



## Threefold manuscripts: the nine texts of the Florentine Codex

Rebecca Dufendach

Loyola University Maryland

### ABSTRACT

To understand the manuscript creation process practiced by Indigenous intellectuals in the Americas this essay examines the work of the Nahua scholars who, along with Bernardino de Sahagún, created the Florentine Codex (1575–1577). Now fundamental to studies of the Codex is an evaluation of its three ‘texts’: the Nahuatl-language alphabetic text, the Spanish-language annotations including loose translations, and its bountiful images. Two sources served as iterative kinds of drafts for the Codex project: the *Primeros memoriales* (1558–1561) and the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco* (1561–1566). Each of the manuscripts contains its own three texts, thus they are threefold, that enable an examination of nine separate but interrelated source texts. In considering the differences among the cumulative nine texts, this article uncovers new insights into an unstudied process of negotiation between the Nahua scholars, the elders whom they consulted, and their Spanish colleagues. As sites of mediation among colonial actors, the threefold manuscripts manifest on their folios the competing interests and agendas that shaped the production of knowledge in New Spain.

### KEYWORDS

Nahuatl; Nahua; *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*; *Primeros memoriales*; *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco*; *Codices Matritenses*; Florentine Codex

### Introduction: negotiating the nine texts of the Florentine Codex Project

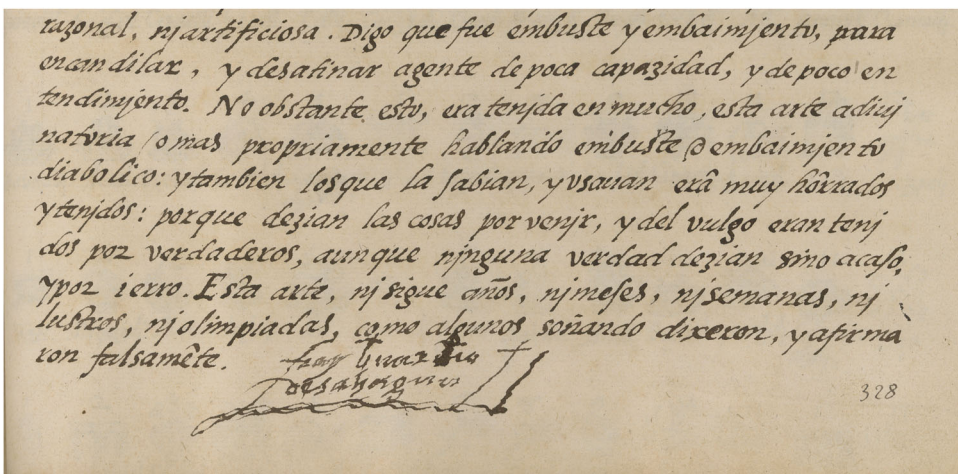
The Florentine Codex is a peerless manuscript that brings together the work of a director, Bernardino de Sahagún, and the skills of a group of Indigenous scholars who are, unusually, named in the text. While much research focuses on the working relationship between the friar and the Nahua scholars while creating the Codex, this essay takes a different approach. It posits that we can only begin to understand the process of creation by evaluating two additional manuscripts that served as iterative types of drafts for the final Codex. These manuscripts, the *Primeros memoriales* (1558–1561) and the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco* (1561–1566), are here studied as parts of a sequential composition process that resulted in the Florentine Codex (1575–1577).<sup>1</sup> By treating the three versions together, a total of nine source texts emerge. These are the Nahuatl-language alphabetic script, the Spanish-language explanations including loose translations, and the rich abundant images found in each of the manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Thus each manuscript is threefold and facilitates comparisons among the nine source texts of each manuscript’s alphabetic and visual texts. Only three instances document Sahagún’s direct intervention on the

content of the *Primeros*, directives that impacted the manuscripts that were still to be created. Analysis of the nine source texts at these three moments of Sahagún's direct instruction reveals them as sites of complex patterns of negotiation amongst the friar, the Nahuatl scholars, and the Nahuatl elders.

Critically, at three points in the first surviving iteration of the Florentine, the *Primeros*, Sahagún speaks directly to the Nahuatl scholars on the folio's content. They are the only recorded examples where we have him expressing his wishes for what he thinks should happen in the text. Therefore, this essay takes up the methodological challenge of how these three interventions initiate repercussions across the versions. It follows the evolving process of negotiation evident in changes occurring in the multiple texts of the People, the Calendar, and the Illness and Cures Sections, attending to the different priorities of the many project creators. Negotiations are found not only in changes between drafts but also among the three source texts.

Thus, this article argues that the Florentine arose out of a complex process of arbitration, conciliation, and cooperation, one still visible within its nine texts, not the sole discretion of the one European working on the project. In one instance on the People Section, the Nahuatl scholars accept Sahagún's alteration, though they use visuals to temper that acceptance. In another, occurring on the topic of the Calendar, the elders evade documentation to protect their interests. Finally, in the third occurrence located in the Illness and Cures Section, the scholars and elders leverage their specialized knowledge to demonstrate authority and gain recognition. The following essay traces the changes that began with Sahagún's pen through the threefold manuscripts to better envision the work of the Nahuatl creators. Together, the three intervention moments provide a nuanced portrait of Indigenous actors acutely aware of the structures and interests within the colonial context in which they are working and able to maneuver successfully within it.

The nature of a signature on the Florentine's folios exemplifies the colonial realities facing the people who created it. It is one of the few places where the Friar Bernardino de Sahagún's own handwriting appears on the numerous folios (Figure 1).<sup>3</sup>



**Figure 1.** Signature of Bernardino de Sahagún below text by Nahuatl scholar. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 81, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Note the quivering calligraphy of the name, visibly identifying it as belonging to the friar, who was over 70 years old at the time of the Florentine's completion. Still further observe the different handwriting directly above the signature. A stable and fluid hand wrote the Spanish-language content on the folio, undoubtedly another Nahua scholar working on the Florentine project. Such incongruities are found throughout the work, and they throw light on the process of creating the threefold manuscripts. Also appearing on the folios of the Florentine are the names and handwriting of seven Nahua scholars who worked with the friar, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Martín Jacobita, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Diego de Grado, Bonifacio Maximiliano, and Mateo Severino.<sup>4</sup> These two facets, the list of Indigenous creators and the friar's signature, expose the fundamental paradox of the work: how does it represent its many creators in its alphabetic and visual texts. Recent scholarship from Jeanette Favrot Peterson describes the Florentine as 'a multiauthored project, with indigenous scribe-painters contributing in ways both conscious and self-reflexive' (Peterson 2019, 29). A great many investigations coming from the fields of History, Anthropology, and Art History clearly acknowledged that the question of exactly who created what was in view and contested.<sup>5</sup> Rather than an exhaustive review of the Florentine's scholarship, the essay gratefully relies on the excellent work of many previous researchers, in particular Art Historians focused on visual texts or images as historical sources.<sup>6</sup> The threefold manuscripts are therefore understood as products of Nahua authorship-as-negotiation specific to a colonial context (Mundy and Hyman 2015, 287; Díaz 2010; McDonough 2014).

The Nahuas, commonly called Aztecs, who survived the first half of the sixteenth century in New Spain witnessed the destructive forces of the Spanish-led invasion and the first devastating disease epidemic. These shocks were followed by a hostile colonial system bent on reformulating and even eradicating Nahua culture. As waves of pestilential epidemics continued beyond the initial encounter with Europeans, Nahuas must have feared that the deaths of their family, friends, and community elders had dire consequences for their way of life. Perhaps realizing this loss, some Nahua scholars who were educated in colonial schools participated in an extraordinary endeavor. Led by the Franciscan Friar Sahagún, they documented Nahua culture in alphabetic Nahuatl and in visual texts, likely serving as *tlacuiloque* (sing. *tlacuilo*) or painter-scribes for the entirety of the Florentine project (Bleichmar 2019, 1363).

Two types of Indigenous intellectuals collaborated to create the nine texts of the Florentine Codex Project: Nahua scholars and elders. Born and raised in central Mexico, the Nahua scholars attended the first European-style college in the Americas, the College of Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco. There friars taught them to read and write in Latin, Castilian, and their native language of Nahuatl (Alcántara Rojas 2021, 18–30; Romero Galván 2002, 32). The Nahua team of scholars composed of Valeriano, Vegerano, Jacobita, San Buenaventura, Grado, Maximiliano, and Severino gathered information in two different locales by sitting down with two different sets of ten or twelve community elders.<sup>7</sup> The elders, for whom we have only one name of Diego de Mendoza, shared their exquisite knowledge of Nahua culture based on their oral traditions and painted books that were created long before contact with Europeans.<sup>8</sup> Using their schooling, the Nahua scholars recorded the information first in alphabetic Nahuatl and often in pictorial form (Boone 2020, 166–77). Thus, the voices of the Nahua elders, some who lived

before the arrival of Spaniards, and the voices of young Nahuatl scholars schooled in colonial life emerge in each of the threefold manuscripts (Navarrete 2002, 100–1).

The compilation of the final Florentine terminated a lengthy period of creation that included two related manuscripts. Materials from these manuscripts were copied wholesale into later versions but there were also many amendments from draft to draft.<sup>9</sup> The Nahuatl scholars worked with Sahagún to create the threefold manuscripts, the *Primeros*, the *Manuscrito*, and the Florentine, in chronological order.<sup>10</sup> I compare three sections that bore Sahagún's interventions on the content of the *Primeros*, to the same sections in the *Manuscrito*, and finally with the equivalent sections as they were recreated for the Florentine, attending to all nine source texts. Scholars recognize the *Primeros* as an original separate document preceding the *Manuscrito*, but little work exists that focuses on the texts written exclusively by Sahagún as a part of the iterative process before the creation of the *Manuscrito*.<sup>11</sup> The Nahuatl scholars composed the *Primeros* in Tepepolco, a town just northeast of Mexico City, working on it from 1558 until 1561.<sup>12</sup> Sahagún himself dates one of the content notes, on the Calendar Section, writing 'This year, 1560 ...'.<sup>13</sup> After receiving a set of Sahagún's handwritten annotations on the content in 1560, the Nahuatl scholars wrote a second draft from 1561 to 1565 after moving to Tlatelolco, thus the name *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco*. Written from 1575 to 1577 in Mexico City, the Florentine is here named to honor its current home in the Laurentian Library.<sup>14</sup> Sahagún described the entire Florentine Project process in his prologue to Book II: 'the first sieve where my works were sifted was through those [Nahuatl elders] of Tepepulco, the second those of Tlatelolco, and the third those of Mexico: and in all of these scrutinies were the grammarians from the College [Nahuatl scholars].'<sup>15</sup> It is only here, following his statement on the three creation locales, that Sahagún names the Nahuatl scholars, indicating that these scholars worked with him on the entire Florentine Project. In total between 43 and 48, possibly up to 70, Indigenous people worked on the threefold manuscripts in various time periods between 1547 and 1577.<sup>16</sup> Although the Florentine listed only Valeriano, Vegerano, Jacobita, San Buenaventura, Grado, Maximiliano, and Severino, surely there were more Indigenous intellectuals on a project of such magnitude. With so many hands at work, a comparison of the nine texts uncovers many distinct voices. The detection of the voices of the Nahuatl scholars requires reading against the grain of the nine texts. Even more difficult to discern is the distorted voices of the Nahuatl elders, whose words and ancient texts were translated and transformed to meet European demands.

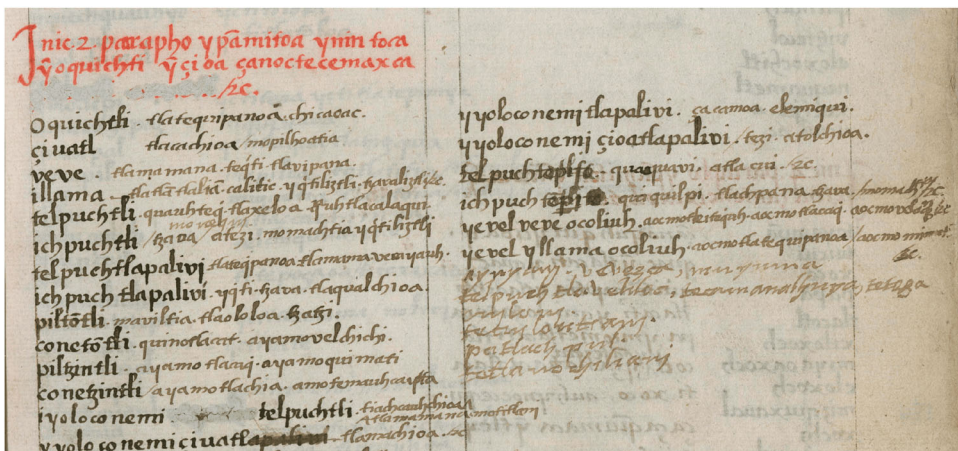
In three places, the demands of the Franciscan friar are made clear. Sahagún's voice is easier to identify via his distinctive handwriting, and he wielded the colonial force of authority as the director of the entirety of the Florentine project. Sahagún wrote three notes on the *Primeros* to alter the subject matter or content dealt with on the folios.<sup>17</sup> The three content notes directly intervene in the topics presented on the folios and influence the following drafts. They are different from Sahagún's later copious organizational notes written during his several years of solitary study. His later organizational notes determined the order of the subject matter gathered from the collective *Primeros* and *Manuscrito* folios. Sahagún wrote the organizational notes on the collective group of the *Primeros* and the *Manuscrito* from 1565 until 1567, for the first time working completely alone on the project.<sup>18</sup> The reorganization of content units was one of the friar's two roles made evident by his personal handwriting. The other, less well-defined role was

that of adding his own material that directly altered the subject-matter content on the *Primeros folios*. This essay examines the three content interventions and their implications for the process of creating the subsequent manuscripts. As sites of mediation among colonial actors, the threefold manuscripts manifest on their folios the competing interests and agendas that shaped the production of knowledge in New Spain.

