



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Heijnen, I.

Citation

Heijnen, I. (2020, February 25). *Here it is. A Nahuatl translation of European cosmology : context and contents of the Izcatqui manuscript in the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/85719>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/85719>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/85719> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Heijnen, I.

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

Issue Date: 2020-02-25

References

TM-3523-2: "Izcatqui" Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. See also:

<https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/#/query/77eff509-1f48-47d7-b1a1-1fcbdda620d8>

- Alcina Franch, José (1992). La cosmovisión mexicana en el contexto de Mesoamérica. In *Congreso de Historia del Descubrimiento (1492-1556)*, vol. 1, pp. 241-284. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.
- Alva, Bartolomé de (1999). *A Guide to Confession Large and Small in the Mexican Language, 1634*. Barry D. Sell and John Frederick Schwaller (eds. and trans.). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Alvarado Guinchard, Manuel (1976). *El Códice de Huichapan vol. 1. Relato otomí del México prehispánico y colonial*. Mexico: Departamento de Lingüística, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Anders, Ferdinand and Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen (1988). *Schrift und Buch im Alten Mexiko*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt. Anders, Ferdinand, Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen & Luis Reyes García (1991). *El libro del Ciuacoatl. Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Borbónico*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Anders, Ferdinand, Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen & Luis Reyes García (1993). *Manual del adivino. libro explicativo del llamado Códice Vaticano B*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Anders, Ferdinand, Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen & Luis Reyes García (1996). *Religión, costumbres e historia de los antiguos mexicanos. Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Vaticano A*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Asad, Talal (1986). The concept of cultural translation in British social anthropology. In James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, pp. 141-164. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Avalos, Ana (2007). *As Above, So Below. Astrology and the Inquisition in Seventeenth-Century New Spain*. PhD dissertation. Florence: European University Institute, Department of History and Civilization.
- Aveni, Anthony (1980). *Skywatchers of Ancient Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ballesteros, Víctor M. (2000). *Los conventos del estado de Hidalgo: expresiones religiosas del arte y la cultura del siglo XVI*. Pachuca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo.
- Benítez Grober, Laura (1982). *La idea de historia en Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Bilinkoff, Jodi (2003). Francisco Losa and Gregorio López: Spiritual friendship and identity formation on the New Spain frontier. In: Allan Greer & Jodi Bilinkoff (eds.), *Colonial Saints. Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, pp. 115-128. New York: Routledge.
- Boone, Elizabeth (2007). *Cycles of Time and Meaning in the Mexican Books of Fate*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Broda, Johanna (1969). *The Mexican Calendar as Compared to Other Mesoamerican Systems*. Acta Ethnologica et Linguistica, no. 15. Series Americana 4. Vienna: Engelbert Stiglmayr.
- Brotherston, Gordon (1982). Tawaddud and Maya wit: A story from the Arabian Nights adapted to the

- Community Books of Yucatan. In *Indiana*, vol. 7, pp. 131-141.
- Brown, Cynthia J. (1995). *Poets, Patrons and Printers. Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Burdick, Bruce S. (2009). *Works Printed in the Americas, 1554-1700*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Burkhart, Louise M. (1989). *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Calderón, Héctor M. (1982). *Manuscrito de Chan Cah*. Mexico: Grupo Dzibil.
- Carmack, Robert. M., Janine L. Gasco & Gary H. Gossen (2007). *The Legacy of Mesoamerica. History and Culture of a Native American Civilization*. New Jersey: Pearson Education.
- Cárdenas, Juan de (1988). *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Caso, Alfonso (1967). *Los calendarios prehispánicos*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Cháves, Hieronimo de (1584). *Chronographia o Reportorio de Tiempos, el mas copioso y preciso, que hasta ahora ha salido a luz*. Sevilla: Fernando Díaz. See file:///F:/files%20from%20university%20computer/reportorios/reptorios/Chronographia_o_reportorio_de_tiempos_Co.pdf
- Christensen, Mark Z. (2013). *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms. Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Chuchiak, John F., IV (2004). Papal bulls, extirpators, and the Madrid Codex: The content and probable provenience of the M. 56 patch. In Gabrielle Vail and Anthony Aveni (eds.), *The Madrid Codex: New Approaches to Understanding an Ancient Maya Manuscript*, pp. 57-88. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius (1923 [44 B.C.]) *De Divinatione*. Translated by William Armistead Falconer. Loeb Classical Library, Harvard: Harvard University Press.
- Cisneros, Diego de (2009). *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades de la Ciudad de Mexico*. Edited by Matha Elena Venier. Mexico: Colegio de México.
- Clobert, Magali, Patty van Cappellen, Marianne Bourdon & Adam B. Cohen (2016). Good Day for Leos: Horoscope's influence on perception, cognitive performances, and creativity. In *Personality and Individual Differences*, vol. 101, pp. 348-355.
- Craine, Eugene R. & Reginald C. Reindorp (1979). *Codex Perez and the Book of Chilam Balam of Mani*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Crane, Eva (1999). *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting*. New York: Routledge.
- Cruz, Martín de la (2000 [1552]). *An Aztec Herbal: the Classic Codex of 1552*. Translated by William Gates, introduction by Bruce Byland. Mineola: Dover Publications.
- Díaz Balsera, Viviana (2005). *The Pyramid under the Cross. Franciscan Discourses of Evangelization and the Nahua Christian Subject in Sixteenth-century Mexico*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.
- Diel, Lori Boornazian (2015). The Codex Mexicanus genealogy: Binding the Mexica past and the Colonial present. In *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 120-146.
- Diel, Lori Boornazian (2018). *The Codex Mexicanus. A Guide to Life in Late-Sixteenth Century New Spain*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Dioscorides, Pedianus (2000). *De Materia Medica*. Edited by Tess Anne Osbaldeston. Johannesburg: Ibidis.
- Dioscorides, Pedianus (2005). *De Materia Medica*. Translated by Lily Y. Beck. New York: Olms-Weidmann.
- Dobkin, Marlene (1969). Fortune's malice: Divination, psychotherapy, and folk medicine in Peru. *The Journal of American Folklore* vol. 82, no. 324, pp. 132-141.

- Donkin, R.A. (1977). Spanish Red: An Ethnogeographical Study of Cochineal and the Opuntia Cactus. In *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 67, no. 5, pp. 1-84.
- Dooley, Brendan (2014). Introduction. In Brendan Dooley (ed.), *A Companion to Astrology in the Renaissance*. Brill's Companion to the Christian Tradition, vol. 49, pp. 1-15. Leiden: Brill.
- Dutka, Jacques (1988). On the Gregorian revision of the Julian calendar. In *The Mathematical Intelligence*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 56-64.
- Ebers, John (1798). *The New and Complete Dictionary of the German and English Languages. Composed chiefly after the German Dictionaries of Mr. Adelung and of Mr. Schwan*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Haertel.
- Ecker, Lawrence (2001). *Códice de Huichapan paleografía y traducción*. Edited by Yolanda Lastra and Doris Bartholomew. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Edmonson, Munroe (1982). *The Ancient Future of the Itza: the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Edmonson, Munroe (1986). *Heaven Born Mérida and Its Destiny: the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Febvre, Lucien & Henri-Jean Martin (1976). *The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. Translated by David Gerard. London: Verso.
- Findlen, Paula (2012). Rethinking 1633: Writing about Galileo after the Trial. In Mario Biagioli and Jessica Riskin (eds.), *Nature Engaged. Science in Practice from the Renaissance to the Present*, pp. 205-226. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gante, Ambrosio (1581). *Repertorio de los tiempos, el qual sirve desde este año de M.D.L.xxxii. hasta el año de M.D.C. Por el R.D.F. Ambrosio de Gante, de la orden del glorioso Doctor San Bernardo*. See file:///F:/files%20from%20university%20computer/reportorios/reportorios/Repertorio_de_los_tiempos_el_qual_sirve.pdf.
- Garibay, Angel M. (1964). *Poesia náhuatl*. Three volumes. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Gibson, Charles (1964). *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule. A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gibson, Charles and John Glass (1975). A Census of Middle American Prose Manuscripts in the Native Historical Tradition. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 15, pp. 322-400. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Gruzinski, Serge (2001). *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492-2019)*. Translated by Heather MacLean. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gumbert-Hepp, Marijke (1987). *Computus Magistri Jacobi. Een Schoolboek voor tijdrekenkunde uit 1436*. Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren.
- Gunsenheimer, Antje (2002). *Geschichtstradierung in den yukatekische Chilam Balam-Büchern*. PhD dissertation, University of Bonn.
- Gutas, Dimitri (2014). *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition. Introduction to Reading Avicenna's Philosophical Works*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hanks, William F. (2010). *Converting Words. Maya in the Age of the Cross*. Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Heijnen, Ilona (2015). Who is the Other? Cultures of translation in an 18th century Nahuatl manuscript: from Reportorio de los tiempos to De Materia medica. In: *Thule. Revista italiana di studi americanistica*, vol. 38/39, pp. 245-285. Perugia: Centro Studi Americanistici.
- Hennessy Cummins, Victoria (1988). The Church and Business Practices in Late Sixteenth Century Mexico. In *The Americas*, vol. 44, no. 4, pp. 421-440.
- Hernández, Francisco (1615). *Cuatro Libros [...]*. Edited by Francisco Ximénez. Mexico: Diego Lopez

