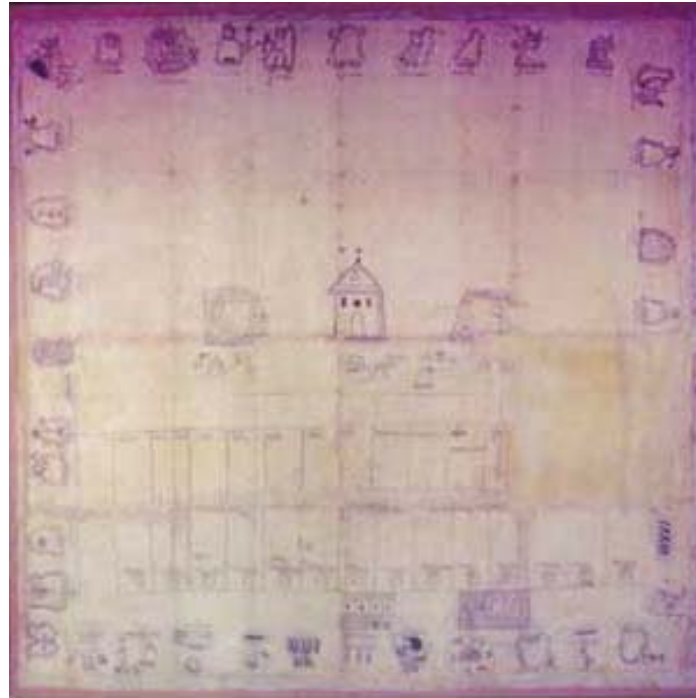


FAMSI © 2008: Laura Rodríguez Cano

Toponymic Analysis of Three Lienzos from the Mixtec Lowlands, Oaxaca

Translation of the Spanish by Kim Goldsmith



Research Year: 2001

Culture: Mixtec

Chronology: Pre-Classic

Location: Oaxaca, México

Site: Mixtec Lowlands, Huajuapán de León, San Juan Bautista Suchitepec, San Vicente el Palmar

Table of Contents

[Abstract](#)

[Resumen](#)

[Introduction](#)

[The Region of the Lienzos](#)

[The Lienzos Studied](#)

[Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 \(CMP36\)](#)

[Glosses from Lienzo 57](#)

[Map of Xochitepec](#)
[Toponymic Analysis](#)
[What Does the Toponym Imply?](#)
[Initial Premises](#)
[Stages of Analysis](#)
[Results and Contributions](#)
[Acknowledgements](#)
[Appendix: Illustrations That Accompany the Text](#)
[Sources Cited](#)

Abstract

This final report deals with the results and contributions achieved by the analysis of glyphs regarding names of places and glosses in Latin characters related to Mixtec and Nahuatl languages, associated with the graphic toponymics which are represented in three *lienzos* from the Mixtec Lowlands, Oaxaca. Using a holistic methodology which involves epigraphic, linguistic and ethnohistoric points of view, this study provides new information about the composition of place names in this region's traditional native system of writing during the Colonial Period, as well as some data about the formation of the political areas of the different domains in the Mixtec Lowlands.

Resumen

Este informe final trata de los resultados y aportes que se lograron con el análisis de los registros glíficos de los nombres de lugar y las glosas en caracteres latinos en lengua mixteca y náhuatl que se encuentran asociados a los topónimos gráficos que están representados en tres lienzos de la Mixteca Baja, Oaxaca. El estudio a través de una metodología holística que involucra enfoques epigráficos, lingüísticos y etnohistóricos, proporciona nueva información sobre la composición de los nombres de lugar en el sistema de escritura tradicional indígena de esta región durante el periodo colonial así como algunos datos sobre la conformación del espacio político de los señoríos de la Mixteca Baja.

Submitted 03/04/2002 by:
Laura Rodríguez Cano

Introduction

This study, as part of my doctoral thesis, deals with the toponymy and political structure of the territories in the Mixtec Lowlands, Oaxaca, Mexico, based on the study of three *lienzos* from the XVI century. The central theme is the analysis of the place names represented in said *lienzos*, which on the one hand allows us to understand whether the signs are logographic and if they reflect characteristics of the language they codify, and on the other gives us information about the territorial make up of the Mixtec seigniories in the region during the Early Colonial Period.

In order to identify the toponymic glyphs, the study was based methodologically in the iconographic analysis of Panofski (1972) and an internal and external comparative method, as well as a focus on epigraphy, linguistics, ethnohistory and oral tradition (Smith, 1973; Pohl, 1994; Hermann, 1994). These authors general objectives were to propose alternative analyses to decipher the meaning and localization of the place names represented in these documents, as well as to understand the prehispanic political geography and the processes of change during the Colonial Period in the Mixtec Lowlands through the study of the toponymic registers on these three *lienzos*.

In this report, I present the results and contributions obtained from the toponymic analysis of the *lienzos* from the Mixtec Lowlands known as Postcortesan Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36), Map of Xochitepec (MX) and Glosses from *Lienzo 57* (L57) ([Plate 1](#), [Plate 2](#) and [Plate 3](#)). The *lienzos* are Colonial documents that may be accompanied by files, but in the case of the three *lienzos* examined for this study, if they had files at one time they are now missing. These *lienzos* are very interesting due to the quantity of toponymic registers that are represented on them with relation to the towns or borders that mark or indicate the political space of the seigniori or central settlement in which these *lienzos* were very possibly made.

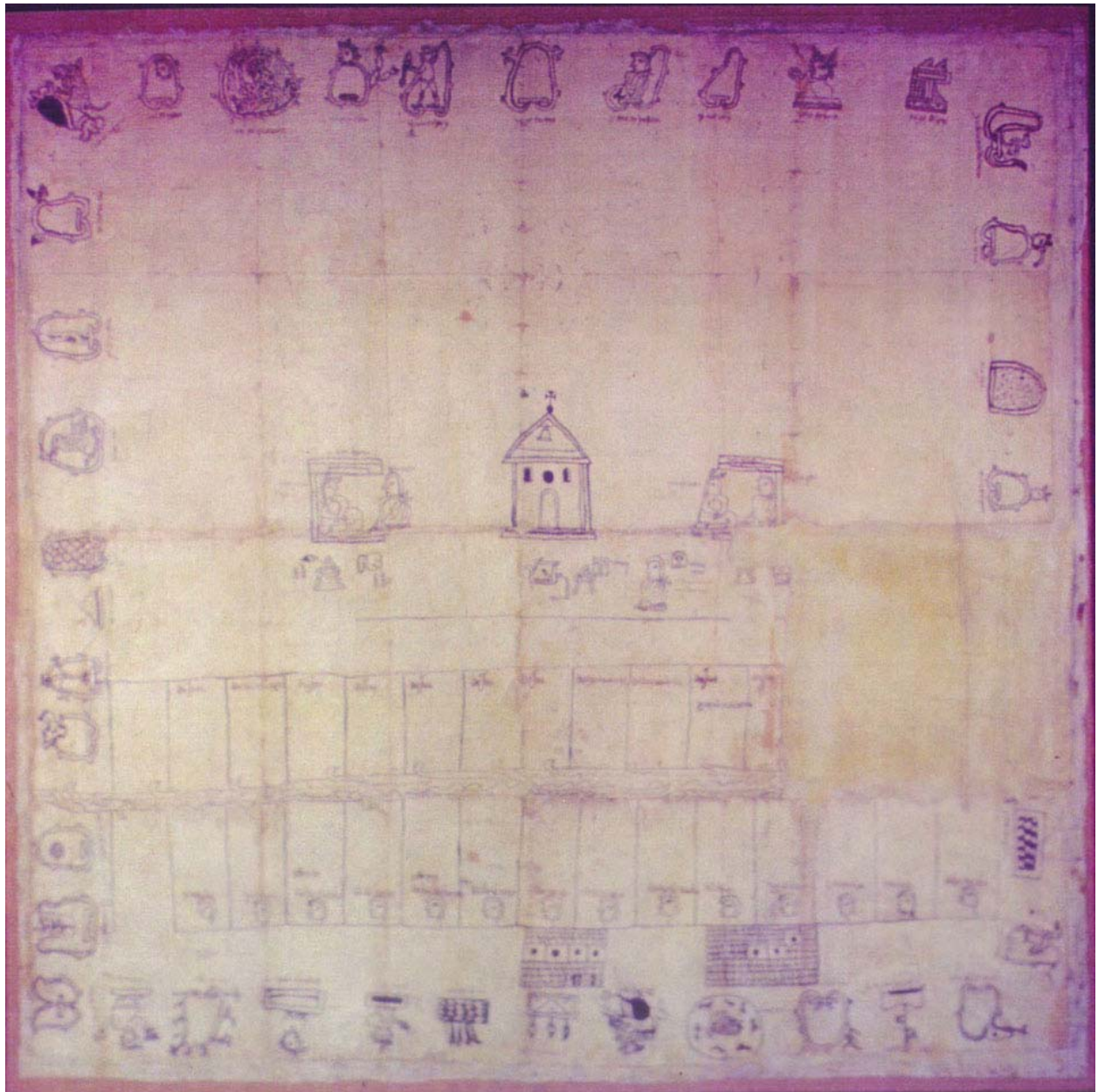


Plate 1: Photograph of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36. Seminary of Mexican Codices.

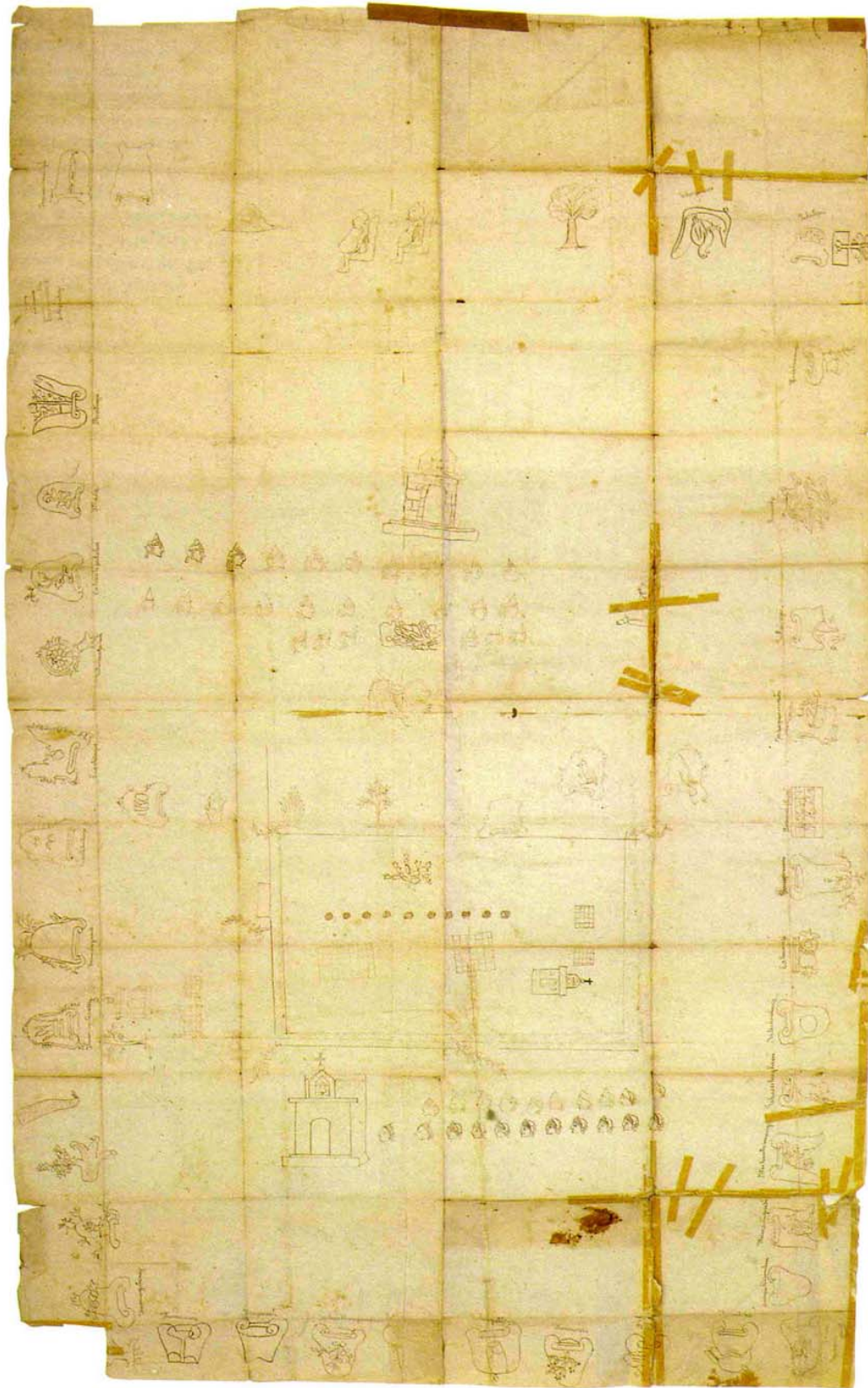


Plate 2: Photograph of the Lienzo 57 glosses, taken from the "*Memorial de Linderos Gráfica Agraria de Oaxaca. Documentos del Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria en Oaxaca*".

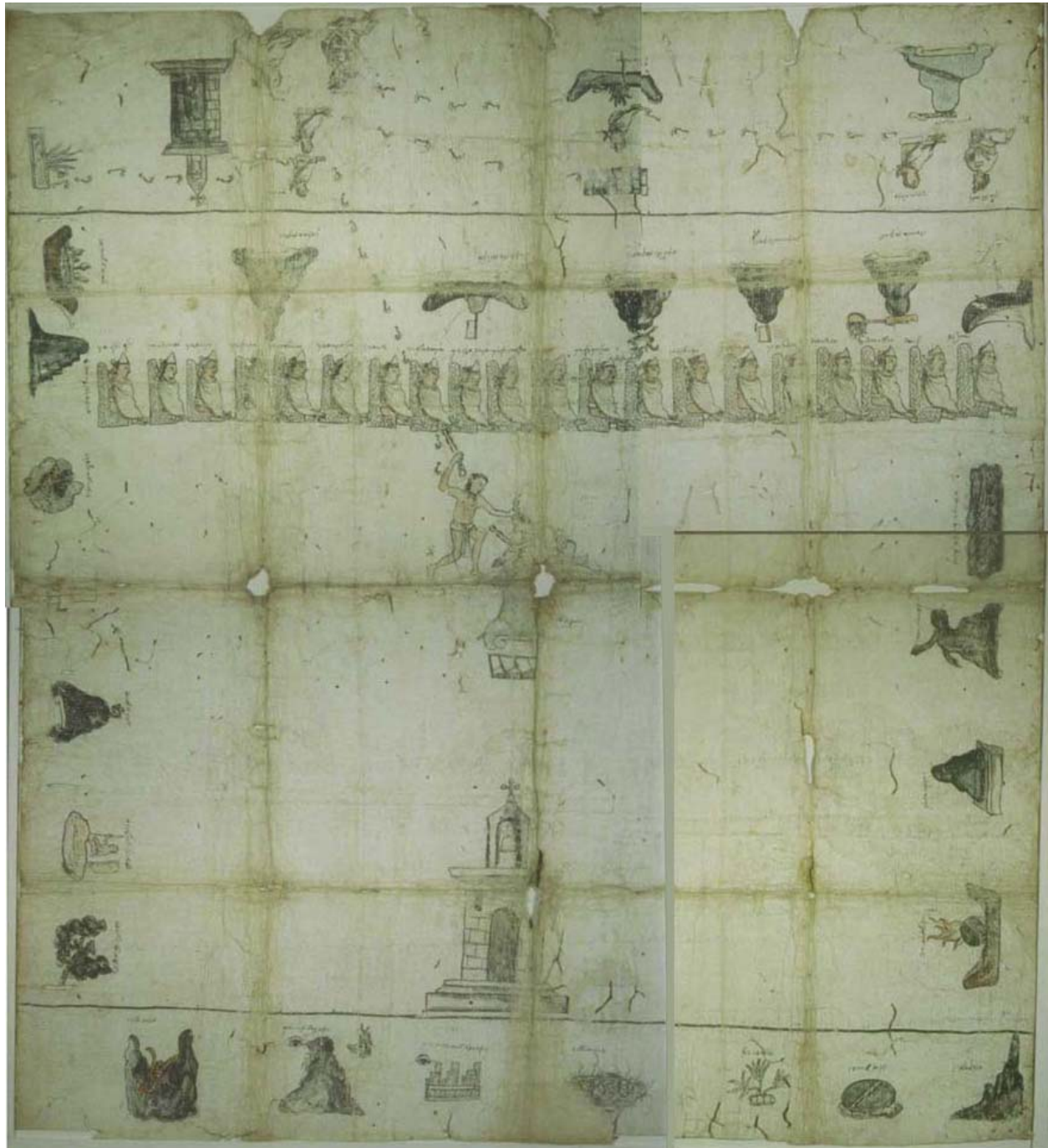


Plate 3: Overlay photograph from the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark.