### From descriptive to moralizing: additions to the People Section

In the first rendering of the People Section, located in the *Primeros*, the Nahuatl scholars generalized about the human roles in their society. The chapters explain ‘human things’ or *tlacayutl* by listing commonplace terms for men and women. They consist of a list of Nahuatl-language vocabulary for people written in bold with their definitions written to the right of the term written in a slightly lighter ink, with no images associated with the subject matter (Figure 2).<sup>19</sup> The terms and definitions detail the mundane duties of men and women according to their ages by describing the behaviors of infants, middle-aged people, and the elderly. For example, the Nahuatl text explains the perfunctory roles of a male youth, *telpuchtli*, who was expected to cut and split wood and draw water. Other duties associated with the various life stages of the *telpuchtli* include serving as a messenger, clearing fields, and cultivating the soil. Although these endeavors are not entirely devoid of moral connotations, such as industriousness, they quite plainly describe quotidian activities.

It is on this section that Sahagún personally intervened to alter the text and add his own content to the original. His interpolation, written entirely in Nahuatl, appears in the last half dozen lines of the paragraph on the right-hand side (Figure 2). With his shaky script, he wrote ‘Wicked Youth [*telpuchtlaveliloc*]: He makes fun of people, he knocks people down.’ Then he listed ‘sodomite, practitioner of sodomy, lesbian, pimp or madame.’<sup>20</sup> By writing his addendum, which inserted what he considered wicked behaviors, Sahagún communicated his intent for the section. He directed his Nahuatl



**Figure 2.** Sahagún's added text to kinship section in the People Section. It follows the original list in dark ink and begins with the lines of fainter ink: [*aynyanj. Vevezca [...] telpuchtlaveliloc ...*]. Source: Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 82, detail. © Real Academia de la Historia.

colleagues to depart from their original mundane description of duties. Instead, his addition suggested a bifurcation into two descriptions: one of the saintly person and one of the evil person. Whereas previously the list was based on phase of life, e.g. of marriageable age, the note signaled that the future iteration of the section should include both virtuous and wicked descriptions of human activities.

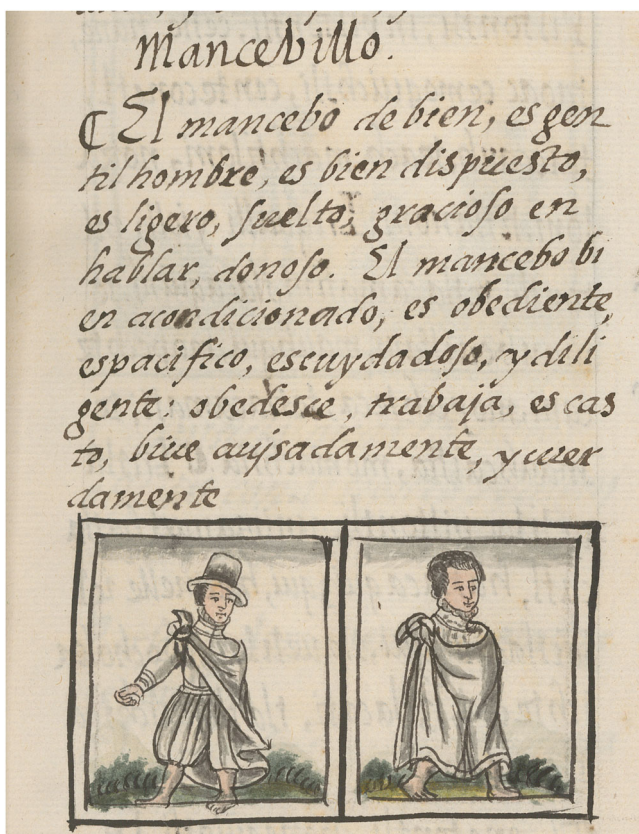
Sahagún's note exemplifies his missionary goal to understand the Nahuatl language to better preach against and take confessions of sins.<sup>21</sup> The strict polarity between positive and negative behaviors was a key feature of European religious belief but less so in Nahua understandings of human activities. Regarding Nahua moral philosophy, Louise Burkhart has expressly shown that for the Nahuas, good and evil were not absolute forces (Burkhart 2023, 99–100; 1997, 210–11; Burkhart et al. 2011, 17). Although the text of the *Primeros* addresses undesirable conduct such as drunkenness, whistling, and gum chewing, before Sahagún's intervention, it resisted labeling people themselves as wicked.<sup>22</sup> Sahagún's note changed the entry for the youth to add that of the wicked youth and extended the list to include church-condemned sexual behaviors. Common heterosexual sins such as adultery dominated the colonial criminal record as revealed in the research from Lisa Sousa, but she explains that Indigenous sexual ideology rested more on metaphors and symbols and less on prescriptive behaviors (Sousa 2017, 118).<sup>23</sup> After Sahagún's change to the format the Nahua scholars categorized behaviors into a binary system in the following draft. In the *Manuscrito* the Nahua scholars dedicated many folios to delineating good from bad people.<sup>24</sup>

The evolution of the youth's description from manuscript to manuscript unveils the friar's directorial authority. It began with the original Nahuatl-language text, then received Sahagún's addition, which was followed by the altered-to-binary format of People Section as it appears in the *Manuscrito*. The second draft, the *Manuscrito*, distinctly favors the good/bad organizing principle and, like the *Primeros*, contains no images on the subject. The alphabetic description of the youth appears in the section with *escolios* that contains a central column in Nahuatl adjoined on the left with a summary in Spanish. To the right are numbered annotations consisting of Spanish-language of definitions of words from the central column of Nahuatl (*idem*, f. 110). It begins with term *telpuchtli* or youth, a simple noun denoting age. Above the term sits the superscript of the number one, directing the reader to the annotation on the right. It reads '*mancebo de bien*' or good youth. The description of the bad youth (*tlauelilloc telpuchtli*) immediately follows. The descriptive paragraph contains its own annotations: one consists of *tlapatl* defined with the annotation '*persona alocada tonta y desuaziada*' or a person who is crazy, stupid, and without sense.<sup>25</sup> However, a more complete definition of the Nahuatl would identify *tlapatl* as a hallucinogenic herb. When the term is paired with *mixitl* (another drugging plant) as it is in the text, the metaphoric couplet indicates intoxication (Lockhart 2002, 238; Kartunen 1992, 290). The *Manuscrito* paragraphs on the youth included positively and negatively valued behaviors, with annotations aimed at translating or modifying Nahua concepts for a Spanish audience. However, this is not the only portion of the *Manuscrito* that features descriptions of the wicked youth.

Ten folios later, another paragraph describes the *telpuchtlauelilloc*, or wicked youth, in the section detailing the behaviors of thieves, murderers, sodomites, and pimps.<sup>26</sup> This version designates the wicked youth as a person who went about drunk on pulque,

eating mushrooms, filthy, and given to pleasure.<sup>27</sup> In this second account, the *Manuscrito* writers portrayed debauchery using their Nahuatl-language terms that communicated culturally specific ideas. Particularly, they described the wicked youth using the term *tlacollo* or a filthy, old worn-out thing to better denote socially unacceptable behaviors (Burkhart 1989, 87–89). Sahagún, indicating his comprehension of the subject matter, wrote an organizational label in the margin of ‘*Rufianes*’ or Ruffians. Whereas the primary definition for ruffian is a person without honor, the secondary definition is a person dedicated to prostitution trafficking.<sup>28</sup> It is this organizational note that reveals the true nature of what Sahagún seeks, a person he considered guilty of sexual sins, either consorting with or supporting sex work (Sousa 2017, 123–29). In the *Manuscrito*, the Nahuatl scholars separated the bad youth (*tlaueliloc telpuchтли*) and the ruffian (*telpuchtlaueliloc*). The distinction between the two appears more pronounced in the only extant final draft of the project, the Florentine.

The Florentine is the only surviving manuscript from the project that attempts a direct Spanish-language translation of the original Nahuatl. However, for the description of the wicked youth, it is entirely omitted. Only the translation of the text related to the good youth appears in the Spanish-language text (Figure 3).<sup>29</sup> The text pronounces the ruffian



**Figure 3.** *Mancebillo* (The Youth): the good youth. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 8, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

as an *'amigo de mugeres'* or friend to women several folios later.<sup>30</sup> Here the Spanish-language text alludes to the sin of cohabitation, based on the Nahuatl *momecatia* or to live with a lover.<sup>31</sup> Such licentious behavior, absent from the Spanish-language definition of the youth but alluded to with regard to the ruffian, was further developed in the accompanying images.

In the Florentine, the Nahua scholars relied on images to highlight the divergence between the wicked youth and ruffian. While the Nahuatl alphabetic text remains virtually identical between the *Manuscrito* and the Florentine, the images bring forth a uniquely Indigenous method of visual communication. For the image below the paragraphs on the male youth, the Nahua artists drew two figures in two separate but adjoined frames (Figure 3).<sup>32</sup> The figure in the left-hand frame wears an Indigenous cloak or *tilmatli* traditionally knotted on his shoulder that is pulled to the side to reveal an early modern Spanish outfit of gathered breeches and a doublet with a high neck ruff collar. On his head he sports a tall-crowned conical felt hat called a capotain. In contrast, the right-hand side figure wears only his *tilmatli*, which covers his body save for a stiff collar that is visible at his neck. Both images of the youth communicate a person conversant in both Indigenous and European dress (Dean and Leibsohn 2003, 6). However, the lack of a hat indicates that the person on the right is likely the good youth when considered together with the image of the ruffian drawn on a subsequent folio.

In two images in the final draft the Nahua scholars used European headgear to indicate objectionable behavior. Depicted 17 folios later, the ruffian or *telpuchtlaueliloc* wears the same style of capotain on his head (Figure 4).<sup>33</sup> The artist portrayed the wicked youth wearing a similar garb to that of the previous youths but his position in the scene reveals his malevolence. He holds with his left hand that of a woman, dressed in the traditional Nahua women's shift, the *huipil*. With his right hand, he gestures to a man who holds aloft a large goblet and below a pitcher. The image may depict the wicked youth



**Figure 4.** The lewd or wicked youth. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 24v, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



inviting one of his mistresses to drink with him and his friend, but it also may indicate the negotiation of sex work and accompanying inebriation. In either case, indulgence in alcohol and sexual aberration define the image of the *telpuchtlaueliloc* or ruffian. The addition of images to the Florentine created a platform for the Nahuatl scholars to visually associate the corruption of young males with Spanish haberdashery, and by extension, the culture of the colonizers.

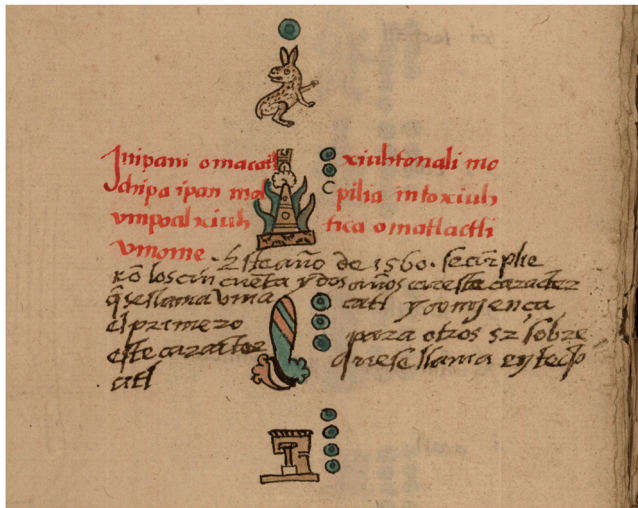
### A generational divide in the ten texts of the Calendar Section

Sahagún also added annotations to the Calendar section of *Primeros*. His note altered the subject matter demonstrating the longest unit of time calculated in Nahuatl society called the *xiuhmolpilli* or the 52-year cycle. Nahuats marked end of the cycle with a ceremony called the *toxiuhmolpilia* or the binding of the years. It included the symbolic bundling of the years, the throwing out of old household goods, replacement of clothing, sweeping of spaces, the extinguishing of all fires, the drilling of a new fire, and the distribution of the fire throughout central Mexico.<sup>34</sup> The 52-year cycle and its ceremonies were unfamiliar to Spaniards accustomed to the Julian calendar when a quinquagenary occasioned little formal celebration.

The Nahuatl calendrical systems, the 52-year cycle, the 365-day count, and the 260-day count met at a single point of renewal, a moment that Sahagún was keen to document.<sup>35</sup> The three systems were interrelated as they governed the sequence of celebrations and other ritual observances described throughout the threefold manuscripts. The correlation occurred, as explained by Elizabeth Hill Boone, when the ‘260-day count coincided exactly with the 365-day count every fifty-two years, at which time the Aztecs metaphorically bound the years and understood the great cycle to be complete’ (2007, 17). All of the counts were connected by the ceremony of the binding of the years, the *toxiuhmolpilia*.

On the folios of the *Primeros*, the Nahuatl artists rely on a traditional Indigenous visual organizing graphic system to communicate their year count calendar: a list. In their first draft, the Nahuatl scholars chose to depict the fifty-two-year cycles as a sequence of year-bearer glyphs drawn vertically on the right-hand side of the folio labeled with blue discs indicating the year number. Each pictograph of the year-bearer is identified on the left-hand side with a roman numeral and alphabetic label. Although lacking the traditional boundary line of the frame, the images of the year-bearers are akin to the visual format of a list found in pictorial almanacs. The Nahuatl creators drew the year-bearer glyphs following the traditional list pattern common in Mesoamerica; however, they also follow European page spatiality (Boone 2020, 25). Clearly a colonial text, the list utilizes preconquest traditions to create a guide for identification of the sequence of the year-bearers in visual and alphabetic records.

