

Further Notes on the Map of Tepecoacuilco, a Pictorial Manuscript from the State of Guerrero, Mexico

El descubrimiento en Alemania de las cinco hojas con notas y bosquejos, hecho por Walter Lehmann hace muchos años, fue una gran ayuda para el desciframiento del "Mapa de Tepecoacuilco". El contenido de los "Fragmentos Nos. 2 y 3" confirmó ampliamente las conclusiones a las que se llegó con respecto al "Fragmento No. 1". Los primeros son importantes, porque proporcionaron una base sólida para resolver los problemas de la determinación de la fecha del mapa y del propósito para el cual fue trazado. Es probable que fue realizado en 1576 y que el propósito, para el cual estaba destinado, fue el de servir de prueba en una disputa respecto a la posesión de tierras, posiblemente relacionada en particular con el problema de los límites de la jurisdicción de Tepecoacuilco en el estado de Guerrero. Las notas y el texto fueron agregados para hacerlo comprensible para los administradores españoles, a quienes de seguro estaba destinado.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of these notes is to bring together three fragments of a Mexican codex known as the "Mapa de Tepecoacuilco", from the state of Guerrero. In an earlier study (Bittmann Simons 1969), I commented upon the largest of these fragments, here renamed "Fragment No. 1", without being aware of the fact that copies of some of the missing parts existed in Germany (1).



"Fragment No. 1" is the "Map of Tepecoacuilco", No. 35-76 in the collection of codices belonging to the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México (see Glass 1964: 129, pl. 81). It is painted on light-coloured amate paper (Lenz 1949: 162), measuring approximately 1.13 x 1.02 m. It is evident that these do not represent the original dimensions of the document as large pieces are missing along the edges (see fig. 1). To judge from Mena (1923: 56), who has described this map, it is one of the manuscripts of the "Boturini Collection" which remained in Mexico. Mena (loc. cit.) does not refer to any identification marks on the reverse side. Today it is impossible to know whether there are any, because the map, which has come apart in various places, is glued on to a piece of paper.

The contents of "Fragment No. 1" may be summarized as follows. It is a geographical map, which shows a region situated to the north and south of the Río Balsas in the central part of the state of Guerrero. This river, also called "Río Grande", runs across the document from east to west. Two of its tributaries, the Río Tepecoacuilco to the north and the Río Zopilote to the south are also depicted. Furthermore the map contains a number of glyphs, most of which are drawn as the sign for "House/calli" topped by another sign, which symbolizes the names of the respective places in the indigenous manner. These are accompanied by inscriptions mainly in Spanish, which identify and give further information pertaining to the signs in question. Some of the latter are destroyed, but enough can be deciphered to give an idea of the purpose which this codex was meant to serve. It tells us that the following villages or "estancias" fell under the jurisdiction of Tepecoacuilco (see fig. 1): Xochipala, situated to the south of the Balsas, and Axochitlan, Palula and Apazipa on the western bank of the Río Tepecoacuilco. The glyph (and gloss ?) which may have represented the town of Tepecoacuilco is destroyed. Furthermore, the map lists the estancias of Chichihualco, Izcoatzinco (Izquauhcingo), Xochipala (possibly a cabecera) and Mezcala to the south of the Balsas, and also refers to the border between Tepecoacuilco and the village of (San Agustín) Oapan, situated on the northern bank of the Río Balsas, to the southeast of Tepecoacuilco. The borders between Tepecoacuilco and the village of Zumpango, on the Río Zopilote further to the southeast, may also have been shown.

In my earlier study, I suggested that this map might have been painted to serve as evidence in a dispute over land jurisdiction and the texts added to make it understood by the Spanish administrators to whom it was directed. The information contained in the fragments mentioned above confirms this opinion. These fragments will be dealt with in the following.

2. THE FRAGMENTS DISCOVERED IN GERMANY

Bankmann (1970: 134-135) during his recent studies of the papers left by Walter Lehmann - now in the "Lehmann-Bibliothek" in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, West Berlin - discovered that some notes and sketches pertaining to two fragments of a Mexican codex were stylistically very simi-

lar to those of the Tepecoacuilco map, and he therefore proposed that the originals had formed part of the latter document. The drawings are contained on five sheets of paper with notes in German, written by Lehmann.

The history of these fragments and their copies to date will be reconstructed in what follows. For the sake of convenience, I have named them "Fragments Nos. 2 and 3" respectively. The present location of the originals is unknown. According to Bankmann (op. cit.), these belonged to a collection called "Manuscripta Americana", acquired by the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin between 1806 and 1908. When the monarchy was abolished in Germany, this library was renamed Preussische Staatsbibliothek. In 1941 and 1943, during the war, most of the manuscripts of the collection in question were sent to various places away from the capital, some to territory which today is Polish (Bankmann 1970: 128). Of the manuscripts, which are known to have survived, one part is today in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, western Berlin, and another in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, eastern Berlin. These are the post-war institutions succeeding to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek. "Manuscripta Americana 10", which contained the "Fragments Nos. 2 and 3", were at Altmarrin, Pomerania, in 1945, but nothing is known of their fate since that time (Bankmann 1970: 128, note 8). However, the catalogue made of the "Manuscripta Americana" as well as the accession catalogue belonging to the former Königliche Bibliothek still exist in the library in eastern Berlin. Furthermore, we know that Walter Lehmann studied the collections of this library and published information on "Manuscripta Americana 10" in a paper given at the XIV International Congress of Americanists held in Stuttgart (Lehmann 1906). As I have said above, the papers left by Lehmann are in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut in West Berlin. These include notes and sketches pertaining to the manuscript which interests us here, namely the so-called "Map of Tepecoacuilco".

In 1936 and 1939, Eulalia Guzmán also studied the manuscripts in Berlin, and she deposited a report on her first visit in the Secretaría de Educación Pública in Mexico.

"Manuscripta Americana" originally consisted of single manuscripts and envelopes or "collections", each of which was given a number in the catalogue mentioned above. "Manuscripta Americana 10" was an envelope, which according to this catalogue contained (see Bankmann 1970: 133): "Hieroglyphs and writings in the Mexican language, in total 10, on maguey (agave) paper from the 'Capilla de Nu(estra) Señ(ora)' on the pyramid in Cholula" (2).

The accession catalogue bears the following entry (Bankmann loc. cit.): "9 sheets with writing and pictures on maguey paper, recently brought from Mexico" (3).

The "Capilla" in Cholula is presumably Los Remedios, which was almost completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1864 and later rebuilt (Maza 1959: 102). The manuscripts in question were apparently acquired by the library in 1867 from the property of a certain "Carl in Neustadt Eb. Walde (Eberswalde)". According to Bankmann (personal communication), nothing is known of this person, nor has it been possible to corroborate the statement on the Cholula origin of the manuscripts.

In his published comments on the "Manuscripta Americana 10", Lehmann (1906: 321) observed that: "Of the 9 fragments, only 3 seem to me worthy of publication, as the remainder are very much damaged" (4).

All of these nine manuscripts have disappeared. However, fortunately Lehmann published three of them, and the remainder he copied and commented upon.

The description and commentary which follow are based upon a study of xerox copies of the sketches with notes made by Lehmann, preserved in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin (Signature Y 423).

"Fragment No. 2".

This was No. 5 of the "Manuscripta Americana 10" (fig. 2). Lehmann left four pages with notes in German. The fragment, torn at the edges, measured about 45 by 40 cm. The outlines are not shown. No colours are mentioned, but one of the glyphs shows some red. It has two rivers, drawn like those on the Tepecoacuilco map with the water represented as a series of parallel lines interspersed with spirals and with projections along the exterior edges. The features on "Fragment 1" in Mexico are outlined in black, water is painted blue and most of the glyphs are painted in colours too. "Fragment No. 2" depicts four footprints, all pointing in the same direction, made in the style of those on the codex in Mexico (see figs. 1 and 2). Lehmann described it as follows: "Part of a land document, torn. Ca. 45 cm. long and 40 cm. wide. We note a river at the top and bottom" (5).

"Fragment No. 2" had five place signs, two of which are identified in European letters. The remainder are damaged with the glosses entirely or partly destroyed.

The glyph, which according to Lehmann's sketch is placed "above" the "uppermost" of the rivers, marked "Hierogl. 1a" is damaged. Lehmann noted that it was "very damaged and torn" (see figs. 2 and 3). One part looks like a tree with large flowers, the other like a plant with fruits, which may be chiles. It was deciphered by Lehmann as "xochitl ?" (sic), while Guzmán read "Xochi...itlan". The glyph was apparently placed at the edge of the original manuscript where the paper had been torn.

The following glyph, "Hierogl. 1", is roughly in the centre between the two rivers. A gloss identifies it as tevecahuaztli (figs. 2 and 4). Guzmán

read this as teyccahuaztli. It is drawn as the well-known sign for "stone", in Nahuatl tetl, filled in with parallel lines and dots. The stone partly covers a drawing of a ladder, in Nahuatl ecauaztli (or ecahuaztli). Next to it is a footprint with the sole and toes more heavily indicated than those of the remainder. The print in question might be part of the glyph or, perhaps more likely, have formed a continuation of the line of footprints which comes from the upper part of the fragment. If the latter is correct, the gloss could not have been written in the manner shown on Lehmann's sketch (fig. 2), but must have been placed perpendicularly to this or in the same direction as the footprints. The place name Teyecahuaztli (from te(tl)-y-ecahuaztli) means "stone ladder". It might refer to a mountain or perhaps to some kind of pass among rocks or stones.

The third place sign on this fragment is to the left, just above the second river (Hierogl. II). It is accompanied by an inscription in Spanish (figs. 2 and 5): "El pu(ebl)o de tlaxmalaca. .n es de Mateo Vazques" which may be translated as "the village of Tlaxmalaca. .n belongs to Mateo Vazques". Guzmán read the name of the town as "Tlaxmalacan", while it was reconstructed by Lehmann as "Tlachmalacalan" (6).

The glyph consists of a calli sign, destroyed at the lower part, but practically identical to those which symbolize the villages on "Fragment No. 1". At the part, where the fragment was torn, Lehmann placed the following note (fig. 5): "On a sheet which apparently forms the continuation, in the upper (part to the) right and below a Spanish legend of 8 lines, is the year 1576" (7).

