

# **A Companion to Mexican History and Culture**

Edited by

**William H. Beezley**

 **WILEY-BLACKWELL**

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# Painting History, Reading Painted Histories: Ethnoliteracy in Prehispanic Oaxaca and Colonial Central Mexico

ELIZABETH BAKEWELL AND BYRON ELLSWORTH HAMANN

For over four hundred years, from around 1250 to 1600, a shared system of visual communication was used throughout Mesoamerica. From the Valley of Mexico to the Yucatán peninsula, from the highlands of Oaxaca to the cloud forests of Guatemala, painters, potters, and sculptors created images with strong geometric forms, bold colors, and black outlines. This “Postclassic International Style” or “Mixteca-Puebla Style” was shared across linguistic boundaries: it was a type of visual communication understood by speakers of many different languages (Blomster 2008: 10–11). This chapter provides an introduction to two manifestations of this style, and considers how indigenous people used it to record their history. As we will see, this style was used even after the Europeans arrived. It did not vanish instantly with the coming of the alphabet and spine-bound books.

We focus on two documents featured in *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching on Mesoamerica* (Bakewell and Hamann 2010). At this online resource—[www.mesolore.net](http://www.mesolore.net)—one can interact with both documents in color, read expanded tutorials, and listen to commentaries by scholars from a number of different disciplines and backgrounds. The first document is the prehispanic *Codex Nuttall*. A screenfold book of gessoed deerskin, the *Nuttall* was painted by Ñudzavui people in what is now the state of Oaxaca. It dates to around the fifteenth century. Ten of its pages recount a story of origins and foundations that we focus on here. The second document is the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. This massive cotton cloth was created by Nahuas around 1552 in the central Mexican town of Tlaxcala. The two by five meter expanse of the *Lienzo* depicted the conquest of Mesoamerica as seen through Native American eyes. A comparison of these two documents reveals commonalities as well as variations within the Postclassic International Style. Although the *Nuttall* and the *Lienzo* share many visual features, they were created in two different places, by two different ethnic groups speaking two different languages, at two different points in time. Furthermore, the posthispanic *Lienzo* combines images of prehispanic origin with visual traditions imported from Europe.



Figure 8.1 Overview of *Codex Nuttall* pages 14 to 22.

Both the *Nuttall* and the *Lienzo* use pictures to convey most of their information. Reading them requires literacy skills different from those we generally use today for reading alphabetic texts. In this chapter, we consider how both of these documents can be read on two different visual levels. We begin by retelling the narrative of each document “up close,” moving from detail to detail across each painted surface. We introduce the basic conventions of indigenous pictorial writing, and show how glyphs were combined to tell complex narratives. In the second part of the chapter, we stand back from surface details and consider the broad visual patterns that emerge when multiple scenes are viewed together. Both documents have important things to tell the viewer at a distance. Both the *Nuttall* and *Lienzo* arrange the details of their histories in binary visual structures, coded as male and female, upper and lower. In the case of the *Codex Nuttall*, this binary structure can be understood as one manifestation of deep narrative templates that are found throughout the Americas. The same is true, on one level, for the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*. But since we know much more about the context in which this colonial document was created, we can also see how an ancient narrative structure was adapted to understand the changes wrought by colonization. Overall, this chapter is concerned with visual communication, the connections and disjunctions of prehispanic and colonial worlds, and the ways twenty-first century modes of reading may make us blind, now, to important aspects of Mesoamerican painted histories.

### Up Close: The *Codex Nuttall*

The *Codex Nuttall* is a long strip of gessoed deerskin 11.22 meters in length, folded into 47 “pages” measuring about 24.3 by 18.4 cm each. It was created around the fifteenth century. Both front and back are painted with a series of separate stories. Since each of these distinct narratives has a slightly different style, it seems probable that they were copied from other, separate screenfolds. The *Codex Nuttall*, then, is a kind of anthology of Nudzavui narratives. It is currently housed in the British Museum, and takes its name from Mesoamericanist Zelia Nuttall, who oversaw the first lithographed facsimile of the document in 1902.<sup>1</sup>

One of the *Nuttall*’s many stories spans pages 14 to 22, which present a tale of origins and foundations. Figure 8.1 shows these ten pages together. The story is read from right to left. It begins (page 14) and ends (page 22) with large geographic scenes, and also has a large geographic scene near its center (pages 19a and 19b). The other pages, however, are subdivided by red vertical lines, which create a maze-like path through which the reader follows the narrative.

The space of page 14, the opening scene, is divided into six visual blocks. Each contains a pair of figures and a complex place glyph (Fig. 8.2). In the upper right-hand corner

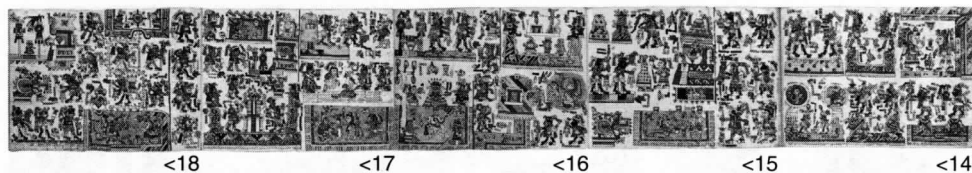


Figure 8.1 (cont'd)

appear the two protagonists of the first half of this narrative, Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower. As is usual in the Postclassic International Style, they are drawn in profile. Their names are indicated by calendric glyphs painted near their bodies. People from many places in Mesoamerica were named according to the day on which they were born in a 260-day ritual calendar. This calendar cycled 13 numeric values (represented by circles) with 20 different day signs (represented by pictures of objects, animals, plants, and natural forces). The name of Lady 3 Flint, who stands on the left, is painted behind her: three round circles stacked on top of each other and, above them, a pointed flint knife (Fig. 8.2a). The name of Lord 5 Flower, who stands to the right, floats in front of his face: an L-shaped arrangement of five circles attached to a lobed flower glyph (Fig. 8.2b). We can tell Lord 5 Flower is a man because of his long white loincloth. We can tell Lady 3 Flint is a woman because she lacks a loincloth, and wears instead a long dress that covers her knees. She also has distinctive red bangs (a female hairstyle) and wears a curving green cape that symmetrically covers both her chest and her back. This garment is called a *quechquemitl* in Nahuatl (a language spoken in central Mexico), and probably *dzico* in Dzaha dzavui (the language spoken by the Ñudzavui creators of the *Codex Nuttall*; Jansen and Pérez Jiménez 2005: 15). In addition to wearing a *quechquemitl*, another such garment (viewed frontally, as a triangle) floats in the air to the right of Lady 3 Flint's headdress (Fig. 8.2c). Its triangular orange form is ornamented with a round shell. This small drawing represents Lady 3 Flint's personal name: "Shell Quechquemitl." Since the ritual calendar provided only 260 possible names, names used by both men and women, many people in the Ñudzavui screenfolds have a personal name in addition to their calendar name. Some of these personal names are gender-specific. Spider webs and *quechquemits*, for example, are used only for the personal names of women.

Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower stand beneath an L-shaped form marked with multicolored diagonal stripes (representing stone), a blue and red band marked with eyeballs (representing sparkling stars in the sky), and seven yellow mouth-like forms with red centers (representing caves or places of emergence from the earth). One of these red and yellow forms, located in the corner of the L, is larger than the others. From its mouth emerges a multicolored (stone) band marked with footprints, a convention indicating a road or path. Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower stand upon this path, suggesting that they have just emerged from the earth. Significantly, the idea of a Place of Seven Caves as a site of origins and emergence is found throughout Mesoamerica. In Aztec narratives from central Mexico this place was called Chicomoztoc.<sup>2</sup>

The final detail to consider in this opening vignette is the year sign, which floats above the path between Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower (Fig. 8.2d). In addition to the 260-day ritual calendar, the Ñudzavui (and most other Mesoamerican peoples as well) also tracked a 365-day solar year. The presence of a solar year date is indicated by a large glyph that looks like the letters A and O superimposed on one another. Seven dots are attached to



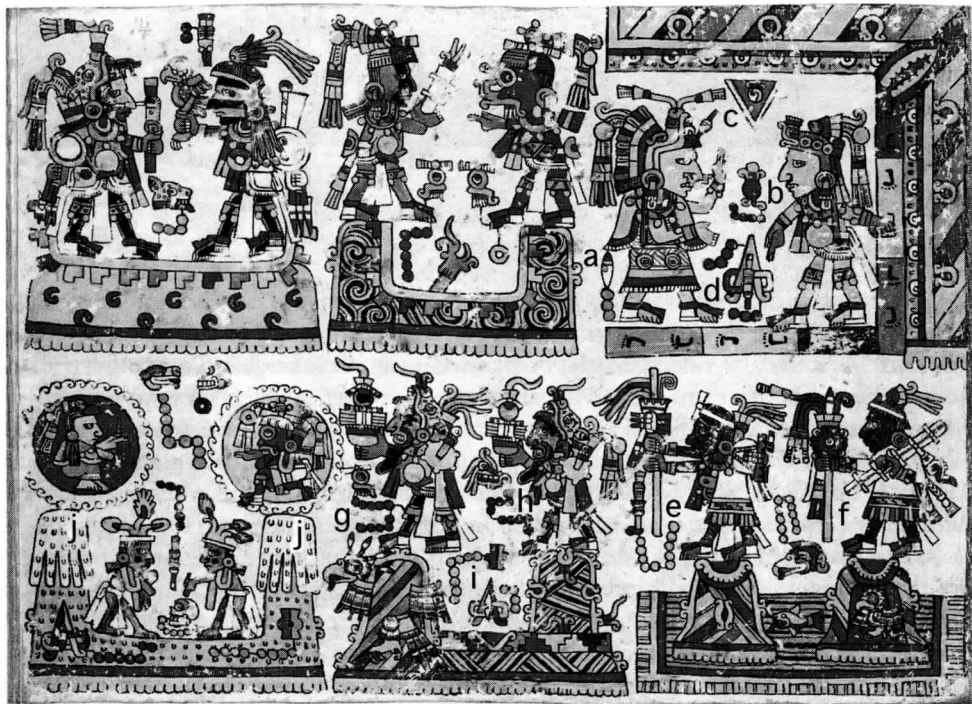


Figure 8.2 Page 14 of the *Codex Nuttall*.

this year sign (four above, three below), as well as a stick-like Reed glyph. Together, these signs indicate the Year 7 Reed.

Correlating these glyphic dates with the Western *Anno Domini* calendar can be difficult. Like many Mesoamerican peoples, the Nudzavui used their calendars for divination. Different days and years had different symbolic meanings.<sup>3</sup> Because of this, some date glyphs in the screenfolds may have metaphorical values. This often seems to be the case of date glyphs in Nudzavui narratives of origins set in the distant past, such as the one we are considering here. Certain year and day combinations appear much more frequently than others in these ancient accounts—too frequently to be the result of random chronological chance. These constantly repeated dates, such as Year 1 Reed, Day 1 Alligator, are probably symbolic in nature. In contrast, these symbolic dates seldom appear in narratives set in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In several cases, people shown at the end of screenfold genealogies were alive when the Europeans arrived, and are mentioned in alphabetic records. The year glyphs associated with these people can therefore be correlated to year counts in the Gregorian calendar. Next, the year glyphs associated with their parents can be correlated, and then those of their grandparents, and so on. However, date correlations become more complicated (and contentious) the further back one travels through genealogical time (Rabin 2004).