On one page of *Primeros*, the Nahuatl scholars explicitly mark the *toxiuhmolpilia* with alphabetic text. They wrote text flanking the pictograph year-bearer Two Reed in red, a tint usually reserved for paragraph titles (Figure 5). The Nahuatl scholars wrote on the right and then continuing on the left side of the glyph: ‘At the time of the year-sign Two Reed there was always the binding of the fifty-two-year period.’<sup>36</sup> Their text of visual and alphabetic components draws attention to the ending the 52-year cycle at Two Reed. Yet it does not describe the beginning of the next cycle nor does it mention any correlation with foreign calendars. In fact, in their later description of

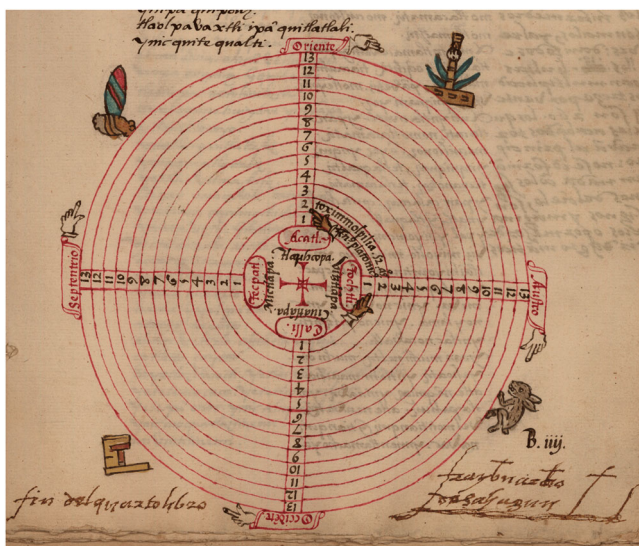


**Figure 5.** Sahagún's explanatory note (in black) for the year-bearers in the 52-year cycle (*xiuhmolpilli*). It follows the original text in red ink and begins with black ink: 'Este año de 1560 ...'. Source: Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 283, detail. © Real Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, II/3280.

the rites to mark the *toxiuhmolpilia* or the binding of the years, the scholars make no mention of the corresponding year in the Julian calendar.<sup>37</sup>

However, Sahagún's handwritten note indicates the precise correspondence between his calendar and that of the Nahuas' calendrical count that marked the celebration of the *toxiuhmolpilia*. Black text again borders on both sides the year-bearer glyph of *Eyi Tecpatl*, Three Flint Knife (Figure 5). Located below the original red Nahuatl text, the trembling handwriting again reveals Sahagún as the author of the Spanish content annotation. He notes, 'This year, 1560, ended the fifty-two years with this character called Two Reed and the next fifty-two years begin with the character called Three Flint Knife.'<sup>38</sup> Sahagún's comment drew attention to the cyclical nature of the year-count calendar and pinpoints the exact correlation year on the calendar used by Spanish friars. His note appears as a statement of fact, though it is closer to a questionable assertion. The correlation between the calendars remains contested to this day, but as Susan Spitler reminds us, it was essential to evangelization efforts because it revealed the date of Nahuatl ceremonies, evidencing continued Nahuatl religious practices considered idolatrous (2007, 29–34). Sahagún's annotation overtly anchored the *toxiuhmolpilia* ceremony to a specific Julian calendar year, rendering it perceptible for Spanish friars. He also communicated that it renewed, warning of its occurrence at the end of the next cycle.

After considering his comment, the Nahuatl scholars faced the decision of how to deal with the edits for the same section in the second draft. In the *Manuscrito*, the Nahuatl scholars again relied on visual and alphabetic texts, but these indicated a renewing cycle much like Sahagún's annotation. Instead of the traditional list sequence, they chose to add an image of a year-bearer calendar wheel and several folios detailing the ceremonies of the cycle renewal (Figure 6). The Nahuatl scholar drew the wheel with 13 concentric circles with quadrants alphabetically labeled accordingly with four year-bearer glyphs.



**Figure 6.** The calendar wheel of the 52-year cycle (*xiuhmolpilli*). Source: Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 189, detail. © Real Biblioteca de Palacio, Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, II/3280.

The cycle begins in the center with one rabbit then moves to the two-reed quadrant, on through the year-bearers of flint knife and house with their ascending coefficients, indicating a spiral movement through the cycle. On the outside of each of the four sections the artist drew the glyph of the year-bearer. At the end of the four perpendicular circle axes are cardinal direction labels in Spanish followed on the right-hand side with manicules urging the viewer along the cycle direction.

On the innermost circle of the *Manuscrito*'s calendar wheel, the Nahuatl scholars wrote alphabetic text within the image to identify the culmination of one fifty-two-year cycle. The authors placed Arabic numerals in each circle section to indicate a continuum through the fifty-two-year cycle. In the center a small manicule points to the numeral two in the year bearer *acatl* (reed) quadrant. The text next to the hand reads: '*toximolpillia* 52 años.'<sup>39</sup> It refers to the binding of the years and adjacent festivities that occurred every fifty-two years. The *Manuscrito* dedicates 12 folios of alphabetic text to explanations of the year-count renewal ceremonies that expose a focus on the calendrical rites as intimately connected to the renewal of the cycle.<sup>40</sup> In the *Manuscrito*, the Nahuatl scholars better illuminated the renewal of the calendrical cycle by utilizing visual texts.

By portraying the calendar as a wheel, the Nahuatl scholars communicated the cyclical nature of their calendar. In the case of the Florentine project, the Nahuatl scholars may have drawn the circular calendar image as a response to Sahagún's note on renewal of the cycle (Aveni 2012, 45). Despite the change in format from a list in the *Primeros* to a wheel in the *Manuscrito*, Spitler admonishes us that 'an outwardly European form can illustrate a concept that is still very much a part of the traditional Central Mexican belief system' (2007, 248). The calendar wheel, along with an illustrated table of the day-signs, are the only two images in the second draft, reinforcing their importance as visual texts on Nahuatl calendrical cycles.<sup>41</sup> The changes in the visual and alphabetic

texts in the second draft are possibly responses to the friar's mandate, one that enabled those with evangelical goals to identify time periods for festivities that they considered idolatrous. Sahagún's intense attention to the ceremonies associated with the end and renewal of the cycle can be found in another text in the *Manuscrito*.

A unique tenth text, pasted between the original folios of the *Manuscrito*, lays bare Sahagún's emphasis on the cyclical nature and correlative timing of the renewal ceremonies, topics that everyone concerned understood as fraught sites between Nahua and Spanish culture in the colonial context (Hassig 2001, 58–69, 138–52). In the illuminating tenth text, two Nahua scholars answered by letter the friar's inquiries. The Nahua scholar associated with the Florentine Project, Pedro de San Buenaventura, and another Nahua intellectual named Pedro González responded to Sahagún's questions about the end and renewal of the year in handwritten correspondence. In their study of the letter, Elena Díaz Rubio and Jesús Bustamante García date it from the period 1565–1572, a time when Sahagún resided at the San Francisco Convent, to which the letter is addressed (Rubio and García 1983, 117; Kubler and Gibson 1951, 70). The date is also notable because it occurred after the *Manuscrito* was finished and bound in 1565, attesting to the friar's continued pursuit of clarity in calendrical issues.

The letter appears haphazardly pasted-in, as a kind of addendum to the original text of the *Manuscrito*. It was written far from the main centers of the Florentine Project of Tepepulco and Tlatelolco. The letter was composed in Cuahtitlan, a province on the north-west edge of the valley of Mexico (Gerhard 1972, 127). It was glued onto the flap of a previously cut folio, possibly indicating that the original content of the folio was incorrect or unsuitable and was consequently physically cut out of the manuscript. In fact, the remains of two other cut-out folios appear as two flaps bound in the manuscript that precede the glued-in letter, revealing severe editing methods (Dufendach and Peterson 2022, 71–73).<sup>42</sup> Such excisions, which left only the remains of folios as flaps, bolster a letter date post 1565, that is post-binding. Such alterations confirm an iterative editing process in between the creation of the second and final drafts, the *Manuscrito* and the Florentine, respectively. Evidently, Sahagún found the *Manuscrito* calendrical information unacceptable or at least incomplete and made further inquiries with his colleagues. Then in an unorthodox manner he added their response to the second draft in the form of the pasted-in letter, disclosing the imparting of the topic under discussion.

The topic of the letter must have been crucial for Sahagún to include it in the *Manuscrito* in such a provisional manner. The pasted-in letter offers another opportunity to witness exchanges between Sahagún and the Nahua scholars. It records and reveals the creation process where the friar proposed questions and the Nahua intellectuals supplied the answers and documented them in texts. In a note in his own handwriting on the back of the letter, Sahagún summarizes the content 'This is an answer to a question [...] to Pedro de San Buenaventura resident of [Cauhtitlan...] about the beginning of the year, about which there are diverse opinions.'<sup>43</sup> In this tenth text, Sahagún himself acknowledges that he encountered a variety of opinions on the timing and nature of the calendrical renewal ceremonies.

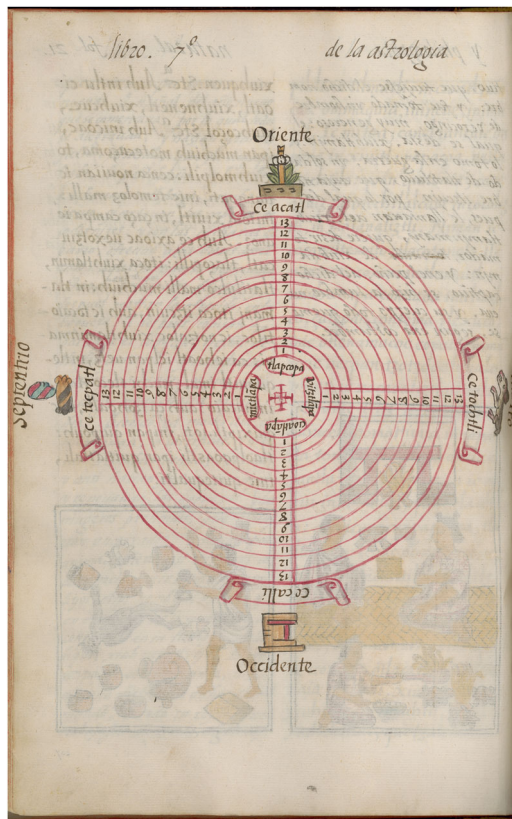
The Nahua scholars responded in a Nahuatl-language letter that begins by addressing the concerns of the friar. San Buenaventura and González open with a statement that they respectfully see and admire Sahagún's breath (words) about 'where and when the elders began the year.'<sup>44</sup> By prefacing their letter in this way, the Nahua scholars reveal that

Sahagún was not only interested in the exact timing but also where, indicating his broader concerns about the ceremonial details. Continuing the response, the scholars write that they ‘asked and saw their [the elders’] books’ that confirm the beginning of their year, a methodology that matches that of the Florentine project.<sup>45</sup> The text of the letter explains how the people of Cuauhtitlan organized their calendar and it carefully equates each Nahuatl-labeled period with a Spanish-named month on the Julian calendar. The letter concludes with a summary of the ceremony, which described how the people of Cuauhtitlan would sit at daybreak to receive the first light of the sun, which was followed by a ritual bathing.<sup>46</sup> Following this summary is a curious declaration. San Buenaventura and González end their discussion of the rites associated with the renewal of the year by stating ‘After all, you are in Mexico, it is never well (or correctly) known there.’<sup>47</sup> The authors could be referring to the ceremony, the correlation, or any number of differences between the practices of the calendrical year in Cuauhtitlan and Central Mexico.

Variances related to the calendrical systems and associated ceremonies were likely common due to different practices in distinct locales. But it could also indicate the tenuous nature of communication among Nahua elders, Nahua scholars, and those in the religious orders during the colonial period. Sahagún’s note in the *Primeros* and the changes from draft to draft increasingly documented the calendrical renewal ceremonies by tying them to the calendar used by Franciscans. In his query to San Buenaventura, the friar hoped to learn more about the timing and nature of the renewal ceremonies, precisely the information that he aspired to verify for the final draft of the Florentine.

The Calendar sections of the Florentine incorporate visual and alphabetic elements from the first and second drafts, the *Primeros* and the *Manuscrito*.<sup>48</sup> The image in Book VII retains the calendar wheel illustrating the cyclical nature of the 52-year count (Figure 7). Unlike the *Manuscrito* calendrical image, it fills the entire page. But similarly, it features the 13 concentric circles divided into four quadrants with the Nahuatl-language year-bearer labels and their glyphs. Missing in the final draft are the manicules urging the viewer to follow the renewal cycle, as are any annotations written within the wheel’s central circles referring to the *toxiuhmolpilia* occurring at 52 years. Elsewhere in the Florentine the Nahua Scholars rely on alphabetic texts to convey the renewal ceremonies. Information on the renewal of the year-count ceremonies is found in three locations in the final draft: Book II, which focuses on the solar calendar year; Book IV, which relates the day-signs; and in the previously discussed Book VII. It is on the final pages of Book VII that the topic is broached in a Spanish-language explanatory note on the folio after the calendar-wheel image, the page directly opposite of the visual text.

The Spanish-language explanation functions as an aside to the viewer, appending separate thoughts on the image. It is isolated from the text found in the previous paragraphs of the book. The interpolation focuses on the origins and the functions of the year-count calendar wheel. It was likely copied from an unknown earlier draft text, evidenced by the fact that the first line of text is the phrase ‘The table above’ when the wheel appears on the previous page.<sup>49</sup> The explanatory text serves as a poor substitute for the visual texts; whereas the manicule once guided the viewer through the cycle in the revision process, in the Florentine it is translated to alphabetic text. The text describes the cycle in this way: ‘going in circles, they give thirteen years, to each of the characters



**Figure 7.** The final rendition of the calendar wheel of the 52-year cycle (*xiuhmolpilli*). Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 21v. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

[year-bearers ...] then they complete fifty-two years, that is one bundle of years where they celebrate the jubilee and they light the new fire [...] and then return again to count at the beginning.<sup>50</sup> The mismatch between the stated location of the wheel and its actual location as well as the terminology found in the note (e.g. jubilee) indicate that the author was likely Sahagún. He was writing at an earlier date, before the composition of the Florentine, after which a Nahuatl scholar copied it into the final draft. The Franciscan again wrote that he found many inconsistencies in consultations about the topic, writing ‘Take note, that they [Nahuas] disagree a lot, in different places, about the beginning of the year.’<sup>51</sup> His statement alludes to the tenth text, which inquired about the calendar and renewal ceremonies in distant locales. Sahagún then confessed that he had made a special effort and ‘gathered many elders, the most skilled [he] could, and together with the able of the *colegiales* [Nahuatl scholars], I debated this material for many days.’<sup>52</sup> First, his note describes a debate event that occurred before the completion of the Florentine and secondly records that disputes occurred between the Nahuatl elders, the Nahuatl Scholars, and Sahagún. Thus, it is here where a generational divide appears centered on the recording the sequence and celebration of calendar.