Lehmann was apparently not certain about the reading of the year, but it does look like 1576. The problem of this legend and the date will be discussed further below.

Above the mentioned sign for "house" is a drawing of a ball-court (tlachtli in Nahuatl) without rings. It is shaped like the letter "I", with the extreme ends coloured red. If Lehmann's sketch (fig. 5) is correct, it seems that some attempt had been made to give the ends a different shape, i. e. to judge from the left edge, to make them join the side walls of the court at a wide angle, and to make the outer wall rounded. Into the ball-court (or behind it) is stuck a pin with a decorated whorl (in Nahuatl malacatl), coloured with red. The spindle contains thread. There can be no doubt that this glyph represents the village of Tlaxmalac, situated in the municipio of Huitzucó, a few kilometers to the northeast of Tepecoacuilco, Guerrero. The sign in question strongly resembles that which symbolizes Tlaxmalac on page 15 of the "Matrícula de Tributos" and folio 37r of the "Codex Mendoza".

These glyphs for Tlaxmalac (or Tlachmalac; from tlach(tli) - malaca(tl) and -c, the latter being a suffix meaning "in", used with nouns, the roots of which end in a vowel) and the meaning of the word have been commented upon by various authors. Is the glyph pictographic, ideographic, or is it phonetic (8)? What is the etymology of Tlaxmalac?

Barlow and MacAfee (1949:24) simply show the phonetic value (i.e. malaca) of the "malacate" which represents the last syllables of "Tlachmalacac" in the "Codex Mendoza".

Garibay (in Sahagún 1956, III: 225; IV: 362) accepts Tlachimalac, which, however, is written Tlachimalacac in Sahagún's section on the Couixca and Tlapaneca. The same author translates the word as "en agua de escudo" [presumably from tla-chimal(li)-a(tl)-c].

Peñafiel (1885: 207), in his study of the glyphs in the "Matrícula de Tributos", says the following:

"El juego de pelota, tlachtli, y delante un huso ó malacatl, con su hilo y algodón, tal como se usa todavía entre los indígenas, expresan fonéticamente, Tlach-malaca-c; pero ignoramos su significado; tal vez en este lugar hubo un redondel de juego de pelota".

If this interpretation is correct, the rounded wall in the glyph on "Fragment No. 2" may really signify something.

Cooper Clark (1938, II: 39) has also commented upon the glyph for Tlachmalac depicted in "Codex Mendoza" as follows:

"Tlachmalacac (Tlach-malaca-c). The important part of this glyph is the carefully drawn spindle and whorl, with spun, and unspun cotton (Pl. XII). The ball-court, not being shown in its proper colours, stands for an ideograph. Tlachtli = ball-court, ideograph for tlaça = to throw or cart. c = in. - "In the place of the thrown spindle-whorl".

Cooper Clark may be right in emphasizing the significance of the lack of colour on the glyph for Tlachmalac in the codex in question. It is painted in one colour only, to judge from the copy I have seen, a dull greyish-lilac with some darker spots, probably representing earth. The ball-courts which symbolize two towns named Tlachco (Taxco), for example, in the same document are divided into fields, painted in different colours. The page which shows the tribute paid by the "province of Quahuacan" has a village called Tlallachco, symbolized by a ball-court, painted in the same manner as that of Tlachmalac. In the former case, the glyph appears to be phonetic [i.e. from tla(l)li-tlach(tli)-co].

I have doubts with respect to the correctness of Cooper Clark's explanation of the glyph for "Tlachmalacac", as the ending -c in Nahuatl is not used with verbal nouns.

Yet another explanation has been given by Corona Núñez ("Explicación de la colección Mendoza" 1964: 82; "Matrícula de Tributos" 1968: 39):

"Tlachmalacac: donde se hacen malacates (husos para hilar). El jero-

glífico es un juego de pelota: tlachtli, que deja al verbo tlachihua: hacer algo a menudo, y un huso o rueca para hilar: malacatl".

For reasons of grammar, I do not agree with this interpretation.

It is possible that the glyph for Tlaxmalac is purely phonetic (or phonetic-ideographic), and that the meaning of the word has nothing to do with a ball-court. Various possibilities of explaining it in this manner exist.

The ball-court may represent the syllable tla and refer to tlalli (land, earth), but then the name should have been "Tlalmalacac".

It has been suggested to me that the first syllable may have something to do with tlachcuitl, "a mound of earth" (see Siméon 1963: 511), in which case tlachmalacatl would refer to a "mound of earth in the shape of a spindle whorl", i. e. rounded or perhaps conical (9). In this case, some attempt may have been made to make the glyph in question pictographic-ideographic, that is to say by adding the rounded wall at the end rather than leaving it in the conventional shape of an "I", in this manner expressing the "roundness" twice.

Finally and possibly the simplest solution is that tlachmalacatl stands for the ring or "hoop" set in the centre of the walls of ball-courts as goals, i. e. the tlachtemalacatl (from tlachtli- te(tl), stone, and malacatl), "the ball-court ring of stone". These need not always have been of stone, however, or the "stone-element" may have been omitted from the term. "Costumbres de la Nueva España" (1943: 59), in the section which deals with the ball game, states that tlaxtemalacal is the "rueda del juego" and elsewhere that:

"jugauan o de las caderas o de la palma... y el que acertaua a meter la pelota por el tlaxmalacal ques la Rueda que estaua a los lados..."

If this last interpretation is correct, Tlaxmalacac would have been "In the Place of the Ball-court Ring" or "the Ball-court Target", as the object in question could have been like one of those found archaeologically in Guerrero and Teotihuacán, painted on the mural known as "Tlalocan" in the latter city, and depicted in the "Códice Vindobonensis" too (see Cepeda Cárdenas 1970). It should, however, be noted that the person who wrote the "Relación de Iguala" (Toussaint 1931: 224) in 1579 ignored the "malacate-element" translating the name as follows:

"La cabesera de tasmalaca (sic) ... quiere dezir en nuestra lengua, juego de pelota: que se solía jugar mucho a su modo..."

According to the "Matrícula de Tributos" and "Códice Mendoza" (see Barlow 1949: 15-22), Tlachmalacac (now Tlachmalac or Tlaxmalac) was one of the towns which constituted the "tributary province" of Tepecoacuilco. From Sahagún (op. cit., III: 204-205; "Florentine Codex", 1961: 187) we

learn that the people of "Tlachimalacac" or "Tlachmalacac" were Couixca and Tlapanecs like those of Tepecoacuilco and Chilapan (today Chilapa). Further corroboration of our identification of the glyph under study may be found in other 16th century sources. As shown above, the legend attached to the glyph says that Tlaxmalac "belongs to" Mateo Vázquez. In "Tasaciones de indios" (1937: 204-205), written in 1559, we find the following information:

"El pueblo de Tasmalaca (sic) que tiene encomienda Mateo Bosques de Cisneros en onze de octubre de myll e quynientos e cinquenta e nueve se tasarón..."

This encomendero must be identical with Mateo Vazques referred to in "Fragment No. 2". This opinion is confirmed by a passage in "Relación de los pueblos de indios de Nueva España que están encomendados en personas particulares..." (Paso y Troncoso 1940, IX: 25), dated 1560:

"Tosmalaca y Mayanala comarca de Tabasco (Taxco) encomendados en Mateo Vázquez hijo de Juan Azueros (Cisneros ?) que fué primero tenedor, están tasados en dinero, maíz..."

"Mayanala" is the present Mayanalan in the municipio of Tepecoacuilco, situated to the south of Tlaxmalac.

"Lista de pueblos de indios..." which is contained in "Relación de los obispos" (1904: 174), written in the second half of the 16th century refers to the encomendero of Tlaxmalac too:

"Tasmalaca é Mayonola (Mayanalan) en el Arzobispado de México, fueron encomendados en Juan de Cisneros, conquistador primero tenedor, por cuya muerte sucedieron en Mateo Vazquez, su hijo, y los posee".

This document from 1559 informs that a certain Luis de Godoy held Tepecoacuilco in encomienda (op. cit. : 204), whereas "Lista de pueblos de indios" relates that Tepecoacuilco in the archbishopric of Mexico was given to Hernando de Torres, the conqueror, and after his death it succeeded to his daughter, Doña Bernardina de Torres, who later married a certain Luis Delgado (op. cit. : 176). The latter is identical to Luis de Godoy, because the list from 1560 (op. cit. : 23) says:

"Tepecoacuilco comarca de Tasco encomendado en Luis de Godoy por casado con hija de Hernando de Torres que fué primero tenedor..."

This is furthermore confirmed by an account written in 1569 by the curate of Tepecoacuilco ("Descripción del arzobispado" 1896: 192-199). This source also contains a description of Tlaxmalac (written Tasmalaca or Tasmalaca) from the same year written by the curate whose name was Antonio Fernández (op. cit. : 104-112). The latter relates that the "cabecera" of Santa Ana Tlaxmalac and that of la Asunción de Ntra. Sra. Mayanala were held in encomienda by Mateo Vázquez de Cisneros. Apart from these, the priest al-

so had under his care the cabeceras of Sant Agustín Oapan (mentioned on "Fragment 1") and Sant Josepe Huitziltepeque, now Huixiltepec, situated to the south of Oapan, on the eastern side of the Río Zopilote in the municipio of Zumpango del Río. Both these towns were held in encomienda by Don Luis de Velasco, the viceroy (see also Paso y Troncoso 1940: 39).

The priest gives very detailed information on the respective cabeceras and their estancias, such as data on the total number of inhabitants, subdivided as to age, sex and civil status, and the number of tributaries and confessors. He discusses matters pertaining to books of baptisms and marriages, the existence of churches or chapels in the cabeceras and their estancias, the "moral state" of the people and their poverty and diseases (op.cit.:102-112). With respect to the linguistic situation, we learn that these villages were in the "provincia que se dice Cuixco", that the language generally spoken was "mexicana", but that there was also one estancia with fifty Indians who spoke "Tusteca", although the men knew Mexican too (op. cit. : 105). The priest lists all the estancias of the cabeceras, but unfortunately he only gives their Saints' names (10).

