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Here it is. A Nahuatl translation of European cosmology : context and contents of the Izcatqui manuscript in the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam

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Chapter One - Izcatqui

This chapter provides codicological information and discussion of types of handwriting and the presumed year of production according to an ownership statement, as well as some characteristics of its grammar. This is followed by a summary of the content of Izcatqui as a whole, before chapters Four through Six discuss the manuscript in more detail.

1.1 Acquisition and Composition

Izcatqui was acquired by the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam in September 1965. Prior to its acquisition, the manuscript had remained at the Xalapa University in Veracruz, Mexico for an unknown number of years.⁵ According to a document from the Tropenmuseum, the Nahuatl manuscript came from the area of Xalapa itself, but it is unclear whether that claim refers purely to its residency or also to the location of its original production. The manuscript is composed of a total of 121 folios and is numbered on the recto side of each folio. Not every folio is numbered though and on some occasions folio numbers appear twice. This results in the following numbering (underscored folio numbers are replicated in the enumeration): 1-69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 72, 73, 74, 75-78, 79, 78, 79, 80-95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102-108, 109, 1010, 101, 102, 103, 104, an unnumbered folio with an ownership statement (see below), and an unnumbered folio presenting a table with the lengths of the days of the months. So even though the manuscript contains 121 folios, its final folio number is in fact 104. This folio number appears twice, such is also the case for numbers 78, 79, 102 and 103. The reason for this repetition can only be guessed. It is likely, however, that individual contributions (see below) to the manuscript were assembled during a later stage of production, and that this is how errors in the numbering of folios came to be part of the manuscript.

The folios are bound together in a hard-cover measuring 21.3 cm in height, 16 cm in width, and 2 cm in thickness. According to the Tropenmuseum, the manuscript is composed of paper fiber products and materials of organic and inorganic origin (or European paper and ink). In some places the folios are damaged, likely due to insects (see Spitler 2005, 231) or perhaps fungi (personal communication Martijn de Ruijter 2014). The most damaged areas of the manuscript are on the outer margins of several of the folios, causing illegibility of some passages of text (compare in Figure 2 one of the most damaged folios f.1r with one of the least damaged folios f.98r).

Izcatqui is written in very clear and distinguishable handwritings (see Figure 4). Paleographic analysis by the author of the different characteristics of variation in handwriting has led to the conclusion that probably six individuals worked collectively on the manuscript. In addition, the analysis also concluded that these six individuals were working simultaneously in one single period. Therefore, Izcatqui cannot be taken to be a miscellaneous collection of documents from different periods, each added to the other under the patronship of a collector. Rather, Izcatqui must be taken to have been

⁵ Courtesy of the Tropenmuseum for providing me scans of the original documentation from 1965 as well as those from the restoration process of 1972.

intentionally produced in the form of a single manuscript. The style of the manuscript mimicked a gothic medieval manuscript (see Figure 3).

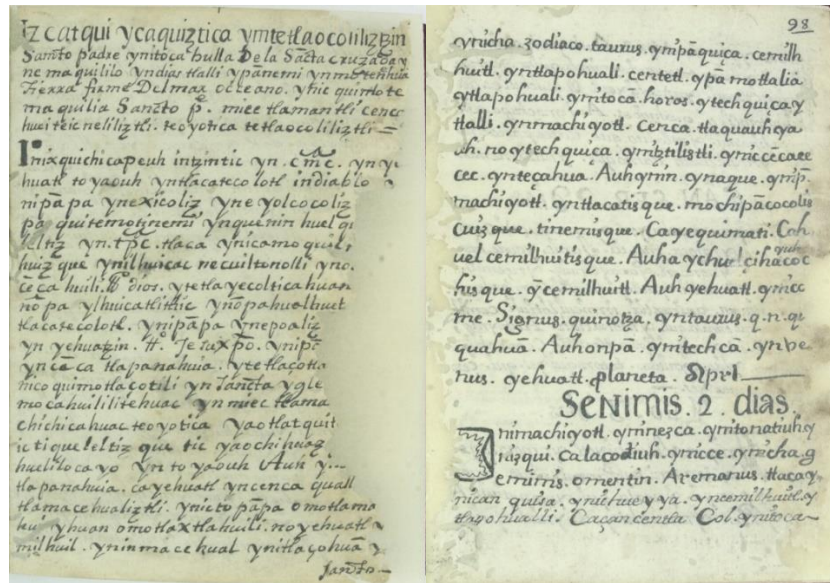


Figure 2. The largest and the least degree of damage on folio 1r and 98r respectively.

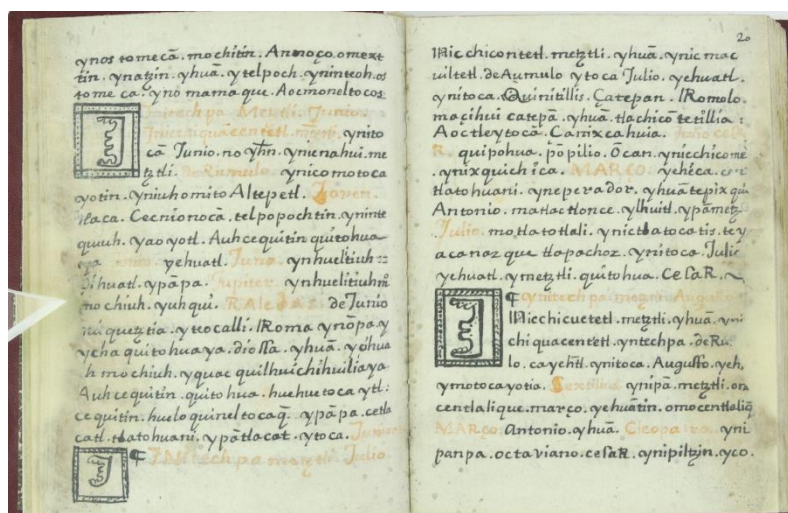


Figure 3. The use of black and red ink, as well as elaborate initials, to mimic a gothic medieval manuscript, folios 19v-20r.

1.2 Dating Izcatqui

The following two sub-sections describe two different ways to place Izcatqui in (a) moment(s) in history. The first is the physical production of the manuscript at one point in time. The second is an analysis of Nahuatl linguistics, the presence of Spanish loanwords, and grammatical constructions. The late James Lockhart proposed three stages of modifications in the Nahuatl language, according to the relative intensity of contact between Spaniards and Nahuas (Lockhart 1992). Following Lockhart, it would be arguable that the date of production of Izcatqui is not necessarily the period in which the text was translated.

1.2.1 Paleography and production

The following statement is taken from an unnumbered folio following 104r (in sequence folio 120 of a total of 121):

[f.104v]

<i>ypan Metztli de octhobre [sic] tlapo/hua 14 de 1758</i>	It is the 14th of October in the year 1758
<i>al</i>	
<i>/ni/quitohua nehuatl felipe de santia/go</i>	I, Maestro Felipe de Santiago
<i>M[aes]t[r]o tepetlatzin</i>	tepetlatzin, say
<i>niquithohua neh/w/atl yc huelmelahuac yxpantzi/n/</i>	I say in an honest manner before
<i>/y/n t[o]t[ecuy]o⁶ dios</i>	our Lord
<i>yca nehuatl no ax/ca// /i/nin amatzintli</i>	that this book is my possession
<i>ayac huelitis y//na/macalauis</i>	no one will be able to sell it in the end
<i>quitos yaxca yes</i>	and say that it is his property

The scribe or *tlacuilo* wrote this fragment on what appears to be a rather random folio for no other clear reason than the availability of some left-over space on the page itself. The statement follows a discussion on the Roman terminology for days of the months, said to be written by a certain Juan Andrés (see below), and it precedes the final folio of the manuscript with a table containing the number of hours of daylight for each day of the year. The ownership statement itself, however, is illustrative of several things. Clearly, it is a perfect indication of when the manuscript was owned and by whom, at least at one point in time. In itself, the statement does not refer to a year in which the manuscript was made. However, its style of handwriting coincides with that of handwriting on folios throughout the entire manuscript. Considering that the different hands are not restricted to cover single folios but overlap it is safe to say that Izcatqui is not a compilation of texts written in years far apart.