- Dualos. John Carter Brown Library. See <https://archive.org/details/quatrolibrosdela00hern/page/n7>
- Hernández, Francisco (1959). *Obras Completas*. Mexico: Universidad Nacional de México.
- Hernández, Francisco (2000). *The Mexican Treasury: the Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*. Translated by Rafael Chabrán, Cynthia L. Chamberlin and Simon Varey. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hill, Jane H. and Kenneth C. Hille (1986). *Speaking Mexicano. Dynamics of Syncretic Language in Central Mexico*. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.
- Horn, Rebecca (1997). *Postconquest Coyoacán: Nahua-Spanish Relations in Central Mexico, 1519-1650*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Housley, Norman (2007). The Crusades and Islam. In *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 13, pp. 189-208. Leiden: Brill.
- Izeki, Mutsumi (2016). La Turquesa. Una piedra verde cálida. In *Arqueología Mexicana*, vol. 24, no. 141, pp. 34-38.
- Jansen, Maarten E.R.G.N. and Aurora Pérez Jiménez (2015). Tiempo, Religión e Interculturalidad en la Colonia: los catecismos pictográficos de México. In Maarten E.R.G.N. Jansen and Valentina Raffa (eds.), *Tiempo y Comunidad. Herencias e interacciones socioculturales en Mesoamérica y Occidente*, ASLU 29, pp. 65-101. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Jeffers, Ann (1996). *Magic and Divination in ancient Palestine and Syria*. Leiden: Brill.
- Karcher, Stephen (1998). Divination, Synchronicity and Fate. In: *Journal of Religion and Health*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 215-227.
- Karttunen, Frances and James Lockhart (1976). *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- Kassell, Lauren (2011). Almanacs and Prognostications. In Joad Raymond (ed.) *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, pp. 431-442. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, Esther (1993). El Temazcal: Entre Religión y Medicina. In *III Coloquio de Historia de la Religión en Mesoamérica y Áreas Afines*. Edited by Barbro Dahlgren Jordan. Mexico City. Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, UNAM.
- Kraft, Kraig et al. (2014). Multiple lines of evidence for the origin of domesticated chili pepper, *Capsicum annuum*, in Mexico. In *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 111, no. 17, pp. 6165-6170.
- Lanuza-Navarro, Tayra (2009). Astrological Literature in Seventeenth-Century Spain. In *The Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 7, pp. 119-136.
- Lara, Jaime (2008). *Christian Texts for Aztecs. Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico*. Notre Dame: University of Norte Dame Press.
- Launey, Michel (2011). *An Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*. Translated and adapted by Christopher Mackay. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Jongsoo (2014). Emergence and Progress of Contemporary Nahua Literature: Fray Ángel María Garibay Kintana, Miguel León-Portilla, and the Pre-Hispanic Past. In *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 29-58.
- Leonard, Irving (1992). *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- León-Portilla, Ascensión H. de (1988). *Tepuztlahcuilolli, Impresos en Náhuatl: Historia y Bibliografía*. Volume 1. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- León-Portilla, Miguel (1990 [1956]). *Aztec Thought and Culture*. Translated by Jack Emory Davis. Norman: Oklahoma University Press.

- León-Portilla, Miguel (2002). *Bernardino de Sahagún. First Anthropologist*. Translated by Mauricio J. Mixco. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Lesko, Leonard H. (1991). Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology. In Byron E. Shafer (ed.) *Religion in Ancient Egypt. Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, pp. 88-122. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Li, Andrés de (1999 [1495]). *Reportorio de los Tiempos*. Edited by Laura DelBrugge. London: Tamesis.
- Li, Andrés de (1529). *Reportorio de los Tiempos*. Sevilla: Juan Cromberg. Consulted at the British Library.
- Li, Andrés de (1575). *Reportorio de los Tiempos*. Sevilla: Alonso de Barrera. Consulted at the British Library.
- Lie, Orlanda S.H & Dieuwke E. van der Poel (1983). *Eyn corte Decleringhe deser sphere*. Editie Werkgroep van Utrechtse Neerlandici. Utrecht: Instituut De Vooy.
- Lira Saade, Rafael (1996). *Chayote Sechium edule (Jacq.) Sw*. Promoting the conservation and use of underutilized and neglected crops. 8. Institute of Plant Genetics and Crop Plant Research, Rome: Gatersleben/International Plant Genetic Resources Institute.
- Lockhart, James (1991). *Nahuas and Spaniards. Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 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.
- Lockhart, James, Susan Schroeder & Doris Namala (2007). *Annals of His Time. Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- López Austin, Jose A. (1973). Un Reportorio de los Tiempos en idioma náhuatl. In *Annales de Antropología*, vol. 10, pp. 285-296.
- López, Gregorio (1674). *Tesoro de Medicinas. Para diuersos enfermedades. Dispuesto por el venerable varon Gregorio López [...]*. Mexico: Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio. See https://books.google.nl/books?id=Fe4369SGeFYC&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Macuil Martínez, Raul (2017). *Los Tlamatque, guardians del Patrimonio. Dinámicas interculturales en la Sociedad naua (México)*. ASLU 36. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Martín del Campo, Edgar (2009). The Global Making of a Mexican Vampire: Mesoamerican, European, African, and Twentieth-Century Media Influences on the Teyollohcuani. In *History of Religions*, vol. 49, no. 2 pp. 107-140. University of Chicago Press.
- Martínez, Enrico (1948 [1606]). *Reportorio de los tiempos e historia natural de Nueva España*. Edited by Francisco de la Maza. Mexico: Secretaria de Educación Pública.
- Martínez González, Roberto (2009). Sobre la existencia de un nahualismo Purépecha y la continuidad cultural en Mesoamérica. In *Relaciones, Estudios de Historia y Sociedad*, vol. 30, no. 117. Consulted online (no page numbers). See http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0185-39292009000100008
- Martínez López-Cano, María del Pilar (2013). La Administración de la Bula de la Santa Cruzada en Nueva España (1574-1659). In *La Iglesia en Nueva España. Relaciones e interacciones políticas*. Javerier Cervantes Bello (coord.), pp. 975-1017. Puebla: BUAP.
- Martínez López-Cano, María del Pilar (2014). Debates, disputas y desafíos. La Bula de la Santa Cruzada y las reformas tridentinas. In Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello & María del Pilar Martínez López-Cano (coords.) *Reformas y Resistencias en la Iglesia novohispana*, pp. 19-46, Serie Historia Novohispana, vol. 96. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Mason, Peter (1990). *Deconstructing America: Representations of the Other*. New York: Routledge.

- Mathes, Valerie L. (1976). Enrico Martínez of New Spain. In: *The Americas*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 62-77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McEwan, Colin et.al. (2006). *Turquoise Mosaics from Mexico*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Megged, Amos (2010). *Social Memory in Mesoamerica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mengin, Ernest (1952). Commentaire du Codex mexicanus n° 23-24 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. In *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 387-498.
- Moore, Omar Khayyam (1957). Divination. A New Perspective. In *American Anthropologist*, no. 59: 69-74.
- Moreno de los Arcos, Roberto (1991). New Spain's Inquisition for Indians from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century. In Mary Elizabeth Perry & Anne J. Cruz (eds.) *Cultural Encounters. The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, pp. 23-36. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Newman, Martha G. (2013). Foundation and Twelfth Century. In Mette Birkedal Bruun (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian Order*, pp. 25-37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Olko, Justyna (2014). *Insignia of Rank in the Nahua World. From the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Ordahl Kupperman, Karen (1995). *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*. Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press.
- Pardo, Osvaldo F. (2006). *Mexican Catholicism. Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Pederson, Olaf (1983). The Ecclesiastical Calendar and the Life of the Church. In G.V. Coyne, S.J., M.A. Hoskin and O. Pedersen (eds.), *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar. Proceedings of the Vatican Conference to Commemorate its 400th Anniversary 1582-1982*, pp. 17-40. Vatican: Pontificia Academia Scientiarum.
- Peraza-Rugely, Aurora M. *Los almanaques de Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: Aspectos literarios y herramienta para analizar Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez y Parayso Occidental*. PhD dissertation, University of Oklahoma.
- Piperno, D.R. and K.V. Flannery (2001). The earliest archaeological maize (*Zea mays* L.) from highland Mexico: New accelerator mass spectrometry dates and their implications. In *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 98, no. 4, pp. 2101-2103.
- Pharo, Lars Kirkhusmo (2017). *Concepts of Conversion. The Politics of Missionary Scriptural Translations*. De Gruyter.
- Poole, Robert (1995). "Give Us Our Eleven Days!": Calendar Reform in Eighteenth Century England. In *Past & Present*, no. 149 pp. 95-139. Oxford University Press.
- Poole, Stafford (1995). *Our Lady of Guadalupe: The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press.
- Prem, Hanns J. (1978) Comentario a las partes calendáricas del codex Mexicanus 23-24. In *Estudios de la cultura nahuatl*, vol. 13, pp. 267-288.
- Prem, Hanss J. (2008). Cohesión y diversidad en la escritura náhuatl. In *Itinerarios. Revista de estudios lingüísticos, literarios, históricos y antropológicos*, no. 8, pp. 13-41.
- Purkis, William J. (2008). *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia c.1095-c.1187*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Rappaport, Roy A. (1999). *Ritual and Religion in the making of humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Restall, Matthew (2003). *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ricard, Robert (1966). *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: an essay on the apostolate and the*