The "Relación de Iguala", written in 1579 (Toussaint op. cit. : 221-225) relates that the "provincia" or "partido" of Iguala fell under the crown, the corregidor being Fernando Alfonso de Estrada. This jurisdiction contained seven cabeceras with their respective subject towns and estancias: Iguala, Tepecoacuilco, Tasmalaca (sic), Izuco (Huitzuco), Mayanala, Evapa (Oapan) and Cocula. This document (op. cit. : 222-223) includes a long description of Tepecoacuilco (11):

"La cabesera de Tepe(co)aquilco: de la dicha provincia, dista del pueblo de Iguala una legua a la parte del oriente: quiere dezir serro donde hay piedras menuditas esta sitiado al pie de un serrillo llamado del nombre do tomó la denominación.

Es beneficio: aunque hasta agora era bicaria y de presente lo es el padre (en blanco en el original).

Es poblason de 200 tributarios que solia ser de mucha jente: que se an gastado como los demás tiene muchas estancias e sujetos que son: Apasapan: Sacacuyoc Tzatzamilco: Apizahoacan Atenzingo: Hostozintlan: Jochitlan: Atemantlan: Xalapan: Pantlan: Atintintla (?; sic) Sinacantan Totocintlan: Asumpan: Tochopan: Tetelzingo Achiosingo Tetisingo: Tetozacan: Istontepeque: Cuapanaguasco: Colotlan: Acayagualco: Tecoyametlan: Otrametlan Agacuatitan: Palula (on "Fragment No. 1"): Itlanguacan: Oistula: Sacapalco: Chalchitepeque: Cuamuchititlan: Axochitlan (on "Fragment No. 1"): Acuacuyula: Ascala Pochonsingo Aguatlan Gueitepeque: Iztululutla Tepozonalco Amecapalco: Aclalmane: Tlinlan: Tlanyaquantán (?; sic) y otras muchas y en ellas uno y dos indios: estas estancias son sujetos a Tepecuaquilco que corren veinte leguas hasta el río grande de Mescala: hazia el sur: que pasan de la otra parte otras muchas estancias: que son Mescala (Mezcala; on "Fragment No. 1"), Suchipala (Xochipala; on "Fragment

No. 1") Iscoasingo Chichigualco (Chichihualco; on "Fragment No. 1"), Yotlan Camotepeque son jurisdicción de el alcaldía de Chilapa (Chilapa was part of the "Alcaldía Mayor de las Minas de Zumpango"): confina con el alcaldía de Iscateupa (Ixcateopan) todos son bisita (visita) de el beneficio de Tepecuaquilco que son mas de 25 leguas las mas en longitud: y de latitud quatro y cinco es tierra toda doblada de sierras peladas tierra muy calida como esta dicho sin agua y los pueblos que caen de aquella parte del rio: son arcabucos de robles y enzinas y pinos. y mucha agua: seran tributarios con la cabecera 130 á cada uno ocho reales y media hanega de maiz.

Fueron dados de paz como toda la provincia en el tiempo del maese (Maestro) de Campo Sandoval fue dada en encomienda a un conquistador llamado Vernardino de Torres que caso... (sic) xero (sic) que ubieron una hija llamada Doña Bernaldina de Torres en cuya encomienda oy esta, que caso esta señora con dos caballeros llamados (Pedro) Hosorio (Osorio) de quien no vbo hijos y segunda vez con Luys de Godoi de quien tiene una hija.

Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca (Cuixca) que eran mantas y algodón y maiz y otras cosas: hasta su postrero señor Montesuma: el cacique y señor mas natural que ai oy es Don Alonso de Santiago moso de 23 años casado con hija del governador Don Francisco Gonzalez que murio todos los demas son muertos sirve esta cabesera y sujetos dichos en las minas de Tasco cada una semana con 550 indios y un tupiles o alguazil que los lleva son mas bejados que los otros de la provincia por venir de lexos.

Es la mas jente chontales y muchos mexicanos advenedizos &c."

The same document (op. cit.: 223) says that Mayanala was three leagues from Tepecoacuilco, five from Oapan, and four from Iguala. Mayanala was given in encomienda to a conqueror, Martín Dircio, who had been a page of Cortés. Don Martín married Doña María Mendoza, the daughter of Antonio Mendoza, the viceroy. They had a daughter called Doña María Dircio, who married Don Luis de Velazco, who became viceroy of New Spain, and who at the time in question held Oapan in encomienda (op. cit.: 223-224; see also "Suma de visitas", PNE I, 1905:296).

The information given in "Relación de Iguala" (op. cit.: 224) on Tlaxmalac is the following:

"La cabesera de Tasmalaca: esta de Iguala tres leguas, hazia la parte del nordeste: quiere dezir en nuestra lengua. juego de pelota: que se solia jugar mucho a su modo: esta el pueblo sitiado entre unas muy altas sierras por una parte pasa un rio pequeño la poblason a la traza de toda la provincia de cuisca.

Diose de paz como toda la provincia y encomendola el marques a un conquistador llamado Juan de Sisneros: y a Mayanala como esta dicho y su-

cedio en Mateo Basques (Vázquez) de Sisneros su hijo en cuya cabeza oy esta es poblason: la cabesera y diez sujetos que tiene de 400 tributarios que se llaman: Sant Francisco: Sant Miguel: los Tres Reyes Magos: Sant Mateo: Santiago. San Juan: otra San Lucas: otra Sant Miguel: San Pedro fue poblason de mucha gente quando se conquistó y encomendó que se ha gastado como tengo muchas veces dicho: corren estos sujetos hacia la parte del oriente: parten terminos con el Marquesado y Tasmalaca con las minas de Tasco: pagan un peso de tributo de a ocho reales y media hanega de maiz.

Ay en este pueblo un nieto, (sic) del señor natural que se llama don Juan de Sisneros gobiernase como los demás que elijen dos alcaldes y Regidores cada un año: Rictos y costumbres modo de pelear y con que armas: es general en toda la provincia de que hare un capitulo breve por aver muchos que lo han escrito: y cumpliré con guardar el horden de la instrucción tratando en general por cada uno de ellos de toda la provincia."

With respect to Huitzucó, we are told in the document in question that this town was one and a half leagues from Tlaxmalac and four "large leagues" from Iguala. It was first granted in encomienda to a conqueror named Coronillas (sic), who became a Franciscan monk. Then it was given to Ysidro Merino de Morillas, who married Catalina de Casasola. Their oldest son was Bernardino de Casasola, the encomendero at the time the "Relación" was written (op. cit.:224).

"Las encomiendas y tributos que hay en México" from 1597 (Paso y Troncoso 1940, XIII:38, 40) again confirms that Mateo Vázquez had Mayaula (sic) and Tasmalaca (sic). An undated list of conquerors and their sons in New Spain (Paso y Troncoso 1940, XIV:151, 154) mentions "el hijo de Juan de Cisneros", Mateo Vázquez too, i. e. the person who according to the "Fragment No. 2" held Tlaxmalac in encomienda.

On "Fragment No. 2", there is one more glyph on the same side of the river as Tlaxmalac (Hierogl. III). According to Lehmann (figs. 2 and 3), it "seems to depict two houses (calli)". It is very damaged and shows no gloss. The two structures in question appear to be standing at different levels, or one may have been higher than the other. They may well have been different from the calli symbols, which characterize many of the villages on this map. To judge from the dotted line which presumably represents a torn edge (see fig. 3), it seems likely that the upper part of the sign in question had pointed towards Tlaxmalac.

The last glyph of the fragment is placed on the opposite side of the river (Hierogl. IV; figs. 2 and 3). On figure 3, it can be seen that Lehmann made two notes. One says "tepetl, 3 or 4 times", the other "tetelli ?" (sic). The glyph consists of two signs for tetl (stone), attached to three destroyed objects, which look like stones too. What Lehmann meant by "tepetl", i. e. "hill, mountain", I do not know. Perhaps he meant to write "tetl" "Tetelli" might represent the legible part of a gloss, but more likely it is Leh-

mann's interpretation of the glyph. Tete- may be the plural form of tetl, or the word could have been tetella - "a stony road, mountainous land full of rocks" according to Siméon (1963: 463; see also Molina 1944: 106 r), or te-telan (from tetel, indicating abundancy and -lan, meaning "in, near" or "among"). It could stand for "Teteltzinco" too, an estancia of Tepecoacuilco. However, there are many other manners in which this sign might be read, so it seems aimless to speculate further. To judge from Lehmann's sketch, the preserved part of the stones might have pointed towards the river, "upwards", or it might have been placed "sideways" as it does on figure 3, with the destroyed part at the right hand edge of the fragment.

" Fragment No. 3".

"Fragment No. 3" is No. 6 of the "Manuscripta Americana 10" (see Bankmann op.cit.:135). According to Lehmann's notes, it was about 60-65 cm. long and 36 cm. wide (fig.6). Eulalia Guzmán has 52 x 30 cm. Lehmann's sketch shows a river with a tributary, depicted in the same manner as those we have seen on "Fragments Nos. 1 and 2". Next to the river is written "atl", i.e. "water, river", which probably represents Lehmann's interpretation of the sign for the river. It is placed on the left side of the drawing. On the opposite side (fig.5), Lehmann wrote "legend" (Handschrift), which probably refers to the location of the inscription mentioned at the bottom of the sketch: "The legend has 8 lines, the last half of the first 4 are almost completely destroyed, signed p^o moran..." (12).

Guzmán (personal communication) read the name of "Juan Leyva" too (see also Bankmann: loc.cit.).

Below the word "legend" is a drawing, which may show the outlines of the fragment in question, or possibly the outlines of the legend referred to above.

Between the branches of the river is a destroyed sign, which looks like the lower part of the calli symbols on the other fragments.

It will be remembered that the inscription placed on this fragment also included the year 1576 (see fig. 5), and that Lehmann thought that "Fragment No. 3" was a continuation of "Fragment No. 2". The same author interpreted both of these fragments as having been part of a "land document" (see Bankmann op.cit.: 134). So far, I have found no evidence which allows me to identify the two persons named "P(edr)o Moran.." and "Juan Leyva" respectively. According to the notes made by Guzmán, Pedro (?) Moran appears to have been the judge, and the legend dealt with some conflict over landownership.

3. COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

I have attempted to join together the two sketches made by Lehmann and in turn "fit" them into "Fragment No. 1". I believe I have found a solution, which is shown in figure 7. The sketches are probably not drawn to scale, and my solution rather depends on whether the sign which looks like the lower part of the "house symbols" would fit into the upper part of the glyph for Tlaxmalac. The River Tepecoacuilco is formed by three courses of water, which arise in the municipio of Huitzuco. These are the Tlaxmalac, the Atetetla and the Huitzuco (see López 1942:278). Tlaxmalac is situated between two branches of a river (see fig. 8). The fact that the map extended much further to the northeast than I had formerly thought, does not surprise me now, after having learnt that Tepecoacuilco in the 16th century bordered with a town within the jurisdiction of Taxco called Tlamacazapa (see below).

"Fragments Nos. 2 and 3" should be attached to "No. 1" a little to the north of the supposed sign for Tepecoacuilco, with the fragments added so that the single branch of the river would form a continuation of the Tepecoacuilco (see figs. 1 and 7). This makes sense geographically (see figs. 8, 9), and unless more fragments of the codex are found with other evidence, this is my conclusion with respect to the relationship between the three fragments (13).

Tlaxmalac formed part of the tributary province of the Triple Alliance, which Barlow (1949: 15-22) has named "Tepequacuilco", because the glyph for this town is the first shown on page 15 in the "Matrícula de Tributos" and on folios 36v-37r in the "Codex Mendoza". The same author assumed that the introductory glyph on each page represents the most important town of the region for which the tribute is recorded in these sources. With respect to Tepecoacuilco, this opinion is further justified by a passage in the "Relación de Iguala" (op. cit. : 223; see also Barlow op. cit. : 2), which states that Tepecoacuilco was "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos : y recojian de toda la cuisca (Couizca or Coixcatlalpan)".

The "province of Tepecoacuilco" was constituted by the following towns (in alphabetical order): Alahuiztlan, Atenango (near Tasco, to the northeast of Huitzuco), Cuetzala, Chilacachapa, Chilapa, Huitzuco, Ohuapa (Oapan), Teloloapan, Tepecoacuilco, Tlachmalac, Ixcateopan (Ichcateopan) and Yohuallan (Iguala). To this list, Barlow (op. cit. : 15-20) added a number of villages of minor importance which are not included in the tribute lists. These are Mayanalán, Otlatlan, Quecholtenango, Tenepantla, Tetela, Tlacotepec, Tonalli imoquetzayan (Tonaliquizaya) and Zompango (Zumpango del Río). Brand (1943: 666) furthermore included Tlatlaya. The witnesses in the "Información from 1554" (Scholes and Adams 1957: 44-45) refer to "Tepecoacuilco and thirteen towns", which paid tribute together to Moctezuma.

The province of Tepecoacuilco included the area between Tetela del Río and Tlalcozauhtitlan, from the region to the north of the Río Balsas to the Río Papagayo (Barlow 1948 a; fig. 10). It was limited by the zone dominated by the Tarascans to the west, by the province of Tlachco (Taxco) to the north, by the provinces of Quauhnahuac (Cuernavaca) and Tlalcozauhtitlan to the east, and the independent "señorío" of the Yope and the province of Cihuatlan to the south (see Litvak 1971). This area was linguistically as well as politically divided. The zone of the Río Balsas was first invaded by the Colhua Mexica under the reign of Itzcoatl (1428-1440), and Tepecoacuilco is said to have been conquered by this ruler (see Toussaint 1931: 11-12; Jiménez Moreno 1958: 56; "Relación de Ichcateopan y su partido" 1905; Tezozomoc 1944: 342-345; 1949: 90-91). These conquests continued under the following rulers. Tlaxmalac was conquered by Moctezuma I, who also reconquered Tepecoacuilco (Torquemada 1943, I: 57). However, the conquest of the area was impeded by frequent rebellions of the Chontals and other peoples as well as by the problems presented by the expansion of the Tarascans (see Barlow 1948 a; 1948 b; 1949: 15-22 and Map). Alahuiztlan, Oztoman and Teloloapan were destroyed in the reign of Ahuizotl, and "mitimaes" or colonies established in these towns (Tezozomoc 1944: 338-354; Durán 1965, I: 360-367). The settlers were gathered together from "all parts of the realm", and the list of towns cited is indeed impressive, including many which were not directly subject to the Triple Alliance. It is also made quite clear that the populations to be resettled did not go voluntarily in spite of all the gifts and facilities which were promised them. Thousands of people were moved, some of whom settled in Teloloapan "como por guarnición de aquella ciudad" (Durán op.cit.: 367). The most principal went to Oztoman and the remainder to Alahuiztlan. Durán (loc.cit.) adds that "así quedaron aquellas ciudades pobladas de mexicanos hasta el día de oy y sujetas á México". It is therefore a question for debate why Tepecoacuilco was chosen as "capital" of the province in question, and not one of the three towns which had been repopulated. This may, of course, have been the case in Tepecoacuilco too, as the "Relación de Iguala" (op.cit.: 223) mentions that "en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad" were "presidio de gente de guarnición". It seems very doubtful that the Aztecs and their allied were able to maintain large, standing armies on the borders of their so-called "empire", and it is therefore possible that the terms "presidio" and "guarnición" in the early colonial sources refer to armies made up of emigrants in conquered territory acting as "garrisons". Such settlements were governed by Mexican "viceroys", also known as tlacatectli or tlacochtectli, or other Mexican officials (see "Codex Mendoza": folios 17r, 18r). In "Codex Mendoza" (loc.cit.), "viceroys" are symbolized by the xiuhuitzolli, the blue diadem of the ruler. It is possible that the policy of resettlement by "mitimaes" like those of the Incas was more commonly practised in Mexico than is generally realized (see also Tezozomoc op.cit.: 155-166; Durán op.cit.: 228-244; "Códice Ramírez" 1944: 183; Torquemada 1943, I: 162, 181, 207-208; Díaz del Castillo 1960, I: 290).

Under the reign of Moctezuma II, Tepecoacuilco seems to have been finally defeated and organized as a tribute paying province of the Triple Alliance. The eastern part of this province was known as Coixcatlalpan, "Land of the Lizards" (see Barlow 1949: 20; Toussaint op. cit. : 221). According to "Descripción del arzobispado de México" (1897: 105), Tlaxmalac was the most northernly town of a "subprovince", which may formerly have been united in some manner, at least linguistically, which was called "cuixco" or Coixcatlalpan (see "Descripción del pueblo de Texaluca" 1905: 86; "Memoria del partido de Tlalcuçautitlan" 1905: 249). Barlow (1949: 17-18) has demonstrated that this "province" must have stretched beyond Tlaxmalac to the north towards Cuernavaca, and to the east into the province of Tlalcocauhtitlan. Apart from Tlaxmalac, Coixcatlalpan included the towns of Iguala, Cocolan (Cocula), Mayanala, Huitzucó, Chilapan and Zumpango del Río.

We know little about the linguistic situation in Guerrero in pre-Columbian times. Undoubtedly it was extremely complicated. Orozcoy Berra, for example, lists seventeen languages which have disappeared, while the languages still spoken were Nahuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, Amuzgo, Tarascan, Cuitlatec and Popolucan (see Mariano Flores 1959: 96-97; Barlow 1949: 17-18). Couixca appears to have been a dialect of Nahuatl, a language which seems to have been spoken in Guerrero before the invasions of the Mexicans from Tenochtitlan (see Jiménez Moreno 1958: 11; Barlow 1948 b: 184; 1949: 17-18), and thought to have arrived in different waves (see Swadesh 1959: 13; Vivó 1946: 288; Armillas 1944: 166; Mariano Flores 1959: 105; "Relación de Ichcateopan" 1905: 116, 137-138, 145-146). An unclassified language called Texome was spoken in the present municipio of Tepecoacuilco, while Chontal, a "guttural language", unclassified to date (Swadesh op. cit.: 13), was spoken in the same region too, in Tepecoacuilco and in towns such as Taxco, Iguala, Cocula, Ixcateopan, Ostoma and Teloloapan (see Vivó op. cit. : 288; Mariano Flores op. cit.: 102; Barlow 1946: 106; 1949: 17-18; "Relación de Alauistlan" 1905: 100) in the north-central part of the state.

At present we know little about how the local communities were organized internally in the various towns which were subjected by the Triple Alliance and united in the province of Tepecoacuilco. There is no evidence, for example, that the "capital" established for tribute purposes exerted political control over the individual communities of the province. "Garrisons" and calpixques (tribute collectors) were installed in certain towns, but their major function was apparently to ensure the tribute to the rulers of the Triple Alliance. Although the Aztecs must somehow have controlled "external political activities", it is possible that the local communities were allowed to continue to function autonomously with their native hierarchies of rulers and institutions. Such seems largely to have been the case in the early period, after the Spaniards had taken over. It was generally thought an advantage, when possible, to preserve the local indigenous system of government. The grants known as encomienda were consignments of Indians to Spaniards, who were entitled to receive labour and tribute, but they did not

imply political or juridical jurisdiction, which was largely left to the Indians themselves (see Gibson 1964: 58-97). After the Conquest, Tepecoacuilco did not become the "capital" of a corregimiento or alcaldía mayor. By 1579, this cabecera had become divided between those of Iguala to the north and Chilapa to the south (see above).

