

# ANTIQUITIES OF MEXICO:

COMPRISING

## FAC-SIMILES

OF

## ANCIENT MEXICAN PAINTINGS AND HIEROGLYPHICS,

PRESERVED

IN THE ROYAL LIBRARIES OF PARIS, BERLIN, AND DRESDEN;

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AND IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD.

TOGETHER WITH

## THE MONUMENTS OF NEW SPAIN,

By M. DUPAIX:

WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE

SCALES OF MEASUREMENT AND ACCOMPANYING DESCRIPTIONS.

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THE WHOLE ILLUSTRATED BY MANY VALUABLE

Inedited Manuscripts,

By LORD KINGSBOROUGH.

THE DRAWINGS, ON STONE, BY A. AGLIO.

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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## A P P E N D I X.

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### THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HIEROGLYPHICAL PAINTINGS OF THE COLLECTION OF MENDOZA.

THE History and Foundation of the Capital of Mexico here commences, which was founded and peopled by the Mexicans, who were at that time named *Meçitis*; the origin of whose empire, and the lives and actions of whose kings, are truly and briefly declared in this history, accordingly as they are successively signified by the paintings and hieroglyphics which follow.

In the year thirteen hundred and twenty-four after the advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Mexicans arrived at the site of the capital of Mexico; and as they found the place and situation agreeable, after having for many years wandered in their travels from country to country, in some of which they stopped for several years, having prosecuted their journey from distant parts, none of the situations in which they had made a temporary abode contenting them, they arrived at the site of Mexico, which was at that time a complete swamp, overgrown with thick rushes, which they call *tuli*, and tall flags resembling a thicket. The entire extent of this site was occupied by a clear stream of water in the shape of a cross, free from weeds and rushes, which cross resembled that of Saint Andrew, as the painting shows. Nearly at the bounds and centre of this space and cross, the *Meçitis* found a large stone\* or rock, on which was a high tunal, to which an eagle with rich plumage was accustomed to resort to devour its prey, so that the ground was strewn round about with the bones of birds, and many feathers of different colours. Having passed through and explored the whole site, and found it fertile and abundant in game, fish, and fowl, and such productions as are peculiar to a marshy soil, with which they might be enabled to support themselves, and to turn their industry to account in their dealings with the neighbouring people, and further induced by the security which the water afforded, which their neighbours could not cut off, and from other motives and causes, they determined to extend their travels no further; and having so determined, they fortified themselves, substituting in the place of walls and bulwarks, the water and thick clumps of *tulis* and of flags. Having laid the foundation or commence-

\* Instead of *honda*, *donde* should have been printed in the corresponding Spanish passage, and a comma should have been inserted after *peña*; and for *Candal*, which is there supposed to be the proper name of the eagle, the word *caudal* should be substituted.

ment of a settlement and population, they determined to bestow a name and appellation on the place, calling it *Tenuchtitlan*, because and on account of the tunal growing upon the stone\*.

The Mexican army had ten persons as chiefs, whose names were OCELPAN, QUAPAN, ACACITLI, AHUEXOTL, TENUCH, TECINEUH, XOMIMITL, XOCOYOL, XIUHCAQUI, and ATOTOTL, (as likewise is demonstrated by the painting,) who having made choice of a site, elected as their head and king TENUCH, in order that he might rule over them, as a person eminently fitted for that office, who united in himself talents and abilities qualifying him for command. The other chiefs became in a manner his lieutenants, and filled the post of captains over the mixed multitude. Some years having passed away in a course of settlement, and the population of the city increasing, the capital received likewise the name of Mexico, being named and called after the Mexicans, and was distinguished by the appellation of the place and habitation of the Mexicans; and as the number of the people had somewhat increased, they began like a brave and warlike nation to direct their attention to conquests over their neighbours; and accordingly they signalized their courage in arms, thereby reducing to a state of vassalage, and to the payment of tribute, two cities in the vicinity of Mexico, named Colhuacan and Tenayucan, (which is also proved by the painting,) which events occurred in the course of the reign of TENUCH, which lasted fifty-one years; at the expiration of which period he died.

\* This account appears to be compounded of truth and fiction. It is probable that when the Mexicans selected, for the sake of security, a swampy island in the Mexican Lake as the site of the capital of their future empire, the first thing they proceeded to do, was to make drains, as well for the purpose of rendering the ground more firm for the sake of building, as to guard against the noxious exhalations which, continually arising from so marshy a soil, would have proved very destructive to the lives of the new colonists; and that the main drains were cut in the shape of the cross represented in the plate. We learn from the letters of Cortes, that the city of Mexico itself was entirely intersected with drains and canals, and that while some of the streets were wholly water, others were half earth and half water, a line of road for foot-passengers running parallel to the half which served as a passage for boats and canoes. The Spanish brigantines during the last days of the siege of Mexico, sailed into the city by the larger canals, and greatly contributed to its destruction. Peter Martyr compares it to Venice, and says in his fifth Decade, that he had seen a map of it which was done by the natives: "After that we saw another great map, a little lesse, but not lesse alluring to our mindes, which contained the city of Tenustitan itself, described by the same hand, of the inhabitants, with her temples, bridges, and lakes." The cross of Saint Andrew was likewise a sacred symbol among the Indians. Gomara, describing the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Cumana, says: "Entre los muchos idolos y figuras que adoran por dioses, tienen una aspa como la de Sant Andres, y un signo, como de escrivano, quadrado, cerrado y atravesado en cruz, de esquina a esquina, y muchos frailes y otros Españoles dezian ser cruz, y que con el se defendian de las fantasmas de noche, y lo ponian a los niños en naciendo." "Amongst the many idols and figures which they worship as gods, they have a cross like that of Saint Andrew, and a sign, done as it were by a penman, square, enclosed, and with a cross diagonally passing through it, which many monks and other Spaniards have pronounced to be a cross, and with it they defend themselves from nightly spectres, and place it over children shortly after their birth." In the edition of Peter Martyr's work, published in Paris, by Hakluyt, and dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, a wood engraving, as well as a description of the same kind of cross, occurs. The engraving exactly resembles the cross in which the Mexicans founded their city, and the description is similar to that given by Gomara, which in the English translation of the Decades is as follows. "They knew them (the Chiribians, or Chiribichenses, which name differs from that of Chibirias, the mother of Bacab,) honour the crosse, although lying somewhat oblique, and in another place compassed about with lynes, they putt it upon such as are newe borne, supposing the divels flie from that instrument. If any fearefull apparition bee seene at any time by night, they set up the crosse, and say that the place is cleansed by that remedy; and being demanded whence they learned this, and the speeches which they understande not, they answere that those rites and customes came by tradition from the elders to the younger." Gomara says, that in Yucatan a cross of copper, or of wood, was placed over the graves of the dead. "Allí se hallaron cruces de laton y palo sobre muertos. De donde arguyen algunos, que muchos Españoles se fueron á esta tierra, quando la destrucion de España hecha por los Moros, en tiempo del Rey Don Rodrigo. Mas no lo creo, pues no las ay en las islas." —*La Istoria de las Indias*, fo. xxvii. "They found there crosses of copper and of wood over the dead. Whence some conclude that many Spaniards fled to that country at the period of the destruction of Spain by the Moors, in the time of the King Don Roderic: but I do not credit this, because there are no crosses in the islands." Gomara mentions here the discovery of crosses in Yucatan, as

