THE TECHIALOYAN CODEX OF TEPOTZOTLÁN: CODEX X (RYLANDS MEXICAN MS. 1)

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WITH A TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION
By BYRON McAFEE

MEXICAN MS. 1 in the John Rylands Library is a codex from the pueblo or village of Tepotzotlán, Mexico. Written during the Colonial Period on native paper it uses unlinked lower-case letters of the European alphabet, although it is in Náhuatl, the language of the Aztecs. It is an extremely interesting manuscript from several points of view. As we shall see, it is one of a large group called the Techialoyan Codices. It is incomplete in its present state, but we shall attempt to associate it with what we think are the missing pages. We will also make a new estimate of its date.

The manuscript is directly linked with Tepotzotlán several times in text in such a way as to make it clear that it was written in that village. The text deals with the boundaries of the pueblo and the delineation of the lands owned by the townspeople of Tepotzotlán.

TEPOTZOTLÁN

Tepotzotlán is today a small unimportant village in the State of Mexico, 33 kilometres northwest of Mexico City. It is a municipio and the cabecera or main town of the municipalidad

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1 Mexican MS. 1, six folios, 27.3 × 21.5 cm., amatl paper.
2 Fols. 1r, 1v, 2v, 5r, 5v, and 6r.
3 Memoria de la administración pública del estado de México (Toluca, 1893), p. 219. It lies at 19° 43' north latitude and 99° 14' west of Greenwich at an elevation of 2,450 metres above sea level. See Salvador Sánchez Colín, El Estado de México (Mexico, 1951), i. 90.
of the same name surrounding it. Tepotzotlán depends in turn upon Cuautitlán, administrative centre of the district in which it is located. In the late nineteenth century Tepotzotlán had a population of only 1,127 and the municipalidad had a population of 5,351. The main occupation of the inhabitants of both the municipio and the municipalidad is agriculture. The climate is that of the Central Valley of Mexico, temperate with a rainy season in the summer months.

The only attraction of Tepotzotlán to the traveller in Mexico today is the magnificent church and buildings of the Jesuit Seminary dominating the main plaza of the town. These buildings are high points in the late baroque style of Mexican Colonial architecture.

The main native language of the inhabitants was probably Otomi, although Náhuatl was also spoken. In the Pre-Conquest Period Náhuatl was the lingua franca of the Aztec domains, not only for purposes of administrating the Empire but also as a vehicle of communication among peoples who did not speak a common native tongue. It was also used frequently for place names of pueblos that did not speak the language. Thus Tepotzotlán comes from the Náhuatl Tepotzo-, hunchback, and -tlan, place of. Mr. McAfee translates this as “Hunchbaxton” in our Appendix, taking advantage of the ease with which Náhuatl place names can be anglicized.

During the Colonial Period Spanish usurped the role of Náhuatl as lingua franca, but still the viceregal courts recognized Náhuatl as the most important Indian language in most of Mexico and the court used an interpreter, called a nahuatlato, when necessary. In some cases, Indians who did not speak Náhuatl

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1 *Memoria*, pp. 55-6. In the census of 1940 it had 1,378, the municipalidad 7,879 (Sánchez Collín, chart between pp. 120-1). In 1950 the municipalidad had risen to 10,703 (loc. cit. chart between pp. 136-7).

2 There is a fine monograph on the Jesuit buildings at Tepotzotlán which also includes a brief history of the town. See Pablo C. de Gante, *Tepotzotlán, su historia y sus tesoros artísticos* (Mexico, 1958).

3 Ibid. pp. 23 ff., esp. p. 39. See also Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México* (Mexico, 1946), ii. 375, where he mentions Mazahua as well as Otomí being taught at the Seminary of Tepotzotlán, quoting from Avellaneda, a Jesuit writing in 1592.

4 The English translation would thus be “Place of the Hunchback”.

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would have to use two interpreters, the first from their own lan­
guage into Náhuatl, and then the nahuatlato translated into
Spanish. Thus the fact that Otomí was the important language
of Tepotzotlán but the codex from Tepotzotlán was written in
Náhuatl is not a disturbing factor. Since the manuscript is
clearly a legal document, Náhuatl was a more effective vehicle
than Otomí would have been.

