

## Preface

I HAD BEEN HARD AT WORK for some time on a study of the seventeenth-century Tlaxcalan annalist don Juan Buenaventura Zapata y Mendoza when Jim Lockhart handed on to me a file of papers which he said would provide valuable context. In it I found photocopies of the documents presented in this volume—two sets of annals from the Tlaxcala-Puebla valley which were roughly contemporary to Zapata's. Jim had made the copies in the 1970s in the Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia in Mexico City while on a research trip. Since then, he had studied them in relation to his own work and had also shared them at one point with one of his graduate students, Frances Krug, and also with Arthur Anderson, thinking that perhaps one or all of them would one day publish an edition. All three of their lives in fact took different directions, but in the file I found their transcriptions, notes, and partial translations, silent testimony to the work that they had once poured into the project. That was in 2003. Several more years would go by before I felt myself deeply enough immersed in the annalistic genre to be able to do effectively what had not yet been done—that is, bring the project to completion. Our field's knowledge of Nahuatl had deepened considerably in the more than twenty years since the project was last officially on the table, especially as concerns the relationships between clauses and certain vocabulary of the everyday language of postcontact times; thus I found I needed to begin the translation all over, as it were, even as I listened attentively to what the three of them were in a sense whispering over my shoulder.

My own study of Nahuatl had begun in 1998, in a Yale Summer Language School course taught by Jonathan Amith. After that I had plugged away on my own, thanking the fates for a talent with languages I certainly had done nothing to deserve. Then in early 2002 I learned to my joy that Michel Launey and James Lockhart would be teaching a follow-up seminar for those of Amith's former students who were interested. Both men gave generously of their time and energy that summer, making it possible for me to move forward by leaps and bounds in a way otherwise impossible. Jim went further to answer a continuous stream of questions from me in the months and years that followed.

I was already interested in the Nahuas' cultural productions, doing some work with *cantares* (songs) but more with annals, especially don Juan Zapata. I was fortunate enough to receive grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the American Philosophical Society which enabled me to devote significant time to my new interest. As I proceeded I accrued many intellectual debts beyond those to my Nahuatl teachers, but three people in particular emerged as central—Frances Krug, Susan Schroeder, and Luis Reyes. Frances had worked with Jim on a doctoral dissertation which reached an advanced stage but for health reasons unfortunately never was completed. She gathered an almost exhaustive compendium of the entries in nearly all the extant annals from the region of Puebla and Tlaxcala; her work has been a central reference for me for years now. If in one set of annals the entry for the year 1576 does not make sense, one will often on consulting Krug's work find five or six other entries for that year laid out side by side, with their commonalities and subtle differences pointed out. (Some of the important conclusions she was able to draw from this extraordinarily

painstaking work will be discussed in the introduction that follows.) Sue Schroeder sent me the copy of Zapata's work that inspired me in my study of annals in the first place, but she did much more than that. She has been a beacon of a kind, for she alone in our field as it exists in this country has worked actively and constantly to keep the Nahuatl annals in full view; her untiring efforts have helped to bring the works of Chimalpahin, the premier annalist, within reach of the English-speaking world. Finally, it was the late Luis Reyes García, an extremely talented translator and historian/anthropologist and a speaker of Nahuatl from childhood, who brought the annals of the Tlaxcala-Puebla valley into the arena of modern scholarship. In 2003, when I was in Tlaxcala to do archival research on don Juan Zapata, he spoke to me on the phone and was kindness itself. He was already very sick with the illness that would later prove mortal, and could not see me in person, but he nevertheless opened doors for me while I was there. He himself, along with Andrea Martínez Baracs, published a transcription and translation of Zapata's lengthy work. (Indeed, Andrea Martínez recently published *Un gobierno de indios: Tlaxcala, 1519–1750*, an excellent work partially based on Zapata which I was unable to obtain until preparation of this book was in its final stages, and thus unfortunately could not incorporate into my commentary.) Many of Reyes' students worked on other annals from the area, always producing quality editions. Not least in importance (from my point of view) is the *Anales del Barrio de San Juan del Río*, edited by Lidia Gómez García, Celia Salazar Exaire, and María Elena Stefanón López, a set of annals closely related to the Annals of Puebla in this volume.

As I continued to work with the sets presented here, I came to the conclusion that some elements were so mysterious as to require further primary research. I sought background in published Spanish chronicles and cabildo records found in the collections of the New York Public Library, and I consulted the manuscript holdings of the John Carter Brown Library as they pertained to don Manuel de los Santos Salazar, a vital force behind the surviving annals of the Tlaxcalan region, as the introduction will demonstrate. When I was at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris to look at Zapata's original manuscript, I surveyed other related materials from the Tlaxcala-Puebla valley.<sup>1</sup> I ended by traveling to Mexico to consult the original manuscripts, as the photocopies I had were not always adequate. The Annals of Tlaxcala are indeed still there; I found that only the first page as it existed in the 1970s was missing, and so I left a photocopy of that page with the original. The Annals of Puebla have been declared a national treasure, as they mention Juan Diego's purported sighting of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and thus are in a vault away from public view. Fortunately, digital images are available in the library.

