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The Mazapan Maps of Teotihuacan in 1560

Los planos de San Francisco Mazapan retratan las ruinas del centro de Teotihuacan, con la pirámide de la Luna y la Ciudadela, en un área construida entre 150 a. C. y 750 d. C. Estos tres planos, el de Nueva York (American Museum of Natural History, Plano Saville), el de Chicago (Newberry Library, Plano Ayer) y el de San Francisco Mazapan (ubicación desconocida) deben ser fechados como del año 1560 d. C. Las glosas en náhuatl fueron agregadas con posterioridad, posiblemente a principios del siglo XVII. Son similares en muchos detalles. El plano de Mazapan es una copia del siglo XIX (ubicación desconocida) de un original perdido y puede provenir de una fuente primaria (también perdida). Se considera suposición en la historia de la cartografía de Teotihuacan y su relación con la mitología y cosmología aztecas es establecida en la ponencia. Los planos enseñan construcciones coloniales hoy en día destruidas y delinean propietarios indígenas, límites y cosechas. Muchas localidades de Teotihuacan están identificadas, así como lugares de interés arqueológico y mitológico. Ofrece un retrato de la vida colonial de la época temprana en una inmensa ruina precolombina, continua describiendo la situación cultural de Teotihuacan de la era después del abandono en el siglo VIII d. C., según un patrón mesoamericano de ruina súbita, seguido por el retorno a la agricultura en grandes ciudades de piedra y yeso.



Teotihuacan in the Valley of Mexico flourished for nine centuries from 150 B. C. to A. D. 750. Then it was abandoned until this century, when archaeologists uncovered parts of it and mapped it completely (Millon 1973). Three closely related maps of Teotihuacan describe its appearance in 1560 (Glass 1975:204). They contain information about the site for which no other evidence is known.

Two of the maps were drawn in colored inks on native paper. The Saville map in New York, at the American Museum of Natural History, is painted on a still unidentified native paper, ca. 33 x 66 cm. (Fig. 1). The Ayer map at the Newberry Library in Chicago is on amatl paper (Fig. 2), ca. 63.5 x 99 cm. (Hagar 1912:160-172). The Mazapan map is a nineteenth-century copy from a lost original (Figs. 3, 4). The copy was painted on the back of an "old sheet of parchment", 38 x 62 cm., and it was published in 1922, by José M. Arreola (1922: 553-558). His careful translation and commentary on the Náhuatl glosses of the Mazapan map allow us to understand both the Saville and Ayer maps more completely. Thus the three maps are related as copies, but it is not known which is the source, and it may be that all three are copies from a lost original. To present knowledge, the Mazapan map, having most information both in drawing and in writings, may be assumed closest to the lost original.

Before studying the three maps in detail, their position in the mapping of Teotihuacan may be established. The Mazapan map allows us to suppose a base-date mentioned on it as the time of the making of this map or its lost original, in A. D. 1560 (Gloss 1). (Arreola 1922: 554).

The only older colonial map of Teotihuacan was drawn in 1550, probably by native draftsmen on European paper. Known as the map of Alonso de Santa Cruz, it is in the University collection at Upsala (Linné 1948: mapa XI). It shows the island of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco and the surrounding shores of the lake of the Valley of Mexico. In the northeast quadrant (right of center) Teotihuacan is marked as a pair of three-terraced pyramids. They are drawn in elevation, representing the Pyramid of the Moon to the right at the north, and the Pyramid of the Sun to south of it on its left. No road is shown traversing the site, and the economic life of the area may have avoided the pyramids. Sizes and distances are arbitrary: the pyramids occupy an area almost equal to one small block in Tenochtitlan, which is shown hundreds of times larger, at a scale much greater than that of the environs.

Thirty years later, the map accompanying the "Relación geográfica" of 1580 describes the colonial settlements in the same area (Paso y Troncoso 1905: 219-226). Like other maps in this series for New Spain, it is the work of a native mapmaker, who portrays eight pyramids at the top center. The pyramids of Moon and Sun are correctly placed relative to each other, and six pyramidal platforms are marked surrounding an elongated courtyard. In the text they are identified as the Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon and the six

"Hermanos de la Luna, a todos los sacerdotes de Montesuma benian con el dicho Montesuma, cada veinte dias a sacrificar". Among the pyramids on the map is written the word "oraculo".