The other five vignettes on page 14 are, like the scene of Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower, made up of pairs of figures standing at specific places. Directly below Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower are Lord 10 Reed (on the left; Fig. 8.2e) and Lord 10 Vulture (on the right; Fig. 8.2f). Both emerge from mouth-like “cave” forms at the summit of

bell-shaped hill glyphs. The hill glyph is one of the most common images in the screen-folds; we will see it again and again in the pages which follow. It corresponds to the Dzaha dzavui word for hill or mountain, *Tucu*. These glyphs are always marked with additional signs to indicate what specific hill is being referred to. In this case, the hill on the right is marked with an eagle (so would represent a place called Hill of the Eagle) and the hill on the left is marked with the curved yellow and red form that indicates a place of emergence (Hill of the Cave, perhaps). In turn, both hills are drawn within the waters of a river glyph, a rectangular U-shaped form filled with blue-and-black striped waters. The river glyph—*Yuta* in Dzaha dzavui—is, like the hill glyph, one we will encounter a number of times in the pages to come. A final detail to consider in this vignette is all of the paraphernalia that Lord 10 Reed and Lord 10 Vulture carry. Both men hold elaborate staves in front of them, and both carry objects on their backs. Lord 10 Reed bears a round sacred bundle and a fire drill; Lord 10 Vulture bears a conch shell. These are important ritual objects involved in founding a kingdom, and will be put to use in the pages to come.

Both Lord 10 Reed and Lord 10 Vulture accompany Lord 5 Flower and Lady 3 Flint on their journey across the following pages. Two more participants appear in the next vignette on the bottom of page 14. On the left stands Lord 10 Rain on a slightly different Hill of the Eagle (Fig. 8.2g); on the right stands Lord 10 Grass on a hill marked with red-and-yellow cave signs and (on the lower right side) multicolored curved volutes that represent flames or song (Fig. 8.2h). Both Lord 10 Rain and Lord 10 Grass have their arms and legs painted black and their faces painted grey: this is the face and body paint used to indicate Ñudzavui priests. Both hold bowls filled with offerings in front of them, and both wear lobed yellow circles on their backs: these represent the dried warty gourds used to hold powdered tobacco, an important ritual substance. Finally, between the two hills on which these priests stand appears a date: Year 4 Flint (attached to the A-O year sign) and Day 8 Motion (floating above the A-O sign; Fig. 8.2i).

The remaining three vignettes on page 14 are less important to the overall narrative, so we will skip over them. However, it is worth noting that several are linked to Ñudzavui supernaturals. The pair of snow-capped mountains in the lower left-hand corner (Fig. 8.2j) probably represent the slumbering volcanoes which surround the Valley of Mexico. They can be seen on clear days from some parts of the Mixteca (and are about a five-hour car ride to the northwest).

We have spent a lot of time on page 14 because it is a good place to introduce a number of basic features of Ñudzavui writing: year signs, the use of the 260-day calendar for naming, the use of personal names to further specify individuals, the differences in male versus female costume, conventions for representing stone surfaces and starry skies, and some common place glyphs (the conventions for paths, hills, and rivers).

The next three pages (15, 16, 17, plus a fragment of page 18) record the travels of our six protagonists: rulers Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower, object-bearers Lord 10 Vulture and Lord 10 Reed, and priests Lord 10 Rain and Lord 10 Grass. They are on a mission to found a kingdom, and they succeed on page 17. There, gods of the five directions (North, South, East, West, and Center; Fig. 8.3a–e) look on as the sacred bundle and fire drill are placed inside a temple, as the Flint Staff and the Red and White Bundle staff are planted in the ground (Fig. 8.3f), as the conch shell is sounded (Fig. 8.3g), and as Lord 5 Flower and Lady 3 Flint are seated as rulers on stone and jaguar thrones within a palace (Fig. 8.3h).

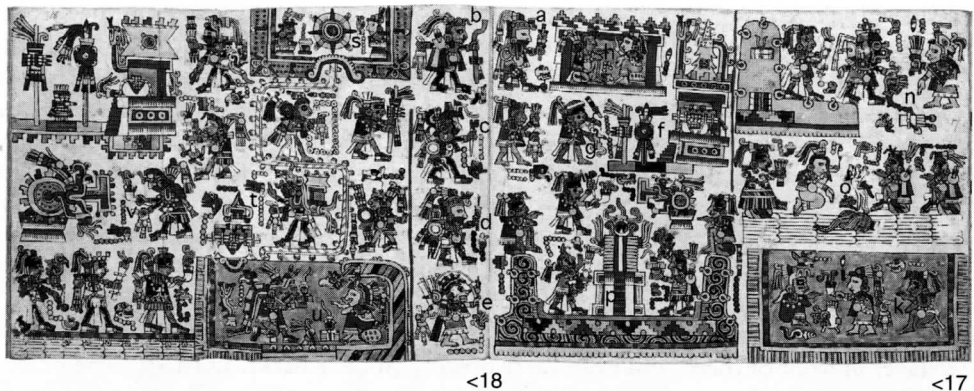


Figure 8.3 Pages 15 to 18 of the *Codex Nuttall*.

Before all this happens, however, the protagonists have a number of adventures. On each of these three pages (15, 16, and 17), Lady 3 Flint enters a river to communicate with local supernaturals (Fig. 8.3i–k). Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower also perform different types of sacrifices. On page 15, these take place before particular hills. Before a Hill of Fire and Motion, Lord 5 Flower uses a bone awl to draw blood from his ear (Fig. 8.3l). “At the foot of” a speckled and smoking Hill, Lady 3 Flint raises a smoking incense burner (Fig. 8.3m). On the right half of page 17, a quail is decapitated before Lady 3 Flint (Fig. 8.3n) and, below, offerings of a quail’s head, a knot of grass, and a sacrificed dog are placed between Lord 5 Flower and Lady 3 Flint (to the left) and priests Lord 10 Grass and Lord 10 Rain (to the right; Fig. 8.3o). On left half of the same page, a stack of offerings piled upon a temple platform is set on fire between two hills (Fig. 8.3p).

Perhaps the most complicated event in this journey takes place on page 16. There, Lady 3 Flint “Shell Quechuemitl” gives birth to a daughter (Fig. 8.3q). The two are surrounded by a blue circle, to the left of which appears the date: Year 3 Flint, Day 3 Flint (Fig. 8.3r). This means that the newborn girl is, like her mother, also named Lady 3 Flint. She has a different personal name, however: “Jeweled Quechquemitl.” The woman named Lady 3 Flint in subsequent scenes is not always shown with a personal name, which makes it unclear which of the two Lady 3 Flints, mother or daughter, is involved in the subsequent scenes on page 17.

On page 18, a new phase of the narrative begins with the introduction of a new character: Lord 12 Wind. On the right-hand edge of page 18 appear four of the directional deities who witness the polity-foundation on page 17 (Fig. 8.3a–e). Next, a rectangular sky band is painted on the upper edge of the page, just off-center, (Fig. 8.3s). Visually, its form echoes the river glyphs we have seen on previous pages. This is not an accident. Many Mesoamerican peoples, the *Ñudzavui* included, believed that at the beginning of time the world was a formless mass of dark water. The gods revealed the surface of the earth by pushing some of these waters up into the heavens, creating the sky. The skyband on page 18—like the narrow strip of sky we saw in the L-shaped Place of Seven Caves on page 14—is marked with shining eyeball-stars. Its rectangular form contains, not water as with a river sign, but a round sun glyph, marked in its center with the red and blue sign for motion. The heads of two supernaturals, Lord



Figure 8.3 (*cont'd*)

4 House and Lady 5 Serpent, are drawn to either side. The skyband is further marked with a yellow-and-red cave sign, and from out of this opening emerges a white cord marked with round downy feathers. The cord serves as a path upon which Lord 12 Wind and three priestly companions descend from the heavens (Fig. 8.3t). Lord 12 Wind's first action on reaching the terrestrial world is to enter a river and make offerings to the female supernatural within it, Lady 1 Eagle (Fig. 8.3u). From there, he emerges to make offerings at the ceremonial center of the kingdom founded by Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower on the previous page (Fig. 8.3v).

An epic scene spanning the next two pages, 19a and 19b, depicts the wedding of Lord 12 Wind and Lady 3 Flint "Jeweled Quechquemitl." At the top of 19a is another skyband. On the right is the round disk of the Motion Sun; on the left is a U-shaped moon (Fig. 8. 4a–b). As on page 18, Lord 12 Wind descends to the earth on a feathery white cord (Fig. 8.4c) accompanied by priest-companions. To the left, within the green expanse of a massive hill glyph, the snaking line of the white sky cord is echoed by the snaking line of a footprint-marked road. Here, the bride Lady 3 Flint (whose name glyph, curiously, does not appear) is carried on the back of a priest named Lord 6 Water (Fig. 8.4d). Bride and groom are married in the center of page 19b. Below, both kneel naked, facing each other, as water is poured down on them by Lady 10 House and Lady 5 Flint (women who do not appear elsewhere in the story; Fig. 8.4e). The bathing takes place at or near a White Hill of Flints, which is drawn to the left of this scene (Fig. 8.4f). Above, bride and groom are shown within a palace, facing each other under a marriage blanket (Fig. 8.4g). The scene is crowned by a procession of seven deities, who walk along the top ridge of the all-encompassing hill (Fig. 8.4h).

The newlyweds appear again in the upper-right corner of page 20, seated on jaguar thrones (Fig. 8.4i). They are followed by drawings of thirteen plant beings, probably meant to indicate their offspring (Fig. 8.4j). This is the last time Lady 3 Flint appears in the narrative. The story now shifts to focus on her husband, Lord 12 Wind.

The left half of page 20 and the right half of 21 depict an epic two-part battle. On page 20, humans and supernaturals battle striped Stone Men. On page 21, humans and supernaturals battle sky-descended red-and-white-striped Cloud Men. The battle with the Stone Men includes a number of conventions for representing warfare. Most combatants have one hand behind them, grasping a weapon (spears or, in two cases, an axe)

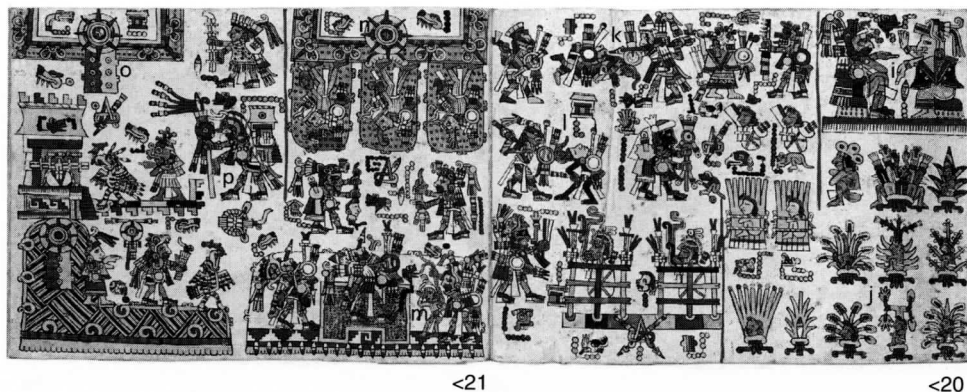


Figure 8.4 Pages 19 to 21 of the *Codex Nuttall*.

and one hand in front of them, holding a round shield. Two figures are shown taking prisoners. In the top row, a supernatural named Lord 9 Wind captures a striped Stone Man by grabbing his hair (Fig. 8.4k). The same gesture is repeated immediately below, where an unnamed Earth Man grabs the hair of his human prisoner, Lord 4 House (Fig. 8.4l). The costume of Lord 4 House signifies his status as prisoner. He is barefoot, wears only a loincloth, and his long hair is unbound and unornamented. Throughout Mesoamerica, these details of costume indicated captives or slaves (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006: 202–207). On the facing page, a sky-descended Cloud Man is captured at White Hill of Flints (Fig. 8.4m).

