

The Codex Porfirio Díaz and the Map of Tutepetongo: The Curious Relationship between Pictography and Glosses in Oaxacan Screenfolds

Bas van Doesburg, *Leiden University Researchschool*

Abstract. This article analyzes the complex and sometimes deceiving relationship that might exist between the pictographic text and toponymic glosses in Oaxacan screenfolds from the sixteenth century. The case of the Codex Porfirio Díaz shows that these glosses represent not only boundaries of the cacicazgo of Tutepetongo but also lands and subject settlements within the cacicazgo. Despite their apparent relationship to the glyphs, the glosses do not translate the pictographic text. On the contrary, they reflect important changes in the indigenous conception of the cacicazgo.

The indigenous people from Central and South Mexico have produced a considerable corpus of historical records in the form of inscriptions, books, maps, and alphabetic documents. These materials have provided the unique opportunity to learn about the historical dynamics of their civilizations from about 100 A.D. until today. Of these records the pictographic books (codices) and sheets (lienzos) from postclassic Oaxaca have attracted attention because of their particular beauty and complexity. The study of these documents since 1949 has resulted in a detailed reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic history of several indigenous peoples of Oaxaca, especially the Mixtec, Chocho, and Zapotec.

There are several recurrent problems in the interpretation of these pictographic documents, however, often due to the lack of data about their origin and history and to the limited number of surviving pictorials. Determining the meaning and status of the glosses that are found in many of these documents presents an interesting case. The assessment of the nature of these glosses is essential to prevent a misunderstanding of their mean-

ing and status. Yet, apart from the valuable observations of Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973: 57) about the glosses in the Codex Muro of San Pedro Cántaros, the Codex Colombino from the Mixtec coast, and the Codex Tulane from Acatlán (Smith and Parmenter 1991: 69, 70), detailed study of these glosses is lacking.¹ As Smith has shown, most of the glosses accompanying place-signs in the cartographic sheets (*lienzos*) simply translate the place-names from one script (pictographic) into another (alphabetic). However, the glosses in the historical and genealogical screenfold books are often of a different nature:

[The Codex] Colombino is a pre-Conquest screenfold whose pictorial narrative deals with the life and conquests of an eleventh-century Mixtec ruler 8-Deer “Tiger Claw.” In the colonial period the Codex was annotated with Mixtec glosses that set forth boundary names of towns within the political orbit of Tututepec, the most important center in the Coastal region of the Mixteca, and these glosses only occasionally relate to the story told in the painted Codex. (Smith 1973: 57)

Recent research on the Codex Porfirio Díaz, an important screenfold from the Cuicatec region (Figure 1), shows that the relation between pictography and glosses in this document is of a similar complex nature. As was the case in the studies Smith undertook, the analysis of colonial documents relating to the territory of the polity where the pictorial used to be conserved resulted in a better understanding of this relation.

The Codex Porfirio Díaz and Its Glosses

As neighbors of the Mixtec and Zapotec, the Cuicatec participated fully in the postclassic culture of Oaxaca. After the arrival of the Spaniards several Cuicatec principalities continued as colonial *cacicazgos* until the mid-nineteenth century, when they were abolished as a result of the profound economic reforms of that time. Strong colonial *cacicazgos* were Santiago Quiotepec, San Juan Bautista Cuicatlán, and San Francisco Tutepetongo—all situated on the slopes overlooking the Cañada of Cuicatlan. The possession of large extensions of land on the valley floor and on the slopes formed the basis for the cacique’s power in all of the mentioned villages. In some cases the cacique families kept collections of documents that recorded the family history. Sometimes these collections contained pictographic documents.

The Codex Porfirio Díaz is such an early-sixteenth-century pictographic book on deerskin closely following the pre-hispanic scribal tradition of recording history.² Unfortunately, the only complete publication

of this valuable document dates from 1892, and only few serious studies have been devoted to its contents (Martínez Gracida n.d.; Hunt 1972, 1978; Doesburg 2000). Its pages are covered with polychrome glyphs of conquered places, interrupted from time to time by complex scenes representing ritual activity related to warfare. The codex clearly records a series of conquests that ended with an important marriage that apparently initiated a new Cuicatec dynasty. The two central themes of the pictographic text have been identified as (1) the alliance between the lords of Butterfly-Snake Mountain and Birdhill through war and ritual, and (2) the subsequent marriage of the lord of Birdhill and the daughter of the lord of Butterfly-Snake Mountain (Doesburg 2000: 156–9).³ In the sixteenth century these pre-Hispanic events must have been of great importance to the Cuicatec nobility, and the lord of Tutepetongo, most probably a descendant of this marriage, must have ordered the manufacture of the codex to support his claims to power, perhaps on the occasion of his own marriage.

Based on an incorrect analysis, Eva Hunt (1978: 675) thought the codex came from the collection of don Benjamín Ladrón de Guevara, a local politician from Cuicatlán and owner of a valuable collection of colonial documents. Recent research has shown, however, that the codex was in the possession of the Avendaño family of San Francisco Tutepetongo until the second half of the nineteenth century, when it was sold to local *hacendados*.⁴ In preconquest times Tutepetongo was a small principality ruled by an indigenous elite who controlled the fertile lands of Tecomaxtlahuac on the riverbanks in the Cañada. During the colonial period it lost most of this land to the sugarcane mill founded by Francisco de Oliviera around 1660. Today Tutepetongo is a small and very poor village at the foot of the rock that once was the main citadel. The Cuicatec language, closely related to Mixtec, is still widely spoken in the village.⁵

Scattered over the obverse of the document are small glosses in black ink, apparently toponyms because in many cases they accompany the place-glyphs.⁶ In her 1978 study of the codex, Hunt interpreted these glosses as translations of the glyphs, and she proposed several identifications of these glyphs based on this assumption. A detailed study of these glosses in the original codex revealed that in many cases her transcription of the glosses was incorrect, which consequently led to wrong identifications. In Table 1, I have set my transcriptions next to Hunt's.

While Hunt's work on today's Cuicatec society seems sound, her study of the codices reveals that she encountered great difficulties in the management of manuscript sources, sometimes with far-reaching consequences. For instance, a grammatical misunderstanding stands at the basis of her reconstruction of the Cuicatec system of social stratification and land tenure.

Table 1. Comparison of transcriptions of the glosses in the Codex Porfirio Díaz

Page	Doesburg	Hunt
8	tu llaada	juliacava
9	llacogaacoo	—
10	Dotonay	Dolonay
11	coollonee	conllonee
12	todñaña	todñaña
13	chetihillo	chentillo
14	llachoguey	Llachoguey
15	Rio seco	Río Seco
15	tu llaba	Sultaba
15	tierra blanca	Tierra Blanca
15	llodo Qu	llodoyu
16	llagunchigui	llagunchigui
16	teide	—

Note: only those glosses that are easily legible are included.