In the latter stages, as I was working on the introduction, it occurred to me that the person who should really write an analysis of the texts in relation to postconquest language evolution was not I, but Jim. I could do it in some fashion, but the texts deserved

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<sup>1</sup>In this book, rather than referring to Zapata's original folios, I consistently cite the excellent edition by Reyes and Martínez so that readers can easily consult the passages and see the larger context for themselves. However, when quoting Zapata directly, I use my own transcriptions, which vary somewhat from the published version, in that I do not resolve overbars, standardize spellings, alter punctuation, etc., as the edition does.

more than the segment I would produce. I could look at the Annals of Puebla and recognize certain Stage 3 phenomena, but Jim with his decades of experience could review the same material and see its place in the overall Nahuatl corpus and the general evolution of the language. I asked him if he would write a separate chapter to be included within the covers of the book itself, and he kindly agreed. Though a bit unorthodox, the arrangement is, I believe, highly suitable.

My debts to individuals and in many cases their associated institutions are perhaps too numerous to name, but I will do my best. At Rutgers, my chairman, Paul Clemens, helped me to obtain much-needed funding from the Department of History. My inspiring colleagues, Indrani Chatterjee and Julie Livingston, brought me into the fold of their seminar on Vernacular Epistemologies, where the participants gave me invaluable advice. My fellow board members of the *Colonial Latin American Review* have always been for me a model of scholarship; on this occasion I particularly wish to thank Raquel Chang-Rodríguez for inviting me to present on the annals at CUNY's graduate center, where I also received helpful comments. Richard Green, director of Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Ohio State University, invited me to present the annals to a wide array of responsive scholars. Certain archivists and librarians went beyond any notion of duty: Sandra Francis and Beatrice Dey at the New York Public Library, Ken Ward at the John Carter Brown, and Genaro Díaz, José Francisco Tovar Ruiz, and el ingeniero Miguel Angel Gasca at the BNAH. At Stanford University Press, Norris Pope and his entire staff have been unfailingly helpful. Mapmaker Jeffrey Ward did marvelously painstaking work.<sup>2</sup>

Noble David Cook kindly helped me untangle my confusion regarding some of the epidemics in the texts. Bradley Scopyk, who came to stay for a few days in the summer of 2007 in order that I might help him with Nahuatl, actually ended up being the one to help me in several regards, forcing me to rethink certain elements of grammar that I had taken for granted, and pointing out several works on Tlaxcala previously unknown to me. Within the community of students of Nahuatl, many have offered the warmth of their regard and much scholarly help. Stafford Poole patiently read both the Nahuatl and my translations for certain church-related segments I found confusing and offered me his perspectives. Doris Namala and Stephanie Wood have both generously shared with me their own ongoing work in relevant areas. Matthew Restall has offered trenchant insight and practical help on numerous occasions. And Caterina Pizzigoni has caused me to

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<sup>2</sup>Reconfiguring a city's streets and landmarks as they were more than three hundred years ago is no mean feat. To create the map of Puebla, we had at our disposal a 1698 "Plano de la Ciudad de los Angeles," signed by Cristóbal de Guadalajara and housed at the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), which was published in the 1961 edition of López de Villaseñor. This, in combination with the careful scholarship of Manuel Toussaint on the history of Puebla's churches and the extraordinary study by Hugo Leicht of Puebla's colonial streets, allowed us to envision the city as it then was, as well as locate all the features which played a significant role in the life of the writer of this volume's annals. Of course, not all elements were included. Had the writer of the annals been a Cholulan living in the barrio of Santiago, for example, his references and thus the choices we made would have been somewhat different. Finally, even the general map of the geographic area required some research, as some small settlements now have different names or have shifted in other ways. A 1681 parish census published by Peter Gerhard was immensely helpful.

rethink several issues with her innate good sense and wisdom. In a different arena, my husband, John Nolan, has been a true partner in parenting, a point that is not at all irrelevant, for it is that which has made it possible for me to find the time to do the work that appears in this book.

But there is one person more than any other whom I particularly wish to thank in these pages, and that is, of course, Jim. Not only did he inspire the project in the first place, but he also literally read every word more than once, finding many mistakes and making crucial suggestions. I cannot convey my gratitude for all that I have learned from him since that summer of 2002. Teachers have been important to me since I was quite small, and there are many to whom I owe a great deal. But none has ever taught me as much as he. Sometimes as I work with the annals of the Tlaxcala-Puebla valley, seeing how the authors borrowed from each other, taught each other, worked to pass on what had come down to them from the ancients, hoped that young people would pick up their work and carry it on, I also think of the community of scholars who have studied the Nahuas over the intervening centuries. I am profoundly grateful to be a part of that chain, grateful that Jim reached out his hand to me.

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