This two-part battle (another version of which appears earlier in the *Codex Nuttall*) probably relates to Ñudzavui ideas about ancient Covenants with Earth and Rain (Monaghan 1995).<sup>4</sup> According to twentieth-century Nuyootecos, at the beginnings of time an epic agreement was forged between humans, Earth, and Rain. Humans would be allowed to practice agriculture, and eat the plant children of Earth and Rain, but at a price. Men and women would have to repay their debts to Earth and Rain through sacrifice, and by burying their bodies in the ground at death. Like this Covenants story told in contemporary Ñudzavui communities, pages 20 and 21 of the *Codex Nuttall* involve a struggle between humans and manifestations of Earth and Sky. These battles also take place at the very beginnings of time. In the upper right-hand side of page 21, the red-and-white-striped Cloud Men descend from a skyband marked, as on previous pages, by a round Motion Sun (Fig. 8.4n). But in the following scene, in the upper left-hand corner of page 21, a new Sun rises into the sky. A white skull marks its center, and from below stream sparkling eye-marked red and yellow bands (Fig. 8.4o). This is the Skull Sun, the sun that burned in the sky of the Postclassic Ñudzavui “present.” In other words, at the end of the two battles on pages 20 and 21, a new age of creation begins. As discussed by David Carrasco, many Mesoamerican peoples believed in the creation and destruction of several different eras before the present, each era marked by its own distinct sun.<sup>5</sup> What page 21 of the *Nuttall* shows, then, is the transition from the age of creation of the Motion Sun to the age of creation of the Skull Sun.

The events that take place beneath this Skull Sun reinforce the theme of foundation and new beginnings. On page 21, Lord 12 Wind and a priestly companion are shown



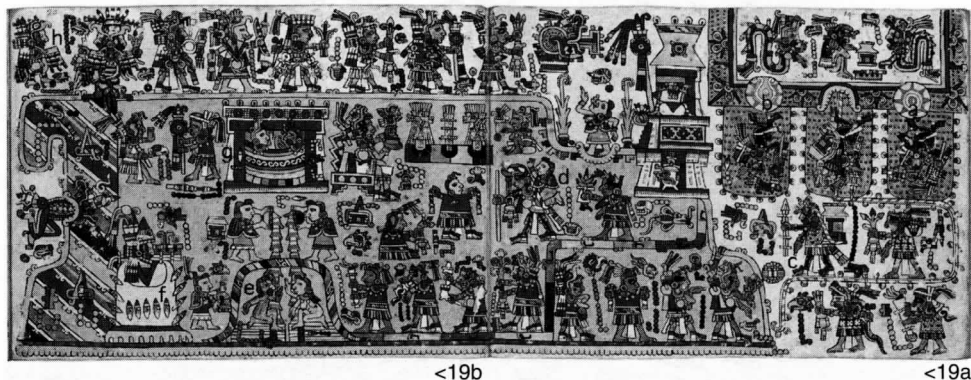


Figure 8.4 (cont'd)

before the temple, sacred bundle, and fire drill of *Ñuu Ndecu* (Achiutla). This was an important kingdom and oracular center when the Europeans arrived in the 1520s (Fig. 8.4p). On page 22, the final page in this narrative, Lord 12 Wind and his priestly companions establish the kingdom of *Ñuu Tnoo* (Tilantongo) by bringing to it a temple and sacred bundle (Fig. 8.5a). As on pages 19a and 19b, page 22 is dominated by a green hill which encompasses a number of smaller place signs. The most interesting detail for our purposes is the black summit, itself crowned by two platforms on which a man and a woman are seated (Fig. 8.5b). The black summit represents *Yucu Tnoo*, Black Hill, in the shadow of which is the town of *Ñuu Tnoo* (represented by the small building with a black and white frieze; Fig. 8.5c). When the Europeans arrived in Oaxaca, the royal lineage of *Ñuu Tnoo* was said to be the most prestigious in the region. Significantly, an important Formative Period settlement (650 BC–200 BC) had existed on the summit of *Yucu Tnoo*. Archaeological evidence suggests that even after it had been abandoned, people continued to climb up and leave offerings amidst the ruins (Spores 1967: 42). The architectural platforms painted on the black summit of page 22 probably refer to this ruined city, perhaps understood by the Postclassic *Ñudzavui* as a physical reminder of the previous age of creation that had been destroyed by the dawning of the Skull Sun (Hamann 2008).<sup>6</sup>

The story of Lady 3 Flint “Shell Quechquemitl,” Lady 3 Flint “Jeweled Quechquemitl,” Lord 5 Flower, and Lord 12 Wind takes place just before, and just after, the dawning of the Skull Sun’s age of creation. When the *Codex Nuttall* was created around the 1400s, these ancient events were believed to have taken place some five centuries earlier. The *Ñudzavui* continued to paint screenfold histories after the arrival of the Europeans. Although the images of these posthispanic documents are less elaborate than those of the *Nuttall*, the same basic communicative system was used, and calendar glyphs record events taking place as late as 1560 (in the case of the *Codex Selden*).<sup>7</sup> In the next section we consider a pictorial document created in posthispanic Mesoamerica—but one created, not in Oaxaca, but in the town of Tlaxcala in central Mexico. Many of the aesthetic and communicative features of the *Codex Nuttall* also appear in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*: place signs, gendered costumes, glyphic personal names, conventions for combat. But there are distinctions as well. The *Lienzo* was created by a different ethnic group with a different history, and its artists, working around 1552, incorporated European forms into their repertoire of signs.

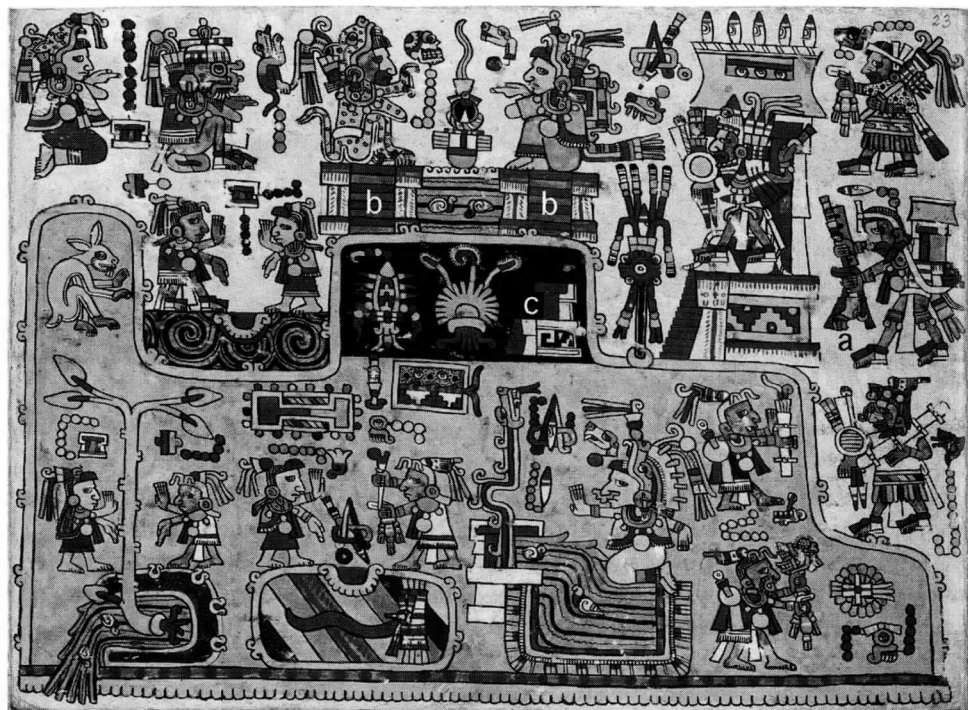


Figure 8.5 Page 22 of the *Codex Nuttall*.

### Up Close: The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*

The *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* was a painted cotton sheet around two meters wide and five meters long (Fig. 8.6). At the top was a large scene outlining the political structure of the kingdom of Tlaxcala. Below, black lines divided the remaining cloth into a seven by thirteen grid, and in its cells were painted scenes narrating the history of Tlaxcala's alliance with the Europeans and their joint defeat of the Aztec empire. This began with the conquest of the island capital of Tenochtitlan, and then expanded in separate battle campaigns across Mesoamerica, up to Michoacan in the north and down to Guatemala in the south. The *Lienzo* was probably painted in 1552. The town council minutes from Tlaxcala in September of that year mention plans to create a painted history of the Tlaxcalan–European alliance, with the goal of sending it across the Atlantic to be seen by Emperor Charles V (Kranz 2001: 67–68). We don't know if this ever happened, but it was certainly possible. The Tlaxcalans sent a number of delegations to Europe throughout the sixteenth century, the earliest in 1528 (Gibson 1952: 164–167; Cline 1969).<sup>8</sup> An eighteenth-century source suggests that as many as three copies of the *Lienzo* may have originally been made (Chavero 1892: iv; Kranz 2001: 70).

During the occupation of Mexico by France (1862–1867), the French Scientific Commission took the *Lienzo* from Tlaxcala to Mexico City to make a copy. After the fall of Emperor Maximilian and the restoration of Mexican independence, the Tlaxcalans attempted to regain their stolen textile—but it had disappeared. It remains lost. A tracing from the original had been made, however, and in 1892 this was used to create a lithograph edition of the *Lienzo* as part of Mexico's contribution to the Exposición



Figure 8.6 Overview of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.



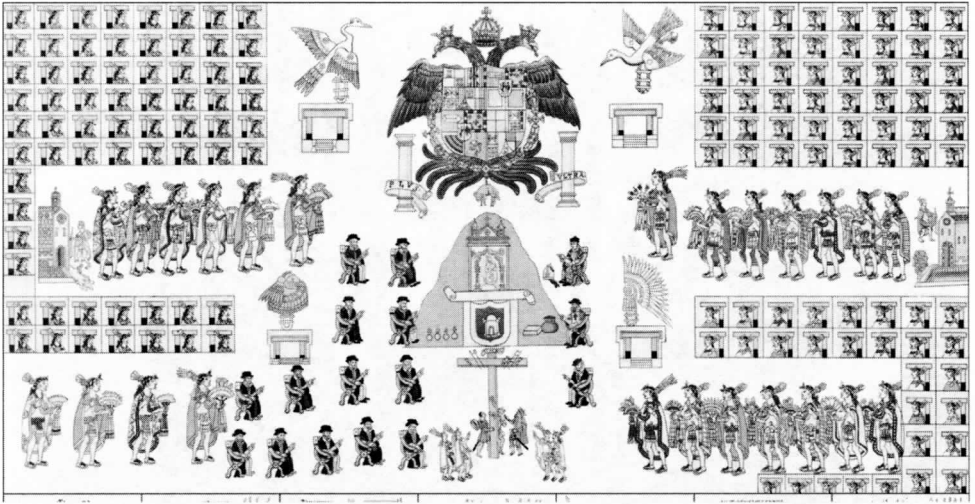


Figure 8.7 Top scene of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

Historico-Americana in Madrid (an international World's Fair celebrating the 400th anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the Americas; Chavero 1892: iv–v). The tracings on which this edition were made are now themselves also lost, and so the lithographs are our best record of the vanished sixteenth-century *Lienzo*. The images illustrating the *Lienzo* which appear on the following pages are taken from a digital reconstruction we have created based on the 1892 lithographs.<sup>9</sup>

The large scene at the top of the *Lienzo* presents a schematic map of the structure of the kingdom of Tlaxcala in the mid-sixteenth century (Fig. 8.7). It is centered on a green bell-shaped hill glyph, not unlike the hill glyphs also used in the *Codex Nuttall* (Fig. 8.7a). This may refer to a specific peak that dominates the Valley of Tlaxcala: La Malinche. (The name Malinche is a Nahuatl transformation of the Spanish name *María*). But instead of marking this hill with tortillas to link it to Tlaxcala (Tlaxcala means “Place of the Tortillas” in Nahuatl), the mountain is marked with signs of Tlaxcala's conversion to Christianity and incorporation into the Hapsburg Empire. Inside the mountain are a church with an image of the Virgin Mary (the Virgin of the Assumption, patroness of Tlaxcala; Fig 8.7b) as well as a coat of arms granted by Charles V to Tlaxcala in 1535 (Fig. 8.7c).

