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Cross-Examining the Three Texts of Book X:

“The People” of the Florentine Codex

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts  
in Latin American Studies

by

Roxanne Valle

2023

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2023

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Cross-Examining the Three Texts of Book X: “The People”  
of the Florentine Codex

by

Roxanne Valle

Master of Arts in Latin American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2023

Professor Kevin B. Terraciano, Chair

The *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (“General History of the Things of New Spain”) is a sixteenth-century manuscript created by an unknown number of Nahua *tlacuiloque* in collaboration with a Spanish friar, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, for the purpose of documenting Aztec culture and acquiring Nahuatl literacy to facilitate Catholic assimilation. Within the three volumes and twelve *libros* produced over the course of thirty years, Book X, “The People,” describes the social and corporal composition of the Nahua world, with detailed lists of social identities, body parts, and Indigenous ethnic groups residing in central Mexico. Several scholars have examined this text for evidence of a Nahua-Christian moral dialogue, but few have addressed three additional features of Book X: the overall correspondence and difference between the original Nahuatl text on social identities and its Spanish translation; the brevity of information included in the descriptions of documented social types; and the

possibility of missing critical details resulting from the concise texts. This thesis re-evaluates our current understanding of Book X relative to these three understudied topics. In my close analysis of “The People,” I first apply the "three texts-in-one" approach to examine degrees of rhetorical correlation between the Nahuatl-language passages, corresponding Spanish translations, and accompanying illustrations in constructing discourses of morality in the tenth *libro*. Next, I cross-examine Book X with other Books of the Florentine Codex to determine critical details that were omitted from the descriptions of social types. Third, I locate identities and information mentioned in other areas of the *Historia general*, but omitted from the writings. This project contributes to literature regarding Book X by identifying additional moral rhetoric present in the three texts, and by challenging the current perception of the “catalog” as a comprehensive list of social identities.

The thesis of Roxanne Valle is approved.

Paul V. Kroskrity

Stella Elise Nair

Kevin B. Terraciano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2023

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# CHAPTER 1

## 1.1 General Introduction

*Libro decimo delos vicios y virtudes  
desta gente indiana y de los miembros  
detodo elcuerpo interiores y  
exteriores ydelas enfer  
medades y medicinas  
contrarias y de las  
naciones que a esta  
tierra an venido  
a poblar.*

[Tenth Book of the vices and virtues  
of these “indian” people and the limbs  
of all the body, interior and  
exterior, and of the sicknes-  
ses and contrary  
medicines, and of the  
nations that, to this  
land, have arrived  
to inhabit.]  
(Cover Page)<sup>1</sup>

In Book X, “The People,” of the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (“General History of the Things of New Spain”), the *Qualli Amantecatl* (“Good Feather Worker”) is defined with positive, normative attributes and animated statements related to their prestigious activities (Table 1.1).<sup>2</sup> In the Nahuatl text, the *tlacuiloque* (literally “those who write”

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<sup>1</sup> Personal translation. *Image 1 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. L2021667855. Cover Page. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=1](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=1).

<sup>2</sup> There are tables of the translations available in the Appendix. In the tables, I include columns of the original writings, existing translations (or a personal translation if none is available), and my translation notes, which features definitions of terms from the various dictionaries I used in this thesis.

and “those who paint”, or “scribes”) describes this crafts specialist as a *tlanemiliani* (“imaginative”), a *netlacaneconi* (“meritorious of confidence”), and someone who performs the following activities: *tlaçaloa*—“glues [things, i.e., feathers],” *tlahuipana*—“arranges [things, feathers],” and *tlananamictia*—“matches [things, feathers]”.<sup>3</sup> In the corresponding Spanish texts, Spanish Franciscan priest and “co-collaborator” of the manuscript, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590), “translates” the description of the *Qualli Amantecatl* with parallel qualities. Offering an *approximate* interpretation of “*tal oficial, si es bueno*” (“such tradesperson, if he is good”).<sup>4</sup> Sahagún describes the *good* feather worker as *covenible* (“reasonable”), *fiel* (“faithful”), and one who tends to *pegar las plumas* (“glue the feathers”), *poner las en concierto* (“put them in order”), and *aplicar las a su proposito* (“apply them to their purpose”).<sup>5</sup> These multilingual texts of the *amantecatl* follow a uniform pattern present throughout Book X, with the Nahuatl written by the *tlacuiloque* in the column on the right-hand side of the folio, and the often loose Spanish translations, done or overseen later by Sahagún, in the column on the left-hand side; this particular entry, however, lacks an image that occasionally occupies the space reserved for the Spanish translation.

When comparing the entry of the feather worker in Book X with other excerpts about this craft specialist in the Florentine Codex, there are several inconsistencies and other critical observations regarding how the *amantecatl* is described in the tenth book. First, the entry for the

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<sup>3</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 10: The People*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012), 25.

<sup>4</sup> Note: I typed the Nahuatl and Spanish texts of Florentine Codex exactly as written in the manuscript, hence the differences between the spelling in this thesis with the more recent orthographies used to write each language.

<sup>5</sup> Personal translation. *Image 33 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. 1577. Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 15, p. 7. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=33&r=0.367.1.346.0.425.0.254.0](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=33&r=0.367.1.346.0.425.0.254.0).

*amantecatl* is among the few passages on social identities in “The People” to bear a close resemblance to the Spanish translation. In this case, Sahagún offers terms in Spanish that parallel the language of the original Nahuatl. Similar to the *tlacuiloque*, he defines this crafts specialist as a person who is considerate, reputable, and meticulous in performing the customs of their trade. Second, the brevity of the text that describes the *amantecatl*, although similar in both the Nahuatl and Spanish columns, does not reflect the importance that other books of the *Historia general* ascribe to this crafts specialist. The Florentine Codex authors dedicated lengthy excerpts to the feather worker in other parts of the manuscript, including entire chapters in Book IX, “The Merchants,” where the trades of these occupations are described in elaborate detail and are depicted with vibrant images in the manuscript.<sup>6</sup> However, the *amantecatl* documented in “*Inic chicome capitulo vnca’ moteneoa in innetlaiecoltili in teocuitlapitzque ioa’ in amanteca*” (“Seventh Chapter. Here is mentioned the way of life of the goldcasters and the featherworkers”), or “*Capitulo septimo delos oficiales plateros, o oficiales de plumas*” (“The Seventh Chapter of the tradespeople of gold, or of feathers”) in the Spanish texts of Book X, occupies a restrictive space with the information merely covering *half* a folio and lacking any corresponding image.<sup>7</sup> Third, perhaps as a consequence of this noted brevity, the entry lacks information on the *amantecatl* that is crucial for understanding their *complete* identity. For example, in a short excerpt in the Eighteenth Chapter of Book VI, “Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy,” detailing a speech from the *tlatoque* (plural of *tlatoani*: “one who speaks,” “ruler,” or “nobles”) to *imjchpuchoan* (“their daughters”), the orator recounts the words these parents deliver:

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<sup>6</sup> See the following for an example of featherworking imagery in Book IX. *Image 133 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book IX: The Merchants*. Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 65, p. 373. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10620/?sp=133&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10620/?sp=133&st=image).

<sup>7</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book X*, 25. Florentine Codex Book X, fol. 15, p. 7

...*vel xiqujtta, vel xonmopacho, in vel cioatequjtl in malacatl, in tzotzopaztli vel xonmjxtzaiana quenjñ tultecati, quenjñ amantecati, quenjñ tlatlamachicujloa, quenjñ tlatlapalpoa, quenjñ tlatlapalaquja...*

...look well, apply yourself well to the really womanly task, the spindle whorl, the weaving stick. Open your eyes well as to how to be an artisan [*toltecatl*], how to be a feather worker [*amantecatl*]; the manner of making designs by embroidering; how to judge colors; how to apply colors...<sup>8</sup>

This short statement in Book VI reveals how young Nahua daughters of the *tlatoque* were advised to perform many types of labor, including *quenjñ amantecati* (“how to be a feather worker,” or “the manner of being an *amantecatl*”). This seemingly brief detail disrupts the primarily masculine representation of feather workers in the Florentine Codex, where these social types are often presented through descriptions of men. These findings of the *amantecatl* demonstrate three components of Book X that have yet to be thoroughly examined by researchers: 1) the rhetorical correspondence between the original Nahuatl text, corresponding Spanish translations, and “illustrations” that describe social types; 2) the brevity of the texts discussing these social identities; and 3) the possibility of critical details missing from the descriptions of people, due to the selective processes involved in compiling the writings.

This thesis examines these three understudied aspects of Book X, “The People,” and seeks to re-evaluate our understanding of the “catalog” presented in the *libro*. First, I apply the “three texts-in-one” approach conceptualized by historian, Kevin Terraciano, to assess the correspondence between the Nahuatl transcriptions, corresponding Spanish column, and images to determine the contributions of each “text” to the discourse of morality that is applied to each *oficio* or occupation in Book X. Second, I compare the three texts of Book X with other books of

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<sup>8</sup> Instead of “thyself” and “thine,” translation choices by Arthur Anderson and Charles Dibble that would correspond to the high register of Nahuatl speech recorded in the Florentine Codex, I simply prefer “yourself” and “your.” Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 6: Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012), 96.

the Florentine Codex to examine details that are missing from the catalog of people. Third, adopting the various approaches for historicizing the manuscript presented by art historian, Jeanette Favrot Peterson, I propose several hypotheses to explain possible colonial-era influences that affected the selective list of attributes assigned to each type.

## 1.2 A Concise History of the Florentine Codex

The *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (ca. 1547-1570s), also known as the Florentine Codex or *Códice Florentino*, is a comprehensive “encyclopedia” of Mexica culture produced in Mexico during the sixteenth-century, in the early decades of the Spanish viceregal or colonial period (1521-1821). Consisting of three volumes and twelve *libros* (“books”), the *Historia* is considered by some researchers as one of the most illustrious and extensive manuscripts created in the “Americas.” Many scholars consult the manuscript for inquiries related to “pre-Columbian” and “post-Conquest” histories, including research regarding various categories of Indigenous knowledge presented in the texts, such as topics pertaining to medicine, ceremonies, and commerce. The manuscript consists of more than 1,200 folios of parallel Nahuatl and Spanish columns of handwritten roman alphabetic text, and a total of 2,468 remarkable iconographic “illustrations,” drawn and handpainted by Native artists. The illustrated manuscript or “codex” was compiled by an unknown number of Indigenous scholars, some named but most unnamed, under the supervision of a Franciscan friar and “co-collaborator”, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1499-1590).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rao, Ida Giovanna. “Mediceo Palatino 218-220 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana of Florence.” In *Colors between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, and Louis Alexander Waldman, 2012 ed., 26–46. Florence, Italy: Villa I Tatti, 2011.

In 1547, Sahagún recruited Nahua students from the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, the first European-style college founded in the Americas (1536-mid. 1600s), to begin gathering information for his missionary objective of systematic evangelization. Having compiled other ecclesiastical texts related to Nahua divinities and their languages, the Franciscan friar continued the strategy of acquiring linguistic and cultural literacy with the involvement and assistance of Indigenous nobles. The friar consulted selected scholars from the *Colegio* to produce inquisitorial “questionnaires” and elicit information from Native elders. Sahagún collected dozens of *huehuetlahtolli* (“speech of the ancients”) from elders on a wide variety of topics. Thus the *tlacuiloque* were relegated to producing honorific language intended for priests who sought to convert and assimilate the Nahuas.<sup>10</sup>

The *tlacuiloque* continued to work on manuscripts that culminated in the Florentine Codex over a thirty year period, in the midst of epidemics and sociopolitical crises following the Spanish invasion and the consolidation of Spanish rule. Deadly diseases introduced by the European invaders decimated the Native population and threatened the manuscript’s completion. Debates on how to extirpate “idolatry” also undermined the manuscript's production. Despite external pressures that forced the scribes to halt and restart their work, the extant edition of the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, the title that scholars have given to the text since the original title page of the work and previous editions were lost, was finished between 1575 and 1577. Much of the Nahuatl alphabetical text was compiled and completed by the Nahua participants as early as 1559. The corresponding Spanish translations were done after 1575 and approved by the friar by 1577, and the illustrations performed by the Nahua *tlacuiloque* were

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<sup>10</sup> Gravier, Marina Garone. “Sahagún’s Codex and Book Design in the Indigenous Context.” In *Colors between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, and Louis Alexander Waldman, 2012 ed., 156-97, Florence, Italy: Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2011.

performed around the same time, as most of the images were placed in the Spanish column.<sup>11</sup> The final result: a twelve book and four volume manuscript, later rebound into three volumes, informed by antiquarian and medieval encyclopedic treatises, such as the *Historia Naturalis* (ca. 77) of Pliny (23-79), the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (ca. 1240) of Bartolomeo Anglico (abt. 1203-1272 ), and additional imported texts once maintained at the libraries of the *Colegio* and studied by the *tlacuiloque*.<sup>12</sup> In the end, however, the work of the *tlacuiloque* succumbed to the controversies and hysterias of the Catholic Church, and the *Historia general* was never seen by Sahagún’s intended recipient, King Philip II (1527-1598). Between April 22, 1577 and October 28, 1577, the Florentine Codex was seized and intended to be sent to the king, but in 1580 the manuscript was actually taken to Rome by Fray Rodrigo de Sequera, one of Sahagún’s allies during the making of the *Historia*.<sup>13</sup> Around 1588, the manuscript was deposited in the *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* in Florence, Italy, where it remains today. Hence, it was eventually dubbed the Florentine Codex.<sup>14</sup>

Book X, “The People,” follows the inquisitorial schema that informed the creation of the *Historia general*. In keeping with his objective to construct a reference tool for priests, Sahagún explicitly declared in the *Prologo* (“Prologue”) that his primary intention was to exploit the texts

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<sup>11</sup> Rao, “Mediceo Palatino 218-220”

<sup>12</sup> Garibay and Robertson cited in Rao, “Mediceo Palatino 218-220”. Escalante Gonzalbo, Pablo. “The Art of War, the Working Class, and Snowfall: Reflections on the Assimilation of Western Aesthetics.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 63–74. University of Texas Press, 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Terraciano, Kevin. “Introduction: An Encyclopedia of Nahua Culture: Context and Content.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 1–18. University of Texas Press, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Markay, Lia. “‘Istoria Della Terra Chiamata La Nuova Spagna’: The History and Reception of Sahagún’s Codex at the Medici Court.” In *Colors between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, and Louis Alexander Waldman, 198-218. Florence, Italy: Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2011.



of this *libro* and disseminate its language to other clergy for the purpose of compiling persuasive and dissuasive sermons:

*Si bien se considera la predication evangelica y apostolica, hallar muy claro, que la predication de los catholicos predicadores, a de ser vicios y virtudes: persuadiendo lo vno y disuadiendo lo otro. Y lo mas continuo a de ser el persuadirlos las virtudes theologales, y disuadirlos los vicios a ellas co'trarias...poniendo la bondad decada persona y luego su maldad con copia de nombres sustantiuos, adiectiuos y verbos (donde ay gran abundancia de lenguaje muy proprio y muy comun entrellos) contienense tambien por el mismo estilo en este volumen todas las partes del cuerpo, interiores, y exteriores, muy por menudo: y tras esto las mas de las enfermedades a que los cuerpos humanos son sujetos, en esta tierra, y las medicinas contrarias: y junto a esto casi todas las generaciones que a esta tierra an venido a poblar.*

If one considers preaching to be evangelical and apostolic, it must appear very clear that the preaching of the Catholic preachers should be about vices and virtues, encouraging the one and discouraging the other. And the most constant should be persuading them of the theological virtues and dissuading them from the contrary vices...placing the goodness of each person and then their badness with copious nouns, adjectives, and verbs (where among them is a grand abundance of characteristic and very commonly used terms). This volume also contains, in the same manner, all the internal and external parts of the body, in much detail, and after this the majority of the sicknesses to which the human body in this land is susceptible, and the cures, and with this nearly all the generations which have come to settle this land.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of the documented information, scholars describe Book X as a *catalog* of social types, accompanied by detailed texts and images of their routine activities, categories of behaviors, and bodily politics.<sup>16</sup>

### 1.3 Literature Review

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<sup>15</sup> Personal translation. *Image 2 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. L2021667855. Prologue of Book X. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=1](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=1).

<sup>16</sup> Baird, Ellen T. "Parts of the Body: Order and Disorder." *In The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 200–213. University of Texas Press, 2019.

Many scholars who have examined the catalog of people in Book X have sought to complement socio-historical scholarship regarding Nahua identities and other topics of Indigenous social stratification, often paying limited attention to the moral discourses that accompany the descriptions of social types. In recent literature analyzing “The People,” however, some researchers have begun to study the dialogue of morality informing the texts and images with findings applicable to the present thesis.

In initial studies of the rhetoric of Book X, scholars often analyzed the textual models that the *tlacuiloque* used from the *Colegio* in Tlatelolco to compose the structure of the writings. Angel María Garibay first suggested Theophrastus’s (371-287 BCE) studies of moral character as a possible reference applied in the creation of Book X, arguing that the overall list of social types transcribed by the *tlacuiloque* resembles the format of the Greek philosopher’s manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> In relation to texts that might have informed the specific classes of social identities and their probable models, only a few scholars have proposed other sources that the Native artists might have used as models. Art historian Jeannette Favrot Peterson posits the German publication *Das Ständebuch (The Book of Trades)*, written by Hans Sachs (1494-1576) and illustrated by Jost Amman (1539-1591), as a potential European model for the sections on the various *toltecatl*.<sup>18</sup> Both Garibay and Peterson argue that the *tlacuiloque* of Book X adapted

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<sup>17</sup> Fray Angel María Garibay cited in Boone, Elizabeth Hill. “Fashioning Conceptual Categories in the Florentine Codex: Old-World and Indigenous Foundations for the Rulers and the Gods.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 95–109. University of Texas Press, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/318409.11>.

<sup>18</sup> Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. “Crafting the Self: Identity and the Mimetic Tradition in the Florentine Codex.” In *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by John Frederick Schwaller, 223–53. Berkeley, Calif.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2003.

the artistic and rhetorical conventions found in Classical and European literature to their own cultural practices of art and speech to construct the descriptions of social types.

More recent studies continue to examine the rhetoric of Book X, but in relation to competing narratives of morality that describe gendered social identities and sexual deviants present in the catalog. Sociologist Rebecca Overmyer-Velázquez proposes that these excerpts in Book X demonstrate the influence of Catholic and European gender norms in the colonial period. Overmyer-Velázquez argues that the *tlacuiloque* and Sahagún distinguished the Nahua men in the texts with adornments of European cultural symbols, such as tools and dress, to communicate *good* social types, while disproportionately framing the Nahua women as *bad* by using motifs of Native clothing and traditional hair-styles to emphasize their supposed unacceptable and sinful behaviors.<sup>19</sup> In general, these scholars of Book X demonstrate that the portrayals of morality regarding gender and sexuality are biased since distinctions among these good and not good social types align with dualistic Christian concepts of good and evil and Eurocentric attitudes towards Native peoples and their cultures.

Other researchers examining the gendered identities and sexual deviants in Book X have demonstrated that the information also presents a cultural dialogue of moral expressions in addition to the evident portrayal of Spanish colonial social hierarchies and cultural imposition. Margaret Campbell Avery argues that the representation of women of ill-repute portrayed in Book X reflects a considerable degree of acculturation among the *tlacuiloque*. Campbell Avery notes that several Aztec symbols in the texts—such as hair, flowers, *atl* (“water”) glyphs, ritual face paint, and *huipillis* (“*huipiles*”)—convey European-Christian concepts of excess and lust,

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<sup>19</sup> Overmyer-Velázquez, Rebecca. “Christian Morality Revealed in New Spain: The Inimical Nahua Woman in Book Ten of the Florentine Codex.” *Journal of Women’s History* 10, no. 2 (1998): 9–37. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.0360>.

thus both continuing and contradicting some of the cultural meanings ascribed to these symbols and peoples prior to the invasion.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, historian Lisa Sousa illuminates discursive tensions between the three texts of Book X, and shows the continuance of Nahua social attitudes of decorum associated with speech and flowers in the descriptions of the sixteen social types presented as deviants.<sup>21</sup> The use of flora by the Nahua participants, according to Sousa, communicates early Spanish colonial constructions of immorality and social transgressions that reflect cultural tensions of Native and Christian morality. Despite the presence of European, Christian influences in the descriptions and art of Book X, these scholars demonstrate that concepts of Nahua moral rhetoric, gender norms, and sexuality permeate the manuscript.

The present thesis continues to consider emerging questions regarding the moral dialogue of Book X, while examining other issues of the “catalog.” Extending beyond the categories of gender, sexual deviants, and the *toltecatl*, this project seeks to examine other classes of social types in order to determine how morality is constructed in Book X.

#### 1.4 The Composition of Book X

In the introductory section of Book X, there is a cover page, a *Prologo*, and a *Sumario de los capitulos del libro decimo* (“Summary of the Chapters of the Tenth Book”) describing the contents of the texts.<sup>22</sup> The cover page, as detailed in the introduction, reflects the three primary

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<sup>20</sup> Arvey, Margaret Campbell. “Sex, Lies, and Colonial Manuscripts: Women of Ill-Repute in the Florentine Codex.” In *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, edited by Virginia E. Miller. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988.

<sup>21</sup> Sousa, Lisa. “Flowers and Speech in Discourses on Deviance in Book 10.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 184–98. University of Texas Press, 2019.

<sup>22</sup> Personal translations. Part I of the *Sumario de los Capítulos. Image 3 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. L2021667855. p. 2, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=3](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=3). Remainder of the *Sumario de Capítulos. Image 4 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de*

topics of Book X and the three sections in which the book could be concisely divided, especially in relation to the monolingual, Spanish *Sumario de los Capítulos*:

Part 1: Chapter 1-Chapter 26  
*de los vicios y virtudes*  
("of the vices and virtues")

*Capítulo primero de las calidades y condiciones buenas y malas delas personas co'juntas por parentesco. fo [...] -Capítulo 26 de los que venden atulli cacao para beuer, tequixquitl, y salitre. fo 68.*

First Chapter, of the qualities, and status of people joined by kinship. fol [...] -Chapter 26 of those who sell *atulli*, *cacao* made to drink, *tequixquitl*, and *salitre*. fol 68.<sup>23</sup>

Part 2: Chapter 27-Chapter 28  
*de los miembros del cuerpo de fuera, y de dentro—de las enfermedades del cuerpo*  
("of the parts of the body exterior, and interior—of the sicknesses of the body")

*Capítulo 27, delos miembros detodo el cuerpo ansi interiores como exteriores [...] 14 parraphos. fo. 70.- Capítulo 28. delas enfermedades del cuerpo humano ydelas medicinas contra ellas. Co[n]tiene cinco parraphos. fo. 67.*

Chapter 27, of all the exterior limbs of the body, the interior as well as the exterior [...] 14 paragraphs. fol. 70.- Chapter 28. of the sicknesses of the human body and the medicines [used] against them. Consists of five paragraphs. fol 67.<sup>24</sup>

Part 3: Chapter 29  
*de todas las generaciones que an poblado en esta tierra—de los mexicanos*  
("of all of the generations that have settled this land—of the *Mexicanos*")

*Capitulo 29. Delas generaciones que an venido a poblar a esta tierra. Contiene...parraphos quantas son las generaciones hasta el fin del libro. fo. 114.*

Chapter 29. Of the generations that have settled this land. Contains...paragraphs of all the generations up to the end of the book. fol. 114.<sup>25</sup>

It is also critical to note that Sahagún includes a treatise titled, "*Relacion del Autor Digna de Ser*

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*Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. L2021667855. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=4](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=4).

<sup>23</sup> Personal translation. Some of the writing is illegible, hence the use of "[ ... ]". *Image 3, Book X*

<sup>24</sup> Personal translation. *Image 4, Book X*

<sup>25</sup> Personal translation. *Image 4, Book X*

*Notada*” (“Account of the Author Worthy of Being Noted”) in the Twenty-Seventh Chapter, rather than providing a corresponding Spanish translation of the Nahuatl text.

The content of Part 1, “*de los vicios y virtudes*” (“of the vices and virtues”), the subject of the present thesis, can be further divided into smaller components due to the uniform construction of the texts. Each social category adheres mainly to the following three-part format: a description introducing the social identity; a set of texts elaborating the *good* version of the given person; and a concluding section describing the *bad* type. This arrangement exists in the original Nahuatl text and is replicated by Sahagún's translation. However, there are some variations.

In the Nahuatl alphabetic text, the *tlacuiloque* began the description of each mentioned person with terms related to their identity, and these labels are comparable to *headers* or *entries* of dictionaries. Following this terminology, the *tlacuiloque* then begin the description that seemingly defines and introduces the social identity that will be elaborated in subsequent sections. These introductory passages are typically followed by an account of the *good* social category, with qualifying phrases that define their morality, such as *qualli* (“good”), *qualli in tlacatl* (“the good person”), and *qualli yiollo* (“of good heart or core,” later associated with “holy”). Finally, the third part of the account is a description of the corresponding not good category that is characterized by opposing, contrasting terms. These phrases include *tlaueliloc* (“perverse” or “malicious”), *amo qualli* (“not good”), and *atlacatl* (literally “not a person,” implying “not a good person”).

In the Spanish text, Sahagún generally maintained the formula applied by the *tlacuiloque* when translating their writings, with some exceptions to the pattern. In comparison to the writings of the Nahua authors, the friar neglected to include additional names of social identities,

as does the Nahuatl text, with the exception of occasionally translating the terms as headers or defining the words provided by the scribes in later portions of the descriptions. In the opening parts of the account, Sahagún typically included an introductory paragraph that defined each social identity, followed by the texts of the ideal and non-ideal persons. To communicate the good social identity, Sahagún often used the following qualifiers: *bueno/buena* (the gendered adjectives for *good*), *la propiedad de la buena* (“the properties of the good”), *de buena condicion* (“of good status”), *la condicion del buen* (“the status of the good one”), *virtuosa* (“virtuous”), *la tal persona buena* (“the good person as such”), and *el que verdad es tal* (“the one who is truly such”). In contrast, Sahagún applied several phrases to communicate the bad person: *malo/mala* (gendered adjectives for bad), *bellaco/bellaca* (gendered adjectives for “vicious”), *travieso* (“the crazed” or “misbehaved”), *deshonesta* (“dishonest”), *mal acondicionada* (“bad tempered”), *la condicion de mala* (“the status of the bad one”), *el que no es tal* (“the one who is not such”), and *la que es mala* (“the one who is bad”).

In general, the persons mentioned in the entries originate from diverse areas of the Nahua world, including identities ranging from nobles to stigmatized peoples, elders to youth, peoples related through kinship, and countless occupations such as merchants, vendors, physicians, and other types of cultural keepers and specialists.

## 1.5 Methods

The perspective that informs my analysis of Book X is a synthesis of prior research on the Florentine Codex rather than a particular theory. The contents of the book are analyzed according to the three texts-in-one approach conceptualized by Terraciano, which posits the transcribed Nahuatl, Spanish translations, and images as separate writings requiring close

cross-readings to analyze their parallel and dissimilar qualities.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, the present study seeks to examine the three texts of Book X in order to determine their respective contributions to discourses of morality applied to various social types. My interpretations are influenced by Peterson, who suggests that scholars ought to situate research on the Florentine Codex in the context of cultural introduction, imposition, and exchange that occurred in sixteenth-century colonial Mexico.<sup>27</sup> The analysis of social types and proposals, therefore, considers both the content of Book X and historical research on the types of people who are discussed in that book. Following other scholars, I question *how* social change and conflict might have influenced the construction of the catalog.

For the purpose of this study, the social categories were transcribed and translated as distinct entries that correspond to the format of Book X described in the previous section: first, the introductory text that describes the person elaborated in the succeeding descriptions, second, the identity written as the "good" social category, and third, the person expressed as the "not good" social type. For instance, the texts of the *Tetla* ("One's Uncle"), *Qualli Tetla* ("One's Good Uncle"), and *Tetla Amo Qualli* ("One's Not Good Uncle") in Nahuatl were transcribed and assessed as three different social types corresponding to *El Tio* ("The Uncle"), *El Tio Fiel* ("The Faithful Uncle"), and *La Propiedad del Mal Tio* ("The Property of the Bad Uncle") written in the Spanish column.<sup>28</sup> This division enabled me to match the Nahuatl text with its translation, noting

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<sup>26</sup> Terraciano, Kevin. "Three Texts in One: Book XII of the Florentine Codex." *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 1 (January 1, 2010): 51–72. Terraciano, Kevin. "Reading Between the Lines of Book 12." In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 45–62. University of Texas Press, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> Peterson, "Crafting the Self: Identity and the Mimetic Tradition in the Florentine Codex". Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. "Images in Translation: A Codex 'Muy Historiado.'" In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 21–36. University of Texas Press, 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Personal translations. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, Book 10, 3. *Image 9 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their*



additions and omissions on the latter side. In total, the Nahuatl alphabetic text identified 484 social types, and the corresponding Spanish text identified about 441 types. There are more than 150 images corresponding to these chapters—depending on how they are counted. Many of the people depicted remain to be examined.

To access the *Historia general*, I used digitized facsimiles of the Florentine Codex provided by the World Digital Library of the Library of Congress.<sup>29</sup> However, I mostly used the transcriptions and translations of the Nahuatl provided by Arthur J.O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble in their translations of the Florentine Codex, given that some of the original writings are difficult to transcribe due to the age of the manuscript. To translate Book X, I applied various dictionaries of Nahuatl either produced during the Spanish Colonial period or by contemporary researchers, including: *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana* (“Vocabulary in the Castilian and Nahuatl Language”) by Franciscan grammarian, Alonso de Molina; *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* by linguist Frances Karttunen; the *Online Nahuatl Dictionary* created by scholars and Native speakers of Nahuatl with various institutional partnerships; and the *Visual Lexicon of Aztec Hieroglyphs*.<sup>30</sup>

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*Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 3, p.5. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=9](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=9)

<sup>29</sup> *General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Historia General de Las Cosas de Nueva España*. Manuscript. L2021667837. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021667837>.

<sup>30</sup> Molina, Alonso de, and Antonio de Spínosa. *Vocabulario En Lengua Castellana y Mexicana. En Mexico: en casa de Antonio de Spínosa*, 1571. Karttunen, Frances E. *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl*. Texas Linguistics Series. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1983. “Nahuatl Dictionary,” 2000–present. <https://nahuatl.wired-humanities.org/>. “Visual Lexicon of Aztec Hieroglyphs,” Wired Humanities, 2020–present. <https://aztecglyphs.wired-humanities.org/content/visual-lexicon-aztec-hieroglyphs>.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.1 Chapter Introduction

In the article *Three Texts in One: Book XII of the Florentine Codex*, Terraciano proposed that the Nahuatl text, Spanish translations, and images of Book XII on “The Conquest” should be examined as three distinct texts due to the divergent qualities between the writings in retelling the Spanish led war on Mexico-Tenochtitlan.<sup>31</sup> On some occasions, the images departed from the events told in the Nahuatl writings, wherein the *tlacuiloque* added information in the illustrations that was absent from the original Nahuatl-language text to either enhance the narrative or include details not found in the alphabetic accounts. The scholar also showed how, in the Spanish writings, Sahagún modified the translations by omitting many descriptions that would displease a Catholic reader or by simply abridging lengthy passages with euphemistic commentary. These divergent writings, as hypothesized by Terraciano, reflect the differing memories and priorities of those who wrote the texts. The *tlacuiloque* appear to have prioritized discussing how the war transformed the Mexica altepetl of the Tenocha and Tlatelolca without describing the invasion as a continuum of historical events, thus departing from the ancient Nahua annals genre that organizes the narrative by year, in relation to both ancient and contemporary histories. Furthermore, the *tlacuiloque* recorded the violence and treachery of the Spanish invasion, as an unprovoked and unchristian act, which might have concerned Sahagún. Although the friar refrained from intervening directly in the original Nahuatl narrative, he still considered the European reader and made modifications to the translation according to his political and moral judgements.

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<sup>31</sup> Terraciano, “Three Texts in One”.

In a later article, titled *Reading between the Lines of Book 12*, Terraciano expands on his prior findings and lists several new observations that expand on the divergent qualities of the three texts.<sup>32</sup> The scholar identified the following patterns when comparing the Spanish writings to the Nahuatl account: 1) Sahagún sometimes refers the reader to the Nahuatl to access the original explanations of events; 2) Sahagún sometimes increases the length of the writings to provide context; 3) there is information added in the translations most likely originating from Spanish testimonies outside the Florentine Codex; 4) Sahagún omitted information considered irrelevant; 5) there are references to other areas of the manuscript beyond Book XII; 6) the friar includes interpolations to defend the conflict; and 7) Sahagún lessens the tones of greed, violence, and *poyotl* (“evil”) that the *tlacuiloque* used to describe the Spaniards. In addition to his observations of censorship and reductive commentary discussed in his earlier publication, Terraciano argues that these other choices by Sahagún must have resulted from two of his main objectives. First, to establish a lexicon for the Nahuatl language just as Ambrosio Calepino (1435-1511) had done for Latin. This goal was directly related to his objective to assimilate the Indigenous populations in “New Spain” into Catholicism. Second, he was pressured to finish the manuscript quickly due to time constraints. This proposal is suggested by the number of empty spaces once left for images, as well as Sahagún’s explanations. In reference to the images, Terraciano describes their relationship to both alphabetical texts, and provides three more general findings: 1) the images sometimes convey information absent in both testimonies; 2) the *tlacuiloque* used the images to enhance ideas associated with the *teotl*, *tonalli*, and unnamed bellicose persons that embodied the war; and 3) the texts never refer to the images, but the images usually align with the Nahuatl text, a feature that the scholar proposes as a result of the

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<sup>32</sup> Terraciano, “Reading between the Lines of Book 12”.

order of writing followed in the making of Book XII. All of these findings, as Terraciano argues, are the result of intentional, conscious choices performed by the *tlacuiloque* and Sahagún during the creation of the separate writings.

Borrowing from Terraciano's methods and proposals of cross-comparisons, the following chapter discusses several findings resulting from my analysis of the three texts of Book X. The three texts of the catalog suggest that the *tlacuiloque*'s written entries of the social types were also subjected to Sahagún's judgements when he wrote or oversaw the writing of the Spanish column, as evidenced by many instances of altered translations. However, I also discuss the many surprising omissions of information in all three texts for certain social types, as well as people who seem to have been omitted entirely from the catalog.

## 2.2 Applying the Three Texts-in-One Analysis

During my research on Book X, I actively consulted other *libros* of the Florentine Codex in an attempt to comprehend expressions of morality found in the entries of the catalog. Initially, I referred to Books I, II, and VI when applying the three texts-in-one approach in order to determine if the rhetoric of good and not good exists in the other parts of the manuscript. I selected Book I, "The Gods," where the *tlacuiloque* sought to document many of the Mexica *teotl*.<sup>33</sup> I selected Book II, "The Ceremonies," because of its concern with rituals and feasts.<sup>34</sup> Finally, I selected Book VI, "Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy," for its focus on Nahua

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<sup>33</sup> *General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Introduction, Indices, and Book I: The Gods.* Facsimile. 2021667846. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021667846/>.

<sup>34</sup> *General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book II: The Ceremonies.* Facsimile. 2021667847. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021667847/>.

socialization, idealized behavior, and morality.<sup>35</sup> In choosing this preliminary sample of books, I considered the texts that were most likely to refer to Nahua divinities. I attempted to evaluate how Sahagún's biases might have informed the organization and presentation of each passage; at the same time, I also considered how the *tlacuiloque* might have altered the content according to their own perspectives. These latter choices were undoubtedly informed by their instruction at the Colegio de Santa Cruz, where they had access to imported texts and followed both “pre-Columbian” and “post-Conquest” models in creating the *Historia*. As I familiarized myself with the manuscript, I constantly re-evaluated my approaches by challenging my understanding of the writings relative to their purpose, and possible comparisons between Book X and other books of the manuscript.

My systematic readings revealed supplemental information that supported my understanding of the Nahua-authored texts in the catalog. However, during my examination of Books I, II, and VI, I located sections of the Florentine Codex that describe people listed in the catalog, offering information that is missing from the Book X entries. Furthermore, I frequently encountered social types in the other parts of the codex that are not included in Book X. Thus, I revisited each book and noted cases when the Nahuatl alphabetic text listed specific social types that were either included or excluded from Book X. From these results, I created a data sheet with their given names according to Anderson and Dibble’s English translations, and accompanied these findings with analyses of their possible linguistic composition. In total, I identified approximately 1,750 types of people, and a vast quantity of information missing from the “catalog.” Some of my findings are as follows.

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<sup>35</sup> *General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book VI: Rhetoric and Moral Philosophy*. Facsimile. 2021667851. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2021667851/>.

### 2.3 *Tiçitl*

In Book X, the *Tiçitl* (simply translated as “physician” by most scholars) is described in two distinct sections of the catalog (Table 2.1-Table 2.6). First, in the Eighth Chapter, discussing the different ways in which one can gain a livelihood, this social type is briefly detailed by the *tlacuiloque* of the introductory entry as *tepatiani* (“one who remedies [people],” a “curer [of people],” or “a doctor”) and *tlapaleuiani* (“one who gives favor [health] and helps”).<sup>36</sup> In the corresponding description of the *Qualli Tiçitl* (“Good Physician”), the *tlacuilo* then lists other traits of the “physician” with details related to the quality of their fundamental practices. The good *tiçitl* is a “*xiuhiximaqui, teixmatqui, quauhixmatqui...*” (“...a knower of herbs, stones, trees...”).<sup>37</sup> In addition to their mastery of these categories of medicines, the *qualli* “physician” also performs some of the following activities: *tetlanoquilia* (“purges [people]”), *tetlaitia* (“gives medicines [to people]”), *tlaitzmina* (“lances”), *teitzoma* (“stiches people”), and *nextli teololoa* (“envelopes them in ashes”).<sup>38</sup> In contrast, the *Tlaueliloc Tiçitl* is *taouitiliani* (“one who engangers others”), *teouitiliani* (“an increaser [of sickness]”), and *tlatlanalhuiani* (“one who worsens sickness”).<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, this *not good physician* is described as one who *tepamictia* (“kills with their medicines”), *tesuchiuiia* (“pronounces or captivates [people] with flowery speech”), and assumes deviant identities.<sup>40</sup> According to the *tlacuiloque*, the *Tlaueliloc Tiçitl* is a

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<sup>36</sup> Anderson and Dibble translate the *tepatiani* and *tlapaleuiani* as a “curer” and “one who gives health,” respectively, but I augmented the translations with other possible options. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 30.

<sup>37</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 30.

<sup>38</sup> Instead of translating *tetlaitia* as “gives them potions,” I selected “gives medicines [to people]” since the context implies that the *Tiçitl* is a physician, curer, healer. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 30.

<sup>39</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 30.

<sup>40</sup> Rather than using Anderson and Dibble’s translation for *tesuchiuiia*, “bewitches,” the phrase “pronounces or captivates [people] with flowery speech” may be more accurate to the connotations

*naoalli* (“sorcerer,” or more accurately a ritual specialist who specializes in shapeshifting), *tlapouhqui* (“soothsayer”), and *mecatlapouhqui* (“a diagnostician by means of knots”).<sup>41</sup>

In the corresponding Spanish column, the *Tiçitl* is interpreted as *El Medico*. Similar to the original Nahuatl text, Sahagún writes the basic qualities of this social type related to healing, “*El medico suele curar y remediar las enfermedades*” (“The physician tends to cure and remedy sicknesses”).<sup>42</sup> Offering an approximate translation of the *Qualli Tiçitl*, *El Buen Medico* is a “physician” who is “*buen conocedor de las propiedades de yervas, piedras, arboles, e rayzes*” (“is a well informed expert of the properties of herbs, rocks, trees, and roots”) and “*tiene por officio saber concertar los huesos, purgar, sangrar, y sajar, y dar puntos*” (“has the occupation of knowing how to set bones, purge, bleed, and lance, and give stitches”).<sup>43</sup> Compared to the Nahuatl writings, the priest interprets several of the details related to the additional labels with simplistic or substitutive phrasing. In the priest’s description, the *tepatiani* and *tlapaleuiani* is converted into the following statement, “*al fin librar de las puertas de la muerte*” (“in the end, to free [someone] from the doors of death”).<sup>44</sup> Sahagún also neglects to refer to several curing practices listed in the Nahuatl text. For example, the priest fails to mention how *El Buen Medico* uses ashes to heal (“*nextli teololoa*”). Similarly, *El Mal Médico* is reduced to the following description: “*El mal medico es burlador y por ser inabil, en lugar desanar empeora a los*

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associated with the root –*suchiuia* that relates to *xochitl*, or “flower.” See Sousa’s studies on Book X where she examines the significance of speech and flowers in the descriptions of the social types. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 30.

<sup>41</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 30.

<sup>42</sup> Personal translation. *Image 44 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 20, p.22. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=44&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=44&st=image).

<sup>43</sup> Personal translation. *Image 44, Book X*.

<sup>44</sup> Personal translation. *Image 44, Book X*.