The Region of the Lienzos

The style presented in the *lienzos* situates them in the Mixteca region, one of the regions¹ of the State of Oaxaca, defined based on geographic, linguistic and cultural criteria. It is located to the west of the State of Oaxaca, which is found between the 16° and 18° parallels 15' north and between the 97° and 98° meridians 30' west. Its geographic limits surpass the actual political division of the State of Oaxaca, and additionally reaches: to the west, the States of Guerrero and Puebla; to the north, it follows the basin of the Atoyac River in the south of the State of Puebla until it comes to the Cuicatlan Gorge in Oaxaca; to the east, its limit is the region of the Gorge and the Central Valleys of Oaxaca; to the southeast it is adjacent to Miahuatlan and Pochutla, and, finally; to the south, with the Pacific Ocean ([Plate 4](#)).

This extensive territory is divided into three subregions which, according to their geographical characteristics, are known from south to north as (Dahlgren, 1990): The Mixtec Coastal Region, which includes the southwestern portion, corresponding with the Oaxacan coasts; The Mixtec Highlands, which covers the central section and has its limits to the east with the Central Valleys of Oaxaca, and, third; the Mixtec Lowlands, situated in the northwest part of the state of Oaxaca ([Plate 4](#)).

This last Mixtec subregion, known principally due to geographic criteria as the Mixtec Lowlands, is that which especially interests us since various authors (Caso, 1958; Smith, 1973; Smith and Parmenter, 1991) have proposed that these *lienzos* come from the northern area of the Mixtec Lowlands, in the district of Huajuapán. Said area is where the largest concentration of Nũñe-style monuments have been found, particularly in the localities of Huajuapán de León,² San Juan Bautista Suchitepec³ and San Vicente el Palmar⁴ ([Plate 4](#)).

The Mixtec Lowlands is a region shaped by a series of orographic accidents and valleys. It is situated, as we have mentioned, to the northwest of the State of Oaxaca, taking in three Districts: Huajuapán de León, Silacayoapan and Juxtlahuaca. However, its geographic limits surpass the political division of Oaxaca and extend toward the southwest of Puebla and the northwest of the State of Guerrero (Rodríguez, 1996). It is notorious that the developments in the Post Classic, according to Colonial sources (since the archaeological evidence is practically nil), make us think that the socio-

¹ The number of regions in Oaxaca varies from eight to thirteen. Part of the difference is because there are authors who consider Mixteca as one whole region and others divide it in three regions (see Winter, 1989 and Rodrigo, 1997 in regards to this).

² The argument is based on Smith's identification (1973) from a gloss inscribed within the Lintel of the right temple, which is located in the center of CMP36 where *huayñodi*, one of Huajuapán's mixtec names from the XVI century which is ñudee or ñodii (hot town), is recorded. The gloss literally records house (huay/huahi), town (ño/ñu), and hot (dii/ndii).

³ In this map which shows mixtec glosses, Caso (1958) proposes the only location where mixtec speakers for the XVI century are known is Suchitepec de Oaxaca, for this reason the glosses are provenienced from this town, since the town is from the district of Huajuapán de León.

⁴ In the appendix that Smith and Parmenter show (1991), they present a general description of San Vicente el Palmar map, which is an original that has since been lost, and which corresponds to the copy located in the Archivo Agrario Nacional de Oaxaca (ARANO). This means it is possible that is the same record and that liezo 57 glosses comes from this location named San Vicente el Palmar.

political dynamic of the northern and southern areas established narrow relationships with the seigniories of the Mixtec Highlands, Coixtlahuaca and the south of Puebla.

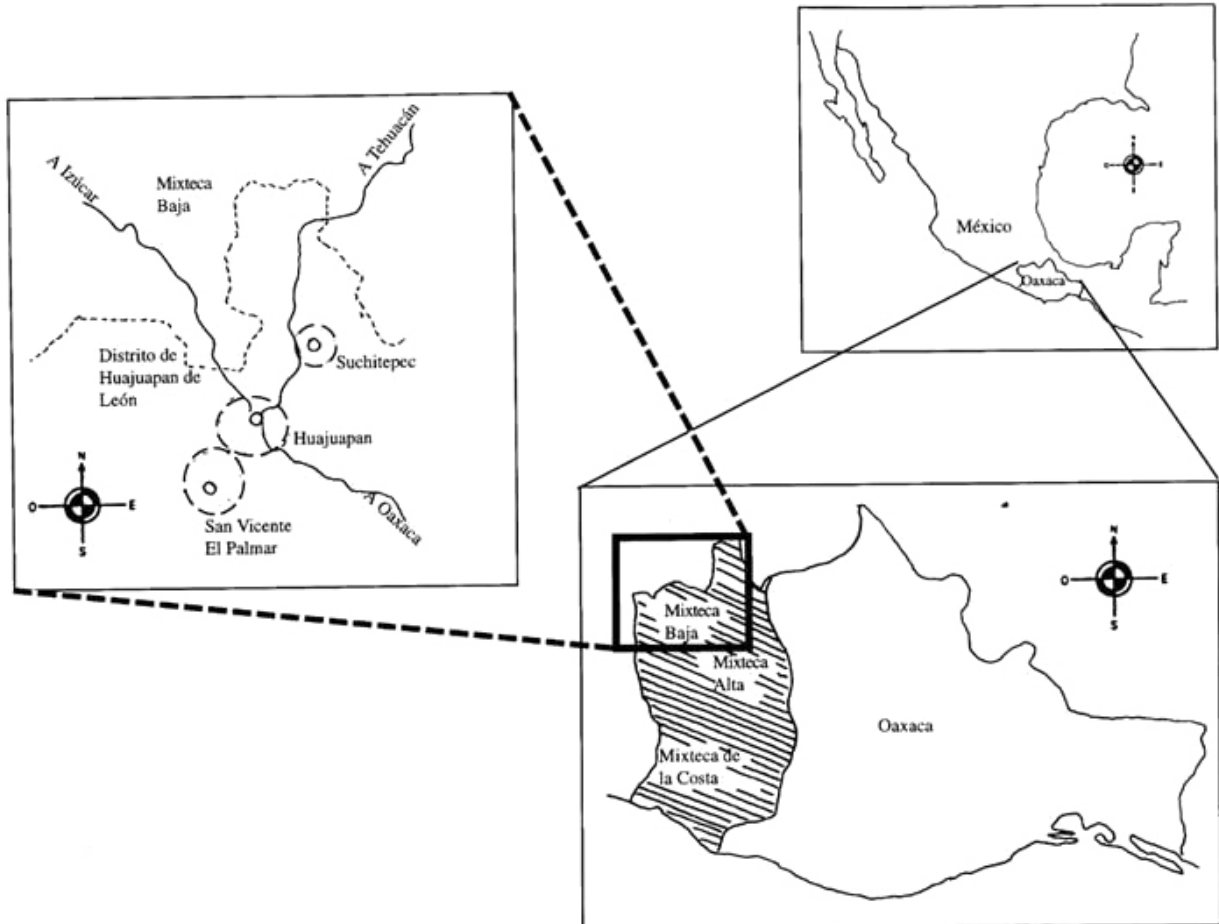


Plate 4: Location of the area and localities from which the lienzos in this study originated.

The *Lienzos* Studied

In this section I present a brief description of the contents and general characteristics of the lienzos studied, giving consideration to their actual location, copies, publications and previous studies, format, measurements, support, manufacturing technique, theme, etc.

The Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36):

The CMP36 is currently housed in the repository at the Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología (BMNAH). Nevertheless, there is an excellent, full-sized photograph at the Museo Regional de Huajuapán de León with which the Board of said museum allowed us to work under the best conditions in which to obtain the graphic and photographic registers, as well as an adequate reading for the paleography of the glosses that appear on the *lienzo*. The first news of this *lienzo*, according to Glass (1964) can be found in the inventory of manuscripts of Eduard Seler in 1907.⁵ Later the document was reproduced by Rosado Ojeda in 1945, at which time she studied the glosses in Mixtec on the *lienzo* without translating them, and described the pictographically represented toponyms using the monumental work of Peñafiel⁶ for support. Glass, in his guide to ethnohistoric sources from the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, adds another reference to a brief description of the same *lienzo* done by Alcina Franch in 1955.⁷ Later, in the 70's, Mary Elizabeth Smith (1973) included an identification of a central place represented and the translation of the glosses read by Ojeda thirty years earlier. In addition to these studies, we find other commentaries about this *lienzo* in Glass (1964 and 1975), Smith *et al.* (1991) and the investigation done for a video by Hermann (1998).

It appears that there is also an incomplete copy of this *lienzo* in the BMNAH, cataloged by Glass (1964) as "Codex No. 20". This anonymous copy was probably made in the second half of the XIX century, although there is no known reference to its history. According to Glass (1964), that copy is similar in material and style in which it was done to the anonymous copy of the Becker II Codex, and for this reason he believes that they must have been made by the same artist. Glass adds that he did not find the original when he made the catalog of codices of said repository and had to base himself only on a photograph, which he did not include in his 1964 catalog. Because of this, it remains an unpublished document. The general characteristics of this copy, according to Glass (1964), consist of a document done in color on modern paper. It measures 0.48m by 0.58m, and is divided into four horizontal bands which have various dates, hieroglyphs and heads that appear in the original PMC.⁸

The Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36, cataloged in this way by Glass in 1964, has been classified as part of the historic-cartographic documents of Western Oaxaca, made in the XVI century on European paper adhered on a *lienzo*.⁹ It measures 0.85m by 0.87m, and it is missing a piece of the right side. Smith says that it was made with 24 rectangles of various sizes, and also points out that the *lienzo* shows fold marks.¹⁰ From what we could tell, this codex presents 13 unions, of which 11 and a fragment of a twelfth are made from a material that could be, as Rosado said in 1945, European

⁵ See Glass, 1964:190-191.

⁶ See Glass, 1964:81.

⁷ See Glass *et al.*, 1975:169 and Alcina, 1955:492-493, Also Alcina, 1956.

⁸ See Glass, 1964:62, Other references about this copy are in Smith *et al.*, 1991; Galarza, 1986 cited in Smith, 1991. In these it is said that it belonged to the collection of Henri Saussure from 1885, and that it is also recognized with the name "*Lienzo Mixteco III de Saussure*".

⁹ See Rosado, 1945.

¹⁰ See Smith, 1973:151.

paper. The union that is left over is made of cloth, which enabled us to tell whether the other 12 unions were adhered to it. In the section where the paper is missing, we can see the warping and its stitching.¹¹ ([Plate 5](#))

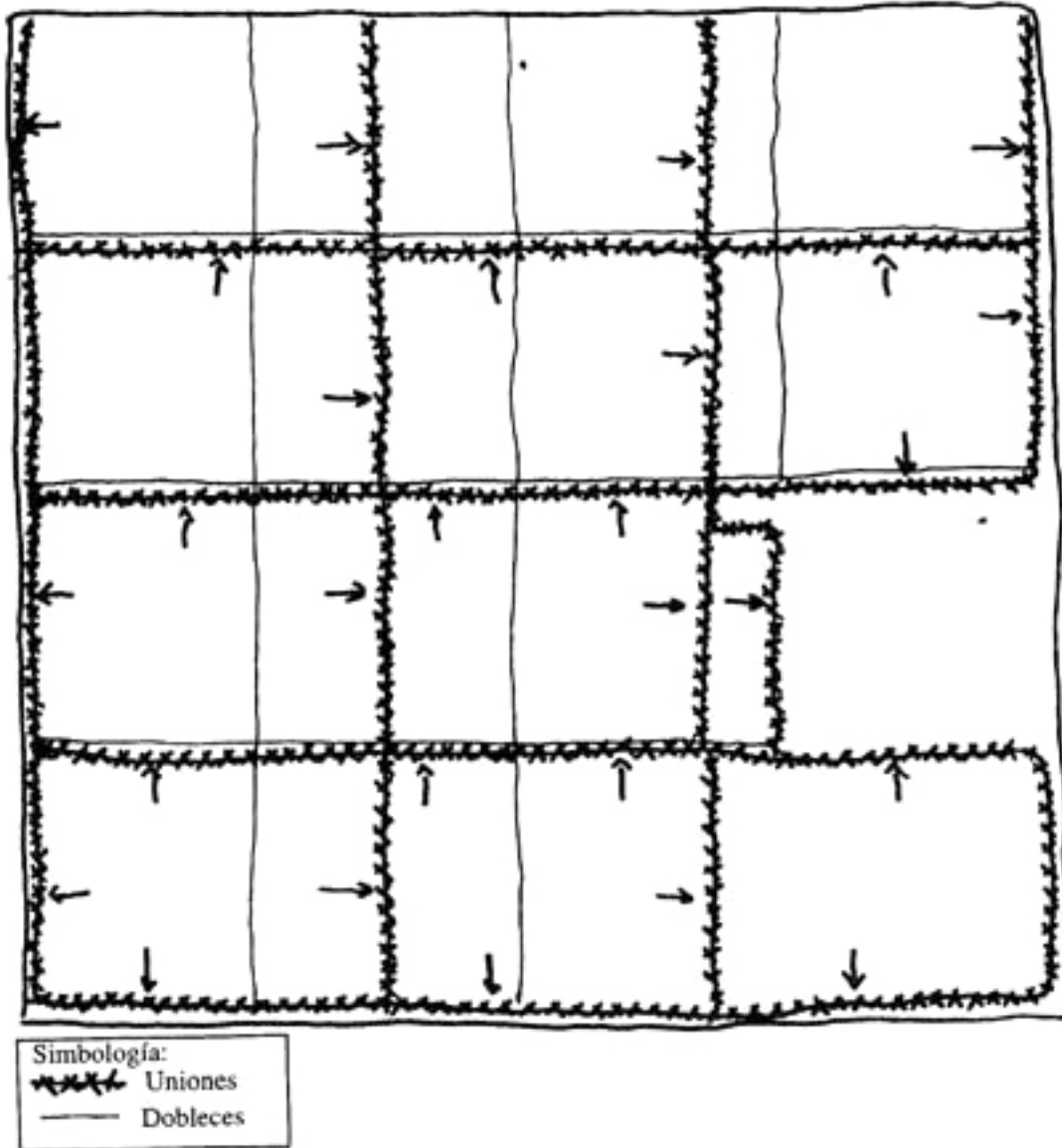
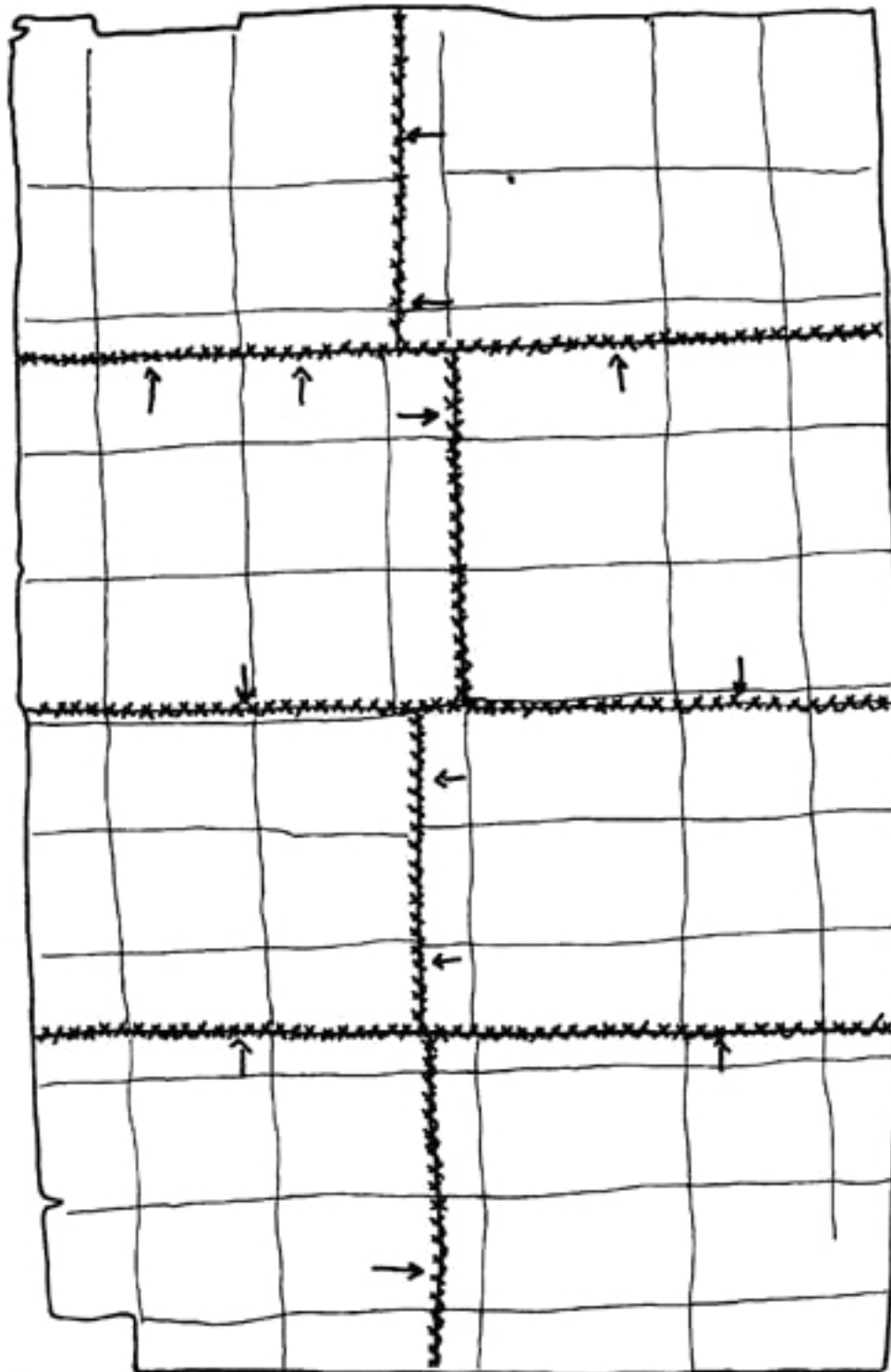