Tlaxcala's identity as a Christian kingdom within the Hapsburg Empire is underscored by the images drawn above and below this central hill. At the top of the *Lienzo* is the coat of arms of the Emperor Charles V, backed by the double-headed eagle of the Hapsburgs (Fig. 8.7d). Below, a group of seven men erects a cross. Three are European, and four are Tlaxcalan. The manner in which they are drawn illustrates the complex ways the artists of the *Lienzo* combined both Mesoamerican and European modes of expression. To the left of the cross, all three men—two Tlaxcalans, one European—are drawn in profile (Fig. 8.7e). This, as we saw in the *Codex Nuttall*, was the standard form for representing human bodies in the Postclassic International Style. The two Tlaxcalans can be identified as men by their loincloths; they also wear capes, sandals, feather head-dresses, and an elaborate twisted headband, tied at the forehead, which was a distinctive sign of Tlaxcalan nobility. To their right stands a European man. Although dressed in

hose and a doublet, brimmed hat hanging off his shoulders, he is drawn in profile, following prehispanic conventions. To the right of the cross, however, the artists used European forms, presenting all four figures—two European men and two Tlaxcalan lords—not in profile, but in a 3/4 perspective (Fig. 8.7f). Throughout the *Lienzo*, Tlaxcalan artists selectively used profile versus 3/4 views for different characters, well aware of their distinctive origins in Mesoamerican and European visual traditions.

Surrounding the cross and hill are sixteen European men, all seated on folding chairs and all drawn in a 3/4 view. The three to the right of the cross can be identified by their clothing. First is the bishop of Mexico, Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal. His miter is drawn before him like a glyphic personal name (Fig. 8.7g). Below the bishop are the first two viceroys of Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza and Luis de Velasco. The red crosses on their chests indicate that both men are knights of the Order of Santiago (Fig. 8.7h–i). To the left, in contrast, none of the thirteen men in black have any distinguishing marks (Fig. 8.7j). They are all identical. Because thirteen was an important number in prehispanic Mesoamerica (in contrast to its unlucky status in Europe, where twelve was more important; Tedlock 2003: 187–206), these thirteen men may be meant to represent general manifestations of European power, and not particular individuals.<sup>10</sup> Overall, these men present a fascinating visual tension. Although drawn according to European modes of representation, they are nevertheless numbered according to Mesoamerican tastes. Furthermore, they are drawn in a visual grid of horizontal and vertical alignments, a style of arranging glyphic information with a centuries-old history in Mesoamerica. On the surface these figures appear fully European, but they are embedded in deeply Mesoamerican structures.

Moving outward from these central images, the rest of this enormous scene is divided into four sections, representing the four main divisions of the kingdom of Tlaxcala. Each division has its own main building (prehispanic in style with post-and-lintel entryways) ornamented with a feathered battle standard attached to a U-shaped rack. As is shown in the scenes of conquest below, such standards would be strapped to the backs of warriors before combat. In clockwise order, these represent Ocotelolco (with an eagle battle standard; Fig. 8.7k), Quiahuiztlan (with a quetzal feather battle standard; Fig. 8.7l), Tepeticpac (with a Xolotl-dog battle standard; Fig. 8.7m), and Tizatlan (with a heron battle standard; Fig. 8.7n). Associated with each of the four divisions is a procession of Tlaxcalan noblemen, carrying flowers and wearing loincloths, elaborate capes, and twisted red and white headbands (Fig. 8.7o–r). In contrast to the sixteen seated Europeans, these Tlaxcalan nobles are drawn in profile. Each of the four divisions also has a number of grid-arranged houses, drawn in profile and containing the profiled head of a noble. These probably represent the number of *teccalli*, noble houses, that belonged to each of the four divisions of Tlaxcala.

In sum, this scene has a five-part structure. A central axis merging European and Mesoamerican traditions is surrounded by four subdivisions predominantly Mesoamerican in style. This five-part structure is extremely significant. People throughout Mesoamerica conceived of their universe as divided into five directions: North, South, East, West, and Center. As we saw on page 17 of the *Codex Nuttall*, and as David Carrasco discusses in detail, references to the cardinal directions were an important aspect of foundational rituals throughout Mesoamerica.<sup>11</sup> The main scene of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, then, presents the kingdom of Tlaxcala as perfectly, cosmologically ordered.

If the *Lienzo's* main scene presents an idealized map of the kingdom of Tlaxcala around 1552, the smaller scenes below travel back in time to 1519, in order to tell the

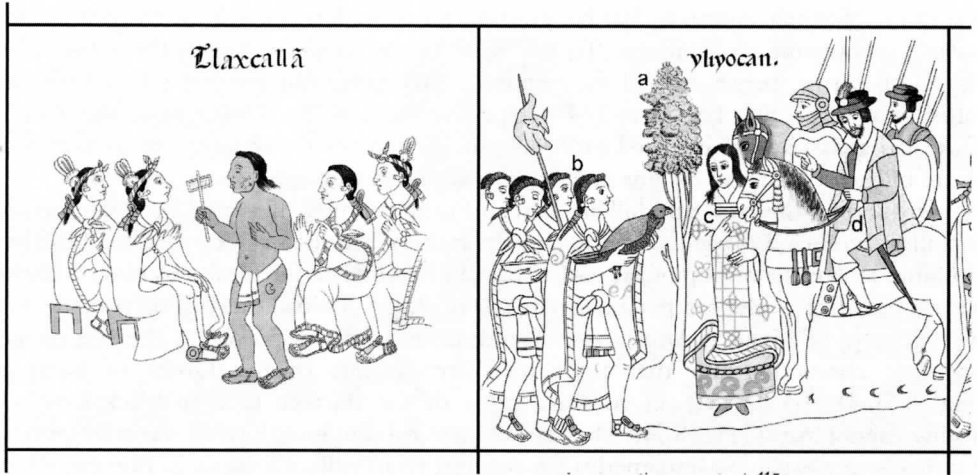


Figure 8.8 Cells 1 and 2 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

story of the Tlaxcalans' alliance with the Spaniards and their joint defeat of the Aztecs. The Aztecs, it should be stressed, were traditional enemies of the Tlaxcalans. Tlaxcala was one of the few polities in Central Mexico to resist conquest by the Aztecs and incorporation into their empire. Because of this, the Tlaxcalans played a key role in overthrowing that empire when the Europeans arrived. The story of this conquest is presented in nearly a hundred small scenes embedded in a seven by thirteen grid. These proportions are significant. As Gordon Brotherston and Ana Gallegos have pointed out (1990: 122), 7 times 13 equals 91, which is the sum of all of the numbers 1 to 13 ( $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12 + 13 = 91$ ). Yet despite this very Mesoamerican format, the reading order of these cells is strongly shaped by traditions imported from Europe. The narrative moves across the cells from left to right, from top to bottom, one row at a time. In other words, the *Lienzo* uses the reading order found in European alphabetic books. This, perhaps, is not a surprise, given that at least one copy of the *Lienzo* was probably painted to be read in Spain by Charles V, the Emperor whose shield crowns the entire document.

The cell-by-cell narrative begins, like an alphabetic page, in the upper left-hand corner. The very first cell is labeled "Tlaxcallan" in alphabetic script, to indicate where the scene is taking place. Inside are the rulers of Tlaxcala's four main subdivisions, who receive a letter sent by Cortés. The four men are wrapped in elaborate cloaks, and three wear the twisted red and white headband we discussed above. The messenger, standing in the center, holds out this letter on a stick. Significantly, his appearance stresses that he is not Tlaxcalan. His long hair is unbound; he wears only a loincloth and no cape; his face is tattooed or scarified. Indeed, his near nakedness suggests he is a commoner, a prisoner, or a slave. Remember that when Lord 4 House was taken captive by a Stone Man on page 20 of the *Codex Nuttall*, he was drawn barefoot, wearing only a loincloth, and with his long hair unornamented. Curiously, this messenger's depiction as a social subordinate contrasts with Hernán Cortés' account of the event. He claims that *several* indigenous messengers were sent to Tlaxcala, and that they were noblemen (Chavero 1892: 13–14).<sup>12</sup>

The next scene takes place in Yliyocan, "Place of Many Alder Trees." Visually, this is indicated by the drawing of a tree (Fig. 8.8a). Here Cortés enters the territory of Tlaxcala.

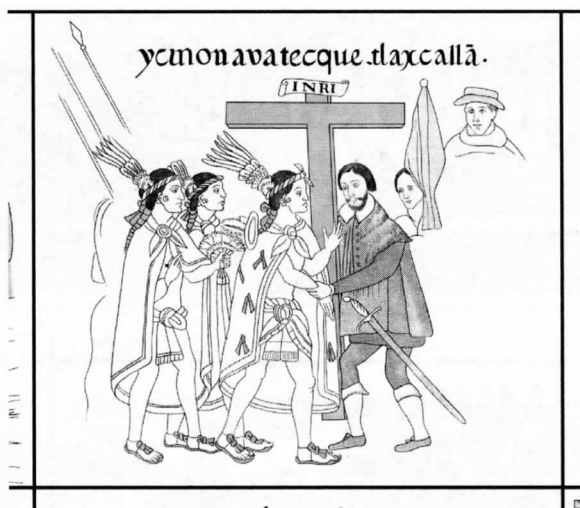


Figure 8.9 Cell 5 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

Tlaxcala was a multi-ethnic kingdom, home not only to Nahuas but also to Otomi. In this scene, Otomi nobles are distinguished from Tlaxcalans by their feathered headbands (Fig. 8.8b). At the very center of this cell stands a woman (Fig. 8.8c). She wears a long dress covering her legs and a cape-like blouse; the *Lienzo's* artists have taken time to indicate that both skirt and blouse are made of richly-woven textiles. But this woman does not wear indigenous sandals: she wears closed European shoes. The combination of European and Mesoamerican dress is important. This is Doña Marina or Malinche, the indigenous woman who translated for Cortés (speaking Maya, Nahuatl, and, eventually, Spanish). Malinche will be a key character in the *Lienzo*: her linguistic (and diplomatic) skills made European-indigenous alliances *possible*. Indeed, so important was Malinche to European-indigenous interactions, and so closely was she connected to Cortés, that indigenous people sometimes thought that Cortés was *named* Malinche (Peterson 1994: 188). The connection linking Malinche and Cortés is subtly shown in this scene by the use of perspective. All of the Otomi nobles, and both of the anonymous Spanish soldiers, are drawn in profile. In contrast, Malinche and Cortés are both drawn in a 3/4 view (Fig. 8.8c–d).

The following scenes track the travels of Malinche, Cortés, and the European army deeper into the kingdom of Tlaxcala. The *Lienzo* records this journey as one of peaceful gift-giving. Other accounts tell a different story. Some alphabetic sources report that the Europeans fought several skirmishes with the Tlaxcalans. Others record debates among the Tlaxcalan nobility about whether or not to form an alliance with the invaders (Chavero 1892: 16–17). The *Lienzo*, in other words, tells a carefully edited version of events.

In cell 5, Cortés meets three of the rulers of Tlaxcala (Fig. 8.9). A cross divides the scene in two. As with the cross in the large scene above it, to the left people are drawn in profile, and to the right Cortés, Malinche, and a friar are drawn in 3/4 view. The official conversion of the Tlaxcalans to Christianity is shown in cell 8. Visually, the scene shows the new converts receiving communion, kneeling before the consecrated Host. The alphabetic gloss in Nahuatl, however (one of several glosses longer than a single place name) speaks of baptism (Fig. 8.10a).

