these events have transpired, titles proceed to all the symbolic events highlighting a community's evolution into a Spanish-style municipality, graced by God and King. First, community members received baptism and Christian names and then the local church was built, seemingly overnight. The founding of the local *cabildo* is another landmark event which conveyed status and legitimacy to the community.⁷² Despite being modeled on a Spanish institution, the offices retain preconquest responsibilities. The transition to municipal government is portrayed as an autonomous process undertaken by the community rather than an external imposition.

Finally, all titles focus on land. The survey of lands and borders witnessed by the indigenous community is the part of the document which most corresponds to Spanish procedures of investigation, and thus is the most predictable. Since the customary procedure of walking borders usually demanded a number of witnesses, many community members were likely familiar with this part of titles. Each side attempted to demonstrate that a boundary dis-

puted with another community was a matter which had been settled earlier, witnessed and approved by both indigenous and Spanish officials. Both sides also denied instigating the dispute. Accordingly, the Mixtec map contains a suspicious addendum to the main text: "no tenemos pleito con los mexicanos" (we don't have a legal dispute against the Mexicans). This curious statement does not appear in the original Mixtec passage. In reality, the dispute with Mexicapan and the cacique of Cuilapan is the very reason for the map's existence. Chapultepec had to portray an amicable resolution of conflict in the 1520s in order to support its claim in the 1690s, which might be jeopardized by admission of ongoing conflict.

As Wood has observed, there is no nostalgia for earlier times in the titles, as in some of the high rhetoric or *huehuetlatolli* of the sixteenth century.⁷³ The genre transformed historical reality by rewriting it from a present-minded perspective. In the titles from Oaxaca, a distinct ethnic identity played a prominent role in this reinterpretation of the past. Ethnic identity helped distinguish the community's historic right and unique origins. In spite of pretense and myth, the Mixtec and Nahuatl titles exhibit evidence of ethnic identity as functional in the 1690s as it was in the 1520s.

Ethnicity and Identity

In titles from central Mexico, James Lockhart has noted that a "broader ethnic awareness or solidarity is no more to be found in the titles than anywhere else."⁷⁴ He described titles, like most Nahuatl-language documentation, as primarily altepetl-centered documents which tend to emphasize their identification with the local altepetl and *calpolli-tlaxilacalli* (subdivisions of the altepetl, frequently associated with *barrios*) rather than broader ethnic categories.⁷⁵ The titles from Oaxaca also focus on the Nahua altepetl or Mixtec *ñuu* (or *yuhuitayu*), attempting to preserve or extend privileges in the name of that sociopolitical unit, represented by its elected leaders. The Nahuatl title describes how groups from specific central Mexican altepetl came to settle in separate *barrios*, retaining their corporate identity in distant Oaxaca. Likewise, Chapultepec's map and title focus on the narrowly defined interests of the community and its nearby dependent.

However, the two titles from Oaxaca also enunciate a broader, overarching ethnic identity and make repeated references to a distinct ethnic awareness. The titles exalt Nahua and Mixtec roles in the Conquest to the extent that the Spaniards were one more ethnic

group who were ultimately accommodated. The multiethnic setting of the valley contributed to such an acute awareness of origin and language.⁷⁶ Ethnic solidarity is evident in both titles; the three Nahuatl-speaking communities of Mexicapan, Xochimilco and the Marquesado forged an alliance based on common ethnicity. Similarly, San Juan Chapultepec received help in fighting the Nahuas from the other two Mixtec *yuhuitayu* of the valley, Cuilapan and Xoxocotlan.

The Nahuatl title evokes events and dialog from a distant past which justify and explain the historic presence of the *Mexicatla* (Mexica people) in the area. The narrative features various indigenous ethnic terms: the Nahuas were known as *mexica*, *mexicatla*, and *mexicanos*; the Mixtecs were called *mixteca*, *mixtecatla*, and *tlacame mixteco*; the Zapotecs were *zapotecatl*. The title even mentions separate border markers demarcating the lands of the *teomixtecal* or "Mixtec deities" belonging to the Mixtec *yuhuitayu* of Chapultepec and Xoxocotlan.

Although the Nahuas who accompanied the Spaniards were from various central Mexican altepetl, they were collectively called "Mexico" or some derivative in the title, and were thus associated with the one prominent Nahuatl-speaking group from Tenochtitlan.⁷⁷ It is unclear whether this reference to the Mexica was applied to Nahuas in general in the early colonial period, or if it was a later development affected by the Hispanic term. Twice in the document's opening sections, the last three letters of "mexicanos" were crossed out, perhaps in recognition that it was the Spanish version of the original Nahuatl term (*mexica*). Later in the document, however, the term was employed unabashedly. Sixteenth-century Nahuatl-language documentation from the Mixteca also called the Nahuas "Mexico." The widespread use of "Mexico" reflects the complexities of Nahuatl ethnic identity. The term "Nahuatl" does not seem to have been employed consistently by Nahuas themselves. It was most frequently employed in reference to their language, particularly in ecclesiastical publications (*doctrinas*, confessional manuals, dictionaries, etc.), rather than any profound cultural identification. Though it was probably the best term adopted, it is not common in the archival record.

The authors of the Mixtec title also exhibited a conscious ethnic identity, distinguishing themselves as *tay ñudzahui* ("people of the rain place"), distinct from the *tay ñucoyo* (Nahuas or Mexica) and *tay españole* (Spaniards). Thus, the so-called "Mixtecs" did not go by that name.⁷⁸ In Nahuatl *mixtlan* means

"place of the clouds" and *mixteca* is (plural of *mixtecatl*) "people of the cloud place." This name implies that Nahuatl speakers recognized the people of the area as a homogenous group and presumably derived this name from an association with the meaning of *Ñudzahui* (i.e., "rain" and "clouds"). After the Conquest, Spaniards and friars adopted the Nahuatl term, and they are still known as "Mixtecs" to this day.