*enfermos con el brevaje, que les da: y aun a las vezes usa echizerias, o supersticiones por dar a entender que haze buenas curas*” (“The bad physician is a trickster and, by being unskilled, in place of healing he worsens the sick with potions that he gives them: and even sometimes uses spells, or superstitions to give the impression that he makes good cures”).<sup>45</sup> As seen in the final part of the entry, “*y aun a las vezes usa echizerias, o supersticiones por dar a entender que haze buenas curas*” (“and even sometimes uses spells, or superstitions to give the impression that he makes good cures”), Sahagún avoids verbatim translations of the specific identities mentioned in the Nahuatl entry for the *Tlaueliloc Tiçitl*—the *naoalli*, *tlapouhqui*, and *mecatlapouhqui*.

Two images accompany the translations of these “physician” types in the Eighth Chapter (Figure 2.1). On the left, a *tiçitl* sits atop a wooden stool, dressed in multicultural clothing and pointing to medicinal roots. Dressed in a *tilmatli* (“cloak”) and Spanish-style collar, he indicates two types of medicinal items, presumably *ome quauhcamohtli* (“two root vegetable types”). On the right, another “physician” attends an ill patient. He converses with the patient with visible white speech scrolls while positioned on a *petlatl*, or “reed mat,” depicted in three-dimensional form. The presentation of these *tiçitl* might be read individually or in relation with one another. Perhaps the two “physicians” in these images are the same doctors shown in different stages of their trade; the first image on the right shows their discussion of medicines, while the second exhibits the administration of a treatment. On the other hand, the *tiçitl* on the right might perform a consultation, whereas the second then prescribes care afterwards. Regardless of the order and context, it seems to me that the hand gestures and speech scrolls indicate that the *tiçitl* is actively communicating with their patients in these presentations, thus demonstrating their skills as

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<sup>45</sup> Personal translation. *Image 44, Book X*.



knowers of healing.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the reed design, animation, and Europeanized clothing suggest that these images present either the general identity of the *Tiçitl* or the *Qualli Tiçitl* type. These two persons embody several qualities detailed in the Nahuatl text, including—but not limited to—the following terms: *xiuhiximaqui*, *tepatiani*, and *tetlaitia*.



Fig. 2.1. The *tiçitl* of the Eighth Chapter of Book X (fol. 20).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

The *Tiçitl* is also elaborated in the Fourteenth Chapter where the *tlacuiloque* describe the various “conditions” of “common women.”<sup>47</sup> Initially introduced as a *xiuiximatini*, *tlaneloaiioximatini*, *quauhiximatini*, *teiximati* (“knower of herbs, of roots, of trees, of stones”), this “physician” is also detailed as a *tlaieiecole* (“a prover of things”), *machice* (“a person who has knowledge about something”), and *nonotzale* (“counselor”).<sup>48</sup> A *Qualli Tiçitl* is a *teololoani nextli* (“one who covers people in ashes”), *tenehuelmachtiani* (“one who makes people feel well”), and *teeoatiquetzani* (“a restorer,” literally “one who stands [people] upright,” “one who

<sup>46</sup> The reading order of the images requires additional research as we become more familiar with the contexts of the images and the pictorial conventions employed to depict narratives in the manuscript.

<sup>47</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 51.

<sup>48</sup> Personal translations. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

revives people”).<sup>49</sup> This expert also *teitzmina* (“lances people”), *tematoca* (“anoints people”), and *tepapachoa* (“massages people”).<sup>50</sup> Among these listed medical practices, the *good physician* successfully employs different methods to amend a patient’s health. The *Qualli Tiçitl tetzinana* (“cures disorders of the anus”) and *teixpatia* (“[treats] one’s eyes”).<sup>51</sup> In opposition, an *Amo Qualli Tiçitl* is described by the *tlacuiloque* as a *tlacatecolotl* (literally “owl person,” a *teotl* later associated with the Christian devil by Christian priests), and *pixtlatexa* (“[she has] a crushed vulva”).<sup>52</sup> This deviant “physician” also *tesuchiuiia* (“pronounces or captivates [people] with flowery speech”), *atlan teitta* (“sees their fate in water”), *mecatlapoa* (“reads their fate with cords”), *tlaolli quichaihoa* (“casts lots with grains”), and *ocuilana* (“removes worms from their teeth”).<sup>53</sup>

Similar to the original Nahuatl descriptions, “*La medica es buena conoedora; delas propiedades de yeruas, rayzes, arboles, piedras y en conocellas, tiene mucha experiencia, no ignorando muchos secretos de la medicina*” (“The physician [feminine noun] is a good expert: of the properties of herbs, roots, trees, and knowing them, she has a lot of experience, not ignoring many secrets of medicine”).<sup>54</sup> *La Buena Medica* parallels the *Qualli Tiçitl* and the *good social* type in that she knows several methods of healing, such as how “to bleed” (*sangrar*), “to purge”

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<sup>49</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

<sup>50</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

<sup>51</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

<sup>52</sup> Anderson and Dibble translate *tlacatecolotl* as “possessed one.” However, I believe the use of this descriptor requires additional context. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

<sup>53</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

<sup>54</sup> Personal translations. *Image 79 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 38, p.40. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=79](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=79).

(*dar la purga*), “to insert an enema” ( *echar melezina*), “to arrange bones by hand” (*con la mano concertar los huesos*), and “to cure sores well” (*curar bien las llagas*).<sup>55</sup> In contrast:

*La que es mala medica, vsar de la hechizeria, supersticiosa, en su officio, y tiene pacto con el demonjo; y sane dar beuedizos, con que mata a los hombres. E por no saber bien las curas: en lugar de sanar enferma, y empeora, y aun pone en peligro de la vida a los enfermos, y alcabolos mata.*

The one who is a bad physician, uses witchcraft, is superstitious in her trade, and has a pact with the devil and heals by giving potions, with which she kills men. And by not knowing well the cures: in place of healing, she sickens, and worsens [people], and even puts the lives of the sick in danger, and in the end kills them.<sup>56</sup>

In attempting to parallel the Nahuatl alphabetic text, the friar changes *tlacatecoltl* as “*tiene pacto con el demonjo*” (“[she] has a pact with the devil”) while incorporating the practices of prognostication and the removal of intrusive objects from the body as identifiers of the *Mal Medica*: “*E para mostrar bie’ su supersticion da a entender que de los dientes, saca gusanos, y de las otras partes del cuerpo papel, pedernal, navaja de la tierra sacando todo lo qual dize, que sana a los enfermos, siendo el lo falsedad, y supersticion notoriaz*” (“And to really demonstrate her superstition she leads them to believe that she removes worms from teeth, and removes from other parts of the body paper, flint, knives from the land [obsidian]; all that she says, that she heals the sick, is falseness and obvious superstition”).<sup>57</sup> Unlike the Eighth Chapter, there are no images accompanying the *Tiçitl* of this latter section.

Although the “physicians” of the Eighth and Fourteenth Chapter merit their own in-depth, respective analyses due to the gendered and differing occupational descriptions of the tradespeople, these entries have one thing in common that requires a close critical examination:

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<sup>55</sup> Personal translations. *Image 79, Book X*.

<sup>56</sup> Personal translations. *Image 80 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 38v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=80&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=80&st=image).

<sup>57</sup> Personal translations. *Image 80, Book X*.

the omission of any explicit mentions of midwifery. This absence in Book X is particularly significant given that the practice of medicine and the consummate skill of a midwife are critical components of many Indigenous birthing ceremonies, including Mexica traditions. Previous research based on multiple documents, including Book VI of the Florentine Codex, indicates that midwives play a crucial role in Nahua society. Shortly after delivery, the *tiçitl* was responsible for initiating a child's identity. Through burials of the umbilical cords and bathing ceremonies, the medical expert helps bestow newborns with small versions of adult implements that represent their anticipated future occupations and normative behaviors. In the second practice of bathing, the *tiçitl* also assists the family by assigning the child a name.<sup>58</sup> Midwives also helped newborns receive the *tonalli*, or "life-giving force of the sun."<sup>59</sup> Yet, despite the many critical roles associated with their delivery of children, guidance of families, and socializing newborns, there is no direct mention of activities related to midwifery in the catalog.

Considering the context of the Florentine Codex, the omission of midwifery is even more perplexing given that they are discussed in other parts of the manuscript. The *tlacuiloque* establish the presence and importance of the midwife *tiçitl* in many other sections. For instance, in Book VI, the *tlacuiloque* attribute numerous speeches to the *tiçitl*, documenting the various stages of childbirth that she mediates. In the Twenty-Sixth Chapter, prefaced as:

*Vncan mitoa: in quenjn in jnnanaoan, jntaoan in monamjctique: in jquac ie chicome, anoço ie chicuei metztli qujcenctlaliaia in teoiulque: ioan atlija, tlaquaia: auh çatepan mononotzaia, injc ce aca motemoz, motlatlauhtiz ticitl, jnic qujtemaz, ioan in qujmjxivitz in injchpuch,*

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<sup>58</sup> Joyce, Rosemary A. "Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Ancient Mesoamerica." *World Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (February 2000): 473–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438240009696933>.

<sup>59</sup> Eberl, Markus. "Nourishing Gods: Birth and Personhood in Highland Mexican Codices." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23, no. 3 (October 2013): 453–76. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959774313000437>. Of course, these examples are very brief and only a few. I highly recommend reviewing these citations to fully comprehend the importance of midwifery and how this practice is performed.

Here is told how, when the pregnant one was already in the seventh or eighth month, the mothers, the fathers of the married couple, assembled one's kinsmen; and they drank, they ate. And thereafter there was consultation as to some midwife to be sought out, to be supplicated to bathe their maiden in the sweat bath and to serve as midwife.<sup>60</sup>

The *tiçitl* is sought out during the final trimester of pregnancy. Within this section, the *tiçitl* is described as follows: “...*qujtlatlahuitia in ticitl in tetlacachivilianj, in temjxivitianj, in jmac tlacatioanj*” (“... they [ [the *vevetque*, ‘old men’ and *jlamatque*, ‘old women’] summoned, they supplicated a midwife, the one who brought about the birth, the one who delivered, the one in charge of birth”).<sup>61</sup> The complementary personal agentive constructions associated with the midwife – *tetlacachivilianj* (“one who brought about the birth”), *temjxivitianj* (“one who delivered”), and *tlacatioanj* (“one in charge of birth”)—are used consistently in other sections of Book VI in which the *tlacuiloque* continue to identify this type of *tiçitl*. In the Twenty-Seventh Chapter, a section describing the *tiçitl*'s reception of the *otzli* (“pregnant woman”) in preparation for a sweat bath, the Nahuatl scholars again associate the medical expert with titles related to midwifery, “...*Tlatoa in ticitl: in jmac tlacatioanj, in jttil qujvellalianj, temjxivitianj...*” (“The midwife spoke, the one in charge of birth, the one who set the womb aright, the one who delivered [the baby].”).<sup>62</sup> While there are expressions and terms in this statement that appear in prior examples, the *tlacuilo* of this phrase also refers to the *tiçitl qujvellalianj*, “the one who set the womb aright.” The *tiçitl* is again presented with similar titles in Book VI, in the Twenty-Eighth Chapter, titled:

*vncan mjtóa: in jzqujtlamantli qujchíoaia in ticitl, in jquac ije iman in ie tlacachioaz in oztli: injc atle ic motolinjz, ioan in izqujtlamantli patli qujmacaia, in jquac avel tlachioaia: mjiec in moteneoa in tepapaqujlti*

<sup>60</sup> There is a possibility that *imjchpuch* (“their maiden”) could also imply “their daughter” or “their young woman.” Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 149.

<sup>61</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 149.

<sup>62</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 152-153.

Here is told the different things which the midwife did when the pregnant one was ready, when she was about to give birth, in order that she would not suffer; and the different kinds of medicine she gave her when she could not give birth. Many [things] are mentioned which gladden one.<sup>63</sup>

In her association with a successful childbirth, the *tiçitl* is described by the *tlacuiloque* as, “...in *tiçitl in tetlacachivilianj in temjxivitianj, in jmac tlacatioanj*” (“... the one who delivered [the baby], the one in charge of childbirth...”).<sup>64</sup> In general, the overall importance of midwifery is obvious when we consider how frequently these activities are recorded in Book VI. Of the forty speeches in Book VI, the *tiçitl* is included in about ten, the highest frequency of topics discussed in these texts, according to my data.<sup>65</sup>

Despite the importance of these trades established in other books of the *Historia general*, there is seemingly no explicit mention of these normative behaviors in Book X. The language associated with the midwife *tiçitl* and birth in the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Eighth Chapters of Book VI do not appear elsewhere in the manuscript. However, there are a few statements in the catalog that might allude to their roles in childbirth in terms of *foretelling*. In the Fourteenth Chapter, the *Amo Qualli Tiçitl* “... *atlan teitta, mecatlapoa tlaolli quichaiaoa...*” (“sees their fate in water, reads their fate with cords, casts lots with grains of maize”), but these attributes are mentioned as the not good qualities of the identity, despite the possibility that these activities were associated with midwifery, as detailed in other sections of the Florentine Codex.<sup>66</sup> In the Eighth Chapter of Book I, “The Gods,” these various practices are mentioned within the texts of

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<sup>63</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 159.

<sup>64</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 159.

<sup>65</sup> Certainly, there is more information beyond this book that establishes the importance of midwifery in the Florentine Codex, but these selections show how the *tiçitl* is consistently associated with their contributions to childbirth.

<sup>66</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 53.

the *teotl* named *Teteo Innan* (“Mother of the *Teotl*”), also known as *Tlalli yiollo* (“Heart of the Earth”), and *Toci* (“Our Grandmother”):

*Inna’ catca yn teteu, qujmoteutiaja, in titici in teitzmjnque, tetzinaanque, tetlanoquilique, teixpatique. Auh yn cioa, temjxiujtique, tepillalilique, tetlatlaxilique, tlapouhque, atlan teittanj, tlaolchaiauhque, mecatlapouhque, tetlacujcujlique, tetlanocujlanque, teixcocujlanque. No iehoantin qujtlatlauhtiaia, in temazcaleque.*

She was the mother of the *teteo*. The *titici* [plural of *tiçitl*], the leeches, those who cured the anus hemorrhoids, those who purged people, the ones who cured eye ailments, worshiped her. Also the women, midwives, those who administered sedatives at childbirth, those who performed abortions, those who read the future, those who cast auguries by looking upon the water, by casting grains of maize, those who read fortunes through the use of knotted cords, who removed [intrusive] objects from the body, who removed worms from the teeth, who removed worms from the eye, likewise owners of sweat-houses, prayed to her.<sup>67</sup>

As demonstrated by the seemingly neutral description of these trades in the Book I, when compared to the language applied in the catalog, the intention of the writer in Book X to attribute these practices to the not good social types suggests an additional topic of inquiry: Why would the *tlacuiloque* neglect to mention midwifery in their explicit descriptions of the *tiçitl*, but then associate possible attributes of midwifery with the *amo qualli* “physicians”?

#### 2.4 *Temacpalitotique*

My analysis of the *Tiçitl* presented general observations regarding the omission of information in Book X, including the absence of titles and practices typically attributed to certain identities, and the *teotl* associated with certain peoples. Furthermore, my cross-comparison of several entries shows that contradictions exist in the catalog, where some trades that received relatively neutral explanations in other sections of the Florentine Codex were applied to only describe the not good social types in Book X. However, my analysis of excluded information

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<sup>67</sup> Similar to the prior translations of Anderson and Dibble, I made adjustments for clarity by leaving some of the original Nahuatl words and explaining their meaning. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 1*, 15.

shows that these omissions are present in the descriptions of almost all people on the list, regardless of whether they are framed as good or not good. My examination of the *Temacpalitotique* confirms this finding by showing how the people framed as deviants in the tenth book also receive little attention in terms of the length of text dedicated to them.

In the Eleventh Chapter of Book X, prefaced as a section “*in techpa tlatoa: in atlacacemeleque, in amo tlacamelaoaque, in iuhque tetlatlaquechilique in anoço tetlatlanochilique*” (“which speaks of those who are crazed, those who are not true people, likewise those who recount fables to others, or those who are procurers or procuresses”), the *tlacuiloque* describe various people associated in this section with thievery, sex, homicide, and other activities presented as not good in the catalog.<sup>68</sup> Among the *atlacacemeleque* (“those who are crazed”), *amo tlacamelaoaque* (“those who are not true people”), *tetlatlaquechilique* (“those who tell others fables”), and the *tetlatlanochilique* (“procurers” or “procuresses”) listed in the catalog, there appears another character of ill repute: the *Temacpalitotique* (translated by Anderson and Dibble as “The Dancer With a Dead Woman’s Forearm,” but literally as “one who charms or enchants others with the intention of stealing their property”). This person is concisely defined by the *tlacuilo* with only one, relatively short passage (Table 2.7):

*In temacpalitoti, ca notzale, piale, tlatole, cuique, teochtlaçani, tecochtecani, ichtecqui: temacpalitotia, tecochtlaça, teiolmictia, teçotlaoa, tlacemololoa, tlacemitqui, cuezcomatl quimama quinapalooa mitotia, tlatzotzona, cuica chocolooa.*

One who dances with a dead woman’s forearm is advised. [He is] a guardian of [secret rituals] a master of the spoken word, of song. [He is] one who robs by casting a spell,

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<sup>68</sup> The English translation provided by Anderson and Dibble is as follows, “which speaks of the viscous, the perverse, such as the bawds or pimps.” However, I opted for a personal translation since Anderson and Dibble’s translation does not account for *tetlatlaquechilique*, which I documented as “those who recount fables to others” due to the use of the verb *tlaquechilia*. This verb is translated as “*contar a otros fabulas o consejas*” (“to tell others fables or counsel”) by Molina. I argue for this adjustment since there are several people in the Eleventh Chapter that can be related to this phrase, such as the *Necoc lautl* (“Traitor,” or translated by other scholars as “The Enemy on Both Sides”) and *Tlaquetzqui* (“The Story Teller,” or literally “One who Tells Fables or Advice”). Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 37.



who puts people to sleep; [he is] a thief. He dances with a dead woman's forearm; he robs by casting a spell, causing people to faint, to swoon. He bears the maize bin on his back; he carries it in his arms. [While his victims sleep] he dances, beats the two-toned drum, sings, leaps about.<sup>69</sup>

The Nahuatl writer associates the *ichtecqui* (“thief”) with ritual knowledge, with a dangerous ability to enchant others, and with the power to render people unconscious.

In the Spanish column, Sahagún provides the following description of the

*Temacpalitotique*:

*El ladrón, que encantava para hutar, sabia muy bien los encantamientos, con los cuales hazia amortecer, o desmayar a los de casa donde el entrava, y ansi amortecidos hurtava quanto hallava en casa, y aun con su encantamiento sacava la traxe, y llevaba acuestas, asucasa: y estando en la casa donde hurtava, estando encantados los de la casa, tañja, cantava, y baylava, y aun comja con sus companeros que llevaba para hutar.*

The thief, who bewitched in order to steal, knew the enchantments very well, with which he made people lose consciousness, or make those at home faint when he entered, and when they were swooned, he stole whatever he found in the house, and even with his spell he took out the guise, and put them to bed in their house, and being in the house where he stole, [where] those of the house were bewitched, he strummed, he sang and danced, and he even ate with his companions whom he brought to steal.<sup>70</sup>

In comparison to the Nahuatl transcription of this social identity, Sahagún provides an approximate translation that recognizes their capacity to enchant and steal, but the translation features reductive and substitutive statements that retain moral judgments while omitting cultural details. For example, the Nahuatl phrase “*piale tlatole, cuique*” (“master of the spoken word, of song”) is reduced to, “*El ladron, que encantava para hutar, sabia muy bien los encantamientos...*” (“The thief, who bewitched in order to steal, knew the enchantments very well...”). Overall, Sahagún replicates ideas of *immorality* in the original Nahuatl writings, but alters the text by omitting parts that he might not have considered relevant.

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<sup>69</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 37.

<sup>70</sup> *Image 57 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 58v, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=57&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=57&st=image).

In addition to the alphabetical descriptions, the entry of the *Temacpalitotique* is accompanied by an illustrative narrative of their identity (figure 2.2).<sup>71</sup> In the left half of the image, the *tlacuilo* drew a person bearing an arm above another who is lying on the ground. The expression of the supine person suggests a state of distress, supported by two interrelated signs in this part of the image. First, the pillow-like object implies that this person is sleeping; the same object is depicted in other images of Book X that display people in this state. Specifically, in the context of the catalog, the state of sleeping is typically associated with people who are either performers of not good social behaviors or victims of deviants. For example, *Tenan Tlaueliloc* (“One’s Not Good Mother”), who is described as *La Madre Mala* (“One’s Bad Mother”), in the first chapter is depicted lying in profile, forward-facing with her eyes closed while the sun shines in the background (figure 2.3).<sup>72</sup> The Nahuatl-language text describes her as a “...*in amo qualli, tlacanexquimilli, xolopitli, tonalcochqui*...” (“...not good, a ghost, a dolt, one who sleeps during the day...”)(Table 2.8).<sup>73</sup> The final descriptor—*tonalcochqui*, or “one who sleeps during the day,”—emphasizes how excessive or improper sleep is moralized; in this case, *Tenan Tlaueliloc* is associated with laziness. In the Ninth Chapter, this rhetorical motif of sleep is applied to the image of the *Tlaueliloc Tlaciuitiani* (“The Not Good Solicitor”), or *El Mal Solicitador* (“The Bad Solicitor”), where this not good social type is associated with squandered time (figure 2.4).<sup>74</sup> In

<sup>71</sup> *Image 57, Book X: The People.*

<sup>72</sup> *Image 6 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 1v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=6](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=6).

<sup>73</sup> I used a personal, literal translation of the Nahuatl since this type of the interpretation allows a better understanding of the meanings in the image of the “Not Good Mother” Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10, 2.*

<sup>74</sup> *Image 48 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 22v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=48](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=48).

this context, the pillow indicates the *Tlaueliloc Tlaciuitiani* presumably caused a patron to fall asleep. Nevertheless, the sleeping person of the *Temacpalitotique* image depicts a person who has fallen asleep due to the *ichtecqui* or thief.

Second, the shading of the lying subject's complexion suggests a tense, unstable condition between life and death. Whereas portions of the subject's face appear white and void of any visible color, thus implying an absence of animation, the person's lower extremities indicate the opposite. The *tlacuilo* colored the feet with hues of yellow that resemble the skin tones of people in Book X who are active. The images in Book X depict almost everyone with visible color. However, it is usually the not good people who bear no color, including those described in the Ninth and Eleventh Chapters dedicated to deviants. Applying the ideas of animacy and inanimacy to the catalog, and the Florentine Codex in general, the *tlacuilo's* technique of shading skin might suggest that the individual is alive and experiencing difficulty, despite their lifeless state. Overall, these references to sleep and paleness present a complementary message, indicating that the individual on the ground is in a vulnerable, unconscious state because a perpetrator wields a seemingly powerful human limb.

The *Temacpalitotique* in the second half of their dedicated image shifts location. Instead of hovering over the head of the victim, the perpetrator appears to be departing from the scene and is depicted in mid-step, in possession of a different item. Instead of an arm, the *Temacpalitotique* carries a *cuezcomatl* (“maize bin or granary”) that is harnessed to his forehead in the manner of a tumpline. This object is associated with food, fertility, life, sustenance, and hearts.<sup>75</sup> The *cuezcomatl* might represent what was stolen from the unconscious person, a household's most precious property. In general, the image shows the process whereby the

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<sup>75</sup> Wired Humanities. “Visual Lexicon of Aztec Hieroglyphs.” 2020. <https://aztecglyphs.wired-humanities.org/content/cuezcomatl-mdz26r>.

*Temacpalitotique* first brandishes an arm as a tool to prompt victims to lose consciousness, then capitalizes on their unconscious state to rob them and flee with their valuables.



Fig. 2.2. The *Temacpalitotique* of the Eleventh Chapter of Book X (fol. 58v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.



Fig. 2.3. *Tenan Tlaueliloc* of the First Chapter of Book X (fol. 1v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.



Fig. 2.4. The *Tlaueliloc Tlaciuitiani* of the Eighth Chapter of Book X (fol. 22v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

Similar to the analysis of the *Tiçitl*, other areas of the *Historia general* expand on this social type by offering more context. Revisiting Book VI, the *tlacuiloque* of the Twenty-Ninth Chapter titled, “*Vncan mjtoa: in quenijn in iehoantin in cioa, jnjc mjquia imjtl: in mjtoaia mocioaquetzque*” (“Here is said: of how they, the women who died in childbirth: they would be called *mocioaquetzque*,” or “Here is told how they made goddesses of those women who died in childbirth, called *mociuaquetzque*”), document the funerary procession of pregnant mothers who perished during childbirth and incorporates details of the *Temacpalitotique*.<sup>76</sup> To briefly summarize the content of this selection, the *tlacuilo* transcribes the speeches and other responsibilities assumed by the kinspeople of the *mocioaquetzqui* and her *tiçitl* as the gathering of relatives accompany the deceased person to her burial and perform ceremonies of the *Ciuateotl*, women who died in childbirth who roam earth, seeking children, and beheld for their

<sup>76</sup> The first English translation is a personal translation. The second was provided by the scholars. I am uncertain where Anderson and Dibble derived “how they made goddesses of those women,” but I thought I would include both translations in case there is some context I have missed. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 161.

great power in warfare.<sup>77</sup> This process, according to the writers, is conducted in the presence of *Cioapipilti*, the divine “noblewomen” who also died in childbirth and reside at the crossroads, as the mother enters *cioatlanpa* (“the cardinal direction of the left”).<sup>78</sup> In this divine space, *ioamjcque cioa* (“women who died in warfare”) join their counterparts who also encountered their defeat in battle and reside in their future home of *tonatiuh ichan* (“the house of the Sun”), where they assist *Tonatiuh* in their life cycles: the *quauhtin, ocelo* (“eagle-ocelot warriors”), the *tiacaoan* (“brave warriors”), and *ioamicque* (“those who died in war”).<sup>79</sup>

The *tlacuiloque* inserted a description of the *Temacpalitotique* in the middle of a text describing how the husband and others would “*nauhioal in qujppia, jnic aiac qujctequijz*” (“guard her for four nights, that no one might steal her”) after the procession.<sup>80</sup> In this excerpt, the Nahua writers identify various people who aggressively sought the *mocioaquetzque*. First, the *tlacuiloque* document how the *telpupuchtin* (“the male youth” or “young warriors”) search for the bodies of the deceased at all stages of the burial.<sup>81</sup> This desire to acquire her limbs, according to the writer, was the result of *telpupuchtin*’s reverence for the *mocioaquetzqui*:

*Auh in iehoantin telpupuchtin, in iaioitl intequjiuh vel qujmatataca, mitoa: vel ipan mjhixtoxaa, vel iuhqujn tleoia ipan quimati. Intla vtlica qujntlaçaltia in titici, in jnacaio mocioaquetzquj: vncan imjxpan contequjlia, in jmapil in tlanepantla hicac: auh intla ioaltica vel qujtataca, no qujtequjlia in jmapil, ioan qujxima, qujcujlia in jtzon.*

And they who were the youths, those whose duty was warfare, ardently desired her. It is said careful vigil was held over her. They considered her just like something wonderful. If along the road they wrested the body of the *mociuaquetzqui* from the midwives, in their

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<sup>77</sup> Segal, Pete. “4. The Warrior Goddess.” In *The Flower and the Scorpion*, 103–38. New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2011.

<sup>78</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 161.

<sup>79</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 162.

<sup>80</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 161.

<sup>81</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 162.

presence they cut off her middle finger. And if they could dig her up by night, they also cut her finger off and they clipped off, they took hair from her.<sup>82</sup>

After these initial references to the youth, the writer then includes an account of the power of the mothers' bodies:

*Izcatquj ipanpa jn qujmatataca in jmapil, in itzon mocioaquetzquj: in jquac vi iaoc, inchimaltitlan caquja in tzontli, in anoço mapilli: injc oqujchtizque, injc tiacauhtizque, injc aiac vel qujmixnamjqjz, injc aiac imjxco eoaz, injc amo tlatlamatcachioazque in ioac ioan injc mjequjntin qujntopeoazque, qujmacizque in jniaoan: qujl mjhijotia in jtzon, in jmapil mocioaquetzquj: qujl qujmjcximjmjctia in jniaoan. No iehoan qujmatataca in mocioaquetzquj in jchtecque: in jntoca temacpalitotique, qujcujlia in jopuch imatzopaz: qujl quitquj in iquach onjchtequj, ic qujnçotlacmjctia in chaneque*

Behold the reason they diligently sought the finger, the hair of the *mociuaquetzqui*: when they went to war they inserted the hair or finger in their shields in order to be valiant, in order to be brave warriors, in order that no one might contend against them, in order that no one might stand up against them, in order that they might act boldly in war, and in order that they might overpower, might seize many of their enemies. It was said that the hair, the finger of the *mociuaquetzqui* furnished spirit; it was said they paralyzed the feet of their foes. Also the thieves, those whose name was *temamacpalitotique*, diligently sought the *mociuaquetzqui*. They took her left arm. They say they bore it with them when they robbed; with it they caused the members of the household to swoon.<sup>83</sup>

In the final statements of the passage on the perception of the *mocioaquetzqui*'s limbs, the *tlacuiloque* reveal critical details regarding the *Temacpalitotique*: these thieves also desire warrior mothers who were defeated in childbirth, seeking to acquire their arms and to use these body parts during robberies to cause their victims to faint. While Book X began alluding to the covert activities of the *Temacpalitotique*, the information in the Twenty-Ninth Chapter of Book VI reveals three components missing in the entry for this social type in Book X: first, their position in Nahua society relative to their notoriety; second, their relationship with other members of Nahua society; and third, the limbs they possess, as reflected in their names and in the images that accompany the alphabetic text.

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<sup>82</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 162.

<sup>83</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 6*, 162.

In addition to Book VI, a section in Book IV (“The Soothsayers”) of the Florentine Codex, which is dedicated to Aztec practices of time keeping, provides additional information about this social identity that is omitted from Book X.<sup>84</sup> In the Thirty-First Chapter, “*itechpa tlatoa injc caxtolli vmei machiotl, in jtoca ce hecatl: ioan in amo qualli, in amo iectli in jtech ca*” (“which tells of the eighteenth sign, named One Wind, and the evil, the bad, which was with it”), the *tlacuiloque* describe the various prognostications of *Ce Hecatl*, where persons born on this day are said to receive this *amo qualli tonalli* (“not good day sign”).<sup>85</sup> In the case of noble children, the writers described the following:

*Auh in aqujn vncan tlatatia, qujtoa intla pilli, naoalli iez, amo tlatatl, tlaciuhqj, nenonotzale, impanj, neçi ca tlatatl, iece amo qualli, itlacauhquk itla qujmati, tlacatecolotlatolli, tlacatecoloiotl, tepitzanj, texoxanj, tetlachiujanj, tetlanonochili, tetlateononocjili, much ichiujl much quijmati, aço tequannaonale, coionaoale, Et<sup>a</sup>*

And as for one who was born then, they said that, if he were a noble, he would be a *nahualli*, *amo tlatatl* [not a person, inhuman] *tlaciuhqj* [‘reader of the stars,’ or astrologer’], one who makes pacts [with the devil]. He appears to them as a person, but he is *amo qualli*, corrupt [or damaged], he knows the *tlacatecolotlahtolli* [the speech of the *tlacatecolotl*, i.e., *devil*], the *tlacatecoloyotl* [the essence of the *tlacatecolotl*], he huffed and puffed on people, he cast an evil eye at people, he cast spells over people, he invoked the *teotl* on people. All of his deeds, he knew them all. Perhaps his *nahualli* was a *tequani* [“beast,” literally “people eater”], or a coyote, etcetera.<sup>86</sup>

In general, people of high status born on *Ce Hecatl* were recognized to perform harmful activities, at least according to these texts, that invoke not good traits and identities, including characteristics associated with *tlacatecolotl*, *naoalli*, and *tlaciuhqj*.

<sup>84</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 4: The Soothsayers*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012.

<sup>85</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 101.

<sup>86</sup> I included a personal translation instead of the provided English version in order to explain the different deviant identities and not good qualities the *tlacuilo* says of the noble son born on this day sign. Anderson and Dibble translated the passage as follows: “And of him who was then born, they said that, if he were a nobleman, he would be a wizard, inhuman; an astrologer, one who had spells to cast. It was evident to them that he was a man; nevertheless he was evil, corrupt, one who deluded, laid enchantments—the devil’s works. He breathed [evil] on people, or cast the evil eye at them, or said spells over them, brought harm on them, or invoked the god [to do evil] to one. All his doings he mastered—all. Perhaps his was the disguise of a fierce beast, or a coyote, etc.”



If the person born on *Ce Hecatl* were a *maceoalli* (“common person”), they were also destined to engage in various *amo qualli* acts, although to a different degree:

*auh intla maceoalli çan ie no iuhquj iehoatl in mjtoa: tlacatecolotl, tetlatlacatecolouja, tepupuxaquavia, temamacpalitotia, tepoloanj, teeujllotlatia. no iuhqui intla cioatl mometzcopinuj, mometzcopinanj, et<sup>a</sup>*

If it were a common person, likewise, one would say that he was a *tlacatecolotl*, he bedevils people, he makes people sleepy, he enchants people in order to rob them [*temamacpalitotia*], he is a people destroyer, he performs fire rituals. Likewise, if it were a woman, she removes one’s leg [to enchant], a person who disarticulates one’s leg [to enchant them], etcetera.<sup>87</sup>

This passage reveals that the prognostication of this *tonalli* is dependent on the child’s gender and social class. Girls born on this day are briefly defined by the *tlacuilo* as someone who *mometzcopinuj* (“removes one’s leg [to enchant them]”) and *mometzcopinanj* (disarticulates one’s leg [as an enchanter]”) and who knows what other harm she is capable of doing— hence the use of “Etc.” The text offers little more on the fate of girls born on this *amo qualli tonalli*.

“Common” boys, were *tlacatecolotl* (“owl persons” or devils) who would *tetlatlacatecolouja* (“bedevil people), *tepupuxaquavia* (“cause people to become sleepy”), and *temamacpalitotia* (“charm or enchant people in order to rob them”). The inclusion of the phrase

“*temamacpalitotia*” reveals additional details that are missing from Book X. Specifically, while Book IV discusses day signs associated with certain identities, the *tlacuiloque* of Book X omitted these types of details related to the *tonalli* and there appears to be no descriptions of *Ce Hecatl* included in the entry for the *Temacpalitotique* in the catalog.

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<sup>87</sup> Likewise, I used a personal translation that was informed by the provided English translation. Anderson and Dibble provided the following: “And if it were a commoner, in just the same way it was said of him that he was a demon; he caused one to be possessed, or to become demented; he danced with the arm taken from a women dead in first childbed; he was a destroyer of men; he burned images for one. Likewise, if it were a woman, she could enchant by taking apart or disarticulating the bones of the foot, etcetera.” Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 101.

When concluding their introduction to the *tonalli*, the *tlacuiloque* of this Thirty-First Chapter provide additional information relevant to the *Temacpalitotique*. Following an explanation of the various *amo qualli* activities that people assumed if they were born on this day, the text briefly states that such persons would perform their acts on *Chicunauj Itzcujntli* (“Nine Dog”), *Chicunauj Mjqujztli* (“Nine Death”), *Chicnauj Malinalli* (“Nine Grass”), and all other ninth *aqualli tonalli* (“not good tonalli”). They wrote:

*qujtoa cenca ipan tepoloaia in chicunauj itzcujntli, anoço chicnunauj mjqujztli, chicunauj malinalli: ioan in ie muchi chichicunanauj, ioan in oc cequj moteneoa aqualli tonalli, in jzqujcan omotenuh*

They said that he did great evil to one on Nine Dog, or Nine Death, or Nine Grass, and indeed on all the ninth positions, and the other bad day signs mentioned—each of the different positions named.<sup>88</sup>

However, in reference to the *Temacpalitotique*, these *amo tlatatl* were known to strike at a specified hour, when they loot the deceased womens’ bodies and abandon them in a different location:

*...quichichioaia in ixiptla ce hecatl: qujniacantiuja iniacac, imjxpan icatiuja, ioan qujtqujtiuj in jmacpal moçioaquetzquj, in iti ic iauh in auel mjxiuj jquac qujcujiiaia jn quj onmjquj, çan oqujchteccacuja, ioaltica in qujtequjliaia, ioalli itic, auh injc qujtocaia amo ichan, çan vmpa concaoia in vtlica, vcan in uel omaxac contoca qujnecaliltitij, ipan necalioatiuh, coiovitij injc qujucja: auh injc qujoalqujxtia ichan, amo ixcopa in jcal, çan qujcujtlaçionja in calli, vmpa qujqujxtia injc conacacua vmaxac*

...would adorn the image of One Wind [Quetzalcoatl]. It went as their guide, at their head, guiding, marching in front. And they went bearing with them the forearm of a woman who died in childbirth, and could not give birth to what was in her womb. When they took it from the one who had died, they only stole it during the night; they cut it off at midnight. And so did they bury her, not at her home, but only leaving her there in the road; there at the very crossroads they buried her. They went skirmishing, fighting over her, and howling. And as they brought her out of her house, it was not from the front; only at the back of the house, they broke a hole, through which they removed her so that they could leave her at the crossroads.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Personal translation. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 102.

<sup>89</sup> Interestingly, *coiovitij* can be interpreted as “carried her off like coyotes” as well, hence Anderson and Dibble’s choice to use “howling.” Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 102-103.

The *Temacpalitotique*, according to the *tlacuiloque*, are vicious perpetrators who seek to dismember a dead woman and abandon her at the *omaxac* (“crossroads”) at midnight. Contrary to Book X, Book VI also specifies *when* and *where* these enchanters would perform their thievery.

Another section of Book IV provides additional information regarding the behavior of the *Temacpalitotique*. The Thirty-Second Chapter is titled: “*yitechpa tlatoa in jnchoqujz, in jntlaocul, yoan in jnnetolinliz in jchtequjliloia: in qujmjchtequjliaia in in Temacpalitotique : yoan in oc cequj calli, in jtech pouhqui yn*” (“which speaks of the tears, the lamentations, and the misery of those who had been robbed, whom those who had danced with the dead forearm had plundered; and of the rest of the houses belonging to [One Wind]”).<sup>90</sup> The text elaborates on the various belongings that the deviant would acquire by use of the limbs of the *mocioaquetzqui*. The *tlacuiloque* of the prior section, the Thirty-First Chapter, describes the targets of the *Temacpalitotique*’s thieving activities that were later *conmotlamamaltia* (“made into a load that human carriers placed on their backs”), including the *tlecopa* (“chamber where things are kept and guarded”), and the *tlatlatilcali* (“chamber where things are stored”) that contained various hidden valuables: the *tlaqualli* (“prepared food”), *tilmatli* (“cloaks”), *quachtli* (“large capes, cloaks, or large cotton blankets”), which served as currency on some occasions, *chalchiujtl* (“precious stones”), also a term for a newborn child, and *teocujtlatl* (“excrement of the *teotl*,” or “gold”).<sup>91</sup> However, the Thirty-Second Chapter details other goods looted by these *ichtecque* as well as the possible consequences they faced if they were caught in the act of theft. In this brief chapter, the *tlacuiloque* recounted:

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<sup>90</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 105.

<sup>91</sup> Personal translations. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 103.

*Auh in iehoantin otlaujxtililoque: qujnjqvac muzcaliea, moolinja, mocuecuechinja, meoa, meeoa, meoatiquetza, in oacique inchan ychtecque: yn ontlachia in tlecopa, yoan jntopco, in jnpetlascalco: in jtanaioc in maqujztli in chalchivitl: auh in quetzalpetlatl, yn jpetlaioc in quetzalli, aioc tle onvetzoc, ça cacactoc, ça nemjuhian.*

And those who had been despoiled later then revived, moved, continued to stir, and rose up; they arose one by one. They to whose home the thieves had come stood up. They looked into the hearth, and into the coffers, woven reed containers, and palm leaf baskets. The bracelets, their green stone, and the quetzal feather mats, the mats of quetzal feathers, no more lay about. All was bare and laid waste.<sup>92</sup>

In addition to the previously listed belongings, the Thirty-Second Chapter indicates that the thieves took *maqujztli* (“bangle” or “bracelet”) also a term for a newborn child, *quetzalpetlatl* (“quetzal feather mats”), and *jnpetlascalco* (“palm leaf baskets”) from households.<sup>93</sup> In general, this section of Book VI describes the possessions that the *Temacpalitotique* transported on their backs, thus revealing the possible contents of the *cuezcomatl* in both the Nahuatl alphabetic text and images of Book X.