Plate 5: Chart of the manufacturing technique and the folds of the Postcortesan Mixtec Codex No. 36.

¹¹ This point of view is also in the Alcina register, 1955.



Simbología:
 x Uniones
 — Doblesces

Plate 6: Chart of the manufacturing technique and the folds of the Lienzo 57 glosses.

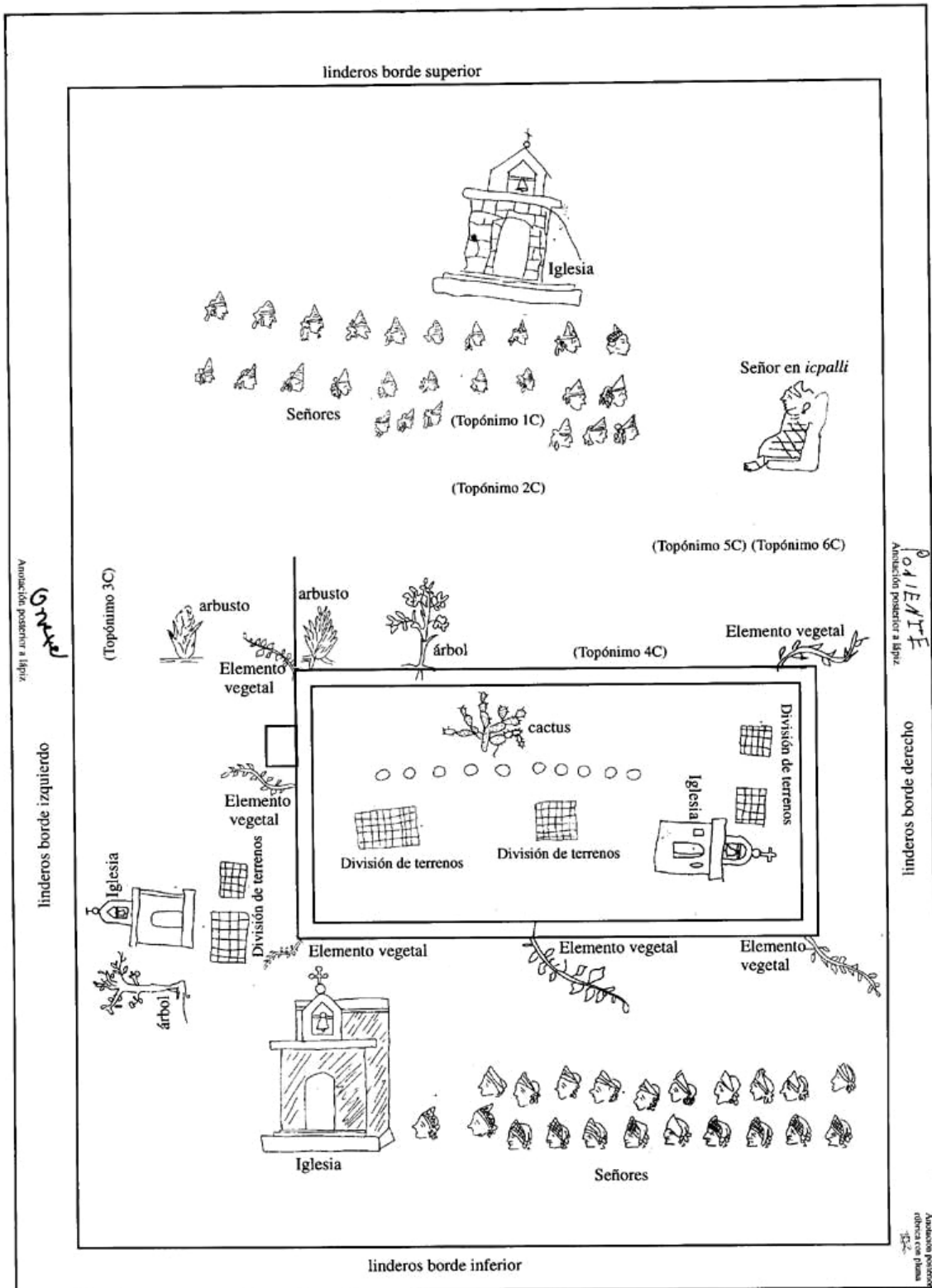


Plate 7: Lienzo 57 glosses: identification of glyphs in the central section, excluding the toponymic glyphs that appear in this section of the lienzos that are presented in the tables.

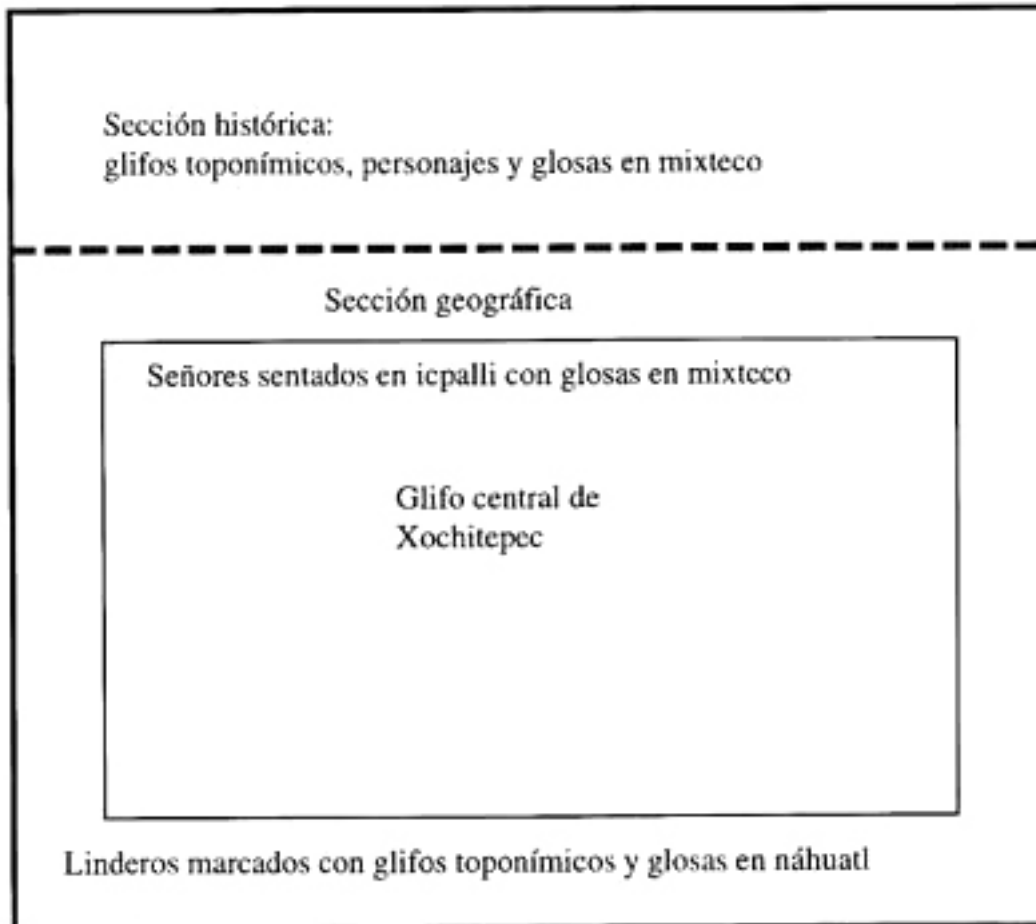


Plate 8: Chart of the historical, genealogical and geographical sections of the Xochitepec Map.

In Rosado's opinion (1945), this document is a codex made a short time after the Conquest with the objective of delimiting and clarifying the territorial properties of the region's inhabitants. It is very possible that it was originally accompanied by a dossier that specified the litigation, but unfortunately, if it did exist, it has been lost. This same author indicates that, in different places on the *lienzo*, you can even see traces of Spanish rubric, but its condition is so deteriorated that it does not allow for paleography. Nonetheless, by comparison with other documents of the time, we know that these signatures were a type of "approval" and validation of the pictorial document that was given by the Spanish authorities. The direct observation of a good reproduction permitted us to verify that these four signatures exist. Two are in the lower part at both sides very near to where the division of lands begin. Another is in the upper part of said division of lands in dispute, and surely in the fragment that is missing there was another one completing the symmetry as is the case with the lower section. The three signatures have very similar traits, reason for which they may be considered as having been made by the same person. On the other hand, the last signature that is found

between the Mixtec temple at the left and the church is different, and curiously it has been detected that it is very similar to that which appears in another document from the northwest of Oaxaca related with the Coixtlahuaca group and is known by the name "Gómez de Orozco Codex".¹²

The Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 is a *lienzo* that is almost square. At its center there is the representation of a church with two Mixtec temples,¹³ and pairs of important members of the ruling class. Associated with both are various dates which carry the Mixtec Year Glyph. The pairs and the temples have glosses in Mixtec that identify them. Below in the center there is a drawing of a series of 30 plots or parcels crossed by a river. Fifteen of these (the ones at the top part) are incomplete due to the section that was lost, and have Castilian names (Don Juan and Doña Macarita); the fifteen below, besides having glosses in Mixtec, are associated with human heads ([Plate 13](#). Also see [Plate 1](#)). On the top, bottom, right and left borders of the *lienzo* there are 37 toponyms represented by their glyphs and glosses in Mixtec. They are distributed as follows: 10 at the right, 10 on top, 6 at the left (there were possibly 3 or 4 more which have been lost; some traces can still be seen, but it is impossible to identify them with the existing evidence), and 11 at the bottom. It is possible that by conserving part of some of the stylistic conventions of Mixtec writing, this document also presents an indigenous orientation, in which the East is located along the top borders. Thirty six place names and their glosses will be discussed below. ([Plate 1](#))

The study by Rosado consists of a description of the characteristics of this *lienzo*, and is the first time that the pictographic document was reproduced; however, the town that it may be referring to is not identified. The author justifies this by saying that possibly this information is in the missing piece; this seems questionable to us, since the missing piece is not an important part of the central section. In my opinion, deterioration is the cause of this loss of information of perhaps three or four delimitations at the right side and part of the parcels of lands that have Castilian names. Although the author conducted the paleographic study of the Mixtec glosses, he does not propose a translation, nor does he relate these with the "pictographic" image ([Plate 9](#), [Plate 10](#), [Plate 11](#) and [Plate 12](#)). He limits himself to analyzing it through the identification of each image that makes up the place name, using Peñafiel's work for support regarding the nomenclature of the geographic names of Mexico. In some cases, he even proposes that they are similar to certain names in Náhuatl. I believe that the Rosado's descriptions of the pictographs that make up the place names are, for the most part, correct. However, I do not believe that the association and comparison that he makes with Náhuatl names is valid.

Almost 30 years later, Smith (1973) also studied this *lienzo*, once again conducting the paleography, since it differs in some readings from that of the previous author ([Plate 9](#), [Plate 10](#), [Plate 11](#), and [Plate 12](#)). With the help of Mixtec vocabulary guides such as the one by Alvarado for the Mixtec Highlands and the information gathered in 1800 by José

¹² See Caso, 1954:9 and Plate 3 of the facsimile for the signature from the Gómez de Orozco codex that we are referring to.

¹³ The temples qualify as being Mixtec in this codex because of the style of representing them with their *greco tablero* that is typical of the conventions of the Prehispanic Mixtec codices.

Mariano Tupeus¹⁴ for the Mixtec Lowlands, Smith does propose a translation for the glosses in Mixtec, and tries to locate (in space and time) the images represented in the *lienzo* that she considers to be boundaries of the town that is represented at the center. By the same token, she proposes that the parcels are represented with the names of their owners. In her opinion, the *lienzo* was made as a copy of an older one for presentation as proof for a land litigation.

The author proposes that the dates represented with the Mixtec glyphs written at the center are Year 8 Flint, Day 8 Flower and Year 6 House, Day 7 Grass; this is in difference to Rosado, who had identified this last one as Year 7 Grass, Day 6 House. Smith's (1973) identification is correct, since the house is associated with the year glyph. She correlates these years to our calendar, considering the first as 1540 or 1592; for the second year date, she proposes 1525 or 1577. In relation to the space represented on the *lienzo*, she starts by identifying the town that appears at the center, and for this she proposes that over the roof of the temple on the right there is a gloss not studied paleographically by Rosado (1945), and which says "*haey ñodi*". According to her, the phrase in Alvarado's guide should be "*hauhi ñuu dza*" which means "house of Huajuapán de León". The word "*hauhi*", besides meaning house, can extend to mean family or governing lineage. "*Ñuu dza*" is the name with which Father Reyes registers Huajuapán de León in the XVI century. Smith reinforces her proposal of the reading based on the fact that this name is repeated in some parcels of the bottom central section with the glosses "*ñuhu ño dia*", and because even today Huajuapán de León is very important in the area. Nonetheless, it can be added that in the revision of this document there are slight differences in some of the paleographic readings that I did with the life-sized reproduction, and these may play a hand in the meaning of these borders ([Plate 9](#), [Plate 10](#), [Plate 11](#), & [Plate 12](#)).