- evangelizing methods of the mendicant orders in New Spain, 1523-1572*. Translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ricciardelli, Fabrizio (2000). *Journey of Faith. The Jubilee from its origins to the present*. Translated by Anahy Pari di Monriva. Lincoln: iUniverse.com
- Rivera, Isidro J. (1998). Negotiation of Scientific Discourse in the First Printed Edition of the *Historia de la donzella Teodor* (Toledo: Pedro Hagenbach, ca. 1500). In *Hispanic Review*, vol. 66, pp. 415-432.
- Rivera, Isidro J. & Donna M. Rogers (2000). *Historia de la donzella Teodor. Edition and Study*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Rojas, Araceli (2014). *El Tiempo y la Sabiduría. Un calendario sagrado entre los ayöök de Oaxaca*. Oaxaca: CONACULTA, Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, Fundación Harp Helú.
- Roys, Ralph L. (1967 [1933]). *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Ruiz Bañuls, Mónica (2013). Los Huehuetlatolli: modelos discursivos destandos a la enseñanza retórica en la tradición indígena. In: *Castilla. Estudios de Literatura*, vol. 4, pp. 270-281.
- Ruiz Medrano, Ethelia (2010). *Mexico's Indigenous Communities- Their Lands and Histories, 1500 to 2010*. Translated by Russ Davidson. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Ruiz de Alarcón, Hernando (1984 [1629]). *Treatise on the Heathen Superstitions That Today Live Among the Indians Native to This New Spain, 1629*. Translated and edited by J. Richard Andrews and Ross Hassig. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Sahagún, Bernardino de (1577). *Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España*. Medicea Laurenztiana Library, Florence.
- Salaya, Sancho de (1542). *Repertorio de tie[m]pos nuevamente corregido por el famoso doctor Sancho de Salaya, cathedratico de Astrologia en la Universidad de Salamanca*. Consulted at the British Library.
- Salaya, Sancho de (?) (1554). *Repertorio de los tiempos, el qual tura desde el año M.D.L.iiii. Hasta el año M.D.xc.ii. Ha añadido en muchas cosas y lugares, con toda vilige[n]cia y cuydado, por un religioso de la horden del glorioso doctor Sant Bernardo*. Valencia. See: file:///F:/files%20from%20university%20computer/reportorios/reportorios/BG~17092_2.pdf
- Schroeder, Susan (2010). Introduction. In Susan Schroeder (ed.), *The Conquest All Over Again. Nahuas and Zapotecs thinking, writing and painting Spanish colonialism*, pp. 1-14. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press.
- Schwaller, John F. (2000). *The Church in Colonial Latin America*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources.
- Schwaller, John F. (2006). The Ilhuica of the Nahuatl: Is Heaven Just a Place? In: *The Americas*, vol. 62, no. 3, pp. 391-412.
- Siarkiewicz, Elzbieta (1995). *El Tiempo en el Tonalamatl*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw.
- Sigüenza y Góngora, Carlos de (1960). *Obras Historicas*. Rojas Garcidueñas, José (ed.). Coleccion de Escritores Mexicanos 2. Mexico: Editorial Porrúa.
- Siraisi, Nancy (1990). *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction Knowledge and Power*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Swerdlow, Noel M. (1974). The Origin of the Gregorian Civil Calendar. In: *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, vol. 5, no. 48, pp. 48-49.
- Spitler, Susan (2005). *Nahua Intellectual Responses to the Spanish: The Incorporation of European Ideas into the Central Mexican Calendar*. PhD dissertation. Tulane: Tulane University.
- Stuart, David (2011). *The order of days: the Maya world and the truth about 2012*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Taft, Robert F. (1986). *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West. The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press.

- Tavárez, David (2000). A seventeenth-century Nahua devotional miscellany: Fonds Mexicain 381. In: *Social Reproduction of Late Postclassic Ritual Practices in Early Colonial Central Mexico*. Published on FAMSÍ: <http://www.famsi.org/reports/96039/96039Tavarez01.pdf>
- Tavárez, David (2002). Letras clandestinas, textos tolerados, colaboraciones lícitas: la producción textual de los intelectuales nahuas y zapotecos en el siglo XVII. In Quijada, Mónica & Jesús Bustamante (eds.), *Elites intelectuales y modelos colectivos: mundo ibérico (siglos XVI-XIX)*, pp. 60-82. Colección Tierra Nueva e Cielo Nuevo. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Tavárez, David (2011). *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Taylor, William B. (2006). Between Nativitas and Mexico City. An Eighteenth Century Pastors's local Religion. In Martin Austin Nesvig (ed.), *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 91-118. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Tedlock, Barbara (1982). *Time and the Highland Maya*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Tedlock, Barbara (2001). Divination as a Way of Knowing: Embodiment, Visualisation, Narrative, and Interpretation. In: *Folklore*, vol. 112, no. 2, pp. 189-197.
- Terraciano, Kevin (2001). *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca. Ñudzahui History, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Tornamira, Francisco Vicente de (1585). *Repertorio de los tiempos a lo modern, el qual trata varia y diversas cosas: de Cosmographia, Sphera, Theorica, de Planetas [...]*. Pamplona: Homas Portalis de Savoya. Consulted in the British Library. See also file:///F:/files%20from%20university%20computer/reportorios/reportorios/Chronographia_y_Repertorio_de_los_tiempo.pdf
- Townsend, Camilla (2017). *Annals of Native America. How the Nahuas of Colonial Mexico kept Their History Alive*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trabulse, Elías (1988). *Los manuscritos perdidos de Sigüenza y Góngora*. Mexico: El Colegio de México.
- Varisco, Daniel M. (1994). *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science: The Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan (Publications on the Near East)*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Zamorano, Rodrigo (1594). *Cronología y Reportorio de la Razon de los Tiempos*. Sevilla: Rodrigo de Cabrera. Consulted at the British Library.
- Weert, Jan de (1915). *Nieuwe doctrinael of spiegel van sonden*. Edited by J.A. Jacobs. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Weckmann, Luís (1992). *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Weiner, Dora B. (2000). The World of Dr. Francisco Hernández. In Simon Varey, Rafael Chabrán and Dora B. Weiner (eds.), *Searching for the Secrets of Nature. The Life and Works of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, pp. 3-10. Stanford University Press.
- Wichmann, Søren and Ilona Heijnen (2008). Un manuscrito en Náhuatl sobre astrología europea. In: Buve, Raymond et al. (eds.), XV Congreso Internacional de AHILA, 1808-2008. *Crisis y Problemas en el Mundo Atlántico*, pp. 106-124. Leiden.
- Wieck, Roger S., Sandra Hindman and Ariane Bergeron-Foote (2007). *Picturing Piety: The Book of Hours*. London: Paul Holberton Publishing.
- Winkelman, Michael & Philip M. Peek (2004). Introduction: Divination and Healing Processes. In Michael Winkelman and Philip M. Peek (eds.), *Divination and Healing, Potent Vision*, pp. 3-25. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- Whitfield, Peter (2001). *Astrology: A History*. London: British Library.
- Zapata y Mendoza, Juan Buenaventura (1995). *Historia cronológica de la noble ciudad Tlaxcala*. Luís Reyes García and Andrea Martínez Baracs (eds. and transl.) Tlaxcala: Universidad Autónoma

de Tlaxcala.

Zeitlyn, David (2001). Finding Meaning in the Text: the process of interpretation in text-based divination. In: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 225-240.

Zerubavel, Eviatar (1985). *The Seven Day Circle. The History and Meaning of the Week*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Zizumbo-Villareal, Daniel and Patricia Colunga-García Marín (2010). Origin of agriculture and plant domestication in West Mesoamerica. In: *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution*, vol. 57, no. 6, pp. 813-825.

Zwartjes, Otto (2014). The missionaries' contribution to translation studies in the Spanish colonial period. The *mise en page* of translated texts and its functions in foreign language teaching. In Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmermann and Martina Schrader-Kniffki (eds.), *Missionary Linguistics V. Lingüística Misionera V. Translation theories and practices*, Studies in the History of the Language Sciences, vol. 122, pp. 1-50.

Appendices

Appendix A: transcription of the petition by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora to publish his lunario and prognostication for the year 1679. Fragment in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. Inquisicion (61), Vol 670, 1678, exp 20, page 347r.

Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora Presbitero Cathedratico
proprietorio de Mathematicas en esta R[ea]l Universidad=
Dice que tiene dispuesto el Lunario y pronostico de temporales
para el año por vendidero de 1679 y para poder darlo a lus
estampas

A Us[tede]s Pide y supa que constando no tener cossas
alguna contra la Fe, Disposiciones Pontificios y mandatos deste
S[an]to tribunal, mande se le despache licencia en la forma acos
tumbrada para q[ue] se imprima en que receuira m[e]r[ce]d

Carlos de Sigüenza y [signature]
Gongora

Appendix B: transcription of the recommendations of the first friar who read the lunario and prognostication for the year of 1679 by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora [1678].
Fragment in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
Inquisicion (61), vol 670, 1678, exp 20, page 347r-347v [page itself is erroneously numbered 354v]

Muy illustre Señor
Por mandado de u[ste]d he leído el prognóstico del año que
viene de [16]79. compuesto por D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Gon
gora, Cathedratico de la facultad en la Universidad
de Mexico = mi sentir es que el el folio 1. parafo 2 a
blando de los Eclipses tiene una proposicion, que se deve
explicar: porque dise assi como puede aver gozo entre
nieblas, que niegan a los mortales las celestes luus
esta proposion es impropia, y equivoca. Impropia
porque las nieblas no niegan la lus, sino que lo
impiden, y en este sentido y no otro ablo tobias que
do dixo intenebris sedeo et lumen egli non video
= Es tambien equivoca la proposion, porque las tiniebl[as]
solo impiden la lus material, y el termino del
autor que es luus celestes dise mas que lus mater[ial]
(ablando en todo rigor). no dudo que [sera este] [illegible]

del autor, pero aviendo de comer el pronostico [illegible]
 [next folio] tantos item varios juicios podra ser que lo confundo
 alguno, dexandose llevar de la mala intelligencia,
 assi (siendo u[ste]d servido) se podra mandar que diga.
pero como puede aver gozo entre tinieblas que impide
a los mortales la luz dia
 = item en el mismo parrafo al fin, haciendo juicio del añ[o]
 y queriendo distinguir los aidentes necesarios de los con
 tingentes: diste assi (ablando de los necesarios) se conspira
lo in fausto de los Eclipses anuestro daño nadie duda
 que el Eclipse es aidente necesario: pero que ame[nudo]
 daño necessariamente, ni se deve, ni se puede pre
 nunciar por cossa cierta, sino por mui contingente
 y assi pues eneste parrafo abla de los aidentes necesarios
 debera desir que los eclipses se pueden conspirar anuestro
daño, y coneso savra el que leiere, que el daño que pre
 viene es solo contingente y no necesario = este es mi
 pensar [?] en lo que toca a esta parte en lo temas no allo
 cossa que se oponga anuestra s[an]ta fee y buenas costum
 bres salvo esta tanto en este año consento real
 de Mexico S[an]to Domingo 22 de septiembre de [16]78 a[ños]

Ant[onio] leal de Arujo [?]

Appendix C: transcription of the recommendations of the second friar who read the lunario and
 prognostication for the year of 1679 by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora [1678].

Fragment in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Inquisicion (61), vol 670, 1678, exp 20, page 347v [page itself is erroneously numbered 354v]-348r

Muy illustre señor.

He visto por mandado de Us[te]d el Lunario y Pronostico dispuesto pa[ra] el año
 que viene de [16]79 por D. Carlos de Sigenza [sic] y Gongora Cathedratico
 propietario de Mathematicas en la R[ea]l Univers[ida]d deesta Corte=Mi
 sentir es, que aunq[ue] en el folio 1 parrafo 2 en q[ue] trata de los eclipses, dice
 esta proposiçion: Pero como puede auergozo entre tinieblas, que niegan a los
mortales las celestes luces? y en ella no habla con propiedad diciendo que
 las tinieblas niegan las luces, no es mas q[ue] impropiedad en el rigor de
 terminos de Filosofia, q[ue] llama a las tinieblas priuacion, y na negacion
 de luz: y assi no siento en esta parte materia, que pueda ser ofensiva al
 a n[uest]ra S[an]ta fee, y buenas costumbres _____
 iten tampoco siento auer en la d[ic]ha proposiçion equivoacion alguna quando
 diçe, que las tinieblas niegan a los mortals las celestes luces, pues siendo
 constante, que va hablando especificamente del efecto natural de los eclipses
 y las tinieblas, q[ue] causan, sufficientem[en]te esta determinadada la locucion a que
 se entienda decirlo por las luces materiales de el sol, y no por las espiri
 tuales, o sobienatumbes, y en este sentido pareçe hablar el author como

se infiere del parraf immediato en el mesmo fol. 1 donde explicando el primer eclipse, dice: Mayo obscuracion et[ce]t[er]a y negandosenos del cuer po solar digitos et[ce]t[er]a, con que mi pareçer es, que puede quedar corriente toda la d[ic]ha proposiçion, sin riesgo de ofensa en la siniestra intelli gençia de ella_____

iten al fin del mesmo parrafo 2 donde señala los que son accidentes nece [next page] sarios en el cielo, en la prediccion de los eclipses previniendo los daños que amenazan, diçe: se conspira lo in fausto de los Eclipses anuestro daño: Y siendo la predicçion absoluta, y el Juicio, que hace en d[ic]ho parra fo espeçial de solo los effectos, y accidente, q[ue] son necesarios, y no contingentes, de q[ue] instituye despues distinto parrafo; parece quedar tambien comprehendidos en esa predicçion dichos daños, o effectos de los eclipses, q[ue] son impedibles, y contingentes, aunq[ue] su causa sea necesaria. Y no obstante, q[ue] el author lo Reconoce assi en el fol. 3. §. 8. diçiendo: Porq[ue] aunq[ue] el eclipse de sol pudiera causar algunos yelos, estar= uaralos la detencion de las aguas et[ce]t[er]a conformandome en este capitulo con la censura de arriba, y porq[ue] alguno no yerre contandose, o prenun= ciandose los effectos dañosos de los eclipses entre los q[ue] son necesarios, y los juzgue que por inevitables como lo son sus causas. Siento, que (siendo Ust[ed] servido) dicha predicçion absoluta quanto a lo q[ue] ame naça de daño se deue modificar de suerte q[ue] se entienda quedar este en su naturaleza de efecto puramente contingente: diciendo se puede conspirar lo infausto et[ce]t[er]a Este es mi sentir en lo que toca a esta parte, en lo demas, no siento cosa, q[ue] desdiga o sesponga a n[uest]ra S[an]ta fee o a las buenas costumbres. Saluo et[ce]t[er]a f[ec]ho en este Conv[en]to R[ea]l de n[ues]tro P[adr]e S[an]to Dom[in]go de Mex[i]co en 25 de Sept[iembr]e del 1678

Fray Aug[usti]n Dorantes [signature]

Appendix D: authors who asked the Inquisition permission to print lunarios, prognostications and almanacs in the seventeenth century. I have transformed the text by Burdick (2009) who in turn used the work by Quintana (1969) into a table.

Nr	Year	Author	Title
#1	1604	Enrico Martínez	Lunario y Regimiento de Salud
#2	1606	Enrico Martínez	Reportorio de los tiempos
#3	1649	Felipe de Castro	Lunario y Repertorio de salud para el año venidero de 1649
#4	1649	Gabriel López de Bonilla	El Diario y Discurso Astronomico para El Año que viene de 1649
#5	1651	Francisco Ruiz Lozano	Reportorio annual para el reino de Mexico. Por el Capitan Francisco Ruiz Lozano
#6	1652	Francisco Ruiz Lozano	Reportorio annual para el reino de Mexico. Por el Capitan Francisco Ruiz Lozano

#7	1653	Juan Ruiz	Reportorio
#8	1656	Gabriel López de Bonilla	Lunario y discurso Astronomico para El Año que Viende de 1656
#9	1659	Juan Ruiz	El Pronóstico del Año de 1659
#10	1660	Juan Ruiz	El Pronóstico del Año venidero de 1660
#11	1661	Juan Ruiz	El Reportorio del Año venidero de 1661
#12	1662	Martín de Córdoba	El Pronóstico y Lunario de temporales para 1662
#13	1662	Gabriel López de Bonilla	Diario y Discurso Astronomico para El Año de 1662
#14	1663	Martín de Córdoba	El Pronóstico de Temporales para el ano que viene de sesenta y tres
#15	1663	Garbiel López de Bonilla	Diario para 1663
#16	1663	Juan Ruiz	El Lunario y Regimiento de salud para el año que Viene de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y tres
#17	1665	Martín de Córdoba	El Pronóstico para el año Venidero de sesenta y cinco
#18	1665	Gabriel López de Bonilla	Diario y Discursos Astronomicos segun la Reuolucion y Ecclipses desde Año que Viene de 1665 [...]
#19	1665	Juan Ruiz	El lunario, Regimiento de Salud, y Pronóstico de los Temporales del Año venidero de 1665
#20	1666	Martín de Córdoba	El Lunario, y Pronóstico de temporales para el año de 1666
#21	1666	Gabriel López de Bonilla	El Diario y Discursos Astronomicos para El Año que Viene de 1666
#22	1666	Juan Ruiz	Lunario, Regimiento de Salud, y temporales del Año de 1666
#23	1667	Gabriel López de Bonilla	Diario y Discursos Astronomicos fecho por Gabriel Lopez de Bonilla Vez. desta Ciudad de Mexico de la Nueva España [...]
#24	1667	Juan Ruiz	El Pronóstico del Año venidero de 1667
#25	1668	Gabriel López de Bonilla	Diario y discursos astronoimcos para el año 1668
#26	1669	Juan Ruiz	El Lunario, Regimiento de Salud, y Pronóstico de temporales del Año venidero de 1669
#27	1670	Nicolás de Matta	Lunario y pronóstico de temorales para el a[ñ]o que Viene de seiscientos y settenta
#28	1670	Juan Ruiz	El Pronóstico del Año venidero de 1670
#29	1671	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario y Pronóstico de temporales para el Año de 1671
#30	1672	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario y pronóstico de temporales del año que biene de 1672
#31	1673	Juan Ruiz	Pronóstico del Año Venidero de 1673