Thus, we can infer that whoever was responsible for the ownership statement was working contemporaneously with the five other *tlacuiloque* in the mid eighteenth century. This would suggest that the manuscript consists of the contributions of six writers who all wrote and handed in their contribution prior to the 14th of October 1758. Second, the ownership statement refers to the identity of the owner itself: *felipe de Santiago M[aes]t[r]o tepetlatzin* [sic]. The construction of the name is puzzling – a name, *maestro*, and then another name. Felipe de Santiago is a name that appears in colonial documents from the seventeenth century.⁷ Although there is a current-day community called San Felipe Santiago near Mexico City, which may lead one to think that the ‘owner’ identified was perhaps a locality, it is most likely a personal name. For it to be a name, *Tepetlatzin* could be a combination of *tetl* (stone), *petlatl* (a woven mat or *petate*), and *-tzin* (honorific). Kartunnen translates *tepetlatl* as “a type of porous rock used in construction; someone rough, uncouth” (1983: 230). A final suggestion is that *tepetlatzin* is a toponym for Tepetlatzinco (personal communication Julia Madajczak, 2016): a political jurisdiction to the south of Tenochtitlan (central Mexico) (see Gibson, 1964: 373, 376).

⁶ The ‘o’ written in superscript.

⁷ See for example two references in the *Historia cronológica de la Noble Ciudad de Tlaxcala* by Tlaxcalan cacique Juan Buenaventura Zapata y Mendoza (2nd half seventeenth century), transcribed and translated from Nahuatl into Spanish by Luis Reyes García and Andrea Martínez Baracs (1995). In the year 1604, among several others, one major of the province (*alcalde de provincial*) is *don Felipe de Santiago* (f.19v, §216, pp. 200-202). And a baby boy is born on the 2nd of February 1665 named F[e]lipe de Sanatiago [sic] (f.47r, §316, pp. 346-347).







<i>Hand</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Characteristics letters</i>	<i>Folios</i>	<i>Folios uncertain</i>
# 1	Cursive; slanted; unconnected except for some		1r – 7v; 7r – 11r	
# 2	Cursive; slanted; vertical strokes have a curved appearance; predominantly connected and mainly thin strokes.		7v; 40r – 45r;	
# 3	Standing; steep; predominantly unconnected; thick strokes.		12v – 17r	
# 4	Cursive; slanted; predominantly unconnected; variety in thick and thin strokes.		17r – 29r; 30v – r; 30r; 31v – 33v	33v – 35r (could be h. 6)
# 5	Cursive; slanted; vertical strokes have a curved appearance; equally connected as unconnected; thin strokes; loops or ending of letters are colored black.		29r; 30v – r; 40v; 45r – 47r; 57v – 58v; 68v; 1 st 79v – 1 st 79r; 80v – r; 89v – 90r; 96r – 97v; 98r – 100v; 2 nd 104r – v; 105v – r; 106v	
# 6	Cursive; slanted; equally connected as unconnected; overall a large script; variety in thick and thin strokes.		36r; 47r – 56r; 58v – 68v; 68r – 1 st 79; 1 st 79r; 2 nd 79v – r; 80v; 80r – 89r; 90v – 96r; 97v – 98r; 100v – 2 nd 104v; 2 nd 104r – 105v; 106r – 109r	

Figure 4. Table of characteristics of the six hands in Izcatqui.

Nahuatl historian Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehunitzin wrote in the early seventeenth century about a great priest going to the *tlaxicalli* (district of an *altepetl* or sociopolitical entity) of Tepetlatzinco Natividas the 11th of September, 1594 to visit the church⁸ and say mass (Lockhart et.al., 2006: 18, 53).⁹ In conclusion to this statement, it is most likely that Tepetlatzin is a personal name and that Izcatqui was owned by a *maestro* (an intellectual or artist) Felipe de Santiago Tepetlatzin (personal communication Maarten Jansen, 2018).

On the same folio, immediately prior to the ownership statement, appears the name of a certain Juan Andrés. This fragment describes him as the writer of the work.

[f.104v]

[...] *ca yuhq[ui/] momachiyotilli*

oquimotlalili yn itla/tol

yc ca mahuiztililoni Juan andres/

ynic huel oquimomelauhcatlali

y/yn oquimiCuilhui [sic] [signature]

thus, it was signed

the word has settled itself

by the honored Juan Andrés

hereby he explained it

he wrote it

Although Izcatqui is written by a group of *tlacuiloque*, Juan Andrés is the only one mentioned by name. The lack of a second surname might indicate that this individual could have been an employee of a Spanish landowner. Many servants received the first name of their employer as a surname instead of a combination of the first surname of the father followed by the first surname of the mother according to Spanish naming custom (personal communication Wichmann, 2013). If this applies to Juan Andrés, then this would imply that the manuscript was written by at least one native Nahuatl speaker and not by Spaniards who had been taught Nahuatl. The ownership statement and the reference to one of its *tlacuiloque* are written in the same hand. The ink of the ownership statement though is of a lighter shade than the ink that makes reference to Juan Andrés. As a result, it is unclear – and impossible to ascertain – whether it was Juan Andrés referring to himself in third person in the fragment above or if it was someone else writing about Juan Andrés. Nevertheless, the differences in shades of ink seem to suggest that the ownership statement was added in a later phase of the manuscript’s production, perhaps even as its final addition.

1.2.2 Linguistics and Lockhart’s three phases

The introduction of a new language into an area creates a situation in which some terms cannot be translated at first, simply because particular ideas, concepts, functions, or objects do not exist within one of the two originating areas. James Lockhart’s *Nahuas and Spaniards – Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (1991) is a combination of philological studies and cultural, intellectual, and literary analyses. Lockhart’s study examines how Spanish was incorporated into the Nahuatl language from first contact onwards and how it eventually affected Nahuatl grammar and sentence construction itself.

Lockhart distinguishes three stages that relate the intensity of contact between Spaniards and Nahuas to modifications in the Nahuatl language¹⁰. Stage 1 encompasses the period from 1519 to 1540-

⁸ That particular church was home to a statue of the Virgin which in the first half of the eighteenth century is said to have carried out no less than 32 miracles in less than three years before her miraculous powers ceased (Gruzinski, 2001: 208).

⁹ The name of Tepetlatzinco is also written as Tepetlatzingo in colonial documents (see Taylor, 2006: 115).

¹⁰ In his 1992 publication *The Nahuas After the Conquest* Lockhart adds a “Stage 4” (quotes are his) beginning in the second half of eighteenth century. After roughly 1760-70, close to the production of Izcatqui, indigenous

50 in which there was supposedly little contact and consequently very few changes in Nahuatl language (*ibid.*: 12). In this phase, new items that appeared in the continent were not so much described in Spanish but were fitted into existing Nahuatl terminology. For example, ‘sheep’ – an animal new to the continent – was not expressed through the Spanish word *oveja*, but constructed through the artificial extension of the fabric of cotton (*ichcatl*) to wool, and thus to the animal that bore it. Therefore, *ichcatl* came to be synonymous for not only cotton, but for wool and sheep as well (Karttunen & Lockhart, 1976: 41).

According to Lockhart, this short stage was followed by Stage 2 covering approximately the next hundred years to 1640-50. During this period, Spanish nouns were used frequently as contact between Nahuas and Spaniards increased, and Spanish words began to represent elements “that in one way or another had become a part of indigenous life” (Lockhart, 1991: 13). While the previous Stage unfamiliar items were termed by the Nahuatl closest available equivalent, by Stage 2 these equivalents were replaced by Spanish. As such, *maçatl* (deer) for “horse” was replaced with *caballo*; and a cow was no longer described as *quaquahue* (horned animal), but as *vaca*. The most frequent loan words were those that describe new plants or animals, new tools and materials, names of officers (legal and religious), more abstract Spanish concepts and procedure, and finally measurements of time, weight, and value (*ibid.*). During this period, Spanish language contact did not affect grammar to a large extent, and nouns written in the Roman alphabet were adjusted to the Nahuatl phonetic system. The letters *b*, *d*, *g*, and *r* for instance, which were not part of the Nahua sound repertoire, were omitted by a new spelling in accordance to pronunciation. Some examples are *tilico* (trigo – wheat), *xapato* (sábado – Saturday) and *coloz* (cruz – cross) (*ibid.*: 15).