The Lienzo 57 Glosses:

The second *lienzo* is that which has been cataloged by the ARANO with the no. 57 glosses is a copy from 1960 which reproduces a *lienzo* from the XVI century that is missing today.¹⁵ This document, with all the reservations that working with the interpretation of the copyist implies, is the only evidence that remains regarding this *lienzo* and it is one of the historic documents that makes up the collection previously known as the Archivo de la Reforma Agraria in Oaxaca. This institution is now called the Archivo del Registro Agrario Nacional, also in the city of Oaxaca. This archive classifies the *lienzo* as a historic document "57 Glosses", done in 1960, no provenience ([Plate 2](#)).

To date, this is a document for which there is only a brief description of the original published in Smith, *et al.*, 1991, and this copy was printed upside down in a general

¹⁴ Work from the XIX century which has not been published, but is found on microfilm at Yale University under the title "*Vocabulario, Doctrinas y Oraciones*", cited in Smith, 1973:213.

¹⁵ It appears that the original belongs to the town of San Vicente el Palmar in the District of Huajuapán. See Smith *et al.*, 1991. In this same work, the author cites a paper presented at the Annual Meeting for the American Society of Ethnohistory, held in 1982 in Nashville, which deals with this document and which is titled: *El Mapa de San Vicente Palmar: A recently discovered pictorial manuscript from the Mixteca Baja*.

photograph, for the first time in an edition financed by the "Amigos de Oaxaca" association, Fomento cultural Banamex y el Instituto de Artes Gráficas del Estado de Oaxaca titled "Documentos del Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria en Oaxaca". Said photograph appears on page 68 with the following information: "Cat. 44. Separated from its file, this graphic from 1960 is a copy of some Colonial lienzo and presents similarities with the *lienzo* of Xochitepec" ([Plate 2](#)).

Through studying this publication and observing the photograph, it was not possible to distinguish the glosses (since the dimensions of this lienzo do not allow the general reproduction to have the detail that one would like), however, it was possible to distinguish some toponymic glyphs from its borders. I realized that some of them seemed to share the same composition that some of the borders registered in the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 have, appropriating its provenience from Huajuapán de León. This led me to propose the supposition that both codices together with the map of Xochitepec with which said publication associates the *lienzo 57* glosses are related, since on the one hand they could be registering three important Mixtec seigniories which are very close to one another, and appear as sharing some of the toponymic glyphs of their borders. Also, throughout their history the three lienzos have been documents for which no provenience was known. The proposal is that the information that these contain refers to three chieftainships of the Mixtec Lowlands.

Based on this working hypothesis, I dedicated myself to the systematic study of the 57 Glosses *lienzo* and to the search for other's opinions of the map of Xochitepec which we will talk more about later. L57 is conserved in ARANO, and this institution thanked me for my interest in this document and for the help that I may be able to provide in finding out about its provenience. This 57 Glosses *lienzo* is made on *papel cartoncillo* (paper card stock?), measures 1.93 by 1.16 meters and is delineated in black and sepia ink. Its manufacture consisted in the adhesion of eight sheets of *cartoncillo* of about 0.63 by 0.49 meters. Throughout the entire document we see the marks of adhesive tape which was used to tape the sections where the folds caused rips. The right bottom corner is completely separated from the rest; this fragment measures 0.29 by 0.28 meters, and in the section that united it with the rest of the lower part, the graphic registers and glosses are in very bad shape ([Plate 6](#)).

This *lienzo* is a large rectangle in which, toward the central edges, two large churches can be seen. These are associated with a series of human heads with important headdresses; in some, one can distinguish the diadem that appears on the Mexica rulers. In the upper building there are 26 heads and two toponymic glyphs placed in a vertical position. The lower church only has 21 associated with it. It is very possible that, due to the types of headdresses, this is a list of the lords of the chieftainship; however, the register that identifies them by their calendaric name is lacking, although due to their disposition in a row it may be making reference to tribute payers or service personnel. Between these two scenes there is a large plot of land delimited by some plants, circles, parcel subdivisions, and a smaller church. Outside of this rectangle toward the bottom left there is another ecclesiastic building of smaller dimensions associated with a plant and other parcel divisions. At the middle of the *lienzo*, as well as around the outside, there are toponymic glyphs as borders of the settlement in the central section ([Plate 7](#)).

These borders, 13 on the right, 7 above of which not all appear to be locational icons, 14 on the left side and 10 on the lower border, one of them, the one located at the bottom left, is incomplete because the *lienzo* is missing its lower left corner. In the central part there are 4 more toponymic glyphs. Some of the borders that run along the edges have glosses in Mixtec; a total of 35 of the 44 glyphs have a register in Latin characters, and only one of these is practically illegible due to the folds and the tear that separated the bottom right corner ([Plate 2](#)). The iconographic analysis of the toponymic glyphs and the paleography of the glosses, as well as their classification by toponymic structures will be discussed later.

This *lienzo* also has some annotations written after the copy was made. Two are written in pencil one with printed letters that reads "west" and the other in cursive with the word "east". These references are located in the central part of the left and right sides ([Plate 7](#)). It is very possible that this data is incorrect, since it is most likely that the person who added this information to the document didn't know about the orientations of the *lienzos* and colonial maps of the XVI century, which still maintain the indigenous orientation indicating the East at the top. In my opinion, as with the Postcortesan Mixtec Codex, this *lienzo* no. 57 Glosses has the East at the top and is a document which, because of the characteristics of its format, very probably had its original accompanied by a file that contained the details of the provenience and the problem that was meant to be cleared up before the Spanish authorities. Nonetheless, unfortunately we don't have either of the two, which are missing to this day. Also, another of the later annotations on this document is found on the corner that is separated at the lower right side and is some kind of rubric done in blue ink -- perhaps by a former owner? ([Plate 7](#)).

Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA Rodríguez, 2001	Claves	Otros estudios (Rosado, 1945)	Claves	Otros estudios (Smith, 1973)
glifos borde izquierdo de abajo hacia arriba:							
1Izq.			yucuñotica	1Izq.	yucuñotica	1Izq. yucu ño tica	1Izq. la montaña que se abre
2Izq.			yuhniyaaçiy	2Izq.	yu quiyaa çiy	2Izq. yuhui yaa çiy	2Izq. la hondonada del chile marchito
3Izq.			yucuñocutu	3Izq.	yucu ño cutu	3Izq. yucu ño cutu	3Izq. la montaña donde hay incienso de copal
4Izq.			yucucama	4Izq.	yucu ama	4Izq. yucu cama	4Izq. la montaña del perro
5Izq.			cuititnoyaa	5Izq.	cuti tnoyaa	5Izq. cuiti tno yaa	5Izq. la montaña del roble
6Izq.			notayucuxi	6Izq.	Itotayucuxi	6Izq. no tayu cuixi	6Izq. enfrente el altar blanco
7Izq.			yucunco	7Izq.	yu cuño	7Izq. yucu ñoo	7Izq. la montaña de tierra
8Izq.			yucuyhni	8Izq.	yucu yhni	8Izq. yucu yqui	8Izq. la montaña de hueso
9Izq.			yucuychin	9Izq.	yucu ychin	9Izq. yucu ychin	9Izq. la montaña del camino

Plate 9: Borders from the edges of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).









Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA Rodríguez, 2001	Claves	Otros estudios (Rosado, 1945)	Claves	Otros estudios (Smith, 1973)
glifos borde izquierdo de abajo hacia arriba:							
10Izq.		<i>tutnoñañan</i>	tutnoñañan	10Izq.	tutnoñañan	10Izq. tutno ñañan	10Izq. las orejas del gato
glifos borde superior de izquierda a derecha							
1S		<i>yucutayyu</i>	yucutayyn	1S	yucu tatayyu	1S yucu ta(u)ta yyn	1S la piedra de la rata
2S		<i>witi quaa</i>	cuitiquaa	2S	cuitiquaa	2S cuiti quaa	2S el montículo de un hombre soltero
3S		<i>miniçocuiy</i>	miniçocuiy	3S	nici ço niy	3S mici çoco cuiy	3S el hueco de un tigre saltador
4S		<i>yucuçichin</i>	yucuçichin	4S	yucuçichin	4S yucu çichin	4S la montaña de un cactus pitaya
5S		<i>yucuniyiy</i>	yucuniyiy	5S	yucuniyiy	5S yucu niyiy	5S la montaña fuerte
6S		<i>yucututno</i>	yucututno	6S	yucu tutno	6S yucu tutno	6S la montaña de la mazorca
7S		<i>ytnoxiyodoo</i>	ytnoxiyodoo	7S	y tno xiyodoo	7S ytno xiyo doo	7S la pendiente del que usa vestido de mujer

Plate 10: Borders from the edges of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).










Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA	Otros estudios			
			Rodríguez, 2001	Claves	(Rosado, 1945)	Claves	(Smith, 1973)
glifos borde superior de izquierda a derecha:							
8S		<i>y tno cuiy</i>	ytnocuiy	8S	y tno cuiy	8S ytno cuiy	8S la pendiente verde
9S		<i>noho tayoco.</i>	nohotayoo	9S	noho tayoo	9S noho tayoco	9S la tierra del hombre que exhala
10S		<i>yugo diqmi</i>	yugodiqnic	10S	yugo diqui	10S yugo diqmi	10S el templo de la estrella matutina
glosas borde derecha de arriba a abajo:							
1D		<i>yuhuitiño hotaxa</i>	yuhuitiño hotaxa	1D	yuhuitiño hotaxa	1D yuhui tiño hotaxa	1D la hondonada del faisán
2D		<i>yucu çahui</i>	yucuçahui	2D	yucu çahui	2D yucu çahui	2D la montaña del dios de la lluvia
3D		<i>ditighic.</i>	ditighic	3D	ditighic	3D ditighic	3D la substancia salpicada
4D.		<i>çahniçini quaa</i>	çahniçini quaa	4D	çahuiçini quaa	4D çahui çini quaa	4D el dios de la lluvia con la cabeza roja
5D		<i>ytnocaayca.</i>	ytnocaayca	5D	ytnocaayui	5D ytno caa yui	5D la pendiente que forma un petate
6D.		<i>yucucucu</i>	yucucucu	6D	yucucaca	6D yucu cucu	6D la montaña de la tortola

Plate 11: Borders from the edges of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).


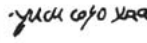

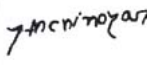

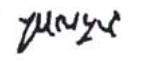

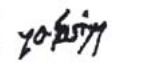



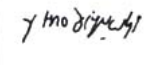

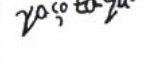

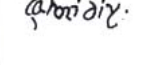

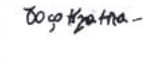

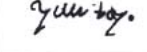
Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA			
			Rodríguez, 2001	Claves (Rosado, 1945)	Otros estudios (Smith, 1973)	
glosas borde inferior de derecha a izquierda:						
1Inf.			yucucohoxaa	1Inf. yucu cogoxaa	1Inf. yucu cogo xaa	1Inf. la montaña de un tipo de serpiente
2Inf.			ytnoninoyahi	2Inf. ytno ni noyagi	2Inf. ytno mino yagi	2Inf. la pendiente del epazote oscuro
3Inf.			yucuyoo/yucuyco	3Inf. yucuyca	3Inf. yucu yoo	3Inf. la montaña de la caña
4Inf.			yahaiyy	4Inf. yag(h)niyy	4Inf. yahniyy	4Inf. la plaza del lobo
5Inf.			dodoyaa	5Inf. dodoyaa	5Inf. dodo yaa	5Inf. la roca del águila
6Inf.			itnodiyuchi	6Inf. itnodiyudi	6Inf. ytno diyuchi	6Inf. la pendiente de la vaina donde crece el grano
7Inf.			yoçotayu	7Inf. yoçotayu	7Inf. yoço tayu	7Inf. el llano de ixtle
8Inf.			çahuidiy	8Inf. çahnidy	8Inf. çahi ndiy	8Inf. la argolla negra
9Inf.			doçotiyatna	9Inf. docotiyatna	9Inf. doço tiyatna	9Inf. la estatua de color de oro
10Inf.			yucutay	10Inf. yucutay	10Inf. yucu tay	10Inf. la montaña plantada

Plate 12: Borders from the edges of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).

PALEOGRAFÍA Rodríguez, 2001			Otros estudios (Rosado, 1945) Claves (Smith, 1973)		
Claves	topónimos	glosas	Claves		Claves
glosas borde inferior de derecha a izquierda:					
11Inf.			ytononinoma	11Inf. ytononinoma	11Inf. ytno nino maa 11Inf. la pendeinte del centro

Centro del códice Mixteco Postcortesiano no. 36: Paleografía de sus glosas e identificación de fechas y otros glifos.

identificación	Do Juan	Doña Macarita	Do Juan	Do Juan	Do Juan	Do Juan	Do Juan	Doña Macarita	Doña Macarita	Do Juan	Do Juan	Fragmento faltante		
Parcelas sin	ditnaha	yuhucoho	Pleyto ñohuñodici	Ñoñoquidi	Pleyto ñohohuixi	ñohocaxayo	ñohoyago	ñohoxicaa	ñohoñotnoho	ñotua	yocoquey	ytuaniny	ytuaniy	Ñoñoñococho

Rubrica

¿campos sembrados?

Rubrica

Plate 13: Borders from the edges of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).

The Xochitepec Map:

Currently this map is in the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark. One of the fundamental problems regarding the study of this document is being able to have a good register of its contents, where one could get the details of the glyphs and glosses that are represented, since the Xochitepec Map was published in black and white at a very reduced scale by Barlow, 1942; Birket, 1946; and, Caso, 1958. This does not allow us to clearly observe the glyphs and their glosses, nor to appreciate the colors associated with the images that are still conserved on the map. The analysis of this *lienzo* was able to be carried out with the color photographs from the archives of the National Museum of Denmark,¹⁶ which allowed a much better look at the details. The graphic register that was made from a copy of said map in black and white, which was perhaps made by Alfonso Caso and is found in the Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, has also been very useful. The glyphs inked on this

¹⁶ Thanks to Michel Oudijck I had access to these photographs from the Museum in June of 2001.

copy of the Xochitepec Map still have annotations in pencil that perhaps are codes for indicating the areas where pigment is preserved, the color correspondence for which was able to be obtained by color photographs ([Plate 3](#)). The measurements of this copy are very exact as compared with those of the original; the scale is nearly 1:1.

As to the Xochitepec Map, Glass (1975) tells us that it was acquired in 1840 by the National Museum of Copenhagen (NMC) in Denmark, where it is now housed. The original from the XVI century is on exhibit and the archives of this museum have a photographic record in four sections. As previously mentioned, the first complete black and white photograph that was taken of this *lienzo* was that by Birket Smith in 1946, who included it in his study of the collections housed in the Denmark Museum. Later Caso presents photographs in 1958, also in black and white. However, it is very probable that he had color photographs provided by the Denmark Museum, as indicated in his article. Nonetheless, the Alfonso Caso collection of the Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas at the UNAM only has one in black and white. There is also another one that appears in the edition of the works of Robert Barlow from 1990, published by the Universidad de las Américas (UDLA) - Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH).