#32	1673	Juan de Saucedo	El Juico astronomico de el año proximo venidero del 1673
#33	1673	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Lunario del año que viene de 73
#34	1674	Juan Ruiz	Lunario de el Año venidero de 1674
#35	1674	Juan de Saucedo	El Pronóstico para el año que viene de setenta y quatro
#36	1674	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario que pasa el año venidero de 1674
#37	1675	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El lunario y pronóstico de Temporales para el año Venidero de 1675
#38	1676	Feliciano Ruiz	El lunario, Regimiento de Salud, y Pronóstico de temporales, del Año venidero de 1676
#39	1676	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Lunario para el año venidero de 1676
#40	1677	Juan de Saucedo	El pronóstico para el año que viene de setenta y siete
#41	1677	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario para el año de 1677
#42	1678	José de Escobar Salmerón y Castro	El Lunario y regimiento de Salud Con el pronóstico delos temporales para el año que Viene de 1678
#43	1678	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El pronóstico para el año venidero de 1678
#44	1679	José de Escobar Salmerón y Castro	Lunario y regimiento de Salud para el año que viene de 79
#45	1679	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Lunario y pronóstico de temporales para el año de 1679
#46	1680	José de Escobar Salmerón y Castro	El lunario y regimiento de Salud para el año que viene de 1680
#47	1680	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario y pronóstico de temporales para el año proximo venidero de 1680

#48	1681	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Lunario para 1681
#49	1682	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año de Mil, seiscientos y ochenta y dos
#50	1682	José ²²³ de Escobar Salmerón y Castro	El Lunario y pronóstico de temporales del año que viene
#51	1682	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario y pronóstico de temporales para el año venidero de 1682
#52	1683	José de Escobar Salmerón y Castro	El Lunario y pronóstico del año que viene de 83
#53	1683	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario y Pronóstico de temporales para el año vendidero de 1683
#54	1684	José de Escobar Salmerón y Castro	El pronóstico o Lunario de los temporales, y guarda de Salud con sus medicinas segun indican los Astros el año que viene de 84
#55	1684	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Repertorio
#56	1685	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	[Almanaque] ²²⁴
#57	1686	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	El Pronóstico de Temporales con las Elecciones de Medizina y Navegaciones del año que viene de mill [sic] seiscientos y ochenta y seis
#58	1686	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El pronóstico para el año que viene de ochenta y seis
#59	1687	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico para el año que viene de ochenta y seis
#60	1687	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	Pronóstico de Temporales para el año, que viene de 1687

²²³ The text itself uses the name ‘Joseph’ and not ‘José’ (Burdick 2009:254)

²²⁴ Here I follow Burdick (2009) who added years for which there is no record in the AGN that de Sigüenza y Góngora asked permission to print his work. However, in the 1690 almanac the author states that ‘that almanac makes twenty in so many years’ (Burdick 2009:261). This seems to imply that he did so for the intermediate years as well.

#61	1687	José de Campos	El Pronóstico para el Año que viene de ochenta y seis
#62	1687	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	[Almanaque]
#63	1688	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	Pronóstico de Temporales para el año que Viene de 88
#64	1688	José de Campos	Pronóstico de Temporales para 1688
#65	1688	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Pronóstico y Lunario para el año de 1688
#66	1689	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico para el Año que viene de Ochenta y Nuebe
#67	1689	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	Pronóstico de Temporales, para el año que Viene de Mil, Seiscientos, y ochenta, y nueve
#68	1689	José de Campos	El Pronóstico para el Año que Viene de Ochenta y nueve
#69	1689	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Lunario para el Año venidero de 1689
#70	1690	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año de mil seiscientos noventa
#71	1690	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	El pronóstico de Temporales para el año que viene de mil, seiscientos, i noventa
#72	1690	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Almanaque Para el Año de 1690
#73	1691	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Lunario y Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año de Mil Seiscientos y Nouenta y vno
#74	1691	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	El Pronóstico de Temporales para el año que Viene de Mil, Seiscientos, y Nouenta, y vn años
#75	1691	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Almanaque para el Año de 1691
#76	1692	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	PRONOSTICO De los Temporales de el Año Bisiesto De 1692 [...]
#77	1692	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	Pronóstico de Temporales Con las elecciones de Medicina, Phlebotomia Agricultura, Nauegacion, Segun loque indi=can los mouimientos de los Astros, Este año de 1692 [...]

#78	1692	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Almanaque de D.C.d.S.y.G. Para el año de 1692
#79	1693	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año que viene de Nouenta y tres
#80	1693	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	El Pronóstico de Temporales para el año que Viene de Nouenta i tres
#81	1693	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Almanaque de D.C.de S. para el año de 1693
#82	1694	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	ALMANAQUE Y LUNARIO de D.C. de S. y G. Para el Año de 1694 [...]
#83	1695	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año que Viene de Noventa y cinco
#84	1695	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Almanaque y Lunario que como acostumbre tiene dispuesto para el año que viene de 1695
#85	1696	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año que viene de Nouenta y seis
#86	1696	Juan de Avilés Ramírez	El pronóstico de Temporales para el año que viene de noventa, i seis
#87	1696	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	Almanaque y Lunario de D.C. de S. y G. Para el año Bisiesto de 1696 [...]
#88	1697	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico delos Temporales de e l Año que viene de Nouenta y Siete
#89	1697	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	[Almanaque]
#90	1698	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año que viene de nouenta y ocho
#91	1698	Marco Antonio de Gamboa y Riaño	Lunario y Pronóstico de temporales; Con las Elecciones de Medicina, Phle=botomia, Nauegacion, y Agricultura por lo que indicant los Astros este Año de 1698 [...]
#92	1698	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	[Almanaque]
#93	1699	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Almanaque y Lunario para el año de 1699

#94	1700	Antonio Sebastián de Aguilar Cantú	El Pronóstico de los Temporales de el Año de mil y Setecientos, proxima venidero
#95	1700	Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora	El Almanaque para el año que viene de mill y setecientos

Appendix E: on Aquarius and Taurus in Codex Mexicanus compared to two Spanish reportorios and Izcatqui

On Aquarius:

Sancho de Salaya [Granada, 1542]

page unnumbered

Llamase aun la natura del sol quando entra en su onzena casa aquarius. Figurada por vno q[ue] trae o saca vna cantara de agua d[e]l rio: lo qual significa que el sol quando entra en aqueste signo a [following page] diez d[e]l henero suele: traer el tie[m]pol leno de agua y de lluias: y d[e]muestra enello mucho la fuerça d[e]l sol: ca no traeria el agua no lloueria en la tierra si el sol alas partes superioes no tirasse el humor cuya refusion causa la lluiua. aqueste signo llamado aquarius es assignado al planeta Saturno por detras: porq[ue] el sol entra en aqueste signo a diez dias de henero. y quando entra el elel es dia de nueue horas y media. y dende q[ue] entra en aq[ue]ste signo hasta q[ue] sale – cresce el dia vna hora. Es de manera de ayre: y su calidad es caliente y humeda. el que nasciere en aqueste signo sera hombre pequeño: triste de condicion amara mucho las mugeres.

Jerónimo de Chávez [Sevilla, 1584]²²⁵

page 123

El onzena signo segun la sucesion natural, es Aquario, figuado por vn hombre, q[ue] con vn canatro esta derrama[n]do aquea, el qual fingian los Poetas ser Deucalion. Significando la influencia deste signo, porq[ue] comunmente esta[n]do el Sol en este signo, suele auer gra[n]de abunda[n]cia de aguas. Constasu ymage[n] de quare[n]ta y dos estrellas. Este signo es casa de Saturno diurnal, y gozo suyo. Y detriment diurno y nocturne del Sol. Entra el Sol en el, comunmente a los veynte dias de Enero. Entra en la ymage[n] a veynte y cinco de Enero. Imprime calor y humedad dese plada y nosciua, la qual impide, mata y destruye los indiuiduos de las especies: porq[ue] el ayre es corropido, y daña las plantas y vegetales. Es signo masculino, diurno ocide[n]tal siniestro tortuoso, aereo, es fixo, porq[ue] esta[n]do el Sol en[e]l es fixado el tie[m]p del inuiern, es signo racional d[ela] Hermosa boz, sanquineo. De las partes del ho[m]bre domina sobre las piernas y cañillas, de las enfermedades las destos mie[m]bros, y la ictericia negra, y sobre el ro[m]piemiento de todas las venas. Dende los veynte grados hasta los veynte y once domina

²²⁵ If the Codex was composed before 1583 as Hanns Prem argued, the *tlacuiloque* of the document could not have used the 1584 edition. However, earlier copies do exist (such as one published in 1580) and as each edition assigned to one author is more or less a direct copy of one original text, the 1584 fragment bears the same text as an earlier edition.

sobre el dolor de los ojos. De los colores tiene el verde, el cetrino y puluerino. Domina sobre los mo[n]tes, fue[n]tes y lagunas. De las prouincias sobre arago[n], Saxonia, parte de Bohemia, Ethipia, y la India, la Thaurica, el Piamonte, Sarmacia, Oxiana, Sogdiana, la Arabia, la Azania y Ethiophia, sub Egypto. En particular domina sobre Hierusale[m], Consta[n]cia, Urbino, Monserrato. En España domina sobre Camora, Palencia, Medina. Y lavltima parte deste signo con la primera de Pisces, domina sobre Seuilla, patria y madre nuestra.

Ms 3523-2:

[f.45r]

Inic matlactlonce ynical tonatiuh
 yn oncan monamiqui ynicexiuh tlapohuali
 in tontatiuh ytoca Aquarius ynicmicuilohua
 Cetlacatl atetecac anoquia
 anoço atlacui atenco
 quinextia
 ca in tonatiuh yn icuac ypan calaqui
 ynin machiotl matlaquilhuitica Ene/ro/ ycuac
 motlapihuia ynatl yhuan m/.../ [f.45v] moloni
 ca iuhqui yn tonatiuh yn ilhuicatl yhuan totonqui
 Auh in tlalli quimonacayotia ynatl quichichina
 yc tlanelhua yohuayo
 tlatzmolini ynin signus ytoca Aquarius
 yc momachiotia planetas Saturnos ycanpa Auh
 yn iquac yp[a]n calaqui Signus
 yn tlaca quipia chiuhnahui hora ypan media auh
 in iquac quisa quitlalchua
 yn icatl
 oncan quisa ce hora yn icuac cenca yeheca
 Auh inielis totonqui yamanqui **Inaq[ui]n nipa[n]**
tlacatiz ynin Signus²²⁶ to²²⁷ mahuac yes
 achipachtic yes cenca tomahuac yes cenca
 tlaoco
 yani yes nohuian cenca quitlasotlas ynicihuauh
 Ets.

the eleventh house of the sun
 there it meets each year the count
 of the sun, its name Aquarius is thus written
 one person by the water urinates
 or takes water [from] the river
 he demonstrates
 when the sun enters
 this one sign, [?] January when
 the water will augment and flows
 like the sun, the sky [is] warm
 and the land, the water grows, it burns
 when it gets dark in the center
 this one sign arises named Aquarius
 when the planet Saturn displays itself behind and
 then enters the sign
 it holds nine hours and a half and
 then it appears, it will work the land
 [?]
 there it emerges one hour, then it is very windy?
 and the sky is warm, lukewarm, who is
 born under this sign, is fat, he will be a bit short
 he will be very fat, he will be very sad
 ? that will be everywhere, he will love his woman
 very much Ets.

²²⁶ Red in the text itself.

²²⁷ 'huac' crossed out, followed by 'mahuac'.

Appendix F: The content of the Chilam Balam of Chan Cah

1-4	The beginning of time started in the East: each of the 20 day signs is attested to one of the four wind directions and each day has its own negative or beneficial characteristic
4	The four year bearers (Kan; Muluc; Hiix, and Cuauc), each related to a wind direction
4	Incomplete list of the amount of days during the months (only for those that have 30 days and February)
5	The year bearers passing through the four wind directions
5-15	Astrological explanation of the twelve zodiac signs; characteristics of people born under them; whether or not it is good or bad to let blood or purge; medical well-being of people; agricultural activities to be carried out
15-19	On the seven days and seven planets; characteristics of those born under them
20	Each of the seven planets with its associated Angel
20	On the twelve months
22-24	Whether or not it is good to let blood in each of the 12 months
24-26	On the veins from which to let blood; which vein should be selected to cure a particular condition
26-27	How foreigners came to the peninsula in 1513; AD 1823 is the year; Creation of the earth according to the 'sacred books' (Genesis)
28-33	References to Juan Damaçeno [Damasceno] and Rey D. Alonso who have explained how the

33-39	cosmos is divided into 11 spheres; known by astrologers [Miyatzoob]
40-45	Which of the seven planets rules in which month, for some months it is also mentioned which Zodiac sign rules; how these influence people's health and if these are negative or beneficial in general; medicinal treatments with herbs native to the area
45-48	The days from Sunday up to the next Sunday [in total eight days] and their characteristics as year carrier
49	Uroscopy
50-61	"Figuras del viento" medicine
61-64	God's creation of the cosmos according to Sacred Writings; emphasis on the importance of reading (religious texts) to remain on the straight path; Creation in seven days – the Trinity
65-67	Prognostications of certain types of mortality as indicated by the traveling of certain planets or astral phenomena through the sky in certain directions and/or the days of the week
67-72	Starting in August and ending in December; the Zodiac signs in those months cause illnesses; treatments are provided
72-87	Illnesses and their treatment with native herbs or other products
87-96	Story of doncella Teodora
97-111	Doncella Teodora talks about the Creation of earth by God, the planets, and zodiac signs
111-116	Medicinal treatments that include indigenous plants and drinks
	Four year bearers each located in one of the four corners of the sky; division of 2 veintinas [20 and 21 day signs] in the North, West, South, and

116-117	East and their good, bad, or neutral influence on the day
118-123	The seven planets are listed one to seven as well as their characteristics
123	Canonical actions by a priest during Mass that resonates Christ's final days and moments of his life, his placement in his tomb, and his final talk to his disciples
124-127	Drawing of circle to represent the four wind corners (counterclockwise: East, North, West, and South). Under each wind corner falls one of every fifth sign of 1 veintena, starting at 1 Kan [6 Muluc, 11 Ix, 3 Cauac, the next would be 1 Kan again]
127	In year bearer 6 Muluc (in the Christian year AD 1513), foreigners arrived from the North (also represented in the diagram). The story continues in the year 1832; (herbal) recipes to treat illnesses, again with native plants
128	Short record of births and marriages (1834) of families carrying the sir names of Camal and Pech
	Faded writing, unclear content but likely to refer to historical events during the beginning of the 19 th century (Grupo Dzibil, 1982: vii)

Appendix G: plenary indulgence and dates

[folio 7r]

yndulgencia plenaria
ypa[n] ytlacatlilistzin ylhuitzin t[e]t[e]o ynipa[n]/.../
yhuan Maytines onca yndulgencia pl/enaria/
ypan ilhuitzin San Esteua yn o[m]pa tep/.../
ynitocayoca[n] celio onca indulgencia ple/naria/
yp[an] ylhuitzin Sant Juan Evangelista onca y/ndul/
gencia plenaria + ynipan ynceanimahual
/ça/ yn[ompa] purgatorio_____

{folio 7v}

yp[an] ynilhuitzin in no center onca indulgencia plena[ria]
ypan circuncisio onca indulgencia plenaria
ypan Epiphania yhua[n] ynioctaua onca ind[ul]g[e]nc[i]a ple[naria]
yp[an] ylhuitzin Sancto Sebastian o[n]ca ind[ul]g[en]c[i]a plen[ari]a
ypan co[n]versio Santo pablo onca ind[ul]g[en]c[i]a plenari[a]
yp[an] ylhuitzin Sant Juan chrifostomo onca ind[ul]g[encia] ple[naria]
ypa[n] purification cihuapilli onca yndulg[e]n[cia] ple[naria]
ypa[n] ilhuitzin Sant mathias apostol on yndulg[e]n[cia] ple[naria]
/y/pa[n] ilhuitz[i]n Santo thomas de aq[ui]no Onca ynd[ul]g[encia] ple[naria]
/y/pa[n] ilhuitz[i]n Sant p[edr]o max onca yndulg[e]n[cia] ple[naria]
/ypan ylhuitzin Sant felipe yh[uan] S[a]ntiago onca yndul[gencia]
/yn ix/quich Domingo yp[an] metztli mayo onca
/yndulge/ncia plenaria
/ypan il/huitzin Sant Juan anteporta latina onca
/yndul/gencia plenaria yp[an] ceqca aios de pua
/.../ ye yeilhuitl yhua[n] yenhuilhuitl yhua[n] ye
/.../c ylhuitl onnahui yn metztli mayo_
/.../ yndulgencia plenaria_
/.../ ic ce[m]pohual ylhuitl yn ipa[n] ylhuitzin Sancto
/Ber/rnadrino Onca indulgencia plenaria_

[folio 8r]

ypan ycomlilhuitli Metztli Jonio onca indulg[e]n[cia] pl[e]n[a]ri[a]
ypan ylhuitzin Sant antonio de padua onca indulg[e]n[cia] p[lena]r[ia]
ypa[n] ylhuitzin S[an] Ju[an] b[a]ptista yh[uan] yni octaua onca
indulgencia plenaria
yp[a]n y vigilia Sant p[edr]o yhuan San pablo onca ind[ul]g[encia] p[lena]r[ia]
yp[an] yn visitatio cihuapilli onca indulg[e]n[cia] plenaria
yp[an] ylhuitzin Maria magdalena o[n]ca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia] pl[e]n[ari]a
yp[an] ylhuitzin Sanctiago [sic] onca yndulg[e]n[cia] plenaria
yp[an] ylhuitzin Sant p[edr]o advicula onca ynd[ul]g[e]n[cia] plena/ria/
yp[an] ylhuitzn cihuapilli adniues o[n]ca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia] pl/enaria/
yp[an] ycomilhuitl metztli agosto o[n]ca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia] /plenaria/
ypa[n] ylhuitzin Sancto domingo onca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia] /plenaria/
yp[an] ylhuitzin San Lorenzo o[n]ca yndulg[e]n[cia] p/lenaria/
+ No yhuan yniq[ua]c cana cecni teopa[n] huiloh/.../
nete ochichualo ynipa yxq[ui]ch miercoles yni/.../
xiuh queça + yece anima quiça yn o[m]pa pu/.../
ypa[an] yninetlecahuilis ylhuitzin cihuapilli /...
ynioctaua onca indulgencia plenaria_
ypa[n] ylhuitzin Sant nicolas de torentino o[n]ca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia] pl/enaria/
ypa[n] ilh[ui]tz[i]n Sancta cruz Exaltacion onca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia]
ypa[n] ylhuitzin Sant matheo apostol o[n]ca y[n]d[ul]g[e]nc[ia] p/[lenaria]

[folio 8v]

yp[an] ylhuitzin San tieronimo onca ind[ul]g[e]n[cia] plena[ria]
ypa[n] ylhuitzin S[an] fra[nsis]co yhua[n] yn octaua o[n]ca [yn]d[ul]g[e]n[cia]

yp[an] yn imilhuitzin S[a]n [Barto]lome yh[uan] yn octaua o[n]ca ind[ul]gencia plenaria
 yp[an] yn ilhuitz[i]n mimicque onca indulg[e]n[cia] plenaria
 yp[an] ylhuitl ynitoc dedicacion de la yglesia de sanc
 p[edr]o y san pablo onca yndulg[e]ncia plenaria
 yp[an] ilhuitzin cihuapilli itoca psentacion adpopu
 lus onca indulgencia plenaria__
 ypa[n] ilhuitzin Sancto andres onca yndulg[e]n[cia] plenaria
 ypa[n] ilhuitzin yn co[n]cepcion onca indulg[e]n[cia] p[l]ena[r]i[a]
 yp[an] yccaxtolilhuitl omei diciembre ynipa[n]
 /ypan ilh/uitz[i]n yn itoca Sancta maria de la o ind[ul]g[e]nc[ia]
 /ypan ilhu/itzin Sancto thomas apostol onca ynd[ul]gencia
 /.../zc ycnopilhuilo ynipopoloca yn ixq[ui]ch
 /.../tlacolli in itoca rremission [sic] yehuatl ynii
 /../ynican motenehua__
 /ypan i/huitzin Sancta ynes R[e]mission de tod[o]s
 /los p/eccados__ los pecados
 /y/[pan] ylhuitzin San gregorio remission de todos
 yp[an] ilhuitzin San miguel in itoca reuelacion
 /r/emission de todos los paccados__

[folio 9r]

yp[an] ilhuitzin Sant bartholome yhua[n] yn octa
 ua remission de todos los peccados peccad[o]s
 yp[an] ylhuitzin San agustin remission de todos los
 yp[an] ilhuitzin cihuapilli natividad remission de los pecca
 yp[an] ylhuitz[i]n ynitoca consecracion del Salvador
 Remission de todos los peccados__

¶ nican ca yn Estaciones__

yp[an] yc centetl Domingo auiendo yh[uan] ynic o[n]
 tetl yhua[n] ynic Etetl on Estaciones__
 yp[an] miercoles quatro temporas o[n]ca Estaciones
 yp[an] viernes yhua[n] sabado yn ça no yq[ua]c /qua
 tro temporas onca Estacion__
 yp[an] visperas ytlacatiliztin ylhuitzin t[o]t[e]o on/ca
 yp[an] domingo septuagesima yhua[n] sesagesi/ma/
 yhua[n] qui[n] quagesima onca Estaciones__
 yp[an] yxq[ui]ch cecemilhuitl yp[an] queresma /.../
 pehua ipa[n] miercoles yn iq[ua]c necmocui ynix/.../
 ica sabado de pasqua miec onca estaciones ce[n]
 ca huehuei yn amo ça[n] y yo indulgencias yhua[n]
 Remisiones plenarias ynic nopilhuilo ynipan

[folio 9v]

cecentetl Estacion ocno onca mimiecilhuitl
 tetla ocolilistli ynipan cece milhuitl quares
 ma_
 + yp[an] sabado yvisperas derramos ce ani

ma quixtillo yn o[m]pa purgatorio yn ac y
 yehuatl quinequi yntlacnopilhuis_
 yp[an] pasqua de Resurreccion yh[uan] yn ixq[ui]ch
 ynioctaua momotlac o[n]ca Estacion_
 yp[an] domingo in albis onca Estacion_
 yp[an] ylhuitzin San marcos onca Estacion
 /ypan?/pa San p[edr]o
 /ypan il?/huitzintli ascension onca Estacion
 /.../letanias mayores onca Estacion
 /.../pasqua de Esp[irit]u sancto miec onca Estacio[n]es
 /.../ miercoles yhua[n] viernes yhuan sabado y
 /.../quatro te[m]poras yn ipa[n] Metztli setic
 /.../ onca Estaciones_
 yp[an] yxquich cecemilhuil yn iq[ua]c onca yn
 dulgencias no onca Estacion [flower decoration]
 ynicuac omonaca y^otitzinoco

Appendix H: comparison between description of the months of the Western calendar in the Nahuatl handwritten text from the Doctrina Cristiana by Pedro de Gante [1553] and those from the Spanish reportorio by Sancho de Salaya [Granada 1542].

February:

Nahuatl reportorio

Sow all seeds in irrigated soil, including melons, quinces and fruit trees. Oranges and lemons should be planted in their seedbeds. And if a part of a tree is [lying; tendida], you can graft a tree with it and this one you can also plant. The sign of the month of February is Pisces. And illnesses can be relieved by cutting with obsidian. The sign is very bad for those who are sickened *by the dead* [translation of *by the dead* is doubtful: mimicque], there is much difficulty in curing them. The sign of this month is Pisces. And those born under this sign will be very strong and have very dark/black hair. They will be full of phlegm.

Spanish reportorio

Prune the vineyard, sow some legumes, melons and cucumber. When it is new moon, transplant [plant] oranges, lemons and myrtle and irrigate the trees with water and sow flax. It is the appropriate time to check the beehives to see if the bees are inside or outside of the hive and to let blood from whatever part of the body. In this month it is dangerous to have some ailment on the feet. [...] Those born in this month have a well-proportioned body [gentil hombre de cuerpo] with black hair; he/she will be melancholic and become sick easily.

March:

Nahuatl reportorio

In this month they prune much. Thus those who had been [tendido] and sown will not die, thus they will reproduce. And many influences from outside sicken our body. In march our head hurts often, our

ears, they are infected; much difficulty in curing them. And the sign of the month is named Aries. And he whose is born under it are easily aggravated; his anger thus is not just a little.

Spanish reportorio

In this month it is good what had been sown from dangerous herbs [weed] and when it is new moon plant slips of trees. It is the time in which many bad humors and great pains in the human body appear. Dangerous are the pains in the head and of the ears, more than anything in the body.

April:

Nahuatl reportorio

In this month, pigeons are being born which have to be taking care in order for them to grow. Those who are born under him [Taurus] grow much for this reason. His name is Taurus. It is appropriate that people will cut themselves with obsidian; it is a good time and with this the body of people will heal. When we get sick at our pharynx, of our throat, it is very bad. If it does not infect, it will heal. And the sign of the month is of that which is named Taurus. Those born under it will live together; they will live brotherly with their friends.

Spanish reportorio

In this month you will have to sow the alfalfa and hemp and cut the beehives in order to retrieve the honey and wax. If you have small pigeons, leave them in their loft so they can grow, this is the best time of the year for them to grow. And in this month the blood will rise much and to purge is very healing. And for whatever pain in the throat it is very dangerous to cut with iron.

May:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month it is very appropriate to harvest saffron. By doing so, the mice will not pose any danger to them. And it is very appropriate to do so [because] to all [plants] will attract small animals. And thus our body, our forearm will become ill. It is very bad, and with difficulty to heal. And if one is hurt by [cutting oneself] with obsidian, it is not necessary to cut oneself more with obsidian. And the sign of this month is named Gemini. And those who are born under it, very fast they become governor, very fast will they raise their walls.

Spanish reportorio:

In this month you have to harvest saffron²²⁸ so that the mice will not gather themselves in between, and it is a good time to divide the profit and to cut the beehives. Pains in the arms in this month are dangerous. And when you have an ailment in the hands or nails, you don't want to file your nails with iron.

²²⁸ In Spanish it reads *açafranales*. This is translated by Laura DelBrugge (1999:74) as 'crocuses'. However, I believe that it refers to *zafran*, Spanish for saffron.

June:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month it is appropriate to sow garlic. They will sow mustard in the seedbeds. And it is appropriate to to extract the garlic from their seedbed.²²⁹ And thus we will get sick at our chest and our bile; our liver is sick; much difficulty to heal. And the sign of this month is named Cancer. Those who are born have a beautiful body, and they will be lovely as well.

Spanish reportorio:

In this month it is good to graft when the moon is full. You have to sow millet/maize, sorghum, and millet [other Spanish word for millet than the previous one] and to extract the garlic and sow the cabbages and plant the slips of the fig tree. And as has been written by Palladius [DelBrugge 1999:75 explains that this fourth century AD writer wrote a book about farming] in this month, when you cut your wheat, do so when the moon is full, the wheat will last longer if you don't cut it during new moon. Pains in the chest, lung and liver are dangerous. Those born in the sign of Cancer will have a beautiful and body, courageous and will be very strong.

July:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month it is very appropriate to sow the seeds of cabbages and of lettuces. It is very bad to cut oneself with obsidian. And also it is very bad to sleep too much. And it is also bad to bathe in the *temazcal* during this month. And also it is bad to take garlic with salt. And this month will hurt our heart and our intestines. Also it is bad to aggravate yourself. And the sign of the month is named [Leo] *ocelotl*. Those born will be very old, they will bend much, they will be very bald. They will be respected, and very courageous and strong.

Spanish reportorio:

In this month they sow the cypress branch and lettuces. This time is dangerous for bloodletting and purging and is harmful to dream during midday and you shouldn't bath. In this month, garlic and sage are medicinal. And pains of the heart and stomach are very dangerous. Born under the sign [of Leo] means to become much respected and to behave correctly and with a strong heart.

August:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month it is very appropriate to sow garlic and beans. And also it is appropriate that they sow onion; that will keep them safe. And they will sow pomegranate and figs. And it is very necessary, good, to have intercourse with a woman. Very bad are bathing in the *temazcal* and gluttony (over-eating). And it is very appropriate to cut oneself with obsidian in this month; unclear sentence (Lopez Austin 1973: 295): it is not very appropriate, due to an illness it could be appropriate. And the sign of the month of August is named Virgo (maiden/*doncella*). Those who are born are very intelligent, knowledgeable and very happy.

²²⁹ Doubtful translation (López Austin 1973:294).

Spanish reportorio:

In this month you should sow cabbages during Quaresma for the Brussels sprouts and turnips, beans and to extract the onions as much as you can. It is very good to sow barley and wheat. In this month the company of women is dangerous and also dreaming during midday. It is dangerous to bath and to eat much and one shouldn't let blood or purge nor take medicine. Those who are born will gain much, be musical and very charming

September:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month the fruits of the vineyard appear again. And thus they sow. The maize is giving [his maize]. And milk will be very good. It is very good to cut oneself with obsidian. Wounds will not proceed if they relieve them with obsidian on the flanks, his forearms, his buttocks [of the ill]. Also it is very bad [the sign for them]. And the sign of the month of September has the name Libra. Those born are well educated and work hard.

Spanish reportorio:

In this month they harvest the grapes and you have to select the grapes that you want to raise during a full moon and the warmest hour during the day. In this month the sowing of breads [panes] is wonderful. Milk is most delicious. You can let blood without any danger. Pains in the kidneys and the buttocks are most dangerous. Those born are well educated, work hard and have many friends.

October:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month it is very appropriate that the pomegranates, quinces, apple and all other types of fruit are fully grown; they will raise, as such they will be kept. And the meat of birds will be very good, tasty and it is good to eat it. And if we get infected somewhere, or we have scraped ourselves [the ill parts] will be difficult to heal. And also perhaps in relation to our body: teeth will appear [translation doubtful:295] if they don't appear completely, if they only appear at the surface it is not possible to cure them rapidly. And the sign of the month of October is Scorpio. It sickens our belly. Those who are born gossip a lot, are critical and tricksters.

Spanish reportorio:

In this month they should extract the pomegranates, quinces and apples and whatever seasonal fruit during full moon. Whatever birds and animals [salvajes] are tasty. Whatever sore is difficult to cure and pains in the hidden limbs [miembros ocultos] are very dangerous.

November:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month they can plant the fruit trees, [when] they take down the branches. And also they should sow the fruit trees, the vineyards. They will cut, they will cut with an axe. And also they will plant cider. And it is also appropriate to cure oneself if our mouth is hurting. And if our calves hurt, it is dangerous to bath in the *temazcal*, to cut ourselves with obsidian, because of the archer of November.

And it [is] the sign of this month. Those born under this sign, as children will never obey their parents, they will be very disgraceful, and very proud and scared

Spanish reportorio:

In this month during full moon you can replant whatever tree that loses his leaf and to plant and prune the vineyard. During new moon replant ciders and myrtle. It is the appropriate time to cure, whatever pain caused by rheumatism. And pains in the feet are very dangerous. It is safe to let blood and to take a bath. He who is born under this sign will be a man who's children will not obey him; and he will be disgraceful.

December:

Nahuatl reportorio:

In this month it is very appropriate to bury, plant the vineyard. And also they will cut the meat. And the bird that men eats will be very bad. And it is also a good time. Our arms, our head can be cut with obsidian. And if we get ill at the top of our head it will be very bad. And the sign of the month has the name Capricorn. Those born under this sign will behave himself to make sure that his friends will argue amongst them. And its property, its hacienda²³⁰ will be very despicable, etc.

Spanish reportorio:

In this month you can also, as was written in the above, plant and to prune the vineyard: to cut reed and withy during full moon. All warm things are good during this month; and it is safe to let blood from the vein in the head. Pain in the knees is dangerous. He who is born in the sign of Capricorn, will be a man who perceives his brothers to be his enemies: he will be frank and very wicked.

Appendix I: Animals, plants/trees and agricultural produce affected by the planets. A comparison between Izcatqui and two Spanish reportorios.

<i>Ruling planet</i>	<i>Izcatqui</i>	<i>Reportorio Andrés de Li [1495]</i> <i>Reportorio Sancho de Salaya [1542]</i>
<i>Moon</i>	Tree in general; calabash; cucumber; flower; grass	Cow, donkey; fish; white birds; olive, apricot and willow trees; seeds of cucumber, melons and calabash; <i>all herbs cold and humid</i>
<i>Mercury</i>	Goats; sheep; birds; beehive; worms; fruit trees – ciders, lemons, granades; sugar cane; sugar	Deer; goats; birds; bees; worms; trees – ciders, lemons, ginger, pomegranate, walnut; plants – flax, hemp, sugar cane
<i>Venus</i>	Flower; birds, pigeons; fruit – apples; tree in general	Flowers; stags; tiger cat and other 'painted' [brutos]; pigeons; <i>puput</i>

²³⁰ The Nahuatl text reads *auh yn imaxca yn intlatqui* or 'POS-ser tuyo' 'suyo and Lopez Austin translated this as 'propiedad, hacienda' however I would suggest it does not literally refer to property.

		(type of bird, hoopoe: abubillas) ; snake; ants; spiders; trees – apple, apricot, and those of exquisite fragrance
Sun	Jade; ocelot; horses; ram; snake; pear; wheat; roses; flower <i>Alm</i> [...]; cochineal; <i>amaxihuitl</i> ; bean	Gold, precious stone; pearl; lions; horses, rams; dragons; trees – date palm, vine arbors, figs, roses musk, <i>grana</i> , mulberry
Mars	Dogs; leopards; birds; granades; lemons; oranges; pepper; mustard; cumin; seeds of radish, onions, garlic; flower <i>Rondra</i> ; safran	Dogs; leopards; goshawks; iguanas; salamanders; scorpions; all spine trees – pepper, mustard, cumin; seeds – radish, leek, onions; garlic; <i>ruda</i> (medicinal plant); <i>escamonea</i> (medicinal plant); saffron
Jupiter	Jade; fruit tree; chayote; prickly pear; birds; turkeys; quetzal birds; cochineal; seeds of maiz, bean, chilli; all flowers	Hyacinth stone, zinc oxide, crystal, sapphire; [brutos que tienen una tendida: running brutos?]; chickens, [pauones]; worms; seeds of wheat, barley, chickpea, rice, viola, all herbs of exquisite fragrance and taste, musk, camphor; amber; lignum aloes linalo (wood of the aloe); [dresses of] silk
Saturn	‘great/big eaters’ <i>huehueyntin tequanime</i> [...] <i>pantes</i> ; pigs; dogs; birds; white trees; bulls; bat; scorpion; crab; rats; trees; granades, limones, oranges; (unspecified) seeds	Elephants, camels, pigs, dogs, black cats; birds – ostrich, eagle, crow; bat, owl, fleas; bugs; flies; rats; trees – oak, carob, holm oak; seeds of lentil, lupine, millet [millet not in repertorio 1554]