With respect to the borders of the cabecera of Tepecoacuilco at the period the map was made, i.e. probably in the second half of the 16th century, there is evidence to be found in various "Relaciones", "Descripciones" and tribute lists pertaining to the epoch in question. The borders to the west must have been those of the towns which by 1579 had come to form the corregimientos (a jurisdiction which fell under the Spanish crown) called Ichcateopan (now Ixcateopan) and Iguala, such as Cocula, Cuetzala, Tetela del Río and Tlacotepec. "Relación de Ichcateopan" (op.cit.: 123, 132) actually relates that Tlacotepec bordered with some "estancuelas" of Tepecoacuilco towards the east. To judge from the information given by the priest in Tepecoacuilco in 1569 ("Descripción del arzobispado": 193-199), I do not think that the area shown on the map (see "Fragment No. 1") could have extended much beyond the estancia of Chichihualco to the south. To the southeast lay the Alcaldía Mayor (a jurisdiction under the Spanish crown) of Zumpango (see "Relación de las minas de Zumpango" 1905: 313-322). The "Relación" made in 1582 (op.cit.: 315-316) relates that this jurisdiction had its boundaries to the west with Tepecoacuilco and to the north with Oapan (see also "Relación de Chilapa" 1905: 177; "Relación de Iguala" 1931: 223). If the "Map of Tepecoacuilco" ("Fragment No. 1") is compared with a modern map, one wonders whether a destroyed place sign on the left bank of the Río Zopilote might not have represented Zumpango del Río. The glyph for this town does not appear in any of the tribute records. According to the "Relación", "Çunpango" (sic) means "vn arbol que lleva vna fruta colorada, a manera de chocho de Castilla" ("Relación de las minas de Zumpango" 1905: 314). The glyph to be expected would be either a skull-rack (tzompantli) or a banner with hair (tzontli - pantli) like those shown in the "Códice Aubin" or in the "Matrícula de Tributos" for towns of that name (see Peñafiel 1885: 228). The glyph on "Fragment No. 1" consists of two rectangular shaped objects, each of which is divided longitudinally in the middle and has one half painted red and the other white. There is also a nearly illegible legend which seems to say "tlatlauhq(ui)... de Vialtepe(c)...", which is difficult to identify with the town in question.

With respect to the borders to the east, I have already mentioned the town of Huitziltepec, now in the municipio of Zumpango, which was held in encomienda by Luis de Velasco, but which is referred to as falling under the jurisdiction of Zumpango in the "Relación" (op. cit. : 317) from that town (see also "Relación de Chilapa" 1905: 174). Further to the northeast lies Oapan, which was held by Luis de Velasco too ("Descripción del arzobispado" 1905: 105; "Relación de Iguala"). To the north of Oapan lies Mayanala, today a town in the municipio of Tepecoacuilco. In 1569-1579, it was held in encomienda by Mateo Vázquez de Cisneros, the person who also had Tlaxma-

lac. To the north of Mayanala is Huitzucó, a town held in encomienda by a certain Francisco Moreno de Casasola in 1569-1579 ("Descripción del arzobispado" 1905:76-81; "Relación de Iguala"). It is quite probable that some of these towns (or their estancias) which according to various sources formed the borders of the jurisdiction of Tepecoacuilco in the 16th century, had also been shown on the map under study. However, those parts of the map where we should expect to find them are missing.

To the northeast and north, Tepecoacuilco bordered with the town of Tlaxmalac, with Tlamagaçapa (now Tlamacazapa), with Taxco and with Iguala (see "Relación de las minas de Tasco" 1905:275; "Suma de visitas" 1905:255, 287). Tlamacazapa also formed the border with Tlaxmalac. Tasco and Iguala were both held by the crown at the period in question ("Tributos de pueblos de indios" 1940:207, 210). The encomendero of Tepecoacuilco in 1569-1579 was Luis de Godoy ("Descripción del arzobispado" 1897:192; "Relación de Iguala" 1931:223).

It is probable that the "Map of Tepecoacuilco" was painted to serve as evidence in a litigation concerning a dispute over the jurisdiction of land, between individuals or communities. The latter seems more likely. To which extent the respective encomenderos and officials of the crown might have been involved is impossible to say. The fact that the cabecera of Tepecoacuilco had been divided might have been a cause for contest. The communities or indigenous authorities concerned must have been those of Tepecoacuilco, Oapan, Tlaxmalac and probably others. In spite of the discovery of two missing fragments, the "Map of Tepecoacuilco" remains incomplete. Furthermore, the contents of the inscription of eight lines on the "Fragment No. 3" are illegible, apart from the names of two people, whom I have not been able to identify. This inscription might have been the principal one of the document, explaining its purpose. Except for the legends which refer to the boundaries or "sujetos" of Tepecoacuilco, there is not evidence to the effect that the map was painted in Tepecoacuilco or that the subject matter treated was concerned in particular with that town. We do not know, for example, who gave the document its present name. On the other hand, we possess no evidence which contradicts the assumption that the map in question depicted the area which was under the jurisdiction of the cabecera of Tepecoacuilco (or that claimed by the indigenous authorities of the town, for example) as well as its frontier communities, supplying some information too on the respective positions of the towns as "sujetos", "cabeceras" or "encomiendas" and also on the people involved in the dispute.

There is, however, another possibility with respect to the purpose for which this map was painted, which cannot be completely discarded. It could have been made to accompany a "Relación" like those which have come from several towns in the region in question. However, unless the date of 1576 is wrong, this is unlikely, because the decree about the reports to be made was issued by Philip II in 1577 (see Nuttall 1926:46). The "Relación de Iguala", for instance, was written in 1579. Could the "Map of Tepecoacuil-

co" represent the missing map made to accompany the "Relación" of the former town? Or could it be the map made to accompany an unknown "Relación de Tepecoacuilco"?

To judge from the handwriting and the style in which the "Map of Tepecoacuilco" was painted, a date in the second half of the 16th century seems feasible. It could have been in 1576, because in this year Mateo Vazques de Cisneros, the encomendero of Tlaxmalac, was still alive.

The "Map of Tepecoacuilco" must be turned in order to make possible the reading of the elements contained in it. It does not present landscape (see Robertson 1959: 182ff.). The use of native conventions suggests that the draughtsman had been trained in the hieroglyphic tradition. The codex is also quite accurate if compared to a modern map. The relationship between places is apparently correct, and the painter must have used a scale. The latter is not considered a pre-Columbian characteristic. However, this opinion is based on very little evidence, because no purely geographical maps are left from that period. We know, for example, that Cortés made use of indigenous maps. This suggests that they did have maps, more "accurate" in our sense of the word than those of the "Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca" or the "Mapa de Teozacoalco", for example. The use of conventional signs, such as the "houses" which represent villages in the "Map of Tepecoacuilco", rather than "images of nature", is supposed to be part of the native tradition.

The discovery in Germany of the five pages with notes and sketches made by Walter Lehmann many years ago has been a great aid in the decipherment of the "Map of Tepecoacuilco". The contents of "Fragments Nos. 2 and 3" have largely confirmed the conclusions I made with respect to "Fragment No. 1". The former are important, because they have furnished more solid evidence for solving the problems of the dating of the map and the purpose for which it was painted. I think it is likely that this was done in 1576, and that the purpose, for which it was meant, was to serve as evidence in a contest over the possession of land, probably concerned in particular with the question of boundaries of the jurisdiction of Tepecoacuilco in Guerrero. The glosses and text were added to make it understood by the Spanish administrators for whom it was surely intended.

NOTES

- (1) I wish to thank Mr. Ulf Bankmann, Berlin, for providing copies of the papers with sketches and notes made by Walter Lehmann - here called "Fragments Nos. 2 and 3" - the originals of which are in the "Lehmann-Bibliothek" in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, West Berlin. I am also grateful to Sta. Eulalia Guzmán, Mexico City, for permitting me to see some of her notes on the papers she studied in Berlin.

- (2) "Hieroglyphen und Schriftstücke in Mexicanischer Sprache, im Ganzen zehn, auf Agavepapier, aus der Capilla de Nu. Señ. auf der Pyramide von Cholula."
- (3) "9 Blätter mit Schrift und Bildern auf Agave-Papier, kürzlich aus Mexico gebracht."
- (4) "Von den 9 Fragmenten scheinen mir nur 3 der Publikation wert zu sein, da die übrigen zu sehr beschädigt sind."
- (5) "Teile eines Grundstückdokumentes, zerrissen, cc. 45 cm. lang, 40 cm. breit. - Wir bemerken oben und unten einen Fluss."
- (6) Tlachmalacalan (tlachmalacallan), from tlachtli-malacatl-llan (=tlan), the latter being a locative meaning "in, upon, near". Had the locative been -can, i.e. Tlachmalacan, this name would have been a verbal noun, implying action. I believe Lehmann's reconstruction is more correct, although the original name of the town appears to have been Tlachmalacac.
- (7) "Auf einem, offenbar die Fortsetzung bildenden Blatt findet sich rechts oben unter einer spanischen Schrift von 8 Zeilen die Jahreszahl 1576."
- (8) By phonetic writing I mean the use of homonyms (more or less exact) to express the sound in question. Phonetic writing may be used in addition to a pictogram. Ideographic writing refers to the setting down of the representation of an idea by a naturalistic form (or its abbreviation) of the concept to be expressed without considering its phonetic form. Signs are often based on the combined use of ideographic and phonetic expressions.
- (9) Thelma D. Sullivan, Mexico, D.F.
- (10) It should be noted that the parochial reports should be used with some caution. Civil boundaries were often unknown (or not taken notice of) to the clergy, who might visit a village belonging to an adjoining town and list it as a "sujeto" of their monastery.
- (11) Except for the use of capital letters in personal names and place names, I have made no changes in the citations which follow.
- (12) "Die Handschrift ist 8zeilig, die letzten Hälften der ersten 4 sind fast ganz zerstört, unterzeichnet p^o moran..."
- (13) I cannot, of course, completely exclude the possibility that the single branch of the river shown on "Fragment No. 3" may have been a continuation of the Río Balsas, i.e. to the east where "Fragment No. 1" is torn (see fig. 1). However, if this were so, the river in question would have made an abrupt turn to the north, which does not seem to correspond to the actual situation.

It should be noted that modern maps are probably not too accurate with respect to minor rivers and streams in the region with which we are dealing. Rivers, which existed at the time the map was painted, might also have changed their courses or dried up.

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FIGURES

Fig.1: The "Map of Tepecoacuilco" ("Fragment No.1").

Fig.2: The "Map of Tepecoacuilco" ("Fragment No.2").

Fig.3: Glyphs on "Fragment No.2".

Fig.4: "Fragment No.2". Glyph for Teyecahuaztli.

Fig.5: "Fragment No.2". Glyph for Tlaxmalac.