The Xochitepec Map was commented on for the first time by Gómez Orozco in 1952 and 1955 based on some notes taken by Paso y Troncoso, who visited the museum in Denmark and knew of this *lienzo*. This same study is reproduced in the article by Barlow that was published by the UDLA-INAH. In 1958, on the occasion of the Congreso de Americanistas, Caso gave a talk about the *lienzo*. In 1973 Smith included some additional comments, taking the same viewpoint as Alfonso Caso. Then, in 1975 Glass and Robertson incorporated a technical index relating to this *lienzo* in their guide for the ethnohistoric sources in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. Lastly, Smith and Parmenter (1991) make more comments on the codex as a document from the Mixtec Lowlands. The only publications that deal in detail with the glyphs and the paleography of the respective glosses are those by Gómez de Orozco and Alfonso Caso.

The photographs from the National Museum of Copenhagen do not have sufficient detail so as to observe and detect the manufacture. All that can be seen are the folds and the deterioration of the document, but it is said that it is made on amate paper in a *lienzo* format with dimensions of 1.02m by 0.92m. And it conserves basically two colors (blue and red), although in the annotated color copy and the color photographs other tones such as dark green, gray, black and ochre can be seen.

The contents of this *lienzo* are historical cartography ([Plate 8](#)). I agree with the observation of Alfonso Caso when he comments that it is probable that the map belonged to the documents generated during the Colonial Period for the *Relaciones Geográficas de 1580*, which unfortunately are lost. More precisely, the Relaciones of the District of Huajuapán de León, which surely corresponded to the northwest tip of the State of Oaxaca, where, found among other towns that have been important from Prehispanic to Colonial times, Xochitepec is located.

The church of Xochitepec and some personages are at the center of the document. Over the central spot there is a scene of subjugation and above it is a series of 20 lords seated on *icpallis* which bear their names in Mixtec and for the last ones on the right side the glosses are in Spanish, with their baptismal names in Castilian. Around the MX there are 24 place names registered that probably function as their limits and which, in difference to the other *lienzos* under study (PMC and L57), the glosses are in Náhuatl. Also, the 5 toponymic and anthroponymic glyphs for the personages in the mythic-historic section are accompanied by glosses in Mixtec ([Plate 3](#)).

The Toponymic Analysis

This section presents four aspects that I consider to be important to the toponymic analysis which was conducted on the three *lienzos* from the Mixtec Lowlands which include defining the implications that the toponym carries, the suppositions upon which the analysis is carried out, the procedures utilized in the study, and finally, a summary of the results and contributions achieved by the investigation.

What does the Toponymy Imply?

"Toponymy", in a broad sense, is the study of the origin and meaning of place names, by which "toponym" refers to a locality. The term toponym as used in this report applies to the meaning of the place names represented in the Colonial records which involves the analysis of their components, their identification and their location in a specific area (in this case, the Mixtec Lowlands). The toponym is made up of composite of signs (glyphs or glosses) which, according to certain rules, represent a denomination that exists in a physical reference that occupies a particular geographical space within the study region, and whose analysis provides historical information.

The toponym tends to have a descriptive character regarding the space that it names. It's origin can be related to the environment and the geography, which can include orographic elements (hills, gorges, knolls, canyons, etc.), hydrological elements (rivers, lagoons, springs), zoological elements (birds, insects and mammals), botanical elements (trees, bushes, plants and herbs) or those things which reflect an association to the cosmovision of the group that establishes them. Among these last mentioned we can consider religious aspects, deities or mythological events, festivals, rituals, foundations, conquests, wars, historic personages, constructions, etc. (Guzmán 1987.). In other cases, names of places already existent in other regions are also used.

The Initial Premises:

As previously mentioned, this analytic study of the toponym considered, on the one hand, that the glyphic records of the place names take into consideration the

geographic and political areas of the Mixtec Lowlands, which due to their importance were represented by the inhabitants during the Colonial Period. On the other hand, the toponyms represented in the *lienzos* follow patterns and structures which reflect the manner in which the place names are constructed, in which can be detected that they are constituted by phonetic elements (logographic or logosyllabic) of the language which their writers spoke (Mixtec and/or Nahuatl). This suggests that the glosses associated with them in said languages are directly related. Under these parameters the gloss aids in the identification of the toponym. At the same time, the glyphic image guides us as to the meaning which should be found for the place name registered by the gloss.

The Stages of the Analysis:

The analysis of the three *lienzos* had two principal processes: to obtain graphic registers on a 1:1 scale and photographs of the *lienzos* that will allow a clear and detailed documentation of materials (see the heliographics of the *lienzos* in the appendix); so that, we could proceed with the systematic analysis of the toponymic glyphs and of their Mixtec and Náhuatl glosses. This consisted in the paleography of the glosses and a proposal of meaning supported by the identification of the composite glyphs which make up the graphic toponyms.

As part of the work of identification of the toponyms represented in the *lienzos*, the use of dictionaries and Colonial vocabularies in the Mixtec (Reyes 1593; Alvarado, 1962) and Náhuatl (Molina, 1992) languages was indispensable, as was consulting studies about the Mixtec (Caso, 1962; Jiménez, 1962; Arana and Swadesh, 1965; Josserand, 1978 and 1984; Terraciano, 1994; among others). This owing to the fact that it was necessary to understand the grammatical structure of these languages in order to know how they constituted the locatives and to propose a morphological analysis of the Mixtec and Náhuatl glosses from the Colonial documents.

Other activities carried out in this analysis, during the end of the first and second semesters of the year 2001, focused on complementing the identification of the toponymic registers of these *lienzos* and consisted of:

- The review of the existing INEGI 1:50,000 scale maps of the areas from where the *lienzos* originate, particularly the letters E14D14, E14D15, E14D24, and E14D34, along with fieldwork aimed at the oral gathering of names in the indigenous language (Mixtec or Náhuatl) or in Spanish of the populations or geographic localities near central populations.
- The search for place names of the region of the *lienzos* also focused on the consultation of various archives in Oaxaca and Mexico City, where Colonial records regarding disputes and land legitimacy are kept, in which specific names of the borders and populations that are involved in the legal and administrative process tend to be specified. These on occasion also are accompanied by maps

Results and Contributions:

All the development of the aforementioned work has as its initial results: The compilation of a toponymic *corpus* of the Mixtec Lowlands, which covers 350 place names (Spanish, Mixtec and Náhuatl) among present day populations and localities, which also include boundaries and places that are referred to in the Colonial documentation for the XVI, XVII and XVIII centuries -- information that forms the central body of my Doctoral dissertation investigation. In addition, they are toponyms which are being integrated into a database concerning the place names of the Mixtec Lowlands, as part of my investigation project in the ENAH. This substantial *corpus* of place names of the region under study helped to identify and to propose a preliminary area of geographical and political space of the seigniories represented in the *lienzos*.

Another of the achievements of this study included obtaining excellent records on a 1:1 scale, as well as drawings and photographs (these are not so good due to the lighting conditions of the archival repositories in which *lienzos* CMP36 and L57 are found). The details of the glyphs and glosses of the three *lienzos* allowed clear observation of the composite glyphs which made up the toponyms represented as well as allowing the paleographic transcriptions of the glosses in the indigenous languages associated with them (Mixtec and Náhuatl). This register was important seeing as up until this study there were no known good published reproductions of these documents which still preserve the traditional indigenous writing system ([Plate 1](#), [Plate 2](#), and [Plate 3](#)).

This approach enabled the preparation of index cards and tables which synthesized the systematic analysis of the toponymic glyphs and of their glosses in Mixtec and Náhuatl ([Plates 13-22](#); [Plate 26](#), [Plate 27](#), [Plate 28](#)), and also present a comparative review of those earlier proposals made for the case of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 and the Xochitepec Map ([Plate 9](#), [Plate 10](#), [Plate 11](#), [Plate 12](#); and [Plate 23](#), [Plate 24](#), [Plate 25](#)).

The tables appended to this report are a summary of the epigraphic analysis of the glyphic components of the 109 toponyms analyzed in the three *lienzos*. They determine which icons meet with a locative function and which ones meet with a nomative function of the locality. Also included in these are the classification assigned to the toponymic registers of each *lienzo*,¹⁷ its graphic image, the paleographic proposal for the gloss,

¹⁷ This key consists of the name of the codex and then a consecutive number associated with the letters that identify where the toponymic registers are located in the *lienzo*. For example: L57-1S (This is the first toponym on the left of the upper part of the register that appears on the *lienzo* 57 glosses).

the iconographic and epigraphic identifications and, lastly (in the case of 73 place names represented in the *lienzos*), we consider their associated glosses, where we analyze and identify which are locative roots and which are substantive, adjective and verbal roots which form the components that give the place its name. (Plates 9-28).










claves	Glifos toponímicos			glosas de los topónimos		
	Glifos	componentes locativos	elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	componentes raíces clasificadora(s)
1Izq.		cerro dividido	elemento rectangular al centro	yucuñotica	yucu = cerro/ ño= lugar	tica = mariposa
2Izq.		cerro con un valle	elemento fitomorfo	yuhniyaaçiy	yuhni = quebrada entre montes	yaa = chile çiy= delgado
3Izq.		cerro	conjunto de círculos pequeños al centro	yucuñocutu	yucu = cerro/ ño= lugar	cutu = copal
4Izq.		cerro	animal mamífero	yucucama	yucu = cerro	cama/cana =feroz atroz, surgir
5Izq.		cerro	elementos fitomorfos con tres ramificaciones	cuititnoyaa	cuiti = montón,	tno=árbol yaa =amarillo tnuyaa= roble
6Izq.		plataforma escalonada	banda negra	notayucuxi	no= lugar	tayu =altar/ cuxi =blanco
7Izq.		cerro	¿con red o caparazón de tortuga?	yucunco	yucu = cerro	nco/noo = color
8Izq.		cerro	ave	yucuyhni	yucu = cerro	yhni = caliente
9Izq.		cerro	camino con huellas de pie	yucuychin	yucu = cerro	ychi(n) = camino

Plate 14: Analysis of the toponymic components in the glyphs and glosses of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).










claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos		
		componentes		Paleografía	componentes	
		locativos	elementos clasificador(es)		raíces locativas	raíces clasificadora(s)
101zq.		cerro	¿elementos fitomorfos?	tutnoñañan	no hay	tutno =oreja ñañan=raposo, leoncillo
1S		pedra o roca	animal mamifero	yuatatayyn	yuu = piedra	tata=ratón de campo yyn =apestoso
2S		cerro	cabeza humana	cuitiquaa	cuiti = montón	quaa =ciego
3S		agua	animal felino	miniçococniy	mini = lago	çoco= pozo, cniy = tigre
4S		cerro	cabeza humana con tocado y elementos fitomorfos	yucuçichin	yucu = cerro	çichin = pitaya
5S		cerro inclinado	personaje con lanza	yucuniyiy	yucu = cerro	ni=prefijo de cosas yiy= macho, recio
6S		cerro	elementos fitomorfos	yucututno	yucu = cerro	tutno = oreja
7S		cerro inclinado	personaje con tilma sedente	ytnoxiyodoo	ytno = cuesta	xiyo/dziyo= manta doo/ndoo= brillante
8S.		cerro inclinado	ninguno	ytnocuiy	ytno = cuesta	cuiy = verde

Plate 15: Analysis of the toponymic components in the glyphs and glosses of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).










claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos		
		componentes		Paleografía	componentes	
		locativos	elementos clasificador(es)		raíces locativas	raíces clasificadora(s)
9S		plataforma con dientes	busto humano con voluta de la palabra	nohotayoco	noho/nuhu = pueblo	ta=hombre yoco = chueco
10S		plataforma con grecas	templo almenado y con una malla	yugodiqnic	yugo= templo	diqnic = pequeño ndi= prefijo/ qnic= malla
1D		cerro y valle	ave	yuhuitiñohotaxa	yuhui = quebrada entre montes	tiñoho= ave/taxa=gavilán tinodasa= faisán
2D		cerro	cabeza humana con tocado y borla	yucuçahui	yucu = cerro	çahui = lluvia, ídolo
3D		cerro	arena	ditighic	¿?	di/ndi=fino, chico tighic = arenisco
4D.		cerro	cabeza humana con tocado triangular	çahniçiniquaa	çini=encima	çahni = lluvia, ídolo quaa = grande, mucho
5D		llano con plumas o grecas	plumas o petate	ytnocaayca	ytno = cuesta caa=lugar?	yca/yta= pasto, zacate?
6D.		cerro inclinado	ave con pico largo	yucucucu	yucu = cerro	cucu = cuervo
1Inf.		cerro	serpiente bicéfala	yucucohoxaa	yucu = cerro	cohoxaa =culebra otra

Plate 16: Analysis of the toponymic components in the glyphs and glosses of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).











claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos		
		componentes locativos	elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	componentes raíces clasificadora(s)
2Inf.		loma sinuosa	¿elementos fitomorfo o lanza?	ytnoninyahi	ytno = cuesta	nino = pararse, delgado yahi = ¿póstigo?
3Inf.		cerro	elemento fitomorfo	yucuyco	yucu = cerro	yco/yoo = carrizo
4Inf.		círculo	cabeza de animal mamífero rodeado de huellas de pie	yahaiyy	yaha = danza/ plaza	iyi = tejón, zorro
5Inf.		pedra, roca	ave, águila	dodoyaa	dodo = peña	yaa = águila
6Inf.		plataforma con grecas	tres elementos puntiagudos	itnodyuchi	itno = cuesta	di/ndi= prefijo yuchi = cuchillo
7Inf.		llano o tapete de plumas	elementos fitomorfos, hierba	yoçotayu	yoço = llano	ta/nda=hebra yu/ yuu = petate/maguey tayu = palacio
8Inf.		plataforma	anciana jorobada con tocado	çahuidiy	¿?	çahui = lluvia, ídolo diy/tehe = feo, corcobado
9Inf.		plataforma	anciana desdentada	doçotiyatna	doço = llano, encima	tí= prefijo yatna = viejo
10Inf.		cerro	elementos fitomorfos alrededor	yucutay	yucu = cerro	tay = mata, planta
11Inf.		plataforma	mujer con las manos hacia arriba	ytnoninoma	ytno = cuesta	nino = parado maa = en medio

Plate 17: Analysis of the toponymic components in the glyphs and glosses of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).











claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos			
		Glosas	componentes locativos	componentes elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	componentes raíces clasificadora(s)
Glifos y glosas del borde izquierdo de abajo hacia arriba:							
1Izq.		<i>yamiyutanij</i>	cerro	elementos anudado y fitomorfos	yunuiyutanij	tanij=locativo	yunui=maguey/ yu=piedra
2Izq.		sin glosa	cerro	elementos fitomorfos	sin glosa		
3Izq.		sin glosa	agua	elementos fitomorfos	sin glosa		
4Izq.		sin glosa	tierra	elemento alargado para colgar con arena	sin glosa		
5Izq.		<i>itunudozoticaca</i>	cerro	elementos fitomorfos con cuatro ramificaciones	itunudozoticaca	itu=milpa, nu=lugar	dozo/ndozo=sobre ticaca=palma
6Izq.		<i>nundazano</i>	cerro	elementos fitomorfos en la cima del cerro	nundazano	nu=pueblo	nda=derecho, zano/ sandu=racimo
7Izq.		<i>ticuitihuiyo</i>	cerro	elementos fitomorfos al centro y alrededor	ticuitihuiyo	ticuiti=montón, ñu=pueblo, tierra	huiyo= caña
8Izq.		<i>tucutihuyio</i>	cerro dividido	no se aprecia ninguno	tucutihuyio	ticuiti=montón,	huyio= caña
9Izq.		<i>nduhayahui</i>	círculo	red y elementos fitomorfos	nduhayahui	nduhua=boca arriba	yahui= maguey
10Izq.		<i>cahuatizadahui</i>	cerro	elemento fitomorfo alargado	cahuatizadahui	cahua=peña	tiza= mata ndahui= flaco/ nda=derecho y hui=largo

Plate 18: Analysis of the Lienzo 57 glosses: Paleography of the Mixtec glosses and analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses (L57).











claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos			glosas de los topónimos		
		Glosas	componentes locativos	elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	raíces clasificadora(s)
Glifos y glosas del borde izquierdo de abajo hacia arriba:							
11Lzq.		<i>ytunda</i>	cerro	elemento fitomorfo en el centro	ytunda	ytu = milpa	nda = firme, parado, derecho
12Lzq.		<i>ytuntuyú</i>	cerro con un valle	elemento fitomorfo central	ytuntuyu	ytu = milpa	ntuyu/nduyo= cuña
13Lzq.		<i>yodozundaya</i>	plataforma escalonada	línea negra abajo	yodozundaya	yodo = llano	zo/dzo=dureza, ndaya = firme
Glifos y glosas del borde superior de izquierda a derecha:							
1S.		<i>yozonihuauyú</i>	cerro	con camino y huellas de pie	yozonihuauyú	yozo = llano	ninu=fluir, huauyú = lento
2S.		sin glosa	cerro	con dos protuberancias	sin glosa		
3S.		sin glosa	cerro	no se aprecia ninguno	sin glosa		
4S.		sin glosa	personaje sedente	colocado sobre el lindero superior ¿topónimo?	sin glosa		
5S.		sin glosa	personaje sedente	colocado sobre el lindero superior ¿topónimo?	sin glosa		
6S.		sin glosa	árbol referente	del paisaje	sin glosa		
7S.		<i>yodzoquihuiyo</i>	cerro inclinado	ave	yodzoquihuiyo	yodzo = llano	quihuiyo = ¿tortola?