THE TEXT

The text of the Rylands manuscript is very specific.1 The
date May 10, [1]534 appears on the first page (fol. 1vir), and then
the scribe lists the name of the official drawing up the document
and cites the Viceroy Mendoza as a witness (fol. 1v). The
purpose of the document was to preserve for posterity the layout
of the town, and it was realized in the town hall at a meeting of
the townspeople (fol. 2v). The boundary of the town is traced
point by point the way a surveyor might record it (fols. 3r and
3v). An all too brief resumé of Pre-Hispanic history follows,
listing the name of the first ruler Cuauhtochzin (fol. 4r). A formal
statement says this town charter is meant to be binding forever
in the name of the king (of Spain) (fols. 4v-5v). The last pages
have the signatures of those drawing up the document (fols.
5v and 6r).

Interesting for the historian is the name of the founder of the
dynasty ruling Tepotzotlán and the fact that this account shows
the ruler in the early sixteenth century to have had the same family
name although he has added to it a suitable Spanish and Christian
name; he is now Don Bartolomé de la Cruz Cuauhtochzin,
i.e. Sir Bartholomew-of-the-Cross Eagle Heart.

THE TECHIALOYAN CODICES

The Rylands manuscript belongs to a group of Mexican
Colonial manuscripts called the Techialoyan Codices. They are
so close in many ways that one can postulate their all having
been made by the same scribe and artist or at least by ones
working so much in the same tradition as to constitute a single

1 See Appendix for transcription and translation prepared by Mr. Byron
McAfee of Mexico City.
school. This relationship between the artists of the Techialoyan codices was first noticed by Gómez de Orozco in an article publishing several of them for the first time and pointing out their similarities.¹ The late Robert Barlow continued the work of Gómez de Orozco and began cataloguing them, using a different letter of the alphabet for each successive codex he added to the group, calling them all The Techialoyan Codices. He named the group after the Codex of San Antonio Techialoyan to which he gave the letter “ A ”.² In a later article Gómez de Orozco continued the Barlow catalogue, adding others that Barlow had not published. The latest addition that this author knows is “ W ”, given to one in the catalogue of the Parke-Bernet auction house in New York.³ Alcina Franch and Carrera Stampa have published only parts of the catalogue. Neither has made original contributions over and above the second Gómez de Orozco article.⁴ In my recently published study of Mexican manuscript painting, I devoted a chapter to their artistic style alone.⁵

The first publication of a Techialoyan text was the Codex of San Antonio Techialoyan by Chimalpopoca, and the first publication reproducing the pictorial content of a Techialoyan codex was the Codex of Zempoala by Quaritch, the London book

⁵ Donald Robertson, Mexican Manuscript Painting of the Early Colonial Period: The Metropolitan Schools (Yale Historical Publications : History of Art 12, New Haven, 1959), pp. 190-5, 197. Chapter 11, “ The Techialoyan Codices ”, is a study of the artistic style and not of the text, so the Rylands manuscript was only mentioned in passing, p. 190.
dealer.¹ The first mention of them in the literature is in the eighteenth-century Boturini catalogue.²

Boturini was a collector of manuscripts and books on the history of Mexico.³ He formed his collection because of his interest in the Virgin of Guadalupe, whom he wished to have crowned. His collection was that of an historian seeking to establish the historicity of the miraculous apparition of the Virgin on the Hill of Tepeyac, north of Mexico City. Boturini solicited and acquired money and jewels to effect the coronation but ran foul of the Viceroy Fuenclara defending the rights of the Spanish crown over religious affairs in the colony. As a result of the Viceroy's orders, he was imprisoned and his collection sequestered. It has been catalogued many times, he himself publishing the first catalogue in 1746.⁴ The subsequent vicissitudes of this collection do not concern us except that part of it was bought in Mexico in the nineteenth century and passed to France as the Aubin collection. Ultimately most of the Aubin material came to the Bibliothèque Nationale as the Goupil bequest.⁵

What characteristics do these manuscripts which have been grouped together have in common, and how does the Rylands manuscript fit into the grouping? In the first place they are all painted on amatl paper, the native Indian paper made from the bark of the Mexican fig tree.⁶ They all also use unlinked lowercase letters and are written in Náhuatl. The text typically deals with the history and land boundaries of the homonymous

² Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, Catálogo del museo histórico indiano, bound in his Idea de una nueva historia general de la América septentrional (Madrid, 1746).
³ For the biography of Boturini see Eugène Boban, Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique (Paris, 1891), i. 33-51.
⁴ See note 2 above.
⁵ See Boban, i. pp. vii-viii.
pueblo. They are all made in the format of the European book, sewn at the spine or show evidences of having been part of such a book with a few exceptions. The main exception is the Codex García Granados, Techialoyan Codex Q, now in the National Museum in Mexico City. This has a written text dealing with claims to land and is essentially a genealogical cactus (instead of a genealogical tree) of the native nobility and kings of Mexico; it is in the form of a *tira* or long strip rather than of a book.\(^1\) Another exception is a map in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America in New York City.\(^2\) This map is without a long written text but uses the same paper as others in the group and the same handwriting where writing is used to gloss the map.