As a consequence of these deviant actions, the *Temacpalitotique* were reviled and insulted if caught by the *chaneque* (“householders”),

*Iujn in qujtoa tepoloaia: in moteneoaia vel teuichtecque, tetzotzonme, tepatlachti: in iehoantin Temamacpalitotique. Auh injc tocaiotilo tetzotzonme: intla cana ovel anoque, çan qujntetepachoa, qujntecicali, tetica vetzi, qujntetzotzona, qujntepatzca, qujnquatepipitzinja: yquac vncan cujtilo, namoialilo in amo çan quexqujch imjchtech, intlaujxtil. Et<sup>a</sup>*

In this manner they said that those who danced with a dead woman’s forearm destroyed people, they were known as genuine thieves, they were struck-by-stones, crushed-by-stones. And hence they were named “struck-by-stones”; if somewhere they could be taken, they just stoned them. They set upon them with stone; they were felled by stones; they beat and mangled them with stones; they crushed their heads with stones. Then and there were taken and plundered practically all their stolen goods and loot, etcetera.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 105.

<sup>93</sup> It is also critical to note that most of these mentioned belongings, such as *maqujztli* (“bangle” or “bracelet”) and *chalchivitl* (“precious stone”), also refer to newborn children.

<sup>94</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 4*, 105-106.

The looting, according to the *tlacuiloque*, also earned the *Temacpalitotique* the title of *vel teuichtecque* ("genuine thieves") and *tetzotzonme* ("struck-by-stones"). The latter name refers to the fate of the thieves if caught by the *chaneque* ("householders"), who stone them to death and confiscate all their stolen goods. None of these names are present in Book X.

Although the *tlacuiloque* of Book X identify the *Temacpalitotique* in the catalog, my comparison of these entries with other parts of the Florentine Codex reveals that many details were omitted from Book X. Historian Alfredo López Austin's book, titled *Los Temacpalitotique*, addresses many of the qualities that are excluded from Book X. López Austin introduces additional information on the *Temacpalitotique* from other sources of Nahuatl-authored literature that I have not addressed in this chapter, such as their mastery of incantations originating from the lessons of their ancestors and the other types of violence these thieves committed.<sup>95</sup> In the light of his analysis, it becomes even more clear that the *Temacpalitotique* were well known specialists in Aztec society, yet the omission of many details associated with their identities in Book X raises additional questions as to why the *tlacuiloque* would refrain from providing this information.

## 2.5 The *Naoaloztomeca*

Book IX, "The Merchants," contains extensive information regarding certain categories of *puchteca* ("merchants"), *oztomeca* ("long distance traders") and *tlachichihque* ("artisans") who were responsible for sustaining the Nahuatl cultural and commercial economy. For instance, the *tlacuiloque* of the First Chapter, "*intechpa tlatoa, in quitzintique in puchtecaiotl, in mexico ioan tlatilulco*" ("which tells of those who founded commerce in Mexico and Tlatilulco"), begin

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<sup>95</sup> López Austin, Alfredo. "Los temacpalitotique." *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 6 (1966): 97-.

Book IX with a chronology of trade in two *altepetl* at the center of the Mexica Empire.<sup>96</sup> Beginning with the reign of Quaquauhpitzaoc, the first *tlatoani* of Tlatelolco, and ending the account with the usurpation of the Tlatelolca rulership by the Tenochca and demise of Moquiustzin, the fourth leader of Tlatelolco, the makers of this section describe the various *puchtecatlatoque* (“noble merchants,” or “ruling merchants”) who worked under each respective *tlatoani* and detail the different merchandise these leaders acquired for the empire. In the time of Quaquauhpitzaoc, the *puchtecatlatoque* who founded trade were Itzcoatzin and Tziuhtecatzin, who at the time only exchanged “...in cueçal, ioan cuitlatexotli, ioan chamoli” (“red arara and blue and scarlet parrot feathers”).<sup>97</sup> However, by the end of the First Chapter, the list of traded possessions increased significantly, and under Moquiustzin—prior to the installment of the Tenochca *quauhtlatoque* (“eagle-ruler,” or a position described as lesser than a life-term governorship)—the *puchtecatlatoque* Popoiotzin and Tlacochoatzin introduced various types of *tlaçotilmatl* (“precious capes”), *tlamachcueitl* (“embroidered skirts”), and *tlamachuipilli* (“embroidered *huipiles*”).<sup>98</sup> These leaders also increased the quantity of items integrated into the empire by previous rulers and “leading merchants,” including *quetzalli* (“quetzal feathers”), *teucuitlatl* (“gold”), *chalchiuitl* (“green stones,” such as turquoise), and *tlaçoihuil* (“precious feathers”).<sup>99</sup> Other discussions of the origins of trade in Book IX include the Seventeenth Chapter, “*vncan mitoa in tlatecque in quichichioa tlaçotetl*” (“Here are said the lapidaries who worked precious stones”), where the *tlacuiloque* discuss the *tlatecque* (“ones who cut”, or

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<sup>96</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 9: The Merchants*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012.

<sup>97</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 2.

<sup>99</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 2.

“lapidaries”), who “*quichichioa tlaçotetl*” (“worked precious stones”). This was a practice, according to the writer of these chapters, founded by four “*diablome*” (“devils,” a term adopted from Spanish with a Nahuatl plural suffix *-me*) who were considered *inculhoan* (their [the *tlatecque*’s] “grandfathers,” or “grandparents”) and *intahoan* (“their [the *tlatecque*’s] fathers” or “their parents”): 1) Chicunauí Itzcuintli, or Papaloxaoal and Tlappapalo, 2) Naoalpilli, 3) Macuilcalli, and 4) Cinteutl.<sup>100</sup>

In addition to documenting the origins of several types of trades, the *tlacuiloque* of Book IX also describe the classifications of the various crafts specialists and merchants noted in the texts. In the Fifteenth Chapter, “*vncan motenehoa in isquichtin tlachichihueque in moteneoa tulteca teucuitlahoaque tlatecque*” (“Here are mentioned all the makers of fine ornaments called master craftsmen [*tulteca*]: the gold workers and lapidaries”), dedicated to the *teucuitlahoaque* (“gold workers”), *tlatecque*, and *teucuitlapitzque* (“gold casters”), the *tlacuiloque* describe the classifications of these crafts specialists:

*Auh in iehoantin achto montenehoa, in teucuitlaoaque, in teucuitlapitzque. Auh in iehoantin, in, teucuitlaoaque, nononqua quiztica, xexeliuhtica in intlachioal, in intultecaio. Cequintin motenehoa tlatzotzonque: iehoantin in çan ie no inchiuil, teucuitlatl quitzotzona, quicanaoa, tetica cana quipatlaoa: inic cana monequi mopetlaoa, motecanaoa. Auh in cequintin moteneoa tlatlaliani: in iehoantin uel tulteca moteneoa. Auh inic no’qua cate: ca vntlamantli in tequjuh inic nonqua monotza*

And the first mentioned are the goldworkers [*teocuitlaoaque*] [and] the gold casters [*teocuitlapitzque*]. And these goldworkers were each divided, separately classed, as to their workmanship, their artisanship. Some were called the smiths [*tlatzotzonque*]. These had no office but to beat the gold, to thin it out, to flatten it with a stone. Wherever it was required, it was polished, it was thinned. And some were called finishers [*tlatlaliani*]. These were named the real craftsmen [*uel tulteca*]. And hence, they were separate; for their tasks were of two kinds, so that they deliberated separately.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 96.

<sup>101</sup> As with most of the other translations in this thesis, I added the bracketed Nahuatl terms for clarification. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 69.

In the case of the *teucuitlahoaque* and *teucuitlapitzque*, there were subdivisions among these two occupations with the title of the *tlatzotzonque* (“smiths”) attributed to people who were only responsible for the thinning and beating of gold, whereas the *tlatlaliani* (“finishers”), also called the *uel tulteca* (“real craftsmen”), were responsible for completing the gold-crafting process. In general, the chapters included in this book detail various types of *puchteca*, *oztomeca*, and *tlachichihuahque*, and provide explanations of their precious goods, the origin of their trades, the production they employ, their roles in commerce, and the ceremonies they perform.

The catalog of Book X mentions only some of the merchants and craft specialists elaborated in Book IX, which contains much more information on these specialists. The writings related to the origins of trades and the classification of certain types are missing from the catalog. Most notably, the list does not include all subcategories of identities. For example, Book X does not include merchants described in the context of warfare, such as the *puchteca iiaque* (“outpost merchants”) and the *teoaoaloani* (“spying merchant in warlike places”). Also absent are the *naoaloztomeca* (“disguised merchants”), who appear most frequently in Book IX with many passages dedicated to the roles they played in the expansion of commercial territories and, consequently, their overall contributions to the imperial power of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. For the present analysis regarding subcategories of peoples absent from the catalog, I will continue to examine this type of merchant.

In the Fifth Chapter of Book IX, “*itechpa tlatoa in puchteca in quenin tocaiotiloque in naoaloztomeca*” (“which tells of how the merchants were given the name of disguised merchants”), the *tlacuiloque* documented the social process by which merchants were bestowed the name of *naoaloztomeca*.<sup>102</sup> During the era of Auitzotzin’s leadership, the eighth *tlatoani* of

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<sup>102</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 21.



Mexico-Tenochtitlan, these merchants were ascribed the title according to their activities of disguise. These individuals would first adopt the appearance of the inhabitants of their destinations, mimicking their hair, learning their languages, and dressing in models of their clothing all for the purpose of concealing their identities to access precious resources in *enemy* lands:

*In icoac calacque in tzinacantlan in puchteca, in aiama pealo tzinacantecatl, inic calaquia amo necia in aço mexicana: inic mispoloia, quinmopatillotiaia, in iuh moxima tzinacantlan tlaca: mocimatecaxima, ioan mopiochtia ioan mochontalxima çan no iuh moximaia in puchteca, quintlaieecalhuiaia: ioan quimomachtiaia in intlatol inic naoalcalaquia, çan nima' aiac uel quimittiaia, in aço mexicana tlahutica in moçaya*

When the merchants went into Tzinacantlan before the people of Tzinacantlan had been conquered, to enter so that they did not look like Mexica, in order to disguise themselves, they took on the appearance of the [locals]. As was the manner of cutting the hair of the people of Tzinacantlan, of Cimatlan, of the Otomi, of the Chontal, just so did the merchants cut their hair to imitate them. And they learned their tongue to enter in disguise. And no one at all could tell whether they were perhaps Mexica when they were anointed with ochre.<sup>103</sup>

There in Tzinacantlan, the setting of this description, the “disguised merchants” who adopted the mannerisms and appearances of the *tlaca* in this territory would then collect precious goods and creatures for the Aztec Mexica Empire, such as the *xiuhtototl* (“blue cotinga”), *quetzaltotome* (“quetzal birds”), *chalchiuhtotome* (“honeycreepers”), the skins of *tequani* (“wild animals,” beasts or literally “people-eaters,” a category of animals according to their relationship with humans), and various types of raw materials: *nocheztli* (“cochineal”), *tlalxocotl* (“alum”), *tlahuatl* (“red ochre”), and *apoçonalli* (“amber”).<sup>104</sup> These *puchtecatl* accomplished their covert activities in other contested territories, including the land of the Otomi, Comatlan, and the land of the Chontal, and as a result of their roles related to infiltration and acquisition, these *puchtecatl* would earn their name as *naoaloztomeca*.

<sup>103</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 21.

<sup>104</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 21-2.

The *naoaloztomeca* practiced the art of disguise, becoming like the people of other *altepetl*, to acquire material and also assume the role of informants who surveyed regions that were coveted by the Aztec Empire. In the same chapter, the *tlacuiloque* detail how these merchants would then disclose information from their inspections of these territories in *Anauac* to the *puchtecatlatoque*:

*Auh in oacico ichan: niman ie ic quinmottitia in puchtecatlatoque, in naoaloztomeca, quinnonotza in iuhcan otlachieto: uel quimelaoa intlatol, in isquich ompa mochioa. Auh in oquicacque melaoac tlatolli: in puchteca tlatolli*

And when they came to reach their homes, thereupon the disguised merchants sought out the principal merchants [*puchtecatlatoque*]; they discussed with them the nature of the places that they had gone to see. Accurately did they set forth their account of all that happened there.<sup>105</sup>

Interestingly, these details would later be relayed to the *tlatoani*, showing a connection between the leader and these merchants. The overall contribution of the *naoaloztomeca* is explained later in the text,

*O ca iui in: inic oquitlaltémolique in tetzauitl vitzilobuchtli achtopa iehoanti quittaia, quimauichoaia, in isquich anaoacatlalli: in iuhqui topco petlascalco ontlachieia, y' çan oc ichtacacalaquia, in nouian anaoac, inic naoaloztomecatitinenca*

This is as it was: they sought land for the portent Uitzilipochtli. First, these discovered [and] marveled at all the land of Anauac [*Anauactlalli*]. Secretly they saw [and] entered everywhere in Anauac. to travel inspecting as disguised merchants [*naoaloztomeca*].<sup>106</sup>

As demonstrated by this statement by the *tlacuiloque* of Book IX, these merchants were entrusted with the covert task of helping to expand the commerce of the Aztec empire, gaining materials required for the cultural creations of craft specialists, and acquiring land for the Mexica *teotl*, *Vitzilobuchtli*. The remainder of the Fifth Chapter details other characteristics of the *naoaloztomeca*, including issues related to their jurisdiction among merchant social relations and

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<sup>105</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 22.

<sup>106</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 23.

“*innechichioaliz*” (their *nechichihualiztli* or “their devices and adornments”). Despite lengthy excerpts dedicated to the *naoaloztomeca* in Book IX and the importance of their roles expressed by the *tlacuiloque*, there are no entries documenting these people in the catalog of Book X.

In Book X, the *Puchteca* are described in two distinct sections of the *libro*. In the Twelfth Chapter, “*intechpa tlatoa in itla intequiuh, ca in itla innetlaecoltiliz vnca, in iuhque puchteca, in anoço tlalchiuhque*” (“which tells of some of the works, some of the ways of gaining a livelihood of those such as merchants [*puchteca*] or workers of the soil [*tlalchiuhque*]”), there are several people listed of different trades: *Mocuiltono* (“The Rich Man”), *Tlalchiuhqui* (“The Farmer”), *Quilchiuhqui* (“The Horticulturist”), *Çuquichihqui* (“The Potter”), and *Puchtecatl*.<sup>107</sup> In this part of the catalog, the *Puchtecatl* is defined as a *tlanamacani* (“seller”), *tlanamacac* (“merchandiser”), and *tlanequilo* (“retailer”).<sup>108</sup> In addition to these basic qualities of commerce, this social identity is also described as *tlatennonotzanj* (“[one] who has reached an agreement on prices”), *tlamixitiani* (“one who secures increases”), and *tlapilhoatiani* (“one who multiplies [his possessions]” based on *pilhoatia*, which is related to procreation, as well (Table 2.9).<sup>109</sup> The *Qualli Puchtecatl* (“Good Merchant”), according to the *tlacuiloque*, is a *laotlatoctiani* (“follower of the routes”), *tlanamictiani* (“one who sets correct prices”), and *tlaipantiliani* (“who sets correct prices”) (Table 2.10).<sup>110</sup> This good merchant also *tlaimacazqui* (“shows respect for things”) and *teimacazqui* (“venerates people”). On the contrary, the *Amo Qualli Puchtecatl* (“the not good merchant”) is *tzotzoca* (“stingy”), *teuie* (“avaricious”), and *motzol* (“greedy”).<sup>111</sup> This

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<sup>107</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 41-3.

<sup>108</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 43.

<sup>109</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 43.

<sup>110</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 43.

<sup>111</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 43.

category of merchant is also *tenquauitl* (“evil-tongued,” literally “one with a wooden, bad tongue or lips”), a *iztlacatini* (“liar”), and *ichtecqui* (“thief”); they are *chichiiyo* (“dog-like”), *tenqualacio* (“deceitful,” literally “a drooler”), and *tlaçollo, iiauh, itlaqual* (“filth is his drink, his food”) (Table 2.11).<sup>112</sup>

According to Sahagún’s corresponding translations of the *Puchteca*, “*El mercader, suele ser regaton, y sabe ganar, y prestar alogro concertarse, conlos comprantes, y multiplicar la hazienda*” (“The merchant tends to be a dealer and knows how to profit, and agrees to lend for profit with the buyers, and multiplies their estate [or wealth or property]”).<sup>113</sup> Similar to the *Qualli Puchtecatl*, the *Mercader* is familiar with haggling and increasing their property as a result of agreements with buyers. However:

*El buen mercader, lleva fuera de su tierra sus mercaderias, y las vende amoderado precio, cada cosa segun su valor, y como es no usando algun fraude en ellas, sino temiendo adios en todo.*

The good merchant, takes their merchandise outside their land, and sells it at reasonable value, each thing according to its worth, and it's not like he is dealing in some fraud, but fearing God in everything.<sup>114</sup>

The *puchtecatl* in the "good" Spanish texts is a traveler, a seller who is flexible with their prices, and possesses reverence for people, even scared of *God*, but this person does not hold *things* in reverence like the *qualli* merchant does, nor do they follow the routes as consistently emphasized in the Nahuatl texts. The *Mal Mercader*, on the other hand, is *caso* (“stingy”), *pretado* (“uptight”), and a *enganador* (“deceiver”). They are *parlero* (“talkative”), *gran encarecedor* (“a

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<sup>112</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 9*, 43.

<sup>113</sup> Personal translation. *Image 61 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 29o, p. 31. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=61&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=61&st=image).

<sup>114</sup> Personal translation. *Image 61, Book X*.

great exaggerator”), and a *gran logrero* (“great profiteer”).<sup>115</sup> In Sahagún’s words, “*loque gana todo es mal ganado, y en vender tiene linda platica, y alabatanto loque vende, que facilmente engaña a los compradores*” (“what he earns is badly gained, and in selling, he has pretty speech, and praises so much of what he sells, that he easily deceives the buyers”).<sup>116</sup> Overall, Sahagún seemingly maintains some of the characteristics related to speech, but the texts only somewhat parallel the original writings rather than offer exact equivalents, as evidenced by missing interpretations related to animals, food, and speech.

The *Puchteca* of the Twelfth Chapter are accompanied by two different images. In the top image, a person is seated on a stool with his wares displayed across a *petlatl*; he presents a variety of both Indigenous items and imported goods facing outwards, presumably towards the direction of a hypothetical *tlacouhqui* (“buyer”) (figure 2.5).<sup>117</sup> On the top left corner of the display, the individual shows a *huipilli*. In the center, there is an “item” that resembles a *huitli* (“digging stick”). Towards the bottom left corner, there are scissors and a machete on the *petlatl*. These are only a few of the items that I can identify. The image below depicts several people, each performing his own activity. The first individual carries a large basket attached by a rope to his forehead. The second seems to pause with a load on his back. The third individual is seated on the ground, supporting a packframe like the one his peer carries. The three persons could be read as a sequence of acts, representing the *puchtecatl* as someone who traveled and prepared to sell his wares. The images could also be read counterclockwise, including the one on top, which

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<sup>115</sup> Personal translation. *Image 62 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 29v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=62](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=62).

<sup>116</sup> Personal translation. *Image 62, Book X.*

<sup>117</sup> *Image 62, Book X.*

represents the presentation of goods for sale after transport to market. Perhaps these people represent the identity of the *Puchteca* or the *Qualli Puchteca*, considering their apparent diligence and conformity to traits listed in the Nahuatl text on the good *puchtecatl*.



Fig. 2.5. The *Puchteca* of the Twelfth Chapter of Book X (fol. 29v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

Most relevant to this analysis, however, is that there is no description of the *naoaloztomeca* in this *text*. When viewing their other presentations in the Florentine Codex, such as the images in Book IX, these identities are often shown with cues that demarcate their covert behaviors (figure 2.6).<sup>118</sup> For instance, in the Fifth Chapter of Book IX, the *tlacuiloque* used place glyphs in conjunction with clothing and hair to show that the two people engaged in a conversation with a third individual are the *naoaloztomeca*. Specifically, while all three people presented in the images are relatively uniform in appearance, as in their style of pulled-back long hair, the glyphs placed above the people reveal their dissimilar identities. The *tlacuiloque* wrote their corresponding place of origin above each, proceeding from left to right: Tenochtitlan (“On the Cactus of the Stone”), Tlatelolco (“At Sand Hill”), and Tzinacantlan (“Near the Biting

<sup>118</sup> *Image 40 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book IX: The Merchants. Facsimile. 2021667854. fol. 18. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, Florentine Codex, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10620/?sp=40](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10620/?sp=40).*

Bats”).<sup>119</sup> If the people presented in the Twelfth Chapter of Book IX were intended to be the *naoaloztomeca*, the *tlacuiloque* perhaps would have incorporated a presentation similar to the third text provided in Book IX, where these signs of subversion are evident.



Fig. 2.6. The *Naoaloztomeca* of the Fifth Chapter of Book IX (fol. 18v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

In the Sixteenth Chapter of Book X, “*intechpa tlatoa, in motlaiecoltiani, in iuhque puchteca*” (“which tells of gainers of livelihoods such as the merchants [*puchteca*]”), there are eight different types of merchants written into the catalog including the *Puchtecatl: Tealtiani* (“Bather of Slaves,” or literally, “One who Bathes People”), *Puchtecatzintli* (“Head Merchant”), *Oztomecatl* (“Long Distance Merchant”), *Chalchiuhnamacac* (“The Seller of Green Stones”) *Tlapitzalnamacac* (“The Seller of Cast Metal Objects”), *Ihuinamacac* (“The Feather Seller”), and *Tlapatlac* (“The Exchange Dealer”). In this section of the catalog, the *Puchtecatl* is described by the *tlacuiloque* as, “*ca tlanamacani, tiamiquini, tiaquinçoani, tianquiço, tlatianquiçani*” (“a vendor, a seller, a practicer of commerce, a watcher of the marketplace. He watches the market place; [he is] a watcher of merchandise in the market place”) (Table 2.12).<sup>120</sup>

<sup>119</sup> I included the translation of each place name for easier comprehension of the place-glyphs.

<sup>120</sup> I included the extra commentary on several of the translations to show the linguistic and socio-cultural meanings associated with these descriptors. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 59.

The *Qualli Puchtecatl* of the Sixteenth Chapter is *tlamixiuitiani* (“a securer of increase”), *melaocatlatoani* (“a straightforward dealer,” literally “one who speaks straight”), and *tenanmiqui* (“he helps others”); they are *melaoc in iollo* (“honest”), and they are *teuimacaci* (“god-fearing,” or “in fear or awe of the *teotl*”) (Table 2.13).<sup>121</sup> However, the *Amo Qualli Puchtecatl* (“Not Good Merchant”) is *teca mocaiaoani* (“a deceiver”), *iztlacatini* (“a liar”), and *tepoiouiani* (“a practicer of trickery,” or “one who does *poyotl* [evil] to people”) (Table 2.14).<sup>122</sup> In this chapter, there are no images assigned to this type of trader. Instead, the only images presented in the writings seem to correspond to the *Tealtiani*, and *Puchtecatzintli*.

Sahagún offers the following translations for the *Puchtecatl*. *El Mercader* is a *tratante* (“trader”) who practices in the *mercados* (“marketplace”).<sup>123</sup> *El Buen Mercader* (“The Good Merchant”), “*sabe multiplicar su caudal, y guardar bien lo ganado*” (“knows how to multiply his wealth, and save the earnings well”), is “*temeroso dedios*” (“fearful of God”), “*sabe tambie’ concertar se enel precio*” (“knows also how to agree on the price”), and is “*convenjble*” (“reasonable”).<sup>124</sup> In contrast:

*El mal mercader muy lindamente engaña, vendiendo, y recatea mas de lo que es justo; es mentiroso, y gran enbaucador, o encandilador, y engaña mas delamjtad del justo precio /o da alogro*

The bad merchant deceives very prettily, selling and haggling for more than what is just; he is a liar, a grand trickster, or dazzler, and deceives for more than half of the just price in order to turn a profit.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 59.

<sup>122</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 59.

<sup>123</sup> Personal translation. *Image 61, Book X*.

<sup>124</sup> Personal translation. Begins on *Image 61, Book X*. Continues onto *Image 62*.

<sup>125</sup> Personal translation. *Image 62, Book X*.



In comparison to the original writings, Sahagún reduced the number of terms used in each entry, therefore showing his active engagement in interpreting rather than translating or even explaining the first texts. Moreover, he did not describe or even mention the *naoaloztomeca*, as none of the terms seem to allude to their undercover behaviors.

When examining other entries of Book X where one might think that the *naoaloztomeca* would appear, based on their classification or name composition, they are not to be found. For instance, when reading the text on the *oztomeca* in Book X, which is also located in the Sixteenth Chapter, there is no mention of the *naoaloztomeca*. The *Oztomecatl* is described by the *tlacuiloque* as a *puchtecatl*, *nenemini* (“traveler”), *nenenqui* (“wayfarer”), and *tlanenemitiani* (“a man who travels with his wares”) (Table 2.15).<sup>126</sup> The *Qualli Oztomecatl vmati* (“knows the roads”), *viximati* (“recognizes the roads”), and *quixtlaxilia* (“searches”) *cecen neceuiliztli* (“various places for resting”), *in cochioaia* (“places for sleeping”), *in tlaqualoia* (“places for eating”), and *in netlacauiloia* (“the places for breaking one’s fast”) (Table 2.16).<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, the *Amo Qualli Oztomecatl* is a *tenitl* (“uncouth,” literally “barbarous person from another land,” or *Popoloca*, “a person of another ethnicity seen as barbarous due to their speech”), *otomitl* (“crude,” “a person who speaks *Otomi*”), and *tlacanexquimilli* (“dull,” literally “a ghost or guise of *Tezcatlipoca*”) (Table 2.17).<sup>128</sup> These types of not good merchants *atlaixtlaxilia* (“encounters the gorges”), *atlaixieiecoa* (“[ encounters] the cliffs,” or “leads people to the

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<sup>126</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 60.

<sup>127</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 60.

<sup>128</sup> I included the additional translations of these adjectives since they provide insight into the language ideologies of the Aztecs. Specifically, how they viewed the languages of neighboring Indigenous populations. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 60.

ravines [or canyon, gorges, valleys, cliffs, or other options]”), and *çacatla calaqui* (“enters the plains,” or “leads people into the grasslands”).<sup>129</sup>

According to Sahagún, *El Tratante Desta Propiedad* (“The Tradesperson of this Attribute”), “*conviene a saber fuera, que lleva para vender sus mercadurias*” (“is advisable to know, what he takes outside to sell their merchandise”).<sup>130</sup> *El Que Deste Officio es Bueno* (“The One of this Trade that is Good”), “*sabe de caminos*” (“knows the roads”), knows “*de las posadas*” (“the *posadas*”), and knows where to look for places to “*dormir, comer, merendar, o cenar*” (“sleep, to eat, to snack, or to have dinner”).<sup>131</sup> *El Que no es Bueno* (“The One who is Not Good”), is *boçal* (“inexperienced or wild”) and *camjna sinn saber, adondeva* (“walks without knowing where they are going”).<sup>132</sup> Similar to the *Amo Qualli Oztomecatl, El que no es Bueno* stops in the “*montes, valles, y despañaderos, por no saber los camjnos*” (“mountains, valleys, and cliffs, due to not knowing the roads”).<sup>133</sup>

There is one illustration that accompanies the alphabetic texts on the *oztomeca*.<sup>134</sup> The *tlacuiloque* depicted two individuals bearing burdens associated with tradespeople. In the left half, the first subject is seated on the ground, with his hand placed on his forehead, whether

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<sup>129</sup> I interpreted several of the verbs as “leads people” into these “difficult places” since there are many instances in Book X that have these types of statements to describe the not good people in order to emphasize their dangerous behaviors. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 60.

<sup>130</sup> Personal translation. *Image 88 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 42v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=88&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=88&st=image).

<sup>131</sup> Personal translation. *Image 88, Book X*.

<sup>132</sup> Personal translation. *Image 88, Book X*.

<sup>133</sup> Personal translation. Begins on *Image 88, Book X*. Continues on *Image 89 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 42, p. 45. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=89](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=89).

<sup>134</sup> *Image 89, Book X*.

resting or in frustration; he observes the other person who continues forward. The second subject appears to walk into rocky terrain with crags and cliffs, using a walking stick to proceed forward, away from the other merchant. When considering the commentary of the *Amo Qualli Oztomecatl* and *El Que no es Bueno*, these presentations can be read as documenting the not good social type. As shown by the texts, these *amo qualli* merchants are prone to enter “difficult” places such as mountains, valleys, and cliffs, and often lead others to these locations as well. However, considering the *oztomeca* are technically associated with long-distance travel, which might include traversing dangerous terrain, the image is ambiguous. Nevertheless, the *naoaloztomeca* do not appear in Book X, as none of the *oztomeca* resemble those in the Book IX presentations.



Fig. 2.7. The *Oztomeca* of the Sixteenth Chapter of Book X (fol. 42).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

In a recent study, anthropologist Kenneth G. Hirth provides a comprehensive examination of the various tradespeople discussed in the Florentine Codex, including the *puchteca*, *oztomeca*, and *naoaloztomeca*. Hirth’s book titled, *The Aztec Economic World: Merchants and Markets in Ancient Mesoamerica*, offers clear classifications of these identities and details the distinctive qualities of these individuals, such as their separate contributions to Aztec commerce, and the

*teotl* they revered in their occupations.<sup>135</sup> A cross-examination of his findings with my analysis raises another question regarding Book X: If other sections provided by the Florentine Codex show the critical role of these *puchtecatl* types in relation to Aztec society, then why would these individuals be excluded from Book X?

## 2.6 The *Cioatlamacazque*

My comparison of Book X with other books of the Florentine Codex reveals how the catalog omits certain types of people in their entirety. The case of the *naoaloztomeca* shows how there are possible subcategories of people missing from the lists even when their more general identifier is described in Book X. However, in addition to missing subcategories of people, entire social types are missing from the *texts*. The *cioatlamacazque* (“priestess”) is one of the missing types.

A discussion of the *cioatlamacazque* first appears in Book II, “The Ceremonies,” where the *tlacuiloque* documented a diverse collection of information pertaining to Aztec religious life.<sup>136</sup> The cover page authored by Sahagún that prefaces these texts offers an adequate summary of the content:

*Segundo libro, que trate del calendario, fiestas, y cerimonjas, sacraficios, y so lenjidades: que estos naturales, desta nueva españa hazian: a honra su dioses. Ponerse al cabo, deste libro, por via de apendiz: los edificios, oficios, y serujcios: y officia les que aguja en el templo mexicano.*

The second book, which addresses the calendar, festivals, and ceremonies, sacrifices, and celebrations: what these natives of this New Spain used to do to honor their gods. Placed

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<sup>135</sup> Hirth, Kenneth G. *The Aztec Economic World: Merchants and Markets in Ancient Mesoamerica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316537350>.

<sup>136</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 2: The Ceremonies*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012. *General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book II*

in the end of this book, by way of an appendix: the buildings, trades, and services and officials who were in the Mexica temple.<sup>137</sup>

In Book II, the *tlacuiloque* elaborate on these categories of knowledge, including a variety of ceremonial leaders such as the “priestess.” In the Twenty-Seventh Chapter prefaced as, “*ytechpa tlatoa in ilhuitl yoan in nextlaoaliztli, in qujchioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl ynic chicuey metztli: in mitoaia Vei tecujhujtl*” (“which tells of the feast day [*ilhuitl*] and of the debt-paying [*nextlahualiztli*] which they celebrated during all the days of the eighth month, which was called *Uey tecuilhuitl*”), the *cioatlamacazque* are featured in this ceremony among the various participants who revered Xilonen, an Aztec *teotl* of young maize said also to be Chicomecoatl—the *teotl* of maize and all other forms of sustenance.<sup>138</sup>

*Auh in ie otlatujc, njman ic peoa in netotilo, vel ixqujch tlacatl in tiachcaoan, in telpopuchtli, yn iiaque, yoan in tequjoaque, incicintopil: ynin motocaiotia totopanjtli. No mjtotia in cioa, yn itech pouja in xilonen, mopopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: yoan moxaoaia tecoçauhtica: no ic qujcotona, yn inxaiac, yn jntenco, tecoçauhtica: auh yn imixquac tlalalachiotica, ymjicpacxochiuh, innoxochicozquj cempoalxuchitl yiacatiuh. yn iehoa' yn, cioa, moteneoa cioatlamacazque, amo qujmonnelooa yn oqujchti, çan nonqua mantiuj, cololujtiuj, qujtepeujtiuj in Xilonen: qujcioapa' cujcatitiuj: in iehoantin y, cioa moteneoa tecomapilooa*

And when day broke, then began the dancing. Verily everyone, the masters of the youths, the youths, the leaders, and the seasoned warriors had, each one, their maize stalk. These were named “bird banners.” Likewise the women danced, those who belonged to Xilonen. They were pasted with red feathers and they were painted with yellow ocher. Also thus were their faces divided: they were yellow with ocher about the lips, and they were light red with arnotto on their foreheads. They had their wreaths of flowers upon their heads; their garlands of tagetes flowers went leading. These women were known as offering priestesses. They mingled not with men; they just remained apart. They went encircling [the likeness of] Xilonen; they went enclosing her. They went singing for her after the manner of women. These women were called “the hanging gourd.”<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Personal translation. *Image 1 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book II: The Ceremonies*. Facsimile. 2021667847. Cover page Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10613/?sp=1](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10613/?sp=1).

<sup>138</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 96.

<sup>139</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 104.

This excerpt reveals several qualities associated with the *cioatlamacazque*: the role of these religious leaders during the time of *Vei Tecujhuitl*, the other members of Aztec society that they complemented during this *ilhuitl* and *nextlahualiztli*, and their other name as the *tecomapilohua* (“the hanging gourd”). Furthermore, there are a few inferences that can be drawn from this description regarding their appearance. During the ceremony, the *cioatlamacazque* are adorned with various colors, including tones of red and yellow, while carrying flowers and different components of corn during their dance to revere Xilonen.

The *cioatlamacazqui* is mentioned in two additional sections in Book II. In the Thirtieth Chapter describing another festival, called the *Ochpanjztli*, these ceremonial leaders are written in relation to the Chicomecoatl:

*Auh in jchpopochti in itech povi chichicomecoa moteneoa, ciotlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmiloaia, yoa' tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa*

And the maidens who belonged with the Chicome coatl [priests] were known as offering priestesses. They bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, each ear of dried maize painted with liquid rubber. And they wrapped them each in paper. And they were with precious capes. The offering priestesses who carried them on their backs had their faces painted; [their arms and legs] were pasted with feathers. Also they went singing. The Chicome coatl [priests] intoned the chant for them.<sup>140</sup>

Similar to the previous description of *Vei Tecujhuitl*, these “priestesses” participate in *Ochpanjztli* by actively painting themselves, contributing the reverence of the *teotl* through dance, and beholding *cintli*.

The final excerpt where the *cioatlamacazqui* is mentioned in Book II is in the last pages of the *Apendiz*, which is titled “*Imelaoaca in quenjn tlatequj panoaia ciao in vmpa teupa*” (“An Account of How the Women Served There in the Temples”).<sup>141</sup> Here, the *tlacuiloque* briefly

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<sup>140</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 124-25.

<sup>141</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 246-47.

explain the *nemiliztli* (“life” or “lives”) of the “priestesses,” documenting their various stages of socialization. The account of their *tequitl* begins with their entrance into the *teopan*, where the young girls who become the *cioatlamacazque* are carried by their mothers with *copalli* (“copal”), *tlemaitl* (“incense ladles”), and their *popotl* (“brooms”). According to the *tlacuiloque*, this first stage is performed when the young girl “*cempoaltia, anoco qujn ie vmpoaltia*” (“perhaps after they were already twenty [days old] or after they were forty [days old]”).<sup>142</sup> Following this initial entrance, after the *cihoapiltontli* (“little girl”) is dedicated, the mothers would continue to follow the guidance of the *quacuilli* (“old priest”) and leave the *copalli* and *tlemaitl* in the proper locations identified by the *teopan* leader.<sup>143</sup> These offerings are accompanied by continuous rituals as the mothers present the *popotl* or *tlaxipeoalli* (“wood shavings”) “*cecempoaltica in vmpa acapulco*” (“every twenty days there at the *calpulco*”).<sup>144</sup> When the young girl arrives at the age of *ichpochtli*, the *tlacuiloque* writes that she would enter the *calpulco* “*yoan ça yiollohlama in teisquentiaia*” (“And purely of her own will she performed the face-veiling [ceremony]”).<sup>145</sup> In these brief statements, the young woman is said to assume this position seemingly only if she confirms and consents to the process of becoming a *cioatlamacazqui*. The last stage of socialization described in this section is in relation to marriage requests where, if the *tlatolli* of the petition were good and the “*intla ocezque tetahoan, in tenanhoan in tlaxillacaleque in pipilti*” (“if the fathers, the mothers, the men of the neighborhood, the noblemen consented”) approved, further preparations and offerings would be performed for the union.<sup>146</sup> While this

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<sup>142</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 246.

<sup>143</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 246.

<sup>144</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 246.

<sup>145</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 246.

<sup>146</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 246.

entire section is relatively brief and only summarized here in this thesis, the *tlacuiloque* provide critical insight into the identity of the *cioatlamacazque*.

Other than these descriptions of the *cioatlamacazqui* in Book II, this “priestess” is mentioned in only one other book of the Florentine Codex. In Book XI, “Earthly Things,” the *tlacuiloque* referred to this identity when they described the natural world according to Nahua metaphysics.<sup>147</sup> In the First Chapter titled, “*intechpa tlatoa in iolquem in manenemj*” (“which tells of the four-footed animals”), the *cioatlamacazque* is mentioned in the description of the *mapichtli* (“*mapachin*,” or raccoon).<sup>148</sup> The *tlacuiloque* writes, “*yoan itoca cioatlamacazquj, yoan itoca ilamaton*” (“also its name is ‘priestess,’ and its name is ‘little old woman [*ilamaton*]”).<sup>149</sup> The remainder of the passage describes the origin of the *mapichtli*’s name, behaviors, appearances, and other identities associated with them, but does not elaborate on its their likeness to *cioatlamacazque*. This brief reference reveals an intriguing association between priestesses and raccoons.

While the *cioatlamacazque* were documented in the Nahuatl alphabetical texts of the Florentine Codex in four sections, they are missing from the listing of people in Book X. In this case, the “priestess” does not receive any mention despite their active participation in various ceremonies that were described as integral to Nahua ceremonial life. As previous researchers have demonstrated in their inquiries regarding gender, such as Susan Kellogg in her article titled, *The Woman's Room: Some Aspects of Gender Relations in Tenochtitlan in the Late Pre-Hispanic*

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<sup>147</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 11: Earthly Things*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012.

<sup>148</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 11*, 9.

<sup>149</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 11*, 9.



*Period*, the *cihuatlamacazque* were differentiated by a range of different temple responsibilities, but these explanations are not to be found in Book X.<sup>150</sup>

In addition to the *cihuatlamacazque*, there are other types of ceremonial leaders, “priests,” and ritual participants described in different books of the Florentine Codex who are also absent from the catalog of Book X. For example, in the final sections of Book II, there is a segment titled, “*Imelavaca in Izqujntin Tlatequj panoaia in Jnchachan Cecenme Teteu*” (“A declaration of all those who served in the homes of each of the gods”), where the *tlacuiloque* included a list of *teotl* and their respective “keepers.”<sup>151</sup> The first “keeper” described by the writers is the *mexicatl teuhoatzin* (“*mexicatl* priest”), who is stated as the *tlatoque* of the other *teteuhoatzitzin* (plural for *teuhoatzin*):

*Yoan ic tlapiaia ca iuhquj in teta muchiuhticatca in calmecac...yoa no iehoatl tlanavatiaia in novjian teteupan qujmilhujaja in tlein quichivazque teteuhoatzitzin, auh in anoço aca tlatlacoa muchi iehoatl qujmatia in Mexicatl teuhotzin*

And so did he keep watch that indeed it was a matter of his being like a father in the *calmecac*...And also this one commanded in the temples everywhere; he told the [lesser] keeper of the gods what they might do. And if perchance any should err, the Keeper of the God of the Mexica knew all of it.<sup>152</sup>

According to these descriptions, this person is critical in two types of structures central to Aztec society: first, the system of *teopan* or temples that existed in the empire; second, the *calmecac*, where young Native youth were both socialized and educated. However, it appears that these two primary roles were shared among other “keepers of the *teotl*.” The *Vitznava Teuhoatzin Omacatl*

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<sup>150</sup> Kellogg, Susan. “The Woman’s Room: Some Aspects of Gender Relations in Tenochtitlan in the Late Pre-Hispanic Period.” *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 563. <https://doi.org/10.2307/483143>.

<sup>151</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 206.

<sup>152</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 206.