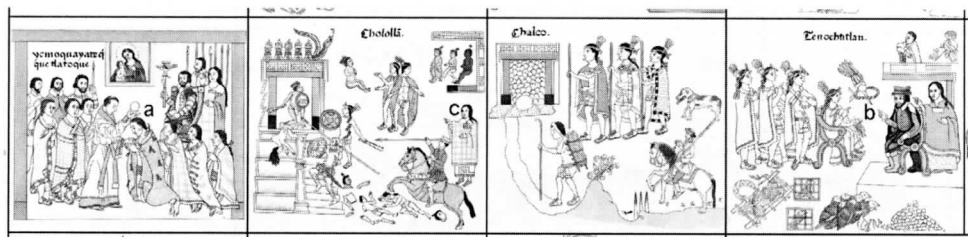


Figure 8.10 Cells 8 to 11 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

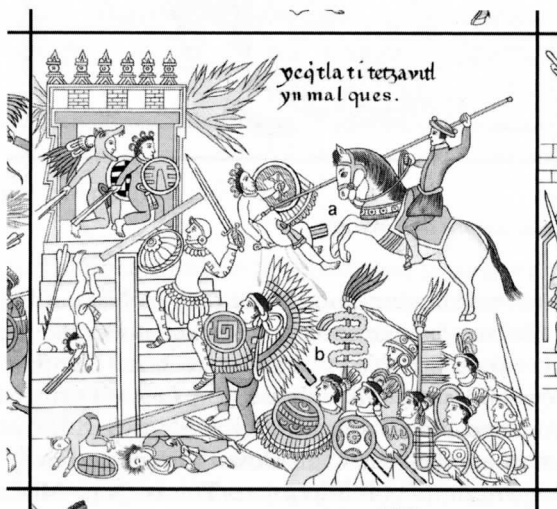


Figure 8.11 Cell 16 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

With the Tlaxcalan nobles Christianized, the joint Tlaxcalan–European army sets out for Tenochtitlan, the Aztec capital. The next two cells, 9 and 10, record events that took place en route, in Cholula and Chalco. Cell 11 takes place in the Aztec capital itself (Fig. 8.10b). Labeled “Tenochtitlan,” it shows the meeting of Cortés and Malinche with the Aztec emperor Moctezuma. Once again, the faces of Native American noblemen are drawn in profile, and those of Malinche and Cortés in 3/4 view. Moctezuma would be taken hostage; the scenes after cell 11 show the escalating tensions between the invaders and the Aztecs. Cells 14, 15, and 16 show skirmishes within Tenochtitlan, using an iconography of warfare that will be increasingly important as the *Lienzo*’s narrative progresses. A mounted Spanish warrior tramples fallen enemies (Fig. 8.11a) and around him fight indigenous warriors dressed in feathered bodysuits. Battle standards are strapped on their backs, and they wield obsidian-bladed swords in their hands (Fig. 8.11b).

Outnumbered and surrounded, the Spaniards and their indigenous allies finally flee Tenochtitlan at night, crossing one of the causeways across Lake Texcoco that linked the island to the mainland. The events of this *Noche Triste* (Sad Night, as the Spaniards called it) are shown in an enormous scene spanning four cells, strikingly framed in swirling blue water (Fig 8.12). The invaders then fight their way back to Tlaxcala across a number of scenes. Once safely in Tlaxcala the Europeans (and their horses) rest and receive generous gifts of food (Fig 8.13a). Then the invaders set off for Tenochtitlan a second time, fighting

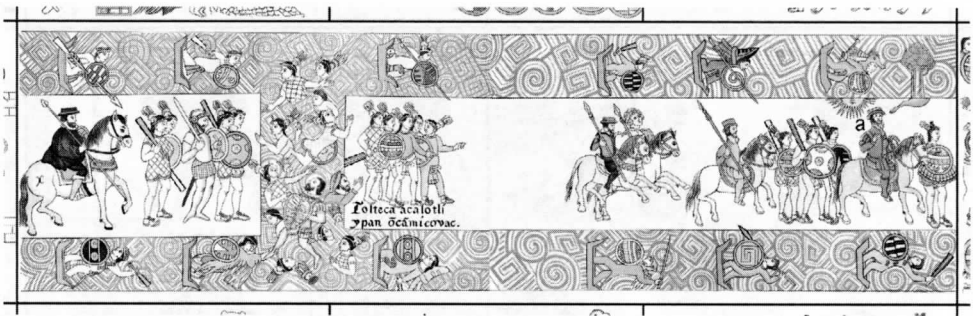


Figure 8.12 Cell 18 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

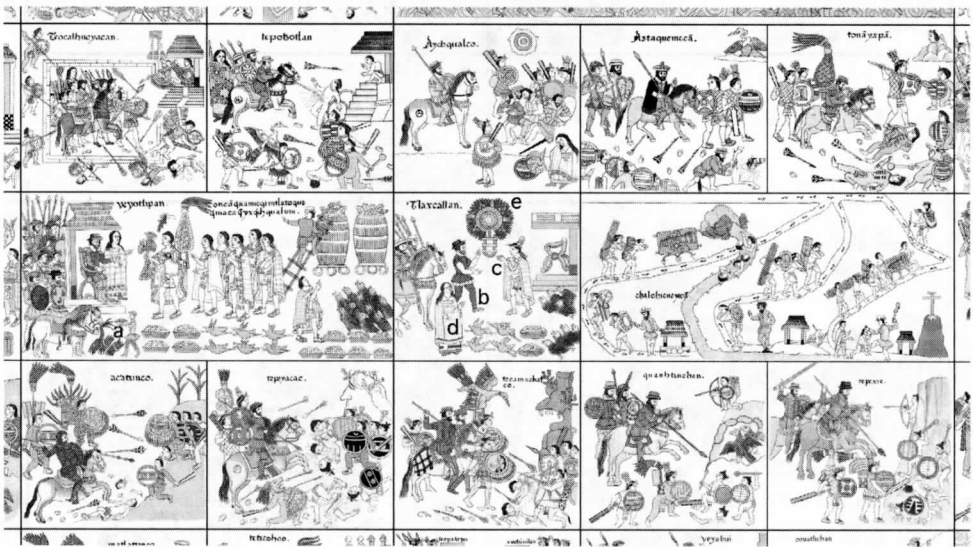


Figure 8.13 Cells 28 to 30 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* (center row), with cells 21 to 25 above and cells 33 to 37 below.

their way back to the shores of Lake Texcoco (cell 42; Fig. 8.14a). The five scenes after cell 42 show the battles for Tenochtitlan. Cell 43 includes a fascinating vignette of hand-to-hand combat, in which a European takes an Aztec warrior captive by grabbing his hair. This, as we saw in the *Codex Nuttall*, is a prehispanic iconographic convention (Fig. 8.14b). The campaign ends in victory for the invaders. Cell 48 shows Cortés enthroned, a panache of quetzal plumes ornamenting his brimmed felt hat (Fig. 8.15a). Aztec nobles surrender before him (Fig. 8.15b). The Nahuatl gloss at the top of this cell reads *Yc polihuhque mexicana*: “Thus the Mexica [Aztecs] were vanquished.”

The 39 cells which follow the fall of Tenochtitlan (almost half of the *Lienzo*) are devoted exclusively (and repetitively) to scenes of battle. They follow different campaigns as the Europeans and their Tlaxcalan allies set out to conquer the rest of the Aztec empire: traveling north to Michoacan and south to Guatemala. Over and over, the same basic template is repeated. To the left is the army of the invaders, mostly indigenous but led by a European mounted on a horse (Fig. 8.15c). He brandishes a spear, and his steed tramples enemy bodies underfoot. To the right is the rival indigenous army of the place being conquered



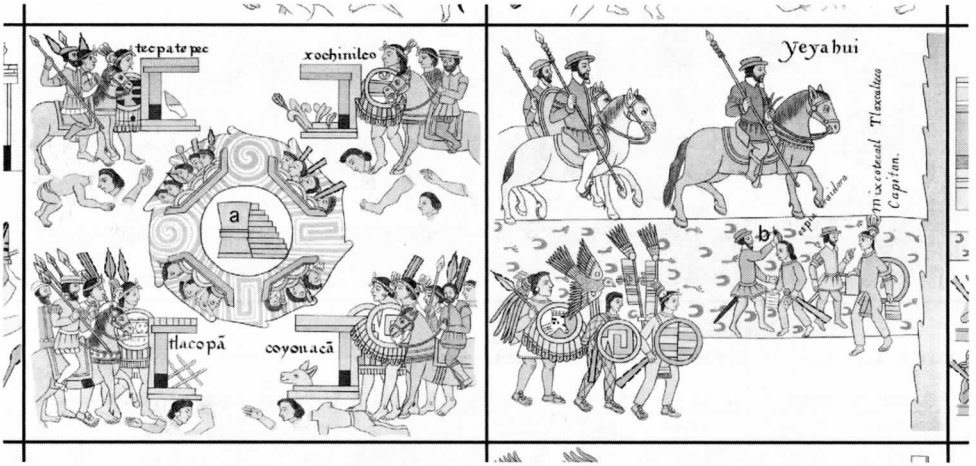


Figure 8.14 Cells 42 and 42 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

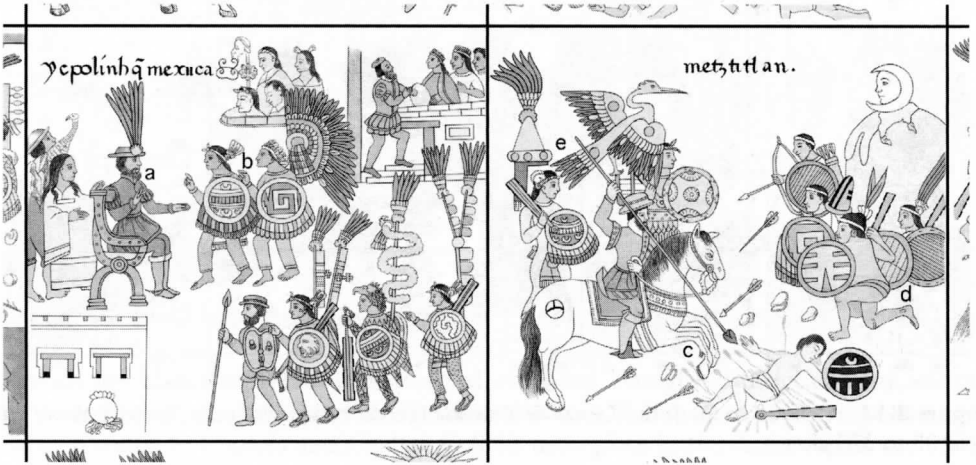


Figure 8.15 Cells 48 and 49 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

(Fig. 8.15d). Significantly, these indigenous enemies are usually dressed only in loincloths, in contrast to the feathered bodysuits and splendid battle standards of the Tlaxcalan warriors (Fig. 8.15e). As we saw above, this visually relegates the non-Tlaxcalans to a subordinate status. At the right edge of each cell appears a place glyph indicating where the battle is taking place, always a hill ornamented (as in the *Codex Nuttall*) with further glyphs to specify *which* place is being named (Fig. 8.15f). In addition to this pictorial place sign, all of these cells are alphabetically labeled with a place name as well.

This rapid overview of the *Lienzo's* narrative shows how Nahua artists, working around 1552, drew upon a number of visual conventions that they inherited from the prehispanic past, conventions we also saw in the *Codex Nuttall*. These include methods of drawing place glyphs and buildings, the use of costume to differentiate men from women, and even visual conventions for representing warfare and class. But there is one major category of glyphic information found in the *Codex Nuttall* which does not appear in the *Lienzo*:

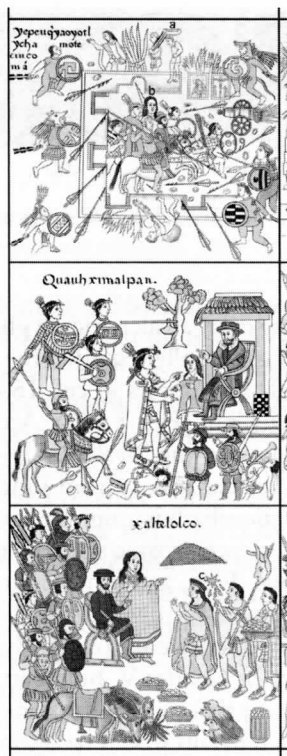


Figure 8.16 Cells 15, 20, and 27 of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.

calendric glyphs. Like the Ñudzavui, the prehispanic Nahuas counted a 260-day ritual calendar and a 365-day solar year. Nahuas and Ñudzavui used the same basic system of dots and glyphs to represent dates. Indeed, several famous prehispanic divinatory almanacs (including the *Codex Borgia* and the *Codex Cospi*), filled with calendric information, were probably painted in the kingdom of Tlaxcala by Tlaxcalan artists (Boone 2007: 228). So why does the *Lienzo* contain no year or day glyphs?