Plate 19: Analysis of the Lienzo 57 glosses: Paleography of the Mixtec glosses and analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses (L57).

Lám. 20: Análisis del lienzo 57 glosas: Paleografía de glosas mixtecas y análisis de los componentes toponímicos en glifos y glosas (L57)							
claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos			
		Glosas	componentes locativos	componentes elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	componentes raíces clasificadora(s)
Glifos y glosas del borde superior de izquierda a derecha:							
8S.		<i>yuhuitijua</i>	cerro	arena	yuhuitijua	yuhu=orilla, boca	iti=arena, jua=escarcha
9S.		sin glosa	tierra	árbol rotado a 90 grados	sin glosa		
Glifos y glosas del borde derecho de arriba a abajo:							
1D.		<i>Yutacahuanunu</i>	cerro bajo	cabeza humana con tocado y elemento fitomorfo	yutacahuanunu	yuta =río, cahua = peña	nuu=ojo, cara
2D.		<i>Yuncoodzo</i>	cuero de agua	no se aprecia ninguno	yuncoodzo	yu(n) = piedra, roca	coodzo = regar, mojar
3D.		<i>Yuhuinuni</i>	cerro con hondonada	elemento fitomorfo	yuhuinuni	yuhui= quebrada entre montes	nuni=mafz
4D.		<i>Zahayucunuciti</i>	cerro con hondonada invertido 90 grados	elemento fitomorfo invertido 90 grados	zahayucunuciti	zaha=al pie, yucu = cerro, nu=sobre	citi=cimiento, tripa
5D.		<i>Itununághunu</i>	plataforma con grecas	grecas o elementos fitomorfos	itununághunu	itu = milpa,	nuna= esteril, ghunu/cunu= hondo, arrugado
6D.		<i>Siniyunucui</i>	cerro	elementos fitomorfos con tres ramificaciones	siniyunucui	sini=encima,	yucu=hierba, cui = verde
7D.		<i>Cahuavizi</i>	plataforma	piedra y elementos fitomorfos	cahuavizi	cahua =peña	vizi = piña
8D.		<i>Nduhuahuizi</i>	cerro	círculo al centro	nduhuhuizi	nduhua=ladera	huizi = frío, color oscuro

Plate 20: Analysis of the Lienzo 57 glosses: Paleography of the Mixtec glosses and analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses (L57).

claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos			
		Glosas	componentes locativos	elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	raíces clasificadora(s)
Glifos y glosas del borde derecho de arriba a abajo:							
9D.		Sahacuhighini	cerro con hondonada	cabeza humana con virgula de la palabra torcida	sahacuhighini	saha=pie, barranca	cuhui=gritar ghini/quitni= torcido
10D.		Htuhuitemunya	cerro con hondonada	elemento fitomorfo	ituhuitunuya	ytu = milpa	huitu =viga / ninu=cedro, ya = color
11D.		Htunsiquisi	cerro con hondonada	animal mamífero, felino	itunsiniquisi	itu(n) = milpa	sini = cabeza / quisi =pegajoso
12D.		caayuhuiniduu	cerro	no se aprecia	caayuhuiniduu	caa = atrás yuhu= boca, orilla	ini=interior /duu= color, tronco
Glifos y glosas del borde inferior de derecha a izquierda:							
1Inf.		yuni-cano	cerro	elementos fitomorfos	yunicoano		yuni = luciérnaga cano = grande
2Inf.		ytu-ndoho	cerro	elementos fitomorfos	ituundoho	itu(u) = milpa	ndoho =asa, trenza, curva
3Inf.		yunaha	cerro	agua	yunaha	yu= piedra	naha= antiguo, viejo
4Inf.		ytu-nocua	cerro	elemento fitomorfo: cactus:	ytuunocua	ytu(u) = milpa	no/ndo=árbol/ cua =maduro nducua= cochinilla
5Inf.		yuhuiyatacuu	cerro	tres volutas y un cilindro	yuhuiyatacuu	yuhui = quebrada entre montes	yata=hebra, antiguo cuu= matorral
6Inf.		ytu.....	cerro	¿ninguno?	ytu.....	ytu = milpa	el resto ilegible

Plate 21: Analysis of the Lienzo 57 glosses: Paleography of the Mixtec glosses and analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses (L57).

claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los topónimos			
		Glosas	componentes locativos	elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	raíces clasificadora(s)
Glifos y glosas del borde inferior de derecha a izquierda:							
7Inf.		<i>Zahuallucuganalachi</i>	cerro	elemento fitomorfo al centro tres ramificaciones	zahuallucuganalachi	zahua = barranca llucu= cerro, hierba	gana=enredar/ lachi = viento
8Inf.		<i>Siniyucuti</i>	cerro	¿ninguno?	siniyucuti	sini = encima yucu = cerro	iti=seco
9Inf.		<i>Ytuunucuaa</i>	cerro	con dos volutas al centro	ytuunucuaa	ytu(u) = milpa nuu= lugar	cuaa = ciego, rojo, derecho
10Inf.		sin glosa	¿?	raíces de un vegetal			
Glifos del centro de derecha a izquierda:							
1C.		sin glosa	agua	¿ninguno?			
2C.		sin glosa	cerro con hondonada	elemento cilíndrico al centro posición vertical			
3C.		sin glosa	cerro	elemento cilíndrico al centro posición horizontal			
4C.		sin glosa	cerro	¿ninguno?			
5C.		sin glosa	cerro	ave			
6C.		sin glosa	cerro	serpientes			

Plate 22: Analysis of the Lienzo 57 glosses: Paleography of the Mixtec glosses and analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses (L57).

Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA Rodríguez, 2001	Claves (Gómez de Orozco, 1952)	Otros estudios Claves (Caso, 1958)
glifos borde izquierdo de abajo hacia arriba:					
1Izq.		<i>cuetlachi'titla</i>	Cuetlachititla	1Izq. Cuetlachititla	1Izq. Cuetlachitetella 1Izq. En el montón de tierra del lobo
2Izq.		<i>neçahuil'chichilco</i>	Neçahuilchichilco	2Izq. Necehuilchichilco	2Izq. Neçahuilchichilco 2Izq. En el lugar rojo de luto
3Izq.		<i>tecol tepete</i>	Tecoltepetl	3Izq. Tecoltepec	3Izq. Tecoltepec 3Izq. Cerro del carbón
4Izq.		<i>putl</i>	Pa[].....	4Izq. Putla	4Izq. No lo ve 4Izq.
5Izq.		<i>oçelo atlahuco</i>	Oceloatlahuco	5Izq. Ocelo atlahuco	5Izq. Oçeloatlahuco 5Izq. En el pantano del tigre
6Izq.		<i>tamamatlatepete</i>	Tamamatlatepetl	6Izq. Temamatlatepec	6Izq. Temamatlatepec 6Izq. Cerro escalonado
7Izq.		<i>camol llaçala</i>	Camolllaçala	7Izq. Yamohtlaçala	7Izq. Camolllayala 7Izq. Tierra barbechada
glifos borde superior de izquierda a derecha:					
1S.		<i>çahuatepec</i>	Çahuatepec	1S. Çahuatepec	2S. Çahuatepec 8Izq. En el cerro del ayunador
2S.		<i>patlatelipa</i>	Patlatelipa	2S. Pa-tlatel-ipa	2S. Atlatelipa 9Izq. Sobre el montón de tierra en el agua

Plate 23: Borders of the edges of the geographical section of the Xochitepec Map (XM).









Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA Rodríguez, 2001	Claves (Gómez de Orozco, 1952)	Otros estudios Claves (Caso, 1958)
glifos borde superior de izquierda a derecha:					
3S.		<i>ayoxochitepec</i>	Ayoxochitepec	3S. Ayoxochitepec	3S. Ayoxochitepec
4S.		<i>payanaltepec</i>	Payanaltepec	4S. Payanaltepec	4S. Payanaltepec
5S.		<i>tlimatepetl</i>	Tlimatepetl	5S. Tlimatepetl	5S. Tlimatepetl
glifos borde derecho de arriba a abajo:					
1D.		<i>iztac oztoc</i>	yztac oztoc	1D Iztac oztoc	1D Iztli oztoc
2D.		<i>hueyatlahco</i>	Hueyatlahco	2D Huey atlahco	2D Huet atlahco
3D.		<i>moçomatepetl</i>	Moçomatepetl	3D Moçomatepetl	3D Moçomatepec
4D.		<i>petlcaltepec</i>	Petlcaltepetl	4D Petlcaltepetl	4D Petlcaltepetl
5D.		<i>comonitelipa</i>	Comonitelipa	5D Comonitelipa	5D Encender el fuego

Plate 24: Borders of the edges of the geographical section of the Xochitepec Map (XM).










Claves	topónimos	glosas	PALEOGRAFÍA	Otros estudios			
			Rodríguez, 2001	Claves (Gómez de Orozco, 1952)		Claves (Caso, 1958)	
glifos borde inferior de derecha a izquierda:							
1Inf.		<i>tehuitzco</i>	Tehuiztco	1Inf.	Tehuiztco	1Inf. Huitzco	1Inf. Lugar de espinas
2Inf.		<i>comal tētlē</i>	Comaltetli	2Inf.	Comaltetli	2Inf. Comaltetl	2Inf. Piedra de comal
3Inf.		<i>huaxtitla</i>	Huaxtitla	3Inf.	Huaxtitla	3Inf. Huaxtitla	3Inf. Tierra de guajes o acacias
4Inf.		<i>atlimaca</i>	Atlimaca	4Inf.	Atlimaca	4Inf. Atlimaca	3Inf. Agua temerosa
5Inf.		<i>yaotenamitl tlayxpa</i>	Yaotenamitl tlayxpa	5Inf.	Yaotenamitl tlayxpa	5Inf. Yaotenamitl tlayxpa	5Inf. adelante de la muralla de enemigos
6Inf.		<i>quiyauhtlayxpa</i>	Quiyauhtlayxpa	6Inf.	Quiyauhtlayxpa	6Inf. Quiyauhtlayxpa	6Inf. Delante del agua
7Inf.		<i>oçelonahco</i>	Oçelonahco	7Inf.	solo describe	7Inf. Oçelonazco	4D Barranca de tigres?
glifos sección histórica:							
1H.		<i>yucuñozahō</i>	Yucuñozahō	1H	Yucuñozahō	1H Yucuñozahō	1H Cerro y acción de cortar
2H.		<i>y tnona[m]a</i>	Ytnona[m]a	2H	Itonona...a	2H No lo ve	2H

Plate 25: Borders of the edges of the geographical section of the Xochitepec Map (XM).










claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los toponímicos		
		componentes locativos	componentes elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	componentes raíces clasificadora(s)
11zq		cerro dividido o un peñasco	animal cuadrúpedo: lobo	Cuetlachititla	titla(n)=abundancial	Cuetlach(tli)=lobo tetl=piedra
21zq		campo o llano	hombre con bastón y elemento fitomorfo	Neçhuilhichilco	co=lugar	Nezahuilia=luto, descansar chichil=cosa bermeja
31zq		cerro	objeto de color negro	Tecoltepetl	tepetl=cerro	Tecolli=carbón
41zq.		dientes	bandera, estandarte	Pa[ll].....	(Tlantli) =dientes	Pa[n](tli)=bandera
51zq		cerro partido, barranca o peñasco	animal felino	Ocelotlahuico	co=lugar	Ocelo(tl)=tigre atlahu(tli)=barranca grande
61zq		cerro, peñasco	elemento escalonado	Temamatlatepetl	tepetl=cerro	temamata=escalera de piedra
71zq		llano	elementos fitomorfos	Camoltaçala	(t)la(n)=abundancial	Camo(tli)=raíz comestible tlaça=poner en el suelo
1S.		cerro	personaje sedente	Çahuatepec	tepe(tl)=cerro, c=lugar	çahua=ayunar
2S.		llano	bandera sobre un objeto esférico	Patlatelipa	pa(n) =en, encima	Pa(n)tli)=bandera tlateli=montón de tierra

Plate 26: Analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses of the Xochitepec Map (XM).










claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los toponímicos		
		componentes locativos	elementos clasificador(es)	Paleografía	componentes raíces locativas	componentes raíces clasificadora(s)
3S		cerro	elemento zoomorfo como tortuga y sobre éste uno fitomorfo como flor	Ayoxochitepec	tepe(tl)=cerro, c=lugar	Ayo(tli)=calabaza/ Ayu(tli)=tortuga xochi(tl)=flor
4S		cerro	bandera, estandarte	Payanaltepec	tepe(tl)=cerro, c=lugar	Payana=desmenuzar
5S		cerro	mano con un sahumador y fuego	Tlematepetl	tepetl=cerro	Tle(tl)=fuego, maitl=mano Tlemaitl=cosa para llevar lumbre
1D		cerro torcido	mitad blanco y mitad negro	yztac oztoc	ozto(tl)=cueva, c=lugar	yztac=cosa blanca
2D		un cuerpo de agua y piedras	no se aprecia	huey atlahco	co=lugar	huey=grande, atlahu(tli)=barranca grande con agua
3D.		cerro	hombre con brazos extendidos y cabeza inclinada	Moçomatepetl	tepetl=cerro	Moçoma=enojado
4D		cerro	un objeto rectangular	Petlacaltepetl	tepetl=cerro	Petlacal(li)=petaca a ma- nera de arca con cañas
5D.		llano	objeto esférico con fuego	Comonitelipa	pa(n)=en, encima	Comoni=encender te(tl)=piedra
1Inf.		peñasco	no se aprecia	Tehuitzco	co=lugar	tehuitz(tla)=pedregal de piedras puntiagudas

Plate 27: Analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses of the Xochitepec Map (XM).











claves	Glifos	Glifos toponímicos		glosas de los toponímicos		
		componentes		Paleografía	componentes	
		locativos	elementos clasificador(es)		raíces locativas	raíces clasificadora(s)
2Inf.		pedras	objeto circular	Comaltetli	no identificada	Comal(li)=comal te(tl)=piedra
3Inf.		dientes	elementos fitomorfos	Huaxtitlan	titlan=abundancial	Huax(in)=árbol delguaje
4Inf.		cuerpo de agua	no se aprecia	Atimaca	no identificada	Atl=agua, imaca=temor
5Inf.		no se aprecia	construcción con estrellas y con un lazo gráfico hay un ojo	Yaotenamitl tlayxpa	tlaixpa(n)=delante de	Yao(tl)=enemigo, tenamitl=muro
6Inf.		cerro	animal sobre el cerro, a un lado un venado y con un lazo gráfico un ojo	Quiyauhtlayxpa	tlaixpa(n)=delante de	Quiyauh=lluvia
7Inf.		cerro dividido	animal felino	Oçelonahco	co=lugar	Ocelo(tl)=tigre nah/nau(can)= quebrarse en cuatro partes
1H.		cerro	mano con un arma u objeto filoso	Yucuñoxaho	Yucu=cerro	ñi/ñu=lugar Xaho=grieta, surco, separar
2H.		llano	elemento fitomorfo	Ytnona[m]a	Ytno=cuesta abrupta	nama=yerba que produce jabón
3H.		tierra llana	muy deteriorado	sin glosa		
1C.		cerro	abajo un petate y en el cerro parecen elementos fitomorfos	[xuchi]tepec	tepe(tl)=cerro, c=lugar	xuchi(tl)=flor

Plate 28: Analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses of the Xochitepec Map (XM).