In the typical Techialoyan codex, the written text is supplemented by a pictorial component lacking in the Rylands manuscript. For purposes of analysis we can say that both the written and the pictorial components cover the same material: (1) Pre-Conquest history with either a picture of the native ancestors of the ruling dynasty or even a family tree (cactus); (2) Early Colonial history with the civil and religious *entradas* or entrance of Spanish soldiers and clergy into the village; (3) The lands owned by the villagers consisting of both subject *barrios* or wards and individual fields.

One of the Techialoyan manuscripts, Codex C from San Pedro Quauhximalpan, has been studied in detail.\(^3\) It has been proved to be accurate where it describes lands and fields when checked against the present-day names of the same places. The study of Quauhximalpan shows that under rigorous analysis this manuscript is extremely accurate. We can assume that the

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\(^1\) Robert H. Barlow, "Los Caciques precortesianos de Tlatelolco en el Códice García Granados (Techialoyan Q)", *Memorias de la Academia mexicana de la historia* (Mexico, 1945), Vol. 4, No. 4, Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, No. 6, VII, pp. 467-83, 6 plates, 4 figs. See also Robert H. Barlow, "El Reverso del Códice García Granados", *Memorias de la Academia mexicana de la historia* (Mexico, 1946), Vol. 5, No. 4, Tlatelolco a través de los tiempos, No. 8, IV, pp. 422-38, 6 plates, 1 fig.

\(^2\) Codex Kaska, Vol. 1, Document 3 (uncatalogued).

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others are equally accurate in their description and depiction of their respective villages.

THE PICTORIAL COMPONENT

The handwriting of the various examples is similar. The differences from manuscript to manuscript are the differences one might expect to find in the handwriting of a single individual when he is writing in a large or small hand, carefully or hurriedly, when writing one year or several years later. Similarity of handwriting is paralleled by even closer similarity in the style of the paintings. They all use a heavy but expressive line to delineate form amazingly well considering the coarseness and fibrous quality of the paper. In all colour is applied within dark linear frameworks but in such a way as to suggest light and shade modelling three-dimensional forms. The human figure is shown in three-quarter view, seated, standing, in white tunic-like garments for Colonial figures or in skin garments for the Pre-Hispanic figures. Houses and churches are drawn in a primitive convention suggesting perspective but a perspective not completely under the control of the artist. In addition to human figures and architectural forms, there is a large range of plant life such as maguey, palms, and pine trees; they also show animals such as deer and birds. Hills, wildernesses, lakes, rivers and roads are among the geographical forms that appear from time to time.

We can postulate what the missing pictorial component of the Rylands manuscript would be like on the basis of others in the group. It would show in the beginning a figure or figures of Pre-Hispanic rulers and conquerors of Tepotzotlán and possibly even a genealogical tree (cactus) of the ruling family. It might show the first Spanish to enter the town dressed in steel armour, although this particular illustration is rare. It would also show the first Christian clergy entering the town and possibly they would have with them on a wooden platform the image of the patron saint of the town (St. Martin for Tepotzotlán). These pictures would be followed, page by page, by pictures of the barrios or dependent villages and of individual fields with their names glossed.
There is such a complementary manuscript in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago. It is the manuscript called "Fragment of a Village Book", Techialoyan Codex P.¹ The Ayer manuscript says on folio 6v for instance, "yxtlahuacan tepotzotecatl", which Barlow has translated, "plain of the Tepotzotecos" (i.e. people of Tepotzotlán).² Other place names from the vicinity of Tepotzotlán are to be found in sufficient number to warrant Barlow’s assumption that the Chicago manuscript came from this area.