Her evidence for the absence of *mayeque* (serfs) and private property among the Cuicatec elite, and the subsequent existence of a corporate control of lands, is a text in a 1562 document from Concepción Pápalo.⁷ Unfortunately, Hunt's conclusion is based on an incorrect parsing of a Spanish sentence.⁸ In the case of the Codex Porfirio Díaz, inaccurate reading of the same 1562 document resulted in an erroneous reconstruction of the codex's origin.⁹

Returning to the glosses, the following example might illustrate Hunt's mistakes in their identification. She read the gloss next to a damaged place-glyph containing a serpent on page 15 as *llodoyu*. According to her, this word corresponds to a place, *llodo chevu*, mentioned in the 1562 document previously referred to, and to the actual *yudu cheve*, or Llano Español, on Cerro Cheve (Hunt 1978: 679). The glyph then, must represent Llano Español. However, the gloss clearly reads *llodo Qu* (plain of serpents), the name of a yet unidentified area close to Tutepetongo. The toponym in the 1562 document is written *llodo chevee* (plain of the price), the name of one of the barrios of Concepción Pápalo in the sixteenth century called Tianquize (market) in Nahuatl. As anyone can see, the toponyms Llado Qu (Yudu Cu in modern Cuicatec) and Lloodo Chevee (Yudu Cheve in modern Cuicatec) refer to distinct places. Moreover, it is not clear why we should believe that the gloss translates the glyph, as there is no obvious relation between the idea of "market" or "Spaniard" (in the gloss) and "serpent" (in the glyph). Many of Hunt's identifications suffer from the same kind of inaccuracy.



Figure 2. The glosses *llodo Qu*, *tu llaba*, *tierra blanca*, and *Rio seco* in the Codex Porfirio Díaz.

Curiously, in some cases there does seem to exist some relation with the pictures, although generally Hunt did not note these coincidences because of her misreadings: the gloss *tu llaada* (stone of the bird) on page 8 is written next to a glyph containing a bird; the toponym *llodo Qu* (plain of the snakes) on page 15 is recorded next to a picture containing a snake (Figure 2); the name *tu llaba* (stone of the rock) on the same page is written next to the drawing of a round stone; and the Spanish words *Rio seco*, also on page 15, are written beside the picture of a river. A final example is found on page 13, where the gloss *chetihillo* (inside the moon) is recorded next to a hill bearing a moon-shaped object (Figure 3). Given these obvious relations between the glyphs and the glosses, it might seem reasonable to assume, once again, that the glosses indeed identify the place-signs. These relations are only superficial, however. To identify the places mentioned in the glosses, we turn to a recently discovered eighteenth-century document (Figure 4).

The Map of Tutepetongo

In 1758 the cacique of Tutepetongo presented a map during a long and difficult court case to obtain land titles for the village of Tutepetongo.¹⁰



Figure 3. The gloss *chetibillo* in the Codex Porfirio Díaz.

To understand the meaning of this map, we briefly look at the court case itself. Shortly before 1756 the Spanish authorities had asked the Indian villages to present the older titles to their lands to establish their possessions. On 4 December 1756 the authorities of Tutepetongo appeared before the *alcalde mayor* of Teposcolula and Yanhuitlan,¹¹ Claudio Joseph Girard, to explain that the village did not possess a “fundo legal” because of the very infertile environment that surrounded the village, which only allowed for the cultivation of some nopal fields for the production of cochineal.¹² The village presented a *Memorial de Linderos* (boundaries list) claiming a large region that belonged to the *cacicazgo* of Tutepetongo, which was cultivated by the villagers with the consent of their *cacique*. Furthermore, the villagers said they were willing to present several witnesses to affirm this claim. A year and a half later, on 18 May 1758, the Tutepetongo authorities finally presented four witnesses who of course all testified in favor of Tutepetongo.

Unfortunately, Girard died shortly thereafter, and the case was not reopened until 27 July 1766, when the Tutepetongo authorities presented themselves before Diego Antonio de Neyra, the new *alcalde mayor* of Teposcolula and Yanhuitlan, with superior instructions to ratify the investigation done eight years before or to reexamine the witnesses. They also presented a letter written by the Tutepetongo *cacique*, don Bartolomé de

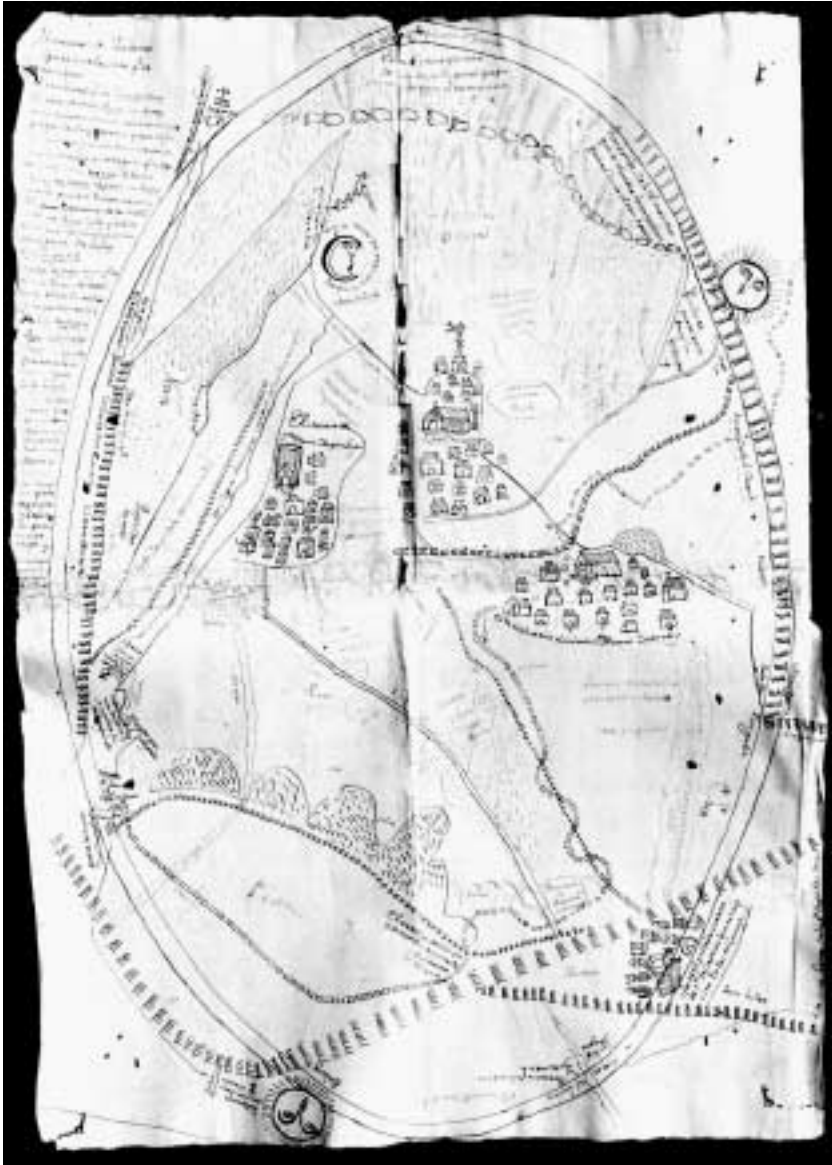


Figure 4. The Map of Tutepetongo.

Avendaño. As usual, the surrounding villages were called to present their possible objections, as was the priest of Teutila, Joachin de Echevarría y Haro, who was also the owner of the sugarcane mill of Tecomaxtlahuac. The priest stated that he thought the lands of Copaltepec, a mountain to the north of Tutepetongo where the ruins of the abandoned villages of Santa María and San Miguel were located,¹³ were so-called *realengas*¹⁴ not belonging to Tutepetongo. The Tutepetongo authorities denied the claim. Unfortunately, Diego Antonio de Neyra also died before concluding the investigation.