Stage 3 was fully felt around the mid-seventeenth century, although its features were already apparent from the end of the sixteenth century (Lockhart, 1992: 304). Lockhart says of Stage 3 that “the language remained very much itself, but it was now permeated with elements of Spanish origin which affected grammar and pronunciation as well as lexicon” (Lockhart, 1991: 15). By now not only Spanish nouns had been incorporated in documents (at times replacing the earlier Nahuatl equivalents), but also verbs – albeit in a much lower frequency. Some of these verbs have even settled into the Nahuatl language up unto today as combinations of the Spanish infinitive plus *-oa*, the native verbalizing element (Lockhart, 1992: 305-308; Karttunen & Lockhart, 1976: 29-35). According to Lockhart, the high frequency of Spanish words throughout documents produced in the Stage 3 period indicates that this permeated, hybrid language had become almost a second language for the large group who had learned Nahuatl as their mother language (Lockhart, 1991: 15). So far, we have seen that nouns and verbs were directly or in a slightly modified manner incorporated into Nahuatl vocabulary. During Stage 3 conjunctions and prepositions such as *para* and *hasta* began to appear in Nahuatl documents. Furthermore, Spanish expressions began to be copied into Nahuatl. For example, the verb *pia* – “to hold, to guard” – took over the use of the Spanish verb *tener*. In this instance, *quipia chicuey xihuitl* (lit: he guards eight years) came to signify “he is eight years old”, similar to the Spanish phrase *tiene ocho años* (*ibid.*: 17). By 1700, the final development in this Stage occurred with the expansion of the phonetic system as Nahuas learned to pronounce the sounds that they had omitted in the second Stage (Lockhart, 1992: 315).

Figure 5 provides an overview of all the Spanish loanwords in Izcatqui, grouped according to subject matter. For this short initial analysis, Izcatqui’s loanwords have been compared to Karttunen and Lockhart’s inventory of Spanish loanwords in over forty Nahuatl documents in the period 1540 to 1738 (1976: 53). Those loanwords that are followed by the year of production in brackets are: *xpianoyotl* [1560], *bullá*, *yndulgencia*, *papa* [1570], *apostol* and *yndias* [1607-1629] (1976: 60, 62, 65). According

writers began to produce texts in Spanish in significantly growing numbers. The corpus that Lockhart studied seems to suggest that the *tlacuiloque* retained elements of Nahuatl grammar in their Spanish texts (Lockhart, 1991: 318-323).

to Karttunen and Lockhart, it was by the year 1545 that the Spanish names for the days and months of the Julian calendrical year were copied as well (1976: 53). This small exercise shows that even though the manuscript was composed in the eighteenth century, its content was, in parts, known two centuries prior. It is not surprising, then, that the similarities in loanwords are from a religious and calendrical context, as both religion and the calendar were introduced into Mesoamerica early on in the colonial period.

Subject matter	Spanish loan word
Religion/liturgical calendar	santo padre, bulla de la Sācta cruzada, diablo, dios Jesuxpō, catholica Romana, xpianoyotl, apostol, papa, yglesia, yndulgētia plenaria, Santo Jubileo, obispo, glerigos, Missa, Monasterios, Sacramento De laucha, pasqua, descomonio, quaresma, Altar, castidad, purgatorio, Espiritu, amen, purification, exaltacion, dedicacion de la yglesia, rremission de los peccados, reuelacion, consecracion del saluador, quatro temporas, septuagesima, quagesima, letanias mayores, virtudes, açension pentecoster, mitos, Signostin y666
Place indicators	tierra firme Del mar oceano, Salem, Jerusalem, babilonia, Judea, Alexandria, Egipt, Castillan, meçionales, septendrionales, Jhierusalem, Toledo, Barcelona, Sevilla
Plants, animals, & food	cidras, limones, granadas, açogar, naraia, pimiēta, mostraça, cominos, rabanaos, cebollas, ajos, ronda, yazafran, chilli, pepinas, limas, coles, perales, menbrillos, torazonos, mançanos, rauanos, lechocas, trigo, melones, platanos, Artemesa, centauro, cabra, carnero, vinagre, Sancria
Celestial bodies/astral occurrences	planetas, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurio, Jupiter, Venus, Saturnus, estrella, Signus, çodiago, Aries, Taurus, geminis, Cancer, Leo, virgo, libra, Scorpius, sagittarius, capricornius, Aquarius, piscis, conjuciones, oposiciones, llena, ecclipse
Measurement of time	minutos, hora, dia, semana, mes, anno, tiempo, domingo, lunes, martes, miyerccors, jueves, fiernes, sabbato, medianoctis, enero, febrero, março, aprilis, maio, junius, julius, agosto, setiembre, octubre, nobiembre, deçiembre, berano, yvierno, Aureus Nomerus
Body parts	muellas, pincas, pruenas, circular
Personal titles	papa, cavalleros de las ordenes militares, cōmadre, cōpatre, emperadoresme, obispo,

	opisbome, astrologosme, filosofostin, doctoresme, glerico, sacerdote
Artifacts	tigeras, cochillo

Figure 5. Table of Spanish loanwords in ms 3523-2, according to subject matter.

Spanish words in ms 3523-2 are explained by the *tlacuiloque* by choosing the closest Nahuatl equivalent for a Spanish word. Whenever we read [...] *ytoca* [...] or *quitoznequi* (“its name” and literally “it wants to say” or “it is” respectively), a Spanish term is translated into Nahuatl (or vice versa). An illustrative example from folio 106v is as follows:

[f.106v]

Anno yntoca xihuitl

mes ytoca¹¹ metztli

Semana yntoca chiconilhuatl

día ytoca yllhuatl

obacentlaco machio/tl nanauhcan

memento yntoca canixō/chcahuitica¹²

tie[m]po yntoca hue/.../¹³

Anno (año/year) is named xihuitl

mes (month) is named metztli

semana (week) is named ‘seven days’,

día (day) is named ilhuatl

half a sign is in four places

memento is named ‘the leaving of the flower’

tiempo (time)

is named [something old of age]

Izcatqui discussed the twelve Zodiac signs on several occasions and the *tlacuiloque* chose four tactics to describe them. The first is a direct copy of the name as they have in the Latin world; the second is a description of the physical appearance of the sign in Nahuatl; the third is a description according to its closest equivalent in Nahuatl and the fourth is the physical description of the sign in Spanish accompanied by their description in Nahuatl (see Figure 48 in Chapter 5). The fourth tactic is used for only three Zodiac signs, Aries (*carnero*), Sagittarius (*cahuallo*, *centauro*) and Capricorn (*cabra*). Most of the other Zodiac signs are animals or concepts familiar to the Nahua reader in the Nahuatl language itself. The ram, horse, and goat are not native to Mesoamerica; however, it is likely that these would have been known by a Nahua readership – as would the Spanish loan word denoting them – by the time Izcatqui was produced in the eighteenth century. It is curious that Leo (depicted by a lion, a non-native animal in Mesoamerica) is only described through its closest Nahuatl equivalent, *ocelotl* (jaguar), and not by the Spanish *león*. Taurus (bull) is only described as *quaquahue* (one with horns). This description apparently sufficed, because *toro* was left out as well. Interestingly, Lockhart mentions that during Stage 2, *vaca* pushed *quaquahue* into the specialized meaning “ox” (Lockhart, 1992: 279-80). If this is correct,

¹¹ Within three lines we find three versions of the word: *yntoca*; *ȳtoca* and *ytoca*. *Yntoca*, as frequently as it is used, in itself is a strange construction. *Tocaitl* is ‘name’ and *yn tocaitl* would read as ‘the name’. *Tocaitl* in a possessed form loses its absolutive, so becomes *toca*. However, when it is combined with a possessive prefix it is never *yntoca*, but *itoca* ‘its name’.