There are several possible explanations for this absence. First, before the Europeans arrived it seems that the Nahuas (like the Ñudzavui) had two types of names. They received calendric names related to the day of their birth, but also had non-calendric personal names as well. In contrast to the Ñudzavui, however, the Nahuas seem to have kept their calendric names secret. Instead—at least in written documents—they were referred to only by their non-calendric personal names (McKeever Furst 1995: 81). The suppression of calendric names seems to have been a *prehispanic* Nahua tradition. In the *Lienzo*, personal name glyphs are used frequently, and they are applied to both Nahuas and Europeans. In the main scene at the top of the *Lienzo*, a mitre is used to mark the bishop of Mexico. Another European is given a glyphic personal name in cell 18. Because conquistador Pedro de Alvarado had blond hair, Nahua speakers referred to him as *Tonatiuh*, “Sun.” The mounted European with a large sun blazing behind his head in the scene of the *Noche Triste* probably represents to Alvarado (Fig. 8.12a). At least five indigenous people are also given personal names in the *Lienzo*. In cell 27, the drawing of an eight-pointed star with puffs of smoke below it names Lord Citlalpopoca, “Smoking Star” (Fig. 8.16c; see also cells 11, 18, 28, 48).



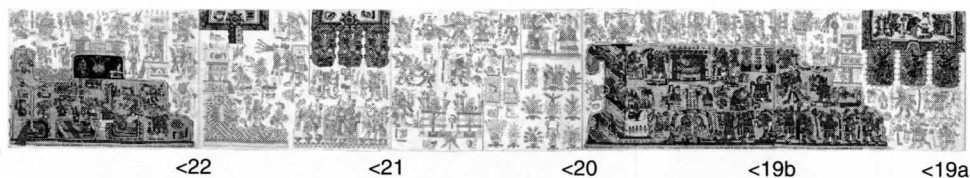


Figure 8.17 Macrocomposition in the *Codex Nuttall*: rivers and skybands on pages 14 to 22.

At only one point in the *Lienzo* does a calendric glyph appear, used to indicate time. Unlike the Ñudzavui, the Nahuas glyphically recorded the 18 twenty-day months of their solar year. One of these month glyphs appears in cell 15 of the *Lienzo*: the gourd bowl representing the month of Etzalcualiztli (Fig. 8.16a). According to European accounts, this scene—one of the events leading to the *Noche Triste*—took place in late June 1520. Not surprisingly, the month of Etzalcualiztli ran from June 9 to June 28 in the Gregorian calendar. But this reference to Etzalcualiztli is a unique exception. The lack of other temporal references in the *Lienzo* (again, prehispanic screenfolds from Tlaxcala are full of date glyphs) may have two explanations. First, as both Barbara Tedlock and Anthony Aveni stress, the prehispanic calendar was used for divination. The connection of the prehispanic calendar to occult knowledge may have been a reason that Christian Tlaxcalans did not want to use it in a history painted for Charles V. But apart from its connection to divination, the indigenous calendar was one that most Europeans did not understand. The artists of the *Lienzo* may have felt that such details would be distracting in the eyes of a European audience. Indeed, we have already seen how most cells of the *Lienzo* are alphabetically labeled to make it easier for European readers (unfamiliar with the conventions of Mesoamerican place glyphs) to understand *where* scenes were taking place.

But if the artists of the *Lienzo* made a number of concessions for European readers (a Western-book-inspired reading order, suppression of calendric information), they nevertheless included information that would have been difficult for European viewers to understand. Several cells, as we have seen, contain short glosses in Nahuatl conveying more information than simple geographic names. The artists also encoded information in a manner that engaged with Mesoamerican strategies of seeing—information that, until now, has been ignored. As we mentioned above, three copies of the *Lienzo* may have been painted in the sixteenth century. One was to be sent to Europe, but two others were to stay in the New World. One copy was still in Tlaxcala until the mid-nineteenth century. The *Lienzo* was created for both European *and* Tlaxcalan eyes. In the next section we consider features of its composition that connect to deep Mesoamerican traditions, features that would have been difficult to see using Western techniques of reading.

### At a Distance

Reading, like writing, is a situated practice. When people read, they do so within the literacy traditions of a particular time and place. So far, our discussions of the *Codex Nuttall* and *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* have viewed these documents with the reading methods used for Western spine-bound books. As you read the alphabetic text of this chapter, your eyes and mind move from word to word, line to line, page to page. In the same way, our discussions of both the *Codex Nuttall* and *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* have moved from image to image, vignette to vignette, and page to page or cell to cell.

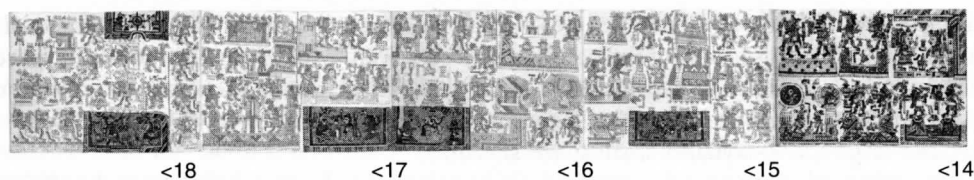


Figure 8.17 (cont'd)

But both the *Codex Nuttall* and the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* are complex objects, very different from the spine-bound volumes that fill bookshelves today. The screenfold format of the *Codex Nuttall* allows viewers to look at multiple pages at once. Indeed, as John Pohl has argued, several sources suggest that the Ñudzavui screenfolds were displayed unfolded on the walls of palaces, their contents performed to an audience.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* was meant to be unfurled and displayed in full on a wall. By viewing both of these documents “at a distance,” looking at multiple pages or cells at once, we can see visual patterns that reinforce and expand the meanings we find when reading their surfaces up close, image to image. For the rest of this chapter, we consider the “macrocompositions” recorded in both the *Nuttall* and *Lienzo*. Paying attention to these large visual patterns amounts to a kind of “ethno-reading,” an experience of particularly Mesoamerican modes of literacy. This aspect of Mesoamerican writing has received little attention up until now.

First, let’s return to *Codex Nuttall*. The ten pages that begin with Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower have a roughly parallel structure. The narrative starts on page 14 and ends on page 22 with large geographic scenes, undivided by red guidelines. A massive landscape is also found just off-center, at pages 19a and 19b. We can see an even stronger pattern of mirrored, parallel composition by focusing on the locations of rivers and skybands (Fig. 8.17). As we mentioned above, the representations of rivers and skybands are quite similar. Both are rectangular U-shaped containers: green walls contain blue water in the case of rivers; blue walls contain white space in the case of skybands. Given Mesoamerican ideas about the creation of the world, these visual parallels are probably no accident. Rivers are channels for terrestrial water; skybands contain the celestial water forced into the heavens at the creation of the world.

Now look at pages 14 to 22 again, but all at once. It is striking that four rivers are depicted in the first half of the document, along the bottom edge, and that four skybands are depicted in the second half of the document, running across the top edge. Moreover, these depictions of rivers and skybands have a symmetrical, parallel composition. Moving from left to right, the river at the bottom center of page 15 is followed by roughly a page-length of space before the next river, in the lower left-hand corner of page 16. A second river follows immediately in the lower-right hand corner of page 17, followed yet again by a roughly page-length space before a fourth river appears in the middle of page 18. The visual pattern, then, is river-space-river-river-space-river.

A similar rhythmic symmetry is found in the *Nuttall*’s depiction of skybands. It is not by accident that the first skyband of this sequence appears on page 18, directly above the final river. After a half a page of space, a second skyband appears in the upper right hand corner of page 19a, its blue rectangular space expanded by the blue ovals of darkness or rain that surround the descending Lord 12 Wind and his two companions. Two and a half pages then pass before the next skyband, at the upper right corner of page 22. As

with the skyband on page 19a, the one on page 21 is visually expanded by the blue ovals surrounding three descending figures: in this case, Cloud Men. A small amount of space then separates this skyband from the fourth skyband in the sequence, located in the upper left-hand corner of page 21. The visual pattern here, then, is skyband-small space-skyband-large space-skyband-small space-skyband.

The first half of these ten pages features blue rectangular rivers; the second half features blue rectangular skybands. On page 18 the last river occurs exactly below the first skyband. This is the approximate center of the ten-page spread. Page 18, as we discussed above, is where the narrative introduces Lord 12 Wind, an important new character who will ultimately replace Lady 3 Flint as the story's main protagonist. Page 18 shows Lord 12 Wind descending on a feathered cord from a skyband. His first action is to enter a river and make offerings to the goddess within (Fig. 8.3u). In the previous pages, it was always Lady 3 Flint who entered rivers to interact with lacustrine supernaturals. By entering a river on page 18, Lord 12 Wind takes over a type of ritual action previously performed by Lady 3 Flint. On the following pages, Lord 12 Wind marries Lady 3 Flint (Fig. 8.4e and g; Fig. 8.5a), and right after their wedding Lady 3 Flint disappears from the story. Lord 12 Wind is the protagonist on the final pages, traveling and founding kingdoms (as Lady 3 Flint and Lord 5 Flower had done) beneath the light of a newly dawning Skull Sun.

The overall story of pages 14 to 22 of the *Codex Nuttall*, then, begins with the peregrinations and kingdom-foundations of the earth-emerged Lady 3 Flint "Shell Quechquemilt" and Lord 5 Flower. In the middle sections of the narrative, it tells how Lady 3 Flint "Jeweled Quechquemilt" marries the sky-descended Lord 12 Wind. The final sections of the narrative tell of a war between Humans, Stone Men, and Cloud Men, and then of the peregrinations and kingdom-foundations of the sky-descended Lord 12 Wind. The narrative shifts from an earth-emerged woman and her daughter to a sky-descended man.<sup>14</sup> Given the broadly gendered nature of the narrative's progression, it is no surprise that this theme is visually underscored by the pattern of rivers (earthly water) and skybands (celestial water) whose parallel four-part structures meet at the center of the narrative. The blue expanses of these rivers and skybands jump out at the viewer when viewed together, from a distance. In contrast, their parallel composition is eclipsed if one reads the *Codex Nuttall* following only techniques learned from Western spine-bound books: one image at a time, one page at a time.