Despite the extensive efforts to gather information, the results were unsatisfactory, substantiating the calendrical counts as a point of negotiation between Nahuatl elders

and scholars. The evidence of this contested nature emerges in the ‘*Al lector*’ [‘To the Reader’] text that appears on the first folio of Book VII. The Spanish-language note explains that the ‘Indigenous people themselves gave the account of things treated in this Book very crudely [...] in rudimentary language.’<sup>53</sup> It is possible that the Nahua elders simply were not experts in the calendrical materials or that they possessed different understandings of the function of the cycles. However, it is also possible that the Nahua elders purposely elided important knowledge and resisted the idea of recording it for those outside of their immediate community.

Sahagún clearly encountered problems identifying the timing of the renewal ceremonies and modern scholars face similar calendrical quandaries. Such inconsistencies, according to Rafael Tena, can be ascribed to several factors: the esoteric character of calendrical knowledge in Indigenous society, the co-existence of multiple pre-Hispanic calendars, and/or the obfuscation of Indigenous inhabitants (Tena 1987, 31–35). A close reading of the treatment of the calendrical systems in all ten texts of the Florentine project points to obfuscation on the part of the Nahua elders.

The discrepancies of the calendrical counts suggest different levels of comfort among the Nahua elders and the Nahua scholars about recording important cultural knowledge for an evangelical audience. Recall that the consulted elders had managed to survive the genocidal hazards of the colonial regime and might have witnessed church authorities burning their sacred vestments and texts. When questioned on their practices, the Nahua elders may have avoided providing correct information to protect their way of life. As for the Nahua scholars, they may have in some part recorded the information for Nahua readership, but the manuscript was intended for Spanish-speaking audiences per Sahagún’s directives. As much as they might have wanted to record their cultural practices for posterity, both groups of people were likely wary of colonial inquiries about their traditions.

For the Florentine project debates, the elders may have consulted their books that recounted the very last pre-contact *toxiuhmolpilia* ceremonies of the early sixteenth century. Another Spanish-language note on the 52-year cycle in Book IV explains that the last ceremony was held in 1507. At that time, it was held ‘with solemnity, because the Spaniards had not come to this land.’<sup>54</sup> The writer summarizes that the following ceremony of 1559 was not observed publicly because the Spaniards and members of the religious Orders were now in this land.<sup>55</sup> The text points out the change in practice and attributes it to the arrival of Europeans. The elders consulted for the text knew the exact date of their missed ceremonies and, astutely aware of their audience, safely pointed out that they held no public ceremonies, cleverly sidestepping any accusations of idolatry. The Nahua elders, who were aware of the cultural eradication project of the friars, must have hoped to dissemble their ceremonies and to keep their calendar cycles a secret or as ambiguous as possible. The reason for obfuscation appears in the next few lines, which plainly state that the ceremonies ‘renewed their pact with the devil to serve him.’<sup>56</sup> The elders who debated with the Nahua scholars may have indeed celebrated their *tolxiuhmolpilia* ceremony in private, but they wisely avoided any heretical repercussions when dealing with the new generation of Nahuas raised under Christianity and their Catholic director Sahagún.

Sahagún and his fellow friars documented Nahua visual texts and practices in part to better to identify idolatry, in fact it was one of the reasons for the creation of the Florentine.<sup>57</sup> Sahagún shamed those who dismissed the 260 day-sign cycle found in the

divinatory almanac and the partner cycle of the year-count as innocuous. The Spanish text of the Florentine chided friars who viewed these two simultaneous counts as harmless because they believed it lacked idolatrous material.<sup>58</sup> He explained the purpose of demanding visual texts on the year-count calendar and the day-signs. Writing in a Spanish-language exhortation to fellow friars Sahagún clarified that ‘wherever one may see it, he may know that it is something very pernicious to our holy Catholic Faith; and may it be destroyed and burned.’<sup>59</sup> His efforts to firmly establish the Nahuatl calendar counts and align them with the calendar used by Franciscans supported one of his main goals: to unlock the dates of ceremonies to better eradicate anything pernicious to Catholicism in New Spain.

The friar hoped to determine the concrete dates on which Nahuas would be renewing the covenant to serve what he viewed as the idols.<sup>60</sup> In his Spanish-language introduction to Book IV on the 260-day count, Sahagún explained ‘You have in this present volume, friend reader, all the movable feasts of the year [...] to detect and take warning, to know if they are not practiced in their entirety or in part [...] it will be difficult to hit upon them.’<sup>61</sup> His dedication to documenting the timing of idolatrous ceremonies was so strong that when he was in his eighties and believing the threefold manuscripts lost, he wrote out *Kalendario* and *Arte adivinatoria* in 1585 based on his calendrical works (Cline and D’Olwer 1973, 200–1). Sahagún focused on documenting the calendrical counts and images but struggled to confirm even basic information. The Nahuatl scholars, through their debates on the calendar cycles and their full involvement in the Florentine project, aided and may have agreed with the goal of idolatry extirpation.

The images that portray the 52-year renewal ceremony in the final draft are a possible window into the views of the Nahuatl scholars. Whereas the second draft contained no images of the cycle apart from the wheel, in the Florentine there are four colored images that depict the renewal rites. In the traditional *toxiuhmolpilia* ceremony that occurred at terminations of the 52-year-count cycle, one of the renewal rites included the breaking of household goods such as pottery. In the visual texts of the ceremony, the Nahuatl scholars indicate that they were taught to regard this ceremony as heretical, signaled by the drawing of a horned devil figure among the broken ceramics (Figure 8).<sup>62</sup> Instead of illustrating a specific Nahuatl deity they chose to depict a demon-like figure. The image appears on the page before the image of the calendar wheel, a proximity that suggests a close connection between what the Nahuatl scholars may have viewed as heresy and the 52-year cycle, although it is possible it may simply function as accommodation, a way of presenting the ceremony in a way that would resonate with the community of friars. It is also possible that they shunned the practices of their elders and supported the Florentine project to root out the idolatry of their elders.

The Nahuatl scholars were children of the Indigenous elite who had maintained their status through the tumult of the early colonial period. Negative portrayals of Nahuatl culture may have resonated for the privileged Nahuatl scholars who grew up under Franciscan tutelage and had some distance from the practices of elderly Nahuas. In the final two chapters of Book IV on the 260-day count are two Nahuatl-language explanations that announce the interpretations of the Nahuatl scholars. One recounts that the readers of the divinatory almanac were ‘little, shriveled, old men, wicked and vile, decrepit, stupid and foolish.’<sup>63</sup> The text continued to liken their sacred discourse unfavorably to stale, cold, smelly tamales. The text summarized the interactions between Nahuatl





**Figure 8.** ‘Devil’ among the cleansing ceremony (*xiuhmolpilia*) at the end of a 52-year cycle. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 12, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

scholars and the Nahua elders, stating ‘there are still ideas yet to appear, which are still being guarded and hidden, yet to be unearthed . . .’<sup>64</sup> Perhaps the recording of the various calendrical counts cleaved any allegiances between the Nahua elders and the scholars. As is evident in the ten texts, the information was highly sought after but inexact, a fact that could be attributed to any number of circumstances. It is possible that the inconsistencies were a result of a vast generational divide. When read with multiple authors and participants in mind, the changes from draft to draft reveal these distinct voices.

The inability to establish a correlation between the ceremonial calendar and the Julian calendar could have resulted from the desires of Nahua elders to guard calendrical information and thus conceal the ceremonies from detection by colonial authorities. The changes from one draft to the next favored Sahagún’s suggestions on the nature of the Calendar and the People Sections. The previous examples analyzed the alterations that suited the divergent needs of the Nahua elders, scholars, and Sahagún. The final case study examines the friar’s comments on the section devoted to various ailments and their treatments. It proposes that the amendments disclose the dire epidemic conditions and the desperate need for effective therapies as the creators worked on the *Primeros*, *Manuscrito*, and Florentine.

### **Epidemics, illness, and healing authority during the creation of the nine texts**

During the creation of the threefold manuscripts, people in Indigenous communities suffered, died, and survived several devastating waves of epidemic diseases. On the

*Primeros folios*, the Nahuatl scholars name the diseases that disastrously affected their communities during the invasion and under colonial rule. The section dedicated to sicknesses or *cocoliztli* fills three pages in the first draft.<sup>65</sup> On the left hand-side of each folio is a list of afflictions, with their symptoms and cures adjacent on the right-hand side of the folio; all the text is written in Nahuatl. It lists seven ailments that refer to pestilential raised lesions on the skin. The Nahuatl scholars recorded an ailment they called *totomoniliztli*, a noun derived from a verb that was defined by Alonso de Molina's sixteenth-century dictionary *Vocabulario* as to have skin bumps.<sup>66</sup> Such bumps, also called pustules, were designated as *nanauatl*, an ailment Molina equated with *bubas*.<sup>67</sup> The text describes a sickness of pustules, or what a Spaniard would have called *ampoallas*, skin lesions that were associated with smallpox.<sup>68</sup> The list included the affliction of *çauatliztli* that Molina equated with *viruelas* or smallpox.<sup>69</sup> Although the colonial epidemics were not caused by a single identifiable illness, the diseases that afflicted Indigenous peoples in epidemic proportions during the colonial period were considered pestilential or infectious and were visible to sufferers and caregivers as raised skin lesions.<sup>70</sup>

Indigenous communities endured three severe pestilential disease epidemics, first occurring in 1520 during the Spanish-led invasion of the city of Tenochtitlan (Dufendach 2019, 625). In the Nahuatl-language retelling of the war on Tenochtitlan found in Book XII of the Florentine, the Nahuatl scholars wrote about when the epidemic diseases first struck their capital city. They described the great sickness of pustules as *totomoniliztli*, *cocoliztli*, and *çahuatl*.<sup>71</sup> The Nahuatl elders recounted that 'large bumps spread on people [...] a great many died of it [...] the Mexica warriors were greatly weakened by it.'<sup>72</sup> The Nahuatl creators vividly depicted the debilitating effects in an image of five pock-marked victims on reed mats attended by a woman healer who aids one of the sufferers (Figure 9). The devastating visual text and its accompanying alphabetic text bring to life the disease terminology from the *Primeros*. The epidemics continued through the early sixteenth century and the devastation occurred during the creation of the nine texts.

Two more periods of major epidemics afflicted Indigenous communities in the sixteenth century. A second principal period of epidemics began in 1545. Thus, by the time the Nahuatl scholars began gathering information for the *Primeros*, the elders whom they consulted had likely survived two horrific periods of epidemic disease. Sahagún wrote about falling deathly ill himself during the second epidemic, remarking that a 'major portion of the people living in all this New Spain died' and remembered that he 'buried more than ten thousand bodies.'<sup>73</sup> He referred to the deaths of many students at the college from the plagues thirty-one years later, in 1576, during the final major outbreak. He lamented that by the end of the Florentine Project there was 'hardly anyone still in the college. Dead and sick, almost all are gone.'<sup>74</sup> Nahuatl experienced death and pain from pestilential diseases during the creation of each of the drafts and their experiences of illness in their communities undoubtedly influenced their work on the threefold manuscripts. Their intimate familiarity with sickness and the urgent need to identify and treat diseases shaped the Nahuatl scholar's and Sahagún's handling of the nine texts of the Illness and Cures Section.

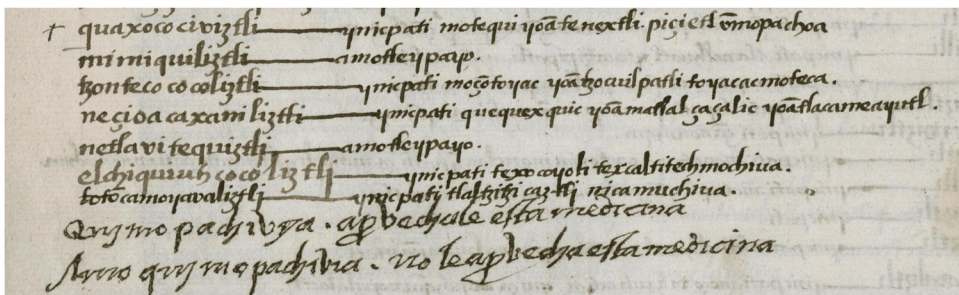
Sahagún wrote his judgement on the best method to treat the topic of illness in a note at the end of the list of illnesses and cures in the *Primeros*. For the first draft, he likely dictated the format of the illness section, which consisted of a list of Nahuatl-language terms for afflictions. The specific term for the disorder is then followed by a dash that



**Figure 9.** Healer and the victims of the first epidemic in Tenochtitlan. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XII, f. 53v, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

connected it to its remedy, typically including an herb with no accompanying visual texts. His handwritten annotation consists of two phrases written at the end of the list: the first lines are written in Nahuatl, and he then provided his own translation (Figure 10).<sup>75</sup>

He wrote *quimopachivya* and then wrote his own translation in Spanish on the same line. He translated it as ‘*ap[ro]vechale esta medicina*’, which could be interpreted as or ‘they avail themselves of this medicine’ or ‘take advantage of this medicine,’<sup>76</sup> though another way to translate the Nahuatl phrase could be ‘They avail themselves of it as



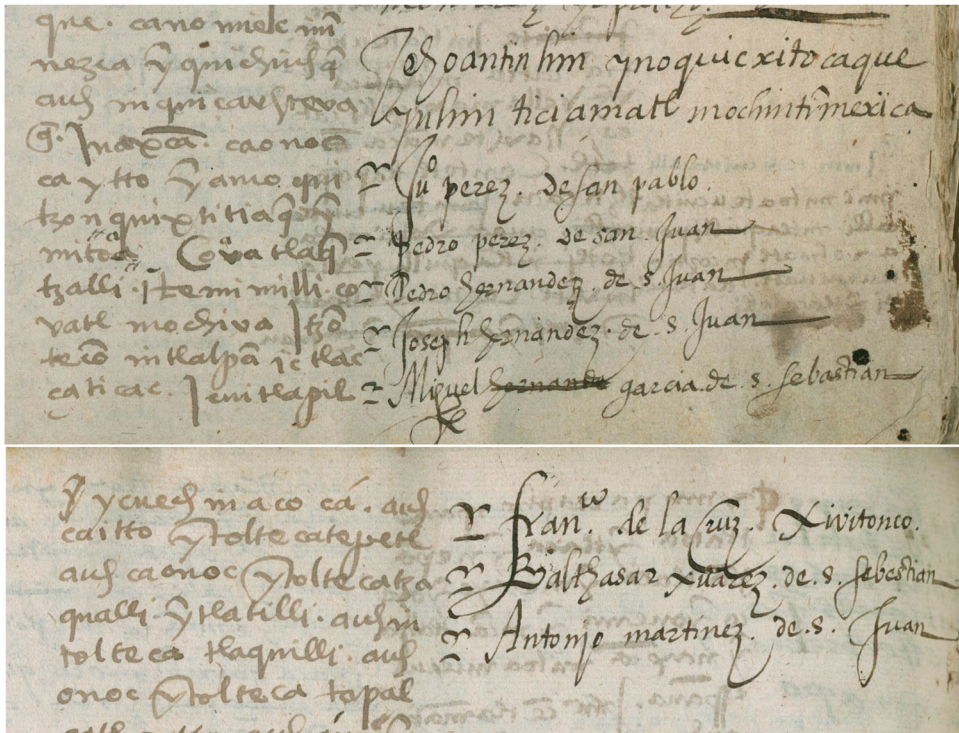
**Figure 10.** Sahagún’s additions to the Illness and Cures Section of the *Primeros memoriales*. It follows the original list content and begins, ‘*Quimopachivya • apvechale esta medicina ...*’. Source: Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 69v, detail. © Real Academia de la Historia.

medicine.<sup>77</sup> Below the above line he wrote *Amo quimopachivia*, which he translated into Spanish as ‘*no le ap[ro]vecha esta medicina*,’ meaning ‘they do not avail themselves of this medicine.’<sup>78</sup> Again, an alternative way to translate the Nahuatl text would be ‘they do not avail themselves of it as medicine.’ Acknowledging we can never truly know his intent, Sahagún is clearly referring to the Nahuatl healing practices on the folio. It indicated that the list of diseases and their cures was not a satisfactory format, that it was not acceptable as it existed on the page. Had Sahagún trusted the healing techniques as they appeared on the folio, he would not have written his annotation.