(“Keeper of the *Teotl* of Vitznava, Omacatl”) and *Tepan Teuhoatzin* also participated in the *calmecac* and oversaw the other *teopan*.<sup>153</sup>

The remainder of this section describes the other *chantli* (“homes”) of the *Teteo* as well as the leaders of the various *teopan* that are directed by the previously mentioned *teteuhoatzin*. In these descriptions, the *tlacuiloque* continue to incorporate brief mentions of their responsibilities. For instance, in a section on the “*Chalchiuhtli icue acatonal cuacujlli*,” the Nahuatl author documents how the *quacuilli* (“old priest”) directed offerings and ceremonies pertaining to *Chalchiuhtlicue*, a *teotl* associated with fertility and “earthly” waters:

*In chalchiuhtli icue acatonal quacuilli, ipan tlatoaia in ventli, qujtzatziliaia in jxquich itech monequja, in iehoatl chalchiuhtli ycue in ipan miquja, in ococalcueitl, yn acueitl: yoan in ixqujch yn amatl, in copalli, in villi, yoan in oc cequj*

The Old Priest of Chalchiuhtli icue Acatonal issued directions about the offerings [and] made public announcements about all that [the impersonator of] Chalchiuhtli icue required at the time that she died: the pine nut skirt, the water skirt, all the paper, the incense, and so forth.<sup>154</sup>

Likewise, in the section pertaining to “*Pochtlan Teuhoa Yiacatecutli*” (“The Keeper of the *Teotl* of Yiacatecutli at Pochtlan”), the *tlacuiloque* detail the tasks assigned to the “keeper” responsible for maintaining the *chantli* of the *Yiacatecutli*, a *teotl* associated with certain types of *puchteca* and *otzomeca*:

*In pochtlan teuhoa yiacatecutli ipan tlatovaia qujnechicovaia in Jacatecutli in nepapan ihujtl in tochiujtl in ie ixqujch ihujtl. yoan in tlaçotilmatl, in xicolli, in tzitzilli, yoan tlatlapalactli*

The Keeper of the God Yiacatecutli at Pochtlan issued directions concerning [and] assembled for [the impersonator of] Yiacatecutli the various feathers, rabbit fur, all the feathers, and the precious cape, the sleeveless jacket, the bells, and the sandals of all colors.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 206.

<sup>154</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 214.

<sup>155</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 2*, 213.

This selection includes information on the appearances of keepers, along with details of their other ceremonial and social responsibilities.

Despite the critical contributions of each “priestly” identity in sustaining the *Teotl* in calendrical rituals and performing other types of sacred practices, such as the *cioatlamacazqui*, *teteuhoatzitzin*, and *quacuilli*, there are no entries dedicated to any of these individuals in the tenth book. To my knowledge, none of the descriptions in the catalog name the different identities detailed above, or the many other types of ceremonial leaders who are documented in the remainder of the Florentine Codex who are translated similarly as “priests” or “keepers,” including some of the additional following people: *teupixque* (“keepers of the *teotl*”), *tlenamacaque* (translated by Anderson and Dibble as the “fire priests”), and *tlamacazque* (translated by Anderson and Dibble as “priests”). In fact, there are only four types of ritual specialists included in Book X—the *Naoalli*, *Tlamatini*, *Tlacatecolotl*, and *Auiani*. However, as previous research has shown, some of these identities are described with distorted biases in the catalog since they predominantly align with Christian binary concepts of good and evil, despite having equivocal meanings in Nahuatl morality. The *Auiani*, for example, is repeatedly referred to as a *harlot*, yet had several roles in different religious ceremonies.<sup>156</sup> Overall, my findings on the “priests” demonstrate the possibility that entire classes of people are missing from Book X.

## 2.7 Chapter Conclusion

Using the three-texts-in-one approach first conceptualized by Terraciano, I was able to examine similarities and differences between the Nahuatl writings, Spanish translations, and

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<sup>156</sup> Szoblik, Katarzyna. “La Ahuiani, ¿flor preciosa o mensajera del diablo? La visión de las Ahuianime en las fuentes indígenas y cristianas.” *Itinerarios: revista de estudios lingüísticos, literarios, históricos y antropológicos*, no. 8 (2008): 197–214. <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=5744264>.

images in Book X when describing each social type. I also compared Book X with other Nahuatl texts of the Florentine Codex to show that many people and social types were omitted from the catalog in Book X. The social types discussed in this chapter reveal the implications of my analysis. The *Tiçitl* exemplifies the absence of prominent social types in Book X that are discussed in other Books of the *Historia*, such as midwives. The analysis of the *Temacpalitotique* shows that these omissions also apply to infamous deviant types in Nahua society, as well as details such as day signs, alternative names used to describe persons in the lists, and their relationship to other members of Nahua society. The examination of the *Naoaloztomeca* from Book IX demonstrates how there are subcategories of social types absent from the listings, despite their general identity or related counterparts' inclusion in the texts of Book X. Finally, the discussion of the *Cioatlamacazque* and other ceremonial leaders suggests that entire classes of social types were omitted from Book X despite their critical contributions to Aztec society.

As a result of these findings, two additional generalizations that can be made. First, Book X is not a comprehensive list of information that accounts for all members of Nahua society. Second, the brevity of the texts suggests that the *tlacuiloque* and Sahagún engaged in a selective process to decide who and what to include in the entries. The following chapter proposes hypotheses to explain the contexts that informed these choices.

## CHAPTER 3

### 3.1 Chapter Introduction: Deriving Conclusions from the Findings

In several publications examining the Florentine Codex, Peterson proposes that scholars consider the social-temporal context of the manuscript when attempting to research the content of the texts. In her article, *Crafting the Self: Identity and the Mimetic Tradition in the Florentine Codex*, Peterson began these proposals by analyzing the various *toltecatl* engaged in artisanal production in Books IX, X, and XI to challenge the definition of *mimetic reproduction*. This term imposed onto the makers of the Florentine Codex by previous scholars implied that the *tlacuiloque* were mere passive copyists of European art rather than scholars who actively amended the *Historia General* to suit their own semantic expressions of the sixteenth-century, Nahua worlds. Instead, Peterson argues for understanding the creation of the manuscript as a *transculturative process*, “in which continuities with the past are strong yet the admixture of both traditions is indissoluble...”<sup>157</sup> Peterson established a critical argument that I interpret as a cautionary approach to assessing Book X:

To read the Florentine images as a combative juxtaposition of native and European modes of pictorial expression also sets up false dichotomies... colonial artists strategically forged new identities by intentionally adopting both idioms, retaining aspects of their indigenous heritage and appropriating Europeanizations to craft their self images and further validate their own agendas.<sup>158</sup>

In a more recent publication, *Images in Translation: A Codex “Muy Historiado,”* Peterson continues to inquire into the cultural multiplicity of the images. She asserts that each presented subject is evidently influenced by both Native and imported art, which Peterson and

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<sup>157</sup> Peterson, “Crafting the Self”, 224-225.

<sup>158</sup> Peterson, “Crafting the Self”, 225.

other scholars describe these artistic legacies as “bivisual” since the *tlacuiloque* lived in a Nahua-European discursive world.<sup>159</sup> However, there is one particular passage in this publication that reveals the complexity of examining the cultural and historical context surrounding the Florentine Codex:

There is no presumption here that we can entirely untangle the Indigenous and Hispanic worldviews embedded in the Florentine Codex, but we can situate the manuscript and its makers more securely at the nexus of an intense Nahua and European interchange in New Spain.<sup>160</sup>

From these arguments, Peterson offers two additional approaches to examining the *Historia General*. First, researchers should understand the making of the writings as a process of cultural innovation and exchange, where the Indigenous contributors both used and altered the imported rhetorical and artistic conventions with their own education of Native art, thereby learning new ways to create meaning while exposing Europeans to their own inventions. These innovations, as described by the scholar, permitted the *tlacuiloque* to effectively communicate their perspectives. Second, researchers should be wary of categorizing an observation as either strictly Native or European and instead should consider the manuscript as an accumulation of social and historical events. In acknowledging that the writings exist in the “nexus” that Peterson described, scholars can position their findings more precisely in the societal convergences that occurred between the Nahua and Spanish worlds. These specific articles began informing my analysis of Book X as I consistently sought to understand the possible processes assumed in the making of this book that ultimately resulted in a tension between the three texts while ending with a seemingly incomplete catalog of social identities. For the purpose of explaining the construction of Book X, this section

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<sup>159</sup> Boone, Elizabeth Hill. “The Multilingual Bivisual World of Sahagún’s Mexico.” In *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by John Frederick Schwaller, 137–67. Berkeley, Calif.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2003.

<sup>160</sup> Peterson, “Images in Translation”, 22-23.

asks the following question: How can we understand the omission of information and people in the entries from the perspective of each contributor who compiled the catalog?

The following chapter attempts to historicize the findings of this study in accordance with the propositions set forth by Peterson. The cross-examination of the three texts of Book X in addition to the comparison of the writings with the other books of the Florentine Codex reveal a significant number of details that varied in the three texts, including information initially written in the Nahuatl texts yet omitted in the Spanish, and information absent from the entries yet incorporated into other sections of the *Historia General*. By assessing Colonial-period influences on the production of the Florentine Codex, and by extension Book X, I propose several explanations that might expand our understanding and interpretation of the catalog. The first set of explanations focus on how the increasing discrimination towards Indigenous peoples and their respective cultures as well as the role of Sahagún might have influenced the organization of the manuscript, and consequently, the making of the list. The second set of explanations consider the lived experience of the Nahua intellectuals, beyond the priest's editorial role, and provides additional hypotheses that emphasize the possible decisive processes the *tlacuiloque* employed in creating Book X.

### **3.2 Explanation #1: The Exclusionary Diagnostic Handbook of Nahua Social Identities and their Respective “Illnesses”**

During the sixteenth century, one of the Catholic Church's primary concerns in New Spain was to "cure" the Indigenous peoples from "diseases of heresy." Extending from theological and scholastic traditions of the late Medieval Period (1300 to 1500 C.E), Church officials continued applying these notions of affliction to the "New World." The association of

sins with disease that infected the Roman Catholic community as an organic body pervaded colonial structures across Mexico. Institutions such as the Holy Office of the Inquisition (1572-1819) and the Apostolic Inquisition were created to persecute non-Christian cultures as crimes against the faith and “illnesses” requiring spiritual intervention.<sup>161</sup> In response to these perceptions of the Indigenous populations, friars of the various mendicant orders declared their roles as spiritual doctors seeking to remedy the “disease of idolatry.” Catholic priests throughout the Colonial period then integrated these vivid religious-medical theories into their ecclesiastical literature when documenting their entanglements with Native divinities.<sup>162</sup> As they pursued their violent missionary agenda as “religious physicians,” these analogies became evident in scriptures, letters, and other mediums of writing that described Indigenous beliefs.

The creation of the Florentine Codex is informed by the contagion rhetoric popularized in Medieval theology and later pervasive among the European priests invading “New Spain.” The idea of medicine and healing is prominent in Sahagún’s commentary, especially in his prologues to the different *libros* of manuscript. In fact, in the very first *Prologo* of the *Historia General*, the friar infamously locates the manuscript in the medical-religion discourse. Introducing the Florentine Codex to the reader, the friar analogizes the priests in “New Spain” to physicians and the Nahua to the sick:

*El medico no puede Acertadamente aplicar Las medicinas al enfermos que primero conozca: de queumor, o de que causa proçede la Enfermedas. De manera que El buen medico conviene seadocto Enel conocimiento delas medicinas y enel delas Enfermedades para aplicar conueniblemente acada Enfermedad lamedecina contraria. Los predicadores, y confesores, medicosson delasanimas para curar las Enfermedades Espirituales: conuienetenga’ esperitua de las medicinas y delas Enfermedades*

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<sup>161</sup> Chuchiak IV, John F. *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1820: A Documentary History*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

<sup>162</sup> Solari, Amara. “The ‘Contagious Stench’ Of Idolatry: The Rhetoric of Disease and Sacrilegious Acts in Colonial New Spain.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 96, no. 3 (August 1, 2016): 481–515. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182168-3601658>.



*espirituale. El Predicador delos Viçias de la Republica para enderecar contraEllos su doctrina, y Elconfessor para saver preguntar loqueconuiene yentender lo que dixeren tocante a su officio: conujene mucho que sepan lo neçessario para exerçitar sus officios. Ni conuiene se descuyden los ministros desta conuersion con dezir que entre esta gente no ay mas peccados, de borrachera, hurto y carnalidad. Porque otros muchos peccados ay entre ellos muy mas graues y que tiene gran necessidad de Remedio los Pecados delay ydolatria, y ritos ydolatricos, y suprestičones ydolatricas y agueros, y abusiones, y ceremonias ydolatricas: no son aun perdidas del todo.*<sup>163</sup>

The physician cannot advisedly administer medicines to the patient without first knowing of which humour or from which source the ailment derives. Wherefore it is desirable that the good physician be expert in the knowledge of medicines and ailments to adequately administer the cure for each ailment. The preachers and the confessors are physicians of the souls for the curing of spiritual ailments. It is good that they have practical knowledge of the medicines and the spiritual ailments. For him who preaches against the evils of the State, in order to marshal his teachings against them, and for the confessor, in order to know how to ask what is proper and understand what they may say pertaining to his work, it is very advisable to know what is necessary to practice their works. Nor is it fitting that the ministers become neglectful of this people other than orgies, thievery, and lustfulness, because there are many other, much graver sins among them which are in great need of remedy. The sins of idolatry, idolatrous rituals, idolatrous superstitions, auguries, and abuses, and idolatrous ceremonies are not yet completely lost.<sup>164</sup>

These types of discriminatory medical comparisons and rhetorical allusions can be found in other sections of the friar's commentary.

In the prologue to Book VII, "The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years," Sahagún refers to the ideas of curing while explaining his intention of documenting Aztec beliefs related to calendars, time, and the cosmos in general:

*Quan desatinados, aujan sido, en el conocimjento de las criaturas, los gentiles, nuestros antecessores: ansi griegos, como latinos: esta muy claro, por su mjsmas escripturas. De cuales, nos consta: quan ridiculosas fabulas, inuentaron, del sol, y de la luna, y de algunas, de las estrellas: y del agua, tierra, fuego, y ayre: y de las otras criaturas: y lo que peor es, les atribuyeron diujnidad: y adoraron, ofrecieron, sacrificaron, y acataron: como dioses. Esto proujno, en parte, por la ceguedad, en que caymos, por el peccado*

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<sup>163</sup> Image 12 of *General History of the Things of New Spain* by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: *The Florentine Codex. Introduction, Indices, and Book I: The Gods*. Facsimile. 2021667846. p. 1, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10612/?sp=12](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10612/?sp=12).

<sup>164</sup> Dibble, Charles E., and Arthur J. O. Anderson. *Introductions and Indices: Introductions, Sahagún's Prologues and Interpolations, General Bibliography, General Indices*. 2nd edition (University of Utah Press, 2012), 45.

*original: y en parte por la malicia, y enuegecido odio , de nuestro aduersario santanas: que siempre procura: y de abatimos, a cosas viles, ridiculosas, y muy culpables...Pues a proposito, que sean curados de sus cegueras, ansi por medio de los predicadores: como le los confesores: se ponen el el presente libro algunas fabulas, no menos frias que fabulas: que sus antepassados, los dexaron: del sol y de la luna y de las estrellas: y de los elementos, y cosas elementadas.<sup>165</sup>*

How foolish our forefathers, the gentiles, both Greek and Latin, had been in the understanding of created things is very clear from their own writings. From them it is evident to us what ridiculous fables they invented of the sun, the moon, some of the stars, water, land, fire, air, and of the other created things. And, what is worse, they attributed divinity to them, they worshiped them, made offerings, made sacrifices to them, and revered them as gods. This originated in part from the blindness into which we fell through original sin and in part from the cunning, the long-standing hatred of our adversary, Satan, who always endeavors to incline us toward vile, ridiculous, and very culpable things... So that they to be cured of their blindnesses by means of the preachers, as well as the confessors, some fables, no less graceless than frivolous, which their ancestors left them of the sun, the moon, the stars, the [four] elements, and things containing the [four] elements are placed in the present Book.<sup>166</sup>

In rationalizing the documentation of these cosmologies, the friar discusses how the *libro* can help priests begin to remedy the so-called “blindness” of the Indigenous people who were supposedly inflicted by the mythical “original sin” committed by Adam and Eve and tricked by the devil.

In the prologue to Book V, “The Omens,” the friar also revisits the applicability of the Florentine Codex to the medical-theological agenda maintained by Church officials by using the idea of “doctors” and “remedies” again in the explanations for writing the Native prognostications:

*Mal es este, que cundio en todo el humanal linaie: y como estos naturales, son buena part del: cupolos harta parte, desta enfermedad. Y Porque, para quando llagados desta llaga, fueren a buscar medicina: y el medico, los pueda facilmente, entender: se pone en*

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<sup>165</sup> *Image 2 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book VII: The Sun, Moon, and Stars, and the Binding of the Years.* Facsimile. 2021667852. Prologue. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10618/?sp=2](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10618/?sp=2).

<sup>166</sup> Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 67.

*el presente libro: muchos de los agujeros, que estos naturales vsauan: y a la postre, se trate de diuersas maneras de estantiguas: que de noche, los aparecian.*<sup>167</sup>

Bad is this which has spread into all the lineage of man, and, since these natives are a good part of it, a good share of this sickness befell them. And in order that, at the same time when, wounded with this sore, they go in search of a remedy and [in order that] the doctor can easily understand them, many of the omens these natives heeded are set forth in the present Book. And at the end the different apparitions which appeared to them at night are treated of.<sup>168</sup>

While the second statement is slightly ambiguous, given whether the “doctor” performing the spiritual intervention refers to Nahua experts of prognostications or the “spiritual physicians” of the mendicant orders, the idea of “remedy” still coheres to the prominent theological sensibilities of the colonial period. Nonetheless, Sahagún attempts to demonstrate how documenting the Native “omens” could facilitate Catholic indoctrination even if they are viewed as heretical traditions. In general, much of Sahagún’s commentary demonstrates the influence of the pervasive disease metaphor on the *Historia*.

The possible motives resulting in the application of this medical concept and the inclusion of such vivid imagery is most likely a result of two religious-political constraints that once restricted the production of the Florentine Codex. First, the application of the disease metaphor is perhaps a result of the destruction of Indigenous cultures in “New Spain,” where priests, including Sahagún and other types of religious colonizers, systematically murdered Native material culture in an attempt to eradicate their divinities. In particular, the Inquisition proceeded to destroy any sacred creations that were deemed as *sustaining* Native beliefs, which— for example— is why there are only twelve known surviving “Late Postclassic Period” codices:

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<sup>167</sup> *Image 2 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book V: Omens and Superstitions.* Facsimile. 2021667850. Prologue. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10616/?sp=2](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10616/?sp=2).

<sup>168</sup> Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 63.

Codex Borgia, Codex Cospi, Codex Fejérváry Mayer, Codex Laud, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Colombino-Becker, Codex Bodley, Codex Vindobonensis Mexicanus 1, Codex Zouche-Nuttall, Dresden Codex, Madrid Codex, and Paris Codex. Recognizing that the Florentine Codex was vulnerable to this intense violence since the manuscript documented Nahua traditions, it is highly possible that the friar implemented various arguments in his commentary to legitimize and “defend” the thirty-year project from the Catholic violence, which might have included the disease metaphor he accepted and perpetuated to appease any threatening church officials.

The second constraint, the controversies that accompanied the conception of the *Historia General* in addition to the increasing persecution of Native traditions, may have also prompted these medical arguments that Sahagún frequently cited in the manuscript. As seen in the “Brief History” section of this paper, there were many anxieties regarding the “heretical” qualities of the texts. Throughout the production of the Florentine Codex, members of the Catholic Church continued to challenge the manuscript because of these concerns, and regardless of the asserted evangelical utility that Sahagún promoted, his religious colleagues vehemently argued that the Native scholars and the friar were reproducing “idolatries” through the writings. In response to the intermittent withdrawal and reinstatement of financial and legal support for the production—which frequently led to the Nahua *tlacuiloque* and Sahagún to periods of halting, resuming, and restarting the Florentine Codex—the disease metaphor was possibly one of Sahagún’s many strategies to maintain the project for his agenda of cultural assimilation. Using this religious sensibility of medical intervention to construct the Florentine Codex may have been the friar’s attempt to placate any zealous opponents and maintain funding for the *Historia General*.

In relation to Book X, the illness argument most likely continued to inform the compilation of the catalog. Despite the lack of any explicit mention of “disease,” the use of the vices and virtues format as described in the *Prologo* is a strong indicator that Sahagún perhaps viewed Book X as part of the spiritual “healing” and cultural eradication, where friars could specifically target the socialization and ascribed norms of many incorporated Native social identities to then determine appropriate Catholic remedies. In early modern Spain (1400s-1600s), the use of the vices and virtues literature was especially seen as a “vaccine” for the morally ill, and it is possible that the friar was influenced by this theological view, given the popularity of this rhetoric in both Europe and the Iberian colonies.<sup>169</sup> Book X would have readily functioned as a similar diagnostic handbook for priests since the texts contain general descriptions of each person’s identity and these details could have been adjusted to Catholic and Native ideologies during the imposition of Christianity. However, the greater context of colonial Mexico might have also resulted in a cautionary selection of the book’s content with the Florentine Codex’s collective attempt to navigate the threats of financial withdrawal; in this case, Sahagún sought to avoid the destruction of what he most likely viewed as his greatest contribution to the the goal of culturally assimilating the Indigenous people. In relation to this latter possibility, Sahagún might have emphasized the knowledge he considered familiar to his religious devotions while neglecting all other information he deemed too obscure or heretical according to his limited, Eurocentric perspective. Overall, the health metaphor shows that the reasoning for the final draft of Book X is anything less than clear and precise, but we can begin to hypothesize despite these difficulties.

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<sup>169</sup> Kallendorf, Hilaire. *Ambiguous Antidotes: Virtue as Vaccine for Vice in Early Modern Spain*. University of Toronto Press, 2017. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1xzh1c0>.

### 3.3 Explanation #2: Unworthy of Mention

In his message “*Al Sincero Lector*” (“To the Reader”) in Book I, a passage that follows the infamous *Prologo*, Sahagún addresses his primary objective for compiling the Florentine Codex:

*Ciertamente, fuera harto prouechoso, hazer vna obra tan vitil: para los que qujeren deprender esta lengua mexicana: como Ambrosio Calepino la hizo: para los que qujere deprender, la lengua latina: y la significacion de sus vocablos.*<sup>170</sup>

Certainly, it would be very beneficial to produce so useful a work for those who desire to learn this Mexican language just as Ambrosio Calepino prepared one for those who desire to learn the Latin language and the meaning of its words.<sup>171</sup>

He aspires to compile a manuscript comparable to those of Ambrosio Calepino (1435-1511), an Italian Augustinian and humanist well-known for his dictionaries of Latin. However, Sahagún qualifies the possibilities for a Nahuatl equivalent of the European lexicons with a challenge he claims to have encountered:

*Pero ciertamente, no a aujo oportunidad: porque Calepino saco los vocablos, y las significaciones dellos, y sus equiuocaciones, y methophoras, de la lection, de los poetas, y oradores, y de los otros authores, de la lengua latinaL autorisando todo lo que dize, con los dichos de los authores: el qual fundamento, me a faltado a mj: por no auer letras, nj escriptura entre esta gente: y ansi me fue impossible hazer calepino.*<sup>172</sup>

But assuredly, there has not been an opportunity, because Calepino drew the words, their meanings, their equivocals and metaphors from reading the poets, orators, and other authors of the Latin language, verifying everything said with the expressions of the authors; which source I have lacked, there being neither letters or writing among this people. And, so, it was impossible for me to prepare a dictionary.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> *Image 16 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Introduction, Indices, and Book I: The Gods.* Facsimile. 2021667846. p. 3, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10612/?sp=16](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10612/?sp=16).

<sup>171</sup> Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 50.

<sup>172</sup> *Image 16 of Book I: The Gods*, p.3.

<sup>173</sup> Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 50.

Sahagún describes his inability to produce such an extensive linguistic reference prior to the *Historia General* as a consequence of the absence of interpretive texts that parallel the sources his predecessor accessed for his projects. Of course, Mesoamericans had produced *amoxtli* and other communicative mediums for centuries prior to the European invasion. However, these writings differed considerably from the alphabetic writing with which he was familiar, and his claim made the creation of the *Historia general* all the more necessary.<sup>174</sup> Whereas these first two sections of “*Al Sincer Lector*” provide valuable insight into the linguistic and religious motivation of the Spanish friar, as well as the many appealing arguments he used to try to convince the *lector* of the benefits of the *Historia General*, the latter half of the preamble poses an additional argument.

In the last portion of this selection, after describing the organization of the manuscript, Sahagún states:

*Si se me diese la ayuda necessaria, en vn año, o poco mas, se acabaria todo: y cierto si se acabase, seria vn tesoro, para saber muchas cosas: dignas de ser sabidas. Y para con facilidad, saber esta lengua, con todos sus secretos, y seria cosa de mucha estima, en la nueua, y vieja españa.*<sup>175</sup>

If the necessary aid were given to me, in a year or a little more, all could be finished. And certainly if it were finished, it would be a treasure for the knowledge of many things worthy of being known, and for the easy knowledge of this language with all its secrets. And it would be a thing of much value in New Spain and Old Spain.<sup>176</sup>

Sahagún presents the European reader with a rather convincing argument in the conclusion of this section by using the idea of "worth" to promote the texts. If he understood that his peers

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<sup>174</sup> Maybe, the *scarcity* was a result of the great burnings of Indigenous texts by the Catholic Church. It would be an additional possibility to examine further.

<sup>175</sup> *Image 16 of Book I: The Gods*. p.3.

<sup>176</sup> Rather than using Anderson and Dibble's choice to translate *tesoro* as "treasury," I believe Sahagún's intention was to describe the Florentine Codex as a *treasure*. On many occasions, he equated the manuscript with metaphors related to valuables, such as jewelry and coffers, therefore I replaced this phrase. Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 51.

shared similar sentiments related to conversion and the importance of creating texts, he also knew that many did not support the project because they feared the perpetuation of Native religious practices and beliefs. By citing the idea of a *calepino* and the goal of producing a linguistic treasure, he constructed a supplemental argument of value to assert the merit of the manuscript and assuage the apprehension of his fellow religious. With this idea of “*dignas de ser sabidas*” (“worthy of being known”), the friar created an argument based on utility that appealed to both the Catholic agenda and Eurocentric values.

Throughout the Florentine Codex, Sahagún continued to apply these ideas of value and repeatedly attributed the potential contribution of the manuscript to evangelical assimilation. Similar to the rhetoric on disease, Sahagún employs the "worthy of mention" idea in each *Prologo* of the Florentine Codex in order to defend the credibility of the book's contents. In Book III, “The Origin of the Gods,” Sahagún revisits this idea of necessity that he established in the first *libro*:

*No tuuo por cosa superflua, nj vana el diuino Augustino, tratar de la theologia fabulosa de los gentiles, en el sexto libro de la ciudad de dios. Poque, como el size; conocidas las fabulas y ficciones vanas que los gentiles, tenjan cerca de sus dioses fingidos pudiesen facilme`te darles a entender, que aquellos no era` dioses, nj pudian dar cosa njnguna que fuesse prouechosa la criatura racional. A este proposito, en este tercero libro, se pone las fabulas, y ficciones que estos naturales tenja, cerca de sus dioses, porque entendidas las vanjdades: que ellos tenjan por fe, cerca de sus me`tirosos dioses: vengan mas facilme`te, por la doctrina euangelica, a conocer el verdadero dios: y que aquellos, que ellos tenjan por dioses: no eran dioses, si no diablos mentirosos y engañadores.<sup>177</sup>*

The divine Augustine did not consider it superfluous or vain to deal with the fictitious theology of the gentiles in the sixth Book of the City of God, because, as he says, the empty fictions and falsehoods which the gentiles held regarding their false gods being known, [true believers] could easily make them understand that those were not gods nor could they provide anything that would be beneficial to a rational being. For this reason, the fictions and falsehoods these natives held regarding their gods are placed in this third

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<sup>177</sup> *Image 2 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book III: The Origin of the Gods. Facsimile. 2021667848. Prologue. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, Florentine Codex, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10614/?sp=2](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10614/?sp=2).*



Book, because the vanities they believed regarding their lying gods being understood, they may come more easily, through Gospel doctrine, to know the true God and to know that those they held as gods were not gods, but lying devils and deceivers.<sup>178</sup>

Among these sharp accusations of possessing “false gods,” the friar refers to the revered Saint Augustine in addition to applying various descriptive terms—superfluous, vain, fictitious theology—to possibly counter opponents who considered the manuscript as redundant and sacrilegious. According to this *Prologo*, writing the “fictitious theology” of the Aztecs provides a valuable mechanism of Catholic assimilation by aligning his goals with the evangelical practices of prior religious missionaries who focused on understanding their targeted populations before acting.

In Book XI, “Earthly Things,” the Franciscan reiterates his valorization of the writings while reassuring his intention of only including vocabulary that he considers worthy of mention for the *calepino*. In the *Prologo* of this *libro*, he argues in favor of documenting Aztec cosmologies to adapt the Catholic doctrine to Indigenous worldviews:

*No cierto es, la menos noble joia: de la recamara, de la predicacion evangelical: el conocimiento, de las cosas naturales: para poner exemplos, i comparationes. Como vemos, el redemptor, auerlo vsado: i estos exemplos, i comparationes: quanto mas familiares fuere’, a los oientes i por palabras, i language mas vsadas, entrellos, dichas: tanto sera’ mas eficazes: i prouechosas. A este proposito se hizo, ia tesoro: en harta costa, i trabaxo: este volumen en que esta’ escriptas en lengua mexicana: las propiedades i maneras exteriores, i interiores que se pudieron alcançar: de los anjmales, aues, i peces: arboles, i ieruas, flores, i frutos mas conocidos: i vsados, que ai en toda esta tierra: donde ai, gran copia de vocablos: i mucho language: muy propio, i mui comu’: i materia mui gutosa. Sera tambien esta obra mui oportuna, para darlos a entender, el valor de las criaturas: para que no las atribua’, diujndad: porque a qualquiera criatura, que vian ser imjnente: embie’ o en mal, la llamauan Teutl qujere dezir dios.*<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 59.

<sup>179</sup> *Image 2 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book XI: Natural Things*. Facsimile. 2021667856. Prologue. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10614/?sp=2](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10614/?sp=2).

In order to give examples and make comparisons, in the preaching of the gospel, a knowledge of the things of nature is certainly not the least noble jewel in the coffer. We see the Redeemer as having used it. And the more familiar these examples and comparisons are to the hearers, the most used are the words and the language, the more effective and beneficial they will be. To this end, with much labor, and work, this volume, a compendium, was made. In it, recorded in the Mexican language are the better known and most utilized animals, birds, fish, trees, herbs, flowers, and fruits which exist in all this land—their characteristic properties and traits, exterior and interior. In it there is great abundance of words and many current expressions, very correct and very common, very pleasing material. This work will also be timely to inform the natives of the meaning of created things, that they not attribute divinity to them, because whatsoever creature they see as being eminent in good or in evil they call *teotl*, which means god.<sup>180</sup>

In the eleventh book Sahagún seeks to present a palatable form of Catholicism and ultimately to abolish the idea of a *teotl* other than the Christian god. In comparing the text to the treasure to which he alluded in Book I by using the metaphor of a *joia* (“jewel”), he continues to repeat the value of creating a “compendium” of vocabulary.

In relation to Book X, Sahagún repeats this notion of “worthy of mention” more than once. In the *Prologo*, he expressed his logic for documenting information that he considered appropriate. After describing the purpose of these texts, Sahagún details the content of the catalogs along with the linguistic goal of each entry:

*No lleuo en este tractado la orden que otros escriptores an lleuado en tratar esta materia, mas lleuo la orden de las personas dignidades y oficio y tractos: que entre esta gente ay poniendo la bondad de cada persona y luego su maldad con copia de nombres sustantiuos, adiectiuos, y verbos (donde ay gran abundancia de lenguaje muy proprio y muy comun entrellos)contienense tambien por el mismo estilo en este volumen todas las partes del cuerpo, interiores, y exteriores, muy por menudo: y tras esto las mas delas enfermedades a que los cuerpos humanos son subjectos, enesta tierra, y las medicinas contrarias: yjunto aesto casi todas las generationes que aesta tierra an venido aprobar.*

In this treatise I do not follow the order that other writers have followed in dealing with this material; rather, I follow the order of the people, the ranks, the crafts, and the trades which exist among these people, setting forth the goodness of each person and then the badness, with a compendium of nouns, adjectives, and verbs (where among them there is a grand abundance of very appropriate and very commonly used terms). Also contained in this volume, in the same pattern, are all the parts of the body, internal, and external, in much detail, and after this the majority of sicknesses to which the human body in this

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<sup>180</sup> Anderson and Dibble, *Introductions and Indices*, 87.

land is susceptible, and the cures, and with this almost all the generations which have come to settle this land.<sup>181</sup>

Sahagún alludes to the idea of a religious *calepino* when he directly presents the main purpose of the book: to compile Nahuatl identities and their accompanying moralistic terminology—*“poniendo la bondad de cada persona y luego su maldad con copia de nombres sustantivos, adiectivos, y verbos”* (“setting forth the goodness of each person and then the badness, with a compendium of nouns, adjectives, and verbs”). Recalling the primary objective of the book, which was to create dissuasive and persuasive sermons, the friar frames the book as a critical contribution to the appropriation of Nahuatl for the purposes of evangelization.

This idea of value is also evident in commentary scattered throughout the catalog. Through both covert and explicit messaging, the priest displays his devotion to these ideas of exclusively documenting the knowledge that he considers valuable. For instance, in his description of the *Moncuilli* (“the father of the parents-in-law”), in the Second Chapter concerning the *“Grado de Afinidad”* (“The degrees of affinity”), the *tlacuiloque* describe this person briefly as *“tzone, izte”* (“has *tzontli*, has *iztetl*,” or “has hair and nails,” terms referring to “descendants of nobility”) (Table 3.1).<sup>182</sup> Yet, rather than translating the phrases or offering a brief description of the significance of the original Nahuatl text, Sahagún wrote, *“El padre señor, o padre de suegro, tiene todas las condiciones que se dixeron del suegro”* (“The *padre señor*, or father of the father-in-law, has all the conditions that they said of the father-in-law”).<sup>183</sup> When

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<sup>181</sup> Personal translation. *Image 2. Book X: The People.*

<sup>182</sup> The title under the Nahuatl column is transcribed in Spanish. Anderson and Dibble translate the final statement as “[He has] noble descendants,” thereby using the interpretation of *tzone* and *izte*. I translated these terms verbatim since it provides insight into how ideas of nobility were categorized in Book X. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 7.

<sup>183</sup> Personal translation. *Image 14 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 8v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=14&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=14&st=image).

viewing the entry of the *suegro* (“father-in-law”), the descriptions are dissimilar to the translation and generally inaccurate when considering that the identity was used by the friar to direct the reader to a pre-existing text instead of translating what the *tlacuilo* had written. The Nahuatl texts for this latter identity describes the *Montatli Miccamontatli* (“The Father-in-Law, Father-in-Law of a deceased person”) as the following: “*im motatli, mone, cioamone, cioatlanqui cioatlani. Ixuioa, vexiue, vexioa, tlaocchutiani, teocchutiani*” (“The father-in-law has a son-in-law, a daughter-in-law, the spouse of someone’s son, who sought a woman for marriage from the *cioatlanqui* [‘match-maker’], who has ‘grandchildren,’ who has a father-in-law, who has a mother-in-law, who has affinal relatives, who gives a woman in marriage”) (Table 3.2).<sup>184</sup> In the corresponding Spanish entries, Sahagún wrote, “*El suegro, es aquel que tiene yerno o nuera, bivos, si son muertos llamase, miccamontatli. El suegro busca la mujer para su hijo, y casa asus hijas, y tiene cuidado de sus nietos*” (“The father-in-law is the one who has a son-in-law or daughter-in-law, alive, if they are dead, they are called *miccamontatli*. The father-in-law looks for a woman for his son, and marries his daughters, and takes care of his grandsons [or grandchildren]”).<sup>185</sup> As shown by the translations, there is no obvious relation between the writings of the *Moncuilli* and *Motatli Miccamontatli*, despite Sahagún’s references to the reader.

Similarly, in the description of the *Moncitli* (“The Mother of the Parents-in-Law”), the priest engages in this process of redirection instead of offering a verbatim translation or explanation of the original Nahuatl. For this social identity, the friar documented, “*La madre señora, madre del suegro /o suegra, tiene las co’diciones dela suegra*” (“The *madre señora*,

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<sup>184</sup> Anderson and Dibble translate the entry as the following: “The father-in-law [is] one who has a son-in-law, a daughter-in-law, grandchildren; who sought—who gained—a woman for his son; who has affinal relatives, who gives a woman in marriage.” However, I made minor adjustments to account for the *cioatlanqui* (“match-maker”) and other terms omitted from the original text. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 7.

<sup>185</sup> Personal translation. *Image 14, Book X*.

mother of the father-in-law or mother-in-law, has the qualities of the mother-in-law”) (Table 3.3).<sup>186</sup> However, the texts diverge again from the writings of the *tlacuiloque* who stated “*cozque, quetzale*” (“[the *Moncitli*] has precious rocks, beautiful plumages of the quetzal bird,” again words related to descendents which Anderson and Dibble translate as “[She has] children, grandchildren”).<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, the Nahuatl description of the *Suegra* that Sahagún refers the reader to in the text of the *Moncitli* states that the *Monnantli, Miccamonnatli* (“Mother-in-law, Mother-in-law of a deceased person”), “*mone, cioamone, ixuioa, vexioa, vexiue*” (“has a son-in-law, has a daughter-in-law, has grandchildren, mother-in-law, has a father-in-law, which Anderson and Dibble write, “[She is] one who has a son-in-law, a daughter-in-law, grandchildren, affinal relatives”) (Table 3.4).<sup>188</sup> However, the corresponding Spanish translation reads: “*La suegra haze de su parte, para con sus hijos, todo lo que se dixo del suegro*” (“The mother-in-law does her part, for with her children, everything that is said of the father-in-law”).<sup>189</sup> One compounding issue arises when following the trail of instructions first set in the description of the “*La madre señora*,” that ultimately leads to the final step of reading the entries of the *Suegro* and *Montatli Miccamontatli* to understand the initial *Moncitli*: the descriptions of the *Suegro* and *Motatli Miccamontatli* differ from the *Suegra* and *Monnantli, Miccamonnatli*, which are also dissimilar from the entries of the *Moncitli* and *La madre señora*. Overall, there are even further distinctions between the Spanish and Nahuatl columns to the extent that a monolingual Spanish reader would never witness how the *tlacuiloque* initially wrote the kinship identities.

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<sup>186</sup> Personal translation. *Image 14. Book X*.

<sup>187</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 7.

<sup>188</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 7.

<sup>189</sup> Personal translation. *Image 14. Book X: The People*.

It is likely that Sahagún intentionally neglected to translate the Nahuatl faithfully due to his view of the text as redundant, whether as a consequence of his Christian objectives and concept of value or his failure to understand semantic differences between the identities described. There is one last section in Book X that demonstrates how the catalog, like the remainder of the Florentine Codex, is informed by Sahagún's idea of merit. His statement interrupting the translations of the *Hijas* ("daughters"), sorted by age in the First Chapter, is an almost indisputable example of the friar's objective to be selective when deciding which Nahuatl terms to interpret. In the original Nahuatl text, the *tlacuiloque* documented these children according to their birth order: "*Teipi, tiacapan, teiacapan, iacapantli tiacapantzin, teicu, teicutzin, tlaco, tlacocua, tlacotzin, xoco, xocoiutl, xocotzin*" ("The oldest daughter, the first-born, one's first born, the first daughter, one's beloved first-born. One's second daughter, one's beloved second daughter. The third daughter, the beloved third daughter. The last daughter, the youngest daughter, the beloved last daughter").<sup>190</sup> However, Sahagún simply wrote the following in the corresponding Spanish:

*Hija mayor, primero genita: hija segu'da; hija tercera; hija postrera. No se deve offender el lector prudente enq' se pone solame'te vocablos, y no sentencias, enlo arriba puesto: y enotras partes adelante, porque principalmente se pretende, eneste tratado, aplicar el lenguaje castellano al lenguaje indiana, para que se sepan hablar los vocablos propios, desta materia de vicjes el virtutibus.*

Eldest daughter, first born: second daughter: third daughter: last daughter. It should not offend the prudent reader that only words, and not sentences, are placed above: and in other parts ahead, because this treatise intends mainly to apply the Castilian language to the Indian language, so that it is known how to speak the appropriate words about this matter of vices and virtues.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 3.

<sup>191</sup> Personal translation. *Image 8 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. L2021667855. fol. 2v, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=8&st=image](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=8&st=image).