Fig.6: The "Map of Tepecoacuilco" ("Fragment No.3").

Fig.7: Sketch showing how "Fragments Nos. 2 and 3" might be joined together.

Fig.8: Map showing the location of places depicted on the northeastern part of the "Map of Tepecoacuilco".

Fig.9: Map of the region of Tepecoacuilco.

Fig.10: The tributary province of Tepecoacuilco (after Barlow 1949).

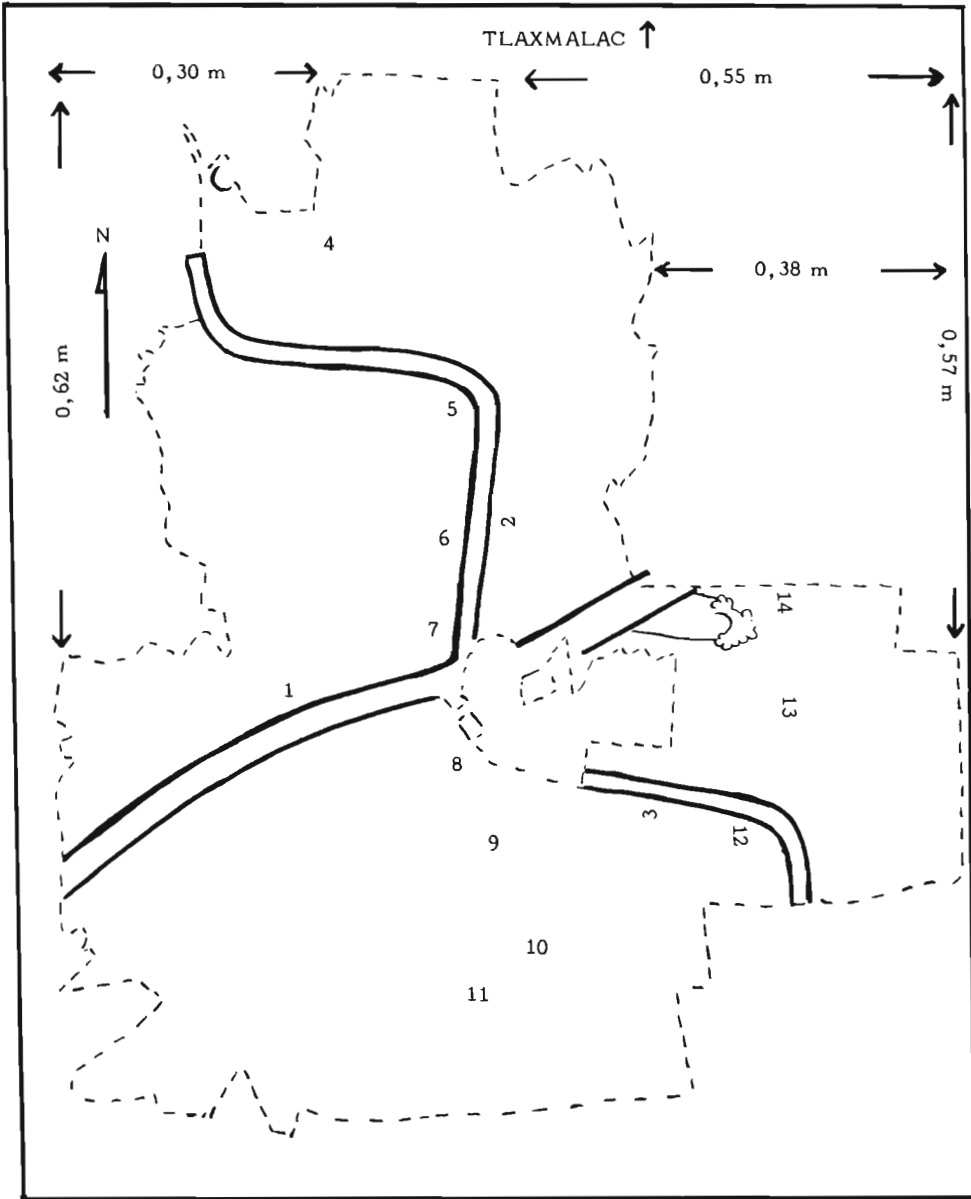
Fig.1: The "Map of Tepecoacuilco" ("Fragment No.1").

It is necessary to turn the map in order to read all the glyphs and glosses. The majority of the signs were meant to be read in such a manner that the south might more logically have been put to point upwards like the north of a modern map. However, in order to make comparison with a modern map easier, I have placed the manuscript so that its upper edge points to the north.

1. Río Balsas (Río Grande).
2. Río Tepecoacuilco.
3. Río Zopilote.
4. Tepecoacuilco (?).
5. La estancia de apacy/pa suzeto (sujeto) a tepe/quaquylco. "The estancia of Apazipa is a sujeto of Tepecoacuilco."
6. El pu(ebl)o de palula suzeto a /tepequaquilco. "The town of Palula is a sujeto of Tepecoacuilco."
7. El pu(ebl)o de asuchitlan /suzeto a tepequa/quilco. "The town of Axochitlan is a sujeto of Tepecoacuilco."
8. La estancia de maxcala/ questa...al Río Grande. "The estancia of Mezcala, which is (close to?) the Río Grande (the Balsas)."
9. El pu(ebl)o de suchipala cabeçera / Atepequaquilco suzeto / ay deste pu(ebl)o a estancia / y tierras de la de ..uentes (?) dos leguas. "The town of Xochipala is a sujeto of the cabecera of Tepecoacuilco (or perhaps: the town of Xochipala is a cabecera, a sujeto of Tepecoacuilco). There are from this town to the estancia and lands of..two leagues."
10. La estancia de ...squah/çango junto a chichihualco. "The estancia of Izquauhcingo (?) is close to Chichihualco."
11. Aqui esta un çerrito / entre estas dos estancias / qu(e) diz quiautepetle. "Here is a small hill between these two estancias, which is called Quiautepetl."
12. Tlatlauq...de Vialtepe... "Tlatlahqui (?; red).. "
13. Çotlayotzintlan mozonera (mojonera) de bapan y Tepequaquilco. "Zotlayotzintlan (?) is the boundary of (between) Oapan and Tepecoacuilco."
14. ... y tequitzcan...



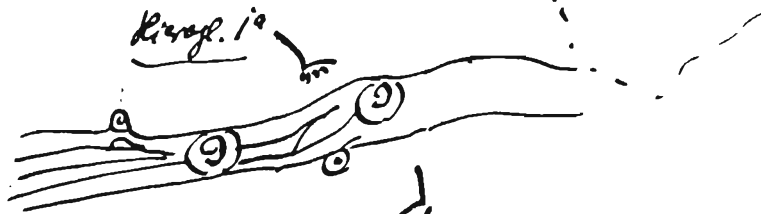
Fig.1



5.6. Zila mit Grundstücke Atlixcohuac.

57 gully, 17.45m. long, 40m. wide.

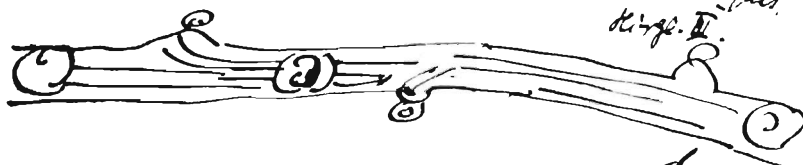
mit mehreren oberirdischen Wasserläufen.



Kanal. I.

Kanal. I
teyeca hualti.

Kanal. II. El pueblo de Atlixcohuac es de meter de agua.



Kanal. II.

Kanal. IV.

Fig. 2

teyeca hualti

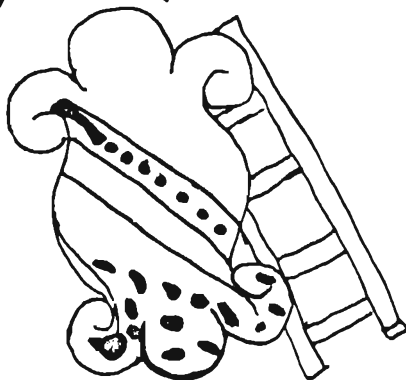
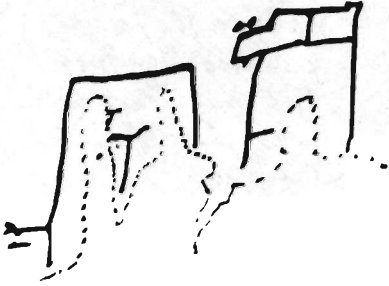


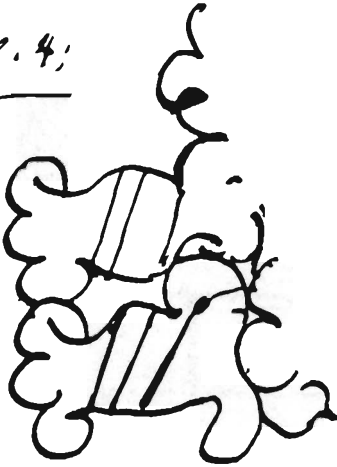
Fig. 4

Fig. 3:



(frucht 2 fächer / (ball))
Kugelform.

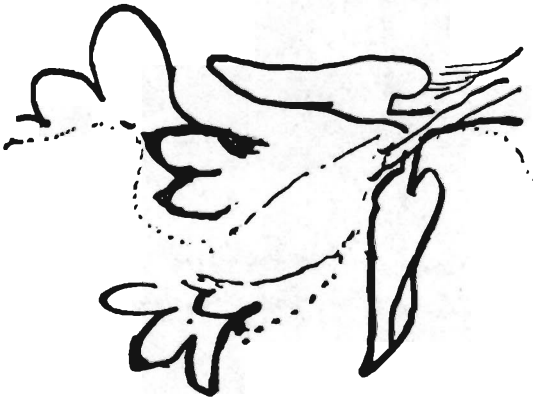
Fig. 4:



depaete, 3 oder 4 unkt

Wiederholung?