By 1500, when Montezuma performed these pilgrimages, Teotihuacan had been abandoned for eight centuries, but it was still a place of worship, as in antiquity, although shorn of its commercial and industrial importance, and lacking heavy population. Montezuma, to whom the inhabitants around Teotihuacan were vassals (López de Gómara 1943, I: 152), made his periodic visits to the oracle. According to Castañeda in 1580, this oracle was the war god of the Mexica people, Huitzilopochtli. Montezuma visited his shrine as a priestly impersonator of the fire god, Xiuhtecutli (Paso y Troncoso 1905: 222). This custom of pilgrimage is explained by Aztec mythology about the multiple creations of the universe.

The transcendental importance of Teotihuacan to the Aztec rulers of Tenochtitlan was owing to the general belief that the fifth creation of the universe had begun at Teotihuacan in the year A. D. 694 (which coincides roughly with the archaeologists' date for the abandonment of the site - Motolinfa 1971: 388 f.).

Sahagún recorded the story of this last creation as follows (1953, 7: 4-8). In the darkness after the end of the preceding creation, the gods gathered at Teotihuacan to recreate the universe by immolating in fire two among them, whose sacrifice was commemorated by the building of the pyramids of Moon and Sun, after these deities had become moon and sun in the new creation.

The Mazapan maps of Teotihuacan probably record the ruined and overgrown appearance of the site as Montezuma was accustomed to seeing it. Some of the various place-signs by which Teotihuacan was designated, after its abandonment and until the Spanish Conquest, are drawn on the leaves of "Codex Xolotl" (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris - Dibble 1951). These eleven sheets record events in the Valley of Mexico onward from the thirteenth century. Teotihuacan appears as a glyphic place-sign on four of the sheets. The first group of place-signs notes pyramidal platforms on pages I and II, corresponding to the Chichimex expansion after Xolotl, and recording a possible conquest of the area. On pages V and VIII a sun-face encircled by flames may allude to the fifth creation at Teotihuacan. It was a sign used to mean Teotihuacan in a peaceful era under the rule of Ixtlilxochitl and Nezahualcoyotl at Texcoco, ending before A. D. 1427. On page VI a sunrise over the pyramid of the Sun marks the summer solstice to which the site is oriented. This glyph is from the reign of the elder Montezuma in mid-fifteenth century.

With this introduction the importance of the Mazapan property maps becomes clear. They record the survivals of pre-Conquest monumental topography, and they record the appearance and use of the terrain in the early colonial period, in enough detail to show both the Spanish pattern for indigenous land ownership and the presence of ancient structures whose existence would not otherwise be known.

The Ayer map is least well preserved and best restored, having been rolled and crushed into large fragments before it reached W. W. Blake, a bookseller in Mexico City, who repaired it by affixing a large sheet of brownish wrapping paper. On it he pencilled what he knew and surmised, presumably about July 10, 1891, as we learn from his seal on the map, giving his address on Calle Gante in Mexico City. Of doubtful worth is his statement that it is of "...Maguey fibre and found in stone box excavated some years ago... long in possession of an Indian who sold it to Leopoldo Batres, Conservator of Public Monuments of Mexico". Blake affixed an asterisk below the broken drawing of the church, to mark the "spot where this Map of Teotihuacan was found in a stone box many years ago". Blake correctly identified the "Pyramid of the Moon", the "Pyramid of the Sun", the "Street of the Dead", and the "Citadel". His other remarks are more questionable, yet needing evaluation in comparison with the phrases in Náhuatl on the Saville, Ayer, and Mazapan maps.