While this entry on the *Hijas* further confirms his intention of using the vices and virtues genre to organize the catalogs of Book X, and shows his intention of using the book as a *calepino* of moral rhetoric, he also reiterated a statement that aligns with the idea of worthy of mention: Sahagún reassurance to the reader shows his disregard for translating the Nahuatl verbatim or to provide a more accurate representation of “The People,” as authored by the *tlacuiloque*, since accurate translations were a secondary consideration. Based on these observations, it is likely that he considered certain details in the “catalog” to be unnecessary due to their incompatibility with the colonial agenda whereby priests and other colonizers proactively persecuted Indigenous people and social structures that were perceived as idolatrous or contrary to Christianity. After all, as historian Giuseppe Marcocci has shown, Sahagún—like other Europeans—was preoccupied with framing the Nahua within a Christian, Eurocentric global history.<sup>192</sup>

### 3.4 Explanation #3: A Matter of the Times

In the previous two sections, I proposed explanations of the catalog with emphasis on Sahagún’s editorial and missionary roles. Indeed, it is critical to note how he imposed his evangelical agenda on the *Historia General*. Yet, even with Sahagún’s intervention and influence, it is clear that the *tlacuiloque* were responsible for the content of the manuscript. The Nahua students assumed roles as consultants, information-gatherers, and artists, among many other positions, who produced multiple drafts of the manuscript. However when considering the degree of authorship exercised by Nahua participants, especially independent of Sahagún’s intervention, the analysis is more complex and obscured. In comparison to the priest’s direct statements regarding the many choices, motives, and perspectives that influenced the production

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<sup>192</sup> Marcocci, Giuseppe. *The Globe on Paper: Writing Histories of the World in Renaissance Europe and the Americas*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press, 2020, 166.

of the manuscript, we have no evidence from the Nahua participants that provides similar commentary of their possible intentions. As a result of this absence, researchers find alternative methods to hypothesize the decisive abilities assumed by the *tlacuiloque*, and—despite lacking these explanatory passages—scholars have provided significant proposals through ingenious approaches. There are currently four prominent methods used to examine the Native participants’ authorship in the manuscript: 1) assessing the three texts in the *Historia*; 2) applying material analyses to the images; 3) searching for models used by the *tlacuiloque*, including both imported books and Indigenous sources; and 4) focusing on the temporality of *Historia General*.<sup>193</sup> In general, these methodologies focus on how Nahua participants negotiated their positions during the creation of the Florentine Codex as Native nobles who also experienced pressures to assimilate in return for certain privileges in colonial society, although with the understanding that they were never entirely equal to the invaders due to institutional discrimination and other forms of systemic violence. For example, many researchers who engage with the *Primeros Memoriales* (ca. 1559–1561), which is often treated as one of the drafts of the eventual *Historia General*, assert that the modifications between these two mediums are insights into the creative decisions of the Nahua scholars, although with an understanding that Sahagún possibly intervened to make and prompt alterations.<sup>194</sup> With this recognition of power, researchers then use these listed

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<sup>193</sup> Baglioni, Piero, Rodorico Giorgi, Marcia Carolina Arroyo, David Chelazzi, Francesca Ridi, and Diana Magaloni Kerpel. “On the Nature of the Pigments of the General History of the Things of New Spain: The Florentine Codex.” In *Colors between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, and Louis Alexander Waldman, 2012 ed., 78–106. Florence, Italy: Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2011. Escalante Gonzalbo, Pablo. “The Painters of Sahagún’s Manuscripts: Mediators Between Two Worlds.” In *Sahagún at 500: Essays on the Quincentenary of the Birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by John Frederick Schwaller, 167–91. Berkeley, Calif.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 2003. Escalante Gonzalbo, Pablo. “The Art of War, the Working Class, and Snowfall: Reflections on the Assimilation of Western Aesthetics.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 63–74. University of Texas Press, 2019.

<sup>194</sup> Boone, “Fashioning Conceptual Categories in the Florentine Codex”. Keber, Eloise Quiñones. “Surviving Conquest: Depicting Aztec Deities in Sahagún’s *Historia*.” In *The Florentine Codex: An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and



approaches to demonstrate the Native artistic epistemologies and ontologies that have been ignored in biased scholarship that typically prioritizes the Europeanness, so to speak, of the texts. Due to these challenges, I rely on Peterson’s proposals in my attempts to explain the catalog by examining the different temporal factors that had shaped the writings.

Before discussing the relationship between time and the *tlacuiloque* as manifested in Book X, it is critical to examine how the Nahua scribes might have integrated temporality throughout the Florentine Codex. In the images, the “bivisual graphic” writings and the selection of pigments demonstrate the Nahua participants’ confrontations and encounters with their Spanish colonial-era experiences. Specifically, they engaged actively with changing social types and the Nahua-Christian curricula of the *Colegio*.<sup>195</sup> The Nahuatl-language texts follow similar patterns of chronology where these tensions and convergences of culture and history are observable. I will first examine colonial influences on the Nahuatl texts before discussing the catalog.

The inscription of time in these texts is comparable to the images in their use of pluralistic cultural and semantic conventions. Direct or literal expressions of time in the manuscript reveal how the *tlacuiloque* referred to their histories before the Spanish invasion while also producing a text that reflects their contemporary colonial realities. Some accounts in the *Historia General* refer to the era of the *tlacuiloque*’s elders and ancestors, including Nahuatl

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Kevin Terraciano, 77–94. An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico. University of Texas Press, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/318409.10>. Olivier, Guilhem. “Teotl and Diablo: Indigenous and Christian Conceptions of Gods and Devils in the Florentine Codex.” In *The Florentine Codex*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 110–22. An Encyclopedia of the Nahua World in Sixteenth-Century Mexico. University of Texas Press, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7560/318409.12>.

<sup>195</sup> Kerpel, Diana Magaloni. “Painters of the New World: The Process of Making the Florentine Codex.” In *Colors between Two Worlds: The Florentine Codex of Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by Gerhard Wolf, Joseph Connors, and Louis Alexander Waldman, 2012 ed., 49–78. Florence, Italy: Florence: Villa I Tatti, 2011. Kerpel, Diana Magaloni. *The Colors of the New World: Artists, Materials, and the Creation of the Florentine Codex*. Getty Publications, 2014.

terminologies that reflect how they processed history according to their various cultural contexts. For example, in Book V, “The Omens,” the *tlacuiloque* used temporal qualifiers related to the “past” (in a linear sense) to show the origins of information contained in the writing; in this section of the Florentine Codex, knowledge related to prognostications.<sup>196</sup> In the First Chapter dedicated to presenting the predictive meanings of when “*aca quicaquiya chocaica itla tenquanj, in anoce, iuhqij aca ilama chocaia*” (“someone heard some wild animal cry out, or when it seemed as if some old woman wept”) according to the *tonalpouhque* (“those who read the *tonalli*”), the scribe opens the explanation of this *tetzaujtl* (“augury”) as a practice performed “*In ie vecauh, in oc tlateotoco: in juh quitoa, ceqjntin veuetque, veuetlaca.*”<sup>197</sup> Notably, the reading of this seemingly short statement is complex and requires a thorough explanation beyond a parenthetical interpretation for several reasons.

First, *huecauh*, or written as *vecauh* here, alone implies “a long time” or “something old.” However, when included with the phrase *ye*, the meaning of the statement is generally interpreted as “a long time ago,” “long ago,” or “in the distant past.” Second, the part *oc tlateotoco* possesses a tension in meanings due to the varying definitions of this term. While the *verb* is understood and documented by scholars as “to practice ‘pre-Columbian’ religions” or “to consider things to be gods,” it was once appropriated by priests to mean the practice of idolatry despite many distinctions between Catholic and Nahuas views of belief systems. The penultimate portion of the opening, at least according to how I divided this phrase, “*in juh quitoa, ceqjntin veuetque, veuetlaca*” translates into “thus said some of the old men, the ancient people.” Overall, this explanatory phrase of the *tetzaujtl* can ultimately be read through various

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<sup>196</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book V: The Omens*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012.

<sup>197</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book V*, 151.

interrelated translations: 1) “In olden times, when false gods were still being worshiped, thus said some of the old men, the ancient people...” or 2) “In olden times, when things were still considered gods, thus said some of the old men, the ancient people...”<sup>198</sup> The interpretation regarding “*chocaica itla tenquanj*,” including the introduction and the content afterwards therefore—in my opinion—is rather ambiguous since there is uncertainty whether the *tlacuiloque* intended to frame the details as either simply part of their beliefs established prior to the Spanish invasion or to frame it as a certain idolatrous belief that was first taught by “*veuetque, veuetlaca*” (“the old men, the ancient people”). In thinking of these possibilities, I consider the language adaptations, changes, mistranslations, and rejections that occurred among Nahuas when first confronting the Europeans. Specifically, when there were both understandings and misunderstandings due their often distinct constructions of moralities, such as initial conflicting ideas of sin seen in confession manuals and documents.<sup>199</sup> However, regardless of the reading of these phrases, there is one indisputable feature of the writing: the *tlacuiloque* acknowledge the origin of these traditions in relation to their elders while integrating their understanding of this *tetzaujtl* relative to Spanish ideologies.

Excerpts found in the “*Apendiz*” of Book V continue these tensions of time and meaning. To begin with, this section is titled, “*Izcatquj yanca injc macujlli amuxtli: Vncan mjtoa, yn jzqujtlama tli itechpa chicotlamatia in jtlachivaloan dios, in tlateotocanjme.*”<sup>200</sup> In this case, the

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<sup>198</sup> The first translation is provided in the existing English volumes of the Nahuatl. I adjusted the statement for the second translation according to my analysis. Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, Book 8, 151.

<sup>199</sup> Marcos, Sylvia. “Indigenous Eroticism and Colonial Morality in Mexico: The Confession Manuals of New Spain.” *Numen* 39, no. 2 (1992): 157–74. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852792X00014>. Tavárez, David, and William Taylor. “Toward a Deconstruction of the Notion of Nahua ‘Confession.’” In *Words and Worlds Turned Around*, 63. University Press of Colorado, 2017. Madajczak, Julia. “Toward a Deconstruction of the Notion of Nahua ‘Confession.’” In *Words and Worlds Turned Around: Indigenous Christianities in Colonial Latin America*, edited by David Tavárez, 63–81. University Press of Colorado, 2017. M. Burkhart, Louise. “The Solar Christ in Nahuatl Doctrinal Texts of Early Colonial Mexico.” *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 3 (1988): 234–56. <https://doi.org/10.2307/481801>.

<sup>200</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book V*, 183.

words to note include *chicotlamatia*, perhaps shares meanings of suspicion as seen in *chicotlamati* (“to be suspicious”), *itlachivaloan* from the third person possession of *tlachihualli* (“something made, a creation, accomplishment, or offspring”), the Spanish loan word “*dios*” (“God”), and *tlateotocanjme*, which can indicate either “practitioners of ‘pre-Columbian religions’” or “practitioners of ‘idolatry.’” In its entirety, the statement is translated as the following: “Behold the appendix of the Fifth Book. Here are told the different things which God’s creatures, the idolaters, wrongly believed.”<sup>201</sup> This opening found in the Book V imparts an idea of conflict whereby, similar to the previous example, there is a recognition of these beliefs as perhaps great offsprings of God—whether the Christian deity or the colonial-era translation / mistranslation of *teotl*—yet suspicious, deceitful beings. The content within this section further complicates the comprehension and temporality of the “*Apendiz*.” For instance, the cultural connotations regarding the *omixochitl* (“a type of white lily flower,” “*Polyanthes tuberosa*, *Polyanthes mexicana*”) and *cuetlaxochitl* (“poinsettia,” or “*Euphoria pulcherrima*”), the foci of the First and Second Chapters of this section—respectively— can also be interpreted in this Nahua-Christian context.<sup>202</sup>

In relation to the first flora, the *tlacuiloque* express the *omixochitl* in tandem with sexual health, whereby the flora provokes a person to become ill due to either urinating or stepping on the flower, or excessively smelling it. However, when introducing the *omixochitl*, the *tlacuiloque* detail it as the following: “*auh injc compiquj, in juh moztlacavia veuetque*” (“And so did the ancients invent, and so deceive themselves”).<sup>203</sup> The second *xochitl*, the *cuetlaxochitl*, is equally

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<sup>201</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book V*, 183.

<sup>202</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book V*, 183.

<sup>203</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book V*, 183.

positioned as a possible deceptive belief. This flower, however, is exclusively attributed to *cihua* (plural of *cihuatl*, “woman”), and the illness associated with the flora is said to also result from an individual sitting on it in addition to smelling the aroma or stepping on the plant. The attitudes integrated into the introduction of these flowers resonate with these conflicting notions of tradition and idolatry as the *tlacuiloque* note them as the following, “*Auh injn cocoliztli: qujlmach ic peoa, in iuh moztlacavia vevetque*” (“And of this ill it was said that thus did it begin—so were the ancients deceived...”).<sup>204</sup> Due to this temporal and linguistic ambiguity among the explanations of the *omixochitl* and *cuetlaxochitl*, there are seemingly multiple notions of acknowledgement of the origins, acceptance of their meanings, and rejection of their creations dispersed in these texts. The *tlacuiloque* are concerned with detailing the integrated information, but the Indigenous and European ideological context is seemingly inseparable.

It is evident that the beliefs in Book V would indeed be regarded as superstitions during the colonial period, especially considering the context of the Florentine Codex. However, alternative readings of these excerpts suggest a continuum of knowledge, if not beliefs, between pre-invasion times and the colonial present. To an extent, I wonder if these translations were intended to be absolute expressions of a seemingly pre-Christian past and a Christian-centered future, or simply a documentation of these beliefs relative to their complex Nahua-Christian positionality. Since the Nahua *tlacuiloque* were indoctrinated and socialized Christians, some of the project's participants may have internalized and accepted Catholicism, therefore using newly learned expressions to discuss their cultural knowledge. Yet, there is another possibility in which the *tlacuiloque* sought to describe their long-standing traditions and contemporary present with familiar terminology that was repurposed during their time at the Colegio de Santa Cruz, which

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<sup>204</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book V*, 183.

was not necessarily aligned with Christian good-evil binaries. The answers to these questions appear inconclusive when thinking about how many different Nahua men participated in the making of the Florentine Codex, and their possible diverse responses to colonialism. However, for the sake of understanding temporality in the Florentine Codex, Book V continues to demonstrate how the *tlacuiloque* used pluralistic cultural and semantic conventions to position their texts and that the Florentine Codex is positioned between their ancestors' times and the colonial present.

In other portions of the manuscript, the *tlacuiloque* continue to use pluralistic temporal qualifiers to position historical events that occurred closer to the time of the *Historia General's* production. This practice is most apparent in Book VIII, "Kings and Lords," where the scribes produced several chapters related to the history of various *altepeme* in central Mexico and use different qualifying phrases to describe the *tlatoque*.<sup>205</sup> For example, in the sections devoted to Mexico-Tenochtitlan in the First Chapter, the *tlacuiloque* situate the histories of each ruler by alternating between histories pre-dating 1519 and events that followed the Spanish invasion. Beginning with a short description of the first *Mexico tlatoani*, Acamapichtli, and continuing through the reign of the sixteenth ruler, Don Xpoual Cecepatic (Don Cristóbal Cecepatic), the Nahuatl texts demonstrate how time is expressed in the manuscript.<sup>206</sup> In the writings presenting the eighth *tlatoani* of Tenochtitlan, Aujzotl, the Nahua scribe positions his leadership relative to several temporal benchmarks to historicize the leader: a series of natural disasters that occurred in Mexico-Tenochtitlan, the additional territories that were conquered for the empire, and the Spanish *oallaque* ("arrival"). The *tlacuiloque* wrote:

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<sup>205</sup> Sahagún, Bernardino de. *Florentine Codex: Book 8: Kings and Lords*. Translated by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. 2nd edition. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 2012.

<sup>206</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 8*, 1-5.

*Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico... motlapo macujltetl oztotl...Auh in icoac oallaque Españoles ic iuh cempoaxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico...ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc...ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan. Maçatlan, coioacan*

When he was ruler, Mexico flooded...five springs were opened...And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded... And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday...and he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Mazatlan, Coyoacan.<sup>207</sup>

Continuing with this type of temporal positioning relative to notable events that shaped the *altepētēl*, such as chaos and territorial expansion while using the event of the Spanish invasion, the *tlacuiloque* of “*injc chicunauj, tlatoani tenochtitlan*” (“the ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan”), Motecuçuma, incorporated the various omens detailed in Book XII, “The Conquest,” which are said to have foreshadowed the Spanish invasion and ended his presentation with:

*Ioan ipan mochiuh injc pan açico españoles injc caçique injc qujpeuhque Mexico in vncan axcan onoque Españoles ioan in noujian in nican iancuje españa de mjl e qujnientos y dezinueue.*

And it came to pass that in his time the Spaniards came to arrive—they took and vanquished [the city of] Mexico here where the Spaniards now are, as well as all about here in New Spain. [This conquest] was in 1519.<sup>208</sup>

Notably, the text referring to *Motecuçuma* was the first passage dedicated to the *tlatoque* in Book VIII to incorporate European dates. This detail suggests the impact that the war had on their conception of time, revealing that the *xiuhpohualli* (“365-day solar calendar”), and *tonalpohualli* (“260-day divinity calendar”) were no longer the exclusive forms of time-keeping after the initial confrontation in 1519.<sup>209</sup> This passage also suggests that the writers thought of the initial

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<sup>207</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 8*, 2.

<sup>208</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 8*, 4.

<sup>209</sup> The following article discusses the *tonalpohualli* and *xiuhpohualli*. M. Brumfiel, Elizabeth. “Technologies of Time: Calendrics and Commoners in Postclassic Mexico.” *Ancient Mesoamerica* 22, no. 1 (2011): 53–70. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1017/S0956536111000083>.

encounter in 1519, not the end of the war in 1521, as the date of the conquest. In relation to the idea of temporality of the manuscript, the *tlacuiloque* continued to employ these types of plural artistic and semantic conventions to historicize the manuscript.

In general, the temporality of Book V and Book VIII demonstrates two critical features of time integrated into the *Historia*. First, the *tlacuiloque* applied a chronology throughout the writings which reflected their colonial-era experiences, thereby historicizing the manuscript. Second, they conducted these settings while simultaneously including the familiar practices of Native discourse that focuses on positioning histories within broader social and cosmological mappings. In Book V, the *tlacuiloque* situated the cultural knowledge in the Nahua-Christian world with ambiguous Christianized and “pre-Conquest” meanings related to the “past” and “present.” In Book VIII, the documentation of the *tlatoque* resonates with practices of history-making long seen in Indigenous *amoxtili* production and narrative discourse where the *tlacuiloque* place events into temporal continuities, including events pre-dating and following the invasion of the Spaniards. In my opinion, the Florentine Codex therefore reflects two practices central to Nahua historiographies. The first involves Aztec conceptions of time that think of time and space as part of the *teotl*, thus in a continuous process of different paths of motion-change that is contrary to notions of exclusive linearity.<sup>210</sup> It is no surprise that the temporality of the Nahuatl writing in the Florentine Codex is positioned through seemingly flexible expressions of chronology that possibly reflect these beliefs. Second, I would argue that most of the texts in the *Historia General* continue the “pre-Conquest” practice of Nahua annals where these frameworks of temporal positioning are evident in the historization of empires and *altepeme*. Specifically, Nahua writers continued to use Nahuatl texts during the colonial period to preserve history as

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<sup>210</sup> Maffie, James. *Aztec Philosophy: Understanding a World in Motion*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014.



personal enterprises or the result of “official” requests, and many scholars have demonstrated how these writers followed “pre-Columbian” traditions of positioning the “present” within long historical accounts that typically begin with narrations recounting the conception of their Indigenous worlds.<sup>211</sup> In fact, art historian Elizabeth Hill Boone has provided ample evidence discussing how the *tlacuiloque* of the Florentine Codex continued writing with similar conceptual categories, such as time in the annals tradition, when documenting the historical content of the manuscript.<sup>212</sup> In a sense, I perceive the catalog as an extension of these timekeeping practices whereby peoples incorporated into the entries might be a list of time-relevant identities that were most visible in the mainstream Nahuatl-Christian world during the time of its creation.

As demonstrated by prior research on Book X, time is a significant premise to consider when reading the catalog due to the dialogical tensions and convergences used by the *tlacuiloque* to present the good and not good social types. However, in applying Peterson’s approaches to analyze the manuscript, I argue that the temporal qualities of the catalog are also critical in understanding *who* received a dedicated entry and *why* certain peoples must have been omitted from the listing of identities. Of course, there is the question of cultural assimilation that must have influenced Book X, which several scholars have described in great detail, but I am also

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<sup>211</sup> Lockhart, James. *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. 1st ed. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1994. Prieto, Carlos Macías. “Preserving the History of Cemanahuac: Domingo Chimalpahin’s Rewriting of Spanish Narratives in the Annals of His Time (ca. 1608–1615).” *Early American Literature* 57, no. 1 (January 2022): 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1353/eal.2022.0002>. Lockhart, James, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala, eds. *Annals of His Time: Don Domingo De San Anton Munon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*. 1st edition. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2006. Boone, Elizabeth Hill. *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate*. Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007. Townsend, Camilla. *Annals of Native America: How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico Kept Their History Alive*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017.

<sup>212</sup> Boone, Elizabeth Hill. “Fashioning Conceptual Categories in the Florentine Codex”.

concerned with the idea of the catalog as a result of the reconstruction of colonial society, in which certain identities were removed from their former institutionally visible positions and replaced or substituted by new types of peoples and practices who were more integrated into the Nahuatl-Christian worlds. Book X might reflect this transformation as shown in the following linguistic analysis.

In relation to the Nahuatl alphabetic texts of the catalog and their cues of temporality, there are several publications that better position these occurrences and expand our understanding of the Book X. In *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*, linguist Frances Karttunen and historian James Lockhart examined the linguistic changes occurring in Nahuatl secular texts produced during the early colonial period.<sup>213</sup> As a result of their analysis, Karttunen and Lockhart determined that Spanish nouns outnumbered all other word types introduced into Nahuatl variants, and during the sixteenth century—the era in which the manuscript was produced—these grammatical categories were essentially the only words that were incorporated by speakers of Native languages. These transfers, according to the scholars, reflect the various social phenomena introduced or imposed by the Spanish colonizers, including imported items and religious social structures. As a result of these changes, Nahuas engaged in both adopting loanwords and creating *neologisms*, or newly coined terms, to account for semantic and societal transformations. The chronology resulting from their analysis of Nahuatl-alphabetical texts is present in Book X, where many different entries contain neologisms, which ethnologist Justyna Olko later describes in her examination of Nahuatl writings titled, *Language Encounters: Toward a Better Comprehension of*

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<sup>213</sup> Karttunen, Frances E., and James Lockhart. *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*. Vol. 85. University of California Publications in Linguistics. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

*Contact-Induced Lexical Change in Colonial Nahuatl*.<sup>214</sup> In Olko’s study, which even includes several sections of the Florentine Codex, the scholar expands Karttunen and Lockhart’s assessment of neologisms as “the change or extension of meaning of existing vocabulary facilitated by additional qualification,” whereby Nahuatl speakers considered various methods in the production of neologisms incorporating loanwords.<sup>215</sup> These changes and extensions are present in the catalog where many created terminologies are evident in the entries of social types.

The Twenty-Fifth Chapter of Book X detailed as “...*intechpa tlatoa, in candelanamacaque, ioan in xiquipilnamacaque, ioan necuitlalpiloni quinamaca*” (“which speaks of the candle sellers, and the bag sellers, and those who sell sashes”) exemplifies the constructions of new words described by previous scholars.<sup>216</sup> Within this particular section, there are many instances in which the *tlacuiloque* document the incorporated social types through the integration of Nahuatl-Spanish neologisms, or rather Spanish-Nahuatl neologisms if considering how the participants ordered their new vocabulary according to Nahuatl grammatical norms. The *Candelanamacaque* demonstrates these multilingual creations.<sup>217</sup> To begin with, the first half of the person’s identity is a loan word from Spanish, *candela*, “candle.” However, the latter half is *namacaque*, where the transitive verb stem *namaca* in this instance refers to “sell something” and the *que* indicates a preterite agentive suffix. Today, Nahuatl speakers continue to attach a noun to *namacaque* in reference to the vendors of a specific thing. Clearly, Nahuas

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<sup>214</sup> Olko, Justyna. “Language Encounters: Toward a Better Comprehension of Contact-Induced Lexical Change in Colonial Nahuatl.” *Politeja* 12, no. 38 (2015): 35–52.  
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.12797/Politeja.12.2015.38.04>.

<sup>215</sup> Olko, “Language Encounters”, 42.

<sup>216</sup> Rather than using “which telleth” for “*intechpa tlatoa*,” I changed this phrase into “which speaks,” Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 91.

<sup>217</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 91.

began to incorporate Spanish loanwords into agentive constructions from a very early period in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially when no close equivalent for the introduced thing existed in their own language.

Let us consider the origin and rationale for adopting this loanword in Book X and how it sheds light on the catalog's temporality. Scholars propose that the first written instance of the loanword *candela* occurred in 1540.<sup>218</sup> The adoption of the word might result from the introduction of wax and wick candles into Indigenous societies by the Spaniards, where these types of portable light sources typically made from tallow, oil, and beeswax were presumably absent in this region of the “Americas” prior to their arrival. Instead, the Nahuas often used bundles of *ocotl* (“pine torches” *ocopilli*) to illuminate their surroundings and used the resinous qualities of the wood to sustain the flames.<sup>219</sup> Book X supplies evidence that the use of *Candelnamacaque* was intentional, to differentiate between the distinct qualities of the pine and the new imports. The person shown in the image of the “one who sells *candelas*” is engaged in the candlemaking introduced into the “Americas” (figure 3.1).<sup>220</sup> The crafts specialist follows the process of using sourced fat to render into tallow, which is done through cycles of boiling to remove impurities, and later dips wicks into the pool of melted lard to create the final product. In the image, the vendor is actively engaged in these techniques; he wears an imported bowler hat, but is seated on a *petlatl* (“reed mat”), thereby associating an Indigenous individual with an

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<sup>218</sup> Brylak, Agnieszka, Julia Madajczak, Justyna Olko, and John Sullivan. *Loans in Colonial and Modern Nahuatl: A Contextual Dictionary*. De Gruyter Mouton, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110591484>.

<sup>219</sup> Berdan, Frances F., and Michael E. Smith. *Everyday Life in the Aztec World*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

<sup>220</sup> *Image 137 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 67, p.69. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=137](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=137).

imported trade in a colonial-era context. It is also worth mentioning that the words used to describe the *candelachiuhqui* (“one who makes candles”), aside from the one loanword, are exclusively Nahuatl, despite the item's introduction by Europeans. The integration of foreign words shows that the makers of Book X used the colonial social landscape, including the marketplace, to construct the catalog. Several of the vendors described by the *tlacuiloque* make and sell imports, such as the *candelanamacaque* and other identities in the Twenty-Fifth Chapter that also contain preterit agentives that incorporate loanwords, including the *Çapatosnamacac* (“The Shoe [*zapatos*] Seller”) and the *Nelpilonamacac*, *Talabartenamacac* (“The Sash Seller, the Belt [*Talabarte*] Seller”).<sup>221</sup>

The practice of using new terms in the catalog extends beyond the Twenty-Fifth Chapter. The *tlacuiloque* of the *Amanamacac* (“The Paper Seller”) in the Twenty-First Chapter, for example, employs terms that reflect the colonial present (figure 3.2).<sup>222</sup> In the Nahuatl texts of the *amauitechqui* (“paper beater”) and *amoztomecatl* (“paper importer,” or literally “long distance trader who deals in paper”), the scribe details that the *Amanamacac* also sells “*castilla’ amatl*” (“Castilian paper”) in addition to the more familiar Indigenous paper, such as *ichamatl* (“maguey fiber paper”).<sup>223</sup> The distinction between these *amatl* and *castilia amatl* follows the introduction of other global literary practices resulting from the expansion of European writing into the territories of the Spanish colonies beginning in the 1490s. Specifically, the introduction of the printing press in Mexico City in 1539 appears to be reflected in the Book X distinctions of paper,

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<sup>221</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 91.

<sup>222</sup> *Image 116 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 56. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=116](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=116).

<sup>223</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 78.

as the *tlacuiloque* integrated a new category to describe *Castilian* paper. There are many differences between Indigenous epistemologies of literacy and paper use, including how writing was performed, which mediums were used, and of course, which materials were applied.<sup>224</sup> Therefore, it is likely that these distinctions could have been made due to the different ideologies, functions, uses, and/or materials integrated into *castillanamatl*. After all, research demonstrates that *amatl*—or *amate* as later integrated into Spanish—is primarily used in ritual life and perhaps the *tlacuiloque* desired to present this distinction, especially as the individual in the images accompanying the *Amanamacac texts* is completely dressed in European clothing and with a reddish complexion that is mostly seen in people engaging in imported trades.<sup>225</sup>

The introduction of Spanish trades is also evident by the *Nacanamacac* (“The Meat Seller”), whom the *tlacuilo* describes as a merchant who sells a variety of livestock products introduced into the Americas. The *castillannacatl* (“Castilian meat”) that the *Nacanamacac* offers to sell includes *castillan totolin* (“poultry”), *quanaca* (“beef”), *quaquaue pizotl* (“pork”), and *ichcanacatl* (“sheep”).<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, the image of the *Nacanamacac*—which Peterson has previously examined—resembles the *Amanamacac* in which the *tlacuiloque* represented the social type with primarily European clothing and distinct skin tones, although with a *petatl* as the

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<sup>224</sup> Calvo, Hortensia. “The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America.” *Book History* 6, no. 1 (2003): 277–305. <https://doi.org/10.1353/bh.2004.0003>. Thompson, Lawrence S. *Printing in Colonial Spanish America*. Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1962. Glass, John B. “A Survey of Native Middle American Pictorial Manuscripts.” In *Handbook of Middle American Indians, Volumes 14 and 15*, 1–80. New York, USA: University of Texas Press, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.7560/701540-002>

<sup>225</sup> Dehouve, Danièle. “El Papel de La Vestimenta En Los Rituales Mexicas de ‘Personificación.’” *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 52 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.5209/reaa.79051>. Vazuelle, Loïc. “Los Dioses Mexicas y Los Elementos Naturales En Sus Atuendos: Unos Materiales Polisémicos.” *CEMCA TRACE (Mexico City, Mexico)* 71 (2017): 76–110. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.22134/trace.71.2017.54>.

<sup>226</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 80

maker of the *Candelnamacaque* did previously.<sup>227</sup> These animals were direct consequences of the "Columbian exchange" whereby Spaniards and other Europeans imported livestock both for breeding and consumption. The chicken from Spain, for example, was first introduced into "Spanish America" in the sixteenth century when colonizers imported these animals via regions such as Española and Nueva Granada.<sup>228</sup> Other people from the catalog who handle imported products and trades include the *Caxtillan Tlaxcalnamacac* ("The Seller of Wheaten Bread," literally "One Who Sells Castilian Tortillas") and the *Castilan Tesnamacac* ("The Seller of Casilian Grain," literally "One Who Sells Castilian Flour"), both found in the Nineteenth Chapter, which describes, "...in tlaxcalnamacaque: in tamalli, anoço castillan tamalli quinamaca" ("the sellers of tortillas [and of] tamales, or of those who sell wheaten bread").<sup>229</sup> Again, these loan words reflect the introduction of new concepts, trades, and goods, and document how the *tlacuiloque* sought to describe them.

To summarize this section, I argue that the Florentine Codex scribes were influenced by their colonial-era experiences and new semantic conventions when constructing the catalog. Whereas scholars have shown how the selection of social types into Book X may be the result of cultural assimilation, it is also possible that the *tlacuiloque* relied on their unique position in the

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<sup>227</sup> *Image 108 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations.* Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 58v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=108](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=108).

<sup>228</sup> These studies also provide evidence that chickens were imported from the Indigenous peoples of Polynesia into the Americas, specifically South America, before the invasion of Europeans similar to how sweet potatoes were exchanged between these two regions before colonization. Reitz, Elizabeth J. "The Spanish Colonial Experience and Domestic Animals." *Historical Archaeology* 26, no. 1 (1992): 84–91. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25616145>. Storey, Alice A., J. Stephen Athens, David Bryant, Mike Carson, Kitty Emery, Susan deFrance, Charles Higham, et al. "Investigating the Global Dispersal of Chickens in Prehistory Using Ancient Mitochondrial DNA Signatures." *PLOS ONE* 7, no. 7 (July 25, 2012): e39171. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0039171>. Defrance, S. D. "Paleopathology and Health of Native and Introduced Animals on Southern Peruvian and Bolivian Spanish Colonial Sites." *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 20, no. 5 (2010): 508–24. <https://doi.org/10.1002/oa.1074>.

<sup>229</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 69–71.

Nahua-Spanish world of Mexico City to construct entries that borrowed selectively and creatively when necessary. Their descriptions and terms for new identities and items introduced in the sixteenth-century are both precise and insightful.



Fig. 3.1. The *Candelanamacaque* of the Twenty-fifth Chapter of Book X (fol. 67).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.



Fig. 3.2. The *Amanamacac* of the Twenty-First Chapter of Book X (fol. 56).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

### 3.5 Explanation #4: A Consequence of Models

Most recently, Peterson suggests that the German text *Das Ständebuch* (“The Book of Trades”) by German cobbler and *Meistersinger* (“mastersinger”), Han Sachs, and prolific Swiss



printmaker, Jo(b)st Amman, may have informed the imagery of the *toltecatl* in Book X. Peterson presented strong evidence that demonstrates the resemblance of the Nahua craft specialists with several occupations depicted in the European text. These similarities include clothing, technology, figural poses, and illusionistic space.<sup>230</sup> If the *tlacuiloque* did in fact use *Das Ständebuch* as a model when producing images of the *toltecatl*, then perhaps other components of the catalog are based on the European publication. This thesis hopes to extend Peterson's findings through a close analysis of the European text in relation to Book X.

*Das Ständebuch* reflects the prominent ideology of art in Europe that arose in the sixteenth-century, whereby some artists viewed their works as capable of portraying the *effegium iusti imperii* ("image of a well-appointed state"). For example, Amman and Sachs depicted crafts that represented Europe's early emergent capitalist economy, with 114 woodcut illustrations and accompanying moralizing poetry.<sup>231</sup> *Das Ständebuch* was intended to promote these popular socioeconomic attitudes by detailing common products, ideas of technical expertise, and notions of useful labor.<sup>232</sup> Similar to the broader genre of trade imagery produced during this time, the publication also addresses fraudulent professionals, moral behavior, and norms related to honesty, quality of performance, religious devotion, and the accumulation of wealth. However, contrary to other popular graphic trade literature of the time, Amman and Sachs refrained from the typical comical traditions of satire seen in comparable works.<sup>233</sup> Instead, *Das Ständebuch* is

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<sup>230</sup> Peterson, "Crafting the Self".

<sup>231</sup> Martin, Christopher. "Reviewed Work: A Sixteenth-Century Book of Trades: *Das Ständebuch* by Hans Sachs, Jost Amman, Theodore K. Rabb." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 42, no. 1 (2011): 263–64. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23076747>.

<sup>232</sup> Wallace, P.G. "Sachs, Hans. A Sixteenth-Century Book of Trades: *Das Ständebuch*." *CHOICE: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries* 47, no. 11 (2010): 2105. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A251857803/LitRC?u=uclosangeles&sid=bookmark-LitRC&xid=f0981a99>.

<sup>233</sup> Berry Drago, Elisabeth. *Painted Alchemists: Early Modern Artistry and Experiment in the Work of Thomas Wijck*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. Corbett, Jane Paisley Russell. "Painted Science: Convention and Change in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Paintings of Alchemists,

presented as a positive compilation of proverbs and explanations of trades that exemplify ethics of virtue, discipline, and industry without the emphasis on humor.<sup>234</sup> By the mid-sixteenth century, *Das Ständebuch* became one of the best known books of trades that treated issues of socioeconomic morality and honesty, at least in the European imagination, and a pictorial *prototype* for the depiction of craftsmen in arched settings.<sup>235</sup> Sigmund Feyerabend (1528–1590), the esteemed German publisher of the text, likened the publication to that of Gaius Plinius Secundus (23–79 CE), better known as Pliny the Elder, who wrote a *Natural History*, among many other works.<sup>236</sup>

According to historian Margaret Spufford, Amman and Sachs claimed that *Das Ständebuch* contained *Aller Stande auff Erden* (“all ranks in the world”). As such, the publication discusses a wide spectrum of society beyond the topics of artisanal labor, implied by its brief translation, and included social types that are organized according to religious, political, and social hierarchies of Europe’s early modern society.<sup>237</sup> Historian and translator of *Das Ständebuch*, Theodore K. Rabb, divides the social types of the German publication into eighteen classifications: 1) religious figures, 2) political and social authorities, 3) professional figures, 4)

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Physicians and Astronomers.” Order No. NQ99972, Queen’s University, 2004. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/painted-science-convention-change-seventeenth/docview/305113824/se-2>.

<sup>234</sup> Finkel, Jana. “Gerrit Dou’s ‘Violin Player’: Music and Painting in the Artist’s Studio in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting.” Order No. MR44443, Queen’s University, 2008. <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/gerrit-dous-violin-player-music-painting-artists/docview/250807158/se-2>.

<sup>235</sup> Kettering, Alison M. “Men at Work in Dutch Art, or Keeping One’s Nose to the Grindstone.” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 4 (2007): 694–714. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25067357>. Brown, Christopher. *Images of a Golden Past: Dutch Genre Painting of the 17th Century*. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 42.

<sup>236</sup> Sachs, Hans. *A Sixteenth-Century Book of Trades: Das Ständebuch*. Translated by Theodore K. Rabb. Palo Alto, Calif.: The Society for the Promotion of Science and Scholarship, 2009.

<sup>237</sup> The full title of *The Book of Trades* is *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Staende auff Erden*, or “The Actual Description of All Ranks in the World.”

figures participating in the circulation of books, 5) artists, 6) figures associated with money and selling, 7) craftsmen involved in the trade of leather, 8) people participating in food production, 9) artisans focused on clothing and clothing finishing, 10) personal hygiene specialists, 11) metalworkers, 12) craftsmen of domestic items, 13) stone and clay workers, 14) workers of wood, 15) *unique manufacturing specialists*, 16) other identities with unique occupations, 17) musicians, and 18) types of fools. Rabb suggests that the title of the Latin version of *Das Ständebuch, Omnium illiberalium mechanicarum aut sedentarium artium* (“all the non-liberal, mechanical or sedentary arts”), adequately describes the book's social types, with the exception of a few sections that seem to contradict the title.<sup>238</sup> Specifically, there are several liberal and non-mechanical occupations included in the book, despite its Latin name. Most importantly, however, Rabb proposes that the Latin version of *Das Ständebuch* includes additional categories of people, such as agricultural and military ranks, since it is likely that Amman and Sachs anticipated that a more cosmopolitan, educated audience would have access to these copies.

Although Amman and Sachs envisioned *Das Ständebuch* as an encyclopedic listing of Nuremberg society accompanied by exact descriptions, many scholars are critical of the social types that are included in the moralizing literature.<sup>239</sup> Rabb noted the many different industries omitted from the list, including many trades in agriculture and productive activities dominated by women which represented critical contributions to the economy. Art historian Jasper Cornelis van Putten showed that the German text thereby contains reductive and selective representations of occupational classes that conform to personal, regional, and national biases.<sup>240</sup> Scholars have

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<sup>238</sup> Rabb, “A Sixteenth-Century Book of Trades”, xix-xx.

<sup>239</sup> Cohen, Martin S. “The Novel in Woodcuts: A Handbook.” *Journal of Modern Literature* 6, no. 2 (1977): 171–95. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3831165>.

<sup>240</sup> Putten, Jasper Cornelis van. “The Networked Cosmos: Sebastian Münster’s City Views.” Order No. 3739153, Harvard University, 2015.

also regarded the woodcut illustrations and writings critically because some of the identities include prejudiced depictions, such as anti-Semitic stereotypes.<sup>241</sup>

With the comprehension of *Das Ständebuch* and the contributions of scholars who examined these writings and illustrations, it becomes more apparent how the selection of social types for Book X might have been performed if the *tlacuiloque* did in fact model theirs on the Latin version. In comparing Nahua occupations in the catalog to those in the Latin and German texts, there are two characteristics in common that might explain the absence of certain details and social types in the catalog of Book X: categories of occupations and reductive descriptions.

It is evident that the *tlacuiloque* documented occupations that were prominent in political and marketplace settings of Nahua society similar to Sachs and Amman's compilation of Nuremberg. This observation can be confirmed by simply comparing the chapters included in Book X and their images with the types of people present in *Das Ständebuch*. Many sections in Book X on merchants and vendors parallel woodcut illustrations in the European publications.

Images of the *Tlaqualchihqui* ("The Cook") in the Fourteenth Chapter of Book X and the *Der Koch* or *Coquus* in the European publication exemplify shared categories and strategies of depiction. In the European publication, two cooks are shown performing different tasks (figure 3.3). The *Coquus* in the foreground holds a spoon and a shallow pot of food as he stands outdoors near an arched doorway. The second one appears in the interior of an enclosed space that features high ceilings, a firepit and rotisserie, and horizontal lines indicating his location inside a building. This *Coquus* stands attentively by an open fire while broiling several meats on

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<https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/networked-cosmos-sebastian-münsters-city-views/docview/1748049637/se-2>.