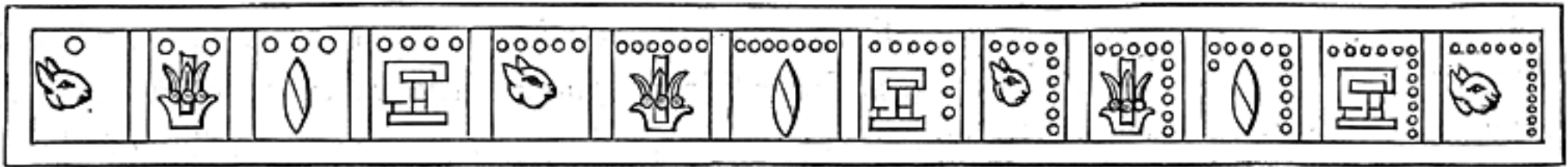


The blue outlines in the margins of this history signify a year, and point out the number of years, and the length of the lives of the kings of Mexico. For the more perfect and clear understanding of the paintings and their mode of reckoning, and the names of the years, it must be observed that they reckoned by the points contained in each square, counting from the first point as far as thirteen points. Although different figures occupy the squares and enclosures, nevertheless the number of the points is the chief thing to be attended to; for as to the names which they assigned and allotted to their years, beginning from the first point and reckoning as far as thirteen points, they are not of much importance as considered in connection with each square and enclosure. For the better understanding of what has been said, we here separately insert the signs and proof of the names, together with their interpretations, for the information of the reader. Wherever in the order and succession of the squares and enclosures reckoned as years, a square occurs with a branch and stem resembling a flower accompanying it, it signifies an unfortunate and calamitous year; which the Mexicans believed and feared, affirming that their ancestors from time immemorial had admonished them, that such years as succeeded each other after every interval of fifty-two years, would be dangerous, unlucky, and calamitous, on account of the universal deluge having taken place in such a year, and likewise darkness caused by an eclipse of the sun, and earthquakes generally every where\*. They accordingly performed many sacrifices and cere-

a fact of which there could be no doubt, and which had engaged the attention of well-informed Spaniards; but Herrera, who pronounces so severe a censure on the Indian monarchy of Torquemada, and declares Sahagun to be a writer of no authority, and is further determined that no crosses should be found in America, disbelieves Gomara on the grounds of Yucatan not possessing mines; although, unfortunately for his own credit as an historian, M. Dupaix discovered a copper medal in the city of Ciudad Real, which is on the frontiers of Tabasco, and the peninsula of Yucatan; a representation of which will be found in the eighth plate of the third part of his *Monuments of New Spain*, No. 12. In another part of America, the Spaniards were disappointed by finding that a golden cross, in search of which they had proceeded nine hundred miles to the north of Mexico, as far as Quivira, was merely a jewel of copper. Gomara thus relates the motives and the result of the expedition: "Desde allí fue Don Garçilopez de Cardenas con su compañía de cavallos a la mar, y Francisco Vazquez con los demas, a Tiguex, que està ribera de un gran rio. Allí tuvieron nueva de Axa y Quivira. Donde decian que estava un rey, dicho por nombre Tatarrax, barbudo, cano, y rico, que cenía un bracamarte, que rezava en horas, que adorava una cruz de oro, y una ymagen de muger señora del cielo." "Don Garçilopez de Cardenas went from thence with his troop of horse to the sea, and Francisco Vazquez with those who remained behind, to Tiguex, which is on the banks of a great river: there they received intelligence of Axa and Quivira, where they said there was a king of the name of Tatarrax, bearded, gray-headed, and rich, who was girded with a bracamarte, who prayed at regular hours, who adored a cross of gold, and the image of a woman who was queen of heaven."—After recounting the many hardships which they suffered in the journey, he proceeds to add: "Huvo hartas lagrimas, flaqueza, y votos. Llegaron en fin a Quivira, y hallaron al Tatarrax, que buscavan, hombre ya cano, desnudo, y con una joya de cobre al cuello, que era toda su riqueza. Vista por los Españoles la burla de tan famosa riqueza, se volvieron a Tiguex, sin ver cruz ni rastro de Christiandad, e de allí a Mexico en fin de Março del año de quarenta y dos." "Tears, fainting, and vows were abundant. They arrived at last at Quivira, and found Tatarrax, whom they sought, a naked, gray-headed old man, with a copper jewel hanging at his neck, which was his only wealth. The Spaniards, perceiving the joke of these so much boasted riches, returned to Tiguex without seeing cross or trace of Christianity, and from thence to Mexico, towards the end of March of the year forty-two." In further corroboration of the accounts given by Peter Martyr and Gomara of crosses discovered in America, the testimony of Garcia may be adduced, who, having been himself many years in Peru, is not likely to have been deceived respecting the one in Cuzco: "En Yucatan se hallaron muchas cruces, i en el Cuzco una mui notable."—*Origen de los Indios*, pag. 243.