We can thus postulate that the Rylands manuscript is the missing written text of the Chicago manuscript. We phrase it this way rather than saying the Chicago one is the missing pictorial component of the Rylands manuscript, since the Chicago one is known to the literature and the Rylands one until now was not known.³ The link between the Rylands and Chicago manuscripts established, we can turn our attention to a statement of Barlow’s linking the Chicago manuscript with one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which he called Techialoyan Codex T.⁴ The Paris manuscript, Mexican No. 81, "Fragment d’histoire Chichimeque", was catalogued by Boban. Its pedigree takes it back through the Goupil and Aubin Collections and ultimately to the Boturini catalogue.⁵ This fragment seems

³ It was first called to my attention during the summer of 1958 by Mr. Byron McAfee who showed me at that time the transcription and translation herein published as an Appendix. Mr. McAfee heard of the manuscript from Mr. W. H. Fellowes of Beaconsfield, Bucks. Mr. Fellowes, so far as we know, was the first scholar to attempt a translation and elicited the one we publish from Mr. McAfee through correspondence. Mr. Fellowes is also the only nahuatlato in the British Isles to our knowledge.
⁴ Barlow, "The Techialoyan Codices: Códice P . . .", p. 83. "Judged from any point of view, the Tepotzotlán and present codices would fit together nicely. It remains to be seen just how closely they really are linked." See Boban, ii. 208-9.
⁵ Ibid. p. 208; "Manuscrit figuratif original sur papier indigène d’agave mexicana [sic], composé de neuf feuilles, 18 pages, ployées comme un livre, écrites et peintes au recto et au verso . . . le guerrier peint sur la première page porte le nom de Xolotl . . . ". Boturini, Catálogo, § Historia Chichimeca, I11, 2.
to be another part of the missing pictorial component. It includes the Pre-Hispanic history section, for it shows the "Emperor Xolotl" on its first folio.

We can test the assumption that the Rylands manuscript and Codices T and P belong together by noticing that the dimensions of the three are close enough to link them rather than to indicate they could not have been parts of the same manuscript. The Rylands manuscript is 27·3 by 21·5 centimetres; the Paris Codex T is 28 by 25 centimetres, and the Chicago Codex P is 26·7 by 24·5 centimetres. The differences are more apparent than real, since the paper of the Techialoyan Codices is so rough and irregular that measuring them accurately is difficult. Bound examples are invariably trimmed, and even some unbound ones have the pages evened by trimming.

The question of how the single manuscript came to be divided into three parts is answered by the story of how Aubin took his collection out of Mexico when he returned to France. According to Boban, who knew him personally and was the cataloguer of his collection after it passed to Goupil, Aubin's manuscripts were disassembled and mixed pêle-mêle in order to pass the customs officials at Vera Cruz as things of no importance.¹ This was done to evade the Mexican law forbidding the exportation of such relics of the Mexican past. We can thus assume that the Paris fragment stayed in the collection from Aubin to Goupil to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The Chicago fragment is a little more difficult, but the Newberry Library reports that it was bought by Ayer from Charles Chadenat, a Paris dealer about 1912. Where it was between the time it left the Aubin collection and when the dealer got it, we do not know. The Rylands fragment has the book plate or label of E. Boban on the inner back cover. This would indicate that it went from Aubin to Boban (as a gift?), from Boban to one Branford, to the Bibliotheca Lindesiana of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, to the Rylands Library in 1901. All three fragments in other words can be traced with differing degrees of certainty back to the Aubin collection, or at least to Paris.

The reconstituted manuscript, however, can be traced further

¹ Boban, i. 13-15.
back in time, for it is probably the one mentioned in the Boturini catalogue as a quarto having twenty-five folios (i.e. Paris, 9; Chicago, 10; Rylands, 6) showing a picture of the Emperor Xolotl on the front page and dealing with the affairs of Tepotzotlán written in Náhuatl. If this supposition be true, the manuscript when Boturini had it began with what is now the Paris fragment, and the Emperor Xolotl was as it were the frontispiece. Possibly the Chicago fragment came next, since it is quite common for the written text (Rylands fragment) and page of signatures to come at the end. We have now reconstructed the original Techialoyan Codex. We shall name the Rylands fragment Techialoyan X, since, as we have noted above, the last letter assigned in the literature was "W". Thus Techialoyan Codices T, P, and X are three component parts of a single manuscript.

THE DATE OF CODEX X

There should be little question about the date of Codex X of Tepotzotlán, since it is explicitly dated on folio 1r, May 10, [1]534. There are serious reasons, however, why we should question this date. The text says, "... I am handling the taxes under the government of His Excellency the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who came here...". This is an obvious anachronism, since the Viceroy Mendoza was not appointed to his office until 17 April 1535, and the fleet conveying him to Mexico only reached Vera Cruz in early October 1535. It is almost inconceivable that such an error would have been made in an official, legal document unless the document was drawn up sufficiently later than the event so that the persons drawing it up would have been hazy on such an important date. There are

1 Boturini, loc. cit. "Otro mapa en papel Indiano, encuadernado á manera de libro en 4. de 25 fojas. Lleva por principio la Imagen del Emperador 'Xolotl', y otros figuras de señores, y cifras de lugares, tratando exprofeso de la provincia de 'Tepotzotlán'...

