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## Anonimo Mexicano

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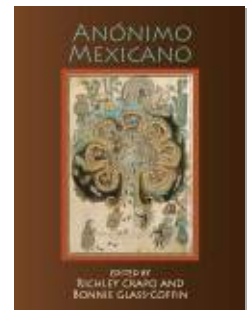
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## NOTES



1. Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 3rd ed. (México, DF: Salvador Chávez Hayhoc, [1615] 1943), book 1, chapter 1, p. 44. Subsequent note references are to book, chapter, and page of this edition, hereafter cited as, e.g., “(1.1.44).”
2. A strip at the top of the first page and a larger section of the top right is missing. The missing strip had some writing at one time, but now only the bottommost portion of perhaps four letters are visible, not enough to determine even what those letters might have been with any confidence. The first readable line actually began *Nícan Pehua ynic 1 Capitulo quenin*, but we have chosen to reproduce *ynic 1 Capitulo* above the rest as a chapter heading. The final two letters of the word *capitulo* and all of *quenin* are missing, due to the lost corner, but can be reconstructed from the context. The indecipherable fragments of a line of writing at the very top of the page may have been an editorial comment in Spanish. A number of later pages have such editorial comments, similarly situated. Spanish editorial comments also appear on a number of pages at the left margin. This page has the following marginal entry: “Concuerta con el Capitulo 4, el libro 1º asta su fin solo en sus cia” (it corresponds with chapter 4 of book 1 up to its ending only in its [meaning unclear]). These entries are in a hand different from that of the scribe, but appear to be of a style that was contemporary with it. A circular library acquisition mark has been stamped over the first three lines of text following the introductory heading. It reads, “BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONAL” clockwise around the top two-thirds of its outer edge and “MANUSCRIT” counterclockwise around the bottom third. The center of the stamp is dominated by large letters, “RF,” for “Republique de France.”
3. This word, which is given in Gerste’s transcription, does not appear on the original document, perhaps because of deterioration of the manuscript since that date. It could have occurred in the upper right of the page, an area which is now missing. Gerste’s transcription appeared in Alfredo Chavero, “Anónimo Mexicano,” *Anales del Museo Nacional de México* 7:115–132. Subsequent note references are to this publication.
4. The scribe began with what was probably *ynaz*, although the fourth letter is not decipherable with certainty, then immediately overwrote the final letter with a *C*, which was written as an uppercase letter simply so that it would more clearly be visible. The ink of the *C* ran together with the letter it overwrote.
5. The introductory material, which we italicize here, was written in normal script but set off from the body of the chapter by a line composed of what might be described as wavy equal signs.
6. According to Torquemada, “Outwardly, the Toltecs were persons of large body and clever (according to the histories of the Acolhua) and covered in the clothing of a large, white tunic” (1.14.37).
7. The scribe first wrote the *z* somewhat high, and then continued by using the lower stroke of the letter as the top stroke of another *z* that was run together with the one above.
8. The scribe first wrote *mítop* and then overwrote the final letter with an *a*.
9. The scribe wrote *tonalco*. The word has been underlined and superscribed as *tonatiuh* (also underlined) in an editorial hand different from that of the original scribe. Similar editorial emendations occur throughout the manuscript, in the same hand and in a style contemporaneous to that of the scribe. They include changes of word choice as well as of spelling, generally added by squiggly underlining of the original word or phrase and the addition of an underlined change, usually in superscript, occasionally in subscript. Entries in this hand will be referred to simply as “editorial”

- entries or as notes by the “editor” in notes that follow this one.
10. The original scribe first wrote *yaoquîza*, then overwrote the final two letters as an *h*, continued with *uaque*, and then inserted *tete* as a superscript.
  11. The dash is merely a line-ending place filler used by the scribe to right-justify the writing.
  12. We have followed Torquemada’s spelling of the name.
  13. No editorial comment or emendation accompanies the underlining by the editor.
  14. The *iz* is not visible due to a tear in the right edge of the paper, although the tail of the *z* is partly present on the page, making the reconstruction secure. The editor inserted the *quiz* above the torn area, indicating the same reconstruction.
  15. The scribe wrote *opehua* and then inserted the final *ia* in superscript, because he had already written the next word too close to allow the insertion of these two final letters on the normal line.
  16. The reconstructed letters have been obliterated by a hole in the manuscript. Only the tail of the *y* and, possibly, the right edge of a tic above the reconstructed *i* is visible. The scribe ended the line with *pohu-* and continued the last two letters *al* on the next line. The editor inserted *tlapohu* immediately before the *al*, and the underlining of the insertion and those two final letters is continuous. The literal reading is “with it they started their first era, their count [of years].”
  17. The noun *cahuitl* means “time, era.” Nahuatl has no term for century. Rather, the Aztec organized their histories into counts of fifty-two years but did not number these sequentially.
  18. The scribe wrote *yequine*. The scribe’s *i* has been underlined, emended by a later editor to *e* (also underlined) in superscript. We take this to be *yequeneh*, “finally, at last, moreover.”
  19. Literally, “sitting themselves down in no place.”
  20. The medial *yo* was inserted later, by the original scribe, as a superscript.
  21. About sixty-four miles east of Tollan.
  22. The recto of folio 1 ends here, with the hyphen which ends a line. The lefthand margin of this page bears the top half of the library’s oval cataloging stamp. Around the edge are the words, “Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris.” Below this in the top half of the center of the stamp is the manuscript number, “no. 254.” The bottom half of the stamp was stamped upside down in the bottom margin of the page. The inscription around the edge reads, “[An]cienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN.” Only part of the second of the first two letters shows on the page and part of the final letter is also missing at the bottom edge.
  23. The top left corner of the page is missing causing this lacuna as well as the next, which begins the second line on this page of the manuscript. The editorial hand inserted *oquizque* above the original word, immediately to the right of the lacuna. This placement suggests that the editor was not contemporary with the scribe, but was working after the damage to the manuscript. This English translation, both here and elsewhere, follows the editorial emendations. The space available would have accommodated *Oncan*. The reconstruction is speculative, but quite likely correct.
  24. The second word is only partly missing, due to the lost top left corner of the page. It is a preterit form, beginning with *o* and ending in *que*. The initial *o* is visible, as is the lower part of the following two characters. The first of these could have been an *a* or, possibly, the lower part of a *u*. The scribe corrected the second letter to an *h* or an *n*. Whatever the original was, the editor emended it to *omiquinique*, but this cannot be correct. An *m* is not possible as the second letter, since the character has only a single hump that ends in an upstroke, indicating either an *h* or an *n*. Of the remaining letters, too little is left to comment on, except that the *q* of the final *que* is partly missing, but enough of the letter is present for its identity to be secure. Here and elsewhere, where missing letters cannot be reconstructed, we indicate the approximate number of letters by the number of periods used as ellipses.
  25. Circa AD 770.
  26. The scribe began with *tl*, then overwrote this with *Y*.
  27. The editor inserted the bar to separate *opeuh* and *tlatocatí*, which had been somewhat run together.
  28. The final *-a* is absent in the manuscript.
  29. The scribe wrote only the name, omitting the rest of the sentence, which we have added to the English (in brackets) for clarity of reading.
  30. The scribe originally wrote this with a single *l*, then overwrote the final *i* as a second *l* and added a new final *i* above the original comma, adding a new comma at the end.
  31. The line ends after *otlanahuy*, and the next line begins *quixtí*. The editor underlined both and added the =

- in the left margin before *quixí*, perhaps simply to note that this was a single word.
32. The scribe wrote *cemochintin*, and the editor corrected this by writing *cenmochintin* in superscript.
  33. Literally, “thus afterwards all of the lords together accompanied her.”
  34. The scribe wrote *quihuia*, then overwrote the *a* as *c* and continued.
  35. Literally, “guarding/observing fifty-two years.”
  36. All but the left leg of the *m* and all of the *o* are missing, due to a tear on the right edge of the page. The final *me* is on the next line. The reconstruction is certainly correct.
  37. Literally, “his high/elevated son.”
  38. Literally, “he entered,” which is idiomatic for “beginning to rule.”
  39. Torquemada added, “for another name, Topiltzin” (1.14.37), indicating that Tecpancaltzin was also called Topiltzin.
  40. The underlining of *no ce* and the beginning of this word is accompanied by no editorial comment.
  41. Compare Torquemada: “These Toltecs, it is said, came from the region of the west, and that they were brought by seven lords and captains called Tzacatl, Chalcatzin, Ehecatzin, Cohuatzon, Tzihuac-Cohuatl, Tlapalmetzotzin, and the seventh and last, Metzotzin. (And they brought with them many people, women as well as men, were led with them) and they were exiled from their mother country and nation. And they say of them, that they brought maize, cotton, and other seeds and vegetables, that are in this land; and that they were great artisans who worked gold, and precious stones, and many other curiosities.  
 “They left their mother country (which was called Huehuetlapalan) in the year that they called One Flint, and they traveled for one hundred and four years wandering through diverse regions of this New World, until they arrived at Tulantzinco where they completed one Cycle that included all the time since they had left their land and mother country. And the first city that they founded was Tollan twelve leagues from this city of Mexico in the northern region, and more than fourteen others at the site of Tolantzinco, but it must not have pleased them even though it is good, and they left the East, and they entered into this aforementioned Tula in the west. The first king from this place that they had named Chalchiuhtlanextzin, and he began to govern in the year Seven Reed. He died after governing for fifty-two years. And afterwards Ixtlilcuechahuac succeeded him in the same year, and he governed for just as many years, because those Toltecs held by law that their kings were not permitted to govern except for fifty-two years, neither more nor less, if they lived that long. And they wanted this because this number was their Xiuhtlalpale (as they called an Age) and once he fulfilled the fifty-two years the successor entered to govern and fulfilled fifty-two even if his father was alive and he died before fulfilling this number, the father governed the republic until he arrived at the said year, and then he would retire from governing, at which time his heirs would take over. After Ixtlilcuechahuac [died], Huetzin succeeded in the reign, and after Huetzin, Totepeuh, and after Totepeuh, Nacazxoc[uitl]. After him, another called Miltl, who erected the Temple of the frog god. After him, Queen Xiuhtzaltzin succeeded, who governed for four years. After her came Tecpancaltzin whose other name was Topiltzin, in whose time, the Toltecs were destroyed. This king, had two sons who were called, Xilotzin, and Pochotl, from which afterwards came the kings of Culhuacan” (1.14.37).
  42. The word *ome* ends a line. On the next line, the scribe first continued with *me*, as if to have written *omome*, and then corrected himself by hatching out those two letters, allowing the first three letters to stand alone. They appear to be *ome*, not *omo*.
  43. The mythological location means “Place that Tastes Like Water” (i.e., a “tasteless” or “insipid” place) or, if the spelling is taken to be Ahhuelhuaican, “Impossible Place” or “Place of Bad Fortune,” since either could be derived from the scribe’s spelling. Either meaning would fit the context.
  44. The tail of the *q* is missing, due to a hole in the manuscript, but the identity of the letter seems unquestionable.
  45. The scribe first wrote *ynque*, then corrected this by adding *in* as a superscript. The word has been underlined by a later hand and annotated as *ininque* in superscript.
  46. That is, they occupied the land.
  47. The scribe appears to have written an incorrect letter after this word *xihuitl*, and then crossed it out. The letter is not identifiable.
  48. Literally, “these men populated and raised themselves thereby still it happened 500 years; and alone living

- in forests and ridges, one hundred and four years.”
49. The initial *Y* is poorly formed or the scribe began with an *X*, then overwrote it as a *Y*.
  50. The second syllable is underlined, but no editorial comment is associated with this.
  51. The scribe wrote only one *l* in the final syllable.
  52. The scribe wrote *nocencan*. In a later hand, this has been amended to *nolceccan* in superscript.
  53. This phrase could also be rendered as “as it is said.” Gerste added the clarification “[in their picture writing]” (p. 117). The implication of *machiyo:tl*, “sign,” is that the author is referring to the ideogram of a codex.
  54. The scribe first wrote *ce teuctli*, then amended the *i* to an *a* and finished with *cauh*. He then inserted the prefix *in* in superscript before *teuctlátocauh*. The editor underlined the word *teuctlátocauh* and the superscripted prefix *in* to show that the *in* should be prefixed, and wrote the entire phrase *ca ce inteuhlatocauh* in subscript for clarity.
  55. The recto of folio 2 begins here with *ca mochintín ocatitcatca yn teot*. The next words are absent, because the upper right part of the page is missing, including the last part of the first line as well as part of the line below. Only two or three ensuing words could have been present in the rest of the lacuna, and may simply have been blank space if the paragraph originally ended here.
  56. The verb means “they were [in the process of] becoming one,” that is, unified in their resolve to banish the Toltecs.
  57. The scribe originally wrote *quitzotiq* and then overwrote the final *q* with *ca*. We take this to be a misspelling for *qui:ztotica*.
  58. The superscripted *o* indicates that the word has been abbreviated.
  59. Literally, “it is a read thing spoken,” that is, a story read from a codex.
  60. The *c* of *axcan* is almost complete, and the lower half of the following *a* is also visible. Below the missing section of the page, the tail of the indicated *y* is present, as is that of the ensuing *q*, which might also have been a *p*. The spacing would permit the number of letters indicated by the dots. What might be the lower half of a comma might precede the *y*. These letters might represent *ihquin*.
  61. We take the final *i* to be a mistake for *in*, and a prefix for the following noun.
  62. Tenochtitlan was named Ciudad de México in AD 1535.
  63. The scribe ran the first two words together, writing the *n* and *i* without lifting the quill from the page. The editor placed the upright | to divide the article *in* from the pronoun prefix *i* and added the underlining with no further comment.
  64. The scribe wrote *cetlaca*. The editor underlined *tlaca* and corrected it to *tlacatl* in superscript.
  65. The scribe wrote *ca imatzaltica*. This was emended in the later editor’s hand as *ca imatzoptica*.
  66. The term *i-ma-tzop-tica* literally means “his-hand-with,” and might be rendered as “his enpawing.”
  67. Literally, “image.”
  68. The *o* which begins the word is superscripted, and its placement is actually above the comma after the preceding word.
  69. The scribe first wrote *quihuiq*, then overwrote the *q* with an uppercase *C*, and finished with *aque*.
  70. Possibly Chalco Atitlan.
  71. The scribe wrote *quel*. In superscript, the editor corrected this to *quil*.
  73. That is, Lake Chalco.
  72. The scribe wrote *ynnamo hiectli*. In superscript, the editor wrote *amo yectli*.
  74. The scribe wrote *matlalcahuican*. In superscript, the editor amended this to *ma tlalcahuacan*.
  75. The “evil one,” a Franciscan euphemism for “the devil,” applied here to the native apparition. During this time of the Primitive Inquisition, such comments were intended to make it clear that they did not condone the native beliefs.
  76. The scribe wrote *maquicautocatihuian*. The editor corrected this to *ma quicauhtithuian* in superscript.
  77. We translate *popolihuizque* as “disappear.” Gerste suggested “without leaving anything” (p. 117).
  78. The scribe wrote *nomotica*. This was editorially corrected to *nomati ca* in superscript.
  79. The scribe first wrote *quimacatiâ*, then overwrote the *c* as *m*.
  80. The scribe wrote *tlazintlan*. The editor corrected this to *tlatzintlan*, a correction followed herein.
  81. Literally, “[the] sun’s emerging place.” The abandonment of Tollan is traditionally identified as ca. AD 1168.
  82. The first letter of *ca* in the middle of the word was obscured by ink spatter, so the scribe rewrote the two letters above the originals, in superscript, for clarity.

83. *Tla:tzi:ntin* might also be understood to mean “the south.”

84. Literally, “the sign its observation.”

85. The abandoning of Tollan is traditionally dated as AD 1168.

86. Compare the similar story entitled “The stinking corpse,” reported in the *Codex Chimalpopoca*: “Now, in Tollan the people were no more.

“Huemac was ruler. The second was called Necuametl, the third was Tlaltecatzin, the fourth was called Huitzilpopoca. The four were left behind by Topiltzin when he went away. And the ruler of Nonoalco was called Huetzin . . .

“Now then, an omen came to him: he saw an ash-bundle man, a giant. And it was the very one who was eating people.

“Then the Toltecs say, ‘O Toltecs, who is it that’s eating people?’

“Then they snared it, they captured it. And what they captured was a beardless boy.

“Then they kill it. And when they’ve killed it, they look inside it: it has no heart, no innards, no blood.

“Then it stinks. And whoever smells it dies from it, as well as whoever does not smell it, who [simply] passes by. And so a great many people are dying.

“Then they try to drag it away, but it cannot be moved. And when the rope breaks, those who fall down die on the spot. And when it moves, all those who come in contact with it die. It eats them all.

“Well, now that it could be moved, all the young men, old men, children, and young women fixed it up. They tied it with eight ropes. Then they dragged it off.

“When they got it to Itzocan, it rose up. And those who were dragging it failed to let go of the ropes and were simply left hanging. Well, as for anyone who had grabbed a rope and just held on to it, it carried him aloft” (Bierhorst 1992, pp. 155–156).

Torquemada’s recounting of the story of the stinking corpse parallels this manuscript in also being preceded by killing by giants, and is followed by the migration of people to various sites, including Guatemala and Campeche: “In this way and by this means there was a vision of great killing on that day during the festivals. On another day, the demon appeared to them in form of another giant with very long and tapering hands and fingers, and dancing with them he was beguiling them. And in this way, the demon slaughtered them

on that day. Another time, as they continued their celebrations to their false gods, which they did for the purpose of hearing the desired oracle, the same demon appeared to them on a high hill (that in this region lies in the west) in figure and form of a very white and beautiful boy, sitting on a rock but with his head all rotting, and a great many died from the great stench emanating from it, being mortally wounded and poisoned, those present seeing it as great an evil as had ever been seen, they determined to take him, and dragging him along the ground, to take to him to a great lake which was a little distance from this place to the east (which is now called Mexico). And although they attempted it and tried it with all their might, it was not possible for them; because the strength of the demon was greater, whereupon he defended and resisted (in the midst of these efforts) the strength with which the Toltecs tried to remove the boy from that place, and to take him to the lake. And the demon appeared to them and said to them, that in any event it would be well for them to depart the land, if they wanted to save their lives; because as long as they held it, he did not promise them a time without deaths, ruins, and calamities, and that it was impossible to flee the dangers, unless they removed themselves; and he asked that they should follow him and allow him to lead them, that he would keep them safe, and he would lead them to regions where they would live at rest and in peace, The afflicted Toltecs, seeing that their calamities were growing with no end in sight, and that the most certain remedy was to take his counsel, they took the story as a good omen and departed the land and followed him, some going to the north and some towards the east, so that they distributed themselves according to how each one of them was shown in vision. And so they populated Campeche and Guatemala, according to the collected Acolhua histories, on which those ancients wrote in characters and figures” (1.14.38).