\* Christians might have feared the return of every period of fifty-two years, as being nearly the anniversary of the age which Christ had attained when he was crucified, and of the great eclipse which sacred history records, and which (since profane history is silent respecting it,) it is very remarkable how the Mexicans should have become acquainted with. Boturini says that this eclipse was noted down in the historical paintings of the Tultecas, as having happened in the sign of Seven Rabbits: "En el (año) de Siete Conejos nos acuerda el grande eclipse, que aconteció en la muerte de Christo, nuestro Señor."—*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, page 6. The sign of Seven Rabbits may allude to the year, and the sign of Nahui Ollin, (or Four Earthquakes,) may have been the day in which this famous eclipse occurred.

monies to their gods on such years, devoting themselves to the celebration of religious rites, and abstained from the commission of any sin until the proper day and hour of such a year had arrived; on which day all generally extinguished their lights and fires till the day had passed by, which being over, they lit new fire, which was brought from a mountain and kindled by a priest\*.



\* Torquemada, after describing in the thirty-third chapter of the tenth book of his *Indian Monarchy* the curious manner in which the priest kindled the fire with the two little pieces of wood, called Tletlaxoni, in the wound itself in the breast of the prisoner, concludes by remarking, "Asi como en el pueblo de Israel celebraban el año del Jubileo, que era el de cinquenta, en el qual se redimian las possessiones y heredades, y se libertaban los cautivos, y la tenian por la major de sus fiestas, como lo dice el Tostado; asi estos Indios tenian esta por la major, porque en ella pensaban que redimian vida para mas tiempo, aunque se engañaban, pues dios es el que lo da, y lo quita; y no sabemos, como dice Christo, el que el Padre celestial tiene determinado, por estar reservado a su solo poder; pero como ciegos estos hombres creian estas locuras, con todas las demas que en estos libros van escritas, y otras sin cuenta que callo." "As the Israelites celebrated the year of Jubilee, which was the fiftieth, in which they redeemed possessions and inheritances, and freed captives, and which they considered the greatest of their festivals, as Tostado observes; so the Indians reckoned this (the festival of Teoxihuítl, or the year of God,) as their greatest: for they thought when it arrived, that their lives were redeemed for a longer space of time; although they deceived themselves, since it is God who bestows and takes away life; and we are ignorant, as Christ declares, of what may have been determined by the Heavenly Father, since he has reserved that to himself; but these men, being blind, believed in these absurdities, with all the rest which are mentioned in these books, with innumerable others, respecting which I am silent." It would appear from some expressions of Boturini, that a redemption of certain descriptions of property took place in the year of Two Canes, or of the Mexican Jubilee; whilst other kinds, such as garments and vessels of earthenware, were wholly destroyed. The Mexicans expected also the end of the world at the expiration of each of these short cycles, and were, in fact, in continual expectation of that event; resembling in this anticipation some of the early Christians and disciples, who misinterpreting the texts of Scripture, and the words of Christ, believed that that event was momentarily at hand. The expression of "in these latter days," occurring in Scripture, deceived some of the more ancient fathers, who did not believe that the course of the world had still to continue, at least for a period of time, as long as from the age of Noah to the birth of Christ, who having informed his disciples that his second coming would be like that of a thief in the night, induced thereby some of them to suppose that John, the favourite disciple, would tarry till he came; perhaps they might have even thought that the day of judgment would speedily follow the crucifixion. It may be observed, in passing, that in the fifty-second year after the death of Christ, a pretended Messiah, to whom the credulity of his countrymen, in consequence of some successes which he obtained over the Romans, had given the title of "Bar Chocoba," (the Son of the Star,) arose, who proved afterwards no blessing to the House of Israel. In later times Mahomet appeared in that character, and appealed to his astonishing victories as a proof of his divine mission; but the Jews rejecting him, are condemned in the Koran for their disbelief. It is to be regretted that the early Spanish historians should have professed great reserve in treating of some superstitious notions and traditions of the Mexicans.

Gomara, speaking of a king named Topilcin, whom they believed to have been changed into Venus, or the morning star, evidently suppresses much curious information which he could have given, as he himself admits; "Al luzero que tienen por la mejor estrella, mataban un esclavo del rei el dia que primero se les demostrava, y descubren lo en Otono, y veenle dozientos y sesenta dias. Atribuyen le los hados, y assi agueran por unos signos que pintan para cada dia de aquellos dozientos y sesenta. Creen que Topilcin su rei primero se convertio en aquella estrella. Otras cosas y poesias razonan sobre este planeta. Mas porque para la istoria bastan las dichas, no las cuento." "They sacrificed to Venus, which they considered the most excellent of the stars, a royal slave on the day in which this star first appeared to them, when they perceived it in the autumn. It continued visible for two hundred and sixty days. They believed that it was influential over destinies, and accordingly they practised divination by signs, which they painted and allotted to these two hundred and sixty days. They imagine that Topilcin, their first king, was changed into this star. They indulge in other speculations and fancies about this planet; but since history may be content with what is already written, I do not mention them." It would even appear from the accounts given by Peter Martyr and Gomara, (for both these authors record the *viva voce* evidence given by friar Thomas Ortizius before the council of the Indies), that that friar, speaking in the name of Pedro de Cordova and of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and recommending the slavery of the Indians, insinuates that he omits some charges which might have



Ce Tuchtli, Ome\*, Acatl, Yey Tecpatl, Nahui Cali, Macuili Tuchtli, Chiquincen † Acatl, Chicome Tecpatl, Chicnahui Cali, Matlactli Tuchtli, X oce Acatl, X omome Tecpatl, X omey Cali, X onahui Tuchtli; One Rabbit, Two Canes, Three Flints, Four Houses, Five Rabbits, Six Canes, Seven Flints, Eight Houses, Nine Rabbits, Ten Canes, Eleven Flints, Twelve Houses, Thirteen Rabbits.

The names which they assign to the years, which are signified by each square, are written above them in red ink, and the interpretation of these names are written below each square. Where an X is marked in red ink, which means ten, they reckon *matlactli*.