In Mixtec-language colonial documentation and church publications from the Mixteca Alta, the term *Ñudzahui* has been attested dozens of times. The term is common in both the early and later colonial periods, and especially during the period in which Mixtec alphabetic writing seems to have reached a peak in quality and quantity, from the 1670s to the 1720s. The self-appellation appears in reference to language, the region, the people as a group, individuals, and cultural artifacts such as *metates* (grinding stones), clothes, paper, soap made from herbs and confraternity images (an image of Jesus Christ, for example).⁷⁹ Judging by the context of its usage in the title and other documents, *Ñudzahui* identity was prevalent when accentuated by the presence of others, whether Spaniard, mestizo, mulatto, Nahua, Chocho, etc. Contact with Spaniards and other racial and ethnic groups occasioned the need to express one's ethnicity in writing. But the concept and term also existed in preconquest times.⁸⁰ This broader cultural and linguistic identification, however, did not compromise a more specific, local identity with the indigenous community or one of its subunits. Such a well-defined sense of ethnic identity has not been documented for other indigenous groups of postconquest Mesoamerica.

The *Ñudzahui* also applied a broader designation to the Nahuas--*tay ñucoyo* or "people of the reed place." The term is based on the place name for Mexico Tenochtitlan *ñuu coyo*, instead of the more abstract "Nahuas."⁸¹ Thus, the terminology of both titles makes no distinction between the Nahuas and the Mexica. The *Ñudzahui* title also refers to the Nahuas as *saminuu*, a term apparently associated with warfare and conquest. This name has not been attested elsewhere in Mixtec-language sources and may be a more archaic, metaphorical term.⁸² Just as the Mixtecs associated the Nahuas with Tenochtitlan, they also named the Zapotecs after the largest site in the Valley of Oaxaca, Teozapotlan (called *Zaachila* by the Zapotecs). According to sixteenth-century accounts, *tay tocuisi* ("white noble people") was the term applied to the Valley Zapotecs, as Teozapotlan was called *Tocuisi*.⁸³ The entire region of the Valley was called *Tocuisi ñuhu*. The Mixtec

title states that Spaniards settled in a place called Ñucuisi or "the white place," perhaps in reference to its Nahuatl equivalent in the Valley, Tlalistaca ("white land place"), or possibly Tezapotlan.⁸⁴

Indicative of their late production, both titles refer to the Spaniards as "españoles."⁸⁵ Both titles also employ unusual and enigmatic names for the Spaniards. The Nahuatl title curiously calls Cortés the "ruler of the children of the sun" and the Spaniards "children of the sun." It is unclear whether this is a completely contrived term or one based on myth. Perhaps it is akin to the legendary Nahuatl nickname for Alvarado, *Tonatiuh* ("sun"), in apparent reference to his light complexion. The term may be more complex, however, rooted in preconquest and/or postconquest myth.⁸⁶ Similarly, the Mixtec title calls the Spaniards many complementary but rare names, such as *tay cuhui nano* "the great people" and *tay cuisi* "white people." The last term would accord with the interpretation of the "children of the sun" as a reference to skin color.⁸⁷ The use of "whites" for Spaniards in the Mixtec parallels the use of "blacks" for Africans in the Nahuatl. Nahuas continued to use the term *tliltic* ("[something] black") for Africans rather than the Spanish loan word *negro* throughout the colonial period.⁸⁸

The most conspicuous aspect of identity absent from the titles is any reference to "Indians." In Ñudzahui-language documentation from the Mixteca Alta, Baja, and Valley, the term "indio" has not been attested a single time. Likewise, "indio" is extremely rare in colonial Nahuatl documentation.⁸⁹ There is no evidence in indigenous-language sources that a generic "Indian" identity eclipsed Nahuatl or Mixtec ethnic identities, especially not by the end of the seventeenth century.⁹⁰

Few studies have attended to indigenous ethnicity after the Conquest. Historians have traditionally focused on Spaniards or "Indians," or the interaction between the two. The titles from Oaxaca seem to diminish the theory or presumption that ethnicity was more salient in preconquest times, or that the Conquest and contact with Spaniards rapidly destroyed ethnic identity.⁹¹ In light of developing pressures for land on the community, identity may have been maintained or revived by drawing selectively on remembrances of the past and using them to cope with the reality of changing circumstances. As internally produced writings striving to articulate and confirm a community's historic right, these titles

testify to the vitality of indigenous identity and consciousness nearly two centuries after the conquest.

Conclusions

Historians have proposed that official titles, histories, *títulos primordiales*, the "Techialoyan" manuscripts, and Spanish-language forgeries constitute a continuum of documents representing indigenous attempts to protect and further the interests of the corporate community, or special interests therein.⁹² We further propose that the function and style of the indigenous title extends beyond land documentation to encompass a much broader spectrum of indigenous writing and expression which embodies certain preconquest characteristics. If the day-to-day documentation of notarial and personal records is juxtaposed with products of high culture (the *huehuetlatolli* of annals, songs, plays, and the chronicles of Chimalpahin and Tezozomoc), the titles genre seems isolated. Yet titles seem to display traits and traces of all genres: testamentary information (if not separate testaments); the boundary talk of land documents; the flowery and antiquated language of high speech; the repetition and rhythm of song; a pictorial component reminiscent of preconquest and sixteenth-century writing; the performance-oriented narrative of plays and speeches; the tendency of annals to focus seemingly haphazardly on symbolic events; and the legal conventions of official petitions and depositions. Titles constitute a collage of indigenous writing forms and functions. Some attempt to replicate preconquest pictorial style and convention, and serve as visual testimony to the lost but not entirely forgotten art of preconquest writing; others conjure up a spirited oral tradition. In spite of its anachronistic and inaccurate archaisms, the false title still resembles more a syncretic, synthetic indigenous form than a Spanish title.

Many of the themes elaborated in the discussion of these titles, such as writing and discourse, historical consciousness and myth, and ethnicity and identity, are best studied from the perspective of native-language sources. Yet few of these indigenous-language sources have been studied from Oaxaca, where several distinct culture and language groups interacted both before and after the Conquest. The confluence of cultures and languages that characterizes this complex region runs through the Mixtec and Nahuatl titles from the Valley of Oaxaca. The two carefully constructed accounts of the Conquest bristle with local patriotism

and proud identity. One title declared victory over the Spaniards, the other spoke of cooperation for the common good. In the end, the titles emphasize triumph, accommodation, and adjustment over conflict and defeat. The titles merged indigenous and Spanish representations and genres to create a new history. Rewriting the past to suit present purposes, the Nahua and Ñudzahui authors transformed the Spanish Conquest of Oaxaca from certain defeat into self-serving history and myth. These accounts of the "original conquest" prove that the pen *is* mightier than the sword.

Notes

1. The two titles are located in the Archivo General de la Nación: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6. We gratefully acknowledge James Lockhart's help with the initial translation of the first three sections of the Nahuatl title. We also thank Barry David Sell for his comments on the final transcription and translation of this document. The final translation is ours.