87. The scribe signed the chapter with his personal rubric. The abbreviation *CSTA.* stands for *consta*, meaning that he attests to the correctness of the document.

88. The verso of folio 2 begins here. The top left corner of the page is missing, and the chapter head is no longer visible. A later notation in the left margin starts at the first line of text after the introduction, and reads “Comenzo el Capitulo 15, y relaltò asta el 16 entre sacando algunas con asta llegan su fin en el panaje

- del Cempoala, y Tepcapulco” (beginning chapter 15, and continuing to 16, exchanging some things and ending in the passage about his arriving in the place of lodging at Zempoala and Tepcapulco).
89. The scribe wrote *motenehuac* and then crossed out the final *c*.
  90. The upper right corner of the page is missing, and only the final *n* of this word is fully present. Our reconstruction of *Yehuantin* is very likely correct and consistent with the small parts of the bottoms of six of the letters that are still visible: the lower, left-hand corner of the base of the uppercase *Y* is visible as are the bottom of the right-hand downstroke of the *u*, and the bottom of the *a*, *t*, and *i*.
  91. The words of this introductory section are double underlined. We render this here simply by italicizing this material.
  92. The reading “in the plains of Mexico” assumes *-itzma* to be derived from *ixmani*, “something level.”
  93. The scribe first wrote *mo-*, then corrected the prefix to *qui-* by overwriting it.
  94. The || symbol may have been added by the editor as a point of reference to the marginal commentary given in note 88.
  95. The scribe used the imperfect tense *-ya* with the distant-past-as-past tense *-ca* here and elsewhere throughout the manuscript, a nonstandard usage. This will not be noted again.
  96. The scribe wrote *ytochal*, then overwrote the *l* as *c*.
  97. The scribe wrote *zantlaquentitinemia*. The phrase was corrected by the editor to *zan motlaquentitine-mia* in underlined superscript.
  98. Literally, “their commitment was of war, observing their pursuit arrows, arrows, and bows.” Following the same sequence, Torquemada followed the previous material with: “Near the regions of the north of the City of Mexico and separated from it by the greatest distance were some in the provinces (which may still exist) whose principal city was called Amaqueme, and who, in common and generically were called Chichimeca, a naked people, who knew nothing of clothes of wool, cotton, nor other item being of linen cloth; but dressed in animal skins: ferocious in aspect and great warriors whose arms were bows and arrows. Their sustenance is their intent. They always pursue and kill” (1.15.38).
  99. The scribe first wrote *oteactic*, then overwrote the *a* with a *u*.
  100. Tlamacatzin.
  101. Literally, “he left/abandoned him/it.” The referent of the singular object is unclear. It is, perhaps, a scribal error which should have been plural to designate the two sons, Achcauhtzin and Xolotl.
  102. The scribe began *yaoq-*, then overwrote the *q* with a *t*. The ink ran in the process, covering the original *o*, which the scribe reinserted in superscript. The scribe continued with *yecanque* which we take as a misspelling of *yacanqueh*.
  103. According to Brundage (1972), Xolotl was the younger brother of the Chichimec ruler of Oyome, a small client-kingdom beyond Tollan’s northern frontier. Here the city is called Amaqueme, which may be the contemporary Mezquital, and the father of Xolotl is identified as Tlamacatzin. According to Brundage, Xolotl’s real name was Amacui (He who has/takes paper), a term that has a religious connotation. The name Xolotl may be translated as “monster, beast, hunchback, page, dwarf, twin, or counterpart.”
  104. The scribe omitted the initial *Y*, then inserted it in superscript.
  105. Or “he was dissatisfied.”
  106. The scribe first wrote *cau*, then overwrote the vowels as *ua* and inserted the initial *ini* in superscript. The || symbol was inserted to separate this superscripted addition from the preceding word.
  107. The migration of Xolotl is traditionally set around AD 1246.
  108. Gerste noted that some words appear to be missing from the manuscript here. Torquemada’s account contains a more complete account: “to take revenge for old insults, that their fathers, grandparents, and ancestors, have received from the nations, who inhabited the land, towards the regions of the south” (1.15.39).
  109. The scribe wrote *machixtíticatca*. The editor underlined the medial *x̄t* and corrected it to *zt* by inserting *machiztíticatca* in superscript.
  110. The recto of folio 3 begins with *hochtlein machiztíticatca, oq*. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The first two missing letters following *oq* are likely *ui*, but nothing of them remains to substantiate this.
  111. Gerste reconstructed *tlachantizque*. Enough of the first three letters after the *n* remain to confidently reconstruct them as *tiz*, but the lower part of the next letter is not the tail of a *q*. Fragments of the bottom portions of this and the next letters suggest that they might be *Yx*, and the tail of a *z* occupies the position of the fourth

- missing letter. The bottoms of the two final letters are consistent with *lo*. This suggests that the missing word might be *ixquizalo*, “wandered aimlessly.”
112. The use of the name Nueva Viscaya indicates that the manuscript was written after AD 1562, when the name came into use.
113. That is, about 780 miles northwest of Tlaxcala, or roughly in the center of the modern state of Chihuahua. Nueva Viscaya was a desert province that comprised the modern states of Chihuahua and Durango. Torquemada’s version of the story of Achcauhtzin and Xolotl is as follows: “These Chichimec nations were guided and led by valiant, and skilled captains and lords among whom was one Icuahutzin, who governed his kingdom for one hundred and eighty years. After him, his son called Mocoquichtli, who died in the one hundred and fifty and sixth year of his reign. When he died, he was succeeded by Tlamacatzil, who governed for one hundred and thirty three years, and he died the same year that the Toltecs were destroyed and divided one from the other (as has been said). He had two children, one called Achcauhtzin and the other, Xolotl. Of these two brothers, some say that one, Achcauhtzin, entered the government; but others say that Xolotl did. And it could be that because of this, there might have been some conflict, and so to avoid this, the two were found to share the governance. Xolotl (per chance) was not content to share the power with his brother (because he who commands does not want an equal). As a courageous man and very spirited and ambitious; by nature he was not satisfied to simply sustain the current rulership, but desired to obtain land, to increase and extend himself, and to celebrate and glorify his name . . . With this natural ambition, and also to avenge old insults that his fathers, grandparents, and ancestors had received from the nations that inhabited the land in the regions to the south toward the sun (as opposed to those in which the Chichimeca had until then possessed) they placed themselves frequently at the borders and they bothered them with continuous wars, subjecting them to new treaties and difficulties” (1.1.39).
114. The editor inserted a + symbol in the text after *tetepanzoltin* and a # symbol here, and placed both of these symbols in the left margin followed by a note that reads “para n<sup>a</sup> aqui” (for noting here), suggesting the editor’s intention that something be added.
115. The word was inserted as superscript by the scribe.
116. The scribe’s use of *-huic*, “toward,” as a suffix to *nahuac*, “in/to/from the vicinity of it,” is a nonstandard usage that he followed throughout the manuscript. This will not be noted again.
117. The scribe wrote *ome*, then inked this out and wrote 25 above it. Torquemada failed to report this extremely high number, consistent with his position (as reported in our introduction) that his Spanish-speaking readers would regard such figures as incredible. That the manuscript of *Anónimo Mexicano* gives figures that Torquemada was uncomfortable reporting suggests that the manuscript pre-dates Torquemada, and was used by him as one of his sources and was not, as Rosa y Saldívar believed, a back-translation of Torquemada’s history into Nahuatl.
118. The scribe wrote an oversized *e* but used a lowercase form of the letter.
119. The scribe first wrote what appears to have been *yn yáotlza teayaiunque*, then heavily inked out *yáotlza teay* and wrote *teyao*, with an insertion mark above a *tea*. Above the *ai* of *yaiunque* he first wrote *ai*, but then crossed out these superscripted letters and overwrote the *i* of the *ai* in the original line as a *c*, attempting to rewrite this as *yn teyaoyacunque*. In attempting to correct his original errors, he seems to have compounded them. In a marginal notation, the editor wrote *teiaoyeca’que*, to supply the correct form that should have been written by the scribe.
120. The scribe wrote the fifth letter as either an *a*, *c*, or *e*, then overwrote it as an *i*.
121. The scribe began with *oqui-*. The editor corrected this in superscript to *oquin*\_\_\_\_\_.
122. That is, Achcauhtzin’s vassals.
123. The editor underlined *auh oquicah yn theuctli ycnih ytoca Achcauhtzín*. A note in the left-hand margin reads, “capit. 16, del a pun-tes dho Lib.” (chapter 16 of the notes from the aforementioned book).
124. The scribe wrote *yin*, then changed this to *yuh* by overwriting the last two letters with *Vh*.
125. That is, in the pre-Conquest writings consulted by the author.
126. The editor underlined *ynimamauh machío* and corrected this to *in imamachio* in superscript.
127. The scribe underlined *ce xiuhtica*. A marginal note in the left-hand column reads “Cap<sup>o</sup> 16 en pieza vien sigue aqui—” (Chapter 16 in part comes after here).



128. We follow the scribe here rather than the editor.
129. Coatlicamac is also called Coatepec in some other sources, though Coatlicamac seems to be the older name. The location, if Coatlicamac is not purely mythological, is unknown. Coatepec is a rather common place name.
130. The scribe underlined *chocoayan*, perhaps to mark the end of the sentence to which the marginal note (given in note 121) pertains.
131. The scribe first wrote *tepenetl*, then inserted a second *ne* in superscript.
132. The scribe first wrote *yhquí*, then inserted *vh* in superscript.
133. The verso of folio 3 begins here. The bracketed material is now missing, due to the absence of the top left corner of the page, and is supplied from the Gerste transcription. It was perhaps lost after his work.
134. The missing material is supplied from a subscripted editorial emendation, *ca quiqualyttac*. The scribe had only one *t* in the final syllable, and possibly one or more other errors in the now-missing section.
135. Mount Xoloc is located near Xoloc (Place of Xolotl) at the northeast end of Lake Texcoco.
136. The scribe wrote *ynahuachuic*, running the article *yn* together with *nahuachuic*, and omitting one *n*. This occurs elsewhere and will not be noted again.
137. The scribe wrote *tepeapolco*. This has been underlined in the manuscript. An asterisk has been inserted after this word, and a notation in the left margin reads “o/ o En el captulo 1/7 del libro 1º. entre algunas palabras siguen do el 18 con el mismo metodo; y sigue—en el 19 dicho libro 1º con lo dho En el capitulo 2º del dicho libº no—” (in chapter 17 of the 3rd book, among some words following the aforesaid chapter 18 with the same method, and it follows in the 19th of the aforesaid 1st book with the aforesaid in the 2nd chapter of the said book number). The underlining of *lo dho* may mark a break between two marginal notes. The ensuing note may refer to the material in the text in the line that begins with *áuh*.
138. This Zempoala is not the Gulf Coast city of the same name, but a smaller site located about twenty-nine miles east-northeast of Tollan and about sixteen miles west-northwest of Tepeapulco. This expedition might be thought of as having followed the Avenidas de Pachuco to Zempoala and then on to the regions of Tolantzinco, Tepeapulco, and Zacatlan. Zempoala and Tepeapulco are located south of Xoloc, traveling counterclockwise around the lake. Torquemada specified the direction and distance from Mexico City for both sites, while *Anónimo Mexicano* simply gives the names, a difference that suggests that the Nahuatl was not simply translated from Torquemada.
139. The scribe first wrote *cuatlalpan*, then inserted a *u* in superscript.
140. The scribe wrote *otlachix*, which we take to be *otlachiz*.
141. Literally, “where he recently rested.”
142. Tetzaco is south of Xoloc, traveling clockwise around the lake.
143. The scribe first wrote the final letter as a second *u*, then overwrote it as an *á*.
144. The scribe first wrote the initial letter as a *u*, then overwrote it as a *v*.
145. Literally, “he crossed to the mountain/forest at the Smoking Mountain.”
146. Literally, “he saw it was smoking,” that is, he saw smoke from habitations.
147. Coyohuacan was on the west shore, west of the end of the peninsula between Lake Xochimilco on the south and Lake Texcoco on the north. Chapultepec was northwest of Coyohuacan.
148. The scribe first wrote *ya*, then overwrote the second letter as *n*.
149. The scribe wrote *Yaotecanque*. The editor wrote *yaotecaque* in superscript. The only change in spelling is from an upper- to lowercase *y*.
150. Nopaltzin traveled clockwise around the lakes towards Culhuacan, while the others explored counterclockwise to Tenayuca. The commander is Xolotl, as is made clear in Torquemada’s version (1.17.43). Torquemada’s account of the journey from Amaquemecan to the Valley of Mexico says that Xolotl “came with a great number of people . . . They went plowing all the land and everywhere they passed, they were leaving people in the hospitable places but without building edifices of any notable size until they arrived at a place which is called Cuextecatl, and Chocayan in the vicinity of which they remained for the time of one year; and from there they passed on, following the desires of him who had taken them out of their land, (that was to look for the inhabitants) and they reached another place, called Cohatlicamac, and from there they passed on to another one, which they gave the name of Tepenenetl. And from there

they went to the site where the city of Tollan is now, twelve leagues from this City of Mexico, in which place and site, they found many ruins of buildings and old houses which they gave themselves to understand to have been inhabited by other peoples, predecessors. And among the houses, they found many cooking pots and flagstones of diverse kinds . . . And moving on, (with the desire to discover it) they arrived at another mansion called Mizquiyahualan. And from this, they went to Atocpa. From there they wandered to another place, which they gave the name, Xoloc, because there on high the great Chichimec Xolotl had had a stately home at an earlier time. Settling then, they stopped and built an edifice on this great hill that is called Cempohualtecatl next to the town of Cempohualla (twelve Leagues from the City of Mexico in the region of the north) and from there they went on to Tepeapulco (four leagues further on going from Cempohualla, towards the east) . . . He returned to the place of Xoloc, that he had chosen before as his dwelling. In the intervening time he had discovered better sites . . . and he arrived at the one of Coatlichan, which is a league from Tetzcooco, toward the south, and having demarcated and surveyed the land up to the mountain range called Popocatepetl, that is six or seven leagues distant . . . and in certain regions they saw smoke (as is known) in Tlatzalan, Coyohuacan, and Chapultepec, and without wanting to stop, to learn whose smoke it was that he had seen, he turned around with the people who had come and gave a warning and report to his father Xolotl, of the good beginning to his father's wishes that he had discovered; because he believed that the smoke would not have been other than that of the inhabitants of those places and that when it was scarce, it would account for what had happened; and to the others with this intelligence, he returned to Xoloc, where his father was anxiously awaiting his coming, to find out what was happening in the land" (1.17.42–43).

151. The scribe wrote *yini tlatocauh*. The singular prefix is an uncorrected scribal error, since the subject of the sentence is plural. We have therefore rendered this as *in i:ntlatocauh*.
152. Tenayuca is west of Mount Tepeyac, on the lake shore.
153. The recto of folio 4 begins with *Tenanyôcan*. An editorial note in the left margin reads "diche libro 1.º con lo dho. En el capitulo 2º del dicho lib.º no—" (said 1st book with the aforesaid. in the 2nd chapter book number).
154. The upper right corner of the page is missing. Gerste gave *omocentechicoque*, "gathered together in the same order that he had brought them." The first seven letters, *omocent*, are present followed by the lower half of what could be either an *e* or an *l*, and then the lower half of a *c* or an *a*. Thus, Gerste might be correct in what he gave, although *omocentlalique*, "they settled themselves together," would also fit the two partial letters. Perhaps more of the manuscript was undamaged when Gerste examined it. Nevertheless, this cannot be the entire missing text, since it is not sufficient to have filled the original lacuna.
155. Gerste omitted *cece[n]* but reconstructed *quipanotazquia* for the second half of the lacuna. Perhaps more was visible when he made his transcription.
156. The scribe wrote *quitlalitaz*. The editor corrected the final syllable to *tiaz* in a superscripted notation.
157. Literally, "passing which."
158. Literally, "and it was itself formed."
159. The scribe wrote *yeyan tli*. The editor corrected this to *yeyantli* in superscript.
160. That is, twelve stone pyramids.
161. *Nepoalco* is underlined in the manuscript, with no accompanying editorial comment. Many place names are similarly underlined in the manuscript. As shown, the underline continues through the first letter of the next word, most probably simply because the line was drawn in haste.
162. As noted in the introduction, the text gives the number of men who accompanied Nopaltzin to Nepoalco as 3,200,000, while Torquemada quite deliberately omitted this figure, explaining that he regarded it as too unrealistically high to be believable. This would seem to indicate that *Anónimo Mexicano* either predates, or relies on sources that predate, Torquemada's account, rather than being a translation of Torquemada into Nahuatl, as has been asserted by some scholars.
163. The struck out name ~~*Nepoalco*~~ is written in the left margin of the line that begins with this word.
164. The scribe wrote *Yccen mochi*. The editor underlined the word and corrected *mochi* to *mochin* in superscript.
165. The scribe wrote *yniteyaquizcahuan*, then inserted the *o* in superscript between the *a* and the *q*.