2 See note 3, p. 112 above.

3 Arthur Scott Aiton, Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), pp. 34 and 41-2. Aiton notes that we are not certain of the exact day Mendoza entered Mexico City but that it was between 12 and 17 November. He proposes 14 November 1535, as the probable date.
several such chronological errors in the Techialoyan codices; one this author is familiar with is in the Techialoyan codex from San Francisco Xonacatlán in the Library of the Middle American Research Institute of Tulane University. This one has the Viceroy Mendoza visiting Xonacatlán in 1528, seven years before he was appointed! In addition to the anachronisms, we can seriously doubt that the Viceroy of New Spain ever visited such small and unimportant villages as Xonacatlán and Tepotzotlán at all during his reign.

The Tepotzotlán manuscript is signed by Indians who also have Christian and Spanish names, yet the Christian religious history of Tepotzotlán does not begin until 1555 when the first chapel was built in the town. Prior to that it had been visited from time to time by priests but mainly with the intention of destroying idols and other relics of its pagan past. Even when the chapel was built, it was still merely visited from the main convento or monastery of Cuautitlán, then as now the chief town of the district. It would be most unusual to find the high degree of conversion to Christianity the manuscript describes both in the names of persons and of places before it was even visited by the Franciscans. One can mention in passing that it became a Jesuit town in 1580, when the Jesuits moved in. They began the Seminary then and set about learning the native tongue from the Indians of the vicinity.

Study of the Chicago fragment, one of the two pictorial parts of the manuscript, shows other anachronisms mitigating against the early date, substantiated in the Paris fragment. The Indian noblemen, for instance, are shown with beards. The bearded male Indian is a mark of the mixing of the races, since the pure Indians were either beardless or their beards were so sparse as to be plucked out, not cultivated. The bearded Indian then represents a mestizo or person of mixed blood. This would mean

1 Gante, pp. 25-6.
2 Ibid. p. 27 quotes a document drawn up by the Indians requesting the Jesuits to stay in Tepotzotlán, when there was the possibility they would leave. In this document, signed in 1582, the name of the governor of the pueblo was Don Martín Maldonado and not a member of the Cuaunochtzin family. Does this mean a change in dynasty, a change in family name from an Indian one to a Spanish one, or does it indicate an error in the Techialoyan document?
a point one or more generations after the Spanish Conquest of Mexico in 1521, sufficient time for the native nobility to have intermarried with the Spaniards and raised mestizo or mixed offspring. A *terminus post quem* would then be c. 1541 or 1561, both dates later than the 1534 of the manuscript.

There is still another important anachronism, the costume of the Indian noblemen in the various manuscripts. They are all shown wearing clothing similar to the antique tunic. In the Pre-Hispanic period they would have worn a loin cloth and on state occasions or in cold weather a cape tied over one shoulder. The ordinary Indian garb of the Early Colonial period would be either the loin cloth or white shirt and trousers, still the standard for Mexican Indians. The noblemen of the Early Colonial period would wear clothes as close to Spanish dress as possible if not native clothing. In any event, the costume in the Techialoyan manuscript is aberrant.¹

Another odd item for these codices supposedly drawn up in the sixteenth century by Indians is the almost total lack of signs—the "hieroglyphs" of native "writing". These forms are common in manuscripts made as late as 1600. They are a hallmark of manuscripts coming from the native ambient but lacking in documents made by and for exclusive Spanish use. They are standardized shapes and forms not so specific as the written word but more than merely mnemonic devices. Each place has its own form, somewhat like a coat-of-arms, and individuals, too, had their name signs or glyphs. Thus, in the Rylands manuscript, or at least in its two related fragments, we should expect the sign for Tepotzotlán or the sign for Cuaunochitzin and other signs for persons and places. It is inconceivable that a document written within thirteen years of the Conquest should be without personal or place name signs. In the Techialoyan codices the sign has abdicated its role, and the written word has taken its place.²

¹ It is interesting to note for the sake of completeness that the costume of Indian women is more accurate for the sixteenth century.