2. Wood 1991: 177.

3. Lockhart 1992: 410. The difficulty lies in the context, language, origin and narrative of the texts, as we shall see. False titles also exist in Zapotec, Yucatec Maya, Chontal, Quiche, Cakchiquel and perhaps other Mesoamerican languages. For recent research on the titles genre see: Wood 1984, 1989, 1991; Lockhart 1991: chap. 3, and 1992: 410-418; Borah 1991. For "chronicles" in the Maya region, see: Scholes and Roys 1968; Brinton 1969; Carmack 1973; Hill 1991; Hanks 1987; and Restall 1991.

4. The ever-increasing number of identified "titles" in local and national archives, however, suggests that enough of them succeeded to encourage their production.

5. Borah 1991: 216-221 summarizes the main points of agreement and disagreement among scholars who have studied the "Techialoyan codices" and "títulos primordiales." For a more detailed discussion of the Techialoyans, see Robertson 1975; Wood 1984, 1989; and Harvey 1986.

6. Wood 1984: 302-322; and Glass and Robertson 1975.

7. Wood 1989: 259.

8. Lockhart 1992: 416, note 154.

9. Wood 1984: 257.

10. Wood 1984: 300.

11. Borah 1991.

12. Wood 1991: 189.

13. Deviant orthography was often purposely employed to antiquate documents, so it is difficult to ascertain whether the language is simply "bad" or contrived to look out-of-date.

14. Burgoa 1934 (I): 42-43.

15. Chance 1978: 82.

16. Similarly, the Mixtecs referred to the Valley Zapotecs collectively as *tay tocuisi* or "white noble people"; the meaning of this term is unclear.

17. Acuña 1984 (I): 178-181; Acuña 1984 (II): 157-158. The *Codex Santiago Guevea* documents the Zapotec migration to Tehuantepec.

18. Spores 1965: 964-966.

19. Taylor 1972: 23.

20. Chance 1978: 21.

21. Taylor 1972: 22-23. Nearly all of the Mixtec communities were intact by the end of the colonial era. Mixtec pueblos included San Juan Chapultepec, Santa Cruz Xoxocotlan, San Pedro Ixtlahuaca, Santa María Atzompa, San Jacinto Amilpas, and San Lucas Tlanichico. Additionally, Santa Ana Tlapacoya, Santa Ana Zegache, and Zaachila each contained a Mixtec barrio, and there were also Mixtecs in the eastern ETLA branch of the valley at Guaxolotitlan, Santiago Xochilquitonco, and Tenexpan.

22. In his study of land tenure in the Valley of Oaxaca, William Taylor mentions a certain Mixtec manuscript and map from a 1696 land dispute which he supposed "may be the original 1523 cacicazgo title or a copy" (Taylor 1972: 40-41; 115). He subsequently interpreted the document as a description of the cacicazgo lands and the foundation of the municipality. Taylor had considered the title's function but apparently not its falsified nature. John Chance also used the false titles in his study of colonial Antequera. Employing the Mixtec document, he claimed that Mexicapa was founded on land "ceded" by the Mixtec cacique of neighboring Chapultepec and suggests that it had seven barrios as early as 1523. He referred to the Nahuatl title as "a document of the period [which] suggests that by this early date [1525] the Spaniards had already introduced their concept of local government into these Indian towns" (Chance 1978: 32, 83). Like Taylor, Chance considered the document an authentic copy of an earlier original, though this is never stated or implied in the proceedings. Significantly, his interpretation of the document as an early- rather than a late-colonial product affects his perception of changing ethnicity throughout the colonial period. Chance's treatment of the document led Borah to the interpretation that "the first instances of European-style towns with Spanish-style government may well have been the new settlements of Indian allies close to Spanish, such as San Martín Mexicapa and Santo Tomás Xochimilco near Huaxyacac for Mexican and Tlaxcaltecan Indians" (Borah 1982: 269). It must be reiterated that at the time of these works, the identification and study of false titles was just beginning and little was known of the genre.

Based on an analysis of the pictorial portion, Mary Elizabeth Smith noted the distinct possibility that both the document and painting had been artificially aged, doubting the painting's date based on its "deficient"

native iconographic style. She supposed that it was probably done in 1696, when it was presented (Smith 1973: 207). Glass and Robertson shared this view (1975: 75). Genaro Vásquez thought that the Nahuatl text was written in Zapotec (1931: 22).

23. The testament, translated by Juan Roque, enumerates the lands which belong to Mexicapa. But the language of the testament reveals that it could not have been written in 1602, as it contains Spanish loan vocabulary and phenomenon of a later period, including prepositions.

24. They were said to present "papeles, recaudos, mapas y pinturas." The painting was apparently lost.

25. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 20.

26. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 21.

27. This 1692 Spanish translation of the 1565 Mixtec testament and title of don Diego Cortés was allegedly based on the original, which he claimed was in Mexico City. The testament's opening overlaps in content with the Mixtec title from Chapultepec, and is typical of many testament/titles. For example, don Diego (whose Mixtec name *Dzahui Yuchi* is translated as "aguasero como cuchillo") speaks of Cortés' arrival and proclaims that he was the first to be baptized and given the honorific title of "don" in the church of Cuilapa, followed by the nobility, and then the commoners. The testament quickly dispenses with religious formula and launches into a full description of borders. The document concludes with a list of witnesses described as the "principales deste pueblo, hombres que hisieron la conquista, en el serro delgado de Theosopotlan." The last line refers to a competing claim: "Asi mesmo el titulo de don Jeronimo de Lan[da], padre de doña Magdalena Melchora, que el traya quando yo hasía testamento, no abla con berdad el, no dise berdad el, no tiene fuerssa." The precise nature of this claim is unknown. The overlapping content of the titles may indicate a common oral and/or written source on which the documents are based, or the possibility that one was seen first by authors of the other. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, ff. 33-33v.

28. The officials of Chapultepec decried "la falsedad patente del titulo presentado por los naturales de San Martin...el dicho titulo es falso, avido y adquirido por la malicia de dichos naturales de San Martin y especialmente por Juan Roque indio yntruso de conosida malicia y factor de semejantes titulos...y sin embargo de todos los defectos de falsedad y nulidad ynsanables patente justificados...adquirieron dichos naturales posesion de tierras que en ninguna manera les pertenesen" AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 99.