166. An editorial note in the left margin reads, “~~Qs///~~” (~~Quotes///~~).
167. Torquemada recounted the expedition to Nepoalco and Xolotl’s move to Tenayuca in this way: “When Xolotl sent his son, the Prince Nopaltzin, to explore the land (in the region of the southeast) he also dispatched certain other captains to the southwest and they arrived at a site (called Tenayuca) which is now a distance of two leagues from the City of Mexico, and considered the site, and having seen it to be good for their settlement, they returned there to lord Xolotl to give him a report of that which they had seen. His coming occurred at the same time that his son, Prince Nopaltzin, had also returned from his journey. . . and following this discovery, the families of that place called Xoloc moved, and in a few days arrived at this said Tenayuca, where the great Chichimec Xolotl, chose dwellings for them in the caverns of the place, and distributed the other sites to all those of his families” (1.18. 43–44).
168. The scribe wrote *maciuhý pacticatca*. The editor underlined part of the first word and corrected the two words to *macihui, pacticatca* in superscript.
169. A note in the left margin reads “~~cap~~<sup>o</sup> 19 Lib<sup>o</sup>. 1<sup>o</sup>” (~~cha~~<sup>ter</sup> 19; 1<sup>st</sup> book).
170. A note in the left margin reads, “haze mencion alguna a todo el cap 13. Lib 1<sup>o</sup>.—” (mentioned together with chapter 13, 1st book.—).
171. Literally, “never was happy, for if in any place others guarded, owners of the land, laborers of the land, at some time had looked to enlarge themselves, to snatch it.”
172. Literally, “and.”
173. The scribe assimilated the final *n* to the initial *n* of the next word.
174. The scribe wrote *tlat*, then overwrote the last letter as *C* and finished the word.
175. Literally, “stick with points of obsidian.”
176. The top left corner of the page is missing. The verso of folio 4 begins with this lacuna. The reconstructed words are supplied from Gerste. They were perhaps visible when he made his transcription, but the visible text begins with *omotlati*.
177. The bracketed material is supplied from context. The Nahuatl simply says “they had gone.”
178. The scribe wrote *in cepá*. The editor changed this to *in cipan* in superscript.
179. Literally, “when they had already left.”
180. The text has “his sons and his wives,” but two families are actually discussed.
181. The scribe wrote *yPilhuá yhuá ycihuahuá*. We have pluralized the second, since the referent seems to be plural.
182. The scribe began *zan* with an *o*, then overwrote the *o* as a *z*.
183. This term may be read alternatively as “Precious Rocks” or as “Stones of Chalchihuitl.” Thus, the phrase might be rendered “two priests [and] Chalchiuhteme.” It is noteworthy that, in comparison, Torquemada said “two priests of their idols” (1.19.45).
184. Torquemada recounted the expedition of Acatomatl as follows: “He was not contented with what he had, not satisfied with the security he had in possessing it. For this reason, although Xolotl had seen that he was in possession of a good place and site that he had found for his dwelling, he lived with worry that he might lose it (or worse, enjoy himself in tranquility and be taken by surprise) in the event that there might be other previous possessors who might oppose him and wage war on him to reclaim it. And being careful to be wary and eager to secure it for the possession of his new population, he called on a lord named Acatomatl (one of the six major ones, who came with him), and giving him a good and abundant company of men, . . . and keeping in mind the news of the smoke that Prince Nopaltzin had seen . . . he arrived then to this place where he encountered one of the ancient Toltecs called Ectin, whose wife was called Axochiatl, who was in that site among the reeds had had his help. He was living alone with his wife and a son of his. Acatomatl showed much satisfaction in seeing the Toltec, and desiring to know the cause of his loneliness and why the others no longer inhabited that land, he questioned him with signs (because in language, they did not understand one another, being of different nations). He was satisfied with what the Toltec said: the cause of his solitude was that he had hidden himself when the other inhabitants of those places had abandoned them, not fearing to go with them . . . Then leaving the Toltec in this place, Acatomatl passed on ahead and not very far from there (although it was farther into the reeds of the fresh water lake, in a place that now is called Culhuacan) he found only two more of the these aforementioned Toltecs with their wives and children. One was called Xiuhthemal and the other Coauhtli. The wife of

- the first was Oceloxoch, and the one of the second was Yhuixoch. The children were called Coyotl and Acxoquauh . . . And he passed the volcano and snow-covered mountains and the region to the south (that corresponds to this volcano) at a place that is now called Tepexoxoma, he found another of these men with his wife and children, from whom he received the information that as there were no others in those regions, and that he only knew that in Cholula (a city which is now quite populated) that there were priests of their idols. Seeing that for so many leagues, he had not found any number of people and that those few whom he had seen living there gave him confirmation of their solitude and that the land was wilderness and abandoned, Acatomatl returned at once with his people to his lord, Xolotl.” (1.19.44–45).
185. The words of the phrase *ma cequitopehua, oquinxexelui* are underlined in the style of the editor, but without further comment. The underlining, as shown, is not continuous and skips some letters of some words.
186. Literally, “pushing.”
187. The scribe first wrote *ynpcachi*, then overwrote the *p* as an *o*.
188. Literally, “marvelous” or “honored.”
189. The scribe wrote the *tz* of *tlazintlan* hurriedly, omitting the lower foot or a clear bar on the *t*; the result simply looks like a *z*. We take the hyphen here to be analogous to a colon, rather than an attempt to join *tlazintlan* with *zacatlan* as a hyphenated proper name.
190. The scribe wrote *oquinyeíantli*. The editor corrected this to *oquinyeyanti* in superscript.
191. The scribe wrote *mahuiza uhcan*. The editor corrected this to *mahuizauhca* in superscript.
192. The scribe wrote *oquixelo*. The editor corrected this to *oquinxelo* in superscript.
193. The scribe wrote *Totopec*. The editor corrected this to *tototepec* in subscript.
194. The # symbol was inserted here by a later hand to correspond with the notation “solo ap<sup>o</sup> algo del Capit.º 2º, L.º dhco” (only suitable something of the 2nd chapter, book 8, aforesaid) in the left margin.
195. These locations form a crescent around Tlaxcala in the contemporary states of Puebla and Hidalgo, suggesting again a Tlaxcalan perspective on the history. The reference to Tenayuca in the next sentence completes this pattern of listing areas surrounding Tlaxcala by listing a site to the west in the Valley of Mexico.
196. The upper right corner of the page is missing. Only the lower part of the reconstructed *t* is still present. There is room for about fourteen missing letters, including the reconstructed *tin*.
197. Lake Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico. Xolotl is credited with having distributed land outside the valley as well as around the lake.
198. The missing section of the upper right corner extends into this line. Following the *y*, the lower part of the *t* (including the left-hand portion of its bar) is still visible, making its reconstruction secure. The lower third of the next letter is also visible and is consistent with an *o* or an *a*. Only a tiny fragment is visible of the lower portion of the next letter, which we reconstruct as a *c*. The next letter is completely missing, but the one after that is reconstructable as a *y*, since its distinctive tail is still present. Finally, two lower fragments of the last letter of the lacuna are also present, and are consistent with the bottom of the loop and the tail of an *a*, a *u*, or perhaps an *x*. A later hand, which appears to be that of the editor, reconstructed part of the material as *itocayocan . . . iauh* below the missing section. Since this insertion was made after the loss of this portion of the page, it indicates that the editor was working some time after the actual writing by the scribe. Yet the editor’s willingness to introduce actual changes in the scribe’s spelling and, in some cases, morpheme choice suggests the work is early, still contemporaneous enough with the scribe to be treating the manuscript as a work in progress rather than as an earlier document being studied by a later scholar.
199. The scribe wrote *motzatzauh*. The editor amended this to *motzatzautic* in superscript, without the usual underlining of either the original or the insertion.
200. In Torquemada’s account, Xolotl resided in Tenayuca for seventeen years, and the move occurred in the eighteenth year: “In this way, Xolotl was enjoying this aforesaid life with his people in that region of hills and mountain ranges and relaxed for seventeen years. And in the eighteenth, he departed that place to the other one that his son Nopaltzin had surveyed in the other region of the lake (that now has the name of Tetzco, and that is the head and main city” (1.26.46).
201. Beginning at this line, a note in the left margin reads “En el capitulo 21. del dicho Libº. 10—lo tra deqº Xolotl le repartio las tierras a seis S. Señores Otomites”

- (in chapter 21 of aforesaid book 10—Xolotl's report of the division of the land from six Otomi lords).
202. The scribe ran *tlaca* and *quí-* together. The editor inserted the line to separate the two words.
203. The text appears to say, literally, "already they watched it that here they prepared themselves" which, according to Chavero (1903), could also be translated as "so that already he [Xolotl] advised them who remained here" (121). The assertion appears to be that they came with peaceful intentions, bringing only a few of their people with them, to determine whether the rest of their people would be welcome in the area.
204. Torquemada explained that "there came another six lords, although not all together, but rather following one another, arriving after one another at some interval of time. And they arrived at the presence of Xolotl eight years after his arrival at Tenayuca. They were these six lords of provinces, that neighbored the one of Xolotl, and although they were neighbors, they were not of his language. The histories of those lords do not say anything except who they were, and that they were the very main ones, and that they came with very few people, only themselves and their own. They went on populating and taking sites . . . they paid tribute to Xolotl, recognizing him as chief and lord. They were called Tecuatzin, Tzontehuayel, Acatechcochi, Huihuatzin, Tepozotecua, and Itzcuinca" (1.21.47).
205. That is, the Tlaxcalteca are erroneously included in this list, since they arrived at a later time.
206. A note in the margin to the left of this paragraph reads, "En el capitulo 23 del citado 16º no, trata nada" (in chapter 23 of the aforementioned 16th number treats nothing). This note would likely have been written parallel to the beginning of the paragraph, but the previous marginal note (see note 195) was long enough that it ended slightly below the first line of this paragraph. A line separates the two notes.
207. Torquemada explained that they were brothers (1.23.51).
208. Torquemada recounted the arrival of the Acolhua as follows: "Forty-seven years after the great Chichimec Xolotl took possession of the entire lands, and was their universal lord by virtue of there not being any in them who contended with him and because those who were with him recognized him as great, there came from the regions of the west three other lords with the title of kings, who brought following with them a greatly reinforced and powerful army of men who all appeared to be giants because of their greater numbers and fine presentation. These three lords carried a common first and last name, the name Acolhua, and they were of the lineage and blood of Zitzin, who was among those very ancient and noble houses" (1.23.51).
209. The verso of folio 5 begins with a lacuna. The upper left corner of this page is missing. The lower-left onset of the first letter on the page is visible and is consistent with an *A*. Gerste did not comment on the gap, but simply began a new paragraph with *Auh*. This was either a reconstruction of the last word of that gap, or more of the word was visible when he made his transcription.
210. The upper portions of the bracketed letters *ctli X* are missing, but enough of each letter remains to make their identification secure.
211. The # symbol was inserted here at a later time to refer to a note in the left margin that reads "En el capitu 27 ~~En~~: lo Rey e dho 16º" (in chapter 27 of the aforesaid 16th). This note specifically connects the note with Nopaltzin. The hyphen is a line-ending mark.
212. As Torquemada explained it (1.27.55), the three brothers approached Xolotl and promised their loyalty and service to him. Xolotl granted them lands, and his son Nopaltzin was charged with handling the details. Later, two of the brothers married daughters of Xolotl and were granted other favors.
213. Chiconquauhtli was an Otomi chief.
214. The text reads *ynicyei Ymon*, "his third son-in-law." The scribe made two errors in this phrase. Although there were three men, only two of them became sons-in-law. This would be in accord with the previous statement that *two* daughters (Cuetlaxochitl and Cihuaxochitl, who married Acolhua and Chiconquauhtli) were given in marriage. The *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) also indicates that the Acolhua chief Tzontecomatl did not marry a daughter of Xolotl. His wife is listed there as Cihuatetzin (elsewhere Cihuatzin), the daughter of Chalchiuhtlanextzin (elsewhere Chalchiuhtlatonac), the ruler of Tlalcomanalco. Torquemada explained that Tzontecomatl was somewhat younger than the two other Acolhua lords, and he was married sometime later to a woman named Coatetl, who was born in Chalco.
215. Torquemada recounted the marriage of the two lords in this way: "Here both ladies were married to

- the two aforementioned lords, with Acolhua, who was the elder of the two, taking the older one called Cuetlaxochitl and the second, called Chiconquauh, married Cihuacxoch, and the weddings and the giving of the wives were celebrated, with greatest rejoicings, both by Xolotl as by those of his court and kingdom . . . Of Tzontecomatl, the younger brother of these two lords, we have also said that sometime afterwards he married Coatetl, who was a granddaughter of the lords of the Culhua and Tolteca, and who had been born in Chalco to the Culhua, and she was of the most noble blood of the lesser lords of the Chichimeca . . . To Acolhua, the eldest of the three brothers, who had been given his elder daughter as wife, he gave the population and kingdom of Azcapotzalco; and the second, called Chiconquauhtli, he made him the lord of Xaltocan, which was another kingdom that lies in front of Azcapotzalco in the region of the north at a distance of four or five leagues; to the third, called Tzontecomatl, he assigned the kingdom of Coatlichan, a league in front of his court, in the region of the south” (1.26.53–1.27.54).
216. The scribe continued his previous error (see note 208) in counting the number of marriages by writing *yn yeime ichpoch huan*, since the text refers to the marriage of *two*, not three girls.
217. This colon seems to reference the note “// Cap. 29” (chapter 29) in the left margin.
218. She is identified as Azcatlaxochitzin in the *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) which describes her as the daughter of Pochotl, the son of Topiltzin, Tula’s final king. In that source, Pochotl’s wife is listed as Tochochipantzin (variant spelling, Toxochipantzin), the daughter of Nauhyotl, who was the ruler of Culhuacan. *Anónimo Mexicano* identifies the mother as Huitzilzilin.
219. To the left of *Topiltzin*, in the left margin, is the symbol “o/o” (aforesaid).
220. The scribe inserted the # symbol to mark a note in the left margin, next to the sentence beginning with *zatepanian*. The marginal note reads “retrocede al 27” (move back to 27).
221. As Torquemada reported: “It is also said, as a very certain and true thing, that there had been of that Toltec nation, a girl called Azcat’xochitl [Azcaxochitl], daughter of Pochotl and Huitzitzilin, granddaughter of one of the aforementioned major Toltec lords and leaders, according to the sayings and tales, who was reared by her mother in the town of Tlaximaloya a little less than thirty leagues more or less from this City of Mexico, in the region of the west” (1.29.56).
222. The upper right corner is missing. Gerste included the now missing *uh* which was, perhaps, lost thereafter. He omitted mention of any missing material, but simply continued with *hualaque*, which is the first word on the next line.
223. The reconstructed material is in the missing corner of the page. Enough of the lower *n* and *a* of the name are visible to be secure. The rest of the name is by implication from other parts of the text. Gerste’s transcription includes the rest of the missing section, which was perhaps still present when he made his transcription. The editor emended the last word to *quimacac* or *oquimacac* (the *o* now being lost) in nonunderlined superscript. Perhaps Gerste followed this emendation, since it implies that the scribe began the word in some other way.
224. The scribe began with *í*, then overwrote this letter as an *a*.
225. We take the scribe’s final *o* to be an error for an *a*.
226. The shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe was erected at Tepeyecac about AD 1555–1556. By AD 1568, the name derived from the shrine was established as a name for the town, as indicated by Bernal Diaz del Castillo ([1568] 1942, vol. 2, p. 81, who refers in his history to the fact that Cortés sent Sandoval to “una pueblo que se dice Tepeaquilla, adonde agora llaman Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe” (a town which they call Tepeaquilla, where it is known as Our Lady of Guadalupe). Thus the writing of *Anónimo Mexicano* can be definitely placed as later than AD 1555–1568.
227. Torquemada recounted the division of lands as follows: “After giving his opinion to them, he convened this parliament, and discussed and named the Chichimec Acatonale, who was one of his most dear ones; as the lord of the city and province of Cohuatepec. And as the ruler of Mamalhuazco he appointed Cuhuatlapal and Cozcaquauhtli; and to the ruler of Tepeaca, Iztacmitl, who was the son-in-law of the prince heir named Nopaltzin; and he gave the governing of Mazahuacan, along with those regions around it, to Tecpa and Iztacquauhtli” (1.27.55).
228. A marginal note in the left margin beginning with this line reads “o/o Cap. 33” (aforesaid chapter 33).
229. A note in the left margin using # to reference the text at the word *omic* reads “#/de/se salta desde *jmixpan* y luego pasa al tiempo q<sup>e</sup> vivio Señor Xolotl: sin q<sup>e</sup> lo

- del mas comvenga con la historia.” (#/of/skips from *jmixpan* and later passes to the time of the life of lord Xolotl: without which it hardly agrees with the history).
230. The scribe wrote *jmiospan*, which has been underlined by the editorial hand, and the editor inserted *jmixpan* in superscript. This seems to indicate that the writer of the marginal notes did his work prior to that of the editor.
231. The previous four words are underlined, with no accompanying editorial comment.
232. Literally, “already 200 years in his life” (1.33.60). The year of his death was ca. AD 1304. Torquemada gave a longer account of the death of Xolotl, including a deathbed speech attributed to him in which he appoints Nopaltzin as his successor. He also asserted that “espiro el Gran Padre Xolotl, aviendo vivido, pocos menos, de ducientos Años” (the great father Xolotl expired, having lived a few less than two-hundred years) (1.33.60). Torquemada also identified the sons of Nopaltzin as Tlotzin, who ruled in Tetzco, Quauhtequihuale, who was also called Tochintecuhtli, and Poponoc (1.37.62–63).
233. The insertion mark connects to a superscript in the hand usually found in the left margin. It reads “Cap<sup>i</sup> 37” (chapter 37), referencing the beginning of the parallel in Torquemada.
234. The word *omocau* is partially underlined. The underlining actually consists of two underlines. The underlining here is perhaps by the writer of the previous marginal note, marking the end of the material it references.
235. The # symbol was written in as a subscript, then inked out.
236. Literally, “he received.”
237. The vertical line is most likely simply an extraneous mark by the scribe.
238. Here the final accent appears to indicate nasalization, that is, the word is *inin*.
239. The scribe misspelled the name as *toltzin*. Tlotzin was the ruler of the Acolhua state, the capital of which was Teztoco. According to Torquemada, he was also named Pochotl (1.58.73).
240. Literally, “remained behind.”
241. According to Torquemada (1.37.62), Quauhtequihuale was also named Tochintecuhtli.
242. The verso of folio 6 begins with a lacuna. The upper left corner is missing. The bracketed material is supplied from Gerste. None of this text is visible today, because of the missing top-left corner of the leaf.
243. The bracketed material is missing, because the lacuna at the top left of the manuscript page extends into this line. The editor supplied *pilcauh itech* in subscript. The choice of subscript here, below the missing corner, again suggests that the editor was working after the damage to the manuscript. Enough of the lower part of the missing material is present to confirm all of the original except the *h*, of which only the very bottom of the left-hand foot remains.
244. The name is underlined in the scribal hand, and there is no accompanying editorial notation.
245. A note in the left margin associated with this sentence reads “Cap.º 43 L.º 8º” (chapter 43, 8th book).
246. Torquemada (1.41.66) identified the Tolantzinca as inhabiting a major province “diez y ocho Leguas al Norte” (eighteen leagues to the north).
247. Nopaltzin and his warriors.
248. The scribe wrote a mark of indeterminant form after *omimiqui*, perhaps the beginning of a letter which he then crossed through with several strokes, although the identity of the initial letter, if there was one, is unrecognizable. No marginal note, superscript, or subscript accompanies this mark.
249. The scribe wrote *toltzin*, and the editor corrected this to *tlotzin*.
250. The scribe began the word with *tl*, then overwrote the *l* as an *e*.
251. The succession was ca. AD 1369.
252. The author is apparently still referring to Tlotzin-Pochotl, explaining parenthetically why the previous sentence includes nothing of historical import between the ascension of Tlotzin-Pochotl and the passing of rulership to his son Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin.
253. Literally, “vain” or “wasteful.”
254. The scribe first wrote *caxtolime*, then crossed out the *-me*.
255. The scribe wrote *ahahuizoian*. The editor corrected this to *ahahuialoyan*.
256. Or this might be rendered as “licentiousness.” Torquemada said, regarding Tlotzin, that he did not make war; that he ruled in moderation and clemency, and that everyone loved him.
257. The = sign was written by the scribe at the end of the name, before beginning the next word, and it has no associated marginal note, superscript, or subscript.