The analysis of the 73 toponyms that the glyphic register and its gloss have, prior to the tables which summarize the proposed identification of the place names in these documents, consisted in the development of their 73 index cards in which the following points were considered: Paleographic reading, morphological analysis of the name, and search for the meaning of each component identified (which was established according to the semantic fields of the words and by the glyphic image associated with them). Here I present some examples from each *lienzo*, choosing those which are relatively clear in order to demonstrate how each analysis was carried out:

Lienzo: CMP36

Toponymic Key: 4L (4 Left)

Paleographic Reading: **Yucucama**

Language: Mixtec

Morphological Analysis: *Yucu-cama*

Meaning of the components: **Yucu**: Hill, mountain, wild grasses, bush (Arana and Swadesh, 1965:136-137). **Cama**: Light, swift, young, content, soft (Arana and Swadesh, 1965:60). **Cana**: Ugly, atrocious, deformed, dangerous, mischievous, restless, emerge from inside, come up, appear (Arana and Swadesh, 1965:60). In present-day dictionaries of the Mixtec from the Coast, for example, **Cahma** means "noisy" and **Caña** means "mischeivious". (Stark *et al.*, 1986:5-6).

Choosing of meanings: For the first word **yucu** would be hill, as shown by the glyph. For the second, **cama**, the meanings that most closely relate to the glyphic representations are those for **cana**, in the adjective sense as well as in the verb sense, since the figure of an animal comes out of or emerges from the hill and has a ferocious aspect. Although the gloss says **cama**, the orthography of the XVI century could put an m in place of an n and viceversa.

Proposal for literal meaning: *Hill-ugly/atrocious*

Proposal for translation: Ugly Hill

Lienzo: L57

Key for the toponyms: 9L (9 Left)

Paleographic Reading: **Nduhuayahui**

Language: Mixtec

Morphological Analysis: *Nduhua-yahui*

Meaning of the components: **Nduhua/Nduvua**: upside down, on the back, upward (Arana and Sawdesh, 1965:108). **Yahui**: Price, market. **Yavui**: maguey (century plant), dark, hole (Arana and Swadesh, 1965:132-133).

Choice of Meanings: The gloss registers **yahui**,. Nonetheless, the associated image has no relation with any of the possible meanings for **yahui**. We know that the orthography of the XVI century was variable and that the scribes could write *hu* or *vu* for the same sound. So it is that we choose the meaning "maguey", since the glyph has phytomorphic elements similar to this plant. This change also recurs in the first word that makes up the gloss *nduhua* for *nduvua*.

Proposal for the literal meaning: *Upside-down century plant*

Proposal for translation: Place of the upside-down century plant

Lienzo: MX

Toponymic key: 1UH (1 Upper-Historic)

Paleographic Reading: **Ytnona[m]a**

Language: Mixtec

Morphological Analysis: *Ytno-nama*

Meaning of the components: **Ytno/itnu**: abrupt slope (Arana and Swadesh, 1965:92).
Nama: A type of plant that produces soap (Arana y Swadesh, 1965:94).

Choice of Meanings: In the somewhat deteriorated drawing there is a phytomorphic element which supports the identification of the word **Nama**.

Proposal for the literal meaning: *Slope-soap plant*

Proposal for translation: Slope of the soap plant

Lienzo: MX

Toponymic key: 5UG (5 Upper Geographic)

Paleographic Reading: **Tlematepetl**

Language: Náhuatl

Morphological Analysis: *Tlema-tepetl*

Meaning of the components: **Tlema(itl)**: item for carrying fire (censer) which comes from **Tle(tl)** fire and **ma(itl)** hand. **Tepetl**: Hill (Molina, 1992).

Choice of Meanings: The found ones

Proposal for the literal meaning: *Censer-Hill*

Proposal for translation: Hill of the Censer

These index cards that imply the glyph-gloss relationship show that in general the form of composing place names in Mixtec consists in the first word of the name, or the first glyph from the bottom to the top having a locative function, which identifies geographic places such as: Hills, piles of something, slopes, cornfields, flat, grassy areas, land, town, rocks, boulders, gaps between mountains, plazas, lakes, springs, temples, etc. These locatives on occasion reflect the geography and the landscape of the region. In

other cases, especially in the glyphs, they pick one to indicate said locative function, the hill being the most frequent.





























The second part of the gloss or the rest of the glyphs that make up the toponym refer principally to the noun-things (substantive) (animals, plants, personages, cultural objects) or qualities-adjectives (colors or states of things) that complete the place name. In very rare cases, some actions-verbs are represented.

In the case of the glyphs-glosses relationships, which makes up the names in the Náhuatl language, the situation changes in the construction of the name of the place of the gloss. Apparently the glyphs have the same structure, where the lower part presents the glyph with a locative function that can be the image of mountain, teeth, bodies of water or representations of flat surfaces or flat grassy areas, and over them there appear other glyphs that qualify the locatives. In exchange, in the toponymic glosses in Náhuatl the structure is first the nouns, verbs and adjectives that serve to characterize the type of place, and afterward the locative bases are added: *tepetl* (hill), *co* (place), *titlan* (abundant), *pan* (in, on top of), *oztoc* (cave), *tlan(tli)* (teeth), among others.

Lastly, this analysis identifies that at least in two of the three *lienzos*, various toponymic glyphs are shared ([Plate 29](#), [Plate 30](#), and [Plate 31](#)) which also appear in other codices from the Mixtec Lowlands, such as the Sánchez Solís or the Egerton. This raises the possibility that the political geography of two of the seigniories registered in *lienzos* CMP36 and L57 is shared due to the fact that the territorial borders are similar, in what would possibly correspond to the Southwest of Huajuapán and the Northeast of San Vicente el Palmar.

One of the problems that the recognized glyphic semblance presents is that the associated glosses are not the same on both *lienzos*. Nonetheless, during the analysis we were able to recognize that the *lienzo 57* glosses present, on two occasions, a repetition of the same gloss in two different glyphic registers, suggesting that the registered glosses in this *lienzo* are not contemporary to the elaboration of the glyphs. A proposition that we are unable to provide contrast for, since we only know of one copy of this *lienzo* ([Plate 29](#)).

It is clear that the results obtained in this investigation reinforces the proposal that the *lienzos* come from the Mixtec Lowlands, that they register three important seigniories in Huajuapán, Suchitepec and San Vicente el Palmar during the Early Colonial Period, and, that at least two of them have common boundaries. On the other hand, it shows the form in which the toponyms were constructed on a glyphic level and determines which forms are most common for naming places. There is no doubt that these advances in the study of the toponymy of the Colonial documentation that still preserves the system of traditional indigenous writing raise new hypotheses for the continued work toward understanding these registers, and in the reflection that they have regarding Colonial political spaces in the Mixtec Lowlands.

Códice Mixteco Postcortesiano no. 36			Lienzo no. 57 glosas		
Clave	Glifo	Glosa	Clave	Glifo	Glosa
1Izq.		yucuñotica	8Izq.		tucutiluyio
2Izq.		yuhniyaaçiy	12Izq.		ytuntuyu
3Izq.		yucuñocutu	8D.		uduhahuizi
4Izq.		yucucama	11D.		itunsiniqui
5Izq.		cuititnoyaa	7Inf.		zahallucuganalachi
6Izq.		notayucuxi	13Izq.		yodozondaya
8Izq.		yucuyhni	5C.		sin glosa
9Izq.		yucuychin	1S.		yozoninuhuaayú
10Izq.		tutnoñañan	2S.		sin glosa
4S.		yucuçichin	1D.		yntacaluanunu
1D.		yuhuitiñohtaxa	7S.		yodzoquihuiyo
3D.		ditighic	8S.		yuhuitijua
5D.		ytnocaayca	5D.		itununághuni
2Inf.		ytnoninoyahi	3D.		yuhuinnei

Nótese que a pesar de las distintas caligrafías de los escribanos-pintores, además de que hay que tomar en cuenta que en el caso del lienzo no. 57 glosas estamos ante una copia de 1960, los glifos toponímicos comparten rasgos muy semejantes, sin embargo las glosas no coinciden. Por otro lado es interesante que los topónimos comunes con el lienzo 57 glosas son en los bordes izquierdo, superior, derecha y excepto en un caso en el borde inferior.

Plate 29: Toponymic glyphs that share two canvases.

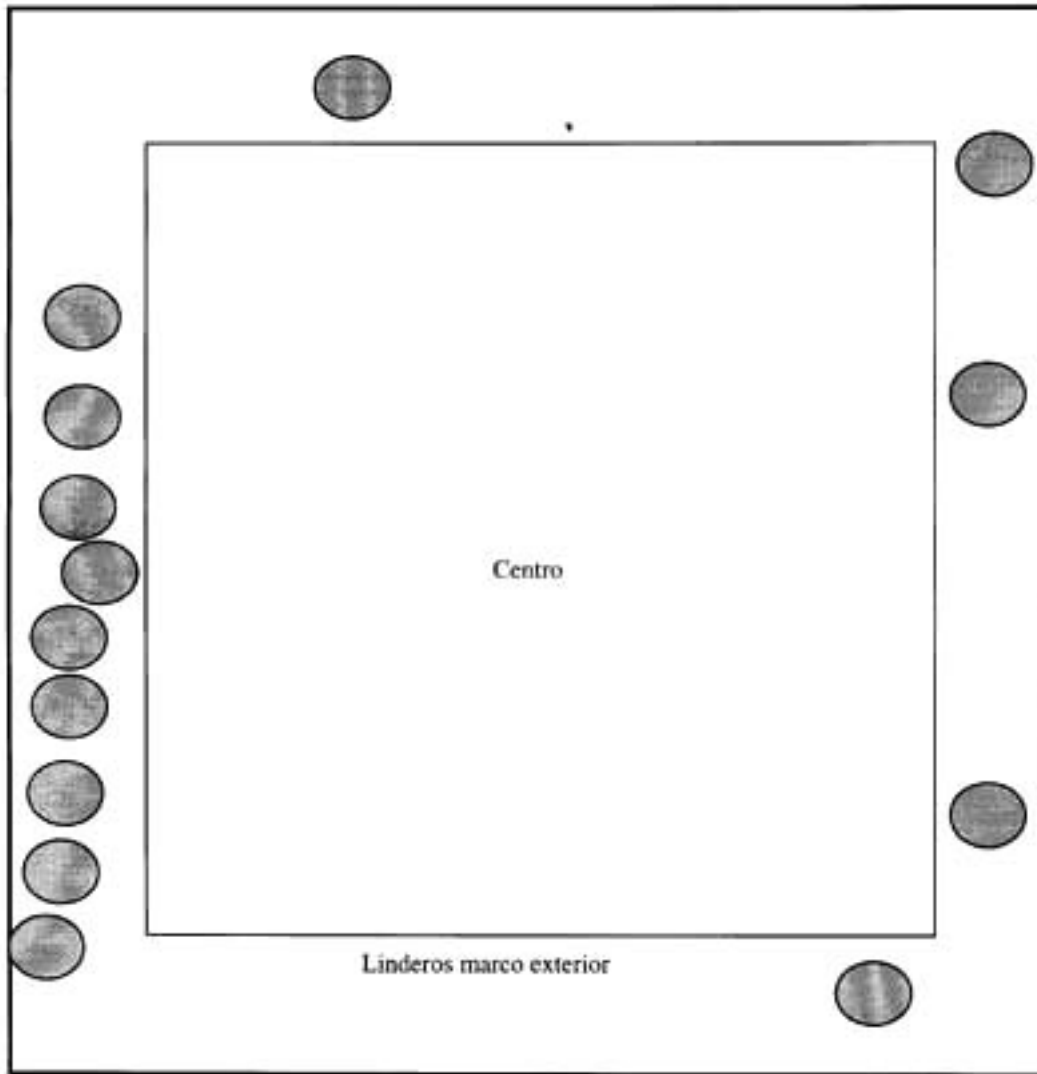


Plate 30: Location of the distribution of the similar glyphs in the Postcortesan Mixtec Codex No. 36.