## PLATE I ‡.

1. Acacitli. 2. Quapa. 3. Ocelopa. 4. Aquexotl. 5. Tecineuh. 6. Tenuch. 7. Xomimitl. 8. Xocoyol. 9. Xiuhcaq. 10. Atototl. 11. Colhuacan. 12. Tenayucan. 13. Tenochtitlan.

## PLATE II.

1. Acamapich. 2. By this shield and arrows are signified weapons of war. 3. Quauhnahuac. 4. Acamapich. 5. Mizquic. 6. Cuitlhuac. 7. Xochimilco.

The four cities represented and named in this plate, are those which ACAMAPICH conquered by force of arms during the time that he was king of Mexico.

The four heads painted and inserted in the above plate denote those who were taken prisoners in the wars with the four cities, whom they beheaded.

been brought against them; but what charge but one seems wanting to the long catalogue of accusation?—that of Judaism. And even if the Indians had been discovered to be all Jews, they could not have been more hardly dealt with by the Spaniards: for Gomara says, “Fray Garcia de Loaysa dio grandissimo credito a fray Thomas Hortiz y a los otros frayles de su orden. Por lo qual el Emperador con acuerdo del consejo de Indias, declaro que fuessen esclavos estando en Madrid el año de veniticinco.” This condemnation applied to the Indians of the continent of America generally; for the Caribbean islanders had been condemned to slavery twenty years before. It would not be just towards the two religious orders, or at the least to the Dominicans, not to add that they afterwards disapproved of the slavery of the Indians, and condemned it from the pulpits. Las Casas’s persuasion that the Indians were descended from the Jews, is elsewhere mentioned; but as the words “Loquela tua manifestum te facit” were discovered with some other reasons tending towards the same conclusion by Torquemada in some private papers containing the will of Las Casas, at the same time that great weight must be attached to so solemnly recorded an opinion, it cannot be said that that learned prelate was guilty of *any indiscretion* in promulgating it: but the contrary is proved, by the proviso which he made respecting the publication of his History,—that it should not be printed till fifty years after his death; and then only if it appeared good to the superior of his order, and for the benefit of religion; but that in the intermediate time no layman or young ecclesiastic was to be permitted to read it. This work has never been published; and Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete says, that when it was referred some years ago to the Academy of History at Madrid, to take their decision respecting its publication, they did not think it convenient.

\* Come occurs in the Spanish text; a dash of the pen having been mistaken for the letter C.

† Torquemada designates the number six, Chiquacen; and Chicuey, eight, being here omitted, and Chicnahui, nine, substituted for it, the remaining names properly belong to the numbers immediately preceding each of those to which they are assigned.

‡ These references are to the plates in the first volume, where the persons and cities numbered are represented by their proper symbols.

In 1370 ACAMAPICHTLI succeeded to the said kingdom and government ; and in the course of his reign he gained and conquered by force of arms the cities contained and named in the paintings, which were Quauhnahuac, Mizquic, Cuitlahuac and Xochimilco, which became tributary to him, acknowledging themselves as vassals. ACAMAPICHTLI during his entire reign was disposed to keep many wives, the daughters of all the principal Mexican lords, by whom he had many sons, who were the founders of the future greatness of many families of Caciques, and chieftains of martial reputation ; by whose means the capital of Mexico received great augmentation and increase of power, as is successively shown in the course of this History by the paintings, with their explanations.

The two figures, with the title and name of ACAMAPICHTLI accompanying them, are in reality the same ; for the first figure points out the beginning of his reign, and his accession to the said dignity ; and the second denotes the year after he had succeeded to the said dignity, when he undertook the conquest and subjugation of the said four cities \*. The said reign lasted twenty-one years ; at the expiration of which period the said ACAMAPICHTLI died, and departed this present life, whose decease occurred in the year 1396.

### PLATE III.

1. TOLTITLAN. 2. QUAHTITLAN. 3. Chalco. 4. HUICILYHUITL. 5. This representation of a shield and arrows signifies the conquest of the cities painted and named in the margin of the plate. 6. Tulancingo. 7. Xaltocan. 8. Otumpa. 9. The capital city of Tezcuco. 10. Acolma. The number of years XXI.

In 1396 HUICILYHUITL, the son of ACAMAPICH, succeeded to the said government, who in the course of his reign conquered and gained by force of arms eight cities, which are those contained in the preceding paintings, the names of which said cities are therein specified, which became tributary to the state of Mexico, acknowledging themselves as vassals. The said HUICILYHUITL was of a warlike disposition, and inclined to keep many wives, by whom he had many sons, who increased the resources of the Mexican State. The reign and life of the said HUICILYHUITL lasted twenty-one years ; at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life, according to the computation of the figures contained within the blue compartments.

### PLATE IV.

1. Tequixquiac. 2. CHIMALPUPUCA. 3. This painting of a shield and arrows signifies wars. 4. Chalco. 5. CHIMALPUPUCA dead. 6. These heads signify five Mexicans who were put to death

\* The first figure probably denotes that Acamapichtli, before he was elected king, possessed the title of Cihuacohuatl, or supreme governor of the Mexicans ; when Mexico afterwards became a monarchy, this office was retained, and the person who occupied it filled a post like that of Grand Vizier in the East. Torquemada says, that by the Mexican laws it was equally treasonable to conspire against the life of the King or of the Cihuacohuatl. The symbol over the head of the first figure of Acamapichtli exactly corresponds with the signification of this Mexican appellation.

by the Chalchese. 7. A Canoe. 7. A Canoe. 7. A Canoe. 7. A Canoe. 8. This figure personifies the people of the city of Chalco, who rebelled against the Mexicans, and injured them by breaking four of their canoes, which is symbolically signified by the stone grasped in its hands; and five persons are further represented, whom they killed in the said rebellion. 9. X years.