Stansbury Hagar added more about the stone box, saying that both maps, Ayer and Saville, "were discovered at Teotihuacan some years ago" by Batres, and that the stone chest was "excavated over ten years ago". Hagar, however, believed that the two maps were about Zodiacal symbols, being a "celestial plan" in addition to portraying the "sacred city of Teotihuacan", and serving as "land titles" (Hagar 1912: 163-165). As we shall learn from Arreola's translations of the Náhuatl glosses of the Mazapan map, the alleged "Zodiacal signs" are drawings of the owners of the lands, substantiating only Hagar's translation of the use as "land-titles". For the rest, Hagar's translation of the glosses are ignorant of Náhuatl.

For detailed study the Saville map is clear but incomplete at the broken edges. The Mazapan map is complete and easily legible, but it is a nineteenth-century copy on reused parchment of an original now lost. Assembling now the evidence from all three maps - Mazapan, Saville, and Ayer - we can assess their value as evidence for unknown aspects of the ancient and colonial ruins, and the sixteenth-century regime at Teotihuacan.

The terrain occupied by the indigenous community at San Francisco Mazapan may be equated with the area on the Millon map (Millon et al. 1973: Part 2, map 1) bounded by W1-E3 and N5-S1 (24 blocks each 500 square meters), on an area 2 x 3 kilometers, containing all major temple platforms, two room complexes (Xolalpan and Tepantitla), and two major reservoirs. Millon's mapping project covered 278 squares, among which Mazapan occupied most if not all of the most densely built monumental area, as shown on Millon's map of that section (8.6% of the total area of ancient Teotihuacan at its peak). Mazapan did not include the residential compounds of ancient Tetitla, Zacuala, and Yayahuala in the northwest quarter (below the bottom of the 1560 maps).

The Mazapan map has the most complete captions in Náhuatl, which it seems preferable to call glosses, as they probably were added as much as a half-century after 1560. They explain the topography, the property divisions in the

sparse community, their landowners, crops, fields, localities, and ruins. The following discussion is based on Arreola's translations.

1. CHURCHES AND "BARRIOS"

Gloss 1 on the Mazapan map underneath the church façade: Yzca in tlapohuali xihuitl de 1560 años ("He aquí la cuenta de los años: año de 1560") apparently refers to the time of the map, as distinct from the date of writing the glosses. This legend was broken off on the Ayer map, but it is present on the Saville map. On both the Saville and Ayer maps, the glosses are in handwriting that led Glass to a seventeenth-century dating for Saville and Ayer (Glass 1975, 14: 204). These two handwritings are dissimilar, but their loose and sprawling characters resemble those of the Techialoyan manuscripts of the seventeenth century (Robertson 1975, 14).

Gloss 13 labels an arched doorway as Coatlan, which Arreola identifies as Santa Maria Coatlan, a "barrio" of San Francisco Mazapan.

Glosses 12 and 14 refer to the settlement at San Sebastian Chimalpa, also a "barrio" of Mazapan.

2. LANDOWNERS, BOUNDARIES, AND CROPS

Gloss 5 on Mazapan, adjoining the church dated 1560, also appears on Saville. Arreola translates it as "Nosotros los propietarios de las tierras: Don Diego Mazateuctli ("El Señor del Venado"), Don Juan Cuitlamizteuctli ("El Señor del Leopardo"), Don Hipolito Mizquiteuctli ("El Señor del Mezquite")". It reappears almost verbatim on the Saville map at the same place.

Glosses 2, 3, 4 name three landowners (Arreola 1922, 1, 2: 554) portrayed as standing at their properties, positioned at the northeast near the church (2), near the center (3), and at the south (4) in the Ciudadela.

Gloss 9. The boundaries shared by San Francisco Mazapan with other communities are, with San Pedro, Nican tlami San Pedro tlalli ("Aquí terminan los terrenos de San Pedro").

Gloss 17, Nican in Coloztitlan, yhuan in Xomolco, yhuan in Ixquitlan ("Aquí es [punto común de las tierras] de Coloztitlan ["lugar donde se hará reverencia"], y de Xomolco ["lugar de la rinconada"] y de Ixquitlan ["lugar donde se mide el maíz"]"), indicated respectively by a cross, a glyph for corner, and a grain measure (gloss 16).