258. The scribe began with a *t*, then overwrote it with a *c*.
259. The scribe wrote *ohuicoaya*. The editor underlined this and emended it to *ohuicóya* in superscript.
260. Torquemado said, concerning Quinatzin: “After the death of emperor Tlotzin (also named Pochotl) whose wife was called Quauhcihuatzin, daughter of the king of Huexotla, his son Quinatzin entered into the inheritance of the empire. His coronation was not held in the imperial city of Tenayuca, as was the one of his father and grandfathers (as we have said of their coronations) . . . and he moved to his city Tetzoco. It was he who was carried on the shoulders of four of the main lords, who did not have the title of king, with an umbrella that covered his head, the handles of which were held by four kings. And since they were making stops, they were alternating, both as the principle ones and lords in taking turns carrying the litter while those who were kings carried the umbrella, and the layovers would not be just a few, as the road was more than seven leagues.” (1.58.73).
261. The scribe began by writing *op*, then overwrote the *p* as an *m*.
262. The editor inserted the # symbol, but there is no accompanying marginal note, superscript, or subscript.
263. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The missing material is supplied from Gerste’s transcription, which was possibly done before the damage to the line.
264. The letters in the torn section of the corner are partially missing, beginning with the *N*, but are almost entirely visible through the lowercase *n*. The lower part of the following *tzin* is only visible for the foot of each letter, except for the full tail of the *z*. The editor reconstructed the noun in subscript as *nantzin*, and this fits the existing fragments perfectly, leaving little doubt about the reconstruction. The damage was likely already present at the time the editor made his addition.
265. This is most likely the same person as the Tenancaltzin who is listed in the *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) as the younger brother of Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin’s father. This would make him the *brother-in-law* of Quinatzin’s mother, Pachxochitl, rather than “brother” as is indicated here. Torquemada (1.58.74) said, concerning Tenancaltzin: “Aora queda en este punto, con decir, que luego que el Emperador tuvo nueva de su Entrada, embió à Tenancaltzin, su Tio, a` que la reconociese, y supiese su intento, como lo hico, y dejò pasar” (now it ends at this point, saying that as soon as the Emperor had newly entered the rulership, he sent to his uncle Tenancaltzin, so that he would be recognized and his intentions known and so it happened and he was allowed to enter).
266. About AD 1250.
267. That is, from the time he intercepted the Mexica war party.
268. The base of the *l* and the *í* ran together somewhat, but the identity of the *í* is clear.
269. Literally, “he continued it until Chapultepec.” He was preventing them from moving down the east side of the lake.
270. The commentator inserted the # symbol, added the superscript comment “Cap.º 6.º Lib.º 2º” (chapter 6, book 2), and placed the following note in the left-hand margin: “quando uno . . . . . unos los Rey y lo llevaron Sepultar se busca el Capitulo parra lo Capit.º 8 Lib.º 2. In el principio y so dicho in lo mata p<sup>r</sup> mayor y mui superfluo . . . . . faltares lo muchas cosas” (When one . . . . . of the kings was taken to be buried. Search the chapters towards chapter 8 of book 2. In the beginning and only in the treating of the major part and much superfluous . . . . . missing of many things).
271. The scribe began with an *o*, then overwrote it as a *c*.
272. That is, from the time he intercepted the Mexica war party. Hence, about AD 1310.
273. Literally, “he was the first they filled him.”
274. The commentator added “se encontro” (it was encountered) at the end of this line.
275. The scribe wrote *hoccequineque*. The editor inserted *oc cequin quineque* in superscript.
276. The *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) lists Tecotlatlatzin (there spelled Techoltlatlatzin) as the son of Quinatzin (there spelled Quinantzin) and as his immediate successor. Although he is here referred to as the son of Tenancaltzin, we have seen that Tenancaltzin was actually his father’s uncle. Thus Tenancaltzin, who “took control” after the death of his hedonistic brother’s son Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin, may have served simply as regent rather than as king himself until the rulership passed to Quinatzin-Tlaltecatzin’s son, Tecotlatlatzin.
277. The scribe assimilated the final *n* into the writing of the initial *n* of the next word.



278. The scribe wrote *metztecaz chimeca*, then inserted *ca* in superscript following *metztecaz*. We take the second word to be a misspelling of *Chi:chi:me:cah*.
279. The scribe wrote *tecpanneca*. We take this to be a misspelling for *Tepaneca*.
280. The scribe began with *oq*, then overwrote these two letters as *C*.
281. Literally, “towns to where nobles were caused to pass.”
282. The upper left corner of the page is missing, and only the bottom segment of the first letter is visible. Gerste’s transcription continues *yei tlatoque*. The *yei* was perhaps still present when his photographic copy was made, and the fragmentary segment of the first letter is not in the scribe’s style of the tail of a *y*. Gerste ignored the editor’s superscript, which begins at the right edge of the break as *macuilitin tlatoque*.
283. The *c* in the middle of the word was crossed through lightly, and an *h* was written above it in superscript but then crossed out. This appears to be in the hand of the editor, although it could, perhaps, have been done by the scribe in a smaller, less heavy style than normal.
284. The missing letters are on the lost portion of the corner. The upper half of the *n* of *quen* is missing, but the reconstruction is clear. The editor, in subscript, corrected the original text to *quenami tlaltlatoani*, which seems more likely. The scribe wrote *u* instead of *a* in *tlatoani*.
285. The scribe wrote *tlamachiliztlí*. The editor corrected this to *itlalnamiquiliz* in the left margin.
286. Literally, “this one governed his thinking with wisdom.”
287. Literally, “he shared.”
288. The scribe first wrote *chicuacei*, then corrected this to *chicnavh* by overwriting the *u* with an *n*, the *ce* with a *v*, and the *i* with an *h*.
289. Or “he divided.”
290. Literally, “the others.”
291. The grave accent above the *a* is different from the scribe’s usual form and may be simply an extraneous mark.
292. Literally, “away from it.”
293. Literally, “agree.”
294. In other words, they would fear that their new neighbors, being outsiders, might betray them if they showed agreement.
295. A note in the left margin reads “Capitulo j<sup>o</sup> del libro 2<sup>o</sup> y no acabo” (chapter 1 of book 2 and not finished).
296. The scribe wrote *cuil*, then overwrote the *l* as a *c*.
297. The introduction is set off from the rest of the text by a series of curved equal signs across the bottom of the page.
298. There is a number “8” at the top of the page, identifying the page as the recto of the eighth manuscript leaf.
299. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The first four letters of *Altepehuey* are fully visible, along with the lower half of the second *e* and the bottom third of the tail of the *y*. Gerste supplied the missing text. Notably, there is no superscripted note by the editor, so this material was perhaps visible when Gerste made his transcription.
300. The scribe wrote *omocecan*, then added another *c* in superscript between the *e* and the *c*.
301. The scribe omitted the preterit prefix *o-*.
302. More idiomatically, this might be translated as “they reproduced rapidly” or “their population grew rapidly.”
303. Literally, “near the water.”
304. According to the manuscript, *mecochohl oquicac*, “he heard both sides”—which is to say he was astute.
305. The scribe wrote what appears to be *cacicaat*, then overwrote the *t* with a *z* and ended with *ic*.
306. The scribe spelled this *tototzintlí*, both here and below. In the left margin of this line is what may be a drawing of the bird.
307. In Nahuatl, the bird calls can be interpreted onomatopoeically as “Let’s go!” In other words, the bird of omen is impatiently urging their departure to a new land.
308. The scribe wrote *oquinmil- huí*. The editor corrected this to *oquimilhui*, in superscript, without underlining the original.
309. The scribe began the word with a lowercase *a*, then overwrote it as *A*. The word *Azteca* is generally thought to have been a post-colonial neologism. For instance, Miguel León-Portilla (2000) recently published an article in *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* in which he dates the word to the late eighteenth century. Thus its occurrence here is likely the earliest example of the word. Although this was not a pre-Conquest, native term, and although it is likely correct that this innovation did not come into common usage until the late eighteenth century, it is found here in the scribal hand, attesting to at least its one-time occurrence in the early seventeenth century.

310. The scribe wrote *oquintlatlacihiúq*. The editor corrected it to *oquimicihuitique*, in superscript, without underlining the original.
311. The scribe wrote *totzotzintlí*. We take this to be a misspelling of *to:toltzintlí*.
312. The scribe wrote *tlacatl*. The editor corrected this to *tlacatl* in superscript, underlining the first word to emphasize that it had been omitted by the scribe.
313. The scribe wrote *huicoca*, and the editor emended this to *ihuicoca* in underlined superscript.
314. The scribe wrote *quintlatalhuiiaya*. The editor corrected this to *quintlalahuiiaya*, in superscript, without underlining the original.
315. The scribe placed an opening parenthesis at the beginning of the sentence (before *occe-quin*) but failed to provide a closing parenthesis in the text. We judge the entire end of the paragraph starting with *Occequin* and ending with *Calpitzco* to be a parenthetical comment by the scribe, although we have entirely omitted the parentheses surrounding this material for the sake of clarity of reading. Although the final letter of *Calpitzco* is clearly an *o* in the manuscript, we have treated this as a spelling error for *Calpitzca*, since the former is a place name while the other nouns are given in the list as ethnic groups.
316. The upper left corner of the manuscript is missing. Gerste transcribed the bracketed words without comment as *ohualaque inahuachu*, and interpreted the next two letters as *ic*. His reading of the two final letters (which are visible on the manuscript to the right of the lacuna) is incorrect, as they are clearly *uc*. The confusion may be because the right side of the *u* does have an ink mark above it that could be confused with the dot of an *i*. This is either simply an extraneous mark, or the dot of a preceding *i*, has been staggered to the right. We therefore reinterpret Gerste's final three letters of the lacuna as *chi*, the beginning of *chiucnahui*, "nine," which accords with the number of listed groups. Regarding the preceding material, there are two fragmentary letters to the left of the lacuna. Above and to the left is a very fragmentary mark that could be the lower left-hand quarter of the letter *o*. This might be the beginning of an editorial insertion and the basis of Gerste's *ohualaque*. The second appears to be the first letter of the line by the scribe, an *h* and may represent the beginning of *hualaque*, the scribe having once again omitted the initial pretente prefix, *o*, which the editor then corrected in superscript. Assumedly, the lacuna is larger today than it was when Gerste made his transcription and the first word and editorial correction may have been visible to Gerste.
317. The editor underlined the final *n* and began a note in superscript, but left only a single ink mark there. We omit the final *n*, treating it as a scribal error.
318. The scribe first wrote *Tecpanecâ*, then covered the first *c* with ink when crossing it out.
319. The scribe began to write *ca*, then overwrote the *a* as *u* and continued *itlahuacan*, *chichimeca*. Then the scribe made an editorial mark here that seems to indicate that the comma should be removed after *cuitlahuacan*. Finally, the scribe placed an opening parenthesis before *cuitlahuacan* and a closing parenthesis after *chichimec*. This seems to mean that he intended the two to refer to a single group of people, the Chichimec of Cuitlahuacan, rather than two groups, the Cuitlaca and the Chichimeca. This would change the number of groups listed from the scribe's count of nine to only eight. We believe that the scribe was confused, and the intended parenthetical statement was not to equate the Cuitlahuaca and the Chichimeca, but the Chichimeca and the Tlaxcalteca. We have therefore shifted the parentheses accordingly. This leaves the count of groups as nine, the number which is given at the top of the page by the scribe himself.
320. That is, the Mexica Aztecs of Tenochtitlan.
321. The scribe wrote *yna*, then overwrote the final letter as *y*, which we take to be a third-person possessive prefix for the next word, *maltepeuh*.
322. A note pertaining to the phrase *netla:lil in:in a:ltepe:uh* in the left margin is not clearly decipherable, but seems to repeat the phrase. The final word is overwritten, making decipherment of the small lettering problematic.
323. The editor underlined several words and wrote one or two words in superscript above *Ypanpa*. The words of the editor are indecipherable.
324. Although the # symbol follows *huitzinton*, it was probably intended to mark the word *tochtli* on the line below it (see note 317).
325. The scribe first wrote *ynan*, then overwrote the final *n* with *c* and continued with *htopa*.
326. The author gave the European date for Two Rabbit as AD 1194. Torquemada reported the story of the omen and the ensuing migration as follows: "and the

justification they had for making this long journey and for putting themselves in the position of walking so far is that it came to pass, quite incredibly, that a bird appeared to them on many occasions: It was singing, shrieking repeatedly a sound that they wanted to convince themselves was ‘Tihui’ which means ‘Let us go, already!’ And as this was repeated for many days and many times over, one of the wisest of that lineage and family, called Huitzinton, pondered it and considered the possibility and decided to take this song as the basis for his decision, saying that it was an omen that some hidden deity sent by means of the song of that bird. And he had a sympathizer and supporter in his efforts. He discussed it with the other one, called Tecpatzin, and said: ‘Perchance, did you not notice that which the bird says to us?’ Tecpatzin responded that he had not. To that, Huitzinton said. ‘What that bird commands to us is that we go away with him,’ and it is right that we should obey him and follow him. Tecpatzin attended as did Huitzinton to the song of the bird. He came to the same interpretation, and both together gave the people to understand it. They persuaded them that it was great luck that it called them. And because of their incessant urging, the people moved their houses and left that place and followed whatever fortune that awaited them in their future. But although all were of a same generation and lineage, all of them did not live underneath one single family, but, they were divided into four groups, the first of which was called Mexica. The second, Tlacochalca. The third, Chalmecca. And the fourth, Calpilco. Others say, that these families were nine, which correspond to those known as the Chalca, Matlatzinca, Tepaneca, Malinalca, Xochimilca, Cuitlahuaca, Chichimeca, Mizquica, and Mexica.

“Others say, that the screech, ‘Tihui,’ was only heard by Huitzinton and Tecpatzin; but that they did not see the bird that uttered it. But whether it was this way or the other, everything is just a fable that was made up here, and told so that all would agree on the departure and the motive for urging it. They left, then, the Aztecs, guided by Tecpatzin, and Huitzinton from their land, in the first year of their first Century, (because it was after this that that they commenced to count it) and they wandered some days in which they spent the space and time of a year” (1.1.78).

327. The scribe misspelled the word *tochtli* and unsuccessfully attempted to correct it, but the quill

ran at this point, so he then inserted a small *h* in superscript, probably after resharpening the quill. This correction proved inadequate, not just because of the blotched writing of *tochtli*, but because he also failed to include the year number before *tochtli*. So he then inserted a large # symbol above the word *tochtli*, and wrote *ome* in the right margin after *cahuatl* and *tochtli* in the left margin of this line, separating it from the line of text with a slash curved in the direction of a closing parenthesis to indicate that it should be inserted in place of the original word.