<sup>241</sup> Berry Drago, "Thomas Wijck's painted alchemists".

long skewers over the flames.<sup>242</sup> In the Florentine Codex, the two *Tlaqualchiuhqui* accompanying the description are also shown working both within and near arched settings while performing their trades (figure 3.4).<sup>243</sup> The two women wear their hair in the tradition of married Aztec women, and appear near open containers of food, grinding some of the food on a small mat with a *texolotl* (“pestle”). The woman on the left is adjacent to a clay-colored building with a small window and arched doorway, while the woman on the right appears indoors, indicated by a cross-hatching pattern on the interior of the building, the angle of the arched window, the position of shadows outside the building, and the strategic placement of mountains in the background. This comparison of cooks in the European text and the *Tlaqualchiuhqui* in Book X resonates with Peterson's observations of the *toltecatl*, further suggesting how the *tlacuiloque* might have used categories and images in *Das Ständebuch* as models for Book X.

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<sup>242</sup> Amman, Jost, Hartmann Schopper, and Hans Sachs. *Image 102 of Page View [Coquus. Der Koch.]*. 1568. [148] leaves : ill. (woodcuts) ; 16 cm (8vo). 48038846. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2019rosen0705/?sp=102>.

<sup>243</sup> *Image 79 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 38, p. 40 Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=79&r=-0.493,1.027,1.601,0.64,0](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=79&r=-0.493,1.027,1.601,0.64,0).



Fig. 3.3. *Der Koch*, or *The Coquus* in *Das Ständebuch*.  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.



Fig. 3.4. The *Tlaqualchiuhqui* of Book X (fol. 38).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

Another example of how Book X appears to have been modeled on the categories and images of the Book of Trades is the *Tlalchiuhqui* (“The Farmer”), from the Twelfth Chapter, which resembles *Der Kebmann* (“The Vine Master) and the *Vinitor* (“Farmer”) in Latin. The European and Nahua agricultural specialists are depicted toiling the soil with their own tools and associated crops. The *Vinitor* uses a two-prong farming tool as he digs into the soil near a bundle

of planting stakes and a shovel. Several vines propped up by wooden supports appear behind him (figure 3.5).<sup>244</sup>



Fig. 3.5. *Der Kebmann*, or *The Vinitor* in *Das Ständebuch*.  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

The alphabetic text on the *Tlalchiuhqui* in Book X is accompanied by two images. In the first, a Nahua man hunches over while using a *uictli* (“digging stick”) to break the ground (figure 3.6).<sup>245</sup> Behind him follows a second, more fully dressed Nahua man who holds a small vessel in his hands. The two stand near a corn stalk that sprouts a *miyahuatl* (“maize tassel flower”). In the second image, the *Tlalchiuhqui* is seated on the ground with a seemingly distressed expression on his face; one of his arms rests by his side while the palm of the other hand is placed on his

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<sup>244</sup> Amman, Jost, Hartmann Schopper, and Hans Sachs. *Image 106 of Page View [Vinitor. Der Kebmann.]*. 1568. [148] leaves : ill. (woodcuts) ; 16 cm (8vo). 48038846. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2019rosen0705/?sp=106>.

<sup>245</sup> *Image 60 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. 2021667850. fol. 28v. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=60](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=60).

face (figure 3.7).<sup>246</sup> Contrary to the previous image, this Nahua man lacks color; his *uictli* lies on the ground, its handle resting on the man's *tilmatli* (“cloak”), its sharp triangular point facing upwards. He appears to have given up on working the soil. In comparison to the first *Tlalchiuhqui*, this farmer represents the not good social type within the moral discourse of good and not good in the three texts of the catalog, whereas the European publication is more concerned with depicting only ideal types.



Fig. 3.6 The *Tlalchiuhqui* of the Sixteenth Chapter of Book X (fol. 28v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.



Fig. 3.7 The Not Good *Tlalchiuhqui* of the Sixteenth Chapter of Book X (fol. 28v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

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<sup>246</sup> Image 60, Book X.



These preliminary comparisons of images in the Book of Trades and Book X of the Florentine Codex build on Peterson's pioneering observations on images of the *toltecatl*. My analysis of the categories of people, some appearing with similar textual descriptions, further demonstrates how the *tlacuiloque* carefully studied the Latin publication in order to produce a corresponding portrayal of Nahua social types. The fisherman stands out as a noteworthy example of a parallel construction. In all of the texts, the fisherman—*Der Fischer* in German, *Piscator* in Latin, *El que vende pescado* (“He who sells fish”) in the Spanish of Book X, and the *Xoquiiacanamacac* (“The Fish Seller”) in Nahuatl—is described by the techniques and tools that he uses and the types of fish that he catches. *Der Fischer* is described in the first-person narrative wherein the speaker asserts his ability to catch fish “*ohn mangel*” (“without flaw”), while using several fishing implements, such as a *reuzen* (“fish-trap”) and *angl* (“fishing rod”) (Table 3.5). He discusses the various sea creatures that he is able to catch, including *grundel* (“gudgeons”), *ruppen* (“burbot”), and *neunaugen* (“lamprey”) (Table 3.5).<sup>247</sup> *Der Fischer* then concludes his poetic demonstration of skills by instructing the listener to view his catch of crabs: “*Krebs mag man auch bei mir suchen*” (“These and crabs you will see are mine”).<sup>248</sup> The *Piscator* parallels the original German description of the fisherman with details of the tradesman hunting *arudine* (“[with a] fishing-rod”), *calamo* (“[with an] angling rod [of the sea]”), and *aera recurva cibus* (“[with a] bent bronze bait,” or “bronze hooks”) to capture *pisces* (“fishes”), *madente feras* (“wet animals” or “wet beasts”), *muraena* (“murena”) and *lupus immanis* (“monstrous wolffish”) (Table 3.6). The *Piscator* boasts how these fishes cannot deceive him, his *retia* (“net”), or *nostris*

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<sup>247</sup> Personal translation. Sachs, Hans, and Jost Ammann. *Das Ständebuch : 114 Holzschnitte / von Jost Ammann, Mit Reimen von Hans Sachs*. 1568. Text, printed monograph. p. 39. Bibliothèque nationale de France, A.501.090,133, Insel-Bücherei ; Nr. 133, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k91062404/f47.item>.

<sup>248</sup> Used the English translation provided by Rabb. Rabb, “A Sixteenth-Century Book of Trades”, 195.

*armis* (“our arms” or “our equipment”).<sup>249</sup> The Latin version of *Der Fischer* applies the narrative first-person singular format when discussing the *Piscator*, occasionally using the first-person plural voice, but the Latin translation of the German original appears to emphasize activities performed by the *Piscator* rather than listing fishes captured by the fisherman, as in the original. Instead, several species go unmentioned, such as *Karpffen* (“carp”), *Hausn and Huchn* (“sturgeon and huchen”), and the translation appears to include alternative species not mentioned in the original.

In Book X, descriptions of the *Xoquiiacanamacac* and *El que vende pescado* present several features that appear to be based on the probable model (Table 3.7). The *tlacuilo* of the *Xoquiiacanamacac* also describes the tradesperson’s techniques, tools, and fish merchandise similar to the European publications. The Nahuatl fisherman is an *atlacatl* (“man of the water”) who *tamatlauia* (“catches fish using a net”), *tlacoyolacahuia* (“hunts using a spear,” or a *coyolacatl*—a cane used for fishing), and *tlamamapachoa* (“catches [the fish] in his hands”).<sup>250</sup> Some of the creatures caught and hunted by the *Xoquiiacanamacac* include *teccizmichi* (“shellfish”), *aiomichi* (“turtles”), *coamichi* (“eel”), and *atepocatli* (“tadpoles”). According to these Nahuatl descriptions, the various fishes caught by the Nahuatl fisherman are later cooked into tamales, tortillas, and maize husks, including the following dishes: *ocuiltamalli* (“worm tamales”), *amoiotlaxcalli* (“water fly tortillas”), and *michtlapictli* (“fish wrapped in maize husks”).<sup>251</sup> As anticipated, Sahagún’s corresponding Spanish column generalizes the information first written by the Nahuatl scholars and refrains from listing all types of animals caught and

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<sup>249</sup> Personal translation. Amman, Jost, Hartmann Schopper, and Hans Sachs. *Image 100 of Page View 1568*. [148] leaves : ill. (woodcuts) ; 16 cm (8vo). 48038846. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection*, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2019rosen0705/?sp=100>.

<sup>250</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 80.

<sup>251</sup> Sahagún, Anderson and Dibble, *Book 10*, 80.

cooked by the *Xoquiiacanamacac*. However, similar to the activities in the original Nahuatl, *El que vende pescado* uses *verdes* (“wood”) and *anzuelos* (“fishing hooks”) to *ganar su vida* (“gain his livelihood”), catching and selling “*camarones y pescados de todo genero, blancos, y prietos... todos frescos, y crudos* (“shrimp and fishes of all kinds, white, deep brown... all fresh, and raw”).<sup>252</sup> Interestingly, Sahagún does explain one of the Nahuatl terms for a type of fish and elaborates on two of the foods included in the writings of the *tlacuilo*: “*y los otros huevos de otro genero que se llaman avauhtli de las tortillas, y tamales, que hazen dellos*” (“and other eggs of another kind that are called *avauhtli* of the tortillas, and *tamales* that are made from them”).<sup>253</sup> Very rarely does Sahagún actually include any type of explanation of the Nahuatl phrases in the catalog, despite being an intended *calepino*, and even then he still generalizes most of the original descriptions of the *Xoquiiacanamacac*. He made little attempt to describe the original texts of the *tlacuiloque*.

In comparing the four descriptions of the fisherman, there are also notable differences among the texts. The *tlacuiloque* describes dishes and other products prepared with the catches, but the European publication only emphasizes which aquatic animals are hunted and without mention of how they are then cooked or consumed. In relation to the overall format, the most apparent variation is the use of the first-person singular *I* when narrating the social type. In the German and Latin publications, the *Piscator* and other social types describe their trades as if the tradesperson were speaking, but the *tlacuiloque* chose to describe the *Xoquiiacanamacac* in the form of a third-person narrative, as in the rest of the catalog. Another possible difference might

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<sup>252</sup> *Image 119 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations. Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 58, p. 65. Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, Florentine Codex, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=119](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=119).*

<sup>253</sup> Image 119, Book X.

be the rhythmic, poetic listing of qualities and traits only viewed in the European texts. However, despite these literary differences, the images alone indicate that other members of Book X in addition to the *toltecatl* were modeled after Amman and Sach's translated publication.

It is worth noting that the *Piscator* in *Omnium illiberalium mechanicarum aut sedentarium artium* is the same image of *Der Fischer* in *Das Ständebuch*. In the woodcut illustration, a single fisherman is positioned in the foreground of the image looking towards his right, holding an empty square net in both hands (figure 3.8).<sup>254</sup> A small fish-trap is placed below the long tool, perpendicular to the small boat. He wears a long sleeve shirt, a bowler hat, and pants tied at knee length. In the background, the water's waves move subtly and carry other individuals in boats who are paddling to the shore and away from the coastline. The landscape is hilly, with geography similar to that of many images created in Book X.

In the catalog, the *Xoquiiacanamacac* created by the *tlacuiloque* resembles images of *Der Fischer* and *Piscator* (figure 3.9).<sup>255</sup> A Nahua man looks to his left while riding a crescent-shaped boat that is similar to the European model. The fisherman, dressed in a *maxtlatl* ("loincloth"), uses his right hand to lift a fish that is tangled in a conical net while using his left hand to paddle with an oar. The water appears to move as two aquatic animals swim alongside the *Xoquiiacanamacac*. The artist chose not to include a background setting for the *Xoquiiacanamacac*, but opted to depict vibrant colors that the European publications lack, in part because the illustrations model are woodcuts.

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<sup>254</sup> Sachs, Hans, and Jost Ammann. *Das Ständebuch: 114 Holzschnitte*. Amman, Jost, Hartmann Schopper, and Hans Sachs. *Image 100*.

<sup>255</sup> *Image 120 of General History of the Things of New Spain by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: The Florentine Codex. Book X: The People, Their Virtues and Vices, and Other Nations*. Facsimile. 2021667855. fol. 58v, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. USA, *Florentine Codex*, [https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl\\_10621/?sp=120](https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_10621/?sp=120).

When comparing *Der Fischer* or *Piscator* with the image created by the Nahua artist, the social types are almost identical with the exception of several alterations made by the Nahua artists: the mirrored positions, the clothing, the presence of fishes, the depiction of the water, the use of detailed backgrounds, and the application of colors. The differences might be attributed to two reasons. First, the *tlacuiloque* had limited space with which to work, compared to the entire page produced by Ammans and Sachs. Whereas the woodcuts in *Das Ständebuch* occupy well over half the page in every depiction, the *Xoquiiacanamacac* only resides within the bounds of the Spanish left column and occupies less than a quarter of this allotted space. Second, the Nahua artists intervened to stylize the image according to their multicultural expertise. For instance, the water is more than just carefully depicted; it appears to splash with drops and spray reminiscent of the highly conventional *atl* glyphs of Aztec iconography. Nonetheless, similarities between images of the fishermen, drawn on different sides of the Atlantic Ocean, appear too close to be coincidental.



Fig. 3.8. *Der Fischer*, or *The Piscator* in *Das Ständebuch*.  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.



Fig. 3.9. The *Xoquiacanamacac* of the Twenty-Second Chapter of Book X (fol. 58v).  
Image from the *World Digital Library*.

Comparing Book X with *Das Ständebuch* can also account for the limited number of women illustrated in the catalog, further revealing how the *tlacuiloque* might have used the European text to inform their own. Indeed, we know that the Nahua artists who participated directly in the making of the Florentine Codex were men and only men, since priests targeted Nahua boys and men, especially of noble status, for education and many other activities and professions, as in Europe, whereas Nahua girls and women were in general disregarded. These gendered dynamics may have also resulted in promoting biases in the production of Book X, given the underlying colonial-patriarchal nature of the catalog, as first argued by Overmyer-Velazquez. In thinking of how the *tlacuiloque* might have used *Das Ständebuch* as a model not only for its images but also for its choice of categories, we can understand better how the limited representations of women might be a consequence of a gendered discourse that resided in the European model. Rabb noted that the relative absence of women in *Das Ständebuch* might be related to assumptions of gender that relegated women in the texts and illustrations to domestic spaces or subservient positions that failed to represent the reality of women's larger contributions in labor roles. In total, German women appear in only twelve of the

images, but mainly as patrons or supportive labor roles rather than appearing as a main artisan or trader. It is possible that the *tlacuiloque* replicated these gendered and skewed representations in the catalog, at least to an extent, whether intentionally or unintentionally. In many ways, *Das Ständebuch* and Book X are both the result of a reductive, selective decision to create lists of idealized people.

In any case, it is clear that at least some of the alphabetical texts and images of the Book X catalog were influenced by those in *Das Ständebuch*. Overall, the people of Book X can be grouped according to the following broad categories, overlapping in many cases with Rabb's observations for *Das Ständebuch*: 1) kinship, 2) political and social authorities, 3) professional figures, 4) figures participating in the circulation of books, 5) various types of artists, 6) figures associated with money and selling, 7) craftsmen involved in the trade of imported goods, 8) figures participating in food production, 9) artisans preoccupied with clothing and clothing finishing, 10) metalworkers, 11) craftsmen involved in producing domestic items, 12) workers in stone and clay, 13) workers in wood, 14) cultural specialists, 15) other identities with unique occupations, 16) types of fools, 17) sexual deviants, and 18) gendered deviants. In total, if determining shared qualities on the simple basis of corresponding translations, the catalog in Book X contains over 40 identities that closely resemble ones in *Das Ständebuch*. I am certain that this count would increase if one were to compare the illustrations and texts in greater detail, to consider carefully how the *tlacuiloque* studied the Latin version to guide their own classification of the Nahua social world. However, it is important to note several distinctions between the Mexican manuscript and the European publications.

First, the *tlacuiloque* refrained from discussing religious leaders, specialists involved in personal hygiene, and musicians—all discussed in *Das Ständebuch*. It is clear that the *tlacuiloque*

could have addressed these social types by describing people who performed similar roles in Mexico, even if not exact counterparts. For example, the *Teponaçoanj* (“two-toned drum player”) of Book IV might have been compared with the many musicians included in the European publications. And the Nahua contributors could have described the *Temazcaleque* (“temazcal owners”) of Book I, documenting the hygienic and ceremonial qualities of sweatbaths, but secular and religious authorities outlawed these structures and related practices in colonial times, due to their fears of sweatbaths as sites of disease, sexuality and idolatry.<sup>256</sup> Such an occupation or type would have been omitted from the catalog for these reasons.

Second, the *tlacuiloque* actually augmented the categories or types included in the catalog, adding sections dedicated to people related to discussions of kinship, sexual deviance, and women. These differences are critical to note because they suggest deviations from the possible model and can account for other types of creative decisions performed by the *tlacuiloque*, such as the inclusion of Nahua identities that did not have an approximate equivalent in the European texts, or altering social identities to depict a more accurate representation of their social world, such as drawing Nahua women for images related to the *Tlaqualchihqui*.

Finally, if by now it is apparent that the *tlacuiloque* used *Das Ständebuch* as a model for Book X, it is also clear that they studied the writings extensively, determining how to adapt the images and descriptions in the European text to their own reality, adjusting the model when necessary to ensure a more accurate portrayal of their own social types. In other words, they did not slavishly copy European models; rather they used them judiciously when they found them to be useful for their own purposes. While I have documented many similarities between the

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<sup>256</sup> Walsh, Casey. “3. Policing Waters and Baths in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City.” In *Virtuous Waters: Mineral Springs, Bathing, and Infrastructure in Mexico*, 34–49. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780520965393-005>.



catalog and the European texts in my attempt to determine why there are so many members of the Nahua social world who were omitted from Book X, I have also encountered many dissimilarities between the Mexican manuscript and European books that indicate how the Mesoamerican product does not fit neatly into a “European” or “Indigenous” binary, as many scholars have noted. Instead, the catalog reflects an encounter between the *tlacuiloque* and the European book, the remembered past and the colonial present. The list of social types in Book X is a selective compilation of identities that represents those times of great change.

### **3.6 Explanation #5: A Possible Linguistic Misunderstanding and the Absence of Scholarly Inquiry**

This thesis began with an examination of the *amantecatli* to identify the parts of Book X that require additional research. To reiterate, I am interested in the following three aspects of the catalog: 1) the correspondence between the Nahuatl texts, Spanish translations, and images dedicated to social types; 2) the brevity of the texts discussing these identities; and 3) the possibility of critical details missing from the lists of people due to the selective nature of the writings. I translated almost all of these selections, with the exception of three chapters. However, one constraint prompted me to halt my work regarding the first research objective.

While I documented a significant number of social types and information that were missing from the three texts of Book X, I began to realize how these seemingly omitted details might be present in the manuscript in ways that we scholars might not recognize. For example, in the case of the *Tiçitli*, I was perplexed to find no mention of any terms associated with midwifery, especially based on the identification of this occupation and tradition in other sections of the Florentine Codex. Later, however, I began to consider how these practices related to childbirth might be so inherent to this identity that it perhaps would have even been viewed as redundant or

unnecessary by the *tlacuiloque* to document anything specific about this vital, culturally-specific practice in Book X. As to the purpose of this chapter, I argue that there might be many details and social types missing in the catalog due to two interrelated reasons: 1) the flexibility of Nahuatl and their speakers to express ideas through their language; and 2) the absence of linguistic analyses of the Nahuatl text of Book X that can properly examine the intricacies of each person.

Many linguistic qualities of Nahuatl require speakers and learners to be familiar with cultural cues to comprehend the language. One example includes the component *tla* that is often used in conjunction with *verbs*.<sup>257</sup> According to anthropologist James Richard Andrews:

The nonspecific-object pronoun *tla* can in certain instances be fused so tightly to the transitive stem that a process of derivation takes place and the two elements (*tla* and the transitive stem) are no longer two separate items but rather one single unit. The result of this *tla* fusion is a new intransitive verb.<sup>258</sup>

Andrews provides examples of how the “fusion” of the transitive verbs *paca* (“to wash something”) and *ihtoa* (“to say something”) when used with this “nonspecific object pronoun” result in *tlapaca* (“to do the laundry”) and *tlahtoa* (“to speak”), respectively, so that these stems now have *intransitive* qualities and inseparable meanings. However, as Andrews later suggests, it is critical to understand the context of these terms to refrain from mistakenly separating these intransitive verbs and to ensure greater accuracy in translations and comprehension. Other scholars recommend these cautionary approaches related to *tla*. In fact, according to Lockhart, “...*tla*, because of its semantic properties almost always represent a direct object.”<sup>259</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>257</sup> Launey, Michel. *An Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*. Translated by Christopher Mackay. 1st edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

<sup>258</sup> Andrews, J. Richard. 2003. *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*. Revised edition. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 71.

<sup>259</sup> Lockhart, James. 2002. *Nahuatl as Written: Lessons in Older Written Nahuatl, with Copious Examples and Texts*. 1st edition. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press), 26.

there are possibilities in which the comprehensive meanings of verbs applying *tla* are understood in relation to certain nouns that are not explicitly stated in writing nor in speech since these Nahuatl-speakers are aware of their contexts. In contrast, non-Nahuatl speakers often create inaccurate translations by separating *tla* from the required stem, unable to realize these intransitive qualities possible with certain words. These issues of separation and context became more prominent as I translated Book X and attempted to compare the three texts of the catalog. Without knowing exactly the meanings implied by the use of *tla*, and the other ways in which the *tlacuiloque* indirectly refer to specific nouns in their writings, it seemed that my assessment would be lacking without additional information.

One recent study demonstrates the under researched linguistic qualities of Book X. In art historian Allison Caplan’s study titled, *The Living Feather: Tonalli in Nahua Featherwork Production*, the scholar reviews the entries of featherworkers in the catalog in her larger examination of the craft in the Florentine Codex.<sup>260</sup> In her study of *tonalli*, which she translates as *a solar-derived animating force*, she concludes that the “classificatory distinction used in the sixteenth-century Florentine Codex between *tlazohihhuatl* (beloved feathers) and *macehualihhuatl* (commoner feathers) suggests that this distinction registers the specific types of feathers’ differential ability to contain *tonalli*.”<sup>261</sup> More specific to this thesis, she proposes several semantic cues that are seemingly inscribed in the entries for the *amatecatl* in Book X without any direct writings of these meanings. Specifically, she states the following:

Book 10 describes the unethical behavior of feather sellers who dyed dead feathers with the intention of enlivening their appearances. Although this passage does not explicitly use the terms *tlazohihhuatl* or *macehualihhuatl*, the visceral description of the feathers’

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<sup>260</sup> Caplan, Allison. “The Living Feather: Tonalli in Nahua Featherwork Production.” *Ethnohistory* 67, no. 3 (July 1, 2020): 383–406. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-8266397>.

<sup>261</sup> Caplan, “The Living Feather”, abstract.

state of decay and dulled appearance, using terms that describe *tonalli*-loss in humans, suggests that the feathers in question were *tlazohihhuatl* that had died.<sup>262</sup>

It is with this study that I recognized there is still much to learn and situate in Book X, where translations related to the alphabetical texts might ignore other discourses of morality that escape the reader's attention. If anything, such observations might even further distinguish the Spanish and Nahuatl alphabetical texts or show where they converge more than expected, since Sahagún occasionally includes words that are absent in the Nahuatl. However, with the current absence of a more sociolinguistic translation or interpretation of Book X that accounts for the many contexts expressed in the Nahuatl, such as the types of feathers known when uttering the moral qualities of the *amantecatl*, there is no way of currently knowing. How could we fully understand each individual entry and their moralistic dialogue without entirely positioning the linguistic properties of the entries in the textual and seemingly subtextual contexts of Aztec belief systems and their language?

### 3.7 Chapter Conclusion

By applying Peterson's suggestions for historicizing the Florentine Codex, I hypothesize several explanations for the omissions of social types and information from the catalog of Book X. First, by analyzing Sahagún's editorial and supervisory roles, I argue that the omissions are a consequence of two variables: the friar's determination to create a religious *calepino* resembling a diagnostic handbook of moral illnesses; and his assessment of the Nahuatl text informed by his biases of worth or value. These explanations resulted from examining Sahagún's prologues and interpolations that document the different rhetoric he used to defend the project, such as appealing to a European reader's familiarity with the medical-religious discourse that portrays

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<sup>262</sup> Caplan, "The Living Feather", 393.

religious clergy as physicians, and using Eurocentric ideas of value to assess information to include in Book X.

However, by examining the writings and images of the mostly unnamed Nahua *tlacuiloque* who participated and assisted in the making of the Florentine Codex, I also provide several hypotheses to explain the omissions of Book X. Since there is no commentary regarding choices made by the *tlacuiloque* during the production of the manuscript that are comparable to Sahagún's interpolations and scattered interjections, Peterson's suggestions became the basis for making additional proposals. I argue that these omissions are a consequence of the *tlacuiloque*'s time-specific experiences during the making of the Florentine Codex, where they looked to their immediate temporal surroundings of the colonial-era in order to select social types for the catalog. This hypothesis is supported by the expressions of time found throughout the manuscript and the use of loanwords in Book X. I also argue that these omissions may also be a consequence of the *tlacuiloque*'s use of the German text *Das Stundenbuch* to compile the list of people. Peterson first suggested this trade book as a model for the *toltecatl* in Book X, and by following her observations, I show how other areas of the catalog resemble the woodcut illustrations and poetry of the European Book, thus suggesting the Nahua participants carefully studied Amman and Sach's trade book to create the list. I also discuss how the *tlacuiloque* altered the techniques and imagery that they were seeing in the imported text to strategically convey their own meanings, and I point out several obvious distinctions. However, in the end, I argue that these omissions that I observed might be present in the Nahuatl in ways that we have yet to understand, due to the limited linguistic research on Book X that has been done to date.

## CHAPTER 4

### Conclusion

The present thesis examines three understudied aspects of Book X, “The People,” of the Florentine Codex: the overall correspondence and difference between the original Nahuatl text on social identities and its Spanish translation; the brevity of information included in the descriptions of documented social types; and the possibility of missing critical details from the concise texts. Through the application of Terraciano’s three texts-in-one approach to analyzing the Florentine Codex, which posits the original Nahuatl, the corresponding Spanish translations, and the painted images as three separate texts, I assessed the construction of morality in Book X and observed details and people from other parts of manuscript omitted from the catalog. In Chapter 2, I present several findings from these comparative analyses and describe different social types that exemplify these observations, including the *Tiçitl* and the *Temacpalitotique*, who are included in Book X, and the *Naoaloztomeca* and the *Cioatlamacazque* who are absent from the entries. The first two social types demonstrate how the omission of information affects all social types of Book X, regardless of their framing as ideal or deviant members of Nahua society. The information absent from their texts include details pertaining to definitive practices of trades, applicable *teotl*, their relationship with other social types, and relevant day signs. The latter two social types demonstrate how there are both subcategories and entire classes of people omitted from the writings, despite their critical contributions to the Aztec Empire. The *Naoaloztomeca* is described in Book IX as responsible for the expansion of commerce through their infiltration of

enemy lands. The *Cioatlamacazque* is positioned as a ceremonial participant and leader who underwent years of socialization. Yet there is no mention of these two people in Book X.

To hypothesize explanations for these omissions, I applied Peterson's suggestions for historicizing the manuscript. I considered Sahagún and the *tlacuiloque*'s motives separately in order to determine how their different positions in colonial society might have informed Book X, and I describe these proposals in Chapter 3. I argue that the omissions may have been a consequence of Sahagún's interventions once informed by theological and scholastic traditions of medical discourses, Eurocentric ideas of value, and his desire to defend the project from opposition, since he viewed the manuscript as a tool of assimilation and conversion that acknowledged certain discriminatory beliefs towards Indigenous peoples and their cultures. However, I also argue that these omissions might have resulted from the *tlacuiloque*'s active assessment of colonial society, whereby they selected people and types for the catalog who were most immediate to their own lived experiences, which is evidenced by the Spanish loan words and neologisms in the entries. Furthermore, the selection of people might have resulted from the *tlacuiloque*'s possible use of *Das Ständebuch* as a model for Book X. The *tlacuiloque* most likely studied the book of trades extensively, then determined how to alter the original poetic descriptions and woodcut illustrations to create a list of social types more representative of their colonial realities. In the end of Chapter 3, I also discuss how these omissions might be a consequence of limited linguistic research on Book X, and how I and other scholars are possibly missing the proper contexts and even subtexts of each social type, which is critical for understanding the discourse of morality in the catalog.

To conclude this thesis, I would like to suggest three directions for future research on Book X. First, we need a more comprehensive study of the writings of *Das Ständebuch*—both the

German and Latin versions—to determine more similarities and dissimilarities between the European texts and the entries. I am certain that this type of analysis would continue to reveal the extent to which this European book of trades informed the presentation of Nahua social types in Book X and how they strategically adopted new ways to create meaning. Second, a closer study of the images of Book X and their semantic relationship with the alphabetical texts would prove invaluable to the understanding of the catalog. There are many complex details that have yet to be analyzed, such as the messages behind the speech scrolls, place glyphs, and other forms of pictographic writings that the *tlacuiloque* used when creating each meticulously hand-painted image. Third, there is much potential for analyzing the three texts of Book X and the Florentine Codex in relation to other Mesoamerican manuscripts from the sixteenth century, to continue examining representations of people and social types in this period of cultural contact and change. This final proposal originates from a revelation that came to me when viewing the only known representation of a Nahua woman as a *tlacuilo*, an image in the Codex Telleriano-Remensis (figure 4.1.).<sup>263</sup> With this image in mind, I began to consider who else might be missing from Book X and the Florentine Codex. There is still much to be learned about the selective omissions and erasures that occurred in the making of the *Historia General*, and even the possibility that scholars have missed significant information that is embedded in the texts. After all, what is seemingly *not* included in the writings is just as critical as what *is* included.

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<sup>263</sup> *Codex Telleriano-Remensis. Page 30r. Facsimile. p.30v.* Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies Inc., *Universitätsbibliothek Rostock - Codex Telleriano-Remensis (Loubat 1901) Codices*, <http://www.famsi.org/research/loubat/Telleriano-Remensis/thumbs3.html>.





Fig. 4.1. *La Pintora*, or *Tlacuilo*, from the Codex Telleriano-Remensis; the only known representation of a Nahua woman as a *tlacuilo* (fol. 30). Image from *FAMSI*.

## Appendix

Table 1.1. *Tal oficial, si es bueno, In Qualli Amantecatl*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
<p>“El tal oficial, si es bueno, suele ser imaginativo, diligente, fiel y conveniente, y desempachado para juntar, y pegar las plumas, y poner las en concierto, y con ellas siendo de diversas colores hermohear la obra, al fin muy abil, para aplicar las a su proposito.”</p>	<p>Such tradesperson, if he is good, tends to be imaginative, diligent, faithful, and considerate, and dedicated to gather, and glue the feathers, put them in agreement, and harmonize the diverse colors of the trade, in the end he is skillful, to apply them to their intent.</p>	<p>“The good featherworker [is] imaginative, diligent; meritorious of confidence, of trust. He practises the featherworkers' art; he glues, he arranges [the feathers]. He arranges different colors, takes measurements, matches [feathers]”</p>	<p>“In qualli amantecatl, tlanemiliani, iiel, itech netlacaneconi, netlacuiloni, amantecati, tlaçaloa, tlahuipana, tlatlatlapalpoa, tlatlalpoa, tlananamictia.”</p>
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Tlanemiliani = one who takes counsel well and thinks prudently about they are about to do, an enterprising person or tla + nemilia-to think about, consider, support oneself, to maintain oneself through one’s own effort, to provide one’s own sustenance, to support oneself, to be resolved, to consider, to ponder, or look into s.t... and much more + ni</li> <li>● Iiel = ieel = i- + eel-to be diligent and solicitous</li> <li>● Itech netlacaneconi = combined = a trusted person</li> <li>● Netlacuiloni, = ne + tlacuilo-notary, scribe, painter; literally “one who writes and/or paints” + ni</li> <li>● Amantecati = amantecatl-an artisan; a person who works in the mechanical arts; a feather worker</li> <li>● Tlaçaloa, = tlazaloa = tla + zaloa-for one thing to stick to another, to glue something, to make stick together, to spread paste... to detain s.o.</li> <li>● Tlahuipana, = tla + huipana-to put people in order and concert when there is a procession, to form a line, to line people up, to put things in order</li> <li>● Tlatlatlapalpoa, = tlatlatlapalpohua= tlapalli (paint, dye, color, red, and more) + pohua-to count, to read, to relate, to measure... or consider tlatlatlapalpouhtli-manta listada de diuersos colores o cosa semejante.</li> <li>● Tlatlalpoa = poa = pohua = contar a algunos, encartarlos, o tener respecto a otro, aplicar algo a otro, count, count something that is countable, or tlahpohua = count, read, pray,</li> <li>● Tlananamictia = tla- + nanamictia = to arrange something, to bring into conformity</li> </ul>			

Table 2.1. *El Medico, Ticitl* (Chapter 8)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El medico suele curar y remediar las enfermedades.”	“The physician tends to cure and remedy sicknesses.”	“The physician [is] a curer of people, a restorer, a provider of health.”	“in ticitl tepatiani tlapaleuiani”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ticitl = physician, prognosticator, healer, midwife</li> <li>• Tepatiani = tepatia-to cure people, curar or te + patia-to pay, cure, restore s.t to health or fix s.t, curar o sanar a otro, restaurar, adobar, o enmendar algo + ni = or combined = a healer, a doctor, a curer, a medico que cura</li> <li>• Tlapaleuiani = tlapalehuia-cosa que da favor y ayuda or tla + palehuia-to help, to look over one’s interests, to favor, to help s.o.+ ni or combined = tlapalehuiani = el que da fauor y ayuda, someone helpful, el que da favor y ayuda</li> </ul>			

Table 2.2. *El Buen Medico, In Qualli Ticitl* (Chapter 8)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El buen medico es entendido buen conecedor delas propiedades de yervas, piedras, arboles, e rayzes, experimentado en las curas: El qual tambien tiene por officio saber concertar los huesos, purgar, sangrar, y sajar, y dar puntos al fin librar de las puertas de la muerte.”	The good physician is a well informed expert of the properties of the herbs, rocks, trees, and roots, tried and tested in the cures: who also, due to the trade knows how to set bones, purge, bleed, and lance, and give stitches, in the end to free [someone] from the doors of death.	“The good physician [is] a diagnostician, experienced - a knower of herbs, of stones, of trees, of roots. He has [results of] examinations, experience, prudence. [He is] moderate in his acts. He provides health, restores people, provides them splints, sets bones for them, purges them, gives emetics, gives them potions; he lances, he makes incisions in them, stitches them, revives them, envelopes them in ashes.”	“In qualli ticitl tlanemiliani, tlaiximatini, xiuhiximaqui, teiximatqui, quauhiximatqui, tlaneloaiioximatqui, tlaieiecole, tlaztlacole, iztlacole, tlaixieiecoani, tlapaleuia, tepatia, tepapachoa, teçalao, tetlanoquilia, tlaçotlaltia, tetlaitia, tlaitzmina, textotla, tehitzoma, teeoatiquetza, nextli teololoa”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tlanemiliani = tlanemilia-to take counsel and plan well things of importance, to deliberate or tla + nemilia-to think about, consider, support oneself, to provide one’s own sustenance, to</li> </ul>			

<p>support oneself, to be resolved, to look into, resolve... + ni = or combined = el que toma consejo y premedita con prudente consideracion loque ha de hazer</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Tlaiximatini = tla + ixmati-to recognize, to know well, to know s.o, can also be know oneself, know something (in general), to be acquainted with + ni</li> <li>● Xiuhiximaqui = xihui- -xihuitl-yierbas + ixmati-to recognize, to know well, to know s.o, know oneself, know something (in general), to be acquainted with s.t. or s.o. + qui</li> <li>● Teiximatqui = te- - tetl-stones/rocks + ixmati-to recognize, to know well, to know s.o, can also be know oneself, know something in general, to be acquainted with + qui</li> <li>● Quauhiximatqui = cuauhixmatqui = cuauh- cuauhuitl-roots / trees + ixmati-to recognize, to know well, to know s.o, can also be know oneself, know something in general, to be acquainted with + qui</li> <li>● Tlaneloaiioximatqui = tlanelhuayoioximatqui = tla + nelhuayo-algo que tiene raíz + ixmatqui-saber algo bien</li> <li>● Tlaieicole = tlayeyecole = tla + yeyecoa-to try s.t, to experiment s.t, to rehearse, to temp s.o, to test, sample, taste s.t</li> <li>● Tlaztlacole = tla + iztlacoa-to self-examine, to be self-reflective, or to take one’s own advice, to consult one’s own judgment, to examine and judge s.t, especially without appearing to do so, to consult one’s own judgment, especially without appearing to do so</li> <li>● Iztlacole = iztlacoa - to self-examine, to be self-reflective, or to take one’s own advice, to consult one’s own judgment, to examine and judge s.t, especially without appearing to do so, to consult one’s own judgment, especially without appearing to do so</li> <li>● Tlaixieicoani = tlaixyeyecoani = tla + ixeyecoa-to be temperate and discreet in the things that one does, or to be moderate + ni = or combined = persona templada, moderada, y discreta en lo que haze</li> <li>● Tlapaleuia = tlapalehuia = tla + palehuia-to help, favor, honor, to look after one’s own interest, to help s.o = or combined = cosa que da favor y ayuda</li> <li>● Tepatia = tepahitia = te + patia-to pay, cure, restore s.o to health, fix s.o or s.t or combined = to cure people</li> <li>● Tepapachoa = te + papachoa-traer las piernas al enfermo o a cosa semejante</li> <li>● Teçaloa = tezaloa = te + zaloa-for one thing to stick to another, to glue s.t, make things stick...</li> <li>● Tetlanoquilia = te + tlanoquilia - purgar a otro o purgarse</li> <li>● Tlaçotlaltia = tlazotlaltia = or combined = hazer amigos a los enemistados, to reconcile enemies</li> <li>● Tetlaitia = te + tlaitia to drink a beverage, to give beverage to another, breakfast</li> <li>● Tlaitzmina = tla + itzmin-to bleed oneself, to cause another to bleed (Anderson and Dibble)</li> <li>● Texotla = texotli-the color blue, turquoise blue, xihuitl,</li> <li>● Tehitzoma = teitzoma = te + itzoma-to sew, for something to get sewn, to sow s.t</li> <li>● Teoatiquetza = tehuatiquetza = te + ehuatiquetza-to put on an incline or to put s.t upright or ehua-to rise, to get up, to rise and depart, to carry s.t heavy... + ti- + quetza-to stand s.o up</li> <li>● Nextli = ashes, cinder, quick lime</li> <li>● Teololoa = te + ololoa-to roll s.t into a ball, to curl up, to roll s.t, to collect, to get dressed, to cover or dress people, to ride</li> </ul>
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Table 2.3. *El Mal Medico, In Tlaueliloc Ticitl* (Chapter 8)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El mal medico es	The bad physician is a	“The bad physician [is]	“In tlaueliloc ticitl: ic

<p>burlador y por ser inabil, en lugar desonar empeora a los enfermos con el brevaaje, que les da: y aun a las vezes usa echizerias, o supersticiones por dar a entender que haze buenas curas.”</p>	<p>trickster and, by being unskilled, in place of healing he worsens the sick with potions that he gives them: and even sometimes uses spells, or superstitions to give the impression that he makes good cures.</p>	<p>a fraud, a half-hearted worker, a killer with his medicines, a giver of overdoses, an increaser [of sickness]; one who endangers others, who worsens sickness; who causes one to worsen. [He pretends to be] a counselor, advised, chaste. He bewitches; he is a sorcerer, a soothsayer, a caster of lots, a diagnostician by means of knots. He kills with his medicines; he increases [sickness]; he seduces women; he bewitches them.”</p>	<p>tlaqueloani, itlaquelh quichioani tepamictiani, tepaixuitiani, tlaouitiliani, teouitiliani, tlatlanalhuiani, tetlanaluiani, nonotzale: nonotzqui, pixe, suchioa, naoalli, tlapouhqui, tlapoani mecatlapouhqui, tepamictia, tlaouitilia, tepixuia, tesuchiua”</p>
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Translation Notes (Nahuatl)

- Ic tlaqueloani = ic + tla + queloa-to do s.t on purpose, may have the meaning of “to laugh at, cheat, or fool + ni
- Itlaquelh quichioani tepamictiani = itlaquelh + qui + chihua to do s.t + ni + te + pamictia-to take a poison, to poison s.o + ni
- Tepaixuitiani = tepahixuitiani = te + pa-pahtli [possibly]-an herb or herbs with medicinal value; a great many herbs end in -patli or -pahtli + ixhuitia-to fill oneself, to be uncomfortable from eating too much; when transitive, to make someone feel overloaded, satiated.
- Tlaouitiliani = tlaohuitiliani = tla + ohuitilia-to confuse s.o, to endanger s.o, to cause pain to s.o + ni
- Teouitiliani = te + ohuitilia-to confuse s.o, to endanger s.o, to cause pain to s.o + ni
- Tlatlanalhuiani = tla + tlanalhuia-empeorar asimismo, empeorarle a otro lagalla + ni
- Tetlanaluiani = tetlanalhuiani = te + tlanalhuia-empeorar asimismo, empeorarle a otro lagalla + ni
- Nonotzale = nonotza-to agree, consult, converse...
- Nonotzqui = nonotza-to agree, consult, converse... + qui
- Pixe = perhaps from pia
- Suchioa = xochihua = “a pervert” (according to Anderson and Dibble) or xochi- xochitl-flower (general) + chihua-to do or prepare s.t...
- Naoalli = nahualli- “a sorcerer”, or “shapeshifter”, or a spirit...
- Tlapouhqui = a person who casts spells, or casts lots, something open, one who counts, tells stories or reads to people, “soothsayer”
- Tlapoani = tlapohuani = tlapohua-a person who casts spells, or casts lots, something open, one who counts, tells stories or reads to people + ni
- Mecatlapouhqui = or combined = one who uses cords to determine someone’s luck or fate
- Tepamictia = te + pamictia-to take poison, to poison s.t
- Tlaouitilia = tlaohuitilia- tla + ohuitilia- to confuse s.o, to endanger s.o, to cause pain to s.o
- Tepixuia = tepixhuia= te + pixhuia-pixoa- pixoa. sembrar esparziendo, derramando o arrojando