29. Don Andrés Cortés de Velasco berated the alcalde mayor: "el que ynjustamente se amparo a dichos naturales con tan flacos fundamentos como fueron un quaderno supuesto y falso titulo que hizo Juan Roque yndio del mismo pueblo suponiendo ser antiguo...como se lo con prueba con la otra letra suya" AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 135.

30. AGN: Tierras, vol. 236, exp. 6, f. 132.

31. For example, in 1760, a survey determined that Chapultepec possessed only half its *fundo legal* (the 1695 law which provided each community with a radius of 600 varas, measured from the parish church), so adjoining lands were taken from Mexicapa to make up the difference. Though Mexicapa was the community primarily responsible for Chapultepec's loss of land, they were forced to rent out many lands to pay off debts accumulated in various lawsuits. One of these lawsuits was the long-standing dispute with Chapultepec (Taylor 1972: 69).

32. That there are four rulers is significant, for this number is ubiquitous in Nahua organization and thought. See Lockhart 1992: 436-442.

33. Smith has confirmed this observation (1973: 207).

34. AGN Tierras, v. 236, exp. 6, ff. 10-11. The nobles requested a "licencia para traducir un titulo que tenemos que agora nuevamente hemos hallado en lengua misteca--traducir lo en la lengua castellana juntamente con una mamapa [sic] para ber como platica con el dicho titulo."

35. The actual sociopolitical terms employed in the documents have been retained in the translation, instead of using the rough equivalents of "community" or "pueblo." This terminology will be discussed in more detail below.

36. In the ritual calendrical vocabulary, "rain" is *co* and "flint" is *cusi*. This could be alternatively considered a personal name, which would have been represented as a glyph in the preconquest codices. Early colonial Mixtec-language documentation, however, invariably employs the calendrical vocabulary for naming, accompanied by a Christian first name.

37. We have purposely separated the Mixtec text into "paragraphs" or complete statements, for the sake of matching the corresponding translation which follows below with the original language. The text contains no such identifiable breaks in its prose.

38. Some parts of this translation are exceedingly complex, because of the faded second page, the little-known Valley dialect, the inattention to conventional grammar, and the use of metaphors and contrived archaisms.

Much of the linguistic detail is covered below in the section on language, but there are a few questions of interpretation which bear directly on the translation. First, this section employs four terms in reference to groups of people: *chee cui*; *españole*; *chee niqidzatnañu*; and *chee cuhui nano*. "Chee cui" means "white people" and by extension could be understood as "clear [-skinned] people"; the term was translated by the cacique of Guaxolotitlan in 1696 as "Spaniards."

There are two reservations to this interpretation. First, such a reference to Spaniards, by a perceived difference in skin color, is almost unprecedented in both the Nahuatl- and Mixtec-language documentary

record. Second, the Mixtecs called the Valley of Oaxaca *Tocuisi Ñuhu*, after the most important Zapotec place, Zaachila (Reyes 1593: Prologue II, 91). By extension, the Zapotecs were called *tay tocuisi* ("white noble people"), much like the way Nahuas *tay ñucoyo* were associated with Tenochtitlan. Likewise, another prominent group in the area, the Chocho or *tay tocuii*, were associated with the color green. Perhaps the color reference for Zapotecs is associated with their entirely white traditional dress, still worn today by women in the Zapotec Sierra. But this is mere speculation. Due to the paucity of extant Mixtec-language documentation from the Valley, the term for Zapotecs has not been attested, whereas those for the Nahuas and Chocho have been. The mention of *Ñocuisi* "white place" may be a reference to either Zaachila (Tocuisi in Mixtec; Teosapotlan in Nahuatl), Tlalistaca (Ñucuisi in Mixtec, Zapotec unknown), or merely some fictitious place associated with the "white people."

On the other hand, there is good cause to support the translation of *chee cuisu* as Spaniards. Here and elsewhere in the title, many of the terms in reference to Spaniards suggest semantic parallels. The term *chee cuhui nano* or the "great people" is also unattested and is probably nothing more than a flattering, false archaism; it may refer to "Spanish nobles," thus avoiding the more Mixtec-specific *toho*. The term *chee niquidzatnañu* seems like a contrived metaphor related to war and conquest. The following *ñuhu* and *nduhua* seems to refer to Oaxaca but could also be a tone pun for war: some of the older expressions for "batallar" and "conquistar" (*caha-nduvua-ñuhu*; *chihi-nduvua-ñuhu-ñaha*) involve thrusting an arrow *nduvua* into land *ñuhu*, reminiscent of the symbol for a conquered place in the Mixtec codices--an arrow sticking out of a place name glyph (Alvarado 1593: 33, 52). These ambiguous and curious expressions are typical of titles; the Nahuatl title similarly refers to the Spaniards as "children of the sun," perhaps in reference to their complexion. Also, considering the fact that Africans were usually referred to as "black" by both Nahuas and Mixtecs, we might expect to see more references to Europeans as "white." We know of only one example in Nahuatl where Spaniards were referred to as *iztaque* or "whites" and possibly *chipahuacatlaca* as "light [skinned] people" (León 1611: 18 recto, quoted in Sell forthcoming: chap. 3). For a discussion of such racial and social terminology in postconquest Nahuatl, see Lockhart 1992.

After a careful consideration of all these factors, we have translated this term as "white people" in reference to Spaniards.

39. A further indication of its dubious date is the claim that the map and title were done on the same day (February 8, 1523), though one refers to the day as Monday and the other as Tuesday. Each was written, in fact, by a different author.

40. A consciousness of linguistic change is rather rare among indigenous writers. It is glimpsed, however, when Sahagún's informants con-

sciously attributed older words and expressions to speeches of the past. See Lockhart 1992: 283.

41. For example, one of the standard central Mexican absolute suffixes "-tl" is commonly written as "-l" or "-t" in peripheral Nahuatl, suggesting that the "-tl" sound had only recently been developed in the central area and had not been adopted in Oaxacan Nahuatl. Therefore, words, such as *tzapotecatl*, appear in the document as *tzapotecal*. Also, "ch" and "h" were interchanged, rendering *neh-* instead of *nech,-* and *ypilchua* in place of *ypilhuan*. In some cases, "ch" is replaced by "x". The glottal "h" in central Mexican Nahuatl is replaced by "c" so that *moteneuhctica* appears as *moteneuctica*. As in standard Nahuatl, "n" is frequently omitted and included.

Unlike central Mexican nouns, which are altered when possessive prefixes or plural markers are added, the basic word does not change in peripheral Nahuatl with these additions. Peripheral Nahuatl combines the possessive form with the agentive to create words such as *toeytlatoani*. When the Nahuatl plural can be formed by omitting the absolute suffix, peripheral Nahuatl still adds the plural "-me". Thus, in central Mexico the "-tl" is dropped from *tlacatl* (singular) becoming *tlaca* in the plural; but in Mexicapa it was sometimes written as *tlacame*. The use of plurals further indicates Spanish-language influence; for example, Spanish ethnic terms are mixed with *tlaca* (people), as in *tlacame mistecos*.

The title also contains unusual vocabulary; the very first word of the document carries the "-pol" suffix which usually has a derogatory connotation, but its addition to the pronoun *nehuatl* may suggest some form of mock humility. Another rare term in this document is *ytocayoca* ("the place named") employed here to signify a personal name; alternately, the term *ytoca* is occasionally used with place names rather than personal names.

Also characteristic of peripheral Nahuatl is the use of *nahuac* as the main relational, whereas in central Mexican Nahuatl it specifically means "next to, near" (see Anderson et al. 1976: doc. #30). Other common features include: *yca yno* "with that" or "at that time"; *ynin* rather than *yn* (also attested in Anderson et al. 1976: doc. #23); inconsistent use of the clause introductory particle "ca"; the infrequent appearance of *yhuan*; and the lack of *cuix* as interrogative. Also, the second- and third-person singular and plural reflexive "mo" is frequently employed to mark first-person singular and plural; thus *timotlasotlasque* appears in the document, though we would expect *titotlasotlasque* in central Mexico (see Anderson et al. 1976: doc. #30).

Finally, the imperative form rarely adds either the "xi-" prefix to the second person singular and plural or the "-can" suffix to the plural, as is customary in central Mexico. Thus, *ma nehmpalehuilis* clearly means "(you) help us," but lacks the obligatory "xi-" prefix.

42. Peripheral Nahuatl has never been thoroughly studied and described. A comparison of Nahuatl documents from the Oaxaca region indicates many characteristics of peripheral Nahuatl which, to those trained in classical central Mexican Nahuatl, might appear as mistakes. Our preliminary work with Nahuatl written by members of Mixtec and Mixe communities suggests that some irregularities may be explained by the fact that the authors of these documents were only familiar with Nahuatl as a second language. In sixteenth-century Nahuatl documents from the Mixteca, some Mixtec influence on vocabulary and orthography can be detected. Most of these sources, however, appear in areas of languages which were probably never written in colonial times, such as Trique, Chatino, Cuicatec, Ixcatec and Chocho (though the latter *was* written in the colonial period). On the other hand, Nahuatl from this area could simply have its own conventions, which differ from the Nahuatl of central Mexico.

At present, one of the only published sources with examples of peripheral Nahuatl is the collection of mundane documents by Anderson, Berdan and Lockhart 1976 (see documents #23 and #30). For a translation and brief analysis of a document from the Sinaloa region, see Braun, Sell and Terraciano 1989.

43. Frances Karttunen and Lockhart have outlined the evolution of Nahuatl after the Conquest, based on a philological and linguistic analysis of Nahuatl-language writing from central Mexico. In the first stage (ca. 1521-1550, or roughly the first postconquest generation), Nahuatl altered very little, incorporating only Spanish proper names but pronouncing them according to the Nahuatl phonetic inventory. Nahuas also developed descriptive terms and neologisms in their own language for new items introduced by the Europeans. During the second stage (ca. 1550-1650), Nahuatl borrowed Spanish nouns freely rather than creating new words, but still pronouncing them with Nahuatl sounds. The borrowing of Spanish verbs, particles and expressions characterizes a third stage in the evolution of the language (ca. 1650-onward). See Karttunen and Lockhart 1976.

44. Examples of Spanish nouns as they appear in the text include: *normano* ("hermano" with the Nahuatl first-person, possessive prefix); *no-primo*; *toeytlatocatzi Rey*; *tobarríos*; *tomarques*; *laudensiatl*; *tocabildo*; *ofissyo*; *siudad*. Stage three phenomena of borrowing verbs and particles are evidenced by the following: *entregar*; *obligar*; *para*; and *hasta*. Finally, the use of *panos* (to occur) in the sense of the Spanish verb "pasar" is a calque also typical of stage three Nahuatl.

45. The Mixtec grammarian, fray Antonio de los Reyes, observed in 1593 that the Cuilapan dialect combined aspects of Yanhuitlan and the Mixteca Baja. Reyes wrote: "La lengua de Cuylapa tiene mucho de la de Yanguitlan, de donde dizen aver salido sus señores antiguos, tienen tam-

bien de la Mixteca Baja, de que no se puede dar regla por ser singular con lo de Guaxolotitlan y algunos pueblos de aquella comarca" (Reyes 1976: VII). This fact has interesting implications for the patterns of migration from the Mixteca to the Valley.

Dialectal variation of written colonial Mixtec is often quite predictable; there are roughly six written dialects which are mutually legible and comprehensible, and were in all likelihood mutually intelligible. Possessive and personal pronouns most noticeably vary from one dialect to another; for example, the first-person pronoun in this document, *yuhu*, is written as *nduhu* in Teposcolula and *njuhu* or *nchuhu* in Yanhuitlan. For these same three areas, verbal pronoun suffixes (first-person) are "-yu", "-ndi", and "-nju" respectively. In this document, first-person plural is "-ndi", not "-ndo" like everywhere else. Mixtec also has a complete set of reverential pronouns which transcended dialectal differences, but these were not employed in the title. The text does, however, contain some terms from the reverential vocabulary as well as a few metaphors.