Gloss 20 notes further boundaries: Nican tlami in Calpoltitlan tlali yhuan Ictzotitlan ("Aquí acaban los terrenos de Calpoltitlan ["lugar que está junto al

barrio"]"), adjoining San Juan Teotihuacan, and Ictzotitlan ("donde hay palmas indígenas llamadas ictzotl").

Gloss 30, No nican tlami in total, marks the northeast corner of Mazapan ("También aquí terminan nuestros terrenos").

A few glosses name the crops grown on these lands.

Gloss 8 names Nopalatenco ("A la orilla de la nopalera"), a cactus field, useful both for fruit and for fencing material. This place is named both in Ayer and in Mazapan.

Gloss 10 names Tomatlan ("En donde se cultivan tomates").

3. LOCALITIES

Almost one third of the glosses name places or fields at Mazapan, like gloss 7 ("Resurrección"), near the cactus field of gloss 8, or roadways, such as gloss 18, Tlecaloca Mexico otlica ("subida del camino de México"), which may be near La Ventanilla A on the Millon map (room complex 19 in S 1 W 2 quadrant).

Gloss 21, Ixtlantica in mica tlazotla itlalli ("están frente [al Camino] de los Muertos los campos fértiles o mejores"), refers to fields between the Ciudadela and the Pyramid of the Sun.

Gloss 22, Ixtlilco tlalli in total ("las tierras de Ixtitlo [tierras negras, barrosas] son terrenos nuestros"), is nearer the south flank of the Pyramid of the Sun.

Gloss 24, Nicantlami in tlapotitlan tlalli ("aquí terminan los terrenos aparejados"), may refer to the northern boundary of the aforementioned fields at the roadway separating glosses 22 and 24.

Gloss 25, Iztaquemecan ("lugar de las garzas blancas"), refers to a bird pond facing the Pyramid of the Sun in square W 1 N 3 on the Millon map.

Gloss 26, micca otli ("camino de los muertos"), names the north-south roadway.

Gloss 27, Oztotla ("lugar de muchas cuevas"), is about at the site of the Quetzalpapalotl complex with its underground structures.

Gloss 28, Cozotlan ("lugar en donde se extienden o abren las grutas"), may also refer to underground buildings to the southeast of Oztotla.

Gloss 29, Maltin y cate ("son cautivos"), according to Arreola, refers to the people of Cozotlan, whose "naturales eran tenidos por viles o esclavos".

Gloss 31, Nican no tla into lo huaco ("aquí también fué lugar de reverencia"), was a shrine west of the Pyramid of the Moon near the reservoir on the Millon plan in N5W1. This reservoir may be portrayed at the lower left corner of the Mazapan maps.

Gloss 33, Tlaixcopan nican, nomican in tótlal ("hacia este rumbo, también aquí son nuestros terrenos"), refers to an area east of the Pyramid of the Moon, probably the temple plazas in square N5E1 of the Millon map. As Arreola has noted, many of these localities (Tomatlan, Coatlan, Chimalpa, Tecohuac) were mentioned in the land titles of San Francisco Mazapan.

4. PLACES OF POSSIBLE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

These are described in Náhuatl as follows:

Gloss 6, Tlecuilhuacan ("lugar que tiene o en donde hay un hogar o hornillo"), adjoining a cross on a platform and portrayed as a court open to the south, near the houselike enclosure in which Don Diego Mazateuctli appears seated. On the Mazapan map this region was a watercourse flowing south, as on the Millon map at E3, joining another stream in N4E3, as on the Mazapan map.

Gloss 11, marked Tzacual cuicuilco ("cripta [cerrillo arqueológico] que ostenta pinturas"). This area is near the confluence of the watercourse as noted above, in square N4E3 of the Millon map. But the platform is recorded as an inverted cone, like the convention used for the Pyramid of the Sun. Such a pyramidal platform appears on the Millon map in this region only at N3E3, northeast of the confluence.

Gloss 15, Tonali itlaltiloyan ("lugar de entierros en honor del Sol"), is in the eastern courtyard of the Ciudadela behind the Pyramid of Quetzalcoatl (Millon N1E1), which is shown on the Mazapan map as fronting on the extension of the watercourse bisecting the map from left to right.