- las semillas.
- Tesuchiuia = texochihuia = te + xochihuia-to cast a spell on a man so that he may fall in love with a woman, encantar o enlabiar a la muger para llevarla a otro parte, o hechizarla

Table 2.4. *La Medica, Ticitl* (Chapter 14)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“La medica es buena conoedora; delas propiedades de yeruas, rayzes, arboles, piedras y en conocellas, tiene mucha esperencia, no ignorando muchos secretos de la medicina.”	The physician [feminine noun] is a good expert: of the properties of herbs, roots, trees, and knowing them, she has a lot of experience, not ignoring many secrets of medicine.	“The physician [is] a knower of herbs, of roots, of trees, of stones; she is experienced in these. [She is] one who has [the results of] examinations; she is a woman of experience, of trust, of professional skill: a counselor.”	“in ticitl, xiuiximatini taneloaiioximatini, quauhiximatini, teiximati, tlaiximatqui, tlaieiecole, tlaztlacole, piale, machice nonotzale.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Xiuiximatini = xihuiximatini = xihui- - xihuitl - plants... + iximati-to recognize, to know well, to know someone, to know oneself, to know something... know one’s face (ix + mati) + ni</li> <li>• Taneloaiioximatini = taneloayioximatini = tanelhuayo-tlanelhuayotiliztli-the foundation, or instigator of something + ni</li> <li>• Quauhiximatini = cuauhiximatini = cuauh- - related to tree? + iximati-to recognize, to know well, to know someone, to know oneself, to know something... know one’s face (ix+ mati) + ni</li> <li>• Teiximati = te - tetl-rock + iximati-to recognize, to know well, to know someone, to know oneself, to know something... know one’s face (ix+ mati)</li> <li>• Tlaiximatqui = tla + iximati-to recognize, to know well, to know someone, to know oneself, to know something... know one’s face (ix+ mati)</li> <li>• Tlaieiecole = tlayeyecolli-something proven or consulted in trials</li> <li>• Tlaztlacole = tlaztlacolli = perhaps tla + iztlaco-iztlacoa-to self-examine, to be self-reflective, or to take one's own advice; to consult one's own judgment ; to examine and judge something, especially without appearing to do so + le</li> <li>• Piale = pialli = tenancy, possession, that which is guarded, kept, something left on deposit, custody, something in one’s custody</li> <li>• Machice = he who knows, or has news about something, a person by his or her position has things that pertain to him or her</li> <li>• Nonotzale = nonotzalli - nonotza-agree, consult, converse, to take in counsel with oneself, to converse, consult, come to an agreement, caution, correct, inform others, relate things, to advise, warn, consult with, talk with</li> </ul>			

2.5. *La Buena Medica, Qualli Ticitl* (Chapter 14)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
<p>“La que es buena medica sabe bien curar a los enfermos, y por el beneficio que les haze, casi buelue las de muerte a vida, haciendo les mejorar, oconvalecer conlas curas que haze, sabe sangrar; dar la purga, echar melezina, y untar el cuerpo, ablandar palpando lo q’ parece duro, en alguna parte del cuerpo, y flortar lo con la mano concertar, los huesos, jarar, y curar bien las llagas, y la gota, y el mal delos ojos, y cortar la carnaza dellos.”</p>	<p>The one who is a good physician knows well how to cure the sick, and because of the benefit that she does for them, almost returns the dead to life, making them better, or convalesce [them] with the cures that she does, she knows how to bleed, to purge, to insert an enema, and rejoin the body, [how to] soften the body by palpating that which appears hard, in one part of the body, and hang them [,.], arrange the bones with the hands, searches and cures the sores well, and gout, and illnesses of the eyes, and cut growths from them.</p>	<p>“The good physician is a restorer, a provider of health, a reviver, a relaxer - one who makes people feel well, who envelopes one in ashes. She cures people; she provides them health ; she lances them, she bleeds them - bleeds them in various places, pierces them with an obsidian lancet. She gives them potions, purges them, gives them medicine. She cures disorders of the anus. She anoints them; she rubs, she massages them. She provides them splints; she sets their bones - she sets a number of bones. She makes incisions, treats one's festering, one's gout, one's eyes. She cuts [growths from] one's eyes.”</p>	<p>“In qualli ticitl : ca tepatiani, tlapaleuiani, teoatiquetzani, teiamaniani, teneuelmachitiani, nextli, teololoani, tepatia, tepaleuia, teitzmina, teço teçoço, teihitzaquia, tetlaitia, tetlanoquilia tepamaca, tetzinana, teuça, tematoca, temamatoca, tepapachoa, teçalao, teçalaoa textotla tepalancapatia, tecoaciuzpatia, teixpatia, teixtequi.”</p>
<p>Translation Notes (Nahuatl)</p>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Ca tepatiani = te + patia-to pay, to cure, to restore someone to health, to fix something or restore something, applicar medicina + ni = combined = medico que cura, doctor, curer, healer</li> <li>● Tlapaleuiani = tlapaelhuiani = tlapalehuia-cosa que da favor y ayuda + tla + palehuia-to help, favor, honor, or look over one’s own interests, for something to favor someone... + ni = combined = someone helpful</li> <li>● Teeoatiquetzani = teehuatiqetzani = te + ehuatiquetza-to put one on an incline or to put something upright</li> <li>● Teiamaniani = teyamaniani = te + yamania-to soften something, for the body to be warm, for something hot to cool off, or to soften hides, soften wax...</li> <li>● Teneuelmachitiani = teneuelmachitiani = te + nehuel - nehuelmatiliztli - conualecencia del enfermo.+ machitia - to teach, inform, reveal oneself, make oneself known, to inform, to notify someone</li> <li>● Nextli = ashes, cinder</li> <li>● Teololoani = te + ololoa-to roll something into a ball, curl up, roll up something, collect, get dressed, dress people, ride = or combined = acaudillador, o hazedor de monipodio, o</li> </ul>			

- conjurador
- Tepatia = te + patia-to pay, to cure, to restore someone to health, to fix something or restore something, aplicar medicina
  - Tepaleuia = tepalehuia = te + palehuia-to help, favor, honor, or look over one's own interests, for something to favor someone...
  - Teitzmina = te + itzmina-to bleed oneself, to cause another person to bleed (Anderson and Dibble)
  - Teço teçoço = tezo tezoço = tezo-sangrandor + tezoço-sangrandor
  - Teihitzaquia = *uncertain*
  - Tetlaitia = te + tlaitia-to drink a beverage or to provide a drink to someone else...
  - tetlanoquilia tepamaca = te + tlanoquilia-purgar o otro, purgarse + te + pamaca-dar ayuda, o medicina al enfermo
  - Tetzinana = te + tzinana = curar enfermedad del sieso, quando sale fuera
  - Teuçã = teoza = te + oza-to put salve on something, to anoint something, someone
  - Tematoca = te + matoca-to touch or feel one's own 'shameful' body parts, to touch or feel someone's 'shameful' body parts, to touch or feel something with the hand, masturbate, touch, feel, fondle...
  - Temamatoca = te + ma + matoca-to touch or feel one's own 'shameful' body parts, to touch or feel someone's 'shameful' body parts, to touch or feel something with the hand, masturbate, touch, feel, fondle...
  - Tepapachoa = te + papachoa-to massage, to press repeatedly, to pamper, to cress, traer las piernas al enfermo, o cosa semejante + pa + pachoa-bend down, bow, govern, guide, press, sit upon...
  - Teçaloa = tezaloa = te + zaloa-for one thing to stick to another, to glue something, to make things stick together, to spread paste, to make a wall, to weld or sodder with lead, or to detain someone...
  - Teçaçaloa texotla tepalancapatia = tezazaloa texotla tepalancapatia = te + zazaloa-to align something, or patch something together + te + xotla-to cut a canvas along the length, or make lines or saw wood, or for the earth to burn, ignite charcoal, flowers to bud, have a high fever... + te + palancapatia-palancapatli-the name of several medicinal plants..
  - Tecoaciuizpatia = tecoacihuizpatia = te + coacihuiz-coacihuiztli-gota, o perlesia + patia- to pay, to cure, to restore someone to health, to fix something or restore something, aplicar medicina
  - Teixpatia = te + ix-eyes + patia-to pay, to cure, to restore someone to health, to fix something or restore something, aplicar medicina
  - Teixtequi = te + ixtequi-to stab someone in the face

## 2.6. *La Que es Mala Medica, In Amo Qualli Ticitl* (Chapter 14)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“La que es mala medica, vsar de la hechizeria, supersticiosa, en su officio, y tiene pacto con el demonjo; y sane dar beuedizos, con que	The one who is a bad physician, uses witchcraft, is superstitious in her trade, and has a pact with the devil and heals by giving potions, with	“The bad physician [pretends to be] a counselor, advised, a person of trust, of professional knowledge. She has a vulva, a crushed vulva,	“In amo qualli ticitl, nonotzale, nonotzqui, piale, machice, pixe, pixtlatexe, pixtlaxaqualole, tlachioale. suchioa, naoalli, naoale,



<p>mata a los hombres. E por no saber bien las curas: en lugar de sanar enferma, y empeora, y aun pone en peligro de la vida a los enfermos, y alcabolos mata: y ansi engaña a las ge'tes con su hechizeria, soplando alos enfermos, atando, y desatando, sutil'te a los cordeles, mjrando en el agua echando los granos gordos del mayz que suele vsar en su supersticion, diziendo que por ello entiende, y conoce las enfermedades. E para mostrar bie' su supersticion da a entender que delos dientes, saca gusanos, y de las otras partes del cuerpo papel, pedernal, navaja de la tierra sacando todo lo qual dize, que sana a los enfermos, siendo ello falsedad, y supersticion notoria.”</p>	<p>which they kill men. And by not knowing well the cures: in place of healing, she sickens, and worsens [people], and even puts the lives of the sick in danger, and in the end kills them. And as such she tricks the people with her witchcraft, inflating the sick, tying up, and untying, loosening the cords, looking in the water putting thick grains of corn that tends to be used in superstition, saying that by them she understands, and knows the sickness. And to really demonstrate her superstition she leads them to believe that she removes worms from teeth, and removes from other parts of the body paper, flint, knives from the land [obsidian]; all that she says, that she heals the sick, is falseness and obvious superstition.</p>	<p>a friction-loving vulva. [She is] a doer of evil. She bewitches - a sorceress, a person of sorcery, a possessed one. She makes one drink potions, kills people with medications, causes them to worsen, endangers them, increases sickness, makes them sick, kills them. She deceives people, ridicules them, seduces them, perverts them, bewitches them, blows [evil] upon them, removes an object from them, sees their fate in water, reads their fate with cords, casts lots with grains of maize, draws worms from their teeth. She draws paper - flint - obsidian - worms from them; she removes these from them. She deceives them, perverts them, makes them believe.”</p>	<p>tlacateculotl, tepaitia, tepamictia, tetlanaluia, teuutilia tlautilia, tlacolizcuitia, tlamictia, teca mocaiaoa, teca mauiltia, tepixuia, tesuchiua, texoxa teipitza, tetlacuiculia, atlan teitta, mecatlapoa tlaolli quichaiaoa, tetlanocuilana, amatl, tecpatl, itztli, oculin, tetch cana, tetch quiquixtia, teixcuepa, teiolcuepa, tetlaneltoctia”</p>
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Translation Notes (Nahuatl)

- Nonotzale = nonotzalli = nonotza- -to speak with someone, to have a conversation, consult, agree, converse... instruct, advise...caution, correct, inform, relate, castigate [?]
- Nonotzqui = nonotzalli = nonotza- -to speak with someone, to have a conversation, consult, agree, converse... instruct, advise...caution, correct, inform, relate, castigate [?]
- Piale = pialli = tenancy, possession, that which is guarder, something left on deposit, custody, something in one's custody, keeping
- Machice = he who knows, or he who has news about something, or a person by his or her position has things that pertain to him or her
- Pixe = related to vulva? (Anderson and Dibble)
- Pixtlatexa = pix + tlatexa-tlatextli-cosa molida
- Pixtlaxaqualole = pixtlaxacualolli = pix + tlaxacualole-tlaxacualolli-cosa heñida
- Tlachioale = tlachihualli = s.t. Made, a creation, a creature, a child, offspring, or an accomplishment, something made, done, created, a creature, artifact
- Suchioa = xochihua = “a pervert” (Anderson and Dibble), literally “one who does flowers”

- Naoalli = nahualli-a “socerer, a shape-changer, spirit, often an animal form or shape a person could take, one who uses spells and incantations..”
- Naoale = nahualli ^^
- Tlacateculotl = tlacatecolotl = “human horned owls, sorcerer, devil, demon, Native person practicing pre-Columbian religion in colonial times, a possessed person.”
- Tepaitia = te + paitia-to take medicine or poison, to administer medicine or poison to someone...
- Tepamictia = te + pamictia [pahtli + mictia] = tomar poison, to poison someone...
- Tetlanaluia = tetlanalhuia = te + tlanalhuia = empeorar asimismo, empeorarle a otro lagalla
- Teuutilia = teohuitlia = teohui-cosa que pone a otro en peligro y dificultad. Or teohuitiliztli. el acto de empeorar a otro, o de ponerlo en peligro. + lia
- Tlauutilia = *uncertain*
- Tlacocolizcuitia = tla + cocolizcuitia-to make someone ill
- Tlamictia = a ceremony that is performed, related to killing, especially sacrificial victims, food is served or tla + mictia
- Teca mocaiaoa = teca mocayahua = teca + mo + cayahua-to blunder, to deceive someone, to mock someone...
- teca mauiltia = teca mahuiltia = teca + mahuiltia-to play, to pass time
- Tepixuia = tepixhuia = *uncertain*
- Tesuchiuia = texochiuhia = te + xochiuhia-to cast a spell on a man so that he will love a woman.... xochi- xochitl + chihua
- Texoxa teipitza = te + xoxa-to put the evil eye on someone, to bewitch someone + te + ipitza
- Tetlacuicuilia = to rob people = te + tlacuicuilia-to relieve someone of something, to take something away from something, to practice a type of healing in which objects said to be causing the illness appear to be drawn from the body
- Atlán teitta = atlán-in, into, under the water + te + itta-to see s.t.
- Mecatlapoa tlaolli quichaihoa = mecatlapoa tlaolli quichayahua = mecatlapoa-to cast lots with cords, divining, to test one’s luck + tlaolli-maize or corn kernels + qui + chayahua-for wheat or something similar to fall and disperse itself o the ground, to scatter, pour, sprinkle something down
- Tetlanocuilana = te + tla + ocuil-ocuilin-worm + lana
- Amatl = paper
- Tecpatl = flint, obsidian, flint-knife, obsidian knife, 20, calendrical marker
- Itztli = a sharp-bladed instrument of obsidian...
- Ocuilin = a worm
- tetch cana = tetch-de alguno, en alguno + cana-in some place, somewhere...
- tetch quiquixtia = tetch-de alguno, en alguno + qui + quixtia-to throw out or take away, to take, to take out of, to bring out of, to make someone leave, to evict, to fire, to cause someone to leave, to go out, withdraw... remove something
- Teixcuepa = te + ixcuepa-to turn right side out, to lose one’s way, to get confused, to deceive someone, to turn something inside out or upside down
- Teiolcuepa = teyolcuepa = te + yolcuepa-to change one’s mind, to have a change of heart, to make someone change his or her mind or opinion, to turn against something, to resist, to rebel
- Tetlaneltoctia = te + tlaneltoctia-to convince someone

Table 2.7. *El Ladron, Temacpalitoti*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation	Classical Nahuatl
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		(Anderson and Dibble)	
<p>“El ladron, que encantava para hutar, sabia muy bien los encantamjientas, con los quales hazia amortecer, o desmayar a los de casa donde el entrava, y ansi amortecidos hurtava quanto hallava en casa, y aun con su encantamiento sacava la traxe, y llevaba acuestas, asucasa: y estando en la casa donde hurtava, estando encantados los de la casa, tañja, cantava, y baylava, y aun comja consus companeros que llevaba para hutar.”</p>	<p>The thief, who would bewitch in order to steal, knew the enchantments very well, with which he would make people lose consciousness, or make those at home faint when he entered, and when they were swooned, he would steal whatever he found in the house, and even with his spell he would take out the guise, and would put them to bed in their house, and [while] being in the house where he would steal, [where] those of the house were bewitched, he would strum, he would sing and dance, and he would even eat with his companions whom he brought to steal.</p>	<p>“One who dances with a dead woman's forearm is advised. [He is] a guardian [of secret rituals]; a master of the spoken word, of song. [He is] one who robs by casting a spell, who puts people to sleep; [he is] a thief. He dances with a dead woman's forearm; he robs by casting a spell, causing people to faint, to swoon. He heaps together, he carries away all the goods. He bears the maize bin on his back; he carries it in his arms. [While his victims sleep] he dances, beats the two-toned drum, sings, leaps about.”</p>	<p>“Jn temacpalitoti, ca notzale, piale, tlatole, cuique, tecochtlaçani, tecochtecani, ichtecqui: temacpalitotia tecochtlaça, teiolmictia, teçotlaoa, tlacemololoa, tlacemitqui cuezcomatl quimama quinapalooa mitotia, tlatzotzona, cuica chocholoa”</p>

Translation Notes (Nahuatl)

- Ca notzale = ca + notza-to call, summon; to cite or call to someone; to speak with someone
- Piale = pialli = tenancy, possession; that which is guarded, kept; something left on deposit
- Tlatole = tlahtolli-language, word, sentence, speech...etc.
- Cuique = cuiquehua = cantar algo de otros. cuiqueua. nino. (pret. oninocuiqueuh.) cantar algun cantar en proprio loor. cuiqueua. nite. (pret. onitecuiqueuh.) cantar cantares de cosas que otros hizieron.
- Tecochtlaçani = tecochtlazani = te + cochtlaza-to cast a spell on someone and put them to sleep, in order to steal that person's property (see Molina) + ni
- Tecochtecani = te + cochteca-to wrap up or put a child to bed [coch- + teca] + or combined = enlabiador que enlabia y engaña ala muger &c.
- Ichtecqui = ichtecqui = thief
- Temacpalitotia = te + macpalitotia - to charm or enchant someone with the intention of stealing from that person
- Tecochtlaça = tecochtlaza = te + cochtlaza-to cast a spell on someone and put them to sleep, in order to steal that person's property
- Teiolmictia = teyolmictia = te + yol- -yollo + mictia-to commit suicide, to mistreat oneself; to kill or injure someone
- Teçotlaoa = tezotlahua = te + zotlahua-to lose heart (oneself), or to cause someone to lose heart

- or become faint
- Tlacemololoa = tla + cemololoa-to pay for what others did or committed
- Tlacemitqui = tla + cemitqui o govern every one
- Cuezcomatl = granary, grain bin, corncrib, maize storage structure; cuezcomate
- Quimama = qui + mama-to carry on ones back
- Quinapaloa = qui + napaloa = to embrace; to adopt; take, carry in one's arms
- Mitotia = mihtotia-to dance
- Tlatzotzona = to pound, beat, drum + tla + tzotzona-to doubt something, or hurt oneself on a wall or door sill; or to punch/hit someone; or to beat drums, or play an organ; to give out blows; or, to pan for gold
- Cuica = to sing
- Chocholola = to go along jumping; or, to run away many times; or, to be prone to have many defects

2.8. *La Madre Mala, In Tenan Tlaueliloc*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
<p>“La madre mala es boba, necia, dormilona, perezosa, desperdiciadora, persona de mal recaudo, descuy dada desu casa, dexa perder las cosas por pereza o por enojo; no curade las necesidades de los de su casa, no mira por las cosas desu casa, no corige las culpas delos desu casa: y poreso cada dia se empeora.”</p>	<p>The bad [evil] mother is stupid, ignorant [missing reason], sleepy [or a sleepy-head], lazy, squanderer [depreciator], a careless person, neglectful of her home, she allows [ or leaves] the things to degrade due to laziness or anger; she does not tend to the necessities [needs] of the ones of her home, she does not look for the things of her home, she does not correct the faults of those in her home: and for that reason everything [she] worsens each day.</p>	<p>“One's bad mother [is] evil, dull, stupid; sleepy, lazy; [she is] a squanderer, a petty thief, a deceiver, a fraud. Unreliable, [she is] one who loses things through neglect. anger, who heeds no one. She is disrespectful, inconsiderate, disregarding, careless; she castigates; she causes disregard of conventions; she shows the way -leads the way - to disobedience; she expounds nonconformity.”</p>	<p>“In tenan tlaueliloc, in amo qualli, tlaacnaxquimilli, xolopitli, tonalcochqui, maxixilopauax, tlane'popoloani, tetlaixpachilhuiani, tetlanauachichiuliani, tetlanauapolhuiani, tlaxicauani, tlatlatziuhcauani, tlatlauelcauani, aquen tem haquen temati, haquen motecuitlauia, hateca muchiuia, hatle ipan tlachia, teatoiauia, tetepexiuia, teixpopoiotilia, tochin maçatl, yiuui, quiteittitia, quitetocia, patlauac vtli quitenamictia.”</p>

Translation Notes (Nahuatl)

- Tlaacnaxquimilli = a ghost... related to guise of Tezcatlipoca?
- Xolopitli = idiot, simpleton, fool, dolt, ...
- Tonalcochqui = tonal- -day, sun, heat, summertime, lot fate... + cochqui-one who sleeps
- Maxixilopauax = maxixilopahuax = maybe maxixi- maxiltia-to be dirty, filthy or evil, to supply something that was missing, to complete something + pahuax-pahuaci-to cook something in a

<p>pot, boil it</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Tlane'popoloani = tlanen-? tlanencolli-el que es defraudado, delo que pretendia y deseaua.+ popoloa-to consume, destroy, obliterate something, o spend; to erase, abolish; to destroy in battle or through conquest or poloa = to lose (as in lose one's soundness of mind); to perish; to be missing something; to erase; to cancel; to destroy something; to conquer (see Molina, Karttunen, and Lockhart) + ni</li> <li>● Tetlaixpachilhuiani = te + tlaixpachilhuia-for there to be a container full of water in a certain place (contemporary) + tla + ixpachilhui- for a swelling or inflammation to subside (see Karttunen) or for s.t. to fill up to the brim. (contemporary)</li> <li>● Tetlanauualchichiuiliani = tlanahualchichihuiliani = tla + nahual - nahualli / nahualiztli-sorcery + chichihuilia-chihuilia-to make, build, or do for s.o</li> <li>● Tetlanauualpolhuiani = tetlanahualpolhuiani = tlanahual-tlanahualli-armful + polhuia-to take something away from someone...to lose or destroy something for someone</li> <li>● Tlaxiccauani = tlaxiccahuani = tla + xiccahua-to neglect, abandon = or combined = or one who is negligent and careless</li> <li>● Tlatlatziuhcauani = tla + tlatziuhcahua-to lose something out of negligence + ni</li> <li>● Tlatlauelcauani = tla + tlauelcahua-to be irrational with anger, forsake something, someone in anger... + ni</li> <li>● Aquen tema = aquen - nothing, in no manner... + tema-to pour something into a container, to cause something to fill up, to put something into a container...</li> <li>● Haquen temati = aquen temati = aquen-nothing, in no manner... + temati-tema-to pour something into a container, to cause something to fill up, to put something into a container or the like...</li> <li>● Haquen = aquen = nothing, in no manner...</li> <li>● Motecuitlauia = mo + te + cuitlauia-to see to, take care of, to concern oneself with something</li> <li>● Hateca muchiuia = ateca mochihua = ateca-to pour water someplace or in something (contemporary) [?] + mochihua-mo + chihua-to do something</li> <li>● Hatle ipan tlachia = axtlen ipan tlachia-to look or see, or observe from a watchtower (see Molina)</li> <li>● Teatoiauia = teatoyahuaia = te + atoyahuaia-to throw something or someone into a river, or to throw oneself into the river...</li> <li>● Tetepexiuia = te + tepexihuaia-to jump off a cliff... or to do this to others, to fling oneself headlong, to throw something</li> <li>● Teixpopoiotilia = teixpopoyotilia = te + ixpopoyotilia-to blind someone</li> <li>● tochin maçatl = tochin mazatl = tochin-rabbit + mazatl-deer</li> <li>● Yiuui = Yiuhui = or iyohui = perhaps i + yo- iyo-only + hui-as if a possessed noun.</li> <li>● Quiteittitia = qui + te + ittitia-to appear to someone, to reveal oneself to someone to show something or someone to others, to get others to see something...</li> <li>● Quitetocchia = qui + te + toctia-to take someone or something as something to hide behind</li> <li>● Patlauac = wide, measure of width, something wide, spreading broad</li> <li>● Vtli = ohtli = road, channel</li> <li>● Quitenamictia = qui + te + namictia-to come together with someone for some purpose</li> </ul>
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Table 2.9. *El Mercado, In Puchtecatl* (Chapter 12)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
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“El mercader, suele ser regaton, y sabe ganar, y prestar alogro concertarse, con los comprantes, y multiplicar la hacienda.”	The merchant, tends to be a dealer, and knows how to profit, and agrees to lend for profit, with the buyers, and multiplies their estate [or wealth or property].	“The merchant is a seller, a merchandiser, a retailer; [he is] one who profits, who gains; who has reached an agreement on prices; who secures increase, who multiplies [his possessions].”	“in puchtecatl ca tlanamacani, tlanamacac, tlanecuilo, tlaixtlapanqui, tlaixtlapanani, tlatennonotzani, tlamixitiani, tlapilhoatiani.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ca tlanamacani = ca + tla + namaca-to sell s.t, referring to workers. “to hire out”+ ni</li> <li>• Tlanamacac = tla + namaca-to sell s.t, referring to workers, “to hire out” = or combined = vendor, seller, shopkeeper</li> <li>• Tlanecuilo = regional merchant, trader, retailer (from necuiloa)</li> <li>• Tlaixtlapanqui= tla + ixtlapana-to split wood, or to cleave s.t similar, to loan at a high rate of interest + ix + tlapana-to break or split something open; or, to hatch chicks</li> <li>• Tlaixtlapanani = tla + ixtlapana-to split wood, or to cleave s.t similar, to loan at a high rate of interest + ix + tlapana-to break or split something open; or, to hatch chicks + ni = or combined (with tetch as above) = logrero o vsurero</li> <li>• Tlatennonotzani = tla + tennonotza– concertar, o hazer algun contrato con otro. (tentli + nonotza) + ni</li> <li>• Tlamixitiani = tla + mixtia– to strip a stalk of cane or the like (see Molina); or, to watch or stand as a sentinel(?) + mo + ixtia– to keep watch, to observe; to face someone (see Karttunen) + ni</li> <li>• Tlapilhoatiani = tlapilhuatiani = tlapilhuatia-to have children with s.o or tla + pilhuatia-to conceive, engender children, adopt a child... to make a woman pregnant + ni</li> </ul>			

Table 2.10. *El Buen Mercader, In Qualli Puchtecatl* (Chapter 12)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
El buen mercader, lleva fuera de su tierra sus mercaderias, y las vende amoderado precio, cada cosa segun su valor, y como es no usando algun fraude en ellas, sino temiendo adios en todo.	The good merchant, takes their merchandise outside their land, and sells them at reasonable value, each thing according to its worth, and it's not like he is dealing in some fraud, but fearing God in everything.	“The good merchant [is] a follower of the routes, a traveler [with merchandise; he is] one who sets correct prices, who gives equal value. He shows respect for things; he venerates people.”	“In qualli puchtecatl, tlaotlatoctiani, tlanenemitiani, çan tlaipantiliani, tlanamictiani, tlamacazqui teimacazqui.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tlaotlatoctiani = tla + otlatoc-otlatoca (ohkli + tlatoca) = to go, to go one's way, to travel, to follow a road or a path, to follow along + tia + ni</li> </ul>			

- Tlanenemitiani= tla + ne? + nemitia-to be supported by, work for, provide for, to maintain, to nurture s.o or s.t + ni
- Çan tlaipantiliani = zan tlaipantiliani = zan + tla + ipantilia-to find what was being searched for or to take on enemies + ni
- Tlanamictiani= tlanamictia-dar o trocarvna cosa por otra, o recompensar or tla + nimictia-to get married, to take a spouse, to marry someone, to come together with someone for some purpose = or combined = el que empareje, o encaxa algo, but namictilia-to pay s.o according to the work done (?)
- Tlaimacazqui = tla + imacaci-to fear, to be in fear of, to have respect for, revere, be in awe of, to hold someone in awe, to be respectful toward
- Teimacazqui. = te + imacaci-to fear, to be in fear of, to have respect for, revere, be in awe of, to hold someone in awe, to be respectful toward

Table 2.11. *El Mal Mercader, In Amo Qualli Puchtecatl* (Chapter 12)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
El mal mercader es escaso, y a pretado, enganador, parlero, porfiado encarecedor, gran logrero, ladron, mentiroso, y co'mala conciencia, tiene quanto gana, y posee, y loque gana todo es mal ganado, y en vender tiene linda platica, y alabatanto loque vende, que facilmente engaña a los compradores.	The bad merchant is stingy, and uptight, a deceiver, talkative, stubborn, one who exaggerates, great profiteer, thief, liar, and with bad conscience, has when he earns, and possess, and what he earns is badly gained, and in selling, he has pretty speech, and praises so much of what he sells, that he easily deceives the buyers.	“The bad merchant [is] stingy, avaricious, greedy. [He is] thrifty, grasping, deceiving; [he is] a misrepresenter of things to others; [he is] evil-tongued, one who becomes insistent, who over-praises things, who exaggerates things; [he is] a usurer, a profiteer, a thief, a misrepresenter, a liar-dog-like, deceitful, profiting excessively. Filth is his drink, his food. He deceives people; he deceives about things. He comes to an agreement on prices - he cheats, he wheedles, he makes people desire things - makes them desire many things, makes them covet things; he displays, he extends a cape for one.”	“In amo qualli puchtecatl: tzotzoca, teuie, motzol, momotzoloani, molpiliania teca mocaiaoaani, tetlaixcuepiliani, tenquauitl, motenquauhtiliani, tlachamaoani, tlachachamaoani, tetch tlaixtlapanani, tetch tlamiaccaquixtiani, ichtecqui, tlaixcuepani, iztlacatini, chichiio, tenqualacio, tzoneoiaio, teuhio, tlaçollo iiauh, itlaqual, teca mocaiaoa, tlaztlacauia, tlatennonotza, tentlamati, tetensuchitzotzona, tetlanectia, tetlanenectia, tetlaeleuiltia, tetlaçouilia, tlaçooa.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			

- Tzotzoca = mean, miserable (from tzotzocatl-someone miserly and avaricious)
- Teuie = teoye-mezquino
- Motzol = motzoloa-engarrar o asir a otro, or motzoltin-auarientos
- Momotzoloani = mo + motzoloa-engarrar o sir a otro + ni
- Molpiliani = uncertain
- Teca mocaiaoani = teca mocayahuani = teca + mo + cayahua-to blunder, to deceive s.o, to mock s.o + ni
- Tetlaixcuepiliani = te + tlaix- -perhaps related to s.o's face or the front + cuepilia-to return s.t to someone, to vomit, to restore someone else's property + ni
- Tenquauitl = tencuahuitl = a man with a bad tongue (ten- lips + cuahuitl - wood)
- Motenquauhtiliani = motencuauhtiliani = mo + tencuauhtilia- insistir y favorocer alguna causa con mucho brio, como haze el procurador enel audiencia real
- Tlachamaoani = tlachamahuani = tla + chamahua-for the child to grow, for s.t to get or grow fat, or for corn or cocoa to come in season or to brag, to be arrogant, to enhance s.o's reputation, to flatter s.o + ni
- Tlachachamaoani = tlachachamahuani = tla + chachamahua-to brag, boast by telling past deeds + ni
- Tetech tlaixtlapanani = tetech + tla + ixtlapana-to split wood or to cleave s.t similar, to loan at a high rate of interest + ni = or combined (tetech + tlaixtlapanani) = logrero o vsurero
- Tetech tlamieccaquixtiani, = tetech + tla + mieccaquixtia - .... Dar allogo + ni
- Ichtequi = ichtequi - thief
- Tlaixcuepani = tla + ixcuepa - ... to turn right side out... = or combined = hypocrite, someone who turns things inside out and falsifies things, have two faces
- Iztlacatini = iztlacati = to lie, to tell untruths = or combined = liar, imposter, someone mendacious
- Chichiio = chichiyo = chichiyotl-anything to do with dogs
- Tenqualacio = tencualacyo = tencualac-tencualactli-saliva, spittle; drool; lie(s)...
- Tzoneoao = tzonehuayo- = tzone- tzonehua - colmar la medida o dar a logro + huayo-huayohtli - large road or highway
- Teuhio = teuhyo-something full of dust, dusty
- tlaçollo iiauh = tlazollo iiauh = tlazollo-s.t full of garbage + iiauh - "their drink" (According to Anderson and Dibble)
- Itlaqual = itlacual = i + tlacualli-food
- Teca mocaiaoa = teca mocayahua = teca + mo + cayahua-to blunder, to deceive s.o, to mock s.o
- Tlaztlacauia = tlaiztlacahuia = tla + iztlacahuia-to deceive oneself, to lie, to deceive, to cheat s.o
- Tlatennonotza = tla + tennonotza-concertar, o hazer algun contrato con otro
- Tentlamati = el que finge y dize muchas colsas falsas (ten + tlamati)
- Tetensuchitzotzona = tetenxochitzotzona = te + tenxochitzotzona-enlabiar a otro (ten + xochi- + tzotzona - to doubt s.t, to hurt oneself.... To punch or hit... give out blows... strike... play an instrument...
- Tetlanectia = tla + nenectia-to flirt or wish to be sought after
- Tetlanenectia = te + tla + nenectia-to flirt or wish to be sought after
- Tetlaeleuiltia = te + tla + elehuiltia-to seek others that covet me, to make another person desire s.t
- Tetlaçouilia = tetlazouilia = te + tlazouilia-tender, desplegar, o extender a otro la ropa, tender desta manera mi ropa o otra cosa semejante = zouilia - to unfold or lay out clothing for another, (contemporary = extend s.t on the ground that belongs to s.o else)
- Tlaçooa = tlazohua = tla + zohua - to spread s.t out, stretch it out, to display it, to open something, to extend (tlazoualli - manta tendida o estendida)



Table 2.12. *El Mercader, Puchtecatl* (Chapter 16)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El mercader es tratante y para mercadear tiene que [... <i>ilegible words...</i> ], los mercados.”	The merchant is a trader, and to sell merchandise, he [ <i>illegible words</i> ] the markets.	“The merchant [is] a vendor, a seller, a practiser of commerce, a watcher of the market place. He watches the market place; [he is] a watcher of merchandise in the market place.”	“in puchtecatl, ca tlanamacani, tiamiquini, tiaquinçoani, tianquiço, tlatianquiçani.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ca tlanamacani = tla + namaca-to sell s.t + ni</li> <li>• Tiamiquini = tiamiqui-to do business, trade + ni</li> <li>• Tiaquinçoani = tianquizoani = tianquiza-to engage in commerce, negociar, ir al mercado + ni</li> <li>• Tianquiço = tianquizo = ^ [?] or tianquizco-at the marketplace (see Molina and Karttunen), in the plaza (see attestations)</li> <li>• Tlatianquiçani = <i>uncertain</i></li> </ul>			

Table 2.13. *El Buen Mercader, In Qualli Puchtecatl* (Chapter 16)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El buen mercader sabe multiplicar su caudal, y guardar bien lo ganado. Vende, y compra por justo precio, es recto en todo, y temeroso dedios. sabe tambie’ concertar se enel precio, y es bien convenjble.”	The good merchant knows how to multiply his wealth, and save the earnings well. He sells, and buys at just prices, he is honest in everything, and fearful of God. He also knows how to agree on the price, and he is reasonable.	“The good merchant [is] a maker of profits, a securer of increase, a multiplier [of his possessions] - one who holds fast [to the profits. He is] a straightforward dealer, honest, reliable. He is god-fearing, devout. He negotiates contracts, he makes agreements, he helps others.”	“In qualli puchtecatl tlaixtlapanani, tlamixiuitiani, tlapiloatiani, molpilian, melaoacatlatoani, tlatolmelaoac, melaoac in iiollo, teuimacaci, teutl in iiollo, tlanamaca, tlatennonotza, tlatentotoca, tenanamiqui.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tlaixtlapanani = tla + ixtlapana-to split wood or cleave something similar, to loan at a high rate of interest + ni</li> <li>• Tlamixiuitiani = tlamixihuitiani = tla + mixihuitia-partear, assist a woman in childbirth + ni</li> </ul>			

- Tlapiloatiani = tlapilhuatiani = tlapilhuatia-to have children with someone + tla + pilhuatia-to conceive, engender children, adopt a child, raise a child + ni
- Molpilian = moilpilian = mo + ilpi-contemporary-to be tied or tie up + lia + ni
- Melaoacatlatoani = melahuacatlatoani = melahuaca + tlahtoa + ni
- Tlatolmelaoac = tlaholmelahuac = tlahol-tlaholli + melahuac
- Melaoac in iollo = melahuac in iollo = melahuac-truth + in + i + yollo-heart and/or core
- Teuimacaci = teuimacaci = teo- -teotl + imacaci-to fear, to be in fear of, to have respect for, revere, to be in awe of
- Teutl in iollo = teotl in iollo
- Tlanamaca = tla + namaca-to sell s.t.
- tlatennotza, tlatennohnotza = tla + ten- + nohnotza - to hablar o llamar a alguien
- Tlatentotoca = tla + tlen or tlaten? + totoca - to keep on, keep at something, to run fast, hurry, ...
- Tenanamiqui = te + nanamiqui-help or favor; to help oneself or favor oneself; or to help someone or be an advisor (see Molina) = or combined = asesor, o ayudador de otro.