Fig. 10, fächer beifrieder u. zentraler:

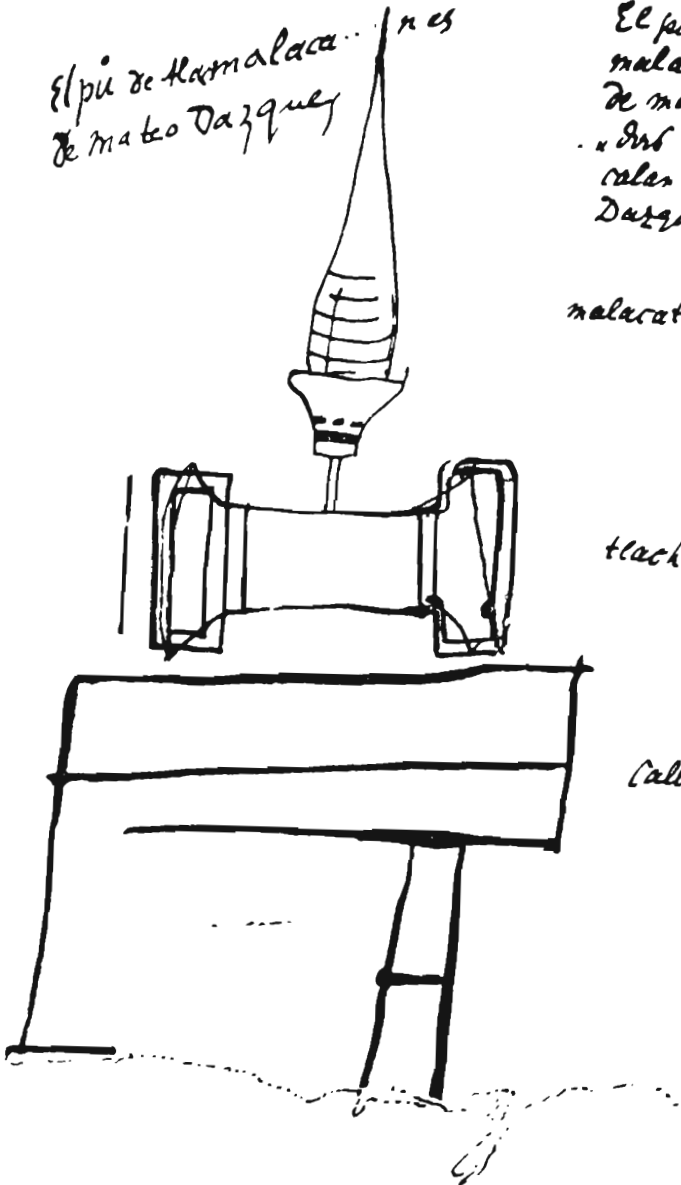


10Thiele?

Fig. 3

El pu de lamalaca... nes
 de mateo Da3quey

El pueblo de tlach-
 malaca (la) x es
 de mateo Da3quey.
 "Dro Dm3 Tlach mala-
 calen y3p3t Dm3 hako
 Da3quey".



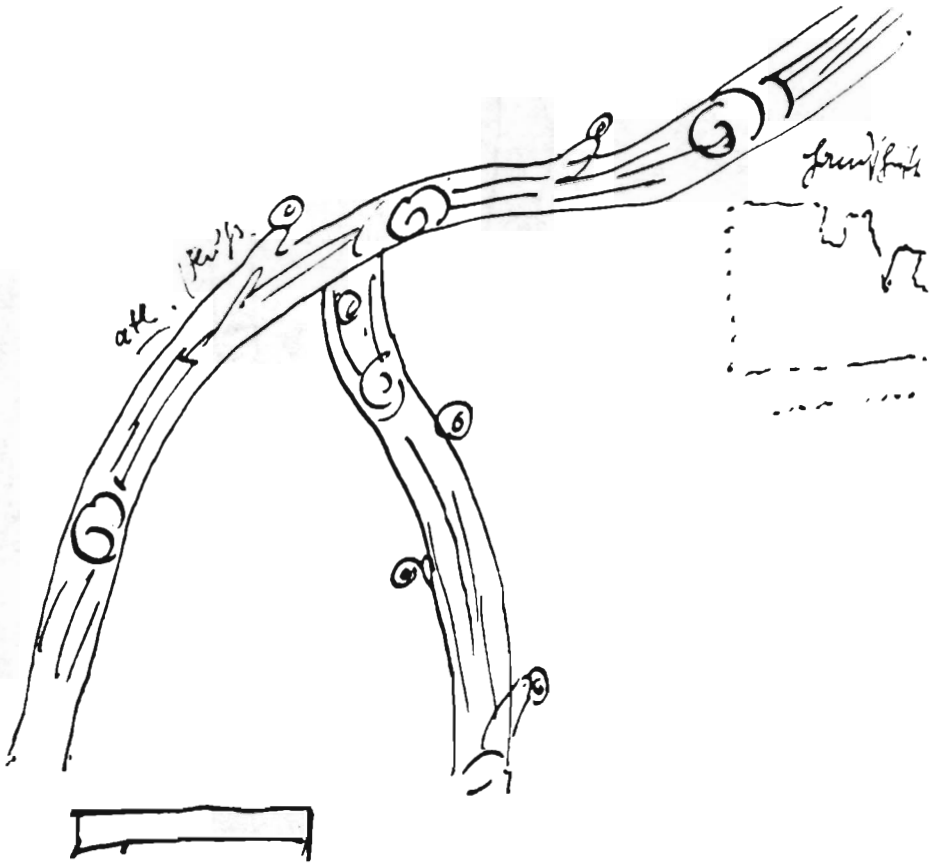
malacatl

tlach tli

calli ("pueblo"?)

Auf einem, offenbar im Innern des Landes
 findet sich ein sehr alter unterirdischer Brunnen
 im Innern des Landes L 57 b

Fig. 5



Die Grundform ist 8 zellige, die letzten 4 Zellen des
 Kapsel 4 sind fast genau gleich. unterschiedlich p^o mehr...