² In my previous study of Mexican manuscript painting I pointed out other reasons, on the basis of artistic style, why the Techialoyan Codices were not sixteenth century but probably as late as the eighteenth century. See note 5, p. 112 above.
The evidence we have presented that these manuscripts are forgeries calls for a definition of the motive of the forger or forgers and the date of the forgery. We are in a position by now to say they were made for use in land litigation in the viceregal courts. The litigation might have involved Indians attempting to regain land taken by Spaniards from the pueblo; it may be Indians attempting to encroach upon lands legitimately held by Spaniards, or it may be one Indian village disputing rights to land with another village. It is interesting to note here that the Codex of Quauhximalpan was discovered by Schmieder in the Mexican national archives in the section devoted to Tierras or land litigation.

The sixteenth century in Mexico is not the period when such land suits were most actively pursued. During this period the pueblos were assigned to Spaniards under the system called encomienda, the Spaniard being an encomendero. The pueblo had to pay tribute to the Spaniard who was not in the juridical sense a landowner. It was the responsibility of the pueblo to produce and to turn over a share of its production to the encomendero. Under this system the encomendero received greater benefit if the lands of the pueblo were large and its agriculture prosperous. Later in the Colonial period when the Spaniards became actual landowners and the Indians of the pueblo merely a source of cheap labour, it was to the advantage of the Spaniards to have large holdings of the most fertile land even if this meant appropriating the land from the nearby Indian pueblo. With the

1 There is an example of Indians having used a Techialoyan codex against a hacienda in the New York Public Library. The Codex of Santa María Ocelotepec has a slip of European paper bound in with it saying the Indians of Miacatlan used the codex in a brief against the hacienda (not named) in 1795. See Robertson, p. 194, for the complete text and translation.

2 Schmieder, p. 168, plate 42, where it is labeled, “Original in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Tierras, vol. 3684.”

3 For general discussions of the encomienda system see Silvio A. Zavala, *La Encomienda indiana* (Centro de estudios históricos: sección hispanoamericana, Vol. 2, Madrid, 1935) and his *De Encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América española* (Mexico, 1940).

change from encomienda to the accumulation of large Spanish-owned estates or haciendas pressure on the Indians' land mounted. It is during this period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that litigation over land mounted in tempo.

At the present time, however, we cannot say when during the periods of Spanish hacienda and latifundio growth the Techialoyan group was forged. We can make positive statements, however, about a terminus ante quem date. The Rylands manuscript must have been made before Boturini published his catalogue, since we have already shown Techialoyan T, P and X are recorded in his printed catalogue of 1746. This date can be pushed further back in time, since Boturini was incarcerated by the Viceroyalty in 1743 and thus must have ceased his manuscript collecting endeavours at that time. We can assume that Boturini, as an astute collector, would not have been taken in by a newly made forgery and thus they must have been old by his time. If we allow ten years as a minimal time for ageing, this would date them 1733 or earlier, as a guess. Such a date early in the eighteenth century would be more compatible with the artistic style of the paintings and also with the statement of Barlow's that some of the persons recorded in the genealogy of García Granados, Techialoyan Codex Q, lived as much as six generations after the Conquest of 1521.¹ Counting twenty years to a generation, this would be 120 years or 1641. If one counts an average of twenty-five years to a generation, it would mean the manuscript was painted as late as 1671. Barlow also mentioned the possibility that Codex Q was written a century and a half after Codex E, which he dated c. 1530, that is to say 1680.² We have more information on which to base our conclusions than Barlow had because of a detailed study from the point of view of a sceptic; this scepticism comes from a previous study of the artistic style of the Techialoyan group. We postulate the date of these manuscripts somewhat later than the late date he refused to accept even though he first made us aware of it. It is truly remarkable that this fine scholar never seems to have questioned the early sixteenth-century date of any Techialoyan codex except Q, and

¹ Barlow, "Los Caciques precortesianos . . .", pp. 467-8.
² Barlow, "El Reverso del Códice García Granados", p. 434, note 16.
even then he did not realize that it automatically cast doubt on all the others.