Similar revelations appear when the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* is looked at "from a distance." When the lithographed facsimile edition was created in 1892, each "cell" was published as a separate scene, on a separate plate of paper. Each cell was reproduced in isolation, surrounded by an ocean of blank whiteness. These scenes are often reproduced today as images of the early colonial world, but always in isolation. By digitally knitting these scenes together again, important patterns emerge—and fundamentally transform our understanding of this indigenous account of the conquest of Mexico.<sup>15</sup>

As mentioned above, the main surface of the *Lienzo* was divided into a seven by thirteen grid. This format creates a central column (the fourth), a central row (the seventh), and thus a central cell within the grid as a whole: the forty-second. Compositionally, this central cell's contents are unusual—so visually striking that this cell is easily picked out when viewed from a distance (Fig. 8.14a, Fig. 8.18a). Yet previous reproductions of the *Lienzo*, by publishing its vignettes as isolated pages, have totally obscured the centrality of this scene, and its visual impact when seen in the document as a whole. At the center is an architectural platform on a round island, surrounded by a round lake, and framed

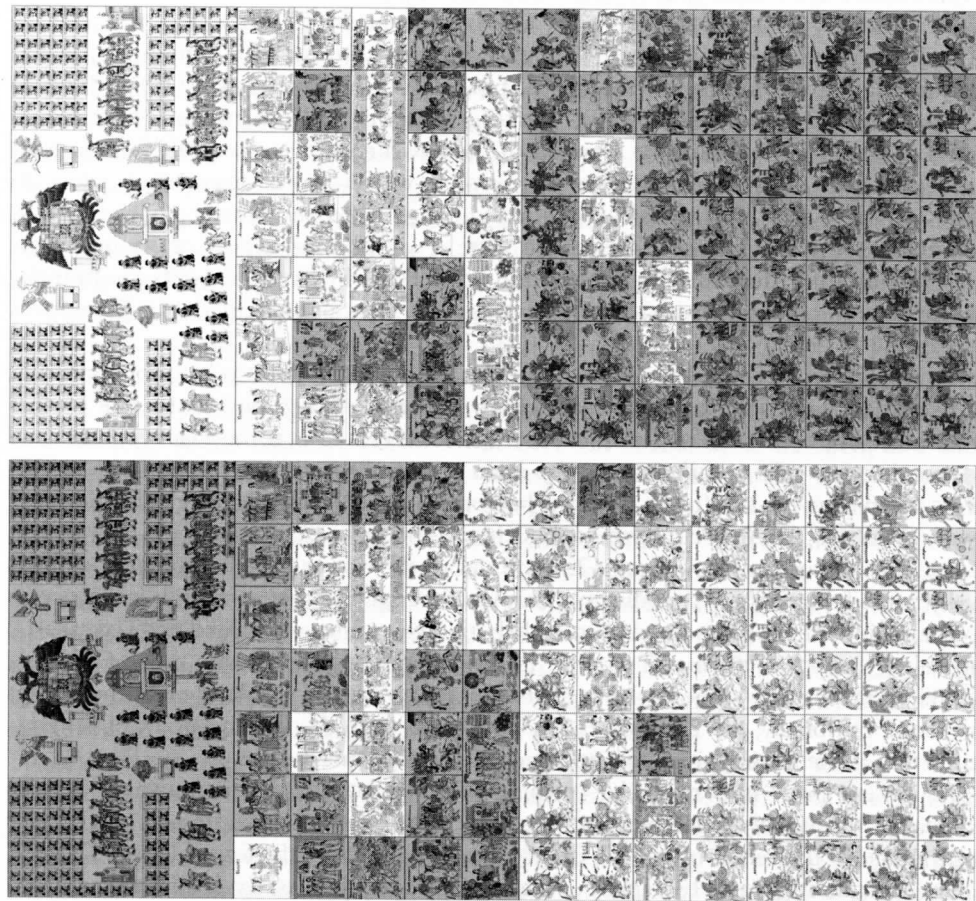
on four sides by lakeshore communities. This is a schematic map of Lake Texcoco and its central island—the island on which Tenochtitlan was built. As we have seen, much of the *Lienzo's* narrative is about how an alliance of Tlaxcalans and Europeans conquered the Aztec empire: fighting their way to its capital city, retreating in defeat, coming back a second time for victory, and then spreading out across Mesoamerica to conquer the provinces once ruled from Tenochtitlan. Cell 42 shows the beginning of the second, successful assault on the Aztec capital.

Tenochtitlan was the dominant political power in late prehispanic Mesoamerica. It was the capital of an empire that encompassed close to twenty-five million people. Its importance is therefore signaled by its physical position at the exact center of the *Lienzo's* grid. By stressing the centrality and importance of Tenochtitlan, the authors of the *Lienzo* underscored the magnitude of what they—the Tlaxcalans—had helped the Europeans to conquer. Furthermore, both Gordon Brotherston (1994: 92–93) and Diana Magaloni (2003: 28–29), working with this cell in isolation, have noted that its contents are laid out like a model of the five directions: a central platform surrounded by four massed groupings of warriors. As we saw in the foundation scene on page 17 of the *Codex Nuttall*, and as echoed in the main scene at the top of the *Lienzo*, references to the five cardinal directions were an important aspect of foundational rituals throughout Mesoamerica. The conquest of Tenochtitlan, then, sets the foundation for a new colonial order—an order that the Tlaxcalans helped the Europeans to create.

But the *Lienzo*, of course, is centered on Tlaxcala's history. And so it is not surprising that its authors embedded a *second center* within its imagery—a second center that is actually far more important to the document as a whole. If cell 42 is at the exact center of the grid, moving two cells up brings us to the exact center of the cloth—originally about 2.5 meters down from the top (or up from the bottom). Cell 29 is visually flagged in a number of ways (Fig. 8.13; Fig. 8.18b). First, to the left and the right are double-wide cells which, like the unusual composition of cell 42, stand out to the viewer from a distance. Cell 29 is visually framed, highlighted by a disruption in the ordered grid that surrounds it. The cell's importance is further underscored by its alphabetic label: we have returned to “Tlaxcallan.” Remember that the scene at the top of the *Lienzo* presents a schematic map of Tlaxcala (Fig. 8.7), and that the scene in the very first cell is also labeled as taking place there (Fig. 8.8). Compositionally, the *Lienzo* presents Tlaxcala as both the starting-point of its narratives as well as the central pivot around which all other events radiate.

This central pivot indicates a key turning-point in the *Lienzo's* narrative. The joint European–Tlaxcalan army has just returned after their first, failed attempt to conquer Tenochtitlan. In the center of cell 29, Cortés speaks with one of the four rulers of Tlaxcala, perhaps Xicontecatl (Fig. 8.13b and c). Floating above this pair, oddly, is a feathered battle standard (Fig. 8.13c). A radiating circle of green quetzal feathers bursts from a golden center. The intensity of the green and yellow inks used in the lithographed images means that this circle stands out visually from a distance; this may or may not have been true of the cloth document as well. Many different types of battle standards appear in the *Lienzo*, but this style only appears once, here. Behind and below Cortés stands Malinche (Fig. 8.13d); in this scene, as in many of her appearances in the *Lienzo*, she is translating. To the left of both Cortés and Malinche are Spanish soldiers on horseback. Behind the Tlaxcalan ruler is a building in which a European folding chair is placed, along with offerings of food.

Why is a feathered battle standard hanging in the air between Cortés and Xicontecatl? The details of this standard are very interesting. Bursting out from its golden circular



**Figure 8.18** Macrocomposition in the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*: scenes with Malinche (shaded on left) and scenes with Santiago (shaded on right).

center are not just green quetzal plumes, but also four V-shaped rays. These are sunbeams. This battle standard takes the form of a gilded, feathered sun. Cell 29 does not merely show a meeting between Xicontecatl and Cortes, with a costume element between them and Malinche off to the side. What Cell 29 shows is a golden sun rising into the sky above Cortés and Xicontecatl (and Malinche, off to the side). The depiction of a sun rising in Tlaxcala, at the exact center of the *Lienzo*, is no trivial detail. As we have seen in the *Codex Nuttall*, and as David Carrasco discusses in detail, origins stories from throughout Mesoamerica described how sunrises brought about new ages of creation.<sup>16</sup> The dawn of a First Sunrise symbolized the dawn of a new social order—and, frequently, of a new political system as well. Remember that, in the *Codex Nuttall*, Lord 12 Wind is shown bringing temples to *Ñuu Ndecu* and *Ñuu Tnoo* on the final pages, visiting or founding two polities that would be very important by the time the Europeans arrived. A similar dawning-foundation association may be intended in this scene from the *Lienzo*. According to a 1562 Tlaxcalan account of their alliance with the Europeans (an account subsequently repeated with frequency), when Cortés retreated to safety in Tlaxcala after the first, failed attempt to conquer Tenochtitlan, he made the Tlaxcalans a number of promises about the elevated status they would have in the new colonial order (Gibson 1952: 159–160). What cell 29 probably shows, then, is the conversation in which Cortés offered these privileges to the Tlaxcalans. A New Sun dawns above the image of a Covenant being created between Tlaxcalans and Europeans, setting the foundation for Tlaxcala's privileged position in a new colonial order.

### Breaking News on Malinche, or Gender Trouble

The fact that Malinche is drawn below these two men also relates in complex ways to the new age of creation this scene initiates. Up until this point, Malinche has repeatedly appeared on the same level, the same “footing” literally, as Cortés and the Tlaxcalan lords (cells 4, 5, and 7). Indeed, in cells 4 and 7 Malinche is actually drawn in front of Cortés: she, not her lover, is interacting directly with the Tlaxcalan nobility. What the composition of cell 29 does, then, is move Malinche to a subordinate visual position.

And just as the narrative on pages 14 to 22 of the *Codex Nuttall* replaces a female protagonist with a male protagonist, so too does the *Lienzo* tell a complicated tale of gender substitution. Cell 29 marks the beginning of Malinche's virtual disappearance from the *Lienzo*. Up until this cell, Malinche has appeared in 19 of the 28 scenes. In contrast, she appears in only 2 of the 58 scenes that follow (Fig. 8.18c, shading indicates cells where Malinche appears). Her virtual disappearance, it should be stressed, cannot be explained because the scenes that follow cell 29 focus on battles. Up until this central point, Malinche has appeared again and again as one of the faces in the crowds of European and Tlaxcalan warriors (Fig 8.16b). She even seems to direct the massacre in the plaza of Cholula (Fig. 8.10c; Peterson 1994: 193; McCafferty 2009: 186–188). Her disappearance cannot be attributed to “actual historical fact” either. We know from alphabetic accounts that Malinche was present at many of the events that are shown after cell 29 (such as accompanying Cortés on the second, successful assault against Tenochtitlan). The authors of the *Lienzo*, then, intentionally write Malinche out of Tlaxcala's history after the First Sunrise in the document's central image.

There are several ways to understand her disappearance. A number of prehispanic narratives from Mesoamerica—and from the Americas generally—involve primordial accounts of a female-dominated age replaced by a male-dominated age, or tell how a

male hero defeats a powerful female predecessor. We have seen this on pages 14 to 22 of the *Codex Nuttall*, and there are many structurally similar examples (Bamberger 1974; Carrasco 1987: 132–136; Pohl 1999: 183–184). The *Lienzo's* gendered transition, then, may draw on prehispanic narrative roots.

But this change also relates in complex and contradictory ways to the new political order which dawns in cell 29. One of the hallmarks of the Spanish colonial regime was the predominance of men in official positions of political power—a masculine bias which had not been so extreme in prehispanic times (McCafferty and McCafferty 1988).<sup>17</sup> Malinche's disappearance after this scene may reflect this new reality. But, paradoxically, the Spanish legal regime seems to have initially *empowered* women in its courtrooms. After all, sixteenth-century Iberians were well accustomed to powerful women, as the reign of Queen Isabel of Castile makes clear. Susan Kellogg's studies of colonial documents from sixteenth-century Mexico City reveals how, through the 1580s at least, indigenous women are increasingly involved, and successful, in litigations over rights and property (Kellogg 1995: 104–5).<sup>18</sup> Delia Cosentino argues that a similar transformation may have been taking place at the same time in Tlaxcala. The city council minutes from April 29, 1555—the same minutes that probably record the commissioning of the *Lienzo* in 1552—describe plans to send a delegation to Mexico City to greet the Viceroy and to complain that lordly *teccalli* in Tlaxcala “are coming to ruin because of new prerogatives assumed by women” (Cosentino 2002: 238). A year later, the same minutes record a request for an inquiry as to whether a woman had ever been a ruler in Tlaxcala, or ever headed a lordly *teccalli* in the past. Both of these complaints, of course, were voiced by an all-male institution modeled on Spanish political forms. Twenty years later, Tlaxcalan historian Diego Muñoz Camargo suggests that female property ownership and control of *teccalli* were new, colonial phenomena. Given this context, the erasure of Malinche in the *Lienzo* may be an anxious attempt to assert the fundamental androcentrism of a new colonial regime.