In 1417, by the decease and death of HUICILYHUITL, CHIMALPUPUCA succeeded to the said government. The said CHIMALPUPUCA was the son of the said HUICILYHUITL; and in the course of his said reign, he conquered by force of arms the city of Tequixquiac, and Chalco, which is a large city; which acknowledging themselves as vassals, paid tribute to the state of Mexico, as is demonstrated in the preceding paintings: the said cities in this manner remaining subject to him, in the course of a few years the said city of Chalco, being powerful, rebelled against the Mexicans, from which rebellion there resulted loss to the Mexicans, five persons being killed, and four canoes destroyed, as is signified in the preceding paintings, with their explanations. The course of the life and reign of the said CHIMALPUPUCA lasted ten years; at the end of which period he died, according to the computation of the blue compartments painted in the margin. CHIMALPUPUCA also had in his life many wives and sons, for that was considered a point of state.

#### PLATE V.

1. Azcapuzala. 2. Coyuacan. 3. Teocalhueyan. 4. YZCOACI. 5. This shield and arrows signify the instruments of war by which the cities contained and named under their proper symbols in these plates were conquered. 6. Quaguacan. 7. Tlacopan. 8. Atlacinhuyan. 9. Mixcoac. 10. Quauximal. 11. Quauhtitlan. 12. Tecpan. 13. Acolhuacan. The number of years XIII.

#### PLATE VI.

1. Mizquic. 2. Cuitlahuac. 3. Xodjimilco. 4. Chalco. 5. QUAUHTLATOAC dies in Tlatilulco. 6. Tlatilulco. 7. Huizizilapa. 8. Quauhnaahuac. 9. Cuezalan. 10. Zaqualpa. 11. Yztepec. 12. Xiuhtepec. 13. Yoalan. 14. Tepequacinla.

In 1427, by the decease and death of the said CHIMALPUPUCA, YZCOACI, the son of ACAMAPIH, who had been king of Mexico, succeeded to the government, who during his said reign gained and conquered by force of arms twenty-four cities, which are those represented in the preceding plates; which cities he subjected in a single invasion under the dominion of Mexico. As the said YZCOACI was brave and valiant in arms, and in many respects a man of sound judgment and resolution, he subjugated the said cities, which became tributary to him, acknowledging themselves his vassals. The said YZCOACI had many wives, by whom he had seven sons and daughters. He continued in possession of the said government thirteen years, at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.



## PLATE VII.

1. ATONAL, Coayxtlahuacan. 2. Mamalhuaztepec. 3. Tenanco. 4. HUEHUEMOTECUMA.  
 5. Weapons of War. 6. Teteuhtepec. 7. Chiconquiauhco. 8. Xiuhtepec. 9. Totolapa. 10. Chalco.  
 11. Quauhnhuac. 12. Atlatlahca. 13. Huaxtepec.

## PLATE VIII.

1. Yauhtepec. 2. Tepuztlan. 3. Tepatzinco. 4. Yacapichtlan. 5. Yoaltepec. 6. Tlachco.  
 7. Tlalcozauhtitla. 8. Tepecuacinla. 9. Quiyauhteopan. 10. Chontalcoatlan. 11. Hueypuchtla.  
 12. Atotonilco. 13. Axocopan. 14. Tulan. 15. Xilotepec. 16. Yzcuincuitlapilco. 17. Atoto-  
 milco. 18. Tlapacoyom. 19. Chapolycxitla. 20. Tlatlahquitepec. 21. Cuetlaxtlan. 22. Quauh-  
 tochco.

In 1440, by the decease and death of YZCOACI, HUEHUEMOTECUMA, the son of HUICILYHUITL, who was king of Mexico, succeeded to the said government; and during his reign he conquered and gained by force of arms thirty-three cities, as they are represented in the preceding plates, and painted in a circle round the figure of the said HUEHUEMOTECUMA; and having subjected them to the state of Mexico, they paid him tribute, acknowledging themselves his vassals. HUEHUEMOTECUMA was a very grave and generous prince, who applied himself to the practice of virtue. He was endowed with excellent abilities and judgment, and an enemy to corrupt morals; he introduced, of his own free will, order and laws into the state, and his subjects placed their entire confidence in him. He imposed severe punishments, which he commanded to be executed without any mitigation, on those who violated the laws; he was not however cruel, but on the contrary, kind, anxious for the public good, and the father of his people. He was not intemperately addicted to women; he had two sons. He was exceedingly temperate in drinking; so that never in the course of his life was he seen in a state of intoxication, whilst the native Indians are in general extremely inclined to drunkenness; on the contrary, he commanded that those who so transgressed should be punished; and from his generosity, and the good example which he displayed in his life, he was feared and respected by his subjects during the whole course of his reign, which lasted twenty-nine years, at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

## PLATE IX.

1. Tlatilula. 2. MOQUIHUIX, the lord of Tlatilula. 3. Atlapula. 4. Xalatlan. 5. AXAYACACI.  
 6. Weapons of war. 7. Tlacotepec. 8. Metepec. 9. Capuluac. 10. Ocoyacac. 11. Quauh-  
 panoayan. 12. Xochiachan. 13. Teotenanco. 14. Caliymaya. 15. Cinacantepec. The number  
 of years XII.

## PLATE X.

1. Tulucan. 2. Xiquipilco. 3. Tenanzinco. 4. Tepeyaca. 5. Tlaximaloyan. 6. Oztoma. 7. Xocotitlan. 8. Ocuilan. 9. Oztoticpac. 10. Matlatlan. 11. Cuezcomatlyyacac. 12. Tecalco. 13. Cuetlaxtlam. 14. Puxcauhtlam. 15. Ahuilizapan. 16. Tlaolan. 17. Mixtlan. 18. Cueçaloztoc. 19. Tetzapotitlan. 20. Miquiyetlan. 21. Tamuoc. 22. Tanpatel. 23. Tuchpan. 24. Tenexticpac. 25. Quauhtlan.

In 1469, by the decease and death of HUEHUEMOTECUMA, AXAYACACI succeeded to the government, who was the son of TECOCOMOCTLI, and the grandson of YZCOATZI, who had been king of Mexico; and whilst the said AXAYACACI was king, he conquered and gained by force of arms thirty-seven cities, according to their successive names and representations, in which number is included the city of Tlatilula, which he reduced under his dominion by force of arms; an event of great importance. The lord of Tlatilula at that time was MOQUIHUIX, a powerful personage, possessed of great abilities, who being naturally of a haughty disposition, afforded to the king of Mexico a pretext and occasion for wars and dissensions, although they had formerly been friends; whence ensued great battles and engagements between them, in which the said MOQUIHUIX of Tlatilula died, precipitating himself from the top of a high temple: for seeing himself worsted in a combat, and returning from a defeat, he went into a temple to save himself from being taken prisoner, when a priest who was in the temple upbraiding him, and reproaching him for so doing aloud, he precipitated himself to the ground in the manner which has been mentioned; on which occasion the Mexicans proved victorious, and the city of Tlatilula from that time until the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards, was subject to the king of Mexico, paying him tribute, and acknowledging vassalage.

AXAYACATZI was very valiant and brave in war, and was intemperately addicted to women; whence the number of his wives and sons was considerable. He was proud and impetuous, which caused him to be extremely feared by all his subjects. He maintained and approved as good, the laws and ordinances which his ancestor HUEHUEMOTECUMA had enacted, as has been declared in his history, and his reign lasted twelve years, at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

## PLATE XI.

1. Tonaliymoquçayom. 2. Toxico. 3. Ecatepec. 4. Çilom. 5. Tecaxic. 6. Tuluca. 7. TİÇOÇİCATZI. 8. This shield and arrows signify the instruments with which the cities contained in the margin of this plate were conquered. 9. Yamanitlam. 10. Tlapan. 11. Atezcahuacan. 12. Maçatlam. 13. Xochiyetla. 14. Tamapacha. 15. Ecatlyguapecha. 16. Miquetlam.

In 1482, by the decease and death of AXAYACACI, TİÇOÇİCATZI, the son of the said AXAYACACI, succeeded to the said government, who in the course of his reign conquered and gained by force of arms fourteen cities, accordingly as they are successively painted and named.

The said **TİÇOÇICATZI** was also extremely brave and warlike; and before he succeeded to the said government, he achieved in war, in his own person, signal deeds of valour, whence he obtained the dignity of **TLACATECATL**, which was esteemed a title of great honour and state, and was the point from which, when the throne became vacant, a successor was immediately elevated to the regal dignity, which career of titles and honours his predecessors, his brothers hereafter named, and father and grandfather, pursuing, became at length kings of Mexico.

The said **TİÇOÇICATZI** had likewise, as a mark of authority and state attaching to the said dignity, many wives, and sons born of them. He was a man of a grave character, and severe in exercising command, and in causing himself to be feared and respected by his subjects; he was also disposed and inclined to good and virtuous actions, and zealous for the interests of the state. He caused to be observed and approved as good, the laws and statutes which his predecessors had augmented and kept from the time of **HUEHUEMOTECUMA**, and was vigilant in punishing and chastising the crimes and misdemeanors of his subjects, whereby the state of Mexico was well governed and administered during his life-time. The course of his reign lasted five years, at the end of which he died, and departed this present life.

#### PLATE XII.

1. Tziccoac. 2. Tlappan. 3. Molanco. 4. Amaxtlan. 5. Çapotlan. 6. Xaltepec. 7. Chiapan. 8. Tototepec. 9. **AHUIÇOÇIN**. 10. Weapons of war. 11. Xochtlan. 12. Xolochiuhyom. 13. Cozcaquauhtenanco. 14. Coçohuipilecan. 15. Coyuca. 16. Acatepec. 17. Huexolotlan. 18. Acapulco. 19. Xiuhhuacan. 20. Apancalecan. 21. Tecpatepec. 22. Tepechiapa. 23. Xicochimalco. 24. Xiuhtecçacatlan.

#### PLATE XIII.

1. Tecuantepec. 2. Coyolapan. 3. Yztactlealocan. 4. Teocuitlatla\*. 5. Huehuetlan. 6. Quauhxayacatitla\*. 7. Yzhuatlan. 8. Comitlan. 9. Nantzintlan. 10. Huipilan. 11. Cahualan. 12. Yztatlan. 13. Huiztlan. 14. Xolotlan. 15. Quauhnacaztlan. 16. Maçatlan. 17. Ayauhtochcintlatla. 18. Quauhtlan. 19. Cueçalcintlapila. 20. Mapachtepec. 21. Quauhпилola. 22. Tlacotepec. 23. Mizquitlan.

In 1486, by the decease and death of **TİÇOÇICATZI**, **AHUIÇOÇIN** the brother of his predecessor **TİÇOÇICATZI** succeeded to the said government; who in the course of his reign conquered and gained by force of arms forty-five cities, accordingly as they are successively painted and named. The said **AHUIÇOÇIN** resembled in valour and martial prowess his brother and predecessor **TİÇOÇICATZI**, whence he obtained the title of **TLACATECATL**, which signifies great captain, which said title was the next step to the throne.

\* Many of the Mexican names of places terminated in *an*, and not as they are generally written in *a*; the final letter *n* being frequently expressed by a cross above the letter *a* in ancient MSS., and this has not always been here attended to.



The said AHUIÇOÇIN was also naturally of a good disposition, and inclined to the practice of every virtue: the state was accordingly during his whole life and reign well governed and administered. He observed, and caused to be observed, the laws and statutes which his ancestors had maintained and kept from the time of HUEHUEMOTECUMA; and since the Mexican monarchy had received great accessions, and possessed the larger part of New Spain subject to it, acknowledging vassalage; the said state, from the many and costly tributes which they paid to it, arrived at great splendour: and like a powerful and generous prince, he indulged his subjects with magnificent entertainments, and was of a sweet and benignant disposition; whence his vassals and chiefs loved him extremely, and entertained feelings of great reverence towards him. He likewise had many wives and sons, as a thing annexed to the said dignity, and a point of great state. He was of a gay temper, whence his subjects continually diverted him during his life-time with all kinds of festivals, and vocal and instrumental music by day as well as by night; so that in his palace the voices of singers and musicians, and the sounds of many musical instruments, never ceased. The course of his life\* lasted eighteen years; at the expiration of which period he died, and departed this present life.

## PLATE XIV.

1. Achiotlan. 2. Çoçolan. 3. Nochiztlan. 4. Tecutepec. 5. Çulan. 6. Tlaniztlan. 7. Huilo-tepec. 8. MOTEÇÇUMA. 9. Weapons of war. 10. Ycpatepec. 11. Yztactlalocan. 12. Chihihual-tatacala. 13. Tecaxic. 14. Tlachinoltic. 15. Xoconochco. 16. Çinacantlan. 17. Huiztlan. 18. Piaztlan. 19. The decease and death of MOTEÇÇUMA. Pacification and conquest of New Spain. Number of years XVIII.

## PLATE XV.

1. Molanco. 2. Caquantepec. 3. Pipiyoltepec. 4. Hueyapan. 5. Tecpatlan. 6. Amatlan. 7. Caltepec. 8. Pantepec. 9. Teoacinco. 10. Tecoçauhtla. 11. Teochiapan. 12. Çacatepec. 13. Tlachquiyauhco. 14. Malinaltepec. 15. Quimichtepec. 16. Yzcuintepec. 17. Çençontepec. 18. Quetzaltepec. 19. Cuezcomayxtlahuacan. 20. Huexolotlan.

## PLATE XVI.

1. Xalapan. 2. Xaltianquizco. 3. Yoloxpuecuila. 4. Atepec. 5. Mictlan. 6. Yztitlan. 7. Tliltepec. 8. Comaltepec.

\* "Life" is obviously a mistake for "reign." But the text of the original has in this, as in every other passage, been literally adhered to in the translation.

## PLATE XVII.

1. Çitlaltepec. 2. Quauhtochco. 3. MIXCOATL-TLACATECTLI, a Governor\*. 4. Tzonpanco.
5. Xaltocan. 6. TLACATECTLI, a Governor. 7. TLACOCHECTLI, a Governor. 8. Huaca.
9. Yzteyocan. 10. Acalhuacan. 11. Coatitlan. 12. Huixachtitlan. 13. TLACATECTLI, a Governor.
14. TLACOCHECTLI, a Governor. 15. Çoçolan. 16. Poctepec. 17. Coatlayauhcan 18. Acol-nahuac.
19. Puputlan. 20. Yztacalco. 21. Chalcoatenco.

## PLATE XVIII.

1. TLACOCHECTLI, a Governor. 2. TLACATECATL, a Governor. 3. Oztoma. 4. TLACATECTLI, a Governor.
5. TLACOCHECTLI, a Governor. 6. Atzacan. 7. TLACOCHECTLI, a Governor. 8. Atlan.
9. OMEQUHTEZCACOACATL, a Governor. 10. TLILANCALQUI, a Governor. 11. Xocochco.
12. Tecapotitlan.

In 1502, on the death of AHUIÇOÇIN, MOTEÇÇUMA succeeded to the said government; who at his accession found the state of Mexico already advanced to great majesty and authority; and having been himself promoted to the said dignity on account of his great gravity and severity of character, he augmented exceedingly the state and dominions of Mexico, in a much greater degree than any of his predecessors.

MOTEÇÇUMA was the son of AXAYACAÇIN, who was king of Mexico; and before he succeeded to the said government, he acquired a reputation for valour and military enterprise, whence he obtained the title of TLACATECTLI, and so succeeded to the said government, as has been already declared; and becoming possessed of the said sovereign rule, he increased as much as possible the Mexican empire, ruling over all the cities of New Spain, which gave and paid him great and costly tributes. He was extremely feared by all his subjects, and likewise by his chiefs and nobles, so that none when they transacted business with him, ventured, on account of the great fear and reverence in which they held him, to look him in the face, but kept their eyes cast down to the earth, and their heads bent and inclined to the ground, with many other extreme forms of respect, observances and ceremonies, with which they did him homage, on account of the great majesty which he displayed before them, of which a description is here omitted, to avoid prolixity.

After MOTEÇÇUMA had succeeded to the said government, he conquered forty-four cities, (accordingly as they are represented and named in the paintings that follow,) and subjected them beneath his rule

\* It does not appear that the cities represented in the other plates had special governors deputed from Mexico to govern them as viceroys. The extent of the Mexican empire was twelve hundred miles, from one extremity to the other; and it is likely that the government of the frontier provinces would only have been confided to persons in whom the sovereign could place the greatest dependence; and therefore that the office of viceroy in these places would be one of higher dignity and confidence.

and empire ; which, as an acknowledgment of vassalage, paid him during the whole course of his life great and rich tributes (as may be seen in the paintings with their explanations which follow)

MOTECÇUMA was by nature wise, an astrologer\* and philosopher, and skilled and generally versed in all the arts, both in those of a military, as well as others of a civil nature, and from his extreme

\* Scripture frequently mentions the wise men and astrologers whom the kings of Babylon consulted in doubtful emergencies, and sent for to interpret dreams of ominous import : and it is particularly recorded of Joseph and Daniel, who were Jews, that their interpretation of dreams surpassed those of the wise men of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. It is singular that dreams and visions, the usual way in which the Jews received divine inspirations, should have formed no small portion of the superstitions of the Mexicans ; amongst whom diviners and the art of divination were, according to Torquemada, held in great esteem. The custom of a monarch surrounding himself with astrologers to deliberate upon the arduous affairs of his kingdom, is so entirely oriental, and conformable to the prejudices of the nations bordering on Palestine, whose manners it should be recollected the Jews never failed to imitate,—that we must feel some surprise at finding that Montezuma and Nezahualpilli, the king of Tezcuco should have placed such faith in astrology and divination, and some difficulty in conjecturing whence they derived it. The passage in the Interpretation of the Collection of Mendoza to which this note refers, expressly states that Montezuma was skilled in astrology, to which proficiency the complimentary speech addressed to him by Nezahualpilli on his accession to the throne, (in which, according to Torquemada, he congratulated the Mexican nation on the election of a king, whose deep knowledge of heavenly things ensured to his subjects his comprehension of those of an earthly nature,) would seem to allude ; that Nezahualpilli was himself attached to astrological inquiries, is recorded in the following very curious passage of the sixty-fourth chapter of the second book of the *Indian Monarchy*, “ Dicen que fue grande astrologo, y que se preciaba mucho de entender los movimientos de los astros celestes ; y con esta inclinacion que á estas cosas tenia, hacia inquisicion por todas las partes de sus reinos, de todos los que sabian algo de esto, y los traia á su corte, y comunicaba con ellos todo lo que sabia ; y de noche se subia á las açoteas de su palacio, y desde allí consideraba las estrellas, y arguia con todos lo que de ellas dificultaban. Al menos, yo sé decir, aver visto un lugar en sus casas, encima de las açoteas, de quatro paredes, no mas altas que una vara, ni mas ancho el lugar que lo que puede ocupar un hombre acostado, y en cada esquina tenia un hoyo ó agujero, donde se ponía una hasta en las quales colgaban un cielo. Y preguntando yo, que de qué servia aquel quadro ? me respondió un nieto suio, que me iba mostrando la casa, que era del Señor Nezahualpilli, para quando de noche iba con sus astrologos á considerar los cielos y sus estrellas ; de donde inferi ser verdad esto que de el se dice ; y pienso que el estar levantadas las paredes una vara de el suelo, y tener puesto cielo de algodón ó seda, pendiente de las varas, debia de ser para mejor tantear el curso celeste ; como el otro filosofo, que metido en una cuba estuvo treinta y dos años mirando con puntualidad el curso de una estrella.” “ They say that he was a great astrologer, and prided himself much on his knowledge of the motions of the celestial bodies ; and being attached to this study, that he caused inquiries to be made throughout the entire of his dominions, for all such persons as were at all conversant with it, whom he brought to his court, and imparted to them whatever he knew ; and ascending by night on the terraced roof of his palace, he thence considered the stars, and disputed with them all on difficult questions connected with them. I at least can affirm that I have seen a place on the outside of the roof of the palace, inclosed within four walls only a yard in height, and just of sufficient breadth for a man to lie down in ; in each angle of which was a hole or perforation, in which was placed a lance, upon which hung a sphere ; and on my inquiring the use of this square space, a grandson of his, who was showing me the palace, replied that it was for King Nezahualpilli, when he went by night attended by his astrologers to contemplate the heavens and the stars ; whence I inferred that what is recorded of him is true ; and I think that the reason of the walls being elevated one yard above the terrace, and a sphere of cotton or silk being hung from the poles, was for the sake of measuring more exactly the celestial motions ; like the philosopher who, seated in the hollow of a cask, spent thirty-two years in watching with precision the course of a single star.” It can hardly be doubted that the Mexicans were acquainted with many scientific instruments of strange invention as compared with our own : whether the telescope may not have been of the number is uncertain ; but the thirteenth plate of M. Dupaix’ *Monuments*, which represents a man holding something of a similar nature to his eye, affords reason for supposing that they knew how to improve the powers of vision. Astronomy has in all ages been a favourite study with mankind : the Greeks cultivated it from their love of philosophy ; the Jews were star-gazers because the Chaldeans were astrologers ; and the early Christians, whom Saint Paul inspired with a distaste for the arts and sciences of Greece, might still have retained some predilection for it, from associating it with the discovery of the new star by the wise men of the East, who were reputed to have been famous astronomers. The proficiency which the Mexicans had attained in this science cannot with certainty be known. Like the Jews and primitive Christians, they entertained a superstitious dread of eclipses ; and from some of their paintings it may be inferred that they believed in a firmament, or στερεωμα, which divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament.



gravity and state, the monarchy under his sway began to verge towards empire : his subjects accordingly were impressed with feelings of great awe and veneration towards him on account of his power ; since, compared with him, none of his predecessors had attained to a fourth part of his state and majesty.

He was zealous in causing the laws and statutes of his predecessors, from the time of HUEHUEMOTECCUMA to his own time, to be strictly obeyed and fulfilled ; and being endowed with so much wisdom, he by the excellence of his own understanding, enacted and framed other laws and ordinances, such as it appeared to him were wanting to the completion of the former, without repealing any ; all which he did for the advantage and good government of his state and subjects.

He was inclined to keep many wives, the daughters of princes his vassals and allies, by whom he had many sons : his reason for keeping so many wives was chiefly to show his great majesty and authority, for they considered it a matter of state ; of whom, those who were the daughters of principal lords and grandees he espoused as his lawful wives, according to their rites and ceremonies, who resided within his palaces and the houses which he usually inhabited ; and the sons whom he had by them were more highly considered on account of their legitimacy, than those whom he had by the other women.

The order which was observed with respect to these women would be a long history to detail ; and since the present History is brief, it is here omitted. The quantity, value, and number of the tributes which his subjects paid to him, will be seen and understood presently, according to the signification of the paintings representing their several kinds and qualities. He was very exact in the tribute which they paid him, that it should be collected in full, according to the amount of taxation which he imposed ; and he kept for this purpose his calpixques and revenue-officers, stationed in all the cities of his vassals, as a sort of governors, to rule over, direct and administer their affairs. Being so much feared, none dared to transgress or exceed his will and pleasure, which was accordingly entirely fulfilled and obeyed ; for he was inexorable in punishing and chastising rebels.

In the sixteenth year of the reign of MOTEÇCUMA, the Mexicans received advice of certain Spaniards, the discoverers of New Spain, that the object of the arrival and expedition of the Spaniards was to gain and conquer the country, which event would happen at the expiration of twelve months. The Mexicans accordingly reckoned the time, and found it to be true ; for at the end of twelve months the expedition and arrival of the Spaniards in the port of New Spain occurred ; in which came Don FERDINAND CORTES, Marquis of the Valley, at the end of the said twelve months ; which event took place in the seventeenth year of the reign of the said MOTEÇCUMA, and in the eighteenth year of the said reign MOTEÇCUMA terminated his career, in which year he died, and departed this present life.

MOTEÇCUMA when he succeeded to the said government was about thirty-five years of age, a little more or less, so that at the time of his death his age was fifty-three.

In the year immediately following the death of MOTEÇCUMA, the conquest and pacification of the capital of Mexico, and the other cities in its vicinity, by the MARQUIS OF THE VALLEY and his companions took place ; and thus New Spain was gained and reduced to submission.