We can conclude this study of the Rylands manuscript, the Techialoyan Codex of Tepotzotlán, Codex X, by noting it has added to our knowledge of the Techialoyan Codices in general as well as placing the specific work in a proper relation with its two complementary parts. It has enabled us to reduce even further the limits to the period of time during which the Techialoyan forgeries were fabricated. We can now hypothesize a date after 1640-80 and before c. 1733 and hope that in the future a way will be found further to limit this time span or perhaps even define more precisely the time they were made and the specific factors in Colonial life calling them forth.¹

APPENDIX
TEXT AND INTERLINEAR TRANSLATION,
John Rylands Library Mexican Manuscript No. 1
By BYRON McAFFE

The text printed here is a transcription made by Mr. Byron McAfee of Mexico City. It is not a letter by letter transcription, as comparison of the original document with this transcription will show; orthographic changes are Mr. McAfee’s. The translation is presented interlinearly with the text phrase by phrase. Foliation is indicated above the first word of the text.

Folio 1:
Axcaan, ipan in cahuitl mo’ljuia Toxcatl,
This day, in the month named Drouth,
ic oc se tla’jtolli
[which] in the other language
tla poah meetztli te mayo ipan matlac iljuitl,
they count as the month of May, on the tenth day of
xihuitl i tla poal
the year number

¹ I am currently gathering material for compiling a catalogue of all Techialoyan Codices building upon the work of Gómez de Orozco and Barlow. I would be glad to hear about any that are not generally known in the literature.
ihuan majtlaclti ipan nahui xihuitl nicaan, ipan in in al tepetl and ten, plus four years [1534], here, in this city of

tepotzyoj-tlaan, ne/juatl, Ton Paltolomé
Hunchbaxton [Tepotzotlán], I, Don Bartolomé
tela Clox, Cuaouj nochtzin,
de la Cruz, Eagle Heart,

axcaan nicaan, i ijtec in in tecpan calli, tla tzon tecoyaan, now and here, in this town hall and courthouse,
nicaan nic tequi pano toc tequitl in ipan i tla’jtocayo where here I am handling the taxes under the government of in yejuatzin
His Excellency,

Huei Tzon tecomatl, Ton Antonio te Mentoza,
the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Folio 2r
caa ‘n iz o hu/al mo huicac, who came here,
o ti to cen ne-chicojqueh, nejuatl Copelnatol, we assembled I, the Governor [i.e., the native mayor]

ihuan moch-intin tequihuajqueh, al tepehuajqueh, and all the officials and citizens,
o ti macoqueh, there having been given

o tech mo maquilij in i huelilitiztzin in in to huei tla’jtocauj delegated to us his authority by our Viceroy,

ic ‘n iz o qui mo’ttilico, o qui mo nemililico in ic iez in in who came here to see and think out the future of this,
to huei al-tepeuj Tepotztzojtlaan./
our city of Hunchbaxton [Tepotzotlán].

Now, then, ipan in in cahuitl,
at this time,

in o mo ten eujquej tlaxilacalmeh, caa moch iz nez t oc
the aforementioned districts all lie and appear here,

'i iz tic tlil machiotiaj
here we show them here in black [and white]
ipampa cem ijcac nez t iez
so that there shall always appear
machizti t iez, in ic o mo man
and be of record the integrants in the laying out of

o mo ten euj in in al tepetl
this aforesaid town of

Tepotzyojtlaan. caa yejua in in i tzin peujca.
Hunchbaxton [Tepotzotlán], for this is its beginning.

Axcaan nicaan,
Now and here,

i ijtec in in to tecpan chaan, o ne cen tlaliloc,
in this town hall of ours, there was a meeting,

o mo cen ne-chicojquej
an assembly of

Folio 3r

moch-intin al-tepe tlaacah,/ caa nel huei in in-ic
all the townsmen, for it is indeed with great [solemnity]

ti to tla tilanaltiah. Nejnemi coaxochtli : On ajci inahuac
that we make the survey. Boundary runs : From near

Huei Tollaan al tepetl, on tlejco
the town of Big Reedville, upwards
ic tepe xic a tenco,
along the edge of the waters of the highland lake,
on hual mo cuepa Iczo callaan
and back to Palm Houston,
   te t icpac nejnemi coaxochtli,
   the boundary runs along the rocky divide,

i melahuayan in tlaal Xiquipilca tlaacah,
straight on by the lands of the people of Bagville,

on ajci in nahuac Cuauj-tenco tlaacah cuau ijtec
up to the Woodsiders, and within the forest
   mo ten ehua/
   the so-called

Folio 3v
Cuaujhuajcaan Atl i quizayan.
Foresters' Brook.
   Ye 'n iz o tech mo tlacuauj nahuatilij
   We were here strictly enjoined by

in to huei tla'jtocatzin mo yec tlayez,
our Viceroy to see to the proper location,
   mo yec chijchihuaz,
   rectification

mo yec cochitiz in atl i ojhuai,
and channeling of the watercourses,
   caa nel i-palehuiloca
   which are indeed a great benefit