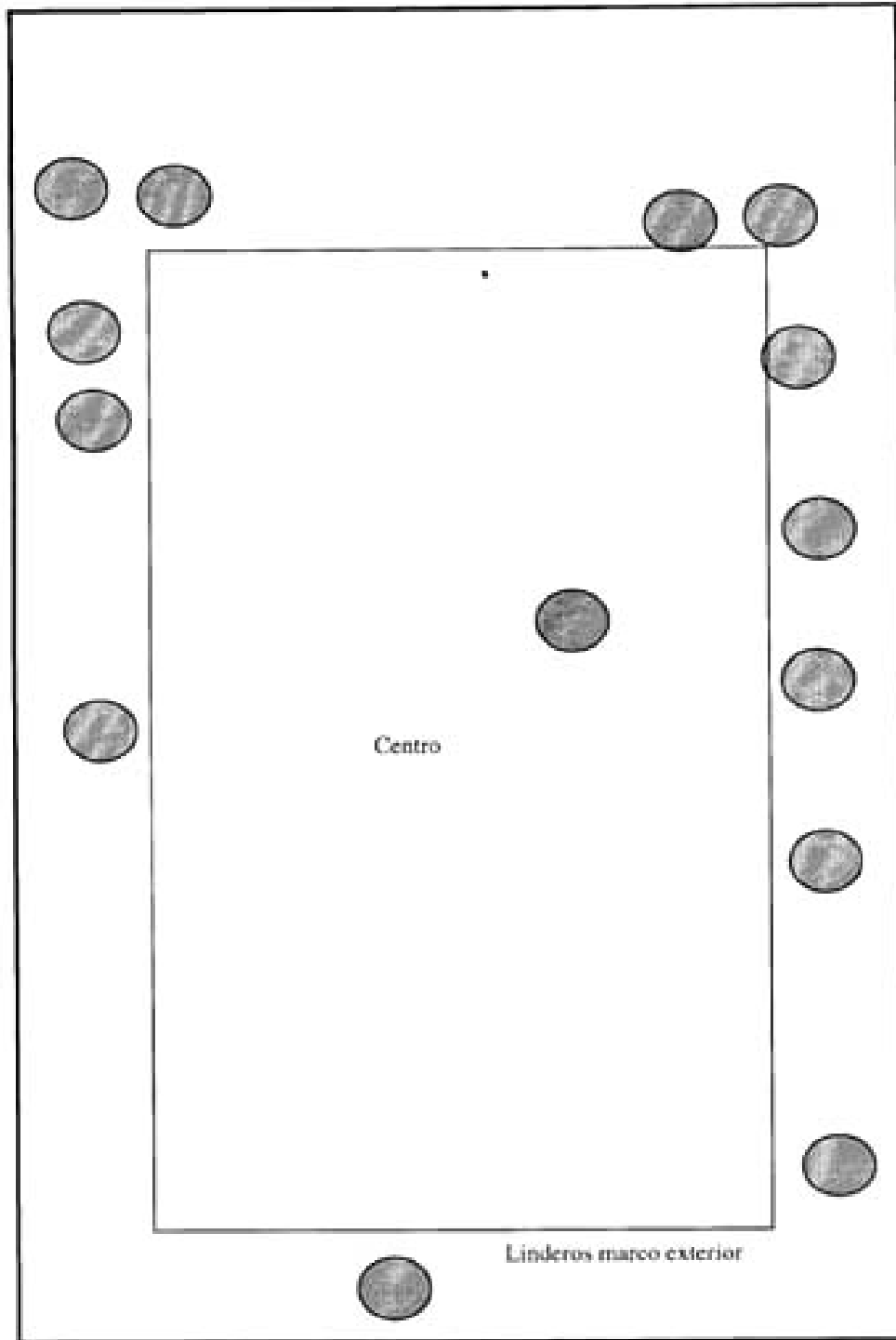


Plate 31: Location of the distribution of the similar glyphs in the Lienzo 57 glosses.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take advantage of these lines to thank the diverse institutions, that collaborated in the development of this investigation and who made it possible, for their support: To FAMSI for the funds granted in order to carry out this investigation; To the National Museum of Anthropology and History, (Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia), of Mexico for granting me permission to consult and examine their copy of the Map of Xochitepec; To the Regional Museum of Huajuapán, (Museo Regional de Huajuapán), Oaxaca – especially Mr. Manuel Barragán, who allowed me to consult and examine the facsimile copy that they have of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36; To the Seminary of Mexican Codices, (Seminario de Códices Mexicanos), especially Maestra Cecilia Rossell for access to the photograph of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36; To the National Agrarian Archive, (Archivo Agrario Nacional), Oaxaca, for the consultation of the *Lienzo* No. 57 glosses and other Colonial documents; To the authorities of the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark and especially Dr. Michel Oudijck of the Institute of Religious History of the University of Copenhagen, for acting as intermediary in the acquisition of the set of color photographs of the Map of Xochitepec. I also want to thank the authorities and staff of the General Archive of the Nation, (Archivo General de la Nación), General Archive of Oaxaca, (Archivo General de Oaxaca), Archive of Judicial Power, (Archivo del Poder Judicial), of Oaxaca for access to the Colonial documentation regarding this study. Lastly I want to thank my colleagues and students for their help, especially Alfonso Torres, Itzel González, Rosalba Sánchez y Julieta León.

Appendix: Illustrations that Accompany the Text

[Plate 1](#): Photograph of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36. Seminary of Mexican Codices.

[Plate 2](#): Photograph of the Lienzo 57 glosses, taken from the "*Memorial de Linderos Gráfica Agraria de Oaxaca. Documentos del Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de la Reforma Agraria en Oaxaca*".

[Plate 3](#): Overlay photograph from the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark.

[Plate 4](#): Location of the area and localities from which the *lienzos* in this study originated.

[Plate 5](#): Chart of the manufacturing technique and the folds of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36.

[Plate 6](#): Chart of the manufacturing technique and the folds of the *Lienzo 57* glosses.

[Plate 7](#): *Lienzo 57* glosses: identification of glyphs in the central section, excluding the toponymic glyphs that appear in this section of the *lienzo* that are presented in the tables.

[Plate 8](#): Chart of the historical, genealogical and geographical sections of the Xochitepec Map.

Plates 9-28: Tables that summarize the toponymic analysis of the lienzos: Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36, *Lienzo 57* glosses and Xochitepec Map:

Borders from the edges of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).

[Plate 9](#)

[Plate 10](#)

[Plate 11](#)

[Plate 12](#)

[Plate 13](#)

Analysis of the toponymic components in the glyphs and glosses of the Postcortesian Mixtec Codex No. 36 (CMP36).

[Plate 14](#)

[Plate 15](#)

[Plate 16](#)

[Plate 17](#)

Analysis of the *Lienzo 57* glosses: Paleography of the Mixtec glosses and analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses (L57).

[Plate 18](#)

[Plate 19](#)

[Plate 20](#)

[Plate 21](#)

[Plate 22](#)

Borders of the edges of the geographical section of the Xochitepec Map (XM).

[Plate 23](#)

[Plate 24](#)

[Plate 25](#)

Analysis of the toponymic components in glyphs and glosses of the Xochitepec Map (XM).

[Plate 26](#)

[Plate 27](#)

[Plate 28](#)

[Plate 29](#): Comparative table of the glyphic similarities and differences in the register of glosses from the Postcortesan Mixtec No. 36 and *Lienzo 57* glosses.

[Plate 30](#): Location of the distribution of the similar glyphs in the Postcortesan Mixtec Codex No. 36.

[Plate 31](#): Location of the distribution of the similar glyphs in the *Lienzo 57* glosses.

Sources Cited

Alcina Franch, Jose

1955 "Fuentes indígenas de México. Ensayo de sistematización bibliográfica" en *Revista de Indias*, año 15, no. 61-62, pp. 492-493, Madrid.

1956 Fuentes indígenas de Méjico. Ensayo de Sistematización bibliográfica, Madrid.

Alvarado, Fray Francisco

1962 *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca por los Padres de la Orden de predicadores 1953*, I.N.A.H. – S.E.P., México.

Alvarez, Luis Rodrigo

1997 *Geografía general del estado de Oaxaca*, ediciones carteles, Oaxaca, México.

Anders, Fernand; Jansen Maarten y Perez J. Gabina Aurora

1994 "La Gran Familia de los Reyes Mixtecos" en: *Códices Egerton y Becker II*. Fondo de Cultura Económico, Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario y Akademische Druck Und Verlagsanstalt.

Arana, Evangelina y Mauricio Swadesh

1965 Los elementos del mixteco antiguo. Instituto Nacional Indigenista e INAH, México.

Autry, William

1991 *Selected maps, codices and plans for the Oaxaca region in the collections of the Archivo General de la Nación and the Mapoteca Orozco y Berra*, Summer, México City.

Barlow, Robert

1995 "Mapa de Xochitepec, Oaxaca" en *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, vol. 6, pp. 417-424, traducción y notas de Jesús Monjarás Ruiz, editores Jesús Monjarás Ruiz, Elena Limón y María de la Cruz Paillés, INAH-UDLA, México.

Birket, Smith

1946 *Geschichte der Kultur. Eine allgemeine Ethnologie*. Zurich Orell Fussli.

1952 *Vida e Historia de la Culturas. Etnología General*, vol. II, Sociedad y vida espiritual corrientes culturales, editorial Nova- Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Bradomin, Jose Maria

1992 *Toponimia de Oaxaca (Crítica Etimológica)*. 3ª Edición Oaxaca, Oaxaca.

Bylan, Bruce y John Pohl

1990 "Mixtec landscape perception and archaeological settlement patterns" en *Ancient Mesoamerica*, vol. I, no. 1, Cambridge University Press, USA.

Caso, Alfonso

1928 *Las estelas zapotecas*. Talleres Gráficos. México.

1956 "El calendario Mixteco" en: *Historia Mexicana*. El Colegio Nacional, México, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 481-497.

1954 *Interpretación del códice Gómez de Orozco*, Talleres de impresión de estampillas y valores, México, D.F.

1958 *Mapa Xochitepec*, Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Copenhague.

1962 "Vocabulario sacado del Arte en Lengua Mixteca de Fr. Antonio de los Reyes" en: un apéndice al *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca de Fr. Francisco de Alvarado*. INI-INAH-SEP. México.

Catálogo de Ilustraciones del Archivo General de la Nación

1979- Edición AGN, 14 volúmenes, México.

1981

Codice Egerton

1994 Facsímil publicado por el F.C.E. Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenerio y Akademische Druck Und Verlagsanstalt.

Códice Gómez De Orozco

1954 Facsímil publicado por Talleres de impresión de estampillas y valores, México, D.F.

Dahlgren, Barbro

1990 *La Mixteca: Su cultura e historia prehispánicas*. UNAM, México.

Esparza, Manuel

1991 *Repartos y Adjudicaciones, Oaxaca, Siglo XIX*, Guías y catálogos no. 6, Archivo General del Estado de Oaxaca, Oaxaca.

1994 *Relaciones Geográficas Históricas de Oaxaca 1777-1778*, CIESAS, Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, México.

Gerhard, Peter

1968 "Descripciones geográficas. Pistas para investigadores" en: *Historia Mexicana*, vol. XVII, No. 4, abril junio, Revista trimestral del Colegio de México, México.

1986 *Geografía histórica de la Nueva España 1519-1821*, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas e Instituto de Geografía, UNAM, México.

Glass, John

1964 *Catalogo de la colección de códices*. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México.

1975 "A Census of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts" en colaboración con Donald Robertson en Guide Ethnohistorical Sources parte 3, editor Howard F. Cline, *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol.14, editor Robert Wauchope, pp. 81-280, University of Texas Press Austin, USA.

Gomez De Orozco

1952 *Mapa de Xochitepec*: Interpretación de Federico Gómez de Orozco. Colección Amatlacuilot, Publicaciones Vargas Rea, México

1955 *Xochitepec, mapa pictográfico*, Interpretación de Federico Gómez de Orozco, Biblioteca de Historiadores Mexicanos, Vargas Rea, México.

Guzman Betancourt, Ignacio

1987 "La toponimia. Introducción general al estudio de nombres de lugar" en: *De toponimia... y topónimos. Contribuciones al estudio de nombres de lugar*. Coordinador Ignacio Guzmán Betancourt. Colección divulgación, INAH, México.

Hermann Lejarazu, Manuel Alvaro

1994 *Glifos toponímicos en los códices mixtecos (región del Valle de Nochixtlán)*. Tesis de licenciatura en Historia, UNAM, Acatlán, México.

1998 *Investigación para el video del Códice Mixteco Postcortesiano*, serie de videocassettes sobre los códices mexicanos, BNAH-INAH, México.

Jimenez Moreno, Wigberto

1962a "Estudios Mixtecos" en *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca F. Fco. de Alvarado*, pp. 11-105, INI-INAH-SEP. México.

1962b "Etimología de Topónimos Mixtecos" en el *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca de Fr. Francisco de Alvarado*. INI-INAH-SEP. México.

Josserand, Kathryn; M. Jaansen y M. De Los Angeles Romero

1978 *Mixtec Dialectology: Inferences from Linguistics and Ethnohistory*, papel presentado el 6 de mayo a la Sociedad Americana de Arqueología en Tucson, Arizona, pp. 1-21.

Josserand, Kathryn y Raúl Alavéz Chávez

1982 "Mixtec places names" en *Resúmenes del 44th International Congress of Americanist*, Manchester, Inglaterra.

Josserand, Kathryn

1983 *Mixtec Dialect History: (proto. mixtec and modern mixtec text)*. Tesis doctoral, New Orleans-Tulane University.

Martinez Gracida, Manuel

1883a *Colección de cuadros sinópticos de los pueblos, haciendas y ranchos del Estado libre y soberano de Oaxaca*. Anexo No. 50. La memoria administrativa presentada al H. Congreso del mismo el 17 de septiembre. Oaxaca. Imprenta del estado.

1883b *Catálogo Etimológico de los Pueblos, Haciendas y Ranchos del Estado de Oaxaca*. Oaxaca, Imprenta del Estado en el Ex-Obispado dirigida por Ignacio Candiani.

Memorial de Linderos Grafica Agraria de Oaxaca

1997 Documentos del Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de la reforma Agraria en Oaxaca, Amigos de Oaxaca, Fomento Cultural Banamex A.C. e Instituto de Artes Gráficas de Oaxaca, Oaxaca.

Mendoza Guerrero, Telesforo

1992 *Monografía del Distrito de Huajuapán, Oax.* Colección Glifo del Gobierno del Estado. Secretaría de Desarrollo Económico y Social. Dirección General de Educ. Cultura y Bienestar Social del gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca.

Molina, Alonso De

1992 *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana*. Edición facsímil. Biblioteca Porrúa, no 44. Editorial Porrúa S.A., México.

Panofsky, Erwin

1972 *Estudios sobre Iconología*. Alianza Universidad No. 12, Alianza Editorial, Madrid España.

Pohl, John

1994 *The politics of symbolism in the mixtec codices*. Vanderbilt University, No. 46, Nashville, Tennessee.

Reyes, Fray Antonio De Los

1593 *Arte en Lengua Mixteca*, Publicado por de Charencey, casa Pedro Balli, México.

Rodríguez Cano, Laura

1996 *El sistema de escritura ñuiñe: análisis del corpus de piedras grabadas de la zona de la "Cañada" en la Mixteca Baja, Oaxaca*. Tesis de Licenciatura en Arqueología ENAH-SEP, México.

1998 *El estudio de los nombres de lugar en el sistema de escritura ñuiñe a partir del análisis histórico geográfico de la Mixteca Baja, Oaxaca.* Tesis de maestría, ENAH-SEP.

2001 "El Lienzo 57 glosas: Una propuesta" en *programa general de la XVI Mesa Redonda: Migración, población territorio y cultura* de la Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología celebrada ponencia presentada en la semana del 29 de julio al 3 de agosto de 2001 en la ciudad de Zacatecas.

2001 *Los topónimos de la Mixteca Baja. Análisis de sus componentes en las representaciones en piedra, mapas, lienzos y códices*, manuscrito en preparación para tesis doctoral en Estudios Mesoamericanos de IIF y FFyL de la UNAM, México.

Rosado Ojeda, Vladimiro

1945 "Estudio del código mixteco post-cortesiano no. 36" en *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, Tomo I, SEP, Talleres Gráficos de la editorial Stylo, México.

Smith, Mary Elizabeth

1973 *Picture Writing from Ancient Southern Mexico: Mixtec Place Signs and Maps.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.

Smith, Mary Elizabeth y Ross Parmenter

1991 *The Codex Tulane*, Akademische Druck U. Verlagsanstalt Graz Austria y Middle American Research Institute, No. 61, Universidad de Tulane, Nueva Orleans.

Stark Campbell, Sara; Andrea Johnson y Filiberto Lorenzo

1986 *Diccionario mixteco de San Juan Colorado*, ILV, México.

Terraciano, Kevin

1994 *Ñuzahui history: Mixtec Writing and culture in Colonial Oaxaca*, Tesis doctoral, University of California, Los Angeles.

Winter, Marcus

1992 *Oaxaca. The Archaeological record.* Minutiae Mexicana S.A. de C.V., México.

Unpublished Sources:

57 GLOSSES

1960 Copy of a *lienzo* from the XVI century, Archivo del Registro Agrario Nacional of Oaxaca.

POSTCORTESAN MIXTEC CODEX NO 36.

n.d. Life-sized photograph in the Museo Regional de Huajuapán de León, Oaxaca.

MAP OF XOCHITEPEC

2001 Photographs from the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark.

n.d. 1:1 scale copy of the Map of Xochitepec in the map room of the Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, México.

DIVERSE COLONIAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE MIXTEC LOWLANDS IN THE ARCHIVES:

AGN Archivo General de la Nación, México, D. F., Ramo de Tierras, (General Archive of the Nation, Federal District, Mexico, Land Branch).

AGO Archivo General de Oaxaca, diversos ramos, (General Archive of Oaxaca, various branches).

ARANO Archivo Agrario Nacional, Oaxaca, Archivo Histórico, (National Agrarian Archive, Oaxaca, Historic Archive).

APJO Archivo del Poder Judicial, Oaxaca, cajas relativas a Huajuapán, (Archive of Judicial Power, Oaxaca, boxes relative to Huajuapán).