Gloss 19, Tetepantla ("en donde hay paredes de piedra"). This area also has Totoapan ("arroyo de las palomas"), to the east of La Ventanilla A. On the Millon map both should be near square S1W1. The stone walls may be those of La Ventanilla A.

Gloss 23, Tecohuac ("lugar en donde está la culebra de piedra"). This is near the southeastern corner of the Pyramid of the Sun, and southeast from that corner, possibly the temple platform on the Millon map in square N2E2 (p. 60, site number 35) ?

Gloss 32, Meztli ytzácuah ("cripta piramidal en honor de la Luna"), obviously the legend of the Pyramid of the Moon, but one implying that it overlies a cave or a chamber, such as the one beneath the Pyramid of the Sun.

Gloss 34, Tezcocoac ("culebra de espejuelos"), probably in N5E2 (p. 20), possibly near or at the site of the "Maguey Priest murals" (Millon et al. 1973: map 20)?

West of gloss 34, but unglossed itself, is a barred rectangle with six horizontal, parallel lines in a formation of proportions resembling a tlachtli, or ballgame court, of a type common throughout Mesoamerica (Hagar 1910: 164). On the Millon map this location would be a densely built region east of the Plaza of the Moon, possibly N5E1 (p. 19) of the Millon map, in the vicinity of Group 5.

SUMMARY

From these details, some part of the daily round of life emerges at Mazapan around 1560. The land of the ancient place of worship, once paved and closely built with pyramidal platforms gleaming with mural decoration, has become, after some eight hundred years of abandonment, a rolling terrain of building debris, thickly covered by windblown soils, alluvial deposits, and heavy brush. The plaza floors became agricultural fields, and farmers occupied the remains of ancient house complexes. The original quadripartite plan discovered by Millon's survey (Millon 1973, I: 36-37) was reduced long before 1560 to the mounded ruins flanking the roadway of the dead. A large part of the present heart of the archaeological zone had been granted by colonial government to three indigenous proprietors. Two small streams flowed across the original gridiron of the residential and temple compounds. Near the streams were much traveled footpaths into the eastern hills from the villages of the nearby "encomiendas" of San Juan Teotihuacan, to which San Francisco Mazapan was tributary, in a "corregimiento" with Tequisistlan as its "cabecera". The church in Mazapan was a "visita" of the Franciscans at San Juan Teotihuacan (Paso y Troncoso 1905: 219). Raising food was the principal activity, but the farmers were all aware in every working moment of the ruins beneath their fields, with painted walls, ancient sculptures, and subterranean buildings, which were dangerous collapsing caves. The three landowners were men of power among the farmers, but they in turn were modest tributaries of the "encomendero", who was Alonso de Bazán, its second Spanish holder, inheriting it as son-in-law of the conquistador Francisco Verdugo. Agriculturally, Mazapan was undesirable and unrewarding. The terrain of man-made hills and fields in plazas of tumbled stones was profitless at best. Its two diminutive chapels and two wayside shrines were poor tokens of the triumph of Spain and Christianity here.

Seen from the present restored grandeur of Teotihuacan, the three maps of San Francisco Mazapan also mark the early colonial appearance of the concept of Teotihuacan as a roadway flanked by platforms, a concept that continued in the twentieth century, in reconstructions by Batres, Gamio, Linné, Armillas, and Marquina.

Millon's survey and mapping, begun in 1957, produced evidence for another reconstruction as a quadripartite plan formed on two roadways, each six kilometers long, intersecting in a right angle at the level of the Ciudadela. The Millon map no doubt shows this cruciform organization. Yet the vertical relief of Teotihuacan in section would be highest in the area of the maps of Mazapan, on the north arm of the north-south roadway, and along its sides, dropping to lesser construction in the east, west, and south, and even to blocks in projection, without construction other than the two lanes separating the blocks in the gridiron.

Teotihuacan, outside and beyond the north-south roadway, may have been only a shadowy project of dwelling components less and less frequent with distance from the north axis, and increasingly wide intervals among empty and barren "planned developments".