Many orthographic differences are the result of regional phonetic differences. I will use the Teposcolula area dialect as the standard form, the same used by Hernandez (doctrina of 1568), Reyes (grammar of 1593) and Alvarado (dictionary of 1593). In this document, the consonant "t" is written as "ch" before "a" and "i" (*tayu* becomes *chayu*, *nduta* becomes *nducha*), and initial "nd-" is written as "nch-" before "a" and "e" (*ndatu* and *ndehi* become *nchatu* and *nchehe*). The vowels "a" and "e" are often interchanged (*nisaiduta* becomes *niseenducha*), whereas "ai" (or "ay") is usually written as "ee" (*tay* becomes *chee*). In Mixtec, there is a sixth short vowel ("i") which has no equivalent in the Spanish phonetic inventory. The Mixtec tendency for nasal-initial consonants and vowel-final morphemes have a predictable effect on Spanish loan words, so that *ndiego* (Diego) and *njua* (Juan) and *españole* (españoles) are typical occurrences (in the last example, there is also no plural marker in Mixtec). Like in the Baja, *aniñe* ("palace") becomes *aniy*, and *huitna* ("today" or "now") is written as *huicha*. These dialectal differences are confirmed by other documentation from the area. For example, in a document from Xoxocotlan in 1716, *chee*, *yuhu*, *andihui*, *daya*, and *ñoō ñayihui* appear in place of their Teposcolula equivalents: *tay*, *nduhu*, *andehui*, *dzaya*, and *ñuu ñayehui*. Orthographic changes, once they are observed and recognized, do not hinder the translation as much as the rudimentary grammar and inconsistent orthography employed in the document. See Jossierand 1983 for a discussion of modern dialectal variation in the Mixteca, and Terraciano forthcoming: chap. 3 ("Language and Dialect") for the colonial period.

46. The most obvious difference is that "bi" in the map is written instead of the "hui" and "vui" of the text (as in *nicubi*, *bichan*). There is generally more omission and intrusion of nasals in the map.

47. Glass and Robertson 1975: 75, note 42. Smith reproduced the map in her landmark work on Mixtec pictorial writing but concurred that there were no vestiges of preconquest native iconography. She translated its boundaries and notes its relation to the 1771 map of Xoxocotlan (1973: 202-210, figure 164 on p. 340; for map of Xoxocotlan, see figures 162-163 on pp. 338-339).

48. See Monaghan 1990 and King 1990 for a discussion of performance and song in the Mixtec codices, and for a general theoretical discussion, Bauman 1977.

49. See Spores 1967: 131-154 for a discussion of royal succession in the Mixteca Alta.

50. For some of the latest work on Nahua sociopolitical terminology, see Lockhart 1992; Schroeder 1991; Haskett 1991.

51. San Juan and Santa Ana are on the left; San Martín and the Marquesado are on the right. The glosses include the names for: Oaxaca (*ñoduvua*); Santa Catalina de Oaxaca (*ñodzoduhua*); the *cabecera* of the Marquesado (*dzini ño marquesado*); various churches (*hue ño*, *hue ñoho*, *hue ñoho sam martin sihi siña chee ñocoo*); the road to Oaxaca (*ychi ñoduhua*); the road to Xoxocotlan (*ychi ño yoo*); the Atoyac river (*yuchadzaño*). See the interesting correlation between this map and the 1771 Map of Xoxocotlan in Smith 1973: 202-210.

52. Hanks 1987: 678-680; Bourdieu 1977.

53. Lockhart 1992: 392.

54. León-Portilla 1969: 119.

55. Hanks 1987: 685; Bricker 1981: 149-154.

56. Lockhart has observed that songs "appear to have been performed before an audience (idealized as a noble company) and at times have a strong flavor of theater or pageant." However, he has also noted that the "strictly speaking narrative element" is uncommon in ancient Nahuatl songs. Lockhart 1992: 394-395.

57. Borah 1991: 217; Wood 1984: 324.

58. Gibson and Glass 1975: 321.

59. Wood 1984: 305; Lockhart 1992: 414.

60. See Borah 1991 for a summary of this debate.

61. Gibson 1975; Lockhart 1982; Wood 1984; Borah 1991.

62. Wood 1984: 313.

63. Thus, a title is more complex than merely a "document [which] reflects the Conquest and its aftermath as it was seen from a couple of centuries later" (Restall 1991: 127).

64. León-Portilla 196: 119-120.

65. Sahagún 1950: 82. Anderson and Dibble cite Tlachahuepantzin as one of the famous warriors in the reign of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin (ca. 1494), who were memorialized in song (1969: bk. 6, p. 13, note 11). Axayacatzin was tlatoani of Tenochtitlan from ca. 1468 until 1481. See also

references to these personages scattered throughout the *Cantares Mexicanos* (Bierhorst 1985).

66. Women cacicas were common in Mixtec society. Cuilapa had a cacica named doña Isabela in 1529 (Chance 1978: 17). The Zapotec case is unclear at this point.

67. For a synthetic account of these events, see Spores 1965: 964-967.

68. Assuming Huaxacatzin can be taken as Huaxyacac. Acatepec was referred to in the *Relacion* of Teozapotlan as a garrison. Smith associates the hill called Yucuyoo depicted on the map with Acatepec (1973: 207-208).

69. Hanks 1987; Bourdieu 1977.

70. León-Portilla 1969: 124.

71. Though it is true that the Conquest was not as violent in Oaxaca as in central Mexico, it is even played down in titles from places where it is known that the arrival of the Spaniards was extremely violent; battles are rarely discussed, but rather confined to laconic statements such as "Cortés came." Wood 1991; Lockhart 1982.

72. Wood 1991: 184; Gibson 1964: 33-57.

73. Wood 1991; see, for example, the speech of the *Bancroft Dialogues*. (Karttunen and Lockhart 1987)

74. Lockhart 1992: 417.

75. Lockhart 1992: 115. Likewise, the Maya apparently had little sense of an ethnic or cultural identity or identification with any entity beyond the local *cah*. In fact, the Yucatec Maya may represent the extreme case in that there appears to have been no clear designation for themselves as a cultural group; they rather defined everybody else as *dzulob* or foreigners (personal correspondence, Matthew Restall). The absence in the documentation of such a term could be partly explained, however, by the lack of need to employ one. Of course, this may also be the same reason for its non-existence.

76. Stephanie Wood has also documented the use of false titles and codices among multiethnic or non-Nahua communities, involving the Matlatzinca, Mexica, and Otomí. She has even observed a few examples of an indigenous identity not compromising an immediate identification with the altepetl. See Wood 1984: 332-343; Wood 1991; Lockhart 1991 and 1992.

77. Similarly, Mexico [City] eventually eclipsed the term "New Spain" for the Viceroyalty and, of course, the Republic.

78. Just as the Mixtecs did not call themselves as such, Yuchayta did not call itself Chapultepec. In fact, Chapultepec is actually the Nahuatl name of the hill next to Yuchayta, named Yucutica, depicted on the map with a grasshopper glyph. Yuchayta means "river of flowers," not "grasshopper hill." This is an illustration of the rather haphazard Nahuatl naming pattern for foreign places which was adopted by the Spaniards.