328. A note in the left margin intended, perhaps, as an insertion at the point where this # symbol was added, was crossed out after it was written (apparently by the same writer, perhaps the scribe). It is not decipherable with any certainty: *ta h.. quipana* or *ta h. aqui pana*. The final three letters are uncertain.
329. We assume the scribe’s *chimozcoc* to be a misspelling of *Chicomoztoc*.
330. The scribe first wrote *nepapantlal*, then overwrote the final *l* as *c* and continued with a final *a*.
331. That is, the Tlaxcalteca Chichimec led by Huitzinton and Tecpatzin left Aztlan before the Mexica, but the Mexica arrived in the Valley of Mexico before them (see Torquemada 3.6.252–253). Gerste’s Spanish translation ends here.
332. Someone, perhaps the editor, placed dotted square brackets around the material from *macihui* through *mexica*, but there are no associated editorial comments.
333. In the top left corner of the page, the editor wrote the notation “p 1. de Po” (page 1 of document). The scribe wrote the number “9” at the top center of the page, indicating that this was the recto side of the ninth leaf of the manuscript.
334. The upper right corner of the manuscript is missing. Gerste included the bracketed material without comment, and included *yhuan* between the two verbs, although the available space in the lacuna makes it more likely that the two verbs were simply separated by a comma. The editor underlined the first word and wrote *mitenhua* in superscript. An editorial hand also inserted *motene* in front of the final part of the word, *hua*, which begins the second line of text. The editor continued the underlining under this syllable to connect his insertion to it. Again, this demonstrates that some deterioration of the text had occurred prior to the editors’ additions

- and corrections to the text. A note in Spanish in the hand of the second commentator reads “Capítulo 6. libro 3 noten cena sa no la encluye todo” (chapter 6 of 3rd book including everything).
335. The scribe began *mochi* with a *p*, then overwrote it as an *m*.
336. The scribe wrote *teuctlatoca*, then added an insertion mark after the final *a* and wrote a *u* in superscript.
337. Tezozomocli ruled Azcapotzalco from AD 1366 to 1426. Ixtlilxochitl was killed in 1418.
338. The introductory paragraph was separated from the next paragraph by a line of wavy equal signs.
339. Literally, “its settling counted five hundred and thirty years,” the count starting, perhaps, from the fall of Tollan in AD 1068. If so, this would suggest a date for the writing of *Anónimo Mexicano* of about AD 1598.
340. The number of years is underlined, beginning with *centzontlí* and ending with *xihuitl*; . The underlining appears to be in the lighter style of the editor, but there is no accompanying marginal notation, superscript, or subscript.
341. Torquemada said that the first lord was Acolhua. He noted that by some accounts the first lord was named Huetcintecuhtli, but he concluded that these two were one and the same person. However, the manuscript clearly says that Acolhua was the *second* ruler. In *Anónimo Mexicano*, the phrase containing the name of the first lord is *ce Hueytzin teuhtlí*, which might also be translated simply as “a great lord.”
342. The *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955) lists Acolhua as one of Xolotl’s sons-in-law: Acolhua, husband of Xolotl’s daughter Cuetlaxochitzin.
343. The underlining of *macuilpoalli xiuhtica* appears to be in the lighter style of the editor, but there is no accompanying marginal notation, superscript, or subscript.
344. The scribe finished the page with *Xolotl*; the next two lines of text, beginning with *auh* and ending with *yecyopan*, were written in the hand of the editor.
345. The upper left corner of the page is missing. Only the initial letter of the first sentence is visible. The remainder is supplied from Gerste. It was perhaps still visible when he made his transcription.
346. Cuecuex, a son of Acolhua, and also the name of the principal god of the Acolhua. Note the scribe’s use of *ch* for the final consonant.
347. The ink ran on the first *a*.
348. Having been destroyed in the Conquest.
349. The name is double-underlined in the lighter style of the editor, but there is no accompanying marginal note, subscript, or superscript.
350. Tezacoatl is not listed in Torquemada (see note 360 for Torquemada’s list of kings). Rather, his list skips directly from Matlaccóatl to Tezcapoctli. The “Genealogia de los Reyes de Azcapotzalco” of the *Anales de Tlatelolco* also lists a ruler between Matlaccóatl and Tezcapoctzin (Berlin-Neubart 1948, p. 21). This is undoubtedly the same individual, but this text gives him the name of Chiconquiauhtzin: “Cuando Matlaccóatl hubo muerto, se sentó su hijo Chiconquiauhtzin (como soberano). Después pidió en Xaltocan a la hija del chichimeca Upantzin, una muchacha llamada Xicomóyaua. Sólo engendró a los dos hijos: Tezcapoctzin y Acolnauacatzin” (When Matlaccoatl was dead, his son Chiconquiauhtzin was seated as sovereign. Afterwards in Xaltocan he asked for a girl called Xicomoyaua, the daughter of the Chichimec Upantzin. He only engendered two children: Tezcapoctzin and Acolnauacatzin). Neither are they listed in the *Xolotl Codex* (Dibble 1955), which shows Tezozomocli as a son and the successor of Acolhua.
351. The scribe first wrote *omin*, then overwrote the final letter as a *C*.
352. Literally, “paintings.”
353. Literally, “papers.”
354. The scribe separated the two parts of the name with a space, but connected the two by running the onset of the *t* from the top of the preceding *c*. The hyphen here is not in the original, but is merely our means of noting this connection of the two parts of the name.
355. The broken underlining in this sentence is by the scribe and merely marks the end of the page.
356. The upper right corner of the page is missing. Gerste omitted this material without comment. A fragment of the lower foot of the onset of the first missing letter tail is present, and could be the bottom of an *i*, *h*, *n*, or *m*. The tail of the last missing letter, a *y* in the article *yn*, is also present. The missing word is unreconstructable, but given the space available, something such as *o:hualaqueh* or *o:hualquizqueh* is likely. The latter would conform to Torquemada.
357. Only the first two letters of the lacuna are reconstructable. The bottom of the first is the foot of an uppercase *Y*, and both legs of an ensuing *n* are also visible. All that remains of the final letter of the

missing material is a dot, the fragmentary end of the foot of the letter, which is insufficient to guess its identity. The words to the left of the lacuna (*to:ltic, a:catitlan*) were underlined (beginning with the final letter of the preceding word) in a style that could be either that of the scribe or the editor. No emendation or marginal note accompanies the underlining.

358. The two paragraphs were originally joined by a now-missing line. Its absence causes the current first paragraph to end with a four-word sentence fragment, “in the life of this lord-ruler,” and the next paragraph to begin with a similarly incomplete sentence, “Mexica Atitlan, grassy, among the reeds.” The missing words between *ynemiliz* and *Mexica* have been reconstructed, based on Torquemada’s rendition of this part of the account.
359. The scribe wrote *tz*, then crossed it out with three strokes.
360. Torquemada recounted the names of Acolhua, Cuecuex, and the ensuing kings who preceded Tezozomocli, although he omitted the name of Tezcacoatl: “The first [ruler] was Acolhua, son-in-law of Emperor Xolotl, or so it appears, according to what is said of him in the history of this same Emperor Xolotl. However, the Azcapotalca histories say that the first Lord, whom they had in that town was named Huetintecuhtli. So there is difficulty, about which of these it was. But to remove the doubt. I say, that it could be that he was called by both of these names, because the old people of those times had them (as is said in the Tlaxcalteca histories) and there were many who not only had one or two names, but also three and four, based on the events and memorable things that they did. And among men this is not a new thing, because in the sacred scriptures we know that the kings of Israel and others of other regions were named with two and three names. Similarly, our king of Azcapotalco, called Acolhua, might also have been called Huetintecuhtli by some, who accepted the diversity of these two names. Or it could be that those of his family, when they entered into this land, knew him by this name of Acuilhuacatecuhtli, and then those of its kingdom and city of Azcapotalco knew him and named him as Huetintecuhtli, and it is quite believable that the one and the other name refers to the same person, because the histories of the Acuilhua Tetzcoanas, attribute much life and many years to Acolhua, son-in-law of Xolotl Emperor, and those

of Azcapotalco say that this Huetin the first king of theirs lived for a little less than two hundred years, so that they agree one and the other, and about the life of this king the accounts concur.

“When Acolhua Huetintecuhtli died, his son Cuecuex entered in his place, of whom the number of years that he reigned is not said except that the time he governed his kingdom was long. Once he was dead, his successor was a son of his called Quauhtintecuhtli, grandson of king Acolhua Huetintecuhtli. That which he did and the years he ruled are not known because the papers of his history have been lost. After this one came Ilhuicamina, and after Ihuicamina, Matlacohuatl. And after this one, another one, called Tezcapoctli; and after Tezcapoctli, another one, who was named Teotlehuac, whose histories and years of reign and governing have been lost and perished, perhaps because the ancient Indians hid these papers, so that the Spaniards would not take them from them when they entered the city and the lands, and they remained lost, by virtue of the death of those who hid them, or perhaps because the monks, and the first bishop Don Juan de Zumarraga burned them along with many others of great importance for knowing the antiquities of this land, because like all of them they had figures and characters, that portrayed known and unknown animals, plants, trees, stones, mountains, waters, mountain ranges, and others things of this type that they believed were a demonstration of superstitious idolatry. And so they burned all amounts they could get their hands on, so that had not some particular Indians been diligent in hiding part of these papers and histories, we would not now know of them, even the record that we have.

“After this, king Teotlehuac was succeeded in the kingdom by Tihuactlatonac, who was king for sixty years during which time the Mexicans arrived to this land and lake” (3.6.252–253).

361. Tezozomocli’s mother served as regent for four years before he took office, perhaps because he was still young when his father died.
362. The scribe wrote *omotlatocatlali*. We take this to be a misspelling of *o:motlahtoca:ti*.
363. His son was Maxtla.
364. The scribe wrote *zanío*. This is a scribal error for *zanic*.
365. The phrase *nápohualixi- utl* is underlined with no accompanying editorial comment and the # symbol

- was probably inserted to mark the marginal note “Cap°. 12 lib°. 3°” (chapter 12, 3rd book).
366. Texcallan is an alternative designation for Texcalticpac, the actual site of which lies a short distance north of contemporary Tlaxcala. According to Diego Muñoz Camargo ([1892] 1966), Texcalticpac was originally named Tepeticpac; this name was later changed to Texcallan, and finally to Tlaxcala.
367. Literally, “by his being favored as a lord.”
368. Culhuacateuctli Cuanexcaye was first king of the Tlaxcalan Chichimeca. He made his residence at the Tlaxcalan cabecera of Texcalticpac (also called Tepeticpac). Torquemada identified him as Culhuacatecuhtliquanez (3.12.265). According to Brundage (1972), he became the first lord of Tlaxcala after the Chichimec victories in the area. He was also known as Culhua Tecpanecatl Quanezteyaolminqui and Culhua Quanez. In chapter 5 (see page 34) of *Anónimo Mexicano*, he is also called Cuanexpili.
369. A note subscripted at the bottom of the page is difficult to decipher, but appears to read “voy algun p. 2 coysi d P°: aqui . . . . . y nada p. 12 . . . . .” (some goes on page 2 of the copied document: here . . . . . and nothing on page 12 . . . . .).
370. The top left corner of the page is missing. The first word of the title is reconstructed from the context. Only the very end of the pen stroke of the letter *c* is visible on the right edge of the lacuna.
371. The scribe set off the introductory paragraph with a line of wavy equal signs.
372. A marginal note to the left reads “o/o re busca” (search it[?]).
373. The scribe has written the *u* close upon the preceding *c*, although the gap is visible. The *c* here is a single, distinct stroke, and the ensuing *u* begins at its top left with a distinct setting of the pen—that is, a slight upstroke at about a thirty-degree angle before the initial downstroke to form the left side of the letter.
374. Rosay Saldívar ([1847] 1947) attributed the authorship of this chapter to Benito Itzacmaquechtlī (who is referred to in the chapter itself as the source of the information), and contended that the contents of the chapter were invented by him. Although the material of this chapter does have some correspondences in Torquemada, they are not as extensive and detailed in form as are those of the previous chapters. Nevertheless, the parallels are more than merely the fortuitous result of the fact that the two documents happen to deal with some of the same historical material. For instance, it is possible to reconstruct the missing line between paragraphs one and two in *Anónimo Mexicano* from Torquemada’s account of Tzihuac Tlatonac’s reign. Such correspondence would be unlikely if this chapter of *Anónimo Mexicano* were a simple invention. Although Rosa y Saldívar may be correct in attributing this chapter to a different author than that of the rest of the manuscript, the contents should not have been so fully dismissed on that account.
375. The name *franciscanos* is underlined in the text, with no accompanying editorial comment. The scribe frequently, though not always, underlined words of Spanish origin.
376. The editor underlined this word and corrected it in superscript to *necuatiquiliztli*. He also inserted dotted square brackets around the preceding material. The opening bracket precedes *oquimaycuilo*, and the closing bracket comes after *necuayatequiliztli*.
377. About AD 1519–1524.
378. The name *Aztlan* is underlined in the lighter style of the marginal commentator, with no associated editorial comment. A number of place names are similarly underlined by the scribe throughout the manuscript.
379. Literally, “they went along teaching it to us hither.”
380. Literally, “painted papers” or “written papers.”
381. Literally, “used to lie rolled together.”
382. The scribe first wrote *matlactli on*, then crossed this out and continued with *nahuy*.
383. The scribe first wrote only *zatepan, yeo* and then inserted *ian* in superscript above the comma, since there was insufficient space to insert it in the line of text.
384. Literally, “separated themselves.”
385. The scribe’s *o quin hualycantocataque* was a misspelling of *oquinhualyacantocataque*. However, the editor underlined this word and corrected it in superscript to *oquinhualcauhtocatiaque*.
386. Brundage (1972) suggests that this was about AD 1168.
387. The editor underlined this word and corrected it in superscript to *oquinhualyacanaya*.
388. The scribe began the word with a *t*, then used it as the initial bar of an uppercase *Y*.
389. There is an extraneous scribal mark above the semi-final *a*, as well as a nasalizing mark over the final one.

- The first of these was possibly written as a nasalizing mark, and then stricken through by the scribe when he realized that only the final *a* should be so marked. Gerste treated both as nasalizing marks, and transcribes this as *ynizquitlacamanca*.
390. The underlining is by the editor, but there are no accompanying marginal notes, superscripts, or subscripts.
391. Literally, “spread.”
392. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. A later hand, possibly the editor’s, inserted *omo-* in the left margin immediately before *cehuíco* (which begins the next line).
393. The lacuna extends into the second line. The lower legs of the first missing letter are visible, and are clearly those of an *n*. In subscript under the *aten* at the start of the break, the editor wrote *atenco*. Most of a comma at the appropriate place to follow the scribe’s *atenco* is visible below the lacuna. The editor did not place a subscript below the rest of the missing material, so the page likely deteriorated more after the editor’s insertion. We suspect this occurred before Gerste made his transcription. Gerste’s transcription gives the last letters of the missing material as *onpa*. However, this cannot be correct, since the next to the last missing letter has the tail of a *y*, not that of a *p*. Enough of the last letter (from its bottom center point through its right leg) remains to reconstruct either a *u* or an *a*. The latter is more likely.
394. *Poyauhtlan* has been underlined in the style of the marginal commentator. There is no accompanying editorial comment.
395. A note in the left margin, beginning at this line, reads “Que salio . . . . hombre barbuos 255 lib<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>o</sup> no con todos los señas se traer aqui” (who departed . . . . bearded man, [page] 255, 3rd book, not with all signs brought here). This note has been crossed through from top to bottom with two lines. Beneath it, the commentator wrote “Cap<sup>o</sup>. 9 libr<sup>o</sup> 3<sup>o</sup>” (chapter 9, 3rd book).
396. Camaxtli was the tutelary god of the Teochichimecs. He was commonly equated with Mixcoatl, the Mexica god of the hunt.
397. This combines the names of the Tlaxcalan hunting god Camaxtli with that of Mixcoatl, the god of the hunt of the Mexica Aztecs of the Valley of Mexico. Underlined in the style of the editor. The marginal note given in note 395 may refer to this name.
398. Literally, “a beard owner.”
399. The word *ixhuitzallachia* contains *ix-*, “eye,” and *-lachia*, “to look, to see.” Simèon lists *ixhuitzallachia*, “to see little and weakly, because of having small eyes.” Mixcoatl, however, was a god of hunting, so we would expect the opposite.
400. The scribe mistakenly wrote the final *c* as an *e*.
401. Literally, “at the top of his head,” idiomatic for “in his presence” or “before this very person.”
402. *Mitxa* is the Nahuatalized form of the Spanish word “misa” (mass).
403. Literally, “priestly rulers,” i.e., priests rather than friars.
404. Literally, “he sits having clothing by means of a white cloak.”
405. An accent over the *i* of the semi-final syllable either ran when the accent was made or, more likely, was deliberately crossed out by the scribe and the ink ran.
406. The scribe first wrote *yait*, then overwrote the final letter as an *a*.
407. The scribe wrote *tlatatihue*, *hey*. The editor corrected the last three letters in superscript to *huey*.
408. The scribe wrote *ocualhuicay*. The editor underlined the final two letters of this word and the correction . . . *aya* in superscript.
409. The scribe wrote *xicomítl*. The editor corrected this to *micomítl* in superscript.
410. The scribe wrote *cuamíztin*. The editor corrected this in superscript to *quauhíztin*.
411. A note in the left margin, beginning at this line, reads “Ge~~ta~~ Geurra. del Poyahutlas–/259 Lib<sup>o</sup>. idem” (war of Poyauhtlan–/259 the same book). The “259” is most likely a page number.
412. Literally, “thus already they themselves quarreled.”
413. The Acolhuas were the people whose dominant city was Tetzoco. The Tepaneca’s principal city was Azcapotzalco.
414. Literally, “thus they were always conquering and reflecting on war.”
415. The top left corner of the page is missing. The editor reconstructed the last word in superscript above *ozque* as *ya hualozque*. The beginning word of the page can only be guessed at. *Inic* would fit the available space, but no direct evidence remains.
416. The scribe first wrote *ynin*, then overwrote the final letter as a *c*.
417. The infiltration of the Chichimeca was of great concern, due to their bellicosity.