Also undiscussed in the Millon commentary on the 1971 mapping is the absence from the serial photogrammetric survey, and from the surface collections of pottery and stonework artifacts, of the churches and shrines recorded on the Mazapan maps as having been built. The excavations now underway will surely seek out sooner or later the archaeological features suggested only in these maps.

To conclude, one aspect of the Mazapan map may reveal the relative accuracy of its recording of archaeological evidence. At the east-west line across the base of the Pyramid of the Moon, two mounds (representing pyramidal platforms, probably in Group 5, N5 E1) share a common base. Another mound stands eastward on the south side of the line. At the Miccaotli two mounds on the west side may represent the Plaza of the Columns (N4 W1). At the Ciudadela, six mounds mark the north wall, two on the east, and three on the west. Actually the count today is four north, three east, and four west. On these three sides the total count is eleven both on Mazapan and today, suggesting that the mapmaker observed the number but not the distribution. However this may be, the Mazapan map recorded what was then visible, with surprising amounts of detailed information.

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FIGURES

- Fig. 1: The Saville Map of Teotihuacan (American Museum of Natural History, New York).
- Fig. 2: The Ayer Map of Teotihuacan (Newberry Library, Chicago).
- Fig. 3: The Mazapan Map, 19th-century Copy from lost Original (after Arreola 1922).
- Fig. 4: The Mazapan Map, Transparent Overlay Marking Localities (after Arreola 1922).