¹² *xōchicahuitica*. This translation is problematic and the following are just mere suggestions. A possibility is that it is composed of *xochitl* ‘flower’, *cahua* ‘to leave’, followed by ligature *-ti-* and the auxiliary verb *-ca* ‘to be’. This then would be ‘the flower is leaving’. I have not found similar words for ‘memory’ in the dictionaries consulted. Perhaps it is composed of *xochi* ‘flower’, *cahuitl* ‘time’ (‘flower time’) and ligature *-ti* plus relational *-ca* ‘by means of’. The translation however, remain inconclusive.

¹³ In Karttunen’s dictionary, the word for ‘time’ is *cahuitl* (1983: 21). Here, the authors have chosen a word that indicates the old age of the subject matter: *huecauh* ‘a long time; something old’ [this word does not fit the space left on the right margin of the page though] or *hueca* ‘far away’. It is clear though that the authors have used a construction that not just refers to ‘time’ in general, but to something that has history.

then it suggests that the Nahuatl of the manuscript was written in the earlier years of Stage 2, in which *quaquahue* still indicated all animals with horns and not just oxen. And there is another argument that suggests the same conclusion. The *tlacuiloque* use two tactics to describe Sagittarius: naming it by its closest Nahuatl equivalent, *maçatl*, and by its Spanish loanword, *cahuallo*. During Stage 2, *maçatl* is ‘passé’ and replaced by *cahuallo* (Lockhart, 1992: 293). However, the fact that both *maçatl* and *cahuallo* appear in Izcatqui seems to suggest that its readership was in the transitional phase of knowing a horse both by reference to the name of the indigenous animal that looked most like a horse and by reference to its Spanish name.

There are some fusions of Spanish nouns and Nahuatl suffixes that are not uncommon in Nahuatl colonial writing. The first fusion is a combination of a Spanish noun with the Nahuatl indication of the plural form. In Nahuatl, the plural is formed by adding either *-tin*, *-mê* or *-^* (glottal stop) to a noun minus the absolutive *-tli* or *-tl* (the affix depends on whether or not the stem-ending is a consonant or a vowel). In Izcatqui, there are several examples of *-tin* and *-mê* following a Spanish noun, for instance, *emperadoresme*, *astrologosme*, *philosofostin*, *doctoresme*, *opisbome*, *Signostin*, and *carnerome*. On folio 68v, such a composition was made as well, but this time it was ‘corrected’ by the *tlacuilo* who crossed out the *-me* of *letrasme*.

There is another situation in which Nahuatl and Spanish morphemes are combined in Izcatqui. There are two examples in which the Nahuatl suffix *-yōtl* is combined with a Spanish word. The *-yo* suffix is placed after a noun before its absolutive to turn a concrete noun into an abstract one. The first example is *xpianoyotl* [f.2v], a combination of the Spanish term *cristiano* (a Christian) and the abstract suffix *-yōtl*. Such a suffix will turn the noun “a Christian” into the more general concept of “Christianity”. The second example is *Castillanayotl* [f.48v], comprised of *Castilian*, an extra *a* to facilitate pronunciation, and *-yōtl*. *Castilian* is the naturalized form of Castilla and was used to express the Nahuas “perception that introduced items shared defining characteristics with items already known and their awareness of the Spanish items’ newness: thus, wheat was *Caxtillan centli*, “Castile maize”” (Lockhart, 1991: 13). In this case, it could have sufficed to simply use the term *Castilla* to indicate Castile, but instead the naturalized form was combined with the abstract suffix to refer to Old Spain. So even though there are only two examples of *-yōtl* and a handful of plural suffixes, this does indicate that whoever wrote those particular fragments found it either necessary or self-evident to clarify the meaning of the words by using a Nahuatl suffix.

Returning to my overarching analysis of the results of this initial inventory, it can be said that Spanish nouns were used frequently in ms 3523-2. These Spanish nouns are either explained directly through a translation in Nahuatl or by providing its closest equivalent, facilitating reader interpretation, and offering cues about how to relate the new items and concepts of the Spanish realm to objects with which the reader was already familiar. The analysis above provides us with good reasons to hypothesize that the source texts for Izcatqui were written in a period during which Nahuatl was still the primary language of the area but was soon to be complemented on a large scale by Spanish. The Nahuatl suffixes combined with some of the Spanish terms indicate that it was either felt necessary to clarify these new terms with Nahuatl grammar (even though the new language did not use such incorporations) or that these fusions were made out of familiarity of the writer, and ‘went without saying’. Taking in consideration the frequency of Spanish nouns and the ease with which they are used, the categories and spelling of these nouns according to Nahuatl phonetics, and the lack of Spanish verbs in use throughout the manuscript, I can now derive a first conclusion about 3532-3. My claim is that assuming Lockhart is correct in saying that modifications to the Nahuatl language occurred in the three stages relating to the relative intensity of contact between Spaniards and Nahuas, then the evidence indicates that the origin of the source texts of ms 3523-2 must have been the early years of Stage 2, i.e. the second half of the 16th century.

1.3 Previous study

In this sub-section, I will shortly summarize existing references to ms 3523-2. The specifics of each reference will be discussed in detail in later thematic chapters. The oldest published reference to ms 3523-2 to date is the work by Ferdinand Anders and Maarten Jansen: *Manual del Adivino – Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Vaticano B* (1993: 93-96). This pre-colonial codex is located in the Vatican Library and is officially named Codex Vatic. Lat. 3773. A thorough study by the same authors of the colonial codex known as Vaticanus A (Codex Vatic. Lat. 3738) followed in 1996 and is of importance here as well. The time of composition of the pre-colonial codex Vaticanus B is difficult to determine; but Vaticanus A was dated by Anders & Jansen somewhere around 1565 in accordance with their paleographic studies.

In their study on codex Vaticanus B, Anders and Jansen discuss two important illustrations: a male figure surrounded by Zodiac signs and planets from ms 3523-2 on folio 59v (Fig. 2) and another male figure surrounded by the 20 day signs of the Mesoamerican calendar in Vaticanus A (Fig. 3).¹⁴ Illustrations of the Zodiac Man appear in abundance in medieval manuscripts in Europe, and portray the twelve Zodiac signs in relation to different body parts and organs, starting with Aries at the head and ending with Pisces at the feet. In Chapter Six, I will explain in detail the well-spread use of these images and how they were known and interpreted in a colonial context in Mesoamerica (cf. Anders & Jansen 1993; 1996).

David Eduardo Tavárez published an essay containing three case studies in 2000, which is available on the website of the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies (FAMSI). This essay was incorporated in his later book, *Invisible War*, published in 2011. These case studies were chosen to study “the production and circulation of native ritual and devotional texts in colonial Central Mexico between 1614 and 1656” (Tavárez, 2000 FAMSI: introduction). Tavárez argues that the period 1614-1656 was crucial, because it was during this period that writing in the European alphabet was no longer preserved for legal and community purposes only, but reached the fields of ritual and divination as well. Ritual texts are defined by Tavárez as having specific divination or propitiatory purposes, and it was for this reason that they also incorporate calendrical documents and incantations. This definition of divinatory texts, however, is restricted to only those texts that were written by/for Christians who were intent on conducting themselves piously in the privacy of their own home, in order to fortify their relation with a Christian spirit (*ibid.*). One of the case studies Tavárez uses to support his thesis is that of Fonds Mexicain 381 (Bibliothèque National de France, Paris). Part of the content of this miscellaneous manuscript is very similar to Izcatqui (see Chapter Three). In fact, Tavárez refers to ms 3523-2, comparing a small portion of their content with Fonds Mexicain 381 in order to sketch a historical context in which specific European sources circulated in colonial Mexico in an underground fashion (Tavárez, 2011:138-9).

In 2005, Susan Spitler obtained her doctorate from Tulane University with her PhD dissertation entitled, *Nahua Intellectual Responses to the Spanish: The Incorporation of European Ideas Into The Central Mexican Calendar*. In her research, she organizes a large variety of colonial documents on the topic of time reckoning that reflect their interpretation from an indigenous and Spanish audience. Included within her chapter *Central Mexican Renderings of the European Calendar* (pp. 184-237), we find the Tropenmuseum document as well as Fonds Mexicain 381 and Codex Mexicanus (see further Chapter Three). In addition, Spitler provided a table of content for Izcatqui and the corresponding pages of one of its Spanish sources. The table is quite precise although some “unidentified passages” do appear (see her table on pages 232-3). The amount of transcribed and translated folios, however, is restricted only to folios 12r-15r, 59v, and half of 60r.

¹⁴ The second of these illustrations is discussed in more detail in their work on Vaticanus A (Anders & Jansen, 1993: 93-106; 1996: 245-7).

The common denominator in the studies above is that although they were interested in related sources and even Izcatqui itself, they never attempted to explain Izcatqui from cover to cover. Instead, elements were selected to prove a point in a wider context and to corroborate a particular idea. For this current study, therefore, there remains plenty of room to discover new features about the manuscript.

1.4 Contents in summary

Before I try to answer any questions as to which Spanish text(s) was/were translated in Nahuatl and why, I must first deal with the question as to what Izcatqui actually says. As each of the following chapters discusses the subject matters in more detail, I will now briefly provide a summary of each thematic section of Izcatqui. I include sections headings and images, if present, for the reader's convenience.

1.4.1 Summary of themes present in Izcatqui

Folio ms 3523-2	Subject	Content
1r-11r	Religion	The text commences by introducing an important ideological event in the history of the evangelization of the Americas: the extension of the papal bull, 'The Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade', to the Indies by the Holy Father. The name of this Holy Father is disclosed as Gregory XIII on folio 2r. The text then explains that through this Holy Crusade (the year in which it was extended, 1573, is not given in the text) a great and divine mercy is to be granted to the people of the Americas (<i>indias tlalli</i>). In addition, the text informs the reader that the concepts of Sancto Jubileo and Indulgencia Plenaria are applicable to believers in this part of the world as well from the extension of the Bull onwards. Thus, the text makes clear that anyone following God and the Holy Father is able to be pardoned from sins in specific periods throughout the liturgical Christian calendar. An extensive list of days and periods of pardon is provided on folios 7r to 9v. These folios function as an introduction for the writer and reader to a Christian religious world. The final folios (f.10r-f.11r), however, are a practical guide to the Liturgy of Hours or fixed prayers during the day. Here, three titles of prayers are listed (Paternoster, Ave Maria, and Credo – headed as matins). These prayers are followed by an adaptation of Christian narrative into Nahuatl and a set of instructions about how, in this indigenous language, one should approach the most sacred in Christianity, God, and Jesus Christ.
12r-22v	Calendar	The division of time – year, month, week, day, and hours of the day – of the Western calendar (Julian and later Gregorian) is explained. This is intended to represent the creation of order in a period of chaos and darkness after light. A short history of several Roman emperors is recalled – Antonius, Octavianus Caesar (Augustus), Julius Caesar, Claudius Nero,

		Dominicanus – to give shape to the idea about when the first Roman calendar was invented.
22v-35v	Cosmography; astrology; astronomy	This section is focused on astrology and relates the days to the planets and the planets to the nine skies. Furthermore, the Zodiac signs are introduced shortly, and a description is given of the faith and appearances of those born under a particular planet. A diagram of the <i>reloj de noche</i> (clock of the night) is illustrated and explained. This diagram would aid the reader in extrapolating the time at night throughout the year according to the position of certain stars in the sky.
36r-46v	Astrology	In this section, the Zodiac signs are commented on in detail; their characteristics and the characteristics of those of people born under a particular sign and the planet associated with a Zodiac. This section is concluded by a table that relates the four elements (fire, wind, earth, and water) to three Zodiac signs each.
46v-53v	Calendar; health; agriculture	This section introduces a time reckoning of the twelve months of the Gregorian calendar. Each month is discussed for its number of days and nights, and for the agricultural activities that should be carried out. In addition, the reader is informed about general health issues that are prone to manifest themselves during these months (independent on the ruling Zodiac sign).
54r-55r	Calculation liturgical calendar	The term Aureus Numerus cycle is mentioned for the first time, alongside the year DCMDLxii – a year that does not exist (see page 66 for an explanation of why the <i>tlacuilo</i> made a mistake). The fictive year is said to be the fifth year in the 19-year cycle of the Aureus Numerus. It does not, however, explain what such a cycle is. Moreover, a further unexplained table is introduced. In the upper row this table lists the numbers 1 to 19 (the Aureus Numerus) and from top to bottom the twelve Zodiac signs (each appears either twice or three times). In this table, each column lists the sequence of the letters of the alphabet (the ‘j’ is omitted though, and the ‘s’ appears twice), and both an ‘&’ and an ‘Á’ also feature. Each cycle (or each year) starts with a different letter. This table would aid the reader to find the corresponding Zodiac sign in which the moon resides for each day of the year.
55v-65r	Health (Zodiac Man)	This section begins with an advice for humanity on how to live in purity while at the same time warning people. If its advice is not followed, a final judgement will cast its hurtful fire. It describes 12 virtues that need to be lived by, and love for one another is stressed as being of great importance. This text precedes an introduction to an illustration of an undressed man seen from the front. There are seven planets drawn on the left margin of the folio. Each of these planets are connected to body parts of the man. In the same manner, the

		Zodiac signs appear on the right margin of the figure and linked to other parts of the man. The text that follows the illustration explains whether or not the months corresponding to the Zodiac signs are “good” or “not good”. It explains which planet effects which part of the body or organ without an explicit positive or negative association; this stands in contrast to the Zodiac signs and their influence on the human body. The final part of this section includes drawings of two vein men (one seen from the front and the other from the back). The accompanying text explains the reader from which vein one should let blood in case of a particular (medical) condition or ailment.
65r-67v	Cosmography; health	This section undertakes a discussion of four winds (coming from the North, South, East, and West), their characteristics, as well as their positive or negative influence on the health of people. This discussion includes a drawing of a T-O map including the names of Europe, Africa, and Asia, and the names of the four winds. Particular days or months are said to be ruled by one of the seven planets and certain conjunctions of planets signify whether or not an illness is prone to manifest itself.
67v-74v	Alguarismo	The <i>cuenta del alguarismo</i> and the Libro Lunario are explained in this section by reference to Sancho de Salaya (editor of a <i>reportorio</i> in 1542).
72r-78v	Astrology; health	Here we find yet another discussion of the months and their corresponding Zodiac signs. This is followed by the illnesses that can occur under the influence of one of the twelve signs. An incomplete note on the planets that govern each hour of the day and the night is provided at the end.
78v-82v	Health; agriculture	The next section refers shortly to the blood vessels again. The main part contains information of an agricultural nature. It provides advice on what to sow and harvest during each of the twelve months.
83r-86v	Calculation liturgical calendar	Here we find different tables that indicate the relationship between the planets, months, Zodiac signs, elements, the Aureus Numerus, and the Dominical Letter. These tables also include references to mnemonic devices (a verse in this case, cited with the help of the phalanxes of the hand) to calculate the Dominical letter.
87r-96r	Health	A medical commentary that begins with a list of the twelve Zodiac signs and what to eat or not to eat when you have fallen ill (such as milk, cheese and reed) is provided. This is followed by a list of the seven planets, a short description of how each is related to Classical deities, and an account of how they each play a role in illness and death. Thereafter follows a list of twelve conditions and ways to cure them, several of them using the herbs <i>artemisia</i> and <i>cardo bendito</i> . The final

		medicinal text of Izcatqui is a list of different therapies attributed by one of four healers or physicians (<i>estos maestros de doctores</i>).
96r-107v	Astrology; calculation liturgical calendar	This section presents the twelve Zodiacs again. Here we find, for the first time, an explanation in text of the Aureus Numerus cycle and the Dominical Letter. The text is accompanied by 2 diagrams as mnemonic devices and a table that relates the planets to the months, days, Zodiac signs, and elements.
108v	Mathematics	This section includes a <i>tabla cuenta de quarismo [guarismo]</i> . The numbers in Arabic two to ten are listed on the left and are multiplied by that exact number up to number ten further to the right. So, for instance, number two is multiplied by two, three, four etc. up to ten; and Number eight is multiplied by eight, nine, and ten. Some outcomes are incorrect.
109r	Mathematics	A table <i>tabla de cuenta de castellano</i> which mathmematically is the exact same table as the one on the preceding folio, however this time in Roman numerals.
109v	Astrology; health	Yet another table with the Zodiac signs and their good, bad, or indifferent effects on purging and bloodletting.
1010r-102r [110r-112r]	Astronomy	This section lists the Zodiac signs, this time not for their astrological, but instead their astronomical, significance.
102r-104v [112r-114v]	Calendar	Here we find an explanation of the kalendas, nonas, and ides – a Roman division of the month.
104v [114v]	Presentation writer and owner of ms	In this section, Juan Andres is appointed as writer; an ownership statement is given by which Maestro Felipe de Santiago Tepetlatzin is said to be the owner of the document on the 14 th of October, 1758.
unnumbered folios [115v-116r]	Calendar; astronomy	A table that lists the hours and minutes of daylight for all the days of the year (without any mention of the area of the world in which it would be applicable).

Figure 6. Table of content of Izcatqui according to theme.

1.4.2 Listing of section headings

These section headings have been chosen somewhat arbitrarily, as they often do not appear as section headings per se in the manuscript. However, I have chosen those lines that clearly introduce a new discussion in ms 3523-2 for means of clarity. Terms in the manuscript that are written in red ink will appear in the same color below, and I have added an English translation for ease of reference.

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Section title</u>	<u>English translation</u>
9r	nican ca yn Estaciones ¹⁵	here are the Stations
10r	Maytines	Matins
12r	Nican opehua	Here begins

¹⁵ The first eleven folios do not include such a clear structure as the following pages from f.12r. According to Raul Macuil Martínez, this is likely to do with how the text came to be. The hypothesis of Macuil Martínez is that this introduction was dictated through speech to the *tlacuilo* and not copied directly from a text.

17v	Reportorion quitoznequi	the Reportorio, that is
18v	initechpa metztli abrilis	in the month of April
19v	INITEHPA METZTII MAIYO	in the month of May
20r	Initechpa Metztli Junio	in the month of June
20v	ynitechpa metztli Augusto	in the month of August
21r	ynitechpa metzetli Setiembre	in the month of September
21r	ynitechpa metztli October	in the month of October
21v	ynitechpa metztli nobieber	in the month of November
21v	Initechpa metztli Deziebre	in the month of December
22v	TLATLANI ITEMACHTIANI.	ask the teacher
	TLE[N] quitoznequi Semana	what is the week
23v	/.../tlatlani yntemachtiani	ask the teacher
	tley/quitoznequi/qui planetas	what are the planets
24v	tlatlani ytlamatini tle	ask the teacher
	yquitoznequi ynihuicatl	what is the sky
25r	ynic centlanepantli ynihuicatl	the first in the middle of the
	ynihuicatl y	sky [the sky]
	chicome ynplanetas Ehuatl	the seven planets
	ynluna	is the moon
26r	Inic o[m]tlatmatli ynihuicatl	the second sky is
	yehuatl/ Mercurio ynic	Mercury, the sixth [of the]
	chiquacen tlatmatli /plane/ tas	planets
27r	Iniquetlamatli ynihuicatl yhuan	the third sky, and the fifth
	ma cuili planetas yehuatl yn	planet is Venus
	Venus	
28v	Inic nauhtlamatli ylhuicatl	the fourth sky
	yh[uan] yc na uh tlatmatli	and the fourth [of the] planets
	planetas ca yehuatl ytonatiuh	is the sun
	ynitechca Sol_	it is Sol
29v	Inic macuillamatli ¹⁶ ynihuicatl	the fifth sky
	yntoca mars	is named Mars
	yehuatl yniq[uei]tlatmatitica	it is the third [of the] planets
	planetas	
30v	Inic chiquacentlamatli ylhuicatl	the sixth sky
	ca yehuatl ynicome planeta	and the second planet
	ytoca Jupiter	is named Jupiter
31v	Inic chicontlamatli ylhuicatl	the seventh sky
	yehuatl: ynitoca SATURNOS	is named Saturn, the first
	yceplanetas	planet
36r	Tlatlani ytemachtiani	ask the teacher
	tlenquitoz nequi yn Signus	what is the sign
38v	Aries	Aries
39v	Taurus	Taurus
39r	Geminis	Gemini
40v	Cancer	Cancer
41v	Leo	Leo

¹⁶ should read ‘macuil tlama[n]tli’

42v	Virgo	Virgo
42r	Libra	Libra
43v	Scorpius	Scorpio
44v	Sagittarius	Sagittarius
44r	Capricornius	Capricorn
45r	Agvarivs	Aquarius
46v	Pifcis	Pisces
47v	Nican ompehva inhaleindario: inhrtia pohualiztli	here begins the calendar the count:
47v	Enero	January
47r	Pebrero	February
48r	MARÇO	March
49v	Aprilis	April
49r	MAIO	May
50v	IVNIO	June
50r	IVZIUS	July
51r	agusto	August
51r	September	September
52r	October	October
53v	Novienbre	November
53r	Decienbre	December
55v	NICAN MOCAQUIZ in itlatollo	here it will understand its history
60v	izcatqui planetas	here are [the] planets
65r	Iniccentlamatli yn ehecatl	the first wind
66v	Inicontlamatli Ehecatl	the second wind
66v	Inichetlamatli yn Ehecatl	the third wind
66r	Inicnauhtlamatli ynehecatl	the fourth wind
72r	AQVICOMIENCA novimiento	here begins [movement]
	lus Enero	[...] January
72r	de febrero	of February
73v	de MARÇO	of March
73r	de APRIL	of April
73r	de MAIO	of May
74v	DE IONIO	of June
74v	DE IVLIO	of July
74r	DE AUGUSTO	of August
74r	DE SETIENDRE	of September
75v	DE OCTOBRE	of October
75r	DE NOVIEMBRE:	of November
76v	DE DEZIEMBRE:	of December
76v	MALAS	Illnesses
76r	de lus quales planetas:	of what planets
	jupiter et benus buenas:	Jupiter and Venus good
	saturnus mars malos sol:	Saturn, Mars bad, Sun
	et luna medians mercur/io//	and Moon amidst, Mercury

	buenos buen oculos ¹⁷ ma../	good, good [...]
76r	malo ¹⁸ : 1	1. illness
77v	MLAS taurus ¹⁹	2. illnesses Taurus
77v	3 GEMNS MALAS	3. illnesses Gemini
77r	4 MALAS Signus cacer	4. illnesses [of the] sign Cancer
78v	5. MALAS leonis yeilhuatl	5. illnesses Leo three days
78v	6. MALAS Virgo omilhuatl	6. illnesses Virgo two days
78r	7. MALAS libras omilhuatl	7. illnesses Libra two days
78r	9 ²⁰ . MALAS Corpi9	8. illnesses Scorpio
<u>79v</u>	9. malas s[a]gittarius	9. illnesses Sagittarius
<u>79r</u>	10. capricurnus lasmalas 2	10. Capricorn illnesses 2
<u>79r</u>	/11./ MALAS. Aquarius 2	11. illnesses Aquarius 2
2 nd 78v	12. MALAS piscis 312	12. illnesses Pisces 3
78r	Nican yn achcto ²¹ quipehualtia yn mala	here it makes it begin the first illness
78r	Nota de los planetas que reyna cada hora entre dia et noche	note on the planets that rule each hour between day and night
78v	Nican ycuiliuhtica yn isqui ²² totlalhuayo totechca ²³ yhuan yn iuh titopatisq[u]ez Techcocohua	here it is going to be written, [of] all the nerves our stone and you will cure yourself [when] it sickens us
83r	yzcatqui tapla ynic yximachoz yn aq/ui/ quiximatisnequi yehuatl Rale[n]dario	here is the table so that it may be known who may it be known, the Calendario
84r	Nican pohualo yn izqui Signus	here the count of all signs
85r	Litera dominicalis	Dominical Letter
89v	Nican oqvicaco yn machyyotl ²⁴ necoloz Nican icvilivhtica In pla/netas/ yn totlacatiliz	here appears the sign, it will [?] here it is going to be written the planets that will give birth to us
89v	Sol	Sun

¹⁷ The text itself is as follows: ‘bueno.culos.’ [good buttocks] but it could have been an error by the *tlacuilo* and perhaps it should say *buen oculos*. An oculus is an architectural feature of a building such as the Pantheon in Rome. The oculus (Latin for ‘eye’) is a hole in the ceiling, allowing sunlight to enter the structure from above.

¹⁸ Literally *malo* should be translated as ‘bad’. However, according to the content of the fragments, I have decided to translate it as ‘illness’.

¹⁹ The number two is written above the word ‘taurus’.

²⁰ Read ‘8’.

²¹ Read ‘yn achto’.

²² This is the start of a new handwriting up to folio 79r and this *tlacuilo*’s orthography includes the letter ‘s’ more times than that of other *tlacuiloque*. So ‘izqui’ becomes ‘isqui’; ‘quiza’ becomes ‘quisa’.

²³ According to Molina [1571], *techcatl* is ‘piedra sobre que sacrificaban y mataban hombres delante los idolos’. I highly doubt the text refers to such a sacrificial stone, instead it could refer to a stone that is used for curing in Mesoamerica.

²⁴ Read ‘machiyotl’.

89r	2. LVNA	2. Moon
90v	3. MARS	3. Mars
90v	4. Mercuriu/s/	4. Mercury
90r	5. Jup/iter/	5. Jupiter
91v	6. VENVS	6. Venus
91r	7. SATVRN9	7. Saturn
91r	nican pehua centlama[n]tli	here begins the first
91v	Nican motenehuan	here is named, all things
	ynisquitlamatli ynitoca patli	named cure, Cardo Bendito,
	Carto bendito Artemesa Rota	Artemisia Rota Arbabo (?) ²⁵
	Arbabo	
93r	yzcatqui yn qu/ue/nin motocaz	here it is is, how it will be sown
94v	ca yzcatqui: nica[n] pehua	here it is: here begins another
	occentlamatli	thing
	yn quenin nepatilo	how to cure oneself
<u>96r</u>	tlaneltiliztli yn izca	the search for truth, take the
	macchiyotl ²⁶ :	sign
<u>97v</u>	Taurus 2 duos dias	Taurus 2 days
<u>98r</u>	Geminis 2 dias	Gemini 2 days
98v	CANCER 2 dias	Cancer 2 days
98v	LEO 3 dias	Leo 3 days
99r	VIRGO 2 dias	Virgo 2 days
99v	libra dvos dias	Libra 2 days
99v	Scorpius 2 dias:	Scorpio 2 days
<u>100r</u>	Sagittarius 3 dias	Sagittarius 3 days
<u>100v</u>	capricornos 2 d[ia]s	Capricorn 2 days
<u>101r</u>	Aquarivs 2 dias	Aquarius 2 days
<u>101v</u>	Piscis 3 Dias:	Pisces 3 days
106v	DE LA SEMANA	of the week
107v	Siguese los planedas ²⁷	follow the planets
<u>1010r</u>	Del Signo de Aries T. 25	of the sign Aries T 25
<u>1010r</u>	Del Signo te ²⁸ tauro T. 26	of the sign Taurus T 26
<u>1010r</u>	del Signo de gemini T. 27	of the sign Gemini T 27
<u>1010v</u>	del Signo de cacer T. 25	of the sign Cancer T 25
<u>1010v</u>	Del Signo de leo T. 29	of the sign Leo T 29
101r	del Signo de virgo T. 30	of the sign Virgo T 30
101r	del Signo de libra T. 31	of the sign Libra T 31
101r	del Signo de Scorpione T. 32	of the sign Scorpio T 32
101v	del Signo Sagitari9 T. 33	of the sign Sagittarius T 33
101v	del Signo de Capricornio T. 34	of the sign Capricorn T 34
101v	del Signo de Aquario. T. 35	of the sign Aquarius T 35
102r	del Signo de pisces T. 36	of the sign Pisces T 36

²⁵ Maybe a kind of cultigen and a misspelling of a Spanish word that possibly starts with ‘al [...]’.

²⁶ Read ‘machiyotl’.

²⁷ Read ‘siguese las planetas’.

²⁸ Read ‘de’.

102r	Nota de las Ralendas nonas & Idus	note on the Kalends, Nones and Idus
unnumbered folio	dias del mes – tabla para saber que horas tiene el dia en qual quiel ²⁹ tiempo del año	days of the month – table to infer how many hours there are in the day in whatever time of the year

1.4.3 Illustrations, tables and diagrams

Each illustration in ms 3523-2 is drawn in a rectangular or square double-lined frame – at times, this frame is decoratively filled with lines or dots. At this point, I will describe the drawings from left to right for scenes in which more than one figure is drawn. Most drawings are executed in a very sketchy manner.

<u>Folio</u>	<u>Illustration or table</u>
25r	Two crescent moons with faces; a man walking while holding a stick, a star, and a crab (Cancer); a horizontal stripe representing a surface from which reed grows.
26r	Two individuals reaching out to each other (Gemini); a star; an individual holding a flower in its hand (Virgo).
27r	A star is drawn above a ram (Aries); scales (Libra); two more stars.
28v	Two humanlike faces next to each other, with vertical lines surrounding their heads (two Suns); a lion with a humanlike face (Leo) with a star above its head.
29v	Two rams – a larger and a smaller one (representing Aries); two stars; a scorpion (Scorpio).
30v	A centaur holding a bow and arrow (Sagittarius); two fish (Pisces). Both Zodiac signs are drawn within a circle.
31v	A ram adorned by a star (Aries); a star; a naked lady that we see from the knees upwards holding a flower (Virgo). Both are drawn within a circle.
35v	A diagram representing the months (March is missing, however).
37v	A ram – Aries.
38v	A bull – Taurus.
39r	Two seated persons reaching out their hands to each other – Gemini.
39v	A crab – Cancer.
40v	A lion [damaged] – Leo.
41v	An individual holding a flower – Virgo.
42r	Scales – Libra.

²⁹ Read ‘qualquier [cualquier]’.

42v				A scorpion – Scorpio.		
43v				A centaur holding a bow and arrow – Sagittarius.		
44v				A goat – Capricorn.		
45r				An individual with long curly hair kneeling down, holding a bowl – Aquarius.		
45v				Two fish – Pisces.		
46v				A scheme with the four elements – fire, wind, earth, and water – each associated with three Zodiac signs (English translation will be given as well).		
tlatl (fire)	oquich sheep) ocelotl (jaguar)	ichcatl (male tlacamasalt (deer)	yehecatl (wind)	Cocohuame		
				tlatamachivalotl (measure/guage) atete cac ([someone by the water])		
tlali (land)	quaquahue (ox/bull) ychpochtli (maiden/young virgin) quaquauhtentzone (horned animal)		atl (water)	tecuiçitli (crab) colotl (scorpion) michin (fish)		
55r				Aureus Numerus table.		
58v				Zodiac man (a naked male figure for which several body parts, organs, and mental capacities are added in Spanish text; to its left the seven planets are depicted and linked to some of those body parts and organs; the same is the case for drawings of the Zodiac signs to its right. In between his legs, a small male figure appears as well as additional text.		
61r				Vein Man seen from the front.		
63r				Vein Man seen from the back.		
65r				T-O map: the earth is represent by a circle (O) divided in three by a horizontal and vertical line (T). The lower left half represents ‘Africa’ (Africa) and the lower right half ‘ERPA’ (Europe). The above half circle is ‘Asia’. Attempts have been made to draw hills, vegetation, and buildings in each continent. Four faces appear in the four corners, representing wind (each of these is named).		
83r	A table:					
	Altitonas	A	ener[o]	aquar[iu]s	Ayre	hehecatl
	Dominus	d	febrero	Piscis	Qua	atlatl
						totoq[ui] Yztic

Divina.	d	Março	Aries	Fuego	tletl	totoqui
gerens.	g.	Abril	Taurus	Tierra	tlalli	yztic
bonun9.	b	Mayo	geminis	Ayre	hehecatl	totoq[ui]
Estas.	E	Junio	Cacer	Aqua	atl	yztic
gxatuito.	g	Julio	Leon	Fuego	tletl	totoqui
Eli	c	Angusto	Virgo	Tierra	tlalli	yztic
Feret	f	Setiebre	Libra	Ayre	hehecatl	totoq[ui]
Auxea	a	octobre	Scorpiis	Aqua	atl	/.../
dona.	d	noviembre	Sagit	Fuego	tletl	toto/.../
Fideli	f	decienbre	capricor[nius]	Tierra	tlali	/.../

84v A table:

Signus

		Aries	tlapac ³⁰			Geminis
Fuego	tletl	Leo	tlaco	Ayre	hehe	Libra
Fuego	tletl	Sagitla	tlatzitla			agari9
		Taurus	Tlapac			Cacer
tierr/a/	Tlalli	Virgo	Tlaco	aq[u]a	atl	/s/corpi9
		capricor[nius]				p/is/cis/

84r

Domigo	Deciebre	Henero
Lunes	Noueber	Febrero
Martes	Octobre	Marco
miercol/es/	Julio	[left blank]
Juebe/s/	Setienbre	April
Fiernes	Ag[o]sto	Mayo
Saba/t/o	Junio	[left blank]

84v

A scheme stating the seven planets: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon with the corresponding days of the week named after them. Each of the days is characterized by one or two Zodiac signs, an element, and a hot or cold state.

85r

a scheme with the Sunday letters (*Litera dominicalis*) in an elaborate gothic handwriting followed by their full names:

A	_____	Accipe
B	_____	bonus
C	_____	celum
D	_____	dei
E	_____	Esto
F	_____	filus
G	_____	gratis

³⁰ should read 'tlapac'

85v	A large table representing the Aureus Numerus and Dominical letters.
86r	Continuation of the table on 86v.
86v	A table with the days of the week in the first row, starting with Domingo (Sunday). The rest of the rows present the seven planets that were mentioned on f.85v. The second row beneath the days of the week presents the planets in the following order: Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. The rest of the rows have another order, and a planet can appear without the other six having been mentioned earlier. Starting from the sixth row, not all days have a planet below.
102r	Two circular diagrams. The one on the left is somewhat smaller than the one on the right. The circle on the left is composed of two concentric circles making it possible to divide a band into smaller compartments. In a clockwise manner, a symbol for a cross is discernible as well as the numbers 1 to 10 in their individual compartments and the numbers 11 to 16 divided by a dot but in the same compartment. The right circle is composed of three concentric circles. Unfortunately the page is damaged towards the right, so it is difficult to reconstruct it as a whole. Reading the outermost circle in a clockwise manner, the symbol of the cross is followed by letters (the first half is invisible): dedecbgedbg. The innermost circle contains a series of five letters: fcaac. ca c [It is unclear under which letter the 'f' has been written] A horizontal line connects the two circles and runs from the centre of the left circle through the centre of the right circle.
102v	Two more circular diagrams, indicated as Aure: (Aureus Numerus) and litteras: dominicalis: (Dominical letters). Below and between the two circles a humanlike face is drawn and to its right the letter 'f' has been written. The left circle consists of two concentric circles and is composed in the same way as the left circle of f.102r only this time the numbering ends at 19. The right circle is also composed as the right circle of f.102r. The letters in the first concentric circle are in a clockwise manner:

106v

Domigo

Sol

Jueves

Jubiter

107v

Lunes

Luna

Viernes

Venus

cbageacbgfedbagfdeba. The letters in the inner circle are: fgceg.

f g c e g

A short table *De las Semana* – the seven days with corresponding planets:

Martes

Mars

Sabbato

Saturnus

Miercules

mercuri9

Aureus Numerus: a rectangular bar summing up the numbers one to ten, divided by a vertical line from the numbers 11 to 19. Below the Aureus Numerus (which ends in the year 1560, so a cycle beginning in the year 1541) there is a scheme similar to the one on folio 84v. In the following sequence, it states the following: a weekday; one or two months; planet; in some occasions another weekday; one or two Zodiac signs; one of the four elements; a classification of either a cold or hot state.

108v

A table to facilitate counting (*guarismo* 'number/figure') in a European manner with European numbers and arithmetic. The numbers two to ten are given in the left column (the final two numbers are damaged and not visible) and in the rows to the right the left number is multiplied by itself and by all numbers up to ten. For example, number two times two is four, in the first row the four is written above the two; two times three is six, so in the second row the six is written above the three etc. Note that two times four is supposedly fifteen; in many occasions the number eight is written in the same shape as a five, for example in the rows of the two, three, five and seven. Below the table the following words are given from top to bottom: unidad, dezena, cuentena, Millar, as well as the number 5646.

109r

The same table as on f.109v, however, the numbers are given according to the Roman numeral system, hence the title 'tabla cuenta de castellano'. Note that in this table two times two is three (ii.ii = iii). Below the table the same words are written as on the f.108v and the number 5646 in Roman numerals also.

109v

A table with the twelve Zodiac signs (repeated either twice or three times) and whether or not these signs have a good, bad, or indifferent

no n°.

effect on purification (tlachipahualoni) and
bloodletting (eztli)

A table for all the months of the year and the
corresponding amount of hours and minutes of
sunlight for each day (tabla para saber que horas
tiene el dia en qualquier³¹ tiempo del ano).

In total there are twenty folios that have an illustration of some sort; either a single scene or multiple scenes within one frame. On twenty-two occasions a Zodiac sign is depicted, a Vein Man is depicted twice, and there is one scene for Zodiac Man and the four winds respectively. There are seventeen tables and four circular diagrams. These drawings, tables, and diagrams will prove to be essential in determining which texts could have served as the source texts that were read and consulted by the *tlacuiloque* of ms 3523-2.

1.5 Concluding remarks

The analysis above has shown that the treatment of a wide range of topics were all combined into a single manuscript. The origin of Izcatqui must, therefore, lie in the need to compose a text that would be picked up by an indigenous readership of Nahuatl, whether out of curiosity or for the purpose of practical application. The Tropenmuseum itself states that this book was composed as a textbook for young Aztec nobility. Considering that the physical text of ms 3523-2 found its way onto paper in the mid-eighteenth century, this purpose for a manuscript from that period would seem unlikely. However, both the content and orthography of the manuscript point to the conclusion that it was created as an original text somewhere between 1573 (the extension of the Holy Bull of the Holy Crusade by Pope Gregory XIII) and the mid-seventeenth century. We have to take into consideration the appearance of a religious introduction that includes a very practical guide for the rite of the Morning prayer, and the context in which (indigenous) people were trained to write and read. This would seem to suggest that the original text of Izcatqui was written within a religious (and perhaps noble) context. The text as we see it now in the Tropenmuseum, however, poses new questions that go beyond content only. For example, the question of whether this manuscript could in fact have been written in a different context if we take it to be a copy of a much older text.

In this dissertation, I will methodically explore Burke's (2009) questions of why, whom, and for whom Izcatqui was created. Moreover, I will discuss the dominant contemporary interpretations of literacy and the circulation of books in the 18th century, as well as the attitude of 'authority' and of Izcatqui's possible readership towards the themes discussed in ms 3523-2. Importantly, it is clear that the curiosity and need for such a text in Nahuatl has not changed a great deal since the years of its creation, otherwise Izcatqui would not have existed until today. And it is also clear that the effort that was put into the creation of Izcatqui is not to be underestimated, because it would have required a joint effort of a group of six *tlacuiloque* working simultaneously and with great care.

In the following chapter, I will explore how ms 3523-2 relates to the Spanish genre of the astrological, medicinal, and agricultural almanac or *reportorio de los tiempos*. I will compare a number of editions by various Spanish editors and publishing houses through which a source text or a multitude of source texts for Izcatqui can be identified. This identification is intended to broaden our knowledge about the circulation of this genre of books in colonial Mexico. Furthermore, it will allow me to place (fragments of) source texts and translated texts of ms 3523-2 side by side, and so to analyze the tactics

³¹ Read 'qualquier' (cualquier).

of translation and explore the ‘decontextualization’ and ‘recontextualization’ in a process of cultural translation. I will also analyze other Nahuatl interpretations of *reportorios* which, even though it is a small corpus, shed light onto the development of translation of this genre. Finally, I will include three other important sources as a whole that include *reportorios* as well as a variety of other books: the Books of Chilam Balam, of Kaua, Ixil, and of Chan Cah. These manuscripts were written in Yucatec Maya in the 18th century and at first glance appear to be very similar to ms 3523-2. I will explore if that is truly the case and so determine if we can speak of what Peter Burke has called a “culture of translation”.