418. The scribe wrote *Yaomani loque*. In superscript, the editor entered *yaomanilique*. This differs from the scribe's entry in only three particulars: the scribe's initial capitalization, a space left between the *i* and the *l*, and—the probable reason for the entry—two ink spatters that cross the final four letters and that might have been mistaken for deliberate pen strokes without the editorial superscript that makes it clear that those letters should not be stricken.
419. In superscript above the line-ending hyphen, the scribe wrote what might be *li*, perhaps to clarify the final two letters of the line, since the final letter is poorly written and could be confused with an *n*. Alternatively, and more likely, the marks may have been nothing more than a clearing of excess ink from the quill.
420. The location of Teotlixco is not known, though the text places it near the Plains of Poyauhtlan, below Mount Poyauhtlan. Torquemada explained the term as idiomatic for “ends of the earth,” but Sahagún treats it as an actual place “toward the southern sea” (1963, vol. 11, p. 25), which is descriptive of Lake Chalco. This would place the location south of the location where Torquemada and *Anónimo Mexicano* place the battle—on the plains between Chimalhuacan and Coatlinchan. Teotlixco may have been the main center of Teochichimec occupation—somewhere near Lake Chalco, and therefore mentioned here as the place to defeat them—even though the actual battle occurred ten or more miles from that center.
421. The || symbol was inserted by the editor, apparently to signal a paragraph break. We have introduced the break on that basis, and have done so in both the first and second column to maintain parallelism, although it is not present in the original manuscript.
422. Literally, “truly there.”
423. The reference here may be to a dam on the Rio Coatepec, which entered Lake Texcoco just two miles north of Chimalhuacan. Thus the fighting would have occurred, as reported by Torquemada, “between Coatlinchan and Chimalhuacan” (3.9.259) on or near the headwaters of the Rio Coatepec and the Rio de San Bernardino, between those two locations. This war, known as the Chichimecayaoyotl or Chichimeca War, began about AD 1376. It resulted in the Texcala Chichimeca, who had been settling in the region of Teopoyauhtlan in the kingdom of Chalco, being driven out of the Valley of Mexico by the Tepaneca.
- They crossed into what is now Puebla, where they founded cities such as Huexotzinco and Texcala, which is now known as Tlaxcala.
424. The name has been underlined in the style of the scribe. Various proper names are similarly underlined in the manuscript.
425. The editor underlined *oquin* and inserted *oqui* in underlined superscript, then crossed out his correction.
426. A note in the left margin reads “*tlahuiz tonaz tlanecíz*” (to shed light, to be sunny, to dawn). These are the same words found in the text four lines lower, although the order differs.
427. Literally, “on the head.”
428. The scribe first wrote *theo*, then overwrote the final vowel as a *u*.
429. The scribe ran *maoque* together. The editor wrote *ma aoc* above this to indicate that the first two letters should be separated from the rest.
430. A note in the left margin, to the left of *tlanecíz*, reads “Cap 10” (chapter 10).
431. By some accounts after the battle, the Chichimeca divided into two or three groups. One migrated east by way of a northerly route, while the larger group traveled south to Amecameca and then crossed Mount Popocatepetl into the next valley, passed north by way of Cholollan, and settled at Texcalticpac.
432. Literally, “that not again.”
433. This suggests a southern migration, as does the reference to passing Amecameca (see note 429).
434. Torquemada said they went to Teotlixco, which suggested a southern route from the battle. The Nahuatl text could mean that, or also a migration from their seat at Teotlixco. The migration is past the vicinity of Chalco and Amecameca, towards the Puebla Valley, by the Pass of Cortés on the northern side of Popocatepetl and south of Iztaccihuatl. The point of view adopted by the scribe supports a Tlaxcala or Huexotzinco origin for the manuscript.
435. The scribe wrote the number “12” and centered it at the top of the page, indicating that this is the recto of the twelfth manuscript leaf. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The first partial letters in the lacuna, *l* and *p*, are missing only part of their tops, and their identification is unquestionably correct. Only a small fragment of the tail of the *z* is still present, but it doesn't match any alternative tailed letter, and the spacing between it and the preceding *p* is right for the



- it* to have preceded it. There is enough space left in the gap before the visible *co* for it to have included a comma, a space, and seven or eight other letters. The missing word is likely another city name, but there is no way of reconstructing it from the manuscript.
436. Underlined in the pen style of the marginal commentator.
437. The two lines beginning with *tin* and ending with *mo-* have had a vertical line drawn at their left and a note in the left margin reads “Cap.º 18” (chapter 18).
438. By some accounts there were three groups, and the one that came to Texcalticpac by way of Amecameca, the Tlaxcalteca, was the largest group.
439. Literally, “white.”
440. The scribe wrote *aoque*, which we take to be *aoc eh*, “no longer.”
441. Literally, “hurried.”
442. Camaxtli.
443. The editor inserted a || symbol, but there is no accompanying marginal note, superscript, or subscript. The same symbol also occurs in the next line (see note 438). Perhaps the two occurrences were at first intended to set off the material between them, but then the editor decided to add no comment.
444. The scribe wrote *oquimatiloaya*, “injure by rubbing or abraiding.” The editor changed this in superscript to *oquimateloaya*, “bruise the foot (by stepping on a stone)” or “strike with the hand.”
445. This second insertion of ||, like the previous one (note 443), has no accompanying comment.
446. The meaning is problematic. Perhaps this is idiomatic for something. Alternatively, this might be read as “at Mapiltzalan.” We have selected a reading that accords with Torquemada.
447. The scribe consistently spelled this *tlen*.
448. The scribe first wrote *tepetla*, then inserted *ti* in superscript.
449. The scribe’s use of *-huic*, “toward,” as a suffix to *yxtlahuac*, is a nonstandard usage, like his use of that suffix with *nahuac* elsewhere.
450. A notation in the left-hand margin reads “aqui . . . . . /a . . . / entro MS. 2 rubas” (here . . . . . /here[?]/ enter into the manuscript 2 . . . . .).
451. That is, for any potential enemy.
452. The upper left corner of the page is missing. Most of the lower half of the reconstructed initial *t*, including the letter’s bar, is visible. The bottom of the tail of the *q*, two or three letters later, is also visible. The reconstructed *aque* is speculative. The lower half of the last reconstructed letter at the end of the lacuna is present, and could be either an *i* or a *c*.
453. The lacuna extends into the second line. Only the bottom of the *l* is visible, but its reconstruction is secure. Similarly, only the bottom half of the initial letter of each of the next two words is visible, but in each case enough of the letter is present to make the reconstruction certain.
454. Their impressive building projects functioned, in part, to demonstrate their power to potential enemies.
455. The # symbol may reference the notation in the left margin on the next line. It reads “Cap.º 12” (chapter 12).
456. The place name is underlined in the style of the marginal commentator, with no accompanying comment.
457. Torquemada identified the Chichimeca leader as Colhuacatecuhtliquanez (3.12.265).
458. The place name is underlined in the style of the marginal commentator, but there are no associated comments or emendations.
459. A note in the left margin reads “o/o piden amparo del Gente” (aforesaid asked protection of the lords).
460. Literally, “valiant ones.”
461. Teopoyauhtlan (literally, Divine Poyauhtlan) can be understood as “the *original* land of Poyauhtlan” or “the *true* land of Poyauhtlan.”
462. Huitzilihuitzin ruled the Mexica from about AD 1391 to 1418. Torquemada and Muñoz Camargo ([1892] 1966) identified the Mexica ruler as Matlalihuitzin, who was identified by García Granados (1954) as the same as Matlacoatl, the ruler of Azcapotzalco, the Tepaneca capital (see pages 25–26 and note 350). The date of the battle is AD 1384, and Huitzilihuitzin had not yet been coronated as *tloani* of Tenochtitlan at that time. It is possible that Huitzilihuitzin was involved in the 1397 war as Tenochtitlan’s war leader and a subordinate of Tezozomocli, but the name may simply represent a confusion between the names Matlalihuitzin and Huitzilihuitzin on the part of the scribe.
463. The scribe wrote *yoquimaxcatitaya*. We assume that he intended to precede the verb with *ye*, and omitted the *e*.
464. The ambassadors from Tlaxcala.
465. The final two letters were individually underlined by the scribe, the *i* with a straight underline and the *h*

- with a semicircular underline. He made no further emendation.
466. The upper right corner of the manuscript is missing. The feet of the reconstructed *n* are all that are visible, but this is likely correct.
467. That is, it was heard that the Huexotzinca were preparing themselves for war against the aggression of the Chichimeca, who would take their lands.
468. The ruler of Tlaxcala.
469. The suffix *queh* is abbreviated as *q<sup>h</sup>*.
470. That is, the Huexotzincas emotionally prepared for war.
471. The scribe wrote *Yol*. We assume the *i:-* was simply assimilated to the *y* of *yolli*. This accounts for the absence of the suffix *-li*.
472. The scribe wrote *ynoma*, then inserted the *mo* in superscript.
473. The scribe first wrote *omahuiliaya*, then inserted *mo* in superscript.
474. The scribe spelled the beginning of the word as *ytetlan*. We take the *e* to be a misspelling and have changed it to an *i*.
475. That is, the warriors sent as ambassadors.
476. Again, the envoy warriors.
477. The upper left corner of the page is missing. The top half of the initial *o* at the beginning of the lacuna is missing, but the identification is secure. The tail of the next letter is visible and is that of a *p* or a *q* (more likely a *q*, considering the spacing between the tail and the preceding *o*). The final *a* is missing the left-hand portion from 8 o'clock to 1 o'clock, but its identification is secure.
478. The scribe first wrote *quincau*, then changed the *u* to a *q*.
479. The circumflex (^) that follows the *a* was likely intended to be above the letter, but was written hastily and so follows it slightly.
480. The scribe wrote *tititiacahuan*. We assume that the scribe intended to begin with *to-*.
481. The circumflex between the first two letters is simply a connector that indicates that the two letters are not intended to have a space between them.
482. Huitzilihuitl, son of Acamapichtli, fought the battles with Chalco before he became *tlatoani* of the Tenochca in AD 1391.
483. The statement suggests that the scribe was writing from a Tlaxcalan perspective, since Huexotzinco is referenced as the third party.
484. The scribe first wrote *ynec*, then overwrote the *e* as an *í*.
485. The scribe wrote *amech moColía*, then added the first *co* in superscript.
486. The scribe wrote *ynintlatoca*, then added the *to* in superscript.
487. The scribe wrote *tzía*, then overwrote the *a* as an *n*.
488. Huitzilihuitl sent a leader ostensibly to coordinate the Mexica support for the Huexotzinca. However, the liaison with the Huexotzinca is only a sham. Huitzilihuitzin has falsely promised the Huexotzinca that he will send warriors in support of their cause against Tlaxcala, but actually intends, as his envoys have explained to the Tlaxcalteca nobles, to support the Tlaxcalteca.
489. The Mexica warriors.
490. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The tail of the missing *z* is visible, making its reconstruction secure. The next four letters are inferred. The final *tz* is reconstructed from the visible tail of the *z*, which is in the style used by the scribe for this sequence of letters.
491. The lacuna extends into the second line. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. He transcribed this with no comment about a break in the page, so perhaps this part of the page was still present at the time. The absence of an editorial notation also suggests that the lacuna was not an early one.
492. The lacuna extends into the third line here. The material from the missing corner is supplied from Gerste. This part of the page was perhaps still present when he made his transcription (see note 481). What he supplied conforms to the lower parts of the letters that are still visible: the lower half of the *co*, almost all of the *pa*, and the bases of the ensuing letters, including the tail of the *z*, which is written in the style of the *tz* sequence.
493. Again, the circumflex may have been intended to be above the preceding vowel, but was shifted to the right because the scribe was writing rapidly.
494. The scribe wrote *mō*, but then added a downstroke above the barred *o*. This last stroke may have been an unintentional mark.
495. Literally, "if only not if."
496. The scribe omitted the final *n*.
497. The great Chichimeca War that was fought when the Chichimeca were living at the plains of Poyauhtlan, near Mount Tlaloc in the Valley of Mexico.

498. Poyauhtlan (The Colored Land) is a region below the west side of Mount Tlaloc, north of Chalco, from which the Chichimeca had been driven in the Chichimeca War. The battle near Chalco took place ca. AD 1376, under the command of Huitzilihuitzin, during his father's tenure as leader of the Tenochca while the Tenochca were vassals of the Tepaneca ruler Tezozomocli.
499. Torquemada recounted the speech to the Texcalticpac lords as follows: "To you the lords and possessors of the high summit of Tlaxcala, you know that we are the messengers and ambassadors of the great lord, your nephew and relative Matlahuitzin he who rules and has in his care the waters of the great lake of Tenochtitlan. That one has sent us to warn you and to say that as the people of Huexotzinco and their captain who is called Xiutlehuitl has been sent to him to request his aid against you in the war that he does to you in the enmity that he has for you. And he has begged—our great lord who is the one who sent us to you—to send people and to favor him in that request. And in response he has promised it and intends to send it, but in such a way that its coming is not of benefit nor effect, but only to pretend to be delivering aid without intention to fight or to move arms against you. He sends you this warning so that his intent is certain and revealed to you: that neither he nor any of his people come to attack you. And therefore he requests you, and he mightily entreats you that you do nothing against his people, since they do not come to fight, nor to anger you, but just to make an appearance of commitment towards the Huexotzinca. And for this we are sent, to tell you what we have said to you, the strong Chichimeca; and also, that when you do your spellcasting, that you keep the Tepaneca safe in these, and you do not make any sorcery against them, as you did, during the great battle of Poyauhtlan at the borders of the lake." (*Monarquía Indiana* ([1615] 1943), 265). Muñoz Camargo's earlier version of the same speech is slightly different: "To you lords and possessors of the high summit of Tlaxcala, you know that we are the messengers and ambassadors of the very great lord, our sovereign and relative, who has ruled over and who has in his care the waters of the great lake of Tenochtitlan. He who is called *Matlahuitzin* has sent us to say and to warn you that with the people behind Huexotzinco and their leader, *Xiutlehuitecuhtli*, has been sent to him to request help, because he intends to come over you and wage a very beastly war, and he begged our great lord, who has sent us, to favored him with a great crowd of people to come to his aid against you, which he has promised him and thinks to send. And he will do it so that it will not benefit him in any way except to give a response that appears to aid him, and not for making combat against you. He sends us to give you this warning so that you will know that neither he nor any of his people come to attack you. And therefore he requests you, mightily entreats you that you do nothing against his people; for they do not come to fight, but to make some kind of commitment to *Xiutlehuitecuhtli*, lord of Huexotzinco. And for this we are sent in order that we should tell the Chichimeca, and that when you cast your spells, you reserve them from the Mexica, that you do not make any sorcery, as you did it during the great battle of Poyauhtlan on the shores of the lake" (1986, pp. 106–107).
500. The ruler of the Chichimeca at Texcalticpac who in chapter 4 (see page 27) was called Colhuacateuctli Cuanexcaye.
501. The verso of folio 14 begins with a lacuna in the top left corner of the page. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. It was likely visible when he made his transcription. This would be consistent with the same observation from the previous side of the leaf. Part of the last letter is still visible and appears to have been an *I*.
502. The missing material is supplied from Gerste. It was likely visible when he made his transcription. The first three and last six letters are still sufficiently visible to make them secure.
503. Literally, "he returned very great penitence for them." That is, he expressed regrets about any doubts he may have had concerning their motives.
504. The scribe first ended with *quí*, then added a final *a* over the comma and added a new comma. He then crossed out the comma and added a colon in its place.
505. That is, warriors who, in this event, are serving as envoys.
506. The scribe began to write *yntitiah*, but finished only the downstroke of the *h*, and overwrote this as a *c*.
507. This war may have taken place ca. AD 1384. It was the last of a series of conflicts between Tlaxcala and Huexotzinco. The Huexotzinco ruler sought support

- from the Valley of Mexico against Tlaxcala in this battle. The Tlaxcalteca ruler, having been informed that the Mexica will support him, begins to prepare for war.
508. Literally, the “god site.” The temple of Camaxtli was at the top of Malinche, where the shrine of San Bartolomé was established by Fray Martín de Valencia after he destroyed the temple during his tenure as guardian in Tlaxcala (AD 1527–1530).
509. The scribe wrote *oqui mo*, then overwrote the *o* as an *i*.
510. The aid referred to is the magical intervention of Camaxtli. Torquemada described the carnage that resulted from this magic: “and as many others were without knowledge of who killed him; because they were neither informed nor had they seen him, but they only felt the pain of the blows that occurred. They found themselves blind and more greatly baffled and with this great confusion that overcame them, some fell from cliffs, not knowing where they were going, others ran into stones and were killed by these and many other things—being schemes and tricks of the Devil. And it seems to be the case that never had such a thing been heard nor seen in the world, and in such great excess was this loss of life and ridding of enemies, that it is recounted, in truth, that the ravines and great gorges that were in the regions of the mountain range were full of dead bodies, and that the wives of the Chichimeca, their sons and daughters, and all the disabled ones, who had been excluded from the field, not to be in the war, were left to plundering the bloody reaches, and they captured and took prisoner truly whatever people they wanted who were left among the Huexotzinca, and all of the other ensorcelled ones of this diabolical act from which almost none escaped death or capture and the few who could flee, took the news, that they had to tell not just to the present generation but also to many other future generations and those to come so that on hearing what happened to them, they would remain aghast and afraid” (1.3.268).
511. A || symbol was written here by the editor, perhaps merely to indicate a separation between the two words which the scribe had written closely together.
512. Or perhaps better, the “Staff of Weakening,” that is to say, a magical staff that is used to cast spells to weaken someone.
513. The scribe began the word with *ie*, then overwrote these two letters with an *m*.
514. The upper right corner of the page is missing. The bracketed material is taken from Gerste. The page has likely deteriorated since he made his transcription.
515. The missing material is supplied from Gerste’s transcription.
516. The missing letters are supplied from Gerste’s transcription. The lower half of both letters is still visible, and their identification is secure.
517. The scribe wrote *yniaya chihualhuan*. We believe the scribe intended *in yaia ya:o:chihua:lhuan*, based on the parallel version in Loysaga’s *Ramo Historia* (1981), that the scribe omitted the *yao-* prefix due to its similarity to the preceding word.
518. The scribe also placed a mark, not shown here, shaped like a large comma above the *C*.
519. The scribe spelled this *maci*.
520. That is, to their mythic homeland.
521. The scribe first began this word with *Y*, then overwrote it as *Z*.
522. The ink ran and obscured most of the *u*, but its identity is secure.
523. A notation in the left margin reads simply “236.” This perhaps references a page in volume 3 of Torquemada’s 1615 edition of *Monarquía Indiana* that deals with the same material, although in the 1715 edition, the reference is to material on page 266 of that volume.
524. The middle of the *y* is obscured by a drop of ink, but its identity is clear.
525. According to Brundage (1972), the god spoke through his *texiptla*, or “impersonator,” a priest who wore the mask and clothing of the god, thereby becoming his image or embodiment. According to Torquemada: “with this he dispatched the Ambassadors, and ordered his people for the onset of the battle; but as all things have no good beginning, if first they are not entrusted to God, whence they are guided, by His divine hand, these idolaters, who acknowledged being of their great Camaxtli, did not believe that he was a false demon, and liar, but they came to pray to the altar where his image was and to ask to be favored against their enemies” (1.3.266).
526. The upper left corner of the page is missing. Without comment, Gerste simply transcribed *nanquitzon*. The first three letters were likely still present when Gerste made his transcript. We assume a word division between *n* and *an*. The first visible writing on the verso side of manuscript folio 15 is *quizon*.