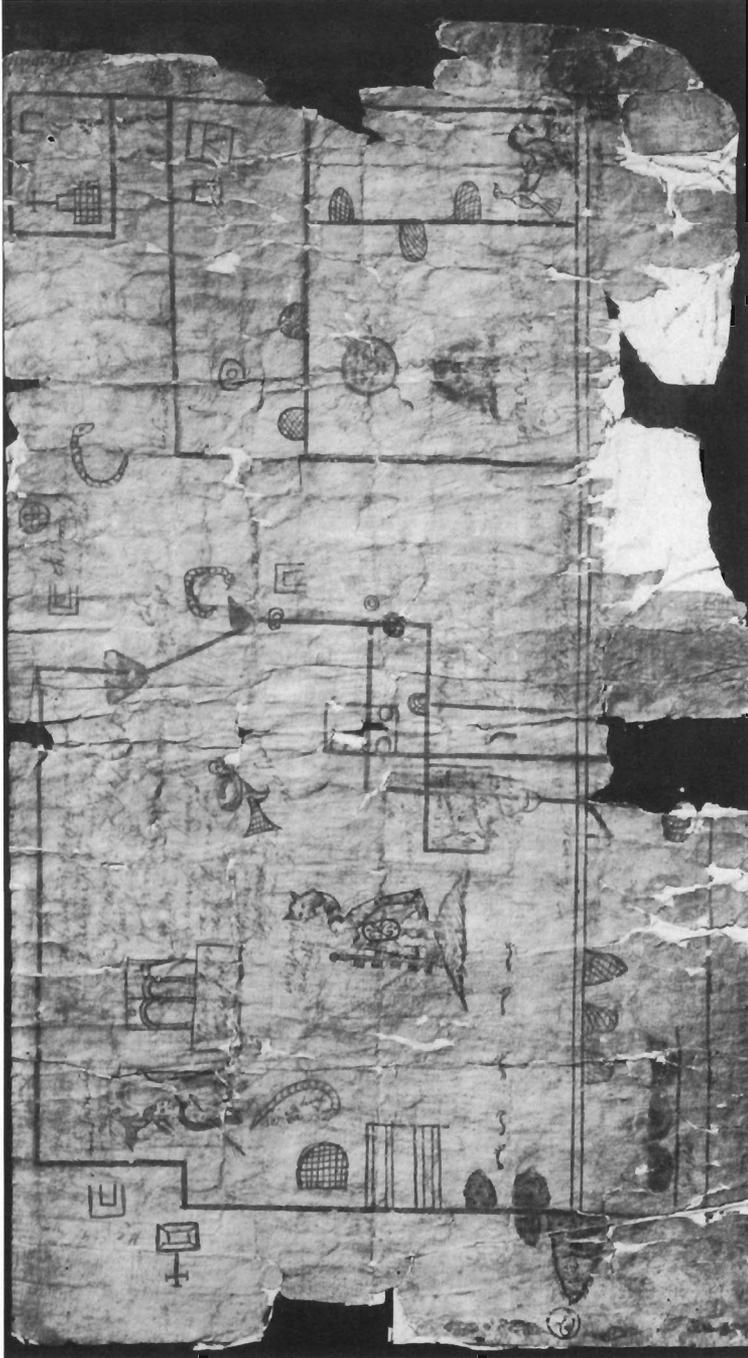


Fig. 1

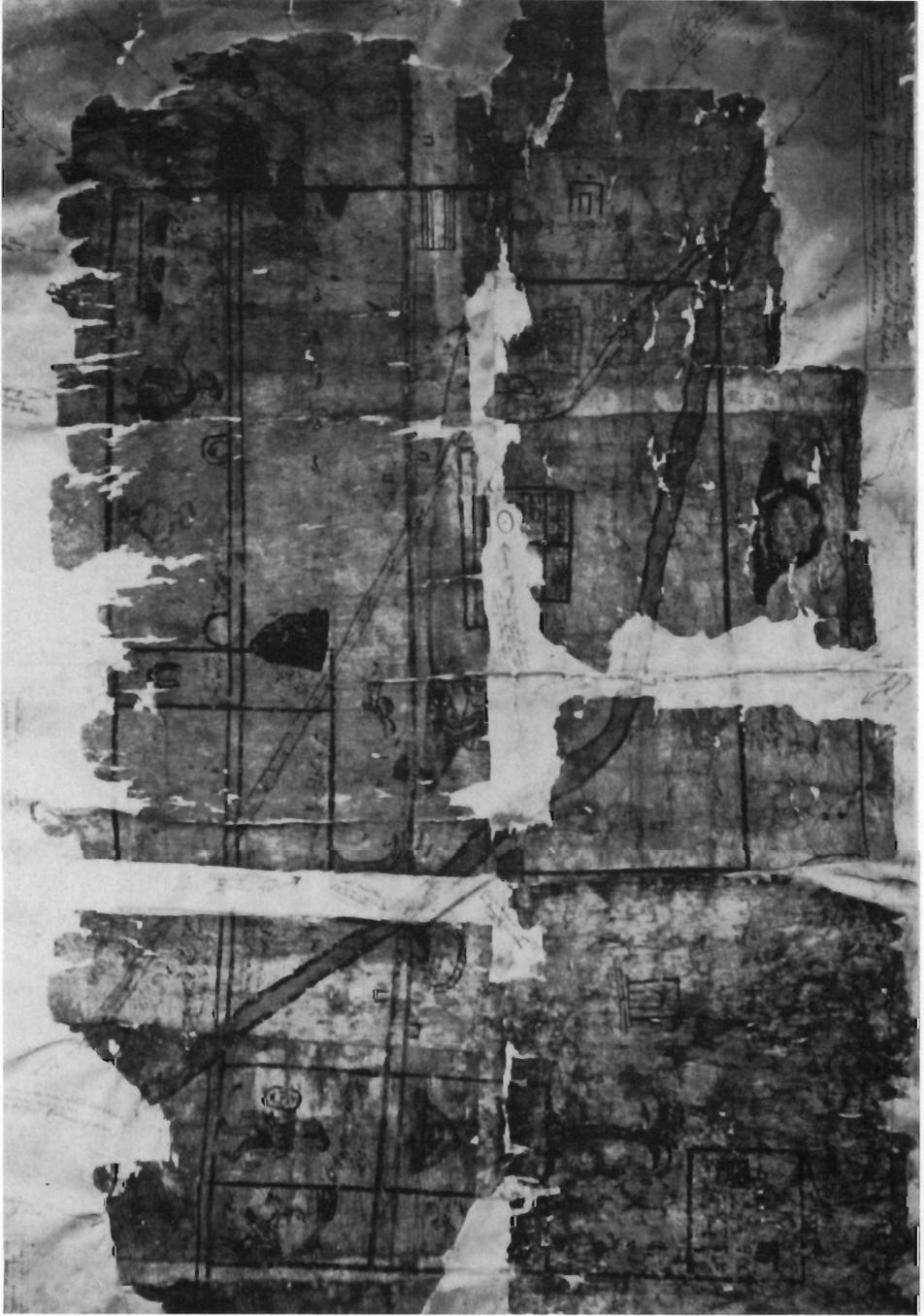


Fig. 2