Mixtec-language documentation never refers to the Nahuatl versions of place names.

79. Terraciano forthcoming: chap. 4 ("Ethnicity and Identity"). The term is first attested in the *doctrina* of Hernandez 1567 and also appears in Reyes 1593 and Alvarado 1593, as well as many locally produced notarial and personal documents. The reference to the image of Jesus Christ *Jesus Christo tay ñudzahui* is juxtaposed with an image of *Jesus Christo tay es-pañole*. This ethnic deity resembles the Nahuatl title's mention of a *teomixtecal* or "Mixtec deity." See Terraciano 1991 for the attestation of the term in a 1684 murder note from Yanhuitlan, written in the Mixtec language.

80. Jansen 1982: 226-228 and note on p. 490. He also suggests that the name survives in many parts of the Mixteca today.

81. The reference to "place of reeds" is associated with Tula; this is probably an association of the Mexica with their mythical/historical Toltec predecessors, or merely a reference to the physical landscape of Tenochtitlan, or a more metaphorical allusion. The depiction of Ñucoyo in the *Codex Sierra* is very similar to the place sign for Tula in the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, except the latter has no corresponding Mixtec ñuu frieze symbol at the base.

82. This word is related to the verb "to conquer." Alvarado lists "ganar conquistando" as *yosamindi ñuu*, "to burn a place (ñuu)." (1962: f. 114v.) The origin of the term may be associated with the Mexica tradition of burning conquered subjects' temples, as depicted in codices from the Nahuatl area. Alternately, *saminuuu* (i.e., not ñuu) means "burnt face/eyes." In fact, Nahuas (Toltecs, Aztecs) were often represented in preconquest Mixtec codices with black circles painted around their eyes or blackened faces. This could be a homonymic device, unless the Mexica actually wore black around their eyes in battle. Alvarado lists "saminuu" as one of four definitions for "mexicanos." (1962: f. 149v.) Other ethnic groups were also indicated by specific attributes.

83. Reyes 1976: prologue II, 91.

84. It is unclear whether *tay tocuisi* was reduced to *tay cuisi* in reference to the Zapotecs, as the term appears in this title. Due in large part to the paucity of Mixtec-language documentation from the Valley of Oaxaca, this term for the Zapotecs has not been previously attested.

85. In the sixteenth century, Spaniards were called *caxtiltecatl* by Nahuas and *tay castilla* by Mixtecs (the latter term was also used once in the title).

86. In 1910, Abraham Castellanos used myth to interpret the Mixtec *Codex Columbino* and spoke of the Spaniards as false "children of the sun" and "white men" who came from the east. He referred to the Quetzalcoatl myth of central Mexico which mistook the Spaniards as warriors sent by "our father the sun." To Castellanos, the real "children of

the sun" were the ancient indigenous ancestors. Mixtec myth involved the conquest of the sun. Regardless of the source or precise meaning of their associations, Castellanos' myths reveal that some of the terminology which appeared in the titles trickled down to the twentieth century.

87. As discussed above, the Mixtec title apparently refers to the Spaniards as "white people" (*tay cui*). This possible racial or simply descriptive reference is unique in the Mixtec-language documentary record. Nevertheless, this term would surely be an aberration in comparison to the dozens of attested cases of *tay castilla* and *español*.

88. Lockhart 1992: 115. The equivalent term for "black" meaning "African" has also been attested in Mixtec (*dzoo*).

89. The term's rare appearance in Nahuatl-language documentation involved non-Nahuas, and the translation of a Spanish document into Nahuatl. See Lockhart 1991: 8 and 1992: 115.

90. In Jalatlaco, just northeast of Antequera, John Chance reported that residents considered themselves "indios" and were regarded as such by others. To support this claim he cites the fact that accusations of being "mestizo" were countered by the affirmation of Indian status ("indio puro") in order to justify claims to officeholding (1976: 620). We believe that this was more a legal, formulaic response than a genuine self-conception. In spite of the assertion that members of the Jalatlaco barrio were "urban" residents and therefore more likely to assimilate, it is questionable whether they truly considered and referred to themselves as "Indians." A systematic review of indigenous-language documentation from the area would produce a more reliable sketch of identity than Spanish-language sources. Chance also notes that by the mid-eighteenth century there was no evidence that residents of the Nahua barrios and pueblos (including Mexicapan) traced their ancestry to the Nahuas (1978: 152). He calls this scenario the "demise of Nahua identity." The titles from Oaxaca, however, indicate a strong ethnic identity as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century.

91. Chance has contributed much to the subject of ethnicity in Oaxaca. He seems to waver on the question of whether indigenous groups in the Valley of Oaxaca retained or lost much of their ethnic identity. He proposed that each of the three groups "...succeeded in maintaining its language and ethnic identity well into the eighteenth century" (1978: 82). Yet he contends that "ethnicity was probably more salient in pre-Hispanic times than it was during the colonial period," due to a tradition of warfare and a language free from Spanish intrusion, but that the arrival of the Spaniards "changed all this" because "colonial policy treated each Indian community as a quasi-independent *republica de indios*." Eventually, "this policy of divide and conquer pushed regional ethnic ties into the background and heightened identification with one's community of origin" (1989: 10-11). We believe that identification with the socio-political

entity was neither compromised nor enhanced by ethnicity, and was always strong.

92. Borah 1991, in reference to the studies of Lockhart and Wood.

References

- Acuña, Rene. *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Antequera*. 2 vol. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984.
- Alvarado, fray Francisco de. *Vocabulario en lengua mixteca*. Edited by Wigberto Jiménez Moreno. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1964 [1593].
- Anderson, Arthur J.O., Frances Berdan and James Lockhart, eds. *Beyond the Codices*. UCLA Latin American Studies Series, no. 27. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.
- Bakhtin, M. M. "The Problem of Speech Genres." In *Speech Genres and Other Essays*, pp. 60-102. Edited by Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson. Translated by Vern McGee. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.
- Bauman, Richard. *Verbal Art as Performance*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1977.
- Bierhorst, John. *Cantares Mexicanos: Songs of the Aztecs*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Borah, Woodrow. "The Spanish and Indian Law: New Spain." In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800*, pp. 265-288. Edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth. New York: Academic Press, 1982.
- _____. "Some Problems of Sources." In *Explorations in Ethnohistory: Indians of Central Mexico in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 23-39. Edited by H.R. Harvey and Hanns J. Prem. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- _____. "Yet Another Look at the Techialoyan Codices." In *Land and Politics in the Valley of Mexico: A Two Thousand Year Perspective*, pp. 209-222. Edited by H.R. Harvey. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.
- Bordieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Braun, Jim, Barry Sell and Kevin Terraciano. "Northwestern New Spain: Nahuatl in Nayarit, 1652." *UCLA Historical Journal* 9 (1989): 80-89.
- Bricker, Victoria. *The Indian Christ, the Indian King: The Historical Substrate of Maya Myth and Ritual*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.
- Brinton, Daniel G, ed. *The Maya Chronicles*. New York: AMS Press, 1969 [1882].