527. The bracketed letters are now missing and have been supplied from Gerste's transcription. The onset and upstroke of the left side of the *n* are visible, as are the bottom portion of the tail of the *q* and the lower half of the final *h*, in the now-missing section. Gerste's transcription is probably correct.
528. Literally, "when they reached/arrived to her."
529. The scribe wrote *quetz*, then crossed it out with several strokes of the quill across it.
530. The scribe wrote *quí quilizqui*, then overwrote *li* with an *x*, crossed out *zqu*, and overwrote the *i* with *ti*, yielding *quiquixtilizquia*.
531. There is an ink spill over the *i* that continues down into the space between the lines, but the lower right of the foot of the *i* is visible, and that plus the accent mark make its identity clear.
532. Either the ink ran slightly when forming the *c*, or the scribe started to make the bar of a *p* and then overwrote it as a *c*. In either case, the identity of the *c* is clearly recognizable.
533. The scribe omitted the final *l*.
534. The scribe first wrote *Ya*, then overwrote the vowel as an *e*.
535. The upper right corner of the page is missing. No fragments remain of the original line. Gerste's transcription has the final *e* of *quename*, which was likely lost after he made his transcription. He failed to comment on the missing material, but simply began a new paragraph with the first word from the next line.
536. The reconstruction is based on Muñoz Camargo's description of the cup or "Vaso de Dios" as follows: "The base was round and wide and in the middle a round finial like a baton, at the top, which was the bowl of the goblet. It was like that of a chalice that had the height of eighteen inches. It was of very burnished wood, of dark ebony color, although others say that it was of jet black stone that was very subtly worked, that in this native land they call Teotetl, which means 'Stone of God'" (1986, p. 108). See also Torquemada's description in note 539.
537. The entire *teocaxitl*.
538. Parts of the first two letters are still present. The first is most likely a *c* and the second, for which only the feet are present, could be either an *h* or an *n*, probably the latter. Most of the final letter of this line is present and is clearly an *l*. The reconstruction fits the available space, matches the remnant letters appropriately, and fits meaningfully into the text. *Chichihualayotl* is also possible, but would not fit the available space quite so readily.
539. Torquemada described the event in this way: "The afflicted Chichimeca did this and the Demon, to show that he had the power to free them, his infernal image responded to them by mouth that they should not fear, and that they should take heart, that the end would find them well and that it was appropriate that they make use of a superstition and trick which is that which follows. He commanded them to look for a very beautiful girl whose chest had one large breast but the other small, and to take her to his house and temple. They looked for this girl with great earnestness and alacrity, and they found her and she was taken to the temple of Camaxtli. There the idol commanded that they give her a potion of certain medicinal herbs to drink, and that after having drunk it, they should express her breast. And they removed milk that was necessary for that act. Thus truly, they squeezed her breast, and removed from it a single drop of milk, which was received in a cup, that was called the *Teocaxitl*, which means, "Chalice of God" which had the following form: The base was round and wide, and in the middle was a finial like a baton, and the bowl of it was like that of a chalice, and all the cup, from the bottom to the top measured eighteen inches high" (1.3.266). The term *teocaxitl* translates literally as "divine cup" or "sacred chalice."
540. Only the top of the uppercase *Y* is missing, as well as the top curve of the *t*. Enough of both letters remains so that there is no question about their identification.
541. Literally, 'deer root.'
542. We take *tzopotl* to be buzzard, although it possibly could be taken as modifying hummingbird, to indicate a specific type.
543. The duplicate word is lightly stricken through with three diagonal strikeouts (the last two being two quick strikes each), probably by the editor, since the quill used had very little ink at the time, while the lettering throughout the page is much heavier.
544. As Torquemada had it: "They removed this milk, and placed it into the cup, and on the foot of the altar a bundle of reeds, staves, and harpoons, knives, points, and deer tendons. They covered it all together with laurel branches, and they left it. With this they were offering many sacrifices, among others, of cut

paper, thorns and thistles, and an herb that resembles henbane, which they call *picietl*, and other odiferous perfumes, snakes, rabbits, and quails—which animals, and birds they killed in great amount, and offered them before the image of Camaxtli” (3.12.266). Muñoz Camargo’s description is: “They removed this milk and put it in the cup, and a bundle of reeds, harpoons, blades and points with the deer tendons, all together in the altar and shrine of Camaxtli, covered with branch laurel and finding themselves in this state, their sacrifice and diabolical superstition, they offered him, cut paper, thorns, thistles and *picietl* [tobacco] that is an herb that is similar to henbane. In that era, the Chichimeca did not draw blood, nor sacrifice meats, but only offered cut white paper, odoriferous perfumes, quails, snakes and rabbits that they killed and sacrificed before their idol Camaxtli. And on some occasions they offered thistles and tobacco to him also” (1986, pp. 108–109).

545. Literally, “spread-out things.”

546. The verso of folio 16 begins with a missing upper right corner. The first visible word is *tlâco*. The missing material is taken from Gerste. It was, perhaps, still present when he made his transcription.

547. The lacuna continues into the second line. The missing material is taken from Gerste. He transcribed the final word as *itlalten*, although the last syllable is still visible on the manuscript as *tlein*.

548. They were concerned that the drying of the milk signified failure. According to Torquemada, “after all this, the infernal priests, and high priests made their prayer. Once finished, the principle priest, who was called Achcauhtliteo Teopixqui, and also by another name, Tlamacazcaachcauhtli, incensed all the offering with great perfumes and smudges, most especially the cup or chalice in which was the milk that they had distilled from the breast of the girl. They made this ceremony of incensing in the morning, at midday, and at sunset and midnight. They did this for a period of three days in a row and watched the cup and the arrows and cane bundle with great attention to see if something arose in it; but seeing that nothing new nor of consequence occurred as they desired and that the drop of milk was almost dry and desiccated and very reduced and shrunken, they showed affliction and unease” (3.12.266). Muñoz Camargo described the same events in this way: “The Chichimeca having carried

out this superstition, the priests of the temple and the greatest one of them who was called the *Achcauhtli teopixque tlamacazcuachcauhtli* commenced to pray and to incense with great perfumes before the tabernacle of Camaxtli and there where was found the vessel of milk which had been distilled from the maiden. And they began from the morning to the midday until sunset and at midnight to perfume and incense it, which they did for three days successively, always examining the vessel of the arrows to see if something was happening in it. They did not see that their sorceries had any effect. Rather, the drop of milk had dried up, wilted, and withered. The Chichimeca were very distressed, having committed themselves to give combat on the following day” (1966, p. 109).

549. Literally, “at some time thus someone’s alleviating.”

550. Torquemada reported this sacrifice of a captured Huexotzinca soldier in greater detail: “At this time the Tepaneco aid arrived, that the Huexotzinca awaited, and inspecting his troops, as his king had commanded, he left the hill and ascended a very high mountain range, that is called Tlamcazcatzinco Quauhticpac, trying neither to arrive with the aid nor to wage war against the surrounded Chichimeca; and determining at that time to begin battle, the Huexotzinca and all the other participating warriors undertook with greatest energy and with very great shouts and howls to fight the Chichimeca and to drive them up the edge of the mountain range. The Chichimeca who were waiting, did not only wait in a group for them in their kingdom and field; but with greatest force and boldness they went out to receive them, and in the first blows and encounter of their combat the Texcalteca caught one of those of the opposite field, and as guarantee of their victory, they took him with great alacrity to offer and to sacrifice to the idol Camaxtli, before which they opened the chest and they removed the heart from him. And they put it, as a gift and offering to the awful and horrible idol Camaxtli. And skinning the miserable captive, one of them put on his skin and hide, and fitted with his own guts, dragging the feet and hands of the sacrificed one on the ground. In this way they truly presented it before the infernal god, Xipe (as he was now called by those that did this ceremony and diabolical spectacle)” (3.12.267).

551. The scribe wrote *yca*, then inserted the *e* in superscript between the *y* and *c*.

552. The scribe first wrote *quena*, then inserted the *mi* in superscript above the comma.
553. Or perhaps ‘boiled’
554. The scribe wrote *YnimacCh*, then overwrote the *C* with an *e*.
555. The scribe wrote *Yao quizcahuan*. We assume an initial *i*:- that he assimilated to the *y*.
556. Or “spread themselves out in a single direction.”
557. “In several directions” is implied by the verb *xexeloa*.
558. Literally, “his nephews.”
559. The Spanish title “Guerra Mexicana 8º” was written across the top of the page, probably before the scribe began work on this page (and perhaps as a direction to the scribe about what to write). Because it occupied the space in which the scribe usually wrote the number of the recto side of the leaf, he wrote the page number, 17, on the far right of the page and slightly lower than this title. In fact, the “7” of the page number extends down into the first line of text between *mocatí* and the page-end dash that follows it. There is a slight tear on the top of the page near the right corner. It extends down far enough that the top right-hand quarter of the º that follows the “8” and the top half of the slash that comes next are missing. Indeed, the upstroke might be something other than the beginning of a forward slash, perhaps the beginning of the line with which the scribe normally underlined the page number, the top onset of which is also missing because of this small tear. The two are, however, somewhat distant from one another, so we have simply used a forward slash to portray the first incomplete mark. A final unusual feature of this line is that the scribe wrote the page number to the right of, instead of above, the curve he usually used to underline the page number.
560. From this page on, the damage to the upper outside corner of the leaf is minimal and does not obscure the Nahuatl text, except for the particulars noted in note 559. That a Spanish title was written across the top of the page raises the possibility that this section on the war was intended to have been an independent chapter, perhaps anticipated to be numbered as chapter 8 by whomever wrote the title in Spanish. Although no chapter number or introductory paragraph is present, the previous chapter was numbered as 5 by the scribe, and the next chapter, which begins on the same page that this section ends (on the verso of folio 19), is identified by the scribe as chapter 7. Had this material been intended to be an independent chapter (chapter 6 where it currently falls), then the jump from chapter 5 to chapter 7 could be explained as a simple omission of the chapter number and introductory paragraph. This page also has two other notations in Spanish, in the hand of the marginal commentator. To the right of the Spanish title is “8 º . . . 17.” The missing word of perhaps four letters has been lost, due to a small tear at the top of the page. The “17” is the manuscript’s folio number. The second notation is a note in the left margin that reads “Capitulo 12, libro 3º, saestando se gran p<sup>te</sup> przco dio fin” (chapter 12, 3rd book, being the greater part [*parte*, abbreviated *p<sup>te</sup>*] It seems to me [*pareSCO*, abbreviated *przco*] it ends here). The material beginning here with *Inic* and continuing through the end of the verso of manuscript folio 17 also occurs as duplicated material by a second scribe (the “copyist”) on the recto and verso of manuscript folio 31. The duplicated text has a slightly different heading, “Comenzir de la guere de Mexico” (beginning of the war of Mexico), a title that may have been added after the manuscript was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.
561. This battle occurred in AD 1384. According to Kirchoff et al. (1976, p. 208), *Historia Tolteca Chichimeca* records that in the year Nine Tecpatl (the date also given by Muñoz Camargo for this battle), “en èl fueron flechados los muros del tlaxcalteca cuando los iban a destruir los uexotzinca y los acolhua. Los tolteca, los totomiuaque y los quauhtinchantlaca los ayudaron, los fueron a salvar, por eso no fue destruido el tlaxcaltecatl” (in him the arrows pierced the walls of the Tlaxcalteca when the Huexotzinca and the Acolhua came to destroy them. The Tolteca, the Totomihuaca, and the Quauhtinchantlaca who helped them went to save them, so the Tlaxcalteca were not destroyed), the Nahuatl being paragraph 336, folio 38v, MS 46–50, p. 34). The *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehman 1938, p. 119; Velázquez 1945, p. 17) reports the same battle, but with a different outcome: “En el Año 9 *tecpatl* asaltaron los muros de los tlaxcalteca; ellos lo hicieron, los uexotzinca; cuando gobernaba Miccacalcatl, y los acolhuaque cuando gobernaba Acolmiztli” (in the year Nine Flint the walls of the Tlaxcalteca were assaulted. Those who did so were of the Huexotzinca, when Miccacalcatl ruled, and the Acolhua when Acolmiztli ruled). Compare also Muñoz Camargo (chapter 6), who also portrayed

- Huexotzinca as the aggressor and the Tlaxcalteca as the victors.
562. The word is divided after the last *t*, with the rest beginning the next line. The scribe omitted the *i*, which should come next, but it was later written on the left margin as an underlined addition before the *a*.
563. The copyist omitted *ca* in the duplicate section on the recto of folio 31 of the manuscript.
564. They did not confer with the Mexica, whom they assumed would help them.
565. That is, the Mexica's aid.
566. That is, the Tepaneca and the Tlaxcalteca finished.
567. Literally, "someone's city."
568. The Huexotzinca and the Tepaneca departed. Gerste's transcription ends here.
569. Or "fields" or "savannas."
570. The scribe first wrote *Totolan*, then changed this to *Totolâ*.
571. The settlement of San Nicolás received that name in AD 1503. The Spanish name was underlined by the scribe, and there is no accompanying notation.
572. The scribe wrote a large comma in the left-hand margin just to the left of *que*, then crossed it out.
573. In the left-hand margin is an oval library manuscript catalog stamp. Around the top half are the words "Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris." Around the bottom edge are the words "Ancienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN." In the center the entry, "N° 254." has been written. The stamp occupies the margin next to the last four lines of the page.
574. Literally, "clothing."
575. Literally, "guarded it."
576. Literally, "towards on front."
577. The place name literally means, "revered place of young priests of the path among the trees."
578. Literally, "thus."
579. The Tlaxcalan Chichimeca.
580. On the verso of folio 31 of the manuscript, the copyist followed *chichimeca* with the dittography, *ica mochí*, from the line below it in the manuscript, then crossed out these two words.
581. The scribe first wrote *chimeca*, then inserted the second *chi* in superscript, with an insert mark after the first *chi*.
582. The Huexotzinca war leader.
583. The duplicate material on the verso of folio 31 has *oquitizquique*. We take the word to be *o:quitzi:tzquiqueh*, "they took him captive."
584. The duplicate material on the verso of folio 31 of the manuscript has *inyollo*, "their hearts."
585. The scribe misspelled this as *theû*.
586. The scribe misspelled this as *omecuep*. The copyist corrected the spelling in the duplicated section on the verso of manuscript folio 31.
587. The first duplicate section (folio 31 recto and verso of the manuscript) ends with *iuquin*.
588. The scribe placed the folio number "18" on the upper right corner of the page, without underlining. The third duplicate section (manuscript folio 33 recto and verso) begins here and continues to the end of the verso of manuscript folio 18.
589. The scribe spelled *cuauhcoyolin* with a final *m*. The copyist used a final *n* on the recto of page 33 of the manuscript.
590. The scribe first wrote *mimiztl*, then overwrote the *l* as an *í* and added the final *n*.
591. Literally, "would be aided."
592. The verb *comonia*; "become enraged, enflamed," is typically said of a group of people.
593. The scribe followed with *oquitlazaya* with an insertion mark and, in superscript, wrote "^. The copyist simply has a comma after the word.
594. The scribe appears to have written *quitōa*. The tilde could also be a poorly drawn circumflex, his more usual mark above an *o*. The copyist spelled this *quitōa* on the recto of folio 33.
595. The scribe wrote *quimo tlatlavh ti li liticatca*. We amend this to *quimotlatlauhtiliatia*. The final three letters were obscured by an ink splatter, but are reconstructable from parts of the letters that are still visible. They are also present in the copyist's duplicated section on the recto of folio 33.
596. The scribe began writing *yh*, then overwrote the *h* as an *n*.
597. The scribe first wrote *mi*, then overwrote the *i* as an *a*.
598. Literally, "come out beyond, go right through." The root, *quiza*, means "emerge, come out, finish, conclude." The prefix *nal-* is used with verbs that indicate crossing, traveling through, or being at a distance. Thus, the sense would seem to be asking that they conclude the war successfully, without hindrance.
599. The scribe first ended with a comma, then overwrote this as a semicolon.
600. The scribe first wrote *theû*, then overwrote the *u* as *o* and added a final *û*. There is also a dot under the



- u*, perhaps the beginning of a comma the scribe had begun before he recognized the need to correct the spelling.
601. Both the scribe and the duplicate section used the spelling *ê*.
602. The scribe wrote *ina* followed by the top half of an *l*, then stopped forming that letter and wrote an *n* beneath it, since the half-letter did not intrude into the space where the *n* belonged.
603. The duplicate material on manuscript folio 33 has *icnoyohuâ*.
604. Literally, “gathering people together.”
605. The scribe first wrote *Yni*, then overwrote the *i* as a *t* and continued.
606. The scribe wrote *quimá*. The duplicate page has *quinian*.
607. The scribe wrote *nimá*. The copyist wrote *niman*.
608. Torquemada’s description of the priest’s ritual and its effects is instructive: “Being, then, in this fury, fighting together, and all wounding one another, the damned Priest was praying to his false god and petitioning him with great sighs for the victory of his people. After having made his enthusiastic oration, he departed, moved by the Demon, with the cup of milk in hand, and said to them: ‘You valiant warriors, invincible Chichimeca, do not think to fear, for it is the time of victory, and the victory has arrived. And our great god Camaxtli, has pity on us.’ And saying these and other exhortational reasons, he spilled the cup of milk that he carried in his hands, on him who was dressed, with the skin and hide of the sacrificed captive. Then he immediately took an arrow, which they had forged by diabolical art and, putting it on a hook and a poorly formed bow, he threw it towards the enemies. And then at the same time, the arrows which were at the foot of the altar of the idol began to move and to leave the temple with great fury and to wound them. On this same occasion, there arose a very thick and dark fog” (1.3.267–268).
609. The scribe wrote the number 19 above the first line on the right side of the page.
610. That is, they weren’t able to perceive the entire battle as a coordinated action.
611. The scribe wrote *incihuahuahuan*. We have dropped the reduplicated syllable.
612. The cedilla is actually under the *e* instead of the *c*, perhaps because the scribe was writing in haste.
613. The scribe wrote *huailcahuâ*. We take this to be a misspelling (or dialect variant) of *huayo:lcahuan*, “relatives.”
614. Literally, “taken hold of by hand” or “gripped.”
615. Literally, “forgotten ones.”
616. Literally, “carried him.”
617. The scribe began with *ie*, then overwrote these two letters as *n*.
618. A note in the left margin reads “Concuerta con el capitulo 13, libro 3º.— aungº omitias de muchas Palabras” (corresponds with chapter 13 of book 3, although it omits many words).
619. The introductory paragraph is set off from the following text with a line composed of a series of hyphens, which become equal signs after about a quarter of the length of the line.
620. Literally, “guarded.”
621. We take this to be the negative prefix *ah-*, the *t* being in anticipation of the first letter of *theotlatlaca*.
622. We interpret *ahteo:tlatla:ca* as “demons” by analogy with *ahtla:catl*, “bad, inhumane person.”
623. The scribe spelled this *iteyayecancahuan*.
624. We take *Ymic nihuan* to be a misspelling of *i: nicnihuan*.
625. The scribe extended the bottom curl of the *c* to the edge of the margin, then wrote the *a* somewhat smaller than normal and above that extension.
626. The scribe wrote *âyoctle*.
627. The scribe spelled this *cuahutlaltin*.
628. In this context, the location is likely Zempoala on the Gulf Coast.
629. The scribe wrote *oc*, then overwrote the *c* with *h*, and continued with *ualaque*.
630. Literally, “entered its distant home.”
631. The scribe ended the previous chapter with a long dash to the end of the line, then continued the next chapter on the same manuscript page on the next line. The chapter heading does not occupy a separate line above the introductory paragraph, but is simply left-justified, with the introductory paragraph beginning on the same line that it occupies. To the left of the first word of the chapter title, a note in the left margin reads “concuerta con el capitulo 14 del libro 3º asta su fin” (corresponds with aforesaid with chapter 14 of the 3rd book to the end).
632. The introductory paragraph ends with a long dash to the end of the line, and the text of the chapter begins on the next line.
633. In front of all his nobles.