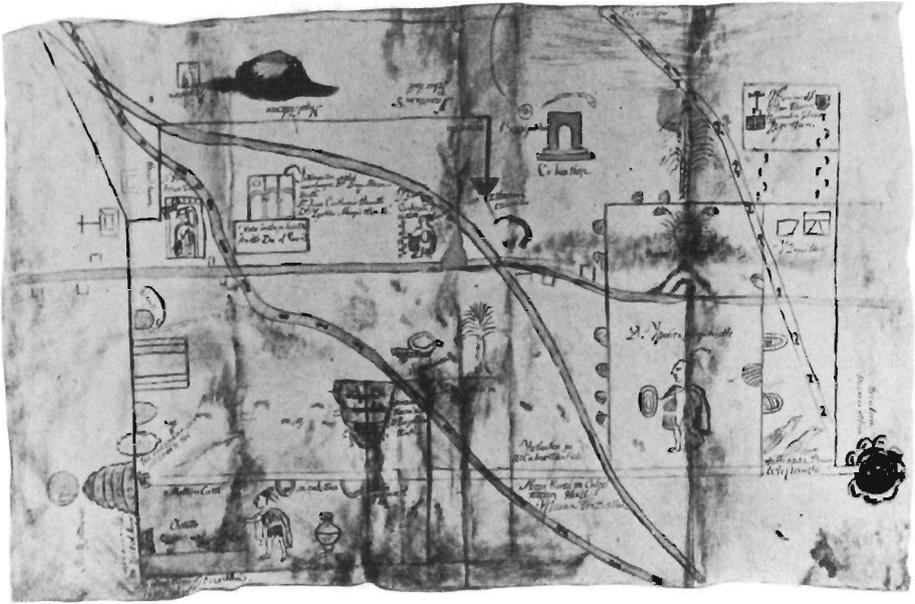


Fig. 3

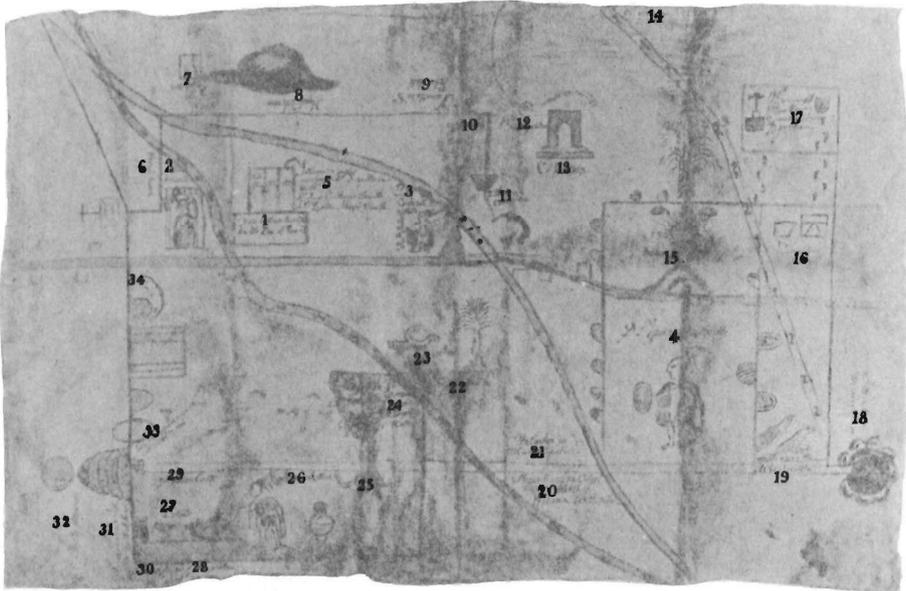


Fig. 4