By writing the addendum, Sahagún demanded differentiation between ineffective and effective medicines. The Illness and Cures Section note included a direct translation to Spanish, an element not found on any other folios of the *Primeros*. His phrases suggested changes for future versions that would better reflect Sahagún’s goal of serving a Spanish-speaking audience, thus the translation. Perhaps Sahagún hoped to admonish the Nahuatl scholars to sort the remedies themselves. On the folio, seven entries are marked with a plus sign in the left-hand margin, possibly by Sahagún. His final note at the end of the section may only be referring to these seven entries, identifying them as requiring further inquiry. Possibly he intended to equip his fellow friars with the vocabulary to inquire about and record judgements of remedy effectiveness.<sup>79</sup> Sahagún might have intended the phrases to serve as a guide for interviewing healers in different locales. This shifted the power to record remedies into Spanish hands.<sup>80</sup> By creating a translation, Sahagún reconfigured healing authority and empowered the Spanish-speaking populace. His true intentions are impossible to trace with certainty. However, by presenting the translation for the phrases he enabled a Spanish-speaker to label or question the nature of therapies. The handwritten alterations to the Illness and Cures Section content reveal his doubts about the efficacy of the cures listed on the folio. The responses of the Nahuatl scholars can be found in the *Manuscrito* and Florentine.

The *Manuscrito* utilizes the same format maintaining a list of ailments followed by cures, and, like the *Primeros*, includes no visual texts, though, in contrast to the *Primeros*, the second version does not end with Sahagún’s translated phrases. Instead, a Nahuatl-language explanation reads, ‘They who corrected this medical document, all of whom are Mexica,’ accompanied by the names of the eight Indigenous healers. The men consulted for the information found in the chapter were Mexica from central Mexico, their names: Juan Pérez, Pedro Pérez, Pedro Hernández, José Hernández, Miguel García, Francisco de la Cruz, Baltasar Juárez, and Antonio Martínez (Figure 11).<sup>81</sup> The Nahuatl text plainly distinguishes the Indigenous identities of the healers and recognizes them by name. No other part of the *Manuscrito* names the Indigenous people consulted for the information found in the specific section. It appears that the Nahuatl scholars wished to identify the healers as Indigenous experts in their field. They likely intended to clear up any doubts about the efficacy of the cures by drawing attention to the medical authority of their healers. The Nahuatl scholars drew upon the texts of the *Primeros* and *Manuscrito* to create the final draft but the manner used to acknowledge the healers changed.

In the Florentine, the same healers’ names appeared in a list at the end of the Illness and Cures Section located in Book X. However, the text used to introduce their names changed from its original version in Nahuatl to an explanation in Spanish. The Nahuatl scholars wrote in Spanish at the end of the section that ‘The above was examined [by] the Mexican doctors,’ followed by the list of their names.<sup>82</sup> In their final draft, the



**Figure 11.** Named and credited Indigenous healers in the *Manuscrito*. The explanation appears on the right-hand side with the phrase beginning, 'Tehoantin ynoquic xitocaque ynhin ticiamatl...'. Source: Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 172r/v, details. © Real Academia de la Historia.

Nahua scholars make the identities of the healers unmistakably transparent for a Spanish-speaking audience (Figure 12). The text also clarifies the title of the healers, naming them as doctors or *medicos* of their healing traditions. The Nahua scholars explicitly communicated that their own doctors possessed specialized knowledge and that they deserved to be recognized for their skills.

The scholars named Nahua healers as the trusted authorities in more than one section of the final draft. The names of healers appear, as previously examined in Book X, and additionally in the medicinal herbs and stones section of Book XI (Figure 13). Although the citation of Nahua healers in the first instance was a direct copy from *Manuscrito* to the Florentine, the naming of healers in the medicinal herbs and stones sections appears only in the final draft. Their names and the name of the scribe are given as Gaspar Matías, Pedro de Santiago, Francisco Simón, Miguel Damián, Felipe Hernández, Pedro de Raquena, Miguel García, and Miguel Motolinía.<sup>83</sup>

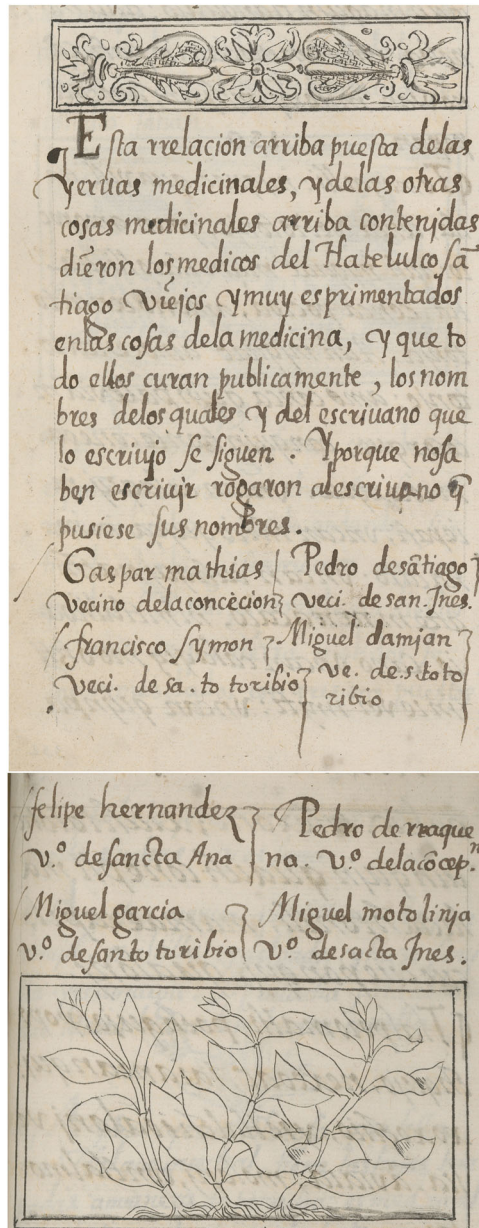
Again, the scholars explain in Spanish, thus communicating to a Spanish-language audience that the information for the medicinal herbs section originated with Nahua healers who were from Tlatelolco. They wrote that all were experienced in medicinal matters, and all practiced curing publicly, or they were 'viejos y muy esperimentados en las cosas de la medicina y que todo ellos curan publicamente.'<sup>84</sup> The attribution of this second section to named local healers reinforces how important it was for the Nahua



**Figure 12.** Seven named Nahuatl healers (lower right) replicate list in the *Manuscrito*. The note begins, 'Lo sobre dicho fue ...'. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 113v, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

scholars to record Indigenous healing traditions from their medical authorities during the times of epidemics. In fact, the healers' names appear following a curative description recommending the sweat bath for the treatment of pustules or *nanaoatl* afflicting the skin. The Spanish-language translation explains that the heat is good for those who were 'sarnosos y bubosos' or those with 'itchy pustules or scabs.'<sup>85</sup> These skin ailments could be collectively viewed as referring to the epidemic illnesses that left so many Indigenous towns empty over the course of the sixteenth century.

The Nahuatl scholars understood the importance of identifying diseases when creating the nine texts. It is likely why Sahagún's comment on the Illness and Cures Section received different treatment than those on the People and Calendar Sections. It is possible that the Nahuatl scholars missed his comments out of negligence. Alternatively, it is equally possible that they disagreed with the content annotations and consciously chose to ignore them. The dissimilar repercussions of the friar's note highlights the importance of curative information during periods of widespread epidemic diseases. It was one place where the Nahuatl scholars could call upon their healing authorities, despite Sahagún's attempt to shape it, and insist upon their own knowledge and medical authorities.



**Figure 13.** Nahuatl healers again cited by name. It begins, 'Esta relacion arriba puesta ...'. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XI, fs. 180v–81, details. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Skillfully maneuvering within their colonial reality, the Nahuatl scholars understood that they and their elders possessed prized information and took the opportunity to underscore their expertise rather than give in to Sahagún's sense of their medicine. The dire state of epidemics across the Atlantic may have also slaked European desires to understand Indigenous methods of healing. Medicinal knowledge, as captured in the herb and stones sections, was attributed to Indigenous sources as a method to

highlight the accomplishments of healers in the Americas. In the introduction to another medical text from the sixteenth century, an Indigenous doctor and author wrote at the request of the son of the former viceroy of Mexico. The Nahua scholars Martín de la Cruz and Juan Badiano healer composed the *Codex Cruz Badiano* to commend Indigenous people to his Royal Majesty (Varey et al. 2000).<sup>86</sup> Indigenous botanical knowledge and healing recipes were sought by Europeans. As early as 1570, Spanish clerics and merchants sent visual and alphabetic texts, often accompanied by specimens across the Atlantic (Hernández 2000; Varey et al. 2000; Bleichmar 2012). Doctors and scientists in Europe pursued the knowledge held by Nahua healers during epidemics and in times of relative health. Yet some of the discrepancies between European and Nahua healing traditions are apparent only in the visual texts.

Although the Florentine's alphabetic text credits only male healers, the images highlight the role of women healers, a preconquest tradition made visible only through the visual texts. The Florentine's *Illness and Cures* section has over twenty-five color images, in contrast to the same sections in the *Manuscrito* and the *Primeros* that contain none. They bring to light the roles of women healers and contain pre-conquest artistic elements, furthering their Indigenous authority on the subject of healing. In addition to summoning their medical authorities, the Nahua scholars used the images to communicate their therapeutic practices.

The images of the Florentine contain valuable visual communication about Nahua cultural practices regarding the treatment of ailments. One of them appears at the end of the section dedicated to *Nanaoatl* or pustules. It lists a cure that included drinking an infusion and bathing in the same admixture.<sup>87</sup> The text describes a type of skin lesion called filthy pustules or *tlacaçolnanauatl* that, along with the other afflictions, merited bleeding with an obsidian blade. It also prescribed another curative practice: covering the pustules with the powder of an herb.<sup>88</sup> The application of this cure is what appears to be drawn after the final sentence of the section (Figure 14).



**Figure 14.** Woman healer attends to man afflicted with pustules. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 109v, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.



The image is encased in a double-lined frame and inside the Nahua artists drew two figures. The central figure is a man seated on a low box dressed in a *maxtlatl* or breechcloth. His bare legs, arms, and torso expose his malady of pustules shown by the lesions drawn on his skin. He gazes over his left shoulder at his back and a woman kneeling behind him. She is dressed in a traditional *huipil* and is holding a bowl in her left hand and appears to apply its contents to the man's back with her right hand. It evokes the healing relationship portrayed during the first epidemic in Book XII, where a woman healer attends to a person covered with a skin rash of pustules during the Spanish-led invasion (Figure 9). Both images depict a woman as a medical authority, an aspect of Nahua traditional healing culture foreign to many Europeans.

The only alphabetic texts that describe a woman medical authority occur in Book X on The People. The Nahuatl-language text describes the good and the bad female physician and endows them with the title of *ticitl* or healer.<sup>89</sup> A previous paragraph in the same book describes the male physician with the same term of *ticitl*, indicating that to Nahuas, gender did not influence a healer's title or role.<sup>90</sup> The Spanish-language translation of the Nahuatl, as *medica* and *medico*, is one of the only clues that indicates the differentiation, as their duties were described in a relatively similar fashion.<sup>91</sup> Neither description mentions the important duties of attending to childbirth, a role usually relegated only to women in European traditions. The Nahua scholars ably employed their visual texts to demonstrate pre-conquest practices and iconography.

The respect for women healers is evident in seven images that depict them treating maladies in Book X of the Florentine.<sup>92</sup> Although several of the healers illustrated in the chapter are attending to issues related specifically to women, such as a nursing mother who no longer produces milk. Others show women helping men patients with widespread ailments not specifically related to women, such as blindness, jigger fleas, hemorrhoids, and pustules.<sup>93</sup> In her chapter on the wise women and men of Aztec Mexico, Boone highlights their roles as physicians, midwives, and sorcerers (2005, 15–19). Notably, none of the Florentine's images portrays any type of overt witchcraft, a phenomenon often ascribed to Indigenous women's work on the body (Lewis 2003; Sousa 2017, 199–204). One image of a woman healer shows her holding a child on the right side of the frame. On the left side of the frame the artist employed the pre-conquest representation of water, drawing eight water-drop glyphs falling on a plant to symbolize the morning dew required in the recipe (Figure 15).<sup>94</sup> The images in the Florentine depict traditions practiced before, and perhaps clandestinely after, the arrival of Europeans. The traditions readily recalled and acknowledged the importance of women as medical authorities. In her research on women healers, Martha Few shows how they challenged colonial authorities but also suffered reprisals in the form of Inquisition prosecution in the viceroyalty of New Spain.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps the Nahua scholars believed that by only visually depicting them rather than describing women healers in the text, they could represent such healing practices.

In the Florentine, where the Spanish translation is abbreviated, there was ample space for the histories portrayed in the visual texts. The images, the Nahuatl, and the Spanish texts are deployed selectively to serve the different needs of the Nahua scholars in consultations with Nahua elders and according to their working relations with the friar Sahagún, whose desires are the most visible in his handwritten texts.



**Figure 15.** Newborn being administered remedy with dew by woman healer. Source: Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 100v, detail. © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

## Conclusion

The nine texts of the Florentine Project diverge from each other in significant ways. The changes made to each iterative draft shed light on the different hands and voices at work in each of the threefold manuscripts. This essay analyzes the differences among the visual texts, the Spanish-language, and the Nahuatl-language alphabetic texts for evidence of content negotiation amid its creators. Sahagún undoubtedly contributed as an organizational editor for the project. He undoubtedly played an essential role in conceiving, organizing content, labeling subject matter sections, and ensuring the completion of the Florentine. Still, it is essential to understand that over 40 Nahua intellectuals provided the content and recorded it in alphabetic and visual texts. In a description of their roles as cultural brokers, Burkhart laments that Nahua scholars ‘were seldom named, or even acknowledged. To the friars they were simply amanuenses, assistants whose help, though vital, was a passive, uncreative act’ (1992, 340). Yet Sahagún named the Nahua scholars in the Florentine. Given the evidence of their roles as creators, their names deserve to be listed alongside his in every library catalogue, museum exhibition, and discussion of the texts. Grado, Jacobita, Maximiliano, San Buenaventura, Severino, Valeriano, and Vegerano created the threefold manuscripts of the Florentine Project with Sahagún and negotiated the nature of the content with Nahua elders and the friar.

At three sites, the texts of the Florentine Project evidence how the friar viewed a topic and how, over time and drafts, the Nahua scholars presented that same subject. The Nahua scholars mediated with both Sahagún and their elders about what materials they would inscribe in the Florentine and how. At times they accommodated Sahagún’s interpretations of their culture, at others they thwarted him, and in places they found ways to maneuver around him.

In two cases, the Nahua scholars received the notes made by Sahagún and deferred to his changes in the following drafts, subtly using images to subvert Sahagún directives. These cases validate traditional colonial authority and the editorial power of Sahagún. The Nahua scholars explicitly adhered to Sahagún’s amendments in the People and the Calendar sections. In the People Section, the Nahua scholars followed Sahagún’s

edits and reclassified human behaviors according to Christian precepts of good or evil. Still, the Nahua scholars used the visual texts at their disposal to associate negatively charged behaviors with new European garb. Sahagún also edited the content of the Calendar section by marking the correlation between Nahua calendrical counts and the calendar used by friars. His correlative notation appeared in later drafts as alphabetic and visual texts explaining the renewal of the cycle and detailing associated ceremonies. In the end, both the friar and the Nahua scholars appear dissatisfied with the treatment of the various calendrical systems in the Florentine Codex. The discord illuminates the tensions amongst Nahua elders, scholars, and Sahagún on the practices of documenting Nahua religious practices. The elders may have been more invested in protecting knowledge about the timing and sequences of their ceremonies from the Nahua scholars who acted as cultural brokers for Catholic institutions during the colonial period.

Such generational differences do not surface in the changes to texts on Illnesses and Cures. This is one section where the friar's edits were not followed. In the first draft of the Illness and Cures Section, Sahagún marked edits that were not heeded in the subsequent drafts. The voices of Indigenous elders and scholars who survived multiple episodes of catastrophic epidemics were particularly strong on the topic of illnesses and cures. Sahagún's note to provide vocabulary for friars to determine the efficacy of medicines with translations does not appear. Instead, the Nahua scholars consulted two sets of Indigenous healers who described types of ailments and their cures. The Indigenous healers were credited by name for their expertise. Given the fate of other content edits on the People and the Calendar, the Nahua scholars leveraged their negotiating power for certain topics over others. In naming two sets of Indigenous healers, they identified the source of healing knowledge and boldly represented the wisdom of their medical authorities, using the images to further elucidate pre-conquest traditions.

The negotiation process of the nine texts, as evident in the visual and alphabetic texts of the threefold manuscripts, fundamentally favors Indigenous expertise on the topic of illnesses and cures. The fact that distinctly Nahua knowledge, from recognized Indigenous healers, survived the editing process reinforces the prerogative of the Nahua scholars. It demonstrates their ability to shape the treatment of topics important to them and their communities. Such a conclusion can only be reached through a comparative analysis of the nine intertwined texts of the Florentine Project. This research speaks to the enduring interest in the process of creation of the nine texts and how analysis of it can shift our understanding of the production of knowledge in Colonial Mexico. The complex process to peel away the disparate knowledge in the layered composition of each folio opens endless possibilities for future scholars. This investigation is entirely beholden to the work of the sixteenth-century Nahua scholars and to contemporary Indigenous scholars whose achievements we can only begin to appreciate as we parse the threefold manuscripts of the Florentine Codex Project (Cruz de la Cruz 2019; 2017; Sullivan et. al. 2016).

## Notes

1. Hereafter, the manuscripts are referred to as: *Primeros*, *Manuscrito*, and Florentine. Although the Florentine is often called the *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* this title is not used here to distinguish it from the previous manuscripts. To refer to the

- entirety of the iterative process that includes all three manuscripts, this essay relies on the term Florentine Project. Modern editions of Sahagún's texts are listed in the bibliography under the name of the editor(s).
2. All translations from Nahuatl to English are my own. Regarding texts with previous translations, I used them to supplement my own work. All translations from Spanish to English are my own. Brackets are used to clarify the subject in many translations. For more on the practice of parsing separate alphabetic and visual texts from the Florentine, see Johansson 2002; Terraciano 2010, 51–72; 2019b, 45; Dufendach 2017, 206–10.
  3. This essay is a portion of my larger project that compares the manuscripts of the Florentine Project. My research analyzes the writer's calligraphic ductus, format, and structure of the *Manuscrito* and its relationship to the *Memoriales* and Florentine for insight into their Indigenous authorship.
  4. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. II, f. 2. This essay refers to both the 'grammarians/cole-giales/trilinguales' and 'scribes' as scholars in recognition of their skills and contributions to the Florentine Project. See also Cárdenas and Yannakakis 2014.
  5. This research owes a great debt to the voluminous body of research on this corpus, in particular works that explore the creation process of colonial manuscripts; see Garibay Kintana 1952; 1969, 1:11; León-Portilla 1958, 18; Cline 1973; Glass 1978, 34; Dibble 1982, 13; 1999; Anderson 1982b, 8; Bustamante García 1990, 238–39; García Quintana 2002; Ruz Barrio 2010; López Austin 2011, 358–62; Garone Gravier 2011, 185, 197; Hidalgo Brinquis 2013; Ríos Castaño 2014, 224; Lockhart 1993, 5–11; 1995, 126; Terraciano 2019a, 6. For a fuller history of Florentine Codex scholarship, see León-Portilla 2002; Terraciano 2019a.
  6. See Boone; Peterson; Magaloni Kerpel; Baird; Quiñones Keber; Leibsohn; Bleichmar; Escalante Gonzalbo; Montero Sobrevilla. This article designates the images to be visual texts as an acknowledgement of them as a separate narrative.
  7. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. IIX: prologue, unnumbered folio, 'Segun, que afirman los viejos, en cuyo poder, estauan las pinturas, y memorias de las cosas antiguas'; see also Boone 2000, 5–8.
  8. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. II, f. 2; the Florentine names only one elder: Diego de Mendoza.
  9. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 253v; Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. II, fs. 108–9v; *ibid.*, f. 1v, 'los mexicanos emendaron, y añadieron muchas cosas, a los doce libros ...'
  10. The Florentine Codex is also considered a draft because it contains many alterations and corrections on the folios. See Dufendach and Peterson 2022, 72; Cline and D'Olwer 1973, 197.
  11. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], *Manuscrito*; Sahagún et al. 1993; Sullivan and Nicholson 1997. The first two draft manuscripts often are referred to collectively as the *Codices Matritenses* for their location in repositories in Madrid. In his compilations of the texts during the twentieth century, Francisco Paso y Troncoso identified the older set of folios from the *Codices Matritenses* that he titled the *Primeros memoriales* (1905–1907, v. 6); Sahagún et al. 1964.
  12. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. II, f. 1v; Sahagún et al. 1997, 13; for location of Tepepolco, or Tepepulco, see Borah and Cook 1963, 159, map section 20, town 7. In his prologue to Book II, Sahagún explains that the town was in the province of Acolhuacan or Texcoco, which shared similar socio-cultural practices with the centrally located Nahuas; see Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. II, f. 1.
  13. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 283r; see also Figure 3. Another note in the *Primeros* adds to the evidence that these types of explanatory glosses on the content were written in 1560. A Nahuatl scholar, it is not Sahagún's handwriting, wrote next to the divinatory almanac sign of Nine Wind that 'Today, Nine Wind, is on Wednesday the 25th of September, 1560' ('Setiembre XXV. De 1560 aos. In axcā cemilhuitl chiucnauj ecatl ypā miercoles cēpoali ômacuillia ypā Seti<sup>c</sup> de 1560 aos. —'), Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 289r; see also Sullivan and Nicholson 1997, 166 n.10.
  14. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 21v; Schwaller 2003, 269; Dibble 1982, 1:15.
  15. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. II, fs. 1v–2, 'De manera que que el primer cedaço, por donde mis obras se cernieron, fueron los de tepepulco: el segundo, los del tlatilulco: el tercero, los de

*mexico: y en todos estos escrutanios, vuo gramaticos colegiales. El principal y mas sabio, fue antonio valeriano ... ?*

16. According to the Florentine Codex text, between 43 and 48 Nahuas worked on the manuscript. It named four or five Nahua grammarians, three scribes, ten to twelve Tepepolco elders, ten to twelve Tlatelolco elders, eight Mexica healers, and eight Tlatelolcan healers. Diana Magaloni Kerpel determines that twenty-two artists worked on the images of the Codex. Although unlikely, if we consider the artists as a separate group from the scholars, then between 65 and 70 Nahuas worked on the project; see Magaloni Kerpel 2014, 27; Glass 1978, 4–5.
17. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], fs. 69v, 82r, f. 283r; see also Montero Sobrevilla for an analysis of the changes between the *Primeros* and the Florentine in the representations of Huitzilopochtli (2020, 433–37).
18. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. II, f. 1v, ‘*Auiendo hecho lo dicho, en el tlalilulco: vine a morar, a sanct francisco, de mexico, con todas mis escrituras: donde por espacio, de tres años, pase, y repase, a mis solas todas mis escrituras: y las torne a emendar: y diuidilas por libros, en doze libros, y cada libro por capitulos: y algunos libros, por capitulos, y parrafos.*’; see also Dibble 1982, 13.
19. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 82.
20. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 82, ‘*aynyanj. vevezca, muyma. telpuchtlaveliloc, tecamanalhuya, tetaza cuilonj. tecuilontiaj. patlachpul. tetlanochilianj*’; see Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, fs. 24v, 40v, and 69v.
21. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. I, fs. [i–iii].
22. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], fs. 58–59r.
23. See also Penyak 1993, ch. 5; Tortorici 2007, 50–55.
24. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], fs. 88–96, 104–10.
25. *desuaziada [desjuiciada]*
26. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], fs. 121–23.
27. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 121v, ‘*xoxouhcaoctli quitinemi [...] monanacauitinemi [...] tlaçollo [...] auilnenqui.*’
28. Real Academia Española 1780, s.v. *rufián*: *El que trata y vive deshonestamente con mugeres, solicitándolas, ó consitiéndolas el trato con otros hombres. Llámase así tambien el que por causas torpes riñe sus pendencias* (<https://apps2.rae.es/ntllet/>); see also Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 23rd ed. (<https://dle.rae.es>).
29. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 8.
30. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 24v.
31. Molina [1571], f. 55 [second numeration], ‘*Mecatia. nino. Amancerbarse ... ?*’
32. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 8.
33. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 24v.
34. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, fs. 16v–21v.
35. This section is not intended to serve as a comprehensive review of Mesoamerican calendrical research, of which there are many quality studies, as it is beyond the present scope and topic. See Tena 1987; Hassig 2001; Boone 2007.
36. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 283, ‘*Este año de 1560 se cūplierō los cincuenta y dos años con este caracter q̄ se llama vmacatl y comjença el primero para otros 52 sobre este caracter que se llama ey tecpatl.*’
37. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 286r.
38. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 283r.
39. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 189, ‘*toximmolpilia .52.aos.*’
40. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], fs. 178–89r; *Ibid.*, fs. 160–70r; Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, fs. 31–81.
41. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], fs. 189v, 242v.
42. Dufendach and Peterson, 2022: 71–73.
43. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 53v, ‘*Esta es vna respuesta de una pregunta que po[...] a padro de san buena ventura vezino de q[...] sobre el principio del año delqual dibersament[...]inan.*’

The ellipsis in the transcription represent portions of the note missing due to tearing at the corner of the folio.

44. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 53, ‘*Ca niq’ttac nicmaviço y’ mihiyotzi’ initechcopa y’ cani’ Auh i’ yquin tiaya quipeualtiaya y’ ueuetq’* † [rubric referring to marginal note that reads]: † *yn ce xiuitl ...*’
45. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 53, ‘*onitlatlala’ auh niq’uittac y’ imamauh in ...*’
46. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 53, ‘*Auh quitoa vel hiquac peva in xiviitl iniqualkuiça tonatiuh. Ic mochitlacatl ate’co motlalia y’oc Youatzi’co mochixtoc in que’ma’ valq’çaz tonatiuh xiuitl temac tehtemi. Auh inomomanaco tonatiuh. moch tlacatl yviga yvicpa coniaua y’ xjuuitl y’ tonatiuh. Nima’ ye ic nealtilo.*’
47. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 53, ‘*Catel mexico in timoyetztica hayc o’pa vel melauac macho*’; for counsel on this translation, I am indebted to Louise Burkhart (personal communication 7/14/23).
48. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 21v.
49. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 22, ‘*Esta tabla, arriba puesta: es la cuenta de los años ...*’
50. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 22, ‘*I desta manera, dando vueltas; dan treze años, a cada uno de los caracteres, o a cada una, de las quatro partes, del mundo. I entonces, se cumplen. 52. Años, que es una gavilla de años; donde se celebra, el Iubileo, y se saca lumbre nueva, en la forma arriba puesta; Luego vuelven a contar como de principio.*’
51. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 22, ‘*Es de notar, que discrepan mucho, en diuersos lugares del principio del año ...*’
52. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 22, ‘*junte muchos viejos: los mas diestros, que yo pude aver, y juntamente, con los mas hábiles de los colegiales, se alterco esta materia por muchos dias ...*’
53. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: unnumbered prologue folio, ‘*los mismos naturales dieron la relacion de las cosas, que en este libro se tratan muy baxamente [...] en baxo lenguaje.*’
54. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 80v, ‘*La ultima solemnidad, que hizieron deste fuego nuevo: fue el año de mill y quinientos, y siete; hizieron Le, con toda solemnidad, porque no avian venido Los españoles, aesta tierra.*’
55. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 80v, ‘*no hizieron solemnidad publica: porque ya los españoles, y religiosos estauan en esta tierra.*’
56. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 80v, ‘*Quando sacauan fuero nueuo, y hazian esta solenmidad, reouauauan el pacto que tenian con el demonio de servirle ...*’
57. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. I, Prologue, fs. [i–iii], ‘*Los Peccados de la ydolatria, y ritos ydolaticos [...] no son aun perdidas del todo [...] en esta obra como una red barredera para sacar a luz [...] sus antigualla buenas y malas ...*’
58. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 78.
59. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 77, ‘*para que donde qujera que alguno le viere, sepa que es cosa muy prejudicial, a nuestra sancta fe catholica, y sea destruydo, y quemado.*’
60. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 76v.
61. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, unnumbered folio, ‘*Al Sincero Lector*’ ‘*Tienes en el presente volumen: amjgo lector, todas las fiestas movjbles, del año [...] donde se podra tomar indicio, y aujsjo: para conocer, si agora se hazen del todo, o en parte [...] será dificultoso, de caer en ellas.*’
62. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. VII, f. 12r; see also Hamann 2008: 804–8; Olivier 2019.
63. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 73v, ‘*veventoton, vevenpipil, tlahelvetetq̄, avilvetetque, aoc quimati vevetque, nextecuilvetetque, totumputlavevetque ...*’
64. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 1: bk. IV, f. 75, ‘*ca tel vncah in tetlalnamiquliz, yn oc neciz, yn oc motlatitica, yn oc tlapachiuhitica ...*’
65. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 69r/v, *cvculistli*; see also Ruz Barrio 2010, 199.
66. Molina [1571], f. 150v [second numeration]. ‘*Totomoni. Hazerse me bexigas o ampollas*’; see also f. 159v, ‘*Xittomonalli. bexiga o ampolla.*’
67. Molina [1571], f. 63 [second numeration].

68. Molina [1571], f. 10r [first numeration], ‘*Ampolla o bexiga. xittomoniliztli.*’
69. Molina [1571], f. 117v [first numeration], ‘*Virguelas. Çauatl*’; Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 69v; also spelled *zahuatl* or *çahuatl*.
70. Malvido 1973, 96–101; Prem 1991; León 1992; Ocaranza 1995, 176–78; Marr and Kiracofe 2000; Acuña-Soto et al. 2000; Pardo-Tomás 2014; Hughes 2021.
71. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XII, f. 53r/v, ‘*vei cocoliztli, totomonaliztli [...] in çavatl.*’
72. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XII, f. 53v, ‘*in tetech motecac veveu tepopul [...] vel miequintin ic micque [...] uncan vel caxavaque in Mexica, in tiacaaan.*’
73. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XI, f. 238v, ‘*en toda esta nueua españa murio la mayor parte de la gente en que en ella via [...] enterre mas de diz mjll cuerpos: y al cabo de la pestilencia diome a mj la enfermedad, y estuue muy al cabo.*’
74. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 83r, ‘*esta pestilencia deste año de mjll, y qujnientos y setenta y seis, que casi no esta y a nadie en el colegio muertos, y enfermos, casi todos son salidos.*’
75. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 69v.
76. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 69v. Depending on the context, it could either be command form or third person present tense during the Siglo de Oro (personal communication with Aaron Alejandro Olivas, 6/29/21). The traditional and the archaic article usage is found throughout Solís, *Historia*, for example (emphasis mine) p. 17: ‘*Y sin esperar el agradecimiento de Grijalva, le dió à entender el Cacique, por medio de los interpretes: Que su fin era la paz; y el intento de aquel regalo, despedir à los Huespedes, para poder mantenerlas. (4) Respondióle: Qua hacía toda estimación de su liberalidad ...*’
77. ‘*Pächihuiua nicno [...] me aprouecho de algo, como de medicina*’, Carochi [1645] f. 127v; *Pächihuiuã vt* to avail oneself of something as medicine ... This takes a direct object plus an oblique reflexive object (Karttunen 1992, 183; see also, 51). Lockhart explains that this type of verb, labeled with ‘*nicno*’ allows the reflexive prefix to represent a second or indirect object, in this case *mo* as the third person plural reflexive, but in rare cases the reflexive prefix should represent the direct object (2002, 11).
78. Sahagún et al. [1558–1561], f. 69v; Molina [1571], f. 78v [second numeration].
79. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 2: bk. I, unnumbered folio, prologue. Sahagún hoped that his fellow Franciscans could use the codex as a demonstrative dictionary to better access the terms and concepts of the Nahuatl-speaking populace. See Hernández de León-Portilla 2002, 43–44.
80. Another element to consider is the lack of a question mark at the end of Sahagún’s phrases in the illness section. Had he intended the section to be a guide for the reader to make inquiries instead of statements about efficacy in front of a Nahuatl-speaking audience, he might have included a question mark. On the other hand, the absence of such a mark is not conclusive because of the lackadaisical approach to punctuation in sixteenth-century Castilian texts.
81. Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 172r/v, ‘*Tehoantin ynoquic xitocaque ynhin ticiamatl mochinti mexica.*’
82. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 113v, ‘*Lo sobre dicho fue examjnado los médicos mexicanos cuyos nombres siguen.*’
83. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XI, f. 180v–81; Sahagún et al. [1561–1565], f. 172r/v. The healer Miguel García cited in Book XII was from San Sebastián; in the *Manuscrito de Tlatelolco* he was from San Toribio, indicating that they were different people with the same name.
84. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. XI, f. 180v.
85. Molina [1571], f. 108 [first numeration], ‘*sarna. çahuatl*’; ‘*Sarna*’ is often translated as scabies or mange but in the most basic sense refers to itchy raised lesions; *ibid.*, f. 22 [first numeration], ‘*Buua o buuas [buba o bubas] [...] nanauatl.*’
86. Cruz [1552], f. 1v, ‘*Non emm alia de caussa ut ego quidem supicor hunc libellum herbarium & medicamentarium fanto pere eflagitas, quam ut Jindos apud Sacram Çesaream Catholicam regiã maïstatem & si inmeritis commendes.*’
87. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 109v.

88. Molina [1571], f. 124v [second numeration], '*Ttalquequetzal. culantrillo de pozo.*'
89. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 38.
90. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 20.
91. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 20, '*In qualli ticitl tlanemiliani, tlaixmatini, xiuiximatqui, teixmatqui, quahiximatqui ...*'; *ibid.*, f. 38, '*in ticitl, xiuiximatini tlaneloaoioiximatini, quauhimatini, teiximati ...*'
92. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, fs. 100r/v, 105r [two images], 106v, 109r/v.
93. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, fs. 105r, 100r, 106r, 109r/v.
94. Sahagún et al. [1575–1577], 3: bk. X, f. 100v.
95. Few 2002, chs. 4 and 5.

## Acknowledgements

My gratitude goes to Kevin Terraciano, Louise Burkhart, Mary Terrall, Dana Leibsohn, Jeanette Favrot Peterson, Kim Richter, Pamela Munro, Cecelia Klein, Berenice Alcántara Rojas, Lisa Regan, Amara Solari, Dana Velasco Murillo, Marina Garone Gravier, Yve Chavez, Kathryn Renton and the anonymous *CLAR* reviewers for their generous support and comments. I also thank the various people and institutions that made this research possible, in particular the Getty Research Institute. In Florence, I am grateful for the time and access to the Florentine Codex manuscript at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana granted by Silvia Scipioni. At the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid, I appreciate the support from Dr. Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Dr. Jaime Olmedo Ramos, Carmen Iglesias Cano, and María del Pilar Cuesta Domingo to review their portion of the *Codices Matritenses*. Also in Madrid, I thank María Luisa López-Vidriero Abello, the Director at the Biblioteca del Palacio Real, for allowing manuscript consultation of their section of the *Codices Matritenses*. Finally, I need to thank the audience of my 2015 paper at the meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, out of which this article grew, for encouraging my comparative research on the multiple manuscripts linked to the Florentine Codex.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Biographical note

REBECCA DUFENDACH is the Visiting Assistant Professor in Latin American History with the Department of History at Loyola University Maryland. She is the editor for a special volume of the journal of *Ethnohistory* (66.4) that presents five essays on Mesoamerican experiences of illness. She received her PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles, where her dissertation focused on Nahua and Spanish concepts of sickness and health in sixteenth-century New Spain. Her work investigates how Indigenous peoples remembered the terrible, recurring diseases that wiped out about ninety percent of their population over the course of a century. It contributes to the research of ethnohistorians who seek to recover Indigenous perspectives of history by reading different types of historical sources, including pictorial writing systems and native-language alphabetic documents.

## References

- Acuña-Soto, Rodolfo, Leticia Calderón Romero, and James H. Maguire. 2000. Large epidemics of hemorrhagic fevers in Mexico 1545–1815. *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 62: 733–39.



- Alcántara Rojas, Berenice. 2021. *Antonio Valeriano, gobernante y sabio nahua del siglo XVI*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones sobre la Universidad y la Educación.
- Anderson, Arthur J. O., and Charles E. Dibble. 1982a. *Florentine Codex: general history of the things of New Spain*. Vol. 1: *Introductions and indices*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- . 1982b. Variations on a Sahaguntine theme. In *Florentine Codex: general history of the things of New Spain*, In *Florentine Codex: general history of the things of New Spain*. Vol. 1: *Introductions and indices*, edited by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, 3–9. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- , eds and trans. 1950–1982. *Florentine Codex: General history of the things of New Spain*. 13 vols. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Austin, Alfredo López. 1974. The research method of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: the questionnaires. In *Sixteenth-century Mexico: the work of Sahagún*, edited by Munro S. Edmonson, 111–49. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Aveni, Anthony F. 2012. *Circling the square: how the conquest altered the shape of time in Mesoamerica*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Baird, Ellen T. 1993. *The drawings of Sahagún's Primeros memoriales: structure and style*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Bleichmar, Daniela. 2012. *Visible empire: botanical expeditions and visual culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bleichmar, Daniela. 2019. Painting the Aztec past in early colonial Mexico: translation and knowledge production in the Codex Mendoza. *Renaissance Quarterly* 72 (4): 1362–415.
- Boone, Elizabeth Hill. 2000. *Stories in red and black: pictorial histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 2005. In Tlamatinime: the wise men and women of Aztec Mexico. In *Painted books and Indigenous knowledge in Mesoamerica*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone, 9–25. New Orleans: Tulane University, Middle American Research Institute.
- . 2007. *Cycles of time and meaning in the Mexican books of fate*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 2020. *Descendants of Aztec pictography: the cultural encyclopedias of sixteenth-century Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Burkhart, Louise M. 1989. *The slippery earth: Nahuatl-Christian moral dialogue in sixteenth-century Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- . 1992. The amanuenses have appropriated the text: interpreting a Nahuatl song of Santiago. In *On the translation of Native American literatures*, edited by Brian Swann, 339–55. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- . 1997. The cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico. In *South and Meso-American Native spirituality: from the cult of the feathered serpent to the theology of liberation*, edited by Gary H. Gossen and Miguel León-Portilla, 198–227. New York: Crossroad Press.
- . 2023. *Staging Christ's passion in eighteenth-century Nahuatl Mexico*. Denver: University Press of Colorado.
- Burkhart, Louise M, Barry D. Sell, and Stafford Poole. 2011. *Aztecs on stage: religious theater in colonial Mexico*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Bustamante García, Jesús. 1990. *Fray Bernardino de Sahagún: una revisión crítica de los manuscritos y de su proceso de composición*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Cárdenas, Gabriela Ramos, and Yanna Yannakakis, eds. 2014. *Indigenous intellectuals: knowledge, power, and colonial culture in Mexico and the Andes*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Carochi, Horacio. 2002. *Grammar of the Mexican language: with an explanation of its adverbs [1645]*. Edited by James Lockhart. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Cline, Howard F. 1973. Sahagún materials and studies, 1948–1971. In *The handbook of Middle American Indians*. Vol. 13: *Guide to ethnohistorical sources*, Pt. 2: 218–32. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cline, Howard F., and Luis Nicolau D'Olivera. 1973. Sahagún and his works. In *The handbook of Middle American Indians*. Vol. 13: *Guide to ethnohistorical sources*, Pt. 2: 186–207. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Cruz, Martín de la. 1991. *Libellus de medicinalibus indorum herbis* [Codex Cruz-Badiano] [1552]. Translated by Juan Badiano. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, Instituto Mexicano de Seguro Social.
- Cruz de la Cruz, Sabina. 2017. Cocoliztli tlen ahachica techpano. *Yolitia: Revista en lengua náhuatl* 4: 13–15.
- . 2019. Tepakhtihquetl pan ce pilaltepetzin, /A village healer. *Ethnohistory* 66 (4): 647–66.
- Dean, Carolyn, and Dana Leibsohn. 2003. Hybridity and its discontents: considering visual culture in colonial Spanish America. *Colonial Latin American Review* 12 (1): 5–35.
- Díaz, Mónica. 2010. *Indigenous writings from the convent: negotiating ethnic autonomy in colonial Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Dibble, Charles. 1982. Sahagún's *Historia*. In *Florentine Codex: general history of the things of New Spain*. Vol. 1: *Introductions and indices*, 9–23. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- . 1999. Los manuscritos de Tlatelolco y México y el Códice Florentino. *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 29: 27–64.
- Dufendach, Rebecca. 2017. Nahua and Spanish concepts of health and disease in colonial Mexico 1519–1615. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- . 2019. 'As if his heart died': a Reinterpretation of Moteuczoma's cowardice in the conquest history of the Florentine Codex. *Ethnohistory* 66 (4): 623–45.
- Dufendach, Rebecca, and Jeanette Favrot Peterson. 2022. Altered folios, alternative histories in the Florentine Codex. *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 64 (July–December): 63–107.
- Escalante Gonzalbo, Pablo. 2003. 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, CA: Academy of American Franciscan History.
- . 2019. 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. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Few, Martha. 2002. *Women who live evil lives: gender, religion, and the politics of power in colonial Guatemala*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- García Quintana, Josefina. 2002. Estudio Introductorio. In *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, edited by Josefina García Quintana and Alfredo López Austin, 37–51. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes; Alianza Editorial Mexicana.
- García Quintana, Josefina, and Alfredo López Austin, eds and trans. 2002. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. 3 vols. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes; Alianza Editorial Mexicana.
- Garibay Kintana, Ángel María. 1952. Versiones discutibles del texto náhuatl de Sahagún. *Tlalocan: Revista de fuentes para el conocimiento de las culturas indígenas de México* 3 (2): 187–90.
- , ed. 1969. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. 4 vols. 2nd ed. Mexico City: Porrúa.
- Garone Gravier, Marina. 2011. 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 A. Waldman, 157–97. Florence: Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut; Villa i Tatti, the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies.
- Gerhard, Peter. 1972. *A guide to the historical geography of New Spain*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Glass, John B. 1978. *Sahagún: reorganization of the Manuscrito de Tlatelolco, 1566–1569*. Lincoln Center, MA: Conemex Associates.
- Hamann, Byron Ellsworth. 2008. Chronological pollution potsherds, mosques, and broken gods before and after the conquest of Mexico. *Current Anthropology* 49 (5): 803–36.
- Hassig, Ross. 2001. *Time, history, and belief in Aztec and colonial Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hernández, Francisco. 2000. *The Mexican treasury: the writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*. Edited by Simon Varey, Rafael Chabrán, and Cynthia L. Chamberlin. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Hernández de León-Portilla, Ascensión. 2002. La *Historia general* de Sahagún a la luz de las enciclopedias de la tradición greco-romana. In *Bernardino de Sahagún: quinientos años de presencia*, edited by Miguel León-Portilla, 41–59. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Antropología; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Hidalgo Brinquis, María del Carmen. 2013. *Los manuscritos de la 'Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España' de Bernardino de Sahagún: el 'códice Matritense' de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte.
- Hughes, Jennifer Scheper. 2021. *The church of the dead: the epidemic of 1576 and the birth of Christianity in the Americas*. New York: New York University Press.
- Johansson, Patrick K. 2002. La *Historia general*: un encuentro de dos sistemas cognitivos. In *Bernardino de Sahagún: quinientos años de presencia*, edited by Miguel León-Portilla, 185–219. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Antropología; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Karttunen, Frances. 1992. *An analytical dictionary of Nahuatl*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Kubler, George, and Charles Gibson. 1951. *The Tovar calendar: an illustrated Mexican manuscript ca. 1585*. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences; Yale University Press.
- Leibsohn, Dana. 2009. *Script and glyph: pre-Hispanic history, colonial bookmaking and the 'Historia Tolteca Chichimeca'*. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Lewis, Laura. 2003. *Hall of mirrors: power, witchcraft, and caste in colonial Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- León, Nicolás. 1992. '¿Qué era el matlazahuatl y qué el cocoliztli en los tiempos precolombinos y en la época hispana?' In *Ensayos sobre la historia de las epidemias en México*, edited by Enrique Florescano and Elsa Malvido, 1:383–95. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social.
- León-Portilla, Miguel. 2002a. *Bernardino de Sahagún: first anthropologist*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- , ed. 1958. *Ritos, sacerdotes y atavíos de los dioses: textos de los informantes de Sahagún*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia.
- , ed. 2002b. *Bernardino de Sahagún: quinientos años de presencia*. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Antropología; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Lockhart, James. 1992. *The Nahuas after the conquest: a social and cultural history of the Indians of central Mexico, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . 1995. A double tradition: editing book twelve of the Florentine Codex. In *Critical issues in editing exploration texts*, edited by Germaine Warkentin, 125–48. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- . 2002. *Nahuatl as written: lessons in older written Nahuatl, with copious examples and texts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- , ed. and trans. 1993. *We people here: Nahuatl accounts of the conquest of Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- López Austin, Alfredo. 2011. Estudio acerca del método de investigación de fray Bernardino de Sahagún. *Estudios de cultura náhuatl* 42: 353–400.
- Magaloni Kerpel, Diana. 2004. Images of the beginning: the painted story of the conquest of Mexico in book XII of the Florentine Codex. PhD dissertation, Yale University.
- . 2014. *The colors of the New World: artists, materials, and the creation of the Florentine Codex*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- . 2016. *Albores de la conquista: la historia pintada del Códice Florentino*. Mexico City: Artes de México y del Mundo; Secretaría de Cultura Dirección General de Publicaciones.
- Malvido, Elsa. 1973. Cronología de las epidemias y crisis agrícolas de la época colonial. *Historia Mexicana* 89: 96–101.
- Marr, John S., and James B. Kiracofe. 2000. Was the *huey cocoliztli* a haemorrhagic fever? *Medical History* 44: 341–62.
- McDonough, Kelly. 2014. *The learned ones: Nahuatl intellectuals in postconquest Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Molina, Alonso de. 2008. *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana: y mexicana y castellana [1571]*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa.

- Montero Sobrevilla, Iris. 2020. The disguise of the hummingbird: on the natural history of Huitzilopochtli in the Florentine Codex. *Ethnohistory* 67 (3): 429–53.
- Mundy, Barbara E., and Aaron M. Hyman. 2015. Out of the shadow of Vasari: towards a new model of the ‘artist’ in colonial Latin America. *Colonial Latin American Review* 24 (3): 283–317.
- Navarrete, Federico. 2002. La sociedad indígena en la obra de Sahagún. In *Bernardino de Sahagún: quinientos años de presencia*, edited by Miguel León-Portilla, 91–116. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Antropología; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Nicholson, H. B. 1973. Sahagún’s *Primeros memoriales*, Tepepolco, 1559–1561. In *The handbook of Middle American Indians Vol. 13, Guide to Ethnohistorical sources*, Pt. 2: 207–17. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ocaranza, Fernando. 1995. *Historia de la medicina en México*. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes [Conaculta].
- Olivier, Guilhem. 2019. Teotl and Diablo: Indigenous and Christian conceptions of gods and devils in the Florentine Codex. In *The Florentine Codex: an encyclopedia of the Nahuatl world in sixteenth-century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano. 110–22. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Pardo-Tomás, José. 2014. ‘Antiguamente vivían más sanos que ahora’: explanations of native mortality in the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*. In *Medical cultures of the early modern Spanish Empire*, edited by John Slater, Maríaluz López-Terrada, and José Pardo-Tomás, 41–65. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Paso y Troncoso, Francisco del, ed. 1905–1907. *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún. Edición parcial en facsimile de los Códices Matritenses en lengua mexicana que se custodian en las Bibliotecas del Palacio Real y de la Real Academia de la Historia*. 6 vols. Madrid: Hauser y Menet.
- Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. 1988. The Florentine Codex imagery and the colonial *Tlacuilo*. In *The work of Bernardino de Sahagún: pioneer ethnographer of sixteenth-century Aztec Mexico*, edited by J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quiñones Keber, 273–93. Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, State University of New York.
- . 2019. Images in translation: a codex ‘muy historiado.’ In *The Florentine Codex: an encyclopedia of the Nahuatl world in sixteenth-century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 21–36. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Penyak, Lee M. 1993. Criminal sexuality in central Mexico 1750–1850. PhD dissertation, University of Connecticut.
- Prem, Hanns J. 1991. Disease outbreaks in central Mexico during the sixteenth century. In *Secret judgments of God: Old World disease in colonial Spanish America*, edited by Noble David Cook and W. George Lovell, 20–49. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Quiñones Keber, Eloise. 1988. Deity images and texts in the *Primeros memoriales* and *Florentine Codex*. In *The work of Bernardino de Sahagún: pioneer ethnographer of sixteenth-century Aztec Mexico*, edited by J. Jorge Klor de Alva, H. B. Nicholson, and Eloise Quiñones Keber, 255–72. Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, University at Albany, State University of New York.
- . 1997. An introduction to the images, artists, and physical features of the *Primeros memoriales*. In Bernardino de Sahagún, *Primeros memoriales*. Edited and translated by Thelma D. Sullivan and H. B. Nicholson, 15–37. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- . 2002. *Representing Aztec ritual: performance, text, and image in the work of Sahagún*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Ríos Castaño, Victoria. 2014. From the ‘Memoriales con escolios’ to the *Florentine Codex*: Sahagún and his Nahuatl assistants’ co-authorship of the Spanish translation. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 20 (2): 214–28.
- Romero Galván, José Rubén. 2002. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún y la *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*. In *Bernardino de Sahagún: quinientos años de presencia*, edited by Miguel León-Portilla, 29–39. Mexico City: Museo Nacional de Antropología; Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Rubio, Elena Díaz, and Jesús Bustamante García. 1983. Carta de Pedro San Buenaventura a fray Bernardino de Sahagún acerca del calendario solar mexicano. *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 13: 109–20.

- Ruz Barrio, Miguel Ángel. 2010. Los *Códices Matritenses* de fray Bernardino de Sahagún: estudio codicológico del manuscrito de la Real Academia de la Historia. *Revista Española de Antropología Americana* 40 (2): 189–228.
- Sahagún, Bernardino de, Diego de Grado, Martín Jacobita, Bonifacio Maximiliano, Pedro de San Buenaventura, Mateo Severino, Antonio Valeriano, Alonso Vegerano, Diego de Mendoza, Unnamed Nahua Elders. [1558–1561]. [Primeros memoriales] Historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España. Códices matritenses de la Real Biblioteca del Real Palacio Madrid. Ms. signatura: II/3280, fs. 250–303.
- . [1558–1561] [Primeros memoriales] Historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España. Códice matritense de la Academia de Historia. Ms. signatura: 9/5524, fs. 51–66, 68–71r, 72–85.
- . [1561–1565] [Manuscrito de Tlatelolco] Historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España. Códices matritenses de la Real Biblioteca del Real Palacio Madrid. Ms. signatura: II/3280, fs. 1–24, 25–32, 33–159, 160–70, 171–77.
- . [1561–1565]. [Manuscrito de Tlatelolco] Historia universal de las cosas de la Nueva España. Códice matritense de la Academia de Historia. Ms signatura: 9/5524, fs. 1–23, 24–25, 26–50, 67, 71v, 86–87, 96v–103, 104–97, 198–99, 200–342, 88–96r.
- . [1575–1577]. Historia general de las cosas de nueva Espana [Florentine Codex MS]. 3 vols. Florence: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Mediceo Palatino Collection, vols. 218–20.
- . 1979. *El Códice Florentino de Bernardino de Sahagún* [1575–1577]. 3 vols. Mexico City: Secretaría de Gobernación.
- . 1993. *Primeros memoriales*. Facsimile edition photographed by Ferdinand Anders. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press; Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional and Real Academia de la Historia.
- Schwaller, John F. 2003. Tracking the Sahagún legacy: manuscripts and their travels. In *Sahagún at 500: essays on the quincentenary of the birth of Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún*, edited by John F. Schwaller, 265–73. Berkeley, CA: Academy of American Franciscan History.
- Sousa, Lisa. 2017. *The woman who turned into a jaguar, and other narratives of native women in archives of colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Spitler, Susan. 2005. Colonial Mexican calendar wheels: cultural translation and the problem of ‘authenticity’. In *Painted books and Indigenous knowledge in Mesoamerica: manuscript studies in honor of Mary Elizabeth Smith*, edited by Elizabeth Hill Boone. New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute.
- . 2007. Nahua intellectual responses to the Spanish: the incorporation of European ideas in the central Mexican calendar. PhD dissertation, Tulane University.
- Sullivan, Thelma D., and H. B. Nicholson, eds and trans. 1997. *Primeros memoriales*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sullivan, John, Eduardo de la Cruz Cruz, Abelardo de la Cruz de la Cruz, Delfina de la Cruz de la Cruz, Victoriano de la Cruz Cruz, Sabina Cruz de la Cruz, Ofelia Cruz Morales, Catalina Cruz de la Cruz, and Manuel de la Cruz Cruz. 2016. *Tlahtolxitlahucayotl. Chicontepec, Veracruz*. Warsaw: Facultad de Artes Liberales : Zacatlan Macehualtlallamiccan (IDIEZ).
- Tena, Rafael. 1987. *El calendario mexicana y la cronografía*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Terraciano, Kevin. 2010. Three texts in one: book XII of the *Florentine Codex*. *Ethnohistory* 57 (1): 51–72.
- . 2019a. 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. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- . 2019b. Reading between the lines of book XII. In *The Florentine Codex: an encyclopedia of the Nahua world in sixteenth-century Mexico*, edited by Jeanette Favrot Peterson and Kevin Terraciano, 45–62. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Tortorici, Zeb. 2007. ‘Heran todos putos’: sodomitical subcultures and disordered desire in early colonial Mexico. *Ethnohistory* 54 (1): 35–67.
- Varey, Simon, Rafael Chabrán, and Dora B. Weiner, eds. 2000. *Searching for the secrets of nature: the life and works of Dr. Francisco Hernández*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.