- Burgoa, Francisco de. *Geográfica descripción*. 2 vols. Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación (XXV-XXVI). México: Archivo General de la Nación, 1934.
- Carmack, Robert. *Quichean Civilization: The Ethnohistoric, Ethnographic, and Archaeological Sources*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973.
- Castellanos, Abraham. *El rey Iukano y los hombres del oriente: leyenda indígena inspirada en los restos del "Códice Columbino."* México: A. Carranza e Hijos, 1910.
- Chance, John K. "The Urban Indian in Colonial Oaxaca." *American Ethnologist* 3 (1976): 603-632.
- _____. *Race and Class in Colonial Oaxaca*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1978.
- _____. "Colonial Ethnohistory of Oaxaca." *Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 4, pp. 165-189. Edited by Victoria R. Bricker and Ronald Spores, 1986.
- _____. *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca*. Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.
- Dyckerhoff, Ursula. "Forged Village Documents from Huejotzingo and Calpan." *Actas of the International Congress of Americanists* 42 (7) : 51-63. Paris, 1979.
- Gibson, Charles. "Survey of Middle American Prose Manuscripts in the Native Historical Tradition." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, 14 (4), pp. 311-321. Edited by Howard F. Cline. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Glass, John B. "A Survey of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, 14, pp. 3-80. Edited by Howard F. Cline. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.
- _____. "A Catalog of Falsified Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, 14, pp. 297-310. Edited by Howard F. Cline. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Glass, John B. and Donald Robertson. "A Census of Native American Pictorial Manuscripts." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Guide to Ethnohistorical Sources*, 14, pp. 81-252. Edited by Howard F. Cline. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Hanks, William. "Discourse Genres in a Theory of Practice." *American Ethnologist* 14 (4) 1987: 668-692.
- Harvey, H.R. "Techialoyan Codices: Seventeenth-Century Indian Land Titles in Central Mexico." *Handbook of Middle American Indians, Supplement 4*, pp. 153-164. Edited by Ronald Spores. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986.

- Haskett, Robert. *Indigenous Rulers: An Ethnohistory of Town Government in Colonial Cuernavaca*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.
- Hernández, fray Benito. *Doctrina en lengua misteca*. México: Pedro Ocharte, 1567 and 1568.
- Hill, Robert M. *Colonial Cakchiquels: Highland Maya Adaptations to Spanish Rule, 1600-1700*. Orlando: Brace Jovanovich, 1991.
- Jansen, Maarten. *Huisi Tacu*. 2 Vol. Amsterdam: Centrum voor Studie en Documentatie van Latijns Amerika, 1982.
- Josserand, J. Kathryn. "Mixtec Dialect History: Proto-Mixtec and Modern Mixtec Text." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, 1983.
- Karttunen, Frances and James Lockhart. *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*. University of California Publications in Linguistics 85. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.
- _____. *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1987.
- King, Mark. "Poetics and Metaphor in Mixtec Writing." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1 (1990): 141-151.
- León-Portilla, Miguel, ed. *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1962.
- _____. *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.
- Lockhart, James. "Views of Corporate Self and History in Some Valley of Mexico Towns: Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." In *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800*, pp. 367-393. Edited by George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth. New York: Academic Press, 1982.
- _____. *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology*. Stanford and Los Angeles: Stanford University Press and UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1991.
- _____. *Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Molina, fray Alonso de. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1977 [1571].
- Monaghan, John. "Performance and the Structure of the Mixtec Codices." *Ancient Mesoamerica* (1) 1990: 133-140.
- Restall, Matthew. "Yaxkukul Revisited: Dating and Categorizing a Controversial Maya Land Document." *UCLA Historical Journal* 11 (1991): 114-130.

- Reyes, fray Antonio de. *Arte en lengua mixteca*. Vanderbilt University Publications in Anthropology (14). Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1976 [1593].
- Robertson, Donald. "Techialoyan Manuscripts and Paintings with a Catalog." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Guide to Ethno-historical Sources*, 14, pp. 253-280. Edited by Howard F. Cline. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975.
- Sahagún, fray Bernardino de. *The Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain*. Tr. by Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. 13 parts. Salt Lake City and Santa Fe, New Mexico: University of Utah Press and School of American Research, 1950-1982.
- Scholes, France and Ralph Roys. *The Maya Chontal Indians of Acalan-Tixchel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press: 1968.
- Schroeder, Susan. *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991.
- Sell, Barry David. "Friars, Nahuas, and Books: Language and Expression in Colonial Nahuatl Publications." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, forthcoming.
- Smith, Mary Elizabeth. *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico: Mixtec Place Signs and Maps*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.
- Spores, Ronald. "The Zapotec and Mixtec at Spanish Contact." *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Archaeology of Southern Mesoamerica*, 3 (2), pp. 962-987. Edited by Wauchope and Willey. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965.
- _____. *Mixtec Kings and their People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967.
- _____. *The Mixtecs in Ancient and Colonial Times*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984.
- Taylor, William. *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972.
- Terraciano, Kevin. "Quachi Ñudzahui: Murder in the Mixteca." *UCLA Historical Journal* 11 (1991): 93-113.
- _____. "Ñudzahui History: Mixtec Writing and Culture in Colonial Oaxaca." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, forthcoming.
- Vásquez, Genaro V. *Para la historia del terruño*. Oaxaca: 1931.
- Wood, Stephanie. "Corporate Adjustments in Colonial Mexican Indian Towns: Toluca Region, 1550-1810." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1984.
- _____. "Don Diego García de Mendoza Moctezuma: A Techialoyan Mastermind?" *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 19 (1989): 245-268.
- _____. "The Cosmic Conquest: Late Colonial Views of the Sword and Cross in Central Mexican Títulos." *Ethnohistory* 38: 2 (1991): 176-195.