Folio 4v
in in to al-tepeuj. Ihuan moch-intin in macehu/aljuan
to this town of ours. And all the serfs of the

in tla cal aquijqueh, 'n iz mo poaj
taxpayers, are here enumerated,
   ic mo palehuizquej
   being the assistance to them
qu’ixtlahuazquej in i tla cal aquiltzin to tla’jtocauj;
toward payment of the taxes to our ruler;

ihuan caa nel to-coljuan, yejuan oc achto o qui nemilijqueh,
also our real ancestors, the men who first planned

in o qu’ihua t ojhuitijqueh,
in ipan in i tla’jtocayo
and suffered the hardships of pioneering, during the reign of

Huei Pilli Cuaouj nochtzin; ’n iz on mo tlaaca xinachyotzinotia/tiah.
the great lord Eagle Heart; here the settlers started multiplying.

An in ic cem ijcac nez t oz, machtizti t iez,
And so that it may always appear and be of record,

’n iz tic tlil machiotiaj
we here engross

in in al-tepe amatl, ipampa cem ijcac mo piez,
this town charter, so that it may be always kept

qui tepotz tocazquej
and observed by

in tee piljuan, in al-tepehuajquej in aquijquej qui chihuazqueh
the townspeople, the citizens who are to do

qui tequi panozquej tequitl. Nicaan qu’ittazqueh,/and perform public official labour. Here they will see

moch in tle-in i axca in in huei al-tepetl
all the properties of this city

mo ten ehua Tepotzyojtlaan,
of the name of Hunchbaxton [Tepozotlán],
tzon tecomatl, caa moch iz nez t oc in can-in mani
a county-seat, for here lie and appear the locations of
in to tlaxilacaljuan;
our districts;

'n iz mo poa, 'n iz tla-tilanalti;
here they are enumerated, and here they are outlined;
moch iz nez ti mani.
it is all shown here.

Au ipampa cem ijcac mo piez, axcaan,
And in order that it may be kept always, this day,
ica i tocatzin
in the name of

Folio 5v

in to huei tla'jtocatzin Ley, tzon//tecomatl
our great ruler the King, the head authority
(caa nic tequi pano t oc
(I myself handling

yancuic tequitl
the new taxation [includes public work]

topilli o ti macoqueh)
and we authorities having been duly given our staffs of office)
nejuatl Copelnatol
I, the Governor,

ihuan moch-intin tequihuajquej 'n iz ti to tlil machiotiah,
and all the officials here set our signatures,
tic tlalaj to toca.
affix our names.

Nejuatl Ton Baltolomé de la Colox, Cuaouj nochtli,
I, Don Bartolomé de la Cruz, Eagle Heart,
Copelnatol.
Governor.
Ton Miquel Cuaouj nochtzin, Alcalte.
Don Miguel, Eagle Heart, Mayor.

Ton Xihuan te Aquino, Alcalte.
Don Juan de Aquino, Mayor.

Xihuan Malcox, Lexitol.
Juan Marcos, Alderman.

Xihuan Pelipe, Tla yaca aanqui./
Juan Felipe, Foreman.

Folio 6º
Ton Caxpal Cuaouj nochtli, Alcalte Xan Maltin.
Don Gaspar, Eagle Heart, Mayor of San Martín.

Ton Xihuan Miquel, Alcalte Xan Maltin.
Don Juan Miguel, Mayor of San Martín.

Xihuan te la Clox, Pixcal.
Juan de la Cruz, Prosecutor.

Xihuan Pelipe, Tla yaca aanqui.
Juan Felipe, Foreman.

Xalpatol te la Clox.
Salvador de la Cruz.

Nejua, Ton Xihuan Coltex, Ejcatzin, tla’jcuilo
I, Don Juan Cortés, Wind [storm], Notary

’n iz i ijtec in in tecpan calli, ipan in in al tepetl,
here in this town hall, in this city of

Tepotzyojtlaan,
Hunchbaxton [Tepotzotlán],

o nitla’jcuilo. Axcaan ipan in in cahuitl,
made the record. This day and at this time,
in tencopa moch-intin tecuyojtin
by order of all the authorities,
omic chij w tequiuj,
I have discharged my duty,
    au ipampa cem ijcac nez t oz,
    and in order that it may so appear always,

'n iz ni no tlil machiotia./
I here set my hand.

Folio 6v
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