Fig.6

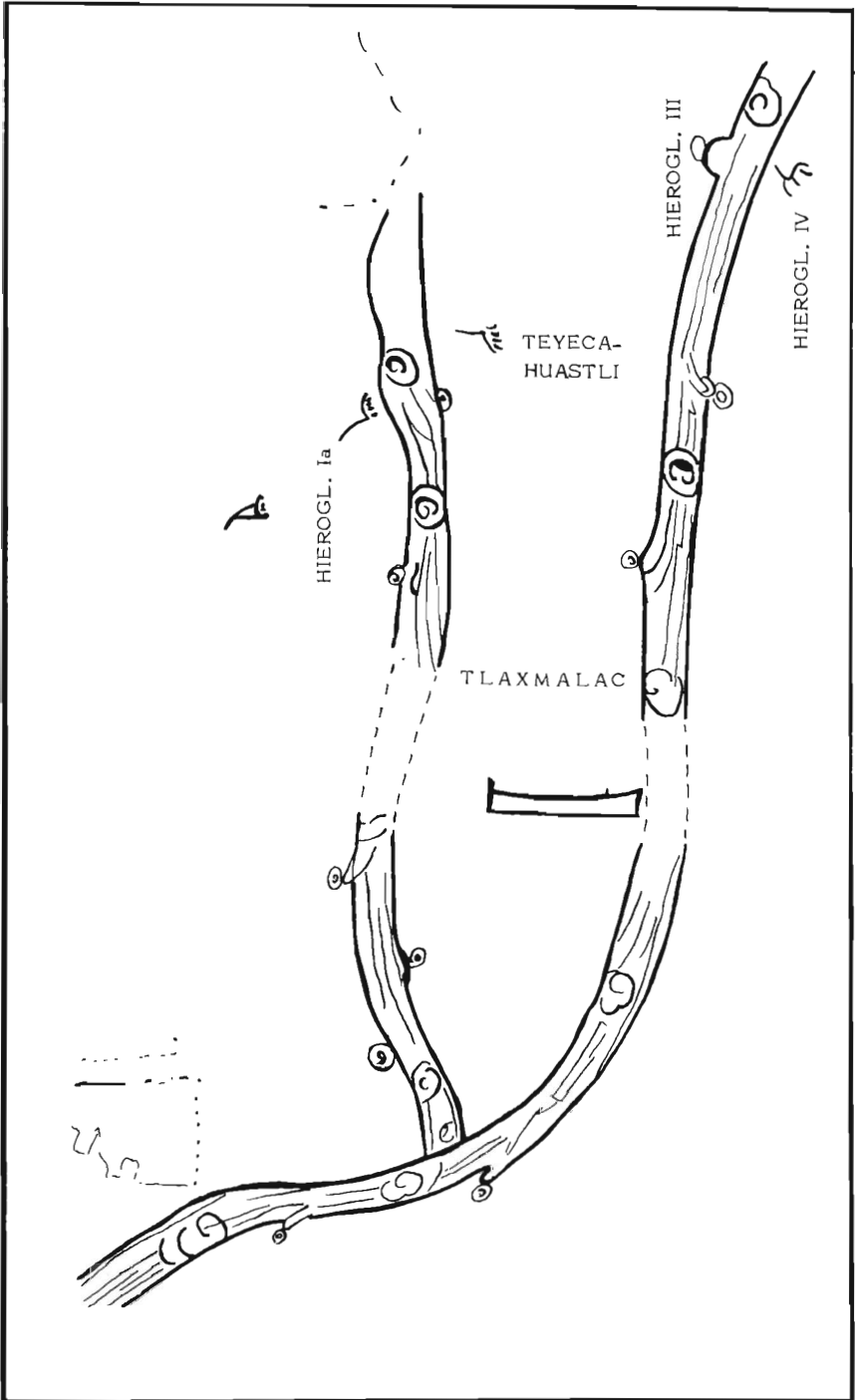


Fig.7

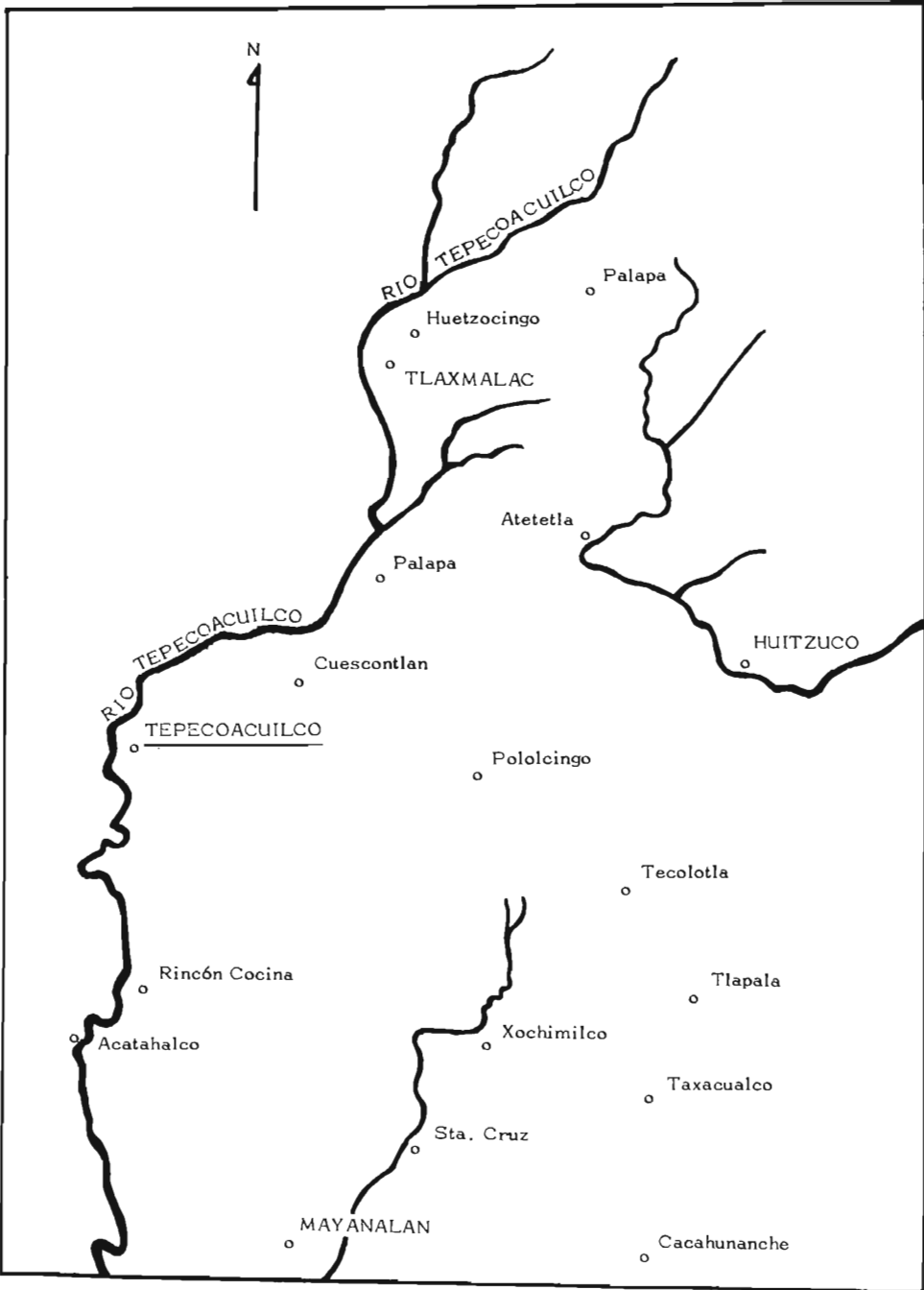


Fig.8

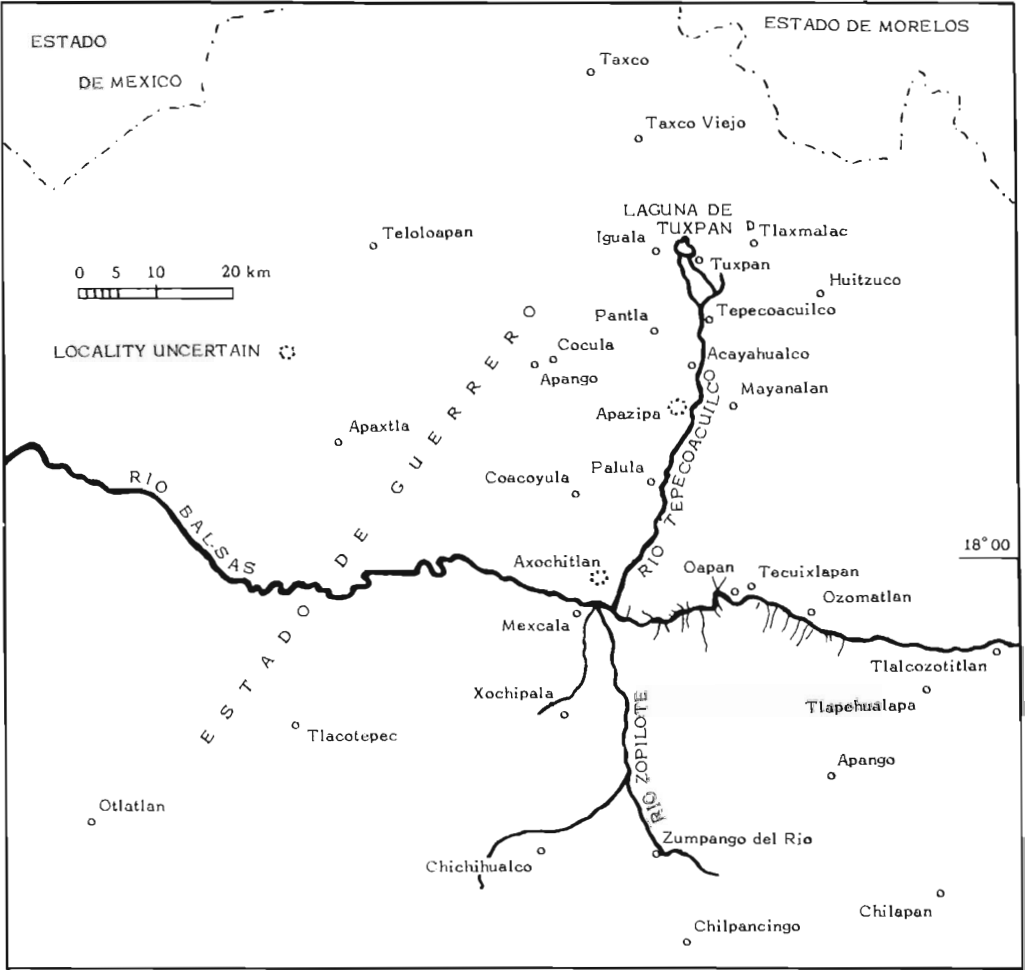


Fig.9

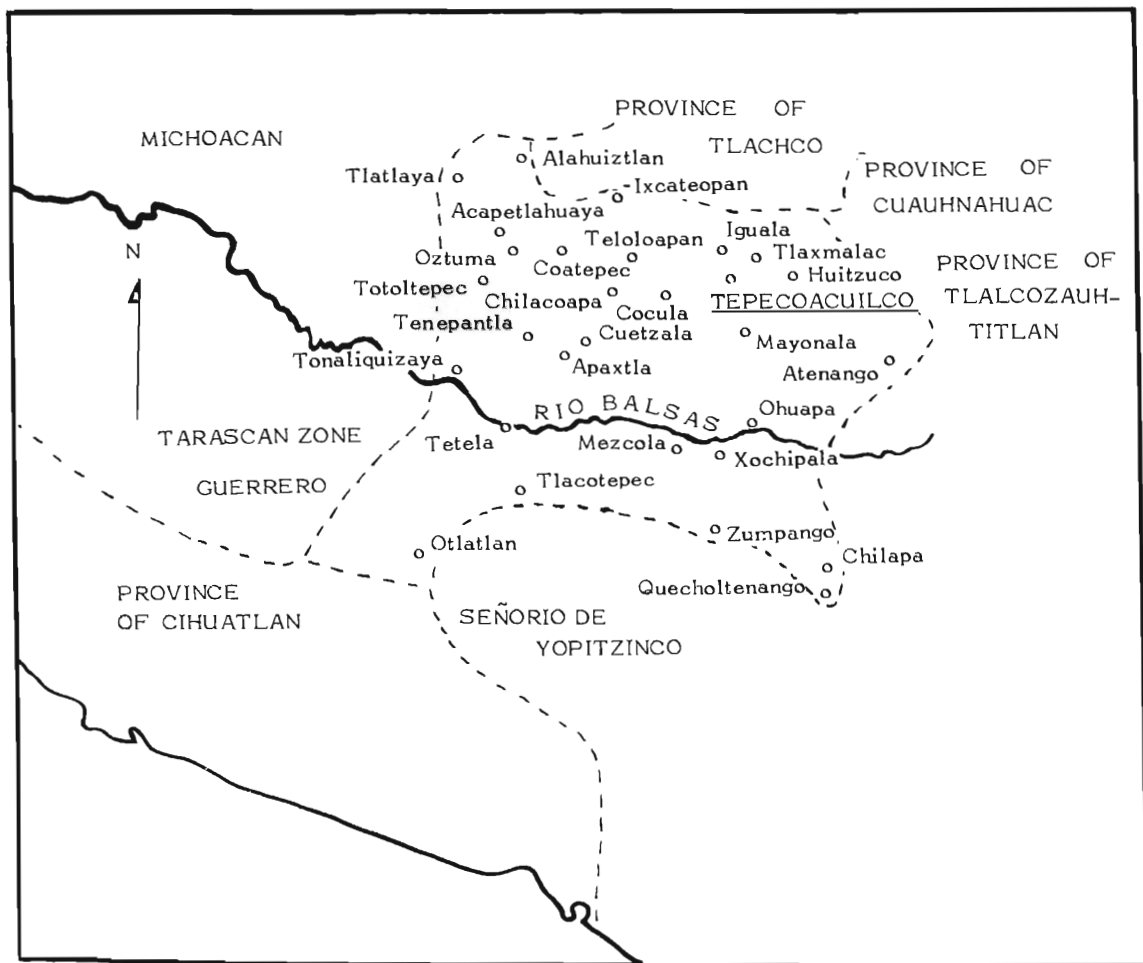


Fig. 10