634. The scribe first wrote *y nte*, then overwrote the *t* as a capital letter. The rest of the name begins the next line.
635. The *ó* has a small tail similar to a comma in shape, perhaps simply an unintentional mark.
636. Teoculhuacan was the mythological ancestral home of the Tlaxcala in Aztlan. The scribe divided the word after *theo-* and the verso of folio 21 begins with *Culhuacan*. The prefix *teo-* before a place name refers to the group (in this case, the Culhuateca) before they settled permanently and established an *altepetl*. The prefix may refer to the *teotl* bundle that the god-carrier carried as they migrated.
637. Literally, “because then he thereby encouraged his vassals by means of his being held in respect, rather than much holiday.” In other words, he required them to work to produce wealth for him rather than to enjoy days of leisure.
638. The scribe first wrote *yn*, then overwrote the *n* as a *C*.
639. The scribe began with a lowercase *t*, then added the superior bar to make it uppercase.
640. The scribe ended the word with *hual*, then overwrote the last letter as *n*.
641. The staff of the *h* descends vertically below the line as far as one would expect the tail of a *p* to descend, although the line is more vertical than the one the scribe typically used for that letter, so that may not have been his intent. This vertical line also has a crossbar at the level of the base of the foot of the *h*. None of this matches any other letter, but the scribe clearly had a false start at this point and corrected it to an *h*.
642. The scribe did not bar the *t*.
643. Either the accent over the *a* was poorly formed because the ink ran, or the scribe intentionally covered it.
644. The scribe first wrote *tlatlí*, then rewrote the *lí* as *tq*.
645. The scribe wrote *yntl*, then changed the *l* to an *e*.
646. A note in the left margin reads “Concuenda con el cpitu- lo 15// asta su fin libro 3<sup>o</sup>//” (corresponds to chapter 15// to the end of the 3rd book//).
647. The introductory paragraph is set off from the ensuing text with an extended dash to the right margin, and underlining of the text by two rows of hyphens. We have used italics for this material.
648. The scribe wrote *ypili*, then overwrote the second *i* as an *l* and added a final *o*. The quill dot is under the *o* rather than after it.
649. Literally, “guarded.”
650. The material beginning here with *yahua:lotaqueh* and continuing through the end of the verso of manuscript folio 23 also appears as duplicate folio 32 (recto and verso) of the manuscript.
651. On the recto of page 23 of the duplicated material, the copyist inserted the dittography *auh zan ic* from the line above this one and then crossed it out.
652. The ink ran in the *l*, but the letter is clearly recognizable. The scribe spelled the name with a final *m* here and in ensuing occurrences.
653. The scribe failed to bar the *t* in the *tz*.
654. The scribe wrote *quin noxtiliz*, then overwrote the *o* as an *e*.
655. Both the scribe and the copyist spelled this *aic*, and added a superscripted *a* above the *c*. We take this to mean that *aya:c*, rather than *aic*, was intended.
656. Literally, “made full.”
657. The copyist spelled this *oquinyocuitia* on the verso of folio 32, omitting the scribe’s semi-final *a*.
658. The copyist haplographically omitted the entire line, *O:quicauh i:tic in i:cha:nyo; in i:callo ce: i:piltzin*, following *Teuctotolim*.
659. We take *ame* to be a misspelling of *ahmo*.
660. The scribe wrote *maca tz*, then overwrote the last two letters as *tí*.
661. The scribe divided the word and ended the verso of folio 23 with *ynana-*. The copyist ended the verso of folio 32 at the same point, in the middle of the word, even though there was remaining space on the line to have finished the word. This indicates that he was copying from folio 23 itself, and not some other copy.
662. Literally, “speech hurried.”
663. The scribe wrote *tlâ*, then changed the *l* to an *h*.
664. The scribe began with *hu*, then overwrote these as *na* and continued with *huac*.
665. We take this to be a misspelling, in which the scribe omitted the final *h*.
666. The scribe first wrote *q*, then overwrote it as *C*.
667. The scribe wrote *mo*, then overwrote the *o* as an *í*.
668. The scribe wrote *yao Yecancauh*. We take this to be *ya: o:yaca:ncauh*.
669. The scribe omitted the final *û*, then added it in superscript.
670. The scribe ended the previous page with *o qui n*. When he began the next side of the leaf, he repeated these two syllables
671. Literally, “enflamed at heart.”
672. The scribe began with a lowercase letter, possibly a *u* or an *a*, then overwrote it with an uppercase *C*.

673. The ink ran between the *a* and the *n*, but their identities are not obscured by that.
674. The scribe wrote *yet*, inked out the *t*, and continued.
675. The scribe wrote *te*, then overwrote the vowel as an *l*.
676. A marginal note in the left column reads “~~fn~~ finaliso con dho capitulo—con cuerda con el capitulo 16 asta su fin. Libro 3<sup>o</sup>” (finishing with the aforesaid chapter—corresponds with chapter 16 to the end. 3rd book).
677. The end of the chapter is marked by dashed lines to separate it from the next chapter, which begins on the same manuscript page.
678. Bishop Garcés took possession of the see at Tlaxcala in February of 1529.
679. The episcopal cathedral of Santa María de la Concepción was established and named by Bishop Julián Garcés at the palace of Maxixcatzin, the location of the first Franciscan monastery, after he took up residence there in 1527, when the three friars left that location for their new monastery in the barrio of Cuitlixco in Tlaxcala. The cathedral was located north of modern Tlaxcala, across the Rio Zahuapac and beyond the marketplace, in the cabecera of Ocotelulco. Mendieta ([ca. 1596] 1858) says that the name was still in use in the second half of the sixteenth century, although it was then transferred to the principal cathedral of Tlaxcala, which at that time was at the monastery called Asunción de Nuestra Señora—the third Franciscan monastery that had been completed in 1540, and that was also known as San Francisco Tlaxcala.
680. The chapter title does not occupy a separate line. Rather, the text of the introductory paragraph simply follows the title on the same line.
681. The introductory paragraph ends near the bottom of the manuscript page, with *mínquí*;—— being centered on the bottom of the page, with flourishes to its left and right and underlining beneath.
682. The scribe first wrote *omi*, then overwrote the *m* as *qu*.
683. The scribe first wrote *yu*, then overwrote the *u* as an *n*.
684. The scribe wrote what appears to have been a *y*, then scratched it out with several strokes.
685. The scribe wrote *teq*, then overwrote the *q* as a *p*.
686. The scribe wrote *tlacay*, then overwrote the *y* as a *z*, continued with a second *z*, and finished with *cali*.
687. The scribe wrote *tlatocai*, then overwrote the *i* as a *t*.
688. The scribe wrote *ocalaqui*, then placed a coma shaped insertion mark between the first two letters and added the *mo* in superscript.
689. A note in the left margin reads “dic/Lib fin con dho capitulo combiene con la fundacion el a cabecera y señorío e Guiahiuztlan llama p<sup>n</sup> o la Tlapitzzahuayan asta su fin Libro 3<sup>o</sup>” (said/book ends with the aforesaid chapter combined with the founding of the capital and dominion of Cuiahuiztlan currently called Tlapitzahuacan to the end. 3rd book). The note laps over into the section of the margin occupied by the beginning of chapter 11, which deals with the founding of the cabecera of Guiahistla.
690. *D<sup>o</sup>Hernando* is all written together, with no space between the title and the name. In fact, the scribe did not lift the quill between the superscripted *n* and the *H*. The superscripted *n* has a comma-shaped insertion mark beneath it, at the level of the bottom of the preceding and following letters.
691. Cortés arrived in Tlaxcala in AD 1519.
692. The underlining separates the end of chapter 10 from chapter 11, which begins on the next line of the same manuscript page.
693. We take this to be a misspelling of *Ynic*.
694. The scribe first wrote *tepa*, then overwrote the *a* as an *e*.
695. Literally, “guarded his [own] breechclout.”
696. Literally, “It happened that they were confronted by Colhuacateuctli Cuanex.”
697. The scribe first wrote a lowercase *c*, then overwrote it as an uppercase *C*.
698. The ink ran in the *t* and *o*, but not enough to obscure the identity of these two letters.
699. The scribe began with *o*, then overwrote it as *C*.
700. The scribe ended with *qui*, then overwrote the final *i* as an *e*.
701. Literally, “they took care of him.”
702. The underlining separates the end of the text of chapter 10 from the title of chapter 11, which begins on the next line of the same page.
703. The history ends here. A note written below, in the hand of the later commentator, reads “V. Pagina 18 dch Aqd aqui redi . . . , dcho p<sup>o</sup>, fr 18” (go to page 18, aforesaid, here . . . aforesaid page 18). The recto of folio 30 is blank, but the verso has the words “en<sup>l<sup>o</sup></sup> os n<sup>o</sup> 22 ynb<sup>o</sup> 5<sup>o</sup>” (bundled together as number 22 in inventory 5). According to Rosa y Saldívar ([1847] 1947) and, later, Gómez de Orozco (1927), this gloss is in the hand of Mariano Fernández de Echeverría

y Veytia, who made the first important collection of Indian manuscripts in Mexico between the years 1718 and 1780. This description corresponds to Boturini's July 1743 characterization of the manuscript (see Introduction) as consisting of two notebooks with thirty folio pages. The recto of folio 30 also bears a stamp that reads "Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris ancienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN"; the manuscript number "254" has been written in the center of the stamp. Folios 31 through 33 of the manuscript contain a copy, in a different scribal hand, of parts of chapter 5. The few differences that do occur are noted in the footnoting of the primary text.

704. The recto of manuscript folio 31 is a copy of the recto of manuscript folio 17. Both pages have a Spanish notation at the top. The folio number "32" occupies the upper right corner of the page, and the copyist wrote the page number "17" that is centered at the top of the page. This makes it clear that manuscript folio 31 is the copy, not the original. On folio 17, it reads "Principio de la Guerra Mexicana 8[º /]" ("Beginning of the Mexican War"). Here, the Spanish notation reads, "Commencir ' de la Guere de Mexico" (beginning of the war of Mexico). To the right of this, the manuscript has an oval, inked acquisition stamp that reads "Collection E. Eug. GOUPIL à Paris" on the top half and "Ancienne Collection J. M. A. AUBIN" on the bottom. The writing on the page is double spaced, and enough space was left blank between the Spanish notation at the top and the first line of text for another double-spaced line to have occupied the blank space. In the left margin, beginning in the center of this blank space before the body of the text, the marginal commentator wrote "Capitulo 12. Lib. 3. Saltandos gran parte pero dio fin" (chapter 12, book 3, skipping over for the most part but giving the end). The copyist's handwriting differs from that of the scribe. He wrote with a lighter press of the quill, leaving finer lines, usually wrote vowels without any diacritical marks (e.g., with simply dotted *i*'s), used *i* where the scribe preferred *y* in words such as *in* and *inin*, and *m* where the scribe preferred *n* before *p* in words such as *ipanpa*. He was also more consistent than the scribe in using an initial uppercase letter in place names. Where the scribe uses spellings such as *hic*, the copyist omits the initial *h*. Similarly, the copyist frequently omits the scribe's *h* in words such as *theotl*. Finally, the copyist almost always leaves a full space between a word and an ensuing comma, semicolon, or period.
- Some of these differences suggest that the copyist may have been a more mature or practiced writer, since he was more consistent in spelling than was the scribe, introduced fewer word-internal spaces, and made fewer spelling corrections. The ensuing notes will note changes that the copyist introduced when he reproduced the scribe's pages, with the exception of the use of lowercase initial letters where the scribe used uppercase letters, spelling differences of the kind noted above, and differences in spacing within words. These may be found by a simple comparison of the two texts by researchers who may be interested in such differences.
705. The copyist omitted the *i* in *huelitiliz*.
706. The copyist changed *ixtlahuacan* to *intlahuacan*. We take this to be an error.
707. The copyist added a *tin* suffix that is not in the original manuscript.
708. The copyist began the name with an uppercase letter, while the scribe did not, and omitted the scribe's final *n*.
709. The copyist omitted the underlining and changed *San* to *S*".
710. The copyist began the name with a lowercase *c*, then overwrote it with an uppercase *C*.
711. The copyist substituted *c* for the scribe's *z*.
712. The copyist omitted the scribe's *ne* prefix.
713. The copyist began the word with a lowercase *n*, which was likely just the first part of an *m*, then overwrote this letter with an uppercase *M*.
714. The copyist ended the page with the first word on the scribe's ensuing page.
715. The copyist wrote *oin mau*, then overwrote the *u* as *li*.
716. The words stricken out by the copyist are a dittography, in which the copyist mistakenly copied two words in the next line of the scribe's text, noticed his error, and crossed them out. The underline after the strikeout is merely a resting of the quill.
717. The copyist frequently uses long dashes to right-justify end of lines.
718. The copyist omitted the scribe's *z* after the first *t*. We take the word to be *o:quitzi:tzquiqueh*, "they took him captive."
719. The copyist wrote *iyaoy*, then overwrote the *y* as an *h* and finished with *uan*.
720. The copyist wrote *quihualelu*, then overwrote the final vowel as a *c* and then completed the word.
721. The copyist has added a final *n* that is not in the original manuscript. We take this to be an error for a

- singular pronominal prefix and, in keeping with the context, do not translate it as plural.
722. The copyist wrote *tla*, then overwrote the last two letters as an *h*.
723. By ending the line with a long dash, the copyist was able to end the page on the same word as the final word that the scribe did, even though there was room for another word or two.
724. The recto of manuscript folio 32, which reproduces the recto of manuscript folio 23, was badly torn before the copy was made. A relatively large section of the upper right corner was missing—from more than a third of the way from the right edge of the page at the top down through the right edge of the eighth line of writing—more than a third of the height of the page. That this damage was present before the copyist used the page is clear from the fact that there is no missing material in the copy. Each line simply ends at the tear. The purpose of making the copy is unclear. For instance, the use of a torn page indicates that the copyist was not likely to have intended this to be a finished product, or even to be used to replace the corresponding page by the scribe. Nor does the copyist's practiced penmanship suggest the copy was simply done as practice.
725. The copyist changed the scribe's final *m* to an *n*.
726. The two words that the copyist wrote, and then struck out, are another dittography, this time of words that are in the line above in the scribe's text.
727. The copyist wrote *tlaxicalli*, then inserted the *la* in superscript, using two insertion marks, a carat beneath the word, and a superscripted carat with a dot under it, followed by the *la*.
728. The copyist wrote *aic*, then inserted the *a* in superscript.
729. The scribe ended the verb with *taya*, while the copyist wrote *tia*.
730. The copyist omitted the entire line following this name. The scribe gave this line as “*oqui cauh y ti c yni chanyo, y ni ca llo cey piltzin*.”
731. We take the initial *ame* to be a misspelling of *amo*.
732. The scribe wrote *qui mo cuitla huiti cca*. The copyist changed this to *quim o cui tlauhuitica*.
733. The copyist wrote *pahuic*, then inserted the vertical line.
734. Again, the copyist ends the page at the same point as the scribe's page of text, despite the available room for more material.
735. The copyist cleaned his quill in the left margin, and crossed out the marks. The copy is paginated, as the recto of manuscript folio 33, in the upper right corner. The material corresponds to the scribe's text on manuscript folio 18, and the copyist placed this number, centered, atop the page. The material in this final copied material actually continues the copied material on manuscript folio 31, even though the intervening copied material on the recto and verso of manuscript folio 32 comes after this material, though the material here does not match that copied on manuscript folio 33.
736. The copyist wrote *omocepan*, then overwrote the *c* as a *z*, so that the spelling corresponded with that of the scribe.
737. The copyist added the absolutive suffix to the noun, despite the presence of the possessive pronoun prefix and even though it is not present in the scribe's text. This might suggest that the copyist was not a native speaker of Nahuatl.
738. The dash after *mo* marks the end of a line. The copyist began the next line with an equal sign, to indicate that he was continuing the same word.
739. The copyist wrote *tziuh*, then overwrote the *h* as a *C*, and then finished the word.
740. The copyist wrote *cuetla*, plus a following incorrect letter or possibly two letters, the identity of which cannot be determined, because he inked out the error completely and overwrote it as an *X*.
741. The copyist wrote *inecentlalia*, then overwrote the last vowel with an *l* and continued with *tlatol*.
742. The copyist ended the previous line with an equal sign, and repeated the sign at the beginning of the next line, to indicate a word division.
743. The copyist miscopied the first vowel as an *i*.
744. The ink ran and filled the eye of the *e*. To clarify the letter, the copyist wrote (*ce*) in superscript.
745. Again, the copyist ended the page on the same word as did the scribe, even though there was room on the copyist's page for one or two more words. An ensuing, unnumbered leaf follows this last page of the manuscript. It is blank, except for a circular stamp from the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. The reproduction is very faint, but the writing around the circumference of the stamp appears to read “BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONAL” clockwise around the top two-thirds of the stamp, and “MANUSCRITS” counterclockwise across the bottom third. The center of the stamp has the two large letters, R. F. for “République Française.” The same stamp occurs on the recto of folio 1 of the manuscript.