The Tutepetongo authorities reacted promptly, however, presenting one letter to their priest and another, in curiously elaborate handwriting by their aged and weak cacique, to the deputy of the alcalde mayor of Teotitlan. They asked for certification that don Bartolomé was the legitimate cacique of Tutepetongo and the father of Manuel de Avendaño y Monjarás. On 23 February 1768, Manuel de Avendaño appeared before the new alcalde mayor, Joseph de Montero, and handed him the affidavits, a map of the cacicazgo of Tutepetongo, and a letter in which he stated: “I also say that, for the greatest clarity of the borders of the lands of my mentioned village, I present an extract, on simple paper, taken from the General Map of my cacicazgo so that the fairness of Your Mercy be kind enough to order it to be added to the mentioned inquests . . . Manuel Avendaño Monjaras.”¹⁵

The alcalde mayor received the documents along with the map and heard four witnesses presented by Tutepetongo. The next day he issued a verdict stating that the authorities had to present themselves within fifteen days before the land judge, Diego Antonio Cornide y Saavreda, in Mexico City, and bring the ten pesos they proposed as a gift to the viceroy. This was done and on 12 March 1768, Tutepetongo and their cacique finally received their titles.¹⁶

Now we turn to the map of the cacicazgo delivered by Manuel de Avendaño in 1768. Fortunately, it is conserved in its original file. The geography of the cacicazgo is shown on the map by a series of lines representing ridges and gullies; crossing the map diagonally from the upper left corner to the center right is a line representing the silhouette of the mountain of Tutepetongo as seen from the Cañada. Also included is the notorious rock where the pre-Hispanic ruins of the village are found (Figures 5 and 6). There are a few pictographic place-signs: the sign for the village of Tutepetongo (“at the small hill of birds”), consisting of a drawing of a bird on top of some kind of pedestal at the pre-Hispanic site; the sign for a place called *chetihillooh* (Cerro de Luna), consisting of a European representation of the moon; and the sign for a place called *llyatuhiba* (Piedra Guacamaya), con-



Figure 5. Photograph of the village of Tutepetongo.

sisting of the drawing of a macaw on top of a tree that is shown springing from a stone (Figure 7).¹⁷

Series of M-like lines represent rivers and small mountain torrents (see Figure 4): to the right on the map the Río de la Grana, the border with Tepeucila, descends from the mountains and passes below the steep cliffs to the south of the barrio of Dutunay; to the left the Río Ocotol/Río de Oate, the border with Cuicatlán, descends from the mountains; at the bottom is the Río Grande, which is joined by the Río de las Vueltas in the middle. The barrio of Quetono is located exactly where the two rivers join, “en las riveras” (on the banks), according to the accompanying text. To the north of the confluence are the alluvial lands of Tecomaxtlahuac, called “el rancho del casique,” the territory’s most fertile lands and still an agricultural paradise today. At the foot of the hills surrounding these lands is a canal that receives its water from the Río Grande. Another canal, higher up in the mountains, receives its water from the Río de la Grana to irrigate the lands nearby Tutepetongo itself. Both canals still function today. A series of small squares passing through Tecomaxtlahuac, going up to Dutunay and following in the direction of Tepeucila, represent the *camino real* (the major walking route) through the territory.¹⁸



Figure 6. Photograph of the rock of Tutepetongo.

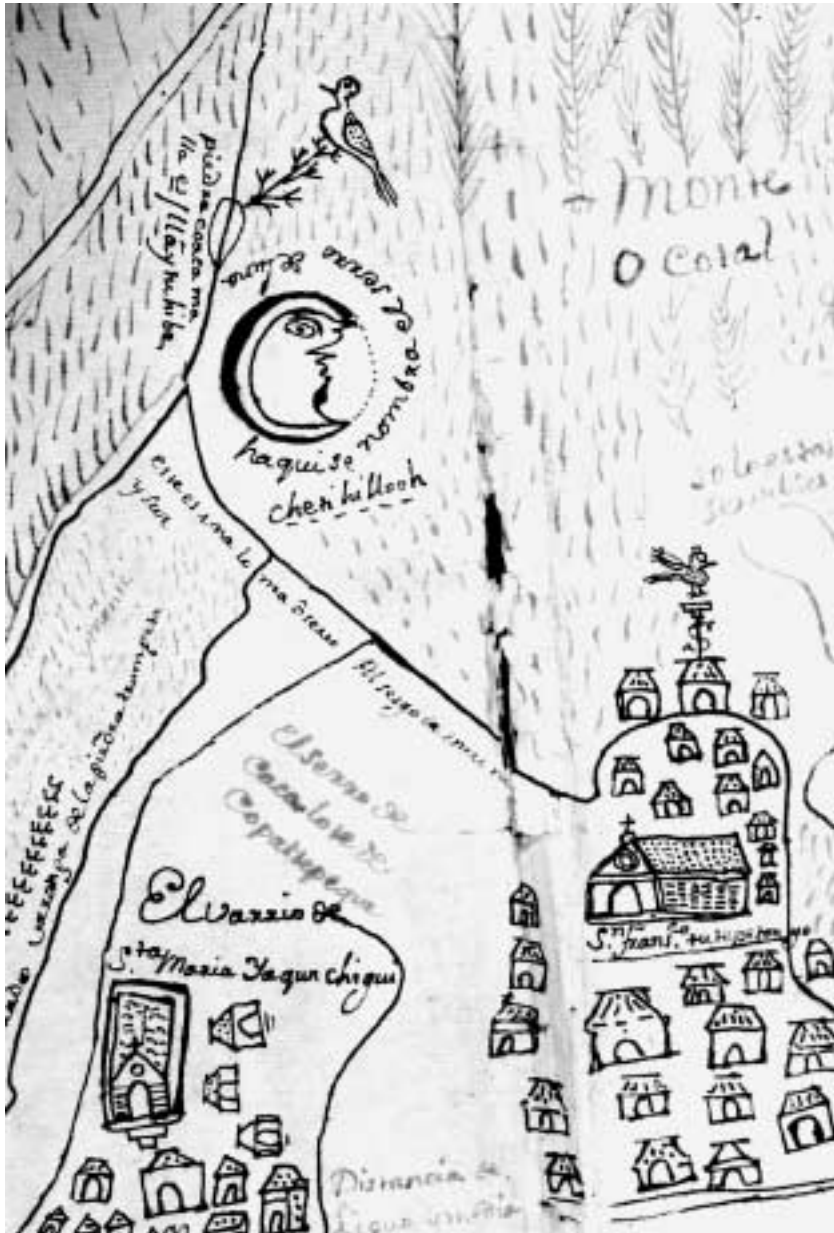


Figure 7. Pictographic elements in the Map of Tutepetongo.

The Original Map of Tutepetongo and the 1566 Probanza

The map was called an “extract,” that is, a copy, of a general map of the cacicazgo. Brief text at the top of the document states: “Este es una pintura sacada de su ôoriginal que por ser mui ântiguo esta mui rroto” [This is a painting taken from its original, which, being very ancient, is very damaged]. The original map, now lost, must have been made around the mid-sixteenth century, as the copy depicts various villages that were abandoned before 1580. Next to the main village of San Francisco Tutepetongo, still at its pre-Hispanic location, are the barrios of San Antonio Dutunay (Figure 8), Santa Maria Yaquunchigui (Figure 9), and San Sebastian Quetono.¹⁹ If the original map was indeed from the sixteenth century, it must have been passed on from one generation to the next until it fell into the hands of Manuel de Avendaño. As was the case in other parts of Oaxaca, the pictorial documents were handed down from one generation to the next as part of the cacicazgo. The history of the documents often unfolds itself along the genealogical lines of the indigenous noble families.

Fortunately, I have been able to track Manuel de Avendaño’s lineage back to the sixteenth century (Table 2). Manuel’s father, Bartolomé de Avendaño, was the oldest son of Juan de Avendaño (died 1712) and Marta de Villegas, and he probably was a great-grandchild of Juan de Avendaño the Elder. Juan the Elder was the son of Gerónimo de Avendaño (died 1644), the first cacique of Tutepetongo bearing this family name. In some way don Gerónimo had obtained the cacicazgo from Miguel de San Francisco, who was born shortly after 1550 as the son of a don Francisco, the first colonial cacique of Tutepetongo, and who was the main informant for the 1580 *Relación Geográfica* of Tutepetongo.²⁰

Interestingly, it seems that the lost original of the Map of Tutepetongo was used by Miguel de San Francisco in 1566 during an important court case about the succession in the Tutepetongo cacicazgo. The original file of this case is also lost, but a nineteenth-century copy exists in volume 29 of the unpublished works of Manuel Martínez Gracida (n.d.) in the Biblioteca Pública de Oaxaca, where it is called “Probanza y posesión del cacicazgo de Tutepetongo.”

In 1565 doña Magdalena, wife of Francisco de Salinas,²¹ appeared before the Audiencia Real, claiming she had inherited from her father Gabriel de San Francisco eighty-two plots of land, irrigated as well as “de temporal,” and Indians working them, which Martín de Guzmán, then governor of Tutepetongo and tutor of Miguel de San Francisco, had taken from her. The Audiencia gave orders to Juan Núñez de Mercado, *alcalde mayor* of

Table 2. Genealogical relations of Tutepetongo's caciques

Francisco	—————	Gabriel de San Francisco
Miguel de San Francisco		Magdalena
Gerónimo de Avendaño (died 1644)		
Juan de Avendaño		
(-)		
Juan de Avendaño (died 1712)		
Marta Villegas		
Bartolomé de Avendaño	—————	Gregorio de Avendaño (born 1701)
Tomasa de Monjarás		Ana María de Monjarás
Manuel de Avendaño y Monjarás (died 1808)		

Teutila but residing in Concepción Pápalo, to investigate the case. Unfortunately, the transcription of the investigation has not survived, but certainly the verdict was negative for doña Magdalena: the Spanish law qualified her as “hija natural,” without legal rights to the lands. It proclaimed don Miguel the rightful cacique, but the *alcalde mayor* decided that don Miguel should give doña Magdalena some financial support as she was close family.

Right after the verdict was pronounced, don Miguel presented a *Memorial de Linderos* (the original of the one presented in 1756) and asked for an *Amparo de Posesión* (protection of his possessions). On the same day, 28 February 1566, he presented several respectable witnesses, among whom were don Domingo de la Cruz, cacique of Alpisahuac; don Hernando de Mendoza, cacique of Cuicatlán; don Juan de Monjarás, cacique of Tepeucila; and Bernabel Tiyne, an old man from the same village.²² All testified in favor of don Miguel, explaining that his forefathers had been caciques of Tutepetongo since “heathen” times. Furthermore, they stated that the father of doña Magdalena was only the younger brother of don Francisco, the father of don Miguel.²³ On several occasions the witnesses referred to pictographic materials to support their testimonies.

Hernando de Mendoza declared on one occasion: “Que consta en

sus pinturas que en la Gentilidad hubo guerras [de] Tututepetongo con su pueblo sobre el dicho llano [de Tecomaxtlahuac]" [It appears from his paintings that in heathen times there had been wars between Tututepetongo and his village over the mentioned plain {of Tecomaxtlahuac}]. Some of the witnesses also stated that they had seen "las pinturas y mapas de los caciques" [the paintings and maps of the caciques] and therefore knew where the boundaries of the territory were located. After hearing the evidence, the *alcalde mayor* decided he would visit the village of Tututepetongo within two days to proceed with the *Amparo de Posesión*. On the morning of the second day, don Miguel presented himself before the *alcalde mayor* with several important documents:

There appeared present the mentioned don Miguel de San Francisco, and he presented a general painting of his lands, mountains, and water of his mentioned village and of its *barrios*, its subject settlements, and with a possession that was executed on Thursday, 14 October 1546, by Francisco de Sevilla, former *corregidor* of this mentioned village of Pápalo, and Miguel de Valderrama, his appointed scribe, and Benito Muñóz, translator, and the witness Juan de Torres, [and] by commission and order of the very illustrious lord don Antonio de Mendoza, former viceroy of this New Spain, [and] signed by Antonio de Turcios, don Francisco, cacique of the mentioned village of Tututepetongo, was protected in his possessions with a delimitation and demarcation of all his lands, including those that he possesses close to this mentioned village of Pápalo in the place called Cuapa.²⁴

It seems reasonable to assume that the mentioned "painting" showing the mountains, waters, and *barrios* of the *cacicazgo* is the same as the lost original of the Map of Tututepetongo, since its owner Miguel de San Francisco was a direct ancestor of Manuel de Avendaño, who owned the Map of Tututepetongo two centuries later. It is possible that the original map was designed either to accompany the titles of 1546 or to support the claims in 1566, illustrating the position of the lands and boundaries. Both years seem more or less consistent with the settlement distribution represented on the map.²⁵ Directly after the map and the titles were presented, the *alcalde mayor* left Pápalo to inspect the Tututepetongo territory. In the village the *alcalde mayor* ordered that all the documents, including the general map, should be put together in the presence of the caciques. After a night's rest in the village the party continued the protection of the possessions, of which the description is only partly preserved in the copy of Manuel Martínez Gracida (n.d.).²⁶

Identification of the Glosses in the Codex Porfirio Díaz

Comparing the Codex Porfirio Díaz and the Map of Tutepetongo, it turns out that several of the glosses in the codex are identical to toponyms on the map. The surprising correspondence between the documents is explained by the fact that both documents once belonged to the same Avendaño family of Tutepetongo. The gloss *chetihillo*, for example, clearly refers to the place on the map glossed “Haqui se nombra el serro de luna, chetihillooh” [Here it is called Mountain of the Moon, chetihillooh] (see Figure 7). Today Cerro de la Luna or Chete Iyu is an uninhabited mountaintop located only some two kilometers to the north of Tutepetongo. This location makes it very unlikely that the gloss refers to the conquered place in the codex, which probably was a settlement belonging to a much larger region than the Tutepetongo cacicazgo. Interestingly, in the first description of the codex from 1891, apparently based on information from the former owner, the document was called “un plano topográfico del cacicazgo de Tutepetongo” (“a topographic map of the cacicazgo of Tutepetongo”).²⁷

Smith (1973: 57) found a similar pattern during her study of the Codices Muro, Colombino, and Tulane:

The conversion of a manuscript whose pictorial content is primarily historical and genealogical into a “written map”—that is, the addition of a text which deals with boundaries and does not relate to the paintings on the manuscript—was a fairly common practice during the colonial period . . . Undoubtedly the reason for adding written land documents to such pictorial manuscripts as Codices Colombino and Muro was to make them more acceptable as evidence in courts administered by Spanish colonists, who could not understand the pre-Conquest method of pictorial writing.

When the scribe of the glosses converted the pre-Hispanic narrative into a local map of Tutepetongo, he did so with some care, as he chose to locate the glosses near glyphs that seemed to be related. Other interesting examples of this tendency can be found in the pictures of the rituals. In two instances (pages 10 and 16) a specific ritual is depicted as performed near a pre-Hispanic temple. The scribe of the glosses interpreted these temples as representations of two of Tutepetongo’s barrios, calling the first *Dotonay* (Figure 10; see also Figure 8) and the second *llagunchigui* (Figure 11; see also Figure 9). To the latter he added, just beneath the temple, the gloss *teide*, which indeed corresponds to a place called *teydêê* near the barrio of Santa María Yaqunchigui in the Map of Tutepetongo. Three of the glosses on page 15 (see Figure 2) correspond to another cluster of places in the Tutepe-



Figure 10. The gloss *Dotonay* in the Codex Porfirio Díaz.

tongo territory: *rrio seco*, *bico tu llaba*, and *tierra blanca* are represented on the Map of Tutepetongo too, near the border between Cuicatlán and Tutepetongo at the entrance to the lands of Tecomaxtlahuac (Figure 12). The fourth gloss on this page, *llodo Qu*, does not appear on the Map of Tutepetongo. There are several other glosses in the codex that do not appear in the map, like *tu llaada* on page 8, *llacogaacoo* on page 9, *coollonee* on page 11, or *llachoguey* on page 14, and so on. It may be possible to identify these places with the aid of the actual inhabitants of Tutepetongo in future research efforts.

The relation between pictography and glosses in the Codex Porfirio Díaz (and other documents) can be understood as a case of “disjunction,” a concept introduced by Erwin Panofsky (1972) to describe the changes in meaning that conventional symbols or scenes may suffer from one period to another.²⁸ In Panofsky’s work disjunction is mainly used to describe the change of meaning imposed on Roman iconographic conventions by the early Christians. However, it can be used more widely to describe in general the change of meaning undergone by iconographic conventions as the result of profound social change. The use of the glyph for the city of Tenochtitlan to represent the actual Mexican state is just one example from the Mesoamerican context. Disjunction might even include the reinterpretation of (elements of) a work of art itself. This situation seems to apply to the Codex



Figure 11. The glosses *llagunchigui* and *teide* in the Codex Porfirio Díaz.

Porfirio Díaz. Whereas the painter of the place-signs intended to represent a conquered territory, these same signs were later reinterpreted by the glossarist as places within the colonial cacicazgo of the Avendaño family. It is not known if the glossarist, when he introduced the glosses, was still able to understand the original message of the codex.²⁹

Having identified disjunction in at least four major historical-genealogical screenfolds (Colombino, Muro, Tulane, and Porfirio Díaz) we might ask what this recurrent process of change could mean. Can it somehow reflect a more profound change in the perception of the territory during the early colonial period? Whereas the original pictographic text was intended to explain the origin of the cacicazgo by ritual, conquest, and marriage—and as such served as an indirect title of the noble family to lands, tributes, or both—the second stratum represented the cacicazgo through a series of places, focusing primarily on geography and territory. While the first was clearly intended for internal, indigenous use, the second may have served as a title to the lands in a court case before the Spanish authorities. Spanish courts in New Spain were sometimes willing to accept pictorial documents as evidence, although they were rarely inclined to go into the study of the specific indigenous social or territorial structure and its origin. Spanish juridical practice prevailed in most cases; succession was prefer-

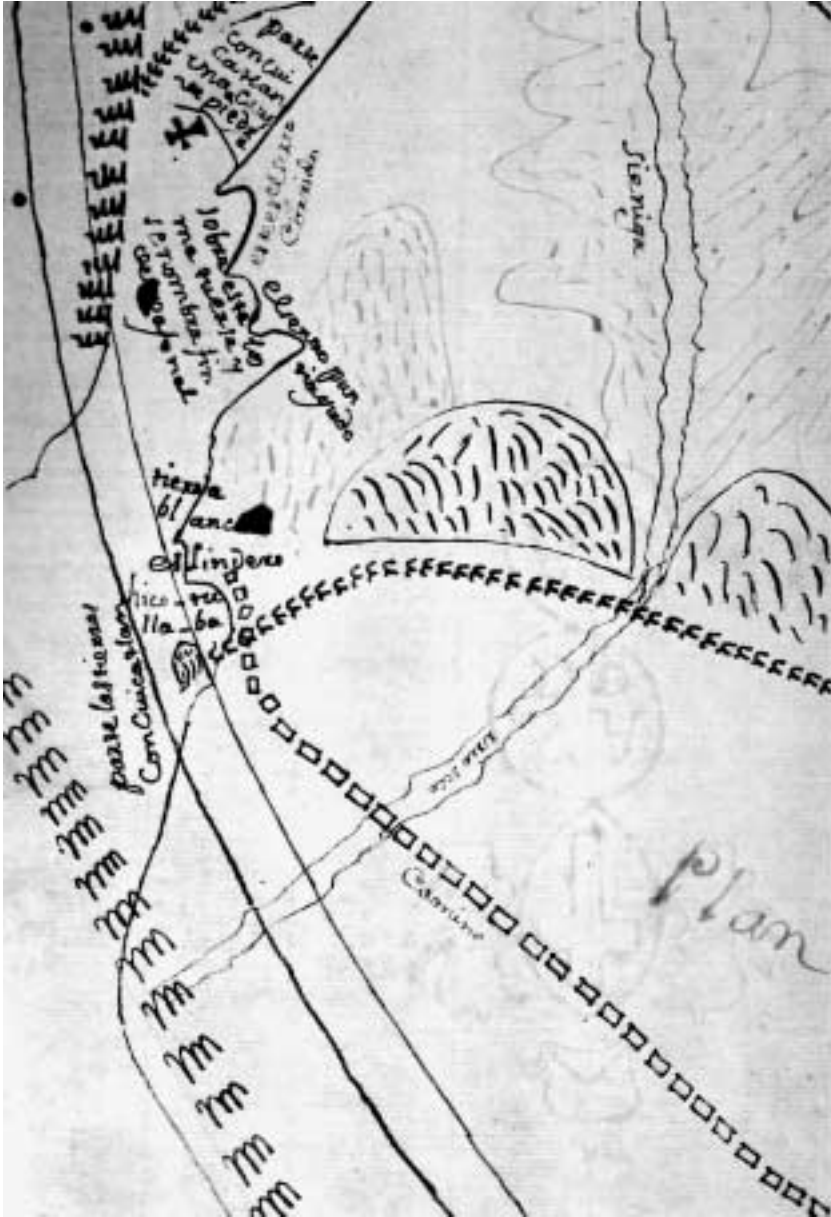


Figure 12. The glosses *tierra blanca*, *río seco*, and *hico tu llaba* in the Map of Tutepetongo.

ably through the male descendant of a Catholic marriage (as, for instance, in the earlier case of doña Magdalena), and communities were preferably defined as territorial units. The complex pre-Hispanic legitimation principles did not apply anymore, which was reflected in the paintings and testimonies that were presented to the courts.

It seems then that especially in the interaction sphere between Indians and Spaniards the cacicazgo became more narrowly defined as a single territory controlled by a cacique, while the origins and the complex social relations and loyalties holding the cacicazgo together (and thus also the documents relating these issues) became of secondary importance. To claim this territory before a Spanish court, it was enough to include a list of lands and borders in a painted manuscript since, as Smith already suggested, this “gave the impression of being—and often was—the most ancient document owned by the native ruler or municipal official” (Smith and Parmenter 1991: 70). Finally, because of the gradual acculturation of the caciques, the original painted message was forgotten. In other words, the old documents were reduced to mere “authoritative symbols” backing up new territorial claims. This could explain why disjunction occurs especially in the historical-genealogical screenfold.

It is important to stress that possession of lands was not a new concept in Oaxacan societies. In pre-Hispanic times the caciques did possess (entailed) lands, often the best ones in the region, together with people tied to these lands, but they seem not to have formed a continuous territory. As noted before, the 1565 conflict in Tutepetongo concerned eighty-two plots of land, not a single territory. Nobles, temples, and other segments of the indigenous society possessed lands as well. Commoners cultivated lands administered, but not owned, by the cacique and nobles through their officials or *tequitlatos*. Together, all these different lands and their inhabitants formed the *altepetl*, geographically a loosely defined unit but socially a tightly knit structure. Family ties and tribute-service obligations formed the necessary grammar of the community.

During the early colonial period the relations between the community's different sectors came under growing pressure, and in many occasions caciques tried to claim the *altepetl* lands as their own. In other cases cacique and commoners tried to protect the *altepetl* against intrusions by neighboring villages. Many lienzos and maps are the results of such claims, and because of their cartographic character they did not suffer the same kind of disjunction as the screenfolds.³⁰ It seems, then, that the addition of glosses to the screenfolds should be seen as a symptom of a changing balance in the continuum between social and territorial organization during the early colonial period. This change manifested itself for the first time

in the interaction-sphere between Indians and Spaniards. The “private” cacicazgos of the eighteenth century in the Cuicatlán region, functioning in many cases as small haciendas, constituted the ultimate stage of this development.³¹

Conclusions

It is now known beyond doubt that the Codex Porfirio Díaz is from the Cuicatec village of San Francisco Tutepetongo, an origin already suggested by Maarten Jansen (Anders and Jansen 1994: 267–9) and reinforced by my findings (Doesburg 1998). The case of the Codex Porfirio Díaz shows that ethnohistorians should take great care in assessing the status of glosses in the pictographic documents before using them in the interpretation of the pictography. Hunt’s (1972, 1978) studies constitute an important contribution to the knowledge of Cuicatec society, but her historical reconstructions should be used with great care.

As this article shows, the glosses in the Codex Porfirio Díaz not only refer to boundaries of the cacicazgo but also to subject settlements and lands within the village territory or the cacicazgo. Whereas Smith (1973: 57; Smith and Parmenter 1991: 69) still thought that the glosses in the screenfolds only referred to village or cacicazgo boundaries, it seems more accurate to assume that they also can refer to lands and settlements within (and probably also outside) a cacicazgo. It seems, moreover, that we should not expect complete lists of borders or places, as the selection of recorded places might have been dictated by the specific situation and needs of the moment.

Put in a broader perspective, the detailed study of the various parts or strata of the pictographic manuscripts in relation to additional documentation about the polity where the documents were kept can illuminate aspects of the indigenous community and the changes that occurred after the arrival of the Spaniards. The selection of the original information and the changes introduced afterward into the documents can inform us about the manuscripts’ objectives and legitimating roles at different stages in history. The documents reflect aspects of the social-political structure and the attempts of the indigenous elite to maintain its possessions and privileged position according to both internal and indigenous principles as well as to Spanish judicial standards. In this regard they are probably the most intriguing sources on the dynamics and cognitive aspects of the indigenous society during pre-Hispanic and viceregal times.

Most important, the shift from a legitimation of the elite through reference to war, ritual, and marriage (and implicitly descent, according to

indigenous principles) on the pictographic level, toward claims based on the possession of territory and Spanish-style descent present in the colonial stratum, is illustrative for the changes in indigenous politics brought about by the implementation of the Spanish administration. Because of the problems in dating the glosses in the codex, it has not been possible to determine with certainty whether both strata were understood simultaneously.

The identification of the glosses in the codex as local toponyms means that we cannot use them for the interpretation of the pre-Hispanic stratum of the codex. Rather, we must turn to other sources, such as, the ethnohistorical and ethnographic documentation from the Cuicatec region, to establish that objective. Through recent ethnohistorical research several unknown Cuicatec pictographic documents have been identified over the past few years. In addition to the Map of Tutepetongo, an interesting tribute document from Tepeucila was recently discovered by Ethelia Ruíz Medrano.³² The past ten years have also seen the rediscovery of several interesting document collections, among these the papers belonging to the former cacique family of Cuicatlán.³³ We can only hope that one day it will be possible to relate the glyphs or persons from the codex with those from some still unknown document.

Notes

The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers of *Ethnohistory* for their useful and keen commentaries.

- 1 The M.A. thesis of Manuel Alvaro Hermann Lejarazu (1998) constitutes a recent and important contribution to the problem of the toponymic glosses in the Codex Muro.
- 2 The original codex is kept in the codex vault of the Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City. Its signature is BNA 35-50. It was studied by the author on three occasions in 1989 and 1990.
- 3 Butterfly-Snake Mountain can be identified as the principality of Papalotípac ("Above the Butterflies"), an important pre-Hispanic Cuicatec center in the mountains above Cuicatlán. Birdhill can be identified as either Tepeucila ("Abundance of Hummingbirds in the Mountains") or Tutepetongo ("At the Small Hill of Birds"); both are neighboring principalities of Papalotípac. These identifications are discussed in detail in Doesburg 2000: 156-9. The places conquered by the lords of these sites have not yet been identified.
- 4 See Anders and Jansen 1994: 267-69, and Doesburg 1998: 103-7, for the details of the acquisition. The official bill of the acquisition is located in the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Fondo Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, caja 229bis, exp. 30. Manuel Martínez Gracida encountered the codex in 1891, when it was in the possession of the Spanish hacienda administrator of Tecomaxtlahuac, José Pérez Calderón, who was then living in Oaxaca. The latter reported to have purchased the codex in 1886 from the last caciques of Tutepe-

tongo, probably Manuel and Felipe Avendaño, the sons of Juan José de los Angeles Avendaño.

- 5 For more details on the history of Tutepetongo, see Doesburg 2000: 112–21.
- 6 Among these glosses obvious toponyms like Río Seco and Tierra Blanca are also found. Apart from the black glosses there are other small glosses written in faded gray ink and still others written in red ink. It is not clear what these other glosses mean.
- 7 The document is kept in the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Colección Antigua, 838, and is referred to in this article as BNAH-CA 838. See Doesburg 2000: 66–70 and 131–37 for a detailed analysis.
- 8 Hunt's (1972: 203) text reads: "The ruler, however, did not personally 'own' the estancia lands. In one phrasing the estancia is said 'to be of the macehuals' and the cacique was to be 'in charge of it.' . . . Hence, the estancia of Yepaltepec had corporate control of its lands." The original text (BNAH-CA 838, f. 14B–15) reads: "[El testigo] dijo que . . . sabe la estancia y tierras de Yepaltepec sobre que es este pleito porque fue natural y morador en la dicha estancia hasta ahora veinte años poco mas o menos que se pasó a la estancia y barrio de Cacaloteppec y que es de los macehuals que tiene a cargo el dicho don Domingo." The subject of the last clause clearly is the witness and not the *estancia*.
- 9 Hunt (1978: 674, 684, 686–87; quotations joined in one phrasing) noted that "[the codex] was done by somebody badly trained in the pictorial arts, quite an amateur. . . . It is likely that in 1545 his skills were used to reproduce the original codex for use in the first 'tasación' succession claim because there were no other painters around. The courtcase states that there were only 2 local codex painters alive in 1562 . . . who had prepared, ca. 1545, 2 separate copies of manuscript pictorial documents to prove the legitimate royal history of the Cuicatec descent line. With these 2 picture documents, doña Catalina Salomé's husband and his father had obtained the original *tasación*. . . . What is most striking is that cacica doña Catarina Salomé argued in court that the codices had been defaced by her enemy, to destroy the proof of her son's legal rights. Clearly this has been in fact the case with the Porfirio Díaz."

Surprisingly, however, almost none of these facts can be found in the original Spanish text (BNAH-CA 828). For example, there is no reference to "only two local codex painters," nor to the observation that they painted two codices around 1545, nor that codices were used to obtain the first *tasación*. Other conclusions are based on clear mistranslations. For example, "defaced" is Hunt's translation of *ocultar* (to hide). The "codex" mentioned in this phrase is "tasación" in the original text.
- 10 The map was discovered several years ago by Lisa Sousa from the University of California while she was working in the Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, where it is located in the Fondo Alcaldías Mayores, caja 38, exp. 4 (Terraciano 1994: 519–21). The Spanish administration of the Bourbon dynasty tried in several instances from 1692 onward to organize the possession of land in New Spain. The 1754 edict corresponds to one of the last phases of this process.
- 11 While all the surrounding villages fell within the district of Teotitlán, Tutepetongo belonged to the district of Teposcolula and Yanhuitlán during most of the colonial period.
- 12 The Fundo Legal, published in 1687, established that the lands of an Indian village should measure at least six hundred varas (about five hundred meters) in

the four cardinal directions. The law was initially meant as a means to protect the villages from the Spanish landowners.

- 13 This is the only reference I have found to the abandoned village of San Miguel, which does not appear on the Map of Tutepetongo. Its Cuicatec and Nahuatl names remain unknown.
- 14 *Realengas* were lands originally belonging to the Spanish Crown that were later sold to private investors.
- 15 The Spanish text (modernized orthography) reads: “Otro si digo que para la mayor claridad de los linderos de las tierras de d[ic]ho mi pueblo hago presentación de un extracto sacado en papel simple del Mapa General de mi cacicazgo para que la justificación de V[uestra] M[erced] se sirva de mandarlo cumular a las citadas diligencias. . . . Man[ue]ll Abendaño Monjaras.”
- 16 These titles were used shortly thereafter, in 1795, in another dispute with an owner of the Hacienda de Tecomaxtlahuac (AGN Tierras, vol. 1264, exp. 17).
- 17 Oral tradition in Tutepetongo tells of a bird that lived on a stone at the ruins of the pre-Hispanic site. The droppings of the bird were of pure gold, so life in the village was good. After a while the villagers argued that they should build a canal to improve agriculture, but they could not agree on the location of the *toma* (intake of water). Finally, a canal was built with a high intake irrigating a large portion of land. After some time, though, the canal collapsed and the old settlement was abandoned. A second, much lower canal was built, which is still used today and runs through the new settlement. The bird, however, was taken away by the Big Sorcerer (the mountain spirit Sa’an Davi), and wealth did not return to the village. The story was told to the author by Sabas Ramírez Cruz. The Cuicatec name of Tutepetongo is Yyada (<yan-yada, or “village of the bird(s)”).
- 18 It is not clear what the series of footprints at the top of the document represents.
- 19 The *Suma de Visitas* from the 1530 to 1550 (see Paso y Troncoso 1905) mentions five subject barrios for Tutepetongo, while the *Relación Geográfica* from 1580 (see Acuña 1984 1: 153) mentions only Copaltepec (Yaquichigui) as a barrio. Archaeological fieldwork was recently carried out under the direction of Raul Matadamas of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología (INAH) Oaxaca, with the specific goal of locating these early sixteenth-century subject settlements and looking for early colonial material. Unfortunately, no colonial material was found during the survey, but the three depicted barrios were all identified.
- 20 See Acuña 1984 1: 152. Like several other Cuicatec caciques, don Miguel was raised in Mexico. See Doesburg 1996: 103–17 for a detailed description of this family.
- 21 Francisco de Salinas is mentioned as cacique and *gobernador* of Concepción Pápalo in the BNAH-CA 838. In 1563 he testified in favor of Catarina Salome, mother of the cacique of Icpaltepec (San Lorenzo Pápalo). Among the witnesses of the opposing side appeared Martín de Guzmán, the *gobernador* of Tutepetongo.
- 22 Juan de Monjarás was a close relative of Catarina Salome, mentioned in note 21. Catarina had left her cacicazgo in Tepeucila in charge of his son Pedro de Monjarás during the 1563 trial. It is therefore interesting to find don Juan among the witnesses of don Miguel. See Doesburg 2000: 141 for a short description of this family, and Herrera and Ruíz Medrano 1997 for a detailed description of a 1543 court case started by don Juan.

- 23 It seems the arguments in the court case revolved around the confrontation between pre-Hispanic and Spanish inheritance practices, an important issue during the sixteenth century. Whereas in the pre-Hispanic system the inheritance of titles was open to various criteria (background, aptness, etc.), the Spanish system stressed the rights of the oldest son of the “legitimate” wife. It seems doña Magdalena’s claims were based on the pre-Hispanic system, while the party of don Miguel based their arguments on the Spanish system, which was of course accepted by the Spanish judge.
- 24 Unfortunately, the 1546 titles don’t seem to have survived. The Spanish text (modernized orthography) reads: “Pareció presente el d[ic]ho d[o]n Miguel de San Francisco, e hizo presentación [de] una pintural gen[era]l de sus tierras, montes y agua de su dicho pue[bl]o y de sus barrios, sus sujetos y con una posesión q[ui]e en jueves, catorce de octubre, año de mil y quinientos y cuarenta y seis lo practicó Francisco de Sevilla, corregidor que fue de este dicho pue[bl]o de Pápalo, y Miguel Valderrama su escribano nom[bra]do y Benito Muñoz intérprete y testigo Juan de Torres, por comisión y mandam[ien]to del il[ustrá]simo s[eñor] d[o]n Antonio de Mendoza, visorey que fue de esta Nueva España, firmado de Antonio de Turcios, se le amparó en posesión a d[o]n Francisco cacique del d[ic]ho pue[bl]o de Tututepetongo con deslinde y amojonamiento de todos sus tierras hasta las que posee junto de este d[ic]ho pue[bl]o de Pápalo en el lugar nombrado Cuapa.”
- 25 The dating of the original map presents some minor problems: if the map were designed to accompany the 1546 titles, it should have depicted the lands in Coapan. By 1566, Tututepetongo was already moved to its present location, which seems to correspond more or less with the position of the barrio Dutunay.
- 26 The text of Martínez Gracida (n.d.) was based on a copy of the original text, made for Gerónimo de Avendaño at an unknown date. The text ends (my translation): “With which was finished the completion of this process, of which the possession, having fallen apart and missing many pages, was not finished, and it was left in the form that is mentioned, until here, and as is seen in its original. By order of the mentioned lord corregidor and by appeal of the said don Gerónimo de Avendaño . . . this process was sewed and inserted in its original, which is on eleven leaves, and the second memorandum, which was not transcribed, is on nine leaves, and it was all sewed and handed over to the mentioned cacique don Gerónimo de Avendaño.”
- 27 Doesburg 1998: 105.
- 28 I chose to work with Panofsky’s disjunction, because this art-historical method has been used to develop the more recent ethno-iconological model currently in use in the analysis of indigenous pictorial sources (Jansen 1988; Loo 1987; Doesburg 2000: 35–40; Roskamp 1998: 76–78). This ethno-iconological model, which takes into account the cultural continuity of indigenous peoples and the colonial context in which they live, is consistent with notions of cultural (re)appropriation in other recent anthropological models (cf. Rappaport 1990 for the Paéz historical thought in Colombia). The model also links with the recent Mexican studies on Oaxacan pictorials that reveal strong art-historical (iconographic) characteristics (cf. the Mexican publications based on the method developed by Joaquín Galarza).
- 29 I have not been able to determine more precisely at which particular occasion the glosses were added to the codex. The form of the capital Q in the glosses

corresponds to writing from after 1700. The use of *ll* for *y* is very common in the Codex Porfirio Díaz. Kevin Terraciano (1994: 196) notes that the use of *ll* for the *y* sound in Mixtec texts postdates 1750. The *ll* also appears in the toponyms in the BNAH-CA 838, which is an eighteenth-century copy of a sixteenth-century original.

- 30 A good example of the recent analysis of such a lienzo, the Mapa de Sosola, can be found in Jansen and Pérez Jiménez n.d.; a recent analysis of the Mapa de Teozacualco is found in Anders, Jansen, and Pérez Jiménez 1992: 35–53.
- 31 Similar developments have been identified in other regions of Mesoamerica (Roskamp 1998 for Michoacán; Lockhart 1992 for the Nahuatl region; Farriss 1984 for the Maya region; Chance 1989 for the Sierra Zapoteca; Terraciano 1994 for the Mixteca). The specifics of each region depend on a series of variables, like pre-Hispanic cultural, political, and economic circumstances, local geography, intensity of cultural contact with Spaniards, and so on. But on a general level the progressive leveling of the complex pre-Hispanic social structure during the sixteenth century, the secularization of the role of the elite, and the shift from the socially oriented pre-Hispanic principalities toward the territorially oriented Spanish *mayorazgo* seem to have been common developments.
- 32 See Herrera and Ruíz Medrano 1997.
- 33 Doesburg 2000: 84–88.

References

- Acuña, René, comp.
1984 Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI: Antequera. 2 vols. Serie Antropológica 54 y 58. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM).
- Anders, Ferdinand, and Maarten Jansen
1994 Pintura de la muerte y de los destinos: Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Laud. Serie Códices Mexicanos. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE).
- Anders, Ferdinand, Maarten Jansen, and Aurora Pérez Jiménez
1992 Crónica Mixteca: El rey 8 Venado, Garra de Jaguar, y la dinastía de Teozacualco-Zaachila: Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Zouche-Nuttall. Serie Códices Mexicanos. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica (FCE).
- Chance, John K.
1989 Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Doesburg, Bas van
1998 El origen de cuatro documentos pictográficos de Oaxaca en la “Exposición Histórico-americana” de 1892. *In Cuadernos del Sur*, 12. Oaxaca: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia/Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores de Antropología Social/Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca (INAH/CIESAS/IISUABJO).
- 2000 Códices cuicatecos. Mexico City: Editorial Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

- Farriss, Nancy M.
1984 *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hermann Lejarazu, Manuel Alvaro
1998 *Estudio e interpretación de un manuscrito mixteco denominado: Códice Muro*. M.A. thesis, UNAM.
- Herrera Meza, María del Carmen, and Ethelia Ruíz Medrano
1997 *El Códice de Tepeucila: El entintado mundo de la fijeza imaginaria*. Mexico City: INAH.
- Hunt, Eva
1972 Irrigation and the Socio-Political Organization of Cuicatec Cacicazgos. *In* *The Prehistory of the Tehuacan Valley*. Richard MacNeish, ed. Vol. 4, pp. 162–259. Austin: University of Texas Press.
1978 The Provenience and Contents of the Porfirio Díaz and Fernández Leal Codices: Some New Data and Analysis. *American Antiquity* 43: 673–90.
- Jansen, Maarten
1988 The Art of Writing in Ancient Mexico: An Ethno-iconological Perspective. *Visible Religion* 6: 86–113.
- Jansen, Maarten, and Aurora Pérez Jiménez
2000 *La dinastía de Añute: Historia, literatura e ideología de un reino mixteco*. Leiden: CNWS Publications.
- Lockhart, James
1992 *The Nahuas after the Conquest: The Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Loo, Peter van der
1987 *Códices, costumbres, continuidad, un estudio de la religión Mesoamericana*. *Indiaanse Studies* 2. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Martínez Gracida, Manuel
n.d. *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*. 19 vols. Biblioteca Pública de Oaxaca, Sala de le Historia de Oaxaca.
- Panofsky, Erwin
1972 *Renaissance and Resuscitations in Western Art*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del, ed.
1905 *Suma de visitas de pueblos por orden alfabético. Papeles de Nueva España publicados de orden y con fondos del gobierno mexicano . . . , 2a serie*. Vol. 1. Est. Madrid: Tipográfico Sucesores de Rivadeneyra.
- Rappaport, Joanne
1990 *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roskamp, Hans
1998 *La historiografía indígena de Michoacán: El lienzo de Jucutácato y los títulos de Carapan*. Leiden: CNWS Publications, 72.
- Smith, Mary Elizabeth
1973 *The Relation between Mixtec Manuscript Paintings and the Mixtec Language: A Study of Some Personal Names in Codices Muro and*

Sánchez Solís. *In Mesoamerican Writing Systems*. Elizabeth P. Benson, ed. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections.

Smith, Mary Elizabeth, and Ross Parmenter

1991 *The Codex Tulane*. Middle American Research Institute, Publication 61. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.

Terraciano, Kevin

1994 *Ñudzahui History: Mixtec Writing and Culture in Colonial Oaxaca*. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles.