



**The Provenience and Contents of the Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal Codices:
Some New Data and Analysis**

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THE PROVENIENCE AND CONTENTS OF THE PORFIRIO DIAZ AND FERNANDEZ LEAL CODICES: SOME NEW DATA AND ANALYSIS

Eva Hunt

The Codices Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal have not been satisfactorily analyzed as to content, nor have their origins been explained. New data relevant to their history are presented, establishing a definite Cuicatec origin and content. They were utilized in a court case (ca. 1562) concerning nobility succession rights. Historical sections contain dates of founding and conquest of Cuicatec towns. Toponymics written in hieroglyphics, in Spanish, and in Cuicatec using the Latin alphabet mark Cuicatec district landscape features still called by the same names. The codices cover approximately 260 years and correlate with a written document. Where, how, and why the codices were created and mutilated is discussed, and evidence is presented which corrects previous analyses.

In the year of 1944, reviewing a publication of the newly rediscovered Cuicatec Codex Fernandez Leal, the great Mesoamericanist scholar R. H. Barlow said that "The picture codices are things of great(er) dignity: they are the record of how one branch of the human race warred and measured the stars, ate and prayed to stone gods" (R. H. Barlow 1944:384). In the same review, Barlow complained politely but with bitterness that many people treated the Mesoamerican codices without anchoring them in real geography or history, as if they were products of a "Cloud-Cuckoo-Land with a stop-over in East Shangri-La."

This was true of many codices, particularly until recent times, before the publication of some recent research such as Caso's (e.g., 1960) and Smith's (1973) works and of the valuable *Handbook of Middle American Indians* volumes on ethnohistory (Wauchope and Cline 1972-1975). Like many people, I became attracted to the codices, and in the old days we spent many years searching the literature, studying and reading, swimming through innumerable pages of trash together with valuable analysis, because we had no guides to our search, no sign posts for the proper direction. At the same time, the codices attracted a motley collection of fanatics, madmen, fools, and simply misdirected anthropologists who thought that reaching the solutions they searched for just took a few weeks of training.

Even in the cases of true scholars, many mistakes have been made in the analysis of codex materials; the great Seler was known to use pure imagination when lacking in facts. The Fernandez Leal Codex that Barlow was reviewing in 1944, and the parallel codex of which I write in this paper, the Porfirio Diaz, have related histories that witness a tragic destiny of misunderstanding, theft, misreading, improper transcription, poor documentation, and fanciful if not simply absurd or ludicrous analysis.

This paper is a first attempt at combating the morass of errors that have accumulated about these 2 small codices, which have been seldom studied and poorly analyzed. I should start the story at the beginning. In the year 1562, a noblewoman from the town of Tepeucila, named (in Spanish) Catarina Salomé, in the New Spain province of Cuicatlán, took a case to the Spanish courts to insure the rights of succession of her minor son, less than 20 years old, to his father's and her husband's cacicazgo (see Archivo de Microfilm, 1562). This would have assured her the tribute which the Spanish crown had assigned to her nobleman husband. She had been dispossessed by a coalition between a kinsman of her own consanguineal line who held rights of rulership over some of the Tepeucila territories and a half brother of her dead husband who, although "only a minor branch of the nobility" (probably an illegitimate son), claimed succession rights to the cacicazgo title.

After a few preliminaries, it became clear to the scribes and judges of the court that the case was quite complicated. First, it involved some jurisdictional rights over a major irrigation source in the territory of the city state of Papalo. Second, the 2 noble lines had taken different sides of the factional issue. Third, the 2 lines belonged to different ethnic groups, one was a Mazatec, the other a Cuicatec "royal line." Fourth, the only way to solve the conflict was to bring in a large number of expert witnesses, who were acquainted with the long history of the case and had memorized their own oral history. A discussion of this case can be found in a previous work of mine (Hunt 1972). Among the people involved were some old men, *Caciques* (lords) and *tequitlatos* (stewards) of hamlets of the city state, and 2 codex painters, who had apparently 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 Catarina Salomé's husband and his father had obtained the original *tasación*, that is, the title rights to tribute for noblemen, which the Spaniards acknowledged for them.

These pictorial codices, containing as the witnesses said "histories of town foundations, births, cacique marriages, deaths, wars, successions, and many other topics" had been in the possession of Doña Catarina together with the *tasación* title until her competitor (her husband's half brother), according to her, had stolen them from her and defaced or mutilated them, in an attempt to destroy the evidence against his side of the court case (Archivo de Microfilm, 1562).

Doña Catarina and her son were able to win the court case because they had on their side all old, respected, and trustworthy witnesses, including the noblemen of all nearby city states. The

written documents were kept in the public archive of the Pápalo capital until the anthropologist R. Weitlaner took them to the National Museum in Mexico City in 1956. What happened to the pictorial documents remained a mystery until this century.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the District of Cuicatlan, of the now independent nation of Mexico, state of Oaxaca, had a Political Chief whose name was Don Benjamín Ladrón de Guevara. This gentleman was of obscure origins. Some people in Cuicatlán claim he was the illegitimate son of a priest; others claim that he was an acculturated Mixtec Indian from Cuyamecalco, in the interior of the Cuicatec District. He was a good businessman, became rich, and was appointed *Jefe Político*. He also became a good friend of Martínez Gracida, a scholar and politician, with whom he had some business dealings in Cuicatec land expropriations and in the building of the Puebla-Oaxaca railroad (see Archivos del Juzgado de Cuicatlán). He helped Martínez Gracida by writing the Cuicatec section of the famous book *Cuadros Sinopticos . . . de Oaxaca* (1883). He also became a collector of Cuicatec memorabilia, including old written or painted documents. From these he created for himself a (fictional) past in which he became descendant of the noble cacique lines of Quiotepec named Monjaras.

It is irrelevant if he was or was not a descendant of caciques. The point is that he at one time owned (1) the single-page *Codice Quiotepec*, (2) a large bulk of cacique succession cases from sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish courts, (3) a will testament and history of the Monjaras family of Quiotepec, and (4) the 2 codices, the *Tira* (strip) *Fernandez Leal* and the screenfold *Porfirio Diaz*. The 3 painted codices he gave to his friend Martínez Gracida, as a gift, to publish in honor of Porfirio Diaz. Actually, 1 codex was published and named after Diaz; another, the Quiotepec, was named after Martínez Gracida. While these 2 were placed in the National Museum, the third, the Fernandez Leal, disappeared. It was found again in a bank vault on the west coast of the U.S., and it has been reproduced only once since that discovery.

The Ladrón de Guevara family kept the other written documents of the collection until 1957. One of these contains over 300 pages: the front pages a beautiful, colored genealogical tree, in the European manner, of the cacique lines of Quiotepec and Cuicatlán. Doña Guadalupe Guevara, the elderly daughter of Don Ladrón the Guevara, allowed Professor Roberto Weitlaner and me to see the top of the documents, but the following year, when I attempted to copy some of them and microfilm them with the aid of Martínez Marín of the Museo Nacional de México, she refused us access to them for fear that we would "expropriate them for the government in lieu of taxes." When I returned to the field in the early 1960s, I contacted the family again and discovered that Doña Lupe was alive but had moved to Mexicali; no one in the younger generation knew where the "old papers" had been put away. They are now probably either eaten by termites or sold to some secret collector.

In the meantime, the Porfirio Diaz and the Fernandez Leal codices were reproduced near the beginning of this century in facsimile lithographs (see Penafiel 1895; Chavero 1892). One returned to the National Museum in Mexico (the Porfirio Diaz), while the other (the Fernandez Leal) was stolen, sold in the United States, and (as mentioned above) disappeared until rediscovered years later. Now it is at the Bancroft Library of the University of California. I have suggested to the director and curator that some provisions be made to protect the codex colors from further fading. The codex is kept between layers of acrylic shaped in a horizontal S pattern the same length as the strip. The acrylic hangs from the ceiling with chains, and since it is in a secretaries' room, in the lobby to the director's office, it has been exposed to both natural and fluorescent lights without filters. The copy is in poor condition, the leather having been sewn and re-sewn many times with different kinds of cotton (*ixtle?*) and/or linen thread. Moreover, the original skin was not well prepared, is bumpy, and has many natural holes. Some of these, at some point in the colonial past, were covered with paper of European-style colonial manufacture, which was sewn to the leather. I was not able to observe this in detail or determine in each case the material used, because the method of displaying the codex makes it impossible to handle the strip.

Both codices have been reproduced in print, in lithograph form, but the reproduction is poor by today's standards, since some written text was left out, colors are dubious, and drawings are sometimes ambiguous. For the time at which they were printed, however, these are very fair

copies, and they can certainly be utilized by scholars for some analysis. John Barr Tompkins (1942) published an unreadable photo version of the Fernandez Leal. In any case, seeing the originals is essential because, for example, the Porfirio Diaz has written text which does not appear in the facsimile and the printed Fernandez Leal has only 15 instead of 20 ancestral houses in the copy of an important section.

The Porfirio Diaz contains 2 different sections. One is a historic section which is very closely (with exceptions of minor detail) paralleled by the Fernandez Leal (see Tables 1 and 2). The other section is, in part, an incomplete ritual "book of the count of the days," a religious text of calendric counts, rituals, and mythic ancestral beings or deities, which was never painted in color. Originally it was in black and white with some red lines here and there. The last time I saw it, in 1976, the red lines had become practically invisible, and it required a strong light and magnifying glass to see their traces.

In this paper I will not deal in detail with the so-called religious section, which requires a separate treatment. This section is actually the only one which has been studied in a serious manner. Although there is no complete analysis, Seler (1963), Beyer (1912), Nicholson (1966), and Nowotny (1961) have all commented adequately on some of the religious materials contained in it.

The historical sections of both Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal, however, are altogether another matter. Neither one has been properly analyzed. Chavero (1892), Penafiel (1895), and Tompkins (1942) all have produced commentaries of a dubious and usually ridiculous nature. Villacorta (1934) follows Chavero with even further nonsense. Chavero and Tompkins, in particular, invented stories and place names, which they then pasted over the pictorials themselves, without much rhyme or reason; they have the people migrating from Guatemala to northern Mexico (sometimes reversing the actual feet marks and town names!); Tompkins "sees" place names in Nahuatl, which he misreads and misspells; and he states that the F. Leal Codex, which has no written language but only picture glyphs, is of the "Mixtecan-Zapotecan linguistic stock." He also moves the Cuicatéc all over the map of Mesoamerica. This is an excellent example of imaginative writing under the guise of scholarship.

Table 1. Place Names of the Porfirio Diaz Codex with Correlates in the Fernandez Leal Codex and Other Documents.

Porfirio Diaz Codex and F. Leal Codex Facsimile Pages in order of appearance	Written in P. Diaz in Latin Script or Pictorial Writing ^a	Proper contemporary spelling ^b	Contemporary name (Ca. 1963-1964). Meaning in English and present geographic location plus other relevant notes
C / XII R (pages A & B not readable)	<i>llodoya llaniy</i> Battle scene*	yùdù yán (C.)	"Town's Plain" or "Grass Hill." Located below the site of the present C. Pápalo township; missing from the F. Leal.
D / F. Leal Codex present original illegible pp. XI and XR	<i>tiko llallay llay viylla</i>	ʒikùyaáí (C.)	"Gourd Hill" or "Gourd Plain"-Tecomaxtlahuaca; near the Grande River in the Cuicatlán District. With the spelling llay viylla it appears in the 1562 document.
Here begin the toponymics of one side of F. Leal numbered X R in the facsimile "pages."	A Water House (F.L.) or a Water Dam* (P.D.) underneath which it reads <i>hicochan</i> , and a river is painted below, across page D. Hicochan appears to refer to the river	ʒikùchánù (C.)	The word means "Wide River," a feeder stream of the Rio Grande, probably the Vueltas River.

Table 1. Continued.

Porfirio Diaz Codex and F. Leal Locations	Written in P. Diaz in Latin Script or Pictorial Writing ^a	Proper Contemporary Spelling ^b	Contemporary name, English meaning, location and notes
E / F. Leal?	White Shoots, Wind Hill?*	Tecomatepetl??	Another unreadable toponymic in pictograph, plus "Gourd Hill" again.
E / X R In P. Diaz, with a hole & partly erased pictograph. In F. Leal appears complete.	Smooth Green Snake Hill* Kodono (1562)	ndūnūkù (C.) kùundūnū Kùùkwée (C.)	In the 1562 document it appears spelled Kodono and with the Spanish names Culebra Verde ("Green Snake") or Cerro Pelón ("Bald Mountain"). Drawing complete only in F. Leal Codex. This is a major mountain peak in the south central section of the Cuicatec District (see Map, Figure 1).
An extra piece (p. XIIR) of the F. Leal, in existence at the time the facsimile was made, is now missing.	Battle scene*		
F / XR, IX R	Hill with Hummingbirds*	Tepeucila (N)	"Hill land of Hummingbirds." Today Tepeucila, municipal capital in the south central section of the Cuicatec District. A pre-hispanic major city-state.
	Land of Plant Shoots*	Quiotepec (N)	Quiotepec, a hamlet of the Municipality of Cuicatlán, located north of it. (See Figure 1 for both.)
	In F. Leal toponymics of Two Hills, one with White Shoots, one with Circular Shield. In P. Diaz, only a House with Water Droplets below*	? ?	Between pictures below an unreadable picture of a "Water House." In F. Leal and P. Diaz the position is reversed.
G/VIII R	Water overflowing from Red Lined vessel shaped like the Mouth of the Earth Monster.* In the Mendocino Codex (pp. 7 and 27) the vessel is simplified and the water red. The F. Leal also has a dark stone underneath.	Atlatlau(h)ca (N.) "Aguas Corrientes entre Quebradas" (S.)	There are alternate translations. The Mendocino Codex gloss reads "Place of Red Water." The <i>Relación</i> gives the literal translation "Running Waters between Deep Ravines or Gorges." This is basically the same as the Cuicatec meaning of "River in a Narrow Canyon." Atlatlauca is a major town in the southernmost area of the West section of the Cuicatec district.
	Hill with a Mask Attached*	Jayacatlán (N)	"The Land of Masks." Town located next to Atlatlauca, still called Jayacatlán.
	Hill of Bird (a crow?)* written next to it the words	Tututepetongo or Cacalotepec (N.) from <i>tototl</i> = bird (or <i>cacalotl</i> = crow) <i>tepetl</i> = hill and <i>co</i> = "in the place of"	Either one today means "Hill Place of Birds" or "Hill of Crows." Both are hamlets in the southwestern section of the Municipality of Cuicatlán, Cuicatec District, north of the turn of the Rio Grande.

Table 1. Continued.

Porfirio Diaz Codex and F. Leal Locations	Written in P. Diaz in Latin Script or Pictorial Writing ^a	Proper Contemporary Spelling ^b	Contemporary name, English meaning, location and notes
	juliacava	(sic)	Untranslatable.
H / VII R	Unreadable pictograph which appears to be a monstrous cave-mouth with teeth. In the P. Diaz a <i>Tall Hill, Narrow</i> , with House on Top* underneath it reads <i>tyicicoiño</i> [ticucunino (1562)]; letters are upside-down to the right of picture.	? 7ikù(ku)nīnyo (C.) also 7ikükwen or Kwe7kwen (C.)	In the P. Diaz this is occupied by a purposefully made hole in the manuscript. Cannot be located with present information. The picture and words all mean "Tall Hill" or "Hawk" or "Star Hill," but the hieroglyphic in the P. Diaz shows a narrow, tall and thin hill. In one reading of the 1562 document it is called, in Spanish, Cerro Alto, which also means "Tall Hill." This mountain is located in the <i>municipio</i> of Los Reyes Pápalo, and in Spanish is, today, called Cerro Delgado which means "Thin Hill."
I-J / VI and V R	Armadillo Hill* next to a battle scene with gladiatory and <i>volador</i> game. This is a descriptive historic picture, not a toponymic.		Unidentified in my maps and not recognized by contemporary informants consulted.
J / V R	Dolonay written atop sacrificial victims	?	Unidentified.
K / IV R	Hill with Two Flags* next is written <i>conllonee Piedras Blancas*</i> (5) (1562 document too) (located later in P. Diaz in relation to F. Leal).	?? (sic) Same spelling in S. In C. it is <i>yā tiäko</i> . In Spanish also called <i>Peña Blanca</i> .	Unidentified. A small hamlet north of C. Pápalo, near San Lorenzo Pápalo (Yepaltepec) "White Stones or Rocks."
L / III R	<i>todñaña</i> A Smoking House* Hill with a Stone Arch* (in F. Leal stones are white; see above) A Large House or Temple surrounded by 20 little houses* below it a House with Seating Jaguar* ?	tóò/nyán (C.)	"Fire Rampart" or "Fire Gorge"; a geographic landscape feature in C. Pápalo. A major landmark, but not a hamlet. Mythic Ancestral Place of the Cuicatec populations, with the 20 original ancestors. "Ancestor" and "twenty" are Cuicatec homophones, a mythic pun. (Notice that the motif "Smoking House" and "Jaguar" are merged in the F. Leal, being "a Smoking Jaguar in Front of a House.")
M	Cheyia dicoho (sic?) written in big colored letters, upside down, in P. Diaz; below it appears a white stone crossed by black wavy lines* (see above Piedras Blancas).		Incompletely translatable "Pieces of . . . ? . . ." Unidentified in present records

Table 1. Continued.

Porfirio Diaz Codex and F. Leal Locations	Written in P. Diaz in Latin Script or Pictorial Writing ^a	Proper Contemporary Spelling ^b	Contemporary name, English meaning, location and notes
M / End of one side of the F. Leal Codex. First figure is half on M, half on N.	<p><i>Hill of a Half Moon and Human Legs*</i> Above it reads chentillo; this is spelled chentiloone (C.) in the 1562 document, also Boca de Aire (S.)</p> <p>(Place where a scene of a conference and sacrifice takes place).</p>	<p>ná 7ikù chéndlyúnè (C.) Boca de Aire (S.)</p>	<p>All of these forms in Cuicatec or Spanish mean "Wind Front" or "Wind Face" or "Wind Mouth" or metaphorically, "The Wind Exit." A landmark north of the Concepción Pápalo township.</p>
N / XI	<p>Llachoguey alternatively: luo cuey } 1562 llanguey } docu- llaocuaoguey } ment Scene of a conference of leaders and a sacrifice.</p>	<p>yúdù Kwée7 (C.) Llano Verde (S.)</p>	<p>"Green Plain" a landmark near the Temascal and Crab springs, in the vicinity of the contemporary hamlet of San Francisco Nogales, north of the municipal capital of C. Pápalo.</p>
O / IR?	<p><i>Picture of a short, green water stream*</i> below it reads Río Seco. In the 1562 document it reads Arroyo Seco. In the P. Diaz Codex, the stream ends at the feet of a warrior.</p> <p>Pictograph of a light* brown, earth circle. Top reads: Sultaba; to the left it reads:</p>	<p>Río Seco Arroyo Seco (S.)</p> <p>Stab, Chidaba? (C.)</p>	<p>"The Dry Brook" or "The Dry River." A small intermittent seasonal stream between Pápalo and Cuicatlán near Quiotepec. This and following picture are reversed in the P. Diaz and F. Leal Codices (Also called Rio Sendo?) Pictograph of Tierra Blanca below? "Heart" or "Soul"? This is a word probably out of place and it is not a toponymic but a reference to the bleeding heart of the sacrificial victim in the nearer picture scene? (page N. of P. Diaz). Names of lands near the present township of Tlalixtac (N.), which also means, like in Spanish, "White Earth."</p>
This section is missing at one end of the (Tira) Strip of the F. Leal Codex.	<p><i>llodoyu</i> below appears a Yellow Snake* but the rest of the toponymic has been cut out. In the 1562 document it is spelled lloodo chevu.</p>	<p>yudu Chevè (C.)</p>	<p>"Cheve's Plain." Lands within the highest barrio of Pápalo, near the Plateau of Cheve's Mountain, the highest Cuicatec peak. This plateau is today also called Llano Español (S.)=Spanish Plain (See Figure 1.)</p>
Here ends missing F. Leal Section	<p>naichie Dihicochi (large colored letters)</p>	<p>ny7ia ichia? (C.)</p>	<p>... cold Land (of . . .) . . . ? The rest untranslatable at present from my materials.</p>

Table 1. Continued.

Porfirio Diaz Codex and F. Leal Locations	Written in P. Diaz in Latin Script or Pictorial Writing ^a	Proper Contemporary Spelling ^b	Contemporary name, English meaning, location and notes
Start of F. Leal reversed side, correlated with page P of P. Diaz P / nothing in F. Leal.	llagunchigui (written above a scene of sacrifice). Below it there is a cut hole where a toponymic is missing in the P. Diaz	?	Untranslatable from my materials. There are major differences in the two codices' scenes. In the P. Diaz the pole for the "volador" game has an empty platform. In the F. Leal the dancers are atop of it, dressed as birds with masks. It appears that the P. Diaz sacrificial victim on the gladiatory game is a male, and in the F. Leal a female indicated by rounded breasts.
Q / X. IX	<i>higuachia</i> , (hicoguilla in the 1562 document)	7ingwiya7 (C.)	Coyula (N.) or Cuyullapa (N.) "Land of Native Cherries" or "Land with waters which sound like crotals." Note the word for bell or native cherry is a homonym based on a metaphor in both languages Cuicatec and Nahuatl. Coyula is a hamlet of Cuicatlán, located north of it.
	Here there is an unreadable pictograph in the P. Diaz, completely missing in the F. Leal Codex.		
	A Painted Hand in the Middle of a Water Stream*	La Mano Pintada (S.) (M. Gracida, 1883).	"The Painted Hand." Name of the landmark at the confluence of the San Lorenzo (Yepaltepec) Pápalo and the Rio Grande, between the old municipalities of Pápalo and Cuicatlán. Today within the lands of Cuicatlán.
	An earth field, * dark with white dots (starry sky?)	?	Unknown, unidentifiable today.
R / VIII	.. gulai ... (sic)? <i>Hill of Shoots</i> *	Quiotepec (N.)	Untranslatable, incomplete "Hill of Shoots," Quiotepec. Northernmost Western hamlet of the present municipio of Cuicatlán. ?
	In the F. Leal a River with a Shield in the middle A Bat Hill*	? Zinacantepec	"Bat Hill." This town was relocated and is, today, called Chiquihuitlan ("Place of Round Baskets"). There is a contemporary myth which explains the change of name and relocation. In the P. Diaz Codex this place name is missing, and there is a hole cut purposefully.

Table 1. *Continued.*

Porfirio Diaz Codex and F. Leal Locations	Written in P. Diaz in Latin Script or Pictorial Writing ^a	Proper Contemporary Spelling ^b	Contemporary name, English meaning, location and notes
S / VI	Tall Terraced Place in House of Snake*		A battle scene in Quotepec lands? Unidentified. A major battle scene takes place here. It appears to be a landscape description rather than a place name.
S, T, U / V, IV Here ends one side of the P. Diaz	<i>Place of Butterfly*</i> Place of Water Dam with guard atop a sluice*	Papalo (N.) Duvóò (C.) ?	"Butterfly." Nahuatl name of the town of Pápalo. In this position it only appears in the F. Leal Codex tira. It seems to indicate the origin place of the soldiers in prior battle scene. The dam with the guard are also missing in the P. Diaz. The P. Diaz pages of this section are badly damaged and unreadable. The butterfly is inside an earth-water ring.
P' / III			In the P. Diaz there is a cut hole here, but a little of the place name can still be seen, suggesting that it is Tepeucila ("The Land of Hummingbirds"). In the F. Leal there is here a place name which appears like a curlicued cloud. There are a couple of male/female figures apparently in the standard seated position indicating a wedding or marriage. It is possible that the scene corresponds with the description in the 1562 document of the marriage alliance between a noblewoman of Tepeucila and a man of Pápalo, to create peace between the towns after a land fight.
O'			This whole section is completely missing in the F. Leal Codex. It is apparently a picture of the landmarks and place names of the boundaries of the hamlet of San Lorenzo (Yepaltepec) Pápalo. This is today a hamlet of the municipality of Pápalo, located north of it, and the "ownership" or succession rights over this town lands and water was the main topic of the 1562 document. Out of 10 boundary markers half appear listed by name in the 1562 document of the court case.
N'	Place of the Butterfly*	Papalo (tepec) Duvóò	"Hill of Butterfly" or simply "Butterfly." The Town of C. Pápalo. In this scene a major meeting of noblemen takes place. The name place appears in a prior location (p. V) in the F. Leal. In this position the butterfly is atop of a hill with a house.
M', L', K'			A long text in colored letters, very large in size, appears here. It is apparently written in Cuicatec, but I have not yet been able to translate it.
J'			Starts the religious section of the P. Diaz, in black and white.

Note: Pages U', T' S' and R' of the Porfirio Diaz contain an empty or "title page," a battle scene, illegible, which is at the opposite end of the F. Leal Tira; the piece was apparently torn off and separated, and it is now missing from the original at the Bancroft Library of U.C.B. The conference of seated lords in the P. Diaz is also missing in the F. Leal.

^aWhen indicated by an asterisk, the words represent an iconographic pictorial description.

^bC = cuicatec, in my phonemic transcription; N = Nahuatl in standard source spelling; S = Spanish in correct written Spanish orthography. Notice that /y/ in earlier Spanish stood sometimes for the semivowel y, sometimes for i [as in English seed /sid/], and sometimes, in several dialects for ħ as in Argentinian Spanish Kabaħo (caballo = horse). Also ll often was used as the spelling of y. When in italics a name appears *both* in letters and pictograph in the P. Diaz Codex.

Table 2. Correspondence-Correlation of Scenes From the Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal Codices.

Folio in Porfirio Diaz	Folio in Fernandez Leal	Evidence Notes
A	?	Unreadable in P. Diaz
B	?	
C	XII Reverso	In Fernandez Leal date is 7 Deer
D	XI Reverso, X R	Year 11 Wind
E	Part of X Reverso	
F	IX Reverso	Year 12 Grass
G	VIII Reverso	
H	VII Reverso	Porfirio Diaz has a hole cut here
I	VI Reverso	The year names do not coincide, one being 11 Deer the other 12 Movement (Olin)
J	V Reverso	Year 13 Movement
K	IV Reverso	Scene in IV reverso appears later in Porfirio Diaz, p. M
L	IV Reverso and III Reverso	In the Fernandez Leal copy there are 15 instead of 20 houses marked in this location but the original has 20, the last row faint, and somewhat erased
M and N	II Reverso	Year 3 Wind; In Fernandez Leal Year 5 Grass, while Porfirio Diaz has 12 Movement. Porfirio Diaz Codex here looks as if date has been written by two different hands and corrected to look like Movement
O	I Reverso?	In Porfirio Diaz a place name is cut off here
P	Missing section	Day Signs do not coincide—Porfirio Diaz Year is 3 Deer
Q	X, IX Recto	In Porfirio Diaz figure is blurred
R	Continues IX Recto plus VIII Recto	Porfirio Diaz has a cut-off hole in a place name
S	VII and VI Recto	Porfirio Diaz has no visible date, but Fernandez Leal gives Year 10 Movement
T, U, and V	V Recto	Too erased to be read
U'		Empty title page of strip
T'	IV Recto	Porfirio Diaz Year 6 Deer; in the Fernandez Leal
S'	IV Recto continues, plus III Recto	date is 12 Deer and later 10 Wind
R'	Fernandez Leal pictures end here, while Porfirio Diaz continues the story	Porfirio Diaz has a section cut off here
Q'	—	Here appears a strange toponymic with a ball of thorns and a tiger head
P'	—	Porfirio Diaz has a hole in the place name Tepeucila
O'	—	Porfirio Diaz has a hole where probably, by small remains of birds one can read the place name Cacalotepec or Tututepetongo ("Bird Hill Place" or "Crow Hill") or Tepeucila ("Hill Land of Humming-birds")
N'	—	
M', N', K	—	Page written in Latin script, colored, with untranslated Cuicatec text
J'	—	Here starts the religious section of the codex which does not have a parallel in the Fernandez Leal Codex

Note: The letters and roman numerals are from the facsimile editions of the codices, and have been preserved to facilitate comparisons. The Porfirio Diaz is a screenfold manuscript, so, in a sense, it has pages. The Fernandez Leal original, however, is a single strip of the type called *Tira* in Spanish. Therefore, only the printed copy has anything resembling pages.

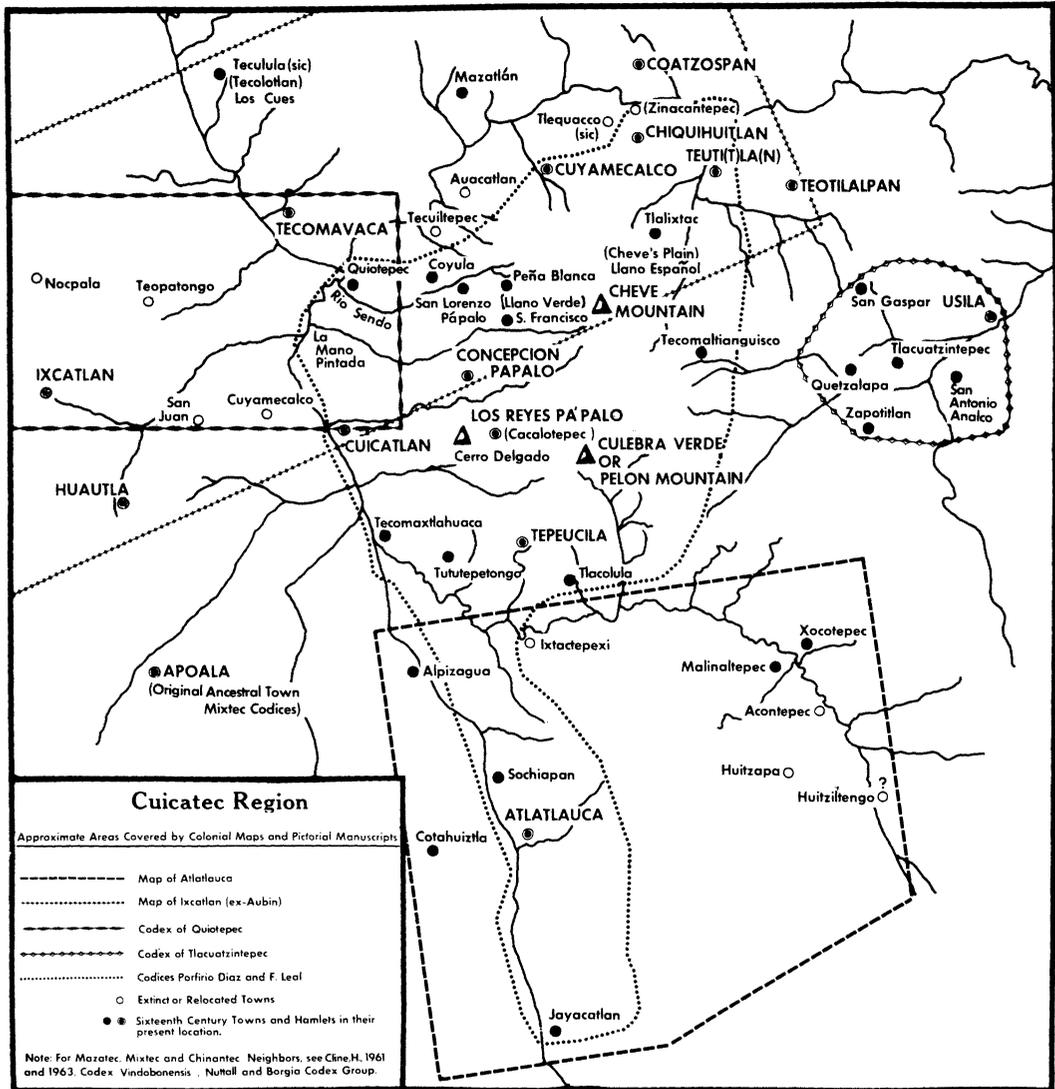


Figure 1. Approximate areas covered by the colonial maps and pictorial manuscripts of the Cuicatec district.

The fact is that the Porfirio Diaz and the Fernandez Leal codices are about a very short historical period in a very small place—the Cuicatec District, an area about 30 km long (see Figure 1). Both codices are in all likelihood early post-Colonial, by stylistic criteria. The Fernandez Leal appears to be older in style and less “hispanicized.” But both are probably copies of an older prehispanic document, which has since been lost. The Fernandez Leal Codex does preserve some of the original art style in figure proportions and postures, more even lines, balanced page designs, and other elements of prehispanic elegance. However, it has also been mutilated by rough handling and sewing and some superimposed painting in a darker ink. For example, in the date of 10 Flint of facsimile page R, the circles of the number have been redrawn, badly, in darker ink.

Artistically, the Porfirio Diaz is a poor codex indeed. The symbol for the year, for example, is often painted wrong and with overlapped lines. This was done by someone badly trained in the pictorial arts, quite an amateur, probably a man who had been only a Calmecac student at the time of the conquest. He was probably copying from another document and skipped or changed important designs. 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 court case states that there were only 2 local codex painters alive in 1562. The style of words and letters of European origin, moreover, testifies both in Cuicatec and Spanish to the late mid-sixteenth century origin of this document.

The Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal both deal with the topic of a community war about water rights on a local Cuicatec stream used for irrigation. A battle was fought over this water, long before the Spanish conquest, between Cuicatecs and Mazatecs (Hunt 1972). Later rights of succession were based on the outcome of this battle, which gave prior possession rights to the Cuicatec versus the Mazatec people and their rulers. In the Fernandez Leal Codex, in the first battle sections (which the facsimile edition numbers pages VI and VII Reverse), the soldiers of each side are distinguished by their hair styles. The following page of a ritual human sacrifice (V-R, since the numbering is reversed) also follows the same pattern. The Cuicatec figures wear their hair in a tufted top, tied by a ribbon. The others (Mazatec?) wear their hair in a simple "pageboy" style. In the sacrifice scene the sacrificers and audience seem to be Cuicatecs, with their tufted hair, while the victim wears the other (Mazatec?) style of hair.

In the other battle pages (IV, V, VI and VII Obverse), the same hair distinctions apply, but it is the soldiers who come from the Cuicatec town of Papalo who wear the pageboy hair style. Therefore, the hair style is not a consistent indicator. Again, other scenes do not distinguish battling actors by the hair style at all. This seems to be another indication that the painter was copying from another document, which had conventions of drawing that he did not completely understand. This reaffirms the middle to late sixteenth century date that I posit for the documents. This dating is also supported by the line style, which tends to be cursive, like European writing, with unevenness in the thickness of borders, as if drawn with a European plume. Weapons, clothing, and other details, however, are purely native in conception and execution. The differences in hair style are also found in the Porfirio Diaz, but there is even less consistency, which also indicates that this document is a later, less well-executed copy.

In any case, it is obvious from their content that the codices were designed to cover the historic background of battles and conquests of a royal house which provoked the succession case of Doña Catica Catarina Salomé in 1562. The document of her court case, which is on microfilm at the collection of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología, bears witness to this effect, by stating that the codices were used together with *tasaciones* as "proof" of the legitimacy of claims and descent. There are several other lines of evidence.

First, the place names mentioned by witnesses, who are reading from the document or recalling the verses which accompanied the recitation of its history, all fit the Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal codices, including small place names of insignificant geographic features or landmarks which are still called by the same names by today's Cuicatecs (see Table 1).

Second, the noble lords who are named in the pages of the written documents of 1562 also appear on the pages of other documents in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico and the Relaciones de la Nueva España for Cuicatec towns; many of these also appear with their hieroglyphic names in the Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal Codex. There are other noblemen who are not mentioned in the documented genealogies written in Latin script, but who appear in the codices (see Table 3). Either these were not directly involved in the succession line, or perhaps the sixteenth-century witnesses could not translate or "read" their names. Personal names appear detached from the human figures, either above or to the side of the heads. Calendric names are missing. In one odd case, the noncalendric name "Ball Court" appears with the number 7 indicated by dots. This suggests that the painter(s) did not fully understand the Precolumbian naming system.

Table 3. Names of Personages in the Porfirio Diaz Codex and Related Documents.

Description of Pictorial Name in the Porfirio Diaz	Spelling in other written sources	Meaning	Related Notes on Evidence
1 Jaguar Dressed	Tecuantecuhli Capitán León	Carnivore Lord Wild Beast Lord Lion Captain	Fernandez Leal; PNE, IV:185; Cacique of Cuicatlán, Ca. 1510
2 Shield (Crossed)	Chimaltecuhli	Lord Shield (from Chimal = Shield in Nahuatl)	Fernandez Leal; 1562 Document; Lord of Pápalo-Huiztepec, Ca. 1520
3 Seven Ball-Game Court	Cuetlaxtecuhli ^a	Lord of the Ball Court Building From <i>kwe</i> : pyramid public building; <i>tlaxtli</i> : ball court; and <i>tecuhtli</i> : lord	1562 Document, Ruled Cacalo- tepec and Quio-tepec. Also in Fernandez Leal Codex
4 Undulant Move- ment-Hand	—	—	Also in Fernandez Leal Codex
5 Snake	Coatecuhtli Cuhuantecuhli (sic)	Lord Snake Lord Snake ? or same as 1?	Fernandez Leal; 1562 Document; Codex Quio-tepec; Ruler of Quio- tepec between 1485-1511 In Fernandez Leal Codex
6 Snake-Half Shield	—	—	In Fernandez Leal Codex
7 Smoking Shield	—	—	In Fernandez Leal Codex
8 Long-Lips-and-Sun- Crowned-Head (Quet- zalcoatl Face?)	—	—	(Same as Half-Crown-Shield?)
9 Branch (in P. Diaz) Red Flowering Bough (In F. Leal)	Xuchiltlapano Alias El Roto	Lord Broken Flower Branch	Fernandez Leal; 1562 Document; Lord of the Pápalo Capital
10 Half-Red Face	—	—	Also Fernandez Leal Codex
11 Atlatlauca	Name of the town of Atlatlauca	—	Probably indicates witness lord from Atlatlauca. Also in Fernandez Leal
12 Bird (Crow or Parrot? Parrot more likely)	Name of the town of Tututepetongo or Cacalotepec (?)	—	May represent the witness lord from Tututepetongo (or Cacalotepec)
13 White Hair Head	—	—	Also in the Fernandez Leal Codex
14 Written in Latin script: <i>camaña</i>	Caminaa	(Sic) "Cuicatec Words"	PNE, IV:95. Ruler of Tepeucila Ca. time of Aztec entry.
15 Twisted Jade Rope	—	—	Also appears in the Fernandez Leal Codex
16 (Flint) Stone or (Black and Red) Stone	Iztecuhli or Ixtecuhli	Lord Obsidian Stone or Black Stone Lord	Fernandez Leal; 1562 Document; also PNE; IV:90. Ruled several subjects of Pápalo immediately before Aztec conquest.
17 Eagle Dressed	—	—	Appears also in the Fernandez Leal Codex
18 Small Brown Animal	—	—	—? Unclear if a name of person is meant.
19 Half-Crown Shield	—	—	Also in Fernandez Leal Codex- Same as Number 8?
20 Smooth Green Snake	—	—	[Same as Coatecuhtli above?? or same as Quetzalcoatl face below No. 8]
21 Unnamed Lady of Twisted Ribboned Hair seated in Tur- quoise colored House The house only ap- pears in the F. Leal. In P. Diaz she is seated in a stool.	—	—	Since this folio appears to indi- cate a marriage taking place in Tepeucila the Lady may be Doña Catarina Salomé herself.

Table 3. *Continued.*

Description of Pictorial Name in the Porfirio Diaz	Spelling in other written sources	Meaning	Related Notes on Evidence
22 Bird-Head Snake with Tail Feathers (Quetzalcoatl?); (in Fernandez Leal it is clearer)	Quetzalcoatl	Face, same as above appearing as Long Lips and Crowned Head? or same as green smooth snake? He marries the Lady of Twisted Ribboned Hair—Possibly then, No. 8, No. 20 and No. 22 may be synonyms or similar personal names.	
23 Rabbit (?) Head	Toxtecuhtli Tecohtoxtli Tecuhtoxtli	Lord Rabbit	There are three different men of this name: 1. Lord of Quiotepec, Baptized Don Francisco Cortez, Ruled Ca. 1511–1523; Quiotepec Codex. 2. Lord of Papalo-Yepaltepec, Received First Cuicatec Tasación from the Spanish Government. Appears in 1562 Document. Baptized as Don Martín. 3. Son of #2. Baptized Don Lorenzo. Born 1527, died 1558. Received Tasación from Teutila Spanish Officers. Husband of Doña Catarina Salomé, and perhaps the same as above named Bird-Head-Snake?
24 Red Star	Citlaltecuhtli	Star Lord	1562 Document—Ancestral Lord, Ascendant of all others
25 Earth Monster (Cipactli)	—	—	Also in Fernandez Leal

Note: Notice that of 25 possible distinct named personages in the historic section only of the pictorial Codex Porfirio Diaz (and Fernandez Leal), nine have been definitely identified with identical name, as known noble rulers, which appear in other written manuscript documents of the period, including the Relaciones de Nueva España, the court case of 1562, and the Quiotepec Codex. For more information on these persons, see Eva Hunt (1972).

^aIn my 1972 monograph I erroneously translated this name as "Lord Leather," which corresponds with the spelling. But the named pictorial obviously uses morphemic devices to indicate the complete name.

Third, the written documents said that the codices contained a history of approximately 10 men's lives (of 26 years each) or of 5 "centuries" of 52 years. This gives a sacred Mesoamerican count of 260 years. In the Porfirio Diaz Codex there are 3 possible readings of the real dates. The most likely give 263 years. Two readings appear possible from the facsimile because the last figure is unclear, close to invisible and could be excluded. Another reading is possible from the original because what appears as 1 Wind in the facsimile looks like 11 Wind in the original. (Ten dots that are invisible in the facsimile appear very faintly in the original). The 3 different readings give figures of 263 years, 280 years, and 226 years. The comparative sections of the Fernandez Leal give only 96 years, but we must remember that the Porfirio Diaz covers a longer historic section that continues after the Fernandez Leal stops. It is obvious from the condition of the Fernandez Leal manuscript that an end piece of it is missing, which may account in part for the difference in dates (Tables 4 and 5). It seems more likely, however, that either the documents use different calendars or that the dates were falsified in one of them to confuse the court officials. Certainly, in the F. Leal Codex many dates have overlapped redrawn numbers and even signs are in palimpsest.

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

Table 4. Basis of Calendric Calculations: The Cuicatec "Century" of 52 Years, Using the Years Wind, Deer, Grass and Movement plus 13 numerals.

1 Wind	1 Deer	1 Grass	1 Movement
2 Deer	2 Grass	2 Movement	2 Wind
3 Grass	3 Movement	3 Wind	3 Deer
4 Movement	4 Wind	4 Deer	4 Grass
5 Wind	5 Deer	5 Grass	5 Movement
6 Deer	6 Grass	6 Movement	6 Wind
7 Grass	7 Movement	7 Wind	7 Deer
8 Movement	8 Wind	8 Deer	8 Grass
9 Wind	9 Deer	9 Grass	9 Movement
10 Deer	10 Grass	10 Movement	10 Wind
11 Grass	11 Movement	11 Wind	11 Deer
12 Movement	12 Wind	12 Deer	12 Grass
13 Wind	13 Deer	13 Grass	13 Movement

been in fact the case with the Porfirio Diaz, which has some town hieroglyphics crudely chopped off, hacked out with a blunt instrument like a knife. Luckily, we know some of the towns which belonged in the holes from the complete readings in the Fernandez Leal Codex, but this is not true in all cases.

The section of the Porfirio Diaz which does not appear in the Fernandez Leal deals with the more recent history of the noble lines and their wars. It includes a picture of what are probably the boundary markers of the subject village of San Lorenzo Yepaltepec (today San Lorenzo Papalo, a hamlet of the municipio of Concepcion Papalo), which was the subject village over which Cacicazgo rights were being fought in 1562.

As the reader can see in the map and tables, practically all geographic sites, villages, and other named settlements appear in the codex. They go as far south as the town of Jayacatlan, "The Land

Table 5 Dates in the Porfirio Diaz Codex.

Page	Date	Number of years between dates
D	11 Wind	
E	12 Grass	51
I	11 Deer	51
J	13 Movement	2
L	3 Wind	29
N	12 Movement	35
P	3 Deer	30
S'	6 Deer	16
P'	3 Grass	49
N'	(7 Movement?)	17

Note: Total number of years, without dubious last year marker = 263; total number of years with dubious year marker = 280; total number of years reading 1 Wind as first date instead of 11 Wind = 226.

Notice that the years of the Cuicatecs are not the Standard Aztec = House, Rabbit, Cane and Flint, but an older correlation which utilizes a previous day as marker, and gives the 4 years as Wind, Deer, Twisted Straw and Movement. The correlation requires a different "bundle of years" of 52 years, to count the appropriate numbers and distances, but the run of the calendar cycle is the same.

The Fernandez Leal Codex gives the same years, but different dates, which are: 7 Deer, on page XI, 12 Movement on p. VI, 5 Grass on p. II Reverse, 10 Movement on p. VII and VI, 12 Deer on p. IV and 10 Wind on p. III. The total number of years in the Fernandez Leal covers a span of 96 years.

of Masks," and as far north as the town of Quiotepec, "Hill of Young Shoots," at the confluence of the Grande and Salado rivers. They also include the town of Zinacantepec, "Bat Hill," today known under the name of Chiquihuitlan, "Land of Round Baskets." (Cuicatlan itself appears in other codices, such as the Mendocino, but not in the 2 discussed here.) Quiotepec and Zinacantepec were inhabited by Mazatecs and were contestants in the court case of Doña Catarina over the rights to use the water springs of the subject towns of the Cuicatec city state of Papalo, specifically of Yepaltepec (see Fig. 1; see also Cline 1961, 1963).

How the history of a few guerrilla battles over water springs, the local foundation of small villages, and the marriages of one of their rulers became the history of mighty migrations across the whole of Mesoamerica, and why a period of approximately 260 years in the history of local provincial Cuicatecs grew to be seen as a saga of the whole postclassic period, can only be answered in terms of the fancifulness of previous scholars. My major and humble task here has been to clean up some of the mess left behind. In future papers I hope to produce a more detailed analysis of the ethnographic materials which the historic sections contain, and also an analysis of the very valuable religious section, much of which corresponds with present-day Cuicatec Indians' religious beliefs. These documents, however badly painted or weak as artistic pieces, are rich, invaluable ethnohistoric sources.

The ethnohistoric value of the Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal pictorial manuscripts is of two sorts. First, they are unique materials documenting aspects of the life of the Cuicatecs as a distinct ethnic group. For example, they provide corroborative evidence about the territory occupied by Cuicatec city states, towns, and hamlets, in relation to the written Relaciones de Nueva España (such as Gallego 1580, Mezquita 1580, and Navarrete 1579) and other early colonial documents. They also provide evidence that the Cuicatecs had a different year sign count than the standard Mesoamerican one. Second, the 2 manuscripts serve to relate the Cuicatec with other Mesoamerican cultural traditions. The major evidence already analyzed and published links the religious or ritual sections of the Porfirio Diaz Codex with pictorial manuscripts from the macro-Mixteca area. Several authors since Selser (1963), such as Nicholson (1966), have shown that many aspects of the black and white ritual side of Porfirio Diaz are parallel to sections of the codices of the "Borgia Codex Group." Nowotny (1961) has also shown that page J' of Porfirio Diaz has a parallel correlation of subject matter with Fonx Mexicain 20 and with a series of pages in the Codex Vindobonensis, in its ritual or religious side. All these authors have suggested in their analyses that some important aspects of the religious systems of the Mixtec and Cuicatec, such as some of the iconography of major deities connected with ritual calendrical counts and cardinal directions in space, are equivalent. Much work, however, remains to be done. In this paper I have only tried to place the documentation of one small ethnic enclave in proper perspective.

Acknowledgments. The original of this paper, in a shorter version, was read at the 1976 Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in St. Louis, Missouri. I am grateful to NSF, which over the years provided research funds that allowed me to see the originals of the Porfirio Diaz and Fernandez Leal Codices. I am grateful also to Nancy Troike, who invited me to give the original paper in 1976. I have also a debt of gratitude to the librarians at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, and to the librarians of the National Museum of Anthropology of Mexico, who made my analysis of the codices possible. Robert Hunt was extremely helpful in discussions of the evidence and the problem of presenting the case in intelligible form.

This case study has been reconstructed utilizing several combined anthropological methods and techniques. I have localized towns by reading codex hieroglyphs and modern maps and by consulting contemporary Cuicatec informants, collecting names in phonemic transcription and dictionaries and eliciting all probable meanings. The history of the royal lines and of the Guevera documents was reconstructed by using documents from national and local archives, by interviews with informants in Cuicatlan and members of the Guevara family, and by the use of oral history and mythological or semimythological materials. Particularly useful were the local court archives of Cuicatlan. The location of existing contemporary towns that match Precolumbian population centers was facilitated by a brief archaeological survey. I am indebted to Robert C. Hunt and Pedro Armillas for their help in surveying the site of Cuicatlan and to Robert Hunt for information from a survey of Atlatlauca, Teutila, and Quiotepec. I am also grateful for the knowledgeable comments of the anonymous reviewer for *American Antiquity* who noticed several errors, omissions, and ambiguities in my original draft. The map was drawn by Sarah Kain from an original draft prepared by me.

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THE INITIAL SERIES ON STELA 5 AT PIXOY

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The recently discovered Stela 5 at Pixoy is of particular interest because its Initial Series contains lunar glyphs as coefficients for the 3 lowest periods. While lunar glyphs do not appear in any other known Initial Series, they are to be found in other chronological counts. A study of the moon sign usage in these other counts leads to the conclusion that Stela 5 records the Long Count position 9.14.0.0.0 in a nontraditional manner as the Initial Series 9.13.20.0.0.

Photographs and drawings of previously unrecorded carved monuments from Itzimte, Pixoy, and Tzum have recently been published in the *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, Volume 4, Part 1* (Von Euw 1977). Among the many interesting monuments appearing in this volume is Stela 5 at Pixoy. Eric Von Euw's drawing of the upper part of this stela is shown in Figure 1. A unique feature of the Initial Series on Stela 5 is the use of the half-moon glyph as coefficient of the tun, uinal, and kin periods.

The terminal date of the Initial Series clearly has a day coefficient of 6 and a month coefficient of 13. The day sign is largely effaced, but there is enough detail surviving to indicate that of the 4 days eligible to occupy the thirteenth month position, namely, Chicchan, Oc, Men, and Ahau, it is the latter which is represented. Thus the Initial Series leads to a Calendar Round date 6 Ahau 13 (?). Since the day name is Ahau, the expectation is that the kin coefficient must be 0. But, if the Initial Series is translated as 9.13.0.0.0, the terminal date must be 8 Ahau 8 Uo, which is not conformable with the anticipated date on Stela 5. On the other hand, the Initial Series 9.14.0.0.0, one katun later, leads to the Calendar Round date 6 Ahau 13 Muan, which is of the expected form. Moreover, the remnants of the month glyph and of the variable central element in the Initial Series Introductory Glyph are compatible with the latter date. It may be objected that the katun coefficient on Stela 5 is clearly 13, and that this reading postulates an error in the text. However, it will be seen that there is no error in the Initial Series and that the date recorded by it is indeed 9.14.0.0.0 6 Ahau 13 Muan.

While Stela 5 at Pixoy has the only known Initial Series utilizing moon glyphs as coefficients there are other chronological counts in which the usage of moon glyphs is not so rare. Glyphs D and E of the lunar series function as distance numbers, recording the age of the current moon (Thompson 1971: 237-239). Several examples of such moon age counts are shown in Figure 2 a-k. Glyph D appears alone in Figure 2 a-g and following Glyph E in Figure 2 h-k. The half-moon glyph appears as an element in Glyph D in Figure 2 a-d, h, j; the complete moon glyph appears in the Glyph D variants in Figure 2 e, f, g, i, k. Glyph E, which has the value of 20 days, is represented by a full lunar glyph with a single circle or dot in its center. It is shown, preceding Glyph D, in Figure 2 h-k.