Table 2.14. *El Mal Mercader, In Amo Qualli Puchtecatl* (Chapter 16)

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El mal mercader muy lindamente engaña, vendiendo, y recatea mas de lo que es justo; es mentiroso, y gran enbaucador, o encandilador, y engaña mas delamjtad del justo precio /o da alagro.”	The bad merchant deceives very prettily, selling, and haggles for more than what is just; is a liar, a grand trickster, or dazzler, and deceives for more than half of the just price in order to turn a profit.	“The bad merchant [is] a deceiver, a conspirer, a confusing dealer, a liar, an ignorer of others, a practiser of trickery, an illicit trafficker. He tricks others, practises usury, demands excessive interest.”	“In amo qualli puchtecatl: teca mocaiaoani, tlatentotocani, tlatenpapatlani, iztlacatini, motexictiani, texicoani, tepoiouiani, texixicoa, tlaixtlapana, tetch tlamieccaquistia.”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Teca mocaiaoani = teca mocayahuani</li> <li>• Tlatentotocani = tlatentotocani = tlaten + totoca-to keep on, to keep at something, to continue... to be sent into exile... + ni</li> <li>• Tlatenpapatlani = tlaten + papatla-to undo or erase what others have said or done, or to barter or swap things, or move or remove things that have been put in order... to rest while others are working + ni</li> <li>• Iztlacatini = iztlacati-to lie.. + ni = or combined = a liar or an imposter</li> <li>• Motexictiani = mo + te + xictia-to hold little esteem for another person, tenerme otro en poco, o atreuerseme. to hold someone in low esteem, to make bold with someone + ni</li> <li>• Texicoani = te + xicoa-to feel envy; to suffer, to endure something; to deceive someone (see Karttunen); to deceive or make fun of someone (nite.) or to be jealous, to be angry, or to complain (nino.) (see Molina) + ni = or combined = burlador o enganador</li> <li>• Tepoiouiani = tepoyohuiani = te + poyo-poyotl-something evil or poyon-a narcotic, a hallucinogen</li> <li>• Texixicoa = te + xixicoa-to fool or deceive someone; or, to make fun of someone; or, to be</li> </ul>			

<p>ashamed of oneself (when in the reflexive) + xi + xicoa-to feel envy; to suffer, to endure something; to deceive someone; to deceive or make fun of someone (nite.) or to be jealous, to be angry, or to complain (nino.) + ni</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tlaixtlapana = tla + ixtlapana-to split wood or cleave something similar, to loan at a high rate of interest</li> <li>• tetch</li> <li>• Tlamiaccaquistia = tlamiaccaquixtia = tetch onitlamiaccaquixti-dar alogro or tla + mecca-in many places + quixtia or mieccanquixtia-diuidir, o partir en muchas partes, o despedazar algo.</li> </ul>
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Table 2.15. *El Tratante desta Propiedad, In Oztomecatl*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El tratante desta propiedad, conviene a saber, que lleua fuera para vender sus mercaderias.”	The tradesperson of this attribute, is advisable to know, what he takes outside to sell their merchandise.	“The vanguard merchant is a merchant, a traveler, a transporter of wares, a wayfarer, a man who travels with his wares.”	“in oztomecatl, ca puchtecatl, nenemini, tlaotlatociani, nenenqui, tlanenemitiani..
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ca puchtecatl = ca pochtecatl = ca + puchtecatl-a long distance merchant, Pochtlan,</li> <li>• Nenemini = nehnemini = nehnemi-to go about go along travel walk run + ni = or combined = andador or caminante</li> <li>• Tlaotlatociani = tla + otlatoc- otlatocaliztli-the act of walking</li> <li>• Nenenqui = traveler, pilgrim, walker, foot traveler, one who comes to a fiesta from a distance... agentive of nehnemi</li> <li>• Tlanenemitiani = tlanehnemitiiani = tla + nehnemi-to go about, go along, travel; walk; run + tia + ni</li> </ul>			

Table 2.16. *El que deste officio, es bueno, In Qualli Oztomecatl*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El que deste officio, es bueno, es discreto, y prudente.que sabe de camjnos, y dela distancia, delas posadas, para ver donde pueden, yr adormjr, comer, merendar, o cenar.”	The one of this trade that is good, is discreet, and prudent, who knows of the roads, and of the distances, of the <i>posadas</i> , to see what they can, go to sleep, to eat, to snack, and to have dinner.	“The good vanguard merchant [is] observing, discerning. He knows the road, he recognizes the road; he seeks out the various places for resting, he searches for the places for sleeping, the places for eating, the places	“In qualli oztomecatl tlaixtlaxiliani, tlaixuiani, vmati, uiximati, quixtlaxilia in cecen neceuiliztli, quixtlaxilia in cochioaia, in tlaqualoia, in netlacauiloia, quixtlaxilia quimati, quipantilia in itacatl.”

		for breaking one's fast. He looks to, prepares, finds his travel rations.”	
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tlaixtlaxiliani = tla + ixtlaxilia-to wink or ix-eyes + tlaxilia-to throw at or, abort, cast something off, throw something away from s.o... + ni</li> <li>• Tlaixuiani = tlaixhuiani = tla + ixhuia-to level something out with the eyes or with an astrolabe, to cross something, put something cross-way + ni = or combined = el que niuela alguna pared, compornada, el que mira con prudencia lo que haze, y lo yegua bien encaminado y ordenado</li> <li>• Vmati = ohmati = ohtli- road, channel + mati-to know s.t</li> <li>• Uiximati = oiximati = ohtli + iximati (maybe)-to recognize; to know well; to know someone; can also be to know oneself, to know something in general</li> <li>• Quixtlaxilia in cecen neceuiliztli = quitlaxilia in cehece necehuiliztli = qui + ixtlaxilia-to wink + in + cehece + necehuiliztli-descanso</li> <li>• quixtlaxilia in cochioaia = quixtlaxilia in cochihuayan = qui + ixtlaxilia-to wink + cochihuayan-dormitory, inn, cell, or sleeping chamber</li> <li>• In tlaqualoia = in tlacualoia = in + tlacual- tlacualli-prepared food</li> <li>• In netlacauiloia = in netlacahuiloia = in + nectlacahuil- -netlacahuiliztli-merienda, o familiar atrevimiento de amistad que con alguno se tiene</li> <li>• Quixtlaxilia quimati = qui + ixtlaxilia-to wink + qui + mati-to know s.t</li> <li>• Quipantilia in itacatl = qu + ipantilia-to find what was being searched for, or to take on enemies + in + itacatl - provisions / provisión, mochila, o despensa de camino o matalotaje, comestibles, comida, lonche, taco, itacate</li> </ul>			

Table 2.17. *El que no es Bueno, Amo Qualli Oztomecatl*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“EL que no es bueno, es boçal, tonto, que camjna sinn saber, adondeva, y de priesa, y aciega: y ansi muchas vezes le -acontecer yr aparar enlos montes, valles, y despañaderos, por no saber los camjnos.”	“The one who is not good, is wild, stupid, and walks without knowing, where he is going, and in haste, and blindly; as such many times he [ <i>illegible</i> ] to stop in mountains, valleys, and cliffs, due to not knowing the roads.	“The bad vanguard merchant [is] uncouth, crude, rude, dull. He goes to no purpose when he goes; he travels the road to no purpose. Obstinate, impetuous, blind, ignorant of the road, he is unobserving, careless. He encounters the gorges, the cliffs; he leads people into the forests, the grass lands; he plunges them into thickets.”	In amo qualli oztomecatl: tenitl, otomitl, tompotla, tlaicanexquimilli, ça ça ie iauh in ie iauh, ca çan ie utlatoca, motequitlaçani, motequimaiauini, ixpopaiotl, auiximati, atlaixtlaxilia, atlaixieiecoa, atlauchtli, texcalli quinamiqui, quimottitia, quauhtla çacatla calaqui, quauixmatlati.
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			

- tenitl, = barbarian, person from another country, newly arrived in the land, In some cases, the word was used to refer to Popolocas, who were seen by the Nahuas as barbarians, as in the example of someone from Tepexic, or Tepeji, in the modern state of Puebla. hombre de otra nacion y bozal.
- Otomitl = an Otomi person; a member of the group of people who speak Otomi (a language unrelated to Nahuatl)
- Tompotla = tompoxtli? = tonto o tocho.
- Tlacanexquimilli = a ghost (Anderson and Dibble)
- Ça ça ie = za za ye = za za-stupidly + ye-already; when + za ye-before; or, earlier, yes; or, that's how it is; or, an interjection for making an exclamation, suppletive stem of the verb cah (to be) in various tenses, that one
- iauh in = yauh in = to go; to go along (well or badly), mainly seen in the 3rd person
- ie iauh = ye yauh = ye-ye-already; when + za ye-before; or, earlier, yes; or, that's how it is; or, an interjection for making an exclamation, suppletive stem of the verb cah (to be) in various tenses, that one + yauh-to go; to go along (well or badly), mainly seen in the 3rd person
- Ca çan ie = za za ye = za za-stupidly + ye-already; when + za ye-before; or, earlier, yes; or, that's how it is; or, an interjection for making an exclamation, suppletive stem of the verb cah (to be) in various tenses, that one.
- Utlatoca = otlatoca-to go, to go one's way, to travel, to follow a road or a path, to follow along, for a stain to spread
- Motequitlaçani = motequitlazani = mo + tequitlaza-dexar el cargo o oficio que tenia, o arronjarse e insistir o porfiar defendiendo o fauoreciendo algun negocio [tequitl + tlaza- to throw, throw down, take down; or, to hurl away, to hurl down, get rid of...] + ni
- Motequimaiauini = motequimayahuini = mo + tequi-tequitl + mayahui-to hurl, hurl down
- Ixpopaiotl = *uncertain*
- Auiximati = ahuiximati = ahui-ahuiliztli-joy, pleasure, enjoyment, recreation + iximati-to recognize; to know well; to know someone; can also be to know oneself, to know something in general
- Atlaixtlaxilia = atla-atlauhtli-deep ravine, gorge, canyon, canyon, valley, gully, precipice (see Molina and attestations), or atlan-in, into, under the water + ixtlaxilia-to wink, guiñar de ojo, o cosa semejante.
- Atlaixieiecoa = atlaixyeyecoa = atla-atlauhtli-deep ravine, gorge, canyon, canyon, valley, gully, precipice, or atlan-in, into, under the water ixyeyecoa-to be temperate and discreet in the things that one does; or to be moderate + ix + yeyecoa-to try something; to try or experiment with something; to rehearse; to tempt someone; to test, sample, taste something
- Atlauhtli = deep ravine, gorge, canyon, canyon, valley, gully, precipice
- Texcalli = stone, rock, crag, a metaphor for springtime; oven, hearth.
- Quinamiqui = qui + namiqui- to incur a fine imposed by law, to be thirsty, to find, come upon, encounter, meet + quin + amiqui- to be thirsty, or to by dying of thirst; or, to have a spiritual thirst for something [amicqui- something immortal]
- Quimottitia = qui + mottitia-to see something in a dream
- Quauhtla = cuauhtla = mountain, wilderness, forest, woods, wilds, the backcountry...
- Çacatla = zacatla = a grassy field or meadow; open plains
- Calaqui = to enter, to go inside someplace; could also take on the meaning of invasion associated, for instance, with the Spanish entrada,
- Quauixmatlati = cuauhixmatlati = *uncertain*

Table 3.1. *El Padre del Suegro, Moncuilli*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El padre señor, o padre de suegro, tiene todas las condiciones que se dixerón del suegro.”	The padre señor, or father of the father-in-law, has all the conditions that they said of the father-in-law.	“[He has] noble descendants.”	“tzone, izte:”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tzone = tzontli-hair, headdress, crest; the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Izte= iztetl = fingernails, toenails; the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Or tzontli iztetl combined = often used in metaphors to refer to one's offspring as part of one's one body</li> </ul>			

Table 3.2. *El Suegro, Motatli Miccamontatli*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“El suegro, es aquel que tiene yerno o nuera, bivos, si son muertos llamase, miccamontatli. El suegro busca la mujer para su hijo, y casa asus hijas, y tiene cuydado de sus nietos.”	The father-in-law is the one who has a son-in-law or daughter-in-law, alive, if they are dead, they are called <i>miccamontatli</i> . The father-in-law looks for a woman for his son, and marries his daughters, and takes care of his grandsons [or grandchildren].	“The father-in-law [is] one who has a son-in-law, a daughter-in-law, grandchildren; who sought –who gained –a woman for his son; who has affinal relatives, who gives his daughter in marriage — who gives a woman in marriage.”	“im motatli, mone, cioamone, cioatlanqui cioatlani. Ixuióa, vexiue, vexioa, tlaocchutiani, teocchutiani..
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mone = montli = son-in-law + the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Cioamone, = cihuamone = cihuamontli-daughter-in-law, the spouse of one's son + the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Cioatlanqui = cihuatlanqui = matchmaker/ “casamentero”</li> <li>• Cioatlani = cihuatlani = to seek or gain a woman for marriage</li> <li>• Ixuióa = ixhuihua = ixhui- ixhuihtli-grandchild + hua</li> <li>• Vexiue = huexiue = huexiuh-tli-father-in-law/ mother-in-law of one's son or daughter or huexiuh-yotl-parentesco de afinidad</li> <li>• Vexioa = huexihua = huexiuh- huexiuh-tli- father-in-law or mother-in-law of one's son or daughter + hua</li> <li>• Tlaocchutiani = <i>uncertain</i></li> </ul>			

- Teocchutiani = *uncertan*

Table 3.3. *La Madre Señora, Moncitli*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“La madre señora, madre del suegro /o suegra, tiene las co’diciones dela suegra.”	The madre señora, mother of the father-in-law or mother-in-law, has the qualities of the mother-in-law.	“[She has] children, grandchildren.”	“cozque, quetzale:”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conzque = entirely unsure but perhaps conzolli - a crib for babies? (related to this) or cozcatl–necklace, jewel, ornament, jewelry; or, a precious rock made into a rounded shape; or, rosary beads + the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Quetzale = quetzalli = a beautiful feather, plumage of the quetzal bird...+ the final e = "possessor of"</li> </ul>			

Table 3.4. *La Suegra, Monnantli, Miccamonnatli*

Original Spanish	Spanish Translation	Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
“La suegra haze de su parte, para con sus hijos, todo lo que se dixo del suegro.”	The mother-in-law does her part, for with her children, everything that is said of the father-in-law.	“[She is] one who has a son-in-law, a daughter-in-law, grandchildren, affinal relatives.”	“mone, cioamone, ixuioa, vexioa, vexiue”
Translation Notes (Nahuatl)			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mone = montli-son-in-law (“in general, mon carries the sense of ‘related by marriage’”) + the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Cioamone = cihuamone = cihuamontli = daughter-in-law, the spouse of one’s son + the final e = "possessor of"</li> <li>• Ixuioa = ixhuihua = ixhui- ixhuihtli-grandchild + hua</li> <li>• Vexioa = huexiuhua = huexiuhyotl-parentesco de afinidad or huexiuhli -father-in-law, or mother-in-law of one’s son or daughter + hua</li> </ul>			

Table 3.5. Der Fischer

German Translation (Rabb)	Original German	Personal Translation
<p>“I catch my fish with rod or net/ or basket, but no blemish get./ Good are periwinkles blue, Gudgeons, trout, and salmon too./ The mullet, turbot, carp and pike./ and lampreys, chubs, and eels I like./ Sturgeon, roach, and porcupine—/ These and crabs you’ll see are mine.”</p>	<p>“Ich fach gute fisch ohn mangel/ Mit der sek/ Reuzen/Und dem angl/ Grundel/ Sengel/ Erlen and Kressen/ Forhen/ Esch/ Ruppen Hecht und Pressen/ Barben/ Karpffen/ Thu ich behaltn/ Orphen/ Neunaugen/ Ehl and Altn/ Kugelhaupt/ Nasen/ Hausn and Huchn/ Krebs mag man auch bei mir Suchen”</p>	<p>I catch fish without defect. with fish-traps, sinkers, spears, fishing-rods, and weir Good Snails, Gudgeons, Gobies, Pine fishes. Graylings, Burbot , Pikes, Barbels [or Mulletts], Carps, Tunas that I like, Orphans. Lampreys, Eels and Trouts, Loaches, Nases, Sturgeons and Huchens [or salmon], And crabs that you will see are mine.</p>

Translation Notes (German)

- Ich = I/me
- Fach = compartment, shelf, pocket, or verb - tie up
- Gute = good, right, nice, cool, all right (nom/acc/gen/dat singular spelling)
- Fisch = fish (nom./acc/gen/dat singular spelling)
- Ohn = ohne = without (preposition +accusative)
- Mangel = defect, shortage, lack, flaw (masculine n. suffix in compounds or feminine noun word forms: Mangel genitive, Mangeln plural)
- Mit = with (preposition + dative)
- Der = the
- Sek = maybe *senkte* = lowered OR *schnecke* = snail
- Reuzen = fish-trap, bow net, Genitive: der Reusen fem. plural
- Und = and (conjunction)
- Dem = the, to the, the or demonstrative pronoun, or relative pronoun, dem = neuter dative
- Angl = angel = fishing rod or hinge OR anke = trout
- Grundel = goby (grundling = gudgeon)
- Sengel = segel = canvas, sail, sails, cusp, under canvas, set sail, take sails, senge = to get thrashing, or senkel = sinker
- Erlen = alders, maybe wooden harpoon?
- Ond = und = and
- Kressn = kressen = cresses, peppercreesses, cresses in gen... or *Gobio gobio*, auch *Kresse* und *landschaftlich Kressling* oder *Kreßling* genannt = Gründling, maybe related to goby too, or bullhead, or gudgeon
- Forhen = Föhren = pine
- Esch = esche = ash (as in tree), maybe *lye*, = *Lutefisk?* (“lye fish”) OR *Äsche* = grayling
- Ruppen = maybe ruppe = burbot (fish)
- Hecht = pike
- Und = and
- Pressn = pressen = squeeze, cut, press, push, bear down, nouns = clench, squeezers, impresment... maybe weir.
- Barben = barbel (fish), or mullet
- Karpffen = karpfen = Carp
- Thu = maybe du= thou, you, but also *da?* – when, since, there, here, as, for, then... even thun =



<p>tuna</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Ich = I, me, self</li> <li>● Behaltn = keep, maintain, upheld, retain, to be fond of</li> <li>● Orphen = orphan</li> <li>● Neunaugen = lamprey eels</li> <li>● Ehl = ehe = eel</li> <li>● Ond = and</li> <li>● Altn = related to old</li> <li>● Kugelhaupt = maybe kugelhaube = kugel = spherical, or ball like, or bullet + haube= hood, cover, cap = together = spherical cap (or “unter fischen Garg. 56<sup>a</sup> (Sch. 91), im 4. cap.; oberd. umformung des md. und fränk. kaulhaupt cottus gobio, von kaule kugel. s. auch küchelhaupt, kohlhaupt 2. bei Adelung kugelhaupt kaulbars, s. kaulhaupt 2. vgl. auch kugelrappe.”) = cottus gobio = european bullhead, <i>kleiner fisch</i> = Schmerlen = loach, steinbeiszer= loach, spined loach... wolf fish</li> <li>● Nasen = nose, nasal, nose fish, type of snake... nase</li> <li>● Hausn = hausen if a verb... dwell, reside, live, to be economical, but can be a taxon species of fish such as a kaluga, or european sturgeon</li> <li>● and = and</li> <li>● Huchn = huchen (fish) OR Danube salmon</li> <li>● Krebs = Crabs</li> <li>● Mag = May</li> <li>● Man = You</li> <li>● Auch = also</li> <li>● Bei = at</li> <li>● Mir = me maybe even of mine</li> <li>● Suchen = look</li> </ul>
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Table 3.6. Piscator

Original Latin	Translation
<p>Pinigeros capio piscator arudine pisces  Et calamo ponti fallo madente feras.  Aera recurua cibis falla cibus abdo sub hamis.  Et vigil azidua retia tracto manu.  Quae mihi nec temere muraena fefellerit ulla.  Expuat aut docto conscius arte Scarus.  Nec lupus immanis nostris illuserit armis.  Aut mea dissoluat brachia captus aper.  Deniq quàm variis vaga piscibus unda natetur.  Decipt ista rapax et violenta manus.</p>	<p>I, the fisherman, catch pine fishes with a fishing-rod.  And I ensnare wet wild beasts [with an] angling-rod of the sea.  I hide bait beneath a bronze hook, artifice, and angle.  And alert of the net that I haul with an incessant hand.  That not even any murena shall easily elude me.  Or that [a] privy, clever parrot fish closely free oneself.  Nor a monstrous wolf fish shall waste our arms.  Or that a captured boarfish destroy my arm.  At last, the diverse fishes roaming [among] the waves of [the sea] are floated to.  Those that the forcible grappling-hooks ensnare.</p>

## Translation Notes

- Pinigeros
  - adjective I class = piniger– pine-producing, pine-covered
  - pinger + os = accusative plural masculine (chosen)
- Capio
  - feminine noun III declension
  - capio (nom. singular)
  - transitive verb III conjugation ending -io = to capture, to seize, to take hold, to put on...
  - cap + io = singular first person present indicative (chosen)
- Piscator
  - masculine noun III declension = fisherman
  - piscator + o = nom. singular (chosen)
  - piscator + o = voc. singular
- Arudine
  - feminine noun III declension = perhaps arundo = fishing rod...
  - arundin + -e = abl. Singular (chosen)
- Pisces
  - masculine noun III declension = fishes
  - pisc + es = nom. plural
  - pisc + es = acc. plural (chosen)
- Et
  - conjunction
  - And
  - also
  - likewise (chosen)
- Calamo
  - calamus = masculine noun II declension = fishing pole, angling-rod, fishing-rod
  - calam + o = singular abl. (chosen)
  - calam + o = singular dat.
- Ponti
  - pontus = masculine noun II declension = Black Sea, sea, Pontus, a province in Asia Minor
  - pont + i = masc. gen. sing. (chosen)
  - pont + i = masc. nom. pl
- Fallo
  - fallo = transitive verb III conjugation = to be mistaken, to beguile, to drive away, to disappoint, to cheat..., fallō, fefellī, falsus, to deceive, cheat, ensnare, beguile,
  - fall + o = indicative present tense singular first person (ego/i) (chosen)
- Madente
  - mādēo = intransitive verb II conjugation = to drip, to be wet, moist, drip, flow, soften, abound...
  - possibly madent = mad + ent = indicative present tense plural third person
  - madens = wet, damp, soaked, soft, dripping
  - madent + i = masculine sing.
  - madent + i = masc. singular abl.
  - madent + es = masc. plural nom.
  - madent + es = masc plural acc.
  - madent + es = masc. plural voc.

- maden + ti = fem. sing. dat
- maden + ti = fem. sing. abl.
- madent + es = fem. plural nom.
- madent + es = fem. plural acc. (chosen)
- madent + es = fem. plural voc.
- *Also neuter options.*
- Feras.
  - fera = feminine noun I declension = wild beast, wild animal, animals
  - fer + as = fem. plural acc. (chosen)
- Aera
  - Aera = feminine noun I declension = parameter from which a calculation is made, darnel, grass or weed, grows among wheat, subject to ergot, thereby dangerous OR darnel (grass near water), or cockle... cockle is a type of mollusk, but also a boat.
  - aer + a = feminine singular nom.
  - aer + a = feminine singular abl. (chosen)
  - aer + a = feminine singular voc.
  - aera = accusative, nominative neuter plural
- Recurua
  - maybe from recurva = from recurvo = transitive verb I conjugation = to bend back
  - recurv + a
  - Maybe from rēcurvus = bent back on itself, bent round
  - bent (chosen)
- Cibis
  - cibus = masculine noun II declension = bait, food, fuel, sustenance rations, fare...
  - cib + is = masc. plural dat
  - cib + is = masc plural abl. (chosen)
  - masculine dative plural
  - masculine ablative plural
  - masculine dative plural
  - masculine ablative plural
  - masculine dative plural
  - masculine ablative plural
  - masculine dative plural
  - masculine ablative plural
- Falla
  - falla = feminine noun I declension = an artifice, trick, but also a perch (fish)
  - fallā = fem. sing. nom.
  - fallā = fem. sing. voc.
  - fallā = fem. sing. abl. (chosen)
- Cibus
  - cibus = masculine noun II declension = bait, food, fuel, sustenance rations, fare...
  - cibus = masc. Sing. nom (chosen)
- Abdo
  - abdo = transitive verb III conjugation = hide, remove, put away, set aside, disguising, concealing
  - abdo = sing first person present indicative (chosen)
- Sub
  - sub = preposition = during, about, under, beneath, at the foot of, within (chosen)
- Hamis
  - hama = feminine noun I declension = bucket

- ham + is = fem plural dat.
- ham + is = fem plural abl.
- Hamus = masculine noun II declension = spike, hook, barb of an arrow
- ham + is = masc. plural abl. (chosen)
- Et
  - Et = and, also = conjunction
- Vigil
  - vīgīl = adjective II class = or alert, awake, watchful, paying attention to
  - vīgīl = masc. Sing. nom. (chosen)
  - vīgīl = or masc. Vocative
  - vīgīl = femin. Sing. vocative
  - \*also neuter options...
- Azidua
  - Assīdūus = adjective I class = assīdūus = constant, regular, land owning, first class, ordinary, unremitting, incessant, tribute, tax payer, first-rate person, writer... =
  - assidu + ā = fem. sing. nom. (chosen)
  - Assīdūus = adjective I class = assīdūus = constant, regular, land owning, first class, ordinary, unremitting, incessant, tribute, tax payer, first-rate person, writer... =
  - assidu + ā = fem sing. Abl
  - Assīdūus = adjective I class = assīdūus = constant, regular, land owning, first class, ordinary, unremitting, incessant, tribute, tax payer, first-rate person, writer... =
  - assidu + ā = fem sing voc.
  - Assīdūus = assīdūus = constant, regular, land owning, first class, ordinary, unremitting, incessant, tribute, tax payer, first-rate person, writer...
  - asidu + a = neuter voc. Plural
  - assīdūo = transitive verb I conjugation = to apply constantly, to make constant use of, to use regularly, incessantly
  - assīdū + a = imperative present second person sing
- Reita
  - rētia = feminine noun I declension = net
  - reti + ā = nom. (chosen)
  - reti + ā = abl.
  - retia = reti + ā = voc.
- Tracto
  - tracto = transitive and intransitive verb I conjugation = draw, haul, pull, drag about, handle, manage, treat, discuss
  - tract + o = first indicative present first person singular (chosen)
- Manu
  - Manu = hand, fist...
  - feminine singular abl. (chosen)
- Quae
  - qui = how, how so, in what way, by what, which means, whereby... who, which any, some, someone
  - or relative pronoun who, that (chosen)
  - quae = relative pronoun = fem. nom. sing
  - quae = relative pronoun = fem. nom. plural
  - quae = relative pronoun = neuter nom plural
  - quae = relative pronoun = neuter plural acc.
- Mihi
  - mihi=ego = personal pronoun = need, lack, want, require, be without

- pronoun to me dative singular (chosen)
- mihi = masculine singular dative
- mihi = feminine singular dative
- Nec
  - nēc = conjunction = This word is an invariable part of speech
  - Nor, and, ... not, not... either, not even (chosen)
- Temere
  - tēmērē = adverb = This word is an invariable part of speech
  - rashly, blindly
  - maybe = temere, by chance, by accident, at random, without design, casually, fortuitously, rashly, heedlessly, thoughtlessly, inconsiderately, indiscreetly
  - \*nec temere = not easily (chosen)
- Muraena
  - Mūraena feminine noun I declension = kind of eel, the moray or lamprey (murena)
  - muraen + ā = fem. sing. nom (chosen)
  - muraen + ā = fem. abl.
  - muraen + ā = fem. voc.
- Fefellerit
  - fallo = transitive verb III conjugation = to deceive, slip by, disappoint, mistaken, drive away, fail, cheat
  - fefell + ěrit = future perfect II plur.
  - fefell + ěrit = III sing. perfect subj, shall not \*slip by, elude
  - Ulla = ullus = numeral adjective and pronoun = no, any
  - ulla = fem singular nom (chosen)
  - ulla = fem sing abl
  - ulla = neuter nom plural
  - ulla = neuter acc pl
- Expuat
  - expūo = transitive and intransitive verb III conjugation = to spit out, eject, rid oneself of
  - expū + at = III subjunctive present sing. = eject
- Aut =
  - conjunction = or, rather, else, either...or
- Docto
  - doctus = adjective perfect participle I class = learned, wise, skilled, experienced, expert, trained, clever, cunning, shrewd
  - dact + -o = masculine sing. Dat.
  - doct + -o = neuter sing. abl. (chosen)
  - conscius =
  - adjective I class = conscīus = conscious, aware of, knowing, privy (to), sharing secret knowledge, guilty
  - conscius = masculine sing. nom
  - \*privy (chosen)
- Arte
  - artē = adverb = This word is an invariable part of speech
  - closely or tightly (bound, filled, holding), briefly, in a confined space, compactly
  - closely (chosen)
- Scarus
  - scarus = masculine noun II declension = scar, a fish
  - scarus = masc singular nom (parrotfish )(chosen)

- Nec
  - něc
  - conjunction = This word is an invariable part of speech = Nor, and, ... not, not... either, not even (chosen)
- lupus
  - lŭpus = masculine noun II declension = wolf, grappling iron, perch, sea monster...
  - lup + us = masculine singular nom. (chosen)
  - A voracious fish, the wolf-fish or pike
- Immanis
  - immānis = adjective II class = huge, vast, immense, tremendous, extreme, monstrous, inhuman, savage, brutal, frightful
  - imman + is = masculine singular nom.(chosen)
  - imman + is = masculine singular gen.
  - imman + is = masculine singular voc.
  - imman + is = feminine singular nom.
  - imman + is = feminine singular gen.
  - imman + is = feminine sing voc.
  - imman + is = neuter sing gen.
- Nostris
  - nostĕr = masculine noun II declension = our men, our, best known emperor, the master, of our friends, allies, villagers.
  - nostr + is = masc. sing. Dat
  - nostr + is = masc. plural abl.
  - nostĕr = possessive pronoun = ours, that belongs to us, that depends on us, our friend, our fellow citizen, our dear, approach, which is on our side, (emphatic) mine
  - nostris = masc. Plural dat.
  - nostris = masc. Plural abl (chosen)
  - nostris = fem. Plural dat.
  - nostris = fem. Plural abl
  - nostris = neut. Plural dat.
  - nostris = neut. Plural abl
  - pronoun = [from] our (chosen)
- Illuserit
  - illŭdo = transitive and intransitive verb III conjugation = (intransitive, + dative) to joke, play, (intransitive) to make fun of, mock, (intransitive, + dative) to waste, (intransitive) to harm, mistreat, damage, (intransitive) rape, (transitive) to insult, abuse, (transitive) to cheat, deceive, (transitive) to endanger, put at risk, to joke about, mock
  - Illus + ěrit = future perfect indicative III sing “will have” (chosen)
  - Illus + ěrit = perfect indicative III sing = “have
  - \*jeer at (chosen)
- Armis
  - arma = plural neutral noun II declension = armour, defensive arms, war, warfare, camp life, armed men, troops, equipment, tools, utensils, nature’s arms
  - neuter plural abl.
  - Armus = masculine noun II declension = forequarter of an animal, shoulder, upper arm, flank, side, shoulder cut meat
  - arm + is = masculine plural dat.
  - arm + is = masculine plural abl.
- Aut
  - conjunction = This word is an invariable part of speech

- Or, or rather or else, either...or (chosen)
- Mea
  - mĕa = feminine noun I declension = my, mine, belonging to me, my own, to me
  - me + ā = fem. nom. Singular
  - me + ā = fem. singular abl.
  - me + ā = fem. sing. voc
- Dissoluat
  - dissolvo = transitive verb III conjugation = to unloose, to dissolve, to destroy, to melt, to pay, to refute, to annul
  - destroy (chosen)
  - dissolv + at = subjunctive present III singular
- Brachia = brāchĭum = neutral noun II declension = arm, lower arm, forearm, claw, branch, shoot, earthwork connecting forts
  - [of the sea] an arm (chosen)
  - [by metonymy of animals] the claws of crawfish
  - brachia = neuter plural nom.
  - brachia = neuter plural acc. (chosen)
  - brachia = neuter plural voc.
- Captus
  - captus = adjective perfect infinitive = perfect infinitive of [capio]
  - capt + us = masculine singular nom. (chosen)
  - captŭs = masculine noun IV declension = capacity, ability, potentiality, comprehension, action, result of taking, grasping
  - captŭs = masculine singular nom.
  - captŭs = masc. sing. gen.
  - captŭs = masc sing voc.
  - captŭs = masc. Plural nom.
  - captŭs = masc. Acc. plural
  - captŭs = masc. Plural voc.
- Aper
  - Āpĕr = masculine noun II declension = (as animal, food, or used as a Legion standard or symbol) boar, wild boar, a fish
  - āpĕr = masc. sing nom (chosen)
  - āpĕr = masc. Sing. voc.
- Deniq = dĕnĭquĕ = This word is an invariable part of speech = adverb
  - at last, at length, finally, lastly, only, not until, in short, to sum up, in the end, in fact, indeed
  - and thenceforward, and thereafter, at last, at length, finally, lastly, only, not until(chosen)
  - [with nunc] now at last, only now, not till now
  - [with tum] then at last, only then, not till then
  - [in enumerations] besides, thereafter, finally, lastly, in fine
  - [in a summary or climax] in a word, in short, in fact, briefly, to sum up, in fine, even, I may say
  - [ironical] in fine, forsooth, indeed
- Quàm = adverb = This word is an invariable part of speech
  - how, how much, as, than
  - \*pronoun = quī, quae, quod = relative pronoun (who, which, that)
  - feminine accusative singular
  - feminine accusative singular

- Variis
  - vārīa = feminine noun I declension = panther, feline, species of magpie
  - variis = fem. plural dat.
  - variis = fem plural abl.
  - vārīus = adjective I class = changing, different, various, diverse, colored, different, versatile...
  - vari + is = masculine dat. Plural / feminine / neut. (chosen)
  - vari + is = masculine abl. Plural / feminine
- Vaga
  - Vāgus = adjective I class = roving, wandering, ... wavering, roaming,
  - vagā = fem. sing. Nom
  - vagā = fem. sing. Voc
  - vagā = fem. singular. Voc
  - vaga = neuter plural nom.
  - vaga = neuter plural acc.
  - vaga = neuter plural voc.
- Piscibus
  - piscis = masculine noun III declension = fish
  - Pisc+ ĭbus = masculine plural dat. (chosen)
  - AND abl.
- Unda
  - unda = feminine noun I declension = wave, billow, waves, storms, (poetic) sea...
  - Und + ā = fem. sing. Nom
  - und + ā = fem. sing. Abl(chosen)
  - und + ā = fem sing voc.
- Natetur
  - nātor = transitive and intransitive verb I conjugation = to swim, float, passive form of [nato]
  - nātetur = subjunctive present III pl. = swim (chosen)
- Decipt =
  - dēcīpio = transitive verb III conjugation ending -io = 1 to cheat, to deceive, to mislead, to dupe, to trap, to elude, to escape notice, to disappoint, to frustrate, to foil, to catch, ensnare, entrap
  - dēcīp + it = indicative present III sing
  - decep + it = indicative perfect III sing
  - Ista
  - istē = demonstrative pronoun = that one, your client
  - Ista = feminine singular nom.
  - ista = neuter plural nom.
  - that, that of yours, that which you refer to, such
  - this, that, he, she
- Rapax
  - rāpax = adjective II class = grasping, rapacious, greedy, that robbery or kidnapping, raging, furious, overwhelming, irresistible, (figuratively speaking) who draws
  - rāpax = masculine singular nom.
  - rāpax = masculine singular voc,
  - rāpax = fem. sing. Nom
  - rāpax = fem sing voc
  - rāpax = neuter sing. Nom
  - rāpax = neuter sing ac.



<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ rāpax = neuter sing. voc.</li> <li>● Et <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Et = and, also = conjunction</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Violenta <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ vīōlentus = adjective I class = violent, vehement, impetuous, boisterous, forceful</li> <li>○ violent + ā = fem. sing. Nom</li> <li>○ violent + ā = fem. sing. Abl</li> <li>○ violent + ā = fem sing voc</li> <li>○ violent + a = neuter plural nom.</li> <li>○ violent + a = neuter plural acc.</li> <li>○ violent + a = neuter plural voc.</li> </ul> </li> <li>● Manus <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ mǎnūs = feminine noun IV declension</li> <li>○ Hand, force, workmanship..., grappling hook, grappling irons</li> <li>○ man + ūs = fem sing nom</li> <li>○ man + ūs = fem sing voc</li> <li>○ man + ūs = fem plural nom</li> <li>○ man + ūs, manuus = fem plural gen.</li> <li>○ man + ūs = fem plural voc.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
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Table 3.7. Xoquiiacanamacac

Classical Translation (Anderson and Dibble)	Classical Nahuatl
<p>“Xoquiiacanamacac, tlatlama, atlatcatl, atenoa, tlatlama, tlamatlauia, tlatzonuia, tlapipiloa tlaacacuexuia, tlacoiolacauia, achia, tlamamapachoa,</p> <p>quinamaca chacali, michin, tlacamichi, teccizmichi, aiomichi, xicalmichi, chimalmichi, quauhxiouili, ocelomichi, axolomichi, coamichi, acuetzpali, xouili, iaiauhqui, amilotl, iztac michi, achialli, michçaquan, michpictli, michtlapictli, izoac tlaxquitl, cuitlapetotl, topotli, axolotl, chacali, atepocatl: quinamaca hauicmichi paltic iancuic michoacqui: quinamaca michpili, michpiltamalli, michpiltetei, aoauhtli, aoauhtlaxcalli, aoauhtamalli, aoauhtetl, axaxaiacatl, axaxaiacatamalli, tlapitzinilli, ocuiltamalli, amoiotamalli, amoiotlaxcalli, ocuiliztac, ocuillaçolli, ocuilsuchitl”</p>	<p>“The One who Sells fishes, fishes with a net. [He is] a man of the water, of the river banks. He fishes; he catches with nets, with snares; he fishes with a fishhook; he uses a weir, a spear; he waits for freshets; he catches [the fish] in his hands.</p> <p>He sells shrimp, fish, large fish, shellfish, turtles, gourd fish, sea turtles, eagle fish, spotted fish, axolotl fish, eel, cayman, large white fish, black fish, white fish, small white fish from awaited freshets, tiny fish, toasted fish wrapped in maize husks, fish wrapped in maize husks and cooked in an olla, those roasted in leaves, large-bellied fish, small thick fish, axolotl, shrimp, tadpoles. He sells fresh fish; wet, recently caught ones; dried fish. He sells fish eggs, fish egg tamales, fish roe; water fly eggs, tortillas of water fly eggs; tortillas, tamales of water fly eggs, balls of water fly eggs; water flies, tamales of water flies, [water flies] made into a paste; worm tamales, [another kind of] water fly tamales [and] water fly tortillas; water worms, worm excrement, ‘worm flowers.’”</p>

## Translation Notes

- Tlatlama = pescar, to hunt, take captives in war
- Atlacatl = a - atl - water + tlacatl-person
- Atenoa = to sit down at the seashore or river bank
- Tlatlama = pescar, to hunt, take captives in war
- Tlamatlauia = tla + matlahuia-to hunt using nets, ensnare s.o
- Tlatzonuia, = *uncertain*
- Tlapipiloa = tla + pipiloa-to lie in a hammock... hang up clothing or other things on sticks or cords...
- Tlaacacuexuia = tlaacacuexhuia = tla + acacuexhuia-acacuextli-a canal with fish in it
- Tlacoilacauia = tlacoyolacahua = tla + coyolaca-coyolacatl-large cane used for fishing + -huia
- Achia = a-atl + chiya
- Tlamamapachoa = tla + ma- + mapachoa-to seize s.t, lay hold of s.t or press s.t with the hand...
  
- Quinamaca = qui + namaca
- Chacali = a large shrimp ; a small shrimp; a freshwater shrimp; a red or white shrimp; a crayfish; sometimes also translated as crab; sometimes a nickname for a boy
- Michin = fish
- Tlacamichi = tlaca- + michi-fish
- Teccizmichi = tecciz- tecciztli-eggs + michi-fish
- Aiomichi = ayomichi = ayo-ayotli-gourd + michin-fish
- Xicalmichi = xical- xicalli-gourd vessel + michi- michin-fish
- Chimalmichi = chimal- chimalli-shield + michi-fish
- Quauhhouilli = cuauhhouilli = cuauh + xohuil-catfish (see Karttunen), or xohuili-a fish something like trout
- Ocelomichi = ocelo-- ocelot + michi- michin-fish
- Axolomichi = axolo- axolotl + michi- michi-fish
- Coamichi = coamichin = coa- coatl + michi - michin-fish
- Acuetzpali = acuetzpalli = a + cuetzpalli-a lizard...
- Xouili = xohuilin-a fish something like trout
- Iaiauhqui = *uncertain*
- Amilotl = a white fish
- iztac michi = iztac - white + michin-fish
- Achialli = *uncertain*
- Michçaquan = michzacuan = michi-michin + zacuan-Montezuma Oropendola, a bird
- Michpictli, = *uncertain*
- Michtlapictli = fish wrapped in maize husks
- izoac tlaxquitl = izhuat - izhuatl-leaf, or leaves... a piece of paper + tlaxquitl-cosa asada en coals
- Cuitlapetotl = *uncertain*
- Topotli = *uncertain*
- Axolotl = axolotl
- Chacali = *uncertain*
- Atepocatl = tadpole
- quinamaca hauicmichi = *uncertain*
- Paltic = something wet, soaked
- Iancuic = yancuic = something new or recent, maybe fresh or recently done
- michoacqui: = michuacqui = mich + huaqui (perhaps) something dry (noun); to become lean;

to wither; to dry up, to dry out, for there to be a drought (an intransitive verb)

- Quinamaca = qui + namaca
- Michpili = mich + pilli
- Michpiltamalli = mich-michin + pil + tamalli
- Michpiltetei = *uncertain*
- Aoauhtli = ahauhtli-waterfly eggs
- Aoauhtlaxcalli = ahauhtlaxcalli = ahauh- - ahauhtli-waterfly eggs + tlaxcalli-tortillas of waterfly eggs
- Aoauhtamalli = ahauh- - ahauhtli - waterfly eggs + tamalli-tamale
- Aoauhtetl = ahauhtetl = ahauh- ahauhtli-waterfly eggs + tetl
- Axaxaiacatl = axaxayacatl-a certain water vermin, like flies
- Axaxaiacatamalli = axaxayaca- axaxayacatl-a certain water vermin, like flies + tamalli-tamale
- Tlapitzinilli = tlapitzniliztli-el acto de machucar alguna fruta, o de quebrar algun huevo, o cosa semejante, or pitzinilia-to squeeze something out for someone
- Ocuiltamalli = ocuil- - ocuillin-worm + tamalli-tamale
- Amoiotamalli = amoyotamalli = a- atl + moyo- moyotl-fly + tamalli-tamale
- Amoiotlaxcalli = amoyotlaxcalli = a- - atl + moyo- moyotl-fly + tlaxcalli-tortillas
- Ocuiliztac = white worms
- Ocuillaçolli = *uncertain*
- Ocuilsuchitl = ocuilxochitl = ocuil- - ocuillin-worm + xochitl-flower

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