The gendering of the *Lienzo* into a first half and a second half also relates in multiple ways to Federico Navarrete's observations on the role of Christian supernaturals in the document (2007). Although he was working with fragmented images (and so the compositional implications of his argument were unclear), Navarrete argues that the *Lienzo* incorporates the actions of two Christian supernaturals into its history. One was female: the Virgin Mary. Mary—Malinche in Nahuatl—took two forms in the *Lienzo*. First, she was Cortés' interpreter: Navarrete argues that the *Lienzo's* representations of Malinche are based on European images of the Virgin Mary. Second, the Virgin appears as the mountain of La Malinche shown at the center of the top scene. The other supernatural was male: Santiago Matamoros (Moor-Slayer), transformed in the New World as Santiago Mataindios (Indian-Slayer). He is manifested, Navarrete argues, in the figure of a charging spear-wielding European knight, trampling severed body parts underfoot (Fig. 8.7, Fig. 8.14 top). These vignettes are clearly modeled on European religious imagery of Santiago.

What the recomposition of the *Lienzo* allows us to see is the profoundly spatial nature of Navarrete's observations. The first half of the *Lienzo* is dominated by scenes involving Malinche/María/Mountain, scenes that focus on dialogue and intercession. Malinche was a translator. The Virgin was and is an *abogada*, a lawyer in a universe of Divine Law who pleads with God on behalf of her human worshippers. And as we saw, indigenous women had power in colonial courtrooms that they did not have in colonial

political institutions (Fig. 8.18c). In contrast, the second half of the *Lienzo* is dominated by scenes involving Santiago as a charging conquistador, scenes that focus above all on warfare (Fig. 8.18d). The basic template of the “Santiago” scene is repeated 49 times in the second half of the *Lienzo*: a charging European on the left, Native Americans and their hill-based place signs on the right (as in Fig. 8.11a, Fig. 8.15c). Careful eyes can detect this visual rhythm when looking at the *Lienzo* from a distance. The compositional variety of the *Lienzo*’s scenes before cell 29 visually contrasts with the constant repetition of the battle scene template after cell 29, a repetition reinforced by the extensive use of gold and green in these images of battle. The differing appearances of Malinche and Santiago, then, further underscore the way cell 29 divides the *Lienzo* in into two gendered halves.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, we hope to have introduced the reader to the dazzling traditions of pictorial writing from Mesoamerica. We also wanted to stress that these traditions did not end with the conquest of Tenochtitlan in 1521. Although our chapter was written for Part Two of this volume—“The Indigenous World *Before* the Europeans”—we wanted to use pictorial documents to talk about continuities and transformations in indigenous writing. The striking parallels in the macrocompositional structures of the prehispanic *Codex Nuttall* and colonial *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*—their focus on centrality, parallelism, and gendered transitions—underscore, in Cecelia Klein’s words (2002: 131), “Why Pre-Columbianists Need to Be Colonialists and Vice-Versa.”

In addition to thinking about the connections and disjunctures of prehispanic and colonial worlds, we also wanted to consider the different ways in which Mesoamerican pictorial documents can be viewed. On the one hand, we wanted to provide the reader with a basic introduction to the visual conventions of Postclassic writing. How are places represented? How are people named? How can you tell men from women? Glyph-by-glyph analysis is important, and there is much about these signs that we still do not understand. But moving with eyes fixed closely to the page, glyph-to-glyph, scene-to-scene, is deeply linked to Western assumptions about reading. We have argued that there was, for Mesoamericans, another way to look at documents, a particular style of ethno-reading. This distanced mode of viewing reveals information—often of fundamental importance—that is impossible to capture in narrow glyph-by-glyph readings. Very little work has been done on the macrovisual compositions of Mesoamerican texts (Hamann 2004, Seiferle-Valencia 2007). Further research is needed to understand how prevalent these macro-visual structures were, and how they shaped the meanings of the visual details embedded within them.

## Notes

- 1 For more on the history and travels of the *Codex Nuttall*, see Byron Hamann, “The *Codex Nuttall*,” *Mesolore*, Brown University, <<http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/tutorials/24>>. October 2010.
- 2 See David Carrasco on “The Story of Aztlan,” *Mesolore*, Brown University, <[http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC\\_link22](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC_link22)>. October 2010.



- 3 See Barbara Tedlock "Day Keeping" and Anthony Aveni on "Astrology," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/33#jqTOC\\_link5](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/33#jqTOC_link5) and [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/17#jqTOC\\_link46](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/17#jqTOC_link46). October 2010.
- 4 See also John Monaghan on "Codices," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/37#jqTOC\\_link11](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/37#jqTOC_link11). October 2010.
- 5 David Carrasco on "Sacred Time," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC\\_link11](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC_link11). October 2010.
- 6 See also John Pohl on "History or Divinity?" and David Carrasco on "The Fifth Age," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/64#jqTOC\\_link6](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/64#jqTOC_link6) and [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC\\_link15](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC_link15). October 2010.
- 7 An online version of the *Codex Selden* is included in *Mesolore*: <http://www.mesolore.net/archive/manuscripts/1/introduction>. October, 2010.
- 8 See also R. Douglas Cope on "Indian Resistance," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/74#jqTOC\\_link18](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/74#jqTOC_link18). October 2010.
- 9 An online version of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala* is included in *Mesolore*: <http://www.mesolore.net/archive/manuscripts/3/introduction>. October 2010.
- 10 See also Anthony Aveni on "Living Numbers," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/17#jqTOC\\_link8](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/17#jqTOC_link8). October 2010.
- 11 See David Carrasco, "The Story of Xolotl," as well as Miguel León-Portilla, "Mesoamerica" and Ramón Arzápalo, "Translation," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC\\_link6](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC_link6) and [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/40#jqTOC\\_link5](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/40#jqTOC_link5) and [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/41#jqTOC\\_link5](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/41#jqTOC_link5). October 2010.
- 12 On the issues surrounding the selective retelling of history, see the debate on "History vs. Propaganda?," *Mesolore*, Brown University, <http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/30>. October 2010.
- 13 See John Pohl, "Mixtec History?," *Mesolore*, Brown University, <http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/64>. October 2010.
- 14 See also Alfredo López-Austin, "Fifty Percent Female?" and "The Politics of Gender," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/49#jqTOC\\_link7](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/49#jqTOC_link7) and [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/49#jqTOC\\_link10](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/49#jqTOC_link10). October 2010.
- 15 For other indigenous accounts of the "conquest," see also Miguel León-Portilla, "Mesoamerica," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/40#jqTOC\\_link5](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/scholars/40#jqTOC_link5). October 2010.
- 16 David Carrasco on "Sacred Time," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC\\_link11](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/lectures/15#jqTOC_link11). October 2010.
- 17 For general comments on the position of women in Aztec society, see Elizabeth Brumfiel on "Engendering the Past," Susan Kellogg on "Studying Women's (In)equality," and Alfredo López-Austin on "The Body: A Holistic View," *Mesolore*, Brown University, <http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/44>, <http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/48>, and <http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/49>. October 2010.
- 18 See also Susan Kellogg, "The Aztecs: Patriarchal or Not?" and "War and Gender," *Mesolore*, Brown University, [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/48#jqTOC\\_link6](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/48#jqTOC_link6) and [http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/48#jqTOC\\_link11](http://www.mesolore.net/classroom/debates/48#jqTOC_link11). October 2010.

### *Bibliography*

- Elizabeth Bakewell and Byron Ellsworth Hamann, *Mesolore: A Cybercenter for Research and Teaching*, Brown University, [www.mesolore.net](http://www.mesolore.net). October 2010.
- Joan Bamberger, "The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society," in *Women, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, 263–280 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974).

- Jeffrey P. Blomster, "Changing Cloud Formations: The Sociopolitics of Oaxaca in Late Classic/Postclassic Mesoamerica," in *After Monte Alban: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. Jeffrey P. Blomster, 3–46 (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008).
- Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).
- Gordon Brotherston and Ana Gallegos, "El Lienzo de Tlaxcala y el Manuscrito de Glasgow (Hunter 242)," *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 20 (1990), 117–140.
- David Carrasco, "Myth, Cosmic Terror, and the Templo Mayor," in *The Great Temple of Tenochtitlan: Center and Periphery in the Aztec World*, 124–162 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).
- Alfredo Chavero, "Explicación del Lienzo de Tlaxcala," in *Homenaje a Cristóbal Colón* (Mexico, 1892).
- Howard Cline, "Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 26 (1969), 70–90.
- Delia Annunziata Cosentino, *Landscapes of Lineage: Nahua Pictorial Genealogies of Early Colonial Tlaxcala, Mexico* (PhD Dissertation, Art History, University of California Los Angeles, 2002).
- Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1952).
- Travis Barton Kranz, *The Tlaxcalan Conquest Pictorials: The Role of Images in Influencing Colonial Policy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Art History, University of California Los Angeles, 2001).
- Jill Leslie McKeever Furst, *The Natural History of the Soul in Ancient Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).
- Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "'In the eyes of the Mixtecs/to view several pages simultaneously': Seeing and the Mixtec Screenfolds," *Visible Language* 38, no. 1 (2004): 68–123.
- Byron Ellsworth Hamann, "Heirlooms and Ruins: High Culture, Mesoamerican Civilization, and the Postclassic Oaxacan Tradition," in *After Monte Alban: Transformation and Negotiation in Oaxaca, Mexico*, ed. by Jeffrey P. Blomster, 119–167 (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008).
- Maarten Jansen and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *Codex Bodley* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2005).
- Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500–1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).
- Cecelia F. Klein, "Not Like Us and All the Same: Pre-Columbian Art History and the Construction of the Nonwest," *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002): 131–138.
- Diana Magaloni Kerpel, "Imágenes de la conquista de México en los códices del siglo XVI," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 82 (2003): 5–45.
- Geoffrey McCafferty, "De-Colón-izing Malintzin," in *Postcolonial Perspectives in Archaeology: Proceedings of the 39th (2006) Annual Chacmool Archaeological Conference, University of Calgary, Alberta, Canada*, ed. Peter Bikoulis, Dominic Lacroix and Meaghan Peuramaki-Brown, 183–192 (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2009).
- Shariisse D. McCafferty and Geoffrey G. McCafferty, "Powerful Women and the Myth of Male Dominance in Aztec Society," *Archaeological Review* 7(1988): 45–59.
- John Monaghan, *The Covenants With Earth and Rain: Exchange, Sacrifice, and Revelation in Mixtec Sociality* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).
- Federico Navarrete, "La Malinche, la Virgen y la montaña: el juego de la identidad en los códices tlaxcaltecas," *História* (São Paulo) 26, no. 2 (2007): 288–310.
- Jeanette Favrot Peterson, "Lengua o Diosa: The Early Imaging of Malinche," in *Chipping Away on Earth*, 187–202 (1994).
- John M. D. Pohl, "The Lintel paintings of Mitla and the Function of the Mitla Palaces," in *Mesoamerican Architecture as a Cultural Symbol*, ed. Jeff K. Kowalski, 176–197 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Emily Rabin, "Toward a Unified Chronology of the Historical Codices and Pictorial Manuscripts of the Mixteca Alta, Costa, and Baja: An Overview," in *Homenaje a John Paddock*, ed. Patricia Plunket, 101–136 (Puebla: Universidad de las Américas).

Ann Clair Seiferle-Valencia, "Representations of Territorial Organization in the *Mapa de Cuauhtinchan* No. 2," in *Cave, City, and Eagle's Nest: An Interpretive Journey Through the Mapa de Cuauhtinchan No.2*, ed. David Carrasco and Scott Sessions, 81–90 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007).

Ronald Spores, *The Mixtec Kings and Their People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967).

This edition first published 2011  
© 2011 Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

*Registered Office*

John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

*Editorial Offices*

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at [www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell](http://www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell).

The right of William H. Beezley to be identified as the author of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

A companion to Mexican history and culture/edited by William H. Beezley.

p. cm. – (Blackwell companions to World history)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-9057-2 (hardback)

1. Mexico—History. 2. Mexico—Civilization. I. Beezley, William H.

F1226.C655 2011

972—dc22

2010049293

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

This book is published in the following electronic formats: ePDFs 9781444340570; Wiley Online Library 9781444340600; ePub 9781444340587

Set in 10/12pt Galliard by SPi Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Printed and bound in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall