

Changing History in the Lienzos de Guevea and Santo Domingo Petapa

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Abstract. The Lienzo de Guevea, an important Zapotec pictographic document from 1540, contains historical information about the geographic expanse and the lords of the indigenous community of Guevea. An extensive investigation has clarified the complex relation between the different copies or versions of this particular document. The iconographic analysis of the pictorial scenes and the study of several documents related to the *lienzo* (large cotton cloth) shed a new light on the form and contents of Zapotec historiography, on the indigenous perception of the local political structure, and particularly on the transformations caused by the Spanish colonization.

The past few years have seen notable developments in the study of Zapotec writings as a subdiscipline of the archaeology and the ethnohistory of the Oaxacan region. During the preclassic and classic periods, when the metropolis of Monte Albán developed and flourished, the Zapotec used a writing system of columned hieroglyphs accompanied by figurative representations in reliefs, frescos, and ceramics. While this method is comparable to Maya writing, the character of the signs is very distinctive. From very early on in his work at Monte Albán, the Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso (1928) was interested in these signs, which led to their first inventory and the designation of a nomenclature that is still in use today.¹ Modern scholars like Joyce Marcus, Javier Urcid Serrano, and Gordon Whittaker have continued Caso's work. Because the corpus of Zapotec inscriptions is much smaller than the Maya corpus, the advances in the interpretation have been even more difficult and much slower. At least part of these texts and images register such acts of rulers as conquests and marital alliances.

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During the process of Monte Albán's decline at the end of the classic period, a series of Zapotec polities developed, of which Zaachila—called Teozapotlan by the Aztec—became the most important. At the same time the hieroglyphic writing system was replaced by a different form of pictographic writing. This system had developed in the central Mexican region during the classic civilization of Teotihuacan. It was then used and elaborated by the Toltec during the early postclassic period, and finally enhanced and sophisticated as a crucial part of the so-called Mixteca-Puebla style. The clearest and most famous examples of the final stage of this pictographic writing system are the codices (books in the form of folding screens), especially those that deal with Mixtec and Aztec history and those of the Borgia Group, which have a religious (mantic-ritual) contents. This same system was also used to register information in frescos, reliefs, decorated ceramics, and *lienzos* (large cotton cloths). Thanks to the efforts of several generations of scholars, these pictographic texts can now be deciphered quite well.² The Zapotec pictographic manuscripts have as yet received relatively little attention, however. A preliminary inventory was provided in the census of Mesoamerican pictorial manuscripts compiled by John B. Glass and Donald Robertson (1975), and through the recent works of Joseph W. Whitecotton (1990), Viola König (1993), and Michel R. Oudijk (1995) we are beginning to have a general understanding of this corpus.

Among the group of Zapotec pictographic manuscripts, the Lienzo de Guevea is an exception: it is relatively famous and has received scholarly attention since the beginning of the twentieth century. This can be explained by the fact that the lienzo, in addition to containing a territorial map, also holds a list of the Zapotec *coquis* of Zaachila and Tehuantepec.³ As for its double contents—geographic and historical—the Lienzo de Guevea is comparable to the famous Mapa de Teozacualco (Caso 1949).

The great German scholar Eduard Seler (1960–61 [1902–23]), who laid down the basis for the iconographic analysis of Mesoamerican art, dedicated himself to an extensive study of the Lienzo de Guevea. This analysis has still not lost its value and has recently been translated into Spanish (Seler 1986). Several aspects of the Lienzo de Guevea have been discussed during the 1980s by Víctor de la Cruz, Joyce Marcus, John Paddock, and Maarten Jansen.⁴ A new examination, which includes a synthesis of the most important results of the aforementioned investigations, was published by Joseph W. Whitecotton (1990, chap. 5).

Uncertainties on various issues continue to exist, however, and many questions and problems are still to be resolved. Therefore, this article presents a new critical review. While our general understanding of these pictorial lienzos is growing, it is important to comprehend the formative pro-

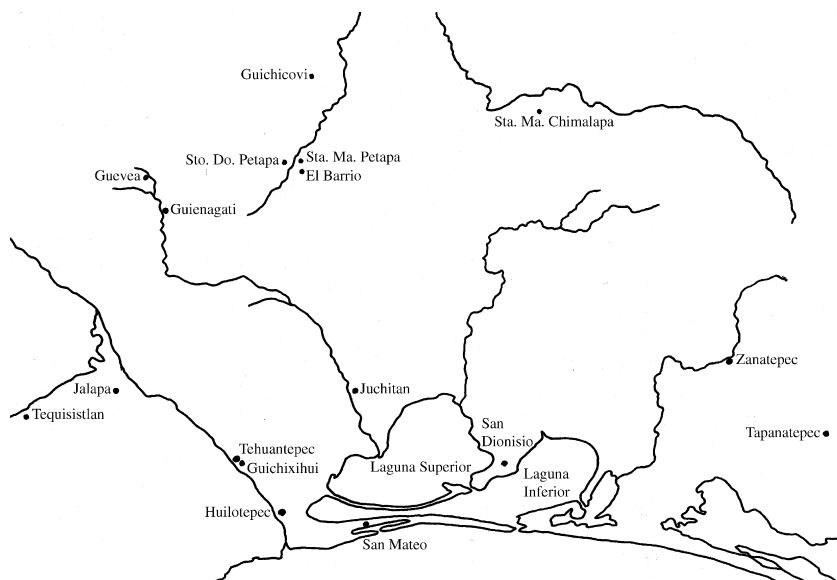


Figure 1. Map of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

cesses of these manuscripts. Many are not creations *ex nihilo*; rather, they are copies of earlier documents that often conserve older “layers.” As a consequence, an iconographic analysis has to proceed like an archaeological one and examine the internal “stratigraphy” of the document. As such, we show that this method can be a significant contribution to the interpretation of the Lienzo de Guevea and, with the help of some new documents and data, makes it possible to reconstruct part of the formative history of the lienzo and its copies.⁵

A Family of Pictorial Documents

The village to which the name of the lienzo refers is Santiago Guevea, present-day Guevea de Humboldt, situated north of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca (Figure 1). The actual lienzo itself is lost, only known through photographs and various “copies.” The existing copies contain glosses informing us that the original was made in 1540. There are such considerable differences in style and important details in these copies that it is better for our analysis to regard them as versions rather than copies.

The best-known version is called Copy A, which is kept in the codex vault of the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología (BNA) in Mexico City.⁶ A gloss explains that this Copy A was painted in 1820, but the lienzo in the

BNA is not this particular lienzo from 1820 but a copy of it made in 1892. The use of the term *copy* has introduced significant confusion in earlier studies, because no clear distinction was made between the original Copy A that was made in 1820, and the later copies that were made on the basis of this Copy A from 1820 or on the basis of the so-called Copy A from 1892.

G. Bas Van Doesburg (1998) has localized and analyzed the correspondence (letters and telegrams) dealing with these and other documents between the governor of Oaxaca, Gregorio Chávez, and the president of Mexico, Porfirio Díaz, during 1891. That year was particularly important, as it was the year of preparation for Madrid's famous *Exposición Histórico-Americana* in 1892. In this correspondence Van Doesburg has found the documentation concerning the sending of the Copy A of 1820 to Díaz. On 10 November 1891 the governor wrote:

Mr. Presidente General Porfirio Díaz. My beloved General and friend. The Jefe Político of Juchitán [Manuel Muñoz Gómez] sent me the codex of the village of Santo Domingo Petapa, the same as which I am sending you; and he tells me that this map is considered to contain the lands of the village of Guevea, belonging to Tehuantepec. It is a copy made in 1820, and it was taken from the original (1540) which still exists, but very deteriorated. The Jefe Político has a *relación* in Zapotec and Spanish about who were the first Indians converted to Christianity. He is making a copy of it in Juchitán, and as soon as I have it in my possession, I will send it to you. I beg you, that if the codex that I am sending you today is of no use to you, to send it back so I can order a copy to be made for the museum before returning it to Juchitán . . . , Gregorio Chávez. (Coleccion Porfirio Díaz [CPD], Cartas, leg. XVI, caja 29, no. 014489)⁷

Once sent to Mexico City, Copy A from 1820 was copied by Basilio Argil. This reproduction was then sent to the exhibition in Madrid in commemoration of the "year of Columbus" (*Paso y Troncoso* 1892) and is now kept in the BNA (Glass and Robertson 1975). Afterward J. S. Ledo made another copy—probably from the Argil reproduction—which was published by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez (1949) and subsequently taken as the basis for the drawings published by Kent V. Flannery and Marcus (1983). The original of Copy A (Figure 2) was sent back to the village of Santo Domingo Petapa, where it is still kept today. During various visits to the village, Oudijk found this original Copy A and yet another copy known in the village as "the original" (Figure 3). These documents, as well as a seventeenth-century

relación or *probanza*, are conserved in the Archivo de Bienes Comunales of Santo Domingo Petapa (ABCP), where they were photographed and transcribed by Oudijk. We have not yet been able to locate the 1540 original, either in Guevea, or in Petapa, or in the Oaxacan archives. We therefore have to consider the original a lost manuscript.

Before exploring these new data, we first have to make some observations on another existing version called Copy B, which was published by Seler. It is known through a photo of a black and white drawing. The original photo, which is of superior quality to the one in Seler's publication, *Das Dorfbuch*, is kept in Seler's inheritance in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut in Berlin.⁸ Another photo of the same document was in possession of Jane Colburn and was published by Paddock (1983a).⁹ The drawing reproduced in these photos was itself made after a photo taken by an employee of the Instituto Geológico de la República Mexicana. The drawing was probably made for publication. As Seler called this drawing Copy B, we can conclude that he thought the drawing was the actual document kept in the village. The original Copy B, however, is a cloth painted in full color that is conserved in the Archivo de Bienes Comunales of Guevea de Humboldt, where it was photographed by Oudijk in 1995 (Figure 4).¹⁰ The letter of the glosses and the style of the border glyphs in the upper part of the lienzo suggest that the manuscript was made in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

In the late 1970s librarian Carmen Cobas found a couple of photos (without their negatives) among the Genaro García papers, which are part of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection (which forms part of the library of the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas in Austin). These photos represent yet another version of the Lienzo de Guevea (Figure 5).¹¹ These García photos reproduce a now lost painting on cloth, an original lienzo. Everything seems to indicate that this is a sixteenth-century painting, which leads us to conclude that these photos represent the original made in 1540.

During our analysis we have determined the geographical distribution of all of the different versions: The García photos and Copy B relate to Guevea, while "the original" and Copy A come from Petapa. We have therefore a complex set of pictorial manuscripts derived from an original, the Lienzo de Guevea from 1540, which is only known through the García photos. It would be more appropriate to refer to these manuscripts as follows:

Lienzo de Guevea I = Lienzo of the García photos

Lienzo de Guevea II = Copy B in Guevea

Lienzo de Petapa I = the original in Santo Domingo Petapa

Lienzo de Petapa II = Copy A in Santo Domingo Petapa

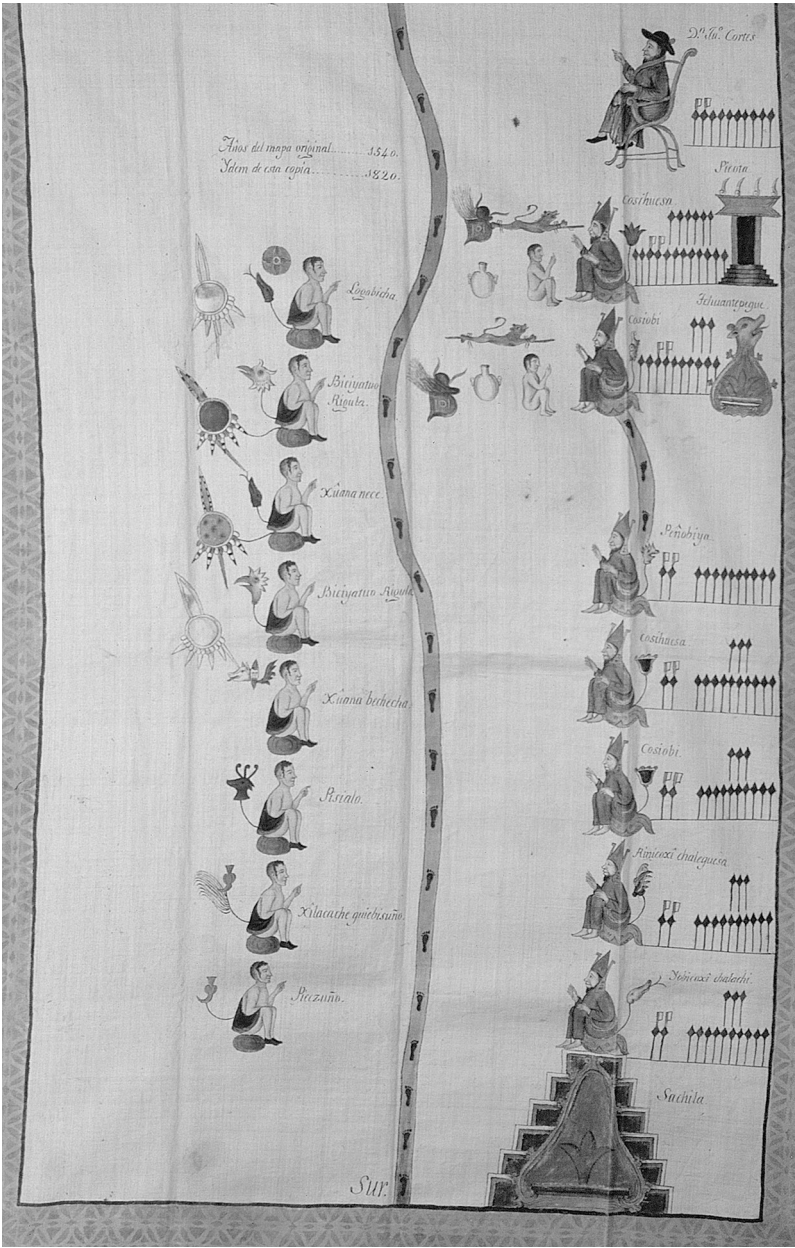


Figure 2 (bottom).

The method of reconstructing the spatiotemporal relation between these documents is that of detailed comparison and reasoning from the errors, the omissions, and additions in the copies. Reconstructing the genealogical tree of all of the different versions is a complex matter. All copies reproduce the information and structure of the original, yet they are not servile copies. They are new versions with their own style, emphasis, and specific information. They are therefore interesting testimonies of the development of the local historical view through time (Figure 6). To decipher the original meaning, however, we have to work with the Guevea I. Only from this version will it be possible to determine the original motive to make and paint the lienzo.

The Lienzo de Guevea I (1540)

The special importance of the Lienzo de Guevea consists of the fact that it contains a list of the coquis of Zaachila-Tehuantepec, the most important Zapotec polity of the Oaxacan late postclassic period. The last members of this dynasty are also mentioned in other ethnohistoric sources of Oaxaca, especially by the seventeenth-century Dominican chronicler friar, Francisco de Burgoa. According to Burgoa, Cosijoeza and his son Cosijopij were baptized after the Spanish conquest and received the names Don Carlos Cosijoeza and Don Juan Cortez, respectively. They controlled the important town of Tehuantepec in the Isthmus.¹² Guevea was a subject community of Tehuantepec. This explains the presence of the dynasty of the Zapotec coquis of Zaachila in a lienzo from this village; the local authorities derived their power from these lords. A large part of the Zapotec historiography has been lost, and today the Lienzo de Guevea, once considered a “marginal” manuscript, has become a key source for knowledge of the coquis of Zaachila-Tehuantepec.

The Lienzo de Guevea is read from the bottom to the top and, based on its contents, it can be divided into two parts: (1) The bottom half, of historical character, represents two vertical sequences or columns of seated persons identified by onomastic signs. Represented on the right-hand side are the coquis of Zaachila, who at a certain point moved their palace to Tehuantepec (portrayed by a road with footprints). In front of these coquis on the left-hand side are the *xoanas* (nobles) of Guevea. Painted in the top part of this section is the tribute that the people of Guevea paid to the lords of Tehuantepec. (2) The top half of the lienzo, of geographic character, shows the territorial extent of the Guevea polity. It is represented by an ovular rectangle boarded with pictographic signs that represent the boundary sites and are explained by glosses in Nahuatl, Spanish, and Zapotec.



Figure 3 (top). The Lienzo de Petapa I (the original) in Santo Domingo Petapa. Photos by Jorge Acevedo.



Figure 3 (bottom).

tec. Other glosses refer to the orientation of the map: the top part corresponds to the North in conformity with European use (Smith 1973: 169). The portrayal of the place glyphs in relation to the ovular rectangular line is different from other pictorial documents of this type (for example, the Mapa de Teozacualco and the Maps of the Historia Tolteca Chichimeca). They do not “fall” to the outside, as if they are seen from the center: in the South and the East they “fall” to the inside, while in the North and the West to the outside. This circumstance can be explained partly by supposing that the painter worked from one particular point. Indeed, the orientation seems to reflect a specific point of view: the boundary sites were painted as seen from the point where the sun rises.

In Guevea II this geographic position is explicitly marked with a sun. Taking the sun as the point of reference is a typical aspect of the pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican tradition, but it is not the only detail that shows the painter’s possible connection with this tradition. The form of the ovular rectangle in the Lienzo de Guevea may have originated in the favorite compositional scheme of pre-Hispanic codices: the boustrophedon sequence. The border begins (according to the text in Guevea II) at Hill of the Spool (No. 1, falling to the outside), passing Wide Hill or Stone (No. 2, falling to the inside), continuing to our right to the right-hand top corner (No. 7, Hill or Stone of the Box) from where it goes on in contrary direction (all falling to the outside). If we compare this map to a series of toponymic hieroglyphs in a boustrophedon sequence (e.g., Codex Selden 4), we get an idea of the procedure the painter may have been following. He simply separated three lines of contrary direction and combined those into an ovular rectangle (Figure 7).

A road leaves from the glyph of Zaachila (bottom half, at the right), passes in between the coquis of Zaachila and the xoanas of Guevea, crosses the border of the map, and ends at a house at the foot of the “hill of s[an]tiago Guebea,” where a male called Christian don Pedro s[an]tiago is seated.¹³ The gloss *nanacaltepeq* is written above the *tecpan*, or temple, of Guevea. This Nahuatl toponym means, as does the Zapotec *Guebea*, “at the Hill of the Mushroom” and agrees with the hieroglyph: three mushrooms painted on top of a hill. According to Juan de Córdova’s (1987 [1578]: 222) vocabulary, *pèya* means “mushroom of the field.” Alternatively, *piya*, *bia*, or *bea* (as it is spelled in the lienzo) is the day name Grass in the Zapotec calendar. This gives cause to an alternative interpretation of the toponym *Guevea* as stemming from a day with a ritual significance or, rather, from the calendrical name of the patron god. As such, we could translate Guevea—Qui(a)piya—as 1 Grass. At any rate, such a possible esoteric meaning

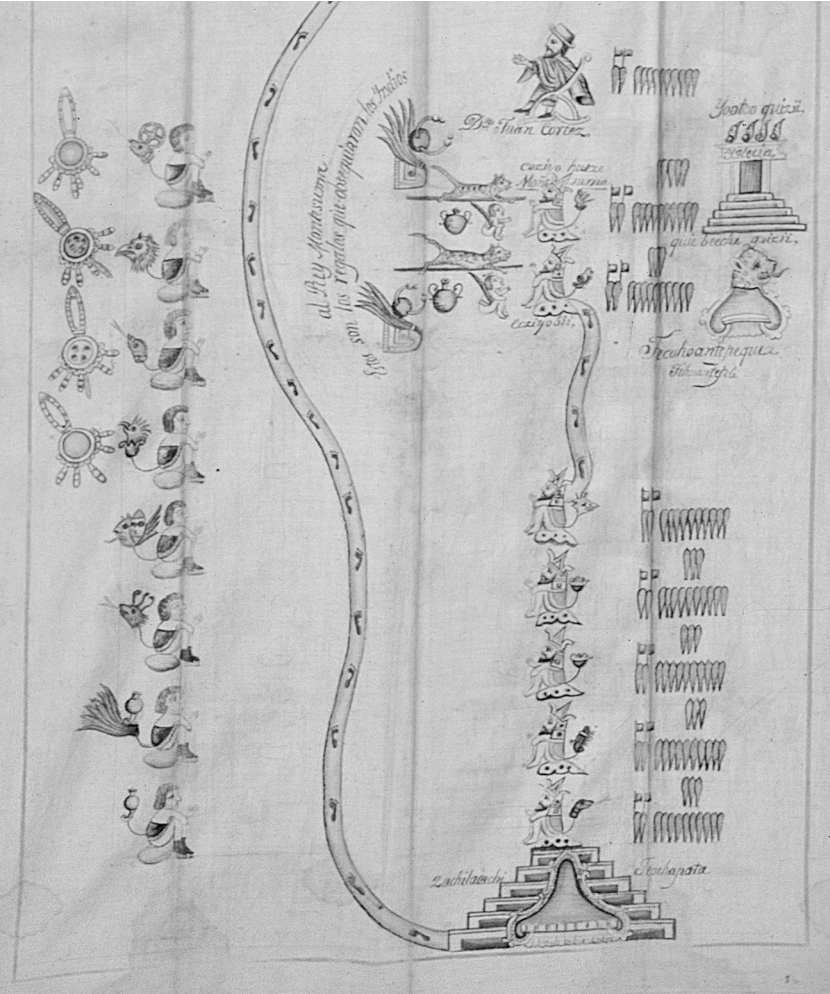


Figure 4 (bottom).

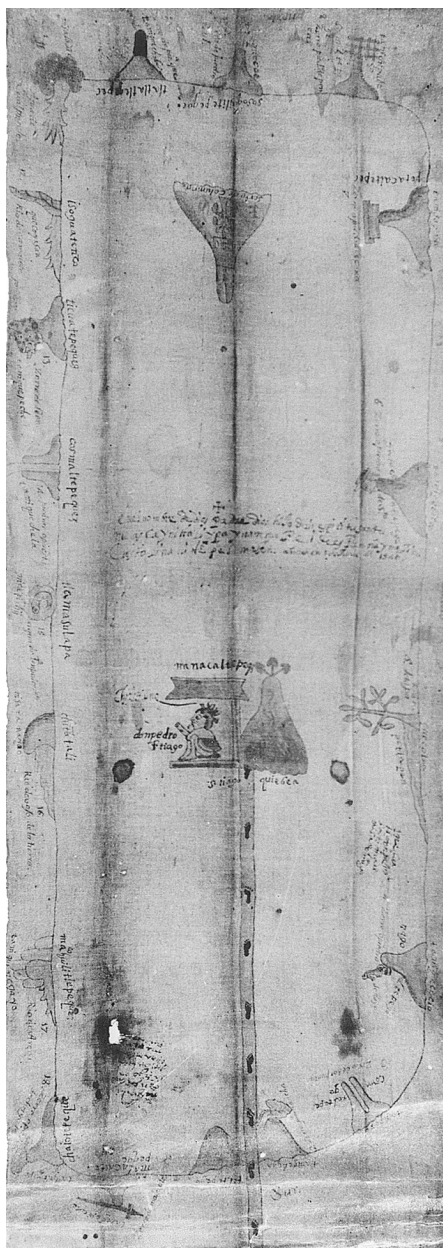


Figure 5 (top). The Lienzo de Guevea I (García Photos). Courtesy Nettie Lee Benson Library, University of Texas, Austin.

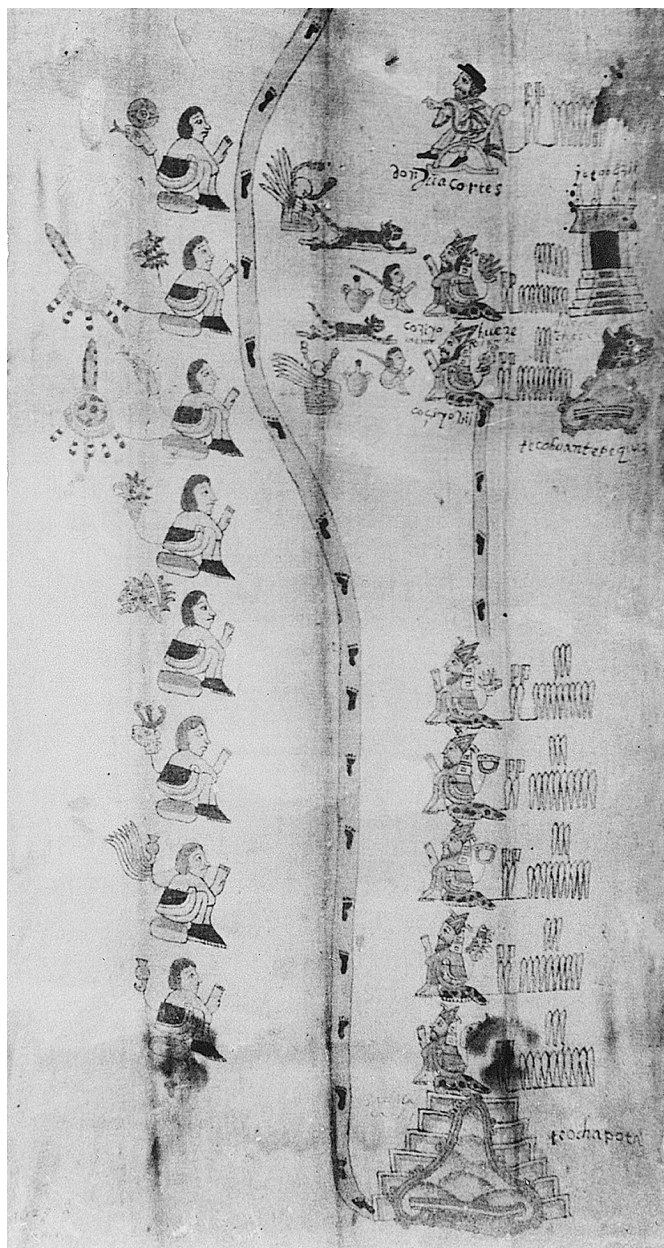


Figure 5 (bottom).

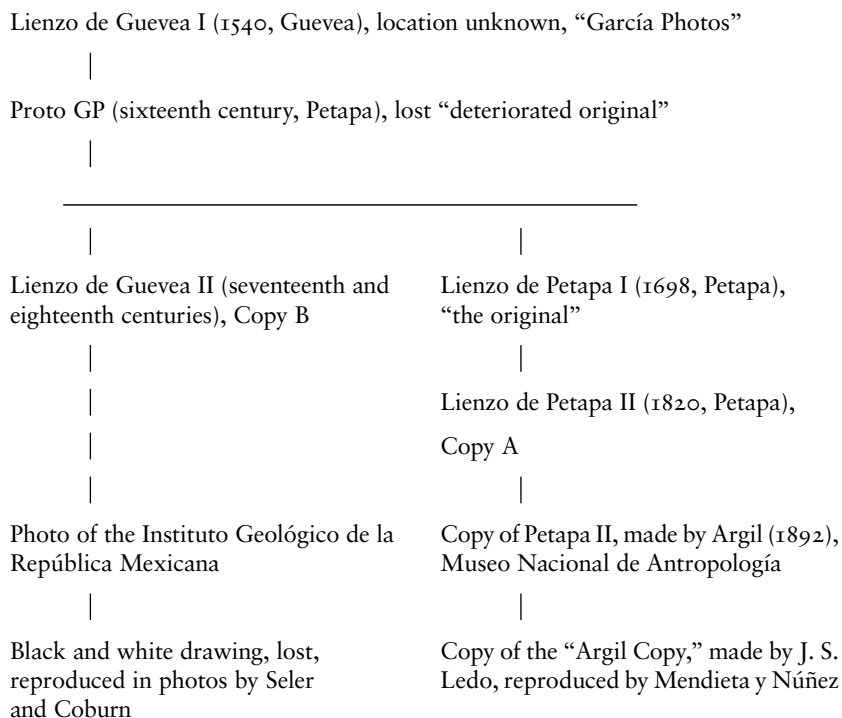


Figure 6. Genealogical tree of the Lienzos de Guevea and Petapa.

was lost both in the Nauatl translation and the pictographic representation, since both register the meaning as “Hill of the Mushroom.”

There are also glosses in the upper half of the lienzo. The largest is a text in Nauatl and Spanish that was transcribed and translated by Seler in 1905 (1986: 8): “En el nombre de dios padre dios hijo dios spiritu santu / ni asca yni tlallypa ynanpa Rey de españa y mejico / castoli naui tepetl mojon años de 1 de junio de 1540.” [In the name of God, His Son, and the Holy Ghost, (were placed) today as borderplaces nineteen hills (places) on this land on commission of the King of Spain and Mexico. The first of June of the year 1540.]

Two other texts, written in Zapotec, have faded considerably and are difficult to read. On the right-hand side it reads: “Quebea s[eño]r Petro sa[n]ti[a]lgo niqui [illegible] sa[nto] domi[n]go,” of which *niqui* can be translated as *here* or *right there* (Córdova 1987 [1578]: 22, 35). The other text on the left-hand side is even more difficult to read; it seems to contain the name of “don ger[ónim]o [illegible] sa[n]ti[a]lgo.” These glosses

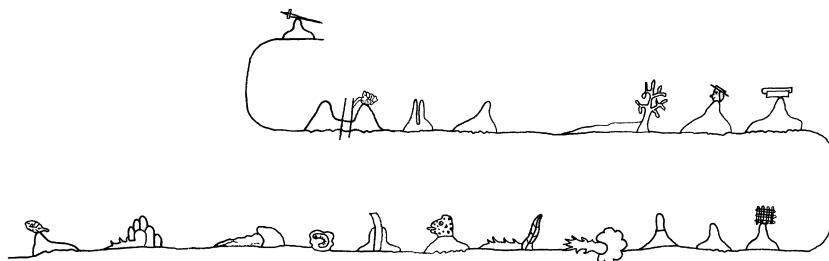


Figure 7. The border places of the Lienzo de Guevea in a Bustrofedon sequence.

might have something to do with the foundation of Santo Domingo Petapa, the neighboring village of Guevea. In Petapa it is said that the village was founded by a lady from Guevea who was married to a lord from Zaachila. The villages of Guevea and Petapa are still considered “brothers” today.

The five coquis of Zaachila—supposedly ancestors of those of Tehuantepec—are identified by onomastic hieroglyphs or calendric signs. These hieroglyphs refer to the day on which the particular individual was born and are used as a name. These are part of a cycle of twenty signs that make up the Mesoamerican calendar. A designation with calendrical names is very common in the Mixtec codices, but in general these also include a number (from one to thirteen). As such numbers are lacking in the lienzo, this aspect of the Guevea resembles Nahuatl naming practice that often leaves out the numerals. Based on the Lienzo de Guevea, it is not possible to determine whether we are dealing with a continuous and complete sequence of rulers or not. Jansen (1982, 1989) has demonstrated that in regard to the first four rulers, the signs of the calendric names coincide with the members of the so-called Xipe dynasty of the Mixtec pictorial manuscript, Codex Nuttall 33–35 (Anders et al. 1992b). He interpreted this section as a Mixtec reference to the coquis of Zaachila (Table 1).

It is important to emphasize that the section in the Codex Nuttall refers primarily to the genealogical relations between the different members of the royal family of Zaachila, while the Lienzo de Guevea only refers to the dynasty of Zaachila, that is, the sequence of successive rulers. The dynasty is identified by peculiar red clothes with a particular kind of miter—a colonial representation of the iconography of Xipe, the Flayed One, the patron god of the Zapotecs.¹⁴ The resemblance between the two sequences of names, in combination with the diagnostic attire of Xipe in both manuscripts, indicates that this is one and the same dynasty.¹⁵ The three last lords are associated with Hill of the Precious Jaguar (*que peche cachi*), glossed as Tecohoantepec or Tehuantepec, where a large black temple, *yotoo tzii*,

Table 1. The Genealogy of Zaachila

| Codex Nuttall 33–35 | Lienzo de Guevea |
|--|------------------|
| Lord 9 Serpent | Lord Serpent |
| | |
| Lord 5 Flower | |
| | |
| Lord 3 Alligator, “Striped Eagle” | Lord Alligator |
| | |
| Lord 11 Water, “Rain-Flint” ¹ | Lord Water |
| | |
| Lord 6 Water, “Cayo Grass” ² | Lord Water |
| | |
| Lord 1 Grass, “He Who Speaks” ³ | Lord Grass |

¹His name probably has to be read as Dzavui-Yuchi in Mixtec and Cosijoeza in Zapotec. So the Cosijoeza living shortly before the Spanish conquest was given the name of one of his ancestors.

²The pictorial representation of the personal name of the fourth person is difficult to interpret: strips or planks, striped or divided by an arrow. In other versions it seems to be a plant. Oudijk (1998a: 13–36) has identified his Zapotec name as Quixicayo Cualaniza (Cayo Grass 6 Agua). According to the Bodley 24-III (Caso 1965), Lord 6 Water married Lady 1 Reed, Sun with Quetzal Feathers. The Zapotec glosses on the *Genealogía de Macuilxóchitl* refer to this same couple: Lord Cualaniza (6 Water) and his wife Xonaxi Cachi Copicha Zaa Quialaqui, known as Lady Precious Sun 1 Reed (Rabin 1982: 361; Whitecotton 1990: 19). It is important for the chronological context to note that this Lady 1 Reed was a sister of Lord 13 Eagle of the Tlaxiaco dynasty and that his daughter married Lord 5 Rain, who was born in the year 12 House (1402) as child of Lord 2 Water from Teozacualco and Lady 3 Alligator, sister of Lord 6 Water (Bodley 17-III). In Selden 13-I, Lord 6 Water is active in year 9 Flint, which corresponds to 1372.

³Oudijk (1998a: 13–36) has identified this sixth Lord of Zaachila as Lord 1 Grass, He Who Speaks, of the Codex Nuttall 34.

is built. The first of the Tehuantepec rulers arrived there traveling by road from Zaachila, where his ancestors had ruled. The seventeenth-century friar Burgoa (1934 2: 328) notes that a Zapotec conquest and an “ethnic purification” of the Isthmus region had taken place, where formerly Huave, Mixes, and Zoques seem to have lived—events that he dates to the first half of the fourteenth century A.D.¹⁶

The Lienzo de Guevea I represents three rulers of Tehuantepec. The last one is dressed in Spanish clothes, seated in a chair, and is identified by a gloss as Don Juan Cortez. This person is also mentioned by Burgoa (*ibid*

2: chap. 72), who gives us Cortez's biography in the *Geográfica descripción*: Cortez was the baptismal name of the famous Lord Cosijopij Lachi, known as Lightning-Wind Lizard,¹⁷ who ruled in Tehuantepec at the time of the Spanish conquest (1521) and who was a son of Cosijoeza (Huizquiahuatl in Nahuatl), the Zapotec coqui of Zaachila, and a sister of the Aztec ruler Moctezuma.¹⁸ José Antonio Gay (1978 [1881] 1: chap. 14) notes that he died in 1563. The fact that Don Juan Cortez Cosijopij is represented on the Lienzo de Guevea as the last ruler of Tehuantepec coincides with 1540 as the date of the original lienzo.

The ruler below Don Juan Cortez has to be his father, Cosijoeza, known as Lightning-Flint. This is exactly how he is identified by the gloss *coziyohueze*, adding the term *Montezuma*, the name of the Aztec emperor at the time of the Spanish conquest. The latter was probably used as a title to qualify Cosijoeza as a ruler of the same status. Cosijoeza is also identified with his calendar name, Wind, represented by the mask of the Wind God (Ehecatl for the Aztecs). Burgoa (1934) claimed that Cosijoeza was still alive at the time of the Spanish arrival and died in 1529. As a precolonial ruler, he is seated on a cushion covered with jaguar skin similar to those of his predecessors.

The Lienzo de Guevea seems to indicate that the immediate predecessor and father of Cosijoeza installed himself as first Zapotec coqui of Tehuantepec. This can be deduced from the road with footprints indicating that he came from the royal dynasty of Zaachila. A gloss identifies this predecessor as *coziyobii*, that is to say, Cosijopij. Obviously, this cannot be the last Zapotec ruler of whom we have just spoken. If he is not, the gloss would suggest that the last Zapotec ruler was given the same name as his grandfather. Behind the first Cosijopij (Yzquiahuatl), the calendar day sign reads, Rain.¹⁹

The Lienzo de Guevea is not the only document in which the names of these three successive rulers of Tehuantepec are mentioned. The sequence Cosijopij I, Cosijoeza, and Don Juan Cortez (Cosijopij II) is also attested in another Zapotec pictorial manuscript: the Lienzo de Huilotepec.²⁰ We think therefore that these documents reflect the historical reality and that there were two rulers with the name Cosijopij. These circumstances may have caused confusion in the historical record, which makes it necessary to reconsider all of the available information about Cosijopij and Tehuantepec.

The Lienzo de Guevea informs us of the first Tehuantepec coqui who came from the Zaachila dynasty, which is represented as a column of five men—all with the same Xipe attire and seated on jaguar-skin cushions. Their polity is identified by a gloss as Zaachila-Teozapotlan and is repre-

sented by a toponymic hieroglyph consisting of a hill and a pyramid. Based on archaeological data, Judith Zeitlin (1994) proposed that the Zapotec came to Tehuantepec in 1490 under the leadership of Cosijoeza and founded Tehuantepec with people from the Valley of Tlacolula. According to Zeitlin, an important reason, apart from those given in various *Relaciones geográficas*, for this enormous migration may have been the necessity to expand food production. We think other economic motives are of more importance: the need to control major commercial routes and the access to resources of special value (metals, precious stones, cacao, etc.). Whatever might have been the reason, it seems that during the late postclassic period the center of Zapotec power was changed from Zaachila (the Valley of Oaxaca) to Tehuantepec (the Isthmus).

Another version of precolonial Zapotec history is that referred to by the local historians of Oaxaca (Jan B. Carriedo, José Antonio Gay, Manuel Martínez Gracida). They do not cite older sources, so their observations may have originated from their own imaginations or poetic creativity. Their version makes note of a sequence of three coquis before Cosijoeza: Zaachila I, Zaachila II, and Zaachila III.²¹ At best, this sequence comes from a document that represented lords of Zaachila but did not contain names, or at least no legible names. This brings us to the very complicated problem of the chronology. The version proposed by Martínez Gracida (1888) gives the following scheme:

Zaachila I (born in 1333 and died in 1415)
 Zaachila II (born in 1376 and ruled 1415–54)
 Zaachila III (born in 1407 and ruled 1454–87)
 Cosijoeza (born in 1450 and ruled 1487–1529)
 Cosijopij (born in 1502 and ruled 1518–63)

The Lienzo de Guevea seems to give us a different version. It represents a pictographic genealogy and an associated chronology in the form of numbers of years. Behind the eight coquis there is a series of leaves or pins. These should probably be read in concurrence to the Aztec conventions of pictography: *xiuitl* means *leaf*, *turquoise*, and *year* (Siméon 1997: 770). The first two meanings were used by painters to express the third. This is why we interpret these blue leaves as signs for years. Little flags are attached atop of the two first leaves, which therefore have the numeric value of 20. So the first six rulers are associated with periods of fifty-three years.

The period of fifty-two years is a *xiumolpilli*, a complete count (or binding) of years in terms of the Mesoamerican calendar: after fifty-two years the same cycle is repeated, so every cycle starts with the same year.

We do not know why the Lienzo de Guevea mentions periods of fifty-three years (which would imply that these periods would not begin with the same year but with the subsequent year, i.e., every time the beginning of the period progresses one year in the total cycle).²²

So it seems that we are dealing with an idealized chronological scheme of periods of rule similar to those referred to by the historian Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (1975: 269–70) in relation to the Toltecs: “It was ordered that their kings could not rule more than fifty [two] in fifty two years, and after elapsing and he is still alive, his son, the legitimate successor has to enter the government and if he dies before the fifty two years the republic has to govern until it has elapsed.”

A crucial document in the Archivo General de Indias (160b: 50r–v, 17-IX-1554) contains several references to the lives of Don Juan Cortez, his father Cosijoeza, and his grandfather Cosijopii, which clarify this scene of the lienzo: “*Don alonso* natural of the village of Xalapa [90 years old] . . . knows *don juan* caçiq[ue] and governador of the above mentioned town [Tehuantepec] and its subjects since fifty years to this day and he knew *huizquiahuatl* his father there might have been fifty years and eighty years and there might have been fifty years since he died and he has heard of *yecaquiahuatl* his grandfather.” Again we see *xiumolpillis* (fifty-two year cycles), but now they have been changed into periods of fifty years to correspond with the newly introduced Hispanic time (half a century). According to this text, Don Juan Cortez became coqui in approximately 1502, when his father Cosijoeza died. Apparently, Cosijoeza had been in power for fifty years and seems to have died when he was some eighty years old, which might also have been a “pre-Hispanic” age (i.e., $4 \times 20 = 80$ years, indicating “very old”). The witness had also heard of Cosijopii. This information is confirmed by several other witnesses.

In the Lienzo de Guevea the regular succession of fifty-three-year periods is only modified in the case of the last two rulers. It is possible that this was caused by the disruption of the conquest and the consequent influence of Spanish concepts, which made the painters give the years of the real royal life instead of the ideal period. Keeping this aspect in mind, we can reconstruct the chronology as follows. For Don Juan Cortez we count a total of $2 \times 20 + 8 = 48$ years. Subtracting this from 1540, the year in which according to the gloss the lienzo was made, we arrive at 1492. Various Oaxacan historians (Gay, 1978 [1881]), however, date the birth of Don Juan to 1502. Martínez Gracida (1888) specifies this as December 1502. From the cited document we know that this year refers to Don Juan’s accession to power when he was only a *muchacho* (Archivo General de Indias, Escribanía de Cámara [AGIE] 160b: 74r), which he would have been were

he born in 1492. Behind his father, Cosijoeza, we see $2 \times 20 + 16 = 56$ years. If this refers to his life, Cosijoeza would have been born in $1502 - 56 = 1446$. Traditionally, Cosijoeza's birth is dated to 1450, while the start of his reign is dated to 1487.²³ He must have come into power before 1474, as all witnesses in the escribanía document typically remember events from when they were ten years old and older. Don Alonso of Xalapa was born in approximately 1464. As Cosijopii is only related to an ideal period of fifty-three years, it seems too problematic to give any date, although it is clear that he lived in the first half of the fifteenth century.

According to the Lienzo de Guevea, the coquis of Tehuantepec, Cosijoeza, and his predecessor received tribute, which, as the lienzo portrays, consisted of a man (personal service), a jug (for water or honey), a tied up jaguar (hides of animals), and blankets with feathers and a collar of jade beads (fabrics and precious objects).²⁴ This situation largely coincides with the old situation as described in the 1580 *Relación geográfica* of Tehuantepec (Acuña 1984 2: 114) and the AGIE 160b document.

The exact tribute that had to be paid to the indigenous aristocracy was, of course, an important issue during the early colonial period. After all, it was a time when the Spanish authorities imposed their own demands; the population was growing weak and was diminishing because of newly introduced diseases and other deteriorations. In 1555 the viceroy determined: "Those of the village of Teguantepec and its subjects have to give to Don Juan Cortez, cacique and gobernador, a surplus of tribute of a hundred golden pesos every year, half at Christmas and the other half at San Juan in June of every year and they do not have to give anything else, no food, no service, nor crop" (Gay 1978 [1881] 1: 398, citing a document from the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City). These texts are testimonies of the bureaucratic battle going on between the colonial administration and local rulers in establishing the new position of the latter. These lords produced innumerable documents to specify and reaffirm their privileges, as was the case, for example, of the Codex of Tecomaxtlahuaca (Jansen 1994). The lower half of the Lienzo de Guevea seems to represent a document of exactly such a character: the genealogy of Don Juan Cortez with the right of tribute possessed by his father and grandfather.

In addition to the tribute, the Lienzo de Guevea mentions eight men—warriors and civilians—in one vertical line, parallel to that of the Zapotec coquis. These men seem to be xoanas who can be identified by their onomastic signs. The pictographic representation does not clarify whether the eight tributaries are contemporaries or that they should be understood as a genealogical sequence similar to the Zapotec rulers in front of them. However, the composition of this scene is comparable to the "welcoming or ac-

clamation of the new lord” ceremony in the Mixtec codices. This ceremony was a manifestation of loyalty and disposition to pay tribute. In the Mapa de Teozacualco it occurs three times, when seven noblemen present themselves before the cacique.²⁵ In the Lienzo de Huilotepec a similar group of eleven xoanas is represented in front of the coquis of Tehuantepec.

In the Lienzo de Guevea I the group is situated in front of the coquis of Tehuantepec—Cosijopij (I), Cosijoeza, Don Juan Cortez (Cosijopij II)—but there is only tribute in front of the first two. At first, the composition of the eight xoanas—the first four armed with lances and shields—in front of the coquis seems to suggest that the central theme of this part is the tribute that these eight have to pay to their overlords. This would legitimate the xoanas’ local status, which they had because of their affiliation with the lineage of Zaachila and its “arrival” in Tehuantepec (i.e., the conquest). The shields and lances represented behind the first four seated men may refer to the status of these vassals as old allies of the coqui, who participated in the conquest of the region.²⁶ This is congruent with the probanza of Petapa: “We received for all my child and for all my grandchild in all the life from where come his food and his drink my children and my grandchildren and also that my name is xuana logobicha make a painting we are of some lands from which come his food and his drink of my child we have received before the lord called gosihuesa that is how he is called in our sapotec language it means King montesuma” (ABCP 2: 61v).²⁷

It thus seems logical to suppose that the distribution of land by the coqui formed the basis of the tributary obligations of the vassals who received those lands. We are therefore dealing with a well-known reciprocal relationship—the use of land in exchange for tribute—which is the central theme of many of these documents. Although this relationship was proper to the pre-Hispanic social structure, it did not immediately lose its usefulness in the colonial period because the traditional tributary obligations had consequences for the valuation imposed by the Spanish administration.

The central figure in the territory of Guevea, called Don Pedro Santiago, can be seen in this same context, as he comes from Zaachila itself, indicated by a road that begins at the toponym at the bottom of the lienzo and continues up to the palace. The House of the Cacique of this Don Pedro Santiago corresponds to the first settlement, or *pueblo viejo*, founded after the conquest of the region: “The father of don juan cortes who was called *ytzquiahuitl* came to this province with only a hundred men from the valley of guaxaca and they conquered this province which was owned by indians of the language *guaçonteca* and having conquered and destroyed all the land the mentioned *ytzquienhuitl* distributed the land among the indian soldiers which he had brought with him” (AGIE 160b: 255r-v).²⁸

Shortly after the Spanish conquest, the Spanish authorities demanded the caciques present their documents of legitimization (i.e., the documents on which they based their social position as coquis and, consequently, from which they derived their rights and privileges). Furthermore, they had to present documents to prove the possession of the territory in which their power was recognized. The upper part of the lienzo represents the village of Guevea with its border places as they were recognized by Don Juan Cortez and the xoanas of the village, while the bottom part represents the recognition of Don Juan Cortez's power within his super-cacicazgo, of which Guevea formed a part, as well as the recognition of the xoanas' power within the cacicazgo of Guevea.

The Lienzo de Guevea II

Guevea II contains an explanatory text that is lacking in Guevea I: "In order to examine in this Map with more clarity the division or borders of the land of the Natives of the village Santiago Guevea, look up the number 1 at the place called in Spanish Hill of the Spool." This new text suggests that Guevea II was made especially for a particular occasion, when the boundary sites had to be demonstrated. It is very explicit in its character of *título primordial* and as such may have functioned in a land dispute with neighboring villages. The toponymic hieroglyphs were embellished according to the tastes of the period, transforming them into small landscapes with trees, bushes, and so on, which still lacked in the Guevea I.²⁹

We can safely say that Guevea II is a romanticized version of the original. The romantization of pictorial documents was a very common process during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Gruzinski 1993: 6–69; Smith 1973: 162–71). While the bottom half is still stylistically similar to the original, the upper half has been profoundly affected in its style by romantic paintings of landscapes. All the glyphs of hills in the map contain trees and plants and really should be seen as reinterpretations of the original glyphs. Based on an iconographic or linguistic element, the copyist has painted a glyph that he believed represented the best or most typical aspect of the border place. In the case of Chayotepec (no. 18), he painted a Chayote plant with its fruit, while in the original only the fruit is represented. Water of the Camalote (no. 12) is represented by a Camalote plant (in accordance with its Nauatl gloss), but the original shows a large leaf (from the Zapotec name *yazaa*, meaning large leaf, as of bananas or corn and the whole leaf, Córdova 1987 [1578]: 221v). The same thing can be noted in the case of Hill of Lightning (No. 4), where lightning is portrayed, while the original contains a little spirit (*chaneque* in Nauatl, *ñuhu* in Mixtec), based on the

Zapotec name *cocio*, which means “lightning of the sky” and “god of the rains” (ibid.: 339, 141). Apart from these differences, the copyist of Guevea II also made some errors during the process of copying. In the linguistic field, on top of the hill of Guevea he has painted three leaves, while the original shows three mushrooms in accordance with the glosses *nanacaltepeq[ue]* and *quiebea*, or Hill of the Mushroom. In the iconographic field, within the Hill of the Column is written “999,” but in the original these are three flags, having a value of $3 \times 20 = 60$.

These two elements—an explanatory text and a reinterpretation of the glyphs—have led us to suppose that Guevea II is mainly a document concerning land, a document made to clarify the territory of a ruler and or his village. After the enormous population decreases in the sixteenth century, the two succeeding centuries saw a recuperation that eventually seems to have led to a pressure on the amount of available lands (Taylor 1972: 9–34; Chance 1978: 105–51, 1989: 46–89). Furthermore, from 1713 onward the Bourbon kings ordered the registration of their properties in New Spain, specifically in regard to land (Keen and Wasserman 1980: 109–19). As a consequence of these circumstances, the villages produced innumerable land documents. Guevea II may have belonged to this category as well.

We observe that the map occupying the upper half of the Lienzo de Guevea represents an important ideological change in regard to land—a change that was initiated in the beginning of the colonial period. According to Mesoamerican cosmovision people thought the land was a large living being, monstrous and mysterious, filled with divine powers, the beginning of life and death, that fed and nurtured the plants, animals, and men, and that received them when they died, in the dark hemisphere of seeds and tombs. The people depended on the land. They could not possess or divide it. They could only gather its fruits and express their gratitude and veneration in its cult. Generally, this cult was dedicated to one particular god and took place in a determined place. Here those that were part of the cult would form a religious-political community and pay tribute to one and the same dynasty, a dynasty that in turn was legitimated through its sacred origin and intimately related with exactly that divine land.

During the colonial period, however, this view of land changed. As a result of the interaction between the indigenous population and the Spaniards, land became simply a group of parcels that were owned individually or collectively, an objective source that needed to be worked on for a better exploitation—that is, a quantitative measure of economic possibilities and a status symbol in the feudal hierarchy. Whereas pre-Hispanic historiography dealt with the rights to *tribute*, rooted in the relationship of a coqui (through blood or rather genealogical descendance, and through a

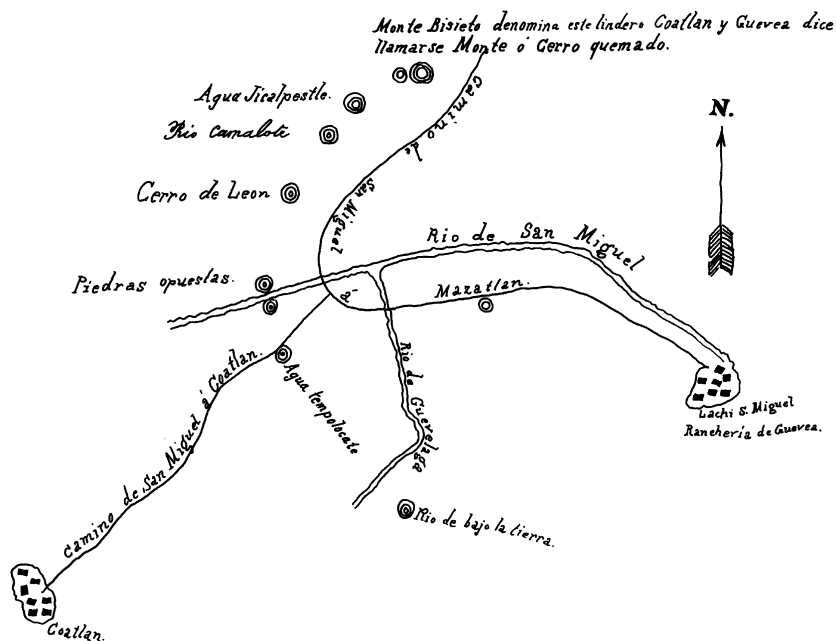


Figure 8. Map of the border places between Guevea de Humboldt and Coatlán and Mazatlán (AGEO/CLT, leg. 76, exp. 38, 24-26, 1889).

cults) with a divine Ancestor-Founder, the colonial indigenous historiography was about the definition of the territory and the Christian aspect of the ceremonial center (the chapel or church).³⁰

Another important change, in regard to the Guevea I, is the inclusion of representations of the villages of Santiago Guevea and S[an]to Domingo Guzmán de la Cruz [Petapa] directly beneath the hill of Guevea. This inclusion refers to the times when Petapa became a *cabecera* as a *pueblo hermano* (brother-village) of Guevea.³¹ The border places mentioned in the Guevea II are also referred to in various other historical documents.³² The most notable aspect, in comparison to the original, of the upper or geographic half of the lienzo is the distribution of land between Petapa and Guevea. As Guevea and Petapa are considered *pueblos hermanos*, up until the present day, the description of their borders consists, in contrary to the minute descriptions of those with other villages, of only two border places: that of the North and that of the South (Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, Conflictos por límites de tierras [AGEO/CLT], leg. 65, exp. 9, 9v-10r). Although the borders of both Guevea and Petapa have changed

in certain places during their histories, we can still ascertain a significant correspondence till at least 1890 (Figure 8).

The Lienzo de Petapa I

In July 1998, Oudijk received permission to make photos of an unknown copy (Petapa I) conserved in Santo Domingo Petapa (see Figure 3), known locally as “the original.”³³ Both the style and letter are older than those of the Petapa II (i.e., 1820). More so, it seems that the Petapa I is the document from which the Petapa II was copied. But considering that the Petapa I is a copy itself, we have to determine from which document it was copied to explain its differences. If the Petapa I were a direct reproduction of the Guevea II, it would be difficult to explain the absence of the explanatory text about the boundary sites. Furthermore, most glyphs on the upper half of the Petapa I are more similar to those of the Guevea I than those of the Guevea II. If the Guevea II were a direct reproduction of the Petapa I, however, it would be impossible to explain the presence of the Nahuatl glosses and a Spanish text in the upper half of the Guevea II, which are both lacking in the Petapa I. It is therefore impossible that the Guevea II and the Petapa I are copies of each other.

As was previously discussed, blue leaves are drawn behind the coquis of Zaachila, which probably represent years. In the Guevea I the fifth ruler (from the bottom up) has fifty-three leaves, as do his ancestors, while this same person only has fifty leaves in both the Guevea II and the Petapa I. This means that the painters of both copies reproduced this mistake from a version they were copying, which obviously cannot be the Guevea I, as it is highly unlikely that both copyists made the same error at two different moments in time. Because of this, we have to take into account the possible existence of one or more intermediate copies, which we call the Proto Guevea-Petapa (GP). This Proto GP may have been “the original, very deteriorated” that was mentioned by Gregorio Chávez in his telegram to Porfirio Díaz (CPD) and which afterward seems to have been lost or has disintegrated. The Proto GP must have been the original of the Petapa I and the Guevea II. The explanatory text was added to the Guevea II for obvious reasons, while in the Petapa I the Nahuatl and Spanish glosses, as well as the Nahuatl text within the oval map, were left out because the copyist intended to make a totally Zapotec document similar to the probanza, which was written in Zapotec too.

In the bottom half of the Petapa I the painter made some crucial mistakes and changes. Whereas in the Guevea I, the fifth xoana in the left row has the personal name Flower-Quail, in the Petapa I the flower is missing.

The calendrical names of the two coquis of Tehuantepec were not understood and so the Petapa I shows something that seems to be an animal connected to Cosijopij and a shape vaguely resembling the wind mask of Ehecatl to Cosijoeza, while the Guevea I shows the signs Rain and Wind, respectively. Both rulers are seated in front of a temple that in the original is glossed as *yotoo quizii* (Temple of Brilliant or Glittering Flame, i.e., the Temple of Tehuantepec). In the Petapa I this Zapotec gloss has been substituted by the gloss Picota, meaning “pillory,” which is referred to several times in the probanza. The copyist possibly interpreted the temple as such.

Apart from the glyph of the Hill of Lightning (No. 4), the representations of the border places in the upper half of the Petapa I follow those of the Guevea I. The element that looks like a spirit (*ñuhu* in Mixtec) in the original is transformed into an unclear shape in the Petapa I, a clear sign of misunderstanding. Within the rectangle, however, more errors occur: the mushrooms of the glyph of Guevea were reproduced as three arrows and the painter has left out the tree in the Hill of the Column. The most important difference between the Petapa I and the Guevea I, however, is the absence of various glosses in the upper half but especially the addition of glosses in the bottom half. These changes make it necessary to interpret the Petapa I as a document with its proper meaning. To clarify the meaning of the Petapa I, we need to look more closely at the probanza of Santo Domingo Petapa.

The Probanza de Petapa is a collection of historical notes in Zapotec made by different authors between 1540 and 1588, which was copied in 1698. The entire probanza was translated in 1779. Because we only have a seventeenth-century copy, it is not possible to affirm with certainty that this is really a product of the sixteenth century. It is well known that many *títulos* were produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, either as reproductions or synthesis of older documents, or as new creations—sometimes to the point where they are called falsifications by modern scholars (Gruzinski 1993; Lockhart 1992).³⁴ The document indeed contains historical notes “about who were the first Indians converted to Christianity,” and it helps us to situate the original lienzo in its historical context. Unfortunately, it says very little about the historical background of the lienzo:

It is true I Government Rigala Quebea and also other elder who is called xuana logobicha that is how we are called when they had not baptized real and true is mine this land and for all of us and the others my child and my grandchild where we received to our fortune before the Lord who is called gosioguesa ancestor that is what my royal

grandfather truth he ordered me us Government Rigala and also Government that is called in Sapotec language xuana logobicha brother Government Rigala he has for you a painting and another painting we have looked after here this painting is called in sapotec language Map.
(ABCP 2: 61r)

This paragraph obviously refers to the central scene of the Petapa I. According to a gloss on this version, Logobicha is the upper figure of the row of people in front of the Tehuantepec coquis. The Zapotec names of the first five of these coquis are only given in the Petapa I. A significant problem is that these glosses do not coincide with the signs, nor with the personal names noted in Codex Nuttall 33–35 (Anders et al. 1992b). The fact that these glosses are not written in the Guevea I or II indicates that these are a particular addition to the pictographic text, and they do not necessarily constitute a correct reading. Consequently, it is better to read them separately. Reading from the bottom up, they are:

[Lord Serpent] - Yobicoxij Chalachi

[Lord Alligator] - Rinijcoxij Chalequeça

[Lord Water] - Coçijjobij

[Lord Water] - Coçijhueça

[Lord Grass] - Peñobiya

So in this list Cosijopij and Cosijoeza are mentioned again, but this time not followed by Don Juan Cortez but by Peñobiya, which is calendric name 12 Grass—the name of the older sister of Cosijopij, who ruled together with him. Burgoa (1934 2: 329–31) relates how this sister transformed into a stone after her death and was venerated in a small ceremonial center in Jalapa.³⁵ In view of this information, it can be suggested that the sequence of Cosijopij, Cosijoeza, and Peñobiya represents three consecutive generations of the lineage that ended with Peñobiya. So it seems to deal with a parallel genealogical tree and partly identical to the lineage of Tehuantepec mentioned previously.

This interpretation implies that in the process of placing names, from memory or some other document, to the other members of the dynasty of Zaachila, the copyist created a confusion by using names that in reality did not correspond to the represented personages. Cosijopij and Cosijoeza are the names of the two coquis of Tehuantepec that were already mentioned in the upper part of the dynasty and therefore do not mean anything here. Peñobiya, a woman, does not form part of the pictographic genealogy, but needs to be understood as the sister of Don Juan Cortez (Cosijopij II). It

is thus possible that the first two people mentioned in this genealogy of Zaachila were the coquis preceding the first Cosijopij of Tehuantepec, but who were, because of the reinterpretation of the copyist, positioned three generations earlier.

Yobi and *Rini* are terms used to indicate the first-born and second-born son. This may suggest that we are dealing with two brothers.³⁶ *Coxi* may be related to *cocio*, a reference to lightning or to *Cocijo*, the Zapotec rain-god. *Chalachi* and *Chalegueza* seem to be calendric names, possibly to be translated as 4 or 8 Lizard or Jaguar, and 4 or 8 Water, respectively.³⁷

The sequence of xoanas obviously begins with the person glossed as Logobicha, who is seated in front of Don Juan Cortez. From there reading goes downward. This Logobicha must be the Xuana Logobicha, Brother of Rigala of Guebea, mentioned in the Probanza de Petapa, cited earlier. In general, the glosses of the Petapa I coincide sufficiently with the pictograms to consider them a correct reading as opposed to a later invention. The whole scene clarifies the distribution of the region that took place “before the Lord who is called” Cosijoeza. Combining this with the information from Burgoa (1934 [1674]), we can interpret this as a distribution of conquered lands among the nobles that participated in the Zapotec military campaign to the Isthmus. The leader of the eight xoanas is Logobicha. The Probanza de Petapa positively identifies them as the rulers in whose time the villages received lands.

A more detailed analysis, taking into account the information of the Probanza de Petapa, brings us to the discovery of a stratigraphy of information in this particular part of the Lienzo de Guevea: the shields and lances do not pertain to the same time as the Spanish clothes of Don Juan Cortez. The oldest stratum is undoubtedly the conventional scene of the xoanas, who affirm their loyalty to the coqui. With this they obligated themselves to pay the represented tributes and in exchange for this, and their military merits (arms), they would receive benefits (use of the land, local power, status, etc.). This stratum corresponds to the situation existing shortly before the conquest, or, to put it more concretely, to the time of Cosijoeza and the primordial Rigala of Guevea. It seems very possible that a group of documents of Tehuantepec existed, all rendering the same structure as the Lienzo de Guevea: the distribution of lands and fortune among his Zapotec captains by the Zapotec coqui in exchange for tribute, combined with the genealogy of the previous coqui. We think the parallel scene in the Lienzo de Huilotepec and the Genealogy of Zanatepec have their origins in the same event.

Another stratum was put over this pre-Hispanic one in 1540: the xoanas are called Logobicha and Biciatuo. The ruler is Don Juan Cortez

Cosijopij, iconographically identified with the Spanish administration. It is interesting to see that the position of the xoanas indicate loyalty to the coqui, but the reference to tribute is missing. The probanza relates that Logobicha became *gobernador* of Santo Domingo Petapa after he was baptized Juan Pérez, even though he was still young (twenty-six years old). For his brother, the Rigala of Guevea, we do not know the Spanish name. A crucial role was played by Xoana Bechoguexo, who received the name of Francisco García at age thirty and who became the teacher of Catholic doctrine in Jalapa. This presents a chronological problem: Logobicha was too young in 1540 to have been present at the conquests of Cosijopij (I) and Cosijoeza or their distribution of lands and privileges. Logobicha would have been born in 1514 and therefore not alive when Cosijoeza died in 1502. The glosses then probably represent a projection into the past of their names and/or titles. It seems that the layout of a lienzo or codex from the postulated “group of Tehuantepec,” with its Zapotec coquis and their loyal tributary captains, was copied and that new names were given to these captains, thereby creating the effect that consecutive generations of Guevea xoanas were represented. At any rate, Logobicha and his brother Rigala Guevea are ideologically qualified as people who received their power from the hands of the Zapotec coqui.

The Lienzo de Petapa I seems to suggest that the same group of xoanas (headed by Logobicha and Biciatuo) manifested its loyalty to Don Juan Cortez Cosijopij, but without offering him tribute. This was a new era: Christianity was introduced and Don Juan Cortez was a baptized man who no longer wore the attire of Xipe nor his calendric name; rather, he boasted his Spanish clothes and status. He no longer governed in a pre-Hispanic tradition (seated on a cushion of jaguar skin), but he formed part of the colonial administration (the Spanish chair). To this cacique the xoanas did not owe the old tributes.

At the same time it is important to note that the information from 1540 in the probanza focuses on the baptism and on who became *maestro*, or teacher, of the Catholic doctrine. Both Rigala Guevea and Logobicha were related to maestro Bechoguexo of Jalapa, as they were baptized there in 1540. This seems very late but Peter Gerhard (1972: 264) makes clear that by about 1540 the Franciscans (possibly) were replaced by Dominicans, who founded a doctrine in Tehuantepec. So the phrase “had not baptized real and true” of the probanza might be a reference to the rebaptism of the local population by the Dominicans when they took over the Isthmus in 1540.³⁸ It is particularly interesting to note that from at least 1558, Jalapa had resident Dominicans, which for local perception may have resulted in the differentiation or even rivalry between the two centers of

(spiritual) power and legitimation: the convent of Jalapa versus the convent of Tehuantepec, which was built by Don Juan Cortez. The close relationship of the Guevea and Santo Domingo Petapa rulers with the possible convent of Jalapa might therefore be an indication of the struggle of these villages to free themselves from the control of the Tehuantepec cacique.³⁹

But the rights to the use of the lands were still confirmed; more so, now that the territory was well defined, placing boundary stones and drawing a border corresponding to the Spanish feudal-mercantile concept of landed property. In other words, the Lienzo de Guevea marks the creation of a relatively autonomous dominion, which was no longer a tributary of the cacique of Tehuantepec as it used to be. The extension of this dominion was clearly defined by a map with the borders and the individual boundary stones. It is Logobicha himself who, on 15 April 1540, laid down the borders of this territory in the Probanza de Petapa, naming all of the border places that are also painted on the lienzos (ABCP 2: 61v–62r). Relating the probanza to the lienzo, it becomes clear that both deal exactly with the affirmation of the legitimate rights of the community. The first ideological principle is the establishment of the Rigala of Guevea in the old times and the privileges granted by the Zapotec coqui. The second principle is the conversion of the authorities to Christianity under the Spanish rule.

The Lienzo de Petapa II

The last version of the lienzo is the Petapa II. It was copied in 1820, when Santo Domingo Petapa was involved in a land dispute with its neighboring village, Santa Maria Petapa. The archive in Santo Domingo still contains a copy of the bill showing that it cost fifty pesos to make the Petapa II (ABCP 1: 40v). This copy is painted in a less vivid style than the Petapa I and the Guevea II, and it also contains some mistakes and changes. The most important mistakes in the bottom half occur in the onomastic name glyphs. In the Petapa I the fifth coqui of Zaachila has Grass as a calendric name, but the painter of the Petapa II has drawn some kind of animal, as presumably he did not understand the original glyph. The calendric name of the last coqui of Tehuantepec was not understood either, and so the Petapa II shows a red flower connected to Cosijoeza, while the Petapa I still vaguely shows the sign Wind. The glyph of Zaachila does not have a specific form in the Petapa I, but the Petapa II shows an element resembling a wide leaf with three points. The etymology of Zaachila is not clear: “of this name the denomination is not known” was already noted in the *Relación geográfica* of 1580. Martínez Gracida (1881, 1888) gave a doubtful interpretation, however, which might explain part of the hieroglyph (that may be based

on a homonym): "In the center and coming out of the base sprouts a plant with three leaves of dark green color, which represents a purslane. The Zapotecs called this plant *zaachi* or *zeechi* and the leave *laa*, which together make up the name *zaachilaa*."

Apart from the glyph of the Hill of Lightning (No. 4), the representations of the border places in the upper half of the Petapa II follow those of the Petapa I. The element that looks like an unclear shape in the Petapa I is transformed into a dog that falls from the sky in the Petapa II. The copyist added the Spanish translations of the Zapotec border places, as it was necessary to present the document before a Spanish-speaking court. These translations came from the translation of the probanza of 1779.

Martínez Gracida was the first scholar interested in the Lienzo de Guevea/Petapa as a historical document. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, he played a central role in a local intellectual movement in Oaxaca that was dedicated to the rediscovery and revaluation of the region's cultural history. The romantic evocation of the Mixtec past has been commented on earlier (Jansen 1987). Among Martínez Gracida's notes we have found elements that originate in his imagination, or rather in his poetic creativity, mixed with a lot of historical information and informative illustrations of invaluable importance. As examples we mention his clarification about the Codex Porfirio Díaz originating in Tutútepetongo in the Cuicatec region and his copy of the Escudo de Cuilapan, a pictographic representation that is lost today.⁴⁰

Martínez Gracida played an important role in the history of Zapotec studies through his novelesque essay *El Rey Cosijoeza y su familia* (1888). For this historical and legendary account he used known sources: the Dominican chronicler Burgoa (1934 [1674]), the priest Gay (1978 [1881]), and others. But it is important to emphasize that Martínez Gracida also had personal contact with the descendants of the Zapotec nobility. In volume 5 of his *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arguelógicos* (1986) he included a plate (69) representing a portrait of the last descendants of Cosijoeza, namely, of Monica Gabriela Velasco (seventy-five years old at the time) and her children Juan Gabriela Velasco (thirty-six) and Manuel Luis Velasco (forty). In one of his notes Martínez Gracida further clarifies that he was the godfather of a child of Don Juan and that consequently Doña Mónica had given him many data and documents, which he had used for his *Historia antigua de Oaxaca*. Plate 136 of the same work shows the Lienzo Heráldico de Zaachila, where the Zapotec royal family appears before the Viceroy Luis de Velasco. In his commentary Martínez Gracida describes the composition of this family shortly after the conquest:

• Cosijoeza, who was baptized in Zaachila on 18 February 1522 by Fray

Bartolomé de Olmedo, taking on the name of Don Gerónimo Carlos Zuñiga, Cortes y Velasco.

- His wife of Aztec origin, Coyolicatzin, baptized as Doña Isabel de los Angeles de Austria y León.
- The prince Naatipa, baptized as Domingo Zuñiga, Cortes y Velasco.
- The princess Tonaxiaba, baptized as Doña Magdalena del Espíritu Santo Zuñiga, Cortes y Velasco.
- The princess Nioceguixe, baptized as Doña Luisa Zuñiga, Cortes y Velasco.
- The princess Bitiquiebaa, baptized as Doña María de los Angeles Zuñiga, Cortes y Velasco.
- The princess Belech, baptized as Doña Margarita de los Angeles de Austria y de León, accompanied by her husband (son-in-law of Cosijoeza) Beeldareegaa, baptized as Don Diego Vázquez de Chávez, and his daughter Beredani, “Paloma montes,” baptized as Doña Clemencia de Austria y de León.⁴¹

As Martínez Gracida was the “oficial mayor” of Oaxaca, he also had contacts with the federal and national authorities. In the correspondence of Porfirio Díaz (part of the CPD), van Doesburg (1998) has found letters in which the distinguished Oaxacan historian asked the president, his “amigo y compadre,” to send him historical documentation (an old map of Zaachila and its palace, as well as a historical document of the Archivo Nacional, photographs of the Cerro de las Juntas, etc.) for Martínez Gracida’s *Los indios*, which he was writing at the time (1892) with the objective of exhibiting it in the Exposition of Chicago (an intention that did not materialize).

It does not surprise us therefore that Martínez Gracida also received information about the Lienzo de Petapa II and that he tried to obtain copies for *Los indios* (Vol. 5, plate 113 ss.). These copies are kept in the above mentioned unpublished work, where they were consulted by Jansen and Oudijk in the Biblioteca del Estado de Oaxaca. At the same time Martínez Gracida transcribed the *relación* that accompanied the lienzo under the title *Fragmento de testamento de probanza de tierras del pueblo de Petapa*. At the end of everything, he signed: “Such is the extract made by the undersigned, Oaxaca, 19 March 1894. M. Martínez Gracida.”

Martínez Gracida also interpreted part of the lienzo. He translated the names of the eight xoanas of Guevea as follows:

- Logobicha, Face of the Sun, cacique of Petapa, who was baptized on 10 April 1540 in Jalapa, where he was named Don Juan Pérez. He was Gobernador de Indios. [The glyph represents Serpent-Sun, which is read as *Loo-Gobicha* too].

- Biciyatuo Rigula, the elder Great Eagle, cacique of Petapa, who received baptism on 10 April 1540 and was named Don Francisco García. [The probanza clearly shows that Xoana Bechoguexo was baptized Don Francisco García and does not mention Biciyatuo.]
- Xoana Nece, cacique of Petapa, whose name was interpreted by Martínez Gracida as Bejuana Belda Nagace, Caballero Black Snake. [It seems more like a calendric name: the xoana Ne-zee, 4, 8, or 11 Serpent.]
- Biciyatuo Rigula, Great Eagle, elder of Jalapa.
- Xuana Bechecha, the *principal* Coyote or Jaguar, cacique of Zaachila.⁴²
- Pisialo, Face of the Deer, cacique of Petapa or Jalapa.
- Xillacache Guiebizuño, Hook That Cards Cotton, cacique of Tlacochohuaya. [This name rather seems to mean Gourd with Precious Feathers, which corresponds with the glyph.]
- Piezuño, Hook, cacique of Teotitlán del Valle. [This name rather seems to mean Gourd, which is exactly what is represented by the glyph.]

The Probanza de Petapa (ABCP 2:64r-67v) explains how Juan Pérez Logobicha, after he had received baptism and the sacred sacraments, was sent back to his village to gather his people and tell them not to be afraid of the sacred sacraments and to build a church in a place called Xaba Tani Queguichij. On 25 July 1540 the Reverend Father came to Petapa to baptize the people. The village then moved several times:

After the Reverend Father told us to move the village to the slope of the hill that is called in the Sapotec language xana tani quequichij very cold this place told the Reverend father we will look for another because of the order of the Reverend Father lives the village there where come together river a place called in the sapotec language quigo quehuexila there lives the church where I obey for us real and true 5 years . . . idem more had arrived village in another place that is called the sapotec language guigo bichijsa slope of the hill is called in sapotec language vixequguio lives the village the ordinance Reverend Father 18 years . . . idem more today monday 4 january 1562 has arrived village at another place that is called the sapotec language quichiboo order of Very Reverend Father and Fray gerónimo de crasa prior of this town and province of tehuantepeque new we count us doctrine of tehuantepeque we leave the doctrine of xalapa . . . and idem today tuesday 10 May 1563 has arrived santo Domingo de gusmán son Santo Don pedro de gusmán and mother sancta Juana de la cruz. (ABCP 2: 66r-v)

So after the village had moved several times to accommodate the wishes and interests of the Spanish missionaries, it finally settled in Quichiboo. It

is here that the village changed from the Jalapa doctrine to the doctrine of Tehuantepec; furthermore, it received its patron Saint Santo Domingo de Gusmán de la Cruz, a definite sign of recognition of a village. The divine confirmation of the new foundation was very important. As in the pre-Hispanic past the community had been united under a protective deity; now they needed the physical presence of a patron saint.

It was only four years later that a Juan García, apparently Santo Domingo's translator, stole the ornaments of the church and the cloths of the Reverend Father. As a consequence of this robbery, García fled to the neighboring village of Santa María Petapa. There he was able to become mayor and convince the local population of their rights to Quichiboo, where Santo Domingo Petapa was situated. During the subsequent conflict between the two villages, it became clear that García did not have any titles to make these claims. As the tactics of appropriation failed, García tried to win over the Spanish authorities by accusing Santo Domingo of heresy, as they supposedly wanted to make "their Saint of stone and wood" (ABCP 2:72r-v), a method clearly copied from the Spanish Inquisition.⁴³ As the Reverend Father began an investigation in Santo Domingo, however, it became clear that there was no evidence for the accusations. Still the conflict continued. It seems that on 25 April 1659, Fray Juan de Camacho ordered the village to move to a place called *lachiguenisa*, where the people lived for fourteen years. After this period the village moved to River of the Marunba Tree, where it stayed for some five years to arrive finally on 10 April 1588 at Where the Water Is Born. Here the conflict with Santa María Petapa was finally resolved, as the Alcalde Mayor gave possession of the land to Santo Domingo Petapa.

Although this conflict seemed to have been resolved in 1588, it was started over again many times after. The documents in the ABCP are all but a few about conflicts with the village of Santa María Petapa, even though Santo Domingo has a *Real provisión* and a *Real merced*. In fact, it seems that both Lienzos de Petapa have their origin in conflicts. In 1695, Mathias García, the mayor of Santa María Petapa, put forward the exact claim as Juan García had done in the sixteenth century with the same result. In 1820 the two villages had problems over a border place called Lachitoba and again Santo Domingo came out victorious. Even today Santo Domingo and Santa María Petapa are involved in a conflict about the River of Petapa [No. 5].

Conclusion

The Lienzo de Guevea I is a typical document of the mid-sixteenth century. The bottom half originates directly in the pre-Hispanic tradition, showing the sequence of the supreme lords—dressed as manifestations of the patron god Xipe (similar to the Codex Nuttall)—with the homage and tribute given by the *xoanas* of the subject town. The upper half represents the change that was already indicated by the representation of the last lord: he is no longer seated on a throne of jaguar skin, nor is he an *ixiptla* manifestation of Xipe; rather, he appears dressed as a Spaniard in a Spanish chair. At first one could think that it is simply a manuscript to legitimize the tributary rights of Don Juan Cortez Cosijopij before the Spanish authorities, but a deeper analysis of the document shows that this objective is subordinate to another: the affirmation of the rights of the community. On one side the cacique Don Juan Cortez is represented as the legitimate descendant of the coquis of Zaachila and the conquerors of Tehuantepec, and therefore he has the right to receive tributes of the subject villages as well as other privileges. On the other side are represented the descendants of the coqui's captains, who received the lands as a reward for their help and who obligated themselves to pay tribute as loyal vassals and in exchange as *xoanas* of the village claimed the título of their community from the Christian cacique as part of the colonial administration.

By including the Zapotec coquis and the tribute that was paid to them, the Lienzo de Guevea gives historical depth to this título primordial. It thereby affirms that the community (represented by the *xoanas*) has possessed this stretch of land since the time of its foundation many years before the arrival of the Spaniards. This legitimate privilege is now reaffirmed because the services to the old coquis and gods are transformed into fidelity to the Spanish administration and Christian piety. The latter aspect is, of course, very well conserved in the copies, while the reference to the Zapotec coquis becomes less precise every time it was copied.

The Lienzo de Guevea II seems to correspond to a much later moment (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) at which the villages of Guevea and Petapa had already divided the territory between them. This separation took place in an ambience of "brothers," which is clearly represented in the description, or rather the lack of such description, of the border between the two villages. An analysis of several elements has established that the lienzo was copied from a lost version that we call Proto GP. Although the historical bottom half of the lienzo has been copied faithfully, the important top half of the lienzo was elaborated with little paintings of landscapes,

making very clear to the reader that the map with its border places is to be given attention.

The Lienzo de Petapa I seems to have been made in 1698, when Petapa was involved in one of its many conflicts with Santa María Petapa, but it may very well be possible that the lienzo already existed at that time. We think that the Probanza de Petapa formed part of the documentation concerning this conflict, although it is clear that it contains copies of documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The lienzo was copied, reformulated, or edited to the needs of the particular moment. As all references to the Spanish and Nahuatl languages (maybe not even spoken any more at that time) were left out of the lienzo, it has an obvious relationship with the Probanza de Petapa, which is also entirely in Zapotec. Because the bottom half was not very well understood, glosses were added to make the represented historical scene fit a historical account known through either a written source that is unknown today or through the oral tradition. Whichever of the two, it partly fits the popular history that was known and recorded by Burgoa in the seventeenth century and by, among others, Martínez Gracida in the late nineteenth century.

The Lienzo de Petapa II was made to resolve a land conflict between Santo Domingo Petapa and Santa María Petapa in 1820—that is, on the verge of Mexico's independence, when the indigenous communities had to reaffirm their territorial rights and identity as a village. In many ways this particular version is the least interesting, as it has no typical elements to distinguish it from its original Lienzo de Petapa I, were it not that the Petapa II has been the object of study for most modern scholars.

Finally, the dispersal of the documents is part of an ambivalent process that began in the second half of the eighteenth century: the newly found appreciation of pre-Hispanic antiquity as a foundation for national identity and at the same time the marginalization of the indigenous communities, the dismantling or disintegration of the old *cacicazgos*, the secularization of ecclesiastic properties, the privatization of communal lands, the drastic economic changes, and so on.

Appendix. The Glosses of the Lienzos de Guevea and Petapa

| Guevea I | Guevea II | Petapa I | Petapa II |
|--|---|----------------|---|
| [tani] que picole Zerro de malacate malacatepeque | Daniguie biguss Cerro de malacate Malacatepeque | guiebigoci | Tani Quiebigoce Serro de Malacate |
| tani gelaga zerro o piedra ancha teltepege | Dani guielága Cerro ó piedra ancha Teltepage | gueetaalaga | Guietalaga Piedra ancha |
| tan qe xoo zerro de dos puntos comaxaltepeque | Dani guie xoozo Cerro de dos puntas Comaxaltepeque | taniguxoça | Tani Guieoxosa Serro de dos puntas |
| tani que cocio zerro o piedra de rayo nagoaltepege | Dani guie Gosiéé Cerro o Piedra de Rayo Nagoaltepeque | taniguiecoçijo | Tani Guiegoxio Serro de Rayo |
| queco taa rio de petapa petlapan | Guegodaa Rio de petapa petlapan | niçaaquigotaa | Nisa Guiegodaa Agua del Rio de Petapa |
| tani qe bitoo zerro o piedra de S[an]to tlato(a)ntepege | Dani guie bidóó Cerro ó piedra de Santo Tlatochintlepeque | taniguiebituo | Tani Guiebituo Serro de Santo |
| tani (sa q — ni) zerro o piedra de caxa patacaltepec | Dani guiejuini Cerro ó piedra de Caxa petacaltepec | gueguijña | Tani Guieguiña Serro de Caxa |
| Tani chipabego Zerro piedra de penca samiltepege | Danichibabeago Cerro ó piedra de penca Samittepeque | guiebili | Tani Guiebili Serro de penca |
| tani que coe — (t) [Zer]ro de piedra azul sosoquilitpeque | Dani guieguu Cerro de piedra azul Sosoquilitpeque | taniquegohuee | Tani Guegohue Serro de Tinta |
| tani que cho(hel) Zerro de pie[dr]a que tlatlatepec | Dani guiechuu Cerro de piedra quemada Tlatlatlepec | taniguechohuj | Tani guechohuy Serro Quemado |
| nisa la(chil) Agua de xicalpeztle — | Niza Lovaa Agua de Jicapescle Macalatlanco | niçague(c)a | Nisa Guiaga Agua Xicapestle |
| queco yazaa Rio de camalote isoguatenco | quigo yazaa Agua de Camalote Ysoguatenco | quigoyaza | Guigo Liasa Rio de Camalote |
| tani que peche Zerro de Leon ticuatepequeg | Dani guiebeche Cerro de Leon Ticuatepeque | guebeche | Tani Guebeche Serro de Leon |

Appendix. (continued)

| Guevea I | Guevea II | Petapa I | Petapa II |
|---|---|-------------------|---|
| tani que chela las piedras opuestas cosmaltepequez | Dani guiechiala Piedras opuestas Cosmaltepeque | tanigueechila | Tani Guechela Piedras opuestas |
| nisa pichij agua de tenpolocate tlamasulapa | Niza balula Agua de Tempolocate Tlamasulapa | niçabellole | Nisa Belole Agua de Tempolcate |
| nisa xanayoo Rio devajo de la tierra chitlatali | Niza xanayuu Rio debajo de la tierra Chitlatali | quigoxañayoo | Guigo xanayo Rio debajo de la tierra |
| tani que nejayo Rio de arena macohuilitlepeque | Dani guiegayoo Piedra de cinco puntas o Rio de arena Macohuilitlepeque | quigoyooxij | Tani Lloxi Rio de Arena |
| tani que yape zerro o piedra de chayote chaiotepeque | Dani guieyapa Cerro ó piedra de chayóte Chayotepeque | gueeape | Tani Guiape Serro ó piedra de chayote |
| — Serro de columna | — Cerro de Columna | tani gueexilla | Tani Guixila Serro de Columna |
| Jristiano don pedro s[an]tiago | Cristiano D[o]n Pedro Santiago | | — D[o]n Pedro Santiago |
| — — | — — | Rigala guebiyaa | Rigula Guebiya Viejo de Guevea |
| s[an]tiago quiebea | Santiago Guebea | tanijguebiyaa | Tani Guebiya Serro de Guevea |
| Nanacaltepeq | — | | — |
| sachilacachi teochapota | Zachilacachi Teochapota | zachilla | Sachila |
| que pechecachi tecohuanpequez | quie beeche quizii Tecoahoantepequez Tehuantepec | teguantepec | Tehuantepegue |
| yotoo qzii Igleçia | Yotoo quizii Yglecia | picota | Picota |
| coçiyobij | Coziyobii | coçijobjij | Cosiobi |
| coziyohueze montezuma | coziyohueze Montezuma | coçijhueça | Cosihuesa |
| don Jua[n] Cortes | Don Juan Cortez | don juo[n] cortes | D[o]n Juo[n] Cortes |

Notes

This article is a result of a research project on various Mexican pictographic documents. The project took place at the University of Leiden and owes very much to the collective efforts of a group of scholars and students: Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez (Mixtec language and culture), G. Bas van Doesburg (Cuicatec codices, Lienzo Seler I, and Coixtlahuaca lienzos), Hans Roskamp (lienzos from Michoacan), María Castañeda (codices from Central Mexico), Rosanna Woensdregt (colonial history of Tututepec), Olivier van Buren (Coixtlahuaca lienzos), and Laura van Broekhoven (Toltec-Maya relationships). The works of the Oaxacan historian Manuel Martínez Gracida have received special attention in this project. The friendly and professional collaboration of our colleagues at the Biblioteca del Estado in Oaxaca, where the manuscripts are conserved, has therefore been invaluable.

- 1 Important collaborators of Alfonso Caso (1928, 1949, 1960, 1964) on Zapotec archaeology, were Jorge Acosta and Ignacio Bernal (1965), who published important monographs and contributed to the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Of course, their studies were not limited to the archaeological site of Monte Albán; rather, from there their investigations extended itself throughout the Oaxacan region. Roberto Gallegos (1978) excavated in Zaachila in the beginning of the 1960s. Influential synthetic work was edited by John Paddock (1966) and written by Joseph W. Whitecotton (1977). The impact of new methods and theoretical models in archaeology is clearly visible in the works of Richard Blanton (1978), as well as in fundamental studies edited by Kent V. Flannery (1976) and Flannery and Joyce Marcus (1983). A new impulse was given by the special project Monte Albán of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, directed by Marcus Winter (Winter and Urcid 1994).
- 2 It was again Caso who laid the basis for the interpretation of the Mixtec pictographic books. John B. Glass and Donald Robertson (1975) made a census of the literary corpus of ancient Mexico. For a general introduction into this subject, see, for example, the monograph by Ferdinand Anders and Maarten Jansen (1988), as well as the series *Códices mexicanos* that was published recently by Fondo de Cultura Económica in Mexico City.
- 3 We use the Zapotec terminology to indicate hierarchical titles: *coqui* (supreme lord), *xoana* (member of the nobility), and *xonaxi* (female ruler). When the term *cacique* is used, this indicates that we are dealing with a colonial ruler, who identifies himself with the Spanish administration.
- 4 See Marcus 1980, Cruz 1983, and Paddock 1983 as well as Marcus 1983 and Paddock 1983b. All five present a detailed analysis of different aspects of the lienzo, essentially following Eduard Seler and casually discussing the possible relation with the individuals buried in Tomb I of Zaachila. Jansen (1982, 1989) diverged from this, however, and has discovered that the members of the so-called Xipe dynasty—represented in the Codex Nuttall, a Mixtec pictographic chronicle—and the lords of Zaachila on the bottom (historical) half of the Lienzo de Guevea are not only iconographically similar, they are actually identical.
- 5 This method is also used for the interpretation of all other pictographic documents that are included in Oudijk's project concerning Zapotec history. The manuscripts under study are the lienzos of Guevea, Petapa, Huilotepec (Isth-

- mus), Tabaá, Tiltepec, Yatao, Yatoni, and Chicomesúchil (Sierra Zapoteca), and the genealogies of Macuilxóchitl, Quiaviní, Zimatlan, and Mixtepec (Yale).
- 6 The *Catálogo* by John B. Glass (1964) contains a brief description with two black and white photos. See also the census by Glass and Donald Robertson (1975). This lienzo was first published by Jesús Galindo y Villa (1905) and shortly after by Seler (1906, 1908). A color photo is included with the Spanish translation (Seler 1986 [1906]) of the latter.
 - 7 We thank Van Doesburg for providing us with the transcription of this text, a product of his 1996 investigations in the Colección Porfirio Díaz (CPD) of the Universidad Ibero-Americana in Mexico City. For the publication of his results, see Van Doesburg 1998.
 - 8 The photo was localized by Oudijk, who has received a copy. Our research group would like to thank Peter Masson of the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut in Berlin for his help in our search for this and other data.
 - 9 This photo was localized by Oudijk in the Peabody Museum at Harvard University (Accession No. 979-30, Catalogue Nos. N26825 A+B, P2456 [inventory 20-76]) under the following description: "Photograph of a copy of a 16th century lienzo, a written document, Oaxaca, Mexico."
 - 10 The Oaxacan architect Octavio Flores Aguillón already saw the lienzo in the Comisariado Ejidal of the village in 1981 (Paddock 1983a: 15, 100). We would like to thank the authorities of Guevea and Enrique Avendaño Rofino for their help during Oudijk's visits and investigation. The photos presented here were taken by Jorge Acevedo in late 1997. We are very grateful to him for giving the photos to us for this publication.
 - 11 The Mexican historian Genaro García (1867-1920) was the author and editor of several important works, including the famous *Colección de documentos inéditos o muy raros para la historia de México*. We are dealing with two old photos, one of the bottom half and one of the upper half of the lienzo. Michael Hyronimus, librarian and researcher at the library of the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas, observed that García might have received the photos for the Conmemoración del Centenario de las Cortes de 1812 in Cádiz, or when he was president of the Museo Nacional. Jansen would like to thank Carmen Cobas for showing him these photos in Austin. Later the photos were studied by Paddock (1983a) in connection with his detailed discussion of the different versions of the Lienzo de Guevea. Joseph W. Whitecotton (1990: 129) published the photo of the bottom half. Oudijk thoroughly examined the original photos during his visits to Austin in 1995 and 1997.
 - 12 For more on Tehuantepec, see Acuña 1984 2: 103-28; Gerhard 1972: 264-67; and Zeitlin 1994.
 - 13 This global configuration suggests a reference to an Ancestor-Founder who came from Zaachila and established his *tecpan*, or house, of his lineage at the foot of the hill and was consequently venerated by his descendants. The gloss, then, indicates that this "heart of the village" was Christianized in colonial times. However, it is also possible that this is a reference to Pedro Lache from Guevea, who appeared as a witness for Don Juan Cortez in 1554 (AGIE 160b: 56r-57v). We would like to thank Judith Zeitlin for this suggestion.
 - 14 See Jansen's (1989) analysis of the Xipe dynasty, as well as Seler (1902 2:466), who presents a parallel with the Lienzo de Huilotepec.
 - 15 Lord 6 Water is also represented as ruler of Valley of the White Cacaxtli (Selden

- 13-I; Bodley 24-III; see Caso 1964). This same toponymic hieroglyph is represented in association with his parents (Bodley 17-IV; see Caso 1960). It clearly represents the Mixtec name for Zaachila (Jansen 1998: 67-122).
- 16 For a chronology of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, see later in article.
- 17 References to Nahuatl and Zapotec names of the Tehuantepec lineage can be found in AGIE 160b. The Nahuatl calendar name *quezpallin* is also given (ibid.: 152r). Oudijk would like to thank Judith Zeitlin for this valuable reference.
- 18 The name of this woman is given in Zapotec as *gilabela* or *xilavela* and in Nahuatl as *queçalcoatl*, all meaning Feathered Serpent. There is one reference noting that her name was *quialexa*, which might be a calendric name 1 but no sign is defined. It is important to note that the third ruler of Zaachila was also called Cosijoeza and was also married to a woman named Feathered Serpent (Codex Nuttall 35, in Anders et al. 1992). This concurrence of names was one of the reasons for suggesting in an earlier publication by Oudijk (in press) that maybe Cosijoeza I was the conqueror of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, a suggestion that was and still is tentative yet interesting.
- 19 The name of Cosijopii's wife is given in the AGIE 160b as Piuxicachi, or Precious Morsel (Córdova 1987 [1578]: 268r).
- 20 The Lienzo de Huilotepec shows Cosijopij and Cosijoeza successively with very stylized precolonial clothing, followed by Don Juan Cortez (Cosijopij) and his son Felipe Cortez in Spanish costume. These four Zapotec rulers are also mentioned in another document in the papers of Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg in the Archivo General del Gobierno de Guatemala (Whitcotton 1990: 119). The Lienzo de Huilotepec was described by Robert H. Barlow (1943) and Paddock (1983b: 310-11) and a drawing was published by Whitcotton (1990: 130). On 27 September 1995, Víctor de la Cruz published a photo in the Oaxacan newspaper *Noticias*. A couple of days later Oudijk took photographs of the lienzo that is conserved in the archive of the Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria in Oaxaca. The Lienzo de Huilotepec was published recently in Oaxaca in a good color photo by Jorge Acevedo (IAGO 1997) and is now on exhibition in the Museo Regional in Oaxaca.
- 21 José Antonio Gay (1978 [1881] I: 177) specifies that Zaachila III was a grandson of Zaachila I. For the associated dates, see Flannery and Marcus 1983: 301.
- 22 The conventions that are used in the Lienzo de Guevea are very much Nahuatl; it seems therefore that the painter was from a Nahuatl tradition, while the chronology is a typical convention known from the Puebla region, as is shown in the Lienzo de Ecatepec y Huitziltepec and the Lienzo de Tecamachalco. We would like to thank G. Bas Van Doesburg for this observation.
- 23 According to the notes in Gracida's unpublished work, the king of Zaachila Cosijoeza was born on 11 June 1450 as son of Zaachila III and Beldayace.
- 24 Similar lists of tribute still exist today. The most famous one is the list in the Matrícula de Tributos and the Codex Mendoza. On the Guevea II a phrase is added to this scene: "These are the gifts that were presented by the Indians to King Montesuma." This phrase is not written on the Guevea I.
- 25 The number of participants varies: the Codex Nuttall 54-68 (Anders et al. 1992b) represents the largest scene of the manuscript (112 nobles in front of Lord 8 Deer and his half-brother 12 Movement).
- 26 The first and fourth of these groups of arms cannot be distinguished in the Guevea I.

- 27 The original text is a Spanish translation of a Zapotec text. It is apparently translated by a Zapotec who did not have much experience with the Spanish language. We have tried to render the syntactic difficulties of the original text in the English translation.
- 28 Although this particular witness states that Cosijoeza was responsible for the conquest of the Isthmus, other witnesses claim that it was his father, Cosijopii. It seems likely that the region was not conquered at one time, but in several instances, which would explain this apparent contradiction.
- 29 This transformation of hieroglyphs into paintings of landscape in accordance with the canon of European art is also visible in other pictorial manuscripts. For example, in the Codex Nunaha (Jansen 1994) and in the Lienzo de Zaca-tepec II (see the excellent commentary in Smith 1973). A fundamental study of this phenomenon is Gruzinski 1993.
- 30 See the commentary on the Codex Vindobonensis (Anders et al. 1992a) on the foundation of the principalities (using the inaugural rites of the New Fires, a symbolic reference to the first dawning that marked the beginning of human history, and the cult of the Sacred Bundle, etc.). See also Anders and Jansen 1994 for a global description of Mesoamerican religion and syncretism. On the social changes during the colonial period, see, for example, Ouweneel and Miller 1990, Lockhart 1992, and Chance 1996. On Oaxaca, see Spores 1967, Chance 1986 and 1989, and Carmagnani 1988.
- 31 The concept of *pueblo hermano* seems very important in several Zapotec villages. Pueblos hermanos are villages that were founded by brothers, or the phrase indicates that one village was founded by a family member (usually a brother) of a ruling cacique of another village.
- 32 The most important documents for the identification of the old and present borders of Guevea and Petapa are AGEO/CLT, Leg. 76, Exp. 38, 1889; AGEO/CLT, Leg. 65, Exp. 1, 1884; ARA, 276.1/1983, Exp. 1, 1951; ARA, 276.1/1983, Exp. 2, 1951; and ABCP, Libro 1–2.
- 33 Permission to photograph both lienzos in Petapa was given after the village had met in a reunion. We would like to thank Lázaro Guzmán and Jesús Domingues Morales of Bienes Comunales for their permission to transcribe the colonial documents of Petapa.
- 34 We have to be careful in qualifying these títulos as falsifications. For example, a comparison of the Probanza de Petapa and the Escribanía de Cámara 160b manuscript (AGIE) shows that the historical information in the latter confirms that of the first.
- 35 Several other great pre-Hispanic kings play similar important roles in folklore. Today, it is said that the last Quiche Lord Tecum Umam lives as Lord (*Dueño*) of the Earth in a cave underneath the ruins of the ancient capital of Cumar-cah. Similarly, the last Aztec king Moctezuma, or Montizón, is still venerated in Otomi, Tepehua, and Totonac villages as a Spirit of the Earth that gives new life and fertility. As such, he is associated with death and therefore has dominion over the buried.
- 36 Seler (1906, 1986) thought that all of these glosses referred to the family of Cosijoeza and that these two were the older brothers of Cosijopij, who himself was called “third son” by Francisco de Burgoa (1934). However, this would mean that the sequence would be first son, second son, third son, father, then daughter—which does not make sense but should not necessarily be discarded. In a

- Zapotec genealogy from the village of San Lucas Quiavini, the different sons of a lord are mentioned. The first-born son is called *yobi coqui bilala*, followed by *coqui tini palapia*, *coqui tixi palachi*, *coqui payo billalaba*, *coqui piye quice*, and *coqui piye cacalana* (Oudijk 1998b: 123–32). The words *yobi*, *tini*, *tixi*, *payo*, and *piye* indicate the birth order of the sons (Córdova 1987 [1578]: 212–13).
- 37 Whitecotton (1990) tentatively proposed that *Chaleguezza* could be a variant of day name 6 Water (*Cualaniza*, according to Córdova, 1987 [1578]), that is, the calendar name of Lord 6 Water of Zaachila, fourth coqui in the sequence of the Lienzo de Guevea (Codex Nuttall 35, in Anders et al. 1992b), *Chalachi* could be translated as 6 or 9 Lizard or 6 Jaguar (respectively, *Qualaache*, *Qualachi*, and *Qualache*, see Córdova), who according to the prefix *yobi* was the older brother of Chaleguezza. On Codex Nuttall 35, Lord 6 Water does have an older brother, but his name is 11 Movement. These discrepancies make it difficult to resolve this complex issue. Obviously, other translations are possible for the given names. In several texts *cale* is used to indicate “was born.”
 - 38 This rebaptism does not necessarily mean that the population was actually rebaptized by Dominicans but that the population at least perceived it as such when the Dominicans replaced the Franciscans.
 - 39 In 1571, Baltasar García, son and successor of Francisco García of Jalapa, appeared as witness in favor of Don Juan Cortez’s wife and children. At that occasion García states that when the Spanish entered the region, all of the villages began to pay all the tribute (*el tributo redondo*) to the Marquess del Valle Hernan Cortez (AGIE 160b: 253v). Not until Don Juan Cortez reclaimed his rights, did some villages return to the old tradition of paying him tribute. Not all villages had to pay tribute, however, which might be an indication for Guevea and Petapa’s refusal.
 - 40 Jansen discovered the letter in which the origin of the Codex Porfirio Díaz is noted, together with a short reading of the religious part of this codex. It was published in his commentary on the Codex Laud (Anders and Jansen 1994; for more details, see van Doesburg 1996). For the Escudo de Cuilapan, see Jansen 1992. A contemporary biography of Martínez Gracida, as well as an index to his works, was published by Brioso y Candiani (1910). In 1986 the federal government of Oaxaca published a small anthology of the plates of Martínez Gracida’s great unpublished work *Los indios oaxaqueños y sus monumentos arqueológicos*; afterward all of the plates were photographed by Anders. A detailed discussion throwing new light on Martínez Gracida and his generation of scholars can be found in Van Doesburg 1996, which is about Cuicatec codices. The documentation on the *cacicazgo* of Tututepec has been studied by Heinrich Berlín (1947), Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973), and Rosanna Woensdregt (1996).
 - 41 Plate 137 shows a similar heraldic lienzo from Sola. Quite often these *escudos de armas* contain indigenous pictograms within a Spanish model. Compare, for example, the print of the *armas de la ciudad de Texcoco* and the coat of arms of Tilantongo in a local relief (Glass 1975: figure 15, Caso 1965: 859) and see Haskett 1996.
 - 42 Martínez Gracida interpreted the glyph as “head of a tiger that was adhered to a tecpatl [flint knife], from which comes a wing to indicate the power it had to fly as a sorcerer,” which reminds us of the complex figure representing the Nahual-Priest that we now call Fire-Serpent (*xiuhcoatl*).
 - 43 The methods of the Inquisition were already well-known by the Zapotec in

those years. As other indigenous lords (Don Carlos Chichimecateuctli of Texcoco, Don Domingo of Yanhuitlan), Don Juan Cortez Cosijopij was accused of not complying to his Christian obligations.

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